Notes

Prologue

1. Quoted from Krog 1999, p. 118f.
2. The TRC held was made possible through legislation created shortly after the first democratic elections were held in South Africa. The hearings were held between 1996 and 1998.
3. Michael Lapsley, centrally placed in the TRC, argues that it was impossible not to know (interview with Michael Lapsley).
4. For analyses of apartheid discourse, see for example, Beinart and Dubow 1995 (eds), Dubow 1995, Norval 1996 and Marks and Trapido (eds) 1987.

Introduction

6. Massie 1997, Crawford and Klotz (eds) 1999. Of course, most research make arguments for a combination of ‘internal’ and external’ factors, although giving some more weight than others. For an example of such an analysis, with a high level of sophistication, see Price (1991), where two internal factors, economic decline and political violence, interacts with international pressure.
7. In 1990 he was targeted by a letter bomb, losing both hands and an eye. He finally returned to South Africa in 1992 and got involved in work with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).
8. Interview with Michael Lapsley. For a biography on Lapsley, see Worsnip 1996.
12. AAM Archive, MSS AAM 13 and M.
15. This approach implies looking at norms, defined as ‘shared understandings of standards for behaviour and interests’ Klotz 1995, p. 14, as interacting
with self-interest in the context of international politics and institutions. Relations between norms and interest are thus depending on the context.


20. Trevor Huddleston (1913–99) was born in England and became an Anglican priest. In 1943, he was sent by his church community to Sophiatown in South Africa, an experience about which he wrote the book Naught for Your Comfort, which was published in 1955, the same year in which Huddleston returned to England. Huddleston made close friends with ANC leaders and spent most of his life in commitment to the struggle against apartheid. He was Vice President of AAM between from 1961 until 1981, when he became its president, a position he held until its dissolution in 1995. It is however unclear whether Trevor Huddleston actually appeared at the meeting in 1959 – a letter was recently found in the AAM archives in which Huddleston apologizes that he has another appointment (correspondence with C. Gurney, 14 April 2005).

21. AAM Archive, MSS AAM 1. See also Gurney 2000a.


35. Interview with Dorothy Robinson, who was active in the Africa Bureau in the late 1950s and AAM in the early 1960s.

36. This is an understanding of social movements influenced mainly by the works of Melucci 1989 and 1996 and Eyerman and Jamison 1991. See also Thörn 1997.


38. For an updated and systematic discussion on the relation between social movement mobilization, national and international POS, see Sikkink 2005.
However Sikkink still argues that when both national and international POS are open, activists ‘will, I believe, privilege domestic political change’, p. 165.

39. I define globalization as the historical emergence of a world society, including economic, political and cultural processes, which establish relatively stable and complex relations of power and interdependency across vast distances (see Thörn 2002, Föllér and Thörn (eds) 2005 and Abiri and Thörn (eds) 2005). This is a definition being close to the ones presented in Giddens 1990 and Held et al. 1999. In the debate on globalization, some scholars make a distinction between internationalization and globalization (i.e. Hirst and Thompson 1996), while others, including this author, view globalization as a process involving a complex interplay between international processes, denoting interaction between national organizations (such as a state or a labour union) and transnational processes, referring to interaction across national borders. Further, in Chapter 2, I will make a distinction between political globalization from above and from below (Falk 1999). The former is constituted by the increasing number and importance of inter-governmental organizations (IGO’s); the latter by the increasing number of NGO’s social movements and activist networks organizing across borders.

40. It might be argued that the Cold War was a rearticulation of the colonial world order, and thus constituted a form of postcoloniality, but I will try to show that it is fruitful to make an analytical distinction between the two. For enlightening discussions on concepts of ‘postcolonialism’ and ‘postcoloniality’, see for example Young 2004, 2001, Spivak 1999 and Hall 1996.

41. For a similar approach to the struggle against apartheid from an international relations perspective, see Klotz 1995.

42. My approach is close to theories on political culture developed in the context of cultural theory and cultural sociology, including neo-marxist approaches influenced by Antonio Gramsci. In this tradition the dynamics of political culture is conceived in terms of antagonism and conflict, rather than consensus. See for example Laclau and Mouffe 1986, Mouffe 1988 and Morley and Chen (eds) 1996. An important historical work on social movements and political culture is Wuthnow 1989. For an overview of different conceptions of ‘political culture’ see Somers 1995.

43. I will sometimes use the term ‘liberation movements/SMOs’ and ‘solidarity movements/SMOs’ to distinguish between collective action that ultimately aimed at gaining state power in South Africa, and those movements that acted in support of the former. However, the concept of ‘the transnational anti-apartheid movement’ included both of these types of movements/SMOs.


51. E. g. Dayan and Katz 1992. For a critical discussion on the assumption that ‘icons of outrage’, as mediated in news does have political or social effects, see also Perlmutter 1998.


53. On the BBC coverage of South Africa before Sharpeville, see Smith 1993.


57. The direct support to the ANC from the Swedish state started in 1972/73 with the modest sum of 35,000 Swedish kronor (SEK). In the following year it increased to 215,000 SEK. By 1994, ANC had received a total sum of 896 million SEK, Sellström 2002, pp. 34, 397 and 900.

58. Sellström 2002, interviews with Magnus Walan, Bertil Högberg and Sören Lindh.


66. For the British newspapers, I have used the collection of press cuttings assembled at the Royal Institute of Commonwealth Affairs in London. The section on relations between Great Britain and South Africa provided cuttings from nine daily newspapers in 1960 (The Times, Daily Telegraph, Guardian, Daily Express, Daily Herald, Daily Worker, Financial Times, Observer, Sunday Times), ten in 1969–70 and 1976 (adding Sunday Telegraph to the previous), four in 1985 (Financial Times, Daily Telegraph, Guardian, The Times) and five in 1990 (adding Independent). For the Swedish press, I have used the section on relations between Sweden and South Africa at the Press archive at Uppsala University, which includes cuttings from all daily Swedish newspapers.

67. This means a particular focus on AA News in Britain, published by the AAM, and Afrikabulletinen and Södra Afrika Nyheter in Sweden, published by AGIS. In 1960, when these publications did not yet exist, I used Boycott News in Britain. Because the labour movement was the main movement context for anti-apartheid at this time, I also included the TUC magazine Labour and T & G WU Record in Britain, and Metallarbetaren, published by the Metal Union in Sweden.

68. Foucault 1981.

69. Here I use the term ‘ideology’ as reinterpreted in the context of discourse analysis by Ernesto Laclau 1990, p. 92.

1Narratives of Transnational Anti-Apartheid Activism


2. Eyerman and Jamison 1991, p. 3.

4. Reddy was promoted to Director of the Centre Against Apartheid in 1976 (set up to demonstrate greater commitment of the UN to action against apartheid), and became Assistant Secretary-General of the UN in 1983 – until he retired in 1985. Where no other references are made, the following is based on my interview with E. S. Reddy. See also Reddy 1986 and 1987. For a collection of his articles, see www.anc.org.za/un/reddy. See also Korey 1998 and Shepherd 1977.

5. Interview with Jennifer Davis. Among the people that have stated that Reddy and the Special Committe played an extremely important role in facilitating the transnational mobilization of the anti-apartheid movement are other key activists in Britain and the United States like Mike Terry (AAM), George Houser (ACOA) as well as journalist and author Denis Herbstein.

6. As for example at the Beijing Women’s Conference in 1995, where 4000 NGOs gathered for the alternative meeting, Dickenson 1997.

7. Interview with Denis Herbstein. See also Herbstein 2004.


10. The other was the Swedish author and journalist Per Wästberg, see Sellström 1999 and Kasmal and Kasmal 1974.

11. Where no other references are made, the following is based on my interview with Gunnar Helander. See also Sellström’s interview with Helander in Sellström (ed.) 1999.


13. Interview with Gunnar Helander.


15. Helander was also appointed to the Consultative Committee on Humanitarian Assistance (CCHA) (see Chapter 3).

16. Interview with Gunnar Helander.


20. However, since news about the meeting was being leaked to the press, Tambo withdrew. Interview with Gunnar Helander, see also Sellström, (ed.) 1999, p. 288.

21. Where no other references are made, the following is based on my interview with Sobizana Mngqikana.

22. By this time, there were six established ANC missions in the world: Lusaka, Dar Es Salaam, Algiers, Cairo, New Delhi and London, Sellström 2002, p. 398.


24. Mngqikana was received at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in March 1974 (Sellström 2002, p. 398) and also had frequent contacts with the international secretary of the Social Democratic party, Bernt Carlsson, interview with Sobizana Mngqikana.


26. The interview was made in Dagens eko, and was also referred to in Dagens Nyheter 23/12 1974 (‘Sydafriakresan blir ett propagandajippo’).

27. In the early 1960s in London, Mngqikana had met representatives from the locally constituted Swedish South Africa committees, one of the earliest transnational contacts of the AAM.
28. Sellström 2002, p. 429. In Stockholm, there was a ‘Support Group for South Africa’s People’ that supported the ANC before the Africa Groups did.
30. Where no other references are made, the following is based on my interview with Margaret Ling.
31. Interview with Margaret Ling.
32. MSS AAM 333.
33. The notion of ‘life politics’ is borrowed from Giddens 1991. For a critical discussion, see the concluding chapter.
34. Interview with Tariq Mellet (previously Patrick de Goede).
36. AGIS 1978, Palmberg (ed.) 1983. For an account of the process of writing the book, see Palmberg 2004. Where no other references are made, the following is based on my interview with Palmberg.
37. Ruth First was assassinated by a letter bomb in Maputo in 1982. Joe Slovo was appointed as the Minister of Housing in Nelson Mandela’s government in 1994, but died from cancer in 1995.
39. Ibid., p. 75.

2 The Globalization of the Anti-Apartheid Movement

1. Tarrow 1998a, p. 240. See also Della Porta and Kriesi 1999. More recently, Della Porta and Tarrow (2005) have started to put more emphasis on global developments, arguing that such developments have transformed social movements’ environments since the 1960s (p. 1) and formulating a theory of ‘complex internationalism’ (p. 227ff.).
2. Tarrow 1998b.
3. On the history of the ANC, see e. g. Lodge 1983, Lodge and Nasson 1991, Karis, Carter and Gerhart (1972–77), Dubow 2000. Where no other references are made, the following account of the history of the ANC and the PAC are built on Lodge 1983, Chapters 3, 10 and 12 and Lodge and Nasson 1991, part III.
5. See for example Sibeko 1976.
6. Initially an attempt was made to establish co-operation between the two organizations in the South African United Front (SAUF), gaining support from independent African states and European Social Democrats and being active in Accra, Cairo, Dar Es Salaam and London. Internal division did however lead to a break up of SAUF after just 18 months.
7. Interview with E. S. Reddy.
8. For a comprehensive analysis of the history of the UDF, see Seekings 2000.
1986 in Stockholm, by a yet unknown assailant. The assassination occurred one week after the conference ‘Swedish People’s Parliament Against Apartheid’, where Palme appeared together with Oliver Tambo and a number of other prominent anti-apartheid profiles from all over the world. In 1996, Eugene de Kock, former South African death squad commander, stated in the Pretoria Supreme Court that the apartheid regime had been behind the assassination. Swedish police investigating the murder visited South Africa to interview Kock and other former members of South Africa’s security forces, but came back without evidence that would hold in court.

14. Interview with Mike Terry.
15. The importance of these early contacts is clearly established by Sellström 1999 and 1999 (ed.) as well as in my interviews with David Wirmark and Anna-Greta Leijon.
16. Interview with George Houser.
17. On the US divestment movement, see Voorhes 1999.
20. On AAM’s cultural boycott, see Fieldhouse 2005, p. 103ff.
22. Interview with Ronald Segal.
23. Fieldhouse 2005, p. 49f. The papers from the conference were published by Penguin in a book titled Sanctions Against South Africa (Segal 1964).
26. Interview with Christabel Gurney.
33. When the issue was brought up in the Security Council it was articulated as ‘a threat against world peace and security’.
35. As defined by Klotz 1995, p. 27.
37. Ibid., 1995.
38. UN (1994).
40. Ibid., Chapter 7.
41. Interview with Patsy Robertson, Commonwealth Secretariat, Ethel de Keyser, AAM, Mike Terry, AAM.
42. For a theoretical discussion on the interaction between social movements and the UN, see also Passy 1999.
43. Interview with Jennifer Davis.
44. Neither the Scandinavian countries, who otherwise strongly supported the South African liberation struggle, joined the committee.

3 National Politics in a Global Context

3. It also excluded a secret deal known as ‘the Simonstown agreement’, Fieldhouse 2005, p. 79.
6. Interview with Brian Brown. Brown also represented the BCC in the Southern Africa Coalition, in which British churches, unions and AAM co-operated against apartheid.
9. Quotes from Sellström 1999, p. 67. For the notion of ‘parallelity of interest’, see Sellström 1999, who, following the theory on national foreign policy of Marie Demker (1996), argues that Sweden’s support to the liberation struggle in Southern Africa was based on the objectives of national security, ideological affinity, economic opportunity and public legitimacy (p. 513f).
10. A volunteer Scandinavian Corps and Ambulance Unit that travelled from Scandinavia to participate on the Boer side consisted of 113 men and 4 women, Sellström 1999, p. 119. For a report from the participation of Swedish volunteers in the war, see for example Göteborgs-Posten 23 March 1900.
11. In a formal sense, Sweden’s most lasting and famous colonial conquest was the Caribbean island of St Barthélemy, which was purchased from France in 1784 and was sold back to the French in 1877. In the late Seventeenth century there was a Swedish colony named New Sweden in Delaware, North America, and the Swedish Afrikakompaniet had a colony named Cabo Corso on the coast of present Guinea.
15. On the speech and the British reactions, as reported in the Swedish press, see also ‘Palme vid “anständighetens gräns”’, by Thomas Bergström in Expressen 30 September 1971.
16. Interviews with Vella Pillay, Mike Terry, Sören Lindh and Magnus Walan.
17. Interview with Mike Terry.
18. Interviews with Anne Page (previously Anne Darnborough), Ethel de Keyser, Vella Pillay, Dorothy Robinson and Ronald Segal.
19. Interview with Ethel de Keyser.
20. AAM 1963, p. 3.
24. AAM 1986, p. 3.
25. Most activists of the 1960s that I have interviewed agree on this view. See also Sanders 2000, Chapter 4.
28. Interview with Ethel de Keyser, Mike Terry and Vella Pillay. See also Fieldhouse 2005, p. 472. According to Denis Herbstein, neither the IDAF received any state funding (although it, through the UN, received funding from other governments, including the Swedish). Interview with Denis Herbstein.
29. Interview with Mike Terry.
31. While this perception might not have been held about ISAK in general, it was known that AGIS activists played a key role in the activist core of ISAK. Carl Tham, Director General of SIDA and chairman of CCHA, states that ‘... the Africa Groups was probably not perceived as sufficiently strong, you should remember that there were very strict rules of secrecy’.
32. Interview with Sören Lindh and Magnus Walan and telephone conversation with Maj-Lis Lööw. See also Nordenmark 1991, p. 114.
33. As highlighted by Sanders (2000) in his chapter on AAM.
34. Interview with Ethel de Keyser.
35. Interview with Victoria Brittain.
36. Interview with Ethel de Keyser.
37. According to Roger Fieldhouse, fundraising events were an extremely important source of income for the AAM – in 1970–71 accounting for half of the income, and during the 1980s, when a fundraising committee was set up, it ‘had become crucial to the financial viability of the Movement’ (p. 306).
38. For a comparison of new social movements in Europe, including the case of Sweden, see Brand 1985 and Thörn 2002.
39. Interview with Bertil Högberg.
40. Interview with Mai Palmberg.
41. Solomon 1996.
42. However, for practical reasons a ‘secret’, or informal, chairman was elected after much compromising, interview with Bertil Högberg.
44. Quoted from Rhodes 2000.
45. Interview with Ethel de Keyser and Barbara Rogers. See also Sanders 2000, p. 94. The tension was fuelled by Peter Hain’s book Don’t Play with Apartheid: The Background to the Stop the Seventy Tour Campaign, which came out in 1971.
46. Interview with E.S. Reddy.
47. Interview with Ingvar Flink.
48. Interview with Sören Lindh.
49. Draft Reply to PAC/CPC Memo, ANC London papers.
50. Interview with Hans Tollin.
51. According to Per Wästberg, personal friend of Olof Palme, it was easy for an ANC representative to be received by the Swedish Prime Minister.
52. Interview with Sören Lindh and Lindiwe Mabusa.
53. Interview with Magnus Walan.
54. *Afrikabulletinen* 43/1978, p. 3.
55. In fact the only important union joining ISAK was the Public Servants Union (Statstjänstemannaförbundet), which was part of the white collar TCO.
57. Interview with Mike Terry.
59. Interview with Mike Walsh.
61. For an account of the conflict related to CLAAG, see Fieldhouse 2005, p. 218ff.
64. Quoted from Fieldhouse, p. 349.
66. In its Annual Report 1989/90, ISAK stated that it dissociated itself from ‘sabotage actions carried out by groups outside of ISAK’, p. 10.
67. Fieldhouse 2005, p. 319. There were also professional groups, specialists groups, youth and students groups and regional committees within AAM.
68. Interview with Hans Tollin. Conversations with Anne-Mari Kihlberg, Africa Groups in Göteborg and Per Herngren, local activist in an organization affiliated to ISAK.
69. Interview with Margaret Ling.
70. McAdam 1996.
71. Della Porta and Kriesi 1999, p. 17, See also Sikkink 2005.
72. McAdam, McCarthy & Zald 1996.

4 The Struggle Over Information and Interpretation

1. Interview with Anne and Bruce Page. However, as is shown by James Sanders (2000), AAM put less emphasis on, and had a more difficult time with, the established media in the 1970s. This was again changed in the 1980s, when the AAM developed new media skills (interview with Victoria Britain and Mike Terry).
3. Interview with Nceba Faku and Ben Mahase.
4. Interview with Lucky Malgas.
5. Interview with Anthony Sampson.
7. Sanders 2000, p. 3.
8. Ibid., p. 65.
10. Interview with Michael Lapsley.
16. Interview with Magnus Walan.
17. On apartheid media strategies, see Laurence 1979.
19. Interview with Dorothy Robinson.
20. Interview with Anne Page.
21. Interview with Bruce Page.
22. During the 1970s AAM did however not have contacts in South Africa, something which was a huge problem for the journal. E-mail conversation with Christabel Gurney, 10-05-2005.
23. Interview with Anne Page.
24. Interview with Tariq Mellet (Patrick de Goede).
25. Interview with Barry Feinberg.
27. Interview with Barry Feinberg.
28. Interview with Mike Terry.
31. For example such conferences were organized by the Commonwealth Secretariat (co-sponsored by the Association of British Editors, Harvard University and the African-American Institute) in London in 1988 ('South Africa – Controlling the News'). There was also one in East Berlin in 1981 and one in Lima in 1988 (interview with E. S. Reddy).
32. For discussions on alternative media and ‘radical journalism’, e. g. Atton 2001.
33. Interview with Anne Page (previously Anne Darnborough).
34. Schechter 1997. Where no other references are made, the following is based on my interview with Danny Schechter.
35. Interview with Denis Herbstein.
36. Interview with Denis Herbstein.
37. Interview with Victoria Brittain.
38. Interview with Per Wästberg.
39. Interview with Anthony Sampson.
41. Interview with Ethel de Keyser.
43. Sanders 2000, p. 93f.
44. Sanders 2000, p. 93.
45. Sanders 2000, p. 93.
46. Interview with Barry Feinberg.
47. Interview with Barry Feinberg.
48. Interview with Tariq Mellet.
49. Interview with Tariq Mellet.
50. Interview with Tariq Mellet.

5 Beginnings: Sharpeville and the Boycott Debates

2. Quoted in Massie 1997, p. 64.
5. This is for example confirmed by Howard Smith (1993) in his study of the coverage of South Africa by the BBC before Sharpeville.
6. The Uppsala University Press Archive has collected 56 articles in Swedish newspapers debating the boycott during March–May 1960.
7. See for example Sanders 2000.
8. See for example Eyerman and Jamison 1991, Chapter 1.

6  **Sports as Politics: The Battle of Båstad and ‘Stop the 70s Tour’**

1. For analyses on the anti-apartheid sports campaigns, see Black 1999, Guelke 1993 and Nixon 1994.
5. Lindblom 1968, p. 44.
7. The course of events are well documented in Lindblom 1968.
8. Interviews with Ingvar Flink and Ann Schlyter.
9. For an account of this process, see Hain 1996, p. 49ff.
15. Interview with Bruce Page.

7  **‘A New Black Militancy’ – Before and After the Soweto Uprising**

2. Quoted from Sanders 2000, p. 163. Sanders adds: ‘It is now accepted that the Soweto uprising represented a crucial juncture in contemporary South African history’. See also Worden 1994, p. 10.
6. Interview with Nceba Faku.
9. Massie 1997, p. 390ff. In spite of demands that Kissinger should cancel the talks when the news about the shootings in Soweto came out, the talks in
Bavaria were held between 20 and 24 June. Further talks were held in September, in both Zürich and Pretoria.

10. In his chapter on the international media’s coverage of Soweto, James Sanders is arguing that: ‘Although the signs that unrest was intensifying in the schools of Soweto had been apparent for some time, most of the stringers and correspondents were caught unprepared by the events of 16 June 1976’ (p. 164). Sanders gives one example of this, quoting Caminada’s article in The Times on 14 June, but also names three ‘exceptions’, one of them Tutu’s article in the Guardian cited earlier. In this chapter, I have showed that if there were stringers and correspondents in South Africa that were unprepared for Soweto, enough coverage was published during the first half of 1976, at least in Britain, to make observant newspaper editors, as well as readers, aware of the emerging wave of anti-apartheid mobilization in South Africa. It was rather Caminada’s article that was the exception. As even The Times editorial on 17 June admitted, ‘an explosion’ had long been predicted.


8 Sharpeville Revisited and the Release of Nelson Mandela

7. Quoted from Barber 1999, p. 244.

Conclusion

1. Thompson 1995, p. 82
2. Interview with Reg September.
3. For a theoretical discussion on the interaction between social movements and the UN, see also Passy 1999.
4. On the notion of 'third space', see Bhabha 1994. The particular definition of the concept above was used in a lecture by Homi Bhabha in Göteborg on 19 September 2002.
7. For an important analysis of the dynamics of media and migration in contemporary cultural globalization, see Appadurai 1996. For a theoretical discussion of travel and mobility, see Urry 2000.
10. However, this is now beginning to change, as analyses of the new wave of globalization, occurring around the turn of the Millennium, are being published. See for example Jong et al. (eds) 2005, Olesen 2005, Opel and Pomper (eds) 2003, Couldry and Curran (eds) 2003.
11. E-mail conversation with Per Herngren, 11 May 2005.
12. Interview with Margaret Ling.
14. Recently this form of action has been conceptualized as 'political consumerism', see Micheletti 2003 and Micheletti, Follesdal and Stolle (eds) 2003. On the emergency of new forms of political action in connection with individualization, see also Beck 1996.
15. For an elaboration on the role of emotions in the context of social movement theory, see Wettergren 2005.
16. For a historical and conceptual discussion of 'global civil society', see Kaldor 2003 or Keane 2003.
17. E. g. Hirst and Thompson 1996.
21. McGrew (ed.) 1997. However, it must be recognized that far from all of these organizations can be considered as taking part in the process of political globalization. In the context of the debate on a global civil society, scepticism toward the concept of 'NGO' has also, quite rightly, been expressed. The concept of NGO is an extremely broad term used to signify various types of nongovernmental organizations. In theories and research on civil society, NGOs are often assumed to be voluntary organizations, characterized by a democratic orientation. This often refers both to internal democracy and to 'making democracy work' in the context of the society in which the NGOs are active. However organizations classified as NGOs can be involved in a quite wide range of activities, and do not per definition promote democracy. In some cases, particularly in the context of international aid, NGOs are simply the extensions of states and their interests. In other cases, they are highly professionalized and rather business like, more or less functioning as enterprises. For a critical discussion on NGOs, see Ottaway and Carothers (eds) 2000 and Hanlon 1991.
25. For the notion of ‘multi-level political game’, see Della Porta and Kriesi 1999.
28. Most of the activists that I have interviewed in this project (including activists based in churches, unions, solidarity organizations and exiled liberation movements), state that the concept of solidarity was a defining concept of the theory and practice of the struggle in which they participated. The concept of solidarity can also be found in various anti-apartheid documents and statements produced by actors with different ideological commitments.
29. Interview with Mai Palmberg.
30. For an insightful reflection on the theme of particularism/universalism, see Laclau 1996, and on the concept of solidarity, see Liedman 1999.
31. Interview with Bertil Högberg.
32. Interview with Ingvar Flink.
33. Interview with Brian Brown.
34. Interview with Per Wästberg.
35. Interview with Mike Terry.
36. Interview with Margaret Ling.
37. Interview with Mike Terry.

Epilogue

1. On ACTSA and CCETSA, see Fieldhouse 2005, p. 491ff.
2. On South Africa, the IMF, the World Bank and the global justice movement, see Bond 2001.
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MSS AAM 1306: Circular letters to overseas anti-apartheid organisations and contact lists, 1964–95.

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The Labour Movement Archive, Stockholm
AGiS Annual Reports
ISAK Annual Reports

Mayibuye Centre, University of Western Cape, Cape Town
ANC London papers

The Nordic Africa Institute Library, Uppsala
ISAK Annual Reports

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Press Cuttings, 1985 and 1990

TUC Library Collections, London, Metropolitan University
Labour
T & GWU Record

British newspapers and magazines

AA News
Daily Express
Daily Herald
Daily Telegraph
Guardian
Independent
Labour
Observer
Sunday Telegraph
Sunday Times
T & GWU Record
The Times

Swedish newspapers and magazines

Afrikabulletinen
Aftonbladet (AB)
Arbetarbladet
Arbetet
Dagens Nyheter (DN)
Eskilstunakuriren
Expressen
Göteborgs-Posten
Kvällsposten
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Nyheterna
Stockholmstidningen
Svenska Dagbladet (SvD)
Södra Afrika Nyheter
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<td>Kerstin Bjurman</td>
<td>AGIS</td>
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<td>Paul Blomfield**</td>
<td>AAM</td>
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<td>Victoria Brittain</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* All interviews made by the author, except * by Christabel Gurney and ** by David Rhodes. The interviews made by the author were semi-structured, lasting between one and three hours.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Johan Nordenfelt</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Conversation/correspondence**

Christabel Gurney, AAM, conversations and e-mail correspondence 2000-05
Per Herngren, Christian Student Movement/ISAK, e-mail correspondence May 2005
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Index

AA News 7, 41, 62, 66, 82, 100, 106–8, 111, 119, 122, 150, 155, 161–2, 169, 177–8, 181, 184
AAAM (Australia) 9
relations with the ANC and the PAC 63–4, 91–2, 94–5
relations with the British government 81–4
Abolitionist movement 6, 61, 76, 86
Accra 7, 50, 53, 220
ACOA (USA) 32, 36, 56, 61, 72
ACTSA 213
Addis Abeba 100
advocacy networks 6–7
AFL-CIO (USA) 53, 136
Africa Bureau 10, 76, 139
Africa Groups/AGIS 20, 38–9, 43–5, 123, 157, 162, 169, 173–98
relations with AAM 88–91
relations with the ANC and the PAC 37–9, 93–4
and the media 104, 123, 162, 178
relations with the Swedish government; see under Sweden
Africa South 64, 139
Africanism 49, 51, 53, 55–6, 67–9, 92, 133, 136, 160, 164
Afrikabulletinen 88, 106, 162, 169, 178, 184
Aftonbladet (AB) 45, 113, 132, 143, 178
AIDS 212
Albinsson Bruner, Göran 182
Algiers 53, 219
Alliansmissionen (Sweden) 113
Allom, Maurice, J. C. 151, 154
Amandla group 119–20
ANC 1–3, 9–10, 13, 20–1, 24, 32, 36–9, 68–71, 87, 116, 127, 175–7, 212
relations with the British government 57, 71, 184
relations with the PAC 49–60
relations with the Swedish government 20, 36, 39, 51, 59–60, 67, 77, 92–3, 107
see also AAM; Africa Groups
Andersson, Herman see Walan, Magnus
Anglo-Boer War 78–9, 127, 185, 222
Angola 161
Annan, Kofi 205
apartheid (South African) 33–4, 45–6, 60, 127, 131, 161, 212
causes for end of 2–4, 176, 185
defence of 23, 66, 76, 138–40, 147–8, 152, 156–7, 171–2, 212–13
ideology xiii–iv, 62, 147, 174
intelligence 66–8
media strategies 101–5
violence of xiii–xiv, 18, 36, 158–9, 165, 174
see also armed struggle
AP (Associated Press) 104
APLA 53
Arbetarbladet 132, 140, 182
Arbetet 169, 131–2, 140
armed struggle 45, 49–57, 92, 159, 171
Ashford, Nicholas 162, 164, 166
Australia 3, 5, 8, 9
Azania 51
AZAPO 13, 56, 175
Bahamas 65
Bandol 145
Barber, James 160
Barclays Bank 62, 155, 170
Barthélemy, St 222
Bauman, Zygmunt xiv
Bavin, Timothy 167
BBC (Britain) 1, 43, 126
Benn, Tony 179
Benson, Mary 139
Bhabha, Homi K. 194
Biko, Steven 66–8, 158, 160, 173, 192
Birmingham 33
Bjurman, Kerstin 88
Black, Cilla 63
Black Consciousness Movement/BCM 13, 49, 55, 66–8, 92, 100, 160, 169, 171–2
Black People’s Convention/BPC 160
Black Power 66, 160, 167, 179
Blomberg, Leif 182
Blomfield, Paul 89
Boer xiii–xiv, 135, 168, 222; see also Anglo-Boer War
BOSS; see under apartheid (intelligence)
Botha, P. W. 174–6, 182–3
Bourdieu, Pierre 13
Boycott Movement 7, 102, 128–9, 202; see also AAM
boycotts 2, 7–8, 24, 50, 60–6, 89, 92, 128–33, 139–41, 177, 188, 195, 198, 200–2
cultural 49, 63–4, 72, 112
economic 42, 60–2, 85, 128–33
sports 60, 63–4, 102, 142–57, 214
see also disinvestment; divestment; sanctions
Breytenbach, Breyten 55
and colonialism 33–34, 71, 75–6, 151–2
economic links with South Africa 80–1, 83, 106, 155, 170
established media in 104, 107, 110, 114–16, 118, 129, 132–41, 146–91, 227
foreign policy 57, 65–6, 71, 75–6, 128
national identity/nationalism in 71, 74
political culture in 86, 88–90, 93–8
British Council of Churches 76, 209
British Defence and Aid Fund 6, 33, 213
Brittain, Victoria 86, 114–15
Brockway, Fenner 86
Brown, Brian 76, 209, 222
Brussels 128
Buthelezi, Mangosuthu 13, 35, 49, 55–6, 65, 105, 168, 171, 175, 184
Båstad 142–7, 149, 151, 157, 226
Cabral, Amilcar 209
Cairo 53, 219
Callaghan, James 154
Caminada, Jerome 163, 227
Canada 67
Cape Times (South Africa) 36, 113
Carlsson, Bernt 219
Cashdan, Ben 213
Castells, Manuel 198, 204
Castle, Barbara 81–2
CCETSA 213
CCHA see SIDA (Sweden)
Centerpartiet/Centre Party (Sweden) 144, 170
Charterists 51, 56
Chase Manhattan Bank 62, 176
Chennai (Madras) 31
Chicago 142
China 53–4, 58
Christian Action 6, 33, 129
Christian Institute (South Africa) 76
Chrastjev, Nikita 133
Church of Sweden Mission/CSM 33–4
CIA 53
Citizen, The (South Africa) 102
City Apartheid (London) see CLAAG
City Press (South Africa) 103
civil disobedience 8, 10, 24, 31, 50, 95, 97, 141–2, 144, 149, 156
civil rights movement 34, 46, 66
civil society 4–5, 14–16, 32, 48, 50, 122, 193–5, 203–7
class 8–9, 31, 40–1, 60, 87, 145
CLAAG 94–5, 179, 181
Club of Ten 102
code of conduct 66, 94; see also constructive engagement
Cold War 2, 12, 23, 37, 46, 50, 59, 67, 70–4, 77–8, 84, 94, 102, 118, 130, 133, 162, 166, 170–2
Collins, John 6, 10, 33, 36, 213
colonialism 12, 18, 31, 33–4, 46, 73, 78, 194; see also under Britain; Sweden
Coloured People’s Congress (CPC) 51
Committee of African Organisations/CAO 7, 11
Commonwealth 57, 62, 65, 69–72, 82–3, 133, 152–4, 161, 179, 196, 225
communism/anti-communism 38, 52–5, 59, 65, 67–8, 93–4, 102, 105, 130, 148, 162, 187, 207
Communist Party (Britain) 94
Communist Party (South Africa) see SACP
Communist Party (Sweden) 77, 84, 92
Congo 76, 86
Congo Reform Society 76
Congress Alliance 51–2, 54, 129
Congress Party (India) 31
Conservative Party (Britain) 22, 24, 37, 56, 75, 79, 81, 83, 97, 152–4, 156–7, 171, 181–6
Conservative Party (Sweden) see Moderaterna
constructive engagement 49, 56, 65–6, 75, 171, 174
Co-Operative Union (Britain) 130–1
Coremo (Mocambique) 53
COSATU (South Africa) 56, 94, 172, 196
Cuba 2
Cultural studies 18, 22, 216
Dagens Nyheter/DN 24, 37, 113, 132, 134, 136–7, 144, 164, 166–7, 169, 177, 180, 186
Daily Express 149, 151, 155
Daily Herald 139
Dar Es Salaam 53–4, 58, 100, 195, 219–20
Darnborough, Anne see Page, Anne
Davidson, Basil 45, 116
Davis, Jennifer 32, 72
DDR see East Germany
de-colonization 4, 10–12, 44, 68, 71
De Klerk, F. W. 176, 186–7
Della Porta, Donna 72
democracy 9, 14–16, 102, 111, 137, 139, 141, 146, 168, 172, 184, 186, 198, 228
Demker, Marie 222
Denmark 185
Diakonia 210
discourse analysis 22–6
disinvestment 35, 60–1, 170, 177, 179, 181–2
divestment 60–2
D’ Oliveira 142, 147–8, 151
Douglass, Harry 130
Drum Magazine 116, 127
Durkheim, Émile 207
East Berlin 225
Eastern bloc 54–5, 58, 60, 72
East Germany/DDR 107, 116, 225
East London 36
Economist, The (Britain) 35
EEC 61, 65, 70–2, 179, 186–7
emotions 41, 121, 134, 199, 202, 209
Ennals, David 82
Eriksson, Lars-Gunnar 67–8
Erlander, Tage 133
Eskilstunakuriren 133
Ethiopia 52, 100
Index 245

ethnic classification 51, 147, 168, 174–5
Eurocentrism 8–11, 78, 191, 197–8, 216
Evans, Harold 114
exiles 7, 10, 40, 46–7, 116–17, 195–6, 200, 207
Expressen 189
Eyerman, Ron 29, 31

Falköping 83
Fanon, Frantz 160
Faulds, Andrew 162
Feinberg, Barry 108, 119–20
Fieldhouse, Roger 75, 83, 95–6
First, Ruth 45, 68, 83, 220
Flink, Ingvar 147, 209
FLN (Algeria) 52, 54
FNLA (Angola) 53
Folkpartiet (the Swedish Liberal Party) 20, 24, 37, 60, 77–81, 93, 96, 113, 131, 144, 170
Foot, Dingle 148
Forsberg, Bo 210
Fort Hare (University of, South Africa) 36
France 65, 154, 205, 222
Franco, Frankisco 131, 145
Foucault, Michel 22, 25–6
Freedom Charter 51
FRELIMO 38, 54, 58, 175, 219

G8 207
GATT 85
Geijer, Arne 130
gender 4, 41, 96–7
Geneva 67–8
Genua 4
George, Zelma 44
German National Socialism xiv
Ghana 2, 133
Gandhi, Mahatma 10, 31, 50, 54
Giddens, Anthony 201, 217, 220
Ginwala, Frene 40
Gitlin, Todd 22
globalization 2–5, 10–12, 16, 18–20, 46–8, 50, 61, 69–73, 194–213, 217, 228

Globalvision 112, 213
Glover, Stephen 179
Goede, Patric de see Mellet, Tariq
Goldreich, Arthur 54
Gordimer, Nadine 116
Gramsci, Antonio 31, 217
Greenham Common 41
Greenpeace 16
Gudur 31
Guinea 222
Gurney, Christabel 66, 74, 83, 93
Guyana 2
Göteborg 143, 183, 201
Göteborgs-Posten 222

Habermas, Jürgen 16
Hain, Peter 90, 148–50, 155, 157, 167, 223
Hall, Stuart 8, 22
Hamrin, Yngve 113
Hansson, Per-Albin 87
Hasselquist, Mats 143
hegemony 23, 49, 78, 91, 102, 211
Heiman, Sten 146
Helander, Gunnar 30, 33–6, 46, 54, 146, 219
Herngren, Per 200
Hjärne, Harald 79
Holland 2, 55, 61, 67, 78, 90, 108
Holland, Mary 149
Hornsley, Michael 180
Howe, Geoffrey 184
Houser, George 36, 61
Huddleston, Trevor 7, 34, 36, 40, 62, 86, 89, 91, 129, 181, 216
Hughes, Bob (Lord of Woodside) 84, 91
human rights 5–7, 60, 68–9, 74–5, 79, 102, 139, 198, 212
Hungary 133
Högberg, Bertil 99, 208

ICFTU 38, 53, 55, 65, 93, 128, 130
IMF 206–7, 212–13
immigration 82, 95

Index

India 2, 10, 31, 33–4, 40–41, 46, 51, 72, 114, 205
information politics 8, 11, 17, 33, 99–123, 196–9 see also under media
Inkatha movement/IFP 13, 49, 55, 65, 105, 168, 171, 175–6
International Alliance of Women 40
Internet 4, 122–3, 197, 210
ISAK 20–1, 39, 80, 84–5, 89–93, 96, 104, 122, 178, 188, 190, 200, 202, 210, 213, 223–4
and the media 104, 122, 178, 200, 202
Islamism 57
IUEF 50, 66–8

Jamaica 2
Jamison, Andy 29, 31
Japan 2
Jenkins, Peter 153, 156
Jennett, Christine 8–9
Johannesburg 51, 57, 76, 86, 116, 127, 134, 161–2, 167
Johansson, Anders 112–13
John, Elton 63
fönköpingsposten 112–13

Kastrils, Ronnie 113
Keane, John 16
Keck, Margaret E. 6–7, 11, 29, 198, 203
Kennedy, Edward 65, 175, 178–9
Keyser, Ethel de 40, 84, 86, 99, 117
Kihlberg, Anne-Marie 201
Kinnock, Neil 187
Kissinger, Henry 59, 161, 163–4, 166, 169, 226
kith and kin 31, 76, 138
Kitt, Eartha 63
Kl iptown 51
Klotz, Audie 5–6
Kock, Eugene 175, 221
Kriesi, Hanspeter 72
Kruger, James 167

Kunene, Raymond 111
Kvällsposten 143–4

La Grange, Louis 180
Labour 130
labour movement 4, 8, 13, 37, 41, 47, 49, 53, 65, 75, 90, 93–5, 130–2, 140, 182, 195, 206
Labour Party (Britain) 65, 75, 81–2, 84, 86, 91–2, 129–30, 136, 152–4, 156, 162, 179
Labour Party (Sweden) see Social Democrats/SDP (Sweden)
Laclau, Ernesto 9
Langa 17, 52, 174, 178, 180–1, 189–90
Lakhi, Kassim 33
Lapsley, Michael 3–4, 19, 103, 199, 215
Latin America 67, 72, 77, 92
law and order 152–4, 156–7, 168, 181
Leballo, Potlako 58
Legum, Colin 139
Leopold II (King of Belgium) 44, 53, 76, 86
Lesotho 3, 53
Leijon, Anna-Greta 221
Levin, Bernard 158
Liberal Party (Britain) 129, 136, 148, 167, 184
Liberal Party (South Africa) 50, 129, 172, 180
Liberal Party (Sweden) see Folkpartiet (the Swedish Liberal Party)
Liberia 52
Libya 53, 57
life politics 41–2, 88–9, 129, 201, 220
Lima 225
Lindh, Sören 91
Ling, Margaret 31, 40–3, 46, 92, 96, 201, 210
LO (Sweden) 38, 93, 131–3, 140, 182
Lodge, Tom 52, 58, 60
Index 247

Luanda 43, 100
Lusaka 53, 58, 100, 147, 161, 176, 195, 219
Luthuli, Albert 34–6, 132, 134–6
Lööw, Maj-Lis 85

Mabuza, Lindiwe 39
Machel, Samora 210
Macmillan, Harold 22, 128, 133–4
Madrás see Chennai
Makiwane, Tennyson 55
Manchester 130
Manuel, Trevor 213
Maoris 147
Mayibuye group 119–20
Makeba, Miriam 44
Malmö 145
Mandela concerts 1, 43, 63, 121, 184
Mandela, Nelson 1, 17
Mandela, Winnie 166
Maoism 53, 92
Marcuse, Herbert 145
Marxism 38–9, 43, 45, 52, 54, 94, 119, 166, 196, 217
Maryland, University of (USA) 44
Massachusetts 44
Mass Democratic Movment/MDM 63
Mbeki, Thabo 36, 100
Mboya, Tom 130
MCC (Britain) 147, 151, 154
Meany, George 130
McGiven, Arthur 68
frames xiii, 22–5, 105, 118–19, 130, 136, 140–1, 146, 148, 152–4, 156–7, 164–6, 168, 171, 178, 180–1, 186–8, 190
see also under AAM; ANC; Africa
Groups; Britain; information politics; Sweden
Mediawatch 213
Mellet, Tariq 99, 120–1
Metallarbetaren 130
Methodist Recorder (Britain) 109
methodological nationalism 9, 11, 18–20
Middle East 31, 163, 165
Mignolo, Walter 18
Milne, Seumas 179, 181, 183
Minty, Abdul 65, 90–1, 118
Mngqikana, Sobizana 30, 36–9, 46, 76, 219
Moderaterna 21, 24, 39, 77–8, 145, 166, 170, 182, 188–90
modernity xiii–xiv, 14, 73, 197, 201
Morel, E. D. 76
Morocco 52
Morogoro 55
Moscow 37–8, 43, 52
Movement for Colonial Freedom/MCF 10, 76
Mozambique 53, 161, 175, 210
MPLA 38, 43, 54, 58
Mulder, Cornelius 102
Muldergate 102
multi-racialism 50–2, 54, 91, 151
Mumbai 4
NAI (Sweden) 44–5, 123
Namibia 161
Nassau Accord 83
Nasson, Bill 58
Natal 3, 35, 154, 175–6
NATO 71, 75
National Forum/NF (South Africa) 55–6
national identity 19, 74, 77–8, 97, 203, 208
Nationalist Party (South Africa) 131, 134–5, 138–9, 148, 168, 174
nation state 8–9, 11–12, 18–19, 49, 61, 73–4, 97, 194, 198, 203–6
Négritude 45
New Delhi 219
new social movements 4, 7–16, 87, 89, 98, 109, 117, 141, 196, 198, 202, 216, 223
New Statesman 163
New York 31, 43, 53, 62, 195
New Zealand 2–3, 101, 147
Ngwane, Trevor 213
Niesewand, Peter 163
Nixon, Richard 153
Nobel Peace Prize 35, 54, 56
non-violence 24, 49–50, 54, 65, 183–4
Nordenmark, Ove 170
Nordvästra Skånes Tidningar 23, 131, 139, 143
Norway 90, 131
NGOs 11, 21, 32, 67, 72, 188, 204–5, 210, 228
NUSAS 68, 160
Nyerere, Julius 7
Nyheterna 132, 140
Nzima, Sam 159, 164
OAU 32, 52, 54, 58, 69–72
Observer 68, 114, 129, 133, 139, 147, 150–1, 154–5, 169
Okela 55
O’Meara, Dan 159
Oxford 40, 116
Oslo 90
PAC 9, 13, 20, 32, 38–9, 49–60, 65, 67, 70–1, 91, 100, 118, 127, 135–6, 139, 169, 171, 194; see also AAM; Africa Groups; ANC
Page, Anne 108, 111
PAIGC 39, 54, 209
Palmberg, Mai 31, 43–6, 85, 87, 207
Palme, Olof 37, 59, 77, 79, 93, 146, 169–70, 184, 190, 220–1, 223
Pan-Africanist Movement (PAM) 57
PAMFESCA 52
Paris 55, 142
pass laws 50, 52, 127
Paton, Alan 129
Peace News 129
Piernaar, J. 135
Pieterson, Hector 159, 164
political opportunity structures/POS 12, 73, 97
Political Process Perspective 12
Poqo 53
Porto Alegre 4
postcolonialism 10, 18–19, 217
postcoloniality 12, 46, 50, 71–2, 74, 194, 206, 217
Pretoria 56, 103–4, 212, 226
Progressive Reform Party (South Africa) 167
racism xii–xiv, 9, 34, 37, 44–5, 51, 78–9, 82, 86, 95–6, 138–9, 146, 153; see also under apartheid; ethnic classification; Eurocentrism
Radio Freedom 100–1
Ramphal, Shridath 71, 187
Ramparts Magazine 112
Rand Daily Mail 106
Ranger, Terence 116
Raphael, Adam 83
RCG 94–6
Reagan, Ronald 46, 153, 157, 173, 176, 178, 181
Reeves, Ambrose 86, 118
Reddy, Enuga S. 31–3, 46, 219
Rensburg, Patrick van 129
Republican Party (USA) 44; see also Reagan, Ronald
Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT) 11–12
Reuters 104
Rhijn, A. J. van 133
Rhodesia 53–5, 79, 97–8, 116, 142–6, 161, 175; see also Zimbabwe
Robben Island 1, 101, 117, 162, 176
Robinson, Dorothy 86, 106, 122
Rosenau, James 204
Russell, Bertrand 10
SABC (South Africa) 101, 103–4
SACP 37, 45, 51–2, 187
SACTU 38, 43, 51, 94
SADF (South Africa) 105
Salomon, Kim 88
Sampson, Anthony 101, 139, 116–17
sanctions 2, 6, 24, 33, 35, 49, 60–1, 64–6, 70–1, 75, 77, 81, 83, 93–4, 103, 112, 131, 140, 155, 170, 173, 176–82, 186–8, 190, 192, 194, 196, 199, 207; see also under disinvestment; divestment
Sanders, James 102, 118, 163, 171, 224, 227
Sandvik 182
SAN-ROC 62–3, 148, 214
SASO 66, 160, 169
Schechter, Danny 112, 213
Schlyter, Ann 147
Schon, Jeanette 68
Scott, Michael 10
Scrutton, Roger 185
Seattle 4, 210, 214
Sechaba 67
Segal, Ronald 64, 116, 139
Seliström Tor 67
Senegal 44
Senghor, Leopold 44–5
September 11 206
SDS (USA) 61–2
Shell 61, 96, 205
Shultz, George 57
Sibeko, David 58
SIDA (Sweden) 43, 67, 84, 188, 223
Sikkink, Kathryn 6, 7, 11, 29, 198, 203
Slovo, Joe 45, 54, 113, 220
Sobukwe, Robert 51
Social Democrats/SDP (Sweden) 20, 29, 39, 45, 59–60, 77, 79, 87, 93, 131, 133, 139–40, 144–5, 169–70, 178, 220
social movements 5–7, 11–16, 20–2, 25–6, 46, 48–9, 68–9, 72–4, 80, 97–8, 109–10, 123, 141, 193–8, 201–6; see also new social movements
solidarity 2, 4, 19, 24, 46–7, 69, 129, 132, 147, 150, 169, 179, 207–11, 217, 229
South Africa
first democratic elections in 20, 57, 212
foreign policy 12, 46, 70–1, 102, 161–2, 166, 172, 174–6, 213
see also under Anglo-Boer War; apartheid
South Africa Foundation/SAF 102–3
South African Congress of Democrats/SACOD 50
Southern Africa 2, 20, 32–4, 53, 59, 67, 77–9, 82, 84, 92–3, 100, 159, 161–2, 166, 169–70, 200, 213, 222
Soviet Union 2, 23, 37, 39, 52–4, 57
Sowetan, The (South Africa) 103
Soweto xiv, 16–17, 55–9, 100, 103–4, 114, 157–73, 175, 181, 189, 192, 213
Spain 131
Spectator, The (Britain) 132
Springboks 147–57
Springsteen, Bruce 112
Status Quo 63
Steel, David 91
Steele, Jonathan 83
Stockholm 1, 35, 37, 39, 45, 76, 93, 210, 220
Stockholmstidningen 139
Stonehouse, John 130–1
STST 148–50
Sullivan, Leon 65–6
Sullivan principles 66; see also code of conduct
Sun City (South Africa) 46, 112
Sunday Express (Britain) 163–4
Sunday Telegraph (Britain) 152, 154, 164, 168
Sunday Times (Britain) 99, 107, 114, 137, 148, 156
Sunday Tribune (South Africa) 158
Svenska Sydafrikakomiteerna (SSAK) 112–13
Svensson, Gösta A. 130
Swansea 150
SWAPO 9, 43, 45, 183
Sweden 1, 13, 17–19, 43–5, 130, 213 and colonialism 33–34, 71, 75–6, 151–2, 222
economic links with South Africa 80, 85, 177, 182
Sweden – continued
established media in 18, 34, 37, 112–13, 131–7, 139, 147, 157, 165–70, 174, 177–8, 182, 186–91
foreign policy and aid to Southern Africa 20, 36, 51, 59, 67, 76–9, 84, 92, 133, 170, 177, 185, 188, 205
national identity/nationalism in
74, 77–8, 189–90
relations with British government
79–80
relations with Swedish anti-apartheid movement
20, 51, 80, 84–5, 91, 93, 97–8, 189–90, 208
political culture in 67, 86–90, 93–8
see also under Africa Groups; ISAK; SIDA (Sweden)
Syd- och Sydvästafrika 143
Södra Afrika Nyheter 123
Tambo, Oliver 1, 32, 35, 39, 57, 64, 107, 139, 184, 219, 221
Tanzania 1, 54, 58, 72, 80, 100, 205
Tarrow, Sidney 48
Tarshish, Jack 163
Terry, Mike 59, 80–1, 83–4, 91, 94, 109, 115, 183, 210, 219
TGWU (Britain) 95
Tham, Carl 223
Thatcher, Margaret 42, 46, 71, 75, 81–3, 157, 173, 177, 184, 186–8
Thatcherism 43, 94
third space 19, 194, 228
Third World 9, 40, 45, 115
Third World First 40
Thompson, John B. 193, 196–7
Thorpe, Jeremy 148
Tidaholm 113
Tilly, Charles 153
Times, The (Britain) 24, 40, 114, 129, 134–7, 146, 151–2, 154, 158–9, 161–7, 170, 180–1, 183–8, 190, 202
Touraine, Alan 9
TransAfrica 56
Transkei 161–2, 172
Transvaal 127
travel 3–4, 19, 47–8, 107–9, 116, 193, 196–7, 199–201
TRC xiii, 103, 215
trotskyism 53, 92, 94
TUC 38, 93–4, 129–30
Tutu, Desmond 56, 158, 167, 172, 178, 183, 227
Tyler, Humphrey 127
Uganda 53, 79
Umkonto we Sizwe 54, 163
Union of Democratic Control (UDC) 76
unions see labour movement
United Nations 7, 53, 58, 70, 72, 75, 84, 102, 109, 128, 132, 161, 166, 170, 194–6, 205–6, 219, 223
General Assembly 7, 35, 44, 53, 163, 69–71, 101, 188
Security Council 33, 65, 194
Special Committee against Apartheid 31–3, 52, 63–4, 71–2, 107, 112, 194
Unity Movement (South Africa) 54
UPI 104
Uppsala 188
USA 2, 5, 22, 44, 53, 66, 72, 112, 130, 166, 178, 184, 187
anti-apartheid movement in 36, 56, 61–2, 66–7, 112, 132, 177
foreign policy 44, 57, 59, 65, 161, 164, 166, 200
see also ACOA (USA)
Uys, Stanley 169
Vancouver 43
Vereeniging 127
Verwoerd, Hendrik 131, 136
Vietnam 16, 53, 88, 112, 143, 169, 171
Voorhes, Meg 62
Vorster, John 147–8, 153, 158, 161, 163–4, 166, 168–9
Walan, Magnus 85, 104, 178
Washington 102, 213–14
Washington Star 102
Weekend World (South Africa) 103
venue shopping 69
West, Dame Rebecca 137-8
Western bloc 2, 8, 23, 33, 55, 65, 71-2, 91, 102, 133, 140, 177, 185, 203
West Germany xiii, 170
Wet, Carel de 135
WFTU 38, 69, 94
Williamson, Craig 68
Wilson, Harold 75, 81-2, 151-3
Windhoek 18
Wirmark, David 221
Women's Liberal Federation 129
women’s movement 5, 8, 13, 41, 96-7, 129, 196, 207
Woods, Donald 158
Worden, Nigel 128
World, The (South Africa) 103, 159
World Bank 206-7, 213
World Council of Churches/WCC 35, 79, 102, 183
World Social Forum 4, 206, 215, 229
Worsthorne, Peregrine 154-5, 164, 168
WTO 206-7, 210, 213
Wästberg, Per 37, 116, 209
X, Malcolm 44
Xhosa 162
youth movements 2, 5, 21, 36, 39, 88, 93, 96, 117, 121, 144, 146, 148, 202
Zambia 1, 56, 58, 79, 100, 113, 147
Zandt, Steven van 112
ZANU 53
ZAPU 54, 58
Zimbabwe 1, 3, 54, 175; see also Rhodesia
Zulu 56, 163
Zürich 227