

CENTRE FOR CIVIL SOCIETY

CCS EVENTS AND ACTIVITIES, MAY - AUGUST 2006



With goodnatured mirth and to knowing laughter, Ashwin Desai offered our July 21 Social Movements Research Workshop a caustic assessment: 'Patrick seems to think that by scheduling a bewildering series of seminars this month, somehow we're going to get closer to The Truth.'

Still, discounting a mild case of institutional burnout, perhaps we did get a bit closer during the middle third of 2006. This was CCS's most active period to date, and this newsletter records conferences, workshops, major lectures, seminars, publishing outputs and other projects. But we also began to take time for reflection on CCS's trajectory, in the form of our first Phase (2001-06) review. This led to some innovative strategies for the second Phase, which we will be sharing with our associates and broader community in coming weeks.

Highlights included several Economic Justice project debates in June, including one that brought us the views of ANC/Alliance leaders and intellectuals; the International Society for Third Sector Research (ISTR) biannual congress; and in late July, the Workshop on the World Social Forum coshosted with the Bangkok/Manila/Mumbai thinktank Focus on the Global South (attended by 200), four ecological seminars and the International Sociological Association (ISA) quadrennial world congress. Detailed reports are below.

The Phase 1 review included two aspects thus far: a draft report – *Inquiring Activism: CCS Five Years On* – authored by the highly regarded civil society analyst David Sogge, who is associated with the Netherlands Institute for Southern Africa; and a local follow-up workshop report on implications for strategy by local organisational development expert Catherine Collingwood. Our Phase 2 draft proposal will be presented to funding partners in early September as part of a broader consultation with constituents.

The most important accomplishment we can attest to in the period under review is a broadened horizon, with excellent new partners and networks especially in the global South. These include all the visitors who came through during the ISA, our ISTR colleagues, and new research allies in the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (Codesria), its Latin American equivalent (Clacso), a major Asian scholar-activist network (Arena), a formidable Korean political economy research/action network based at Gyeongsang Univ., the Arab & African Research Centre in Cairo with whom we are embarking upon a new comparative research project, our own UKZN Paolo Freire Institute in Pietermaritzburg, and many others.

Amongst participants in CCS events in Durban were some of the world's most effective eco-justice advocates in Friends of the Earth's Third World branches (including the organisation's chair Meena Raman); founders of the World Systems School of sociology (Samir Amin, Chris Chase-Dunn, Immanuel Wallerstein); leaders in progressive development anthropology (James Ferguson, Anne-Maria Makhulu); the most active proponents of Freirian critical pedagogy (Nathalia Jaramillo, Noah de Lissovoy, Peter McLaren); officials of other think-tanks devoted to social justice (Fiona Dove of TransNational Institute and Nicola Bullard of Focus on the Global South); and others whose work on civil society, social justice and political theory has inspired us all (Jimi Adesina, Michael Burawoy, Preggs Govender, Gillian Hart, Michael Neocosmos, Ebrima Sall, Ari Sitas, Raquel Sosa and many others).



Amin, Wallerstein



Raman

Cover: A Woman of Kennedy Road photographed by Nozuko Lulama Hulushe

Please join CCS for upcoming events; these will not be as wide-ranging as the last four, as we consolidate, but nevertheless they will touch most parts of South Africa and most continents of the world, and probably most of the issues under the sun.

THE CCS COMMUNITY

In August we bade a temporary farewell to three staff who worked tirelessly over a two-year period from mid-2004, and who became stalwarts in the networks they joined and in some cases developed. Each, however, will continue their strong presence in these networks.

- Amanda Alexander has joined the history PhD programme at Columbia Univ. in New York, where she will continue studying South African social change and race relations.
- Raj Patel moved to the US but plays a critical role in research and activism that serves Abahlali baseMjondolo.
- Zoë Wilson will continue her water-related and complexity research in several southern Africa sites, but shifting her base to the UKZN Pollution Research Group and School for Development Studies.

At the same time, we were lucky to have a dozen fascinating scholar-activists passing through CCS, leaving us (and civil society groups they supported) with some excellent research and memories of dynamic seminars, as well as an ongoing commitment to the Centre and our society:

- Alex Beresford, Univ. of Edinburgh (May-June)
- Jan Mogaladi, Stellenbosch Univ. (June-July)
- Femi Aborisade, Ibadan Polytechnic (June-July)
- Jeff Purcell, Cornell Univ. (July-August)
- Shannon Walsh, McGill Univ. (July-August)
- Nisha Thapliyal, Action Aid Int'l and Univ. of Maryland (July-August)
- Kerry Chance, Univ. of Chicago (July-August)
- Kea Gorden, Univ. of California/SantaBarbara (May-September)
- Dennis Brutus, Univ. of Pittsburgh (June-December)
- Heinrich Bohmke, independent lawyer/filmmaker (June-December)
- Xin Wei Ngiam, Harvard Univ. (August-September)
- Mandisa Mbali, Oxford Univ. (August-December)

A part-time research assistant on the Energy Advocacy project, Molefi Ndlovu (a UKZN undergraduate), joined us in May and has been a prolific organiser as well as CCS website contributor.

We are also happy to announce that in addition to her duties as the research/policy manager at the Freedom of Expression Institute, Jane Duncan will be conducting part-time post-doctoral research based at CCS beginning in September.

On a tragic note, we note the death of Professor Chachage Seithy Chachage on July 10. He was a colleague on the African Integration project based at the Univ. of Dar es Salaam. Eulogised Marjorie Mbilinyi, he 'was an exemplary scholar activist, who combined powerful analysis, clarity of vision and purpose, with an amazing array of capacities -- a writer of fiction and scholarly analysis and activist writings in both Kiswahili and English. Chachage had a deep commitment to promoting serious intellectual discourse throughout society and a free university community which was geared towards the liberation of the people.' He was a model for us all.

CCS TRAINING AND TEACHING

A variety of community workshops and planning meetings were facilitated and recorded by CCS colleagues, including Ntokozo Mthembu, Molefi Ndlovu and Jeff Purcell.

Richard Ballard taught the course 'Civil Society & Development' in the School of Development Studies masters programme; the introduction and list of required readings are provided below, and the full description of each seminar and additional readings are available at <http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs>.

Civil Society & Development: Introduction and Required Readings

For the last decade and a half, the notion of *civil society* has been holding central sway in official, academic and popular discourses about development, democracy and governance in the world. Although this notion, in various guises and interpretations, has been part of Western political and philosophical thought almost since antiquity, it has seen a spectacular revival since the end of the Cold War and the various transitions to democracy in countries in Latin-America and Eastern and Central Europe [and South Africa in the early nineties] that accompanied that event. In most instances, it was widely recognised that a broad body of non-state actors/ agencies, subsequently lumped under the term civil society, played a key role in these transitions to democracy.

Hence, in a world newly shorn of its old theoretical and ideological certainties, the old theoretical notion of civil society was revived and imbued with a range of new meanings, interpretations and expectations. It moved rapidly from academic discourse to widespread popular use, across a wide ideological spectrum, becoming, for some time, the new panacea for promoting democracy, 'good governance' and development in the world. In retrospect, there were clearly deeper/ underlying ideological, political and economic causes that lead to the widespread promotion of this notion – most of them tied up with a new emerging world order, based on the notion of liberal democracy and the supremacy of the market. The course will explore these and other new developments, both in international and country contexts, and look at the challenges and the increasingly stark choices facing civil society organisations (CSOs) worldwide. It will also look the newer/ emerging phenomenon of global civil society, which is increasingly challenging the underlying assumptions and practices of the 'new world order'.

Required readings include work by Desai, Habib, Taylor, Heller, Zuern, Barchiesi, Greenstein, Friedman, Mottair, Cohen, Arato, Meiksins Wood, Commins, Hilhorst, Pearce, Petras, Veltmeyer, Rai, Della Porta, Diani, Kaldor, Burawoy, Harvey, Anheier, Glasius, Kaldor, Keane, Stiglitz, Gibson, Neocosmos and Fanon.

REGULAR PUBLIC EVENTS

Harold Wolpe Memorial Lectures

A charismatic group of presenters made this period a busy one for our monthly Wolpe lectures. Pregs Govender had a packed house hotly debating patriarchy in the context of Jacob Zuma's rape case. Another lecture, by Ashwin Desai, attracted 500 people to the International Convention Centre in central Durban, as the ISA and ICC graciously permitted us to merge the Wolpe Lecture with their sociology congress events; a 'Grassroots Sociology' session permitted two hours of community strategising with international visitors beforehand. In addition, demonstrating our community's interest in the Middle East wars as well as deepening CCS outreach work, Phyllis Bennis had 300 in attendance at the most recent Wolpe lecture.



