Pubblicazione quadrimestrale
numero 3 / 2017

afriche e orienti
www.comune.bologna.it/iperbole/africheorienti

rivista di studi ai confini tra africa mediterraneo e medio oriente

anno XIX numero 3 / 2017

International Solidarities and the Liberation of the Portuguese Colonies

edited by
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AIEP EDITORE

Switzerland's Neutrality Policy in Southern Africa on the Defensive: The Swiss Government's Reactions to Non-State Actors' Solidarity with the Independence Struggles in the Portuguese Colonies, 1968-1974[1]

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Introduction

In September 1973, several thousands of people participated in a protest march against Portugal's colonial policy in the Swiss city of Lausanne. When demonstrators stormed the exhibition grounds of one of the major Swiss trade fairs where Portugal was invited as a guest of honour, violent clashes with the police took place. Numerous participants were arrested and about 50 of them charged for rioting. A pamphlet distributed two days later by the organisers of this demonstration criticised Switzerland's policy on Portuguese colonialism and condemned the repression by the Swiss government and police: "We do not want this democracy, where a minority is in power, which seeks to muzzle the protesters in order to maintain silence about the exploitation that the Portuguese people and the African peoples are fighting and to deflect attention away from the fact that large Swiss companies benefit from this exploitation".[2] The demonstration against the Portuguese presence at this trade fair was the culmination of several years of Swiss solidarity with the liberation struggles in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. In the late 1960s, different activist groups that developed out of the

'1968' student movement and religious circles, churches, and missionary organisations started to criticise Portugal's colonial policy. These actors were part of a transnational protest network that focused on colonialism and racial oppression in Southern Africa and supported the struggle for self-determination of African liberation movements. Swiss solidarity groups also challenged the Swiss government's neutrality policy and what was considered to be its economic collaboration with a racist and oppressive regime embroiled in violent independence wars. Based on a selective interpretation of neutrality that emphasised the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of third states, the Swiss authorities never officially took a stand on colonialism and the independence wars in Portuguese Africa. Switzerland instead had close economic and political relations with Portugal, who was a member of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), a small alliance of states to which Switzerland belonged to and which its government valued greatly.

This article analyses how different Swiss governmental actors dealt with the mounting criticism, expressed by various non-state actors with distinctive goals, of Switzerland's policy on Portuguese colonialism and if, and in what way, they modified this policy as a result of this denunciation. Thereby, it contributes to the growing literature on Swiss implications in European colonialism (for an overview and discussion of this literature, see Etemad, Humbert 2014; Purtschert, Fischer-Tiné 2015). Swiss solidarity with the independence struggles in Portuguese Africa has attracted much scholarly attention. Numerous recent studies analyse the role of Third World solidarity and anti-imperialist groups in Switzerland (Dreier 2009; Fischer 2007; Holenstein 1998; Kalt 2010; Kuhn 2009; Pereira 2009, 2015; Schär 2009; Steinemann 2014). Yet, these mostly focus on the non-state actors, their trajectories, goals, and worldview, and do not provide an in-depth and detailed analysis of their interactions with the Swiss government and the economic elites whose activities in Southern Africa they criticised. A similar assessment can be made with regard to another important class of non-state actors, the religious organisations and churches. The Swiss Mission in Mozambique and the role it played in the development of Mozambican nationalism has been an important topic of research (notably Cruz e Silva 2001; see Chichava 2012 for a critical discussion), while Jeannerat *et al.* (2011) and Zürcher (2004) focus on the role of Swiss churches in Southern Africa. In order to give an overview of Swiss solidarity with the independence struggles in the Portuguese colonies and analyse official Swiss reactions to the challenges made by non-state actors, this article is mainly based on unpublished sources from the Swiss Federal Archives. Additional research carried out in the Foreign Ministry Archives of Portugal, the US, the UK, and France provides a valuable outside view on the events in Switzerland. Finally, documents from the archives of selected non-state actors, notably the Lausanne-based Département missionnaire des églises protestantes de Suisse romande (DM), also known as Swiss Mission, the Maoist solidarity group Medic'Angola, and the electro-technical firm Brown Boveri & Cie (BBC) complement the research. The

first part of this article analyses the beginning of Swiss solidarity groups' actions in the late 1960s, while the second focuses on the peak of the protests in 1973.

Growing mobilisation against Switzerland's policy on Portuguese colonialism in the late 1960s

The Swiss authorities' reactions to the challenge to their policy on Portuguese colonialism voiced by Swiss non-state actors cannot be decoupled from their responses to a more general criticism of Switzerland's policy on white minority rule in Southern Africa. Switzerland had very close political, economic, and financial relations with Apartheid South Africa (Kreis 2005; Bott, Guex, Etemad 2005; Bott 2013), and did not participate in the UN sanctions against Ian Smith's white settler regime in Rhodesia, instead taking autonomous, frequently criticised measures to restrict trade with this state (Gabriel 1990; Letsch 1983; Ross 1989). Its economic relations with the *Estado Novo* regime were less exceptional, but nevertheless significant. Between 1960 and 1974, Swiss trade with Portugal and its two biggest colonies, Angola and Mozambique, increased steadily, although it never reached 1.5% of Switzerland's total foreign trade.[3] In 1968, Switzerland was the seventh most important investor in Portugal and there were some efforts to increase economic cooperation between the two EFTA states.[4] The Swiss authorities accepted, from a legal point of view, Portuguese sovereignty over its African colonies. Considering that any condemnation of Portugal's colonial policy represented a political judgement inappropriate for a neutral state, they were careful never to officially take a stand on this issue.[5] Yet, even in the late 1960s, the Swiss government was aware that the Portuguese colonies would become independent at some later point and that there was political interest to reach out to the future Angolan and Mozambican rulers. Consequently, the Swiss authorities granted political asylum to refugees from the Portuguese colonies (Kurmann 2008). They also decided, in 1967, to financially support the humanitarian work of Swiss missions in Angola and Mozambique in order to show their support for the African populations in these countries.[6]

As the process of decolonisation changed the majorities in international organisations, Afro-Asian governments were increasingly vocal in their condemnation of Western states that collaborated economically with the white minority regimes in Southern Africa, notably in the UN General Assembly and in the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). Third World governments and African liberation movements fighting for their independence found allies in Western Europe and the US. In the late 1960s, students, intellectuals, peace activists, radical leftist groups, and religious organisations formed a variety of groups that criticised the unequal relations between the global North and the South. The armed struggles of liberation movements in Africa, Asia, and Southern America motivated and, in some cases, radicalised them, serving as an inspiration for a more general criticism of the capitalist system (Kuhn 2013: 70-71). In this context, neutral Switzerland, too, was perceived to be an ally of the Portuguese colonial regime

and became a target of criticism. African governments and some Swiss non-state actors criticised the problematic relation between the Swiss authorities' insistence on their neutrality and their support to its economic elites' foreign interests. This point has since been made by several scholars, notably Guex (1999), Jost (2009), and Perrenoud (2009). Jost (1990: 113) has coined the frequently-cited image of the shield of neutrality with its humanitarian connotation that hides the sword of foreign trade. The image of Switzerland's neutrality suffered even more because of the unfavourable comparison with Sweden, who combined its policy of neutrality with active, official support for national liberation in Southern Africa (Sellström 1999, 2002).

Pereira (2009: 148-152) shows that since the early 1960s, there was sporadic protest in Switzerland against the oppressive nature of the Salazar regime. This was organised mainly by the small Mouvement pour l'amnistie aux emprisonnés et exilés politiques portugais, founded in 1962 in Lausanne, which was close to the Swiss Workers Party. Yet, it was not until 1968 that a fledgling solidarity movement started to focus on the independence wars in Portugal's African colonies. In that year, the writings and propaganda events organised by the aforementioned amnesty movement and by the newly formed Mouvement de soutien aux peuples de l'Angola et des autres colonies portugaises, which was in contact with refugees from the Portuguese colonies, drew the attention of the Swiss and Portuguese authorities. The latter, which closely monitored the activities of Swiss solidarity groups,[7] expressed their irritation to the Swiss ambassador in Lisbon that neutral Switzerland tolerated criticism of the internal affairs of other states.[8] The reaction of the Head of the Swiss Federal Police in January 1969 is significant. Although he repeatedly underlined that these activists were part of the extreme left, he dismissed their importance and their influence on public opinion in Switzerland. As they were Swiss citizens, he professed himself unable to intervene, but promised, partly in an attempt to placate the Portuguese government, to observe them diligently.[9] This dismissive attitude was to change once the Swiss government's policy on Portuguese colonialism was directly targeted during the campaign against the Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique.

The transnational campaign against the construction of this large dam and hydroelectric power plant on the Zambezi river was a crucial mobilising factor for the emerging protest movement both in Switzerland (Fischer 2007; Holenstein 1998: 188-189; Holenstein, Renschler, Strahm 2008: 50-52; Kuhn 2009: 118-121) and in Western Europe (Kuhn 2013, 2016; Lopes 2014: 74-76; Sellström 1999: 484-503). The Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) denounced this project as a symbol of the perpetuation of white minority rule in Southern Africa, as the energy generated by this power plant was destined mainly to the Apartheid regime. FRELIMO's struggle against the dam was supported by independent African governments in the UN General Assembly and the OAU, by organisations such as the World Council of Churches (WCC), and by solidarity and Third World groups in several Western European states that developed mostly from

church youth groups. These actors criticised the firms participating in the construction for supporting Portuguese colonial rule. Swiss protest against Cabora Bassa took off in June 1970, when private visits of South African officials to Switzerland raised suspicions that Swiss capital might be invested in the dam (Kuhn 2013: 76-7). Non-state actors' criticism was mainly directed against the firm BBC, whose German subsidiary was part of the international consortium that constructed the dam. The parent company acted as a subcontractor and delivered electronic supplies amounting to 25 million CHF to its subsidiary.[10] This indirect participation was, however, only suspected at the time. On 10 June 1970, Jean Ziegler, Social Democratic member of the Swiss National Council, asked the Swiss government to prevent Swiss firms from participating in the construction of Cabora Bassa, or at least not to support them by granting export risk guarantees (ERG) for deliveries destined for this project.[11] In the following weeks, numerous student groups, the Christian Peace Service, the Genevan Anti-Apartheid Movement, and even the Federation of Swiss Protestant Churches (FEPS) took up the call and lobbied the government to ensure that Swiss capital and firms were not involved in building the dam.[12] The first reaction of the Swiss Foreign Ministry (FPD) was to gain more information about other states' policies. After learning from its embassies in Europe that only the Swedish firm ASEA had withdrawn from the Cabora Bassa contract due to governmental and parliamentary pressure,[13] the Swiss authorities refused to accede to the demands of non-state actors. Underlining the economic sphere's independence from political control, the government's reply to National Councillor Ziegler's parliamentary question stressed that the Swiss authorities had no legal means to prevent Swiss firms from participating in the project. Nonetheless, eventual ERG applications would be examined carefully.[14] The government thus denied responsibility for the activities of Swiss business circles. In this context, the issue of the ERG is particularly salient, as it directly connects government policy with private economic interests. Unfortunately, it is not possible to know if a decision on whether to grant an ERG cover for deliveries to Cabora Bassa would have been influenced by the public protest against Portugal's colonial policy or not, as no such application was ever made.

The Third World solidarity groups Erklärung von Bern (EVB) and Arbeitsgruppe Dritte Welt (AG3W), founded respectively in 1968 by protestant theologians and 1969 by religious student groups in Berne, were key players in the Swiss campaign against the Cabora Bassa dam. They wrote articles and pamphlets about the dam, organised information events, and exchanged information and coordinated actions with other groups in Switzerland and abroad (Schär 2009; Kuhn 2009; Fischer 2007). In the early 1970s, Swiss solidarity groups also began to collect money and materials to be sent to the liberation movements in Portugal's African colonies. The Maoist and anti-imperialist Medic'Angola, notably, materially supported the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) and was in direct contact with MPLA members (Henrichsen 2002).[15] FRELIMO, whose first leader, Eduardo Mondlane, had been a pupil of Swiss

missionaries, had close links to the DM. Although this missionary organisation publicly adopted a discreet attitude so as not to endanger its missionaries and the Mozambican Presbyterian Church, its African sister church, it had secretly decided, in 1971, to support FRELIMO.[16] It is difficult to determine whether Angolan and Mozambican refugees living in Switzerland, some of whom were high-ranking members of liberation movements, played an active role in the organisation of Swiss solidarity campaigns with the independence struggles in Portuguese Africa. They were certainly in contact with different milieus critical of Portuguese colonial rule, but as they were threatened with expulsion if their political activities came to the Swiss authorities' attention, they were forced to adopt a discreet attitude (Kurmann 2008: 136-153). As a result of the Cabora Bassa campaign, BBC's leaders publicly played down their involvement in Mozambique and undertook steps to justify their position. They participated in panel discussions organised by activists and prepared a document for their cadres to refute frequently advanced criticism.[17] Yet, despite the dam's importance for Switzerland's solidarity movement with the Portuguese colonies, protest never reached the intensity it did in the Federal Republic of Germany. The campaign of German activists reached such levels that firms taking part in the consortium were compelled to take coordinated countermeasures.[18]

Until the early 1970s, Swiss solidarity with the struggle for self-determination in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau did not represent a serious challenge to the Swiss government's policy on Portuguese colonialism. This was to change, however. In April 1972, an OAU delegation visited Berne to discuss Switzerland's political and economic role in Southern Africa. Although talks focused mainly on South Africa and Rhodesia,[19] the Swiss authorities showed afterwards more awareness that their non-committal attitude towards white minority rule in Southern Africa might impair Switzerland's image in independent African states. In order to counterbalance this impression of being allied with racist regimes, they decided, in March 1973, to finance a seminar on the question of refugees in Southern Africa organised by the OAU through the intermediary of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).[20] At the same time, Berne attempted to keep a low profile on the issue of Portuguese colonialism. In January 1973, for example, a high-ranking FPD official prohibited the Swiss ambassador in Portugal to accept Lisbon's invitation to visit Angola and Mozambique. "Because of the agitation against Portugal's colonial policy, which is, as is well known, one of the main subjects of UN debates, it is my opinion that we should avoid any gesture which could be interpreted as a recognition of Portugal's colonial territorial claims", he argued.[21] Yet, the invitation of Portugal as a guest of honour to the Comptoir Suisse trade fair thwarted these efforts.

The 1973 campaign against Portugal's invitation to the Comptoir Suisse

In 1973, Swiss solidarity with the Portuguese colonies reached its highest level and

culminated in the aforementioned demonstrations at the Comptoir Suisse in September. An interplay of national and international factors explains why the criticism of Portugal's colonial rule attained such high levels in Switzerland. First, even before 1973 there was much mobilisation around this issue. Through the campaign against the Cabora Bassa dam, Swiss activist groups had adopted the fight against what they called Portuguese imperialism and Western collaboration. At the same time, Swiss churches and religious organisations were also concerned about the situation in Portugal's African colonies. In mid-1972, the Portuguese secret services had arrested and detained members of the Mozambican Presbyterian Church. The DM undertook great efforts to obtain the liberation of the African church members by negotiating with Portuguese officials, coordinating with international organisations, and informing the Swiss public about the events.[22] The news of the death in detention of two high-ranking church members that became known in early 1973 therefore had a large echo in Switzerland.[23] This is not to say, however, that Swiss churches were united in their support of the independence struggles in Southern Africa. In the aftermath of the WCC's launching of the Programme to Combat Racism in 1970, which included financial support for African liberation movements, Swiss churches were deeply divided about the stand to take on Apartheid and colonialism (Jeannerat *et al.* 2011: 205-237). A second factor that fuelled Swiss protest against Portugal's colonial policy was international. In July 1973, *The Times* published an article about a brutal massacre by Portuguese troops in the Mozambican village of Wiriyamu (Reis, Oliveira 2012; Dhada 2013; 2016). Although the Portuguese authorities immediately denied the accusations, readers in many Western European countries were horrified and increased calls for the decolonisation of Portuguese Africa. Finally, Portugal's invitation as a guest of honour to the Comptoir Suisse trade fair was an ideal rallying point for non-state actors that wished to express their solidarity with the liberation struggles in Portuguese Africa, similar to Marcello Caetano's July 1973 state visit to London for the British solidarity movement (MacQueen, Oliveira: 2010).

Religious groups and churches were first to mobilise against Portugal's invitation to the Comptoir Suisse. They contacted the fair's organisers to ask them to reconsider their choice of guest. However, the General Secretary of the event explained to a newspaper in mid-April 1973 that the invitation to Portugal would be upheld, as ideological considerations had no influence on the choice of guests. This controversy was reported in several Swiss newspapers.[24] As the fair's organisers were unwilling to accede to their request, religious organisations contacted the Swiss government. Citing the treatment of Mozambican Christians, they criticised Portugal's colonial policy and warned of public protest if the invitation were to be upheld.[25] Although the Comptoir Suisse was privately organised, the Swiss government usually visited the event officially and the FPD was consulted in advance about the choice of guest. The Swiss authorities could therefore with reason be expected to have an influence on the organisers. Unknown to the protestors, the invitation made to Portugal in April 1971 had even been extended

by a Swiss diplomat as a courtesy linked to bilateral economic negotiations.[26] In reply to the churches, FPD officials argued that a purely economic event was not the right occasion to discuss political problems, thereby insisting on the separation of political and economic issues.[27] Yet the cautious wording of the reply reveals the Swiss authorities' respect for these institutions. This also emerges from the transcript of a meeting between DM representatives and Swiss diplomats in June, where the latter expressed their will to continue the exchange on the situation in Mozambique.[28] As will be shown below, the Swiss authorities found it less easy to dismiss the criticism of religious actors than that of anti-imperialist youth groups. In late June, Jean Ziegler also took up the issue in a parliamentary question to the government.[29]

The reports about the Wiriyamu massacre had immediate effects in Switzerland. They illustrated the ugly face of colonial oppression and increased the circle of organisations and individuals protesting against the invitation of Portugal to the Comptoir Suisse. On 11 July 1973, several pacifist, Third World, and anti-imperialist groups addressed a telegram to the Foreign Minister and government member Pierre Graber, demanding that the invitation to Portugal be withdrawn.[30] But the Swiss government was unwilling to bow to public pressure and only suggested to the Portuguese authorities that in order to limit the danger of violent confrontation, they should limit their exposition in Lausanne to commercial issues and avoid mentioning any controversial political subject.[31] From that time until the opening of the fair, public protest never died down. The issue was picked up by the extreme left, and a number of small solidarity committees were formed in this context (Pereira 2015: 77-78). In late July, 118 Swiss citizens, including Social Democratic politicians, university professors, priests, members of solidarity groups, and labour unions, appealed to the Swiss government to take a stand on the massacres in Mozambique.[32] Portugal's invitation to the trade fair clearly mobilised people with very different backgrounds and unified them behind a common goal. Demanding a reply to Ziegler's parliamentary question, members of the Christian Peace Service argued that if Switzerland's official silence was not broken soon, "this could not be justified with Swiss neutrality, but would have to be considered as a statement in favour of the Portuguese colonial regime. In the case of Portugal at the Comptoir Suisse, the competent authorities in Berne and Lausanne cannot avoid choosing between the colonial power Portugal and the liberation movement FRELIMO, which means, from a political and economic point of view, choosing between the present and the future".[33] For these activists, then, there was no moral neutrality, and the authorities' refusal to take a stand equalled official Swiss approval of Portugal's colonial policy.

On 3 August, the Swiss government finally decided on its position. Two weeks earlier, the mayor of Lausanne, worried at the prospect of violent demonstrations, had suggested to the FPD that the Portuguese authorities be informed about the problems that their presence in Lausanne might raise.[34] Unwilling to take sole responsibility, the FPD decided to present the problem to all seven government members. The draft proposal

presented to the Foreign Minister's approval reflects the shared opinion of the ministry and the trade division: the invitation should be honoured, as its cancellation would be more detrimental to Switzerland's image and its relations with Portugal than any demonstrations that might occur.[35] Pierre Graber, however, preferred to withdraw the invitation, as he put great value on the opinion of churches and religious organisations: "while I give little importance to most of the organisations that signed the joint telegram to the Political Department, I would consider it very unfortunate to ignore the position of organisations such as the Federation of Swiss Protestant Churches, the Protestant Church of Geneva, and the DM in Lausanne. I cannot help thinking that we badly need the active support of these institutions, and others like them, to back our humanitarian policy in general and development cooperation in particular".[36] In the 1960s and early 1970s, official Switzerland's development cooperation still relied greatly on private, often religious Swiss aid agencies to run development projects partly financed by the federal administration (Schümperli 2007: 28-29), which explains the Foreign Minister's hesitation to offend these valuable partners. But in the government's telephone meeting on 3 August, Graber's opinion did not prevail and it was decided to uphold the invitation to Portugal.[37] In its public reply to Ziegler's parliamentary question, the government underlined that the invitation to Portugal had been made for purely economic reasons and that it was premature to cancel it as long as the massacre allegations were not proven. The Swiss government stated its firm intention to visit the fair because of its normal diplomatic relations with its fellow EFTA member and because of the event's importance for Switzerland's economy.[38] The Portuguese ambassador in Berne was informed personally about this reply and assured that Portugal was welcome in Switzerland.[39] His French colleague saw in the government's reply a clear sign that it disapproved of the campaign against Portugal's invitation and was unwilling to offend the *Estado Novo* regime by giving in to public pressure.[40]

As both Portugal's presence at the Comptoir Suisse and the Swiss government's unwillingness to distance itself from the colonial power were now confirmed, a broad coalition of groups (radical and moderate left, students, pacifists, religiously inspired Third World activists, trade unions, immigrant organisations) formed a joint committee that organised a campaign against the unwelcome guest of honour. They prepared leaflets, organised counter-expositions in different cities in French-speaking Switzerland, and organised a demonstration in Lausanne. The Action Portugal – Afrique australe (APAA), a religiously motivated Third World solidarity group founded in the run-up of the trade fair (Pereira 2015: 169-170), seems to have played a particularly important role.[41] According to Pereira (2009: 152-153), the demonstration on 8 September 1973, the Comptoir's opening day, was one of the most spectacular events of the protest cycle after 1968 in Switzerland. It was considered to be so atypical for Switzerland that several foreign ambassadors commented upon it.[42]

Yet, the events of September 1973 constituted the peak of Swiss activity against

Portuguese colonialism. The news of the *coup d'état* in Chile on 11 September diverted the attention of many Swiss solidarity groups away from the trade fair that was still running in Lausanne. Although activists continued to sporadically demand that the Swiss authorities take a stand on Portuguese colonialism until the Carnation Revolution of April 1974, the unity they had displayed in Lausanne was not sustained. Public attention waned after the exposition and pressure on the Swiss government never again reached the level of summer 1973. Therefore, the Swiss authorities saw no need to change their policy on Portuguese colonialism until the Carnation Revolution. Yet, their refusal to take a stand would have negative consequences after the independence of Mozambique, when FRELIMO refused for several months to establish diplomatic relations with Switzerland (Widmer 2015).

Conclusion

Between 1968 and 1974, the independence struggles in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau mobilised a large number of Swiss organisations and individuals with different ideological backgrounds and motivations. Non-state actors challenged the Swiss authorities' non-committal attitude on colonialism and their economic relations with the Portuguese colonial power. As similar criticism was also voiced by independent Afro-Asian governments in the UN General Assembly and the OAU, Berne usually reacted defensively, insisting on the separation of economic and political questions. Although the government made no attempt to curb economic collaboration with Portugal, the mobilisation against this state's invitation to the Comptoir Suisse in spring and summer 1973 caused considerable unease within the FPD. As the protest movement comprised churches and missionary organisations that were not usually associated with revolutionary ideas, the Foreign Minister himself started to advocate a more reserved Swiss attitude towards Portugal. But ultimately, the Swiss authorities' conception of neutrality with its insistence on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, and their commitment to economic liberalism, withstood the challenge of solidarity groups.

