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# The Mondlanes and FRELIMO of Mozambique

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Early Contacts with Portuguese East Africa

From a geographical point of view, the Portuguese colony of Mozambique, known as Portuguese East Africa, was even more distant from Sweden than Angola. Bordering the British-held territories of Tanganyika, Nyasaland and the two Rhodesias and largely integrated with the economy of South Africa, Mozambique did, however, for a long period play a relatively more important role for Sweden than Angola.

Although there were no direct Swedish links with Mozambique, the capital Lourenço Marques (now Maputo) was from the second half of the 19th century a strategic port of call on the trade routes between Scandinavia and the Far East and Australia. The early shipping contacts became in the early 20th century more regular—particularly after the establishment of Transatlantic’s services between Sweden and Southern Africa—with increasing bilateral trade as a result. The goodwill mission to Angola and Mozambique by the General Export Association of Sweden found in 1955 that “it is of particular interest that the Swedish flag is not an unknown phenomenon in the ports of either Angola or Mozambique, thanks to the links maintained since a long time back by the Transatlantic Shipping Company”. The links also explain why not less than three Swedish consulates had been opened in Mozambique by 1960.

In the beginning, Sweden's commercial relations with Mozambique developed unevenly. In 1911, for instance, Swedish exports to Portuguese East Africa amounted to not less than 1.4 million SEK—representing 0.2% of Sweden's total exports. In 1903, for example, a total of 634 ships called at Lourenço Marques, out of which not less than 90 (14%) were Norwegian, while 9 were Swedish and 4 Danish. At the time, Lourenço Marques had a European population of around 4,500. With an average of two Scandinavian ships a week and in relation to such a small population—almost entirely composed of men—it is perhaps not too surprising that the Mozambican capital also attracted Scandinavian prostitutes. Studying the Mozambican censuses in the Historical Archives in Maputo, the author encountered at least two Scandinavians among the women domiciled in the city's red light district at the end of the 19th century, namely one 'Kitty' Lindström and one 'Bianca' Berg (Selström Odin and Othman (eds.) op. cit., p. 44, note 61).

3'Svarta Afrika ar morgondagens marknad' ‘Black Africa is tomorrow's market') in StockholmsTidningen, 24 November 1960.
exports—while the imports from the colony were negligible. The figures do not, however, represent the normal trade exchange, but exceptional sales from Sweden to Mozambique. For example, while the Portuguese authorities contracted a French firm to supply the equipment for lighthouses and beacons along the Angolan coast, in the case of Mozambique the corresponding order went to the Swedish company AGA.2 Similarly, Electrolux had after the Second World War important, but irregular orders of paraffin-based refrigerators to Mozambique, at times representing up to a third of total Swedish sales to the colony.3 Albeit very small, Sweden’s regular trade exchange with Mozambique was until the 1960s marginally bigger than that with the more significant economy of Angola. In 1950, the value of Swedish deliveries to Mozambique amounted to 2.3 million SEK, corresponding to 0.04% of total Swedish exports. The import value was at the same time as high as 9.7 million SEK—compared to only 2.3 million from Portuguese West Africa—representing 0.15% of Sweden’s imports.4 The main products exported from Sweden were—as in the case of Angola—paper, pulp and machinery, while copra and vegetable oils, similarly, constituted the almost exclusive import items. As noted above, at the beginning of the 1950s the Swedish mining company Bolidens Gruv AB was granted a major concession for mineral prospecting in the Mozambican district of Manica, establishing the local company Sociedade Boliden de Moqambique in April 1954. The unsuccessful explorations were, however, abandoned in 1957 and did not result in closer economic relations between the two countries. Nor did the Swedish Export Association’s goodwill mission of 1955. Although growing in absolute terms, the bilateral exchange indicated in 1960 that Mozambique was becoming more marginalized as a Swedish trading partner, occupying a position similar to that of Angola.5 In that year—that is, shortly before the launch of FRELIMO’s liberation struggle—Swedish imports from Mozambique remained at a stable level of 10 million, while the export value had increased to 8.3 million SEK. In Sweden’s total trade, both imports from and exports to Mozambique represented, however, only shares of 0.06%.6

Sweden and Portugal became joint members of EFTA in January 1960. Due to the fascist Salazar regime and its colonial wars in Africa, it was from the outset a controversial partnership. Sweden’s commercial relations with Angola

5 In the mid-1950s, Sweden’s share of both Angola’s and Mozambique’s exports and imports represented around 1% (Svensk Utrikeshandel, No. 18, 30 September 1955, p. 16).
and-in particular-Mozambique featured prominently in the following EFTA debate. The opposition Liberal Party and the popular solidarity movement argued that EFTA would strengthen the direct links between Swedish trade interests and the two Portuguese-held territories. This was, however, not to be the case. While Swedish investments in and trade with metropolitan Portugal increased considerably between 1960 and 1970, the commercial interaction with Angola and Mozambique became even more marginal than before. Between 1960 and 1970, Portuguese West Africa's share of total Swedish exports remained at 0.08%, while imports dramatically fell from 0.03 to an insignificant 0.01%. The Swedish trade balance with Mozambique became for the first time positive, but the overall descending curve was conspicuous. With a total value of 18.3 million SEK in 1970, Swedish exports to the colony only represented a share of 0.05%, down from the 0.06% registered in 1960. Commodities imported from Mozambique for a value of 6.8 million SEK represented at the same time an almost negligible 0.01% of Sweden's total imports, compared to the 0.06% registered in 1960, the year when EFTA was founded.4 Mozambique was for a long time unknown in Sweden.3 Almost no information about the situation there reached the outside world. After a visit to Mozambique during his stay in Rhodesia, Per Wåstberg, however, introduced the Portuguese colony to the Swedish public in November 1959 through a highly critical article with the title 'The dictatorship of silence' in Dagens Nyheter. It described a country where censorship, a well trained state police and espionage keep criticism under lock and key. [...] Those who know most speak the least. [...] A triumphant curtain of silence which few foreigners manage to penetrate surrounds Mozambique. The whites keep silent about what they know. The authorities are unwilling to give actual information. [...] And the blacks do not have a voice. They are deliberately prevented from getting education [and] they are being cut off from news from the awakening Africa that surrounds them. At the least false step they risk corporal punishment and deportation. Nobody knows their thoughts and there is no one to give them expression 4 Wåstberg's article was published before the Sharpeville massacre in South Africa in March 1960 and the insurrections in Angola in February-March 1961, that is, the two major events in Southern Africa that alerted the international community.
The Mondlanes and FRELIMO of Mozambique opinion on both apartheid and Portuguese colonialism. 1 As earlier noted, the Swedish South Africa Committee was founded at the beginning of March 1961 and on 1 May 1961 the Social Democratic Labour Day marches condemned "the racial oppression" in Southern Africa. The demonstrations in Stockholm addressed by Arne Geijer, the Chairman of the Swedish Trade Union Confederation- attracted not less than 60,000 people. Interestingly, it was not only South Africa and Angola that featured in the international section of the demonstrations, but also Mozambique. 2 The Mozambican struggle was thus for the first time publicly observed by the Swedish labour movement as early as 1961. It would from the mid-1960s become a regular feature, with the FRELIMO President Eduardo Mondlane making his first appearance at the First of May demonstrations in Gävle in 1966.3

To give expression to the thoughts of the black majority-or, as explicitly stated, "to broaden the Swedish debate and give a clearer presentation of African opinions"-the liberal evening paper Expressen launched in March 1961 its in-depth series 'Africa from within'. It was edited by Anders Ehnmark, who in Paris in the late 1950's had come into contact with the Mozambican nationalist and poet Marcelino dos Santos. 4 The future Vice-President of the Mozambique Liberation Front was at the time a member of UDENAMO, one of the Mozambican nationalist organizations that in June 1962 formed FRELIMO. More importantly, dos Santos was closely associated with the FRAIN anticolonial alliance- constituted around IPLA of Angola and PAIGC of Guinea-Bissau-which in April 1961 was reorganized as CONCP. Based in Rabat, Morocco, Marcelino dos Santos became the first Secretary General of the Conference of Nationalist Organizations in the Portuguese Colonies.

1 The June 1960 Mueda massacre in northern Mozambique was at the time not given attention by the international press. As at Sharpeville, the police opened fire on a peaceful demonstration, reportedly killing over 500 Africans (Thomas H. Henriksen: Mozambique: A History, Rex Collings, London, 1978, pp. 167-168).

2 Stockholms Arbetarekommun 1961: 'Verksamhetsberättelse' ('Annual Report of the Social Democratic Party district in Stockholm'), p. 6. It could be noted that the 1961 Labour Day demonstrations in Stockholm included a section of Swedish UN soldiers returning from Congo; that the fund-raising campaign 'LO-Help Across the Borders' featured prominently; and that Arne Geijer in his speech "gave his view on how the help to the underdeveloped countries should be organized" (Ibid.) (LMA).


5 Born in Maputo, dos Santos studied at the School of Commerce in Lisbon, where he in 1951 together with Agostinho Neto from Angola and Amílcar Cabral from Guinea founded the Centre for African Studies. While doing post-graduate studies in Paris, he cooperated with the cultural review Priseeece Africaine. In 1957, he was a co-founder with MPLA's Mário de Andrade and Cabral of the Anti-Colonial Movement (Movimento Anti-Colonialista). After becoming Secretary General of CONCP, he was dosely involved in unity talks between his own organization, UDENAMO, and other Mozambican nationalist organizations, leading to the formation of FRELIMO in June 1962. He was subsequently appointed Secretary for External Affairs and—in 1970—Vice-President of FRELIMO. In June 1975, Marcelino dos Santos became Minister for Development and Economic Planning in the first government of independent Mozambique.

