

INTERNATIONAL CAPITAL IN NAMIBIA

TSUMEB AND THE CDM

by

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I. INTRODUCTION

There is no doubt that the whole of Southern Africa has today become the looting-ground for international capital by which means the minority governments and their efforts to perpetuate white supremacy are supported so that the former is given free access to fruitful investments.

The declared aim of these investments is the acquirement of higher profits than would be possible in the countries where the capital is based. The mineral-wealth and the almost unlimited potential exploitation of African labour constitute the basis for the interest in investment in South Africa. Foreign capital is chiefly invested in industry in these countries; above all in the mines, the products of this industry are exported and constitute a rich source of profit. The profits gained from the exploitation of African labour and the extraction of the mineral-wealth are then transferred to the metropolises. But even if this were not the case, the output from the investments would neither be used for the economic development of the countries of Southern Africa nor for the improvement in the standard of living of the African inhabitants, but would rather serve the interests of the white minorities in control of these countries' economy and politics. There is no need to prove this, the reality of the situation speaks for itself; more than 5 billion U.S. dollars have been invested in Southern Africa by the imperialist countries - it is well-known that this sum has not improved the situation of the African population, and it is also common knowledge that the industrialised countries enrich themselves from the investments made there and that the ruling white minorities in Southern Africa are provided with industries, an advanced agricultural industry and a generally high standard of living.

The predominance of powerful consortiums of South African, English and American capital is one of the characteristics of Southern Africa. The main interests are owned by four large companies, operating in Central and Southern Africa, and whose capital totals circa 450 million sterling. They are the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, Charter

Consolidated (England), Selection Trust and Lonrho (England). The net worldwide gains made by these four companies in 1965 were in the region of 26 million sterling.¹ The composition of the boards of directors of Charter Consolidated clearly illustrates the international cooperation of capital: H. F. Oppenheimer is the president of two of the boards of directors of these companies, that is of the Anglo-American Corporation and Charter Consolidated. Chester Beatty, President of the board of directors of Selection Trust is also a member of the board of directors of Charter Consolidated. In addition the Anglo-American Corporation and Charter Consolidated are both large stockholders in Lonrho, Ltd.²

II. THE EXPLOITATION OF NAMIBIA

Namibia may be considered as one of the countries of Southern Africa most affected by the exploitation carried on by international capital. The reason for this is South Africa's attempt to counteract the rejection by some countries and international organisations of her administration over Namibia. She does this by maintaining a system of forced investments with a view to making Namibia's independence from South Africa impossible because of its economic integration. The Financial Times writes the following in connection with one of the largest projects now underway, that is the Cunene Dam Project, being carried out by Portugal and South Africa:

*The scheme will aid development there, and is a vital factor in South Africa's overall strategy in retaining her hold over the mandated territory.*³

South Africa's interests in Namibia caused her to open up Namibia's wealth to international capital in the expectation that once the powerful international firms had made investments there they would then protect their interests by backing South Africa's Namibian policy. International capital for its part strives not only to ensure the protection of its own investments in Namibia, but also to strengthen South Africa's position, since South Africa, by assuming the role of secondary metropole and guardian of imperialism in Southern Africa, makes every attempt to ensure stability there.⁴

This confluence of interests led to increased penetration of Namibia by international capital. As the Mayor of Windhoek explains:

*All the large international firms are here in Windhoek.*⁵

Systematic speculation is being carried out throughout the entire country. International firms in conjunction with the Namibian administration are putting into effect what the German colonial administration planned in the first ten years of this century in the way of dams, electricity plants, railways and factories. For research work alone the proposed expenditure is as high as 25 million dollars.

