



MODERN SOLIDARITY

- *What did we learn from Southern Africa's liberation?*

Popular Movements' Meeting

11-12 April 2008 – Sigtuna Folk high school

Reports from the meeting

Introduction

This is a report from a seminar in Sigtuna, Sweden where about 100 representatives from various Swedish NGOs discussed the lessons learned from the solidarity work around the liberation of southern Africa 1960 – 1995. Assisting us were 16 invited guests from southern Africa. Most of them having current relations to Swedish NGOs but some having historical ties to the Swedish solidarity work. Three poets from South Africa provided by the Department of Arts and Culture in South Africa did contribute to the atmosphere and conclusion that culture must play an important role in solidarity work. The Swedish song group Ageli singing South African songs contributed in a similar way.

In this report you will find short summaries of what was said in the plenary sessions as well as in the group discussions. The intention was not to come up with any final document or plan of action but to present the discussions as ideas for the future.

Immediately after the seminar the people joined several hundreds more that had met in the Norrmalms Church in Stockholm for a public meeting around the theme “Together for Solidarity”. There was five hours with a mixture of speeches, panel discussions, music, dance and poetry. There is no report from this included here but as an appendix to this report you will find some of the speeches from this meeting as well as from the seminar.

Some main points drawn from the report:

Lessons learned:

- Support has to be built from below.
- We could achieve a lot more when we worked across organisational and ideological barriers.
- Important to work globally as the international Anti Apartheid movement did.
- Use culture as a means to reach identification and strengthen humanitarian and solidarity values.
- Popular education methods such as study circles are important both here and in Africa.
- There is a need for continued trade union solidarity based on the experiences from the struggle time.
- There is a need to recognize the role och the church in society as it played a great role during the struggle. The Church should not leave the responsibility of building the new nation to the politicians only.
- Youth need to be given space to act and be seen as a resource.

Challenges:

- How do we deal with leaders that only are focused on remaining in power
- We need to include the young people in improving our globalised world.
- Strengthen individual an international cooperation and change our behaviour in order to save the resources of the world.

Methods:

- Coordination and solidarity in the south between organisations and countries.
- Progressive partnership built on mutual respect and discussions.
- Capacity building.
- Twinning programmes and youth exchange.
- Mobilise public opinion
- Study circles
- Involve youth and children in solidarity work

Priorities:

- Food security, trade issues, climate change, HIV/Aids, gender equality = sustainable development.
- Global warming
- Poverty alleviation, education, Health care including HIV/Aids and to empower the disadvantaged.
- Just and fair Trade
- Western Sahara the last colony in Africa
- Democracy in Zimbabwe

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Modern Solidarity
- what did we learn from Southern Africa's liberation?
Popular Movements' Meeting and Together for Solidarity 11-12 April 2008

The Swedish people were committed in the opposition against colonialism, racial discrimination and the brutal oppression in Southern Africa. Through this, Sweden got its so far strongest movement for international solidarity:

- Successful – Swedish contributions were acknowledged when colonial power fell in Angola and Mozambique in 1975, Zimbabwe got majority rule in 1980, Namibia was liberated in 1990 and South Africa won peace and free elections in 1994.
- Persevering – with roots in the 1950s the movement grew until the liberation from apartheid.
- Strong sense of solidarity – a close collaboration with liberation movements and popular opposition struggle gave guidance and mutual inspiration.
- Radical – subversive, armed liberation movements were supported, at the same time as trade and jobs were lost.
- Broad political support – almost everyone joined in, few were openly against the movement, and no one was indifferent.
- Popular support – widespread knowledge, great media interest and committed organizations.
- Government backing – a lot of aid, un-silent active diplomacy and sanction laws, whose tardiness and loopholes further spurred the solidarity work.
- Far-seeing – today there are uniquely multifaceted relations, at least with South Africa.

Such a good history should continue to live and be an inspiration for the future. Therefore a new book series is giving an account of the popular solidarity in the churches, the labour movement, Africa Groups of Sweden, Practical Solidarity, and the common work done under the umbrella of the Isolate South Africa Committee. The books can be bought from www.nielsen-norenforlag.se and are available on the reference site of the Nordic Africa Institute www.liberationafrica.se.

No success will last for ever. Freedom, democracy and prosperity – or the liberation from poverty – must be constantly re-conquered under changing conditions. Without solidarity this is not possible. We are living in an increasingly globalized world that is shattered and united in new ways. New wealth co-exists with old injustices. HIV/Aids, climatic change and new conflict patterns like terrorism, are challenging humanity in new ways.

Therefore we would like to gather for a discussion of the conditions, tasks and shapes of solidarity today. We want to learn from the successes and challenges of the anti-apartheid movement. The purpose is to promote new solidarity, both with today's Southern Africa as with a just global development. The format is a two-part conference, to be held when the generic books have been published in Swedish and English. The book series and the seminar will give attention to each other.

The first part of the event is a **Popular Movements' Meeting** on 11th-12th April 2008, for people and organizations that were active in the anti-apartheid work. The goal is to point out possibilities to develop the solidarity work in the respective organizations, as well as to promote common initiatives.

The second part is **Together for Solidarity** in central Stockholm on Saturday 12th April, with interesting key speakers, panel debates, cultural elements and opportunities for new meetings. There will be room for small exhibitions. The goal is to give proof of a common will to uphold solidarity as a modern force of society, point out the popularly rooted cooperation with Southern Africa as a positive example and attract positive attention to these messages



Modern Solidarity

- *What did we learn from Southern Africa's liberation?*

Popular Movements' Meeting

11-12 April 2008 – Sigtuna Folk high school

Friday 11/4

09.00 Check in for participants who did not arrive on Thursday.
Coffee

10.00 Welcome, introduction and practical information.

Who are we? Why are we here? What have we done? A short presentation about the history project and the books published. *Mr Jan-Erik Mellin, Mr Bertil Högberg and Mr Bernt Jonsson.*

10.40 What difference did our solidarity make in Africa, Sweden and the world? What does people's solidarity mean today?

Three voices from Southern Africa and Sweden:

Speakers: Rev. Lennart Renöfält, Rev. Frank Chikane and High Commissioner Lindiwe Mabusa.

11.15 Break

11.30 Panel discussion: The situation in Southern Africa today

Introduction and moderator: *Dr Henning Melber.* Panelists: *Ms Ntando Ndlovu, Dr Rogerio Uthuí, Mr Sekopi Malebo, Mr Zeka Alberto, Mr Fernando Pacheco, and Ms Promise Chuma.*

12.15 Lunch

13.30 Group discussions:

What did we learn about solidarity work then that could work today?

- The role of the labour unions in solidarity work and the responsibility of business
Facilitator: *Ms Keth Thapper*
Resource persons: *Mr Bongani Masuku, Mr Andrew Kailembo and Ms Birgitta Silén*
- The role of culture in solidarity work
Facilitator: *Ms Mai Palmberg*
Resource persons: *Professor Kgositsile and Mr Anders Nyberg.*
- The role of the church and religion in solidarity work
Facilitator: *Rev. Sven-Bernhard Fasth*
Resource persons: *Bishop Sebastian Bakare, Rev. Frank Chikane and Rev. Rune Forsbeck.*
- The role of "Folkbildning" – Liberal/popular adult education – in solidarity work
Facilitator: *Jan-Erik Mellin*

Resource persons: *Mr Fernando Pacheko, Mr Sekopi Malebo and Ms Anne Giertz*

- The role of civil society in solidarity work and the relationship between civil society and governments.
Facilitator: *Tor Sellström*
Resource persons: *Prime Minister Nahas Angula, Mr Zeka Alberto, Ms Amelia Sumbana and Mr Ulf Rickardsson*
- The role of the youth in solidarity work
Facilitator: *Mr Magnus Walan*
Resource persons: *Mr Muziwhake Sigudla, Ms Promise Chuma and Mr Hans Vindeland*
- Anti-apartheid movements – forerunner to the global social movements of today?
Facilitator: *Rev. Lennart Renöfält*
Resource persons: *Dr Håkan Thörn, Rev Malcolm Damon, Ms Ntando Ndlovu and Mr Sören Lindh*

15.30 Coffee break

16.00 Panel discussion: How can we use the lessons learned in the solidarity work of today

Moderator: *Mr Bernt Jonsson*

Participants: *Dr Håkan Thörn, Ms Birgitta Silén, Mr Bongani Masuku and Professor Kgositsile*

17.10 Break

The next session begins and ends with South African songs by Ageli

17.30 Challenges: *Solidarity in the future*

We let our selves be challenged by three of our guests, ca 10 min each.