- Pregs Govender, gender activist and former ANC MP: 'The Gender Implications of the Zuma Rape Trial', 18 May
- Peter McLaren, Univ. of California, Los Angeles: 'Freire's Critical Pedagogy and Contemporary Liberation Struggle', 25 May
- S'bu Zikode, Abahlali baseMjondolo: 'The Greatest Threat to Future Stability in Our Country vs the Greatest Strength of Abahlali baseMjondolo Movement S.A. Shack Dwellers', 30 June
- Ashwin Desai, CCS and Rhodes Univ.: 'Vans, Autos, Kombis and the Drivers of Social Movements', 28 July
- Phyllis Bennis, Institute for Policy Studies: 'Wars in the Middle East: What Citizens Movements Can Do', 24 August

Seminars

The list of CCS seminars reflects coordinator Sufian Bukurura's active outreach work:

- Robin Turner, Univ. of California/Berkeley Politics: 'Recognising and Eradicating Racism in Environmental Commons: The Environmental Justice Movement, White Privilege and Commons Scholarship', 12 May
- Peter McLaren and Nathalia Jaramillo, UCLA and Noah de Lissovoy, Univ. of Texas: 'The Method of Critical Pedagogy', 24 May
- Lubna Nadvi, UKZN Politics: 'Militant Islam as a Political Strategy: Challenges and Perspectives', 26 May
- Michael Neocosmos, Univ. of Pretoria Sociology: 'Development, Social Citizenship and Human Rights: Rethinking the Political Core of an Emancipatory Project in Africa', 2 June
- Alex Beresford, CCS visiting scholar: 'What Resistance means to Labour Movements and Local Social Movements in Durban: Towards Solidarity or Fragmentation?', 9 June
- Femi Aborisade, CCS visiting scholar, 'Labour and Socio-Economic Rights Development and Nigeria's Commercialisation and Privatisation Policy: A Descriptive Appraisal', 20 July
- Nisha Thapliyal, CCS visiting scholar: 'Education, Civil Society, and Social Change: A Case Study of a Brazilian Social Movement', 20 July
- Jan Mogaladi, CCS visiting scholar: 'Social Mobilisation, Constitutional Regime and Democratic Consolidation: The Case of South African Social Movements', 20 July
- Håkan Thörn, Göteborg Univ. Sociology, 'Anti-Apartheid and the Emergence of a Global Civil Society', 1 August
- Phil Greenham, Body Positive Northwest: 'Empowerment & Service Provision for the Community in the Support & Prevention of HIV: 20 Years of Grassroots Experiences from the Greater Manchester, England', 2 August
- Jeff Purcell, CCS visiting scholar: 'Keeping Stolen Land', 11 August
- Sammy Adelman, Warwick Univ. Law School: 'Post-modern Sovereignty and the Legitimacy of Human Rights', 18 August
- Kerry Chance, CCS visiting scholar: 'The Cut Off', 25 August

Film screenings

In addition, CCS holds periodic film screenings and discussions. As part of the Durban International Film Festival, on 25 June Ntokozo Mthembu and allied community organizers showed several documentaries at Kennedy Road Community Hall: *Inkani, A Shadow of Hope, Breyani and the Councillors, I Mic What I Like*, and *Workers at Wyatt Road*. In addition, Ntokozo – with assistance from Molefi Ndlovu and visiting scholars - began a film/discussion series at UKZN and in local communities. Films on socio-economic justice have been screened at the KwaMashu E-Nkanyisweni Hall (20 May), at the New Emaus Community Hall in Pinetown (2 July), and at Workers College for the National African Congress of Trade Unions (18 July). They also presented a morning-long Qwasha ('Let's Discuss') session at the UKZN Westville campus on 18 August that focused on youth and unemployment.

SPECIAL CONFERENCES AND SEMINARS

CCS staff and associates attended international public events in sites as diverse as Lebanon, Egypt, The Gambia, Botswana, Brazil, Canada, Scotland, Norway, Italy, Russia, Thailand and South Korea. Here in South Africa, there were opportunities for CCS to present at the Cape Town Book Fair and Grahamstown cultural festival, as well as in invited lectures and seminars in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London and Grahamstown, as described in the staff reports.

CCS's own conferences and workshops included two meetings addressing excess corporate power cohosted with local eco-social NGO groundWork and Friends of the Earth International; a debate comparing notes from political and civil society with provincial and national SACP, ANC and Cosatu leaders; the Workshop on the World Social Forum; numerous events at and around the International Sociological Association including four workshops on political ecology; several panels at the International Society for Third Sector Research biannual conference; and a workshop on urban citizenship cosponsored with the TransNational Institute (whose director

Fiona Dove visited), along with Dutch civil society expert Frans Schuurman (August 25-26). CCS's Energy Advocacy project – with Patrick Bond, Rehana Dada, Dennis Brutus and Muna Lakhani – also collaborated on a 'post-Kyoto' videoteleconferenced seminar with the Dartmouth Center for the Advance of Learning and its Environmental Studies programme, led by environmental racism critic Michael Dorsey. We were impressed with the transmission quality and welcome the possibilities to save on personal wear-and-tear, time, transport expenses and CO2 emissions, something we will be exploring with all our partners in future.

Corporate/Financial Power faces Third World Grassroots Resistance

In late June, two well-attended evenings of public briefings and discussion at CCS were cohosted by our Economic Justice project with Pietermaritzburg-based groundWork and Friends of the Earth International, thanks to a stellar group of visiting environmental scholar-activists.

Campaigning Against Corporate Power (21 June)

- Bobby Peek, groundWork: Introduction to Corporate campaigning
- Desmond D'Sa, S.Durban Community Environmental Alliance: Fighting corporates in South Durban
- Meena Raman, Sahabat Alam Malaysia (Chair, FoEI): Corporate power, community rights and the WTO
- Edith Abilogo, Centre for Environment and Development (FoE Cameroon): Development and profits in Africa – The battle over the Chad-Cameroon pipeline
- Anne van Schaik, Milieudedefensie (FoE, The Netherlands): Legal strategies to dismantle corporate power
- Sofonea Shale, Lesotho Development for Peace Education: Unveiling corporate corruption

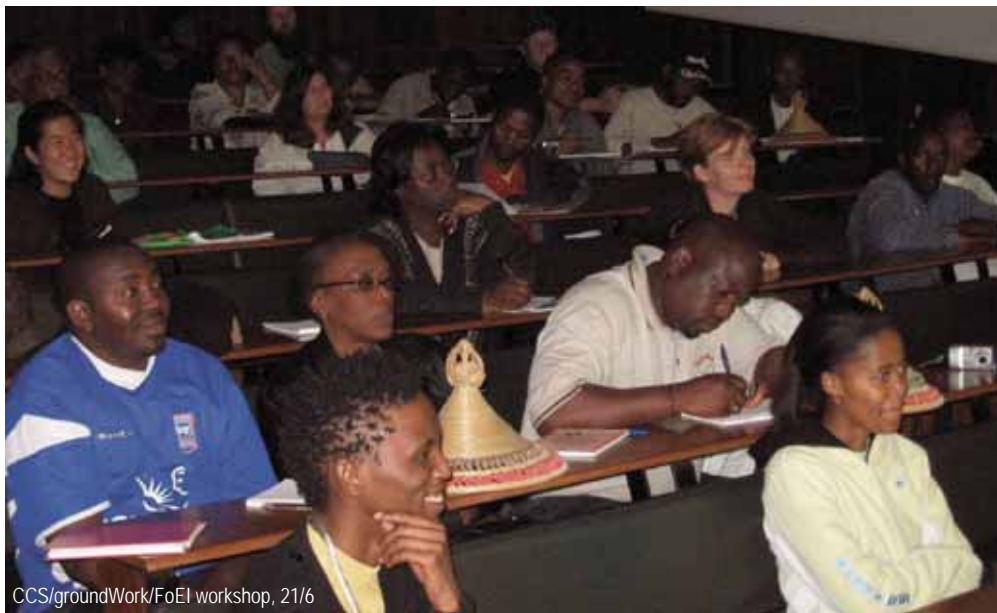
Taking on the International Financial Institutions (22 June)

- Dennis Brutus, CCS: International finance and African popular resistance
- Patrick Bond, CCS: World Bank damage to South Africa then and now
- Nisha Thapliyal, CCS: Popular resistance to the World Bank
- Samuel Nguiffo, Centre for Environment and Development (FoE Cameroon): The World Bank in the Chad-Cameroon pipeline and the Congo Basin: Traversing people's lives
- Damien Ase, Center for Environmental Law and Community Rights (FoE Papua New Guinea): Community impacts of the World Bank's activities in mining and forestry
- Magda Stoczkiewicz, Central & Eastern European Bankwatch: The European Investment Bank comes to South Africa: in whose interest?

Our visitors

Special thanks to the experts who shared their ideas and inspiration: Peek directs groundWork and a recipient of the Goldman Environmental Prize. D'Sa is a renowned activist who has fought for fresh air, clean soil and popular power in South Durban. Raman is chairperson of Friends of the Earth International and a leading activist in the Consumers Association of Penang, Third World Network and FoE Malaysia. Abilogo is campaigning against the damage done by the largest World Bank petroleum project in Africa, and has helped make it the target of major corruption enquiries. Van Schaik is an environmental and social justice activist who focuses on corporate abuses by Dutch corporations abroad, such as Shell. Shale leads a Maseru NGO active on economic justice across Lesotho. Thapliyal recently completed a PhD at the Univ. of Maryland and is a consultant to Action Aid International. Nguiffo is a Cameroonian activist and lawyer, director of the Centre for Environment and Development, and recipient of the Goldman Environmental Prize. Ase is a lawyer with Friends of the Earth Papua New Guinea and campaigner against mineral companies. Stoczkiewicz works against structural adjustment across Eastern Europe.

(Janneke Briel from Friends of the Earth International in Amsterdam is thanked for stellar organising and financial support.)



CCS/groundWork/FoEI workshop, 21/6

What Comes After Kyoto? Neoliberal Climate Policy Making: Promises or Pitfalls

A televideo conference linking Dartmouth, Oxford and CCS, 23 June

- Views from the Regions – Europe & Africa
- Dialogue on Neoliberal Climate Policy
- The Multilateral Level
- Views from Asia, Latin America, USA
- New BBC Film: *Climate of Fear*

Class, National and Gender Struggle in South Africa:

A political and civil society discussion at CCS, 30 June



Carrim

Leadership from the KZN Provincial chapters of the SA Communist Party, African National Congress and Congress of SA Trade Unions joined CCS for a discussion and launch of the SACP Discussion Document on Class, National and Gender Struggle in SA published in *Bua Komanisi!* Volume 5, Issue No. 1, in May (available at <http://www.sacp.org.za>). The day-long debate featured inputs from KZN provincial parliamentary speaker Willie Mchunu, SACP central committee member and ANC MP Yunus Carrim, Cosatu Provincial Chairperson Sdumo Dlamini, ANC Provincial Executive Member Nathi Mthethwa, MP, and from CCS, Patrick Bond and Ashwin Desai. We are very grateful to UKZN student and SACP activist Xolani Dube for organising the event, to the SACP for financing it, and to dozens of members of the Alliance – including a deputy minister and several other MPs – for joining us. The key debating documents and photographs are posted at <http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs>.

CCS at the International Society for Third Sector Research:

Papers presented to the Bangkok congress by CCS staff and associates, 10-13 July

- Baruti Amisi: 'Social Capital, Social Networks, and Refugee Migration: An Exploration of the Livelihood Strategies of Durban Congolese Refugees'
- Patrick Bond: 'Civil Society on Global Governance'
- Alan Fowler: 'Civil Society in an Era of International Development for Security: From Harmony to Contention?' and (copresented) 'Assessing the State of Civil Society Worldwide: Global Findings from the Civicus Civil Society Index Project'
- Adam Habib, Brij Maharaj, Mandla Seleokane, Deborah Ewing and Judith Hudson (Social Giving panel organised by Annsilla Nyar): 'South African Giving in International Perspective'
- Imraan Valodia (on behalf of Richard Ballard and Adam Habib): 'Globalization, Marginalization and Contemporary Social Movements in South Africa'
- Zoë Wilson: 'Social Movements and Sanitation Politics: Demands and Alternatives'



Seleokane



Wilson



Maharaj



Habib

Day-Long Seminar on Social Movements Research:

Cases, Methods, Comparisons, 21 July

CCS doctoral candidates:

- Baruti Amisi and Shireen Essof (Stellenbosch)
- CCS post-graduate student research on Soweto and Johannesburg urban social movements:

- Prishani Naidoo, Virginia Magwaza-Setshedi, Trevor Ngwane, and Ahmed Veriava
- Panel on social movement research:

- Anne-Maria Makhulu (Duke) on Cape Town urban movements,
- James Ferguson (Stanford) on policy advocacy by SA social movements, and
- Immanuel Wallerstein (Yale) on revisiting 'anti-systemic movements' research after Zapatismo, Seattle and the World Social Forum

(The SA-Netherlands Programme for Alternative Research in Development and Atlantic Philanthropies made the event possible.)



ASR 10th birthday with Bond, Adesina, Hendricks, Sitas, Sosa



Ngwane, Wallerstein, Njehu



Sunmonu, Deve, Kalima-Phiri

Workshop on the World Social Forum:

A Two-Day Debate on Issues, Processes and Politics, 22-23 July

- Introductions, Agenda and Welcome (Dennis Brutus)
- The WSF's History and Trajectories (Njoki Njehu, Nicola Bullard, Immanuel Wallerstein, Trevor Ngwane, Mnikelo Ndabankulu)
- African Case studies - Continental, Southern Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Malawi, Lesotho, Angola, Nigeria, Egypt, SA (Thomas Deve, Hassan Sunmonu, John Stewart, Barbara Kalimi-Phiri, Tafadzwa Muropa, Rose Wanjiru, Paul Msoma, Sofonea Shale, Joao Baptiste Lukombo, Femi Aborisade, Helmy Shawary, Mondli Hlatshwayo, Orlean Naidoo, Virginia Magwaza-Setshedi)
- Local Politics and the WSF: Lessons from Durban (Molefi Ndlovu, Des D'Sa, Ntokoza Mthembu, Zandile Ntsibande, Ashwin Desai)
- Celebration of *Codesria African Sociological Review* 10th anniversary (Ari Sitas, Ashwin Desai, Samir Amin, Jimi Adesina, Ebrima Sall, Fred Hendricks and Raquel Sosa)
- Centre for Civil Society's fifth birthday and cultural presentations (Sounds of Edutainment from Joburg, and Durban cultural workers)
- Background on WSF Charter (Virginia Magwaza-Setshedi, Nicola Bullard)
- Reportback from Nairobi WSF Organisers (Njoki Njehu, Joyce Umbima, Hassan Sunmonu, John Stewart, Thomas Deve)
- Lebanon and Zimbabwe discussions (Salim Vally, Briggs Bomba)
- The Politics of the WSF (Samir Amin, Franco Barchiesi, Prishani Naidoo, Geoffrey Pleyers)
- Ways forward and Workshop assessment (Patrick Bond, Nicola Bullard)

(Support was provided for this event by Osisa, Action Aid, the Southern African Trust and OxfamGB.)



Shawary



Bullard



Vally



CCS at the International Sociological Association

24 July

- Ashwin Desai addressed the Panel on Social Classes and Social Movements: On the Life-Work of Alain Touraine

25 July

- Dennis Brutus and former visiting scholar Joel Kovel addressed the Panel on Human Security and the Imperative of Peace, on the Anti-War Movement Gains and Losses
- Richard Pithouse hosted the Panel on Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth Today*, which included a paper by Raj Patel
- Ike's Books launched Patrick Bond's *Looting Africa: The Economics of Exploitation*

26 July

- Trevor Ngwane addressed the Panel on Human Security and the Imperative of Peace, on 'The View from Soweto'
- Patrick Bond addressed the ISA panel on Social Movements and Social Change in Africa, on 'African Movements Debate Local, Continental and Global Change'
- Patrick Bond joined the panel on Africa and the Future of World Society with his paper 'The Looting of Africa'

27 July:

- Ike's Books launched *Voices of Protest: Social Movements in South Africa*, edited by Richard Ballard, Adam Habib and Imraan Valodia
- Patrick Bond and Dennis Brutus addressed the Codesria-Third World Forum Special Day on 'Programmatic Options for State and Social Power' (Bond) and Popular Movements in African Development (Brutus)

28 July:

- Patrick Bond addressed the Panel on Human Security and the Imperative of Peace, on 'Decommodification in Theory and Practice'
- ISA Panel on Global Financial Institutions, with Patrick Bond, David Moore, Virginia Magwaza-Setshedi and Christopher Chase-Dunn
- 'Grassroots Sociology' meeting of 500+ community activists and sympatico sociologists
- Harold Wolpe Memorial Lecture by Ashwin Desai



Four Political Ecology Workshops by CCS and partners



CCS, the Pietermaritzburg NGO groundWork and the international journal *Capitalism Nature Socialism* hosted three red-green political discussions in late July, focusing on civil society struggles for subsistence, biodiversity, land, water, energy, and the question of big oil, with a special focus on the African continent. The aim was to theorise political resistance in an era of aggressively globalising capital, and to gender eco-political theory and practice.

African Political Ecology, 25 July

- Ntokozo Mthembu, CCS: Chair
- George Martin, Montclair Univ: Land
- Terisa Turner, Guelph Univ.: Oil
- Bobby Peek, groundWork: Energy
- Virginia Magwaza-Setshedi: Water and electricity



Socialist Political Ecology, 27 July

- Molefi Ndlovu, CCS: Chair
- Leigh Brownhill, Guelph Univ.: Beyond subsistence politics
- Joel Kovel, Bard College: Theoretical problems
- Trevor Ngwane, CCS: South African red/green politics
- Ellie Perkins, York Univ.: Feminist ecology and water
- Ariel Salleh, Ecoethics, Sydney Univ.: Engendering theory and praxis



Radical Feminist Political Ecology, 29 July

- Open informal discussion, chaired by Ariel Salleh, Sydney Univ.

Climate Change Workshop, Thursday, July 27

- CCS, the TransNational Institute's CarbonTradeWatch (Amsterdam) and TimberWatch Coalition (Durban) spent a day discussing what to do about global warming.



Facilitators: Karen Read (Diakonia) and Wally Menne (TimberWatch)

- Rob Hounsome, CSIR: 'Climate Science & Climate Change Impacts'
 - Patrick Bond, CCS: 'Dirty Politics - South African Energy Policies'
 - Alan Murphy, Ecopeace: 'Climate Change and Ecological Debt'
 - Des D'Sa, South Durban Community and Environmental Alliance: 'Linking Climate Change to Local Eco-Challenges'
 - Graham Erion, Legal Resources Centre & TNI Carbon Trade Watch: 'International Policy Responses - Kyoto, CDM, COP12'
 - Prishani Naidoo: 'SA Civil Society Responses'
- Plenary: 'Climate Strategising and Movement Building'



(Thanks especially to Sanpad, TimberWatch and CarbonTradeWatch for making the event possible.)

PUBLICATIONS

CCS staff generated numerous books, chapters and academic and popular articles during mid-2006 (see staff notes), plus the CCS Wired DVD prototype which contains not only research but also 26 video documentaries. Book-length works include:

- Amanda Alexander and Richard Pithouse edited the first 2006 *Research Reports* volume, published in July, with the theme New Work from Durban.
- Other CCS work came to fruition in the UKZN Press book edited by Richard Ballard, Adam Habib and Imraan Valoodia, *Voices of Protest*.
- Through UKZN Press, Patrick Bond published the second edition of *Talk Left Walk Right* and the new book *Looting Africa* (the latter originating at Zed Books).
- With Routledge and UKZN Press, Zoë Wilson published *The UN and Democracy in Africa*.
- In November, Adonis will publish Sanya Osha's book *Ken Saro-Wiwa's Shadow: Politics, Nationalism and the Ogoni Protest Movement*.
- Raj Patel sent two manuscripts to the publishers in July: *Stuffed and Starved* (Portobello Books) and *Promised Land* (FoodFirst).

We must pay tribute to Glenn Cowley and his staff at UKZN Press, for exceptional support and friendship to CCS.

The African Integration project that CCS ran in 2003-04 and that is being revamped by Sufian Bukurura published its key findings in *Transformation* (#61) journal with inputs by Vishnu Padayachee, Mammo Muchie, Adam Habib, Chris Landsberg and Paul Opoku-Mensah.

CCS staff also published in several journals, including the *African Sociological Review*, *West Africa Review* and *Capitalism Nature Socialism*. With *CNS* editor Joel Kovel, who returned for a July visit, we began discussions with local environmental activists about adding a Durban collective to the groups already editing this important journal of political ecology based in New York, San Francisco, Boston, Toronto and London.

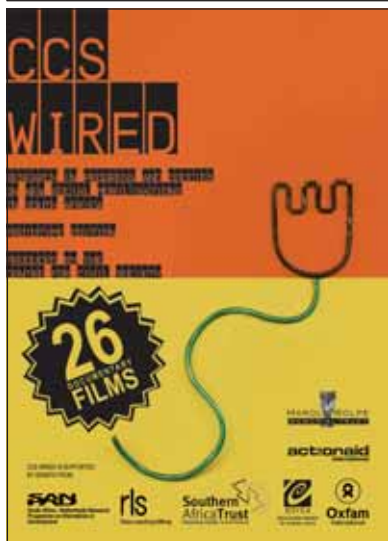
CCS staff wrote regularly for the popular press, and thanks to organising by Annsilla Nyar, the *Mercury* newspaper carries a regular 'Eye on Civil Society' column. In June there was also a positive *Mail & Guardian* review of the *Articulations* Wolpe Lectures collection edited by Amanda Alexander, which was published in February.

Our forthcoming work for 2006 includes the proceedings of the Colloquium on Economy, Society and Nature held at CCS in March, in the form of journal articles and stand-alone publications; an update of our Energy Advocacy project's 2005 work on *Climate Change and Carbon Trading* (originally published as *Trouble in the Air*) in time for the Nairobi meeting of the Kyoto Protocol Conference of Parties in November; and books by Patrick Bond and Ashwin Desai on civil society's 'foreign policy, bottom-up' and on South African politics.

'Eye on Civil Society' columns in *The Mercury*, May-August

- Annsilla Nyar: 'Security Guards: The Bigger Picture' (9 May)
- Richard Pithouse and Raj Patel: 'Shack Fires are no Accident' (11 May)
- Annsilla Nyar: 'Acknowledging the Rights of all Workers' (21 May)
- Patrick Bond: 'Pressuring Mugabe: Can Activists Replace Collusive States and Business?' (7 June)
- Ntokozo Mthembu: 'Give all Youngsters Equal Chance at Success' (20 June)
- Sbu Zikode: 'We are the Restless Majority' (4 July)
- Ntokozo Mthembu: 'The Poor must Lead their Own Struggles' (18 July)
- Jeff Purcell: 'The Poor Man's View of Truth' (1 August)
- Jeff Purcell: 'South Africa's First World/Third World Dilemma' (12 August)

CCS WIRED contains cutting-edge research and documentaries



CCS and our filmmaker friends – Heidi Bachram, Heinrich Bohmke, Ben Cashdan, Daniel Chavez, Michele Citoni, Rehana Dada, Sally Giles, Fazel Khan, Vincent Moloi, Ntokozo Mthembu, Aoibheann O'Sullivan, John Pilger, Gillian Schutte Singiswa, Sipho Singiswa, Greg Streak, Jann Turner and Shannon Walsh – announce the prototype (July 2006) and soon, the first edition (September 2006) of CCS WIRED. We have assembled two DVDs that capture some of our Centre's research-in-progress as well as scenes of struggle, pain, suffering, joy, victories, defeats, and commitments in South Africa and across the Southern African region.

It's a goldmine of data and doccies. We have jammed our own publications - *Research Report* collections, Wolpe Memorial lectures, *Civil Society Readers*, etc - plus more than 30 films representing South/ern Africa's 'new social mobilisations' onto two pieces of plastic.

CCS WIRED unveils mass community protests and social justice campaigns in SA that began in a systematic way when Durban's Chatsworth community erupted in 1999. Going back further, John Pilger generously offered his 1998 film *Apartheid Did Not Die*, which predicted the subsequent uprisings. By late 2005, the SA Police estimated that there were 5800 protests

in the prior year, 13% of which they deemed 'illegal'. Something is wrong in the New SA - the research and films available in CCS WIRED show what, and why citizens are resisting.

There is also documentation of regional Southern African advocacy for social and ecological justice – which will be the primary focus of CCS WIRED (2007.1), given civil society's efforts to build the World Social Forum in Nairobi from 25-29 January.

We offer gratitude to the contributors, especially the low-paid doccie makers. They have given us their work gratis; please support them when you see them filming in a war zone near you. (In some cases, the filmmaker offered us a high-resolution version you are free to broadcast or screen to the public. In other cases the filmmaker desires that you contact them by email so as to obtain a high-res version if you want to do a screening or broadcast the doccie.) The DVDs can be screened on a computer only (not a DVD player). Invaluable production support was provided by Ben Cashdan, Library Design, Collective Film and Video, and TripleAim.

(Our funders are warmly thanked: Sanpad, Osis, Southern Africa Trust, Mott, Atlantic Philanthropies, Ford, Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, ActionAid, OxfamGB and the Harold Wolpe Memorial Trust.)

