

## ***U.S. Africa Solidarity in the 21st Century: A Strategic Consultation***

JUNE 21 TO JUNE 24, 2013  
KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN

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### **Friday June 21, 2013: Introductory Session**

**2:00pm to 5:00pm:** Arrival and Check In at Western Michigan University

**6:00pm:** Dinner

**7:00pm to 9:00pm:** Introductory Session: Facilitated by Anyango Reggy (Kenya/USA)

### **Saturday, June 22, 2013: Political Economy Cluster**

**9:00am to 9:30am:** Breakfast

**9:30am to 11:30am:** Who Takes the Heat? Climate Justice and Preserving Our Common Resources

Chair: Carol Thompson (USA)

Panelists:

- Heeten Kalan (in USA from South Africa)
- Will Lawrence (USA)
- Andrew Mushita (Zimbabwe)

**11:30am to 12:30pm:** Lunch Break

**12:30pm to 2:30pm:** Follow the Money: Resource Flows and Tax Evasion

Chair: Walter Turner (USA)

Panelists:

- William Minter (USA)
- Lebohang Pheko (South Africa)
- Kristin Sundell (USA)

**2:30pm to 3:00pm:** Networking Session

**3:00pm to 4:30pm:** Strategy Session I “Rethink” Facilitated by Imani Countess (USA) and Anita Wheeler (USA)

**6:00pm to 7:00pm:** Dinner

**7:00pm to 7:30pm:** Break

**7:30pm to 9:30pm:** Movie Night (Optional and Open to the Public)

- “Fuelling Poverty” (Ishaya Bayo) – 28 minutes
- “Sweet Crude” (Sandy Cioffi) – 93 minutes

### **Sunday, June 23, 2013: Human Rights and Human Security Cluster**

**9:00am to 9:30am:** Breakfast

**9:30am to 11:30am:** Whose Rights? Whose Responsibilities? Human Rights in Africa and the USA

Chair: Briggs Bomba (Zimbabwe)

Panelists:

- Briggs Bomba (Zimbabwe)
- Gerald Lenoir (USA)
- Muadi Mukenge (in USA, from DRC)

**11:30am to 12:30pm:** Lunch Break

**12:30pm to 2:30pm:** Whose Responsibility to Protect?: Violence and Human Security in Africa and the USA

Chair: Betsy Schmidt (USA)

Panelists:

- Jim Cason (USA)
- Brenda Mofya (in Ethiopia, from Zambia)

**2:30pm to 3:00pm:** Networking Session

**3:00pm to 4:30pm:** Strategy Session II “Reconceptualize” Facilitated by Imani Countess (USA) and Anita Wheeler (USA)

**6:00pm to 7:00pm:** Dinner

**7:00pm to 7:30pm:** Networking Session

**7:30pm to 9:30pm:** Movie Night (Optional/Open to the Public)

- “God Loves Uganda” (Roger Ross Williams) – 90 minutes

- “Native Sun” (Blitz the Ambassador and Terence Nash) – 21 minutes

**Monday, June 24, 2013: Where To Go From Here?**

**8:00am to 8:30am:** Breakfast

**8:30am to 10:00am:** Strategy Session III “Reclaim” Facilitated by Anita Wheeler (USA) and Imani Countess (USA)

**10:00am to 10:30am:** Networking Session

**10:30am to 11:30am:** Closing Plenary/Strategy Session IV “Reinvigorate” Facilitated by Anita Wheeler (USA) and Imani Countess (USA)

**11:30am to 12:30pm:** Lunch

**12:30pm:** Departure



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### Issue Session 1 - Saturday Morning

#### Who Takes the Heat? Climate Justice & Preserving Our Common Resources

##### *Video clip*

Sweet Crude Trailer - <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SJIaremXipo>

##### *Panel*

Chair: Carol Thompson (USA)

Heeten Kalan (in USA, from South Africa), Will Lawrence (USA), Andrew Mushita (Zimbabwe)

##### *General Questions*

- ✓ What messages do we want to promote?
- ✓ Who are the targets?
- ✓ Who are our allies?
- ✓ How do we talk to our allies? Constituents?
- ✓ How do we frame the conversation on climate justice and sustainable development?
- ✓ What are the most strategic leverage points?