Speakers: Bishop Sebastian Bakare, Ms Promise Chuma and Mr Peter Weiderud

19.00 Dinner

Saturday 12/4

7.30 Breakfast

8.30 Solidarity today and in the future

Group discussions about methods and priorities

9.30 Coffee break

10.00 Solidarity in the future

Groups report about discussion for 3 min each.

Panel discussion with participation from the audience: What have we learned from history and from this meeting, for the future solidarity? Moderator: *Mr Roger Hällhag* Panellists: *Mr Andrew Kailembo, Mr Joe Frans, Ms Sigrid Bergfeldt and Mr Muziwhake Sigudla*

Concluding speech by *Prime Minister Nahas Angula*

11.45 Lunch

12.45 Departure to Stockholm

14.00 *Together for Solidarity*, public meeting in Norrmalmskyrkan

Three poets from South Africa will participate and perform during the seminar: Ms Napo Masheane, Ms Gabeba Baderoon and Ms Phillippa Yaa de Villiers (final 080410)

International Participants



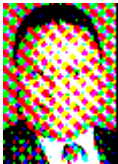
Mr. Zeka Alberto – Zeka Alberto is a lawyer at Legal Assistance Centre in Namibia on land and environmental matters. He also provides training on various laws to LAC's target groups. He has a keen interest in international law, particularly on the African Court on Human and People's Rights and the SADC Tribunal.



Prime Minister Nahas Angula – Nahas Angula was responsible for education in SWAPO refugee camps. He was the first Minister of Education, Sport, and Culture in Namibia from 1990 to 1995, and Minister of Higher Education from 1995 until 2005. He is currently the Prime Minister of Namibia.



Bishop Sebastian Bakare – Sebastian Bakare is bishop in the Anglican 'Church of the Province of Central Africa'. He previously served as bishop in Mutare, and has also been the chair of Zimbabwe Council of Churches.



Rev. Frank Chikane – Frank Chikane was the General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches 1987-1994. He served in the office of the Deputy President Thabo Mbeki in 1994-1999, and serves today as the Director General in the office of the President. Reverend Chikane also plays an important role within the church.



Ms. Promise Chuma – Promise Chuma is the Outgoing Minister of Agriculture of Botswana National Youth Parliament. She is the Regional Coordinator and the Director of the Botswana section of Young Women's Forum - a gender programme run by Southern African Youth Movement (SAYM).



Rev. Malcolm Damon – Malcolm Damon is the Director of Economic Justice Network (EJN) - a network of the Fellowship of Councils of Churches in Southern Africa (FOCCISA). EJN undertakes research, facilitates information gathering, dissemination and exchange, and advocate on issues of trade, debt and food security in the Southern Africa region.



Mr. Andrew Kailembo – Andrew Kailembo is the Senior Advisor in the International Trade Union Confederation in Africa (ITUC-Africa). As General Secretary of ICFTU-AFRO, he played an important role in the unification of two former regional organisations – ICFTU-AFRO and DOAWTU to what has become ITUC-Africa.



Prof. Keorapetse Kgotsitsile – Keorapetse Kgotsitsile was a founding member of the ANC Department of Education as well as that of Arts and Culture. The recipient of many poetry awards, he has also studied and taught Literature and Creative Writing at a number of universities in the United States and in Africa. He is the Minister's advisor in the department of Arts and Culture in South Africa.



High Commissioner Lindiwe Mabuza – Lindiwe Mabuza is the High Commissioner of the Republic of South Africa in the United Kingdom since 2001. During the period 1979 to 1987 she represented the African National Congress in Scandinavian countries based in Sweden. In 1994 she was a Member of the first democratic Parliament in South Africa. She is also the author of several poetry collections.



Mr. Sekopi Malebo – Sekopi Malebo studied at Sigtuna Folk high school to become a youth leader in the Lutheran church. He was a driving force in the local civics movement and ANC's underground work, and has extensive political experience in the Freestate, South Africa.



Mr. Bongani Masuku – Bongani Masuku is the Head of the International Department of COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) since 2006. He is currently part of the team convening the new civil society solidarity initiative in South Africa. He is a founder member of the Southern African People's Solidarity Network (SAPSN), which currently co-ordinates solidarity work in the region.



Ms. Ntando Ndlovu – Ntando Ndlovu has a degree in economy from England and is today a program officer with the Africa Groups of Sweden in Zimbabwe. She is the former Director of ZIMCODD - Zimbabwe Coalition for Debt and Development.



Mr. Fernando Pacheco – Fernando Pacheco is the founder and Chairman of ADRA (Action for Rural Development and Environment) a non-governmental organisation in Angola. He is currently working as an independent consultant, primarily working with a variety of governmental institutions, UN agencies, and international NGOs in Angola.



Mr. Muziwake Sigudla – Muziwake Sigudla is the President of Southern African Youth Movement (SAYM) and the Director of Center for Youth Participation in South Africa. He has represented SAYM at various African Union levels as a youth delegate at ministerial and head of state meetings.



Ms. Amélia Sumbana – Amélia Sumbana is a Member of Parliament for Frelimo in Mozambique and she is also the Vice-president of Socialist International Women. Amélia Sumbana is the former Secretary for International Relations at Frelimo Party, 1997-2007.



Mr. Rogério José Uthui – Rogério José Uthui is the Vice Chancellor of the Teachers Training College in Mozambique. He has an extensive background in natural sciences and is active in the social debate in Mozambique.

Modern Solidarity

11-12 April, Opening Session 10:10am

Rapporteur: Sigurd Zetterqvist, Sigtuna Folk College

Bertil Högberg Coordinator of the seminar

What have we learned from the era 1960 – 1995 about how to make Solidarity? How do we apply these lessons now. That is the intention of this seminar!

Jan-Erik Mellin Teacher at the Sigtuna Folk College.

About the town Sigtuna: ancient (started in 980-ies) and modern history (education institutions from 1917 and onwards, doubling the numbers of inhabitants every 30 year since).

About the Sigtuna Folk College: started in 1917.

About the Sigtuna Folk College's relation with the struggle for the Freedom of Southern Africa. Strong and intense in our courses, both the special "Comrade projects" in the 1980ies and "Peace Guardians' Education /Trainees" among other courses in the 1990ies. Today we are proud to be host of this Seminar. Engagements are common for us who are here! Welcome to Sigtuna and the Folk College here!

Bertil Högberg: About the Documentation about the Solidarity work in Sweden for Southern Africa from apartheid and colonization to democratic states. The history is written in two volumes by Tor Sellström 2002. (Nordic Africa Institute)

On the URL: <http://www.liberationafrica.se> The Nordic Africa Institute have lists of archival content from the Nordic Countries as well as transcribed interviews, posters and photos. Books mentioned here are also available to be downloaded.

During the Seminar we have a copy of parts of an on going exhibition from the Photo Museum in Sundsvall There are posters from the solidarity work.

Another documentation was needed and six volumes have been produced of the different NGO:s work on Solidarity. One each about the Isolate South Africa Committee, the Africa Groups of Sweden, the labour movement, the churches and Practical Solidarity. The sixth volume is a summary introduced below.

Bernt Jonsson author of "The Summary of the Summary" (of the history project) On the Road Towards Liberation: Swedish solidarity with the struggle for liberation in southern Africa.

There was important interaction with the governmental support to liberation movements and the activists within non governmental organisations /movements

In Sweden an analysis on north-south conflict, and in "upper class- "lower class" was made in the NGO:s. Sweden positioned itself between the two blocks in the cold war.

Focus was on South Africa 1960- 65 and the Portuguese colonies 1965 – 1975, and Southern Africa 1975 – 1995.

Since the 1920'ies, on the International Laws for people's self-determination. That he government minister Dag Hammarskjöld became The Secretary General of UN in the 50s, and that about 6000 Swedish soldiers was deployed in former colony Congo. This was part of the explanation as to why Swedish politicians from all parties (except the right wing?) supported the liberation movements in southern Africa.

Olof Palme was elected 1969 as Chairman of the social democratic party and therefore became prime minister of Sweden. He held an anti imperial speech and focused both Vietnam and South Africa.

All Swedish parties supported the liberation movements. Therefore there was no change in this support when Olof Palme lost the election in 1976.

When The Isolate South Africa Committee was formed in the end of the 70s there were three main NGO groups: Religious (Christian) youth movements, Youth organisations related to the political parties, and the Africa Groups. Later it broadened further.

In 1984 there was a media breakthrough: The ISAK umbrella became a media authority! And the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu was important.

1993 came PEMSA – Peace and Electoral Monitoring in South Africa. And the first free election in South Africa. It was "Mission Accomplished".

