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Paper presented to the Seminar on the Role of Transnational Corporations in Namibia, held in Washington D.C., 29 November to 2 December 1982, organized by the American Committee on Africa in cooperation with the United Nations Council for Namibia and the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO).

SCANDINAVIA AND NAMIBIA: POLICIES AND ACTIONS*

General Government Policies

The official position of the Scandinavian governments on the Namibian question has been expressed in a number of policy documents and reflected in voting patterns at the United Nations and in other international fora. The illegal occupation by racist South Africa of the territory of Namibia has consistently been condemned in unequivocal terms, and calls have been made for the withdrawal of all South African military forces and administrative personnel. The right to self-determination for the Namibian people is considered the only basis upon which an independent and non-racialist Namibia can be built.

Scandinavian governments have, however, taken the view that the conflict should be resolved peacefully through negotiations, thus rejecting, as a matter of principle, armed struggle as a means of conflict resolution. As a result, they have sought to assume a mediatory role vis-à-vis the parties directly involved. Over the years, however, the scope for mediation seems to have narrowed considerably, at least as far as Scandinavian initiatives are concerned. Consequently, the Scandinavian governments have reverted to passivity, and left the scene to the so-called contact group and the parties themselves.

In pursuit of a peaceful settlement the Scandinavian governments see Security Council resolution 435 (1978) as the only viable recipe for a peaceful transition to independence and majority rule. Support for resolution 435 was recently reaffirmed by the Nordic Foreign Ministers' Meeting in Helsinki on August 30-31, 1982.

In respect of sanctions against the South African occupying regime the Scandinavian governments have all along favoured comprehensive mandatory action by resolution of the Security Council. Anything short of such a maximalist course of action would, it is claimed, undermine the authority and structure of the UN. As a matter of formal procedure, it rests with the Security Council only, and no other organ within the UN framework, to impose sanctions against a member state. This position is maintained despite the consistent triple vetoes in the Security Council against sanctions by France, the United Kingdom and the United States, most recently in April 1981. Thus, when the General Assembly special emergency session on Namibia in September 1981 voted overwhelmingly in favour of a resolution calling for, inter alia, the imposition, individually

* The views expressed in this paper are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the organizations to which the authors are affiliated. The paper draws on a previous publication by Hans-Otto Sano et al., Namibia and the Nordic Countries, (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1981). Besides updating facts and figures the present paper, however, devotes more attention to the solidarity movement and also to the 1979 Swedish ban on investment in South Africa and Namibia.

or collectively, of sanctions against South Africa, all the Scandinavian governments abstained.

In spite of the maximalist sanctions policy the Scandinavian governments have not been entirely consistent on this account. They have, as a matter of fact, embarked on a selective unilateral or limited multilateral (i.e. Nordic) sanctions policy as per the Nordic Programme of Action of March 1978 and other purely unilateral actions. The Swedish investment ban is an example of the latter. The joint Nordic programme includes the following points:

- 1) Prohibition or discouragement of new investments in South Africa;
- 2) Negotiations with Nordic companies on reduction of their production in South Africa;
- 3) Urge to cease all sporting and cultural contacts with the South African apartheid regime;
- 4) Increase of all the Nordic countries' assistance to refugees, liberation movements and victims of apartheid;

Within a UN context the Nordic governments also agreed to work for binding Security Council resolutions extending the arms embargo to other sectors such as investments and trade, and to ensure a strict enforcement of the arms embargo.

Subsequently more points have been added to the list including cessation of all export promotion schemes and introduction of visa requirements for South African citizens.

Related to the issue of sanctions is the understanding of the status of Decree no.1 of the UN Council for Namibia which holds de jure jurisdiction over the territory, if not de facto. None of the Scandinavian governments recognize Decree no.1 as having legal force equal to that of Security Council resolutions. Consequently they will take no legal action against Scandinavian subjects in breach of the decree.

