

**CONTRIBUTIONS OF NORDIC STATES TO
THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF SOUTHERN
AFRICA AND FRONTLINE STATES**

By

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**MAINSTREAM PUBLICATION
NEW DELHI
1987**

[This pamphlet was published in connection with the meeting of the Heads of State and Government of the AFRICA Fund Committee of the Non-aligned Movement in New Delhi in January 1987.]

PREFACE

The struggles for freedom in southern Africa have been particularly difficult because of the intransigence, repression and violence of the oppressors - the Portuguese colonial regime in Angola and Mozambique, the illegal Smith regime in Southern Rhodesia and the apartheid regime in power in South Africa and in illegal occupation of Namibia. Support for freedom required not only political action by the international community, but also material assistance to the victims of colonial and racist oppression and their national liberation movements. The United Nations has, therefore, appealed for such assistance for over two decades.

Responding to the appeals of the United Nations and of Africa, the Nordic countries have provided generous and increasing assistance for humanitarian and educational purposes as well as for economic and social projects of liberation movements. They have not only helped to relieve human suffering but have made a valuable contribution to facilitate freedom and independence of the peoples of southern Africa.

With the independence of territories under Portuguese domination and of Zimbabwe, the Apartheid regime became isolated and has been confronted with an ever-increasing resistance in South Africa and Namibia. In its desperation, it has resorted to unprecedented violence against the Black people and all other opponents of Apartheid in South Africa. It has continued its colonial war in Namibia and increasingly resorted to aggression and destabilisation against independent African States in the region.

The Special Committee against Apartheid has, therefore, appealed for greatly increased assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia and their national liberation movements, as well as the Frontline States and other independent States neighbouring South Africa.

I am most gratified that the Nordic States have responded by substantially increasing their assistance and have undertaken to provide even greater assistance in the future.

The Nordic Governments and peoples have rightly earned the gratitude of millions of Black people in Southern Africa and the great appreciation of independent African states and the United Nations bodies by their generous assistance.

But the scale of Nordic assistance is not generally known, especially since it had to be provided through a variety of funds and agencies to cover the different needs. I am, therefore, happy that Mr. E.S. Reddy has prepared this paper at my

request. He has made a notable contribution, during his long service in the United Nations Secretariat and recently as a member of the Council of Trustees of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa to promoting international assistance to the oppressed people of southern Africa, and is most familiar with the subject.

This paper shows that, in 1986, the Nordic Governments have provided well over 100 million dollars in assistance to the oppressed people and their liberation movements and over 500 million dollars in assistance to Frontline and neighbouring States in southern Africa. Their total assistance to date for these purposes is three or four billion dollars.

I believe that the significance of Nordic assistance transcends these amounts. Assistance from these countries of the Western world, so distant from southern Africa, not only reinforces our faith in human solidarity but has been a strong support to the efforts of the United Nations, the Non-aligned Movement and the Organisation of African Unity to secure universal support to the struggle for freedom in southern Africa from all regions of the world.

I hope that, at this critical time, when the needs for assistance are more pressing than ever, the other Western countries will try to emulate the Nordic example and match their level of contributions.

Major-General J.N. GARBA
Chairman
United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid

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INTRODUCTION

The United Nations has, for over two decades, followed a three-pronged strategy to support the struggles of the peoples of southern Africa to liberate themselves from colonialism and apartheid:

1. Pressure on the colonial and racist regimes through sanctions, boycotts and other measures;
2. Assistance to the oppressed people and their national liberation movements; and
3. Promoting of understanding and support by world public opinion to the struggles for freedom and to the United Nations action.

The Nordic countries have been the most co-operative, among the Western countries, in responding to the appeals of the United Nations with respect to the three lines of action. Their contribution has been most outstanding with respect to assistance.

The Nordic Governments account for almost half the voluntary contributions to the United Nations funds for southern Africa. They have provided, for instance, about 60 per cent of the voluntary contributions to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa. If the scale of assessments to the - United Nations budget is taken as an index of the capacity of Member States to pay, they have contributed nearly twenty times their share.

They are the major contributors to non-governmental agencies engaged in assistance to victims of colonialism and Apartheid and make substantial grants directly to the national liberation movements. They provide assistance, directly or indirectly, to independent trade unions and other organisations struggling against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia.

They also provide hundreds of millions of dollars in assistance annually to the independent African States in southern Africa to enable them to withstand pressures by the Apartheid regime and undertake economic and social development of their countries.