We can read from the UN Report 1989 that the isolation strategy had an effect in economic measures for the apartheid structure in South Africa

Sanctions were effective in order to bring about a democratic society in South Africa, but the arguments against were economic (how will it hurt Swedish Export Industries?) There was also fear that sanctions would undermine the international law order on the respect for countries' sovereignty.



Photos in the report by Rania Botani and Daniel Franzen studying Creative Photography at Sigtuna Folk High School

Friday 11 April 10:40

What difference did our solidarity make in Africa, Sweden and the world? What does people's solidarity mean today?

Rapporteur: Ulf Rickardsson, Diakonia

Rev Lennart Renöfält

In forming the Isolate South Africa Committee (ISAC) the aim was to create a broad, effective and powerful network. The outcome was way beyond what we hoped for. Participation was very broad. Between 60-70 organisations became members, whose total membership by far exceeded the total population of Sweden. It was the strongest solidarity movement we have ever had in Sweden.

Initially the agenda was formulated through meetings in other fora, arranged by the movements that were to form ISAC, setting the agenda guided by the liberation movements in Southern Africa.

The success of ISAC was possible because the ideological platform was well balanced - it was open and yet very clear politically and the goals formulated were far reaching, e.g. that Nelson Mandela should be released from prison. This allowed broad membership, and a number of big organisations signed up from the start, which created important momentum for the movement.

ISAC applied a "step-by-step" strategy, starting by building public support by involving people locally all over Sweden, combined with research on Swedish companies in South Africa which was used in awareness raising and building further public support, which in turn enabled increasing momentum for influence Swedish government policy. By pacing the work the broad public support and policy influence was gradually consolidated.

Another key aspect of ISAC's success was the coordination with the international solidarity movement. We focused on the same issues in Sweden as in the international movement.

What did we learn? That change is possible! It may take many years and lot of effort – but it is possible.

Rev Frank Chikane

This is a fitting moment to once again say thank you very much! The solidarity we had together was an experience of being wholly accompanied. Your support was not partial or conditional. Some of you did unconventional things, like diplomats going beyond the normal duties of their work, supporting the internal resistance and the victims of racism and colonialism. And the greatest contribution of them all – the mobilisation of the international community, using concrete and tangible campaigns, like boycotting oranges from South Africa...

The character of the support then is critical to inform what we do in the future. The progressive concept of partnership applied by Sweden and the other Nordic countries should be used to define a modern concept of partnership - accepting the sovereign right of the people, based on respect and a consultative approach: "What are you doing? Can we help?" As a consequence we could say: "We have our ideas – and we don't want you to change our ideas." This was why we also approached the Nordic countries for the initial funding for NEPAD.

Unfortunately this is not the dominant approach today. The current model imposes solutions, how and what partners should do, in the narrow self interest of powerful nations: “If you do not vote like we say you will lose your money...” In this way the post 9/11 world is similar to the cold war. Then, as now, the dominant approach was “aid for security” rather than aid for development. This self interest also manifests itself clearly in current trade negotiations, where the positions pushed on the trade agenda negates anything done within development cooperation. It is like the story in the Bible, about the demon coming out and returning with seven others. They help you – and then they come back and take everything from you!

Modern solidarity means to override narrow self interest and regain and maintain the progressive partnership that we had with the Nordic countries in your support to the struggle against colonialism and apartheid.

Lindiwe Mabuza

When I came to Sweden for the first time it was with trepidation. In Lusaka I was told that I was going to Sweden. Oliver Tambo told me that “you are going to our friends, people who stand as a landmark in the support to our struggle.” And he was right.

When I came to Sweden ISAC had just been formed. I was amazed how activists in Sweden were seized by the challenge, as if it was their own struggle. They respected our goals – their campaigns were our campaigns. When we identified education for the exiles residing in other African states as something we would raise with our partners and approached the solidarity movement in Sweden it turned out you had already started supporting SOMAFSCO in Tanzania. The Teachers Union took responsibility for raising funds for the science block and the Center Party youth and Women for another department, etc. This was solidarity in a very practical and concrete way. Another example is the diplomats that we worked closely with in the frontline states, carrying money to South Africa and bringing back UDF t-shirts to the ANC office in Lusaka!

What struck me was the decency of the people in Sweden. There is a manner in which you treat other people. You responded because apartheid was an affront to humanity. A good example is the response that I had from meeting with children in primary school. Nine year olds would respond by requesting their teacher to “ask Lindiwe how people can be so wicked?” and how they could join the people fighting.

The best way to thank you for your support is the liberty we now enjoy. Your support was a history making experience – you have made history! What we need to ask ourselves now is what decisions we are making today and what impact they have for Southern Africa? For instance, what will you do to assist the fulfilment of the MDG:s in Southern Africa?



High Commissioner Lindiwe Mabuza, Rev. Frank Chikane, Mr Bernt Jonsson

Friday 11 April, 11:30 Panel Discussion

Moderator: Dr Henning Melber, Director of the Dag Hammarskjöld Institute

Rapporteur: Sigurd Zetterqvist, Sigtuna Folk high school

HM: Mr President, Your Excellencies! 20 years ago we said just: "Comrades And Friends!"

20 years ago unified southern Africa in SADEC. - Angola – Botswana – Zambia, Mozambique, Tanzania, Swaziland, Lesotho, Malawi. Then Namibia and South Africa could join in.

Today it is not the end of history, but the structure legacies, the limits of liberations; the biggest socialist experiments in the world; in the hand of freedom and liberty.

It consists of fundamental redistribution of wealth and social and political and economic change.

I haven't mentioned Zimbabwe yet, but what holds for the future for the whole Region.

Chronological order of independent panel participants:

Promise Chuma (Botswana): The voice of the young people of Southern Africa is vigorous, energetic; look into how we are able to get into the systems! Are the nations of today ready to engage the Youths for today! a) How we should partner with the solidarity movements? Collaborate with us! b) Benefits for international organization LSU in Sweden: how can we educate ourselves in Human Rights and get tools.

Fernando Pacheco (Angola): Achievements: we got is peace and reconciliations, democracy and Human Rights. Lesson learned. Social Justice is not possible without a struggle against corruption! Challenges: Civil Society must continue.

Rogério José Uthui (Mozambique): educated in Soviet Union and acquired a PhD in Sweden in 1996. We struggled for independence. Then started another struggle for education of our people. We needed educated Teachers for all the levels! In creating the competitiveness of Mozambicans in the subcontinent. Familiar with the Africa Groups long solidarity work in the Country.

Ntando Ndlovu (Zimbabwe): Still working in Zimbabwe; we will be respected for the people that we are! For our own children. What is Zimbabwe today beyond the politics? I'm part of that Community! We need economic and social independence. What are the foreign countries giving? What do they take?

Zeka Alberto (Namibia): We got a good constitution at independence but there is a gap between rich and poor (1'600 US\$). Absent Land lords another problem. They produce nothing, making no productive use of the land.

Sekopi Malebo (South Africa): I came here to Sigtuna as a student, with a new passport, and was so confused. Everything was totally opposite my experiences. I forgot what hunger was and that I were black. And all these books” I went back, was active in the youth; congress movement. We need to mobilize through education.

The Zimbabwe issue

Promise: I am living close to the border and got my education in Zimbabwe. It is going

through a crisis. I will not be political, but sensitive. Life is real whatever comes around. Not in the position to bring the critical issue.

Fernando: Difficult that information comes from the government in power or from western media. Not telling the information of the white farmers and of the people of Zimbabwe.

Rogério: Zimbabwe used to be a big export economy. When Zimbabwe suffers; also we suffer. Not everything of what we hear is true. My personal impression: The liberation was never fulfilled.

Zeka: Judgement had to be delivered having had into consideration solidarity movements supporting organisations; its a shame to opt for silent diplomacy. The situation influence inhabitants in other countries, we will not condemn our partners in Zimbabwe

Sekopi: president Mugabe was a hero in the 1980ies. He was one of the forerunners; but the choice was to work with the people, not to close the borders. Results must be released.

Ntando: I speak as an individual. Anxious of the election results to be released - progressive, in practical . I am to young to need to take responsibility. But it affects me as individual. A lot more needs to be done!

HM: To talk about serious issues among friends! You're very personal and humble. The Struggle Continues.



Ms Promice Chuma



Ms Philippa Yaa de Villiers, Poet

Friday 11 April, 13:30 Group Meeting

Anti-apartheid movements – forerunner to the global social movements of today?

