

1-10-2005

# Breakin' the Kneecaps of 'Baaskap': A Brief Discussion of the International Anti-Apartheid Movement and African Solidarity Work, Then, and Now

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## Recommended Citation

Nesbitt, Prexy, "Breakin' the Kneecaps of 'Baaskap': A Brief Discussion of the International Anti-Apartheid Movement and African Solidarity Work, Then, and Now" (2005). *Rozell 'Prexy' Nesbitt Writings and Speeches*. 61.  
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**'Breakin' the Kneecaps of 'Baaskap': A Brief Discussion of the  
International Anti-Apartheid Movement and African Solidarity Work,  
Then, and Now<sup>1</sup>**

Our policy is that the Europeans must stand their ground and must remain Baas [master] in South Africa. If we reject the Herrenvolk idea and the principle that the white man cannot remain Baas, if the franchise is to be extended to the non-Europeans, and if the non-Europeans are given representation and the vote and the non-Europeans are developed on the same basis as the Europeans, how can the Europeans remain Baas... Our view is that in every sphere the European must retain the right to rule the country and to keep it a white man's country.

Johannes G. Strijdom  
Prime Minister, South Africa  
1956-1958<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Based upon a speech originally delivered in Durban, South Africa, October 2004 at The International Conference on a Decade of Freedom: Celebrating the Role of the International Anti-Apartheid Movement.

<sup>2</sup> As quoted in Gunther, John, Inside Africa, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1953, p. 481.

This essay will reflect on the international linkages which existed within the Anti-Apartheid Movement and <sup>attempt</sup> to sort out the implications and significance of those linkages for ongoing and future African solidarity initiatives. In other words, what have been some of the relationships and connections, nationally and internationally, which led to sustained and successful anti-apartheid organizing drives? Which of those relationships exist today? Which need to be re-created for measurably successful solidarity work with the struggles that Africa faces in this new historical period? Indeed, can and should some of these connections be forged anew?

In his book, The Burden of Memory, the Muse of Forgiveness, Wole Soyinka notes that:

"Every landmark is a testament of history, and in our own indelible instance- from Goree through the slave forts of Ghana to Zanzibar- every fort and stockade, increasingly turned into museums, is filled with grim evocations of this passage of our history. They are indices of Truth, an essence and a reality that offer any peoples, however impoverished, a value in itself, a value that, especially when rooted in anguish and sacrifice, may dictate a resolve for redemption and strategies for social regeneration."<sup>3</sup>

He is, of course, discussing slavery and the slave trade, but in the US context, every demonstration, every divestment action taken, every bank account closed, every artist who canceled an appearance in South Africa, every dollar into an envelope marked for the ANC or FRELIMO <sup>also</sup> was a political statement. <sup>^</sup> The estimated \$20 billion divested from companies doing business in South Africa was a political stance against racism. So, too, was the fact that by 1991, according to an insightful 2004 study by Richard Knight <sup>^</sup> formerly of the American Committee on Africa, "28 states, 24 counties, 92 cities and the Virgin Islands had adopted legislation or policies imposing some form of sanctions on South Africa."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Soyinka, Wole, The Burden of Memory, the Muse of Forgiveness, Oxford University Press, New York 1999, p. 59-60.

<sup>4</sup> For the full paper see Knight, Richard, "Historical Remembrance", <http://www.africanactivist.msu.edu/remembrance>



Of late, there is a marked tendency towards re-writing the historical ledger. There is much spin doctoring occurring that is generating an inaccurate, if not false, rendition of the US Anti-Apartheid Movement operative from the 1940's until 1994.

This year, a major public radio show in the US, The Tavis Smiley show, broadcast a story- one of too few, incidentally, celebrating the 10 year mark- that the anti-apartheid struggle in the USA<sub>3</sub> was the product of the single-handed yeoman-like work of Randall Robinson and the Reverend Leon Sullivan. Anti-apartheid work in the USA should not serve as one more application of those pundits who would exercise their 'great man' historical theses.

What made the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the USA effective<sub>3</sub> as was the case with anti-apartheid movements worldwide, was the fact that thousands of individuals and hundreds of organizations nationwide, moved by righteous anger, took steps to oppose <sup>the</sup> apartheid government. From Amsterdam and Accra to Tokyo and San Francisco thousands of ordinary people took action against a glaring case of racial injustice.