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It was in response to an appeal by CONCP that Expressen in July 1961 launched a fund-raising campaign in favour of the Angolan refugees in Congo. It was also through Expressen—the largest evening paper in Sweden at that time—that the Swedish public for the first time was given a direct opportunity to get to know a leading Mozambican nationalist voice. In an exclusive fullpage article published on 28 June 1961, Marcelino dos Santos—introduced as "formerly known as a poet, but now wholly occupied with the preparations for the coming insurrection in Mozambique"—wrote that the myth that the Portuguese colonies should be 'overseas provinces' has been crushed by [...] the events in Angola. The days of the Portuguese colonial system are numbered. The contradictions it has created will through historical necessity result in national liberation for Portuguese Africa. [...] It is in this situation natural that Mozambique [also] demands its right to freedom and autonomous rule. For the Mozambican people, it constitutes the first condition for social emancipation. [...] Without any political rights and organizations, the people of Mozambique have started their freedom struggle. Organizations for the struggle have been formed underground. The struggle will be difficult, particularly as the government of Portugal does not seem willing to understand anything about the spirit of our times. In addition, the secret agreements entered into between Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia have created a colonial coalition [which blocks] the developments. [...] The National Democratic Union of Mozambique (UDENAMO) pulls out all the stops to awaken and unite the entire people [and] to immediately and with all means available liquidate Portugal's colonialism. The liberation struggle continues, in spite of the oppression and the massacres. [...] But what we intensely wish is that the Portuguese government—as much for the sake of Portugal as for the sake of Mozambique—decides to respect our legitimate demands for freedom and independence.1

Dos Santos was the first Mozambican nationalist to present his views to the Swedish people. He would, however, not be the only one to raise the cause of Mozambique in the early 1960s. On the contrary. Partly as a result of the attention
given in Sweden to the nationalist struggle in Angola, the conditions in the little known East African Portuguese sister colony were at the time also covered. Per Wastberg's anthology Africa Narrafes2 -first published in August 1961-included a militant 'Appeal' by the Mozambican female poet and nationalist Noémia de Sousa.3 A couple of months later-in March 1962-Ehnmark and Wastberg published their widely read study Angola-Mogambique,4 in which

1 Marrelno dos Santos: 'Striden blir svår' ('The struggle will be difficult') in Expressen, 28 June 1961.
2Wsstberg (1961) op. cit.
3 The poetess Nordta de Sousa, also writing under the name Vera Micaia, is considered the first woman writer in modern Mozambican literature. Between 1951 and 1964, she worked for several journals and reviews in Mozambique, advancing the theme of African culture. Political persecution by the Portuguese secret police eventually compelled her to seek refuge in France.
4 Ehnmark & Wistberg (1962) op. cit. As noted above, the book was translated into English and partly into Russian in 1963.

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the former wrote the part on Angola and the latter was responsible for Mozambique. In addition, in May 1962 Ehnmark and Sven Hamrell brought out the important political anthology Africans on Africa. 1 This was based on the articles published earlier in Expressen's 'Africa from within' series, but included a new, exclusive contribution on Mozambique by Marcelino dos Santos.2

Finally, from 1962 the Swedish press increasingly started to pay attention to the situation in Mozambique, describing the country as possibly turning into another Angola.3

Initial Contacts with FRELIMO
From being practically unknown, the situation in Mozambique had by 1962 been introduced to the Swedish public through a number of articles and books by Ehnmark, Hamrell and Wastberg in which Mozambican voices were also given direct expression. As in the case of Angola, there were, however, no prominent Mozambicans in Sweden who could act as resident diplomats for the nationalist movement. Nevertheless, important contacts were established between the political youth movements in the Nordic countries and the CONCP-aligned General Union of Students from Black Africa under Portuguese Colonial Domination (UGEAN). As already stated, UGEAN participated with a large delegation at the Afro-Scandinavian Youth Congress in Oslo, Norway, in August 1962, where the future Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano linked up for two weeks with influential Swedish representatives. One of them was Anna-Greta Leijon, who became closely involved with Southern Africa and ten years later entered the Social Democratic government. During his stay in Scandinavia, Chissano also met the future Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson.4

The Afro-Scandinavian Youth Congress took place at a crucial moment in the history of the Mozambican liberation movement. The founding conference of FRELIMO had been held in Dar es Salaam less than two months before, but in contrast to MPLA of Angola and ANC of South Africa, the Mozambican movement had not yet opted for an armed struggle. Chissano later recalled the
discussions in Oslo about whether to use violent means or not: "It was very interesting, because [...] we were still trying to see if we could fight peacefully [...]", although we could already see that the armed struggle was an alternative.\footnote{Ehnmark & Hamrell (1962) op. cit.}

\footnote{Marceino dos Santos: 'Mogambiques Vintan' ('Mozambique's Waiting') in Ehnmark & Hamrell (1962) op. cit., pp. 121-139.}

\footnote{For example, 'Moqambique pA vAg attbli eft nytt Angola' ('Mozambique on the way of becoming a new Angola') in Dagens Nyheter, 28 December 1962.}

\footnote{Interview with Joaquim Chissano, Maputo, 2 May 1996. Following the violent deaths of Olof Palme in February and Samora Machel in October 1986, Carlsson and Chissano would two and a half decades later lead their respective parties and governments.}

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tive".\footnote{He was, however, not given the opportunity to pursue the discussion. Immediately after the Oslo meeting, Chissano-who then studied in Poitiers, France-was recalled to Africa, where he settled in Dar es Salaam. Appointed to FRELIMO's Central Committee, serving as the movement's representative to Tanzania and later coordinating the armed struggle against the Portuguese, Chissano's appearance in Oslo was his "last job to [...] promote the liberation struggle in Europe".\footnote{He only returned to the Nordic countries in November 1970, after the assassination of the FRELIMO President Eduardo Mondlane. It was instead Mondlane himself who with his American-born wife Janet Rae Mondlane became directly responsible for FRELIMO's successful diplomacy towards Sweden and the other Nordic countries. Between September 1964 and October 1967, the FRELIMO President visited Sweden on not less than five different occasions, meeting a wide range of organizations and laying the foundation for the quite extraordinary support FRELIMO enjoyed in Sweden. Albeit indirectly, via the Mozambique Institute in Dar es Salaam-headed by Janet Mondlane-FRELIMO became in 1965 the first Southern African liberation movement to receive Swedish humanitarian support. In addition, a particular FRELIMO support group was set up in Uppsala in 1966 and the first Swedish parliamentary motion for official assistance to a Southern African liberation movement was submitted in favour of FRELIMO in 1967. Finally, a high-ranking official FRELIMO representative was after direct consultations with the ruling Social Democratic Party stationed in Sweden towards the end of 1967. Through active and non-partisan diplomacy, Eduardo and Janet Mondlane managed to mobilize support for FRELIMO across the socialist and non-socialist political blocs and over the often quite deep divide between the established political parties and the reorganized, post-Vietnam solidarity movement. Oliver Tambo of ANC of South Africa would play a similar role from the beginning of the 1970s, but during the second half of the 1960s it was undoubtedly the Mondlanes who not only actively contributed to the development of the Swedish solidarity opinion with Southern Africa, but also very skilfully without compromising their own principles-avoided the dangers of dividing it along political or ideological lines. Of decisive importance was that the organization}
Mondlane represented was the undisputed national liberation movement of Mozambique. Although opposing groups existed and emerged, FRELIMO's leading role was never challenged internally or called into question externally. In addition, FRELIMO always maintained a strictly non-aligned course, notably vis-N-vis the Sino-Soviet conflict.4

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid. In addition, the future Mozambican President worked as a tutor in mathematics at the Mozambique Institute (Mozambique Institute: 'Report', Dar es Salaam, 1 September 1965) (AJC).
3 With-as always-the exception of the Moderate Party.
4 Nevertheless, FRELIMO was counted among the so-called 'authentic' movements of the Khartoum alliance supported by the Soviet Union.

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While the nationalist struggle in Angola exploded onto the international arena at the beginning of 1961, the Mozambican opposition to Portugal's colonial rule was more scattered and rudimentary. The Portuguese tried to insulate Mozambique from the changes happening elsewhere in Africa, but a large part of the population-around half a million at any given time-was working as migrant labourers in the neighbouring countries and exposed to political ideas suppressed inside the country. The expatriate Mozambicans were in a better position to respond to the first decolonization wave in Africa towards the late 1950s, forming a number of mainly regional or ethnically based movements. Most important were UDENAMO and MANU. The National Democratic Union of Mozambique (UDENAMO)2 had been formed by people from southern Mozambique living in Rhodesia in 1960, while the Mozambique African National Union (MANU)3 emerged from an ethnic Makonde self-help organization in Tanganyika in 1961, representing interests in northern Mozambique. A third organization, the African National Union of Independent Mozambique (UNAMI)4, was at about the same time set up by expatriates from central Mozambique in Nyasaland. Encouraged by CONCP and guided by Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana,5 the three movements came together for a unity conference in Dar es Salaam in June 1962, where the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO)6-the first truly national Mozambican liberation movement-was created. Three months later-in September 1962-the movement was properly launched by an inaugural congress, which inter alia declared that the objectives of the front were "to promote unity among Mozambicans; develop literacy, women's education and cadre training [...]; and seek broad international support for the forthcoming struggle to liberate Mozambique".7 In anticipation of the struggle, FRELIMO soon sent young volunteers to newly independent Algeria for military training. Finally, the inaugural congress appointed Eduardo Mondlane,8 the most distinguished black Mozambican and at

2 In Portuguese, Unido Denocratica Nacional de Moanbique
3 Original name in English.
4 In Portuguese, Unido Nacional Afuicana de Moanbique Indeperulente.
5 Mondlane later wrote that Nyerere and Nkrumah strongly urged the Mozambicans to unite, or "at least to avoid the tragic division which is now hurting the cause of freedom in Angola" (Eduardo Mondlane: 'The struggle for independence in Mozambique' [no place or date, but probably Dar es Salaam April 1963]).

6 In Portuguese, Frente de Libertação de Moçambique.

7 Cited in Marcum (1969) op. cit., p. 284.

8 Born of peasant parents in the southern Mozambican district of Gaza, after primary education in Mozambique and secondary studies in South Africa Mondlane managed to get a scholarship to the Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg. However, in 1949 he was dismissed for being a 'foreign native'. Returning to Lourenço Marques, Mondlane was arrested by the Portuguese. He was eventually able to go to Lisbon in mid-1950, where he registered at the Faculty of Letters. He later commented that "as far as I know, I was the first black Mozambican ever to enter Lisbon University" (Mondlane op. cit.). While in Lisbon, Mondlane met a number of students and intellectuals

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the time an assistant professor of anthropology at Syracuse University in New York, as FRELIMO's first President. Widely known and respected for his nationalist positions, Mondlane was a compromise candidate insofar as he had not been closely associated with any of the previous movements. Marcelino dos Santos of UDENAMO was elected Secretary for External Affairs.

FRELIMO's early beginnings were fraught with difficulties. Immediately after the inaugural congress, Mondlane returned to the United States for a last year of teaching and the movement did not really begin to command support until after his final return to Dar es Salaam in 1963. During the following year, Mondlane actively started to build an international support base for FRELIMO, which had been recognized as the only representative Mozambican liberation movement by OAU in 1963. Together with Janet Rae Mondlane he also set up the Mozambique Institute in Dar es Salaam to give primary instruction and teach nursing skills to young Mozambican refugees and prepare them for further education. At the same time, the preparations for the armed struggle continued. It was eventually launched on 25 September 1964.

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from the Portuguese colonies, such as Agostinho Neto and Mario de Andrade from Angola, Amílcar Cabral from Guinea and Marcelino dos Santos from his own country. Constantly harassed by the secret police, he left Portugal for the United States in late 1951, gaining a Ph.D. in sociology at Northwestern University, Illinois. In 1957, Mondlane joined the Department of Trusteeship of the United Nations in New York, for the following four years working as a research officer on the situation in Tanganyika, South West Africa and the Cameroons. He visited Mozambique as a UN official in 1961, but resigned from the world organization later in the year, joining the Syracuse University in New York as an assistant professor in anthropology. At the same time, he openly
joined the Mozambican nationalist movement and was invited to attend the founding conference of FRELIMO in June 1962.