Rapporteur: Berit Wiklund, Africa Groups of Sweden

Lessons learned:

1. The Anti apartheid movement (AAM) respected the movement in the south and the political differences because it was based on a common understanding
2. The AAM was a transnational movement creating a global civil society and important links between the political movement, church movement, exile organisations etc.
3. The AAM brought culture as an important weapon in the struggle. It created political passion and action.
4. The AAM was considered as a very important and reliable source of information and knowledge. The media couldn't ignore AAM when writing and reporting on the situation in southern Africa.

Recommendations for the future:

5. We must understand the world better in order to present clear messages based on common grounds how to deal with global apartheid and the unequal social economic justice.



Friday 11 April 13:30 Group Meeting

The role of civil society in solidarity work and the relationship between civil society and governments

Moderator: Tor Sellström, ACCORD

Rapporteur: Stellan Bäcklund, Swedish UN Association

EXPERIENCES/What did we learn?

- Platform for interaction!
- Mobilisation of public opinion!
- Mobilisation of resources from the public!
- Commitment is of great importance!
- Partnership for capacity building at community level!

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Involvement of the youth crucial for the future!
- Greater co-ordination by NGOs around themes such as millennium development goals, youths, gender, climate etc..
- Find ways of closer co-operation between state and non-state actors



Friday 11 April 13:30 Group Meeting

The role of culture in solidarity work.

Rapporteur: Lotta Gerhardsson, Forum Syd

We started with trying to answer the questions:

- What makes culture special in solidarity work?
- What are the important issues for solidarity work?

Everyone introduced themselves and declared own experiences:

- Culture is an opportunity to offer people praxis of showing humanity, and solidarity values.
- Culture is a weapon in the struggle. Music, small events, dialogue in small groups, musicians from South Africa will join culture-meetings with people from different places to create processes for change,
- Culture has an important role in solidarity work and is a cornerstone in that work, useful to bring it into different situations, to achieve some result,
- It's a tool for communication among people, for example when I saw a theatre play that pointed out the big problem with men's violence against women – it was a strong experience, culture can help people to grow and it can also give some hope,
- Diverse backgrounds, gives confidence and courage to tolerate, culture makes a difference, it gives people tolerance to live together,
- Brings out inner views, music, poems, novels, plays, everything teaches in humanity experience, as beauty recordings of human experiences. It brings a message of society, a manuscript to a friend. "No speech can be better than that poem", footprints and fingerprints = what art is. It's a universal language, culture "grows the rhythm out of the body", the work by the Swedish people moved society forwards, the specific meaning by seeing Swedish people singing our songs – means that Swedish people move their own people, ANC people got help from Swedish people to move things forward. There were no headlines in New York Times but a big concert with professional artists singing songs to bring freedom for Nelson Mandela. Our struggle was not always popular to support – but when Swedish artists sang the songs it became OK.
- Friendship, in the context of struggle – culture is a kind of struggle, believe that without culture the world would not have a liberation movement, organised by culture and the politician agenda. Celebrate human interaction, it is art.
- Culture brought the music to Sweden from South Africa and it was liberation for all of us, forefront of struggle, the essence, we all are some kind of culture and we are sharing things; With culture you can unite culture and politics, singing louder is a dedication, to sing out – for example with greetings at a schoolyard could be a useful weapon in the ambition to be heard.
- To bring a message that comes deeper into a human being, bringing deeper values and a lot of understandings among the issues you will announce,
- Pictures – to share pictures is a big challenge, others take pictures on our society, by photographing you can take your own pictures to bring and see what comes out, with new eyes that put things in another perspective

- We need liberation in this country; few attend services but come for the music and share experiences. With the movies, theatre – see what is happening, in the church you can get different experiences, lost parts of culture identity come out – wider space experience,
- Indication that we are here - five poets are here in this conference, apartheid had a culture, beyond resistance to imagine that there couldn't exist a duty, to pose awkward questions – freedom to be sensitive to dream and ask questions, represent the country – hasn't happened, now makes it possible, important change to be normal!

Discussion:

Contain the values we want to reach, phenomena interest from confessions: motivation to fight apartheid; it couldn't have happened without reading a book about it, like Vietnam with Fulbright's book. Writers inspire you to start some movement or action, they help to widen the experience to make a change, issues: peace and reconciliation, human rights in principles, fight against corruption, social justice including gender issues, cultural rights,

Solidarity with whom? Today? Partners in civil society, contradiction between civil society and government,

Alt 2, to lobby on trade and world economics, is it useful?

Solidarity from the beginning was not with government, it's a principle, not attached to a person, Mugabe moved from being a hero to a hero that did something very un-heroic - the principles don't change with freedom of the people, solidarity – to be friends – to be able to criticize – you also have to be critical on different levels in movement to government, solidarity with people was always **with** the people, attended to make connection to hear from friends how the government operate under the surface, still friends but friends in government??? That's a complicated situation. Don't think there will be any communication; we always have to communicate with society. When things go wrong we could/must act. Our role today – see the full picture in reality and who the monster is and how we look upon them? Solidarity supporting some in struggle – effective movement should have supported it, the journey. Today the movement and the struggle is about humanity.

Culture is now more a health project, used in development projects, Europe has got larger amount of funding to develop a strong art – the vision of culture in solidarity movement measure of the art, resistance useful.

Assistance to artists in their work, how to bring art into common or public form – how to create support from government?

Facilitating effect means many challenges but some kind of goodwill to bring a new society, cultural expressions will assist in artistic work, to create a friendship on a societal level, for ex there was an exchange program between Sweden and South Africa with a music project, expressing of ideas and expressing questions and it could be facilitated by governmental people. But a risk: NGO:s who have government status - need papers that tell you about the aim of the project, the criteria brings you into a cultural context when you are working in partnership and so on, solidarity organisations in Sweden sometimes loose people being involved in cultural work which is not very successful because it has strong forms and become bureaucratic.

Conclusions:

The role of culture in solidarity work – something we learn is:

- That culture is a universal language and a tool for struggle or the struggle it self. It touches our humanity. It helps us to make a change.

How can we bring the experiences and use them for the future?

- Questions were raised about restricting use of culture only in developing projects.
- Where are we now and where to go – to point out the future
- Let us dream of a solidarity movement where all are participating, not one where we are still “us and them/you”.



Friday 11 April 13:30 Group Meeting
The role of Folkbildning in Solidarity work
Rapporteur: Kent Werne, ABF

The discussion focused on the Swedish experiences from using popular education as a tool in solidarity work, but a lot of input was also given from the African participants concerning their experiences from using popular education in cooperation with Swedish organizations as well as independently.

We have learned that popular education...

- Contributes to create tolerance. It broadens the viewpoint of the participants.
- Is a vital part of the march towards a more democratic society, since it is a practical exercise in democracy and that it contains democratic values. It also empowers people and gives them the courage to engage in societal change.
- Is easy to adopt as an approach in community development. It promotes interaction among people with needs and it creates consciousness. Through popular education people get the tools to influence local politics. It also fosters self management of projects on a local level.
- It promotes a stronger and a more equal cooperation/partnership between organizations in Sweden and Africa, since the viewpoint of popular education is highly democratic and participative. It is easy for African organisations to “own” the projects when dealing with popular education.
- And the methods commonly used – the study circle for example – are easily adapted and transformed within the local context in Africa.
- Is a strong method for creating change. But sometimes you fail to reach the goal. Change takes time. We have learned though that the process is important in itself, even more important than reaching a certain goal.

A recommendation for the future is that...

- Popular education should be used more widely, in Africa as well as in Sweden, when it comes to solidarity work. The study circle should be used more.
- If your goal is to change society, it is important that the popular educational efforts are conducted in cooperation with and within a movement.
- To find new ways and areas for popular education in the era of globalization.
- We have to keep an open mind to make a real exchange of popular education methods possible. Swedish organizations also have a lot to learn.
- It is important for Swedish organizations working in partnership to respect and listen to the partner organizations and traditions of popular education in the area.

Friday 11 April 13:30 – Group Meeting

The role of labour unions in solidarity work and the responsibility of business

Rapporteur: Agneta Liljestam, Olof Palme International Center

Introduction by Andrew Kailembo, African Confederation of Trade Unions:

Shaping the 21st century means social relations that bind one another together. The goal is justice and human dignity. People feel more connected and we all share poverty and inequality or expressed in other words: One for all and all for one. We want social justice for all. Today we experience gross violation on workers human rights and fascist police states where freedom fighters are executed. Undemocratic states discourage investment in Africa. Modern solidarity or tangible solidarity?

The trade unionist were often detained and charged a situation still in practice in Nigeria, Kenya, Swaziland, Zimbabwe etc. The trade unions received support from sister trade unions in the world and it was important with international opinion if regimes arrested union leaders. LO put pressure on the companies in Sweden if union leaders were arrested. Protest from trade unions abroad, and pressure on the embassies to take stand, can lead to reduced bilateral and multilateral funding to the governments.