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The recent revisionism in US coverage has included a pattern of situating anti-apartheid work solely within the province of Black American political activity. It is a tendency that, along with other recent developments, is only serving to isolate the Black American struggle from the remainder of the world's progressive forces and movements.

I wish to assert that the US Anti-Apartheid Movement never belonged to only one grouping of peoples or one region. Part of its uniqueness in the annals of social change movements in the USA was that the US Anti-Apartheid Movement was multi-racial, trans-class, and national (including Alaska, Hawaii and Puerto Rico) in its scope. Anti-Apartheid movements in other multiracial countries (e.g., Great Britain, Australia, France) also consisted of diverse strands of activists.



This is not to say that in the USA there was one big organization with no tensions and contradictions.

<sup>contradictions issues, multiple issues</sup>  
There were many. And at times they permeated, if not dominated the political agenda. Despite how pervasive and paralyzing they were, at times, these class, race and gender challenges within the US anti-apartheid struggle provided and yet provide (in the long term) a rich bedrock for discussion and strategizing toward social change in America.

My perspective is not intended in any way to mis-estimate the particular and historic contribution of the US Black American community to the African continent's liberation struggle(s). There is no doubt in my mind that various Black Americans- individuals and organizations-<sup>have</sup> made the leading, if not 'critical' contributions to many arenas of social change in the USA, including but not limited to the Anti-Apartheid Movement and solidarity work with Africa. The longevity of our work in Africa- from that of Robeson, <sup>Hinton</sup> DuBois, Garvey, <sup>Hinton</sup> and the Council on African Affairs to today's work by Salih Booker and Bill Fletcher, <sup>the American Friends Service Committee</sup> Africa Action and TransAfrica Forum- is a testament to our essentialness. Highlighting this history, Francis Nesbitt's new book, Race for Sanctions: African Americans Against Apartheid, 1946-1994, <sup>underscores</sup> correctly <sup>notes</sup> such extraordinary moments as the Council on African Affairs' 1946 solidarity rally with the South African mine workers strike. Held at Madison Square Garden in New York, it drew over 19,000 people. In her 1996 book Rising Wind: Black Americans and US Foreign Affairs, 1935-1960, Dr. Brenda Plummer points out that by the end of the 1960's, <sup>it was largely</sup> black American leaders and activists <sup>that</sup> had succeeded in publicly linking the achievement of racial justice in the USA with US foreign policy actions, especially those in Africa and the Caribbean.

From <sup>its</sup> the earliest days, the US Anti-apartheid movement had international linkages. The Council on African Affairs and various Black American church organizations were in constant communication with the African National Congress from 1912 onwards. <sup>from the 50's 40's onwards, besides the connections to South Africa, Ethiopia, Nyasaland</sup> There were the formal links to the British and Belgian Anti-Apartheid Movements, to Canadian groups, to the French, the Swedes, the Japanese, the Australians, the New Zealanders, the Jamaicans, the Trinidadians and the Ghanaians. <sup>Additionally, there were</sup> Besides the international links forged by the national Africa activist organizations like ACOA, (later) TransAfrica, and



the Free South African Movement, there were the international ties in church, legislature, university and labor sectors. Additionally, the various and manifold local organizations in the USA had their own separate and distinct bonds with anti-apartheid groups and bodies overseas from Europe to the Phillipines, from Cuba to China, as well as in Africa, including, and ~~maybe~~ especially in, South Africa.

Years before the internet and before the 1999 Seattle World Trade Organization demonstrations, these linkages spurred and facilitated transnational activism. They ~~afforded~~ <sup>facilitated</sup> coordinated global actions like simultaneous days of account withdrawals ~~against~~ <sup>from</sup> banks like Barclays and Citicorp engaged in providing capital flows to the apartheid regime. The links helped make some of the cultural initiatives like the 'Free Nelson Mandela' concerts great successes. ~~And~~ <sup>Incidentally,</sup> the contributions of the culture of workers and artists <sup>themselves often internationally coordinated,</sup> to the US Anti-Apartheid Movement cannot be overestimated. The music, the art, the poetry, the posters and the buttons borne out of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, are an enduring landmark.