Following the breakdown of the so-called pre-implementation talks in Geneva in early 1981, the Western contact group took a new initiative in an attempt to bring the negotiations out of the deadlock. The post-Geneva disillusionment was evidently so profound that any fresh initiative was welcomed in most quarters, even if it meant that further negotiations were moved out of the ambit of UN organs. The initiative was well received by the Scandinavian governments which expressed their appreciation of the efforts of the contact group, thus deviating from the General Assembly majority view rejecting the "... manoeuvres by certain members of the Western contact group aimed at undermining the international consensus embodied in Security Council resolution 435 ...". Although the negotiations once again seem to have reached an impasse, the Scandinavian governments have stated that they regard the initiatives of the contact group as potentially fruitful and that any fresh departure that might bring the Namibian problem nearer a solution would be welcome. However, they consider the linkage of the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola to a Namibian settlement to be outside the framework of the contact group. Rather, they see it as a purely bilateral affair between Angola and Cuba. It is the express understanding that a negotiated settlement should be based on resolution 435 and that no fundamentally new elements at variance with the provisions of resolution 435 may be introduced into the negotiation process.

This general approach was reiterated by the Nordic governments in a message to the UN on Namibia Day 1982, concluding that they "... stand ready to assist the United Nations in appropriate forms in carrying out the peaceful transition to a free and independent Namibia." (see appendix).

From voting patterns in the General Assembly on resolutions regarding the situation in South Africa and Namibia a slight difference may be observed between, on the one hand, Denmark, since 1973 a member of the EEC, and, on the other, Norway and Sweden, none of which are EEC members. In the 1973-77 period the Danish vote was identical to that of the other Scandinavian countries on all General Assembly resolutions. In 1978, the year the EEC member states initiated their non-formalized political cooperation, Denmark on two occasions voted with the EEC bloc, thus departing from the joint Scandinavian stand which had hitherto been the rule. The following year the same voting behaviour was repeated on four occasions, quite apart from the fact that the EEC bloc was split on the question of nuclear cooperation with South Africa. In 1980 the Danish vote deviated from that of Norway and Sweden only once. Since then all the Scandinavian countries have voted en bloc.

The Scandinavian countries, with the exception of Denmark, have on a number of occasions voted for General Assembly resolutions recognizing SWAPO as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people. Denmark has been careful to point out that other political forces are also operative in Namibia and that their participation in the transition to independence should be ensured as a matter of democratic right. In recent years Norway and Sweden seem to have come closer to the Danish position. Thus when officials of the Nordic Foreign Ministries met in early 1981, they issued a joint statement to the effect that "... no party enjoying popular support should be excluded from a political solution through free and fair elections. SWAPO is such a party and must be part of any solution in Namibia."

The Scandinavian-Namibian Connection

Notwithstanding the strong Scandinavian denunciation of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, commercial and shipping relations persist at a non-governmental level, albeit to a modest degree.

Table 1 below gives figures on Swedish-Namibian merchandise trade for the period 1974-1981.

Table 1
Sweden's Merchandise Trade with Namibia 1974-81 (Imports c.i.f. and exports f.o.b. in current prices). In SEK millions.

Year	Imports	Exports
1974	2.4	2.4
1975	2.3	0.5
1976	3.0	0.4
1977	3.6	0.2
1978	3.3	0.4
1979	3.9	0.1
1980	3.9	0.1
1981	2.9	0.4

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Stockholm

Principal commodity categories of imports are unprepared pelts and base metals. Exports consist mainly of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods, machinery, pulp and paper. According to official statistics Sweden does not import uranium from Namibia, but researchers have indicated that it is not altogether impossible that Namibian uranium finds its way to Sweden by circuitous routes known as 'the yellow cake road'.

Norway's merchandise trade with Namibia is, like that of Sweden, limited in terms of volume. Figure 2 below gives details.

Table 2
Norway's Merchandise trade with Namibia 1970-81 (Imports c.i.f. and exports f.o.b. in current prices). In 1000 NOK.

Year	Imports	Exports
1970	865	2,160
1971	2,156	566
1972	1,867	725
1973	361	1,107
1974	1,593	1,330
1975	-	608
1976	120	452
1977	25	133
1978	109	94
1979	60	702
1980	330	11,145
1981	1,666	1,691

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Oslo.

