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Sweden and National Liberation in Southern Africa

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Volume I: Formation of a Popular Opinion
(1950-1970)
Tor Sellstrom
Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala 1999

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List of Acronyms
AAC All-African Convention (South Africa)
AAM Anti-Apartheid Movement (United Kingdom)
AAPC All-African Peoples' Conference
ABF Workers' Educational Association/Arbetarnas Bildningsförbund
(Sweden)
AET Africa Educational Trust (United Kingdom)
AGIS Africa Groups in Sweden/Afrikarungrupperna i Sverige
ANC African National Congress (South Africa)
ARM African Resistance Movement (South Africa)
CANU Caprivi African National Union (Namibia)
CCHA Consultative Committee on Humanitarian Assistance (Sweden)
CD Christian Democrats (Sweden)
CIA Central Intelligence Agency (United States)
COD Congress of Democrats (South Africa)
CODESA Convention for a Democratic South Africa
CONCP Conference of Nationalist Organizations in the Portuguese Colonies/
CONferencia das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colônias Portuguesas
COREMO Revolutionary Committee of Mozambique/Comité de Revolución
MOZAMBIQUE
COSATU Congress of South African Trade Unions
COSEC Coordinating Secretariat of ISC
CP Centre Party (Sweden)
CPC Coloured People's Congress (South Africa)
CPSA Communist Party of South Africa
CPSU Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CSA Church of Sweden Aid/Lutherhjälpen
CSM Church of Sweden Mission
CUF Centre Party Youth League (Sweden)
DFFG United FNL Groups/De Förenade FNL-grupperna (Sweden)
ECA UN Economic Commission for Africa
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>EEC</td>
<td>European Economic Community</td>
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<td>EFTA</td>
<td>European Free Trade Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>ELCIN</td>
<td>Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia</td>
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<td>ELCZ</td>
<td>Evangelical Lutheran Church of Zimbabwe</td>
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<tr>
<td>ELOK</td>
<td>Evangelical Lutheran Ovambo-Kavango Church (Namibia)</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>FNLA</td>
<td>National Front for the Liberation of Angola/Frente Nacional de Libertaqdo de Angola</td>
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<td>FPLN</td>
<td>Patriotic Front of National Liberation/Frente Patri6tica de Libertaqdo Nacional</td>
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<td>FPU</td>
<td>Liberal Party Youth League (Sweden)</td>
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<td>FRELIMO</td>
<td>Mozambique Liberation Front/Frente de Libertaqdo de Moqambique</td>
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<td>FROLIZI</td>
<td>Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe GRAE Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile/Governo RevolucionArio de Angola no Exilio</td>
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<td>ICFTU</td>
<td>International Confederation of Free Trade Unions</td>
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<td>ICI</td>
<td>International Court of Justice</td>
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<td>IDAF</td>
<td>International Defence and Aid Fund</td>
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<td>IRCZ</td>
<td>International Refugee Council of Zambia</td>
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<td>ISAK</td>
<td>Isolate South Africa Committee (Sweden)</td>
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<td>ISC</td>
<td>International Student Conference</td>
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<td>IUEF</td>
<td>International University Exchange Fund</td>
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<td>LO LP LPC LWF MAC MANU MCP</td>
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<td>MK MP MPLA</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAC NATO NDP NEUM NIB</td>
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<td>NRANC NUSAS NUSWAS OAU OECD OMA OPO PAC</td>
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<td>PCC PCP PCR PDA PIDE</td>
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<td>SACP SACTU SADCC SAF SAIC SAUF SDF</td>
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<td>SDP SDS</td>
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Treaty Organization National Democratic Party (Zimbabwe) Non-European Unity Movement (South Africa) Agency for International Assistance/Nämnden för Internationellt Bistånd (Sweden)


SFS Swedish National Union of University Students/Sveriges Studentföreningar
SI Socialist International
SIDA Swedish International Development Authority
Sida Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SKP Communist Party of Sweden
SKV Left Association of Swedish Women/Svenska Kvinnors Vänsterförbund
SLU Rural Youth League (Sweden)
SOMAFCO Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (ANC/Tanzania)
SRANC Southern Rhodesia African National Congress
SSAK Swedish South Africa Committee
SSU Social Democratic Youth League (Sweden)
SUL National Council of Swedish Youth/Sveriges Ungdomsorganisationer