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NOTES:

1 - An earlier draft of this paper was presented at the Conference on "The International Solidarity and the Struggle for Self-determination and Independence of Portuguese Colonies" held at the Contemporary History Institute of the New University of Lisbon, 30 June – 1 July 2016. I would like to thank the organisers and participants for their helpful comments. I am also grateful to Nuno Pereira and the two anonymous reviewers for their valuable feedback.

2 - *Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo* (ANTT), Lisbon, Portugal, PIDE/DGS, Cl(2), no 1290/73, NT 7872, pamphlet by the Joint Committee against Portugal's Presence at the Comptoir and the Schoolchildren's Committee against Portugal's Presence at the Comptoir, *L'action contre la présence du Portugal au Comptoir se poursuit*, 10 September 1973, p. 1.

3 - Historical Statistics of Switzerland Online (HSSO) database, http://www.fsw.uzh.ch/histstat/main.php, tables H.9a, L.3, L.18, L.20, L.22, L.24.

4 - Swiss Federal Archives (SFA), Berne, Switzerland, E2001E-01#1987/78#4657*, letter from René Naville, Swiss ambassador in Portugal, to the Trade Division, 29 July 1969.

5 - See, for example, *Instructions aux délégations suisses dans les conférences internationales au sujet de l'admission et de l'exclusion de certains pays*, memorandum by Ernesto Thalmann, Swiss Foreign Ministry (FPD), pp. 4-5, 10 April 1968, "Diplomatic Documents of Switzerland 1848-1975", n.d.: dodis.ch/33555.

6 - SFA E2003A#1980/85#1971*, note from Sigismond Marcuard, Delegate for Technical Cooperation, to the Directorate for International Organisations, 26 February 1968.

7 - The PIDE/DGS archives in the ANTT contain numerous files on Swiss solidarity movements, but some have not yet been declassified.

8 - Cited in *Umtriebe gegen Portugal in der Schweiz*, letter from Jacques-Bernard Rüedi, FPD, to the division of police, 24 september 1968, "Diplomatic Documents of Switzerland 1948-1975", n.d.: dodis.ch/32136.

9 - *Letter (L)*, letter from André Amstein, chief of the federal police to FPD, 8 January 1969, pp. 2-3, "Diplomatic Documents of Switzerland 1848-1975", n.d.: dodis.ch/32135.

10 - SFA E2001E-01#1982/58#440*, memorandum by Brown Boveri & Cie (BBC) employees Bernhardt and Rinderknecht, *Information* über *Cabora Bassa*, 7 January 1971, p. 11.

11 - SFA E2001E#1980/83#3430*, *Petite question Ziegler du 10 juin 1970. Barrage de Cabora Bassa – Participation suisse*, no date, attached to the excerpt of the minutes of the Federal Council's meeting on 9 September 1970.

12 - See, for example, SFA E7110#1981/41#1776*, open letter from the Arbeitsgruppe Angola and the Arbeitsgruppe für Kirche und Gesellschaft der Unversitätsgemeinden Bern to the Federal Council, 13 June 1970; *Besuch von Ministerpräsident Vorster und schweizerische Beteiligung am Projekt von Cabora Bassa*, letter from the Christian Peace Service and Fonds für Entwicklung und Partnerschaft in Afrika to the Federal Council, 23 June 1970, n.d.: dodis.ch/35939; SFA E2001E#1980/83#3430*, letter from the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Geneva to the Federal Council, 25 June 1970; SFA E2001E#1980/83#3430*, letter from the Federation of Swiss Protestant Churches (FEPS) to the Federal Council, *Cabora Bassa-Projekt*, 8 July 1970.

13 - SFA E2001E#1980/83#3430*, telegrams from the FPD to the Swiss embassies in the FRG, France, UK, Sweden, Italy, Portugal, and South Africa, 18 June 1970; telegram no 85 from the Swiss embassy in Sweden to the FRG, 19 June 1970.