The food crisis. Strikes in Cameroon, ten people killed. Burkina Faso, people arrested and detained. The trade unions movement, transcend tribal divisions. The trade union can play a role for democratization and is an important institution in the society. South African companies, accepting trade unions in SA, but when they go abroad they do not want trade unions. Cooperation between business companies and trade unions depend on the strengths of the trade union in a particular country. The civil society can not intervene in solidarity with the trade unions. The solidarity is between trade unions; some NGOs even split trade unions.

Comment: As one of the outcomes of the globalization some companies have signed global frame agreements with their trade unions e.g. some Swedish transnational companies (e.g. IKEA, Securitas).

Birgitta Silén, Olof Palme International Center

In the early 70s a heated discussion evolved about the methods to use against apartheid. Should Swedish trade unions support their trade union comrades in South Africa or not? Preconditions have changed today. What is modern solidarity? Challenges: the strong international network of trade unions, what has globalization led to? Is there a common agenda of the international trade unions agenda? Is there at south-south agenda, a south-north or an international agenda? Today in Sweden we experience that many members are leaving trade unions in Sweden. In the south we don't know the affiliation percentage of workers to trade unions? How many of all workers find their outcome in the informal sector? What is the new role of business? Companies are part of the society and what responsibilities do they show for the development?

If we look at some positive parts of trade unions we can agree on their capacity in long term engagement in solidarity. The networks exist and they have the mechanism. In Sweden: the political party has expressed in politics the agenda of trade unions.

LO comment: fighting on international level seeks to have common agenda. LO is swallowed of our national problems. Informal economy: a huge challenge. If we are getting weaker what effect will that have on international solidarity?

Andrew: Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Ghana, has a special section for informal sector.

Comment: The neo-liberal agenda is not in favour of strong unions. The exodus of members from LO is an effect of neo-liberalism.

Leif: We have to be more curious and open-minded to exchange instead of the bilateral giving and taking.

Bongani Masuku, International Secretary, COSATU

Modern Solidarity, we have to acknowledge that the global economy has changed the environment. The momentum, the traditional way of organizing workers is no longer applicable. There are so many migrant workers, outsourcing, temporary workers; insecure working, hazardous work and illegal immigrants. All of them workers without rights.

Perhaps they are hired to build a house and when the roof is put up, the contractor announce them to the police. The challenge is to organize all forms of workers. Women workers has special needs. How do you use modern technology for organizing, for training etc ? E-forums, the blogg forums etc are opportunities for engagement and can broaden our struggle. Today we confront environment and climate change, global warming. Africa is the worst victim of global heating, low adaptability; we see the growth of deserts and deforestation.

We need to end to the proliferation of arms and landmines. There is a need for solidarity from north to south but we do not need “international trade union tourism”, meetings without subsistence. Movements without direction without sense should not exist. Progressive processes are under attack and there are too many discussions about processes and preoccupation on WTO. How does it translate to workers, to struggle and to mobilization?

Every worker must be able to share and to understand international solidarity, economic partnership. We need to unite progressive forces and trade unions but also solidarity amongst the southern themselves. Swaziland: no political parties are allowed. Papers and declarations will not change the world. More dialogue and cross boundary solidarity is needed. Promote worker to worker solidarity when they live as neighbours.

It is necessary to restructure the world of trade union movement. The content of discussions does not create energy for change. They must build on relations of equality. COSATU have no good experience or relation with the North American unions because of lack of equality. Americans want to dominate and take over certain trade unions in the name of anti-communism anti-socialism. What does solidarity really mean?

How to sustain democracy and to live in sustainable livelihood? Somalia is savage, there is no livelihood. You can not eat newspapers; the people need food and security. Stop imposing on others.

Comments:

Tormod: Collective agreements.

Andrew: EPAs = Europeans dictate. That is not solidarity. We as Africans were forced to sign, specially the poorer countries in a very asymmetric negotiation position. Some civil society organizations are even promoting a split of trade unions.

Roger: We should not create a division between trade unions and CSO. Trade unions are the prime civil society organization. Global economy, new fronts of struggle, we have to be present at all these fronts. Find multifaceted networks.

Result and proposals from the group:

1) Cross boarder solidarity actions and work.

2) International solidarity agenda bringing together sustainable development, fair trade, workers rights etc.

Other important issues:

- With many new forms of work how to organize the work force?
- Enhance global collective agreements.

Friday 11 April 13:30 – Group Meeting

The role of the church and religion in solidarity work

Rapporteur: Olof Lövestam, Church of Sweden

South Africa:

- There is a need to focus on specific areas: “What did we learn in South Africa?” which leads to “Where is South Africa going?”
- It was declared that racism is a sin which led to the question of legality of the state. After that the goal was to remove that illegitimate state.
- When the apartheid government was removed the solidarity movement did not know what to do. It took the role of being a watchdog, but never became a reconstruction part in the society.
- Conclusion: The solidarity movement took the route to fight an enemy but failed to take the role of building a new society.

Zimbabwe:

- The mistake Zimbabwe did was to think that the final victory was won 1980, and celebrated freedom in 27 years and leaving the responsibility for building the country to the ruling party. This could happen also in other countries!
- Solidarity is a permanent movement that recognizes human dignity.
- It was a revelation to meet solidarity movements and to meet people in another countries that understood our situation and had a common language. It gave a new theological language
- Meeting solidarity in another country developed you own identity. “I forgot that I was black”.
- The church in Zimbabwe is missing a common mission. How can the church speak with one voice?

General:

- Cooperation and solidarity is needed in the areas of contextual learning and in exchanging ideas. “First we have to know ourselves, then solidarity can walk with us”.
- In World Council of Churches there are two bearing ideas: 1) the role of the church is not to be political, but to make politics possible; 2) There is a need of common understanding among the Churches. If that is missing you do not know who you should show solidarity.
- Today it is difficult because the situation is so complex. The Challenge today is to learn more before you make actions and statements.
- Today the church is too silent in an area like xenophobia
- In advocacy you can ask the questions For? With? Why?
- Where should your solidarity be if your different friends think different?
- We are not free as long as others suffer. One way of doing something is to buy Fair Trade products
- Peace work is not only to be present but also to listen to people’s needs and process tools for empowering people. That is the key to prevention.
- “There is a need to give the beast a name”, to make your enemy visible
- The beast today is greed, not only financially, but from a wide perspective
- There is a need to recognize the role of the church in the society. It played a great role in liberating South Africa and the TRC process
- It is often said, “you have to learn from yesterday in order not to make the same mistakes”. But it is also true that you need to have the courage to make mistakes in order not to be paralyzed.
- WE DID IT! IT IS POSSIBLE TO DO IT AGAIN!

Friday 11 April 13:30 – Group Meeting

The role of youth in solidarity work

Rapporteur: Lena Kjellberg, LSU

The discussion was quite broad, but took its starting point in that there is a need to create space for youth to be involved in decision making processes and power structures.

Including youth

Exclusion creates a gap in skills and knowledge, and makes decisions and policies sometimes not adjusted to the reality of the situation of youth today. However, youth in solidarity work should not be dealt with as a separate issue, but should rather be dealt with in the larger context as youth face same issues as the rest of the society, though some of them are more pronounced and have other consequences for youth e.g. HIV/AIDS, unemployment, poverty.

It is also the responsibility of youth to learn from history and to take responsibility within the solidarity work today. Though this requires an approach where youth are given space to act and to be seen as a resource, rather than an approach that aims to “make youth more involved”.

Challenges of youth in solidarity work

Youth organisations often faces problems in funding the work and implement their ideas, whereas an awareness is needed in order to make sure funding programmes and criteria are adjusted so that funds are accessible also for youth organisation. Lack of trust is another challenge. This is a challenge even though an experience tells us that youth organisations often do have the capacity in practice.

The new form of solidarity

The new form of solidarity should involve youth also on a larger level – e.g. EU and AU, as this is where many decisions and policies are taken that very much affects societies at large as well as youth in specific. Yet youth has very little access in influencing those arenas today. The new form of solidarity also needs to be redefined in terms of values and take its starting point in that – taking the reality of today into account. There is also a need to define what it is that we want from each other – to define the common agenda similar to how it was done in the anti-apartheid time. At that time the enemy and the goal was very clear, whereas today it is a lot more complex. The strength of solidarity work of youth is that dialogue is often emphasized, as economical interests are not necessarily on the agenda. This is something to take advantage of when including and supporting youth as stakeholders and actors in solidarity work.



Friday 11 April, 16.00 – Panel discussion

Rapporteur: Lotta Gerhardsson, Forum Syd

How can we use the lessons learned in the solidarity work of today?