##### *Specific Questions*

(1) There are growing movements in the United States to challenge fossil-fuel and agribusiness companies. However, for the most part, there is little focus on the impact of these industries on oil producing areas in Africa and or on peasant farmers who are losing control of their seed supplies. *What messages can we use to expand the perspectives in these U.S.-based campaigns?*

(2) Industry defenders and many African governments argue that U.S. critics of these industries are ignoring the development needs of African countries. Their arguments are strengthened by the lack of visibility of Africans in these campaigns. *What can be done to highlight African voices countering these arguments?*

##### *Links*

"Students power up nationwide fossil fuel divestment campaigns"

Sally Bunner and Will Lawrence February 21, 2013

<http://wagingnonviolence.org/feature/students-power-up-nationwide-fossil-fuel-divestment-campaigns/>

Andrew Mushita and Carol Thompson "More Ominous than Climate Change? Global Policy Threats to African Food Production," Winter 2013 issue of *African Studies Quarterly* (<http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v13/v13i4a1.htm>).



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### Issue Session 2 - Saturday Afternoon

#### Follow the Money: Resource Flows and Tax Evasion

##### *Video clip*

Fuelling Poverty Trailer - <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=udUBKu4go7s>

##### *Panel*

Chair: Walter Turner (USA)

Bill Minter (USA), Liepollo Pheko (South Africa), Kristin Sundell (USA)

##### *General Questions*

- ✓ What messages do we want to promote?
- ✓ Who are the targets?
- ✓ Who are our allies?
- ✓ How do we talk to our allies? Constituents?
- ✓ How do we frame the conversation on climate justice and sustainable development?
- ✓ What are the most strategic leverage points?

##### *Specific Questions*

(1) The companies involved in tax evasion, corruption, capital losses, and land grabbing are often little-known shell companies, with hidden transactions that are hard to understand and expose. *In explaining these issues so that they have political impact, how can we bridge the gap between specialist researchers and the general public?*

(2) Transparency and effective regulation require collaboration from governments in both rich and poor countries. *How can campaigners exert pressure for action in this regard on both African and non-African governments?*

##### *Links*

Africa/Global: Rich Without Borders

<http://www.africafocus.org/docs13/tax1305.php>

Africa's Capital Losses: What Can Be Done?

<http://concernedafricascholars.org/bulletin/issue87/>



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### Issue Session 3 - Sunday Morning

#### **Whose Rights? Whose Responsibilities?: Human Rights in Africa and the USA**

*Video clip - God Loves Uganda Trailer - 2.29*  
[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_x3PTLQRQbA](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_x3PTLQRQbA)

#### *Panel*

Chair: Briggs Bomba (Zimbabwe)

Panelists: Briggs Bomba (Zimbabwe), Gerald Lenoir (USA), Muadi Mukenge (in USA, from DRC)

#### *General Questions*

- ✓ What messages do we want to promote?
- ✓ Who are the targets?
- ✓ Who are our allies?
- ✓ How do we talk to our allies? Constituents?
- ✓ How do we frame the conversation on human rights?
- ✓ What are the most strategic leverage points?

#### *Specific Questions*

(1) International human rights initiatives can backfire when the international role makes it easy for human rights abusers to portray them as outside interventions. *How can international solidarity campaigns move away from the problematic international-national dichotomy and give primacy to local human rights groups and their allies in neighboring countries?*

(2) There is often competition for attention and resources among groups suffering from systematic human rights abuses. *How can we build mutual respect and solidarity among diverse groups working for universal human rights?*

#### *Links*

USA/Africa: Immigration Reform Needs Fixing  
<http://www.africafocus.org/docs13/migr1305.php>

Zimbabwe Alliance

<http://www.zimbabwealliance.org/>

Where is the Money for "Sweet Mother"?

<http://www.africaspeaks4africa.org/?p=2718>



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### Issue Session 4 - Sunday Afternoon

#### **Whose Responsibility to Protect?: Violence and Human Security in Africa and the USA**

*Video clip:* Rosebell Kagumire on the Kony 2012 video (3:21 minutes)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KLVY5jBnD-E>

#### *Panel*

Chair: Elizabeth Schmidt (USA)

Panelists: Brenda Mofya (in Ethiopia, from Zambia), Jim Cason (USA)

#### *General Questions*

- ✓ What messages do we want to promote?
- ✓ Who are the targets?
- ✓ Who are our allies?
- ✓ How do we talk to our allies? Constituents?
- ✓ How do we frame the conversation on human security?
- ✓ What are the most strategic leverage points?

#### *Specific Questions*

(1) In every country in the world, people need protection against violence. However, those who are entrusted with protecting people, such as military and police forces, can themselves be perpetrators of violence. *How can we promote dialogue between Americans and Africans about solutions to this common issue, despite the multiple differences in context?*

(2) In theory, all governments should be willing and able to protect their own people. However, when extreme violations of human rights have occurred and governments fail to protect, outsiders may feel compelled to intervene. *When this happens, how can the international community (including not only major powers and the UN, but also neighboring countries and African multilateral agencies) ensure that their actions promote greater security rather than make conflicts worse?*

#### *Links*

*Africa: Interventions in Historical Perspective* <http://www.africafocus.org/docs13/int1305.php>

Institute for Peace and Security Studies

<http://www.ipss-addis.org/index.php/resources/publications>

33 Groups Caution Against Use of Military Force in Africa

[http://fcnl.org/issues/kenya/Africa\\_AUMF\\_Letter\\_President\\_Obama/](http://fcnl.org/issues/kenya/Africa_AUMF_Letter_President_Obama/)

# Broadcast Africa Film Series

Fine Arts Building  
Recital Hall  
Kalamazoo  
College

**Sandy Cioffi**

## SWEET CRUDE

///SATURDAY, 6.22.13\\

8:00 PM

93 MIN

In a small corner of the most populous country in Africa, billions of dollars of crude oil flow under the feet of a desperate people. Immense wealth and abject poverty stand in stark contrast. The environment is decimated. The issues are complex, the answers elusive. The documentary film *Sweet Crude* tells the story of Nigeria's Niger Delta. The region is seething and the global stakes are high. But in this moment, there's an opportunity to find solutions. What if the world paid attention before it was too late?

**Roger Ross Williams**

## GOD LOVES UGANDA

///SUNDAY, 6.23.13\\

7:30 PM

90 MIN

*God Loves Uganda* explores the role of the American evangelical movement in Uganda, where American missionaries have been credited with both creating schools and hospitals and promoting dangerous religious bigotry. The film follows evangelical leaders in America and Uganda along with politicians and missionaries as they attempt the radical task of eliminating "sexual sin" and converting Ugandans to fundamentalist Christianity.

**Ishaya Bayo**

## FUELLING POVERTY

///SATURDAY, 6.22.13\\

7:30 PM

28 MIN

A rallying cry for change in Nigeria by the Occupy Nigeria movement and an artistic depiction of the failings of fuel subsidy management in Nigeria, *Fuelling Poverty* graphically captures the various contours of this debate and the resilience of Nigerians in demanding change. It examines the effect of corruption on the country and the need for Nigerians to hold their government accountable.

**Blitz the Ambassador & Terence Nash**

## NATIVE SUN

///SUNDAY, 6.23.13\\

9:00 PM

21 MIN

As a visual accompaniment to his new album, *Native Sun*, Blitz, born Samuel Bazawule in Accra, returned to his homeland and made a striking short film about an imaginative young boy in Ghana who is searching for his father. Written and co-directed by Blitz, *Native Sun* is a visual representation of Africa that is different from the average perspective of poverty and despair.

FREE & OPEN  
TO THE PUBLIC





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### **Africa Activism in the United States in the 20th and 21st Centuries** **An Abbreviated Timeline** June 2013

Note: This 2-page timeline, with a primary focus on the 20th and 21st centuries, cites only a sampling of events, organizations, and individuals to illustrate a much broader range of history, much of it unrecorded and little known. "National" organizations, prominent individuals, and well-known events have been only a part of the rich history of struggles for freedom and social justice.

**16th century - 19th century** - Transatlantic slave trade and slavery in the Americas

**17th century - 19th century** - Campaigns to abolish the slave trade and slavery were both national and international as well as both non-violent and violent.

**1839-1841** - Revolt on the Amistad slaving ship, followed by a court case in which the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the slaves had been illegally captured

**1900-1945** - W. E. B. Du Bois and other African Americans participate in holding the first through the fifth Pan African Congresses.

**1930s** - African American opposition to Italian occupation of Ethiopia

**1937-1955** - Council on African Affairs, led by Paul Robeson, W. E. B. Du Bois, Alphaeus Hunton

**1942-1945** - Kwame Nkrumah helps found and becomes the first president of the African Students Association of America and Canada

**1950s** - American activist support for ANC resistance campaign in South Africa organized by both the Council on African Affairs and the American Committee on Africa (ACOA, founded 1953)

**1955** - Bandung Conference

**1960s** - Rising activist support for African liberation, particularly those still under white-minority and direct colonial rule. Rising identification with Africa in the civil rights movement and the Black Power movement. Rising "Third World" support coming from anti-Vietnam war movement and related movements. Rising presence of African students in United States. Beginning of divestment and other anti-corporate campaigns against companies involved in Portuguese colonies, South Africa, and other white-minority-ruled African countries. ACOA and its affiliate Africa Fund are the principal national activist organization working on African issues in this period.

**1963** - Founding of the Organization of African Unity

**1970s** - Rising support for African liberation movements among U.S. activists, particularly after the independence of the Portuguese colonies in 1973-1975 and the Soweto uprising in South Africa in 1976. New organizations formed in this period included the Washington Office on Africa (WOA, 1972), the African Liberation Support Committee (early 1970s), and TransAfrica (1977). Widespread local organizing among students, trade unions, churches, and community groups, particularly against apartheid, but also on other African issues. The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) established programs in its regional offices to support local activism on South Africa. In 1979 WOA and TransAfrica founded the Southern Africa Working Group coalition in Washington, DC, which met monthly and continues today under the name of the Advocacy Network for Africa (ADNA),

**1980s** - Height of resistance in South Africa and of anti-apartheid movement around the world, including the United States. Organizations playing key roles included the American Committee on Africa / Africa Fund, TransAfrica, the Washington Committee on Africa, and the American Friends Service Committee. The widespread movement in the United States also included literally hundreds of local groups and coalitions, as well as groups within churches, trade unions, legal, and other professional organizations. African immigrants and exiles, particularly from South Africa, were central to both national and local anti-apartheid organizing.

**1990s** - A period of rethinking of priorities after the victory in South Africa. Activists and activist groups were ill prepared to respond to events in places little known to Americans such as Rwanda and Somalia. Despite actions by smaller groups of African immigrants and activists focused on specific issues, possibilities for a wider "movement" around common goals were hard to discern. The one major exception was the Nigeria pro-democracy movement, which won support in the United States from the Nigerian diaspora, groups such as ACOA, the Africa Policy Information Center (which grew out of the Washington Office on Africa), and human rights, trade union, and environmental groups.

**2000s** - Africa Action was created in 2001, merging the American Committee on Africa, The Africa Fund, and the Africa Policy Information Center. Africa Action focused on the strategic issues of AIDS and global health and on the issue of debt. It worked closely with AIDS activists both in the United States and Africa, and with American and African activists working on debt, in the Jubilee and related debt cancellation campaigns. It put both campaigns in the context of the historical and continuing global injustices disproportionately affecting Africa and people of color around the world.

While there were many activist groups dealing with specific issues and countries, as well as new African immigrant organizations, the most visible campaign during this period, apart from AIDS activism, was on Darfur. Although Africa Action participated in this campaign, stressing the importance of supporting African initiatives, many of the other groups involved had different perspectives, some promoting unilateral U.S. intervention.

**2010s** - Despite the existence of many groups focused on specific countries and issues, and local coalitions such as the Priority Africa Network (PAN) in the San Francisco Bay Area in California and the United African Organization in Chicago, the historical national groups entered a difficult period. The AFSC closed its Africa program. TransAfrica focused primarily on the diaspora in the Western hemisphere, with only limited resources for its continuing Africa work. And Africa Action suffered a financial and management crisis from which it has not yet recovered. That is the situation we face in mid-2013.

For additional background on the period 1950-2000:

<http://www.noeasyvictories.org/> and <http://africanactivist.msu.edu/>

## Education and Activism on Africa in Kalamazoo, Michigan

Kalamazoo has a proud history of both education and activism on Africa reflected in activities at both Kalamazoo College and Western Michigan University. Kalamazoo College is a private liberal arts college with 1,348 students from 40 states and 25 countries; Western Michigan University, with about 25,000 students, is Michigan's fifth largest public research university. Other pro-Africa education mentoring for Midwestern community colleges has been led by Midwest Institute for International/Intercultural Education, which is administered at Kalamazoo Valley Community College. Only selected highlights of this history are listed here.

### Education about Africa

- In 1962, Kalamazoo College was one of the first colleges in the country to establish a study abroad program in Africa - with Fourah Bay College (FBC) in Sierra Leone. Kalamazoo College students studied at FBC for the next 32 years, "making the Kalamazoo study abroad program with FBC the longest running program from the United States with any African University." (Daniel J. Paracka, *The Athens of West Africa: A History of International Education at Fourah Bay College*, New York: Routledge, 2003 <http://ow.ly/m5fAs>) Between 1962 and 1994, 308 Kalamazoo College students spent a junior year abroad in Sierra Leone. Kalamazoo College students also interned at The Africa Fund in New York and the Africa Policy Information Center (APIC) in Washington, D.C.
- Professor William "Bill" Pruitt came to Kalamazoo College as Director of the African Studies Program in 1968. The son of a Presbyterian missionary, Pruitt grew up in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). He worked at Kalamazoo College until 1981, when he became Director of the Peace Corps in the DRC and later returned to Zaire with USAID in 1984. Tragically, in 1986 he died of AIDS contracted from a blood transfusion in a U.S. military hospital. Pruitt was an activist as well as a scholar and teacher. For example, when former CIA officer John Stockwell, Pruitt's sandbox playmate in the DRC, was secretly completing his book *In Search of Enemies* about the CIA in Angola, (see excerpts: <http://ow.ly/m5fWJ>, Pruitt hid Stockwell in two homes in Michigan.
- Kalamazoo College's current President, Dr. Eileen Wilson-Oyelaran, has deep experience in Africa. Her first academic position was at the University of Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo University) in Nigeria, where she taught in both the departments of education and psychology for 14 years and served as a department chair and Vice-Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences.
- A number of Kalamazoo College alumni/ae have gone on to careers concerning Africa. Among these are David Easterbrook, an African historian who has been the curator of the Melville J. Herskovits Library of African Studies at Northwestern University since 1991 (and also the current President of the Kalamazoo College Alumni Association (See: <http://ow.ly/m5e3k>), and Gretchen Eick, a participant in Kalamazoo College's first junior year abroad program in Sierra Leone who, in the 1970s and 1980s, did advocacy work on Southern Africa and other foreign policy at the Washington Office on Africa and the United Church of Christ.

- Western Michigan University hired Howard Wolpe, a PhD who wrote his dissertation about Nigeria, as Associate Professor of Political Science from 1967-1972. Wolpe went on to a career in politics, eventually representing Michigan's 3<sup>rd</sup> District in the House of Representatives, where he served as Chair of the House Foreign Affairs Committee's Subcommittee on Africa from 1982-1992. He played an important role, with Congressman Ron Dellums, in strategizing how to get the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act passed by Congress in 1986. Wolpe also played a pivotal role in working to end military aid to the Mobutu regime in the DRC. (See interview with Wolpe: <http://ow.ly/m5fmB>.) Africanist faculty at Kalamazoo College, WMU, Michigan State University (MSU) and elsewhere around the states supported Wolpe when he was attacked within his district for his progressive work on Africa.
- Based on his own instruction at Addis Ababa University and University of Botswana, economics Professor Sisay Asefa, Director of the Center for African Development Policy Research (CADPR) at WMU, has been a pioneer in mobilizing faculty from several Michigan universities to offer intensive short courses at the MA, MS, and PhD levels for staff development in African universities that are short of PhD-trained faculty.
- Alumni/ae from WMU have gone on to do important work on Africa, including Leila Patel, who earned her Master's degree in Social Work at WMU and is now Professor of Social Development Studies at the University of Johannesburg and Director of its Centre for Social Development in Africa.

### **Political Action and Social Engagement about Africa**

- At Western Michigan University, the South Africa Solidarity Organization (SASO II) waged an aggressive, successful campaign to convince the Board of Trustees to divest from companies operating in South Africa. This three-year struggle climaxed in September 1979 when nine students, a Campus Chaplain (Rev. Don Van Hoeven), and a Professor of Social Work (Don Cooney) were arrested for disrupting a Board of Trustees meeting. The following fall, after another year of organizing and media coverage, the SASO II activists were acquitted. In 1981 and 1982, the Trustees were pushed to divest from banks lending to South Africa, and in 1983, from other corporations in South Africa, as well. This WMU organizing was highlighted in an article in the April 1984 *Dollars and Sense* (<http://ow.ly/m5gQj>). SASO II also convinced WMU to grant an honorary degree to Nelson Mandela when he was still in prison on Robben Island.
- SASO II organized in the Kalamazoo community as well, brought dozens of speakers on Southern Africa to campus, and conducted educational events at local high schools. They also took anti-apartheid work to Kalamazoo College, such as an action in 1980 when a dozen Western Michigan activists went to Kalamazoo College where a representative from Citibank was conducting interviews. They picketed outside the meeting and convinced five out of 15 students to cancel their interviews. In April 1984, students from the WMU campus marched to Kalamazoo College to join a commemorative service honoring victims of apartheid and U.S. racism.
- SASO II members helped push the Michigan legislature to adopt three bills of economic sanctions against South Africa, working with other activists in East Lansing (where Michigan State University is located), Detroit, Ann Arbor, and Grand Rapids. These Acts prohibited depositing state funds in banks making loans in South Africa (1979-80), prohibited state universities and colleges from holding investments in firms operating in South Africa (1982), and divested the \$4 billion state employees pension fund (1988) of any companies operating in South Africa.
- The Arcus Center for Social Justice Leadership at Kalamazoo College and Kalamazoo City Commissioner Don Cooney, with support from Western Michigan University Housing, are hosting this June 2013 consultation of the US-Africa Network.