*A system that pays its way. For, in the meantime, many new raw materials have been discovered, which will make South West Africa in all probability the largest reservoir of raw materials in the whole of Southern Africa.*⁶

Minerals are a prerequisite for investment. Yet these alone would not suffice to awaken the interest of international monopolies. Did not the extension of the system of apartheid to Namibia put at their disposal relatively cheap labour? Investments from abroad are always placed in labour intensive industries in which the labour (apart from supervisory posts) can be done, almost without exception, by Africans. An African worker is paid a wage of between 24 and 63 dollars per month - a wage which is in general below subsistence level, given the fact that an African needs 109 dollars to maintain an average-sized family if his health is not to suffer. A white mine captain is paid a basic wage of 609 dollars per month.⁷

In such circumstances a special publication feels justified in writing the following:

*South West Africa is a true paradise for the accumulator of minerals.*⁸

There are 44 foreign firms in Namibia today. The following table has information on the main ones and their involvement.

TABLE 1

Companies currently doing business in Namibia

Charter Consolidated of the UK (30% of SWA Co. Ltd., 33% of Selection Trust Ltd.)
Consolidated Gold Fields Ltd. of the UK (2% of SWA Co. Ltd., 60% of Vogelstruisbult Metal Holdings Ltd., 37% of Kiln Products Ltd.)

- Selection Trust Ltd. of the UK (14% of American Metal Climax, 14% of Tsumeb Corporation)
- South West Africa Company of the UK (7.5% of Tsumeb Corporation, 25% of Tsumeb Exploration Co. Ltd. Controlled by Charter Consolidated 30%, Consolidated Gold Fields 2%, Vogelstruisbult Metal Holdings 29%, Anglo American 30%)
- American Metal Climax Inc. of the US (29% of Tsumeb Corporation, 33% of O'okiep Copper Co.)
- Navarro Exploration Company of the US (SWA subsidiary: Navarro Exploration Co. (Pty) Ltd.)
- Newmont Mining Corporation of the US (29% of Tsumeb Corporation, 33% of O'okiep Copper Co.)
- Falconbridge Nickel Mines of Canada. (SWA subsidiaries: Falconbridge of SWA (Pty) Ltd., Oamites Mining Co. Ltd.)
- Anglo-American Corporation of S.A. (30% of SWA Co. Ltd., 100% of De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd.)
- De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd. of S.A. (97% of Cons. Diamond Mines of SWA Ltd., 2.5% of Tsumeb Corporation)
- Consolidated Diamond Mines of SWA Ltd. (83% of Marine Diamond Corporation, 91% of Orama Holdings, 53% of Sea Diamond Corporation, 66% of Tidal Diamonds of SWA, SWA Finance Corporation, Marmora Mines and Estates 100%)
- Federale Volksbeleggings of S.A. (Controlling interest in Federale Mynbou/General Mining, Marine Products Ltd., and Suid Kumene Ltd. FM/GM and MP Ltd. control the Klein Aub Copper Co. Ltd. of SWA)
- Iron and Steel Corporation of S.A. (Controlling interest in Uis Tin Mining Co. (SWA) Ltd. and Imcor Zinc (Pty) Ltd.)

Companies currently prospecting in Namibia

- British Petroleum Company of the UK (BP Development Co. of S.A. Ltd., joint exploration with Shell Exploration SWA (Pty) Ltd.)
- Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation of the UK (Rio Tinto South Africa (Pty) Ltd., joint development with the S.A. Atomic Energy Authority and General Mining/Federale Mynbou)
- Shell Company of the UK (Shell Exploration SWA (Pty) Ltd., joint exploration with BP Development Co.)
- South West Africa Company of the UK (Joint minerals prospecting with the Tsumeb Corporation through the Tsumeb Exploration Company Ltd.)
- Bethlehem Steel Corporation of the US (Exploration consortium in partnership with the Tsumeb Corporation. Bethlehem is a shareholder of the Newmont Mining Corp.)