1 A number of smaller groups left FRELIMO in 1962-63. In June 1965, they coalesced into the Revolutionary Committee of Mozambique (Comitê Revolucionário de Moçambique; COREMO), which set up headquarters in Lusaka with the Zambian government's permission. Referring to the Swedish assistance to FRELIMO's Mozambique Institute and claiming that the organization had over four thousand Mozambicans under its care in Zambia, in June 1966 COREMO unsuccessfully addressed a request for financial support to SIDA (letter from Mazunzo M. Bobo, COREMO National Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to Ernst Michanek, Director General of SIDA, Lusaka, 15 June 1966) (SDA). At about the same time, the organization was noted by the South Africa Committees in Lund and Uppsala. Next to FRELIMO, the information bulletin Syndi- och Sydviistafrrika thus presented COREMO as "a second fighting organization [...], operating in the southern part [of Mozambique]" (No. 10, 1966, p. 5), while the Uppsala committee in mid-1967 at one stage included it among ten Southern African liberation movements for which it raised funds (Uppsala South Africa Committee: 'Verksamhetsberättelse fdr tiden 23 februari 1967-29 februari 1968/' Report for the period 23 February 1967-29 February 1968', Uppsala, 17 February 1968) (UPA).

2 Returning to the United States after the FRELIMO congress in September 1962, Mondiane left the running of the movement to his 'personal representative', a black American by the name of Leo Clinton Aldridge (alias Leo Milas). Born in Texas, USA, Aldridge masqueraded as a Mozambican of Zulu parentage. Confronted as an impostor, he proceeded to expel several newly elected FRELIMO officials, thereby largely contributing to its initial problems and dissensions. Quite remarkably, Aldridge-promoted to the position of Secretary for Defence and Security-remained in FRELIMO until August 1964, when he was finally exposed and expelled. In revenge, he accused Eduardo Mondlane of being an agent of the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

3 In Portuguese, Instituto Mogambicano.

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Eduardo and Janet Mondlane visited Sweden for the first time in mid-September 1964. As earlier noted, the Swedish National Union of Students had after the formation of the Nationalist government in South Africa in 1948 and its decision to withdraw state scholarships to black students at the University of Witwatersrand supported the efforts by the National Union of South African Students in favour of the students. The future Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme participated in the campaign and Eduardo Mondlane-expelled from university for being "a foreign native"-was one of the beneficiaries. The loose connection to Sweden was, however, not known by the FRELIMO President at the time of his first visit. Behind the initiative to go to Sweden was instead his wife Janet, prompted by developments at the Mozambique Institute in Dar es Salaam. During their visits to Mozambique in 1961 and to Tanzania in 1962, the Mondlanes had become acutely aware of the low standards of education offered to
the black population inside the country and of the plight of the Mozambican youth in exile. After the formation of FRELIMO, Mrs. Mondlane, however, wrote that the spirit and determination of [the young refugees] is high. They know what they are after. They believe in their future and they are only asking for help to send them along their way. It is going to be a long, long way from that airless, mosquitoridden, lightless, cement-block house [in exile] where they have little to eat, to the leadership of a large African country [...]. But that is where [they] are headed. It is on them that the leadership of Mozambique will depend. It will come from them and [...] those that follow then. [S]omething should be done [...] to see that they get to [...] school as quickly as possible. The time is very short. [It] will be important for building a nation [...] for which so much is needed.1

Returning to Dar es Salaam in 1963, the Mondlanes attached high priority to the question of refugee education, setting up the Mozambique Institute. Albeit a FRELIMO institution, it was formally organized as a registered Tanzanian trust, with the Minister of Education of the host country as honorary chairman, the Principal of the Dar es Salaam University College as secretary and the Tanzanian Director of Development and Planning as treasurer.2 With strong links to the academic world in the United States, the Mondlanes managed to raise funds from the US Ford Foundation, initially to construct a hostel for fifty young Mozambicans who would attend local Tanzanian schools and be given tutoring by senior Mozambicans. Ground was broken on the hostel site at Kurasini outside the Tanzanian capital and in early September 1964 the first Mozambican students moved into the building. The Mozambique Institute was from the outset a thorn in the flesh to the Portuguese. The Lisbon government brought pressure to bear on the United States to withdraw American assistance to the institute and, in turn, the US government prevailed upon the Ford Foundation to do so.1 The support from the foundation was suddenly discontinued. According to Joaquim Chissano-also active as a tutor at the institute-"the point made by the Ford Foundation was that we [in FRELIMO] were embarking on armed struggle for liberation, which they could not understand".2 Shortly after its conception, the whole educational effort was thus "collapsing".3 In this situation, Janet Mondlane managed via Z.K. Matthews at the World Council of Churches in Geneva to secure bridging funds for the institute,4 but no longer term commitments to FRELIMO's educational plans. "In my mind", Janet Mondlane later explained,


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The Mondlanes' first visit to Sweden. Eduardo and Janet Mondlane met by Sven Hamrell of the Verdandi association at the Uppsala railway station, 12 September 1964. (Photo. The Uppland County Museum)

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1 Interview with Janet Mondlane, Maputo, 30 April 1996 and interview with Sôrgio Vieira, Maputo, 29 April 1996.
2 Interview with Joaquim Chissano, Maputo, 2 May 1996.
3 Ibid.
4 Interview with Janet Mondlane, Maputo, 30 April 1996. Professor Zachariah Keodirelang (Z.K.) Matthews, former Principal of the University College of Fort Hare and member of the National

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I searched around, thinking how the world was at the time. I thought about Sweden, in great part because my grandparents were Swedish1 and I always felt a kind of alliance with the Swedish people. Thinking about that, I decided that I must go to Sweden. I invited myself [and] went [...] looking for funds. My husband joined me later.2
The visit to Sweden by Janet and Eduardo Mondlane in September 1964 was of far-reaching importance. Eduardo Mondlane was the first incumbent leader of any Southern African liberation movement to directly present his views to the broader Swedish public. It is noteworthy that the FRELIMO President and his wife-who later established privileged contacts in Sweden-had to invite themselves for their first visit. This reflected, however, the fact that the Swedish Southern Africa opinion at the time was mainly preoccupied with South Africa and Namibia, leaving little attention to the struggle in the Portuguese colonies. Over the years, the Mondlanes actively contributed to a change in this regard. Even in his first interview in Sweden, Eduardo Mondlane said that he wished "that Sweden would take the same position vis-a-vis the Portuguese as [it does] towards South Africa"3 and in her talks Janet Mondlane discussed the situation in both Mozambique and Angola.4
According to the FRELIMO President, the purpose of his first visit was to try to create the basis for a more active [Swedish] opinion against Portugal, with the objective that Sweden adopts economic sanctions against the colonial power; supports us morally at the United Nations and in other international organizations; and gives [us] material assistance, in particular for [...] education.5
Although the Mondlanes did establish contact with the ruling Social Democratic Party,6 it was not the central political issues that dominated their first visit, but the question of education. This was given high priority by FRELIMO and was also the direct reason for the trip to Sweden. On his arrival, Eduardo Mondlane said that "it is actually easier for us to obtain weapons than educational assistance"7 and during their stay the Mondlanes publicly addressed both the general issue of education in Africa and the more specific problem of refugee education. While in Uppsala, for example, Janet Mondlane gave two lectures at the university, one on 'African Refugee Problems', arranged by the Executive Committee of ANC, was at the time Africa Secretary in the Division of Inter-Church Aid of the Refugee and World Service of WCC.

1 N.~e Johnson, Janet Rae Mondlane's grandparents had emigrated from northern Sweden. Their Swedish family name was Johansson.
2 Interview with Janet Mondlane, Maputo, 30 April 1996. 3' Moganib iqueledare vidjar för aktion mot Portugal' ('Mozambique leader appeals for action against Portugal') in Dagens Nyheter, 12 September 1964.
4 Michael Sohnhnan: 'Information to Verdandi's members', Uppsala [no date] (UPA).
5 Dagens Nyheter, 12 September 1964.
6 Interview with Janet Mondlane, Maputo, 30 April 1996.
7 Dagens Nyheter, 12 September 1964.

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Verdandi student association.1 and-together with her husband-another on 'Problems of African Education' under the auspices of the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.2

It was the active and influential Verdandi student association in Uppsala3 that served as the Mondlanes' host.4 Sven Hamrell, who two years earlier with Anders Ehnmark had co-edited the political anthology Africans on Africa published by Verdandi5-and who was well informed about CONCP, FRELIMO and the struggle in Mozambique, was a leading member of the association. He was also attached to the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies and a member of the Swedish South Africa Committee. Centrally positioned, Hamrell was instrumental6 in bringing the Mondlanes into contact with the Swedish aid agency NIB7 and the Consultative Committee on Education Support to African Refugee Youth,8 appointed by the government only the previous month. This was, indeed, a key contact, not only for FRELIMO, but also for Sweden's future support to Southern Africa.

The Swedish parliament had in May 1964 approved the Social Democratic government's submission to allocate one million SEK for scholarships and educational assistance to African refugee youth from "South Africa, [...] South West Africa and [...] certain other not yet self-governing areas". In order to advise the government on the utilization of the 'refugee million' a consultative committee was appointed on 13 August 1964. At its first meeting on 21 August, it resolved that the secretary, Thord Palmlund, should as soon as possible travel to Southern Africa to identify education institutions that could accommodate refugee students and administer Swedish grants.

Palmlund's exploratory mission to Africa took place in November 1964, leading to decisions on the distribution of the 'refugee million' at the beginning of 1965. At the time of Eduardo and Janet Mondlane's visit in mid-September 1964, the budgetary allocation was thus still uncommitted. As the Mozambique Institute-corresponding to the spirit of the Swedish intentions and organized as a private trust in a country with which Sweden maintained close relations1 Michael Sohlmian: 'Information to Verdandi's members', Uppsala [no date] (UPA).
3 The Verdandi student association in Uppsala was founded in 1882 by Karl Staff and Hjalnar Branting as a forum for political and cultural debate on issues where the liberal and the labour movements shared interests and values, described as
"radical humanism". Staff and Branting later became the leading politicians in Sweden, responsible for the introduction of parliamentarism and universal franchise. The Liberal Karl Staff served as Prime Minister in 1905-06 and in 1911-14, while the Social Democrat Hjalmar Branting held the same post in 1920, 1921-23 and 1924-25.

4 Dagens Nyheter, 12 September 1964.
5 The study Angola-Mozanbique by Ehnmark and Wiistberg was also published in the series 'Verdandi Debat' ('Verdandi Debate'), launched in 1961.
7 NIB was, as earlier noted, reorganized as SIDA from 1 July 1965.
8 That is, the Consultative Committee on Humanitarian Assistance (CCHA).

The Mondlanes and FRELIMO of Mozambique was facing a financial crisis, it was quite natural that the appeals for support by the FRELIMO President and the director of the institute would fall on fertile ground.1 Despite the fact that without previous contacts Janet Mondlane had decided to go to Sweden, the visit took place for quite fortuitous reasons at a crucial moment, paving the way for Sweden's official involvement with FRELIMO and other liberation movements in Southern Africa. Thord Palm Lund visited the Mozambique Institute in mid-November 1964 and on 15 May 1965 the first Swedish grant-amounting to 150,000 SEK and donated for the general purposes of the institute, as well as for the purchase of a hostel for female students-was officially presented to the Tanzanian Minister of Education by the Swedish chargé d'affaires in Dar es Salaam, Knut Granstedt.3 Albeit formally indirect, it was the first official Swedish humanitarian grant to any liberation movement in Southern Africa. The decision never caused a political controversy in Sweden. On the contrary, it was wholly supported by the opposition Liberal Party. In fact, while still the secretary general of WAY, the Liberal David Wirmark had established close contacts with Eduardo Mondlane and had also been received at the Mozambique Institute.4 In addition, the future Swedish Prime Minister Ola Ullsten, at the time chairman of the Liberal Party Youth League, had in October 1964-that is, before Palm Lund-already paid a visit to the FRELIMO school, vividly describing the conditions of the Mozambican refugees in a longer article in Dagens Nyheter two months later. Referring to the uncommitted 'refugee million', Ullsten concluded that "it is difficult to find a better planned project than this. [...] We can afford to help. To teach African children algebra and English can only be a slight threat to our neutrality".5 The early involvement by leading Liberal opinion makers in favour of FRELIMO added to the party's commitment to official Swedish support to the Southern African liberation movements. In the case of Mozambique, the Liberal Party-in the Cold War divide clearly defending Western positions and a principled champion of free trade-would not only turn a blind eye to FRELIMO's socialist visions and to the military support received from the Soviet Union, but forcefully advocate Portugal's expulsion from EFTA. The Liberal Party thus appeared to criticize the Social Democratic Party and government from the left. In the case of
Angola, however, the Liberal Party expressed support for FNLA—the main rival of FRELIMO's CONCP ally MPLA.

1. Anders M61lander mentions that the Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere wrote to the Swedish government about the plight of the Mozambican refugees in the country, asking for support to the Mozambique Institute via the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation in Uppsala (M61lander op. cit., p. 21).

2. Letter from Eduardo Mondlane to David Wirmark, Dares Salaam, 19 November 1964 (MHA).


5. 01a Ullster 'Strid flyktningströmm från Mozambique' ('Strong refugee stream from Mozambique') in Dagens Nyheter, 13 December 1964.

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-placing itself to the right of the Social Democrats. The inconsistency eventually worked against Swedish official support to FNLA.

The unplanned, but highly successful, first visit by Eduardo and Janet Mondlane to Sweden took place immediately before the launch of FRELIMO's armed struggle against the Portuguese. Nevertheless, the FRELIMO President did not hide that the movement was about to use violence. On the contrary, showing a remarkable trust in his newly found Swedish interlocutors Mondlane revealed to Per Wastberg of the Consultative Committee on Humanitarian Assistance that "something surprising [soon] would happen, on a table-napkin [writing] a date he favoured highly, [namely] 25 September 1964". On that day—only two weeks later—FRELIMO initiated the armed struggle by attacking a Portuguese post in the northern Mozambican district of Cabo Delgado. As in the cases of MPLA or ANC—and later SWAPO, ZANU and ZAPU—the question of armed response to the oppression and political exclusion of the majority of the population would not stand in the way of official Swedish humanitarian assistance.

Official Support to the Mozambique Institute

Beginning as a simple hostel for Mozambican refugee students in Dar es Salaam, the Mozambique Institute would over the years considerably expand its activities. In addition to the main secondary school in Dar es Salaam, the institute started administrative and teacher training courses at Bagamoyo, some 70 kilometres north of the Tanzanian capital; opened a primary school for refugee children at Tunduru in southern Tanzania; and supported a growing number of 'bush schools' in the liberated areas inside Mozambique. Increasing emphasis was also given to agricultural production and self-help schemes, in particular at the Tunduru refugee camp. Finally, the Dr. Américo Boavida Hospital was inaugurated at Mtwara in June 1970. Located just north of the Mozambican border, it soon also became a medical centre for the population in the liberated areas, which, in addition, in 1970 already was serviced by over thirty medical posts and a number of first-aid stations.

During the second half of the 1960s, the Mozambique Institute changed character from a secondary school project to that of "a technical and fundraising institution
working in the fields of health, education, welfare and economic development'4
both among the refugee population in Tanzania and inside Mozambique.
Although formally not a FRELIMO structure, it was led by
1Wiistberg (1986) op. cit., p. 113.
2 Amico Boavida was a prominent black Angolan doctor, killed in a Portuguese
helicopter attack on MPLA in eastern Angola in 1968.
3 Janet Rae Mondlane: 'Background information for project proposal submitted to
DANIDA' [no place or date, but probably Dar es Salaam, January 1971], p. 3
(MHA).

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President Mondlane's wife and for all practical purposes part of the liberation
movement. Under Janet Mondlane's active and able directorship, the institute
managed from the end of the 1960s to raise considerable financial and material
resources for its activities,1 thereby broadening FRELIMO's international support
base. As would be the case a decade and a half later with ANC's Solomon
Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO)-also situated in Tanzania
what began as an education project developed into an important diplomatic and
economic undertaking for the liberation movement.
In the mid-1960s, the Mozambique Institute was a unique project. No other
Southern African liberation movement had embarked upon anything similar.2
Although strictly humanitarian, it was, however, from the beginning actively
opposed by the Portuguese, who managed to persuade the US government to
block continued support from the Ford Foundation. Dependent upon the Soviet
Union, China and other Eastern countries for military supplies, it threatened to
place FRELIMO exclusively in the Eastern camp, which the non-aligned
liberation movement firmly wanted to avoid. As later stated by the FRELIMO
leader Sörgio Vieira, "we made a tremendous effort to depolarize [...] the
liberation struggle, [because] decolonization was not [a] Cold War [issue]''.4 In its
political work inside Mozambique, it was for the same reason important for
FRELIMO to be able to show that the West was not a monolithic entity and break
the perception of a 'bad-good, West-East' dichotomy.5 From FRELIMO's point of
view, the significance of the grant to the Mozambique Institute thus surpassed the
strict humanitarian purpose for which it was given. Not only did it come at a
crucial time for the institute, but it was the first official financial contribution by
any Western government—moreover allied to Portugal within EFTA—to the
nationalist movement.
The first Swedish grant to the institute was given to its education programme.
Amounting to 150,000 SEK, it was covered under the so-called 'refugee million'
for the financial year 1964/65. Modest in financial terms, it did, however,
represent 15% of the first ever specific Swedish budgetary allocation for
humanitarian assistance to Southern Africa, constituting the biggest single item of
the allocation. The assistance was extended as a cash contribution
1 In 1971, for example, the Mozambique Institute received contributions in cash
and kind from non-governmental organizations in Canada, England, Finland,
Holland, Sweden, USA and West Germany. It was in the same year assisted by the Lutheran World Federation and the World Council of Churches, as well as by the governments of Denmark, Holland, Norway and Sweden (The Mozambique Institute: Mozambique and the Mozambique Institute 1972, Dar es Salaam, [no date], p. 56).

2 In April 1966, SWAFO's General Secretary Jacob Kuhangua circulated a proposal at the United Nations to establish a Namibia Institute in Tanzania. It was, however, only in 1976 that the UN Institute for Namibia opened in Lusaka, Zambia.

3 See, for example, interview with Joaquim Chissano, Maputo, 2 May 1996 and interview with Shrgio Vieira, Maputo, 29 April 1996.

4 Interview with Shrgio Vieira, Maputo, 29 April 1996.

5 Interview with Jorge Rebelo, Maputo, 1 May 1996.

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to be administered by the Mozambique Institute. It was increased to 200,000 in 1965/66 and to 300,000 SEK in 1966/67, granted as "support to the activity in general, [without] further specification". By the time the institute was forced to close in March 1968, a total of 1.7 million SEK had been disbursed. This amount similarly corresponded to approximately 15% of the total Swedish humanitarian support to Southern Africa during the five years 1964/651968/69. Via the Mozambique Institute, FRELIMO was thus a major recipient of official Swedish support long before the secondary school students, the university organizations and the organized solidarity movement initiated their important campaigns for the movement5 and almost a decade before Swedish government assistance was extended to ANC of South Africa. Although the Swedish involvement with the nationalist cause in Southern Africa began in reaction to apartheid South Africa and the issue of Mozambique was the last to appear on the Swedish scene, it was thus the latter that materially opened the way for Sweden's commitment to the regional struggle for self-determination, majority rule and democracy.

Despite close and regular relations with Eduardo and Janet Mondlane, the support to the Mozambique Institute would, nevertheless, due to conflicts within the Mozambican liberation movement be suspended in 1968. It was to resume only in 1971, but then as part of a direct cooperation programme with FRELIMO. Some of the more influential Swedish NGOs had in the meantime embarked upon important campaigns in favour of both the Mozambique Institute and FRELIMO, in the process linking up with other Nordic actors and broadening the support for Mozambique.

What provoked the suspension of the Swedish assistance was an open conflict at the institute's secondary school in Dar es Salaam at the beginning of 1968. This was in many respects a prelude to the internal FRELIMO struggle that culminated in the assassination of Eduardo Mondlane in February 1969 and which was not ultimately solved until Samora Machel assumed the presidency in May 1970. The immediate cause of the crisis was the refusal by a group of students to participate in the liberation effort. At an early stage, FRELIMO had laid down that "it is only through practical experience in nationbuilding and self-help that the students [at
the institute] may begin to understand the difficulties gained upon winning independence". Before being allow1 SIDA: 'Svenskt utvecklingsbistAnd genom FN ochbilaterali' ('Swedish development assistance via the UN and bilaterally'), Stockholm, February 1967 (SDA).


3 CCHA: 'Beredningen f6r studiest6d och humanitirt bistAnd till afrikanska flyktingar och nationella befrielser6relser med fbrslag till program under budgetAret 1970/71' ('The consultative committee on education support and humanitarian assistance to African refugees and national liberation movements, with proposed programme for the financial year 1970/71'), Stockholm, 29 June 1970 (SDA).