As one of the world's major shipping nations Norway has been, and is most likely still, involved in shipment of goods to and from Namibia. It has been conclusively established that Norwegian ships have been carrying copper ores from Walvis Bay to Hamburg in West Germany on a regular basis. Among the ships involved on this route in the period 1976-78 are 'Blix' owned by the shipping company L. Gill-Johannessen & Co., Oslo; 'Bajka' and 'Balao' of Torvald Klaveness & Co. A/S; 'Havbjørn' and 'Havkatt' both owned by A/S Havtor. A number of Norwegian oil tankers have also called at Walvis Bay. It has not been ascertained, however, whether oil has been unloaded or the reason for berthing has been taking in bunkers or supplies. Two ships, 'Tigre' of Wilhelm Wilhelmsen A/S and 'Beaumont' of Bjørnstad Ship Owners, were laid up in Walvis Bay harbour from April to September 1980 and April to May 1980 respectively. These shipping activities clearly contravene Decree no.1 which not only covers extraction and processing of Namibian raw materials, but also their transportation.

In line with the trend in international shipping Norwegian ship owners increasingly register their ships under so-called 'flags of convenience', e.g., in Liberia, Panama etc. It may well be, therefore, that Norwegian shipping interests are more extensively involved in carrying goods to and from Namibia than meets the eye at a superficial glance. The above information refers to ships registered in Norway only.

Denmark's merchandise trade with Namibia is modest as is evidenced by table 3 below.

Table 3
Denmark's Merchandise Trade with Namibia 1970-81 (Imports c.i.f. and exports f.o.b. in current prices). In DKK 1,000.

Year	Imports	Exports
1970	8,000	710
1971	7,636	700
1972	3,897	592
1975	1,771	348
1976	33	910
1977	-	235
1978	15	582
1979	20	748
1980	-	849
1981	3	941

Source: Monthly Bulletin of Foreign Trade, various issues, Central Bureau of Statistics, Copenhagen.

Exports have consisted mainly of dairy products and machinery. Since the mid-1970's imports have dwindled to almost nil. Prior to that point in time large quantities of Swakara and other unprepared pelts had been imported for further auctioning.

Whereas a number of Danish companies have investments in South Africa, among them are The East Asiatic Company and the pharmaceutical NOVO company both falling under the EEC Code of Conduct, there is no documentation that any of these have extended their operations to Namibia.

The Swedish Ban on Investments in South Africa and Namibia

Swedish investments in South Africa and Namibia are comparatively small in volume terms but they are important in sectors crucial to the South African economy. There are 7 Swedish-controlled production companies in South Africa in the manufacturing sector with a turnover in 1976 of SEK 700 mill. (US\$ 93 mill.) and total employment of 4,462. Two companies, SAS and Transatlantic, are only involved in the service sector, and had a turnover in 1976 of SEK 12 mill. (US\$ 1.6 mill.). Another 10 companies have subsidiary sales companies in South Africa and Namibia.

As regards Namibia specifically, the role of Swedish companies remain obscure. The South African production subsidiaries of SKF and Atlas Copco have established subsidiary sales companies in Namibia, and most others have sales agents for marketing of mining equipment etc. Sanctions against companies located in Namibia has never been treated as a separate issue.

The discussion on Swedish investments in South Africa was started by the churches after the World Council of Churches had called for disinvestment. It was later picked up by the trade unions. The Swedish Ecumenical Council gave the companies 3 years to prove that their presence in South Africa had positive effects. When, 3 years later, the Swedish companies were shown to behave no better than other transnationals, the call for disinvestment gained strength.

In 1977 the leader of the Social Democratic Party, Olof Palme, then in opposition, called for action to stop new investments in South Africa. This was the first time a leading Swedish politician had suggested sanctions outside the framework of the UN Security Council. A parliamentary commission of inquiry was appointed to investigate possible means and mechanisms, including legislation, to stop new investments. At the same time the companies in question were asked to withdraw voluntarily; they all declined. The commission proposed not only to ban new investments, as a matter of state policy, but also to introduce legislation which would make it a criminal offence to invest in South Africa and Namibia irrespective of the source of capital. Thus a law prohibiting new investments by Swedish companies in South Africa and Namibia was passed by Parliament, effective as from 1 July 1979.

