

Document No.

NS-10, part 1 (of 4)

International Seminar  
on  
The Role of Transnational  
Corporations in Namibia

Sheraton Washington Hotel  
Washington, DC

November 29 - December 2, 1982

---

Background Paper on Relations between the  
Federal Republic of Germany and Namibia as  
occupied by the armed forces of South Africa

PART 1

by: Gottfried Wellmer  
Anti-Apartheid Bewegung  
Federal Republic of Germany

---

Organized by the  
American Committee on Africa  
198 Broadway  
New York, NY 10038  
(212) 962-1210

with the support of the  
United Nations Council for Namibia

Background Paper on Relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and Namibia as occupied by the armed forces of South Africa.

Gottfried Wellmer  
(AA 3 - FGZ Zweigstelle)

1. Positions of the CDU/ CSU on Namibia

As you are probably aware, the Federal Republic of Germany since October 1982 has a new government which was formed through a coalition of CDU/CSU and FDP. There may be new elections in March 1982, after which Franz Josef Strauß wants to be the new foreign minister and vice chancellor. It may therefore be informative for you if I start this background paper with a short recapitulation of the positions taken by leading members of the CDU/CSU towards the liberation struggle in Namibia as led by SWAPO and the policy of the occupation force South Africa.

When seven years after UN Security Council resolution 283 (1970) the Westgerman government closed its consulate in Windhoek, the CDU/CSU opposition in parliament was strongly against this move. At a time, when the Westgerman government had to react in one way or the other on the massacre of Soweto and Langa, the CDU/CSU had this to say F.J.Strauß: "The problem of this country (SWA) is today no longer the mandate of South Africa, because South Africa is prepared and resolved to release South West Africa into independence, but not into "liberation" through a terrorist organisation, SWAPO.... In a SWAPO ruled Namibia there is no longer a place for whites - except in prisons, concentration camps or in cemetaries... One's mind does anguish, one is revolted by the fact, that for the sake of SWAPO the government of the Federal Republic of Germany has closed the German consulate in Windhoek leaving German citizens residing there without legal protection... It is unbelievable but true, that the UN has recognized SWAPO as the sole and rightful representative of Namibia without the least democratic legitimization (of SWAPO) being in evidence..."

(source: Afrika Post 25 (1978) 6, S.163ff)

The MP's Strauß, Niegel, Dr.Hupka therefore made an application in parliament to resolve that the Westgerman consulate in Windhoek be maintained. In the parliamentary debate the CDU/CSU declared the closing down of the Windhoek consulate as a unique act of a policy directed against the protection of German interests.

"In front of the whole world the Federal government bows to the blackmail-demands of the militant, communist ruled SWAPO and to the pressure of African forces sympathizing with it. At the same time it impairs yearlong efforts of the South West African population groups for a peaceful way to independence..."  
 (Source: Declaration of CDU/CSU acc.to Afrika Post 25 (1978)1,S.7)

Parliament rejected the proposal of CDU/CSU with 237 votes against 219-

CDU/CSU see SWAPO as an instrument of global sowiet strategy. An election victory of SWAPO in free, UN supervised and internationally recognized elections in Namibia would be tantamount to a realization of communist plans for Africa, it would change the balance of power in the world and would therefore endanger world peace (Thus Dr. Werner Marx in Parliament on the 27.Oct.1977).

The CDU and CSU through their political foundations massively supported the DTA in the sham elections in 1978. 4,5 Million DM were used to buy the Windhoek based "Allgemeine Zeitung" and the "Windhoek Advertiser" (see annex: <sup>Nr. 4</sup> Network of Influence)

Other funds were used to finance the election campaign of the DTA. Over and above these efforts the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the Hans Seidel Foundation started plans for adult education projects in Namibia. (→ Institute for Social Advance ment, Windhoek)

Next to the constant support for the DTA the CDU/CSU was known for its demands of

- 1) granting development aid to Namibia before its independence in order to strengthen the political position of the DTA
- 2) extending the NATO area of operation to include Southern Africa

Thus on the 10th of November 1981 the speaker of the CDU/CSU group in parliament on defence matters, Oberstleutnant aD Peter-Kurt Würzbach, demanded in a public CDU seminar to integrate South Africa in NATO security policy. Würzbach suggested a kind of division of labour, under which Westgermany would undertake defence tasks from the USA, Britain and other NATO members in Europe in order to enable the USA and others to be "more flexible" in the region of Southern Africa. Under this aspect Westgerman development aid should be seen as an instrument to stabilize conditions in Southern Africa and South Africa in order to protect western global security interests.

In the same seminar MP Dr.Karl Heinz Hornhues demanded that the Westgerman government should strengthen the DTA as the democratic alternative to SWAPO by granting development aid to Namibia before the UN supervised elections and the future independence of Namibia.This demand was supported by Dr.Volkmar Köhler (CDU). Already in March 1981 the whole group of CDU/CSU in parliament demanded that the government support financially private investments in illegally occupied Namibia.

These demands were again raised by a delegation of the DTA in Bonn during its visit in November 1981 (see annex Nr.2) When early in 1982 the German Namibia Foundation appealed to the Foreign office in Bonn to support a DTA adult education project in Windhoek, the Foreign office declared, that it was generally in sympathy with all private efforts to help the black and coloured population in Namibia, but maintained:" The Federal government deems it incompatible with its position as a member of the contact group of the Western Five in the framework of the Namibia initiative, to be itself active in the area of development aid before an internationally accepted independence of Namibia."(DTA information office Bonn, Berichte aus Namibia Nr.10, June 1982, p.4)

This position may have changed now since October 1982.The Foreign office replied to a letter of a group of parliamentarians on the 27th of October 1982:"...church organizations have already received federal funds for the support of a scholarship fund in Namibia. Due to your letter I will examine the question in how far such measures can be reinforced and perhaps extended to other groups in Namibia. I already had first contacts regarding this question with members of the executive board of the "Interessengemeinschaft"...

Mr.H.J.von Hase, member of the DTA ministerial council, already had two official discussions with the new minister for Development Aid, Dr.Jürgen Warnke (CSU), during which he offered two projects of the DTA for the consideration of the Westgerman government.

See Annex 3-5

The same group of MPs appealed to the Foreign office to come to the aid of the National Assembly of the DTA, which the South African Prime Minister allegedly intended to dissolve by the 21st Nove.1982 - it finally did not do so for reasons we should debate -; the MPs wrote:"... Maintain the democratic legitimization of the internal development in Namibia...either through renewed internal elections... or through a prolonging of the mandate of the National Assembly..." We might remember that the 1978 internal election have been declared null and void by the Security Council of the UN.

With this brief sketch of recent events we expect that Westgerman Foreign policy on Namibia and South Africa will adjust itself in such a way as to see the conflict over the independence of Namibia purely in terms of the global conflict between east and west. Gradual differences of opinion on tactics as they existed before October 1982 between the FRG and the USA within the Namibia contact group will probably disappear in the time to come.

This means that in contrast to France the Westgerman government will no longer try to differentiate between the issue of free and fair UN supervised elections in Namibia and the US interests in a linkage of the Namibia issue with a Cuban withdrawal from Angola. Also the Western Contact group will not pressurize South Africa to immediately withdraw from Angola and cease all acts of destabilization towards its northern neighbours.

It may therefore be one task of this conference to raise publicly the question, whether at all the Western Contact group on Namibia has any mandate to link negotiations on free elections in Namibia with their own "security interests" expressed by their demand of a withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola?