CCS WIRED: Prototype Edition (July 2006)

DVD #1: CCS research-in-progress

Energy Advocacy:

The Carbon Trade Debate:

- Carbon Credits (Aoibheann O'Sullivan 2005): A focus on conflicts in communities over costs and benefits of carbon trading
- Trading Pollution (Rehana Dada 2005): Another documentary about carbon trading
- Green Gold (Heidi Bachram 2002): The first documentary on carbon trading, with a focus on the Bisasar road dump

The Struggle for Electricity:

- The Great Blackout (Daniel Chavez 2004): A transnational institute survey of sites of struggle against electricity privatisation, from India to Colombia to Brazil to South Africa

- Down to Earth (Ben Cashdan 2002): The documentary on a variety of energy issues produced during the world summit on sustainable development in Johannesburg, featuring South African activists

The Cost of Power in South Durban:

- Beauty and the Beasts (Greg Streak, 2006): A scan of environmental justice struggles by South Durban residents against big capital and an uncaring state
- Two Documentaries on the South Durban Petrochemical Complex: The bucket brigade and leukemia (2004): Documentaries on how groundwork and the South Durban Community Environmental Alliance challenged the lack of information on pollution caused by the oil refineries in South Durban, by both bucket air samples and leukaemia sampling in a site where the disease is 24 times worse than the national average

CCS Energy Series: Trouble in the air (2005, .pdf)

Workshop on the World Social Forum:

- Programme and Background
- Workshop Video Highlights

CCS Libraries:

- Links to the Centre's Online Publications
- CCS Publications

DVD #2: New Social Mobilisations

Durban:

- Inkani (Shannon Walsh and Heinrich Bohmke 2006) : Built from new and archival footage, Inkani traces the growing resistance of poor communities over the last seven years in Durban, including the violent evictions in Bayview, the ten rand march, the Marcel King shooting and the Abahlali Basemjondolo marches and victories
- University of KwaZulu-Natal on Strike (Fazel Khan 2006): The nine-day february 2006 strike by a united group of four trade unions, students and communities showed that the neoliberal restructuring of South Africa's largest contact university can be rolled back
- Kennedy Road and the Councillor (Aoibheann O'Sullivan 2005): This video documents strained relations between shackdweller leaders and their local ANC ward councillor, Yacoob Baig, and the limits of merely handing over memorandums
- Breyani and the Councillor (Sally Giles and Fazel Khan 2005): Another critique of Baig's modus operandi
- Marcel King is Dead (Heinrich Bohmke 2004): A story of a 17 year old boy shot dead by Durban municipality security guards disconnecting electricity, movingly told by his mother
- World Conference Against Racism (Ben Cashdan 2001): The official film of the NGO alternative summit to the wcar in September 2001, revealing its fatal flaws and rising grassroots resistance
- Chatsworth: Struggle for Shelter (Ben Cashdan 2000): 34 years after a Durban community suffered apartheid forced removals, the ANC municipal government subjects same families to mass evictions

National:

- Status Quo (Aoibheann O'Sullivan 2005) : A pastiche of activism and repression, to the urgent strains of the Kalahari Surfers
- Delaying the Inevitable: Evictions and the Tafelsig anti-evictions committee (Aoibheann O'Sullivan 2005): Ashraf Cassim and other members of the Tafelsig AEC use a loophole in SA law to stall and reverse housing evictions in the Western Cape
- New State of Emergency (Ben Cashdan 2004): Overview of the emerging social movement challenge to inequality and state repression, 2000-04
- I Am a Rebel: Dennis Brutus (Vincent Moloi and Ben Cashdan 2004): A film biographer of anti-apartheid poet and sports campaigner Brutus, through the eyes of young Soweto filmmaker Moloi
- We are the Poors (Michele Citoni 2002): The world summit on sustainable development drew strong critiques from the emerging independent left, as well as from ordinary South Africans
- Jubilee South Africa (Ben Cashdan 2002): The case for reparations against multinational banks and corporations which supported apartheid
- White Gold (Ben Cashdan 2001): Alexandra township activists challenge the largest dam project in africa, which pushed water prices beyond the reach of Johannesburg's poor and

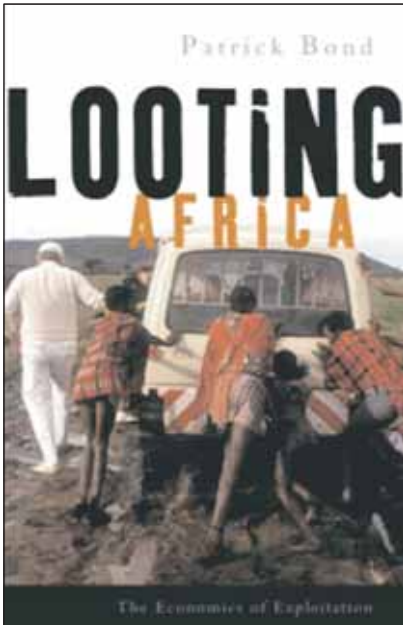
threatens Lesotho's environment

- Two Trevors Go to Washington (Ben Cashdan 2000): Soweto firebrand Trevor Ngwane confronts the chair of the IMF/World Bank board of governors (and SA finance minister) Trevor Manuel
- Apartheid Did Not Die (John Pilger 1998): The seminal film critique of post-apartheid South Africa, by legendary journalist Pilger

ORDERING INFORMATION: <http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs> and ccs@ukzn.ac.za

Looting Africa: The Economics of Exploitation

by Patrick Bond (Zed Books and UKZN Press, July 2006)



Despite the rhetoric, the people of Sub-Saharan Africa are becoming poorer. From Tony Blair's Africa Commission, the G7 finance ministers' debt relief, the Live 8 concerts, the Make Poverty History campaign and the G8 Gleneagles promises, to the United Nations 2005 summit and the Hong Kong WTO meeting, Africa's gains have been mainly limited to public relations. The central problems remain exploitative debt and financial relationships with the North, phantom aid, unfair trade, distorted investment and the continent's brain/skills drain.

Moreover, capitalism in most African countries has witnessed the emergence of excessively powerful ruling elites with incomes derived from financial-parasitical accumulation. Without overstressing the 'mistakes' of such elites, this book contextualises Africa's wealth outflow within a stagnant but volatile world economy.

'Patrick Bond's book provides a solid theoretical, empirical, and analytical framework showing and proving that the processes of looting the African continent, which started with the slave trade, have continued to this day' - Professor Issa Shivji, University of Dar es Salaam

'A brilliant analysis and timely expose of the rapacious forces ranged against Africans today.' - John Pilger

CONTENTS

1. Poor Africa: Two Views
2. Global Uneven and Combined Development: Neoliberalism, Stagnation, Financial Viability
3. Financial Inflows and Outflows: Phantom Aid, Debt Peonage Capital Flight
4. Unequal Exchange Revisited: Trade, Investment, Wealth Depletion
5. Global Apartheid's African Agents: Homegrown Neoliberalism, Repression, Failed Reform
6. Militarism and Looming Subimperialism in Africa - Washington, London, Pretoria
7. Civil Society Resistance: Two Views

ORDERING INFORMATION: <http://www.ukznpress.co.za>
and <http://www.zedbooks.co.uk>

(The book emanated from grant research by Equinet and Afrodad. Osis is warmly thanked for support especially for African distribution and forthcoming Portuguese and French translations.)

Talk Left, Walk Right: South Africa's Frustrated Global Reforms
by Patrick Bond (UKZN Press, Second edition, May 2006)

Thabo Mbeki has advocated unity with global justice movement activists: 'They may act in ways you and I may not like and break windows in the street, but the message they communicate relates.' This raises two critical questions: is the South African government genuinely opposed to what Mbeki calls 'global apartheid'? And are the reforms advocated by Pretoria succeeding - even on their own limited terms?

Mbeki's critics, from left and right alike, suggest that his AIDS policies, corrupt arms deal and support for Zimbabwe's repressive regime have damaged his credibility beyond repair. Others claim Mbeki's global ambition is his saving grace. But the content of Pretoria's broader reform strategy is rarely examined.

Between incomparable drawings by Jonathan Shapiro, Patrick Bond considers the dynamics of international political economy and geopolitics. He reviews a series of contemporary examples where Pretoria is frustrated by unfavourable power relations: US unilateralism and militarism, the UN's World Conference Against Racism and reparations for apartheid profits, soured trade deals, stingy debt relief and counterproductive international financial flows, unsuccessful reform of multilateral institutions, the New Partnership for Africa's Development, the Johannesburg World Summit on Sustainable Development, the World Water Forum, UN Security Council reform, haggling with the G8, and African peace-building.

The Afterword to this updated edition provides critical analysis from the 2004-06 period, characterised by backsliding in nearly all areas of global governance. Bond poses alternatives and also assesses the progressive social movements, which may well be Mbeki's most persistent, unforgiving judges, both locally and globally.