Swedish National Union of University Students/Sveriges Studentföreningar

SWANLIF South West Africa National Liberation Front
SWANU South West Africa National Union
SWANUF South West Africa National United Front
SWAPA South West African Progressive Association
SWAPO South West Africa People's Organization
SWAPO-D   SWAPO-Democrats
SWASB   South West African Student Body
TANU   Tanganyika African National Union
TCO   Central Organization of Salaried Employees/Tjdnstemannens
Centralorganisation (Sweden)/
TCRS   Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service
TUC   Trades Union Congress (United Kingdom)
UANC   United African National Council (Zimbabwe)
UDENAMO   National Democratic Union of Mozambique/Unido Democrttica
Nacional
de Moqambique
UDF   United Democratic Front (South Africa)
UDI   Unilateral Declaration of Independence (Rhodesia)
UGEAN   General Union of Students from Black Africa under Portuguese
Colonial Domination/Unido Geral dos Estudantes da Africa Negra sob
Dominao Col6nial Portugusa UN   United Nations
UNAMI   African National Union of Independent Mozambique/Unido
Nacional de
Moqambique
UNDP   United Nations Development Programme
UNEA   National Union of Angolan Students/Unido Nacional dos Estudantes
Angolanos
UNETPSA   UN Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa
UNHCR   United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNIN   United Nations Institute for Namibia
UNIP   United National Independence Party (Zambia)
UNITA   National Union for the Total Independence of Angola/Unido
Nacional
para a Independncia Total de Angola
UPA   Union of the Peoples of Angola/Unido das Populaq6es de Angola
WAY   World Assembly of Youth
WFDY   World Federation of Democratic Youth
WFTU   World Federation of Trade Unions
VUF   Left Party Youth League (Sweden)
WCC   World Council of Churches
WUS   World University Service
ZANC   Zambia African National Congress
ZANU   Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU   Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZIPA   Zimbabwe People's Army
ZWT   Zimbabwe Welfare Trust

FINLAND
Stockholm
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Preface and Acknowledgements

The 1994 elections and the constitution of an ANC-led government in South Africa marked an end to the protracted struggles for majority rule and national independence in Southern Africa. Sweden was closely associated with this cause, extending political and humanitarian support to the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. This book is the first in a two-volume study on Sweden and the Southern African nationalist struggles.

The study forms part of a wider research project on National Liberation in Southern Africa: The Role of the Nordic Countries, initiated at the Nordic Africa Institute in Uppsala, Sweden, in August 1994. Studies on Denmark, Finland and Norway are also to be published. The Nordic undertaking was largely inspired by Dr. Ibbo Mandaza and the Southern Africa Regional Institute for Policy Studies in Harare, Zimbabwe, which in 1992 launched a research project on The History of the National Liberation Struggles in Southern Africa. The Nordic studies will hopefully assist this important initiative by shedding light on the liberation movements' international relations.

The Nordic project would not have been possible without generous support from the Nordic Africa Institute and the governments of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. In the case of the present study, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency not only provided the initial funding, but showed on more than one occasion both patience and confidence by granting additional resources. Sida and the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs also granted unrestricted access to their unique archives. I would, in particular, like to thank Lennart Wohlgemuth, Sten Rylander and Jan Cedergren for their personal support and encouragement, and through them their colleagues at the Nordic Africa Institute, Sida and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Preparing the study, I incurred debts to such a large number of individuals and institutions that it is impossible to mention them all. Those to whom I am most indebted are acknowledged in the Introduction. The archives consulted are indicated in the introductory text. At all of them I was assisted by obliging, interested and well-informed documentalists. Pieter van Gylswyk at the Nordic Africa Institute kindly and ably arranged a considerable number of the documents collected.
More than eighty interviews were carried out for the study. Those who helped me to arrange the appointments and struggled to transcribe the recordings are collectively acknowledged. Their individual contributions are noted in the accompanying interview volume published under the title Liberation in

Southern Africa: Regional and Swedish Voices. 1 A special thanks should, however, be addressed to professor Carl Fredrik Hallencreutz, who on my behalf conducted a number of interviews in Zimbabwe. Naturally, my most sincere thanks also go to all the persons who found the time and agreed to be interviewed. Their contributions have not only been invaluable to the present study, but should constitute important references for further research. Ulla Beckman made an important input. Studying SIDA’s annual audited accounts for the period from the mid-1960s until 1995, she made it possible to establish the amounts actually disbursed—not only committed—to the Southern African liberation movements. Karl Eric Ericson, Susanne Ljung Adriannson and Sonja Johansson at the Nordic Africa Institute, as well as Johanna Vintersved in a freelance capacity, dedicated a lot of time and patience to the manuscripts. I am, in addition, greatly indebted to Elaine Alm–n, who language-checked the original texts and professionally corrected my linguistic blunders and grammatical inconsistencies.

Last and most of all, I am deeply grateful to Annelie Borg-Bishop and Charlotta Dohlvik, who assisted me with the project. Throughout the often tedious phase of archival search and data collection, they were always supportive and good-humoured. In the final stages, Ms. Dohlvik not only contributed with informed comments on the manuscript-spurring me on when the light in the tunnel seemed vaguely discernible—but willingly assumed and executed a number of burdensome administrative tasks. More than anybody else, she made the study possible. The book is dedicated to my son Erik, who from a tender age in Southern Africa became close to the liberation movements. He showed a remarkable degree of understanding and support when we lived, studied and worked together in Uppsala.

Uppsala, August 1998

Tor Sellström


Introduction

Background

In April 1969, the United States President Richard Nixon initiated a comprehensive review of US policies towards Southern Africa. Prepared in great secrecy by the staff of security advisor Henry Kissinger, National Security Study Memorandum 39 (NSSM 39) concluded that "the whites are [there] to stay" and that "the only way that constructive change can come about is through them". The classified memorandum added that "there is no hope for the blacks to gain the political rights they seek through violence, which will only lead to chaos and
increased opportunities for the Communists". Based on this dictum, the Nixon administration quietly improved US relations with apartheid South Africa, eschewed pressuring Portugal regarding independence for its colonies, modulated American statements on Southern Africa at the United Nations and—to balance these moves—increased aid to the independent African states.