- Chevron Oil of the US (SWA subsidiary, Chevron Oil Co. of SWA has an off-shore lease plus a joint prospecting venture with Regent Petroleum SWA. Chevron is a subsidiary of Standard Oil of California.)
- Gulf Oil Company of the US (Gulf Oil Co. of S.A. has an off-shore lease)
- H.M. Mining and Exploration Company of the US holds off-shore lease and prospecting rights in consortium with:
- Syracuse Oils of the US. Woodford Oil and Gas Company of the US.
- Nord Mining Corporation of the US (SWA subsidiary Nord Mining and Exploration (Pty) Ltd.)
- Phelps Dodge of the US (Prospecting rights throughout N.)
- Texaco of the US (Regent Petroleum SWA (Pty) Ltd. in consortium with the Chevron Oil Co. of SWA)
- Tsumeb Corporation of SWA. (Newmont Mining/American Metal Climax controlling interest, prospecting in association with SWA Co. Ltd.)
- United States Steel Corporation. (15% participation in the prospecting ventures of the Africa Triangle Mining, Prospecting and Development Co. (Pty) Ltd.)
- Brilund Mines of Canada. (SWA subsidiaries, Etosha Minerals (Pty) Ltd., Etosha Petroleum Company)
- Anglo-Transvaal Consolidated Investments of S.A. (Participates through the Africa Triangle, Mining Development Co. (Pty) Ltd. in exploration and prospecting)
- Federale Volksbeleggings of S.A. (Controlling interest in FEDSWA, a minerals exploration consortium in SWA)
- Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company Ltd. of S.A. (Minerals exploration in consortium with Federale Mynbou/General Mining)
- De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd. of S.A. (Lease held through CDM of SWA, sub-leased to Chevron Oil and Texaco)
- De Beers Oil S.A. Ltd. (SWA subsidiary De Beers Oil Holdings SWA (Pty) Ltd. has a joint prospecting venture with Societe Nationale de Petrole d'Aquitaine)
- Societe Miniere et Metallurgique de Perranoya of Fr. (Wholly-owned subsidiary Vendrome S.A. (Pty) Ltd. carried out minerals exploration)
- Societe Nationale de Petrole d'Aquitaine of Fr. (SWA subsidiary Aquitaine SWA prospecting venture with De Beers Oil)

Source: *Peace News*, London, Febr. 25, 1972

South Africa has published no official figures for Namibia since 1965, which makes an analysis of the Namibian economy extremely difficult. It can, however, be established that the mining industry represents the most important sector of the Namibian economy and that it is in this sector that there is the main investment of foreign capital. Out of the 70 million dollars invested by foreign capital in the fisheries, the mines and the manufacturing industry, 60% went into the mining sector, which can be attributed to the high returns made from this sector.

In 1969 the value of the minerals extracted reached the figure of 175 million dollars, while the total investments of all the firms involved are below 140 million dollars, which gives a clear illustration of the rentability of this branch of industry.⁹

The average level of foreign investments is 75 million dollars per annum. The production of foreign companies equals 66% of the Gross Social Product; the mining sector constitutes only 60% of the total exports. The gains made and the salaries paid to the foreign employees of the foreign firms accounts for the fact that 20% of the Gross Social Product leaves the country.¹⁰

Since the investments are directly advantageous to the development of these profitable industries and the gains are exported, it can hardly be expected that the investments will serve to improve the country's infrastructure. In addition, the large amounts paid in taxes by the foreign firms to the South African State must be borne in mind. Since 1969 these have gone straight to the South African Treasury in Pretoria.

In 1970 South Africa took a sum of approximately 145 million dollars in taxes from Namibia, by far the largest part of which came from foreign companies. The mining sector alone provides an average 70% of the public revenue of Namibia. The duality of the higher level of taxes paid by foreign firms will be examined later. Let us only mention here that by means of these taxes foreign capital continues in its extensive support of South Africa's policy of maintaining a stronghold over Namibia.

The intensive exploitation of the country leads experts to the conclusion that unless new minerals are discovered, Namibia's minerals will be exhausted in approximately 25 years. As the Herero Chief Kapuuo commented on this question:

It is our fear that by the time our country finally becomes free it will have lost all its mineral-wealth.¹¹

In the next sections, an analysis will be made of the two largest foreign companies by means of which the above will be concretely proved and illustrated.