The basic rationale of the law was not to compel the Swedish companies to withdraw altogether, but rather to allow them to 'hibernate' until social changes in South Africa had made new investments acceptable. The restrictions put on the companies by the law was that expansion of operations would not be allowed, but existing levels were permitted to be maintained. This 'hibernation' philosophy was, of course, strongly criticized by the Africa Groups of Sweden and others who asked for total disinvestment and tight control over technology transfers.

In order to make it possible for the companies to 'hibernate' the law provided for an exemption clause to be applied when companies wished to replace obsolete or worn machinery, but not to expand production capacity. This clause has proved to be the principal weakness of the law. During the first two years after the law had entered into force, only one application for exemption was turned down; it involved a portfolio investment. Six exemptions were

granted, totalling SEK 14.8 mill. (US\$ 2 mill.) and averaging SEK 7.4 mill. per year which is only slightly less than the SEK 9.6 mill. annual average for the period 1970-76 before the law came into effect. A few companies have made small investments without applying for exemption but have not been prosecuted for doing so. During that pre-ban period SKF and Sandvik increased their production value by 50% respectively. In the 1981/82 fiscal year only two companies were granted exemption, totalling SEK 4.7 mill. (US\$ 0.65 mill.). Two applications totalling SEK 18 mill. (US\$ 2.5 mill.) filed in November 1981 were not decided upon until the eve of the 1982 general elections which ousted the incumbent government. Both applications were turned down on political grounds, largely as a result of public opinion pressure from the Africa Groups of Sweden, the Isolate South Africa Committee and other organizations.

Another loophole in the law is the fact that it does not cover acquisition of South African subsidiaries through take-overs of companies in third countries. Three subsidiaries have been acquired by Swedish companies in this manner, one of which has subsequently been sold.

The largest Swedish company, ASEA, has not reported its activities in South Africa at all to the appropriate state organ as required by the law. It argues that since in 1979 it sold part of its equity and now holding only 24.9% in ASEA Electric South Africa Ltd., the latter is no longer a subsidiary of the parent ASEA company, and that, as a corollary, the law does not apply to it. The government has accepted this without further inquiry. It should be pointed out, however, that equity holding does not necessarily reflect actual control. Although it has not been ascertained, there is reason to believe that ASEA has retained control of its South African subsidiary through management and technical agreements. ASEA invested SEK 66 mill. (US\$ 9 mill.) in 1979 immediately before the law became effective and was also a major investor in the 1970-76 period. This means that the total annual average investment since the law entered into force exceeds that of the preceding 10-year period.

The principal loopholes can thus be summarized as follows:

- 1) The exemption clause has until recently been applied too liberally;
- 2) Lack of clarity as to which companies fall under the law;
- 3) South African subsidiaries may be acquired through acquisition of companies in third countries;
- 4) Production may be transferred to other companies through management, technical and leasing agreements;
- 5) The law does not apply to technology transfers;
- 6) Swedish authorities have no means to check information given by the companies required to report on operations. South African legislation (e.g. Official Secrets Act, National Supplies Procurement Act) prevent companies to report fully. To the Swedish companies it seems more convenient to violate Swedish law when compelled to choose;
- 7) Only part of the information available to the state authority handling exemption applications is made public, thus thwarting opinion mobilization against exemptions.

What has been, in essence, the effect of the law? Due to the introduction of this piece of legislation some subsidiaries have been sold, but the overall effect on the volume of investments and production capacity has been minimal. It may have precipitated an increase in exports to South Africa and Namibia, particularly of machinery, to compensate for possible loss of local production. The law has thus had only negligible adverse effects on the South African economy and the Swedish subsidiaries. Instead, a side-effect may have been the promotion in the rest of Africa of an image of Sweden as a progressive force. The expectation by the government that other states would follow suit with similar unilateral legal measures has not been met.

ISAK and AGIS have played an important role in the debate over the law and its application. As a result the demand for a total withdrawal of investments is increasingly spreading. The debate within the churches and the trade unions has been resumed over the issue whether shares in companies investing in South Africa should be withdrawn or sold.