Moderator: Bernt Johansson. Participants: Håkan Thörn, Birgitta Silén, Bongani Masuku and professor Kgositsile.

Deliver some visions for the future, experiences and lessons learned from solidarity work.

Kgositsile: Pointing out recourses, intellectually is a canal into liberation work. Media is hostile reads like enemy medium. Before 94 some newspapers were militant. They are against authority. Not understanding that today involves immense challenge to transform a society after centuries of oppression. Transforming South Africa is about chancing practically everything. We faced with more challenges than before 1994.

Birgitta: Provocatively “Can we use anything at all”? Yes, we can learn from history. Personally learnt to be creative. Solidarity is something run by youth. Now we are old. How many in this room are under 25 years? This is also a lesson.

1. The issue is clearly; having a leadership in different sections, in churches, culture and in different sectors, for partners and an aim for change.
2. Today the exchange is more important than before. We are in another position. Maintaining things. This gathering is a manifestation. It’s needed for the new generation to bring new projects and to bring new pictures to the young. “Take a backpack and go to Rwanda and other countries in Africa to learn about them.”

Bongani: Global economy changes the world a great deal. Solidarity is necessary also among the poor majority in south. We need to be able to stand by one self, respond to those who control monetary power, the issue of glob economy is important for solidarity work. Support and build a sustainable solidarity in the south. Capacity is a role for the south. It’s an important thing to take power eventually and develop liberation, to maintain dignity. Raise issues of fundamental values.

Håkan: (Referring to his book: *Anti-Apartheid and the Emergency of a Global Civil Society*), A social movement is a movement of movements. The anti-apartheid movement, create links to different movements, was a movement of movements. As such it was the first real global one. They strengthened political activities, put pressure on corporations, companies who invested in South Africa. Culture, music and poetry played an important role in order to mobilise political actions, create political happenings.

The new social movements create new issues and challenges, get inspiration for concepts containing global economy, create new possibilities for global solidarity, new positions of mutual relationship, democratising global society.

After the collapse of Soviet Union and USA came the globalisation. Under the US came an imperialistic structure. South Africa liberated but suffered because the rest of world was in danger. Could it always be possible to blame US, the World bank and so on?

It’s a part of the struggle, contradictions exist f ex Mugabe who was an anti-imperialist. It doesn’t help.

Were there any mistakes made by Swedish solidarity movement? (NO!)

One issue to learn from is that organisations are working side by side. There was lack of coordination. The organisations didn’t know about each other. Eventually in 1993, 17 org joined in a peace monitoring project. It was successful (because of their cooperation). In

South Africa they now started a national solidarity forum. This is something to learn from. Coordination is easier today.

The WSF will bring 70-100 000 people. There will be a big discussion organizing campaigns, allow for differences, global campaigns that have impact in different issues, But, what has world social forum achieved?

Remember that democratic processes are driven by movements in the civil society.



Swedish song group Ageli singing South African songs



Ms Napo Masheane, poet from South Africa

Friday 11 April 17:30

Challenges for the future

Rapporteur: Marianne Andersson, The Swedish UN Association

Bishop Sebastian Bakare, Zimbabwe

During 60- and 70-ies apartheid oppressed people. It was a very clear enemy: apartheid and racism.

Today the beast has changed colour, within our family, which makes it very difficult to attack. We never believed our former leaders and students would turn into an oppressing leadership. We didn't ever think that our leadership organised corruption. Many leaders in Africa focused on how to retain power and to remain in power. Then development aid poured into several areas making it possible for leadership to continue wasting national resources. Leadership today need to change to alleviate poverty in the region. The people in Zimbabwe never queued for bread before. Now we suffer every day and are denied everything we fought for.

- You in the solidarity movement need to speak louder than during apartheid. You need the courage to tell our leader: Friend, you are wrong. I want to believe you are prepared to do it.

Ms Promise Chuma,

If you don't include young people we come knocking and begging: Include us. We need continuous translation between young and elderly – assist us in our own solutions. Utilise the energy and the extensive engagement of young people to improve our world. We need a globalised solidarity with respect for all human beings, sustainable, fighting poverty and violence, promoting independence and stability. You need to gain more interest in trade issues. You must reflect on economic solidarity and not look into Africa as a homogenic group. The situation is very complex. We need to create multiparty institutions with the broadest unity against violation of human rights. Young people are very energetic – take advantage of this energy and use it.

Peter Weiderud

The struggle for liberation in South Africa meant more than any other movement in modern time. It was a radical and highly political, quite leftist movement challenging companies with moral goals.

Today's lesson less obvious, it is not given that we support minorities wanting independence; we don't need more states. Minorities need to be respected in their own countries, as all countries now are multinational. Democracy is constantly renewed, business people no longer always on wrong side – sometimes in the forefront concerning environment and HR.

Three global changes are going on:

- globalisation,
- limits of economic growth,
- changing structure in society

Challenges have grown bigger; it is necessary for our own interest to strengthen individual and international cooperation. We need to change our behaviour and save the resources of the world. Modern people request for solidarity in other ways; environment, equality etc.

This altogether creates a great future for solidarity (what has been done can be an inspiration) more curious, with mutual interest, new actors, more diverse etc.

Cornerstones are Democracy, Human rights and international law and it must include Christians, Muslims and Jews.

There is one single conflict everyone meet – the Arabic/Israeli conflict. The current development with settlements and the separation wall brings peace further away day by day. In fact also further away from a Jewish state. Maybe there should be one secular state for all people living in the area. The alternative is an apartheid state. Never again apartheid!

Saturday 12 April, 08:30 – Group Meeting

Modern solidarity today and in the future – methods and priorities

Rapporteur: Martin Carlstedt, LSU

Methods

- Regard young people as leaders of today not only as leaders for the future. Let young people be involved also at a strategic level, in decision-making. Youth will not be content with only being a target group or as implementers. We need to discuss: How do we reach youth living in poverty and in post-conflict contexts and provide them a stake in solidarity work?
- Even when there are functioning governments given funding there is a need for NGOs to deal with service provision in pockets where government does not reach. It is a problem that funding to governments are sometimes provided with a conditionality of not letting NGOs take on an implementing role in making use of that funding
- We need greater coordination of NGOs *within* Southern countries in order to build strong coalitions for advocacy
- There needs to be greater coordination *between* countries in the south. South-South solidarity is needed. Solidarity movements/NGOs from the North can facilitate such cooperation by providing capacity building.
- ISAK could be used as a model of coordination of movements in Sweden, as this kind of broad coalition turned out to be strong and successful.
- Progressive partnership meaning respect and mutual discussions used in the liberation struggle is crucial to build on also in the future. Many times there exists a power relation between the partners since one of them is channelling funds. It is important to be aware of this and keep a respectful and reciprocal relationship. One way to avoid this power relation is to make both partners receive funds directly from the donor.
- It is important that sustainability is secured through capacity building
- Priorities must be set in the South in order to be responsive to the beneficiaries. The results need to be accounted for both to the donors/partners and the beneficiaries.

Priorities

- Food security
- Trade issues
- Climate change
- Hiv/aids

Perhaps all this could be gathered under the heading *sustainable development*

Gender equality must be highlighted as a cross-cutting priority as an integral party of the concept sustainable development.

Saturday 12 April 08:30 - Group Meeting

Modern solidarity today and in the future – methods and priorities

Rapporteur: Julia Daniels, Diakonia

Summary of important points

We want to see solidarity as cooperation between equals, fighting the same fight in partnership.

Globalisation has changed the context. New aspects in solidarity work are climate change,

trade issues and financial institutions etc.

However, solidarity is an attitude that you can use in various situations. New situations need new solutions.

Our challenge today is a situation without one clear enemy/issue. Interests are diverse within the solidarity movement and it is difficult to form broad alliances. The involved people are becoming an elite group, it is difficult to mobilise mass movements.

Our possibility is the increased horizontal solidarity between different parts of the south, for example at the world social forum. We need to elaborate further on the role of northern NGOs in this development.

Saturday 12 April 08:30 - Group Meeting

Modern solidarity today and in the future – methods and priorities

Rapporteur: Lotta Johnsson Fornarve

We discussed some concrete projects that exist today and which we can learn from. In the municipality of Oskarshamn they have succeeded to involve more or less the whole municipality in the solidarity work with South Africa, mainly by several twining projects, but also by some other projects (see OSAK in Oskarshamn). We believe that twining is a very good method for solidarity. Twining means that people meet, come together and get the opportunity to speak for themselves. It could for example be teachers from Sweden who meet teachers from South Africa or school children who meet school children etc.