The linkages themselves were a source of inspiration and morale. I recall marveling at the hundreds of Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) local groups that proliferated almost like McDonald's restaurant in the United Kingdom in the 1980-1990 period.<sup>5</sup> Setting the pace, however, for international anti-apartheid work and solidarity with the African liberation movements were the Nordic groups, led by the Africa groups in Sweden. A recent study of how public opinion was mobilized in Sweden for supporting southern African liberation movements from 1950 to 1970 notes that between 1969 and the 1994 elections in South Africa, the Swedish government gave 4 billion Swedish Kronor (approx. \$521,640,000.00) of humanitarian assistance to Southern Africa, 40% of which went directly to six liberation movements, namely, FRELIMD (Mozambique), MPLA (Angola), SWAPO (South West Africa/Namibia), ZANU and ZAPU (Rhodesia/Namibia), and ANC (South Africa). At that point it was only Sweden and India in the western capitalist world whose governments gave direct support to African liberation movements.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> A 2005 study of the British AAM by Roger Fieldhouse says there were 50 local groups at the beginning of the 1980's and more than 180 by 1986. See Fieldhouse, Roger, *Anti-Apartheid: A History of the Movement in Britain*, Merlin, 2005, p. 313.

<sup>6</sup> Too few people to this day recognize Sweden's immense and critical role. See Sellstrom, Tor, *Sweden and National Liberation in Southern Africa*, Nordic Africa Institute, Upsala, 1999.



Another important dimension of the international link-ups <sup>were</sup> ~~where~~ the constant exchanges of ideas, information, and analysis that took place between and amongst various national organizations. One example is the 1972 Arnoldshain, West Germany conference on the Cunene Dam sponsored by the World Council of Churches (WCC) Program to Combat Racism (PCR). This conference made it possible for the Swedish Africa groups to share important insights about Jonas Savimbi and UNITA. The dialogue that this conference initiated helped kick-start a process of rejecting Savimbi initiated by Bob Van Leirop and his Africa Information Service. The process would ultimately lead to the short-lived but critical US government's Clark Amendment that significantly curtailed aid to Angola (UNITA and FNLA) between 1976 and 1985. Another example is the regular meeting and consultations at the United Nations, largely convened by Enuga Reddy who brilliantly mobilized the United Nations structure(s) and resources so as to facilitate the various organizing <sup>initiatives</sup> ~~initiations~~ occurring around the globe.

It was the constant information flow and international dialogue that exposed and confronted various props and subterfuges of the apartheid regime. Internationally researched and shared information about Chief Gatsha Buthelezi helped expose his role collaborating with the apartheid regime. It was timely information that assisted some trade union organizations like the United Automobile Workers (UAW), the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), and the International Longshoremen and Warehouse Workers Union (ILWU) to expose and confront Buthelezi even when it meant challenging US labor's parent body, the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) which awarded Buthelezi the George Meany Human Rights Award in 1982.

The story of Leon Sullivan and his particular contribution to prolonging the apartheid saga is another illustration of how crucial the communication links were to the effective functioning of the global anti-apartheid movement. The Black American Reverend Leon Sullivan-a board member of the General Motors Corporation- and his principles were globally analyzed, debated, and rejected within months of



their first appearance, and the potent little booklet Decoding Corporate Camouflage by Elizabeth Schmidt<sup>7</sup> was circulated widely and internationally before being banned by the South African government. Her work and the unrelenting work of other organizations like ACOA AND WOA assisted in exposing the Sullivan Principles as being (like Ronald Reagan's "constructive engagement") greased mechanisms for maintaining apartheid racism in South Africa. A more thorough and critical examination of the role the 'good' Reverend played in both the US domestic and the international arenas is yet to be done, but needed.

The US Anti-Apartheid Movement was never a single movement. As North Carolina political scientist Dr. Joseph Jordan once described it:

"...throughout the history of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, literally hundreds of small community-based organizations worked with minimal cooperation. There was never a continuous, cooperative national network of anti-apartheid groups that planned and worked together."<sup>8</sup>

In fact, a cogent argument could be made that within the USA, there were two national movements: one black (TransAfrica and FSAM) and one white, (ACOA, WOA, AFSC) that while not openly antagonist towards one another, were never able to hold a major unified strategy-making, agenda-setting national conference.

