

Centre for Civil Society, University of KwaZulu-Natal School of Development Studies 2007 Report on Activities

Introduction. In the context of dramatic increases in 'Gatherings Act' incidents reported by the SA police (10 000 per year in 2005-07, up from 5800 in 2004-05) and worsening inequality, our guiding CCS objective is of even more relevance: *the advance of socio-economic and environmental justice through developing critical knowledge about, for and in dialogue with civil society.*

Our research work benefits from *praxis*-based production of knowledge, in which we learn how power relations are challenged by civil society organisations – in the streets, the courts, the media, negotiating fora, theatres and cultural clubs, sportsfields and other sites - thus generating new information about systems and organisational strengths and weaknesses. We then feed back research into the society through both arms-length and participatory analysis, in the forms of books and articles, films and DVDs, tours and lectures.

CCS community. There are approximately 40 people in the immediate CCS family (not counting those who make brief visits). During 2007, CCS employed 15 staff and associates, including four community scholars from working-class Durban neighbourhoods.¹ More than a dozen volunteer visiting scholars joined us from Brown, Columbia, Ibaden Technical, Kings College, Leeds, McGill, New York, Oxford, Rhodes, Sarah Lawrence and York universities, and from civil society groups Kenyan Debt Relief Network, Pambazuka and the Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development.² Seven post-graduate students were affiliated to CCS, one of whom submitted his PhD thesis.³

Areas and methods of work. CCS spent 2007 pursuing work in six project/issue areas - economic justice; environmental justice; global and African integration; social movements; social giving; and culture – using six methods for getting work out to scholars and the general public:

- 1) the monthly Harold Wolpe lecture, seminar series, courses, post-graduate student supervision and conferences and workshops;
- 2) the website <http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs>;
- 3) outreach activities in eThekweni, KZN Province, nationally and internationally (including high-profile conferencing, regular media interviews and guest lectures at leading universities);
- 4) the CCS Resource Centre;
- 5) the *CCS Wired* double-DVD set; and
- 6) publications. The latter included the fortnightly 'Eye on Civil Society' column in Durban's *Mercury* newspaper, and more than 50 books, journals, articles and chapters.

Peer-reviewed research publications by CCS staff, 2004-07

Year	Books/journals	Accredited articles	Book chapters	Total
2004	2	13	13	28
2005	8	21	21	50
2006	10	16	16	42
2007	6	18	32	56

¹ Baruti Amisi, Patrick Bond, Sufian Bukurura, John Devenish, Lungile Keswa, Dudu Khumab, Oliver Meth, Ntokozo Mthembu, Orlean Naidoo, Molefi Ndlovu, Annsilla Nyar, Sanya Osha, Helen Poonen, Amy Ramsamy and Phindile Xuma. (Bond's three-year term as director expired in October 2007 but he will stay on until a replacement is identified.) Honorary professors include Dennis Brutus, Alan Fowler and Adam Habib, while Ashwin Desai remains a nominated honorary researcher awaiting confirmation.

² Mandisa Mbali, Sizwe Phakathi, Shannon Walsh, Amanda Alexander, Llewellyn Leonard, Sokari Ekine, Grace Kwinjeh, Kathleen Millar, Rob Compton, Kiama Kaara, Femi Aborisade, Hopewell Gumbo, Booker Magure, Melanie Samson, Giuliano Martiniello and Vincent del Signore.

³ Horman Chitonge, Rehana Dada, Shereen Essof, Richard Kamidza, Prishani Naidoo, Trevor Ngwane and Simphiwe Nojiyeza.

Publications. For example, six books and journals produced by CCS in 2007 consolidated a great deal of material on political economy which we expect to help revitalise the field, and also to engage intellectuals across the world who are concerned about new forms of superexploitation and primitive accumulation – and social resistance. These studies were inspired by traditions of ‘race-class debates’ in our region, including Guy Mhone’s theory of ‘enclave economies’, Harold Wolpe’s ‘articulation of modes of production’, Jose Negro’s rural economic analysis, and Rosa Luxemburg’s analysis of imperialism in Southern Africa. Supportive funders included the Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa and Rosa Luxemburg Foundation.

In addition, the CCS climate change work sponsored by the SA-Netherlands Programme for Research in Development culminated in a book *Climate Change, Carbon Trading and Civil Society*. The Social Giving project produced *Giving and Solidarity*. Another CCS-copublished book, *A Political Programme for the World Social Forum?* was issued at the WSF in Nairobi along with our sister institute CACIM from New Delhi. Most of CCS’s book-length publications are available free, online, at our website.

Highlights of accredited, peer-reviewed journal articles produced by CCS staff include studies of civil society strategies in relation to microcredit in health policy and to African economics in two issues of the *International Journal of Health Services*; of Zimbabwe’s ‘Long Economic Crisis’ in *Safundi*; of carbon trading in *Agenda* and *Capitalism Nature Socialism*; of water and dams in *Agenda*, *Alternatives Sud*, *Global Social Policy* and *Law, Social Justice and Global Development*; of global political economy, geopolitics and civil society strategy in *Development Dialogue*, *WeltTrends* and *Societies without Borders*; of the developmental state debate in *Politikon* and *Africanus*; of ‘fourth world’ women workers in *Agenda*; and of family philanthropy for *Giving*.

Chapters in academic books covered Johannesburg inequality and social resistance; water and health policies in Southern Africa; civil society and the World Bank; de-commodification strategies; volatile global financial markets; African resource extraction; Norway’s role in global governance; global reform frustrations; anti-privatisation water politics; