



[Back matter: Sweden and national liberation in Southern Africa, Vol. I]

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A Concluding Note

Overview

Without a colonial past, Sweden remained politically distant from Africa until after the Second World War. The historical links to South Africa—established by emigrants, explorers, scientists, missionaries and businessmen—were, however, significant, and there emerged in the early 1960s a growing concern for the struggles for democracy and national independence in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique. Based upon a strong and active public opinion, Sweden became in 1969 the first Western country to extend direct official assistance to the Southern African liberation movements.

Swedish intellectuals and students started in the 1950s to raise their voices against the South African apartheid regime. A fund-raising campaign in support of the victims of apartheid was launched even before the Sharpeville shootings of March 1960. Supported by the student and youth movements—as well as by church representatives after the granting of the Nobel Peace Prize to Chief Luthuli—this campaign and other initiatives led at the beginning of the 1960s to the formation of a national anti-apartheid committee. Broadly based boycott campaigns against South Africa—inspired by ANC and supported by the powerful Swedish cooperative movement—soon thereafter gave birth to active local solidarity committees and to an involvement with the entire Southern African region. The emerging solidarity movement was assisted by a number of books and a wealth of articles on Southern Africa by Swedish writers and journalists, as well as by translations into Swedish of texts by prominent Southern African nationalists. Some of the leading national newspapers—such as the liberal *Expressen* and the social democratic *Aftonbladet* and *Arbetet*—joined the solidarity efforts, respectively organizing fund-raising campaigns for MPLA of Angola and SWANU and SWAPO of Namibia.

One of the first initiatives by the emerging anti-apartheid movement was to offer study opportunities in Sweden to black students from Southern Africa. A number of students were in addition sponsored by the Swedish university unions or given scholarships by the official aid agency. Many represented nationalist organizations in their home countries. Actively participating in the debate and in the build-up of the organized solidarity movement, they played prominent parts in the development of the Swedish opinion towards Southern Africa. Skilfully acting as diplomats, several of the Southern African students managed to attract support for their respective movements among opinion makers and politicians far outside their local university milieus. The relations

thus established proved valuable when the leaders of the Southern African liberation movements in the mid-1960s intensified their diplomatic contacts with Sweden.

In the beginning mainly raised by individuals and political organizations in the liberal political centre, the humanitarian concerns found an echo in the ruling Social Democratic government. As part of Sweden's aid policy, the government decided in 1964 to extend educational assistance to African—mainly Southern African—refugee youth. Responding to appeals by the United Nations, legal aid to political prisoners and their family members in South Africa and Zimbabwe was granted the following year. To advise the government, a broadly based consultative committee was appointed, counting several of the leading opinion makers on South and Southern Africa among its members. One of the first recommendations by the committee—subsequently endorsed by the government—was to channel official Swedish support to FRELIMO's Mozambique Institute in Tanzania. The contacts with FRELIMO were important for the 1969 decision to extend assistance directly to the Southern African liberation movements.¹

The constituent parts of the Swedish solidarity movement with Southern Africa were largely in place by the mid-1960s. A first generation of local anti-apartheid committees—extending their activities to Zimbabwe and the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique—had been formed and the initial re-active humanitarian views had been replaced by a more pro-active and militant approach. In May 1965, the solidarity movement defined as one of its main objectives to "convince the Swedish government, parliament and public of support to the liberation movements in Southern Africa". The demand for an officially declared boycott against South Africa was at the same time gaining increasing support. By June 1965, not less than 20 out of Sweden's 24 regional councils refused South African products, and 139 out of the 384 members of the Swedish parliament supported the voluntary boycott declared by the youth in March 1963.

The only political party that did not form part of the wider Swedish solidarity opinion was the conservative Moderate Party. The political youth leagues and the younger parliamentarians of the Left, Social Democratic, Centre and Liberal parties defended the nationalist cause. To a new generation from the socialist parties and the liberal centre, solidarity with South and Southern Africa gained a particular significance. This largely explains why the issue of direct official support to the liberation movements never became divisive in Sweden. The four future Prime Ministers Olof Palme (SDP; 1969–76 and 1982–86), Thorbjörn Fälldin (CP; 1976–78 and 1979–82), Ola Ullsten (LP; 1978–79)² and Ingvar Carlsson (SDP; 1986–91 and 1994–96)—continuously heading the

¹ And, as noted, to PAIGC of Guinea-Bissau.

² Ullsten also served as Minister for International Development Cooperation 1976–78 and Minister for Foreign Affairs 1979–82.

government for more than twenty years of pro-active Swedish involvement in Southern Africa—all became concerned with Southern Africa in the 1950s or in the early 1960s. In 1988, the ANC leader Oliver Tambo thus characterized the links between Sweden and Southern Africa as "a natural system of relations [...] from people to people [...], which is not based on the policies of any party that might be in power in Sweden at any particular time, but on [...] a common outlook and impulse".

In addition—although frequently frowned upon by conservative members of the Swedish diplomatic corps—the exiled leaders of the Southern African liberation movements started to visit Sweden and were received at the highest level of government from the beginning of the 1960s. Often invited by the ruling Social Democratic Party, many addressed the traditional Labour Day demonstrations. In the case of ANC, Oliver Tambo visited Sweden for the first time in 1961. The following year, he appeared at the First of May rallies in Gothenburg and in August 1962 he held discussions with Prime Minister Tage Erlander in Stockholm. Direct, bilateral Swedish contacts with the South African government were at the same time brought to an end.¹

As a comparison, it could be noted that Tambo did not visit the Soviet Union until April 1963.² What is more, it was only in November 1986 that the first—and last—meeting between the ANC President and the Soviet Head of State, at the time Mikhail Gorbachev, took place.³ Maintaining close relations with the apartheid regime at government level, the major Western powers were similarly late to recognize the leader of the South African majority. Tambo's first official visit to France was not arranged until 1984, and then through contacts with the Swedish Social Democratic Party.⁴ Only in September 1986 did he for the first time confer with a leading member of the British government, Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe. In January 1987, Tambo was, finally, received by the US Secretary of State George Shultz.⁵

In the case of South Africa, there was thus a difference of some twenty-five years between the first Swedish contacts with ANC at the highest level of government and corresponding contacts between ANC and the Soviet Union, France, Great Britain and the United States, all permanent members of the UN Security Council.

¹ Within EFTA, official relations were maintained between Sweden and Portugal. No bilateral contacts were ever entered into with Ian Smith's Rhodesia. In the case of South Africa, it was only during the independence celebrations in Namibia in March 1990—attended by Nelson Mandela—that a direct encounter between a Swedish (Sten Andersson) and a South African ('Pik' Botha) minister took place (See interview with Roelof 'Pik' Botha, Cape Town, 12 September 1995).

² Shubin op. cit. in *African Affairs*, p. 6.

³ Ibid., p. 13 and interview with Thabo Mbeki, Cape Town, 8 September 1995.

⁴ Schori op. cit., p. 29.

⁵ Thomas op. cit., p. 205.

The often very personal relations between Swedish politicians and opinion makers and the Southern African leaders—as well as with Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania—facilitated a deeper understanding of the nationalist core of the liberation struggles.¹ Talking about Olof Palme's early contacts, Sydney Sekeramayi of ZANU—who studied and worked in Sweden for more than ten years and entered the government of Zimbabwe at independence in 1980—said, for example, in 1995 that "having spoken to people like [Eduardo] Mondlane [of FRELIMO], [Herbert] Chitepo [of ZANU] and others, [Palme] could understand what they were saying. I think that they were able to impress on him that 'the issue at home is not an ideological issue between Communism and capitalism. It is one of [national] liberation. If we are able to liberate ourselves, we will be able to make up our minds about the best ideological position to take'".²

Of significance was that the first sustained Swedish contacts were made with those movements that eventually became victorious in their respective countries, that is, ANC of South Africa, MPLA of Angola,³ FRELIMO of Mozambique and ZANU and ZAPU of Zimbabwe. In the case of Namibia, SWANU—at the time aligned with ANC—initially played a prominent role, but SWAPO was from 1966 seen as the genuine nationalist representative. When official assistance was eventually granted by the Swedish government, it was ANC, SWAPO, MPLA, FRELIMO and ZANU and ZAPU—the latter subsequently forming the Patriotic Front—that *de facto* were recognized as 'governments-in-waiting'. Direct official Swedish support was never channelled to competing organizations, such as PAC of South Africa, FNLA and UNITA of Angola or UANC of Zimbabwe.

It was through the armed struggle that the liberation movements were drawn closer to the Soviet Union and/or China. Against that background, it is relevant that the political relations established in Sweden in practically all cases⁴ preceded the military operations. ⁵ Neither the transition to armed struggle nor the links with the Communist countries eroded the support the Southern African nationalist movements already enjoyed.⁶ As later stated by Pär Granstedt of the Centre Party: "It was evident from the Swedish debate that most people realized that the liberation movements were not part of the Eastern

¹ See, for example, interview with Pär Granstedt (CP), Stockholm, 3 June 1996; interview with Lena Hjelm-Wallén (SDP), Stockholm, 14 January 1997; interview with David Wirmark (LP), Stockholm, 20 February 1996; and interview with Ernst Michanek (SIDA), Stockholm, 19 March 1996.

² Interview with Sydney Sekeramayi, Harare, 27 July 1995.

³ Via the Conference of Nationalist Organizations in the Portuguese Colonies (CONCP) and the General Union of Students from Black Africa under Portuguese Colonial Domination (UGEAN).

⁴ With the exception of Angola, where MPLA launched the liberation war in February 1961.

⁵ Armed sabotage was launched in South Africa by Umkhonto we Sizwe in December 1961, but it was through the Wankie campaign with ZAPU of Zimbabwe in August 1967 that ANC embarked upon large-scale military operations. FRELIMO started the armed struggle in Mozambique in September 1964, ZANU in Zimbabwe in April 1966 and SWAPO in Namibia in August 1966.

⁶ See, for example, interview with Gunnar Helander (CSM/SSAK), Västerås, 12 February 1996 and interview with David Wirmark (LP), Stockholm, 20 February 1996.

bloc. The problem was that their main source of support happened to be the Communist countries. We [therefore] saw it very much as our task to see to it that they also had other supporters".¹ This was a radically different view of 'constructive engagement' than the policy which the United States developed towards apartheid South Africa in the 1980s.²

Although the nationalist organizations enjoyed increasing support, they were in the mid-1960s primarily seen by the Swedish government as protest movements against racial oppression and denial of civil rights. What Thabo Mbeki of ANC—who from the mid-1970s established exceptionally close contacts with Sweden—later described as a "particular [Swedish] approach" was yet to be made, namely "that the concept of emancipation of a people cannot be reduced to a protest movement, but concerns the right to self-determination of small nations. That is something which is legitimate [and] necessary and must [therefore] be supported [...] without seeking to define what the people should be".³ The official humanitarian assistance of the 1960s constituted an expression of re-active solidarity against apartheid and oppression, but not yet a pro-active support to the regional struggles for liberation. Despite increasing popular demands and regular appeals by the liberation movements, the Social Democratic government—as well as the 'old guard' of the Centre and Liberal parties—would, notably, not consider an official Swedish boycott against South Africa or measures against Portugal in EFTA.

The issues of direct support to the liberation movements and unilateral sanctions against South Africa came to a head in 1965. Diverging opinions between Prime Minister Tage Erlander and the invited ANC leader Oliver Tambo at the First of May celebrations were then followed by strong criticism against the Social Democratic government by the solidarity movement and Liberal politicians, as well as by the Social Democratic Youth League and important social democratic press voices. An editorial in the ruling party's theoretical journal *Tiden* concluded in June 1965 that "a social democratic policy of the more energetic kind that in particular is recommended by the younger forces of the party will be required if the initiative in these questions will not be taken over by Communists and Liberals". The criticism prompted the executive committee of the ruling party to issue a statement, published in October 1965 as a booklet with the title *South Africa and Us*. Declaring that it was "out of the question [...] to consciously foment armed racial struggles in a far away country however strongly we do sympathize with the victims of oppression" and re-

¹ Interview with Pär Granstedt, Stockholm, 3 June 1996.

² Coined by Chester Crocker, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, 'constructive engagement' was the policy by which the United States under President Reagan regulated its relations with South Africa, favouring the maintenance of ties with the apartheid regime in the hope of influencing developments towards democracy (See Chester Crocker: *High Noon in Southern Africa: Making Peace in a Rough Neighborhood*, W.W. Norton & Company, New York, 1992).

³ Interview with Thabo Mbeki, Cape Town, 8 September 1995.

stating that "every decision on economic sanctions must be taken by the UN Security Council", it did not, however, satisfy the Swedish solidarity opinion.

Not yet a full member of the executive committee of the ruling party, Olof Palme had by then made his first major public contribution to what has been described as a "100% turnabout of the Social Democratic Party and the labour movement on a fundamental ideological question",¹ that is, the policy regarding national liberation in the Third World. Acting as Foreign Minister during the summer holidays, he addressed the Christian Social Democrats' congress in Gävle in July 1965, stating that "the fundamental moral [values] of democratic socialism [...] make it our obligation to stand on the side of the oppressed against the oppressors, on the side of the poor and the distressed against their exploiters and masters".

Palme's famous Gävle speech—which provoked an outcry from the non-socialist opposition and a major foreign policy debate—was inspired by the developments in Vietnam² and has been regarded as the point of departure for Sweden's active foreign policy. It is, however, likely that Palme also had South and Southern Africa in mind. Addressing the Labour Day demonstrations in Kramfors together with Charles Kauraisa from SWANU, Palme had as early as on 1 May 1964 given a militant speech in which he—in contrast to the official position of the Social Democratic government—characterized apartheid and racism as a threat to international peace and warned against a division of the world between rich and white, poor and black. Preparing his Gävle speech, Palme must also have noted the 'divided platform' between Erlander and Tambo three months earlier, as well as the subsequent debate in the social democratic movement.

With Palme's dramatic entry into the foreign policy arena, a new generation of Social Democrats would lead the ruling party towards more independent international positions. In March 1966, Palme chaired the International Conference on South West Africa in Oxford, England. With regard to Southern Africa, it was, however, the developments at the congress of the Socialist International (SI) in Stockholm two months later that decisively marked the beginning of the reorientation.

The SI congress revealed deep conflicting interests between the major European members and the invited non-members from the Third World, in particular between the British Labour Party and ZANU and ZAPU of Zimbabwe. The positions taken by the Swedish Social Democratic Party were, however, highly respected, motivating the FRELIMO President Eduardo Mondlane to suggest that the "good relations [...] between [the party] and many African socialist parties, especially in East and Southern Africa, must be encouraged". Under the Social Democratic party secretary Sten Andersson and Pierre Schori—who in

¹ Andersson in Huldts and Misgeld (eds.) op. cit., p. 97.

² Only at the end of his speech did Palme actually mention Vietnam, stating "for it is about Vietnam that I have mostly been talking", a sentence which he added at the very last minute (Elmbrant op. cit., p. 60).

1965 had been attached to the party's national board—the proposal was translated into concrete action. The Social Democratic Party, which traditionally had looked to the British Labour Party and other major SI members for international guidance, embarked on a non-aligned course, establishing direct relations with the liberation movements outside the international. The following year—in October 1967—the party set up an international solidarity fund to “be able to assist sister organizations and liberation movements in poor and oppressed countries”.

The break with the cautious past was at the level of policy formulation reflected in a number of articles by the younger generation of Social Democrats. While the party leadership in response to increasing criticism in the autumn of 1965 defensively issued the booklet *South Africa and Us*, three years later Pierre Schori—now the international secretary of the Social Democratic Party—took the offensive with an article in the party journal entitled ‘The Liberation Movements and Us’. It illustrated the turnabout that had taken place and anticipated Foreign Minister Torsten Nilsson’s historic statement of December 1968, announcing that the Swedish government was “in touch with a number of the leaders of the African liberation movements” and that it was “prepared to help [...], in the same way as we help the liberation front in South Vietnam”.

In the era of Vietnam, the foreign policy reorientation introduced by Palme in the Swedish labour movement had a parallel in the liberal movement. In November 1968, a working group was appointed to draw up the Liberal Party’s guidelines for support to national liberation movements. The policy report by the opposition party—entitled *Support to Resistance Movements*—expressed a remarkable concurrence with the Social Democratic positions, emphasizing that the ideological label of a liberation movement was of secondary importance and that it, at any rate, should not exclude official Swedish support. Nor should its methods of struggle.

The guidelines produced by the Liberal Party were published in May 1969, the same month as the Swedish parliament endorsed a policy of direct official humanitarian assistance to the Southern African liberation movements. As the Left Party in 1967 already had advocated such support and the Centre Party coordinated its positions with the Liberal Party, there was an overwhelming majority for the decision. Excluding the Moderate Party, it represented 85% of the Swedish electorate. Pushed by an active public opinion and carried forward by a new generation of political leaders,¹ Sweden would as the first Western country launch a policy of pro-active support to the movements struggling for democracy and self-determination in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique.

¹ Olof Palme became chairman of the Social Democratic Party and Prime Minister in 1969. Gunnar Helén assumed the chairmanship of the Liberal Party the same year. Thorbjörn Fälldin—who in 1969 was appointed vice chairman of the Centre Party—took over the party leadership in 1971.

'Crush the Oppression in Angola, Mozambique and Portugal's Colonial Empire—Crush Apartheid—Freedom now for Southern Africa': Another kind of manifestation on First of May, Stockholm, 1967. (Photo: Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek)

Towards an Explanation

That a broadly based popular anti-apartheid movement emerged in the early 1960s was far from peculiar to Sweden. Grand coalitions of socialists and liberals against apartheid South Africa in the Western world were formed in Britain, Holland and elsewhere, and locally active solidarity committees were, for example, organized in Denmark and Norway. More specific was that the anti-apartheid movement in Sweden in a unitary, non-divisive manner during the following years extended its concerns to the entire Southern African region, a characteristic which would be maintained throughout the 1970s and 1980s. What really gave the Swedish solidarity opinion a special significance was, however, its strength and perseverance in impacting upon the political parties and the government, preparing the ground for the decision to grant the liberation movements official assistance. Nevertheless, in spite of vigorous campaigns and broad popular support, the wider solidarity movement did not succeed in convincing the ruling Social Democratic Party to impose economic sanctions against South Africa or to take political action against Portugal within EFTA. Economic measures against South Africa would only be introduced towards the end of the 1970s.

At the close of the 1960s, there were a number of factors that motivated the Swedish government to extend humanitarian support to the Southern African liberation movements. Before turning to the question of how the support developed—which will be discussed in Volume II—the main determinants should here be summarized.

As stated in the Introduction, the discipline of international politics normally establishes that the parameters for a nation's foreign policy are determined by three basic objectives, namely national security, ideological affinity and economic opportunity. Public legitimacy is often added as a fourth objective.¹ In the case of Sweden, how did these objectives relate to Southern Africa? What made Sweden—a small, industrialized Western country in northern Europe—actively involved on the side of national liberation in far away Southern Africa? Why did Sweden—as so many other Western nations—not merely assume a role of the passive bystander? Which interests—if any—did Sweden and the regional liberation movements have in common?

The developments in Southern Africa during the 1960s did not in a narrow sense constitute a threat to Sweden's *national security*. Sweden had after the Second World War defined its basic foreign and security policy as 'non-participation in alliances in peacetime, aiming at neutrality in the event of war'. Standing outside a collective security organization—such as NATO—Sweden was at the same time less restricted in its foreign policy options and more constrained to resort to its own defence capability and seek global solutions to potential conflicts across the dividing line between the Western and Eastern blocs. From a security point of view, the latter consideration explains the importance attached by Sweden to the United Nations. Active membership of the world organization developed into one of the cornerstones of Swedish foreign policy.

The significance of the United Nations as a global 'security umbrella' and 'conflict resolver' increased during Dag Hammarskjöld's period as Secretary General between 1953 and 1961. His tenure largely coincided with the decolonization process in Africa, which was followed with keen interest in Sweden. Sweden was one of the main contributors to the UN military peace-making operations in Congo from July 1960. More than 6,000 Swedes took part in the military operations and 10% of the UN soldiers who died in combat were Swedes. With increasing super power involvement, the complexities of the decolonization process and its potential to escalate into bigger conflagrations became evident not only to the Swedish government, but entered the homes of the ordinary citizens. The awareness increased dramatically when the Swedish UN Secretary General died in a mysterious plane crash in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) in September 1961. It was, in addition, underlined by the war in neighbouring Angola and by the military support rendered by Belgian, French,

¹ The following discussion is largely inspired by the Swedish political scientist Marie Demker and her analysis of Sweden and the Algerian war of liberation (Demker op. cit.).

Portuguese, Rhodesian and South African mercenaries and Western financial interests to the secession of Katanga, which the Swedish UN contingent primarily was deployed to suppress. The Congo war brought Sweden closer to the realities of Southern Africa, highlighting the threat to international peace represented by the uncompromising white minority regimes.

The developments in South Africa pointed in the same direction. As early as in January 1957, Olof Tandberg concluded an article in *Stockholms-Tidningen* by stating that it was "inevitable [...] that an insurrection will come. The question is only when". His words would to a large extent set the tone for the initial anti-apartheid debate in Sweden. Victor Vinde, the chief editor of the social democratic newspaper, described in May 1961 apartheid as "a threat to peace in Africa and thereby to peace in the world". At the time, this was a characterization that the Social Democratic government wanted to avoid since it implied that the Security Council could impose mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa. At the United Nations, Sweden instead condemned apartheid as "a crime against humanity". To the increasingly active Swedish solidarity opinion with Southern Africa, the regional developments were, however, seen as ominous, and in 1965–66—coinciding with the activation of Sweden's foreign policy by the younger Social Democratic generation around Olof Palme—Sweden officially expressed the opinion that the situations in South Africa, South West Africa (Namibia), Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and the Portuguese colonies (Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique) individually constituted threats to international peace and security.¹ The regional issues were at the same time seen as interwoven. In his address to the UN General Assembly in October 1966, Foreign Minister Torsten Nilsson described the situation in Southern Africa as a "dark menacing cloud", strongly denouncing the "unholy alliance" between Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa.

While security considerations were important at the global level, it was, however, with respect to *ideological affinity* that Sweden would decisively side with the national liberation movements in Southern Africa. It was around basic ideas concerning human rights and the world order that the old independent nation in the North and the still struggling peoples in the South would find a common ground.

In foreign policy, all states endeavour to promote and support their own fundamental norms and values. To Sweden—where the Social Democratic government after the Second World War with broad support outside the ruling party² was laying the foundations for an egalitarian welfare state based on solidarity—apartheid and colonialism were affronts. Sweden had managed to stay outside the war, but its horrors of racism and foreign occupation had taken

¹ Ministry for Foreign Affairs: 'Promemoria: Svenska ställningstaganden till frågor berörande södra Afrika inom FN' ('Memorandum: Swedish positions on questions concerning Southern Africa at the UN'), Stockholm, 2 August 1968 (MFA).

² The Centre Party (then the Farmers' League) formed part of the Swedish government between 1951 and 1957.

place within living memory.¹ The white regimes in Southern Africa were seen to violate not only fundamental human rights, but also the liberal freedoms and equality among nations upon which the post-war world was to be built. Apartheid and colonial oppression were not regarded as internal affairs, but widely seen as crimes against humanity. In 1995, the former South African Foreign Minister Roelof 'Pik' Botha—who served at the South African embassy in Stockholm between 1956 and 1960—recalled how

Sweden [...] had this obsession not to have racism ever again, knowing what it had caused the world. [...] [A] basic philosophy of justice and fairness prevailed. Racial discrimination, allocation of rights and duties [...] on the basis of membership in a group, class, race or religion was anathema. [...] Concerned media and others always saw this as a crusade, as something that they had to fight. Irrespective of where it occurred, they were against it. They therefore sided with the organizations that were on the ground [...] and professed that they were representing the majority of the people who were seeking freedom. [...] It was a very strong and emotional, yet intellectual, assault.²

As an alliance-free state outside the opposing power blocs, the right to self-determination was both part of the national ideological value system and of fundamental importance to Sweden from a security point of view. The government's position in this regard would at an early stage bring it into opposition with the European colonial powers and South Africa. In December 1959, Sweden became the first Western country to vote in favour of Algeria's right to self-determination in the UN General Assembly, and the following year it was among the countries that supported the Decolonization Declaration, while Britain, France, Portugal, South Africa and the United States abstained. In 1960, the ruling party also adopted a manifesto in which national liberation and international solidarity featured prominently: "The Social Democratic Party greets the emancipation [of the suppressed peoples] with satisfaction and sympathy. [...] In the relations between rich and poor countries, social democracy must uphold the ideas of equality and solidarity which have always guided its struggle in the developed countries".

In the Swedish view, decolonization and self-determination were not only a universal right, but an important lever to break up the Cold War division between the two power blocs and enlarge the non-aligned camp, which was seen as a force for détente and peace. Based on the assumption that the emerging nations would embark upon an alliance-free course, there was an important element of strategic self-interest in the promotion of national liberation (and in the granting of development assistance to recently independent states). Government Bill No. 100: 1962—drafted by a working group led by Olof Palme and

¹ Some have argued that a fair amount of bad conscience and feelings of guilt were caused by Sweden's position during the war. See, for example, interview with Carl Tham, Stockholm, 14 January 1997.

² Interview with Roelof 'Pik' Botha, Cape Town, 12 September 1995.

dubbed 'the bible of Swedish development aid'—was quite explicit in this regard, stating that

among the peoples in Asia and Africa who recently have won, or shortly will gain, full independence, there is a strong ambition to stay outside big power influences and conduct what they themselves often call a policy of neutrality. Although the policy of these countries and the Swedish line to a large extent differ on account of both origin and form, they do, however, have so much in common that a mutual interest and willingness to cooperate can develop. [...] To seek to maintain and consolidate an understanding of Sweden as a neutral and progressive country [...] must [therefore] be considered a not insignificant Swedish interest.

This—as expressed in the bill—"parallelity of interests" largely explains the motives behind Sweden's involvement with the national liberation movements in Southern Africa. The peoples who would eventually gain national independence were together with Sweden expected to follow a non-aligned course outside the opposing power blocs. From the liberation movements' perspective, common interests also existed. In the case of FRELIMO of Mozambique, it was, for example, important "to break the dichotomy bad-good, West-East".¹ President Joaquim Chissano later declared that "it was very much in our interest to have Swedish support. It proved our policy in terms of [international] relationships. [...] We wanted to be as independent as possible".² Similarly, ANC's Thabo Mbeki, First Deputy President of South Africa, stated in 1995 that

the position of Sweden created more space than the African or non-aligned position. It created space for ANC to be able to deal with the rest of the Western world. And not just the Western world, but even with regard to the Eastern world and the relationship of ANC with those countries.³

In addition, active membership of the United Nations evolved in the post-war period into a constituent part of the national ideological foreign policy framework. Sweden became a "believing" UN member.⁴ As such, during the 1960s it would at the same time vigorously uphold the principles laid down in the UN Charter regarding economic sanctions—opposing the solidarity movement's demands for unilateral action—and follow the world organization's recommendations concerning assistance to the oppressed in Southern Africa. It was thus with reference to the United Nations that the Swedish parliament in May 1969 endorsed a policy of direct support to the liberation movements. A strong believer in the search for peaceful solutions, Sweden would strictly limit the support to non-armed, civilian needs.

After a visit to Tanzania, Ola Ullsten—at the time chairman of the Liberal Party Youth League—recommended in December 1964 official Swedish assis-

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

² Interview with Joaquim Chissano, Maputo, 2 May 1996.

³ Interview with Thabo Mbeki, Cape Town, 8 September 1995.

⁴ Möllander op. cit., p. 7.

tance to FRELIMO's Mozambique Institute in Dar es Salaam. "We can afford to help", the future Prime Minister said. "To teach African children algebra and English can only be a slight threat to our neutrality." During the 1950s and the 1960s, the Swedish economy registered an average annual growth rate of 3.5%, developing into one of the strongest in the world. With regard to the third foreign policy objective—*economic opportunity*—Sweden was in a better position than most countries to assist the liberation movements. As stated by Ullsten, humanitarian assistance would, in addition, not affect Sweden's global security position in any notable way. He could, similarly, have said that support to the Southern African nationalist organizations on the whole only constituted a marginal risk for the Swedish economy, and in most cases practically none at all.

The Swedish post-war economic boom laid the foundations for the social democratic vision of a 'people's home'. With a markedly trade-dependent economy and rapid internationalization, the building of the egalitarian welfare state was at the same time increasingly vulnerable to external factors. Promotion of trade liberalization and participation in international organizations—such as GATT and EFTA—became important against this background. Backed by Swedish export interests, the Social Democratic government actively pursued a liberal trade policy.

Swedish trade in the 1950s and 1960s was concentrated to Europe, while Southern Africa played a marginal role. Furthermore, at the close of the latter decade—when official support to the liberation movements was decided upon—the combined relative weight of Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe in Sweden's commercial exchange had steadily decreased. While sales to the five countries represented 1.9% of total exports in 1950, the share had in 1960 fallen to 1.3% and in 1970 to 1.1%. Corresponding figures for Sweden's imports from the five were 1.5, 1.1 and 0.6%, respectively. Combining the statistics, the five countries only stood for 1.7% of Sweden's foreign trade in 1950. Their share had ten years later fallen to 1.2% and in 1970 to 0.7%, a decline of more than half over twenty years. During the prolonged post-war period of sustained Swedish economic growth, the five countries thus became progressively less important to Sweden. This was particularly true for the two Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique and for Namibia and Zimbabwe, who together represented a share of 0.5% of Swedish foreign trade in 1950. Twenty years later, this had fallen to an insignificant 0.1%. It follows that a politically motivated decision to assist the nationalist organizations in the improbable event of economic retaliation would only very marginally affect Sweden's material position.

In the case of South Africa, the situation was, however, more complicated. Sweden's pre-war relations with the country were primarily economic. A number of Swedish companies had been established there, and in 1948—when the Nationalist Party came to power—South Africa occupied third position among Sweden's non-European trading partners, behind the United States and

Argentina. Trade between Sweden and South Africa would thereafter continuously decrease in relative terms, but at the end of the 1960s South Africa still played a certain role, particularly as an export market. Its share of Sweden's global trade was in 1950 1.2%, but fell to 0.7% in 1960 and further to 0.6% in 1970. However, while imports from South Africa in those years only represented 0.7, 0.3 and 0.2%, respectively, sales to the country stood for 1.8, 1.0 and 0.9% of total Swedish exports in 1950, 1960 and 1970. In addition, it was only in South Africa that Swedish manufacturing companies had made direct investments. In this respect too there was a relative downward trend in the 1960s, but growing in absolute figures the Swedish investments were far from insignificant. With total assets of 72 million SEK in 1960, South Africa ranked fifteenth among the countries in the world with Swedish investments. In 1970, the assets had increased to 242 million, but South Africa now only ranked nineteenth. However, Swedish ownership in South Africa represented at the same time 1.6% of total overseas assets. In relative terms, apartheid South Africa—the only Southern African country of any economic significance to Sweden—was thus more important as an investment than as an export market.

South Africa's role in Sweden's international economic relations would to a large extent determine that the Moderate Party—closely aligned with Swedish export interests—stood outside the anti-apartheid coalition between socialists and liberals. In defence of their South African assets, representatives of Swedish concerns within the powerful Wallenberg group—such as ASEA—actively turned against the solidarity movement, publicly characterizing South Africa as "the most distinguished outpost and supporting pillar of civilization in Africa". Their weight also added arguments in favour of the position taken by the Swedish government regarding sanctions against South Africa. As noted, Sweden strictly followed the UN Charter, opposing demands for unilateral action and maintaining that only the Security Council was mandated to isolate a country from global economic interchange.¹ The reluctance of the Social Democratic government to intervene against private Swedish interests in Southern Africa was, in addition, illustrated by the refusal to act against Portugal within EFTA and, above all, by the backing of ASEA in the case of the Cabora Bassa project in Mozambique. Of its own accord, ASEA eventually withdrew from the project in September 1969, four months after the Swedish parliament had both passed the sanctions law against Rhodesia and paved the way for direct support to the Southern African liberation movements. Olof Palme assumed the leadership of the Social Democratic Party and the Swedish government one month later. With regard to Southern Africa, his first period as Prime Minister—lasting until mid-1976—was thus with the important exception

¹ As will be seen in Volume II, the Swedish position would due to the South African regime's continued intransigence change during the 1970s. Thus, Olof Palme—then the leader of the opposition—stated in the Swedish parliament in March 1977 that "free human beings are more important than free movements of capital" (Schori op. cit., p. 27) and in June 1979 the Swedish parliament passed the first sanctions law against South Africa, banning new investments.

of South Africa devoid of economic complications. It would, instead, be associated with an increasingly progressive Swedish involvement on the side of the nationalist organizations.

With regard to the fourth foreign policy objective—*public legitimacy*, or acceptance by public opinion—this presentation has illustrated the assertion made by SIDA's former Director General Ernst Michanek in 1996. It was "not the [Swedish] government that took the political initiative [concerning support to the liberation movements]. Even less so in the case of matters of a controversial nature. The whole build-up of the Swedish public opinion on Southern Africa came from below". When the decision to assist the nationalist organizations was eventually reached, the first generation of organized solidarity with Southern Africa had, however, largely been overwhelmed by the Vietnam movement. The official position by the state was, ironically, taken when the non-governmental mobilization for Southern Africa was at a low. A more militant, post-Vietnam solidarity movement emerged in the early 1970s with the Africa Groups in Sweden (AGIS). It would towards the middle of the decade express support for the same liberation movements that already received government support. That official support preceded recognition by the popular solidarity movement and that both the Swedish state and civil society supported ANC, SWAPO, MPLA, FRELIMO, ZANU and ZAPU was peculiar to Sweden. With different emphases and although tensions often appeared between the two, the common concern strengthened Sweden's involvement in favour of national liberation in Southern Africa. In addition, the Swedish government and AGIS would via SIDA eventually enter into close cooperation.

A more comprehensive presentation of the Swedish support to the Southern African liberation movements will be made in the following volume. In the interim, it should be noted that all the four basic foreign policy objectives mentioned above were conducive to Sweden's active involvement in Southern Africa. In the search for peace in the Cold War global context (*national security*), developments in South and Southern Africa were increasingly seen as threatening. With regard to fundamental values and a basic understanding of international norms (*ideological affinity*), the white minority regimes were anathema, while the liberation movements were seen to represent democracy and common strategic interests. On the question of material pursuit of welfare for Sweden and its citizens (*economic opportunity*), there were conflicting views, but the economic relations with the region were—with the exception of South Africa—of marginal to insignificant importance. In its ambition to strive for a broad domestic foreign policy acceptance (*public legitimacy*), the Swedish government was, finally, from the early 1960s under pressure from an active opinion, firmly anchored in the socialist left and the liberal centre. A combination of factors thus explains why the quest for national liberation in distant Southern Africa developed into a Swedish concern.

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Periodicals

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>Africa Today</i> | <i>Nordisk Tidskrift</i> |
| <i>African Affairs</i> | <i>PAIGC Actualités</i> |
| <i>Afrikabulletinen</i> | <i>Présence Africaine</i> |
| <i>The Economist</i> | <i>Rapport från SIDA</i> |
| <i>Foreign Affairs</i> | <i>Revista Espresso</i> |
| <i>Frihet</i> | <i>Svensk Tidskrift</i> |
| <i>International Studies Quarterly</i> | <i>Svensk Utrikeshandel</i> |
| <i>Kommentar</i> | <i>Syd- och Sydvästafrika</i> |
| <i>Kulturkontakt</i> | <i>Södra Afrika Informationsbulletin</i> |
| <i>Liberal Debatt</i> | <i>The WAY Review</i> |
| <i>Liberal Ungdom</i> | <i>Tiden</i> |
| <i>Mozambique Revolution</i> | <i>Tidsignal</i> |
| <i>New African</i> | <i>Ung Center</i> |
| <i>The New Left Review</i> | <i>Zimbabwe Review</i> |

Newspapers

The main source consulted for newspaper articles is the Press Archive of the Uppsala University Library which holds cuttings from around 50 Swedish newspapers since 1945. The cuttings are organized according to subject and country. Swedish newspapers have also been studied at the Uppsala University Library (*Carolina Rediviva*) and selected Norwegian press reports at the Oslo University Library.

a) Swedish newspapers

- | | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| <i>Aftonbladet</i> | <i>Ny Dag</i> |
| <i>Arbetet</i> | <i>Nya Norrland</i> |
| <i>Borås Tidning</i> | <i>Nyheterna</i> |
| <i>Dagbladet-Nya Samhället</i> | <i>Smålands Folkblad</i> |
| <i>Dagens Nyheter</i> | <i>Stockholms-Tidningen</i> |
| <i>Dala-Demokraten</i> | <i>Sydsvenska Dagbladet</i> |
| <i>Expressen</i> | <i>Svenska Dagbladet</i> |
| <i>Folkbladet Östgöten</i> | <i>Upsala Nya Tidning</i> |
| <i>Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning</i> | <i>Vestmanlands Läns Tidning</i> |
| <i>Göteborgs-Posten</i> | <i>Värmlands Folkblad</i> |
| <i>Göteborgs-Tidningen</i> | <i>Västerbottens-Kuriren</i> |
| <i>Jönköpings-Posten</i> | <i>Västernorrlands Allehanda</i> |
| <i>Kvällsposten</i> | <i>Västgöta-Demokraten</i> |
| <i>Ljusnan</i> | <i>Örebro-Kuriren</i> |
| <i>Morgonbladet</i> | <i>Östergötlands Dagblad</i> |
| <i>Nerikes Allehanda</i> | <i>Östersunds-Posten</i> |
| <i>Nordvästra Skånes Tidningar</i> | |

b) *International newspapers**Aftenposten*, Oslo*Arbeiderbladet*, Oslo*The Cape Times*, Cape Town*Dagbladet*, Oslo*The Herald*, Harare*The Nationalist*, Dar es Salaam*Notícias*, Lourenço Marques*Notícias de Beira*, Beira*The Star*, Johannesburg*The Sunday Times*, Johannesburg*Times of Zambia*, Lusaka*Zambia Daily Mail*, Lusaka**3. Official records**

The main series of public documents consulted are:

Government Bills (*Propositioner*): 1962–1990

Government Statements on Foreign Policy to the Swedish Parliament (*Regeringens utrikespolitiska deklamationer*): 1950–1994

Parliamentary Committee Reports (*Utskottsbetänkanden*): 1965–1975

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Folkpartiet, 1969, *Stöd åt motståndsrörelser*, Rapport från en arbetsgrupp inom Folkpartiet, Bokförlaget Folk och Samhälle, Stockholm.

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B. Unpublished sources

1. Archives

The Nordic Africa Institute (NAI) holds a substantial number of documents on and by the Southern African liberation movements, including stencilled information bulletins published in Swedish from the 1960s. Other documents cited or consulted are, upon written request and subject to approval by the repository archive, available at the institute for bona fide students. For the benefit of the non-Swedish reader/student, the title of the Swedish documents are given an English translation in the footnotes. The main archives, organizations or private collections holding the documents are given an abbreviated reference within brackets, such as (MFA) for the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The Swedish documentary sources thus referenced are:

- (AGA) Africa Groups in Sweden (*Afrika-grupperna i Sverige*), Stockholm (The documentation has subsequently been transferred to the Labour Movement Archives and Library-LMA)
- (AJC) Anders Johansson (private collection)
- (BHC) Bertil Högberg (private collection)
- (CSA) Church of Sweden Mission Archives (*Svenska Kyrkans Missions Arkiv*), Uppsala

- (ISA) Isolate South Africa Committee (*Isolera Sydafrika-Kommittén*). (The documentation has been donated to the Nordic Africa Institute-NAI)
- (JIC) Joachim Israel (private collection)
- (MFA) Ministry for Foreign Affairs (*Utrikesdepartementet*), Stockholm
- (LMA) Labour Movement Archives and Library (*Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek*), Stockholm
- (NAI) Nordic Africa Institute (*Nordiska Afrikainstitutet*), Uppsala
- (OPA) Olof Palme International Center, Stockholm
- (SDA) Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (*Styrelsen för Internationellt Utvecklingssamarbete*), Stockholm
- (UPA) Archives of the Popular Movements in Uppland County (*Folkrörelsearkivet för Uppsala Län*), Uppsala

In addition, the following two archives in Southern Africa are similarly referenced:

- (MCA) Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture in South Africa, Cape Town, South Africa
- (MHA) Historical Archive of Mozambique (*Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique*), Maputo, Mozambique

At the time of data collection, the documentation held at the active—or recently active—non-governmental organizations (AGA, ISA and OPA) had not been organized and/or classified for easy reference. The same applies, naturally, to the two private collections (AJC and JIC). With regard to the major Swedish archives consulted (CSA, MFA, LMA, SDA and UPA), the information below should, however, guide the interested student via the principal records to the individual document cited. This said, it should be noted that the documents held at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (MFA) and at the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SDA) are restricted. Secondly, the files, series or archives indicated contain a considerable number of documents. Only the ten MFA files comprise around 400 dossiers with up to 200 pages each. The SDA series are considerably larger. The single archive on the LO/TCO Council of International Trade Union Cooperation at LMA consists, similarly, of several hundred volumes.

Due to the amount of documents involved and to the diverse classification systems used, it has not proved meaningful to further subdivide the documentation for direct reference in the footnotes. Bearing in mind the country discussed, the organization referred to and the date of the document cited, it should, nevertheless, not be too difficult to locate an individual source. Finally, regarding the more recent MFA and SDA sources—roughly covering the period 1990–1994—a large number of active documents have been consulted during meetings with Foreign Ministry and Sida officials, i.e. before filing. They are also referenced in the footnotes as (MFA) or (SDA), respectively. The volumes, files, series and archives studied at the main repositories are:

a) Church of Sweden Mission Archives (CSA)

Files: Correspondence on South Africa, Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South West Africa (Namibia): 1955–1980

b) Ministry for Foreign Affairs (MFA)

Files: HP 1 / By and By¹ British territories in Africa: 1962–1980
 HP 1 / Dpk Portuguese territories: 1968–1975
 HP 1 / Yan Angola: 1975–1978 and 1986–1988
 HP 1 / Ymo Mozambique: 1975–1986
 HP 1 / Ysy South Africa: 1958–1994
 HP 21 / Ysy Questions regarding national minorities; South Africa: 1961–1979
 HP 48 / M United Nations mandates: 1964–1974
 HP 53 / Ysy Protectorates, mandates and possessions; South Africa: 1974–1978
 U 30 / By Humanitarian aid: British territories in Africa: 1965–1974
 U 30 / Dpk Humanitarian aid: Portuguese territories: 1968–1974

c) Labour Movement Archives and Library (LMA)

- Archives: 2600 International Centre of the Swedish Labour Movement (*Arbetarrörelsens Internationella Centrum*) (AIC): 1978–1984
 3115 LO/TCO Council of International Trade Union Cooperation: 1976–1990
- Pierre Schori Private archive

d) Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SDA)

- Volumes: 1171–1226: Documents on Swedish humanitarian assistance to Southern Africa: 1965–1972
- Series: 1.11 Refugee and humanitarian assistance: 1972–1994. (Before 1 July 1972, the series bore the designation 4.4)
 Sub-divided according to organizations, this is the main SIDA series on Swedish and international NGOs channelling humanitarian assistance to Southern Africa. (Example: 1.11.1 / AGIS)
- 1.12 Assistance to liberation movements: 1972–1994. (Before 1 July 1972, the series similarly bore the designation 4.4)
 Followed by the name of a liberation movement, this is the main SIDA series on Swedish humanitarian assistance to Southern Africa (Example: 1.12.1 / ANC)
- 1.13 Contributions to Swedish NGOs: 1972–1994 (Before 1 July 1972, the series was 4.6)
- 2.6.2 Assistance to Southern African liberation movements: 1972–1978
 This series was in use during the period 1972–1978. Within the series, each liberation movement had an individual designation. (Example: 2.6.2.3: Assistance to FRELIMO)
- 9.3 Consultative Committee on Humanitarian Assistance: 1970–1994

e) Archives of the Popular Movements in Uppland County (UPA)

- Archives: Laboremus: Documents 1960–1965
 Swedish FRELIMO Group: Documents 1966–1970
 South Africa Committee: Documents 1963–1968

The documents cited from the Historical Archive of Mozambique (MHA) were kindly identified by its director, Mrs. Inês Nogueira da Costa. The ANC box files consulted at the Mayibuye Centre in Cape Town (MCA) are as follows:

- Box files: 1 South Africa United Front: 1961
 3 ANC Women's Section/Correspondence with Sweden: 1979–1981
 15 Notes and correspondence on foreign funding in South Africa: 1985–1987
 19 Bommersvik, Sweden: Workshop on post-apartheid research priorities: 1987
 26 Report from workshop in Sweden on research priorities, August 1987
 51 ANC National Executive Committee: Records 1986–1990
 52 ANC National Executive Committee: Records 1990–1991
 59 ANC Department of Research: Minutes of Harare consultative meeting: July 1997
 60 Office of the ANC Treasurer General: 1984–1991
 64 International relations–Scandinavia: 1986–1990
 69 Correspondence with ANC offices–Scandinavia: 1987–1990

2. Interviews

Over eighty interviews were carried out for the study. They are listed below. The interviews are published by Nordiska Afrikainstitutet in Tor Sellström (ed.): *Liberation in Southern Africa—Regional and Swedish Voices* (1999).

Angola

Paulo Jorge, Luanda, 15 April 1996
 Lúcio Lara, Luanda, 16 April 1996
 Ruth Neto, Luanda, 16 April 1996
 Miguel N'Zau Puna, Luanda, 17 April 1996
 Alberto Ribeiro-Kabulu, Harare, 5 May 1996
 Holden Roberto, Luanda, 17 April 1996
 Jorge Valentim, Luanda, 18 April 1996

Mozambique

Joaquim Chissano, Maputo, 2 May 1996
 Janet Mondlane, Maputo, 30 April 1996
 Jorge Rebelo, Maputo, 1 May 1996
 Marcelino dos Santos, Maputo, 29 April 1996
 Jacinto Veloso, Maputo, 29 April 1996
 Sérgio Vieira, Maputo, 29 April 1996

Namibia

Ottilie Abrahams, Windhoek, 16 Mars, 1995
 Ben Amathila, Stockholm, 19 May 1995
 Hadino Hishongwa, Windhoek, 15 March 1995
 Peter Katjavivi, Windhoek, 20 March 1995
 Charles Kauraisa, Windhoek, 20 March 1995
 Dirk Mudge, Kalkfeld, 18 March 1995
 Aaron Mushimba, Windhoek, 16 March 1995
 Mishake Muyongo, Windhoek, 17 April 1995
 Festus Naholo, Windhoek, 15 March 1995
 Zedekia Ngavirue, Windhoek, 17 March 1995
 Hifikepunye Pohamba, Windhoek, 15 March 1995
 Andreas Shipanga, Windhoek, 20 March 1995
 Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, Windhoek, 17 March 1995
 Ben Ulenga, Windhoek, 16 March 1995

South Africa

Jaya Appalraju, Johannesburg, 14 September 1995
 Alex Boraine, Cape Town, 12 September 1995
 Roloef 'Pik' Botha, Cape Town, 12 September 1995
 Gora Ebrahim, Harare, 22 July 1995
 Gerald Giose, Cape Town, 6 December 1995
 John Gomomo, Stockholm, 6 September 1996
 Rica Hodgson, Johannesburg, 19 September 1995
 Lindiwe Mabuza, Bonn, 14 March 1996

Reddy Mampane, Johannesburg, 17 September 1995
 Trevor Manuel, Cape Town, 8 September 1995
 Thabo Mbeki, Cape Town, 8 September 1995
 Billy Modise, Johannesburg, 15 September 1995
 Kay Moonsamy, Johannesburg, 14 September 1995
 James Motlatsi, Johannesburg, 25 April 1996
 Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele, Cape Town, 7 September 1995
 Indres Naidoo, Cape Town, 7 December 1995
 Beyers Naudé, Johannesburg, 15 September 1995
 Barney Pityana, Uppsala, 23 January 1997
 Walter Sisulu, Johannesburg, 15 September 1995
 Garth Strachan, Cape Town, 10 September 1995
 Craig Williamson, Pretoria, 23 April 1996

Sweden

Roland Axelsson, Stockholm, 31 October 1996
 Birgitta Berggren, Stockholm, 27 March 1996
 Tore Bergman, Uppsala, 10 February 1997
 Stig Blomquist, Bro, 29 January 1997
 Pär Granstedt, Stockholm, 3 June 1996
 Birger Hagård, Stockholm, 9 October 1996
 Sven Hamrell, Uppsala, 10 April, 1996
 Gunnar Helander, Västerås, 12 February 1996
 Carl-Henrik ('C.H.') Hermansson, Stockholm, 22 November 1996
 Lena Hjelm-Wallén, Stockholm, 14 January 1997
 Anders Johansson, Eskilstuna, 19 November 1996
 Tomas Ledin, Stockholm, 18 March 1997
 Sören Lindh, Stockholm, 4 February 1997
 Stig Lövgren, Sollentuna, 21 February 1996
 Åke Magnusson, Stockholm, 27 January 1997
 Ernst Michanek, Stockholm, 19 March 1996
 Hillevi Nilsson, Stockholm, 4 February 1997
 Pierre Schori, Stockholm, 28 June 1996
 Bengt Säve-Söderbergh, Stockholm, 14 January 1997

Carl Tham, Stockholm, 14 January 1997
David Wirmark, Stockholm, 20 February 1996
Per Wästberg, Stockholm, 28 February 1996

Zimbabwe

Canaan Banana, Harare, 3 June 1996
Dumiso Dabengwa, Harare, 27 July 1995
Kumbirai Kangai, Harare, 19 July 1995
Didymus Mutasa, Harare, 27 July 1995
Abel Muzorewa, Harare, 26 November 1996
John Nkomo, Harare, 21 July 1995
Sydney Sekeramayi, Harare, 27 July 1995
Ndabaningi Sithole, Harare, 25 July 1995
Josiah Tungamirai, Harare, 7 June 1996

Others

Kenneth Kaunda, Lusaka, 15 July 1995
Salim Ahmed Salim, Copenhagen, 16 November 1955
Vladimir Shubin, Cape Town, 12 September 1995

Appendices

Appendix I: Conversion table: SEK / USD 1950–1995

	1 USD	1 SEK
1950	5,18 SEK	0,19 USD
1955	5,18 SEK	0,19 USD
1960	5,17 SEK	0,19 USD
1965	5,17 SEK	0,19 USD
1970	5,19 SEK	0,19 USD
1975	4,17 SEK	0,24 USD
1980	4,23 SEK	0,24 USD
1985	8,61 SEK	0,12 USD
1990	5,91 SEK	0,17 USD
1995	7,13 SEK	0,14 USD

Source: Riksbanken Infocenter

Appendix II:

Parliamentary elections in Sweden 1948–1994: Distribution of votes (%)

	LPC	SDP	CP	LP	MP	O
1948	6,3	46,1	12,4	22,8	12,3	0,1
1952	4,3	46,1	10,7	24,4	14,4	0,1
1956	5,0	44,6	9,4	23,8	17,1	0,1
1958	3,4	46,2	12,7	18,2	19,5	0,0
1960	4,5	47,8	13,6	17,5	16,5	0,1
1964	5,2	47,3	13,2	7,0	13,7	3,6
1968	3,0	50,1	15,7	14,3	12,9	4,1
1970	4,8	45,3	19,9	16,2	11,5	2,2
1973	5,3	43,6	25,1	9,4	14,3	2,4
1976	4,8	42,7	24,1	11,1	15,6	1,8
1979	5,6	43,2	18,1	10,6	20,3	2,2
1982	5,6	45,6	15,5	5,9	23,6	3,8
1985	5,4	44,7	12,4	14,2	21,3	2,0
1988	5,8	43,2	11,3	12,2	18,3	9,1
1991	4,5	37,6	8,5	9,1	21,9	18,4
1994	6,2	45,3	7,7	7,2	22,4	11,3

LPC—Left Party Communists, SDP—Social Democratic Party, LP—Liberal Party, CP—Centre Party, MP—Moderate Party, O—others, such as the Green Party and the Christian Democrats

Appendix III:

Governments in Sweden 1951–1994

Year	Prime Minister	Party	Coalition Partners
1951	Tage Erlander	SDP	CP
1957	Tage Erlander	SDP	
1969	Olof Palme	SDP	
1976	Thorbjörn Fälldin	CP	LP, MP
1978	Ola Ullsten	LP	
1979	Thorbjörn Fälldin	CP	LP, MP
1981	Thorbjörn Fälldin	CP	LP
1982	Olof Palme	SDP	
1986	Ingvar Carlsson	SDP	
1991	Carl Bildt	MP	CP, LP, CD

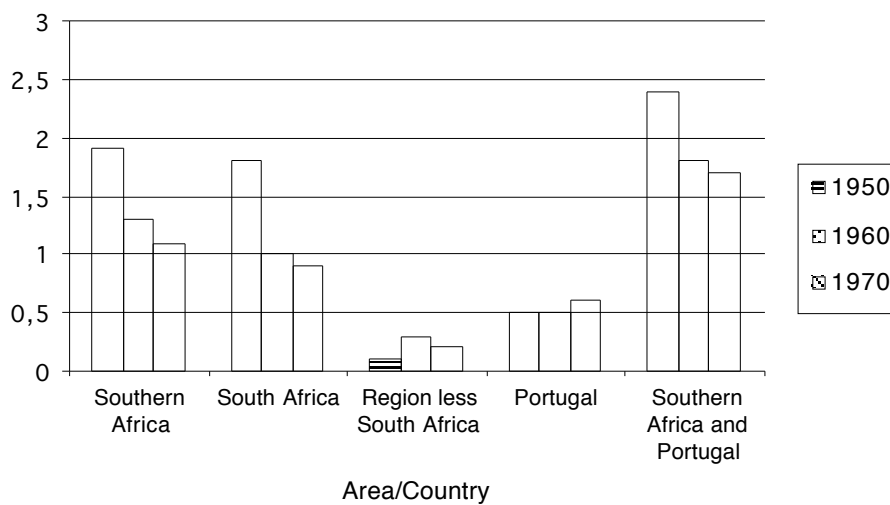
SDP—Social Democratic Party, CP—Centre Party, LP—Liberal Party, MP—Moderate Party, CD—Christian Democrats

Appendix IV: Swedish exports to Southern Africa and Portugal 1950–1970
(percentage share of total exports)

Area/Country	1950	1960	1970
Southern Africa ^a	1.9	1.3	1.1
---- South Africa	1.8	1.0	0.9
---- region less South Africa ^a	0.1	0.3	0.2
Portugal	0.5	0.5	0.6
Southern Africa and Portugal	2.4	1.8	1.7

a) Includes Northern Rhodesia/Zambia and Nyasaland/Malawi.

Source: Kommerskollegium (1950) and Statistiska Centralbyrån (1960 and 1970).

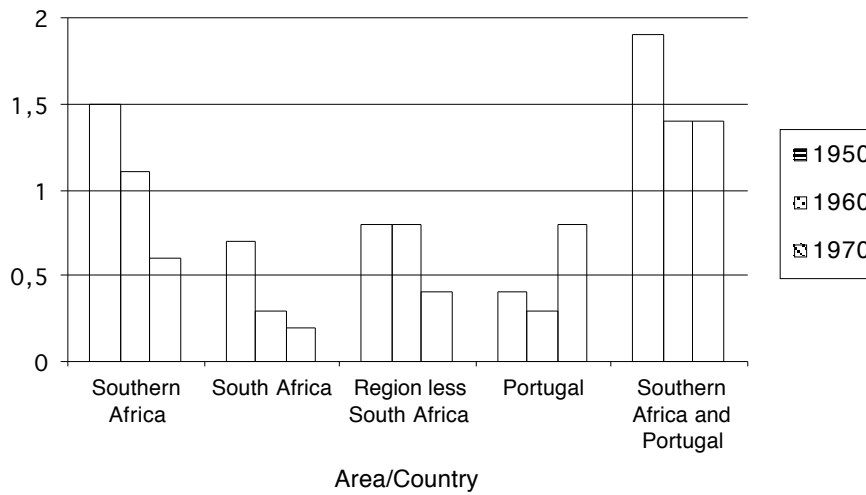


Appendix V: Swedish imports from Southern Africa and Portugal
 1950–1970
 (percentage share of total imports)

Area/Country	1950	1960	1970
Southern Africa ^a	1.5	1.1	0.6
---- South Africa	0.7	0.3	0.2
---- region less South Africa ^a	0.8	0.8	0.4
Portugal	0.4	0.3	0.8
Southern Africa and Portugal	1.9	1.4	1.4

a) Includes Northern Rhodesia/Zambia and Nyasaland/Malawi. Traditionally, Sweden imported a lot of copper from Zambia.

Source: Kommerskollegium (1950) and Statistiska Centralbyrån (1960 and 1970).



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