Despite this fact, the AAM in the USA (likable, perhaps, to a river with two separate major flows) had some impressive moments. Clearly, one was the Free South Africa Movement (FSAM) launched in 1984 by Randall Robinson, then Director of TransAfrica, Mary Francis Barry, Walter Fauntroy and Eleanor Holmes Norton. Beginning with a sit-in by these four at the South African Embassy in Washington, D.C., FSAM grew into a highly publicized mass arrest every day for nearly two years. During this time, more

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<sup>7</sup> Schmidt, Elizabeth, Decoding Corporate Camouflage: US Business Support for Apartheid, Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, 1980.

<sup>8</sup> For more on this see Cobb, Minter, Jordan, et.al, No Easy Victories: African Liberation and American Activists Over a Half Century, 1950-2000. Forthcoming 2006.

than 6,000 people were arrested, many of them prominent entertainers, politicians, and other high profile figures (with thousands more arrested across the country in the succeeding months). However, it was not the drama surrounding the arrests or the tremendous visibility and high profile personalities that made FSAM so important. <sup>Not it</sup> ~~It was not just~~ that the FSAM gave tired anti-apartheid combatants a shot in the arm. The more significant feature of FSAM, especially for the long-term growth of anti-apartheid work in the USA, was that FSAM (which stimulated the growth of TransAfrica chapters across the USA) made it possible for thousands of ordinary folk-especially black Americans- to become engaged in the struggle against apartheid (and racism). Evalyn Tenant says it best when she points out in her excellent forthcoming study of the Anti-Apartheid Movement:

"The FSAM protests at the South African Embassy were immediately successful...The high profile political figures and entertainers were joined by workers, students, members of religious communities. The protests spread from the embassy in Washington, D.C. to South African consulates and other symbols of the South African government around the United States...the FSAM provided a way to convert American outrage-outrage that extended beyond existing anti-apartheid and progressive constituencies and into the mainstream-into mobilization and support."

In the long run FSAM and the divestment movement, <sup>(the latter</sup> largely run by the ACOA) were the point and counter-point of the US anti-apartheid movement. It was the combined impact of these two streams of change that led Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen to concede in 1989 that "sanctions' are having a major impact... There is no capital inflow....there is disinvestment" (New York Times, June 25, 1989, p. 25).

More and more, analyses of and retrospectives on the US Anti-Apartheid Movement focus on elites, on projecting prominent persons like Jesse Jackson as the savior figures. Today in the US, personalities ranging from former Vice President Al Gore to aspirant First Lady Teresa Heinz Kerry all revel in their years as anti-apartheid combatants. Indeed, the story telling has gone from sublime to the ridiculous! Abdul Minty, the prominent South African anti-apartheid activist, once secretary of the British Anti-



Apartheid Movement, now a key official in South Africa's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, speculated in a 1999 talk at London's South Africa House:

"Virtually all our visitors to South Africa today from all parts of the globe say that they all equally and strongly supported the anti-apartheid struggle. Sometimes I wonder why it took us so long to become free when the whole world seemed to have been with us all the time."<sup>9</sup>

What sustained the AAM in the USA, however, especially in its peak in the 1977-1994 period, <sup>was not vampiric claims, rather it</sup> was the organic links that the issue of apartheid racism had to major issues affecting the day-to-day lives of the American people, most notably their encounters with race and racism. The US bank campaign, directed at US banks lending to the apartheid regime, is a good case study, for it worked on the level of linking local bank lending practices to South American lending. "Red line South Africa and not New York!" (or Boston or Chicago or Washington, D.C. or south central Los Angeles) captured peoples' rage at banks that wouldn't make loans for <sup>schooling ~~schools~~ or new homes</sup> ~~them~~ but would provide massive capital to sustain a brutal, white supremacist system in Africa. Thus, the solidarity expressed by the US Anti-Apartheid Movement participants was fueled by the fact that they were not merely making an empty moral international gesture but were simultaneously standing up for their own interests and concerns.

In the introduction to her new study of the US AAM, Evalyn Tenant reminds us that:

"US anti-apartheid activism was an important precursor to a variety of forms of contemporary transnationally-oriented activism, and shares key organizational features with many of them. Most significant among these features are multiple, spatially-as well as organizationally-decentralized participant groups; direct connections between people and groups across distances (including across national borders); and the framing of issues and choosing of targets at many different scales.

Related forms of contemporary activism include campaigns against sweatshops and for fair labor practices, against the lending policies of multilateral lending agencies and for debt relief/debt repudiation for poor countries, as well as a much larger array of campaigns around human rights, environmental and development issues."