'Thanks to Patrick Bond's analytical skills and brilliant cartoons by Zapiro, *Talk Left, Walk Right* allows global justice activists to decode rhetoric and reality: from Washington and Davos conferences to the South African townships. Mbeki and the ANC are not hapless victims, but are deeply implicated in promoting faraway ideologies and unaccountable powers.' - Njoki Njoroge Njehu, director, Daughters of Mumbi Global Resource Centre, Nairobi

'Bond knows the debates on political economy as well as he knows South Africa and its politics... More than any other writer, he keeps alive our early hopes for a different script for South Africa's foreign policy.' - Peter Vale, Nelson Mandela Chair of Politics, Rhodes University, in *International Affairs*

CONTENTS

PART ONE: CONTEXT

1. Introduction: Against global apartheid?
2. Global-local power relations: Ideology, image and war games

PART TWO: ISSUES AND EVENTS

3. Racism talk-shop, reparations sabotage: From reconciliation to amnesia
4. Pretoria's trade off: Splitting Africa for the WTO
5. Washington renamed: A 'Monterrey Consensus' on global finance
6. NEPAD neutered: Tragedy or joke?
7. The 'W\$\$D': Pretoria meets its match
8. Water wars: From Johannesburg to Kyoto and back

PART THREE: POLITICAL ANALYSIS, STRATEGY AND ALLIANCES

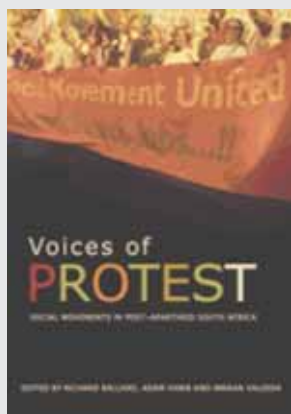
9. Pretoria talk: Exhausted Leninism and the 'ultraleft'
10. Analysing Washington's agenda: Are there anti-imperial options?
11. Movement strategy: To abolish, not polish, global apartheid

AFTERWORD

ORDERING INFORMATION: <http://www.ukznpress.co.za>

Voices of Protest: Social Movements in Post-Apartheid SA

edited by Richard Ballard, Adam Habib and Imraan Valodia (UKZN Press, July 2006)



Voices of Protest documents the first post-apartheid initiatives of poor people to mobilise and organise themselves. It analyses social struggles and movements in a variety of arenas. The book illuminates their demands, leadership and membership, organisational structure, and most importantly, their politics. It also assesses the collective effect of social movements on South African democracy and its socio-economic system. This is a compelling book for anyone interested in understanding contemporary South Africa and its future.

CONTENTS

1. Richard Ballard, Adam Habib, Imraan Valodia and Elke Zuern - Introduction: From Anti-Apartheid to Post-Apartheid Social Movements
2. Steven Friedman and Shauna Mottiar - Seeking the High Ground: The Treatment Action Campaign and the Politics of Morality
3. Anthony Egan and Alex Wafer - Dynamics of a 'Mini-Mass Movement': Origins, Identity and Ideological Pluralism in the Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee
4. Sakhela Buhlungu - Upstarts or Bearers of Tradition? The Anti-Privatisation Forum of Gauteng
5. Peter Dwyer - The Concerned Citizens Forum: A Fight Within a Fight
6. Sophie Oldfield and Kristian Stokke - Building Unity in Diversity: Social Movement Activism in the Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign
7. Stephen Greenberg - The Landless People's Movement and the Failure of Post-Apartheid Land Reform
8. Firoz Khan and Edgar Pieterse - The Homeless People's Alliance: Purposive Creation and Ambiguated Realities
9. Elke Zuern - Elusive Boundaries: SANCO, the ANC and the Post-Apartheid South African State
10. Jacklyn Cock - Connecting the Red, Brown and Green: The Environmental Justice Movement in South Africa
11. Adam Habib and Imraan Valodia - Reconstructing a Social Movement in an Era of Globalisation: A Case Study of COSATU
12. Annie Devenish and Caroline Skinner - Collective Action in the Informal Economy: The Case of the Self-Employed Women's Union, 1994–2004
13. Cyrus Rustomjee - From Economic Debt to Moral Debt: The Campaigns of Jubilee South Africa
14. Baruti Amisi and Richard Ballard - In the Absence of Citizenship: Congolese Refugee Struggle and Organisation in South Africa
15. Teresa Dirsuweit - The Problem of Identities: The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex Social Movement in South Africa
16. Shireen Hassim - The Challenges of Inclusion and Transformation: The Women's Movement in Democratic South Africa
17. Ashwin Desai - The Cape of Good Dope? A Post-Apartheid Story of Gangs and Vigilantes
18. Richard Ballard, Adam Habib and Imraan Valodia - Conclusion: Making Sense of Post-Apartheid South Africa's Voices of Protest

ORDERING INFORMATION: <http://www.ukznpress.co.za>

The United Nations and Democracy in Africa: Labyrinths of Legitimacy
by Zoë Wilson (Routledge, August 2006)

This book explores UN bureaucracy and the development dysfunction it sews in four 'most different' African countries: Angola, Botswana, Namibia, and Tanzania. Wilson's original purpose for researching this book was to uncover new solutions to some of the United Nations' most vexing implementation problems. Yet, as research unfolded, it became clear that the reasons for those problems lay tangled up in bureaucratic and philosophical quagmires of a much more fundamental nature. *The United Nations and Democracy in Africa* is the documentation not only of these bureaucratic and philosophical absurdities that find expression through development practice, but also the journey of the author from ardent defender of the UN to profound sceptic.

'Wilson's innovative study shows how recent critiques of mainstream development thinking have been incorporated into the programs and policies of UN agencies, as what she terms "minor discourses", in a complex and uneasy jumble with the older "top-down" models that continue to be dominant. Her analysis of the political effects of this apparent confusion sheds a powerful light on how and why UN interventions based on what seem to be the most benevolent principles so often turn out badly for the "ordinary people" they are intended to benefit.' - James Ferguson, Chair of Anthropology, Stanford University

CONTENTS

Chapter One - Power, Politics and Doomed Projects

Chapter Two - Policies and Institutions: 'Unpopular among some—or even a majority—of the population'

Chapter Three - Human Development Reports: 'Universally valued by people of the world over'

Chapter Four - The Millennium Road Map: 'Urging states,' 'Encouraging governments' and 'Working within the United Nations'

Chapter Five - From Global Ideas to Regional Road Maps: 'Whereby a whole community . . . settles for a wrong choice of priorities'

Chapter Six - Country Level: 'Systemic dissemination of information, so as to promote universal understanding . . .'

Chapter Seven - Wishful Thinking, Willful Blindness and Artful Amnesia

Chapter Eight - Paradoxes and Dilemmas of Institutional Change: Human Rights and Livelihoods in Rural War-torn Angola

Chapter Nine - Minor Discourses and the Performance of Irony

Appendix One - List of Interviews and Special Libraries

ORDERING INFORMATION: <http://www.routledge.com>

Ken Saro-Wiwa's Shadow: Politics, Nationalism and the Ogoni Protest Movement
by Sanya Osha (forthcoming from Adonis in November 2006)

The Niger Delta region of Nigeria had a long standing history of crises even before the late Ken Saro-Wiwa helped to bring these crises to the attention of the world. The international community increasingly needs Nigerian oil largely because of the political dislocations and uncertainties in some of the major oil-producing regions of the world. But unfortunately the crises in the Niger Delta, which produces most of Nigeria's oil, have also been escalating to alarming proportions, often turning the region into a site of seemingly unending uncertainty and conflicts.

The book focuses on Ogoniland, one of the oil-producing communities that make up the Niger Delta. It examines the colonial origins of these crises and their links to the dynamics of petroleum exploitation in the region as well as to the structure of Nigeria's contemporary political economy. It relates the ways in which the crises in Ogoniland are connected to the generalised turmoil in the Niger Delta and argues that they are often exacerbated - rather than attenuated - by the Nigerian federal process and its unique combination of militarism, ethnicity and religion.

CONTENTS

- Amanda Alexander and Richard Pithouse - Introduction
S'bu Zikode – The Third Force
Research Report 40. Richard Pithouse - 'Our Struggle is Thought, on the Ground, Running':
The University of *Abahlali baseMjondolo*
41. Jacob Bryant - Towards Delivery and Dignity: Community Struggle from Kennedy Road
42. Raj Patel - A Short Course in Politics at the University of *Abahlali baseMjondolo*
43. Alex Loftus & Fiona Lumsden - Reworking Hegemony in the Urban Waterscape
Photography: Women of Kennedy Road, Foreman Road & Jadhu Place – Izimpilo Zethu/Our
Lives
44. Mark Hunter - Informal Settlements as Spaces of Health Inequality: The Changing Economic
and Spatial Roots of the Aids Pandemic, from Apartheid to Neoliberalism
45. Stephen Sparks - A Long History: Civil Society, Pollution and the Wentworth Oil Refinery
46. Baruti Amisi - An Exploration of the Livelihood Strategies of Durban Congolese Refugees
47. Ari Sitas - Thirty Years since the Durban Strikes: Black Working Class Leadership and the
South African Transition
48. Dorothee Hölischer and Vishanthie Sewpaul - Ethics as a Site of Resistance: The Tension
between Social Control and Critical Reflection

ORDERING INFORMATION AND FREE DOWNLOAD: <http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs>

(Atlantic Philanthropies and Mott are thanked for financial support.)