A major point raised by AGIS and ISAK is the role of the Swedish companies in South Africa's so-called 'total strategy':

- 1) In terms of the National Supplies Procurement Act the companies may be required to produce for military purposes. SKF admits to producing bearings for the armed forces;
- 2) In terms of the National Key Points Act they may be required to set up industrial commando units to check labour unrest. Several Swedish companies are of such a nature that they may be considered key points to which the act would apply;
- 3) The companies are required to pay 75% of the regular wage to white employees when they are called up for service in Namibia or Angola.

The frequent granting of exemptions and the role of the Swedish companies in the military machine has put the investment issue under constant debate. As a result the government has been forced to appoint a new parliamentary commission of inquiry into the workings of the law since its introduction. It has been specifically asked to find ways and means of closing loopholes. Its report is expected by mid-1983.

Governmental Assistance

Concomitant with political and diplomatic support for SWAPO the Scandinavian governments have also provided material assistance since the early 1970's to SWAPO as well as other institutions aiding Namibians.

Sweden's assistance to SWAPO has been increasing at a fairly rapid rate during the past decade. Direct official assistance amounted to SEK 43 mill. (approx. US\$ 5.75 mill.) for the 1982/83 fiscal year, mainly in the form of foodstuffs and transport equipment. Sweden is also a major contributor to various UN agencies through which assistance reach SWAPO and Namibians. Contributions to special UN programmes for Namibia (i.e. the UN Institute for Namibia and the Nationhood Programme etc.) amounted to SEK 9.9 mill. (US\$ 1.3 mill.) in 1982/83. Funds are also channeled through international NGO's such as the World University Service (WUS) and the Inter-

national Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF), i.e., for scholarships a total of SEK 5 mill. (US\$ 0.7 mill.). Swedish NGO's and solidarity organizations receive SEK 4.75 mill. (US\$ 0.6 mill.) for various programmes in support of SWAPO. All figures refer to 1982/83.

The government of Norway provided a total of NOK 12 mill. (US\$ 1.6 mill.) in direct assistance to SWAPO in 1982. The contribution to the UN Institute for Namibia was in 1982 NOK 1.2 mill. (US\$ 0.2 mill.) and the proposed figure for 1983 is NOK 1.5 mill. (US\$ 0.2 mill.). The Nationhood Programme received NOK 4.5 mill. (US\$ 0.6 mill.) in 1980 and NOK 1 mill. (US\$ 0.15 mill.) in 1982. A further NOK 4.2 mill. (US\$ 0.6 mill.) was allocated to the UN Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa (UNETPSA) in 1982. Assistance to refugees from southern Africa, inter alia Namibians, amounted to NOK 12.4 mill. (US\$ 1.66 mill.) in 1982.

Unlike the other Scandinavian countries Denmark has preferred to grant assistance to the southern African liberation movements indirectly. A special Appropriation for Assistance to Victims of Apartheid (hereinafter referred to as AAVA) has, since 1965, provided funds to be channeled through international governmental and non-governmental organizations such as those of the UN family, the International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF), the World University Service (WUS), the Lutheran World Federation and the Danish Federation of Trade Unions.

An advisory committee representing a number of NGO's makes recommendations to the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the allocation of funds to various recipients. The volume of funds has increased steadily, now reaching DKK 40 mill. (approx. US\$ 5 mill.) in 1982. Out of this total amount 30.5% was earmarked for assistance to Namibians and distributed as follows:

	<u>DKK 1,000</u>
<u>UN Fund for Namibia</u>	
- UN Institute for Namibia and Nationhood Programme	3,000
<u>UN Fund for South Africa</u>	
- legal assistance to prisoners and their relatives	250
<u>UN Educational and Training Fund for Southern Africa (UNETPSA)</u>	400
<u>International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF)</u>	300
<u>World University Service</u>	
- SWAPO educational and health programme in Angola (in consultation with UNHCR)	3,750
- International Extension College, Zambia and Angola (in 1981 1,000)	-
- scholarships	500
- Bureau of Literacy, adult education (inside Angola)	400
<u>Africa Educational Trust</u>	
- scholarships for Namibians in Great Britain and Ireland	300

<u>Lutheran World Federation</u>	
- Oshigambo High School	300
- Martin Luther High School	250
- Council of Churches in Namibia	1,010
- Gibeon Community School	365
- assistance to refugees in Angola, Botswana and Zambia	500
<u>Swedish International Development Authority</u>	
- contribution to joint Nordic health and education programme, Kwanza Sul	2,800
	<hr/>
<u>Total</u>	<u>14,125</u>

For 1983 the advisory committee has recommended an increase of the AAVA to DKK 45 mill. In view of the recent change of government, now a center-right minority coalition government, the fate of this recommendation is uncertain until a final decision will be made in February 1983.