At the same time—in May 1969—the Standing Committee on Appropriations of the Swedish parliament took an opposite stand, endorsing a policy of direct official humanitarian assistance to the national liberation movements in Southern Africa (and in Guinea-Bissau). Such assistance, it declared, can not be allowed to enter into conflict with the rule of international law, which lays down that no state has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of another. However, with regard to liberation movements in Africa, humanitarian assistance and educational support should not be in conflict with the said rule in cases where the United Nations unequivocally has taken a stand against oppression of peoples striving for national freedom. This [is] deemed to be the case [with regard to] South West Africa, Rhodesia and the African territories under Portuguese suzerainty.

Concerning assistance to the victims of the policy of apartheid, such support can inter alia be motivated by the explicit condemnation by the United Nations of South Africa's policy. Following this interpretation, the Swedish government initiated official support to MPLA of Angola, FRELIMO of Mozambique, SWAPO of South Africa. These movements—all of them eventually leading their peoples to majority rule and independence—were in the Cold War period shunned by the Western governments as 'Communist' or 'terrorist'? In marked contrast, during most of the Thirty Years' War in Southern Africa an increasing proportion of their civilian needs was covered by the government of Sweden, a small industrialized country in northern Europe. Until the 1994 democratic elections in South Africa, a total of 4 billion Swedish Kronor (SEK)—in current figures—was channelled as official humanitarian assistance to Southern Africa to render moral and material assistance to the peoples of the region in their quest to achieve freedom and independence. Mainly as a result of increasing influence of the Afro-Asian states, such calls were from 1965 normally included in resolutions on Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), the Portuguese colonies (Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tomé and Principe) and South
West Africa (Namibia) and, from 1966, on South Africa. Towards the end of the 1960s, the calls were often made in support of the national liberation movements. Usually, the member states were asked to coordinate the requested assistance with the Organization of African Unity (OAU). In September 1969, the OAU Ministerial Council resolved that "no assistance should be rendered to liberation movements that have not been recognized by the [organization]". Sweden generally voted in favour of these resolutions. However, where the text-explicitly or implicitly (v.gr. 'by whatever means')-made reference to armed struggle or military assistance, Sweden would not support them, stating that only the Security Council—not the General Assembly according to the UN Charter could take decisions regarding the use of violence. This often led Sweden to abstain or vote against resolutions on Southern Africa where it otherwise supported the core issue of national liberation and majority rule. Such abstentions would provoke strong reactions in Sweden, although the reasons—as illustrated by the interviews carried out for this study—were normally understood by both the OAU and the Southern African liberation movements.

1 As well as to PAIGC of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. In fact, the close contacts established between Sweden and PAIGC largely explain the position taken by the parliament. PAIGC was the only liberation movement mentioned in the 1969 statement. The wider context of the proposed humanitarian assistance to the liberation movement in Guinea-Bissau was also explicitly stated: "Practical possibilities are being explored how to extend [Swedish] humanitarian and educational assistance to the victims of the struggle conducted under the leadership of PAIGC to liberate Portuguese Guinea from Portugal's suzerainty. The committee is [...] positive to such assistance if the practical problems can be overcome, assuming that [the government] will utilize the possibilities that may appear" (Swedish Parliament 1969: Statement No. 82/1969, p. 24). Ironically, the committee that made the historic pronouncement was headed by Gösta Bohman, who the following year became chairman of the conservative Moderate Party, the only traditional party outside the broader Swedish partnership with the nationalist forces in Southern Africa. For the full names behind the acronyms, see List of Acronyms. In the text, the liberation movements are mentioned without the definite article.

2 Particularly in the United States, the Southern African nationalist movements were commonly depicted as 'terrorist'. A whole branch of academia was preoccupied with the subject. See, for example, Yonah Alexander (ed.): International Terrorism: National, Regional and Global Perspectives, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1976. See also The Role of the Soviet Union, Cuba and East Germany in Fomenting Terrorism in Southern Africa, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1982 (two volumes). In Great Britain, Tory governments likewise regularly presented the nationalist movements as 'terrorist'. In June 1995, i.e. fifteen years after Zimbabwe's independence, the former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher—referring to ZANU's Robert Mugabe and ZAPU's Joshua Nkomo-stated, for example, on
CNN television "I got the two terrorist leaders in Rhodesia together to negotiate" (The Herald, Harare, 24 July 1995).
4 Figures given in the text refer to current amounts. A conversion table between the Swedish Krona (SEK) and the United States Dollar (USD) during the period 1950-1995 is attached as an appendix.