Decisions by the United Nations recognising the legitimacy of the struggles of African peoples against colonialism and Apartheid and appealing for assistance to the oppressed peoples and their national liberation movements have been important in encouraging Nordic Governments to provide and increase such assistance. The relevant decisions by the United Nations are, therefore, briefly reviewed below.

Until 1960, United Nations action on colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa was confined mainly to discussions and resolutions. In 1961, when thousands of persons fled from Angola to Congo (Leopoldville) - now Zaire - the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees promoted assistance to the refugees. The General Assembly of the United Nations established a Special Educational and Training Programme for South West Africa (now Namibia) later that year, and a similar programme for Territories under Portuguese Administration in 1962.

Forms of Assistance

Assistance to South Africans was first considered in 1963, on the recommendation of the Special Committee against Apartheid, in view of the arrests and trials of thousands of opponents of Apartheid. The General Assembly appealed to governments to make contributions to voluntary agencies for assistance to political prisoners and their families. In 1965, it established a United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa (UNTF) for this purpose. (The terms of reference of this Trust Fund were extended to Namibia and Southern Rhodesia in 1970.)

In the same year, an educational and training programme for South Africans was established by the United Nations. Programmes for Namibia, the territories under Portuguese Administration and South Africa were consolidated at the beginning of 1968 into a United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa (UNETPSA) and it was authorised to provide assistance to Southern Rhodesians.

The General Assembly decided in 1971 on the establishment of a United Nations Fund for Namibia. While UNTF and UNETPSA were made up of voluntary contributions, the Fund for Namibia was financed both by voluntary contributions and by annual grants from the regular budget of the United Nations in view of the special responsibility assumed by the United Nations for the Territory and people of Namibia in 1966. Separate accounts were set up in subsequent years for the Institute for Namibia and the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, so that contributions could be earmarked for special purposes.

Meanwhile, the General Assembly began in 1965 to appeal for assistance to national liberation movements recognised by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). Such assistance was considered appropriate and desirable since the colonial and racist regimes had persistently defied United Nations resolutions and since the United Nations recognised the legitimacy of the struggles of the liberation movements. The establishment of the OAU African Liberation Fund in 1963 had set a precedent for assistance by governments and inter-governmental bodies to liberation movements. The needs had greatly increased with the advance of the struggles in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau: large areas were

liberated from Portuguese colonial rule and the liberation movements were obliged to provide for the basic needs of the people and establish educational and health services.

No United Nations funds were established for assistance to liberation movements. To facilitate assistance by governments, which found it difficult to provide it directly to liberation movements recognised by the OAU, the General Assembly appealed for contributions to the OAU Assistance Fund for the Struggle against Colonialism and Apartheid. (This Fund was set up in 1971, distinct from the OAU Liberation Fund, for economic and social projects only.) With the encouragement of the General Assembly, the United Nations Development Programme and several specialised agencies of the United Nations initiated programmes for economic and social assistance to the liberation movements in consultation with the OAU.

With the upsurge of resistance by trade unions and other organisations in South Africa and Namibia since the early 1970s, there was a growing need for appropriate assistance to organisations and projects inside those countries. United Nations organs have encouraged assistance through voluntary agencies and in consultation with liberation movements.

Meanwhile, assistance to independent African States in southern Africa became an essential component of international action for freedom in southern Africa as the illegal Smith regime in Southern Rhodesia and the Apartheid regime in Pretoria began incessant attacks against those States and instigated subversive terrorist bands to destroy the communications and economic installations in those countries. The Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations have repeatedly appealed for assistance to those States.

ASSISTANCE FROM NORDIC COUNTRIES : AN OVERVIEW

Since Nordic assistance to southern Africa comes mainly from development aid appropriations, it may be useful to refer briefly to the Nordic approach to development aid.

Development aid by Nordic countries began on a substantial scale in the early 1960s as an expression of solidarity with poorer countries. They have steadily increased the aid, even in periods of economic difficulties, to reach and surpass United Nations targets. It has been an essential element of the foreign policy of all Nordic countries and is supported by all political parties.

A substantial part of the assistance is provided through multilateral

organisations. A large percentage of the aid consists of grants and little is tied to purchases by the donor countries.

Most of the bilateral aid is given to a limited number of "partner countries". The Frontline States in southern Africa and other independent African States neighbouring South Africa are among the most important partner countries and receive a substantial share of the bilateral aid.

The Nordic countries began humanitarian and educational assistance for refugees from Southern Africa, soon after the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 and in advance of United Nations appeals, because of their traditional concern for refugees and the strong reaction of Nordic public opinion against Apartheid in South Africa. Subsequent resolutions by the United Nations were important in encouraging greatly increased assistance to meet growing needs.