III. THE "CONSOLIDATED DIAMOND MINES OF S.W. AFRICA" (CDM)

In the years after 1908 several small diamond companies managed by the Germans grew up along the south coast of Namibia. Very early on, these different mines along the coast joined together at the instigation of Ernst Oppenheimer and a director of the Anglo-American Corporation, the South African finance minister, and in 1920 they bought over the German properties for a sum of 3.5 million sterling. The German companies in the 'Police Zone', as a result of the negative results of the prospecting carried out in 1912, had succumbed to the fact that the ground had begun to show signs of exhaustion. Yet this supposition was to be proved false for some time later large numbers of gem diamonds of extraordinary value were found only a few meters away from the area prospected. This concession-area now belongs to Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa Ltd., (CDM), which is today by far the largest company in Namibia and the largest world producer of gem diamonds.¹² Diamonds are Namibia's chief resource and CDM has almost the entire monopoly for their production.

1. Structure

CDM is affiliated to De Beers Consolidated Mines of South Africa which is in turn a subsidiary of the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa. According to the available information De Beers' stock can be divided up as follows:¹³

South Africa	- 44%
Europe	- 27%
England	- 25%
Other Countries	- 4%

De Beers and the Anglo-American Corporation have the same directors and De Beers is also one of the companies which belongs to the Anglo-American group. De Beers, the South African Government and the South West African administration are all represented in the Diamond Producers' Association which controls the world monopoly of diamonds.

The second largest diamond-producer in Namibia is Marine Diamond Corporation which is in practice a subsidiary of the CDM, since it has 83% shares in it. In March 1971 CDM announced its intention to stop diamond production in the Marine Diamond Corporation Area which lies partly in the sea and partly on the coast.¹⁴

Apart from the Marine Diamond Corporation, CDM also owns large shares in other small diamond companies: Orama Holdings (91%), Sea Diamond Corporation (53%), Tidal Diamonds of South West Africa (66%) and Marmora Mines and Estates (100%).

2. Labour Force

CDM employs approximately 4,000 Africans chiefly from Ovamboland. This figure is extremely high in comparison with other companies. According to De Beers, minimum wages are about 38 dollars per month, and the average wage about 60 dollars. This factor, together with the extensive security measures taken, could partly explain why during the big strike at the end of 1971 CDM remained relatively unaffected.

The life of the African workers is completely controlled by the company, not only during working hours - e.g. regular X-ray control, guards at the entry and exit of the controlled area - but also out of work: electrical equipment like radios can only be taken from one place to another with a permit from company employees, private cars can on no account be driven in town, they must be put in surveyed garages outside town, weekend family outings can only be made in company buses.¹⁵ Given such conditions, we can only take the following comment made by a journalist who was visiting this region as meant cynically:

In the area around the romantic port of Luderitzbay one comes across many mysterious stone slabs. Beyond these begins the fabulous Oppenheimer Diamond Empire (CDM), discovered in 1908 by the East Prussian surveyor, August Strauch. This is the Police Zone which has at its centre the strangest and possibly the most shut in town in the world: Oranjemund. When you fly over the southern part of South West Africa you gaze over a moonlit landscape which somehow reminds one of the Grand Canyon.¹⁶

3. Production

CDM's prospecting rights are valid until 2010 in a concession area 220 miles long and 60 miles wide in the south of Namibia. As a result of its shares in Marine Diamond Corporation, CDM also controls the diamond prospecting of the sea-bed which - as mentioned above - was in fact begun in 1971. The CDM, together with Tsumeb Corporation, produces 90% of the total metal products of Namibia - CDM alone produces 95% of the total diamond-product in Namibia and circa 80% in South Africa. In 1969 CDM produced 2,034,292 carats; which figure includes the 183,813 carats produced by Tidal Diamonds of South West Africa. There are in addition the 125,000 carats of the subsidiary company, Marine Diamond Corporation.

