

PALME, Olof

PRIMER MINISTRO DE SUECIA



053.18.01

Fundación
Felipe González



Fundación
Olof Palme

275/86.- VIAJE A SUECIA

Eutierro Olof Palme



Embajada de España



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PROGRAMA VIAJE SR. PRESIDENTE GONZALEZ A ESTOCOLMO

Marzo 1986

VIERNES 14 de Marzo

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 18,15 h. | Llegada del avión del Sr. Presidente del Gobierno a Arlanda.
Traslado a la Embajada. |
| 19,15 h. | Salida para cena |
| 19,30 h. | Cena en Palacio de la Conferencia Europea (Sergels Torg). |
| 23,00 h. | Fin de la Cena. Traslado a la Residencia. |

SABADO 15 de Marzo

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 09,30 h. | Armando Villanueva, Secretario General del APRA, acompañado del Embajador de Peru, llega a la Embajada. |
| 10,00 h. | Presidente Ortega de Nicaragua llega a la Embajada. |
| 10,30 h. | Personal diplomático de la Embajada y Agregados |
| 10,45 h. | Salida para Presidencia |
| 11,05 h. | Visita a Ingvar Carlsson, Primer Ministro de Suecia |
| 11,25 h. | Salida para Embajada |



Embajada de España

- 2 -



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11,30 h.	Televisión sueca + periódico Expressen.
12,00 h. o 12,15 h.	Almuerzo-buffet.
13,15 h.	Solida para Ayuntamiento (funeral)
13,30 h.	Llegada al Ayuntamiento
13,45 h.	Llegan los Reyes de Suecia
14,00 h.	Ceremonia en el Ayuntamiento
16,00 h.	Acaba Ceremonia
De 16,00 a 17,30 h.	Tiempo libre
De 17,30 a 19,30 h.	Recepción en el Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores

Traslado al Aeropuerto: Hora a determinar



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Olof Palme

Ayuntamiento de Estocolmo
sábado, 15 de marzo de 1986

Música de reunión de asistentes. Orquesta de Arne Domnérus.

"Unamos nuestras manos" y "Grata es la tierra" (canciones religiosas interpretadas por un coro compuesto por niños de los Municipios de toda Suecia, más el Coro de Cámara de Sundsvall, bajo la dirección de Kjell Lönnå.

Discurso de Ingvar Carlsson

" Gracias a la vida", cantado por Arja Saijonmaa (Violeta Perro)
Orquesta de Anders Ekdahls

Sten Andersson oficia el acto del funeral

"A Olof", de Georg Riedel. Orquesta de Arne Domnérus

"Nocturno" de Evert Taube. Orquesta de Arne Domnérus

Discurso de S.M. El Rey

Discurso de Javier Pérez de Cuéllar

"Un canto a la libertad", cantado por Arja Saijonmaa
Orquesta de Anders Ekdahl

Discurso de Rajiv Gandhi

Discurso de Kalevi Sorsa

"Consideración sobre la música popular sueca". Orquesta Arne Domnéru

Discurso de Anna Lindh

Discurso de Stig Malm

"Dona nobis pacem". Coro infantil del Coro de Cámara de Sundsvall

Discurso de Willy Brandt

"Nosotros construimos el país" . Canto al unísono.

Música final. Orquesta de Anders Ekdahl bajo la dirección de
Nils Lindberg

Villavieja.
He pedido permiso
Saludo e invitación de A.G.
1º Desde Pánuco a España

Necesitan fortalecer la flota pesquera
Trato con la O.R.S. No piden mucho
Por cuanto bucos. Placido con España
Trato directo. Cuantos bucos. 2T. e 4 años
De los beneficios de la pesca, con amortización
y parte de los salarios - minus para pagar
la deuda.

F.C. OK. Ejemplo de Aragón
Se van al 17º Agricultura
Revisión en los técnicos de Agricultura
Villavieja Podría venir al 17º Agricultura - España
F.G. Sin duda.

V. - En la concepción de empresa mixta
cada cooperadora amplía vertiente

F.G. Si

V. El contacto viene con el 17º Agricultura.

F.G. Si y con el secretario general de Pánuco

V. 2º Establecer o estrechar más mayor
de relaciones entre el PSOE y el APPA

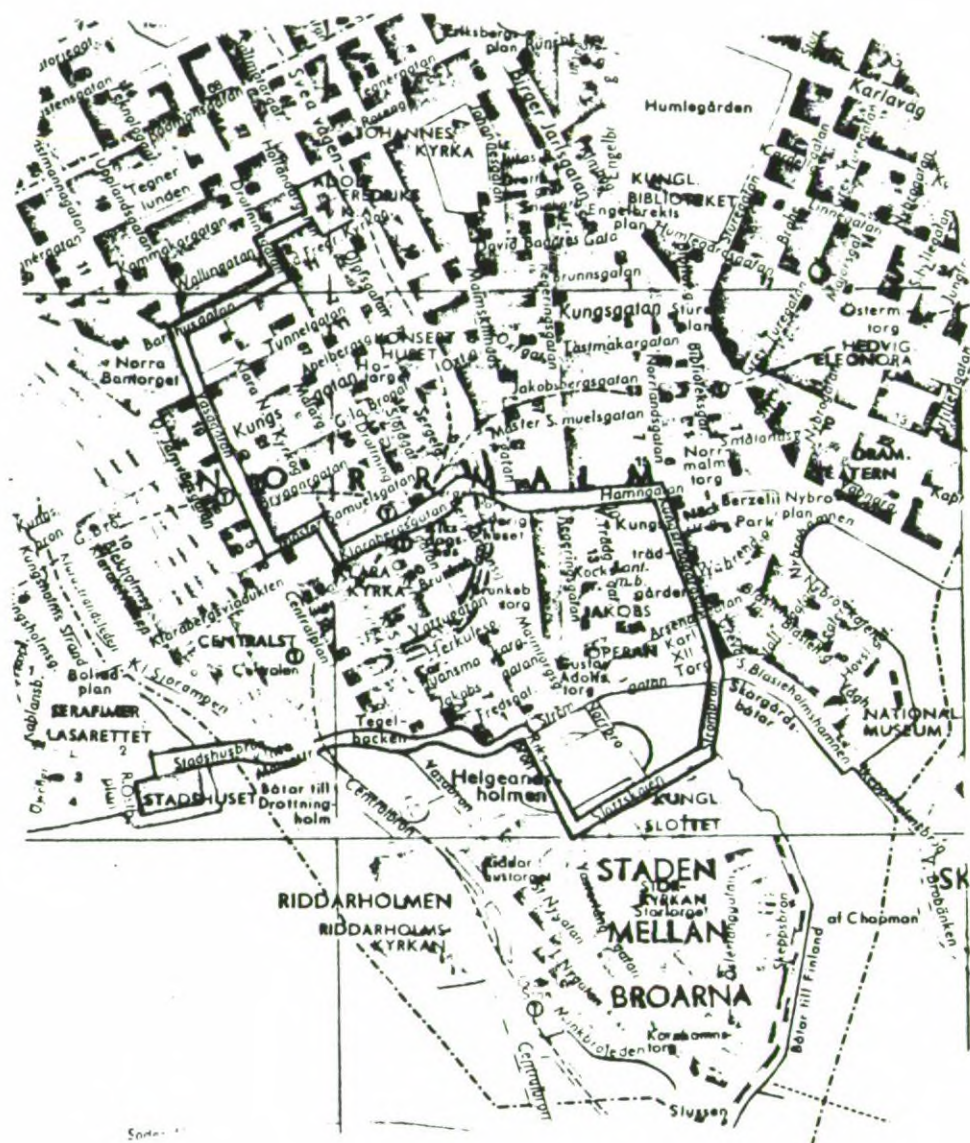
F.G. De acuerdo.



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Embajada de España



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ALOJAMIENTOS

EMBAJADA

- Sr. Presidente y Sra. de González
- Sr. D. Julio Feo
- 2 escoltas

HOTEL SERGEL PLAZA

- Don Luis Yañez
- Doña Elena Flóres
- Don Francisco López Real

GRAND HOTEL

- Don Fernando Puell
- 2 pilotos avión

Se ruega a las personas alojadas en ambos hoteles que entreguen sus equipajes a los coches por la mañana del sábado.

THE OLOF PALME MEMORIAL FUND FOR INTERNATIONAL
UNDERSTANDING AND COMMON SECURITY

To honour the memory of Olof Palme, his family and the Social Democratic Party Executive have decided to institute a fund called "THE OLOF PALME MEMORIAL FUND FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AND COMMON SECURITY".

Its purpose will be to promote, through scholarships and grants for young people, international exchange and peace and disarmament studies; to support the work against racism and hostility between ethnic groups; and in other ways to work for international understanding.

Those who wish to honour the memory of Olof Palme and his struggle for peace, freedom and justice are invited to send their contributions to postal giro 37-2 in support of this memorial fund.

The work of the fund will be led by a board under the chairmanship of Sten Andersson, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

SWEDISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

March 13, 1986 - 22.30 hrs

The funeral and official memorial ceremony
for Olof Palme, March 15, 1986

PRELIMINARY LIST OF GUESTS

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

President

Willy Brandt

Vice presidents

Ed Broadbent
Bettino Craxi
Felipe González
Lionel Jospin
Walid Jumblatt
Anker Jørgensen
Bruno Kreisky
Shimon Peres
J F Peña Gomez
Carlos Andrés Pérez
Mario Soares
Kalevi Sorsa
Reiulf Steen
Anselmo Sule
Guillermo Ungo
Joop den Uyl

Political officers

General Secretary

Pentti Väänänen

Assistant General Secretary

Luis Ayala

AUSTRALIA - Australian Labor Party

Donald James Grimes

AUSTRIA - Socialist Party of Austria

Peter Jankowitsch
Fritz Marsch
Eva Nowotny

BELGIUM - Socialist Party

Claude Bochu
Guy Spitaels



Fundación
Felipe González

BELGIUM - Socialist Party

Willy Claes
Oscar Debunne
Karel van Miert

CANADA - New Democratic Party

Ed Broadbent

CHILE - Radical Party

Anselmo Sule

COSTA RICA - National Liberation Party

Rodolfo Navas

DENMARK - Social Democratic Party

Svend Auken
Anker Jørgensen
Birte Weiss

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC - Dominican Revolutionary Party

J F Peña Gómez
Emilio Fernandez
Peggy Cabral

EL SALVADOR - National Revolutionary Movement

Hector Oqueli
Guillermo Ungo

FINLAND - Social Democratic Party

Matti Ahde
Erkki Liikanen
Kalevi Sorsa
Pirkko Työlöjärvi

FRANCE - Socialist Party

Lionel Jospin
Louis Le Pensec
Luc Veron

GERMANY (Federal Republic of) - Social Democratic Party

Willy Brandt
Hans Eberhard Dingels
Klaus Lindenberg
Johannes Rau
Hans Jochen Vogel

GREAT BRITAIN - The Labour Party

Neil Kinnock
Jenny Little

ICELAND - Social Democratic Party

Arni Gunnarsson
Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson
Bryndis Schramm

IRELAND - The Labour Party

Dick Spring

ISRAEL - Israel Labour Party

Shimon Peres

ISRAEL - United Workers' Party MAPAM

Arié Jaffe

ITALY - Italian Democratic Socialist Party

Antonio Cariglia
Franco Nicolazzi

ITALY - Italian Socialist Party

Bettino Craxi
Margherita Boniver
Claudio Lenoci
Valdo Spini
Ottaviano del Turco

JAMAICA - People's National Party

Dudley Thompson

JAPAN - Japan Democratic Socialist Party

Ryoosaku Sasaki
Sachiko Taguchi

JAPAN - Socialist Party of Japan

Sanju Muto
Eiji Yasui

LEBANON - Progressive Socialist Party

Walid Jumblatt
Camille Abi Mahmoud
Tarek Chebab

MALTA - Malta Labour Party

Karmenu Mifsud Bonici

NETHERLANDS - Dutch Labour Party

Joop den Uyl
Liesbeth den Uyl
Maarten van Traa

NORWAY - Norwegian Labour Party

Gro Harlem-Brundtland
Ivar Leveraas
Reiulf Steen
Jens Stoltenberg

PORTUGAL - Socialist Party

Mario Soares
Rui Mateus

SPAIN - Spanish Socialist Workers' Party

Felipe Gonzalez
Francisco Lopez Real
Luis Yañes
Elena Flores

SWITZERLAND - Social Democratic Party of Switzerland

Helmut Hubacher
Lilian Uchtenhagen

VENEZUELA - Democratic Action

Carlos Andrés Pérez
Marco Tulio Brunicelli

Consultative PartiesCYPRUS - EDEK Socialist Party of Cyprus

Takis Hadjidemetriou
Barbara Lyssarides

PERU - APRA

Armando Villanueva del Campo

PUERTO RICO - Puerto Rico Independence Party

Ruben Berrios Martinez

SUCEE - Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe

Bruno Kalnins
Vilnis Zalkalns

ESTONIA - Estonian Socialist Party

Johannes Mihkelson

HUNGARY - Social Democratic Party of Hungary

Andor Bölcsföldi

Fraternal OrganizationsIUSY - International Union of Socialist Youth

Joan Calabuig
Dirk Drijbooms

Associated OrganizationsCSPEC - Conf. of the Socialist Parties of the European Community

Mauro Giallombardo

SWEDISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

March 13, 1986 - 22.00 hrs



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The funeral and official memorial ceremony
for Olof Palme, March 15, 1986

INTERNATIONAL GUESTS - PRELIMINARY LIST

ABDELAZIS	Mohamed	JAMAL	Amir
AHERN	Michael	JELLINEK	Sergio
AGA KHAN	Sadruddin	JOHANSSON	Barbro
ANDERSEN	Jagge		
ANDERSON	Wendell		
ANDERSSON	Ola	KARSKA	Eva
ARBATOV	Giorgi	KLIBI	Chedli
BAHR	Egon	LEONARD	James
BEN SALAH	Ahmed	LINDEMAN	Lars
BLECHMAN	Barry		
BOESAK	Alan	MABUZA	Lindiwe
BOHLIN	Bertil	MACHERITSAS	Christos
BRATTELI	Randi	MAKATINI	Johnny
BRISOLA	Leone1	MAHFOUD	Ali Beba
BÄRLUND	Kaj	MAKHLOUF	Eugene
		MILSTEIN	Mikhail
CHRISTENSEN	Knud	MONDLANE	Janet
COFFIN	William	MORAVIA	Alberto
CYRANKIEWICZ	Jozef	MORI	Haruki
		MUTHAMMA	C B
DEBRAY	Regis	NUJOMA	Sam
DOHNANYI	Klaus von	NUNEZ	Ricardo
ECEVIT	Bülent	ONO	Sean
ESTEVEZ	Mr.	ONO	Yoko
		OWEN	David
FADEL	Smaili	PAPANDREOU	Giorgio
FEO	Julio	PAPAGEORGIOU	Antoussa
FITTON	Donald	PAPAGEORGIOU	Atanas
FORD	Robert	PAZ-ZAMORA	Jaime
		PETTERSSON	Björn
GARCIA-ROBLES	Alfonso	RAMPHAL	Shridath
GHAREKHAN	Chinmay	ROCARD	Michel
GRANT	James	ROTHSCHILD	Emma
GLIRCKOV	Aleksander		
GURIRAB	Theo-Ben		
HALVORSEN	Tor	SAGAN	Carl
HAMMARBERG	Thomas	SALIM	Salim
HINTERSCHIED	Mathis	SCHMIDT	Helmut
HOLST	Johan-Jörgen	SEGHAIR	Salek

cont.

The following countries and organizations have confirmed their presence
at the Olof Palme Memorial Ceremony, Saturday, March 15, 1986

Albanien	Bostadsminister Farudin Hoxha Herr Vahid Borici
Algeriet	Utrikesminister Dr Taleb Ibrahimi
Angola	Utrikesminister Afonso Domingos Van Dunea
Antigua o Bar	Konsul Williams
Arabförbundet	Generalsekreterare Chadli Klibi
Arabrepubliken Yemen	Ambassadör i Bonn Mohamed Abdulla Al-Eriani
Argentina	Vice president Victor Martinez
Australien	Bitr premiärminister Donald James Grimes
Bangladesh	Idrotts och ungdomsminister Zaker Khan Showdhury
Barbados	Generalkonsul Georg Minnerfjord
Belgien	Premiärminister Wilfried Martens
Bolivia	Vice president C Jaime Paz Zamora
Botswana	President Dr Quett Ketumile Joni Masire Utrikesminister Gaositwe Chiepe
Brasilien	Utrikesminister Abreu Sodré
Burkina Faso	Charge d'affaires Köpenhamn Ouango Frederic Clement Ouedraogo
Burma	Ambassadör London U Tin Tun
Burundi	Ambassadör Andre Ndayirangije
Canada	Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence Erik H Nielsen
Colombia	Presidentens hustru Dona Rosa Elena de Betancur
Costa Rica	Jordbruksminister Rodolfo Navas
CSCE	Ambassadör A Papadopoulos
Cuba	Vice president Dr Carlos Rafael R



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Danmark	Statsminister Poul Schlüter
Danmark	Utrikesminister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen
Demokratiska Folkrep Korea	Ambasadör i Stockholm Chon Yong Jin
Dominikanska Rep	Utrikesminister Jose Vega Imbert
Equador	Ambasadör Marcelo Fernandez de Cordoba
EFTA	Generalsekreterare Per Kleppe
EG-komm	President of the Commission Jacques Delors
Egypten	Ambasadör Hassan Kamel
Elfenbenskusten	Ambasadör i Köpenhamn Emile Z Blehouan
Etiopien	Dep Chariman of the Council of Min Fikre Selassie
Europarådet	Generalsekreterare Marcelino Oreja
Filippinerna	Vice utrikesminister Leticia R Shahani
Finland	Statsminister Kalevi Sorsa President Mauno Koivisto
FN	Generalsekreterare Javier Pérez de Cuéllar
Frankrike	President Francois Mitterrand
Färöarna	Lagmand Atli Dam
Gambia	Ambasadör, Stockholm, Mr Samuel Sarr
Ghana	Statschef Jerry Rawlings
Grekland	Premiärminister Andreas Papandreu
Guatemala	Generalkonsul i Stockholm Lars Hannell
Guinea	Ambasadör, Rom, Mr Mamy Kouyate
Guinea Bissau	President Joao Bernardo Vieira
Heliga Stolen	Mgr Henri Lemaitre
Indien	Premiärminister Rajiv Gandhi Industriminister N D Tivari
Irak	Vice president Taha Muhieddin Marouf
Iran	Vice premiärminister Alireza Moayeri
Irland	Vice premiärminister Dick Spring
Island	Statsminister Steingrimur Hermannsson Utrikesminister Matthias Mathiesen



Italien	Premiärminister Bettino Craxi
Jamaica	High Commissioner H S Walker
Japan	F d premiärminister Takeo Fukuda
Jordanien	Prins Raad bin Zeid Prinsessan Majda Zeid
Jugoslavien	Premiärminister Milka Planinc
Kap Verde	Talman Abilio Duarte
Kenya	Vice president Mwai Kibaki
Kina	Hälsövärdminister Cui Yueli Vice utrikesminister Zhou Nan
Kongo	Ambassadör, Bonn, Gérard Francois Yandza
Kuwait	Ghazi M A Al-Rayes
Laos	Vice utrikesminister Soubanh Srithirath
Laos	Protokollchef Chanpeng Sihaphom
Lesotho	Elias Phisoana Remaema
Libanon	Ambassadör i Stockholm Samir Moubarak
Libyen	Memb of Peop Comm Ahmed Shahti
Lichtenstein	Bitr regeringschef Hilmar Ospelt
Luxemburg	Regeringspresident Jacques Santer
Luxemburg	T f utrikesminister Göbbels
Malaysia	Ambassadör i Haag Nik Mohamed bin Nik Hassan
Malawi	Ambassadör i London C M Mkona
Mali	Ambassadör i Bonn Sekou Almany Koreissi
Malta	Premiärminister Dr Karmenu Mifsud Bonnici
Malta	Special Envoy Richard Matrenza
Marocko	Utrikesminister Abdellatif Filali
Mexico	Utrikesminister Bernardo Sepulveda
Mexico	President of Congress Antonio Rivapalacio
Mocambique	President Samora Machel
Monaco	Generalkonsul i Stockholm Hans Westerberg
Mongoliet	Ambassadör Jambalyn Banzar



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Nicaragua	President Daniel Ortega
Nicaragua	Utrikesminister D'Escoto
Niger	Ambassadör Idrissa Arouna
Nigeria	Permanent Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs George Dove-Edwin
Nigeria	Chief of General Staff Com Ebity Ukiwe
Nigeria	Inspector General of Police Etim O Inyang
Norge	Statsminister Kåre Willoch
Norge	Stf statsminister Kjell Magne Bondevik
Nya Zeeland	Jordbruksminister Colin J Moyle
Oman	Ambassadör i Bonn Nazar Mohamed Ali
Pakistan	Premiärminister Mohammad Khan Juenjo
Pakistan	Utrikesminister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan
Panama	Presidentrådgivare Nils Castro
Peru	Senator Armando Villanueva del Campo
Polen	Vice ordföranden i Riksrådet Kazimierz Barcikowski
Portugal	President Mario Soaras
Qatar	Ambassadör Sheria Sa'Ad Jubran Al-Ka'Abi
Rep Korea	Minister of political affairs, Mr Jae Chull Chung
Rumänien	Vice president du Conseil d'Etat Gheorghe Radulescu
San Marino	Statssekreterare i utrikesministeriet Giordano Bruno Reffi
Sao Tomé och Príncipe	Utrikesminister Fradique de Menezes
Saudiarabien	Ambassadör Abdul-Rahman Ibrahim Alkadi
Schweiz	Utrikesminister Pierre Aubert
Schweiz	Kabinettchef Philippe Jaccard
Senegal	Ex minister, Memb Pol Bereau Abdel Kader Fall
Seychellerna	Acting High Commissioner i London Robert Delpech
Sierra Leone	High Commissioner i London Victor Summer
Singapore	Generalkonsul Gunnar Wahlgren



Sovjetunionen	Premiärminister Nikolaj Ryzkov
Sovjetunionen	Bitr utrikesminister Viktor F Maltsev
Sovjetunionen	Ambassadör Boris Pankin
Spanien	Premiärminister Felipe González
Sri Lanka	Utrikesminister A C S Hameed
Storbritannien	Bitr premiärminister Lord Whitelaw
Sudan	Minister El Rasheed Khider Hag Ibrahim
Surinam	Ambassadör i Bryssel Ronald Listeri Kensmil
Tanzania	President Julius K Nyerere
Tchad	Ambassadör i Bryssel Naimbaye Lossiman
Thailand	Hälsovårdsminister Marut Bunnag
Tjeckoslovakien	Premiärminister Lobomir Strougal
Togo	Justitieminister Ayiwi Mawuko Adjawon
Tunisien	Partichef Hédi Bacouche
Turkiet	State Minister Abdullah Tenekeyi
Tyska Demokratiska Republiken	Statschef Erich Honecker
Tyska Demokratiska Republiken	Utrikesminister Oskar Fischer
Förbundsrepubliken Tyskland	Förbundskansler Helmut Kohl
Förbundsrepubliken Tyskland	Vice-kansler/utrikesminister Hans-Dietrich Genscher
Förbundsrepubliken Tyskland	Partichef SPD Willy Brandt
Uganda	Utrikesminister Ibrahim Mukilbi
Ungern	Förste vice premiärminister Lazlo Marothy
Uruguay	Arbetsmarknadsminister H Fernandez Faingold
USA	Utrikesminister George Shultz
Venezuela	Fd president Callos Andrés Pérez
Vietnam	Ministerrådet Tran Quynh
Zambia	President Kenneth D Kaunda
Aland	Talman i Landstinget Sune Carlsson
Österrike	Förbundskansler Fred Sinowatz
Österrike	F d förbundskansler o ordf soc dem partiet Bruno Kreisky