A second point this conference may have to state is the criticism, that the Western contact group through its long drawnout and unsuccessful negotiations have effectively hijacked all control over negotiations over free elections in Namibia from the UN General Assembly and from the Council for Namibia.

A third observation to be made is to state, that South Africa has carried its internal war against its black population into the neighbouring states, mainly Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. South Africas War effort is supported through the close economic links between Western block states and Apartheid-South Africa. This point - in regard to the economic link between Westgerman Transnational Corporations and South Africa - is studied in detail in Annex Nr.6.

The last point leads us to the attempt to name some of the German owned firms in Namibia. The following list is - due to the shortage of time - not complete and detailed enough, but may serve as a first pointer.

German owned firms in Namibia (Preliminary and uncomplete list)

1. Anker Data Systems Pty Ltd, P.O.Box Windhoek 9100
2. AEG Telefunken GmbH, P.O.Box 54 14 Windhoek 9100
3. Adler Autoverleih P.O.Box 35, Swakopmund 9180
4. Allgemeine Zeitung P.O.Box 115, Windhoek 9100
5. Atlantic & Continental Versicherungsgesellschaft P.O.Box 2051, Windhoek 9100
6. Bavaria Pty Ltd P.O.Box 1851, Windhoek 9100
7. Bayer Agro Chem (SWA) P.O.Box 5083, Windhoek 9100
8. Becker H.& Co (Pty)Ltd P.O.Box 5012, Windhoek 9100
9. Behrens & Co (Pty)Ltd P.O.Box 5042, Windhoek 9100
- 10.Beka Ingenieurswesen GmbH P.O.Box 1153, Windhoek 9100
- 11.Beton und Sandstein Industrie (Pty)Ltd P.O.Box 1226, Windhoek 9100
- 12.Bierbrauer und Wilhelm P.O.Box 1046, Windhoek 9100
- 13.Bomag Double Vihratory Rollers P.O.Box 2636, Windhoek 9100
- 14.Bosch Service P.O.Box 2197, Windhoek 9100
- 15.Brockmann & Krüss Windhoek, Lüderitz und Otjiwarongo
- 16.Commerzbank AG Kaiserstr., Windhoek 9100
- 17.Deutsche Afrika Linie GmbH Göringstr.16, Windhoek 9100
- 18.Deutscher Verlag (Pty)Ltd Stübel Str. 53, Windhoek 9100
- 19.Deutz Diesel Motoren Lazarettstr.37, Windhoek 9100
- 20.Enke Büromaschinen Curt von Francoisstr., Windhoek 9100
- 21.Erno Gauerke Palmstr.18, Windhoek 9100
- 22.Gedore Tools, Peter Müllerstr.46, Windhoek 9100
- 23.Hatz Diesel Engines Joule Str.21, Windhoek 9100
- 24.Haushaltsgeräte und Kühlanlagen,Klein Windhoek Rd 171,Windhoek 9100
- 25.Heinzes Agentur Max Adam Str., Windhoek 9100
- 26.Frank & Hirsch Merensky Str.24, Windhoek 9100
- 27.Hoechst (Pty)Ltd P.O.Box 1835, Windhoek 9100
- 28.Hochland Construction M & Z Building, Windhoek 9100
- 29.A.Hüster Machinetool Comp., Kruppstr. Windhoek 9100  
Walvisbay, Cape Town
- 30.Kalksandsteinwerk SWA J.Jonker Road, Windhoek 9100
- 31.Kälte Schnoor Iscorstr.2815, Windhoek 9100
- 32.Kältetechnik Edisonstr.35, Windhoek 9100
- 33.Keller & Neuhaus Trust Comp.,Kaiserstr. Windhoek 9100
- 34.Koloniale Gegenseitige Lebens-  
versicherung P.O.Box 13224, Windhoek 9100

35. Kühne & Nagel	P.O.Box 288, Windhoek 9100
36. Lafrenz E.Engineering	Paul Müllerstr.42, Windhoek 9100
37. Lufthansa Africa	Carl List Haus, Windhoek 9100
38. M & Z Motors AG	Talstr.60, Windhoek 9100
39. Metje & Ziegler	Otjiwarongo 9210, Voortrekker Rd Lüderitz 9045, Insel Str. Swakopmund 9180, Kaiser Wilhelm Str. Windhoek 9100, Kaiserstr.
40.Olthaver & List Trust Co	Carl List Haus,P.O.Box 16,Windhoek 9100
41.Olympia Ofice Machines	Stubel Str.,PO Box 239, Windhoek 9100
42.Pupkewitz & Sons	Aranos Gobabis Grootfontein Kalkrand Keetmanshoop Otjiwarongo Walvis Bay Windhoek 9100, Ausspannplatz,P.O.Box 140
43.Roesners Maschinenfabrik	Kerkstr., Gobabis 9140
44.SW Auto-Elektrik & Dieseldienst (Pty)Ltd	Faraday Str.16, Windhoek 9100
45.SWE Swastahl (Pty)Ltd	J.Jonker Road 186, Windhoek 9100
46.Schindler Lifts(SWA)	Talstr.53, Windhoek 9100
47.Schmid Eberhard Maschinenbau	Hauptstraße, Okahandja 9150
48.Südwester,Der	P.O.Bx 20069, Windhoek 9100
49.SWABank (Dresdner Bank)	Bülowstraße,P.O.Box 1, Windhoek 9100
50.Tedelex Electronics GmbH	Bell Str.24, Windhoek 9100
51.SWA Karakul Centrale Ltd (Thorner & Hollender)	Mariental und Maltahöhe
52.Uher Tape Recorders	Ausspannplatz, Windhoek 9100
53.Unterwasserpumpen & Dreharbeiten	A.Rupert Str.7, Windhoek 9100
54.Windhoeker Kältetechnik	Edison Str.35, Windhcek 9100
55.Windhoeker Maschinenfabrik	Bessemerstr.13, Windhoek 9100
56.Wutow A Trading Co (Pty)Ltd	Keetmanshoop; Otjiwarongo; Swakopmund; Walvisbay; Windhoek-Edisonstr.

The following major firms are mainly engaged in mining minerals:

Uran Gesellschaft (participation in K鰊ssing Uranium Mines)

owned by Metallgesellschaft AG (33,23%)  
STEAG AG (33,23%)  
VEBA AG (33,23%)

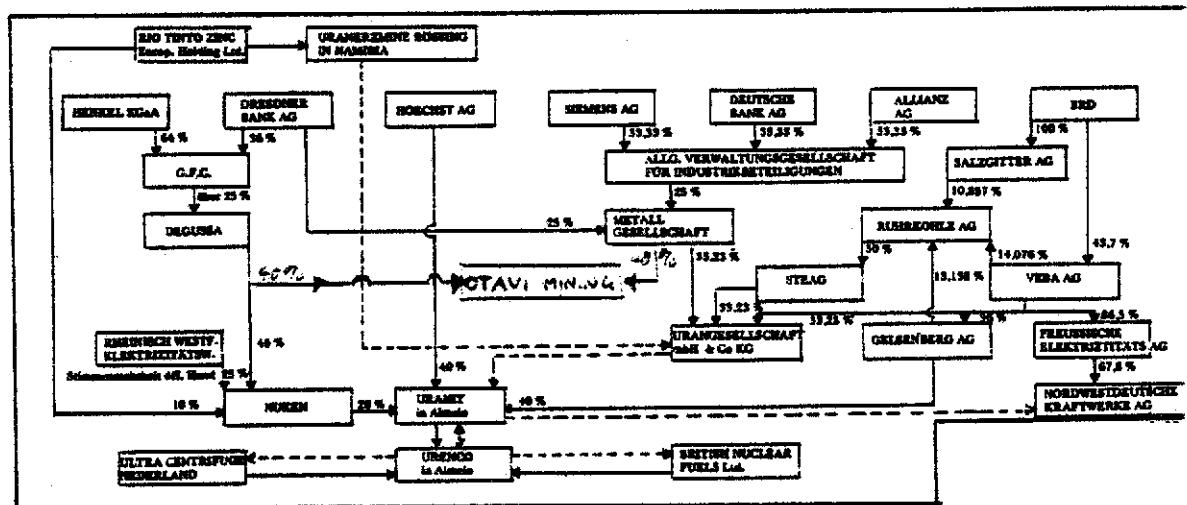
Otavi Mining CO mines lithium, germanium, rutil and vermiculite owned by Degussa (40%)