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<sup>9</sup> Minty, Abdul, "The Anti-Apartheid Movement – what kind of history?" Conference paper. The Anti-Apartheid Movement: A 40 year perspective, South Africa House, London, 25-26 June 1999.



What is the current situation in the USA for organizing in solidarity with and providing support for the various issues which face the African continent today? How can individuals, communities and organizations within the USA impact US government policy towards Africa and help to decisively move that policy (or non-policy) in a just and positive direction?

Organizing on Africa and Africa-related issues in the United States is taking place today on altered terrain. It is a new situation. The South African apartheid system is demolished, and the Cold War no longer functions as a dominant component of US foreign relations, especially USA relations with Africa.

Militarism and war are the determinant notes of US foreign policy global agenda for the foreseeable future. As with the Vietnam War, this will prove to be a cancerous node inside the US polity. The contradictions and tensions within US society today- whether rooted in <sup>class</sup> racial, gender, religious, disability or sexual orientation issues- make Africa and Africa-related organizing complicated and challenging.

The "local" problems American citizens wrestle with daily often consume what little psychic and emotional energies people possess so that they remain with little compassion, let alone active empathy, for the problems of "Those others". The racialized projection, marginalization and "Tarzanization" of Africa and things African consistently result in the consignment of Africa and African concerns to remote and exotic chambers of American minds, with African people becoming as objectified and dehumanized as stuffed monkeys and porcelain elephant teapots. Seldom does the popular media cover Africa, let alone cover it in a way that the proper history and context are provided. Salih Booker, Executive Director of Africa Action, has recently noted it is not accidental that "Africa is 'ground zero' of the global AIDS crisis...Africa has been hit hardest by HIV/AIDS because poverty has left its people most vulnerable, and because racism has impeded an urgent international response."

Still, there are mobilizational possibilities and openings that have never been present before: this period of globalization includes that greater and greater numbers of citizens are aware of and traveling to Africa; African immigrants in the USA and Europe are both in larger numbers, and are more (economically



speaking) mobile and better organized; technology and communication enable remarkable and instantaneous access to current information about Africa; there is a slow but steady growth in a general consciousness amongst the literate public that events in Africa are related to other world events and dynamics; there is a growing awareness, for example, that the energy needs of the West (such as oil) may eventually be available only in Africa; more and more people, especially young people, are becoming increasingly aware of African music and art; (This allows for groups and artists such as Beyonce Knowles, Oliver Mtukudzi and the late Brenda Fassie to create openings wherein long-term engagement with Africa can be created.) and lastly, from within the African continent new initiatives are blossoming continuously- grassroots and women's movements that are globally linked through fora like the World Social forum are regularly contending with crucial issues like the HIV/AIDS catastrophe, debt and the neo-liberal agenda. Today's African activists understand full well that Africa faces global problems necessitating global solutions.

What are some of the lessons learned from the US AAM and the international AAM that are applicable to current solidarity work with Africa? By way of introducing this subject let me emphasize that all our movements paid keen attention to information from the main struggle, the political and armed struggle inside South Africa. We, in the West and elsewhere, were awed and inspired by the extraordinary solidarity that the Front Line States gave to the struggle to defeat apartheid. Our efforts paled in comparison to the millions of ordinary people throughout the region who died or were made homeless. We recognized the tremendous sacrifice that came from countries like Cuba and India. Those countries too modeled for us in the West what solidarity was all about.

Amongst **other lessons gained**: **first**, is the essential role that regular transnational communication and coordination played. Today's technology obviously facilitates effective, internationally coordinated strategies and actions. **Secondly**, there should be a maximization of flexibility and adaptability in the campaigns that are undertaken. Methods that are useful in one local or national context prove ineffective in other contexts. Organizing approaches must root themselves in ways that are consistent relevant and appropriate to specific conditions and traditions. **Thirdly**, class, race, and gender factors persist as major