Introduction

Africa. Of this amount, not less than 1.7 billion-over 40%-was under bilateral agreements disbursed directly to the six liberation movements.1 Although geographically and culturally poles apart, a close relationship would over the years evolve between Sweden and the Southern African movements. In a tribute to the late Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, the ANC leader Oliver Tambo-who from 1961 regularly visited Sweden and perhaps more than any other Southern African politician contributed to the partnership-characterized in 1988 the unusual North-South dimension as follows: There has [...] emerged a natural system of relations between Southern Africa and Sweden, from people to people. It is a system of international relations which is not based on the policies of any party that might be in power in Sweden at any particular time, but on the fundamental reality that the peoples of our region and those of Palme's land of birth share a common outlook and impulse, which dictates that they should all strive for the same objectives.2

The government of Sweden was the first in the industrialized West to extend direct official assistance to the Southern African liberation movements. Nevertheless, although Sweden-subsequently joined by the other Nordic countries4-was a major actor and factor in the Southern African struggle, only scant reference to the involvement can be found in the international literature.5 At best, popular studies as well as scholarly dissertations mention in passing that Sweden, or the Nordic countries, supported the nationalist movements, without asking why, in what way, with how much and what role the support may have played.6 As the American scholar William Minter has pointed out, 1 Based on disbursement figures according to SIDA's annual accounts, established by Ulla Beckman for this study.
3 But not-as is often stated in the Western world. From independence in 1947, India led the Western oriented Third World countries' opposition to apartheid South Africa.
4 In strict terms, the Scandinavian countries are Denmark, Norway and Sweden. The Nordic countries include Finland and Iceland.
5 Among the few exceptions are Thomas G. Karis' article 'Revolution in the Making: Black Politics in South Africa' in Foreign Affairs, Vol. 62, 1983/84 and E.S. Reddy's booklets International Action against Apartheid: The Nordic States
and Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, Lagos, 1986 and Contributions of the Nordic States to Oppressed People of Southern Africa and Frontline States, Mainstream Publications, New Delhi, 1986. See also E.S. Reddy (ed.): Liberation of Southern Africa: Selected Speeches of Olof Palme, Vikas, New Delhi, 1990. Reddy was for twenty years the head of the UN Centre Against Apartheid in New York.

6 As will be seen from the accompanying studies, there were-particularly in the 1970s-dear differences between the Nordic governments’ support to the Southern African liberation movements. Following Sweden, Norway decided in 1973 to embark upon direct official support. Substantial Norwegian assistance to FRELIMO, SWAPO, ZANU and ZAPU started in 1974 and to ANC and PAC in 1977. A smaller contribution was granted in 1977 to Bishop Muzorewa’s African National Council of Zimbabwe. Also Finland decided in 1973 to cooperate directly with the liberation movements. The amounts involved were modest and limited to Namibia and South Africa, although a cash contribution was extended to FRELIMO in October 1974. The Finnish government supported SWAPO from 1974 and ANC from 1978. In 1983, a contribution was also given to PAC. Denmark, on the other hand, did not extend any direct official support to the

Tor Sellström
"volumes of ink [have been] spilled on the East-West geopolitical involvement in the region, [while the] history of [the Nordic participation] has attracted only marginal attention from either scholars or journalists". Thus, in the 1980s, the international right wing was fond of labelling SWAPO and ANC as ‘Soviet-backed’. In empirical terms, the alternate, but less dramatic, labels 'Swedish-backed' or 'Nordic-backed' would have been equally or even more accurate, especially in the non-military aspects of international support.1

In addition to Cold War blinkers, language has kept international students away from the subject. Accessible documentation on Sweden’s relations with the liberation movements—such as public records, periodicals, newspaper articles etc.—is mostly available in the insular Swedish language, with which very few outside the Nordic countries are at ease. However, considering the depth and width of the relationship with Southern African nationalist movements, there are also very few studies in Swedish. The most informative have been sponsored by the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA), the government agency which over the years administered the official support.2 The absence of major studies is conspicuous, particularly as many of the active opinion makers on Southern Africa were prominent and prolific writers and journalists.3

Reminiscences by and biographies of leading Swedish politicians close to the Southern African struggle are equally surprisingly silent on this significant liberation movements, but channelled considerable resources via Danish non-governmental organizations. Iceland, finally, did not grant the movements any official assistance.

1 William M. Minter: Review of The Impossible Neutrality by Pierre Schori in Africa Today, No. 43, 1996, p. 95. One of the very rare studies in which Swedish support to the Southern African liberation movements is discussed is the Soviet
scholar Vladimir Bushin's Social Democracy and Southern Africa, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1989. Sympathetic to the liberation struggle and containing an abundance of references, it is, however, also a product of the Cold War. It is primarily a study of the Socialist International, discussing whether it is "a friend or foe" and assessing the possibilities of joint action between its members and the Communist movement towards Southern Africa.


3 In 1976, WAstberg-whose role will be evident throughout the study-published a personal account of his contacts with the liberation movements and his travels in Southern Africa in Afrika-Ett Uppdrag (Wahistrom & Widstrand, Stockholm), translated into English in 1986 as Assignments in Africa (The Olive Press, London). In 1995, he published I Sydafrika: Resan mot Friheten ("In South Africa: The Journey towards Freedom", Wahistr6m & Widstrand, Stockholm), which also in a very personal way-contains useful information on his involvement with and Swedish assistance to the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAF).