Metallgesellschaft AG (40%)  
The British Metal Corp. (20%)

Metallgesellschaft AG mines lithium, copper and zinc near Karibib  
owned by Dresdner Bank (more than 25%)  
AVI (more than 25%)

The Deutsche Tiefbohr AG, Bentheim is prospecting for oil in the Namibian Etosha pan. The company is controlled by the Westgerman state Alfred Hempel KG, Düsseldorf, through its subsidiary Futura Ltd mines rare minerals like tantalite, wollastonite and uranium

The interest of the main Westgerman banks in Namibia may best be illustrated through the following graph:



Source: Informationsdienst Südliches Afrika Nr.12/1978, p.20

The Westgerman Dresdner Bank AG acquired recently 51% of the share capital of SWABANK. SWABANK is a bank in illegally occupied Namibia. 32.4% of its shares are in the possession of white namibian settlers; the rest was until now being hold by Southafrican undertakings like the Mynwerkersonie, the Suidweskoront-wikkelingskorporasie, Mercabank Genomineerdeis, SAUK Pensicensfonds and RTC Beleggings (Edms) Bpk.

The majority of shares now under control of Dresdner Bank, SWABANK will now be registered as a commercial bank.

The majority shareholding of Dresdner Bank AG will probably be transferred to F.S.O.M. (Societe Financiere pour les Pays d'Outre-Mer S.A.), based in Switzerland. F.S.O.M. is a holding company controlled by, and associated to, the Dresdner Bank AG.

Other shareholders of F.S.O.M. are the Banque Nationale de Paris S.A., the Banque Bruxelles Lambert, Belgium, and the Bank of America. Final control of SWABANK will still rest with Dresdner Bank AG.

The new chairman of the board of managing directors will be Mr. E.G. Blohm, who is also chairman of Volkswagen of South Africa.

The German speaking settler community in occupied Namibia speaks of SWABANK now as the first bank of "South West Africa" able to link up directly with international finance. The shareholders of F.S.O.M. provide, indeed, excellent links to finance capital in the USA and EEC-countries. Through Banque Bruxelles Lambert and the Banque Nationale de Paris SWABANK can even extend these links to banks in independent African countries. These are:

Banque Belgo-Africaine Burundi  
 Union Zairoise de Banques  
 Banque Commerciale de Burundi  
 Banque Commerciale de Rwanda  
 Banque Internationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie du Cameroun  
 Banque Internationale pour le Commerce et L'Industrie de la Côte d'Ivoire  
 Banque Internationale pour le Commerce et L'Industrie du Dahomey  
 Banque Internationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie du Gabon  
 Banque Internationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie et l'Agriculture de Haute-Volta  
 Banque Internationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie Mer Rouge(Djibouti)  
 Banque Internationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie du Senegal  
 Banque Internationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie du Tchad  
 Banque Malgache d'Escompte et de Crédit, Madagascar  
 Banque Nationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie de l'Océan Indien Tananarive  
 Commercial Bank of Africa, Kenya  
 Union Bank for Africa Ltd., Nigeria

The german writing "Allgemeine Zeitung" in Windhoek, Namibia, expects that SWABANK through its new connections could attract european companies to invest in illegally occupied Namibia.

The paper sees chances especially for smaller westgerman companies to transfer part of their production processes to occupied Namibia with it's low wage african labour.

The "Allgemeine Zeitung" attaches also some political importance to the take over of SWABANK through Dresdner Bank. It comments: "If such a financial institution of the FRG engages itself here in these critical times of South West Africa/Namibia this can be taken as one of the best proofs of foreign confidence in the future of this country."

Sources: Allgemeine Zeitung Windhoek 23.Jan.1981; 2.Febr.1981  
 Aachener Volkszeitung 29th.Dec.1981

This heavy economic involvement of Westgerman companies in South Africa and Namibia leads them to directly support South Africas War effort in Namibia. As one example we will mention the case of Daimler Benz, as described in an Anti Apartheid Press release from the 18th March 1982.

18th March 1982

Press Release

The Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAB) herewith presents to the public further evidence of the military cooperation between the Federal Republic of Germany and the apartheid regime in South Africa with a brochure entitled

"Daimler's armament for South Africa"  
("Daimlers Rüstung für Südafrika")

The company Daimler-Benz AG, Stuttgart, supplies military goods to various "tension areas", e.g. Peru, Argentina, El Salvador and to the apartheid regime of South Africa - a regime which the United Nations termed "a crime against humanity".

The military supplies delivered by Daimler-Benz to South Africa include: tractor-engines for the transportation of tanks (1974); military trucks (since 1973); special engines for speed-boats (1976, supplied by the company Maschinen- und Turbinen-Union/MTU in which Daimler-Benz holds 50 % of the shares); engines for mine-sweepers (MTU, 1980); and engines for military transport planes C-160 "Transall" (MTU, 1969).

Two items of a more recent date may serve as examples and proof of the participation of the Daimler-Benz company and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany in the armament of South Africa:

1. In Atlantis near Cape Town the manufacturing company "Atlantis Diesel Engines" (ADE) is currently being erected. This plant produces Diesel engines - after 1984 about 40-50,000 units, allegedly only for trucks and tractors - with licences and construction plans from Daimler-Benz. The granting of licences and the conclusion of a respective contract with this State-owned South African company took place already in November 1978.

Strategic-military considerations are the main reasons for this production:

- Since 1978, the jeep model "Trax" of the South African army can, by choice, be equipped with a 3.7 litre 4-cylinder engine from Daimler-Benz which corresponds with the engine type 314 of "Atlantis Diesel Engines".
- The military use of ADE engines can be deduced from the high hp capacity of the engines produced, ranging up to 607 hp. Such powerful engines are only used for specialized work; they can propel tanks.
- In addition, Daimler-Benz director Helmut Schmidt confirmed in 1981 that the vehicles that are equipped with ADE engines may be supplied to the South African army.

The licence contract with the South African authorities for "Atlantis Diesel Engines" and the supply of construction plans constitute a violation of the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa of the UN Security Council. In view of the existing legal situation the Federal Government should have prevented this business deal with South Africa.

2. During the period 1973 to 1981, the Daimler-Benz company delivered several thousand UNIMOG vehicles largely to the South African Armed Forces, a fact which neither the Daimler-Benz company nor the Federal Government denies. The Federal Government claimed in 1977 even that a military version of the UNIMOG did not exist; whereas the Daimler-Benz UNIMOG, according to the classification of the Federal Ministry of Defence, is indeed listed in Category III of their list of Military Vehicles. In 1981, then, the Federal Government declared in response to an enquiry of Mr. Peter Conradi, MP (SPD), and clearly in contradiction to the existing legal situation, that this "partly militarized" UNIMOG version (equipped, for instance, with holding devices for weapons; roof loophole; bullet-proof driver's cabin; camouflage lights; bullet-proof tyres; or the military version of a car repair vehicle) was not subject to export permission.