According to the De Beers Report for 1970, CDM extracted 11 million tons of minerals during the year covered by the report with an output of 1.7 million carats of diamonds. Calculated in round figures therefore, the average carat-supply is 0.69 carats per ton, although, as we know, in 1971 De Beers took steps to break off mining in areas with low carat value and thus to raise the total average. The fact remains, that, due to CDM's sinking carat-output and the exhaustion envisaged at the Mwadini (Williamson) Mine in Tanzania, De Beers' supply of gem-diamonds is decreasing somewhat and it is therefore urgently necessary either to get the market used to the idea of gem-diamonds of less than one carat, and to do this with the help of advertising, or to find a new source of diamonds to replace CDM. It is difficult to say which of the two problems could be solved more easily.¹⁷

It was for this reason that CDM embarked on a programme of expansion to increase its diamond production, and invested a sum of 25 million dollars in it.¹⁸ In addition, an intensive search for new resources is being carried out. In 1970 CDM announced that new and very promising resources had been discovered and extensive prospecting was being done in order to establish whether the discovery was worthwhile. According to experts, the diamond mines at the present rate of exploitation will be exhausted in circa 20 years.

4. Profits

Diamond production in Namibia constitutes more than half of the total mineral production. The diamond supply industry is the most profitable industry backed by foreign

capital. The mainland output is therefore the most profitable: in 1969 the ratio of production costs to net gains was 1-4.6.¹⁹

CDM profits are considerable; in 1961 the company's profits amounted to twice the total Namibian budget. Despite the fact that the initial capital outlay made by CDM amounted to around 15 million dollars, the total investments by shareholders amounted to exactly 170 million dollars while the reserves amounted to 280 million dollars.

The following table gives the details of profits and dividends for a few selected years. In 1969, with profits at 73.9 million dollars, the dividends were 33.5 million dollars; almost the whole of this went to South Africa.²⁰ From the table the above-mentioned lowering of the level of production during 1970 resulting in lower profits may also be seen.

TABLE 2

CDM - Profits and Dividends

<u>Year</u>	<u>Profits in million dollars</u>	<u>Divds. in %</u>
1946-9	-	40 + 10% bonus p.a.
1952-8	-	150
1959	46.5	200
1960	45.6	200
1965	55.6	-
1969	73.9	-
1970	47.3	-

Sources: *First, loc. cit., p. 249*
UNO Document A/3898/add. 1, loc. cit., p. 8
Objective Justice, loc. cit., p. 15.

5. Taxes

In the following table there are details of the taxes paid by CDM. During the mid-sixties CDM's taxes totalled half the total Namibian tax yield. This illustrates the strong position held by the company vis-a-vis the country's administration.

TABLE 3

Taxes paid by CDM

<u>Year</u>	<u>Tax paid in mill. dollars</u>
1944-60	135.0
1959	14.1
1965	55.6
1969	47.2

Sources: First: *loc. cit.* p. 155 & 249
 Objective Justice: *loc. cit.*, p. 15
 UNO Doc. A/8024, *loc. cit.*, p. 43.

The extent of CDM's power can be seen from a quotation from the 1969 Annual Report of De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd.²¹ In his report the President of De Beers stated that its subsidiary, CDM, had protested to the South African Finance Minister that the fees it had to pay for diamond production had been raised without their previously being consulted. The report goes on to say:

CDM - on the basis of the agreement drawn up between the German Colonial Ministry and the German Colonial Company in 1913 which has been superseded by the South West Finance Company (a subsidiary 100% dependent on CDM) had always insisted that the administration could not raise the taxation to be paid for diamond production in Namibia without this company's consent.

It is clear that CDM as the most important tax-payer of its size in Namibia functions as the backbone to the South African domination of Namibia.