Solidarity Work and Humanitarian Assistance

One of the main functions of the solidarity movement is to inform the public about the liberation struggle in Namibia and South Africa and to mobilize support for SWAPO and ANC. Since the accession to independence in the mid-1970's of the former Portuguese colonies after protracted armed struggle, solidarity work for SWAPO and ANC was intensified by the Africa Groups of Sweden (AGIS) which, based on individual activist membership, consists of some 20 local groups throughout the country. A component task is that of exposing and fighting any Swedish collaboration with the apartheid regime, be it trade, investments or otherwise. When mobilization and information activities expanded the need was felt for a broader organization. Consequently the Isolate South Africa Committee (ISAK) was formed in 1979, based on organizational membership. It now comprises 35 nationwide organizations, including political, youth and women's movements as well as christian, peace and student organizations. ISAK works for the total isolation of South Africa with all available means, including embargoes and boycotts, and complete withdrawal of all Swedish investments, in addition to support for SWAPO and ANC. ISAK has already gained recognition as a significant pressure group, and carries out campaigns annually with emphasis on consumer boycotts. Most campaign activities are carried out jointly with AGIS, and much is likewise done by the member organizations.

Material assistance to SWAPO is not the prerogative of the government. Having supported SWAPO materially since the beginning of the 1970's two Emmaus groups, Björkå and Stockholm, have the longest tradition in this respect. In 1974 they were joined by the Bread and Fishes. Their main activity has been collection of second hand clothes, sewing machines, radios, toys and kitchen utensils. Approximately 1,500 tons of clothes have been dispatched to SWAPO so far. These organizations are workers' collectives raising money for their operation by way of permanent flea markets. The Swedish government, through the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA), pays for freight and incidental costs.

A special collection of hospital material gradually developed into a separate project called Medical Aid to SWAPO which is run jointly by AGIS and Bread and Fishes and supported by ISAK. Prior to this project being set up in 1980 hospital material worth US\$ 150,000 had been sent to SWAPO. Since then US\$ 300,000 has been spent on hospital material and construction of a hospital in the SWAPO settlement in Kwanza Sul, Angola. The project budget for the 1980-82 two-year period is US\$ 500,000, excluding a medical team of two doctors and two nurses. Another US\$ 200,000 is allocated for 1983-84, of which SIDA contributes 75%.

The list of Swedish NGO's providing assistance to SWAPO in one form or another is very long. Only the more important ones will be mentioned here. The Swedish section of the Lutheran World Federation gives considerable assistance to refugees through SWAPO, as well as to activities of the Ovambo Kavango church in Namibia. Save the Children also provides funds for refugees. Most political youth organizations run campaigns for SWAPO, among which the youth section of the Center Party has been particularly active, sending US\$ 50,000 worth of educational material every year. Two student organizations have raised funds for printing of text books for SWAPO schools.

A number of Danish solidarity organizations and groups are active in support of SWAPO through information campaigns, fund-raising, collection of clothes and medicines etc. Some of them are listed below.

The Labour Movement Solidarity Fund has recently transferred DKK 50,000 (US\$ 6,000) to SWAPO, whereas the movement's International Centre is planning a fund raising drive in early 1983 targetted at a similar amount.

The Federation of Trade Unions is active internationally through ICFTU, although not specifically in Namibia. The umbrella organization National Committee for South Africa Action works in direct support of the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW).

NGO's such as WUS in Denmark and the Danish Church Aid base their activities mainly on funds from the special government-funded AAVA (see above). A new bulletin on SWAPO/Namibia is published bi-monthly by WUS.