USEFUL ADDRESSES AND TELEPHONE NUMBERS

Swedish Social Democratic Party

Sveavägen 68

Tel. 14 03 00

Cabinet Office and the Ministries

Tel. 763 10 00

Foreign Office

Tel. 786 60 00

The Court

Elisabeth Tarras-Wahlberg, Press Officer

Kungliga slottet

Tel. 789 85 39

Transportation

Taxi Stockholm

Tel. 15 00 00

Limousine Service LS AB

Tel. 22 22 80

Freys Hyrverk AB

Tel. 67 03 60

Traffic Information

Scandinavian Airlines (SAS)

Sveavägen 22

Tel. 780 10 00

22 44 60 (Saturdays and Sundays 08.00 - 18.00 hrs)

Police

Stockholm Police

Tel. 769 30 300

Rikspolisstyrelsen (National Police Board)

Tel. 769 70 00

Hospitals

Sabbatsbergs sjukhus

Dalagatan 9-11

Tel. 34 95 00

Karolinska Sjukhuset

Tel. 736 10 00

Ordinary telecommunications service in central Stockholm

Telecenter

Skeppsbron 2

Tel. 10 09 39 (Hours of opening: every day 08.00 - 24.00 hrs)

Hotels

Anglais Hotel
Humlegårdsgatan 23
Tel. 24 99 00

Hotel Continental
Klara Vattugränd 4
Tel. 24 40 20

Hotel Diplomat
Strandvägen 7C
Tel. 63 58 00

Grand Hotel
Södra Blasieholmshamnen
Tel. 22 10 20

Hotel Reisen
Skeppsbron 12-14
Tel. 22 32 60

Hotel Sergel Plaza
Brunkebergs Torg 9
Tel. 22 66 00

Sheraton Stockholm Hotel
Tegelbacken 6
Tel. 14 26 00

Strand Hotel
Nybrokajen 9
Tel. 22 29 00

Royal Viking Hotel
Vasagatan 1
Tel. 14 10 00



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Diplomatic Missions in Stockholm

Albania
Tyrgatan 3A
114 27 Stockholm
Tel. 21 74 80

Algeria
Danderydsgatan 3-5
Box 26027
100 41 Stockholm
Tel. 21 10 70, 21 40 70

United States of America
Strandvägen 101
115 27 Stockholm
Tel. 783 53 00

Angola
Hagagatan 1
Box 3199
103 64 Stockholm
Tel. 24 28 90

Argentina
Grevgatan 5
Box 14039
104 40 Stockholm
Tel. 63 19 65

Australia
Sergels Torg 12
Box 7003
103 86 Stockholm
Tel. 24 46 60

Bangladesh
Grev Turegatan 7
114 46 Stockholm
Tel. 10 95 55, 10 95 60

Belgium
Villagatan 13A
Box 5865
102 48 Stockholm
Tel. 11 89 58, 10 58 95

Botswana
Drottninggatan 56
111 21 Stockholm
Tel. 723 00 35

Brazil
Sturegatan 12
114 36 Stockholm
Tel. 63 12 85

Bulgaria
Karlavägen 29
114 31 Stockholm
Tel. 24 24 90

Canada
Tegelbacken 4
Box 16129
103 23 Stockholm
Tel. 23 79 20

Colombia
Östermalmsgatan 46
114 26 Stockholm
Tel. 21 84 89

Costa Rica
Ösbyvägen 31
182 64 Djursholm
Tel. 755 23 15

Cuba
Karlavägen 49
114 49 Stockholm
Tel. 63 08 50

Denmark
Gustaf Adolfs Torg 14
Box 1638
111 86 Stockholm
Tel. 23 18 60

Dominican Republic
Jutas Backe 1
111 39 Stockholm
Tel. 20 41 20, 20 41 32

Ecuador
Engelbrektsgatan 13
Box 26095
100 41 Stockholm
Tel. 10 30 43

Egypt
Strandvägen 35
114 56 Stockholm
Tel. 62 96 03, 62 96 87

Ethiopia
Östermalmsgatan 34
114 26 Stockholm
Tel. 14 35 95

Philippines
Skeppsbron 22
Box 2219
103 15 Stockholm
Tel. 23 56 65

Finland
Regeringsgatan 67
Box 7423
103 91 Stockholm
Tel. 24 02 70

France
Narvavägen 28
Box 10241
100 55 Stockholm
Tel. 63 02 70

Greece
Riddargatan 60
114 57 Stockholm
Tel. 60 88 60

Guinea-Bissau
Sturegatan 8, III
Box 10141
100 55 Stockholm
Tel. 10 93 05

India
Adolf Fredriks Kyrkogata 12
Box 1340
111 83 Stockholm
Tel. 11 32 13

Indonesia
Strandvägen 47
114 56 Stockholm
Tel. 63 54 70

Iraq
Baldersgatan 6
Box 26031
100 41 Stockholm
Tel. 21 89 30, 21 89 05

Iran
Vastra Yttringe Gard
Ellviksvägen
Box 6031
181 06 Lidingö
Tel. 765 20 29, 767 79 29

Ireland
Östermalmsgatan 97
114 59 Stockholm
Tel. 61 80 05, 61 74 09

Iceland
Kommendörsgatan 35
114 58 Stockholm
Tel. 62 40 16, 67 27 53

Israel
Torstenssonsgatan 4
Box 14006
104 40 Stockholm
Tel. 63 04 35

Italy
Oakhill, Djurgården
115 21 Stockholm
Tel. 24 58 05

Japan
Gärdesgatan 10
115 27 Stockholm
Tel. 63 04 40

Yugoslavia
Valhallavägen 70
114 27 Stockholm
Tel. 21 84 36, 21 84 82

Kenya
Birger Jarlsgatan 37
Box 7694
103 95 Stockholm
Tel. 21 83 04

China
Bragevägen 4
114 26 Stockholm
Tel. 21 75 39

Korea, Democratic People's
Republic (North)
Villagatan 17
114 32 Stockholm
Tel. 21 51 71, 11 12 54

Korea, Republic of
(South)
Sveavägen 90
113 59 Stockholm
Tel. 16 04 80/4

Lao People's Democratic
Republic
Hornsgatan 82 B
117 21 Stockholm
Tel. 68 51 22

Lebanon
Kommendörsgatan 35
114 58 Stockholm
Tel. 65 19 65

Liberia
Fafnersvägen 23
182 64 Djursholm
Tel. 755 91 22, 755 91 32

Libyan Arab Jamahiriya
Valhallvägen 74
Box 10133
100 55 Stockholm
Tel. 14 34 35

Malaysia
(trade department)
Mäster Samuelsgatan 49
Box 117
101 21 Stockholm
Tel. 21 30 85, 21 30 95

Morocco
(trade department)
Runebergsgatan 6
114 29 Stockholm
Tel. 10 65 42, 10 75 31

Mexico
Grevgatan 3
Box 14058
104 40 Stockholm
Tel. 63 51 70

Netherlands
Götgatan 16 A
116 46 Stockholm
Tel. 24 71 80

Nicaragua
Sandhamnsgatan 40
115 28 Stockholm
Tel. 67 18 57

Nigeria
Tyrgatan 8
Box 628
101 28 Stockholm
Tel. 24 63 90/5

Norway
Strandvägen 113
115 27 Stockholm
Tel. 67 06 20

Pakistan
Grev Magnigatan 6
114 55 Stockholm
Tel. 63 59 05

Panama
Fridhemsgatan 15
Box 12123
102 24 Stockholm
Tel. 51 17 87

Peru
Brunnsgatan 21B
111 38 Stockholm
Tel. 11 00 19

Poland
Karlavägen 35
114 31 Stockholm
Tel. 11 41 32, 11 81 66

Portugal
Fredrikshovsgatan 5
Box 27004
102 51 Stockholm
Tel. 62 60 28

Romania
Ostermalmsgatan 36
Box 26043
100 41 Stockholm
Tel. 10 86 03

Saudi Arabia
Sköldungsgatan 5
Box 26073
100 41 Stockholm
Tel. 23 88 00

Switzerland
Skeppsbron 20
Box 1237
111 82 Stockholm
Tel. 23 15 50

Senegal
Skeppsbron 8
Box 2036
103 11 Stockholm
Tel. 14 32 35

Somalia
Kommendörsgatan 35
114 58 Stockholm
Tel. 67 03 95

Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics
Gjörwellsgatan 31
112 60 Stockholm
Tel. 13 04 40-43

Spain
Hazeliussbacken 14,
115 21 Stockholm
Tel. 62 54 94, 62 41 12

Sri Lanka
Strandvägen 39
Box 14053
104 40 Stockholm
Tel. 63 65 23, 63 65 25

United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Northern Ireland
Skarpögatan 6-8
115 27 Stockholm
Tel. 67 01 40

Tanzania
Oxtorgsgatan 2-4
Box 7255
103 89 Stockholm
Tel. 24 48 70

Thailand
Sandhamnsgatan 36
Box 27065
102 51 Stockholm
Tel. 67 80 90, 67 21 60, 67 62 51

Czechoslovakia
Floragatan 13
114 31 Stockholm
Tel. 24 81 53/8

Tunisia
Drottninggatan 73 C
111 36 Stockholm
Tel. 23 64 70

Turkey
Nobelgatan 19
115 27 Stockholm
Tel. 23 08 40

German Democratic
Republic
Box 19035
Bragevägen 9
115 27 Stockholm
Tel. 23 50 50

Germany, Federal
Republic of
Skarpögatan 9
115 27 Stockholm
Tel. 63 13 80

Hungary
Strandvägen 74
Box 27162
102 52 Stockholm
Tel. 61 67 62, 62 56 75

Uruguay
Kommendörsgatan 35
Box 10124
100 55 Stockholm
Tel. 60 31 96

Venezuela
Engelbrektsgatan 35 B
Box 26012
100 41 Stockholm
Tel. 11 09 96, 10 31 76

Viet Nam
Örby Slottsväg 26
125 36 Älvsjö
Tel. 86 12 18

Zambia
Klara Södra Kyrkogata 1
Box 16148
103 23 Stockholm
Tel. 23 16 25

Zimbabwe
Oxtorget 5
Box 7319
103 90 Stockholm
Tel. 24 66 95



Fundación
Felipe González

Olof Palme Memorial Ceremony, Saturday March 15, 1986

To member parties of the Socialist International and international guests (not belonging to governmental delegations)

The official funeral and memorial ceremony for Prime Minister Olof Palme will be held in the Stockholm City Hall on March 15 at 14.00 hrs.

Invitation cards are attached. Guests with a white invitation card will be seated in the "Blå Hallen" (Blue Hall). Guests with a yellow invitation card will be seated in the "Gyllene Hallen" (Golden Hall).

If not otherwise indicated buses will leave from your hotel at 12.30 hrs. Please bring your invitation cards, credential card and means of identification (passport).

After the memorial ceremony the international guests will meet representatives of the Swedish government in the "Gyllene Hallen" (Golden Hall) in the City Hall. Buses will leave the City Hall at 17.00 hrs for the reception given by the Swedish government at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Please bring your invitation card.



Other arrangements

Friday_March_14

The Swedish Social Democratic Party Executive Committee will give a buffet dinner on Friday, March 14, at 19.30-23.00 hrs for member parties of the Socialist International and international guests. Venue: CSCE Building, Brunkebergsterassen 1. Please bring your invitation card.

The member parties of the Socialist International will meet at 21.00 hrs. Venue: CSCE Building, 9th floor, Brunkebergsterassen 1.

Saturday_March_15

By invitation of The International Centre of the Swedish Labour Movement a buffet dinner will be held on Saturday, March 15 at 21.00 hrs. Venue: Kooperativa Förbundet, Katarinavägen 15. Buses will leave from your hotel at 20.45 hrs. Please bring your invitation card.

Sunday_March_16

An ecumenical memorial service will be held in Storkyrkan (the Cathedral of Stockholm) at 15.00 hrs on Sunday, March 16, in presence of the Royal family. No transports will be provided.

It is VERY IMPORTANT that you carry your credential card with the text "March 15-16" at ALL occasions together with a valid passport.



NOTA INTERIOR



Fundación
Felipe González

PRESIDENCIA DEL GOBIERNO

DE: Secretario Presidente del Gobierno

A: Director Departamento de Interna-
cional.

su referencia

FECHA:

25-3-86

n/referencia

A S U N T O

OLAB PALME MEMORIAL CEREMONY

Querido Juan Antonio:

Adjunto remito este documento para vuestra información.

Un abrazo,

Observaciones



105 60 STOCKHOLM
BESÖKSADRESS:
SVEAVÄGEN 68
TELEFON 08/140300
POSTGIRO 107-3
BANKGIRO 331-0679
TELEX 10683

Stockholm, March 18, 1986

To the SI-member parties

Dear friends,

For your information we enclose the speeches at the funeral and official memorial ceremony for Olof Palme on March 15, 1986. Please note that it is an unofficial translation.

We also enclose "Inside Sweden".

With best regards

Gunnar Stenarv

International secretary

SWEDISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

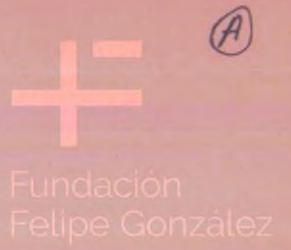
J. Feo.
PRESIDENCIA
DEL
GOBIERNO
REGISTRO

Fundación
Felipe González

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SWEDISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY
S-105 60 STOCKHOLM
SWEDEN



OLOF PALME MEMORIAL CEREMONY

SATURDAY MARCH 15, 1986

(ENGLISH - UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION)

Address by the Prime Minister, Mr Ingvar Carlsson, at
the funeral ceremony for Olof Palme at the Stockholm City Hall,
15 March 1986



Fundación
Felipe González

We are gathered today at the bier of Olof Palme.

An abominable assassination has confronted us with the cold, grim face of death. We stand united in anger and grief.

But death is at the same time a reminder of life. And Olof Palme's life is a poignant reminder of the chance life gives us, a reminder that life can be like a radiant smile, that the value of life is infinite.

* * *

With us today are friends from all parts of the world. They bear witness to the fact that the grief and sense of loss felt by us extend far beyond the borders of our country.

We always grieve when we lose someone, although we know that death is inevitable and comes to us all sooner or later. Most of us have said a last farewell to someone who has passed on after completing a long life's work. Death is the natural end and we are ready for it when it comes. But this is not the case here. Olof Palme's strength was unabated, he was full of great and vigorous enthusiasm. He also possessed the wisdom which only comes from long experience. Olof Palme seemed indispensable to us for a long time yet.

But suddenly he was cut down like a free and powerful bird killed in full flight. Many of his best years were thus taken from him, from us. This makes our grief harder to bear, more sombre and bitter.

A few days ago I received a letter from Sigrid Fernström from Forsbacka, who delivers newspapers. This is what she wrote:

"I have delivered newspapers for 18 years. The early morning of March 1st was for me the hardest working day in all these years. Coming out at 4 o'clock on a cold, dark winter's night, not long out of bed but alert and ready for two hours' work, then seeing the terrible news in extra large letters on the front pages of the two newspapers I deliver was like seeing the ground disappear from underneath my feet. In spite of my state of shock this appalling news must be spread, and I, a link in the chain of distribution, must not fail my duty this morning. In my despair I thought of all the old age pensioners, who go early to bed and wake up early too, waiting for me. It hurt me so to have to bring this bad news in their loneliness."

I understand her message to be: We must not allow ourselves to be paralysed. We must find the strength to carry out our duties even on the hardest day of our lives. We must seek consolation so that we can overcome our grief.

This is not easy, but it is necessary. We must go on, we must see the light and meet life. This is what Olof Palme himself would have done in our position: he who was always on the move, always proceeding to new tasks and new objectives.

* * *



We all have many different memories of Olof Palme. Some of them are of a physical nature, like his unruly hair which it seemed impossible to comb into place, the hopeless tie, the ceaseless dancing of his feet behind the rostrum when he made a speech.

Palme was close to us. Year after year we recognized his well-known figure in the streets, we heard and saw him on the radio and television - his vibrant voice, his face, a little more lined as the years passed, a little heavier and wiser, his piercing blue eyes.

And we remember all the times we saw him almost jumping up onto the platform to make speeches all over the country, all the autographs he wrote, all the people he met and spoke to and never forgot, full of intuitive respect as he was.

What the exaggerated picture of the polemicist highlighted by the television cameras did not convey was that Olof Palme's most faithful companions were laughter and cheerfulness. If humour is the most prominent characteristic of humanity, then Olof Palme was, in this respect too, profoundly human.

Other memories of Olof Palme vary from individual to individual. This is of course because, being human beings, we saw him with different eyes. But another reason is that he was a complex person.

Olof Palme's words were unambiguous and compelling. His commitment was profound and genuine. It was above all the momentous issues facing mankind that fascinated and challenged his creative spirit. He moved people's hearts.



But at the same time he was a practical politician, patient and well aware that democracy must hasten slowly. Politics to Olof Palme was not just a matter of will. It was also a day to day job that had to be done.

Olof Palme was a prominent champion of peace, but he was also a man who stood in the thick of debate and political struggle, and he was under heavier attack than most. Those of us who stood by his side sometimes wished that his adversaries would get to know him better and thus have the privilege of learning what the man was really like.

For this man, who never shied away from a fight and, like Master Olof in Strindberg's play, refused to compromise with his conscience was also a man of personal modesty, a good friend and fond of his family.

As a speaker Olof Palme could spellbind his audience with his intensity and gift of expression. When among friends he often just sat listening.

He was careful in his choice of words, but at the same time well aware of the possibilities of language, possibilities which he mastered better than most. When roused he was capable of rebukes that overstepped the conventional limits of diplomacy in a conscious attempt to provoke people into awareness and action.

But we also remember the gentle tone he used when speaking to children, who always liked to listen to him.

Once, at the height of an election campaign, Olof Palme visited the Kryddgården School in Malmö, a school with children from 35 countries; he spoke to the pupils and



danced with them. A few days ago Elisabeth Zemljic, one of the girls who was present, told us about this meeting: "It must have meant a lot to him. You could see how his face positively beamed. It was wonderful to see that a person like that, so famous all over the world, can still mean so much to children. Somehow I think that it was we children who really understood him best".

It is perfectly natural that a prime minister should be well-known in the capitals of the world. But Olof Palme was also known in many poor, remote villages. This was not due to his office, however. It was because of his views and acts, his courage in never flinching from plain language, the conviction that he was on the side of right and freedom.

And in a way he found no difference between New York and Värnamo, or New Delhi and Storuman, or Maputo and Smedjebacken. There were differences of climate, language and colour, of course. But there was no difference when it came to essentials: everybody has their dreams and aspirations. And as long as Olof Palme was able to help, no journey was too long and no place too insignificant.

Thus Olof Palme made the world the concern and the responsibility of us all. But at the same time surely no other Swede can have seen more of his own country and met a greater number of his countrymen than Olof Palme. When children from every municipality in the land paid their tribute to Olof Palme's memory by joining in song in today's service, they were sending greetings from the entire country which he loved so well and from the future he believed in.

But Olof Palme was not only a generous and versatile personality. He possessed great integrity, deep inside the public and private person were fused into one.

Everyone who was close to him, his family, his friends and colleagues, as well as some of his political adversaries, have experienced and often talked of Olof Palme's gentleness and sympathy, the interest he showed in so many of the lives he came in contact with. This side of Olof Palme was often absent from the official picture of him. But it is precisely here that we find the strongest driving force in his struggle for a better and more just society, a society where everyone is of equal value. And one can see Palme's international involvement and his struggle for peace and solidarity across the borders was based on this insight into the lives of those living in conditions of hardship.

Thus these many qualities and aspirations were combined in making up the personality and life achievement that we recognize as Olof Palme's.

Our grief and sense of loss at the assassination of Olof Palme have brought us closer together. This can be seen everywhere. It can be seen that the streets are quieter, people now show more consideration and understanding.

Sweden will never be quite the same again.

* * *

Olof Palme's life's work is also a legacy to be used by us to the best of our understanding and ability.

Olof Palme was a democrat.



He respected other people's opinions, but above all he respected people themselves. This was why he could sit for hours and discuss things with young people at a meeting, or with people at their place of work or with people he met in the streets. He believed in progress, and he believed in the possibility of convincing people by argument. His belief in reason was a part of his optimistic view of humanity and his deeply rooted humanism.

Olof Palme was a champion of solidarity.

He often expressed his views on solidarity with the words: "It's not a question of them and us. It's just us."

Injustices and class differences roused his indignation. And his impatience at the unavoidable slowness and ineffectiveness of the political process at times - all too often - was as marked as his passion for justice. He realized that in a just society people must work together.

Olof Palme's manifest solidarity with immigrants and refugees extended beyond merely opening Sweden as a place of refuge. He was keen that we should show generosity and make the same opportunities available to those who came here as to those born in the country. He was an implacable opponent of all forms of racism and hostility to foreigners.

It is gratifying, at the same time as it fills us with a sense of obligation, to note that so many immigrants from various countries show such heartfelt sorrow at the death of a Swedish leader and prime minister.

Olof Palme was a champion of peace.



Peace was in fact his most important task, since he regarded war as the greatest threat to mankind. And he used to tell the younger generation: "You are really the first generation which cannot afford to fail at any price. For a nuclear war will destroy all vestige of human life."

Olof Palme was always talking about how we in Sweden come out into the world and how the world comes in to us. As soon as he got the chance he himself travelled immediately after the Second World War to America and later to Asia.

There was obviously a moral driving force behind Olof Palme 's internationalism, his efforts for peace and the freedom and independence of all nations. But there was also a national interest underlying this moral standpoint. The world does not only belong to the great and powerful. We, the smaller nations, also have a right to live, develop and preserve our identity. For this right to be a reality, certain principles must be respected. The most important of these principles are laid down in the UN Charter. This was how Olof Palme expressed it himself when speaking to the United Nations:

"When the integrity and independence of one small country are violated, this sends a vibration of anger and anxiety through the hearts and minds of citizens in other small countries. For them the rule of law and observance of our common commitments under the Charter are seen as imperatives for a future in peace and security."

To Olof Palme the arms race was a dire threat to the survival of the human race. The nuclear powers have usurped the right to decide matters of life and death not



only in their own countries, but also all other countries. In a world that lives under the constant threat of destruction, where there are great conflicts and demands for more and increasingly advanced weapons are growing, Palme spoke with the voice of sense and reason.

The death of Olof Palme means that we Swedes have lost our principal spokesman on behalf of democracy, solidarity and peace. But there is general support in our country for these values. And we have not lost the things he gave us, his inspiration and experience.

As a friend and colleague of Olof Palme I feel emboldened to express his appeal to those of us who are to continue his work.

- Develop Swedish democracy on the basis of explicit respect for the equal value and individuality of all people!
- Make sure that Sweden and the world, as far as this lies in our power, is characterized by justice, fellowship and solidarity.
- May this nation never indulge in introspection. Be open to the world at large and try to contribute to peace and cooperation between peoples and nations.

* * *

The memory of Olof Palme will be with us for a long time to come, in the yearning of our finest moods - his light, the clarity of his thought, his articulate reason and his warm sympathy.

Thank you, Olof. You will always remain in our hearts.



Unofficial translation

Address by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Sten
Andersson, at the funeral ceremony for Olof Palme at the
Stockholm City Hall, 15 March 1986

At this moment, lots of memories come back to me.

I remember a different meeting here in Stockholm 's City
Hall slightly more than 20 years ago, with a thousand
enthusiastic youngsters who were listening to one of Olof
Palme's most notable speeches.

"Politics, my friends, is the will to achieve something. The
will to change, because change promises improvements, gives
sustenance to the imagination and drive, stimulus to dreams
and visions."