Introduction
chapter in contemporary foreign policy. Comprehensive studies on the major non-governmental solidarity organizations working with the liberation movements also remain to be written. As the 1994 elections in South Africa in many respects marked an end to an era of popular solidarity which promoted and sustained Sweden's official policies, it is hoped that their respective contributions will be properly recorded.2

What largely explains the absence of more comprehensive studies on Sweden and the struggle for national liberation in Southern Africa-whether purely narrative or analytical-is that the support was treated confidentially, at the official as well as at the non-governmental level. However, the regional liberation struggle came to an end with the elections in South Africa in April 1994. With the end of the Cold War, there should no longer be any security grounds for keeping archives closed or pens idle, although the extensive documentation held at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and at the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency3 at the time of writing remained restricted.4
1 There are anecdotal accounts here and there. For example, in the memoirs by the former secretary of the Sodal Democratic Party (1963-82) and Minister for Foreign Affairs (1985-91) Sten Andersson (I De Lugnaste Vatten... /In the Quietest Waters..!, Tidens Fbrlag, Stockholm, 1993) and in those by Sverker Astrm, former head of the Political Department in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (1956-64), Swedish representative to the United Nations (1964-70) and Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (1972-77) (Ogonbtck: Frfn Eft Halvseket i UD-tjfinst /Moments: From Half a Century in the Foreign Service', Bonnier Alba, Stockholm, 1992). However, only Pierre Schori, former international secretary of the Social Democratic Party (1967-71 and 1977-1982), Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (1982-91) and in 1994 Minister of International Development Cooperation, has published a more comprehensive account of Sweden's policies towards the liberation movements-particularly under Prime Minister Olof Palme-in his Dokument Inifrfin: Sverige och Stor politiken i Omvvinngaraas Tid ('Documents from Within: Sweden and Major Politics in the Era of Upheavals'), Tidens Fdrlag, Stockholm, 1992 As The Impossible Neutrality- Southern Africa: Sweden's Role under Olof Palme, the chapter on Southern Africa was published in English in 1994 by David Philip Publishers, Cape Town.

2 A short factual account of the Swedish trade unions' support to South Africa was published in 1996 by Solveig Wickman as Sydafrika: Fackligt Bistfind ('South Africa: Trade Union Assistance'), Firlaget TrAdet/SIDA, Stockholm. The history of the Church of Sweden Aid's first fifty years, written by Bj6rn Ryman, was published in 1997. The book-Luherhjiilpens Firsfa 50 Ar/'The First 50 Years of the Church of Sweden Aid' (Verbum Firlag, Stockholm)-contains chapters on Namibia and South Africa. The text on Namibia was reproduced in 1997 in a special issue of Svensk Missions Tidskrift/Swedish Missiological Themes, dedicated to the Church of Sweden Aid 1947-97 (No. 2/1997).

3 In 1995, the Swedish International Development Authority, with the acronym in capital letters, became the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, with the same acronym in small letters. As this study discusses events before 1995, the upper case version-i.e. SIDA-will be used.

4 Public administration in Sweden differs from that in most countries through the constitutionally guaranteed right of access to information and documents kept by public authorities. Access is the general rule, secrecy the exception. However, the Official Secrets Act states that documents concerning "the security of the state and its relations to another state or an international organization" may be confidential, normally for a period of 30 years. The rule was generally applied by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and SIDA to Sweden's humanitarian assistance to Southern Africa.

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Meeting against Sharpeville. A Ghanaian resident addressing construction workers at ,Arsta, Stockholm, 30 March 1960. (Photo. Pressens Bild)

Objectives
This two-volume study will discuss the origins, developments and dimensions of Sweden's involvement with the struggles for national independence, majority rule and democracy in the five Southern African countries where a peaceful process of decolonization and change was blocked by an alliance of Portuguese colonialists, Rhodesian settlers and the South African apartheid regime—largely supported by the major Western powers—that is, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. The main objectives are to document and analyse the involvement by the civil society and government from the modest beginnings in the 1950s until the ANC electoral victory in 1994.

A study on international solidarity and humanitarian assistance, it focuses on that aspect of the Swedish involvement which in an international perspective appears as most particular and least known, that is, the direct, official relationship with the liberation movements, including their allies and other nationalist forces. Closely related issues, such as Sweden and Southern Africa at the United Nations or in other international fora; Swedish development assistance to the independent states in the region; or the South African sanctions debate in the 1980s can be studied in open sources or are documented elsewhere. They will play a secondary role and only feature to the extent that they are significant to the core subject, or as explanatory backdrops.

For the purpose of the study, a national liberation movement is defined as a) a political organization which b) strives to attain independence and form a government for c) a colonized or otherwise oppressed people and which d) is recognized by the United Nations and/or the Organization of African Unity (OAU) as representing that people. A priori, the concept does not have an ideological connotation. It merely represents the organized, political expression of a non-recognized nation moving to liberate itself from foreign occupation or domestic exclusion. The means chosen to achieve the objective, or its political programme, do not define a national liberation movement. Nor does its social composition. Whether the social base was predominantly rural (such as ZANU’s) or urban (such as that of ANC) is subordinate to the question of its national character and representativity. Nevertheless, within themselves the movements harboured various social forces and different political projects, from socialist to capitalist, or pro-Communist and pro-Western. Between these forces and projects there were ‘struggles within the struggle’. One aspect of the study is to assess the roles played in this connection by the Swedish government and the non-governmental organizations. Were political pressures or other conditions applied and, if so, in favour of which political forces and projects?