4 Ibid.

5 In late 1966, a first fund-raising 'Swedish FRELIMO Group' was formed in Uppsala.

The Mondlanes and FRELIMO of Mozambique ed to pursue further studies abroad, the students were required to "take up responsibilities in the semi-liberated zones of Mozambique".1 Bonding to the liberation struggle could be prescribed for a period of up to two years. Lured by greener pastures in the United States or Europe and agitated by the young Mozambican Catholic priest and teacher Mateus Gwenjere—a severe critic of Eduardo Mondlane, branding him a "traitor [who] moves too slowly and speaks too softly"2—the students went on strike in January 1968. Accusing Janet Mondlane of CIA connections and turning against both the white Mozambican and expatriate teachers, the strike continued, eventually leading to a walkout by more than a hundred students and to the closure of the school in March 1968. Two months later-on 10 May 1968—FRELIMO's main office in Dar es Salaam was raided and a member of the Central Committee stabbed to death.3

The conflict around the Mozambique Institute was given prominent coverage in the Swedish media. Not only did it unfold immediately after Anders Johansson as the first international journalist ever had visited the liberated areas in northern Mozambique and at the start of the Cabora Bassa debate, but it also involved a young Swedish teacher, as well as harsh comments in the official press of the host country. Largely echoing the criticism by Gwenjere and the dissident Mozambican students, the official Tanzanian newspaper The Nationalist argued the day after the attack on the FRELIMO office in an editorial that "negligence on the part of some leaders of the liberation movements in observing the rights of the individual members [...] leads to squabbles and fights".4 More importantly, at a mass rally to mark Africa Liberation Day in Dar es Salaam, two weeks later the Tanzanian First Vice-President Karume criticized "freedom fighters [for making] friends with people [they] fully well knew were [their] enemies", asking them "to avoid luxuries". With racist overtones, Karume advised the liberation movements: "If you find an enemy, kill him. An African does not have to take a white war prisoner. What [would] you give him? He does not eat [maize porridge] or
cassava". Finally, at the end of May The Nationalist stated in an editorial largely interpreted as directed against Eduardo and Janet Mondlane that some freedom fighters have given in to pleasure seeking instead of going to the frontline or even doing anything really serious about the struggle [I...] for freedom and national independence. Others live luxuriously in air conditioned bungalows in independent African countries at a time when their own people are suffering.

2 Cited in Henriksen op. cit., p. 178.
4 The Nationalist, 11 May 1968.
5 Kamme cited from 'Beware of the enemy within' in The Standard, 27 May 1968.
6 Letter from Eduardo Mondlane to Lourenqo Mutaca, Dares Salaam, 21 June 1968 (MHA).

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from untold colonial cruelties. There are even some among them who go to the extent of owning expensive semi-golden rocking chairs in their houses simply to enjoy a type of [b]ohemian pleasure, which is so bitterly unrealistic for a freedom fighter.

[...] Even more curious and dangerous is the kind of fraternisation some freedom fighters exercise towards the agents of the very enemies of their struggle. It is not rare in Dar es Salaam, for example, to see a freedom fighter locked in heavy drinking bouts with strange faces of white men. True, some of these people pose as 'liberals', 'democrats', 'socialists' or even 'anti-colonialists'. But such are the very tricks about which freedom fighters should be extremely watchful. [...] A true African freedom fighter should look for more than that. [He] should be extra careful about such guises which the agents of the enemy may employ through drinks, diplomatic parties or cheap bribes.

At the same time, the anti-white sentiments stirred up by Father Gwenjere and to varying degrees supported by members of Nyerere's government led to the immediate expulsion from Tanzania of three white Mozambican FRELIMO members and of Birgitta Karlström, a young Swedish volunteer at the Mozambique Institute. Among the Mozambicans given forty-eight hours to leave the country on 27 May 1968 was Dr. Helder Martins, responsible for FRELIMO's medical services in Tanzania and later the first Minister for Health in independent Mozambique. Another was the future member of FRELIMO's Political Bureau, Minister of Security, Economic Affairs and Cooperation, Jacinto Veloso, who as a lieutenant in a spectacular fashion had defected from the Portuguese Air Force by flying his plane across the border to Tanzania in 1963.

It was the expulsion of Karlström that attracted the attention of the major Swedish newspapers, noting that the motives behind the unusual action were unclear. The FRELIMO President and the Swedish embassy in Dar es Salaam tried in vain to get them clarified and the decision nullified in discussions with the Tanzanian government. While the immigration authorities referred to an instruction from...
the Foreign Ministry, the Second Vice-President Rashidi Kawawa explained that Karlström did not have a proper work permit.6 Ac1 The Nationalist, 28 May 1968.

2 Interviewed in 1996, Janet Mondlane said that "a lot of strange things were said about me by some FRELIMO members [...] who were allied with some members of the Tanzanian government. [That] made my life very difficult" (interview with Janet Mondlane, Maputo, 30 April 1996).

3 The third Mozambican-born so-called Portuguese to be expelled was Fernando Ganhao, who earlier had deserted from a Portuguese battalion in Mozambique and at the time served as representative of the council of teachers at the Mozambique Institute. 4For example, in Svenska Dagbladet, 2 and 5 June 1968 and in Dagens Nyheter('Utvisadur Tanzania utan at veta orsaken' /'Expelled from Tanzania without knowing the reason'), 5 June 1968. 5'Promemoria' ('Memorandum') from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (based on communications with the Swedish embassy in Dar es Salaam) to Ernst Michanek, SIDA, Stockholm, 10 June 1968 (SDA).

6 Ibid.

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According to Mondlane, the true reason behind the expulsion was that she was close to one of the expelled Mozambicans.1 Although the decision to expel Karlström and the three white Mozambican teachers initially was seen as an official Tanzanian stand in favour of the dissident students,2 subsequent developments showed that the Mozambique Institute continued to enjoy the support of the host government. A commission of enquiry rejected the claims by Gwenjere and the dissident students as "unjustified"3 and President Nyerere made it clear that he wished to see a continuation of the activities.4 Nevertheless, to exercise closer control over the institute-originally set up as a private trust-the government requested closer links to the Tanzanian Ministry of Education. The question was solved in mid-1968. At the same time as the FRELIMO Central Committee formally declared that the institute formed part of the liberation movement, the secondary school was officially registered as an institution within the jurisdiction of the government of Tanzania.5

A lack of teachers resulting from the 1968 expulsions, the assassination of Eduardo Mondlane and the subsequent crisis within FRELIMO would, however, considerably delay both the re-opening of the secondary school and the resumption of the official Swedish assistance. In addition, the fact that FRELIMO's official representative to Sweden, Lourenço Mutacapersonally appointed by Eduardo Mondlane and with a strong Swedish base-suddenly left the movement in early 1970 gave rise to questions about the situation in the organization. Finally-after two and a half years-the Mozambique Institute's secondary school re-opened in Bagamoyo in late October 1970. The re-opening 1 Ibid. Jacinto Veloso and Birgitta Karlström were close friends. Veloso had also established a friendship with the Swedish journalist Anders Johansson in connection with his visit to Tanzania and the liberated areas in northern Mozambique in early 1968. Settling in Algiers after the expulsion from Tanzania,
Veloso remained over the following years in close contact with Karlström and Johansson, through them trying to get a scholarship to study in Sweden. An experienced military aviator, he initially expressed the wish to study for a commercial pilot's licence (letter from Jacinto Veloso to Anders Johansson, Algiers, 31 January 1969) (AJC). Closely involved with FRELIMO's political work, he, however, later changed his mind, opting for training as a documentary film producer. After a private visit to Sweden in mid-1969 where "the fields reminded me of [...] the African savannas"-Veloso wrote to Johansson, informing him that both SIDA and IUEF had turned down his applications for a scholarship, but that "the Norwegians" were ready to support him (letter from Jacinto Veloso to Anders Johansson, Algiers, 3 October 1969). (AJC) On his behalf, Johansson then wrote to the director of the film school at Dnamatiska Institutet in Stockholm, but Veloso was never admitted and his film plans were eventually and reluctantly abandoned. In April 1970, Mozambique's future chief negotiator with the South Africans regarding the 1984 Nkomati Accord and with the Americans around the issue of Angola and Namibia wrote to Johansson: "It's a big shock for me! I'm in a permanent depression!... [It] will finish [by] killing me! It's [an] impotent sensation in front of the 'political machine'!" letter from Jacinto Veloso to Anders Johansson, Algiers, 12 April 1970) (AJC).

2 'Promemoria' from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Stockholm, 10 June 1968.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid. The crisis at the Mozambique Institute focused on the secondary school in Dar es Salaam, only marginally and indirectly affecting its other activities.
5 Letter from Eduardo Mondlane to Lourenço Mutaca, Dares Salaam, 21 June 1968 (MHA).

Tor Sellström had been well prepared by Janet Mondlane and her staff. The Swedish government's assistance-including the secondment of two science teachers-resumed soon thereafter, but now as part of a more comprehensive, direct humanitarian support programme to the liberation movement. By that time, broadly based fund-raising campaigns by Swedish secondary school and university students had turned both the Mozambique Institute and FRELIMO into popular and well known names in Sweden.

Support via the Methodist Church in Mozambique
Before turning to the Swedish youth and students' campaigns, it should be noted that one of the Swedish free churches-the United Methodist Church in Sweden-from the second half of the 1960s channelled official Swedish support to a secondary school programme in favour of black students inside Mozambique. Official Swedish humanitarian assistance to Southern Africa started in the mid-1960s as education support to young Africans in exile. With the exception of education programmes in favour of political prisoners, only rarely did the government in the beginning channel funds to disadvantaged groups within the respective countries. In the case of Mozambique, the early support to the Mozambique Institute in Tanzania was, however, from 1967 supplemented by a programme in favour of Protestant-run secondary schools in Lourenço Marques...
The Church of Sweden Mission and a number of Swedish free churches had from the second half of the 19th century established a significant presence (South Africa and Zimbabwe) and close contacts (Namibia) in Southern Africa. Mainly due to the control exercised in community of interests by the Portuguese colonial authorities and the Catholic church,4 no direct Swedish mission1 There were at the time those who questioned the role of Janet Mondlane, both among Swedish government officials and within the solidarity movement. This was not so within FRELIMO, however. In mid-1970, FRELIMO's Central Committee paid particular attention to the activities of the Mozambique Institute, "commending [its leaders] for the important work carried out to raise funds and secure technical assistance for our programmes in the fields of health, education, social affairs, information and development" (A Voz da Revolução, July 1970, p. 7). The official FRELIMO journal A Voz da Revolução was mainly distributed within Mozambique.

2 Bo and Ulla Hammarström (letter ('Job description for Bosse and Ulla Hammarstrom') from Gabriel Simbine, Headmaster of the Mozambique Institute, to SIDA, Dar es Salaam, 11 December 1969) (SDA).

3 In Swedish Metodistkyrkans Yttre Mission.

4 The community of interests between the Portuguese state and the Catholic church largely explains why practically all the nationalist leaders of the 1960 generation in Angola and Mozambique had a background in Protestant churches. In the case of Angola, Agostinho Neto of MPLA was a Methodist, while Holden Roberto of FNLA was a Baptist and Jonas Savimbi of UNITA a Protestant of the United Church. In Mozambique, Eduardo Mondlane received his primary education in Methodist schools. By the same token, in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) it was the Protestant activity was, however, established in Angola or Mozambique. Nevertheless, in both countries Swedish Methodists supported and participated in the international, American-led Methodist mission. Established in Mozambique at the end of the 19th century and using African vernaculars for instruction, the Methodist mission soon extended its range. It was, however, increasingly opposed by the Portuguese regime. The use of African languages was banned in 1921 and in 1941 the Estatuto Missionário1 was passed to further limit the influence of the Protestant schools. Catholicism became from then on in effect the official religion of the colony and "African education [...] organized in three stages, each of which was designed to eliminate most students and to serve as a barrier to higher education".2 As a result, in 1950 the illiteracy rate in Mozambique was almost total, or 98%.3 Despite adverse conditions, the Methodist schools survived and in the mid-1960s the church decided to start a national scholarship programme to its secondary institutions in the Mozambican capital and later Inhambane. The United Methodist Church in Sweden applied for funds from SIDA for the programme. A first contribution-amounting to the modest amount of 30,000 SEK-was granted in
The Swedish government's financial support to the Methodist effort would from then on be a permanent feature. From 30,000, the regular annual allocation increased to 100,000 SEK in 1972. During the eight years from the financial year 1967/68 until 1974/75, a total amount of 570,000 SEK was disbursed from SIDA via the Swedish Methodists, representing about half of the budget of the secondary school programme, which, in addition, was mainly supported by the Board of Methodist Missions in New York and by the World Council of Churches in Geneva.

Under the Methodist-sponsored programme, between 150 and 200 black Mozambican students were in the early 1970s annually given scholarships to attend secondary schools. The programme also made it possible for the MethoAnglican church that supported the white minority regime, while many nationalist leaders among them Robert Mugabe were raised in an opposition Catholic missionary environment.

1 The Missionary Act between the Portuguese government and the Catholic church.
3 Ibid., Table 3.10, p. 52. The illiteracy rates in Angola and Guinea-Bissau were at the same time 97 and 99%, respectively.
6 Based on disbursement figures according to SIDA's annual accounts, established by Ulla Beckman for this study.
7 CCHA: 'Dagordning / Stipendiering i Mozambique genom Metodistkyrkans Y'ttre Mission' ('Agenda/Scholarships in Mozambique via the Mission Board of the Methodist Church in Sweden'), Stockholm, 7 April 1972 (SDA). The official Swedish support to the Methodist programme in Mozambique was discussed with FRELIMO. The liberation movement supported the programme, but was against a request submitted to SIDA by the Methodist Church in 1971 regarding the

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dist church to subsidize students who were ready to go abroad to pursue higher studies not offered to blacks in Mozambique. Some of them were sent to universities in Portugal and the United States. Among them was Graça Simbine, the future wife of the FRELIMO President Samora Machel and independent Mozambique's first Minister of Education and Culture.

FRELIMO and Vietnam

It was the popular information and fund-raising campaigns by the Swedish secondary school and university students which at the end of the 1960s definitely brought the issues of education and the struggle for national independence in
Mozambique closer to the Swedish people, in an important way contributing to FRELIMO's central role in the solidarity movement with Southern Africa. In turn, the campaigns were largely inspired by Eduardo and Janet Mondlane's early and well established contacts with the Swedish youth and student movements. The first visit to Sweden by the Mondlanes in September 1964 had, as noted, been hosted by the Verdandi student association and during their stay both the FRELIMO President and his wife, the director of the Mozambique Institute, had addressed the university students in Uppsala. Eduardo Mondlane returned to Sweden exactly one year later-in September 1965-invited by the National Council of Swedish Youth (SUL), which was coordinating the consumer boycott against apartheid South Africa initiated in March 1963. Although the second visit was given a much higher political profile than the first-including talks with Olof Palme, the ruling Social Democratic Party and the Swedish Trade Union Confederation2—it was, nevertheless, dominated by meetings with the youth and student organizations. In addition to discussions with SUL and the youth leagues of the Social Democratic, Centre and Liberal parties, Mondlane thus addressed the students at the Stockholm University on 'The Liberation Movement in South East Africa' and the university students in Uppsala concerning 'The Strategy of Liberation in Southern Africa'.4

construction of a student hostel in Lourenço Marques. CCHA followed FRELIMO's advice and the request was turned down (Ibid.) In spite of the opposition expressed by FRELIMO, the international Methodist movement, however, raised funds for the hostel Covo Lar which was opened in 1973 (Alf Helgeson: Church, State and People in Mozambique: An Historical Study with Special Emphasis on Methodist Developments in the Inhambane Region, Doctoral dissertation, Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia LiV, Uppsala, 1994, p. 360).

1 Helgesson op. cit., p. 361. Together with fellow university students in Lisbon, Graça Simbine left Portugal to join FRELIMO in Tanzania in late 1972. She subsequently took up a position with the Mozambique Institute.

2 SUL: 'Program för Dr. Eduardo Mondlane' ('Programme for Dr. Eduardo Mondlane'), Stockholm, 12 September 1965 (MHA). See also Stockholms-Tidningen, 14 September 1965.

3 During his visit to Sweden, Eduardo Mondlane also addressed the Conference of European National Youth Councils (CENYC), the European branch of the World Assembly of Youth (WAY).

4 SUL: 'Program för Dr. Eduardo Mondlane'.

The Mondlanes and FRELIMO of Mozambique
Eduardo Mondlane's speech at the University of Uppsala on 16 September 1965 would, in particular, have an impact on the emerging solidarity opinion with Mozambique. In "a very clear and candid language",1 he criticized both SUL and the Swedish South Africa Committees for their almost exclusive attention to South and South West Africa, arguing that it is an illusion to believe that the problem of South Africa is independent of the Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique, or of Southern Rhodesia, and...
that it can be solved without their freedom. It is therefore to be desired that the [Swedish] South Africa movement also will include these territories in its activities.2

In addition, Mondlane made an ardent appeal for more active and committed solidarity by the students:

Raise funds! Give us weapons! You produce excellent weapons in Sweden, but only to make money. Now you have a better outlet. [...] All of you are [also] needed in our education programme. Go down to our education centre for refugees in [Tanzania]! After four years of university studies you can afford to dedicate one year to us. Ninety-five per cent of the population in Mozambique is illiterate [and]

we need all the resources [available].3

Largely as a result of Mondlane's criticism, the Lund South Africa Committee decided in early 1966 "after mature consideration" that the information bulletin Syd- och Sydvcfstafríka from then on should also cover "the other countries in Southern Africa", arguing that "it has appeared that their problems are closely connected to the situation in South Africa".4 Various articles on Portugal's wars in Africa, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique were subsequently published. In 1966, the bulletin presented a 'General Overview' of the situation in Mozambique—with an introduction of FRELIMO 5—and an 'Anatomy of the War' in the country.6 This marked the beginning of an in creasingly intense coverage of the liberation struggle in the Portuguese colonies, while the situ

1 Dagens Nyheter, 17 September 1965.
2 Cited in Dagens Nyheter, 17 September 1965. Mondlane repeatedly made this point with all his contacts in Sweden. In a letter to David Wirmark, he wrote, for example, in November 1964—i.e. after his first visit—that "the interest that the Scandinavian people have shown so far in the strggle of the peoples of Southern Africa is almost exclusively concentrated on South Africa. We do not begrudge our brothers of South Africa this preference, because their freedom is our freedom. But now that some of you know some of the needs of the peoples in the general Southern African area, we hope that you will be able to expand your aid to include us" (letter from Eduardo Mondlane to David Wirmark, Dar es Salaam, 19 November 1964) (MHA) More than any other Southern African leader in the mid-1960s, Mondlane consistently argued for a broadening of the Swedish solidarity movement from South to Southern Africa.
3 Ibid.
4 Lund South Africa Committee 'Klubbmeddelande' ('Information to the members'), No. 2/66, Lund, 22 April 1966 (AJC).
6 Syd- och Sydoistafríka, No. 4, 1966.

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ation in South Africa and Namibia towards the end of the 1960s was relegated to the background.1

The FRELIMO President's appeals for funds and an active commitment to the nationalist cause in Mozambique had an impact on the Swedish youth. Mondlane
returned to Sweden in April 1966 to attend the tenth congress of the Socialist International. During his stay, he attended a conference in Uppsala on 'Development in Democratic Socialist Thought and Action in New Countries' and addressed-for the first time-the Swedish labour movement at the First of May celebrations in Gävle.2 Always spreading his message via the press, Mondlane had by then convinced a group of young people in Uppsala to start a fund-raising and information campaign in favour of FRELIMO, subsequently formalized as the Swedish FRELIMO Group.3 Organized outside the political organizations and the existing South Africa Committees, it was the first private solidarity initiative in Sweden towards a particular Southern African liberation movement. After reading an interview with Mondlane in the Swedish press, the promoter behind the initiative, Per Jansson, wrote a letter to the FRELIMO headquarters in Dar es Salaam in May 1966, informing the movement of the intention to start a solidarity campaign and asking for information to sustain it. As the first initiative of its kind, the letter merits being quoted. Indicative of the increasing internationalist concerns among growing segments of the Swedish youth, the role played by the National Liberation Front of Vietnam and the mix of innocence, righteousness and optimism which was to characterize the 1968 youth and student movement, Jansson wrote to FRELIMO in somewhat strained English: I didn't know about your organization at all before, but at present your leader, Mr. Eduardo Mondlane, is visiting [Sweden] and the other day I read an article about FRELIMO in which [he] was interviewed. [...] Mr. Mondlane compared FRELIMO to [...] FNL [of South Vietnam] and I think that is suitable. Some students here in Sweden have started an organization in support of FNL, which up to now has

1 In 1972, Sbdra Afrika Informationdnufletin -the successor to Syd- och Sydvistafrika -presented itself as follows: "(The bulletin) is jointly published and edited by the Africa Groups. It mainly disseminates current information on the struggle in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique; on developments in Portugal; on Swedish interests in Portugal and Africa; [and] on the role of US imperialism in Africa" (SbdraAfrikanfornorationbulletin, No. 15-16, May 1972, p. 2). From an almost exclusive coverage of South Africa and Namibia in the mid-1960s, the organ of the Swedish solidarity movement with Southern Africa would in the early 1970s be almost entirely concerned with the struggles in the Portuguese colonies.

2 Soiadenmokratiska Partistyrelsen (The National Board of the Social Democratic Party): 'Berättelse för Ar 1966' ('Report for the year 1966'), p. 7 (LMA). 3In Swedish, Sven ka FRELIMO-gruppen. The Uppsala-based group should not be confused with the FRELIMO Group (FRELIMO-gruppen) which two years later was formed by Sbren Lindh among his colleagues at the Swedish Agency for Administrative Development (Statskontoret). It was the latter group-formally set up in November 1968 which survived the turbulent years at the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, eventually joining the Stockholm Africa Group and forcefully promoting the cause of Mozambique within the organized solidarity movement in Sweden (See Kerstin Norrby and Siren Lindh: 'FRELIMO-gruppen:...
The Mondlanes and FRELIMO of Mozambique delivered 70,000 USD to the liberation movement. I support FNL too, though I am a little worried at its dependency on [the] People's Republic of China.1 Comparing Vietnam to Mozambique, I don't think [that] FRELIMO will be dependent on any great power. Other African countries have proved that independence without [a] new dependency is possible. [...] When independence has been realized, the task is to solve the problems and difficulties [...] in the 'new' country. I consider that socialism is the way [...] to go about it, because a socialistic reformation programme carries through a necessary redistribution of all capital. [...] In this way all prosperity is divided among the people. It would be very foolish to conserve the old society and through that also the disproportions. [...] To show you how much the Swedish people hate the Portuguese colonial policy, I and my friends thought it would be a very good idea to start a collection in support of FRELIMO. We also considered that we ought to demonstrate for your struggle of liberation and open a kind of FRELIMO branch office here in Uppsala, from which we will inform on the African's struggle against Portuguese terrorism in Mozambique and other parts of Africa. [...] In this way, we [could] support [you] in two ways: first you [would] receive collected money (and perhaps equipment too) from us, and, on the other hand, we [would be] able to inform on the crimes of the Portuguese government. [...] We are definitively determined to support in all ways! To make this support possible, we want you to send all kinds of information, such as pamphlets, booklets, pictures, photos [and] papers. [That will] make it possible for us to print the first appeal for the collection. After that you can continue your delivery of information [...] so as to realize our plan to start a paper or magazine giving information for the Swedes on FRELIMO.2 FRELIMO responded favourably and the Uppsala-based Swedish FRELIMO Group was formally set up towards the end of 1966,3 launching an appeal for support to its fund-raising campaign in a letter to a wide range of newspapers and journals.4 It stated that "the Mozambique question does not appear as a controversial or politically divisive question [in Sweden]. The conditions for a united, strong opinion thus exist. We hope that you will assist us in creating [such an opinion] by calling your readers to collectively support the campaign'.5 The campaign—which was not restricted to a particular purpose, but referred to a general, unconditional support to FRELIMO—had, however, only limited success. During the first six months of 1967, it received about two hundred smaller contributions from political organizations—among them notably the board of the ruling Social Democratic Party-trade unions and

1 This sentence was underlined by the recipient at the FRELIMO Office of the Vice-President. 2 Letter ('Information on FRELIMO and its struggle for liberation; a Swedish organization in support of FRELIMO; and some aspects on
freedom, socialism and progress') from Per G. Jansson to FRELIMO, Uppsala, 7 May 1966 (MHA).
3 Lasse Hellström was appointed chairman and P-r (Per) Jansson secretary.
4 Svenska FRELIMO-gruppen: Circular letter ('Hjlp till med att informera om Moqambique!' / 'Assist with information on Mozambique'), Uppsala, 5 November 1966 (AJC).

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individuals,1 raising some 4,000 SEK for FRELIMO. 2 Over the following years, the group collected a little more than 11,000 SEK for the liberation movement.3 It was even less successful regarding information about the struggle in Mozambique. The group managed to translate and freely distribute one issue of FRELIMO's official organ Mozambique Revolution4 and issued a couple of brief newsletters, but it could not sustain a regular activity.5 Despite the fact that the issue of Cabora Bassa had mobilized a broad and strong opinion in Sweden at the end of the 1960s, the FRELIMO Group in Uppsala was eventually dissolved at the beginning of 1970. Instead, its members joined the solidarity movement with Vietnam.

The end-like the beginning-of the first local Swedish FRELIMO support group outside the existing solidarity movement and the established political organizations also reflected the outlook of large segments of the Swedish youth at the time. Announcing its dissolution, the initiator behind the campaign declared in April 1970 that the storm centre in the struggle against US imperialism today is in South East Asia.

That is where the imperialists have concentrated their main forces, and that is also where the liberation struggle is best organized and most successful. A victory for the people of Vietnam is a victory for all the peoples of the world. It must therefore be correct to participate in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism by working within the anti-imperialist front of the [Swedish] FNL groups and by supporting their fund-raising campaign. [...] [T]o give higher priority to FRELIMO would be tantamount to committing a strategic error. The [antiimperialist] forces would be split up and the struggle shifted onto a sidetrack. [...] When we acquired this rudimentary knowledge [...], we more or less stopped working within [the Swedish FRELIMO-group]. We are now about to also formally dissolve the group and close the fund-raising campaign.6

1 Among the individuals who contributed to the campaign were Pierre Schori (SDP), David Wirmark (LP) and Per WAstberg.
2 Svenska FRELIMO-gruppen: ‘Redovisning för insamlingen 1 januari-30 juni 1967 (Results from the fund-raising campaign 1 January-30 June 1967) [no plaie or date] (AJC).
3 Svenska FRELIMO-gruppen: Circular letter from Par Jansson, Uppsala, 18 April 1970 (AJC)
4 Svenska FRELIMO-gruppen: Circular letter ('Limna aktivt stöd till frihetsbefrielsen i de portugisiska kolonierna!' /'Give active support to the freedom movements in the Portuguese colonies!'), Uppsala, 1967 [no date] (AJC).

5 The Uppsala group would in its information work quite innocently defend untenable positions. Discussing COREMO-and despite its name and original intentions-it stated in 1967 that "divisions are always regrettable, but one should [not] because of that simply criticize organizations that break away from already established institutions. Strictly speaking, the objective of the Swedish FRELIMO Group is to support only FRELIMO, but we want, nevertheless, to leave all options open and not take a stand against, for example, COREMO, even though FRELIMO itself does so" (tbid.).

6 Svenska FRELIMO-gruppen: Circular letter from Pr Janss on, Uppsala, 18 April 1970 (AJC). Leading representatives of the Uppsala South Africa Committee had some years before argued that solidarity with Southern Africa divided the anti-imperialist movement and diverted attention from the "storm centre" in South East Asia. This explains why the pro-Chinese organizations that were so influential in the solidarity movement with Vietnam remained on the margin of the solidarity movements with Southern Africa and Latin America.

The Mondlanes and FRELIMO of Mozambique

Under the catchword of a 'united anti-imperialist front for Vietnam', many Swedish solidarity activists would at the close of the 1960s abandon their earlier commitment towards Southern Africa. The debate would, however, also prepare the terrain for the reorganization and reactivation of the increasingly depleted South Africa Committees, eventually leading from 1970 to the formation of more militant Africa Groups. Serving as a bridge between the first and the second generation solidarity opinion with Southern Africa, the Lund South Africa Committee and the editorial board around the Sbdra Afrika information bulletin rejected the Maoist-inspired 'focus theory' and the notion of a singular 'storm centre' in the world, maintaining instead "a comprehensive view, where the racial oppression in Southern Africa and the war in Vietnam constitute two sides of the same phenomenon, [namely] the excesses by the rich world against the poor, coloured peoples". This view inspired new solidarity expressions towards Southern Africa and Mozambique. When the Uppsala group dissolved itself and joined the Vietnam movement, another FRELIMO group had, for example, already been formed in Stockholm in November 1968. This group also called the FRELIMO Group later joined the reorganized Stockholm Africa Group, effectively contributing to sustained solidarity work for FRELIMO and Mozambique in Sweden.

Nevertheless, the fact that individuals and-as in the case of the Uppsala group-entire solidarity structures gave up their work for Southern Africa had negative consequences for the liberation movements, not least materially. While millions of Swedish Kronor were collected for the struggle in Vietnam, there were in the early 1970s no corresponding results from the Africa Groups. Competing material support to the movements in Southern Africa-whether official or by non-governmental organizations-was seen as divisive by the dominant Vietnam
movement. After years of public, audited fund-raising for FRELIMO, the Uppsala FRELIMO Group-announcing its dissolution-reluctantly conceded that "we find that we for formal reasons are obliged to forward the funds presently credited to FRELIMO's fund-raising account to this organizationbladt, 29 January 1967.

2 See interview with Sbren Lindh, Stockholm, 4 February 1997. 3The Africa Groups gave at the time explicit primacy to political support and information activities over material support. In an information sheet-written in English the Stockholm Africa Group stated as late as at the beginning of 1973: "We regard the political support to the liberation movements as [...] primary. The material support must always be a part of this political support. Our foremost task is to inform about the reasons for the oppression and enlarge the political support to the liberation movements, not to collect money. [...] The easiest way to collect large amounts of money is to strictly appeal to the emotions of people. But this creates no understanding of the reasons why money is needed. [...] The most important [aspect] is not the coin, but the political acknowledgement of a people's right to an armed fight for their defence and liberation" (Stockholm Africa Group: 'Support to the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies from Swedish non-governmental organizations, 1971', Stockholm [no date, but probably February 1973] (AGA). Nevertheless, the Africa Groups did carry out fund-raising campaigns for the liberation movements. In the case of Mozambique, the FRELIMO-Sweden campaign raised around 100,000 SEK between November 1968 and January 1973. The corresponding figures for MPLA (from 1971) and PAIGC (from 1969) were 40,000 and 70,000 SEK, respectively (Ibid.).

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zation. We have, [however], decided that [the administrative means] of the group shall be disbursed to the fund for Vietnam".1 By that time-in 1970FRELIMO had, however, been firmly established in the broader Swedish solidarity opinion, receiving material support from diverse sources, ranging from the local Emmaus group in Björsika to the ruling Social Democratic Party. Above all, the Mozambique Institute had in 1968-69 been identified as a privileged recipient of substantial resources by the secondary school and university students.

A Tenner and a Day's Work for the Mozambique Institute

In October 1967, the FRELIMO President made another visit to Sweden, yet again addressing the youth and student organizations. Described by the social democratic evening paper Aftonbladet as "presently perhaps Africa's most successful warrior leader in the struggle against colonial oppression"2, Mondlane was by then not only a well known liberation figure in Sweden, but an African nationalist whose opinions through his own academic credentials and his attention to the issues of youth and education carried particular weight among the students. After a meeting with Mondlane in Stockholm, all the major political youth and student organizations except the Moderates adopted, for example, a strongly worded resolution, which requested the Swedish government to condemn Portugal's oppressive policies in Africa, grant support to the liberation movements and work for the expulsion of Portugal from EFTA and NATO.3
Six months later—in April 1968—the student organizations at the University of Stockholm decided to grant not less than 100,000 SEK to FRELIMO's education projects in the liberated areas of Mozambique via the newly established Students Development Fund (SDF). The following month it was announced that some five hundred teachers and staff members at the University of Gothenburg during the previous year had set aside 1% of their salaries in favour of another 'development action'. The amount raised—90,000 SEK—was to be used in equal shares for the procurement of a fishing vessel to Tanzania.