The military version of the Daimler-Benz UNIMOG referred to here is standard equipment of the South African Armed Forces. Ever since 1975 South Africa is using the military UNIMOG for attacks against Angola.

Through these business deals with South Africa, both the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Daimler-Benz company carry responsibility for the acts of aggression by the apartheid regime against the front-line states. By its knowledge, its approval and export permission the Federal Government gives support to the expansionist politics of the apartheid state.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement condemns all armament exports to South Africa. We repeat our call to the Federal Government in Bonn in this year of "Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa" of the United Nations to let their verbal assertions about observing the arms embargos of 1963 and 1977 be followed by deeds and to introduce measures for a comprehensive economic boycott of South Africa.

Translated from a Press Release in German  
presented to a press conference  
in Stuttgart, 18th March 1982.

See also Annex Nr. 7/8

Gottfried Wellmer

7.

NETWORK OF INFLUENCEA brief survey of pro-DTA German-speaking pressure groups in Namibia and the Federal Republic of Germany

Since the aftermath of World War II the German-speaking settler community in Namibia claimed to abstain from political involvement and participation in the internal Namibian affairs, in the sense that - with the exception of several informal fascist circles of little relevance and individual members of other parties coming from the German group - no political organization with special reference to the historic and cultural background of these German settlers emanated and established themselves. Instead, over thirty years the settlers of German descent as well as new immigrants from the Federal Republic of Germany proved to be one of the silent but trustworthy and reliable pillars of the National Party's dominance in Namibia by casting their votes in elections among the settler community in favour of the Status quo. Still, of course, at the same time generally claiming to be rather unpolitical or "neutral" towards politics ...

In the meantime, this situation has changed to a considerable degree since the initiation of the so-called "Turnhalle Conference" and in its follow-up the splitting of the National Party. From the process of formal decolonization originated, in addition to some 30-odd different political splinter groups among the whole Namibian population (mainly representing individual interests), also the first political group since long, claiming officially and publicly to represent the interests of the German settler community.

Of course such an organization does not emanate from a vacuum, and of course the persons in the centre of such political activity are not operating in isolation. The following survey, therefore, is trying to trace some personal and institutional links between such political activities inside the German settler community and their counterparts abroad. The results exemplify that the present-day policy by these politically active German settlers is in support of neo-colonial manoeuvres in favour of a "solution" meeting the interests of those in power under the present colonial system. And this strategy again has the support of some political pressure groups in the Federal Republic of Germany, even reaching into close vicinity of political parties represented in parliament. It needs to be pointed out, however, that this report concentrates on the marginal lobby groups at the fringe of real power; it does not attempt to analyse government policy or the policies of parties represented in the parliament of the Federal Republic of Germany.

1. IG: Interessengemeinschaft Deutschsprachiger Südwester  
(Common Interest Association of German-speaking South West Africans)

The IG was founded in August 1977 with the aim to activate the German-speaking community in Namibia politically (thus addressing itself to about 23,000 people). In July 1978 the IG had 1,600 enrolled members belonging to various political parties. The IG fights SWAPO and declares that it "fights against the claims for power of all totalitarian organizations and condemns the use of violence as a means to settle political controversies". While the IG welcomes the endeavours of the five Western powers in their negotiations with the South African government and SWAPO, it does not regard the UN as an honest mediator in the conflict. The IG regards the FRG as its natural

partner and keeps contact with political parties and groups and important media in the FRG. The IG believes that its ideas about the future constitutional state in "SWA/Namibia" are convincingly represented by the Republican Party of SWA and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (1).

On Friday, the 28th July 1978, Mr. A.J. Brueckner, a businessman of German descent from Namibia, addressed members of the German-South African Chamber for Trade and Industry at a luncheon meeting in Johannesburg. Brueckner is a member of the central committee of the IG (2).

In his address to the members of the Johannesburg Chamber, Brueckner thanked especially a certain Mr. Blohm for inviting him to talk to the gathering in order to appeal for support of the IG activities. Brueckner had contacted Mr. Blohm in April 1978, asking him to support the IG and to help advertising for the IG. Blohm had then invited him to the Chamber for Trade and Industry's luncheon. Furthermore, Blohm seems to have committed himself to take - again - a more active part in the development in Namibia. And by winning over Blohm, the IG has indeed won a major powerful ally.

Ernst Georg Blohm was born on the 23rd December 1912 in Windhoek. He went to school in Windhoek, Berlin-Lichterfelde and Swakopmund and studied Law at the university of Pretoria. In 1931 he was an employee of the "Landbank", later on he was an officer of the South African Administration of Namibia serving in the Department of Justice. In 1939/40 he worked as an advocate in Windhoek. From 1940-1945 he was detained in Andulusia-Baviaanspoort and probably came in contact with a number of prominent Nationalist Party leaders there.

In 1946, Blohm became secretary of the Deutsch-Afrikanischer Hilfsausschuss-DAHA (German-African Assistance Committee), an organization concerned about the release of German pre-war capital investments in South Africa and Namibia through the custodian of enemy property. In this endeavour DAHA was largely successful by committing itself to the re-investment of the pre-war capital in South Africa. DAHA was also recruiting German immigrants to South Africa and it was concerned about the release of Germans from South African detention. Later on, Blohm founded the 'Condip Properties' which looks after the erection and maintenance of the West-German consulates in South Africa. Today E.G. Blohm is president of the Hans Merensky Foundation, chairman of the Volkswagen South Africa, Unisec Group Ltd., of Overseas Trust Corporation, of Cramond Investment, of the EWG Finance and Investments Corporation and the First National Development Corporation of SWA. Furthermore, he is director of Metje & Ziegler Ltd. (based in Windhoek, with branches in Lüderitz, Swakopmund and Ovamboland) and a number of other South African public and private companies. Thus he is also a member of the state-controlled Bantoe-Beleggings-Korporasie and the Bantoe-Lynbou-Korporasie.

Blohm was in 1974 president of the South-African-German Chamber of Trade and Industry and is longstanding executive trustee of the South Africa Foundation and chairman of its German MM Committee (man-to-man Committee). Blohm is also holder of the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany.

(1) 1980 Yearbook of the German Speaking Community in Southern Africa, edited by Rolf Schmidt Pty. Ltd., Johannesburg, 1979.

(2) The other members are: Dr. H. Halenke (chairman), K. Lilienthal (chairman), H.E. Staby, Dr. W. Weitzel, Dr. H. Schneider, V. Rodenwoldt, E.W. Neef (who is also a member of the Legislative Assembly in Windhoek), K. Dierks, Mrs. Dr. R. Merian, H.A. Breiting, Dr. J. Goebel (secretary).

One of the colleagues of Blohm as director of Volkswagen of South Africa (Pty.) Ltd., and as trustee of the South Africa Foundation, is Johannes Jacobus Kitshoff, who is also member of South Africa's Atomic Energy Board and the Uranium Enrichment Corporation. Both Blohm and Kitshoff are also members of the Rand Club and the R.S.A. Club in Johannesburg (3).