obstacles to effective mobilizing in today's world. These factors go beyond national boundaries. In the USA (and in Europe and Canada, as well) the history of racial ordering and racial antagonisms is "alive and well". It means that too much Africa solidarity work being done today is done on an apartheid basis with a plethora of over-aged males (or "alpha males") running things from the top. Too few new youth and women leadership are emerging to displace the "ancient mariners" who are getting brittle, aging and retiring. I think that confronting and overcoming these types of factors are essential prerequisites to effective mobilizing around Africa issues in the present day. **Fourthly**, visibility has been and continues to be a useful tool in organizing around African issues. There is no doubt that anti-apartheid organizing thrived most at those points when the media was highlighting the issue. Some argue, pointing to the media magnetism of Randall Robinson, Desmond Tutu and Jesse Jackson, that securing media coverage is the only indispensable element in organizing around Africa questions in the USA. However, the media tool is but one device. It must be coupled with an honest presentation of the message. In his book Race for Sanctions, Francis Njubi Nesbitt describes this aspect of organizing when he writes:

"The carefully choreographed 'arrests by appointment' used media obsession with celebrity in a textbook case of prime time activism that catapulted sanctions to the top of the foreign policy agenda despite a pro-apartheid administration." (p.ix)

Let me close on a singularly grave final note. From a country renown for its brutal history and long years of resistance an administration has emerged that knows no limits to its sinister ambitions and intentions, War, war and more war is its mantra. Poverty, Poverty and inequity are its *leitmotifs*. You think that I am describing the United States, no doubt.

I actually am opening this section describing the administration of Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe. Mugabe has indeed emerged in a historical period with a US administration that knows no limits to its sinister imperial ambitions and intentions. War, war and more war is its mantra. But Mugabe and his warlord-like policies deflect attention and energy away from the larger structural issues Africa faces, like the issues coming from a Bush administration newly interested in gaining African oil and other natural resources.



These are not US-specific concerns but global ones. <sup>Targ eted assassinating seems to</sup> ~~Ariel Sharon led~~ Israeli killing of Palestinian ~~civilians~~ knows no limits. The occupation of Iraq has no end point. Behind Iraq lie Iran, North Korea, Cuba and the Philippines. Today, Africa has been re-assigned the 'Dark Continent' designation by much of the world's global media moguls. The political/ideological orientations and class/racial blinders constraining many of <sup>Western</sup> ~~Africa's~~ <sup>on Africa</sup> commentators from consistent and probing coverage constitute another type of "embeddedness."

The bleakness of the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo(DRC) where an estimated 3.5 million people have died in the last several years from war, famine and disease should not be weighed in merely the recitation of grim figures. Even worse in my opinion is the clear impression I have that, as with the HIV/AIDS pandemic, no one cares what happens in the DRC. And that the thinking that does occur about the DRC (popularly conceived as "the congo") is usually predicated on an imaging that can only conjur up savagery, chaos and death.

It is becoming more and more difficult to organize on African issues and struggles amidst a US population facing greater and greater fears about endless war, job loss, bankruptcy, domestic violence, and homelessness. In the world today, I believe us to be in an unprecedented historical period in which ordinary people awaken each day to a seemingly endless barrage of immediate and overwhelmingly depressing issues. Like a daily fix, it "zaps" their minds and halts their movements, poisoning precious fluids.

Still, as we saw in the struggle in Southern Africa, history is funny; like a quixotic lover suddenly leaping out of bed, it can bound in unpredictable directions. We must continue organizing, forging stronger global relations for the long haul ahead. I believe the motor of effective organizing is building trusting relationships. It is a long and painstaking effort for which there are few shortcuts. It entails building bonds of confidence and trust. This we did, with a few shaky moments, during the anti-apartheid struggle. This kind of organizing entails reciprocity. For there are few 'ordinary folk' who in this particular

historical period are going to engage themselves in efforts on behalf of Africa without having a sense that such engagement will give them some returns as well.

As Amilcar Cabral<sup>10</sup>, Samora Machel<sup>11</sup> (and others) said years ago, most folk live and struggle not for big grandiose ideas and schemes but to see their lives go forward, to see their children's lives go forward.

Thank you. I am honored to have had this time with you.

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<sup>10</sup> Amilcar Cabral was "one of the foremost revolutionaries and theorists of the century." He was the founder and leader of the PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde) in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde until his assassination in 1973. See Benewick and Green, Routledge Dictionary of Twentieth Century Political Thinkers, second edition, 1998, p. 35.

<sup>11</sup> Samora, Machel was President of the Peoples Republic of Mozambique from 1975-1986. He was killed in a mysterious plane crash in 1986. World Political Almanac, Facts on File, 2001, p. 531.