14 - SFA E2001E#1980/83#3430*, *Réponse du Conseil federal*, attached to the excerpt of the minutes of the Federal Council's meeting on 9 September 1970.

15 - Basler Afrika Bibliographien. Namibia Resource Centre & Southern Africa Library (BAB), Basel, Switzerland, AA5.II.6.10, no author [Medic'Angola], minutes of a meeting with an unnamed MPLA representative, 26 February 1974.

16 - Archives of the *Département missionnaire des* églises *protestantes de Suisse romande* (DM) (ADM), Lausanne, Switzerland, 1829C, box 255, draft letter from Georges Andrié to Philip A. Potter, World Council of Churches (WCC), 8 February 1972.

17 - SFA E2001E-01#1982/58#440*, memorandum by Brown Boveri & Cie (BBC) employees Bernhardt and Rinderknecht, *Information* über *Cabora Bassa*, 7 January 1971, especially p. 3.

18 - Historical Archives ABB (HAABB), Baden, Switzerland, file 605610, minutes of the 21 meeting of BBC Baden's directorate of 24 February 1972, p. 3; see also Lopes (2014: 67, 75-76).

19 - SFA E2001E-01#1982/58#440*, Jean-Jacques Indermühle, Hanspeter Strauch, *Procès-verbal des entretiens du 19 avril 1972 avec une délégation de l'OUA dirigée par M. Ould Daddah, Président en exercice de l'OUA et Chef d'Etat mauritanien*, no date, pp. 4-6.

20 - SFA E2003A#1988/15#570*, note from François Pictet, FPD, *Note au Chef de la Direction des organisations internationales. Séminaire de l'OUA sur les réfugiés*, 27 March 1973.

21 - SFA E2001E-01#1987/78#4648*, note from Michael Gelzer, FPD, to the FPD's administration division, 11 January 1973.

22 - ADM, 1862B, box 262, memorandum by Georges Andrié, *Communication au Synode missionnaire sur la situation au Mozambique*, 30 November 1972, pp. 1-4.

23 - ANTT, SSCIM, no 432, letter from Angelo Ferreira, director of the Portuguese office of political affairs (GNP), to the Governor-General of Mozambique, 23 February 1973.

24 - See *Arquivo Histórico Diplomático* (AHD), Lisbon, Portugal, PAA, pr. 922, box 1226, letter from Eduardo Bugalho, Portuguese ambassador in Switzerland, to the Portuguese Foreign Minister, *Comptoir de Lausanne*, 16 April 1973, and attached newspaper articles: *Portugal bleibt Ehrengast des 'Comptoir'*, «Tages-Anzeiger», 11 April 1973; *Proteste gegen Ehrengast Portugal am Comptoir Suisse. 'Keine ideologische Rücksicht'*, «National Zeitung», 11 April 1973; letter from Eduardo Bugalho to the Foreign Minister, *Comptoir de Lausanne*, 24 April, 1973, and attached news items: *Au Comptoir de Lausanne. Etait-il opportun d'inviter le Portugal?*, «La Suisse», 11 April 1973; *Quels hôtes pour le Comptoir? L'invitation faite au Portugal soulève la polémique*, «Gazette de Lausanne», 11 April 1973.

25 - SFA E2001E-01#1987/78#884*, letter from the Protestant Church of Geneva to Pierre Graber, Foreign Minister and member of the Swiss government, 18 May 1973; letter from the FEPS to Pierre Graber, *Portugal am Comptoir Suisse*, 08 June 1973.

26 - SFA E7110#1982/108#912*, letter from the *Fédération Horlogère* to Pierre Languetin, Delegate of the Federal Council for Trade Agreements, *Portugal: importation en suisse de vins fins*, 19 April 1971; letter from Jean-Louis Pahud, Swiss ambassador in Portugal, to the trade division, *Portugal – Affaire des vins de qualité*, 9 August 1971.

27 - SFA E2001E-01#1987/78#884*, letter from Jean Zwahlen, head of the FPD's financial and economic service, to the Protestant Church of Geneva, *Participation du Portugal au Comptoir Suisse 1973*, 12 June 1973.

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ISBN 8860861462

ISSN 1592-6753

€ 13,00

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