His speech was received with glowing enthusiasm.
Today, we weep and are enraged.

A heinous deed has taken Olof Palme from us, bereft his
family of a life companion and father, deprived us of a
friend and leader, wrested from us a social reformer and a
world citizen.

Olof Palme has been assassinated - but he will never die.



Someone has said: "As a crystal refracts rays of light creating a new clarity, so sorrow changes our line of thought opening up to us a new awareness".

Olof - You were greater, meant more for people's dreams and hopes than even we, your friends, understood.

Only a minute or so after the news that brutal violence had taken you from us, a young girl came to the place on Sveavägen. She stooped to light a candle and left there a message in just a few words: "Who could kill our dove of peace?"

The girl was intimating what was later to be expressed by the poet:

"A state of emergency has been proclaimed for sorrow throughout this land of Sweden by the people themselves".

You belonged to a movement that wants democracy to be much more than a way of governing, that sees democracy as a way of living - listening to each other, respecting each other's ideas, and lending each other a helping hand.

On many occasions, I wished that those who at times thought you ruthless and insensitive, had really had a chance to get to know you, to see you in the midst of your family and friends. Or, when you considerately and as a matter of course helped people out, not only friends but also opponents when they were sorrowing or in difficulties. You always demanded more of yourself than of others.



We, who were in daily contact with you, were amazed at your tirelessness in the everyday work too.

Where there was deadlock, you persistently sought an opening, in the apparently impossible you sought a possibility. You were convinced that every problem has a solution and that only a lack of imagination or patience could prevent us from finding it.

And scarcely could there be greater harmony than when, after many hard nights' work, with your shirt collar unbuttoned, your tie at an angle, your hair standing on end and with your face lit up with a smile, you let us know that once again you had found the solution.

Olof - you gave our movement strength and pride. And you infused life into our ideas.

But. You gave us something else too, something far greater, something that grief has made us see with perfect clarity: you gave sustenance to our dreams, substance to our visions, a glow to our daily toil.

In a world where military armaments can already destroy humanity many times over, you made us dare to dream of a world at peace. You refused to see the boundary between east and west changed into a front line in the cold war. You showed that close at hand there is a common security, one that does not rest on nuclear warheads.



In a world of widened gaps between rich and poor, you pointed out another way of living together, a different kind of economic development than that which is based on the exploitation by the rich states of the poor, you pointed to solidarity across all frontiers.

In a world where millions of people are being persecuted for their ideas, their beliefs or the colour of their skin, you showed that society can be organized in a human way. You sustained millions of people in their dreams of liberty.

In a world of prejudice, suspicion and growing alienation, you showed that we need one another. And in a world in which violence is spreading, where self-appointed elites are trying to wring power for themselves by fear, you dared to uphold human dignity, non-violence, the open discussion and the free debate as the only path to a way of living together in dignity.

It is admittedly possible to use violence in an open society to bring a politician's life to an end.

But it is not possible to destroy ideas and an example.

Olof, your ideas will go on living in the dreams of a whole generation. Their luminence overcomes death.



You showed through your actions that the conviction of one individual and the resoluteness of one small nation can make an important contribution to peace and freedom in a divided and unjust world.

For this your life work you are today receiving sincere homage and unlimited gratitude from a whole world.

It is our urgent duty to continue in your spirit to speak for those who have been silenced, to give hope to those who are not free, and strength to the weak.

Olof. We mourn for you, inconsolably and profoundly.

We feel at this hour a sense of weakness, - but are also filled with resolution. We shall not let you down. We will not lose courage, not give in to violence, not lose our visions, take no step backward.

Instead - with sorrow and despondency in our hearts - we shall rally our strength, overcome our weakness and continue the work for peace, freedom and justice.

We thank you Olof.

May you rest in peace.



15 March 1986

Address by H.M. The King at the Funeral of Olof Palme

The death of Olof Palme, the Prime Minister of this country, has profoundly shaken the people of Sweden. It was with consternation that we received the news of the infamous deed against Olof Palme. What we now feel is grief and a grievous loss. In the past few days and at this hour our sympathies are, naturally enough, chiefly extended to Olof Palme's family and relatives. Our sense of fellowship with them in their sorrow is profound.

Olof Palme's death does not only mean that Sweden has lost a Prime Minister and a major politician and statesman. His death also means the loss of a man who forcefully upheld the democratic principles and ideals on which our free Swedish society is built.

In the course of the years I have got to know Olof Palme on terms of friendship. His death therefore means a personal loss to me.



The past weeks have shown that the ideas which Olof Palme especially fought for on the international arena have obtained a strong response in the national soul of the Swedish people. By his death a Swedish voice speaking out in the world has been silenced, a voice everyone listened to, one that spoke out with enthusiasm and involvement against violence and oppression, for peace, freedom and justice and for the rights of the small nations. This voice will be sadly missed by a whole world.

Olof Palme's endeavours have attracted attention and met response - that we can see today. The many who have gathered here round his bier in the Stockholm City Hall truly bear witness to this.

It is my hope and it is my belief that the fight for peace and freedom which Olof Palme so devotedly carried on will continue and will, by this means, also be able to lead to a better world.



Remarks of the Secretary-General, Javier Perez de Cuéllar,
at the funeral of Prime Minister Olof Palme

Your Majesty, Mr Prime Minister, Excellencies, Ladies and
Gentlemen.

The twenty-eighth of February was a sad day for the
international community. While the Swedish people are of course
the most intimately affected by the death of Olof Palme. His
tragic assassination evokes shock and intense sorrow far from
these shores.

Olof Palme personified the highest ideal of the United Nations
Charter. It calls for an end to war: He was the quintessential
man of peace. It reaffirms faith in human rights: he was an
unflinching champion of universal human worth and dignity. It
urges social progress: he stood squarely on the side of the poor
and the oppressed.

There are few statesmen who have had such influence on the
course of international affairs and social change. There are few
who have understood so clearly the essential issues of our times.
But Olof Palme's astounding intelligence and brilliance in debate
were matched by compassion and human insight. He was no mere
intellectual conviction. Seemingly effortlessly, he could
comprehend the needs, the difficulties and the anxieties of others.
He could reach out to them with a sympathy that came naturally.
In life, as in death, he struck the deepest chords of a common
humanity which he loved and served so truthfully.

On the very day he died, he put his signature to an appeal
by six world leaders for a halt to nuclear testing. It was the
last expression of his enduring commitment to disarmament and
his passionate opposition to nuclear arms. His conviction was



fired by the same sense of human solidarity that motivated his entire political life. He said in Geneva two years ago, addressing the nuclear threat:

"Surely, there are some Western values which must be defended, as one side says. And surely there are also some Eastern values to be defended, as the other side says. But there are also some human values that must be defended by all of us. And foremost of these human values is humanity itself."

In his own life, Olof Palme fully met his challenge: he was the surest and truest defender of those universal human values.

Your Majesty, Excellencies.

Sweden, is today synonymous the world over with the ideals of peaceful stability and of humane compassion. I know you will agree that this is in no small measure due to Olof Palme. His vision knew no national boundaries. In his Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, he strove to forge the elements of a new common security for all. He laid great weight on the United Nations role in this crucial endeavour. And he devoted himself with the same zeal to the twin goal of development, characteristically appealing equally to the heart and to the mind in his tireless advocacy.

Many moments come to my mind at this time: the entire General Assembly of the United Nations springing to its feet in giving him one of its very rare standing ovations. The scenes of quick give-and-take with journalists which he so evidently enjoyed. The occasions for quiet and extraordinarily perceptive counsel which he gave me. I cannot forget his dedication in persevering - as Special Representative of the Secretary-General - with his patient efforts on the war between Iran and Iraq even after his re-election as Prime Minister.



Like so many of you here today, I have lost both a good friend and a wise adviser. We share in the tragedy as we remember the man. We think of his sparkling wit and humour, his warmth and personal charm, his enthusiasm for life and his unshakeable integrity. I am reminded of some lines written about another great humanitarian leader, Abraham Lincoln, who met a similar tragic fate:

"A wind blows in the night
and the pride of the rose is gone ...
and out of the night it came.
A wind, and the rose fell ...
Hark: from the long eclipse
the wise words come -
a wind blows, and the lips
of prophecy are dumb."

But let us take comfort in the rich legacy given to us by Olof Palme. His contribution to peace, to international security, to social progress, fairness and justice will live on. All of us - the Swedish people, the United Nations, his countless admirers - will continue to be inspired by his example. I appeal to world leaders, both those present and those joining us in spirit, to heed his call, take up his banner and pursue his quest for a world in which future generations may live in confidence and dignity. Thank you.

15 March 1986



Fundación
Felipe González

Address by the Prime Minister of India, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, at
the Funeral Ceremony for Olof Palme at the Stockholm City Hall
on March 15, 1986

Your Majesty, Prime Minister Carlsson,
Presidents and Prime Ministers,
Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen

It is given to few to be both men of vision and men of action. Olof Palme's lifework was a mission dedicated to translating high ideals into noble practice.

He grew into adulthood in a world emerging from the debris of imperialism and the devastation of war. Both events profoundly influenced his thinking: development and disarmament became the central concerns of his political activity. He saw in the construction of a new world order the opportunity for a resurgence of the spirit of internationalism.

In the political sphere, this meant the strengthening of the United Nations system. International relations had to be infused with respect for the sovereign equality of nations, big or small. This nascent democracy of nations had to find expression in forums where issues of common concern were discussed frankly and without fear. Nations had to be persuaded by practice and precept, to resolve conflicts through consensus and concord. Olof Palme rejected the adversary theory of international relations in which countries with different political and economic systems get themselves locked in a struggle for supremacy. The world, he saw, has place to accommodate a diversity of systems. Change may come through internal evolution but not through external imposition. He sought to substitute rivalry and confrontation with peaceful coexistence and international cooperation. In this, embodying as it were the spirit of the charter, Olof Palme undertook difficult and delicate missions on behalf of the United Nations, in its endeavours to reduce tensions and restore the peace.

In the economic sphere, Olof Palme saw the end of empire as the opportunity to redress the unjust, unequal economic order which stunts growth in the developing countries and endangers prosperity in the developed. He was one of the most articulate and impassioned votaries of development through international cooperation. He saw the interest of the north and the south as complementary - progress in the south reinforcing continued growth and prosperity in the north, even as sustained recovery in the north could help sustain the development process in the south. The dialogue must be resumed. Its resumption is in the interest of all. What is required is the spirit of humanism, concern and care which so characterised Olof Palme's world view.

I got to know Olof Palme best through my association with him in the Five Continent Peace Initiative. He brought to bear on our discussions the perspective of a European leader, representing a neutrality which is close on two centuries old and sandwiched between the nuclear arsenals of the Western Alliance and the Warsaw Pact. He had an acute perception of those debilitating emotions which are at the root of the nuclear arms race: hatred and fear. To overcome these, or at any rate to counter them, requires the elaboration of an alternative strategy of security which comprehends the concerns of the nuclear weapons states but leads them away from dangerous confrontation towards disarmament.

Olof Palme joined my mother and four other leaders in issuing an appeal in May 1984 to halt all testing, production and development of nuclear weapons and their delivery system. They identified verification as the key element in reassuring nuclear weapons powers that a freeze would not be used as the cover for clandestine nuclear arms activity. When, therefore, the six nations met together in New Delhi early last year, they offered themselves, as disinterested parties with the requisite technical abilities and geographic coverage, to monitor all aspects of a comprehensive test ban treaty. The offer to undertake verification, so as to remove all doubts about compliance and possible violations, has been reiterated in the message recently addressed to President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev by all six of us. There is a poignant symbolism to this message, perhaps the last political testament of Olof Palme's lifelong dedication to disarmament.

When Olof Palme visited India a few weeks ago he argued eloquently in his Indira Gandhi memorial address:

"It has thus become possible for us humans not only to annihilate an enemy, but also all others living on this planet. We can kill animals and plants, we can destroy towns and villages, we can devastate all that has been built up over generations, all around the whole of our earth. And above all: we can destroy the future of our entire civilization, devastate the existence for our children and grandchildren, eradicate all that would have come after us. That, simply, is the role of nuclear weapons if they are used."

All nations - not just those who have armed themselves with these horrendous weapons, but all of us - have the duty to urge that weapons of mass destruction be outlawed. A comprehensive, verifiable nuclear test ban will indict the spread of nuclear arms into new dimensions and set in train a process of nuclear arms control which will, hopefully, lead to nuclear disarmament.

Olof Palme had a special place in the hearts of us Indians. He had known us well. We shall miss his ever-cheerful smile, his warmth, his boundless enthusiasm and his generous humanity. His was a sharp intellect and a generous spirit, a love of learning and an earthbound wisdom. His life was a courageous campaign against intolerance and violence.

We offer our heartfelt condolences to his family and his bereaved nation. We salute his memory. We pledge ourselves anew to the international causes he held dear: peace on earth and goodwill among men.

Thank you.



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Felipe González

SPEECH HELD BY KALEVI SORSA IN HONOUR OF OLOF PALME
Stockholm City Hall, March 15th 1986

In the depths of our minds the finality of Olof Palme's departure cannot be accepted. Everything conspires at times to recall from memory the living personality - a lively gest, the glimt of blue eyes, words like a handclasp.

Most of my memories come from our common Nordic surroundings which he knew so well and loved so much. He had a clear understanding of the fact that the Nordic values, our way of life, democracy and our common achievements had a message for the world - the message of peace, equality and freedom. Of all of us, he was the one whom the world listened to as a bearer of this message.

It was with the same glowing intensity that he worked for the realization of these goals in the Nordic community; in the Nordic Council, in the bilateral nordic contacts - and of course in his own country. The Nordic moral right to demand with sufficient force, that peace and solidarity should be the guiding principles in the international community, that right could only be held according to Olof Palme, if we ourselves could show internal solidarity and the ability to cooperate.

Just as the Nordic nations is a term used with respect in international relations, so too is the term Nordic social democracy respected within the world wide labour movement. Olof Palme's innumerable and well known stand-points and initiatives, his successful ideological efforts both at home and abroad, his blinding skill in political



debate, his infectious commitment - all this made him a central figure in the Socialist International. Under his leadership Swedish social democracy took another step forwards in building up 'the Swedish Peoples Home' - from social and cultural equality progress was made towards realizing economic equality.

International social democracy has carefully followed and will continue to follow after this development, for decades the goals, the struggles and the experience of Swedish social democracy have provided a source of inspiration and encouragement.

The social democratic family's close reciprocity, especially in the Nordic countries, made Olof Palme's political efforts part of our own work.

"Olof Palme has departed." The words send a cold shiver through every Nordic socialdemocrat's breast.

I have had the privilege of knowing Olof Palme as a partner and friend. Till only recently he was described by the press as boyish. Since this fact could not be denied I was forced to think about what this boyishness consisted of - definitely not just physical ease and vivacity. The ability to look fresh - with bright eyes, the ability to give his all with his whole heart and soul, the ability to throw his whole being into working for ideas - many are they who lose these characteristics in the wear and tear of life, but not Olof.

It was this that made my friend a creative person in a way which is granted to few.

Politics is the will to achieve, he said. We will go forward.

Anna Lindh, Chairman of the Social democratic youth of Sweden
Address at Olof Palme's funeral on March 15th, 1986



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We who are young need teachers and people who set an example.

We needed Olof Palme.

Olof Palme liked sharing with other people. In particular, he liked very much sharing things with us youngsters. We who had the opportunity of listening became acquainted with a wealth of experience and knowledge. He presented us with a picture of how a life can be devoted to bettering conditions for other people. Solidarity can become a way of life.

We thank you, Olof Palme, for giving us so much. We thank you for everything you taught us.

We who are young want to believe in the future.

At a time when dread of the threat of nuclear war is growing and when many young people view the future with fear, Olof Palme took our anxiety seriously and changed it into belief in the future and strength to act. He led us in the struggle for détente, disarmament and peace.

Olof Palme's last letter was addressed to the leaders of the superpowers with a request for a ban on all nuclear weapon tests. In the last interview that he gave he said that he hoped that 1986 would be the year of great opportunities.

We thank you, Olof Palme, for your struggle for the future helping us to believe in it.

We who are young need a whole world in which to live.

Olof Palme helped us to see, understand and accept a responsibility also for deplorable conditions outside the confines of our country. As the true humanist he reacted against and fought injustice, oppression and racism. We are many who made our way to the Social Democrats because we found there international solidarity and the spirit of togetherness across the frontiers.

We thank you, Olof Palme, for receiving your help to understand the world and for your giving us so much of your enthusiasm for justice.

We who are young question things.

Olof Palme did not always follow the conventional line, so far and no further. He opened doors instead of merely knocking timorously. He climbed over walls when they barred the road to freedom. He spoke out as his heart dictated instead of saying what others regarded as being suitable.

We thank you, Olof Palme, for showing that politics can also be a piercing cry for justice, a revolt against all that suppresses and paralyses.

We who are young need visions.

Olof Palme showed that politics must be guided by ideas, morals and sensitivity, that politics are more than technique and administration. Olof Palme's



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involvement meant that politics became exciting, that human beings underlying statistics did not disappear, that the vision behind the small reform was not forgotten.

We thank you, Olof Palme, for encouraging us to create visions for the society of the future.

During the last two weeks we have seen how much Olof Palme meant and how greatly he is missed. Very great are the numbers of young people, teenagers, parents with small children who have queued for hours to write their names in the books of condolences, to show their sorrow in tears at the site of the murder, to march in the solemn torchlight processions.

It is their thanks that I now wish to express.

We thank you, Olof Palme,
the Social Democratic youth thank you,
the youth of Sweden and many other countries thank you.

Our thanks to you shall not rest with what is past but will be directed towards the future.

A human being can be murdered but not ideas. Your ideas will go on living through us. We promise that to the best of our ability we shall continue your struggle,
the struggle for peace
and for international solidarity
the struggle for a free and open Sweden without racism
and hatred of foreigners.

We shall thank you by passing on your message as Helga Henschen's poem urges us to do:

Speak
you who still has lips

words can become suns
words can become rivers
words can open gates and build bridges
words can overthrow tyrants
if sufficiently many of us arm ourselves with words

speak speak
that is our duty
towards those who spoke
while they still had lips.

Speech by Willy Brandt at the funeral of Olof Palme
Stockholm, 15.3.1986



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Olof, listening to us if he could, might ask: Aren't you in danger of paying too little attention to what lies ahead of you?

Probably he also would think: It's still nice that comradeship is praised and that friends and not only friends pay attention to what has been essence of my public life.

Today, my farewell-words will not include the term 'statesman'. It should be more than justified, but also too narrow. It would not necessarily include visionary strength and extreme intellectual integrity.

These two weeks did prove how close Olof was to young people, much beyond the Swedish borders - because they did and do sense how great his dedication was to make their survival possible. And what made him such an independent and unconventional leader.

These last two weeks did one more prove how much too simple and even poor is the saying that nobody is irreplaceable. Yes, yes but we also know that some gaps cannot really be closed.

There is an impressing list of leaders with an unusual moral appeal, outstanding fighters for peace and human rights, but who still - or for that very reason - fell victim to deadly violence;

From Abraham Lincoln and Jean Jaurès and Augusto Sandino until Benigno Aquino and Indira Gandhi and - now - Olof Palme. Everyone of them and their category left a most important legacy for the whole of mankind and something to be proud of for their relatives and their colleagues and their fellow-citizens.

In the world-wide family of democratic socialists we have lost a great friend, an untiring and most inspiring homme politique, an outstanding companion in the struggle

- to make peace safer
 - to broaden the areas where people's social as well as individual rights could foster
 - and to bring about some justice, also for those millions of fellow human beings who do not have enough to eat in a world which, better organized, could feed them all.
- Olof called that afternoon which was his second last. He did speak about his time-table, some of his plans, part of what was in the center of his mind:
- if we would meet in Lisbon last - then it was next - week-end, since he had been so close to the democratic openings in Southern Europe
 - that he was looking forward to take part in our International's next Congress, expected to take place in Lima/Peru in June
 - after just having delivered a major speech on South Africa, he was sorry not being able to participate in our meeting in Gaborone next month; he had asked Birgitta Dahl, a member of his cabinet, to represent him

- mainly, of course, his ideas - even stronger after last year's visit to Hiroshima - were circling around how to prevent that the fight for world-peace might be lost, and how the initiatives in which he was involved, could be carried ahead



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Felipe González

- how, for example, he could use contacts with American friends and his forthcoming trip to the Soviet Union to help those hoping that Geneva might find a reasonable follow-up.

Now, we know leaders joining in the five-continents-initiative have decided to go on.

So have members of the Palme Commission. So do we in my former Commission where Olof Palme was such an important and esteemed colleague.

All this is part of his last will.

In the Socialist International we will try to go on where our Vice-President Olof Palme was forced to leave.

We will strengthen our activities against Apartheid and strengthen our fight for justice and solidarity and continue our search for solutions in the East-West-conflict and the North-South crisis. We will add something to the fight for democracy and against the deadly debt-crisis in Latin America. We will speak more loudly about the link between world armament and world hunger.

He was an activist and someone who at the same time had no difficulties in taking the long view. And not to forget about the cultural dimensions. He was able to listen, not just to talk. And he found it easy to join us laughing.

Olof also was a good host. Many among us and the International as such did experience it at various occasions, not least last year when we met at Bommersvik.

This is the hour to say good-bye to a beloved younger brother:
Thank you, Olof thank you for your achievements, for your challenging spirit and for the great example you left for those to follow-up.

May I promise you: There are those of us and of younger friends who know it is not enough to guard dear memories, it's important to keep the flame burning.

Olof will go on living in our hearts and in our work. He will be remembered by European workers and African farmers, by freedom-loving people in Asia, in the Americas, all over the world.

The example given by Olof Palme will further inspire the efforts of those who stryggles for a better future.



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SPEECH HELD BY STIG MALM IN HONOUR OF OLOF PALME
STOCKHOLM CITY HALL SATURDAY 15th MARCH 1986

A friend has departed. We experience a feeling of great emptiness. We look to each other for support, to our families and friends, within our organizations, to the nation. We feel small, perhaps feeble.

But from this sorrow, this sense of loss and the anger we feel, there will grow an insight. This insight comes when we feel that our problems and difficulties weigh heavy and sometimes appear insurmountable. When we realize how small and feeble we are, the insight that we need to cooperate, to stand united, becomes strong. It was the insight into the value of cooperation and unity which provided the basis for a policy of justice and solidarity. It was this policy which made Olof Palme's contribution so very great.

We, the workers of Sweden, wish at this moment when our sorrow is so deep, at this moment when we first begin to grasp what our loss and the sense of emptiness entails, we wish to thank you. We have so many reasons, such cause to express our gratitude.

Many of us bear with us personal memories of Olof Palme. Memories from our workplaces, congresses, public gatherings at Norra Bantorget and at Götaplatsen, in Kolmården and Furuvik. Those memories live in all the People's Houses and all our squares in towns and cities. We have lived together with you, your enthusiasm has inspired us and we have been uplifted by a sense of strong kinship with you.

Together we stand - as a trade union and political movement - together we have built this home for the Swedish people. The social reforms are many, they



touch on every area of our lives. It is only natural that we should remember the democratization of working life. The safety officers of the mineworkers union who have been enabled to protect their comrades. The metal workers who can retire early from a hard working life thanks to the part-time pension scheme. The five weeks holiday which enables the hospital auxiliary to take a well needed rest. But also co-determination, security of employment and the measures passed to assist the elderly and handicapped.

Above all, it is our daily work that the memory of Olof Palme will remain with us. Your contribution, Olof, ensures you a place in our hearts for ever. We know only too well the value of reforms which increase our security, increase justice and freedom for all. Olof Palme stood on the side of the weak and the defenceless.