What a state to get into - Vicki Robinson (Mail & Guardian, 16 June)
Review of *Articulations: A Harold Wolpe Memorial Lecture Collection*,
edited by Amanda Alexander

Since 2002, on the last Thursday of every month, the Centre for Civil Society based at the University of KwaZulu-Natal has hosted the Harold Wolpe Memorial Public Lecture Series, bringing together academics, politicians, newspaper editors and activists to discuss the shifting South African landscape.

'For one and a half hours, the seats of the Howard College Theatre are filled with a dynamic audience of community organisers, academics, Congolese refugees, Zimbabwean exiles, Aids activists, African National Congress officials, student socialists, musicians and artists, and a handful of local government councillors,' wrote Alexander, the editor of the book, in the introduction.

The book pulls together a collection of these lectures, which on their own are wonderfully engaging, but to avoid a regurgitation for those who avidly attended the Thursday evening presentations, the book also includes succinct critiques of most of the lectures that leave the reader with a nuanced perspective of South Africa's democratic progress.

Articulations kicks off with a no-holds barred essay by academic and activist Patrick Bond in which he maps out the anomalies between the government's policies and actual service delivery to the poorest of the poor, unapologetically from a leftist viewpoint. The essay is disarming in its comparisons between what the government has purported to achieve compared to how little, by Bond's own calculations, it has in real terms... Yet, the beauty of the book is that it provides the reader with balance to allow them to formulate their own opinions. The critique of Bond's essay [by Mandisa Mbali and Kerry Chance] calls a spade a shovel. 'Discourse is not something that can be explained away by macroeconomic ideas of the relationship between superstructure and base. The way that various discourses are invoked in specific contents can likewise not be seen as purely "left" or purely "right", just as party allegiances or declared resistance to the state cannot be reduced to leftist or rightist positioning.' And so the book goes on...

STAFF ACTIVITIES

Amanda Alexander assisted the women of Kennedy Road with photo exhibitions, coordinated Visiting Scholars and co-edited the new CCS Research Reports series on Durban. She, Andile Mngxitama and Nigel Gibson began work on a book on Steve Biko.

Baruti Amisi presented his doctoral proposal, 'DRC Civil Society and Potential Eco-Social Resistance to the Inga Power Project' to the Seminar on Social Movements (21 July); and the paper 'Social Capital, Social Networks, and Refugee Migration: An Exploration of the Livelihood Strategies of Durban Congolese Refugees' to the ISTR conference in Bangkok (12 July). He also attended the Open Access Workshop for Southern Africa in Pretoria (21-22 August).

In addition to two co-authored chapters in the book *Voices of Protest*, launched at Ike's Books (26 July), Richard Ballard wrote 'The Same, yet Different' on social movements for the *Mail & Guardian* (16 June) and www.iwpr.net. He presented four papers during mid-2006: 'Two Decades since "Orderly Urbanisation": Understandings of Poverty and Race by Middle Class South Africans', at the Royal Geographical Society annual conference in London (30 August); 'Slaughter in the Suburbs: Ritual Cattle Killing in Former White South African Suburbs', at the Contact 50 Conference, Ithala (9 July); 'Social Movements, Citizenship and Rights in South Africa' at the Workshop on 'Strengthening strategies for promoting socio-economic rights in South Africa' cosponsored by the University of the Western Cape Community Law Centre and University of Oslo Norwegian Centre for Human Rights (30 May); and 'By Invitation Only: Challenging Contemporary Forms of Public Participation' at the Centre for Public Participation's Public Dialogue debate on social movements at Diakonia Centre (4 May).

Patrick Bond published the books *Talk Left, Walk Right* and *Looting Africa*, as well as several

articles in intellectual journals: 'Resource Extraction and African Underdevelopment' in *Capitalism Nature Socialism* (17, 2, June); 'Global Economic Crisis and the Looting of Africa' in *Tensoes Mundiais* from Brazil; 'South African Subimperialism' in *Contra/Relatos* from Argentina; 'Water Commodification: Can Human Rights Trump the Market?' in *Arena Asian Exchange* from Korea; and 'Multinational Capital's Responsibility for Africa's Resource Extraction Crisis' and 'South African Capital in Southern Africa' (the latter coauthored with Tapera Kapuya), both in the Univ. of Botswana journal *OpenSpace* (1, 2). His chapter on 'Zimbabwe, South Africa and the IMF' was published in the *South African International Affairs Yearbook*, and shorter, popular articles included 'Economic Apartheid in South Africa' published in *Chain Reaction* (Australia); 'African Workers and Scholars Unite', in *ZNet Commentaries* (11 June) and reprinted in *Al Ahram*, *Africa Focus*, *Portside*, *Ciranda Afro*, and *African World*; and 'Pressuring Mugabe: Can Activists Replace Collusive States and Business?' in *The Mercury* (7 June), reprinted in *Pambazuka*. Patrick also gave presentations on the theme 'Looting Africa' to the 21st General Assembly of the Caribbean and Latin American Congress of Social Sciences (Clacso) South-South Workshop in Rio de Janeiro (22 August); a course run by Osisa and the Univ. of Botswana Centre for Specialisation in Public Administration and Management in Gabarone (7 August); the International Transport Workers' Federation Congress in Durban (4 August); the ISA Panel on Africa and the Future of World Society (26 July); a Centre for Public Participation debate on the African Peer Review Mechanism in Durban (22 June); and the joint conference of Codesria, the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity, the International Labour Organisation and the Egyptian Trade Union Federation in Cairo (16 May). He addressed two academic audiences on the theme of 'Decommodification strategies': the ISA Panel on Human Security and the Imperative of Peace (28 July); and the conference on Theories and Practices of Alternative Economic Systems at Gyeongsang National Univ., Jinju, Korea (2 June). Other papers included 'Neoliberal Urban Policy' to the Planact conference on NGOs as Innovators and Agents of Change at Wits Univ. (5 August); 'Civil Society and Wolfowitz's World Bank', to the ISA Panel on Global Financial Institutions (28 July); 'Programmatic Options for State and Social Power', to the ISA's Codesria-Third World Forum Special Day (27 July); 'Dirty Politics: South African Energy Policies', to the Workshop on Climate Change (27 July); 'African Movements Debate Local, Continental and Global Change', to the ISA Panel on African Social Movements (26 July); 'Civil Society on Global Governance' (a paper forthcoming in *Voluntas*), to the ISTR in Bangkok (10 July); a 'Critique of the SACP Discussion Paper', presented to the CCS/SACP/ANC/Cosatu discussion on political and civil society (30 June); and 'Lesotho Dams, South African Activists' to the Durban seminar of a critical Lesotho NGO, Development for Peace Education (20 June).

Dennis Brutus launched his book *Poetry and Protest* (UKZN Press, 2006) at the Cape Town Book Fair, in Johannesburg at the Horror Café, and in Grahamstown at the National Arts Festival in May. He gave inputs at regular workshops and meetings of local community groups in preparation for the Social Movements Indaba conference, as well as at the Johannesburg Winter School organised by Khanya College. He opened the CCS Workshop on the World Social Forum (July 22); presented to two ISA panels: on Human Security and the Imperative of Peace (25 July) and the Codesria-Third World Forum Special Day (27 July). He also traveled to St. Petersburg, Russia, for protests at the time of the G8 Summit in early July, and was invited to join an international delegation in Beirut to express solidarity with the people of Palestine and Lebanon for a week in early August. He is a regular commentator on these matters for several of South Africa's community radio stations.

Sufian Bukurura attended conferences on 'Civil Society, Governance and Regional Integration in Africa' in Addis Ababa (17-20 May) sponsored by the Pan African Strategic and Policy Research Group, Development Policy Management Forum and the Africa Association of Political Scientists; and on 'Strengthening Civil Society: Ensuring Compliance with African and International Standards on Human Rights and Good Governance' in Banjul, Gambia (26-28 June). He presented a paper, 'The Role of Civil Society', at the KZN Socio-Economic Rights Workshop sponsored by the Univ. of the Western Cape Community Law Centre, Human Rights Commission, StreetLaw, the Office of the Ombudsman of eThekweni Municipality, and the



Xolani Dube and Desai face political/civil society debate, 28 June

Commission for Gender Equality (24 August). He also published a chapter - 'A Judiciary in Transition: Selection of Judges in Namibia' - in an edited collection by Kate Malleson and Peter Russell, *Appointing Judges in an Age of Judicial Power: Critical Perspectives from Around the World* (University of Toronto Press).