In his above-mentioned speech Brueckner noted: "What Namibia needs more than anything else is to develop into a moderate state, friendly inclined towards South Africa". For this end South Africa should stop its policy of keeping Namibia economically dependent like the BLS states. Brueckner pleaded in favour of an economic development that would make Namibia independent from South Africa, in order to get SWAPO's influence on the people off the back of the moderate DTA. South Africa should become a genuine economic partner for Namibia in order to keep its position as dominant trading partner. Brueckner pointed out that an essential motivation for the Western powers to engage in the negotiations was their interests in the mineral resources of Southern Africa. Because of this the IG could develop into an influential lobby, last not least because of its massive financial support of the DTA which was made possible through the important engagement of industrial groups from West-Germany, who are trying to secure their economic interests via their support of the IG.

N.B.: At the end of 1979 Brueckner was also president of the "SWA/Namibia-German Chamber of Trade and Industry" in Windhoek (4).

It may well be the relationship of the IG with West-German political groups which resulted in Dr. Dieter Lauenstein's (5) sudden purchase of the "Windhoek Advertiser" and the "Allgemeine Zeitung". Commentators suggested that part of the financing derived from funding through the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (of the Christian-Democratic Union in the FRG) and the Hanns Seidel Foundation (of the Christian-Social Union in the FRG), or even through Pretoria's Department of Information of Rhodesia. Up till now, however, this could not be established as factual. It is a fact, though, that the CDU/CSU has close relations with the IG as witnessed by various visits of leading politicians like Dr. Werner Marx (speaker of the CDU/CSU parliamentary fraction for foreign affairs in Bonn) to the annual congress of the IG in August 1979 (6). In his speech, Marx mentioned the great financial support the IG had received from West-German groups, in order to support DTA in the internal sham elections of December 1978.

(3) Other members of the German Committee of the South Africa Foundation are representatives of German industrial concerns in SA like Werner & Pfleiderer, Arminco, Retecon, Commerzbank, AEG-Telefunken, BASF SA, Bayer SA, Dresden Bank, Bayrische Versinbank, Siemens, Bayrische Landesbank, Girozentrale, and Bosch (Diesel Electric Hollis.). Another trustee of the South Africa Foundation is Samuel Davis, director of SWA Publications (Pty) Ltd., a former mayor of Windhoek.

(4) According to "Afrika Recht" No. +/79, p.3.

(5) Dieter Lauenstein, born April 3th, 1914 in Herford, Westphalia, FRG. Education at the universities of Tübingen, Marburg and Berlin. 1944-45 lecturer in Greifswald, 1945-1977 he was publisher of the newspapers "Westfalenblatt", "Westfälische Zeitung" and "Westfälisches Volksblatt" in Bielefeld, FRG. He is said to have arrived in Namibia in 1969. He is a member of the Free European Academy of Sciences, and is now director of Deutscher Verlag (Pty) Ltd., Akademischer Verlag Windhoek (Pty) Ltd., John Heinert (Pty) Ltd..

(6) Report of the "Allgemeine Zeitung", Windhoek, 27th August 1979.

2. DSAG: Deutsch-Südafrikanische Gesellschaft  
(German-South African Society)

Amongst the main partners of the IG inside the Federal Republic of Germany is the DSAG. This association was founded in 1965 by two South African groups.

The first to be mentioned is the ADK - Afrikaans-German Cultural Association. Based in Pretoria it has a branch in Namibia as well, chaired by Friedo Gauerke. The ADK-SWA was founded between the two world wars with the objective to promote the relations between the dominating Afrikaans and the "subjugated" German-speaking population in Namibia. Recently the ADK-SWA declared that it no longer understands itself as an organization in defence of "white identity", but rather as a unit to develop Namibia "to the advantage of all its peoples". Its main activity is now to refute false reports on "SWA" in the foreign newsmedia. The ADK publications are published in German and English and have a circulation of 25,000 copies, which are being sent to allegedly 134 countries all over the world. Politically ADK-SWA is strongly in support of the DTA.

In late 1978, Gauerke made a tour through Europe organized by the DSAG secretary Dr. Rudolf Gruber. In 55 days he was able to hold 53 public speeches, press contacts and discussions with church leaders, industrial managers and financiers (7) advertising the DTA policies.

The second parent organization of the DSAG is the already mentioned South Africa Foundation and its German MM Committee. The South Africa Foundation, founded in 1959, began its activities in 1960 - the year of Sharpeville and the banning of ANC and PAC - with the objective to advertise for more Western investment in the Apartheid state and stabilize South Africa economically (8). With this aim in mind, the South Africa Foundation sent in 1961 Dr. Christoph Count Dönhoff to the Federal Republic of Germany, who initiated the foundation of the DSAG in 1965. And in 1972 it sent Dr. Rudolf Gruber to be its representative and, at the same time, the secretary of DSAG. Thus, the major political decisions of the DSAG office in Bonn must be considered to be the expressed political option of some of the major multi-national concerns of German corporations based in South Africa.

In 1978 the DSAG established a department on "SWA-Namibia", headed by Mr. Arthur Surén (president of the DSAG branch in Hannover and simultaneously member of the local branch of the Free Democratic Party, and an employee of the Ministry of Economic Affairs of Lower Saxony in Hannover). On September 10th, 1978 Surén got half a year furlough from his Ministry (the CDU is in government of Lower Saxony), in order to take up the post of chief editor of the Namibian daily "Allgemeine Zeitung" in Windhoek. Surén has had no previous knowledge of journalism. In July 1980 the press reported that Ms. Birgit Breuel (CDU) of the Ministry of Economic Affairs in Hannover decided to prolong the furlough granted to Surén for "important special reasons" (8a).

In mid 1978, the DSAG president, Count Dönhoff, called on the public to massively support the anti-SWAPO forces in Namibia. He wrote:

(7) ADK Informations of October 1978, p. 3 and 1st June 1979, p.3.

(8) Louis Gerber, Friends and Influence - The Diplomacy of Private Enterprise. Cape Town, Purnell & Sons, 1974. Advocate L.B. Gerber has been director-general of the South Africa Foundation before.

(8a) "Frankfurter Rundschau", FRG, 10th July 1980.

"Save the country from the guns of the Marxist revolutionaries of Nujoma's SWAPO, which is only out for power. Support the moderate democratic organizations!" (9)

"The population, not used to elections and expression of political will, has to be enlightened in the shortest possible time about the advantages of democratic government as against Marxist dictatorship ... But this costs money and this immediately ... It is the last moment. Already in a few months it could be too late and SWAPO could have destroyed everything which has been built in generations ..." (10)

In 1978 the DSAG was supported by more than 20 industrial firms in the FRG (11) and it has cultivated contacts to industrial groups throughout the FRG, e.g. the Wirtschaftsrat der CDU e.V. (economic council of the Christian-Democratic Union, registered society), Düsseldorf, the Fachvereinigung Metallhalbzeug e.V. (professional association of manufacturers of semi-finished metal products, registered society), Düsseldorf, the Chamber of Trade and Industry, Hagen (12); the Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie-BDI (the National Association of German Industry), Cologne, the Zentralverband der Elektrotechnischen Industrie e.V. (national association of electro-technical industries, registered society) (13); Afrika Verein e.V., Hamburg (14); Institute "Haus Rissen", Hamburg (15); Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen (institute for relations with foreign countries), Stuttgart (16); Verband Pfälzischer Industrie (association of industry in the region of the Palatinate), Bad Dürkheim (17); the Rhein-Ruhr Club, Düsseldorf (18); the Unternehmerverband der Industrie Rhein-Niederrhein (association of industrial entrepreneurs in the region Rhine-Lower Rhine) (19).