3 Dagens Nyheter, 10 October 1967.
4 Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet, 11 April 1968. The Students Development Fund (with no designation in Swedish) was the branch for international assistance of the Swedish university student unions. Ake Magnusson, later the author of several books on South Africa and actively and controversially involved in the sanctions' debate against apartheid, was the first president of SDF. 5 In Swedish, U-hjälpsaktionen i Gbteborg. FRELIMO's representative Lourenço Mutaca and Anders Johansson of Dagens Nyheter were largely instrumental in bringing about this decision. Johansson had just visited the liberated areas in northern Mozambique. Assisted by Mutaca, he submitted a memorandum on FRELIMO's education activities to U-hjälpsaktionen i Gåteborg shortly before the decision was reached (Anders Johansson: 'Promemoria anggende utbildningshjälp för Moqambique'/'Memorandum on educational assistance to Mozambique', Handen, 4 May 1968) (AJC).

The Mondlanes and FRELIMO of Mozambique and disbursed to the Mozambique Institute for its education projects inside Mozambique. 1 In the wake of the May 1968 student revolt, the Bistad demonstrations and the Cabora Bassa debate, the Swedish university students' solidarity with FRELIMO grew further in 1968-69. It largely centered on the question of how to use the ten Swedish Kronor—'the tenner'—all students were paying as part of their membership fee to the student unions for worthy humanitarian causes. After intense debates—particularly in Gothenburg, where proposed financial support to the South African Committee for Higher Education was opposed and defeated in favour of 'a tenner to FRELIMO' SDF decided in February 1969 to allocate 80,000 SEK to the Mozambique Institute's education efforts in Tanzania and the liberated areas. 2 Two months later, the student union at the University of Umeå in northern Sweden decided to donate an additional amount of 15,000 SEK raised outside SDF as an untied contribution directly to FRELIMO. 4

By that time, the secondary school students had already made their important entry onto the scene. Beginning in 1961, the Swedish Union of Secondary School Students (SECO) 5 had in cooperation with the National Council of Swedish Youth developed the concept of an annual Operation Day's Work 6 to "translate [the secondary students'] interest in international questions into practical action". 7 The concept was simple, but effective. Once a year all secondary school students
were given a day off to carry out various jobs for interested private or public companies or institutions against a remuneration below normal rates. The proceeds of the work-organized with the objective "to create understanding and commitment among students according to the principle 'youth helps youth'—were subsequently channelled to one or more international projects. Operation Day's Work soon became an important institution, regularly taking place in September or October. It was from the outset

1 Dagens Nyheter, 10 May 1968.
2 The SACHED project which from the mid-1960s was one of the first education projects supported by the Swedish government in South Africa—was strongly opposed by the socialist student organizations at the University of Gothenburg. SDS (Studrande fdr eff Devnokrati Savnhille/ Students for a Democratic Society) described SACHED as "aiming at turning the blacks into tolerant and obliging [citizens] towards the white South African regime" (SDS: 'Vart tar GIS-tian vsgen?'/Where does [our tenner] go?'. Leaflet, Gothenburg [no date, but 1968] (AJC).
3 Student Development Fund: 'Press release', Gothenburg, 13 February 1968 (AJC). At the same time, it was decided to set aside 30,000 SEK for education of Angolan refugees in Congo and 7,500 SEK for laboratory equipment to the Swaneng Hill School in Botswana.
4 Dagens Nyheter, 20 April 1969.
5 In Swedish, Sveriges Elevers Centralorganisation. Reorganized in 1982, it changed its name to Elevorganisationen i Sverige (The Swedish School Student Union).
6 In Swedish, Operation Dagsverke.
7 SECO: 'SECO's insamling 1969: FRELIMO-Moqambique Institute' (SECOs fund-raising campaign 1969: FRELIMO--Mozambique Institute) [no place or date, but 1969] (AJC). The first national Operation Day's Work was organized in favour of the Dag Hammarskjöld Memorial Fund after the death of the Swedish UN Secretary General in September 1961. As earlier noted, the campaign-En Dagför Dag ('A Day for Dag')—managed to raise not less than 400,000 SEK.
8 Ibid.

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At the Mozambique Institute: Janet Mondlane with a Swedish government delegation in 1973. (Courtesy of Anders Mållander)
administered by the secondary school students themselves, who at the beginning of each year at the annual 'students' parliament' discussed different possible beneficiaries. After reaching a decision, the period until the actual Operation Day's Work was dedicated to information among the students and the general public about the subject of the campaign. Involving all secondary schools, SECO's Operation Dagsverke effectively contributed to a rapidly growing international awareness among the Swedish youth, not least vis-a-vis the problems of Southern Africa. Many future activists and members of the organized solidarity movement were introduced to the wider issues of the region's liberation struggles through the campaigns.
In mid-February 1969, the secondary school students' parliament unanimously decided to dedicate the upcoming Operation Day's Work to the health and education projects carried out by the Mozambique Institute. The decision was reached only days after the assassination of Eduardo Mondlane. In Swedish, Elevriksdag.

1. Operation Day's Work campaigns were carried out in favour of Mozambique in 1969 and 1972, respectively raising 2 million and 450,000 SEK; Zimbabwe in 1979 (information only); and Southern Africa (including ANC) in 1981 and 1985. The amount raised in 1981 was 1.6 million SEK and the 1985 result was not less than 8.5 million SEK (Elevorganisationen i Sverige: Reply to a questionnaire from the Nordic Africa Institute, dated 29 July 1996). Operation Dagsoerke has continued as a regular feature in Sweden. In 1998, it was organized in favour of Angola.


The Mondlanes and FRELIMO of Mozambique

Mondlane was Janet Mondlane. She had returned to Sweden in December 1968. During the visit she met representatives of SECO and the Finnish secondary school students discussing the idea of a campaign for Mozambique, and, "marvel of marvels, they adopted the Mozambique Institute". At the following SECO assembly, the proposal initially competed with two literacy projects in Tanzania and Tunisia, but unanimity was reached in favour of the Mozambican project. It was at the same time decided that the support should be administered by the experienced Swedish organization Save the Children. Soon thereafter, the Swedish Union of Secondary School Students issued a comprehensive campaign brief to all the secondary schools in the country, stating that this year the subject of our campaign is the Mozambique Institute. It is an organization which mainly is concerned with health and education in an area—the region in northern Mozambique that has been liberated from the colonial power of Portugal—which is in dire need of financial support. Through our action we do not only want to contribute funds. We also wish to [...] spread knowledge about [...] people who under very difficult conditions are fighting for the right to their country, an existence worthy of humans and the possibility to decide their own future. Growing interest in the problems of the developing countries by an increasing number of people [in Sweden] is in the longer perspective of the utmost importance. Let us therefore practically manifest our solidarity through Operation Day's Work, which [...] is organized in cooperation with Save the Children [and constitutes] an action by the youth in support of the youth.

Eduardo Mondlane's book The Struggle for Mozambique was largely used as study material during the following campaign. It was published in Swedish shortly after his death at the beginning of 1969, the same year as it appeared in English.

The actual Operation Day's Work was held in early October 1969, preceded by internal information campaigns and public coverage via press, radio and television. From a purely material point of view the result was impressive. At a
time when the official Swedish support to the Mozambique Institute was still suspended, the Swedish secondary school students managed in one major

1 The FRELIMO President was killed by a parcel bomb in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, on 3 February 1969.

2 The secondary school students in Finland joined their counterparts in Sweden, organizing an important taksviirkki in October 1969 and raising 450,000 FIM. The proceeds were mainly used for the procurement and installation of FRELIMO's first printing press (Soiri and Peltola op. cit., pp. 32-42).

3 Janet Mondlane cited in Soiri and Peltola op. cit.

4 In Swedish, Riidda Bamen.


7 Janet Mondlane participated actively in the campaigns, inter alia addressing meetings in different schools in Sweden (interview with Janet Mondlane, Maputo, 30 April 1996).

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effort to raise not less than 2 million SEK for FRELIMO,1 or more than the 1.7 million disbursed by the government between 1965 and 1968.2 Even more important in the longer perspective was the political impact of SECO's campaign. The unanimous 'parliamentary' decision by the secondary students in favour of FRELIMO was taken before the Swedish parliament had endorsed the principle of direct support to the Southern African liberation movements. The students were never deterred by the argument that FRELIMO was waging an armed struggle or by the sudden death of Eduardo Mondlane. As in the case of the university-based SDF, it is, on the contrary, probable that these factors weighed in favour of the decision. Above all, the 1969 SECO campaign played a major role for the future relations between Sweden and FRELIMO. That is also how it was seen by the Mozambican liberation movement. In a subsequent report to SECO, Janet Mondlane wrote that it is not possible to express the extent of our feeling of admiration for the Swedish students who tirelessly worked to aid the young students who come from Mozambique. The effect of the efforts of our Swedish friends will be felt beyond their own generation, for it is this generation of students who will continue laying the foundation of a new country.3

Almost thirty years later, she remembered SECO as "an extraordinarily powerful youth organization" and the 1969 Operation Day's Work as a decisive breakthrough:

That is how a kind of mass consciousness about what was happening in Mozambique really began [in Sweden]. [...] It was not just the money that was important, but the sensitization of the whole population. These young people went home and
1 Elevorganisationen i Sverige: Reply to a questionnaire from the Nordic Africa Institute, dated 29 July 1996.

2 As was seen above, in 1968-69 the Swedish universities raised around a quarter of a million SEK for FRELIMO, while the SECO contribution was 2 million. There are no comparable data on NGO support for 1970. A study by SIDA found, however, that fourteen Swedish non-governmental organizations together in the year 1971 raised more than 1.7 million SEK for FRELIMO (Stockholm Africa Group: 'Support to the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies from Swedish nongovernmental organizations, 1971', Stockholm [no date, but probably February 1973] (AGA). Between 1968 and 1971, the Swedish NGO support to FRELIMO thus amounted to at least 4 million SEK. This should be compared to the 0.5 million SEK disbursed by the Swedish government through SIDA during the financial year 1971/72. A number of conclusions may be drawn from these figures, which were largely similar in the cases of other Southern African liberation movements. One is, obviously, that the movements enjoyed widespread support at the level of the Swedish civil society around 1970 and another that the joint material support by the Swedish NGOs at the time was considerably larger than the official support. In this context, it should be emphasized that it has not been possible within the present study to reliably establish the total value of the Swedish support extended by the NGO community and individuals to the Southern African liberation movements. It could, however, safely be concluded that the monetary transfers from Sweden to the Southern African liberation movements exceed by a wide margin the official figures given in the text.


The Mondlanes and FRELIMO of Mozambique talked about what they were doing. It was a big event. [.1 After that, things began to snowball.1

Largely inspired by Eduardo and Janet Mondlane, the student movements actively contributed to both the material and political support to the Mozambican liberation struggle in Sweden. From the mid-1960s, the FRELIMO President also established unusually close relations with the ruling Social Democratic Party and a number of leading Liberal politicians and opinion makers.

1 Interview with Janet Mondlane, Maputo, 30 April 1996.

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