But his concern was not limited to Sweden. Concern for the defenceless was the hallmark of Olof Palme's international work. This helps to explain why Olof Palme so often emphasized the role of trade unions in promoting democracy - in Poland, in South Africa, in Chile, in almost every country where democracy has been repressed. For those of us working here at home, this effort broadened our perspectives and contributed to our education. International solidarity became something tangible, something living.

Olof Palme made Sweden known in the world, gave us a place on the map. A driving force in his international work was the society which we have built in Sweden. We have much to learn, but perhaps something we can share with others. Olof Palme was an excellent ambassador for the home we call Sweden. He listened and shared



his experiences with others. An ambassador for solidarity and justice whom we have every reason to be proud of.

Olof Palme was well known in the international trade union movement. Union ideas of solidarity matched Olof Palme's views on the relation between people and between states. In both cases it is a question of respect for people's and for small nations' right to determine the course of their own development.

Olof Palme saw clearly the risks and the problems, but despite this he gave us a belief in the future by giving us a picture of a world where there is the hope of a better future and the possibility for all to lead a happy life. That is important in a world where violence and oppression celebrate their victories daily. We need such positive pictures so badly, someone who can restore our hopes. Olof, we needed you so very much longer still.

Olof Palme was a true democrat. He was moreover a democratic leader. He debated, argued his case, persuaded with facts. It was not the role of prime minister or party leader which gave his decisions authority. It was the fact that they had been discussed and tried by fact.

Olof Palme was an heir to all that is best in the Swedish model and in Swedish democracy. Olof Palme's strong commitment to democracy and his absolute freedom from pomposity and the symbols of power deepened the sense of democracy in our hearts and minds.

The images and memories we have of Olof Palme are many. Common to all of them is his involvement, his will to achieve, to react against injustice, his passion



for democracy. The images, the memories may be of occasions great and small, but they are always to be associated with what was important for people.

There are the personal memories which we hold dear in our hearts. We recall them when we feel the need for inspiration and inner strength.

Olof, in life we are so poor at showing our appreciation. We take so much for granted. You stood by us, you were always near to hand when we wanted to talk to someone. We knew you as a true friend.

That friendship will last forever. With all the strength that we can muster we intend to carry on your work. Friendship demands that we continue the struggle for a more just Sweden and the security of our world which was your dream.

We thank you Olof.

INSIDE SWEDEN



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PHOTO: HANS GEDDA.

Olof Palme in memoriam

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Inside Sweden, Barnhusgatan 16, 4 tr., S-105 53 Stockholm, Sweden.
Telephones: 08-796 25 00 (switchboard), 08-796 28 69 (editorial).
Telex: 13712 LABMOV S

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Staff Artist: Evert Karlsson EWK.

Translator and Copy Editor: Victor Kayfetz, SCAN EDIT, San Francisco.

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Sweden mourns



A crowd of more than 10,000 people gathered at Sergels Torg in the heart of Stockholm's business district to honor the memory of their fallen Prime Minister. As this special memorial issue of *Inside Sweden* went to press, Olof Palme's assassin had not yet been found and his motive remained unknown. PHOTO: HÅKAN LINDGREN.

Sweden, March 1, 1986. A chilling wind swept across the land.

The night before, Prime Minister Olof Palme had been assassinated as he and his wife Lisbet walked along a downtown Stockholm street on their way home from a movie.

Political violence had arrived in Sweden. The whole nation was shocked, paralyzed, in mourning.

People gathered for memorial observances on city squares and in churches. The sidewalk where Olof Palme had been gunned down was covered with hundreds of flowers. It was never necessary to proclaim national mourning. It had already

broken out spontaneously.

Condolences arrived from leaders throughout the world. Perhaps only then did we really begin to understand Olof Palme's international stature, his unique position in the Third World in particular but also the respect he had created for himself and for Sweden among the major powers and in the United Nations.

Olof Palme had spoken out on justice, freedom, peace and disarmament. And we realized that the world had listened.

Only two weeks earlier, the Prime Minister had given a speech paying homage to the memory of Mrs. Alva Myrdal, who died on February 1 after a long life of

service to the causes of social equality and peace.

Alva Myrdal lived a long, full life. Olof Palme was snatched away from us in mid-career.

Olof Palme lived and moved close to the people. The heritage of social peace and welfare that we regard as typically Swedish was something he wanted other countries to share.

Sweden is in mourning, and perhaps our country has become a little smaller. But the ideas of Alva Myrdal and Olof Palme survive, and they will be passed on to new generations. □

Tommy Svensson

The Prime Minister who dared to hitchhike

By Sven Lindqvist

Is it really true? It seems impossible, as unreal as a stage play murder. When was a leading Swedish statesman last assassinated? Wasn't it when King Gustav III died from an assassin's bullet during a masked ball in 1792? The bloodstained sidewalk on Sveavägen seems just as unreal.

The Prime Minister of Sweden — assassinated while trudging through the slush on the way between a movie house and the Stockholm subway. He took such risks deliberately. "To be able to live at all, you've also got to take the risk of dying." I can see him in front of me as he said this, sitting at our kitchen table.

He told me how the Security Police car he was once riding in had broke down on the way to Stockholm International Airport at Arlanda. He had to make it in time for a flight. In the old 1950s manner, he stood by the roadside and stuck his thumb out. A car stopped, and while the horrified security police stayed behind, Olof Palme continued out to Arlanda alone with a total stranger — an Iraqi, or maybe it was an Iranian. I don't really remember.

It pleased me greatly that Sweden had a Prime Minister who had hitchhiked to Arlanda. But of course he was taking a risk.

Source of security

During his first year as Prime Minister, Palme left his home telephone number in



Olof Palme died because he wanted to be able to continue being one of us, our equal. PHOTO: BOSSE SCHREIBER.

the Stockholm directory. I remember how incredulous Richard Gott of the British newspaper *The Guardian* was when he saw me step into a telephone booth, look up the Prime Minister in the phone book and dial his home number — and Palme picked up the phone himself and immediately agreed to talk. Richard was not accustomed to that kind of direct contact between rulers and ruled.

I remember the enormous security force surrounding Palme when we traveled together in Mexico, Venezuela and Cuba during the mid-1970s. It felt like an insur-

ferable strait jacket to be surrounded all the time by wailing police sirens and trigger-happy bodyguards. Living constantly with that kind of retinue must change people, blocking the thousands of "capillaries" that connect us with our surroundings.

In order not to lose your human touch, you need the courage to leave your Government bunker and go out to a movie one evening like an ordinary person, then trudge through the melting snow on your way to the subway.

Olof Palme was no ordinary person, of course. He was an unusual phenomenon — an intellectual Prime Minister. Where do you find these if you look around you in other countries? In my opinion, Palme's intellectuality often got in his way as a politician. You could see in his eyes that he always had several different possible answers to choose from when fielding a question. That scared people. It made them distrustful.

To me, it was a source of security. Indeed, it was a great source of security to know that if his policies were wrong — which I often thought they were — in any event it was not because the Prime Minister was lacking in mental capacity or didn't fathom the intellectual rules of the game.

On many occasions, Olof Palme has spoken straight from my own heart. Especially when voicing the legitimate demands of developing countries and when — as in the case of Vietnam or Afghanistan — defending the rights of small states against aggression by the major powers. That was what

we talked about in early February when I met him for the last time. Before his scheduled trip to Moscow, he gave a long interview to the magazine *Afghanistannytt* (Afghanistan News) and expressed his loathing for the Soviet Union's war in Afghanistan. Perhaps this wasn't such a sensible thing for him to do, but it was courageous.

Courageous

For if anything, Palme was a courageous person. I can see him in front of me, dressed in a knee-length fur coat with the soft brown pelt turned out. With his lively eyes, he looked like an overgrown squirrel. The impression was irresistibly comical. No man who was concerned about looking dignified would dare dress like that.

That was what I liked the very best about him. The fact that he never got on his high horse. The fact that he shared a set of intellectual values which stated that the reasons we give are more important than the positions we adopt. He didn't want to become the Olof Palme Position. To avoid that, he trudged through the slush on the way to the subway, just like the rest of us. It was the right thing to do, even if it all ended with a pool of blood in the snow.

We have lost our only great political leader in Sweden. He died because he wanted to be able to continue being one of us, our equal. □

Sven Lindqvist is a writer. This article appeared in the Stockholm newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*.

Olof Palme's ideas were Swedish, but his perspective was global

Fundación
Elaine González

by Gunnar Fredriksson

In Western democracies, Palme represented the concept of the potential of democratic progress in a hostile world. His ideas were basically Swedish, but his perspective was global.

A tremendous tragedy has occurred in Swedish public life. This is the most tragic political assassination in our history.

The man who represented peaceful democratic change, one of the most passionate supporters of progress through democratic persuasion, has fallen victim to political violence of a kind we have not previously experienced in our country.

Encountered violence in Prague

I first met Palme in 1958. In the spring of that year, he visited Lund as secretary to Prime Minister Tage Erlander, whose yearly meeting with students from his alma mater, the University of Lund, were just then becoming a tradition.

In 1956 Olof Palme had helped produce one of the most important ideological articles of the 1950s in Swedish politics, entitled "The Discontent of Rising Expectations".

Palme heard a lot about discontent during his life. But he always regarded the necessary discontent in a democratic society as constructive.

He had begun his political career as a student leader. One of his first bitter experiences was a meeting with student leaders in Prague in 1948. Social Democratic speakers there were vehemently booed and violently silenced. To Palme, it was a crucial experience.

Time and again, he recalled this glimpse at how violence is used to silence meaningful debate and the democratic process.

In the early 1950s, Palme took a trip to Asia as a student leader. He departed from the agreed travel route and strolled through the Asian slums with open, intelligent eyes, and he never forgot it.

The big picture

I often heard Palme tell about these adventures. No one who later followed his argu-



Olof Palme with his wife Lisbet, who was slightly wounded when the Prime Minister was assassinated. PHOTO: LEIF ENGBERG.

Olof Palme was the most prominent politician in modern Swedish history. Today he stands out as our only political leader of genuine international importance.

ments can understand anything about his insights into Third World problems without realizing what these experiences at a sensitive age meant to him.

Along came Tage Erlander during this period and asked "Is Palme a Social Democrat?" That led to a political career.

Palme became one of the most valuable and insightful of Erlander's staff members. He could handle day-to-day political issues, administrative or strategic, and at the same time he could see the big picture, without which politics is never really meaningful.

Olof Palme was always extremely intensive in his arguments. He might still have had his doubts, but once he had made up his mind, he knew what he wanted and he could see the consequences in a very long perspective.

I met Palme now and again over a period of many years, and I have always been amazed at the image of him that his political opponents have presented. If Palme had lived, anyone who wanted to understand would have gained a better picture of his humanity, his sense of humor and his moral integrity.

When Palme visited the Social Democratic student club in Lund during the

years when those of us in my generation were shaping our political views, he used to explain the position of the Left in one European country after the other. He was often but not always optimistic. He always saw the big picture—on global development issues, on disarmament issues, on everything that had to do with development. To him, both Leftist and Rightist dictatorships were equally repulsive.

He was nervous then

In Palme's concept of Social Democracy, democracy came first and socialism second. His socialism was no more remarkable than that of Per Albin Hansson or Hjalmar Branting, yet it was a brand of socialism that stirred the imagination.

It was continuously attacked by ideologists of the Right and Left, most recently by the so-called neoconservatives.

We all remember when Palme was elected party chairman at the Social Democratic Party congress of 1969. I know that he was very nervous. He had really not expected anything like this.

He actually thought that he was just an efficient cabinet minister, not the man to head the Government. Now he took over

the chairmanship of the party in a situation where issues of social equality were in the forefront.

Everyone who dealt with Palme when he was Minister of Transport or Minister of Education can testify that he was an extremely efficient, quick and reliable administrator.

For example I have heard the most prominent shipowners, whose political values certainly differ completely from his, tell how smoothly Palme—as Minister of Transport—could handle issues that concerned them, even when they disagreed.

The very speed of Palme's intellect was an adventure in itself.

You had no chance to doze as he spoke. He often tripped over the unnecessary words, impatiently. There were never dull patches in his conversation.

He seemed to like talking with journalists. He could put them in a good mood or a bad mood, but they were never indifferent. He read prodigiously, and one wondered how he found the time. But he could quote both literary and political sources and he had his own opinions on the thinkers he so quickly penetrated.

Stood for Swedish morality

The last time I spoke with Palme, the topic was neoconservatism. He regarded it as a form of selfishness and he believed that if it would suffer a defeat in any country, that it would be in Sweden.

But for all of us today, Palme is still not primarily a politician who more or less defeated various opponents. In the light of history, such things are secondary, in spite of everything.

Olof Palme stood for a very traditional Swedish political morality, the preservation of shared values, the protection of peaceful development, a society characterized by calm and carefully crafted democratic solutions, where political assassinations should be the most alien concept of all. □

Gunnar Fredriksson is a journalist and former editor-in-chief of the Stockholm evening newspaper *Aftonbladet*, in which this article appeared.

A champion of peace is felled by an assassin's bullets

by Yrsa Stenius

In the so-called Third World, among the liberation movements against the dictatorships of Latin America and Africa, in the young independent nations on the African continent, Olof Palme was an international idol.

He personified the sense of justice and decency that ordinary people dream of in these poor countries, which have been exploited to death for so long by white colonialism, first from Europe, later the United States.

He was the unpretentious, boyish prime minister of one of Europe's most privileged countries, who passionately and honestly stood up on the side of the oppressed in his public declarations and in his assiduous, thankless work in international forums, at the UN, in international commissions, in personal diplomacy involving world leaders.

He was admired by many people who were engaged in working for peace throughout the world. Olof Palme was the head of government who marched on the streets and took part in mass demonstrations, who went out among the people and took part when they formed a human chain miles long by joining hands in a demonstration in support of détente and world peace.

Olof Palme was an international phenomenon that many people defended themselves from by labeling him as moralistic and naive. But a larger number were encouraged by the blue gleam of his strikingly beautiful eyes. His look was firm, tenacious, deliberate.

Olof Palme's passion for international justice was ignited at an early age, when he traveled both west and east. He saw capitalist ruthlessness and communist dictatorship. He saw apparently insuperable political and economic mechanisms crush-

If you traveled in faraway countries — in the United States, Latin America, Africa or Asia — only one Scandinavian political leader was generally known: Olof Palme. If you mentioned Sweden, sometimes people looked confused but then brightened up after a while and said something like "Of course, that's where Olof Palme comes from."

ing people and nations that only dreamed of one thing: to live in peace.

He remained passionate all his life. He made his last public appearance, less than a week before his death, at a "people's parliament" on South Africa in Stockholm. He spoke of how inhuman the persecution in South Africa is. He always spoke in very concrete terms when he talked about international or global matters. He did this purposely, so that people

would not let themselves be fooled by the abstractions and circumlocutions that unjust powers—that-be always surround themselves with.

Bad blood

As we all remember, Olof Palme's direct way of expressing himself sometimes awakened bad blood among those who believe in formalities in order to avoid looking at reality.

For many people, however, Palme's choice of words has etched certain international events permanently into their memories.

As early as 1965, Palme said of the U.S. war in Vietnam: "Crimes will always remain crimes and terror will always remain terror, even if carried out in the name of higher principles... or to defend oneself against something that appears even more abominable."

No Swedish cabinet minister had ever spoken in this way about something that a large, respected nation like the United States had done.

More famous is his statement in December 1972, when he spoke in his capacity as Prime Minister and referred to the American bombing of Hanoi as an evil deed:

"There are many of these in modern history. They are often associated with place names: Guernica, Oradour, Babi Yar, Katyn, Lidice, Sharpeville and Treblinka.

"Violence has triumphed. But the judgment of history has fallen heavily over those who have borne responsibility.

"Now there is another name to add to the list: Hanoi, Christmas 1972."

Spontaneously and passionately, Palme put into words the feelings of ordinary people toward such international tragedies — feelings they could seldom express.

Damned murderers

Four days after the military coup in Chile, Olof Palme said in a speech to fifteen thousand spectators in Gothenburg:

"It is a tragedy that when the poor demand their rights, there stand the soldiers, the propertied, the multinational corporations and the superpowers with their tank brigades and B-52s."

Many of us remember the tense atmosphere in the auditorium of the People's

Hall in Stockholm when Palme, referring to the last round of executions during the Franco regime, declared, "The remarkable thing is that these damned murderers are allowed to continue committing these acts. Europe still has this festering sore from the past."

Palme referred to Gustav Husak, the man who "restored order" in Czechoslovakia, as a "creature of dictatorship." And when the Soviet Union marched into Afghanistan, Palme spoke of "brutal aggression and violation of international law."

These now-classic statements reflect the emotional side of Palme, of a man who always felt and reacted, for whom everything happened close by no matter how distant the events in question might seem to others.

But Olof Palme's international contribution did not consist only of speeches and statements, although we should not underestimate his ability to speak peda-

gogically and with contagious enthusiasm about international political issues.

He worked diligently and in detail on proposals for dealing with major global issues. Especially as a member of the Brandt Commission and as chairman of the Palme Commission, he contributed a lot to the promising new thinking that has taken place in these fields during the past decade.

Both the Brandt Commission and the Palme Commission began their work at the initiative of the Socialist International. The former group analyzed the relationships between poor and rich countries in the world. In 1980 it published a lengthy report on the reasons for economic imbalances and a long list of proposals for changes. Not many of them have been implemented, because the fundamental problems are intertwined with the prevailing power structure of the world.

But the Commission openly referred to economic oppression as oppression, also revealing its mechanisms.

A corridor

The Palme Commission examined the world's security policy problems and published a report called *Common Security*. Its main thesis was that a nuclear war can never be won, and world security can consequently not be based on a balance of terror. Instead the superpowers, quite independently of ideological conflicts, must learn to understand each other's fundamental security policy interests and create a mutual thrust that enables both sides to respect each other's interests. The report also contained a strategy for achieving this by advancing from very small confidence-building measures to major disarmament projects.

By the time both commissions had completed their work, Olof Palme was intensively involved in presenting some of their specific proposals to limited groups of nations.

Sweden's initiative regarding a European corridor free of tactical nuclear weapons is one example. Another larger-scale proposal is the so-called Five Continent Initiative, in which the governments of Sweden, India, New Zealand, Tanzania and Mexico jointly called for an end to the continued build-up of nuclear weapons.

In addition, Palme used his whole far-flung network of personal contacts with leading statesmen in practically all countries to continue working for the fundamental concept of common security. His immense fund of knowledge and experience, his multilingual skills and negotiating experience and his strong personality — combined with the fact that he represented a small, neutral country — made him extremely useful as a kind of informal peace broker and messenger between countries. And not just informal. The United Nations appointed him formally as a mediator in the Iran-Iraq war.

Non-violence

Olof Palme used his political imagination and courage to try to achieve international changes of attitude in conflicts where world leaders had become rigidly fixed in their views.

He was the first Western head of government to seek contact with PLO leader Yassir Arafat, he appeared together with Fidel Castro in Cuba, and he established contact with the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. He preached democracy and non-violence, but he also understood the struggle against

oppression and people's desperation. Everywhere in the world, he sought to create openings where there were rigid confrontations.

In recent years, however, Olof Palme made the struggle for peace and disarmament his main interest. He was obviously inspired by his experiences from the Palme Commission: Even leading representatives of the superpowers could listen to arguments and learn from each other's opinions.

With all the passion Olof Palme was capable of, he spoke not only to world leaders but also to full auditoriums at People's Halls all around Sweden, spreading his message: A nuclear war only has losers. There are no limited nuclear wars. Those of us who live in countries without nuclear weapons have not asked to be protected by any nuclear umbrella. It is our right and our duty to demand that nuclear weapons never be used.

Trusted people

A week before his death we were there — a group of journalists — in his office at Rosenbad in Stockholm. He was happy and optimistic about his upcoming trip to Moscow. The signals from the Kremlin were encouraging, and the White House didn't seem entirely inflexible either. He thought he could accomplish something.

When we left, he stayed in his chair in his characteristic pose, waiting for the U.S. ambassador: He was going to do a little probing.

Now he is no more.

Among the absurd paradoxes of life and death is that Olof Palme, who had risked his life in dangerous assignments all around the world, spilled his blood on Sveavägen in Stockholm. He died because he trusted people.

Also among the paradoxes of life and death is that it is our duty to continue doing the same. □



"I believe that somehow we children understood Olof Palme better than you adults." These words from a grieving young school girl give some indication of the late Prime Minister's reputation among children as a champion of peace. In the photo, Mr. Palme is seen joining hands with members of the "Children for Peace" organization. The signs read "Peace and freedom" and "We want peace on our earth — we have to work together. Stop the arms race."

PHOTO: ULF RIGNER.

Yrsa Stenius is the editor-in-chief of the Stockholm evening newspaper *Aftonbladet*, in which this article appeared.

The new Prime Minister joins crowds of mourners

Fundación
Felipe González



"Who killed our peace dove?" A young "punk" girl wrote these words on a drawing of a white dove she had made. She placed it carefully behind the police barrier on the spot where Olof Palme had been murdered late on the evening of February 28, near the corner of Sveavägen and Tunnelgatan in central Stockholm. Her words captured the feelings of thousands of mourners, who publicly expressed their shock and devastation after learning of their great loss and of the terrible, bloody deed that had caused it. Their faces showed grief and anger, sorrow and helplessness. PHOTO: JACOB FORSELL.



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Ingvar Carlsson during the memorial service for Olof Palme in downtown Stockholm on March 1. Mr. Carlsson has taken over as acting chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Party and as Prime Minister. PHOTO) ROGER TURESSON.

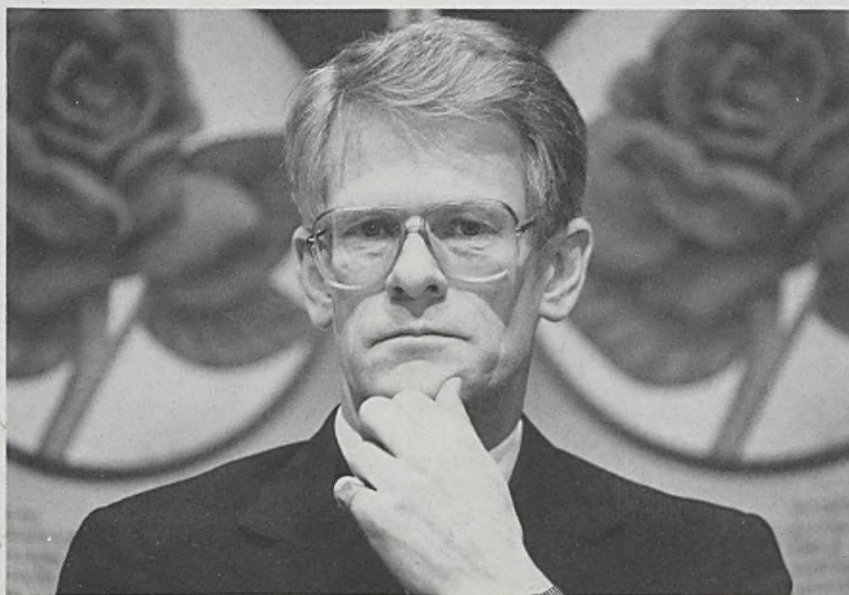


Ingvar Carlsson takes over

Ingvar Carlsson was born on November 9, 1934, in Borås, a city in Älvsborg County near Gothenburg best known for its textiles industry. After completing commercial high school he studied political science at Lund University, graduating in 1958.

Between 1958 and 1960 Mr. Carlsson was an assistant to the then Prime Minister, Tage Erlander, at the Cabinet Office. After studies at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, U.S.A., he was elected chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Youth League (SSU). In 1967 he became an Undersecretary at the Cabinet Office, in 1969 he was appointed Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs and in 1973 he became Minister of Housing.

In 1982, when the Social Democrats returned to office after six years in opposition, Ingvar Carlsson became the Prime Minister's personal deputy and was put in charge of policy planning. In addition, he was made responsible for coordinating



Ingvar Carlsson, 51, the new head of Government, will continue the policies of Olof Palme. PHOTO: OLLE SEIBOLD.

science and research policy, a task which earned him the popular nickname "Minister for the Future".

He became Minister for the Environment in 1985, a post which he combined

with the deputy premiership and his continued responsibility for coordinating science policy.

Meanwhile Mr. Carlsson was elected to the Lower Chamber of the Swedish Parlia-

ment in 1964 and has remained an M.P. in the current one-chamber legislature. Between 1971 and 1974 he was chairman of the Stockholm County District of the Social Democratic Party. He has served on the Party Executive since 1972 and was appointed party chairman on March 3, 1986, succeeding the slain Prime Minister Olof Palme.

Mr. Carlsson was also chairman of the task force which submitted the Social Democratic economic program, *A Future for Sweden*, to the 1981 party congress. Prior to the 1984 congress he headed the group that prepared the ideological program entitled *The Future in the Hands of the People - Social Democratic Program for Citizenship and Freedom of Choice*.

Ingvar Carlsson takes a keen interest in sports and is a fan of the Älvsborg Athletic Association's teams. His wife Ingrid is a librarian and they have two daughters, Ingela and Pia, born in 1962 and 1964 respectively. □

A black and white portrait of an elderly woman with short, wavy, light-colored hair. She is looking directly at the camera with a slight smile. Her right hand is resting against her chin and cheek. She is wearing a dark, possibly black, jacket. On her right wrist, she has a watch with a dark strap and a light-colored, textured face. A large, ornate ring with a dark, patterned stone is visible on her right ring finger. The background is dark and out of focus. The image is framed by a dark border.

Alva Myrdal (1902–1986) was best known as Sweden's chief delegate to the Geneva disarmament talks, but also served as a cabinet minister without portfolio and as ambassador to India. She received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1982. From 1981 until her death, she was chairman of the Peace Forum of the Swedish Labor Movement. PHOTO: CLAS GÖRAN CARLSSON.

She had such clear eyes

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Alva Myrdal had very clear eyes. They reflected the clarity of her thinking, the orderly and methodical way she handled every project, the happy faith in reason that carried her through life.

In her eyes, you also encountered warmth, thoughtfulness, her ability to understand the situation of others. You felt encompassed not only by her thoughts but also by her heart. "You and I have something important in common," she seemed to want to say.

That's why people liked her, accepted the fact that her thoughts were so far-reaching and bold. The remarkable thing is that a person like Alva, who was so far ahead of her time, was nonetheless so beloved by her contemporaries.

Many people regarded her as a role model, an ideal, almost saintly. Of course Alva was a human being with faults and shortcomings like anybody else. Yet it is correct to regard her as a good example. She consistently put her thoughts and feelings at the service of the public, the people, humanity. Throughout her life, she never lost her faith in people, her conviction that it is possible to improve the world. Alva Myrdal was unique.

Early in their youth, Alva and Gunnar Myrdal began the brilliant working partnership which carried them through such a broad spectrum of endeavors. In one letter to Gunnar, Alva once wrote of the "intoxication of work, whose ambition is to do an honest job for the great ideals that once compelled us to undertake this task."

Children

Their 1934 book *Kris i befolkningsfrågan* (Crisis in the Population Issue) presented the guidelines for large portions of modern Swedish social welfare policy. Children should be welcome, should grow up in a secure and happy environment, have a good upbringing, good day care centers

Olof Palme's speech at the memorial ceremony for Alva Myrdal, February 16, 1986.

and schools. Women should be free and independent. Alva was a pathbreaker, both in debate and in her practical actions.

This is what she wrote more than 50 years ago: "When children do not fit into cities, the proper path is not to abolish children but to change the cities."

"The family should not be replaced by the public sector, but merely receive its help and support in the often difficult struggle for the care and upbringing of children."

And again: "As for the child we are given to raise — be it the infant welcomed by its parents or the new pupils welcomed by a schoolmistress — there is only one important thing to know: this child is a miracle. The human child as such is the greatest miracle of creation. And each individual child is, moreover, a world of subtle secrets, a personality, a never-repeated, non-recurring phenomenon on this earth."

These are the words of the woman with whose dedicated help hundreds of thousands of non-recurring phenomena received a better start in life.

Women

Alva always spoke of women's liberation as something positive for everyone. She described "the enormous added power we would gain if women were allowed to participate in the economic, social and cultural life of their countries."

She was, of course, accused of being an aggressive advocate of women's rights. More than 40 years ago, she replied as follows: "The more you exaggerate so-called femininity, the more completely you deprive men of the tender, considerate, gentle role for which they too have the natural prerequisites."

In 1944 she wrote: "And now I arrive at

my favorite thesis, which I am almost afraid to repeat: six hours of work a day for both man and wife, that's still only twelve hours compared to eight if only he works. Then imagine what wonderful leisure hours they can enjoy together. Home, together with their children, for everyone's enjoyment and mutual help. Then they would not have to play the masculine and feminine roles that have been forced on them, but could give and enjoy their fair share of humanity."

To Alva, a six-hour day was a question of making people happy.

Alva played an important part in the practical task of achieving social equality — as a pathbreaker and reformer. Just as importantly, she gave self-confidence to women and was living proof of the slogan "We can, we will, we dare!"

Peace

Alva Myrdal was a magnificent representative of Sweden. She saw far beyond our borders — to the unfathomable poverty of starving countries, to the persecuted people of South Africa.

She devoted the last decades of her life primarily to the struggle for peace and disarmament, and against the horror of nuclear weapons. She understood what it took to work toward peace. You need knowledge. She made heavy demands on herself in that respect. You have to be strong. The weak resort to violence. The strong want peace. You need patience and a burning conviction. This is what she wrote: "Pessimism is no good as a working hypothesis, except for historians who work after the fact. Those of us who live and want to work for the future must suppress those doubts that border on despair."

Alva Myrdal inspired hope and confi-

dence in the future. She represented what was indestructible, stubbornly durable, forward-looking. She relied more and more on public opinion, on the desire of ordinary people for security, as a powerful force in working toward peace. In 1980, when she received the Albert Einstein Peace Prize, she said: "Many more people must learn not to give up their opposition to all forces which are opposed to peace, to cooperation, to life and love. Despite all disappointments I have never allowed myself to feel resigned. This is my message today: Giving up is not worthy of a human being."

This remains Alva Myrdal's message. It lives. It must be passed on by the millions of people who long for peace, until nuclear weapons and wars and cruelty have disappeared from the earth, the seas and outer space.

Good sense

Alva Myrdal used to say that the red thread running through her life was the struggle for social equality, justice and peace. Of course this is correct. We can also say that the thread was her conviction that with the help of knowledge and good sense and feelings, it is possible to improve the world. She set about this task with all the cool objectivity with which she concealed the heat of her feelings.

When you talk about Alva Myrdal, people become inspired. To them, she signifies happiness about life's potential, a bright faith in the future. A person can hardly hope for a better monument.

Her life was exuberantly rich. She had the opportunity to make lasting contributions in many fields. Her love of her fellow humans was answered by admiration and devotion.

Sweden's Social Democrats pay homage to Alva Myrdal for the radiance and cheerfulness of her personality, the strength of her convictions and the power and breadth of her accomplishments. □



Olof Palme, 1927–1986. PHOTO: KAJ REHN.

*O God, who in Jesus Christ comes to us unarmed,
yet stronger than all worldly power,
Shocked and confounded we come to you.
Break the vicious circle of violence,
as you alone are able.
Into your hands we commit Olof Palme,
his life and his work.
Let us not grieve as had we no hope.
Protect Sweden, her land and her people these days.*

*In Jesus' Name
Amen*

Prayer written by the Bishop of Stockholm, Krister Stendahl, and read at all Church of Sweden services on Sunday, March 2, 1986.



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CANSLON | FG

C. Agradecer haber venido.
Entiendo difícil
Hemos podido ver 1^{er} Mo
amigo.

Resulta difícil imaginar por OP
ya no está con nosotros.
Si entendemos algo sobre
dicho "El Trabajo tiene
se repite adentro".
Sus amigos han venido

F.C. Me cuenta Rodolfo
para que venga a entender
y no veo - failure.
Hace 12 años me senté
en el camp.

Paralelamente venido con
felpe también.

Hebíamos pensado de
hacerse de la comunicación política

En España el golpe hecho
Tremendo.



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Aplicante del seguro de Piedad

+ 2

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Queremos seguir manteniendo
ordenar como antes.

Y queremos seguir en lo
que podemos por el bienestar
del hecho

Todos necesitamos saber

C. En este caso se ve
esto. A pesar de lo malo
de OP las relaciones son fa-
vorable por repensar
por el buen camino.

Trabajo en ambas unidades

Desarrollar

Desarrollar

Desde Exterior

C como ve la situación en
Nicaragua. y se sorprende
velo tiempos.

Peren desde una posición
táctica que llega a ser
una posición débil.

Yo no puedo comprender
ese espíritu.
Pero eso se le determina
anteriormente de intención esto
otro

El nuevo foto cronos
político. (la crisis del petate)

2. pues / estar en situación crítica
Castro

Desde luego no hay una
determinación infuente. para
patir la situación
Castro, Hordos, demuestran
debilidad en dependencia.

No voy optando - y la
política sigue mala de
Narcando.

Cuanto le paguen Nelson
los puros los sube más del
100 %

blancos 50 %

Porque es mas barato
que antes de la Revolución

Hay una injusticia que los
oprimen -

La la Constitución se
puede producir algo de un
poro

El único punto de equilibrio se
puede encontrar en Europa.

C fe puede hacer mucho
en apoyo de I.S.

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F.G. Mayor cooperación
Algo con el Plan Sanitario
en otros terrenos

Ej. Cafe (Comprar la cosecha)
por adelantado

Los sindicatos tienen que hacer
una apuesta por el plurilingüismo
y no perderla

USA no tiene fear power
por saber si el Depue es
democrático o no que ni
este momento con el Este o no
los países no ~~se~~ han vola-
dotes.

Habla con Dilep tiene una
idea - > le dice que no le
representa nada

¿e haría ?.

El único aspecto que
puede ser una innovación
es el de la Opinión Pública
Mundial.

Lo que se propone a los
VSD es la Opinión Pública

c) Se podría fortalecer
este Opinión Pública en la
alineación con los países.

PG - Formar comités de trabajo.

Se no tuviera medio
a la libertad poder hacer
lo que quisieran.

MAE ¿se podían hacer con
los líderes sandinistas para que
cambiar de rumbo?

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FLC. Yo creo que hay que insistir

que no hubiese argumentos para
los USA en cuanto a los derechos
democráticos. Es ~~es~~ muy una política

El elemento clave es si la
resolución va a ser planteada o no

C Yo le pedí por el Referendum
Como se ha producido el
cambio del Veto.

FC. Rápido.

F.G. Te dije por un + ①
momento y me
fue - Fundación
Felipe González

DO Se ha avanzado en
Acuerdos bilaterales con Costa Rica
& Honduras lo he aceptado en
principio.

F.C. Se pueden ir más
para -

DO Para Miguel Esto
completa de la cosa -
No defiendo la Rev. Nueva
pero en contra de la política de
Reagan. Algo le son a propósito
pero solo delimitado.

Hemos hecho operamos en todas
hardwares sobre la cultura
& no la calidad humana.

Hemos hablado con los Comendados (2)
pe con los mas Representativos.
Yo lo hablé con Carlos
estuvo allí.

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Tenemos que contar con los partidos
que hay en la Asamblea para
que salga de allí una propuesta
para ~~de~~ elaboración de la constitución
en la
participación de los.

— Hablar de los problemas
con la España.

Do lea se le interesa de
Reagan no es buena.

Credito - Tenemos problemas serios
mucho de credito con el de

20 Como hacer para que siempre haya
incidencia en el area -
Florida, Costa Rica y las
ayudas que no se dan por
parte dependiente de las
USA -

—
Instituto c. n. e. Managua

—
Otro punto es que se intentó
por el way - el caso de d -
de la S.S.

FC
2 free haramas
hacer ?

free products

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ASUNTO: Telegrama de agradecimiento por la felicitación del Presidente con motivo de su
última victoria electoral.

Fecha entrada: 25-10-85

Fecha contestación:

Fundación
Felipe González

IR 17

PRESIDENCIA DEL GOBIERNO

25 OCT 1985

GABINETE TELEGRAFICO

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ETATPRIORITE

EXCMO SR FELIPE GONZALEZ MARQUEZ

PRESIDENTE DEL GOBIERNO

MADRID

QUERIDO FELIPE

TE AGRADEZCO DE TODO CORAZON TU CORDIAL MENSAJE DE FELICITACION
POR NUESTRA VICTORIA ELECTORAL QUE ES LA DE LA SOCIALDEMOCRACIA.
RECIBE UN FRATERNAL ABRAZO Y MIS MEJORES DESEOS DE PAZ Y
PROSPERIDAD PARA LA NACION ESPANOLA.

OLOF PALME

PRIMER MINISTRO

ASUNTO: Telegrama del Presidente felicitando a Olof Palme por su victoria en la Elecciones Generales suecas de 1985.

Fecha entrada:

Fecha contestación: 16-9-85

053.18.01

Fundación
Felipe González



PRESIDENCIA DEL GOBIERNO
PALACIO DE LA MONCLOA
GABINETE TELEGRAFICO

TELEGRAMA

170000



DE: PRESIDENTE DEL GOBIERNO

EXCMO. SR. OLOF PALME
A: PRIMER MINISTRO DE SUECIA
ESTOCOLMO

TEXTO:

Querido Olof:

He recibido con gran alegría la noticia de vuestro triunfo electoral en las elecciones de ayer domingo.

La confianza que ha otorgado una vez más el pueblo sueco al Partido Socialdemócrata es una muestra de tu acertada gestión de Gobierno, que podrás continuar durante un nuevo mandato.

Aprovecho esta ocasión para enviarte un fuerte abrazo fraternal y mis mejores deseos de paz y prosperidad para la nación sueca.

Felipe González Márquez





NOTA INTERIOR

URGENTE

PRESIDENCIA DEL GOBIERNO

DE: Director Departamento Internacional A: Secretario Presidente Gobierno

su referencia

FECHA: 16-9-85

n/referencia

A S U N T O

Telegrama felicitación a Olof
Palme

Adjunto te remito un proyecto de telegrama del Presidente felicitando a Olof Palme.

Observaciones



PRESIDENCIA DEL GOBIERNO
PALACIO DE LA MONCLOA
GABINETE TELEGRAFICO

TELEGRAMA



Fundación
Felipe González

DE: PRESIDENTE DEL GOBIERNO

EXCMO. SR. OLOF PALME
A: PRIMER MINISTRO DE SUECIA
ESTOCOLMO

TEXTO:

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Felipe González Márquez.





GABINETE DE LA PRESIDENCIA
DEL GOBIERNO

DEPARTAMENTO INTERNACIONAL



Fundación
Felipe González

PROYECTO DE TELEGRAMA DEL PRESIDENTE DEL GOBIERNO AL PRIMER
MINISTRO SUECO.

Excmo. Sr. Olof Palme
Primer Ministro de Suecia
ESTOCOLMO

Madrid, 16.9.85

Querido Olof:

He recibido con gran alegría la noticia de vuestro
triunfo electoral en las elecciones de ayer domingo.

La confianza que ha otorgado una vez más el pueblo
sueco al Partido Socialdemócrata es una muestra de tu acer-
tada gestión de Gobierno, que podrás continuar durante un -
nuevo mandato.

Aprovecho esta ocasión para enviarte un fuerte abra-
zo fraternal y mis mejores deseos de paz y prosperidad para
la nación sueca.

Felipe González

ASUNTO: Carta de Olf Palme sobre Plan Contadora Sanitario

FECHA: 9 de septiembre de 1985





NOTA INTERIOR



PRESIDENCIA DEL GOBIERNO

DE: Asesor Departamento Internacional A: Secretario Presidente Gobierno

su referencia

FECHA:

9.9.1985

n/referencia JRS/mfr

A S U N T O

Remite carta Primer Ministro sueco.

Adjunto te remito el original de la carta que Olof Palme dirige al Presidente del Gobierno con fecha 21 del pasado agosto y que nos ha entregado la Embajada sueca en Madrid.

El tema del escrito es la conferencia "Plan Contadora Sanitario" y he dado traslado de copia del mismo al Secretario de Estado - de Cooperación y al Subsecretario de Sanidad.

Incl.:

719
José Rodríguez-Spiteri

Observaciones



EL PRIMER MINISTRO

Fecha

Reg.



21 de agosto de 1985 Fun3833/85
Felipe González

Excmo. Sr. Felipe González
Presidente del Gobierno
MADRID

Querido amigo,

Quiero, en primer lugar, agradecerle sinceramente la carta de 4 de junio de 1985 relativa a la conferencia de ministros de sanidad en favor de Centroamérica que va a celebrarse en Madrid.

Como bien sabe el Gobierno sueco apoya el trabajo del grupo de Contadora para llegar a una salida negociada de la crisis centroamericana. También consideramos importante el tratar de eliminar las causas economico-sociales que están en la base del conflicto. La ayuda humanitaria que prestamos a la región y la cooperación bilateral con Nicaragua son expresión de esta manera de pensar.

Vemos pues con interés la iniciativa tomada por los países del grupo de Contadora en colaboración con la Organización Panamericana de Salud (O.P.S.). El Gobierno sueco acepta con satisfacción la invitación a la conferencia de ministros de sanidad que se celebrará en Madrid del 7 al 9 de octubre de 1985.

La ministra de sanidad Gertrud Sigurdson representará al Gobierno sueco en dicha conferencia.

Aprovecho la ocasión para enviarle un afectuoso saludo y mis mejores deseos de paz y prosperidad para su nación.

Olof Palme

Olof Palme



Fundación
Felipe González

ASUNTO: Carta del Presidente invitándole a asistir al XIV Congreso de la Unión de Partidos Socialistas de la Comunidad Europea durante los días 9 y 10 de abril.

Fecha entrada:

Fecha contestación: 22 de marzo de 1.985.



**Partido Socialista
Obrero Español**

Secretaría General



Fundación
Felipe González

Madrid, 22 de marzo de 1.985

To the
Leader of the Sveriges Socialdemokratiska
Arbetareparti
Olof PALME
Sveavägen 68
S-10560 ESTOCOLMO (SUECIA)

Querido compañero:

Como usted ya conoce, los días 9 y 10 de abril se celebrará en Madrid el XIV Congreso de la Unión de Partidos Socialistas de la Comunidad Europea.

En mi condición de Secretario General del PSOE y anfitrión del mencionado Congreso, es para mí un honor invitarle a participar en el mismo.

Este importante acontecimiento, que reúne periódicamente a los partidos socialistas de los países comunitarios, junto con los de España y Portugal, se vería, sin duda, realzado si las negociaciones de adhesión de España y Portugal a la Comunidad hubiesen concluido satisfactoriamente para esas fechas.

Por todo ello, nos gustaría contar con su presencia en Madrid y su participación en el Congreso.

En espera de su respuesta afirmativa, reciba un fraternal saludo,

Felipe González Márquez.
Secretario General del PSOE



ASUNTO: Carta del Presidente en relación con el viaje realizado por Olof Palme a España.

Fecha entrada:

Fecha contestación: 26-11-84

Observaciones: Alude a una carta de Olof Palme de 16-10-84



Fundación
Felipe González

EL PRESIDENTE DEL GOBIERNO



Madrid, 26 de noviembre de 1.984

Excmo. Sr. Olof Palme
Primer Ministro de Suecia
ESTOCOLMO

Querido Olof:

Me apresuro a responder a tu carta de 16 de octubre, que aprecio particularmente por el tono cordial y afectuoso en el que están redactadas sus líneas.

Me alegra que guardes un buen recuerdo de tu visita a la nueva España democrática. Quise en todo momento que ella tuviera un realce particular, por la personalidad destacada del Primer Ministro de Suecia, por la amistad personal que me une a tí y por el hecho de que nuestros países estén gobernados en estos momentos por Gobiernos socialistas. Por ello me esforcé para que tu estancia entre nosotros rebasara el mero ámbito protocolario y se insertase en el marco del reencuentro histórico entre nuestros dos países.

Para mí también constituyó un privilegio el poder intercambiar puntos de vista contigo de forma reposada y sin prisas, sobre diferentes temas de actualidad.

Te agradezco tu reiterada invitación para visitar Suecia a finales de la primavera, que me brinda la oportunidad de un pronto reencuentro.

Recibe, en nombre de Carmen y mío, un cordial y afectuoso saludo, extensivo a tu esposa Lisbet,

Felipe González Márquez.



GABINETE DE LA PRESIDENCIA
DEL GOBIERNO

DEPARTAMENTO INTERNACIONAL



Fundación
Felipe González

PROYECTO DE CARTA-RESPUESTA DE SEÑOR PRESIDENTE DEL
GOBIERNO AL PRIMER MINISTRO DE SUECIA, OLOF PALME.-

Querido Olof:

Me apresuro a responder a tu carta de 16 de octubre, que aprecio particularmente por el tono cordial y afectuoso en el que están redactadas sus líneas.

Me alegra que guardes un buen recuerdo de tu visita a la nueva España democrática. Quise en todo momento que ella tuviera un realce particular, por la personalidad destacada del Primer Ministro de -- Suecia, por la amistad personal que me une a tí y -- por el hecho de que nuestros países estén gobernados en estos momentos por Gobiernos socialistas. Por -- ello me esforcé para que tu estancia entre nosotros rebasara el mero ámbito protocolario y se insertase en el marco del reencuentro histórico entre nuestros dos países.

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Te agradezco tu reiterada invitación para visitar Suecia a finales de la primavera, que me brinda la oportunidad de un pronto reencuentro.

Recibe, en nombre de Carmen y mío, un cordial y afectuoso saludo, extensivo a tu esposa Lisbet.

Felipe González
Presidente del Gobierno Español



NOTA INTERIOR



PRESIDENCIA DEL GOBIERNO

DE: DIRECTOR DEPARTAMENTO INTERNACIONAL

A: SECRETARIA PRESIDENTE GOBIERNO

su referencia

FECHA:

22.11.84.

n/referencia

A S U N T O

PROYECTO CARTA RESPUESTA SR. PRESIDENTE
A CARTA OLOF PALME

Te envío un proyecto de carta de respuesta del Sr. Presidente a la carta de agradecimiento que le ha enviado el Primer Ministro de Suecia, Olof Palme. Confío en que hayamos acertado en plasmar en ella el tono deseado por el Presidente.

Observaciones

ASUNTO: Documentos varios sobre Olof Palme, procedentes del archivo de Julio Feo.

FECHA: 1984 - 1986.





Fundación
Felipe González

Escribe Olof Palme, enviando un informe de su ultimo viaje a Centro America, dónde visitó oficialmente Méjico, Nicaragua y Costa Rica. Este viaje le proporcionó una visión nueva de la actual situación en éste área conflictiva, lo que resume en el informe adjunto.

En Managua, le pidieron si era posible que los Gobiernos Europeos hicieran un llamamiento para detener la agresión contra Nicaragua durante la campaña electoral. El contestó que estaba a favor y ha mencionado el tema a Willy Brandt, pensando que quizás se podía hacer cargo de este tema la Internacional Socialista.

Adjunta informe confidencial sobre su visita a Mejico, Nicaragua y Costa Rica.



PRIME MINISTER

Date
Stockholm, February 22, 1984

Dnr
Fundación
Felipe González

PRESIDENCIA
DEL
GOBIERNO
REGISTRO

1-03-84

5789/466

Excmo. Sr. Felipe González
Presidente del Gobierno
Presidencia del Gobierno
Palacio de la Moncloa
MADRID 3

Dear friend,

Ten days ago I concluded a journey to Central America, where I made an official visit to Mexico followed by working visits to Nicaragua and Costa Rica. It was an extremely rewarding trip in the sense that it gave many new insights into the current situation in that troubled area. My collaborators have made an English summary of the report from this journey that may be of interest to you, and I enclose a copy for your personal information.

When we were in Managua, we were asked if the European Governments could not make an appeal to stop aggression against Nicaragua during the election campaign. I said that I was in favor of such a "moratorium for the contras". I have touched upon it in a statement in connection with yesterday's election announcement, and I have mentioned to Willy Brandt that perhaps the Socialist International could take up this matter.

Yours sincerely,

Olof Palme

10 de febrero 1984

Fundación
Felipe González

Discurso pronunciado por el Primer Ministro, Olof Palme, en la ciudad de Rivas (Nicaragua) con motivo de la inauguración de un hospital construido con ayuda sueca

Estimado amigo, comandante de la Revolución
Daniel Ortega, Coordinador de la Junta de Gobierno.
Amigos.

Es para mí una gran alegría poder dirigirme hoy a ustedes. Es la primera vez que visito Nicaragua-la tierra de Darío y de Sandino - un país sobre el que hoy se concentran las miradas del mundo.

Por muchas razones, mi país y el suyo se han acercado uno a otro en los últimos años. Ahora yo he venido para profundizar la fraternidad que une a nuestros países, para mostrar la solidaridad de Suecia con los esfuerzos de Nicaragua en la defensa de su soberanía y su integridad territorial y para subrayar nuestro apoyo al afán por desarrollar la democracia política y la justicia social.

Seguimos con atención la heroica lucha del pueblo de Nicaragua contra la dictadura de Somoza. El verano de 1979 vimos como aquel régimen tiránico se iba debilitando paulatinamente y el 19 de julio compartimos su alegría por la caída de la dictadura. Amanecía un nuevo día en Nicaragua.

El Gobierno sueco y el pueblo sueco a través de sus movimientos populares, manifestaron una inmediata disposición para expresar su solidaridad con esta evolución, con acciones prácticas. En los lugares más recónditos de Suecia, en las ciudades y en los lugares de trabajo, se iniciaron colectas y acciones de solidaridad.

El nuevo régimen de Nicaragua impresionó por la determinación con que inmediatamente abordó los problemas más acuciantes del país. La primera tarea fue la de enseñar a leer y escribir. Como contribución a la campaña de alfabetización se inició en Suecia, bajo la consigna "Luz para Nicaragua", una gran colecta nacional. La respuesta fue masiva. El movimiento obrero sueco envió 50 000 lámparas de gas como ayuda a su campaña de alfabetización.

A partir de aquel principio la ayuda sueca a Nicaragua se ha ido desarrollando. Nuestro apoyo a los esfuerzos de Nicaragua por alcanzar un desarrollo económico en beneficio de la mayoría se expresa ahora en un programa a largo plazo que planifica la colaboración entre nuestros países, un programa que a partir de 1979 ha alcanzado la cifra de 300 millones de coronas, es decir unos 500 millones de cordobas. Nuestra cooperación se



derecho internacional. La soberanía y la integridad territorial de Nicaragua deben ser respetadas.

Nicaragua tiene ahora la posibilidad de demostrar que no hay razón para que una revolución quede petrificada en sus dogmas y en el gobierno de una minoría, tiene la posibilidad de que la legitimidad revolucionaria pase a un nuevo estadio con la participación de todo el pueblo, es decir, la legitimidad de las urnas.

Ustedes han definido las metas de la revolución nicaragüense: democracia política, pluralismo, no alineamiento y economía mixta. Todos comprendemos que es un proyecto difícil en tiempos difíciles. Pero no existe otro camino: a la larga ninguna sociedad se puede desarrollar de una manera sana sin que sus ciudadanos tengan la posibilidad de construir su propio futuro.

Es imposible comparar a Nicaragua y Suecia. Mi país se ha librado del azote de las guerras y dictaduras durante muchas generaciones. Pero, puedo decirles que, no hace mucho tiempo, Suecia era uno de los países más pobres de Europa. Una dura sociedad clasista. Los ciudadanos lograron cambiar su situación gradualmente por medio de una lucha política y sindical donde la solidaridad jugó un papel decisivo. Aprendimos una cosa la condición indispensable para llevar hacia adelante el desarrollo es la existencia de ciudadanos conscientes, críticos y activos. Y hasta que el individuo con todas sus particularidades y sus sueños, no pueda influir en la toma de decisiones, la democracia no podrá echar raíces firmes y no podrá construirse una sociedad donde reinen la armonía y la justicia.

Ustedes están ahora preparando elecciones democráticas en Nicaragua, las primeras en la historia de su país. Todos los verdaderos demócratas siguen con interés y fascinación el proceso que han puesto en marcha. Estamos convencidos de que un pueblo sólo puede lograr un progreso económico y social duradero con formas democráticas respetando la libertad de reunión y expresión y después de unas elecciones generales, libres y equitativas. Al llevar a cabo este proceso la revolución nicaragüense puede reafirmar su carácter genuinamente democrático y demostrar al mundo que en ella caben todos los grupos sociales, independientemente de su religión, tradiciones, culturas y funciones sociales.

Estimado Amigo Comandante, Amigos,

Suecia es un país pequeño y no alineado.

¿Por que seguimos con tanto interés la evolución política de Centroamérica? Los sufrimientos que causan la violencia de la guerra, la gran pobreza y la explotación, nos llenan de indignación. Porque nosotros somos también una parte de la gran familia humana.



países centroamericanos. Por ello nosotros y la comunidad internacional sentimos una gran satisfacción. Nicaragua también ha presentado propuestas concretas de gran valor a este proceso. Tenemos la esperanza de que el trabajo de transformación de estos principios en medidas concretas de paz, avance con rapidez. Suecia apoya resueltamente los esfuerzos en pro de la paz del grupo de Contadora.

Senor Comandante, amigos:

cuando yo , un visitante de la lejana Suecia, me encuentre aquí ante ustedes, es natural que cite unas palabras de vuestro gran compatriota, el padre de la revolución nicaragüense, Augusto Cesar Sandino. Yo he elegido esta cita:

Nos hacía falta, no armas, ni dinero, ni cartuchos, sino el apoyo internacional, moral y político, la simpatía que hemos tenido siempre de todos los pueblos de América. Nos agobiaba el silencio, el aislamiento, la desesperación de permanecer ignorados. Nos hacía falta que el mundo conociera que aún estábamos en la lucha: por eso salí de Nicaragua

Nicaragua no debe sentir el aislamiento que sintió Sandino y que le obligó a salir de su patria. En mi discurso he tratado de manifestar la solidaridad de Suecia con el pueblo de Nicaragua, con su lucha contra la agresión exterior y en favor del desarrollo y la democracia.

Tengo la esperanza de que también otros países vengan a apoyar a Nicaragua y alivien vuestros esfuerzos en busca de una sociedad democrática y justa. Su país tiene grandes problemas. También los tienen otros países de la región. La paz y la estabilidad no se consiguen por medio del lenguaje de la fuerza y la amenaza de intervenciones extranjeras.

Los países centroamericanos deben tener la posibilidad de solucionar por sí mismos sus propios problemas y tienen el derecho de exigir respeto por su independencia.

Les agradezco la oportunidad que me han dado de estar aquí hoy con ustedes.

• Viva la amistad de los pueblos de Suecia y Nicaragua!



Fundación
Felipe González

MINISTERIO DE RELACIONES EXTERIORES
División de Prensa

15 de febrero de 1984

Comunicado conjunto firmado por Suecia y México con ocasión de la visita del Primer Ministro, Olof Palme, del 6 a 9 de febrero de 1984

Visita oficial del Primer Ministro de Suecia señor Olof Palme.

Invitado por el Presidente Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, el Primer Ministro de Suecia, Olof Palme y su señora esposa, realizaron una visita oficial a México del 6 al 9 de febrero de 1984.

El Primer Ministro viajó acompañado de los señores Sten Andersson, Ministro de Asuntos Sociales, Pierre Schori, Subsecretario de Relaciones Exteriores, Anders Ferm, Representante de Suecia ante la Organización de las Naciones Unidas y otros altos funcionarios de su gobierno. El embajador de Suecia en México, Karl-Anders Wollter, formó igualmente parte de la comitiva oficial.

En el curso de la visita, el presidente Miguel de la Madrid, se reunió con el Primer Ministro Olof Palme en dos ocasiones, y celebró con él amplias y cordiales conversaciones sobre las relaciones entre México y Suecia y sobre temas internacionales de interés común.

Tomaron nota, con beneplácito, de la evolución de las relaciones bilaterales y reafirmaron su compromiso de aprovechar la excelente coyuntura para ampliar y fortalecer aún más los contactos e intercambios a todos los niveles. Vieron con especial satisfacción los resultados de las reuniones de las comisiones mixtas de cooperación económica, industrial, científica y tecnológica y de la estancia en México del Ministro de Comercio exterior de Suecia y de un grupo de importantes líderes del sector privado sueco.

Expresaron su deseo de que la relación económica bilateral alcance tan pronto como sea posible un nivel comparable con la intensidad de la relación política.

Para ello, el Primer Ministro Palme reafirmó el apoyo de su gobierno para impulsar el intercambio e incrementar la presencia sueca en México. Reconoció el papel decisivo de países como Suecia en el proceso de desarrollo y recuperación de México y en ese orden estudiará medidas concretas mediante las cuales su gobierno pueda a corto plazo contribuir a los esfuerzos que hace México para reducir los desequilibrios de la balanza comercial, y dirigir sus exportaciones hacia mercados nuevos y más diversificados.



2.

Fundación
Felipe González

El Presidente de la Madrid y el Primer Ministro Palme estuvieron de acuerdo en que sus gobiernos mantendrán el intercambio de información para prevenir o resolver, en la medida de lo posible, los problemas que, pudieran presentarse en el comercio entre los dos países.

Constataron nuevamente la singular coincidencia entre las posiciones de México y Suecia en torno a los grandes temas de la convivencia internacional. La vocación pacifista y conciliadora de ambas políticas exteriores es especialmente necesaria y útil en estos tiempos de conflictos y desafíos a la paz.

Además de ratificar su compromiso de seguir cooperando estrechamente en los foros internacionales sobre temas como el desarme, la utilización pacífica del espacio, la protección de los derechos humanos incluyendo a refugiados y el lanzamiento de las negociaciones globales para un nuevo orden económico, ambos mandatarios hicieron un llamado a los gobiernos de los países industrializados para dotar, con recursos suficientes, a la Agencia Internacional de Fomento. Acordaron, además, reafirmar la responsabilidad asumida por el pueblo sueco y el pueblo mexicano frente a las necesidades de paz, justicia y democracia, especialmente en la región centroamericana.

Ambos mandatarios se refirieron de manera especial a la situación en esa área y a los esfuerzos que realiza el grupo de Contadora para encontrar soluciones a los problemas de la región. En este contexto, el Primer Ministro Palme confirmó el decidido apoyo que su gobierno otorga a los esfuerzos que el grupo de Contadora constituido por Colombia, México, Panamá, y Venezuela, viene realizando desde hace un año, para encontrar soluciones negociadas y facilitar el diálogo constructivo entre las cinco repúblicas centroamericanas.

El Primer Ministro Palme se refirió al destacado papel de México en el proceso de pacificación de Centroamérica y manifestó su confianza en el sentido de que próximamente se produzcan los primeros indicios de un proceso de distensión en el área, basado en el respeto por la soberanía nacional y la intervención, la democratización, el progreso económico y el desarrollo equilibrado.

El Presidente de la Madrid expresó su satisfacción por el anuncio hecho por el Primer Ministro Palme de que Suecia está dispuesta a colaborar materialmente a la solución de las urgentes necesidades económicas y sociales de los países de la región que hoy son víctimas del desequilibrio y de las injusticias históricas.

Durante sus conversaciones, reafirmaron que todos los estados deben cumplir con lo dispuesto en la Carta de las Naciones Unidas y los normas del derecho internacional, como único medio para lograr el fortalecimiento de la paz y la seguridad internacionales, respetando estrictamente los principios de no intervención y autodeterminación de los pueblos.



Ambos mandatarios convinieron en ratificar su apoyo a las Naciones Unidas y sus organismos especializados, como instrumento tendiente a impulsar las relaciones de convivencia y cooperación en todos los órdenes y expresaron su esperanza de que el gobierno estadounidense reconsidere su decisión de retirarse de la organización de las Naciones Unidas para la educación, la ciencia y la cultura.

El Primer Ministro Palme expuso el desarrollo de la primera etapa de la conferencia de Estocolmo sobre medidas de seguridad y confianza en Europa y el Presidente de la Madrid coincidió en expresar sus votos porque ese evento propicie el dialogo entre las diferentes partes en conflicto y produzca medidas concretas para aliviar la tensión en Europa.

Al reafirmar la voluntad de sus países de trabajar en favor de la paz, estuvieron de acuerdo en la necesidad de intensificar los esfuerzos en que la humanidad está comprometida para acelerar el proceso fundamental del desarme. Subrayaron la urgente necesidad de usar los recursos que actualmente se emplean en la adquisición y perfeccionamiento de armamentos para el fortalecimiento del desarrollo económico y social de los países del tercer mundo, e hicieron un especial llamamiento a la continuidad del diálogo como único medio de alejar el peligro de la guerra y lograr un auténtico desarme.

Expresaron la opinión de que la seguridad basada en la disuasión nuclear es insostenible a largo plazo. La seguridad internacional tendrá que estar basada en esfuerzos comunes para evitar la guerra nuclear y no en la amenaza de aniquilamiento.

Ambas partes expresaron su gran satisfacción por la reanudación en el mes de marzo, en Viena, de las negociaciones sobre la reducción mutua equilibrada de fuerzas. Subrayaron la extrema importancia de que se reanuden también las negociaciones bilaterales entre las dos superpotencias sobre limitación de las armas nucleares. Invitaron a la URSS y a los EE.UU. a proclamar, de acuerdo con el tenor de la resolución presentada por México y Suecia en las Naciones Unidas, una congelación de los arsenales nucleares.

El Presidente de México agradeció el apoyo en todos los ámbitos que ha recibido su país de Suecia y de los suecos. Manifestó su convicción de que la relación de confianza y estrecha colaboración que se ha forjado entre México y Suecia a lo largo de las últimas décadas es ejemplo de una convivencia fructífera entre países industrializados y en vías de desarrollo. Por ello, México ha decidido dirigir sus esfuerzos, flujos de capital y colaboración industrial a países que, como Suecia, han mantenido vivo su compromiso de abatir las presiones proteccionistas, cooperan para el desarrollo y utilizan su influencia económica en armonía con las necesidades políticas y sociales de sus socios.



El Primer Ministro Palme extendió una invitación para que el Presidente de la Madrid y su señora esposa efectuaran una visita de estado a Suecia en futuro próximo, El Presidente de la Madrid aceptó con agradecimiento la invitación habiéndose acordado que la visita podría llevarse a cabo de 1985.

COMUNICADO CONJUNTO

Por invitación del Gobierno de la República de Costa Rica, el Excelentísimo Señor Olof Palme, Primer Ministro de Suecia, efectuó una visita a Costa Rica durante los días 10 y 11 de febrero de 1984.

En el transcurso de esta visita, el Primer Ministro, sostuvo extensas entrevistas con el señor Presidente de la República, don Luis Alberto Monge, y con don Carlos José Gutiérrez, Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto, con quienes conversó ampliamente sobre diferentes temas de interés común para ambos Gobiernos, en la atmósfera de cordialidad y amistad que siempre han caracterizado las relaciones entre ambos países.

Esta visita sirvió para profundizar aún más estas estrechas y amistosas relaciones, así como para discutir asuntos bilaterales e internacionales de interés para ambas naciones, dedicándole especial atención a los graves problemas que está enfrentando América Central.

Ambos Mandatarios reafirmaron su fe en los sistemas democráticos, representativos y pluralistas, y en los procesos electorales honestos y periódicos, fundados en la plena observancia de los derechos ciudadanos.

Manifestaron su preocupación por la grave situación que atraviesa Centroamérica y resaltaron la importancia de propiciar actitudes de entendimiento para resolver en forma pacífica y equilibrada cualesquiera diferencias y crear



.2.

las condiciones que permitan dedicar todos los recursos al desarrollo económico y social de la región.

Reiteraron que estos esfuerzos deben basarse en los principios de respeto a la soberanía e integridad territorial, el cese de todo acto bélico, así como el derecho de cada Estado de la región de construir libremente y sin intervención extranjera las sociedades.

En ese sentido, reiteraron su apoyo a los esfuerzos que realiza el Grupo de Contadora y expresaron la esperanza de que sus gestiones lleguen pronto a buen término.

Concordaron en que los trabajos del Grupo de Contadora constituyen un ejemplo concreto del concepto de seguridad común expresado por la Comisión Independiente sobre Cuestiones relativas al Desarme y Seguridad.

Ambos Jefes de Gobierno coincidieron en la importancia de la Proclama de Neutralidad Perpetua, Activa y No Armada, formulada por el señor Presidente de la República, el pasado 17 de noviembre convencidos de que ella está dirigida a la preservación de la paz en las relaciones internacionales.

Con esta Proclama, Costa Rica reitera su repudio a las soluciones de fuerza y reafirma su fe en la importancia de los instrumentos del Derecho Internacional, punto en el cual comparte la política que sobre la neutralidad tiene el Ilustrado Gobierno de Suecia.



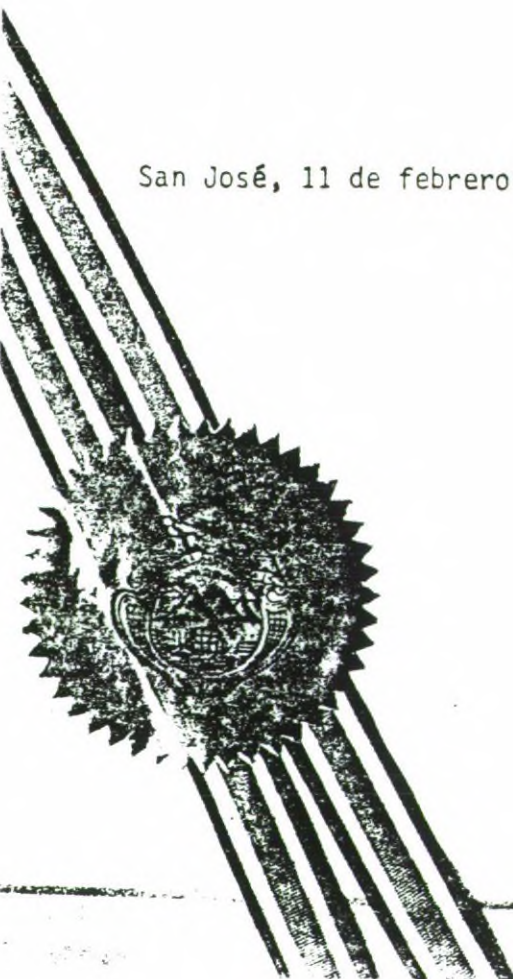
.3.

El Primer Ministro Palme, reafirmó a su homólogo costarricense la disposición del Gobierno de Suecia de contribuir al diálogo permanente por la paz y citó como ejemplo de ello, la escogencia de Estocolmo como sede de la Conferencia de Seguridad.

Tanto el señor Presidente de la República, don Luis Alberto Monge, como el señor Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto, don Carlos José Gutiérrez, solicitaron al señor Primer Ministro Palme, la colaboración en los programas de cooperativismo que contribuyan al desarrollo social del país, dada la vasta experiencia de Suecia en este campo y los óptimos resultados obtenidos.

San José, 11 de febrero de 1984.-

A. P.



Yolberta
J.A. Reina
San José 11/2-84
Fundación
Felipe González
PS

INFORME

PARA: Olof Palme
DE: Jorge Arturo Reina
ASUNTO: Honduras y Centroamérica
FECHA: 11 de febrero de 1984

BREVE INFORME SOBRE LA SITUACION DE HONDURAS

Generalidades.-

Honduras es un país con una población de 4,100,000 habitantes y una tasa de crecimiento demográfica de 3.4% anual. La extensión territorial totaliza 112,088 Km².

En términos de población, Honduras ocupa el tercer lugar en Centroamérica y el segundo en cuanto a la dimensión geográfica.

En términos de desarrollo económico, Honduras es el país más pobre de Centroamérica y después de Haití es el segundo país más atrasado de América Latina.

Desde la independencia (15 de septiembre de 1821), ha habido 13 Constituciones Políticas y 128 gobiernos; la duración promedio de los gobiernos ha sido de 15 meses. En los últimos 20 años, 17 han regido gobiernos militares instaurados mediante golpes de estado.

Sin contar los recientes brotes guerrilleros de 1983, ha habido (entre guerras civiles e insurgencia armada), 262 enfrentamientos sangrientos.

A lo largo de la vida independiente, 2 partidos políticos se han disputado el control del poder: El Partido Liberal y el Partido Conservador o Nacional. En los últimos 50 años, el Partido Liberal solamente ha gobernado 7 años y 9 meses, incluyendo los 2 años que lleva Suazo Córdoba. El Gobierno Liberal anterior al actual fue el de Ramón Villeda Morales (Diciembre de 1957 a Octubre de 1963) que se caracterizó por lo siguiente:

- a) Desde la oposición ganó las elecciones con el 57% de los votos;
- b) Estableció la primera legislación laboral del país aún vigente;
- c) Emitió una progresista ley de reforma agraria;



Pag. 3

e) Por la democracia.

Pese a estas claras expectativas, el gobierno liberal, una vez instalado en el poder, decidió acoplarse totalmente a la política económica y militar de la Administración del Presidente Reagan. Por este camino, el gobierno hondureño olvidó los angustiosos problemas sociales y asumió una visión esencialmente militar de los problemas de Honduras y de Centroamérica. La absoluta sumisión del gobierno Hondureño a la política de la Administración Reagan ha llevado a la despersionalización del país y a la entrega del mismo.

La pérdida del sentido de nacionalidad del gobierno hondureño ha llegado a límites nunca vistos antes en la historia del país. Por ejemplo, en el documento que el Gobierno de Honduras presentó a la Comisión Kissinger, le dice lo siguiente: "Si América permite a corto plazo la consolidación del sistema comunista en Nicaragua... el largo plazo es incierto para el Estado democrático de Honduras.- La subsistencia democrática de Honduras a Largo Plazo con un Gobierno Marxista consolidado en Nicaragua solamente sería factible como un Estado Asociado a Estados Unidos (otro Puerto Rico) o la presencia indefinida de tropas estacionadas de Estados Unidos en suelo hondureño (otra Corea)...".

Por esto pienso que en Honduras, lo primero que hay que nacionalizar es el Gobierno.

Esta política profundamente equivocada y antipatriótica ha dejado sin base de sustentación popular al Gobierno; este hecho lo reconoce el propio presidente de Honduras Dr. Roberto Suazo Córdova en carta privada al Presidente Reagan cuando le dice: "Como estadista usted comprenderá que estas acciones tienen un alto costo político, pero teniendo responsabilidades que cumplir ante el pueblo y nuestras instituciones democráticas, lo hemos hecho y lo seguiremos haciendo. Para el caso, el establecimiento del Centro Regional de Entrenamiento Militar, está significando un alto costo político..."



Pág. 5

La Seguridad Nacional de Honduras

El actual Jefe de las Fuerzas Armadas es un radical de derecha formado en la Argentina en la época de la "guerra sucia" y bajo la idea argentina de la "Seguridad Nacional". (En el documento que Honduras presentó a la Comisión Kissinger, el cual se adjunta, se describe dicha concepción de la Seguridad Nación).