IV. TSUMEB CORPORATION, LTD.

In 1946 the Custodian of Enemy Property sold its copper mine at Otavi for the sum of one million pounds sterling. This mine had been opened up in 1908 with German money. The new owner was the Tsumeb Corporation, a gigantic complex of US mining companies. Today the Tsumeb Corporation is the sixth largest world copper-producer and controls the largest leadmine in Africa,

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which is also the second largest in the southern hemisphere. After diamond production, the Tsumeb Corporation, in terms of value of production, is the second most important factor of the Namibian economy today. It dominates in the sector of the non-precious metals mined in Namibia and alone makes up 80% of the total production. It mines lead, copper, zinc, vanadium, tin, and other metals from the chief mine at Tsumeb and the mines Matchless and Kombat, which are respectively 225 and 68 miles from Tsumeb and which send the extracted minerals to be smelted there.

1. Structure

The main shareholders of the Tsumeb Corporation are exclusively North American mining companies, two of which together hold the majority of shares (29% each): American Metal Climax, Inc. and Newmont Mining Corporation. Other major shareholders are: Selection Trust Company (14%), Union Corporation (9%) and O'Okiep Copper Company (9%). This consortium represents the largest US investors in Namibia. The Chairman of the board of directors of Tsumeb is also the chairman of the board of directors of American Metal Climax. Tsumeb's managing director is the manager of O'Okiep and the Vice-President of Newmont Mining Corporation.

*The directorships and presidencies of the companies go on doubling up on one another.*²²

2. Labour Force

It is particularly significant that the Tsumeb Corporation is the largest employer of labour in Namibia. In the three mines it employs 5,000 Africans (almost all of them from Ovamboland) and 1,200 whites. The average monthly wage for Africans totals 28 dollars; for whites ten times as much.²³

I have no time here to go into the generalities of working-conditions in Namibia which are described by the International Commission of Jurists as "akin to slavery." Let me just mention here that, according to the opinion of the UN Council for Namibia, the working-conditions for Africans are particularly bad at Tsumeb.²⁴ The workers are packed together like sardines; conditions are unhealthy. The mining complex is surrounded by a high wall. People who attempt to escape are shot. Behind the complex there is a prison for those who disobey orders. All aspects of

life in the town of Tsumeb are run by the Tsumeb Corporation. The corporation runs the town: water supplies, street lighting, road tarring, the hospital, the airfield, the meat and milk supply, the cemetery.²⁵

This total domination of the lives of the African people is described by the American firms as "protection." The following statement by a top manager characterises the Tsumeb Corporation's attitude towards the African workers - the statement speaks for itself:

*All efforts to modernise the mines are only worthwhile if our labour force which comes mostly from nearby Ovamboland, has the desire to cooperate. This is why a lot is done here to prevent the black worker from indulging in abstract thought.*²⁶

3. Production

In conjunction with Diamond Consolidated Mines of South West Africa, the Tsumeb Corporation produces 90% of all the minerals extracted. Although they have to deal with a highly complex orebody, which in turn requires a complicated smelting process, the production of these metals (particularly copper) has greatly advanced in recent years. The non-precious metals only total 40% of the value of the minerals produced, yet the value and amount of the copper produced has increased to such an extent that it has now assumed second position to that of diamonds in the Namibian economy. Today Namibia is one of the largest world producers of copper. Its copper potential according to experts is much greater than that of Zambia with the additional advantage that it is technically more accessible for exportation. In order to expand its copper-production Tsumeb Corporation has invested 5.2 million dollars in the Matchless Mine near Windhoek which resumed activity in the middle of 1970. Among the main products of this mine is pyrites, a sulphurous iron-ore which is used in Tsumeb's smelting-houses. It is very important to South Africa, as until then it had had to be imported. The availability of this metal in their own country contributes to South Africa's economic independence.²⁷

The following table shows the production of various metals by the Tsumeb Corporation for 1969-70.