Nordic governments were among the largest contributors when the United Nations established the Trust Fund for South Africa and initiated an educational and training programme for South Africans in 1965. With the encouragement of United Nations bodies, they also increased contributions to non-governmental agencies engaged in assistance to victims of Apartheid - such as the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, the World Council of Churches and the World University Service.

Toward the end of 1960s, they began direct grants to African liberation movements in response to appeals by the United Nations. Initially, the assistance was mainly for medicine, clothing, food, teaching materials, etc., but was subsequently extended to various economic and social projects and to information and other programmes. No support is given for arms or for armed struggle.

The level of Nordic assistance greatly increased after the International Conference of Experts in Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, held in Oslo in April, 1973, under the sponsorship of the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity. That Conference, arranged in close consultation with Nordic governments, helped promote public support to the liberation struggles and enabled Nordic organisations to meet and discuss the needs with leaders of the African liberation movements.

Nordic assistance again increased substantially a few years later in the aftermath of the Soweto massacre of June 16, 1976. The Nordic Governments participated at a high level in the World Conference for Action against Apartheid, held in Lagos in August, 1977, and, in March, 1978, the Nordic Foreign Ministers adopted a Joint Nordic Programme of Action against South Africa. One of the provisions of that Programme was "increased Nordic support to the refugees, liberation movements, victims of Apartheid, etc."

The level of assistance was not reduced, but increased, after the independence

of territories under Portuguese Administration and Southern Rhodesia so that substantially more aid was channelled to South Africa and Namibia. An important new element in the 1970s was the increasing assistance, direct or indirect, to trade unions and other organisations and institutions opposed to Apartheid inside South Africa.

There has again been a substantial increase of assistance since 1984 because of the concern over the massive repression and violence by the Apartheid regime, when confronted with an unprecedented mobilisation of the South African people against Apartheid.

A new Nordic Programme of Action against South Africa, adopted by the Nordic Foreign Ministers in October, 1985, provided for:

1. Increase of the Nordic countries' humanitarian assistance to refugees and liberation movements as well as to victims and opponents of apartheid;
2. Increase in Nordic countries' assistance to the Frontline States, to other SADCC countries and to the SADCC co-operation, in order to reduce the dependence of these countries on South Africa and thus increase their ability to withstand South Africa's policy of destabilisation.

Assistance to southern Africa has very wide support in public opinion in all countries and the governments consult non-governmental organisations in allocating assistance to South Africans and Namibians. Moreover, public organisations raise substantial amounts from public contributions for assistance to the liberation movements and related purposes, supplementing governmental contributions.

ASSISTANCE FROM NORDIC COUNTRIES: BY COUNTRY

DENMARK

Denmark has contributed a total of about 437 million Danish Kroner (D.kr) since 1960 for assistance to victims of colonial rule and Apartheid in southern Africa. The appropriations increased as follows:

1972	1.5	million	DKK
1975	12.4	million	DKK
1978	20.0	million	DKK
1980	35.0	million	DKK
1981	35.0	million	DKK

1982	40.0	million	DKK
1983	45.0	million	DKK
1984	50.0	million	DKK
1985	55.0	million	DKK
1986	65.0	million	DKK
1987	72.0	million	DKK
1988	79.0	million	DKK
1989	85.9	million	DKK
1990	81.1	million	DKK

The assistance is channelled through United Nations funds and international and national non-governmental organisations. The 1990 appropriation of 81.1 million DKK was allocated as follows:

United Nations funds:

United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, United Nations Fund for Namibia - 16.5 million DKK

National Non-Governmental Organisations:

Danchurchaid, Danish Branch of World University Service, Danish Federation of Trade Unions - 55.6 million DKK

International Non-Governmental Organisations:

International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, Africa Educational Fund - 10.8 million DKK

Although Denmark has in the past provided direct assistance to PAIGC, FRELIMO, MPLA and the African National Council of Southern Rhodesia, it does not now make grants directly to liberation movements. It channels assistance through non-governmental organisations to educational and humanitarian assistance projects, mostly inside South Africa. Part of this assistance has since 1991 been negotiated directly with ANC. No grants are provided for the dissemination of information on apartheid. Preference is for development-oriented projects.

Denmark has during 1987-90 contributed 3,700 million Danish kroners in assistance to Frontline and neighbouring States. The assistance in 1990 is estimated at 908 million DKK. Of this, about 70 million DKK is allocated to regional projects of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference. The assistance to Namibia for 1990 was 11 million DKK. Denmark has pledged another 40 million DKK yearly for the next 2-3 years.