En la práctica, los principales efectos de la aplicación de la doctrina de la Seguridad Nacional son los siguientes:

- a) Polarización de la sociedad hondureña entre radicales de derecha y radicales de izquierda;
- b) Represión, asalto o división de las organizaciones gremiales (de maestros, obreros, estudiantes o campesinos).
- c) Desaparecimiento de personas, torturas y descubrimiento de cementerios clandestinos;
- d) "interdicción" del sistema educativo para evitar la infiltración de la ideología marxista;
- e) Militarización de la vida nacional;
- f) Apoyo a la contrarevolución somocista de Nicaragua
- g) Apoyo al Ejército de El Salvador
- h) Supeditación del poder civil al poder militar
- i) Aprobación de una ley antiterrorista que viola los derechos humanos que consagra la constitución.

En aras de la Seguridad Nacional, se creó una organización que se llama APROH (Asociación pro Desarrollo de Honduras), la cual es presidida por el Jefe de las Fuerzas Armadas e integrada por un grupo de grandes empresarios ultraderechistas. Esta organización recoge fondos para financiar la lucha antsubversiva y grupos paramilitares.

APROH trajo a Honduras a una secta religiosa fanática "Causa Internacional" dirigida por un surcoreano, el Reverendo Moon. Esta secta es esencialmente anticomunista y le donó a APROH US\$50,000.00, para la lucha contra el comunismo o, mejor dicho, lo que ellos llaman el comunismo lo cual abarca a



Pág. 7

Nicaragua

El problema principal con Nicaragua radica en determinar si un país como ese tiene o no derecho a tener un sistema económico y social distinto al de sus vecinos. Mientras no se reconozca el derecho a la libre determinación de ese país, el peligro de la guerra existirá.

Los días 22 y 23 de septiembre pasado, por iniciativa de APROH, un grupo de empresarios centroamericanos se reunieron con el Sr. Rudolph Petersen, delegado de Kissinger y plantearon lo siguiente: "...hubo acuerdo firme, unánime y decidido respecto a que no se podían atender los problemas de mediano y largo plazo vinculados con el desarrollo económico, si no se extirpaba de inmediato el cáncer que estaba corroyendo la región Centroamericana, centrado ahora en Nicaragua con el gobierno sandinista". "En este sentido, hubo acuerdo entre todos los asistentes en insistirle reiteradamente al señor Petersen que transmitiese el mensaje al Dr. Kissinger de que, en los momentos actuales, se imponía una solución militar para derrocar al gobierno sandinista y que ello era una condición sine-qua-non para probar la decisión del Gobierno de los Estados Unidos de proteger esta zona estratégica, así como para poder tener la oportunidad de atender los problemas de mediano y largo plazo, de la región, cosa que definitivamente no se podría lograr con un gobierno comunista entronizado en el mero corazón de Centroamérica".

Esta misma idea de solución militar se repite a lo largo del documento que Honduras presentó a la Comisión Kissinger.

Para estos sectores, las elecciones de Nicaragua solamente serán buenas si las pierden los sandinistas.

Es esencial, con todo, que los Sandinistas lleven a la práctica un proceso electoral impecable, libre y democrático. Así lo espero.

El Salvador

El Gobierno de El Salvador sólo se sostiene por el gran apoyo de los Estados Unidos. A diferencia de lo que sucede en Nicaragua, en El Salvador una



Pág. 9

En vez de fortalecer la democracia política de Honduras la ha puesto en precario.

El informe Kissinger varía un poco la óptica norteamericana en lo que se refiere a los problemas económicos y sociales, pero lamentablemente persiste en el uso de la fuerza como mecanismo de lograr la pacificación de Centroamérica.

Sería hermoso que los Estados Unidos practicaran en Centroamérica lo que proclaman para Afganistan y Polonia; igualmente hermoso sería que la Unión Soviética practicara en Afganistan y Polonia lo que proclama para Centroamérica.

Hay algo esencial que debe comprender la administración Reagan, Centroamérica no volverá a ser nunca lo que fue antes de la caída de Somoza. Todos los intentos de reestablecer el pasado o de producir un nuevo Somoza como pareciera que es lo que están haciendo con el General Alvarez de Honduras, fracasarán, después de un costo muy alto.

La no intervención, el Pluralismo, el retiro de las tropas extranjeras, el respeto a la autodeterminación de los pueblos, la atención preferente a los problemas sociales, la negociación política y el apoyo a Contadora, son básicamente las herramientas de la paz.



FRENTE FARABUNDO MARTI PARA LA LIBERACION NACIONAL
FRENTE DEMOCRATICO REVOLUCIONARIO

El Salvador, Centro América

Fundación
Felipe González



PROPUESTA DE INTEGRACION Y PLATAFORMA DEL GOBIERNO PROVISIONAL DE AMPLIA PARTICIPACION

I.— Introducción

Por varios años el FDR—FMLN hemos venido luchando por conquistar la liberación definitiva de nuestro pueblo. Convencidos de que el esfuerzo por lograr la paz con justicia debe ser compartido por el mayor número posible de salvadoreños, hemos propuesto diversas alternativas de solución a la presente crisis, ya que sólo un esfuerzo poderoso y amplio podrá levantar a nuestro país de las ruinas en las que lo han sumergido el régimen oligárquico y la intervención del Gobierno de los Estados Unidos.

Confrontamos una situación nacional e internacional compleja. La vieja sociedad oligárquica y el Estado que ha vivido a su servicio, han bañado en sangre su propio ocaso, e incapaces de dar respuesta a las demandas de miles de salvadoreños, han institucionalizado un aparato represivo y de explotación y plantean maniobras políticas encaminadas a encubrir su empecinamiento en la vía militar. Por otra parte, la escalada intervencionista de la Administración Reagan ha prolongado la guerra y amenaza con regionalizar el conflicto.

Sostenemos que la construcción de la paz en nuestro país requiere un proceso que involucre a la mayor cantidad de fuerzas políticas y sociales, que hagan viable una solución sobre la base de eliminar los factores anteriormente señalados y que son la causa del conflicto.

Por ello, el FMLN—FDR propone la formación de un GOBIERNO PROVISIONAL DE AMPLIA PARTICIPACION que sustente una plataforma programática que contenga las tareas indispensables que debemos asumir para superar la actual situación de crisis y que permita a nuestro pueblo continuar su proceso de transformaciones sociales, políticas y económicas hacia una sociedad verdaderamente justa.

II.— El Gobierno Provisional de Amplia Participación

La propuesta de formación del GOBIERNO PROVISIONAL DE AMPLIA PARTICIPACION es el resultado del desarrollo de las fuerzas democrático—revolucionarias del pueblo salvadoreño en los campos político y militar.

El GOBIERNO PROVISIONAL DE AMPLIA PARTICIPACION, será un gobierno en donde no predominará una sola fuerza, sino la expresión de la amplia participación de las fuerzas políticas y sociales dispuestas a eliminar el régimen oligárquico y rescatar la soberanía e independencia nacional, y en donde la existencia de la propiedad privada e inversión extranjera no se opongan al interés social.

Se trata de un GOBIERNO PROVISIONAL DE AMPLIA PARTICIPACION cuya duración estará determinada por el cumplimiento de sus objetivos básicos, de acuerdo a lo convenido entre las partes y en el entendido que no será un Gobierno de larga duración.

- 2.- Derogatoria del Estado de Sitio y de todos los decretos promulgados desde 1980, que coarten las libertades individuales y sociales.
- 3.- Libertad para todos los presos políticos y desaparecidos, así como nulidad de todas las sentencias dictadas en base a los decretos represivos y de excepción.
- 4.- Plena garantía al ejercicio de los derechos y libertades democráticas colectivas e individuales. Se emitirá un estatuto provisional que norme el derecho a sindicalización de los trabajadores agropecuarios y estatales. Se indemnizará a los sindicatos por los daños causados a sus bienes por la represión, desde 1979. Se legitimará la organización del Poder Popular surgida durante la guerra en distintas zonas del país.
- 5.- Disolución de los cuerpos de seguridad, escuadrones de la muerte y de su brazo político el Partido ARENA. Se creará un cuerpo de Policía Civil, dependiente del Ministerio del Interior.
- 6.- Retiro de los asesores norteamericanos, cese de la intervención de la ayuda militar, así como de la proveniente de otros países y suspensión de todo suministro de armas.
- 7.- Depuración de la Fuerza Armada gubernamental y una vez realizada ésta, incorporación de su representación a las estructuras del GOBIERNO PROVISIONAL DE AMPLIA PARTICIPACION.
- 8.- Investigación y juzgamiento de los responsables civiles y militares de genocidio, crímenes políticos, torturas, desaparecimientos y privaciones ilegales de la libertad individual. Las muertes causadas a combatientes del FMLN y a soldados, clases y oficiales durante combates no constituyen delito.
- 9.- La Corte Suprema de Justicia se abocará a la investigación y juzgamiento inmediato de los delitos contra los derechos humanos. Al mismo tiempo, deberá realizar una depuración y reorganización del Poder Judicial. Se solicitará a las organizaciones de derechos humanos no gubernamentales, que defendieron al pueblo durante la dictadura, su colaboración en estas tareas.
- 10.- Retorno de los exiliados y refugiados e implementación de un programa de emergencia para asimilar y atender las más urgentes necesidades de los refugiados que retornen, de los desplazados y desplazados de guerra, de los elementos desmovilizados de la Fuerza Armada y de las familias o individuos que han quedado en el desamparo como consecuencia de la guerra en uno u otro bando. El GOBIERNO PROVISIONAL DE AMPLIA PARTICIPACION solicitará la colaboración de agencias internacionales y organismos no gubernamentales para esta tarea.
- 11.- Ejecución de un programa de emergencia para la reconstrucción de la infraestructura económica, educativa y sanitaria destruida o dañada por la guerra.
- 12.- Decreto de moratoria para las deudas de pequeños y medianos empresarios. Se implementará un programa de financiamiento ágil y oportuno para estos sectores, tanto en el sector industrial como agropecuario, estimulando la reactivación económica.
- 13.- Fijación y control de precios de los productos básicos de consumo popular, procurando de esta manera mejorar el salario real. Reordenamiento y control del sistema de comercialización distribución de productos básicos de consumo popular.
- 14.- Renegociación de la deuda externa sobre la base de reconocer los compromisos financieros contraídos por los gobiernos anteriores.



Se afiliará al Movimiento de los Países No Alineados y por consiguiente reforzará la lucha contra el colonialismo, el neocolonialismo, el sionismo, la discriminación racial y el apartheid.

El establecimiento de relaciones diplomáticas con otros países se hará independientemente de su régimen social y sobre la base de la conveniencia nacional.

Cumplirá los compromisos contraídos en los organismos mundiales y buscará la participación activa en los foros internacionales, para la discusión y solución de los problemas derivados de las relaciones económicas entre los países.

Reafirma su vocación bolivariana y en consecuencia se esforzará en la promoción de y participación en los foros regionales que refuercen la posición de los países latinoamericanos frente a los problemas regionales, en el orden político, diplomático, económico-financiero y social.

2.- En sus relaciones con Estados Unidos:

2.1 Propone la celebración de acuerdos que garanticen la seguridad nacional de ambos países así:

El GOBIERNO PROVISIONAL DE AMPLIA PARTICIPACION se compromete a no permitir la instalación de bases militares extranjeras y/o misiles en su territorio y por su parte el Gobierno de Estados Unidos deberá comprometerse a no realizar, promover o alentar acciones de agresión y desestabilización contra el GOBIERNO PROVISIONAL DE AMPLIA PARTICIPACION y el Gobierno que surja de este proceso.

El Gobierno Salvadoreño no comprometerá el territorio nacional en actividades de desestabilización de los gobiernos de países vecinos, ni permitirá el tránsito de armas y tropas extranjeras por su territorio.

Promoverá la suscripción de acuerdos de no agresión y no intervención en los asuntos internos de los países del área.;

2.2 Las relaciones del Gobierno de El Salvador con los Estados Unidos y Centro América, se reorientarán sobre la base del respeto incondicional al derecho de autodeterminación, independencia y soberanía nacional, así como de mutua cooperación e interdependencia, así:

Se esforzará por hacer realidad el ideal morazánico de la unión de Centro América y porque nuestra región esté libre de fuerzas militares extranjeras; no participará en bloques militares, en consecuencia se retirará del CONDECA.

Participará activamente en la promoción y desarrollo de los organismos regionales que garanticen la solución política a las controversias internacionales y suscribirá convenios que promuevan la integración económica, social y política.

IV.—Procedimiento

Para llevar a la práctica esta proposición, es necesario iniciar un proceso de Diálogo—Negociación que considere los aspectos siguientes:

1.- De los participantes:

a) Las partes en conflicto:

1. Delegación FMLN—FDR

2. Delegación del Gobierno y las Fuerzas Armadas de El Salvador y el Embajador Especial de Estados Unidos para Centro América u otro representante del Gobierno de Estados Unidos.



VISITA DEL PRIMER MINISTRO OLAF PALME A MEJICO, NICARAGUA Y COSTA RICA.

El Primer Ministro Olaf Palme ha realizado una visita oficial a Méjico del 6 al 8 de febrero de 1984. Durante la visita tuvo conversaciones con el Presidente de Méjico Sr. de la Madrid en dos ocasiones.

También se encontró con el Ministro del Interior - Sr. Manuel Bartlett Díaz, y con el Ministro de Asuntos Exteriores Sr. Bernardo Sepúlveda. La visita a Méjico fue seguida por dos visitas de trabajo de 24 horas cada una a Nicaragua y Costa Rica.

En Nicaragua el Sr. Palme, tuvo una larga charla con el Sr. Daniel Ortega y otros miembros de la Junta de Gobierno, así como con representantes del Directorio del FSLN y con el Ministro de Asuntos Exteriores D'Escoto. También mantuvo una larga y sustanciosa charla con representantes de los tres grupos principales de la Oposición: los partidos políticos y Sindicatos que forman la llamada Coordinadora Democrática, el sector privado representado por la organización empresarial COSEP y la Iglesia Católica representada por el Presidente de la Conferencia Episcopal - Monseñor Vega.

Durante su estancia en Nicaragua el Sr. Palme inauguró un hospital situado en Riva, que en parte está financiado por fondos de ayuda suecos.

En Costa Rica, el Sr. Palme habló privadamente con el Presidente Monje, y también mantuvo conversaciones con el Ministro de Asuntos Exteriores Sr. Gutiérrez, así como con los dos Ex-Presidentes Figueras y Carazo.



Las visitas a Méjico y Costa Rica fueron concluídas con la publicación de comunicados conjuntos. Los aspectos más importantes de la visita del Sr. Palme son los siguientes:

NICARAGUA

El liderazgo sandinista ha aparecido como más sofisticado que en ocasiones previas. Se dan cuenta de la importancia que tiene el que se celebren las elecciones tal como se habían planteado a nivel de la imagen de Nicaragua - en los ojos de la opinión pública internacional, el decreto de Ley electoral que será juzgado en el plenario del Consejo de Estado en breve, permitirá la elección de un poder ejecutivo consistente de un Presidente y un Vicepresidente. Esta elección se hará en unas elecciones generales de forma secreta y directa. Una Asamblea Legislativa con 90 miembros, uno por cada 35.000 habitantes deberá ser elegido directamente en circunscripciones regionales, de acuerdo a un sistema proporcional, con lo cual se permite que los Partidos más pequeños estén representados en este colectivo. El primer objetivo de esta primera Legislatura será la redacción de una nueva Constitución, así como el desarrollo de una nueva Legislación que es absolutamente necesaria. Esto se espera que sea hecho en un periodo de dos años.

Sin embargo, quedan una serie de preguntas relacionadas con el proceso electoral que no han sido todavía respondidas. Una es la edad de voto que no ha sido decidida, otra es la duración del periodo de Gobierno. Por el momento y con la situación de presión que existe el liderazgo sandinista está inculcado de periodos bastante largos, incluso de seis años, ya que será difícil organizar elecciones frecuentemente en la situación de casi guerra o de preguerra en la que Nicaragua se encuentra. También hay algunas dificultades técnicas que tienen que realizarse, por ejemplo la falta de un censo y el método de registro electoral de la población.



Cuando se les preguntó específicamente, los representantes del Gobierno estuvieron de acuerdo de que las elecciones debían celebrarse en una situación de total libertad y, por tanto, el estado de emergencia, incluida la censura, tendría que levantarse con suficiente tiempo para que se pueda programar una campaña electoral justa.

El FSLN tiene la intención de presentarse solo en las elecciones y no en coalición con ningún otro de los partidos del llamado Frente Patriótico. El Comandante Ortega también declaró que el FSLN estaría preparado para abandonar el poder en caso de que perdieran las elecciones. La Ley Electoral debe ser presentada oficialmente en 21 de febrero de 1984. Nuestra impresión es que la fecha de las elecciones es que más bien se adelantará que se retrasará.

El Gobierno nicaraguense pidió al Sr. Palme que junto a otros Gobierno europeos hicieran un llamamiento para que se pare la agresión contra Nicaragua durante la campaña electoral. El Sr. Palme dijo que trabajará a favor de este "moratorium de los Contrás".

Los nicaraguenses apuntaron que pueden necesitar ayuda técnica para resolver algunos problemas prácticos relacionados con la organización de las elecciones. El Sr. Palme respondió que el Gobierno sueco estaba preparado para tomar ésto en consideración.

La situación económica es también difícil, complicada. Los daños causados por los Contrás en el 83 se estiman aproximadamente en 127 millones de dólares, esta cifra debe ser comparada con los ingresos totales de las importaciones, 418 millones de dólares. Otro indicador económico es el tipo de cambio. En el hotel se obtienen 10 córdobas por un dolar, en el Banco 28, y en la calle 120.

Los grupos de oposición todos afirmarían estar a favor de las elecciones, pero tienen serias dudas sobre si éstas serán libres y justas en la tradición y en el sentido de las democracias europeas. Estaban preocupados de que el estado



de emergencia no sea levantado a tiempo de darles una oportunidad para organizar una campaña electoral en términos iguales. También expresaron su preocupación sobre la tendencias totalitarias, marxistas-leninista, que encuentran en la política del Gobierno. El sector privado especialmente menciona el aumento del control político y administrativo en la actividad económica. Sin embargo, la COSEP confirma que sobre el 50% de la economía sigue siendo propiedad privada, aún cuando el Estado controle a algunos sectores. Los representantes de la Iglesia aseguraron que no existe persecución directa de la Iglesia pero que indirectamente la Iglesia tiene problemas en muchos aspectos. También reaccionaron contra lo que ellos consideran como un incremento de la profanización y politización de símbolos religiosos.

Desde el punto de vista sueco pensamos que hay muchos puntos que fueron mencionados por la Oposición que deberían ser considerados seriamente por los sandinistas, sin embargo esta descripción de la realidad nicaraguense algunas veces parecía exagerada y tendenciosa. Debe ser señalado que la Oposición no expresa su preocupación ni una sola vez por el hecho de que Nicaragua sea víctima de una agresión externa.

Todos los grupos de oposición expresaron su gratitud por la ayuda sueca a Nicaragua y por la visita del Primer Ministro.

Un representante del EDU, Sr. Lois, visitó Nicaragua simultáneamente. Fue citada en la Prensa diciendo que había encontrado algunos signos preocupantes, pero que el proceso no debía y no podía ser condenado por adelantado. En lo que se refiere al problema de los Misquitos el Gobierno nicaraguense declaró que el problema tiene sus raíces en la política de Estados Unidos contra Nicaragua, que ha hecho de los Misquitos una víctima y un instrumento de la agresión.



Sin embargo, los sandinistas han hecho todo tipo de esfuerzos para integrar a los Misquitos en la sociedad sin interferir en sus tradiciones culturales y su forma de vivir, - por ejemplo, la educación se hace ahora en la lengua misquita en las escuelas del área de la costa Atlántica. Nicaragua también ha propuesto una Comisión Conjunta Nicaragua-Honduras-UNHCR, para tratar todos los aspectos del problema misquito, ésta sin embargo había sido rechazada por Honduras la misma semana. Según informes procedentes de la Oficina del UNHCR, podemos confirmar que previamente había habido ejemplos de mal trato de los Misquitos por parte del Gobierno, pero que la situación gradualmente ha ido mejorando.

Una charla dada a la Delegación sobre la situación militar por el Jefe del Departamento de Espionaje del Ejército de Nicaragua, Comandante Julio Ramos, fuimos informados que el principal grupo armado de la Oposición FDN en este momento cuenta con 7.500 hombres, de los cuales 1.500 están dentro de Nicaragua. Las fuerzas de ARDE, en el sur, comprenden por lo menos 2.500 hombres, pero el número fluctúa constantemente.

El grupo de oposición Misquito, el Misurasata, agrupa alrededor de 1.600 hombres. La actividad de combate de este grupo es muy baja. El número total de bajas cuasadas por los Contras fue superior a 1.000.

El mensaje de Suecia a Nicaragua fue doble. Por una parte, establecimos claramente nuestra solidaridad con Nicaragua cuando el derecho internacional no fuese respetado y su integridad territorial y su soberanía fuesen violadas. Subrayamos asimismo, nuestro apoyo a los esfuerzos de Nicaragua por conseguir un desarrollo económico y social. Por otro lado, hablamos con franqueza sobre la necesidad de llevar a cabo las elecciones y construir una verdadera sociedad democrática y pluralista. Indicamos que podíamos comprender perfectamente las dificultades que la agresión y los problemas económicos planteaban a este respecto, pero que para la credibili



Sin embargo, los sandinistas han hecho todo tipo de esfuerzos para integrar a los Misquitos en la sociedad sin interferir en sus tradiciones culturales y su forma de vivir, - por ejemplo la educación se hace ahora en la lengua misquitita en las escuelas del área de la costa Atlántica. Nicaragua también ha propuesto una Comisión Conjunta Nicaragua-Honduras-UNHCR para tratar todos los aspectos del problema - misquito, ésta sin embargo había sido rechazada por Honduras la misma semana. Según informes procedentes de la oficina del UNHCR podemos confirmar que previamente había habido ejemplos de mal trato de los Misquitos por parte del - Gobierno pero que la situación gradualmente ha ido mejorando.

Una charla dada a la Delegación sobre la situación - militar por el Jefe del Departamento de Espionaje del Ejército de Nicaragua, Comandante Julio Ramos, fuimos informados que el principal grupo armado de la Oposición FDN en este momento cuenta con 7.500 hombres, de los cuales 1.500 - están dentro de Nicaragua. Las fuerzas de ARDE, en el sur, - comprenden por lo menos 2.500 hombres, pero el número fluctúa constantemente.

El grupo de oposición misquito, el Misurasata, agrupa alrededor de 1.600 hombres. La actividad de combate de - este grupo es muy baja. El número total de bajas causadas - por los Contras fué superior a 1.000.

El mensaje ^{de Suecia} sueco a Nicaragua ^{fue} es doble. Por una parte, establecíamos claramente nuestra solidaridad con Nicaragua - ^{cuando el derecho} en los casos en que la legislación internacional no se ^{fuese} cumplía y ^{su} cuando la integridad territorial y la soberanía fuesen violada. Subrayamos asimismo, nuestro apoyo a los esfuerzos de Nicaragua por conseguir un desarrollo económico y social. Por otro lado, hablamos ^{con franqueza} sobre la necesidad de llevar a cabo las elecciones y construir una verdadera sociedad democrática y pluralista. ^{Incluíamos} Dejamos claro ^{que podríamos comprender perfectamente} que comprendíamos ~~totalmente~~ las dificultades que la agresión y los problemas económicos planteaban a este respecto, pero que ~~es importante~~ para la credi



dad internacional de Nicaragua era importante cumplir las promesas. Declaramos que seguimos los acontecimientos en el país como amigos. Este mensaje fue hecho público en un discurso que tuvo lugar en Rivas.

