



# Competition and cooperation in the use of solidarity history in a globalised world

The case of the Nordic support to  
South Africa

# Anti-Apartheid Movement history

- Access to Western AAM archives important for South Africans
- Records registered by NAI, Russian State Archives, ASC Michigan, Fort Hare, UWC
- Most AAM and official writing uncritical
- AAM history writing as continued solidarity
- AAMs was part of a global social movement



# Difficulties of global solidarity I

- **Western solidarity movements can only seldom portray themselves as directly affected victims of conflict or repression**
- **Western native country profits by the exploitation of the third world**
- **No combined victories for the liberation- and solidarity moments that have lead to fundamental changes**

# Difficulties of global solidarity II

- Success for the global solidarity movement will inflict higher living costs on people expected to be involved in protests
- Growing part of western populations are feeling embarrassed by the potential costs of solidarity
- Activists and researchers are often stuck in a tradition of nationalism or localism

# Arguments for continued solidarity

- An oblique and unequal world is also an unstable world which produces fugitives and terrorism
- More wealth would transform countries now poor into better trading partners
- Inside research: theory of liberation and social movements theory



# Roots and history of solidarity I

- French activists aided the American Revolution. French Revolution influences
- Anti-slavery campaign emerging in England
- African-American missionaries reported on King Leopold's regime in the Congo
- Working class internationalism after 1848

• Socialist Internationals and Comintern



# Roots and history of solidarity II

- **Anti-colonialism and pan-Africanism**
- **Vietnam, Chile, anti-Americanism**
- **After 1990 decline in popular solidarity**
- **Government aid canalised through professionalised NGOs**
- **Inside research: country AAM case-studies**



# AAM pillars of strength



- Deepening concerns about domestic racism in the West.
- AAMs was part of the liberation of Southern Africa through popular aid
- Both broad domestic and international appeal through boycotts and sanctions
- Combination of tactics of the desk and the street, of blockades and conferences
- Basic optimism of freedom struggle





## ... more articles

Manuscript: *Nordic Solidarity Revisited...*

- **Håkan Thörn: Anti-apartheid as a global social movement**
- **Timo-Erkki Heino: Finland, a unique case**
- *Nina Drolsum Krogvold: Norwegian solidarity with Southern Africa*
- **Christopher Morgenstjerne: African freedom struggle – in Denmark**

# ... and even more articles



*Manuscript: Nordic Solidarity Revisited...*

- **Steen Christensen: The Danish debate on support to the liberation movements**
- **Morten Nielsen: The anti-apartheid struggle in Denmark**
- Reinhart Kössler: A situation where you could show some decency

# Support strategies after 1990

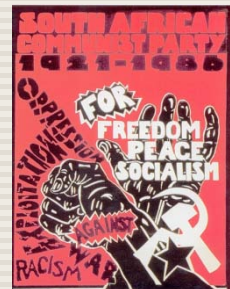
- **Take over of popular solidarity traditions by continued government to government transitional aid**
- **Deterioration of NGO political solidarity**
- **From links to RDP's collective enthusiasm to GEAR's individualised demobilisation**
- **Mix of aid and business interests**
- **Economic stability, growing social gaps**
- **Need for continued NGO solidarity**

# Foreign government and organisation interests

- **Social-liberal influence on nation building**
- **Small-state possibility for market share**
- **Domestic humanitarian legitimacy**
- **Organisational profiling**
- **Individual career interests**

# The history of solidarity

- Enclaves of African Studies sustained





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