Layout and Scope

The study is divided into two volumes. Volume I covers the formative period until the close of the 1960s, when the Swedish parliament endorsed a policy of official, direct support to the Southern African liberation movements. It begins with an overview of some features and characteristics of the Swedish political system, economy and society at the time when a broader involvement with Southern
Africa began. The eclectic introduction-chiefly included for the benefit of the non-Swedish reader-also presents some of the principal actors that feature in the text. The main subject is then introduced in South Africa and will in subsequent chapters be followed via Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique. The order roughly reflects the sequence of the historical encounters between Sweden and the liberation movements during the initial, re-active period of Swedish response in the 1960s.

Volume I attempts to identify the circumstances and actors behind the encounters. It is mainly concerned with the formation of the public and political opinion that in 1969 led to the historic decision by the Swedish parliament, for each country following the events until the time when formal assistance to a liberation movement was granted. Guided by an ambition to make the individual country presentations comprehensive (thereby running the risk of being repetitive), the process-starting with individual anti-apartheid voices in the 1950s and ending with official support to ANC in 1973-was, however, interactive and cumulative. The involvement in a particular country can thus not be seen in isolation.

Volume II covers the increasingly pro-active and interventionist period which began around 1970 with direct official assistance to the liberation movements and continued until independence and majority rule. The main focus here is on the actual support extended by Sweden, principally by the government, but also by the non-governmental organizations. As in the first volume, but in reverse order, it contains separate chapters on Mozambique and Angola (until independence in 1975), Zimbabwe (1980), Namibia (1990) and South Africa (1994). In each case, the narrative leads to the point where the liberation movement assumed state power. Where the new state became a sanctuary to regional liberation movements still struggling to achieve their goals, the presentation goes further.

This is, first and foremost, a study of Sweden's relations with the Southern African liberation movements from a Swedish perspective. It is based on the...
premise that the main events and developments in the Southern African region are generally known. Nevertheless, for the benefit of the reader they will on occasion be summarized to place the discussion in a proper context.

It is not a study of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. The history—or rather, histories—of this important chapter in contemporary world affairs must primarily be written by scholars from the region. It is against this background gratifying to note that a number of archives in the Southern African countries are being arranged and opened for research and that different initiatives have been taken to study the Thirty Years' War from an African perspective.

Never1 Sweden's involvement with PAIGC of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde will be presented in Volume II.

2 The essential role of the Southern African Frontline States is, for example, yet to be studied. 3 In March 1996, the official ANC archives were opened at the University of Fort Hare, South Africa. Important ANC documents are also held at the Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture in South Africa, University of the Western Cape.

4 As noted in the Preface, in 1992 the Southern Africa Regional Institute for Policy Studies (SARIPS) in Harare, Zimbabwe, launched a regional research project on 'The History of the National Liberation Struggles in Southern Africa'.

Introduction

The study discusses aspects of the nationalist movements' international relations, it may contribute to Southern African historiography by shedding some light on the questions of liberation, diplomacy and external support. In the case of Sweden, the political relations eventually established with the different movements discussed were largely the outcome of active efforts by the victorious liberation movements themselves. While benevolent paternalism and humanitarian concern were initial responses, they did from the outset openly state and without compromise defend their objectives and methods. At a very early stage, ANC, FRELIMO, MPLA, SWAPO, ZANU and ZAPU paid serious attention to international diplomacy, managing to build an external support base where competing voices faltered. Although domestic political and armed pressure in the final event proved decisive, humanitarian and diplomatic support did have an impact on the home front. Volume II will address this question, trying to assess the significance of the support.

The study is primarily addressed to the general reader interested in Swedish policies towards Southern Africa. Mainly narrative and empirical, often impressionistic and sometimes bordering on the anecdotal, it does not claim to break academic ground. Nor does it have any particular methodological ambitions. History—including the reconstruction of contemporary events—is always a story, or a combination of developments and plots. The past is not discovered or found, but "created and represented [...] as a text". The sequencing and presentation of events in the past, or what forms historical knowledge, is never truly objective, but "always [carries] the fingerprints of [the] interpreter"? This said, the study does attempt an intelligible presentation of empirical data, events and plots, largely based on unresearched primary sources. It should, hopefully, be
of use for future studies, for example, on Sweden's foreign policy in the Cold War period" and on the Southern African liberation movements' international relations.

1 There are few studies on the diplomacy of the Southern African liberation movements, including ANC and SWAPO. This lacuna was highlighted by Peter Vale and John Daniel in a paper discussing the foreign policy options of the 'new South Africa', presented in 1993 ("UpstairsDownstairs": Understanding the 'new' South Africa in the 'new' World'). In 1996, Scoff Thomas published his doctoral dissertation on ANC with the title The Diplomacy of Liberation: The Foreign Relations of the African National Congress Since 1960, Tauris Academic Studies, I.B. Tauris Publishers, London and New York. Thomas' understanding of ANC's relations with the Nordic countries is based on general, official documents by the UN and other international bodies and therefore limited. In a book dedicated to the memory of Oliver Tambo, he concludes that "although the Nordic states gained a progressive international image because they supported African liberation movements and the economic goals of the Third World, this perception is inaccurate" (p. 190). In their very critical Namibia's Liberation Struggle: The Two-Edged Sword (James Currey, London and Ohio University Press, Athens, 1995), Cohn Leys and John S. Saul acknowledge that "little is said [...] about SWAPO's diplomatic accomplishments", adding that "this is an intriguing theme that deserves more research" (p. 3). In their study, there is only one reference to Sweden and it concerns the little known 'Swedish Free Church'.