Con respecto a Costa Rica, el liderazgo sandinista se resiente por la presencia de tropas de Pastora en aquel país. Pero hicieron hincapié en que el problema no es de una decisión unilateral de Costa Rica, y que deseaban apoyar la línea neutral del Presidente Monje y evitar cualquier crítica personal contra él.

MEJICO

El Secretario de Asuntos Exteriores, Sr. Sepúlveda, explicó que el Proceso de Contadora había alcanzado un cierto grado de institucionalización, ya que los tres grupos de trabajo sobre asuntos políticos, de seguridad y económicos, habían recibido ya sus primeros informes y estaban trabajando en ellos. Sin embargo, todavía existía cierta inseguridad sobre los posibles efectos que el cambio de Gobierno en Venezuela y las próximas elecciones en Panamá podrían tener en este proceso. La dualidad de la estructura de poder en El Salvador y Honduras, debido a que las Autoridades civiles y militares seguían a veces diferentes políticas, hacía que las negociaciones fuesen más difíciles. Las presiones sobre Nicaragua continuaban y una fuente de especial preocupación eran los recientes ataques de los aviones A-37 que podrían suponer la intervención directa de Honduras. Si los Contras tuviesen estos sofisticados aviones el equilibrio militar se vería seriamente afectado. El Gobierno mejicano estaba convencido de que Nicaragua continuaría con sus planes de celebrar elecciones, pues esto es de la máxima importancia para la opinión pública internacional. Por nuestra parte, reiteramos nuestro apoyo a los esfuerzos del Grupo de Contadora y declaramos que estábamos dispuestos a continuar ofreciendo nuestra ayuda humanitaria a las víctimas de los conflictos, así como contribuir al desarrollo y reconstrucción en la región cuando la situación hubiese cambiado.

La ayuda al desarrollo por parte de Suecia a Nicaragua ha representado 300 millones de coronas suecas desde 1979. Asimismo, se continúa ofreciendo una ayuda humanitaria importante a las víctimas de los conflictos en América Central.

Con respecto a las relaciones bilaterales entre Suecia y Méjico se destacó que se habían fomentado nuevas vías y había una regularidad en los contactos bilaterales. La disminución de los intercambios comerciales entre los dos países se consideró transitoria tal y como la reciente visita del Ministro sueco de Comercio Exterior a Méjico, en la que se celebraron reuniones de las dos Comisiones Mixtas de ambos países, y el reciente interés del mercado mejicano para las empresas privadas suecas, parecían confirmarlo. Asimismo, quedó subrayada la coincidencia de los puntos de vista de ambos países en cuestiones tales como desarme y diálogo Norte-Sur.

COSTA RICA

El Gobierno de Costa Rica muestra una gran preocupación por los acontecimientos que se desarrollan en Nicaragua. Demostraron, asimismo, una cierta inseguridad sobre la verdadera naturaleza del movimiento FSLN. Por otro lado, mantenían que los Contras no representaban una alternativa ya que no serían capaces de gobernar Nicaragua después de el posible derrocamiento de los sandinistas. Desde el punto de vista de Costa Rica, existía una necesidad clara de diálogo interno en Nicaragua entre el Oposición, pacífica o violenta.

Quedaba claro, sin embargo, y las relaciones entre Costa Rica y Nicaragua habían mejoradosensiblemente durante el último año y que ahora se consideraban normales. La declaración de neutralidad hecha por Costa Rica el pasado mes de Noviembre hay que interpretarla en el telón de fondo de sus relaciones con Nicaragua y como una reacción a las presiones de los Estados Unidos para que tome una postura más



activa en los conflictos de América Central..

Las autoridades de Costa Rica también informaron sobre la creciente afluencia de refugiados en los últimos meses. Los refugiados representan un total de 15.000 personas de El Salvador y Nicaragua. Las autoridades de Costa Rica pusieron de manifiesto sus dificultades para atender a los refugiados, especialmente en su difícil situación económica actual, y solicitaron ayuda a Suecia.

Por nuestra parte, manifestamos que estábamos dispuestos a prestar ayuda humanitaria, así como ayudar al UNHCR a tratar los problemas .

En relación con la asistencia técnica a Costa Rica, el Sr. Palme señaló que una delegación de BITS visitaría próximamente San José.

Esta Delegación posee amplios poderes para negociar posibles proyectos de cooperación técnica.

El Ex-Presidente José Figueras declaró que en su opinión Nicaragua no estaba todavía preparada para unas elecciones y que la situación de los derechos humanos en ese país eran tan buenos como lo permitía una situación de guerra.

Don Pepe añadió que reconocía que todo el mundo tiene sus prejuicios, y que él personalmente estaba a favor de los sandinistas.

EL SALVADOR

Tanto el Gobierno mejicano y el nicaraguense, como los representantes de la Oposición salvadoreña, con los que mantuvimos conversaciones (Ana Guadalupe Martínez y Hector Orquelfí), pensaban que una intervención militar directa de Estados Unidos en El Salvador era improbable en un año de elecciones en USA.



Sin embargo, esta posibilidad no podía ser totalmente excluida desde el momento en que la Administración norteamericana podía considerar que el riesgo político de ser acusado de haber "entregado El Salvador a los comunistas" - fuese mayor que los posibles efectos negativos que una in-tervención pueda tener en la campaña electoral.

Según la Oposición, se esperaba que aumentasen las presiones de Estados Unidos..

Por tanto, era urgente realizar todos los esfuerzos posibles para alcanzar un acuerdo negociado. Mientras tanto, la Oposición era partidaria de formar un gobierno provisio-nal con participación de todos los sectores de la sociedad, in-cluyendo el FDR/FMLN pero excluyendo la extrema derecha re-presentada por ARENA.

La tarea principal de este gobierno provisional sería redactar una nueva Constitución y elaborar la legislación ne-cesaria para celebrar las elecciones.

La Oposición salvadoreña declaró también poseer infor-mación de un claro, aunque hasta ahora secreto, aumento de asesores norteamericanos en El Salvador.

La mayoría de estos asesores estaban entrenando al ejército salvadoreño en un campamento de Puerto Unión en la bahía Fonseca. Explicaron como los éxitos recientes de la guerrilla se debían a la desmoralización de las tropas del Gobierno, y habían incrementado la experiencia de lucha del FMLN, y la autosuficiencia en armamento.

También nos informaron de que el FMLN controlaba 50 de los 263 municipios y que el MNR había logrado que el FMLN aceptase no alterar las próximas elecciones presidenciales.

HONDURAS

Durante la estancia en Costa Rica el Sr. Palme se reunió también con D. Jorge Arturo Reina, que representa el ala izquierda dentro del partido liberal, hoy en el - Gobierno. Al Sr. Reina entregó un Memorandum (anexos) en el que se analiza la actual situación de Honduras.

Miembros de la delegación se reunieron también con los representantes de la oposición de Guatemala y Panamá.

Antes del viaje los Gobierno de los Estados Unidos y Honduras fueron informados a través de los canales diplomáticos de nuestras intenciones políticas y objetivos de - nuestro viaje.

A nuestro regreso la Embajada americana en Estocolmo nos informó que el Embajador de los Estados Unidos en - Managua había enviado un informe muy favorable a Washington sobre las declaraciones de Palme en favor de la Democracia.

CONFIDENTIAL.



Fundación
Felipe González

Prime Minister Olof Palme's trip to Mexico, Nicaragua
and Costa Rica

Prime Minister Olof Palme paid an official visit to Mexico February 6 - 8 1984. During the visit he had talks with the Mexican President, Mr Miguel de la Madrid, on two occasions. He also met with the Minister of Interior, Mr Manuel Bartlett Díaz, and the Secretary for Foreign Relations, Mr Bernardo Sepúlveda.

The visit in Mexico was followed by two working visits of 24 hours each in Nicaragua and Costa Rica. In Nicaragua Mr Palme had long talks with Mr Daniel Ortega and other members of the Government Junta together with representatives for the FSLN-directorate and Foreign Minister d'Escoto. He also had lengthy and substantial talks with representatives of the three main opposition groups: the political parties and trade unions forming the so-called Coordinadora Democrática, the private sector represented by the employers organisation COSEP, and the catholic church represented by the president of the episcopal conference, Monseñor Vega. During his stay in Nicaragua, Mr Palme also inaugurated a hospital, partly financed by Swedish aid funds, in Rivas.

In Costa Rica, Mr Palme talked privately with President Monge and also met with Foreign Minister Gutierrez as well as with the two ex-presidents Figueres and Carazo. The visits in Mexico and Costa Rica were concluded by the publishing of joint communiqués. The most important aspects of Mr Palme's trip are the following:

Nicaragua

The Sandinista leadership proved more sophisticated than on previous occasions. They were aware of the importance for Nicaragua's image in the eyes of the international public opinion to hold elections as planned. The election law bill that will be discussed by the plenary of the Consejo de Estado shortly, will allow for the election of an executive power consisting of a president and a vice president in direct and secret general elections. A legislative assembly with 90 members (1 for each 35.000 inhabitants) shall also be elected directly in regional constituencies according to a proportional system, thus allowing also the smaller parties to be represented in this body. The primary task of the first legislature would be to draft a new constitution and enact necessary new legislation. This is supposed to be done over a two-year period.

A few questions relating to the electoral process however remain outstanding. One is the voting age, which has not yet been decided, another is the length of the governing period. In the presently pressed situation the Sandinista leadership is inclined to favour fairly long periods, up to six years, as it would be too difficult an endeavour to organize elections frequently in the near war situation in which Nicaragua finds itself. There are also some technical difficulties that has to be dealt with, e.g. lack of a census and a method of registration of the population. Specifically asked, the Government representatives agreed to that the elections must be held in a state of complete freedom and thus, the state of emergency, including the censorship, would have to be lifted in time to allow a fair election campaign. The FSLN intended to present itself alone in the elections and not in coalition with any other of the parties of the so-called "Frente Patriótico". Comandante Ortega also declared that the FSLN would be prepared to step down from power

in case they would lose the elections. The election law is to be officially presented on February 21, 1984. Our impression is that the date for the elections will rather be advanced than delayed.

The Nicaraguan Government asked Mr Palme, together with other European Governments, to join in an appeal to stop the aggression against Nicaragua during the election campaign. Mr Palme said he would work for such a "moratorium for the contras".

The Nicaraguans said they might be needing technical assistance to solve some practical problems relating to the organisation of the elections. Mr Palme answered that the Swedish Government was prepared to consider this further.

The economic situation was very grim. The damage caused by the contras in 1983 was estimated to about 127 million dollars. This shall be compared to the total income of the imports: 418 million dollars.

Another economic indicator was the exchange rate. In the hotel you get 10 cordobas for 1 dollar, in the banks 28 and in the street 120.

The opposition groups all stated that they were for elections but had serious doubts whether these would be really free and fair in the tradition of western democracies. They were worried that the state of emergency would not be lifted in time to give them the opportunity to organize an election campaign on equal terms. In varying degree they expressed concern about the marxist-leninist and totalitarian tendencies they found in the Government's policies. The private sector especially mentioned the increasing political and administrative control of economic activity. COSEP however confirmed that about 50 % of the economy still remained in private hands, although the state controlled

some key sectors. The church representative stated that there existed no direct persecutino of the church, but that indirectly the church had problems in many respects. They also reacted against what they found being an increased profanation and politization of the religious symbols.

From the Swedish side we found that the opposition mentioned many points that should be taken seriously by the Sandinistas, however their descriptions of the Nicaraguan reality sometimes seemed somewhat exaggerated and tendentious. It can be noted that the opposition not once expressed concern for the fact that Nicaragua was a victim of external aggression. All the opposition groups expressed their gratitude for the Swedish aid to Nicaragua and for the Prime Minister's visit.

A representative of the EDU, Mr Lois, visited Nicaragua simultaneously. He was quoted in the press saying that he found some disturbing signs but that the process could not and should not be condemned in advance.

As concerns the Miskito problem the Nicaraguan Government stated that the problems had its roots in the US policy against Nicaragua which had made the Miskitos both a victim and a tool for the aggression. However, the sandinistas made every effort to integrate the Miskitos in the society without unduly interfering with their cultural traditions and way of life, i.a. the education was now given in the Miskito language in the schools of the Atlantic coast area. Nicaragua had also proposed a joint Nicaragua/Honduras/UNHCR-commission to deal with all aspects of the Miskito problem. This had however been rejected by Honduras the same week. Information from the UNHCR-office in Managua confirmed that there previously had been examples of mistreatment of the Miskitos from the Government's side, but that the situation gradually had been getting better.

In a briefing about the military situation given to the delegation by the head of the intelligence department of the Nicaraguan army, Comandante Julio Ramos, we were informed that the main armed opposition group, the FDN, presently counted around 7.500 men, of which 1.500 were inside Nicaragua. The ARDE-forces in the south comprised at the most 2.200 men, but the number was constantly fluctuating. The Miskito-opposition group, the MISURASATA, numbered around 1.600 men. The combat activity of this group was very low. The total number of casualties caused by the contras was above 1.000.

The Swedish message to Nicaragua was twofold. On the one hand we clearly stated our solidarity with Nicaragua when international law is not upheld and its territorial integrity and sovereignty are violated. We also underlined our support for Nicaragua's efforts to achieve social and economic development. On the other hand, we spoke clearly about the necessity to hold elections and construct a truly pluralistic and democratic society. We said we could fully understand the difficulties the aggression and the economic problems posed in this respect, but that it was important for Nicaragua's international credibility to fulfil the promises. We stated that we followed the developments in the country as friends. This message was spelt out publicly in a speech in Rivas (see enclosure).

As regards Costa Rica, the Sandinista leadership resented the presence of Pastora troops in that country. But they stressed that the problem was not of Costa Rica's own choosing, and that they wanted to support president Monge's neutralistic line and avoid criticism against him personally.

Mexico

The Secretary for Foreign Relations, Mr Sepúlveda, said that the Contadora-process had reached a certain degree



of institutionalization as the three working groups for political, security and economic matters had now received their terms of reference and were actually working. However, some insecurity remained as to the possible effects the change of government in Venezuela and the upcoming elections in Panamá could have on the process. The duality of the power structure in El Salvador and Honduras, where the civilians and the army sometimes followed different policies, also served to make negotiations more difficult. The pressures on Nicaragua continued and a source of particular concern were the recent attacks by the A37 aeroplanes which could imply a direct involvement by Honduras. If the "contras" had these sophisticated aeroplanes at their disposal the military balance would be seriously upset. The Mexican Government felt assured that Nicaragua would continue to fulfil its plans to hold elections as this was of utmost importance for the international public opinion.

From the Swedish side we reiterated our support for the efforts of the Contadora-gruop and declared that we were willing to continue to give humanitarian aid to the victims of the conflicts as well as make contributions to development and reconstruction in the region when the situation had changed. Swedish development aid to Nicaragua has amounted to 300 million Swedish kronor since 1979. We have also been giving substantial humanitarian aid to the victims of the conflicts in Central America.

As concerns the bilateral relations between Sweden and Mexico it was noted that the channels had by now been worked up and there was a regularity in the bilateral contacts. The decrease in the commercial exchange between our countries was considered to be temporary as the recent visit of the Swedish Minister for Foreign Trade in Mexico, heading the meetings of the two Swedish/Mexican joint commissions, as well as the continued



interest in the Mexican market by the Swedish private enterprise, seemed to confirm.

The coincidence of the Mexican and Swedish viewpoints in questions such as disarmament and the north-south dialogue were also stressed.

Costa Rica

The Government of Costa Rica obviously shows a great concern for developments in Nicaragua. They showed an insecurity as to the true nature of the FSLN-movement. On the other hand, they said that the "contras" was no alternative as they would not be capable of governing Nicaragua after the possible overthrow of the sandinistas. In the point of view of Costa Rica there was need for an internal dialogue in Nicaragua between the government and the opposition, armed and unarmed. It was clear however, that relations between Costa Rica and Nicaragua had improved considerably during the last year and could now be considered as normal. The declaration of neutrality made by Costa Rica in November last year should be seen against the background of the relations to Nicaragua and as a reaction to pressures from the US to take a more active part in the Central American conflicts.

The Costa Rican authorities also informed about the increased influx of refugees during the last few months. The refugees now numbered 15.000 people from El Salvador and Nicaragua. The Costa Rican said they had difficulties in supporting the refugee population, especially in the present bad economic circumstances, and asked for Swedish support. From our side it was said that we were willing to give humanitarian aid and also help UNHCR to deal with the problems.

As concerns technical assistance to Costa Rica, Mr Palme declared that a delegation from BITS would visit San

José shortly. This delegation had wide power to positively discuss possible projects for technical co-operation.

Ex President José Figueres stated to us that he thought Nicaragua was not ready for elections yet and that the human rights situation there was as good as it could be given the war-like situation. Don Pepe added himself that he recognized that all people had prejudices and that he personally was prejudiced in favour of the Sandinistas "los chicos del Norte".

El Salvador

As well the Mexican and the Nicaraguan Government as the representatives of the opposition in El Salvador that we talked to (Ana Guadalupe Martinez and Hector Orquellí) said that they thought a direct US military intervention in El Salvador very unlikely during an election year in the US. However, this possibility could not be totally excluded in a situation when the administration in Washington deemed the political risk of being accused of having "lost El Salvador to the communists" as greater than the possible negative effects an intervention could have in the election campaign.

According to the opposition, US pressures were expected to increase. Therefore, it was urgent to make every effort to reach a negotiated settlement. To this end the opposition presented a proposal for an interim government with participation of all sectors of society. including the FDR/FMLN but excluding the extreme right represented by ARENA. The main task of this interim government would be to draft a new constitution and work out the necessary legislation to hold election.

The salvadorean opposition also said they had information of a clear, but so far secret, increase of US advisers in El Salvador. Most of these advisers were training

Salvadorean army at a center in Puerto Unión by the Fonseca Bay. They explained the recent success of the guerilla by the demoralization in the government troops, increased fighting experience of the FMLN and the self-sufficiency in armament.

We also learned that the FMLN now controlled 50 out of 263 municipations and that the MNR had got the FMLN to accept not to disturb the up-coming presidential election.

Honduras

During the stay in Costa Rica Mr Palme also met with Mr Jorge Arturo Reina, representing the left wing opposition fraction within the governing liberal party. Mr Reina handed over a memorandum (enclosed) reviewing the present situation in Honduras.

Members of the delegation also met with representatives of the opposition in Guatemala and Panamá.

Before the trip the Governments of the United States and Honduras were informed through diplomatic channels about our political intentions and plans for the trip.

On our return the American Embassy in Stockholm informed us that the US Ambassador in Managua had sent very positive reports to Washington about Palme's statements in favour of democracy.

Enclosures.



NOTA INTERIOR

428/84



Fundación
Fujimori

PRESIDENCIA DEL GOBIERNO

DE: Director Departamento Internacional

A: Secretario Presidente Gobierno

su referencia

FECHA: 7.3.84

n/referencia JRS/mfr

A S U N T O

Carta Primer Ministro sueco
a Presidente del Gobierno.

1. El 22 de febrero pasado, el Primer Ministro sueco dirigió una carta al Sr. Presidente del Gobierno, por la que le remitía - un informe elaborado por sus colaboradores, relativo a su viaje a Méjico, Nicaragua y Costa Rica, a primeros de febrero - del presente año. El informe es de grán interés y debería ser traducido íntegramente por los servicios competentes.

El Primer Ministro sueco envía también al Sr. Presidente del Gobierno la versión en castellano de su discurso en la ciudad de Rivas (Nicaragua), del Comunicado Conjunto Suecia-Méjico, - del Comunicado Conjunto Suecia-Costa Rica, un informe sobre - la situación en Honduras y la Plataforma de Gobierno Provisional propuesta por el FDR-FMLN de San Salvador; este último documento lo conoce ya el Sr. Presidente, por habérselo presentado el dirigente del FDR, Guillermo Ungo, en Caracas con ocasión de la toma de posesión del Presidente Lusinchi.

En su carta, además, el Primer Ministro sueco hace referencia a la petición del Gobierno de Nicaragua de que los países de Europa Occidental presionaran a EE.UU para que suspendieran - su agresión durante el proceso electoral. El Sr. Palme da la impresión de haber indicado al Gobierno sandinista que apoyaba el congelamiento de actividades de los contras.

2. Por otra parte, el Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores ha manifestado su interés por tener acceso al informe antes mencionado. Por parte de este Departamento no hay inconveniente en acceder a la petición; sin embargo, dado su carácter confidencial y la forma en que ha sido enviado al Sr. Presidente del Gobierno, convendría que éste diera su aprobación a este punto.

Observaciones

Unidad copia
a / de Spiter
6-3-84



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Felipe González



5789-466

FECHA DE CARTA: 22-02-84

PALME, OLOF
PRIMER MINISTRO
5-103 33 STOCKHOLM

SUECIA

DESTINO: 1

FECHA REGISTRO: 1-03-84



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ACUSE DE RECIBO

ENVIADO A	FECHA ENVIO	REITERACION	DEVOLUCION

ASUNTO

FECHA DE RESPUESTA

CARTA DEVUELTA

ASUNTO: Carta del Presidente pidiendo solidaridad con el pueblo chileno.

Fecha entrada:

Fecha contestación: 30-8-83



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Felipe González

Madrid, 30 de agosto de 1983.

Excmo. Sr. Olof Palme
Primer Ministro
SUECIA

Permitame que distraiga unos momentos su atención para plantearle un problema, que por su carácter de símbolo y por su realidad dramática en estos momentos, afecta a la conciencia de todos los que deseamos vivir libre y pacíficamente en un estado de derecho.

Me refiero a la situación de Chile, una década después de la violenta llegada al poder del General Pinochet.

Públicamente se me ha pedido por los responsables de la oposición - Socialistas, Radicales, Demócrata-Cristianos- agrupados en una plataforma común, que estimule los esfuerzos de los Gobiernos de Europa Occidental en favor del retorno de la democracia a Chile y del respeto a los Derechos Humanos, tan gravemente conculcados en una nación que durante decenios fue ejemplo de democracia en el Sud-continente americano.

Mis propias vivencias como opositor a un régimen autoritario, como ciudadano que ha conocido la flaqueza de la memoria histórica internacional, al mismo tiempo que apreciado los gestos de solidaridad de los responsables políticos que deseaban una España en libertad; mi responsabilidad hoy como Presidente del Gobierno de la más joven democracia europea, aún cargada de dificultades y esperanzas en su proceso de consolidación; me obligan en conciencia a prestar una atención especial a esta demanda de las organizaciones políticas y sindicales de Chile.

No puedo, no quiero, atribuirme otro título para dirigirme a Vd. pidiéndole un esfuerzo de solidaridad para ayudar al pueblo Chileno a salir de la situación en que se encuentra y recuperar su plena soberanía de decisión sobre su destino.

La maduración de un proyecto común de las fuerzas políticas democráticas, la actitud constructiva de los sindicatos y la firmeza de todos en su reivindicación de libertad y respeto a los Derechos Humanos, constituyen la esperanza interior. Si esta se ve acompañada de la solidaridad exterior, el camino será más fácil.



Fundación
Felipe González

Por lo tanto le someto la idea de que conjuntamente busquemos la forma de tomar una iniciativa que, sin que pueda ser interpretada como una injerencia en los asuntos internos chilenos, represente una ayuda importante e inequívoca de apoyo al restablecimiento de la democracia en Chile. Estoy abierto a cualquier sugerencia sobre el contenido y forma de este gesto, y una vez conocida su opinión y la de los otros mandatarios europeos a que me he dirigido, podría intentar una síntesis de todas ellas que sometería a su consideración definitiva.

Gracias por su atención. Conozco su sensibilidad por el tema que he planteado, como a otros responsables europeos y espero que entre todos podamos ayudar a ensanchar el mapa de los pueblos libres y democráticos en el mundo.

Un cordial saludo,