Ashwin Desai, whose reinstatement as honorary researcher continues to wind its way through university processes, also spent time guest lecturing at Rhodes Univ. There, in June, he delivered a major public address on racism in sports, and was also respondent to trade union leader Roger Ronnie's Wolpe Memorial Lecture. In late June, Ashwin delivered a major plenary address to the Alternative Information and Development Centre conference on the Right to Work in Cape Town. He was invited to give the Chris Hani Memorial Lecture to SACP leadership and a large audience in Johannesburg the following week, and gave the same talk to the CCS/SACP/ANC/Cosatu political/civil society debate (30 June). He was also selected to address the ISA Panel on Social Classes and Social Movements tribute to Alain Touraine, who was awarded a lifetime achievement award by the ISA (24 July). He gave the Wolpe Memorial Lecture on 28 July to an unprecedented audience of academics and community activists at the ICC. He presented his research on sports and race transformation to a Human Sciences Research Council seminar in late August. Ashwin also published two articles in the journal *Capitalism Nature Socialism* (June and September issues) about Durban, and co-authored an analysis of cricket in the journal *Transformation* #61 in July.

Alan Fowler presented papers in Bergen, Norway on social capital, to the Ikhala Trust in Port Elizabeth and East London on relational intermediation between diverse development actors, to the Civicus Assembly in Glasgow in late June (along with CCS doctoral student Horman Chitonge), and to the ISTR conference in Bangkok. Alan also serves on the boards of Civicus and the ISTR. He is continuing his work as research advisor to the Univ. of Cape Town Graduate School of Business on horizontal philanthropy, community foundation grantmaking and corporate social investment. Other work in progress includes studies of the relationship between accountability and public support for NGOs.

Ntokozo Mthembu authored two *Mercury* articles, 'Give all Youngsters Equal Chance at Success' (20 June) and 'The Poor must Lead their own Struggles' (18 July), as well as several website contributions for CCS and Rasa-FM, including 'South Africa (Azania): In a State of Crime or a Surge in Resistance?' (20 August).

Annsilla Nyar coordinated the ISTR panel presentation by the Social Giving Project

researchers. She also attended a workshop with the Masters Programme in Philanthropy at Bologna Univ. and is designing an academic course on comparative philanthropy for CCS and SDS, together with SDS director Julian May. They are also both working on a large multi-year exchange project with the Univ. of Bologna featuring a parallel research program on comparative philanthropy. She will be presenting a paper on African philanthropy to the Senior Fellows Programme at the City Univ. of New York's Center for the Study of Philanthropy and Civil Society. She participated in 'Making Human Rights Real: Advancing a Human Rights-based approach to grantmaking and development' held by Synergos Institute in partnership with Social Change Assistance Trust, as well as a Synergos Workshop for Grantmakers hosted by the AIDS Foundation of South Africa. Annsilla also attended the Giving Exchange Expo held by the Shuttleworth Foundation Innovation Bazaar and the Greater Good South Africa Trust, and authored two *Mercury* columns: 'Security Guards: The Bigger Picture' (May 9) and 'Acknowledging the Rights of all Workers' (21 May). She is currently completing a research paper entitled 'Am I a Philanthropist? Towards Redefining and Reinventing Philanthropy for South Africa in a dynamic political context' on the basis of experiences and knowledge gained from the first phase of the Social Giving Project.

Sanya Osha published two articles in intellectual journals: 'Politics and Cultural Memory in Wole Soyinka's *The Burden of Memory, The Muse of Forgiveness*', in *West Africa Review*, and 'SA Foreign Policy Under Scrutiny' in *Holler Africa!* He is currently working on co-editing the next collection of CCS *Research Reports*. And he has sent to the publishers the forthcoming book, *Ken Saro-Wiwa's Shadow: Politics, Nationalism and the Ogoni Protest Movement*.

Raj Patel completed the book manuscripts *Stuffed and Starved* on the political economy of the food system, and *Promised Land: Competing Visions of Agrarian Reform*. He presented on the Fanon panel at the ISA, authored a forthcoming article for *Feminist Economics* on food sovereignty and contributed a CCS Research Report on Abahlali baseMjondolo for *New Work from Durban*. In the *African Sociological Review*, he published an analysis of UKZN university politics. For the *Review of African Political Economy* he has a forthcoming analysis of Makhathini Flats politics.

Richard Pithouse organised a panel at the ISA on 'The Wretched of the Earth Today' which included presentations by Raj Patel, Gillian Hart, Michael Neocosmos and Michael Buroway (July 25). He published several newspaper articles: 'Mabuyakhulu Plans for War on the Poor' in the *Mail & Guardian*, a review of Mike Davis's book *Planet of Slums* in the *Sunday Independent*, and, with Raj Patel, 'Shack Fires are No Accident' in *The Mercury*. In August he attended the Third Meeting of the Caribbean Philosophical Association, presenting a paper, 'Frantz Fanon and the Light of Truth'. He also co-edited the Centre's most recent volume of research reports *New Work from Durban*, and published an article entitled 'The Promised Land' in the *African Sociological Review*.

Zoë Wilson gave talks at two conferences: 'The Global Politics of Sanitation' at the Water in Southern Africa Association conference, May 20-24, Durban; and 'Social Movements and Sanitation Politics: Demands and Alternatives' at the ISTR on July 11. Her research on water continued in association with the World Health Organisation and Newcastle Univ. The latter is a study of Second Order Water Scarcity in Southern Africa including case studies of northern KwaZulu-Natal, the Western Cape dorpie Grabouw and eThekweni, with work to date posted at www.waterscarcity.org. Zoë's collaboration with the Pollution Research Group includes an eThekweni Municipality partnership and consultative process on water and public health problems, as well as grey water research supported by the Water Research Commission. Her book *The UN and Democracy in Africa* was published at the end of August.

THE NEXT PERIOD

In addition to an active publishing schedule noted above, CCS staff will present and receive feedback on our work in several settings. Details of some events are still to be announced - including launches of *CCS WIRED* in Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town - but it appears we will have international social functions and unveilings of the DVD sets on:

- 20 September at the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation in Uppsala, Sweden
- 27 September at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, DC (mid-day)
- 1 October at the Brecht Forum in New York City (mid-day)
- 13 October in Bangkok (Focus on the Global South, afternoon)
- 16 October in Oslo (Tronsmo bokhandel, 5pm)
- 18 October at the Univ. of London School of Oriental and African Studies (mid-day)

Other September events where you will find CCS staff presentations include a civil society mining watchdogging conference in Port Harcourt, Nigeria (4-8 September); the centenary of Satyagraha organised by Ela Gandhi at the Durban Institute of Technology (10-13 September); a conference of the Institute for Security Studies in Pretoria on 'Civil Society and Governance in Southern Africa' (14 September); events associated with the World Bank/IMF annual meetings in Singapore, Johannesburg and Durban (TBA); the Bush War Crimes Tribunal in Washington (of which Dennis Brutus is a member) (19 September); and a Cornell Univ. conference on globalisation and ethics (28-30 September).

Our Economic Justice project will cohost a September 21-25 meeting on Civil Society, Human Rights and Corporate Social Responsibility in Johannesburg, along with the Southern African Centre for Economic Justice and the Montreal agency Rights & Democracy, bringing together activists from the DRC, Tibet, the Philippines, Peru and Argentina, as well as South Africa. Along with groundWork, the CCS Economic Justice project will cohost the 'Corpse Awards' for malevolent corporations across Africa, in November. The Globalisation Knowledge Network based at the Univ. of Ottawa will also be visiting South Africa, with CCS co-hosting, later in November. We will also be scheduling an event on the UN in Africa with the UCT Centre for Conflict Resolution, and participate in a short course on environmental activism with Diakonia in Durban.

Invitations for upcoming Wolpe Lectures have been extended to Joel Netshitenzhe of the Presidency and Archbishop Njongonkulu Ndungane.

New visiting scholars in coming weeks will include Max Andrucki, Antonis Vradis, Michael Neocosmos, Carl Death and Edward Osei Kwadwo Prempeh.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

None of the hard work above could happen without excellent backup support, especially from Helen Poonen who manages our centre far above and beyond the call of duty. In addition, Amy Ramsamy handles finances flawlessly, and John Devenish (IT support), Baruti Amisi (Resource Centre management), Lungu Keswa (administration) and Winnie Mtshali (cleaning) do superb work. We are very fortunate to be located within the School of Development Studies, whose director Julian May is supportive, as is the chair of our Management Committee, Ahmed Bawa.

Our core funders – Atlantic Philanthropies and CS Mott – plus other traditional funders are very warmly thanked for their support: the SA-Netherlands Programme for Alternative Research in Development, the Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa, Ford, Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, and the Harold Wolpe Memorial Trust. We also welcome new funders for the May-August period who made several events happen: ActionAid, OxfamGB and the Southern Africa Trust. Their generosity makes the Centre – and so much other excellent work in civil society – keep ticking.