The relationship to West-German investors in South Africa and Namibia is being cultivated through investment consultants and the DSAG press service (which was propagated through the external trade secretaries of all 80 West-German chambers of trade and industry) as well as through a new organ of the DSAG daughter organization DSAV-Deutsch-Südafrikanische Juristen-Vereinigung e.V. (German-South African Lawyers Association, registered society) founded at the beginning of 1979, their publication being called "Afrika - Recht und Wirtschaft" (Africa - Law and Economy).

It is therefore no surprise that the DSAG was able in a rather short time to drum up a sum of DM 100,000 in support of the DTA, via the IG. This is probably in addition to DTA election campaign fundings by other groups.

To continue this fund raising effort, the DSAG founded in December 1978 yet another daughter organization called "Afrika-Fördergesellschaft" (Africa Support Society) with Dr. Gustav Sonnenholz, formerly West-German ambassador to South Africa, as president and Dr. Rudolf Grüber of the South Africa Foundation as secretary-general. The regional Revenue Department in Bonn recognized the new organization as a general welfare organization, i.e. contributions can be deducted from income tax.

(9) "Afrika Post", August 1978, p. 16. Translated by the author.

(10) "Afrika Post", October 1978, p. 289. Translated by the author.

(11) Annual Report of the DSAG 1978, p. 22.

(12) through DSAG founding member Albrecht R. Pickert of Menden.

(13) through member Dr. Peter Siemens.

(14) Count Dönhoff is member of the SA Committee of the Afrika Verein e.V..

(15) "Haus Rissen", in cooperation with the SA Embassy in Bonn and the PR agency Hennenhofen KG, organized an investment seminar on Sept. 26th, 1979.

(16) "Afrika Post" No. 6/1972, p. 226; No. 4/74, p. 166; No. 3/76, p. 255.

(17) "Afrika Post" No. 5/1978, p. 145.

(18) Speech by Dr. Hans Dichgans, BDI secretary-general, 7th December 1976.

(19) "Afrika Post" No. 1/1979, p. 24.

The "Afrika-Fördergesellschaft", under the chairmanship of retired ambassador Gustav Sonnenhol (20) and the vice-chairmanship of Count Dönhoff and J. Greiling - another leading DSAG member -, won a number of allied organizations. All of them have in common a violent anti-communist stance. They are:

- Christen für Partnerschaft statt Gewalt (Christians for Partnership instead of Violence), a daughter organization of the DSAG. This group is mainly active in right-wing church circles (21).
- Evangelische Notgemeinschaft in Deutschland (Evangelical Emergency Group in Germany), a 'fatherland' orientated church group founded in protest of the Social-Democratic "Ostpolitik" and changing later to protesting against the Programme to Combat Racism of the World Council of Churches. In this endeavour the Evangelical Emergency Group found allies in Southern Africa, who in the wake of 'Muldergate' received world attention: the Christian League of Southern Africa and the Rhodesia Christian Group of Arthur Lewis, once a senator under Ian Smith's settler regime in Southern Rhodesia. Another ally is Broederbond member Johannes Petrus Oberholzer of the Nederduits Hervormde Kerk and the prime minister of the Bantustan Cwamboland in Namibia, the Rev. Cornelius Ndjoba. In cooperation with Ndjoba, and the then "General Commissioner for the Indigenous Population", Jannie M. de Wet (another member of the Broederbond), the Evangelical Emergency Group formed the ELCOMO Trust Fund which is to support the "victims of terrorism" in Namibia. As member organization of the West German "Conference of Confessing Christians" (Konferenz Bekennender Gemeinschaften), the Evangelical Emergency Group was able to engineer an alliance of the Christian League of Southern Africa and the Conference of Confessing Christians in the FRG by founding in 1978 the International Network of Confessing Christians in London. The International Network was designed to build a basis to start an alternative to the World Council of Churches.
- On June 26th, 1979 the Conference of Confessing Christians in the FRG called for prayers in favour of the 'internal settlement' in Rhodesia under Bishop Muzorewa, that it may become a model for Namibia as well (22).
- Deutsche SWA/Namibia-Vereinigung (German-SWA/Namibia Association). President is J. Greiling and vice-president K.A. Hess. This association, founded in July 1977, is a straight daughter of the DSAG/South Africa Foundation. Its purpose is again to materially support the IG and the DTA in Namibia. Towards this end the association formed a partnership organization

---

(20) G. Sonnenhol was born on 25th January 1912, studied law and economics. Since June 1st, 1931 he was a member of the NSDAP, the Nazi Party in Germany, membership number 545961. He became a member of the two Nazi organizations SS and SA and was holder of the SS-Death's Head Ring, an honour given out by Himmler. Between 1939 and 1945 he served in the Foreign Office under Ribbentrop, in 1944 being a liaison officer to the RSA. Since 1949 he worked again in government service: until 1956 in the Marshall Plan-Ministry in Bonn, then for two years in the FRG's delegation at the European Economic Community in Brussels, 1957-1962 as vice-chairman of the FRG's OECD mission in Paris, from 1962-1966 in the Ministry for Economic Development and Cooperation under Minister Scheel. Since March 1966 until 1971, Sonnenhol was the FRG's ambassador to South Africa. Minister Scheel, then Foreign Affairs, wanted S. as State Secretary in his Ministry, but did not succeed because of President Heinemann's opposition. S. then went as ambassador to Turkey, after which he retired.

(21) see next page.  
(22)

called the "German Namibia Foundation" (Deutsche Namibia-Stiftung) (23). Greiling is closely cooperating with Dr. Gruber of the South Africa Foundation.

- Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte e.V. (Society for Human Rights, registered society), Frankfurt/M., chaired by Cornelia Gerstenmaier. The society supports mainly dissidents and 'Christian martyrs' in Eastern European countries. It became known when it organized a demonstration against Brezhnev's visit to Bonn in May 1978, in close cooperation with Maoist and neo-fascist groups (24).
- VDA - Gesellschaft für deutsche Kulturbereichungen im Ausland (Society for German cultural relations in foreign countries) which in 1977, the year of the 125th anniversary of German immigration to Chile, led tourist groups to Chile in support of the ruling junta there (25).
- Förderungsgesellschaft Afrika mbH (Support Society Africa Ltd.), led by journalist Claus P. Clausen. This is a right-wing Catholic organization which politically supports the Christian-Social Union of Bavaria, celebrates 'prisoners of conscience' in Eastern European countries and cooperates with the Evangelical Emergency Group mentioned above in its fund raising drive for the 'victims of terrorism' in Southern Africa (26).

3. Cooperation between DSAG and the NPD (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands - National-Democratic Party of Germany)

NPD member Peter Dehoust, based in Coburg, initiated in 1976 together with other right-wingers the "Hilfskomitee Südliches Afrika" (Assistance Committee Southern Africa) in aid of Angola-Germans. The slogan of the Committee is "SAVE WHITE SOUTH AFRICA!". In September 1977, Helmut Berg, a member of the board of the DSAG and chairman of the Berlin branch of DSAG, founded, together with members of the "Hilfskomitee Südliches Afrika" the DSAG branch for the region of Upper Franconia (a part of the State of Bavaria). The branch is chaired by Dr. Karl Spiess, member of the Christian-Social Union, and member of the "Hilfskomitee Südliches Afrika", who formerly resided for 15 years in South Africa. In September 1978, the "Hilfskomitee", at its third South Africa seminar, invited from Namibia AKTUR member Adolf Brinkmann. Peter Dehoust offered him in support of AKTUR policy a cheque of DM 5,000 (27).