TABLE 4

Year	Lead (tons)	Copper (tons)	Zinc (tons)	Total (tons)	Cadm. (lbs.)	Silver (oz.)
1969	66,634	30,450	4,205	101,289	509,933	1,273,429
1970	72,060	29,406	8,700	110,166	693,845	1,229,160

Source: *UNO Document A/8398/Add. 1, loc. cit., p. 13.*

4. Profits

The capital possessions and the stock-list of Tsumeb Corporation for 1963 totalled a sum of approximately 16 million dollars. Since the renewed working of the mine in 1946 a sum of around 825 million dollars has been produced. Net gains for 1958-65 total 103.6 million dollars. The value of sales of mine-property in the first half of 1969 and 1970 respectively as well as the net gains made can be seen from the following table.

TABLE 5

Year	Rate of Sales	Net Gains in Mill. Dollars
1969	58.9	15
1970	75.4	29

Source: *"Where the strikes hurt most," in African Devmt., Ldn, March '72.*

5. Taxes

The Tsumeb Corporation pays around 10 million dollars per annum in taxes. Until July 1969 the taxes paid by the company to the Namibian administration totalled 125 million dollars. Tsumeb Director, J. P. Ratledge, refers to this by saying that both the completion of state development plans as well as the construction of the strategically important road linking Cape Town with the capital of the Portuguese colony of Angola, Luanda, is being financed by the company's taxes.²⁸ The above details of production,

gains and taxes give a clear picture of exactly what the presence of foreign capital in Namibia today entails. The forced production of the mineral-wealth leads to the impoverishment of the country. Experts calculate that the main mine at Tsumeb will not even last for 15 years. The gains fall to foreign firms and therefore bring about the removal of capital from the country. Because of the considerable size of the taxes levied, they greatly contribute to the financing of South African projects which have as their goal the incorporation of Namibia.

Footnotes

1. *Objective Justice*, published by the U.N. Information Service, vol. 2, no. 2, April 1970, p. 16.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
3. *Financial Times*, 23/7/69.
4. For the role of S. Africa as a secondary metropole, see E. Ferreira & B. Kalkum: "Dialogue or S. Africa as a Secondary Metropole," *Neues Rotes Forum*, 4/71, Heidelberg, 1971.
5. *South Africa*, pub. by the Press and Info. Section of the S. African Embassy, Cologne, no. 2, July 1970, p. 19.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
7. *Objective Justice*, vol. 4, no. 1, Jan./Feb./March 1972, p. 10.
8. *A Look at Economy*, 4/9/70.
9. *Rept.* of the U.N. Council for Namibia, Doc. A/8024, NY.1970, p. 42.
10. *Ibid.*, Doc. A/8424, NY.1971, p. 37.
11. *Rept.*, U.N. Council for Namibia, Doc. A/8424, NY.1971, p. 37.
12. "Where the Strikes Hurt Most," in *African Development*, *loc. cit.*
13. *Objective Justice*, April 1970, p. 15.
14. "The Activities of Foreign Interests, Economic and Otherwise..." U.N. Doc. A/8398/Add. 1, 6/12/71, p. 8.
15. R. First: *South West Africa*, Peng. Af. Lib., 1963, p. 155-6.
16. *South Africa*, *loc. cit.*, p. 17.
17. cf. "Where the Strikes Hurt Most," *loc. cit.*, p. 12.
18. cf. "South Africa," no. 2, July 1970, p. 17.
19. *Rept.* of U.N. Council for Namibia, Doc. A/8024, p. 43.
20. *Ibid.*

21. Quoted in: UNO Doc. A/8398/Add. 1, *loc. cit.*, p. 8-9.
22. First: *loc. cit.*, p. 250.
23. Hultman, Tami & Kramer, Reed: Survey of the Extent and Significance of N. American investments in the white dominated area of southern Africa, Doc. 3, Cunene Dam Symposium, Arnoldshain, Feb./March 1972, WCC.
24. *Rept.* of U.N. Council for Namibia, Doc. A/8424, p. 36.
25. First, *loc. cit.*, p. 154.
26. cf. "South Africa," no. 2, July 1970, p. 18.
27. Hultman/Kramer, *op. cit.*
28. Advt. in *Wall St. Journal*, quoted in Hultman/Kramer, *loc. cit.*

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