A number of books and colour slide series have been produced in recent years by the Danish Association for International Co-operation and Development Aid from People to People (DAPP) in particular. The latter is rather unique in structure and volume of activities as far as non-governmental assistance is concerned in Denmark. After a meeting between SWAPO President Sam Nujoma and DAPP in 1980 a Namibian Vocational School was set up in Denmark. Funds were raised through UNESCO and the EEC. The first trainees arrived in January 1982 and at present 82 students undergo one-year courses to become teachers, electricians, weavers, photographers, mechanics, farmers, water and sewerage technicians. The trainees were selected by SWAPO in the Kwanza Sul settlement to which they will return after completing the courses.

Besides running the vocational training programme DAPP has involved thousands of Danish citizens, members of DAPP youth brigades students, scouts and professionals in manufacturing, repairing and packing a wide range of supplies for Namibian refugees in Angola estimated to be worth more than US\$ 3 mill. Supplies include trucks, ambulances, foodstuffs, hospital equipment, sewing machines etc. The shipment of the consignments has been financed by UNHCR and Solidarit tsskifte DDR.

In Norway solidarity organizations, notably the Norwegian Council for Southern Africa and the Namibia Association at Elverum, have been active in supporting SWAPO in various ways. The former has for a great number of years been involved primarily in information work on the liberation struggle in Namibia by way of producing written material and organizing public meetings and conferences, but has also collected funds from the general public in aid of SWAPO. It has also acted as a pressure group on the Norwegian government.

The Namibia Association at Elverum is a recently started organization. In its short history, however, it has managed to mobilize virtually the entire local community in an impressive effort to collect clothes, bicycles; to produce writing pads and protein biscuits; and to disseminate information on the liberation struggle in Namibia. Since its launching the Namibia Association is estimated to have collected articles and supplies worth NOK 7 mill. In addition collections have started elsewhere adding to that figure. The experiences of Elverum have been put to use in ten other local communities where similar campaigns have been conducted. At Elverum the Association has launched a new project involving purchase of a printing press and training of Namibians selected by SWAPO. 8 trainees are currently undergoing training at Elverum and in Africa. Educational activities and projects also account for a major proportion of the Association's work. Teaching materials have been produced, including a text book. Language and textile teachers are at work in the refugee settlements. A long-term project on the drawing board is the construction of a secondary school in Congo Brazzaville to be run by SWAPO. The Namibia Association now has 8 full-time employees.

The International Solidarity Committee of the Norwegian Labour Movement and the Norwegian People's Relief Association have been supporting a health project for SWAPO and ANC. It has just been completed costing a total of NOK 700,000 (US\$ 95,000). Negotiations are now in progress on a new project and although it has not been finalized, a total of NOK 8-10 mill. (US\$ 1.1-1.35 mill) will be allocated over 3-4 years.

AppendixMESSAGE BY THE NORDIC COUNTRIES TO THE UNITED NATIONS ON
NAMIBIA DAY 1982.

16 years ago the United Nations terminated South Africa's mandate over Namibia and assumed direct responsibility over the territory.

Since 1974, the United Nations has observed Namibia Day both as a recognition of the fact that the United Nations has a special responsibility for Namibia and as an act of solidarity with the oppressed and struggling people of Namibia.

On the occasion of Namibia Day in 1982 the five Nordic Governments of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden wish to pay tribute to the commitment of the Secretary-General, who upon his election listed independence of Namibia as a priority task for his term of office. The Nordic countries also appreciate the important role that the United Nations Council for Namibia has in promoting Namibia's independence.

Today the Nordic countries reiterate their conviction that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) constitutes the basis for bringing about Namibian independence through free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations.

After a period of stalemate, the negotiations for a peaceful and internationally recognized solution of the question of Namibia have recently raised hopes that the UN plan will soon be implemented. The Nordic governments sincerely hope that these positive signals will prove to be correct in order to make it possible for the Namibian people to gain its independence after all these years of illegal occupation by South Africa. The Nordic governments stand ready to assist the United Nations in appropriate forms in carrying out the peaceful transition to a free and independent Namibia.