We also learned about the exchange between the Youth Council of Sweden and the Youth Councils of Southern Africa and their work to strengthen the youth civic society in the respective countries by for example organizing leadership training.

Another example that can be linked to twining is the project by the women of The Center Party of Sweden supporting women in Namibia.

We agreed that it's important to create a climate of cooperation that allows us to be open and frank with each other in our contacts and solidarity work.

We agreed that it's important to support the struggle against HIV and aids. We believe that information work is crucial regarding this subject.

We also discussed that the solidarity movement must get involved in important global issues in the future, like the environment, especially the global warming and link it to the question of a fair economic order in the world. These questions go hand in hand and can't be separated.

Saturday 12 April 08:30 - Group Meeting

Modern solidarity today and in the future – methods and priorities

Rapporteur: Rune Forsbeck

Find common topics that are important for many, for instance climate change and human rights.

Learn from elderly people. That is a good African tradition.

Young people are engaged, however in other ways than the traditional ones.

Include the young generation! There must be links between young and old. Engage also young people in the work of governments.

Modern solidarity should be mutually beneficial.

Capacity building is very important. We should help people see their own responsibility and make it possible for them to take it. For instance, social exclusion is an important problem to be addressed.

Priorities

Poverty alleviation – through work

Better work through professional education

Gender equity

Regional equity

Education

Health care – dealing with endemic diseases

Empowerment of disadvantaged

Methods

Creating public opinion – changing one's own lifestyle. Should be combined.

Capacity building

Continuity and sustainability

Study circles – a good method for building up democracy

Saturday 12 April 08:30 - Group Meeting

Modern solidarity today and in the future – methods and priorities

Rapporteur: Herman Hallonsten

Methods and priorities go hand in hand, but we started with priorities.

Post-independence is difficult. Many issues tend to grow more difficult. Therefore a priority for us together is to identify issues where we have a common understanding.

One is trade. Both in the south and in the north. An issue of importance since Sweden soon will take up the presidency of the EU. A method for modern solidarity is to broaden the analysis and action within the international community by raising awareness, creating opinion and influencing both people in general and decision makers on all levels.

An issue related to trade is the one of bio-fuel. Food is being grown in the south for energy used in the north.

An issue related to food production is of course land, and we concluded a difficult discussion with these words: words are what we use, but words can be understood differently. Words can unite but also divide. Therefore – it is a task for modern solidarity to be careful and sensitive with words and issues so that we don't abuse issues and people.

More issues to prioritize are:

- The encouragement of children and youth to join solidarity work.
- The situation for refugees in the south and in the north.
- Public health, both in Sweden and southern Africa (HIV can be understood as a public health issue or one that should be mainstreamed as a development issue related to poverty and gender, NB HIV is increasing in Sweden as well).

Two concluding comments:

- Solidarity is a principle of friendship – to be a friend is to have the courage to point out rights and wrongs.

- We belong – we know that. But maybe it has become more obvious to us that we also depend – and the analysis of the interdependence could be our common priority.

Saturday 12 April 2008 – Group Meeting

Solidarity today and in the future – methods and priorities.

Rapportuer: Kina Hemlin, Africa Groups of Sweden

We thought that the methods of today were very much connected to a great sense of commitment to be effective. To be able to work in solidarity with our partners in Southern Africa, we need to mobilize the public in Sweden.

The methods of our work tomorrow need a greater coordination of NGOs both in Africa and in Sweden to become effective. We also defined the necessity to develop our partner relations; no “hidden agendas” are acceptable.

The priorities of today are to continue the mobilization of the public opinion in for example questions concerning trade issues. It is also unacceptable that there is still one colony left in Africa, we should work for a free Western Sahara.

Mobilization of the public opinion is something that we surely will have to continue even tomorrow. Involvement of youth in our work is crucial to the future.

Saturday 12 April 08:30 - Group Meeting

Modern solidarity today and in the future – methods and priorities

Rapportuer: Göran Larsson, Praktisk Solidaritet

We drew the, perhaps obvious, conclusion that the liberation wasn't the end of the road but merely a station on the way towards an equal society based on human and civil rights.

As in the past, solidarity today and in the future should be based universal values, foremost human and civil rights.

We also concluded that the solidarity should have a clear focus on poverty alleviation. In Sweden this should include demands for fair and just trade-agreements with southern Africa.

Solidarity today, and in the future should, as in the past, be guided by advocacy and exercise a watchdog function. In addition, the development function should be directed towards the community level and have as significant components; training, education and capacity building.



Saturday 12 April 08:30 - Group Meeting

Modern solidarity today and in the future – methods and priorities

Rapporteur: Sigurd Zetterqvist, Sigtuna Folk high school

	Solidarity today	Solidarity tomorrow
priority	<p>How do we value</p> <p>a) that "solidarity" exists in media forms</p> <p>b) that "solidarity" exist in direct communications and relations between people engaged in solidarity?</p>	<p>Coming together in discovering, examining and processing "solidarity tomorrow" and doing it today! (the need of "NGO" and "civil society" in an governmental and commercial globalizing world)</p> <p>To accept that the tomorrow's globalised world need "Modern Solidarity" and "Traditional Solidarity". Nor "or"!</p>
methods	<p>Compare to solidarity yesterday: Less actions for human rights? OR more in new organizational forms? A question of communication by media and direct meeting like this conference.</p> <p>a) Leadership as effective management for a better society? OR</p> <p>b) coming together in examining, discovering an managing today's threat of human rights?</p>	<p>a) To use the knowledge already known and documented</p> <p>but also:</p> <p>to process new knowledge</p> <p>b) To establish and reproduce relations and exchange with people in different areas of the global /globalised world.</p>

Examples of Solidarity today was mentioned:

Berit, Africa Groups' Priorities today: Social economic justice, HIV, Gender

Brahim, Polisario front: we are not yet there! We are where SA were 15 – 20 years ago. We

work with "Traditional Solidarity" how to get our rights respected, a better life, democracy, emancipation

Hans, LSU: young leadership, strong civil society, The SAYM partnership. Young people can be a force there against hatred by building young leadership

Anders Göranson, 2000 – 2006 Church of Sweden in South Africa: Sharing with, mutuality we have lots to learn for example about HIV in Africa and also in Sweden, but we talk less here! > Spirituality. How to receive what Africa can give to Sweden today?

Anders and Hans > young people organize today, but in an other way.

Berit referred to the Western Sahara analysis within Africa Groups. (300 000 refugees a big problem, Working on a platform to create a kind of ISAK for WS. To Brahim: would the Burma /Tibet media action help WS? Reply: everything would help to focus on the situation. But every day there is violence against human rights! This is an example of still going colonization. It is an issue. It risks to be forgotten today.

Berit on Solidarity. How do you get a just society structure and how to build and maintain that.

Saturday 12 April 08:30 - Group Meeting

Modern solidarity today and in the future – methods and priorities

Rapporteur: Agneta Liljestam, Olof Palme International Center

Starting points: The solidarity by Swedish social movements was focused on South Africa. We cannot, as we could during apartheid, just be against something, but we must also be able to formulate what we are supporting for the development of the new society. (It is different to have a shared enemy i.e. apartheid and then shaping the new society).

Globalization: Putting Southern Africa in a global context. It is important to focus on sustainable development and the environment.

Remember the issue of sustainable development from the Brundtland commission. The strong environmental movement in Sweden could become involved in a broad solidarity action for political, social and economic sustainability. The base for social sustainability is to work with both sexes – i.e. the rights of women – to lift the women's convention and the Rio declaration. The format and content: which methods and approaches. What is the aim of the method, first content and then approaches? Which are the target groups for the solidarity of the Swedish people? We don't like the concept "civil society" but rather social movements where people are free to formulate themselves, have standpoints against the government, to influence and to demand fulfilment of obligations.

Idea-based movements are a better word than NGOs. We are approaching the politics for a global development. A very good document, see the latest annual report by Cypress: World of Risk, and the environmental threats.

To work with PEMSA (Peace and Electoral Monitoring in South Africa), 17 organizations came together with a clear common goal, against apartheid but also dreaming about a new and better world. It was much more than just preventive presence. Connecting people locally from different countries.

After 1994 we are becoming watchdogs, i.e. the role of criticizing instead of being involved in building. The example of Zimbabwe, there is no unity among the churches. How can you be "solidaric" with a church that is shattered, with whom of them should we align?

Agneta: The threat against social movements rights to be involved in aid work due to changing governmental funding policies.

Roger: Our own fault. We have made ourselves dependent.

Instead of being an activist you become a consumer. There are people employed for doing the solidarity why should people do it on a voluntary basis?