3 Ibid., p. 8.
4 The academic debate on Sweden's active foreign policy is reflected in a great number of publications. Naturally, the role of Olof Palme and the issue of Vietnam are prominent, while there are few studies on Sweden and Africa. However, within the project 'Sweden during the Cold War'

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One question has more than others guided the inquiry in Volume I: What made Sweden—a small, industrialized nation in northern Europe, without a direct colonial heritage and largely isolated from Third World affairs—become involved on the nationalist side in Southern Africa? Various dimensions of this central question ranging from theoretical discussions regarding global systemic change to more earthly explanations of human decency have been suggested. Individual, often quite personal and diverse, answers by Southern African and Swedish protagonists are given in the interviews carried out for the study.

Representatives of the discipline of international politics normally agree that the parameters for a nation's foreign policy are determined by three basic objectives, namely a) national security (the search for peace in a given global order), b) ideological affinity (the quest for common values and understanding) and c) economic opportunity (the pursuit of welfare for the nation and its citizens). These objectives are given varying weight by different domestic actors. To strive
for a broad national understanding of the foreign policy therefore becomes of the
essence, to the extent that d) public legitimacy (acceptance by the domestic
opinion) in itself is often seen as a fourth objective. Failing that, the public
opinion may react to the chosen international path and force a foreign policy
reorientation. In the text, different Swedish views of the security aspects of
apartheid and colonialism; economic interests in Southern Africa; issues of
racism, exclusion and the right to self-determination; and-prominently-the
Southern African and domestic voices raised on these matters will be discussed
for the five countries under study. Examining the developments, they will in a
concluding note be summarized with the above mentioned policy objectives in
mind. Hopefully, the present volume will shed some light on the question why
Sweden became involved in Southern Africa. Volume II will then discuss how the
involvement was expressed.

Sources
I have-perhaps too strictly and excessively-chosen to follow academic norms and
requirements regarding references. I am aware that a vast apparatus of
(Sverige under Katla Kriget- SUKK), Marie Demker published in 1996 a study on
Sweden and the national liberation struggle in Algeria which convincingly
document the impact of the Algerian question on the initial activation of
Sweden's foreign policy as early as around 1960. See Marie Demiker: Svernsge
och Algeriets Frigbrelse 1954-1962: Kriget aom Fbriindrade Svensk
Utrikeapolitik ('Sweden and the Liberation of Algeria: The War That Changed
Swedish Foreign Policy'), Nerenius & Santrus F6rlag, Stockholm, 1996.
1 Immanuel Wallerstein: 'The Art of the Possible, or the Politics of Radical
2 For example, interview with Bengt SAve-Sbderbergh, 14 January 1997.
3 Cf. Derker op. cit., pp. 29-30 and 106-112, as well as, for example, William 0.
Chittick, Keith R. Billingsley and Rick Travis: 'A Three- Dimensional Model of
American Foreign Policy Beliefs' in International Studies Quatierlry, No. 3,

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footnotes often disturbs the general reader. A major objective of the study is,
however, to document Sweden's involvement in the liberation process in Southern
Africa. Instead of long reference lists at the end of the texts, it is hoped that
footnotes may more directly assist those interested in a particular aspect and
facilitate further enquiry. In addition, explanatory notes on Swedish personalities,
organizations and events are called for in an international context. Finally, as the
study is largely based on hitherto unresearched primary source material,
transparency requires that the sources are properly accounted for. This is,
naturally, also the case with direct quotations, statistics and other quantitative
data, as where the views expressed may appear as contradictory or controversial.
Nevertheless, in order to separate the narration from the documentation, an
attempt has been made to present the study in such a way that the main text can be
read without too disrupting dips into the notes at the bottom of the page.
The background documentation consists to a large extent of non-published primary material, such as reports, memoranda, minutes, letters, pamphlets etc. Public records by the Swedish government and parliament are also central. In addition, I have relied to a great extent on periodicals and newspaper articles, the latter mainly found at the press archive of Uppsala university. Articles from the Norwegian press were studied at Oslo university library. The main archives consulted are those of the Africa Groups in Sweden (referenced below as AGA), the Church of Sweden Mission (CSA), the Isolate South Africa Committee (ISA), the Labour Movement Archives and Library (LMA), the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (MFA), the Nordic Africa Institute (NAI), the Olof Palme International Center (OPA), the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SDA) and the Archives of the Popular Movements in Uppland County (UPA).1 I have also studied selected ANC files at the Mayibuye Centre of the University of the Western Cape in Cape Town, South Africa (MCA), as well as documents held at the Historical Archive of Mozambique 2 in Maputo (IA).