- (21) Chairman of "Christians for Partnership instead of Violence" is now the Rev. Kurt Kirschner, Hamburg, former president of the German Evangelical Lutheran Church (DELK) in Namibia. He is assisted by DSAG member Dipl. Ing. Max Bürklin as secretary-general and the Rev. Joachim Ruff and the Rev. Jens Motschmann (both members of the Evangelical Emergency Group), teacher Helga Pfannkuch (DSAG member) and others.
- (22) "idea" (Information service of the Evangelical Alliance in the FRG) No. 29/1979, 2nd July 1979, p. VI.
- (23) "Allgemeine Zeitung", Windhoek, 30th April 1980, report of A. Surén.
- (24) This curious combination of extremist right-wing and Nazi groups was repeated at the May 1978 Lisbon conference. See "Arbeiterkampf". No. 136, 21st August 1978, p. 36.
- (25) Jürgen Günther: Der deutsch-nationale Flügel der CDU tendiert zum Rechtsextremismus (the German-national fringe of the CDU tends towards right-wing extremism), in the newspaper "Die Neue", 19th May 1979.
- (26) Clausen, based in Lippstadt, is editor of "Der schwarze Brief" (the Black Letter) and "Der andere Mensch" (the other man) and chairman of "Hilferuf von Drüben" (cry for help from the other side).
- (27) PFI-Taschenbuch (pocket book) No. 1, report on neo-fascist activities, Munich, February 1979, pp. 92, 95, 120.

4. Cooperation of the DSAG and the South Africa Foundation with the Christian-Democratic Union / Christian-Social Union

On the initiative of CDU/CSU members of the Federal Parliament the Deutsche Afrika-Stiftung (German Africa Foundation) was founded in May 1978. Its chairman is MP Dr. Hans Stercken, the vice-chairmen are MP Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier (formerly president of the Federal Parliament), CDU, and MP Hans Klein (CSU, Munich). Secretary of the Foundation is Dr. Wolfgang Burr (28). The Foundation has various study groups. The one on Namibia is headed by MP Dr. H. Hammann, the one on South Africa is headed by DSAG member Dr. Wolfgang von Geldern, the one on Rhodesia by Count Buyn (strongly supporting the internal settlement of the Smith/Muzorewa regime). One of the first public acts of the Foundation was to invite a delegation of the Namibia National Front and of SWAPO-D (Shipanga) to Bonn, where it conducted talks with the CDU/CSU and the Free Democratic Party (FDP), including Foreign Minister Genscher, industrialists and bank managers. For the year 1979 one can safely state that the CDU/CSU supported DTA and still does so at present, while the FDP supported NNF and SWAPO-D. For 1980, however, one can observe that the FDP no longer considers the NNF as a viable "moderate" alternative to SWAPO, which does not mean to suggest that the FDP has started to support SWAPO.

During the 197th session of the Federal Parliament on January 18th, 1980, Foundation chairman Dr. Stercken stated publicly that he recently had met with UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi, regretting that this defender of Western interests in Angola did not receive more support by the Western powers (29). Stercken further criticized humanitarian support for SWAPO while there was no reaction to appeals to Rev. Nujoba's appeal for support of the ELCNO Trust Fund. Stercken, in reply to boycott calls against South Africa, further started quoting verbally passages of propaganda material of the South African Embassy in Bonn and appealed to Parliament with the words: "Prime Minister Botha merits support for his policy."

As chairman of the German Africa Foundation, Stercken must have been intimately involved in the decision to acquire the monthly magazine "Afrika Post" (the former organ of the DSAG) in March 1980. The CDU/CSU Foundation, in its take-over editorial, wrote in April 1980:

"The 'Afrika Post' and its predecessor, the 'German Afrika Post', have a long tradition. It was founded by Adolph Woermann, the trader and shipowner who a century ago created the conditions for the then German colony German South-West Africa, which is entering now world political level as the independent state of Namibia ... Woermann's magazine was renewed in 1929 as the German Afrika Post. Since 1954 it appears again uninterrupted. It was first edited by E. Beckmann and E.G. Thormeyer in Johannesburg, from 1971 onwards by Prof. Dr. Hans Lehmann in Goslar, and since 1976 by Dr. Christoph Count Jünhoff and Dr. Olaf Oelsen in Bonn. At the beginning of 1980, the 'Afrika Post' was taken over by the German Africa Foundation, which will now be responsible for it through its well-established editors and cooperators (30). The fact that we confess ourselves consciously to side with the German interests in Africa results out of our gratitude and respect towards those innumerable Germans who for centuries helped Africans to build up their country, state and society ..." (31).

It is for African history an ill-famed man whose name was recalled by Mr. Stercken in his "Afrika Post" editorial. The trader and shipowner Adolph Woermann had for certain routes and certain African harbours a transport monopoly. Thus it was the Woermann shipping line which exclusively shipped all German war material and troops used to crush the uprising of the Namibian people in 1904 and the following years. Woermann's profits from the Namibian war amounted to 600,000 Goldmarks.

As member of the imperial diet Adolph Woermann was attacked because of his extensive trade in dangerously cheap spirits and alcoholic brews to German colonies in Africa. He defended himself by saying: "It is only through brandy that the German trader could get an entry into the West African market at all". His freight to Togo consisting to 58 % of cheap alcohol, Woermann asked parliament: "Should we stop an important trade just out of pure love for those negroes, though they have not been for all that long a time our brothers?"

In "gratitude and respect" to those Germans then Mr. Stercken and his German Africa Foundation will continue the editing of the "Afrika Post" today.

The consequence of this kind of attitude is an outspoken support for the DTA-made 'internal settlement' of South Africa for Namibia. This is clearly expressed in another publication of the German Africa Foundation, published in Bonn in 1979 under the heading "Südwestafrika wird Namibia" (South-West Africa becomes Namibia).

August 1980

- (28) Other members are: Franz Amrehn, W. von Geldern (also member of DSAG), H. Hammars, Peter von der Heydt, K. Heinz Hornhuus, Count Euyn, Richard Jaeger, Peter Kittelmann, Prof. Hans Hugo Klein, Dr. Volkmar Köhler, Gerhard Kunz, Karl Heinz Marjes and Dr. Werner Marx (mentioned in this paper in relation to the IG).
- (29) Federal Parliament, Bonn, 8th period of legislation, 197th session, Minutes of the Plenary, page 15692: "... the oppressed friends of Europe and of freedom do not enjoy the same attention, not to mention support, as is being offered to its persecutors. Dr. Savimbi, who through his UNITA controls a large portion of Angola, told me recently: if only the free world would donate as much to the victims as it does to our oppressors! (Applause from CDU/CSU)". Translated by the author.
- (30) Editors are DSAG members Count Dönhoff, Dr. O. Oelsen, Dr. Wolfgang Reith; responsible editor is Rudolf Horch, who is employed by the Federal Association of German Gas and Water Industry, Bonn. People like Dr. R. Gruber of the South Africa Foundation and Wolfgang Höpker (DSAG) contribute to it.
- (31) "Afrika Post", April 1980, p. 93. Translated by the author.

## Annex Nr. 2

### DELEGATION OF DTA IN BONN

25th to 29th November 1981 . Report by Gottfried Wallner

A delegation of DTA, led by Peter Kalangula, President of DTA, and two members of the board of DTA, Hans-Jürgen von Hase and Katuutire Kaura, visited Bonn at the end of November 1981.

Their programm:

Wednesday, 25th Nov. 1981: 15.00 h meeting the general secretary of the Catholic Bishops Conference, prelate Homeier.