Today the method is not to distribute pamphlets, collection boxes, flyers etc. Today it is another technology,

Criticize the politics that exclude us from the right to get a part of the taxpayers' money back to us for co-financing projects.

World Social Forum and European Social Forum, interesting popular movements, we should be more involved in the new social movements and develop strategies to come together.

Comment by lady from Namibia: The Modern Solidarity should be grassroots to grassroots level. Solidarity and cooperation at community level is better than at a political level. It is important to bring the development to all levels of society. The issue of WSF some NGOs are a one-person office. We are really questioning those NGOs.

Who are the persons invited to this event? The persons in power! Here are no grassroots representatives!

The interest of China in Africa, new imperialism, we ought to discuss the role of China in Africa. They are not on the website, they are there. We have things to defend at home I agree grassroots to grassroots. But our own role in Sweden is threatened.

Free media, yes, but media with responsibility.

How to help prevent war in the world? The budget for military peacekeeping forces is taken from development cooperation budget. It would be better with popular movements' organizations in preventing conflicts. We as popular movements should get money from the military budget.

National arena: Charta for popular movement in Sweden, conflict prevention. Global solidarity with women. Gender issues on the top. Influence our government. Demand that the popular movement shall be involved in conflict prevention and to get funding from military budget. Environmental justice (instead of saying sustainable development)

GRASROOT TO GRASROOT MOVEMENT. New technology.

Zimbabwe: Delicate situation, what will be the outcome. With whom do we cooperate?

Ask Bishop Sebastian Bakare to go back to Zimbabwe and say that if the churches unite in Zimbabwe and ask for our support we will be their followers, their echo.

Invite all present popular organizations and similar for a meeting to formulate a manifest as a platform for popular organizations in Sweden today. Re-conquer our legitimate place in the national and international construction of democratic and just societies in issues like gender and equality, environmental justice and popular movements' participation in conflict prevention. We foresee a second era of liberation, the liberation and the rights of women.

Saturday 12 April, 10:00 – Panel discussion

What have we learnt from history and from this meeting, for future solidarity?

Rapporteur: Kina Hemlin, Africa Groups of Sweden

Moderator: Roger Hällhag.

Panellists: Andrew Kailembo (ITUC-Africa), Joe Frans (Forum Syd), Sigrid Bergfeldt (Africa Groups of Sweden), Muziwhake Sigudla (SAYM).

Mr. Andrew Kailembo started by talking about what international solidarity meant to trade unions in southern Africa. Without the solidarity from for example Sweden, it would not have been possible to establish trade unions in South Africa, Zimbabwe or Mozambique. Without that support many persons would have been imprisoned.

Mr. Kailembo saw the fight against HIV and aids as one of the top priorities for modern solidarity. He also said that without the youth the trade unions would die. Gender issues also were a top priority, as fighting against poverty. The EPA agreement includes conditionality. We have to put pressure on the companies.

Later in the discussion Mr Kailembo pointed out how important capacity building is. Trade unions are important and something that Mugabe fears. But we have to watch out; some NGOs are not organisations, but rather NGIs (individuals).

Mr. Joe Frans talked about how the future will still be based on values. There will always be a need for progressive partnership and solidarity. Glories from the past should not stop us from continuing the solidarity work. Cooperation and partnership must never be paternalistic and should include gender issues, youth and trade.

Mr. Frans later pointed out that the solidarity in practice should be coordinated and harmonized.

Mr. Muziwhake Sigudla said that he was too young to have been a part of the struggle. But the new world is still marginalizing Africa. Many young people have no hope for the future. He sees deepening differences inside countries and between countries. It is not possible to exclude young people from the struggle of today. Modern solidarity needs to build bridges between civil societies and governments. We need to put pressure on different actors to sit down and discuss Zimbabwe.

Later on in the debate Mr. Sigudla said that “young people should not be invited for decoration”.

Ms. Sigrid Bergfeldt said that the world has become more complex. Empowerment and involvement are important to make a just world. She was worried about the fact that we, even if we still believed in the cause, did not put enough effort to recruit new members for solidarity work. We should work together for justice, liberation and a just world for all men and women.

Later on in the discussion Ms. Bergfeldt noted that the flow of information in the world today was so big, it makes it difficult to make priorities of what to do. But it is necessary to recruit new (young) members.

During the following debate with the panellists, a proposal from the audience to make a list of names to put pressure on Zimbabwe to immediately release the results from the election of president, was taken. The list should be signed by individuals, not as representatives of organisations. The list of names should be brought to Norrmalmskyrkan so that more people could sign it. (The list with 160 signatures was then send to the Zimbabwean embassy)



Ms Sigrid Bergfeldt

Prime Minister Nahas Angula

Saturday 12 April – Concluding speech by Prime Minister Nahas Angula

Rapporteur: Kina Hemlin, Africa Groups of Sweden

The Prime Minister of Namibia, Nahas Angula started by thanking all of us for attending this meeting in Solidarity. He said that solidarity is like Nahas Angula himself. At the age of 22 years, when he left Namibia, he was able to study because of solidarity. Later on he was able to let the children in the refugee camps study because of solidarity. He was able to celebrate the day of Independence because of solidarity.

For the future Nahas Angula saw many challenges for the modern solidarity, both social and economical. We have to deal with questions concerning political exclusion of different groups, economical marginalization and social alienation. We have to identify vulnerable groups: how can we help the rural women to make their voices heard?

Solidarity can make a difference, Mr Angula continued. We have to remember that Africa's population is young, therefore we have to facilitate young persons participation in their society and work for a better education for all. Another challenge is the HIV/aids pandemic. How can we help the OVCs (orphans and vulnerable children) to get a safe life in dignity? They need help with clothing, food and a stable household that can encourage them, and make it possible for them to stay in school. Prime Minister Nahas Angula also mentioned the challenge to include marginalized groups in the society.

Solidarity brings social justice, which in its turn leads to stable societies.



From Together for Solidarity in Norrmalms Church Arch Bishop Anders Weiryd, Birgitta Silén and Marika Griehsel



Together for Solidarity

Public event in Stockholm

Saturday 12 April 2008

Venue: Normalkyrkan, Norrtullsgatan 37 (close to Odenplan)

Language: Swedish mixed with contributions in English

- 13.00 Doors and exhibitions hall open
- Music by **André Delang**, voice and **Janne Pettersson**, piano together with **The Chamber Choir** at the Piteå Conservatory of Music under the direction of **Erik Westberg** and **Anders Nyberg**
- Readings by South African female poets **Gabeba Baderoon**, **Napo Masheane** and **Phillippa Yaa de Villiers**
- 14.00 **Why solidarity today? For what and how?** Keynote messages by **Anders Wejryd**, Archbishop of the Church of Sweden
Nahas Angula, Prime Minister of the Republic of Namibia
- 14.25 **The culture of solidarity**
Choir, music and dance followed by message from **Anders Nyberg**
- 14.45 **What did we learn from Southern Africa's liberation?**
Africa reporter **Marika Griehsel** discusses with **Margareta Ingelstam**, Christian Council of Sweden
Sören Lindh, Member and former Chair of the Africa Groups of Sweden
Birgitta Silén, author, Head of development cooperation at the Olof Palme International Centre
- 15.30 **Modern African poetry**
- 15.35 **What does Africa say today?**
Panel discussion with **Ntando Ndlovu**, Activist from Zimbabwe
Muziwhake Sigudla, President of Southern African Youth Movement
Frank Chikane, Director General of the Presidency, Republic of South Africa, former Secretary General of the South African Council of Churches
Amelia Sumbana, Member of Parliament for Frelimo of Mozambique
- 16.20 Young music from South Africa:
Gabatshwane and the **Khayelitsha marimba band**

- 16.40 **A better world is possible, isn't it?** Future scenarios presented by
Fernando Pacheco, President of ADRA, Angolan Association for Rural Development and Environment
Hanna Hallin, President, The National Council of Swedish Youth Organisations
- 17.05 **Modern African poetry**
- 17.15 **Modern solidarity – what is that?**
Concluding panel on priority issues and ways to public involvement with representatives of Swedish and African civil society
Magnus Nordahl, Board member of the UN Association of Sweden
Tormod Nasset, IF Metall union and Oskarhamn's Southern Africa Committee
Rogério José Uthui, vice rector of the Teachers' Training College of Mozambique
Bongani Masuku, International secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions
Malcolm Damon, Director of the Economic Justice Network of Fellowship of Councils of Churches in Southern Africa
Promise Chuma, a Southern African Youth Movement leader from Botswana
- 18.00 **Thank you and farewell** concluding words from African guests by
Sebastian Bakare, Anglican bishop, former chair of Zimbabwe Council of Churches