FINLAND

Finland has been a regular contributor to organisations working against apartheid and colonial rule in southern Africa. The most important supported organisations operating in exile have been the national liberation movements (mainly SWAPO and the ANC, occasionally also PAC), the United Nations funds and programmes for Namibia and southern Africa, and the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAF). The humanitarian assistance to ANC alone totals FIM 37 million over the years 1978-1991, mainly consisting of daily necessities, medical supplies and educational projects.

During recent years Finland has expanded and developed her support to South African NGO's operating inside South Africa. In 1990 these recipient organisations numbered eighteen. Among the most important were the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA), the South African Council of Churches (SACC), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the National Co-ordination Committee for the Repatriation of South African Exiles (NCCR) and various educational institutions (WUS, PROMAT, non-racial universities).

Moreover Finland has concentrated more than a third of its total bilateral development assistance to the frontline States, and has actively supported the efforts of SADCC to decrease dependence on South Africa.

Finland has a special interest in Namibia, because of manifold contacts evolving from a century-old involvement of the Finnish Lutheran Mission in that country. Finland was the initiator of the United Nation Fund for Namibia and the Nationhood Programme for Namibia. It was providing direct assistance to SWAPO for several years, especially for education. Since its independence, Namibia has been one of the main recipients of the Finnish development aid.

Finnish assistance to liberation efforts and regional co-operation in southern Africa is subject to constant monitoring in light of the policy developments in South Africa initiated in February 1990.

The commitments of Finnish assistance to liberation efforts and anti-apartheid activities for the years 1987-1990 have been as follows:

	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991*
	(In FIM 1000 = about US \$230)				
SWAPO	11900	12200	14000	**	**
UN Funds and Programmes, Namibia	8400	8700	9000	8500	-

ANC	4250	4000	5000	6000	7000
UN Funds and Programmes, South Africa	3000	3100	3500	3500	4500
Other Assistance to Liberation Efforts and INGO's	4050	4650	4150	6000	(12-14000)
TOTAL	31600	32650	35650	24000	-

* projected

** Replaced by bilateral assistance to independent Namibia

ICELAND

Iceland makes regular, through modest, contributions to the United Nations funds for assistance to southern Africans.

NORWAY

Norway has provided assistance to victims of Apartheid since the beginning of the 1960s, and has greatly increased its assistance in recent years.

Norwegian assistance to the peoples oppressed by colonialism and Apartheid in southern Africa and their liberation movements increased from 15.6 million Norwegian Kroner (NOK) in 1976 to 112 million NOK (about \$ 15 million) in 1986 as follows:

1976	-	15.6 million NOK
1977	-	30 million NOK
1982	-	41 million NOK
1983	-	76 million NOK
1984	-	83 million NOK
1985	-	90 million NOK
1986	-	112 million NOK

Norway began direct assistance to southern African liberation movements in the early 1960s and provided substantial assistance initially to the movements in territories under Portuguese Administration. The first grants to South African liberation movements were made in 1977: the African National Congress received two million NOK and the Pan Africanist Congress 650,000 NOK. The amounts of grants greatly increased in subsequent years. In 1986, the grants amounted to 37 million NOK to ANC, 1.7 million to PAC and 23 million to SWAPO. Direct assistance to liberation movements was, thus, more than half of

the total assistance.

Norway is a major contributor to United Nations funds for southern Africa and the largest contributor to the United Nations Trust Fund for Publicity against Apartheid. It is also a major contributor to the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, Africa Educational Trust, World University Service and other voluntary agencies engaged in assistance to the victims of Apartheid.

Norway is also a major contributor of humanitarian assistance to Black trade union movements and other anti-Apartheid organisations working inside South Africa and Namibia. This form of assistance has increased rapidly in recent years from 9 million NOK in 1982 to 33 million NOK in 1986.

Norway is also a major contributor of assistance to Frontline States and other independent African States in southern Africa. Assistance to them increased from 313 million NOK in 1981 to 856 million NOK in 1986. Of the latter amount, assistance to regional projects of SADCC was 150 million NOK.

SWEDEN

Sweden was the first Western country to make a grant for legal assistance to political prisoners in South Africa and for the maintenance of their families. It made a grant of \$ 200,000 for this purpose to the Defence and Aid Fund and other organisations in January 1965, in response to the appeal of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

Sweden was also first Western country to initiate direct assistance to African liberation movements for economic and social projects. A decision in principle on such assistance was taken unanimously by the Parliament in 1969, on the recommendation of the Government, following consultations with United Nations bodies and leaders of African national liberation movements. (Sweden had already assisted the Mozambique Institute, established by FRELIMO in Dar-es-Salaam.) Assistance was initially given to the liberation movements in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. Direct assistance to SWAPO began in 1971 and to ANC in 1972.