20.00 h supper with the president of the "Deutsche Afrika Stiftung", the MP Dr. Hans Stercken (CDU)

Thursday, 26th : 10<sup>30</sup> meeting with Foreign minister H.-D.Genscher

11<sup>15</sup> press conference

13<sup>15</sup> lunch with two officials of the Foreign Office, Min.Dir.Gorenfloß and ambassador Haas

15<sup>15</sup> Discussion with the Southern Africa Group of the SPD in parliament (leadership of MP Wolfgang Roth)

16<sup>30</sup> Meeting with MP Dr.Alfred Dregger vice-chairman of the CDU vice-chairman of CDU/CSU fraction in Parliament

Friday, 27th Nov. 1981

9.00 Meeting with the general secretary of the Westgerman Red Cross, Schilling.

10.00 Meeting with the general secretary of the FDP, Günther Verheugen.

11.00 Meeting with the German Chamber for Trade and Industry

20.00 Supper with the general secretary of the South Africa Foundation in the FRG, Dr.Gruber

In the afternoon there was also a meeting on short notice with the president of the Foreign Office of the Protestant Churches in Germany (EKD), Dr.H.-J.Held.

In the press conference, Kalangula reported on his talk with Foreign minister Genscher:

"We asked the German Government to not only embark on these negotiations, but also to be active in the Namibian people; especially now, when we have a draught and we have problems with education and housing shortage. We thought perhaps a contribution could be made not on a governmental level - but institutions in Westgermany could perhaps be allowed to operate in Namibia helping in the uplifting of the people before independence. Because we believe, one has to take these problems into account if we want to make the elections into a success. ... So while the western contact group is negotiating they should at the same time allow such development aid. Constitutional proposals are not enough. It would be helpful if the government of Westgermany considered this appeal for aid very seriously..."

This appeal connects up with a demand raised by CDU-MP Dr. Karl Heinz Hornhues, who on the 13th November 1981 in a pressconference had this to say on the question of DTA: " In Namibia the ruling DTA is accused by SWAPO to be nothing but a puppet of South Africa. The DTA must appear, indeed, as a puppet of South Africa, since she is completely dependent on South Africa militarily and economically. There is a discussion within the DTA, whether the ministers council should not resign since the chances of DTA in free elections vis a vis SWAPO are getting worse daily." Hornhues therefore demanded from the federal government of the FRG, to support the DTA through development aid already before any UN supervised elections and before an eventual independence in such a way, that the DTA does no longer appear as an appendix of the South African government.

This demand was supported by the speaker of the CDU/CSU fraction in Parliament, Dr. Volkmar Köhler, who added, that one should integrate South Africa into the European Common Market as soon as one could observe progress in overcoming apartheid. Köhler did not mention what he would consider to be such a progress.

The prime minister of Bavaria and chairman of the CSU, Dr. Franz Josef Strauß, said later in an interview: "The West has to change tactics immediately. The West must support now those political groups in Namibia, who already now fight for a free and liberal evolution which is tailored to african conditions instead for a communist revolution. If the West does not have the courage and the force for this, he could have spared himself the trouble to design constitutional proposals... SWAPO can only come to power (and hold on to power) through massive support of the Soviet Union. I therefore think it impossible that SWAPO after a take over of power in Namibia could free itself of its existing dependence on Moscow, even if it wanted to..." (The interview with Strauß was published by the DTA public relations office in Bonn in December 81)

So it appears that the 'development aid' as asked for by Kalangula is understood by the CDU/CSU in the FRG as an election aid in support of the DTA.

Kalangula was then asked by a journalist: "If I understood you right you were hoping this morning to unfreeze certain assets and grants through your talk with Mr. Genscher. What is the situation now, two hours later? But Kalangula was evasive and said only: " Genscher was in a hurry and the meeting was short and we could not get a reply to every point we raised due to the time factor."

#### Impartiality of the United Nations

Kaura answered on the question, whether the partiality or impartiality of the UN was still an issue: "It is still an issue. We were explicit in Geneva in stating that we do not feel that the UN could be impartial referee of the Namibian situation in view of the fact that they have already chosen a political party as the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia." Asked whether this would mean, that the next Namibia conference would also fail because of this issue, Kaura answered: "As long as the UN has not yet altered its position, it will fail."

An irritated journalist asked: "But you cannot deny that up til now South Africa has retarded the process of independence. Do you see that differently?" Kaura did and answered: "The UN General Assembly is delaying the independence of Namibia, because as long as they don't change their partiality towards SWAPO, as long as the Council for Namibia is trying to introduce resolutions which would increase funds to SWAPO, which it recognizes as the sole and authentic representative of Namibia, there can be no fair and impartial supervision of elections in Namibia. And we as the people of Namibia would not accept an imposition of SWAPO on us. As long as the UN is unable to a change of its position in this impartiality issue then they are the ones who are delaying the independence of Namibia."

Asked about the stability of the internal DTA government, Kaura gave two answers:

"Alleged differences between Mr. Mudge and Mr. Kalangula are speculations originating out of the camp of the white reactionary nationalist party, who do not like to see any change taking place in Namibia". And turning to the the relationship between the ministers council and the South African administrator general Kaura had this to say: "During the interim period before independence of Namibia the DTA has taken over a number of responsibilities. We have been able to remove all discriminatory practices in Namibia. But we are still under South Africa, we are still colonized by South Africa, we are not totally independent. The result is, that there are certain things that we would like to remove which come into conflict with the Administrator General. We are unable to proceed as quick as possible with certain things we feel are essential in order to bring about a free society in Namibia. Asked whether

a report of the british magazine "Economist" ~~At the ministers council~~ had threatened to resign because of existing race discrimination in the education system and especially in the teachers training system was correct or not and whether because of its failure the ministers council had indeed resigned? Kaura answered:

"Well, it did not work out to that critical situation where it became absolutely necessary that the ministers council must resign. So far we are making progress. We are listening to each other. There is a certain degree of mutual understanding between the Administrator General and the ministers Council and that is why it is no longer necessary for the ministers council to resign." This vague answer provoked the question: I take it then that from now on black ~~trainers~~ students in teacher training courses can attend classes in the whites only teachers training college in Windhoek? Because that was the reason why the ministers council threatened to resign? Kaura said without any further explanation of this contradiction:

"Under the present circumstances they would not be able to be trained there. But we are moving steadily towards making that possible." This of course amounts to the solution the Economist already foresaw in his report of the 15th Nov. The minister Council of the DTA just has to cling to that bit of power they are allowed to exercise by South Africa. The wages for collaborators are too sweet for abandoning .

according  
to which

Some westgerman private organisations closely related to the South Africa Foundation like the German South West Africa /Namibia Association under its president J. Greiling in Grefrath with its Namibian branch called German Namibia Foundation support materially the DTA since 1978. They are now campaigning for an aid project f in Katutura, the ghetto of Windhoek. There the German Namibia Foundation wants to convert the old Ovambo- Migrants Compounds into an adult education and community centre. Germans who want to contribute to this socalled selfhelp project, estimated to cost half a million DM, are promised that their donations are tax exempted (deductable from the income tax). The Lions Club in Simmern represented by MP Dr. Wolfgang Kumpf (FLP) has given the first donation of 2 500 DM.

More important seems to be the proud announcement of the Public Relations office of the DTA in Bonn, that the Association of Westgerman cities (Deutscher Städetag) has decided to propose to the International Union of Local Authorities that Namibian Local Authorities will be accepted as members of that international body. It is proposed to follow this up with an exchange programme of communal officers and administrators between IULA and namibian local authorities.

report by Gottfried Wellmer  
Bonn, 22nd Jan. 1982