A number of individuals have been extremely helpful and given me copies of documents and private letters, as well as written replies to inquisitive questions. In addition to the interviewees mentioned in the appendix, I would particularly like to record the contributions by Tore Bergman, Anders Ehnmark, Thorbjdrn Falldin, Bertil Hdgberg, Joachim Israel, Anders Johansson, Ola Jamtin, Ranwedzi Nengwekhu, Paul Rimmerfors, Roy Unge, David Wirmark and Per Wastberg. Above all, Anders Johansson and Joachim Israel have opened the ir private files. Due to the number of documents in their collections, they are referenced as (AJC) and (JIC), respectively.

1 CSA, ISA, NAI and UPA are in Uppsala, while the others are located in Stockholm. The ISA documents are held at the Nordic Africa Institute.
2 In Portuguese, Arquivo Hist6rico de Mozambique.

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To get firsthand, personal views from both Southern Africa and Sweden, more than eighty interviews have been conducted with leading representatives of the Southern African liberation movements, prominent regional actors and Swedish politicians, administrators and activists. A list of the people interviewed appears in the bibliography. The interviews have been tape-recorded, transcribed and submitted for comments. They are published together with this study for further research into the Swedish-and Nordic-involvement in the Southern African liberation struggle.

Dramatic news during the phase of data collection underlined that the study is far from conclusive. In September 1996, the former South African death squad commander Eugene de Kock stated in the Pretoria Supreme Court that the apartheid regime had been behind the assassination of the Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme. Palme was killed in February 1986, one week after appearing with Oliver Tambo at the Swedish People's Parliament Against Apartheid.1 Less dramatic, but highly significant, was that Birger Hagard, a Swedish Moderate MP, in November 1996 requested the standing Parliamentary Committee on the
Constitution to retrospectively examine whether Sweden's official assistance to the anti-apartheid struggle over the years had been compatible with constitutional principles.

A Personal Note

Transparency demands a comment on my personal relation to the subject. I lived and worked in Southern Africa between 1977 and 1983 and, again, from 1986 until mid-1994. For most of the time, I was involved with humanitarian assistance to the liberation movements. During my first two years in the region, I was employed by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Angola, working, in particular, with SWAPO of Namibia, but also with ZAPU of Zimbabwe and ANC of South Africa. I revisited Angola as an election observer with European Parliamentarians for Southern Africa (AWEPA) in 1992. Joining SIDA in 1979, I followed Zimbabwe's process towards independence as an official with the Swedish embassy in Zambia, also observing the 1980 elections in that capacity. In Zambia, I was in close contact with SWAPO and 1 Desmond Tutu, Chairman of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, presented in August 1998 documents indicating a South African involvement in the plane crash in which the Swedish UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld and fifteen others-among them nine Swedes-were killed outside Ndola in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) in September 1961. The circumstances behind the disaster have never been convincingly established, although several investigations over the years concluded that the crash was due to a navigation error. The documents unearthed by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission would, however, confirm the suspicions that the crash was the result of an operation carried out by Western interests to assassinate Hammarskjöld (Svenska Dagbladet, 20 August 1998).

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ANC. The relations were maintained when I was posted to the embassy in Mozambique from 1982 to 1983. In 1984-85, I co-ordinated Swedish assistance to SWAPO and ANC at SIDA's headquarters in Stockholm, a responsibility which I also had in the field during the following five years with SIDA in Zimbabwe. After Namibia's independence, I was invited to join the Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit (NEPRU) in Windhoek from 1991 until mid-1994. I, finally, witnessed the demise of white minority rule in the region as an AWEPA observer during the elections in South Africa in 1994.

With regard to Swedish assistance—in particular to SWAPO and ANC—I have, thus, from the late 1970s been a direct participant, albeit at a subordinate level. It may be argued that it disqualifies me from being a credible interpreter. I leave this judgement to the reader. It is, evidently, difficult to take a step back and critically examine events close to one's own life. I would, however, like to underline that the Swedish involvement in the liberation struggle in Southern Africa has been so rich and varied that only the opportunity of archival studies into its many constituent parts eventually revealed its broader significance to me. Some may find the narrative unexpected or controversial. Others may feel unduly left out. In
either case, I hope that those who disagree or feel offended will react by shedding further light on the subject of Sweden and the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. It constitutes a unique chapter in contemporary Swedish foreign relations and merits many more studies than the one that follows.

1 Sweden's relations with Vietnam during the period 1965-1975 have also been characterized as unique. (See, for example, Yngve Måller: Sverige och Vietnamkriget: Elft Unikt Kapitel i Svensk Utrikespolitki ('Sweden and the Vietnam War: A Unique Chapter in Swedish Foreign Policy', Tidens Förlag, Stockholm, 1992). For several years, Vietnam overshadowed Southern Africa. A whole generation was mobilized against the war and the stand taken by the government made the United States sever relations with Sweden, bringing the tensions of the Cold War directly into Swedish homes. However, the National Liberation Front (FNL) was exclusively an object—a remote symbol—with which both the solidarity movement and the Swedish people at large never entered into contact. In Southern Africa, particularly with regard to SWAPO and ANC, there was direct government and non-government involvement with the liberation movements through a number of projects, personnel and also private companies. The relations with the Southern African movements had a prominent element of 'people-to-people' cooperation and direct sharing of experience. In addition, the relationship was never unilateral. From the early 1960s, resident representatives of the Southern African organizations participated actively in the Swedish solidarity movement and debate. This contributed to the fact that the support never became divisive.