Sweden is a major contributor to United Nations funds for southern Africa. It also makes substantial grants to international, non-governmental organisations such as the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, the World Council of Churches, the World University Service and Africa Educational Trust, as well several Swedish organisations for their assistance programmes for South Africans and Namibians. It also makes grants to the Commonwealth Secretariat for its assistance programmes.

Sweden has been the largest contributor of assistance, direct and indirect, to

organisations struggling against Apartheid inside South Africa. It has been the most flexible, among Western countries, in providing grants to non-governmental organisations. It has, for instance, given substantial support for research and dissemination of information on Apartheid.

Total Swedish government aid to people oppressed by colonialism and Apartheid in southern Africa increased as follows:

1969-70	6.8 million S.kr.
1971-72	12 million S.kr.
1972-73	21 million S.kr.
1973-74	33 million S.kr.
1981-82	120 million S.kr.
1984-85	150 million S.kr.
1985-86	180 million S.kr.
1986-87	200 million S.kr.

Assistance to ANC and SWAPO increased greatly since 1976, and amounted in 1986 to 57 and 64 million S.kr., respectively.

Sweden is a major contributor of development assistance to Frontline States and other independent African states in southern Africa. Assistance to them totalled 960 million S.kr. in 1981-82 and 1500 million in 1985-86.

The representative of Sweden, in his statement to the United Nations General Assembly on November 6, 1986, particularly emphasised assistance to Frontline States. He said:

"We believe that support to the Frontline States is a crucial factor in establishing peace in southern Africa and eliminating Apartheid. It is particularly urgent to assist the Frontline States to reduce their vulnerability and their economic and logistic dependence on South Africa. They need increased assistance urgently for the reconstruction of their economies and infrastructures, which have been badly damaged by economic reprisals, military aggression and destabilisation measures by South Africa.

"Two weeks ago, my Government assigned approximately 100 million US dollars for a special programme of assistance in southern Africa. The aim is to counteract the effects of the policies of South Africa. This special package, in addition to ongoing programmes, includes assistance both to SADCC (Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference) and to the individual countries in the fields of transport, energy, trade and industry. Additional assistance will be extended to ANC and SWAPO as well as to information activities. With this additional package the Swedish assistance programmes for southern Africa during the current fiscal year will amount to more than 300 million US dollars."

THE NORDIC EXAMPLE

I wish to make three observations concerning Nordic assistance to southern Africa.

First, the Nordic countries have contributed and are contributing far more than their share in international assistance to the oppressed people of southern Africa and their national liberation movements, as well as the Frontline States.¹

Total Nordic assistance to the victims of colonialism and racism in southern Africa - through United Nations and other inter-governmental and non-governmental funds, and directly to national liberation movements - is in the order of \$ 400 million and assistance to Frontline and other States in southern Africa over \$ 3 billion. (More precise figures are not possible because of fluctuations in exchange rates).

Second, the Nordic countries have contributed not only for humanitarian and educational purposes, but increasingly in support of the forces struggling for freedom. They have thus shown their full commitment for the independence of nations and the establishment of a non-racial democratic State in South Africa.

Third, as the Director of three United Nations funds and head of the Centre against Apartheid until the beginning of 1985, I have been in constant contact with Nordic Governments and organisations for 20 years on assistance to the peoples of southern Africa and their national liberation movements. I have been impressed not only by their generous contributions to meet ever increasing needs but also by their attachment to two principles: first, they do not channel any assistance through racist bodies or racially segregated educational institutions; and second, their assistance is unconditional and is not intended to serve any so-called national or ideological interests.

I hope the Nordic example will be useful in international efforts to meet the greatly increased needs for assistance to those who are suffering from and struggling against Apartheid, and to the Frontline States which are being subjected to aggression, devastation and blackmail by the racist regime in Pretoria.

I hope in particular that all countries, especially Western countries, will be

¹ Assistance is, of course, also provided by African and Non-aligned States. While amounts of financial contributions from these developing countries are modest, the sacrifices made by them, especially the Frontline States, in support of freedom in southern Africa are enormous. The Eastern European States and China also provide large-scale assistance, more in kind than in cash, but information on the amounts has not been published.

persuaded to:

1. match the Nordic level of assistance;
2. provide assistance not only for humanitarian purposes, but to the struggle to end the oppression, which is recognised by the United Nations as legitimate; and
3. refrain from any efforts to pursue ideological or other interests in providing assistance.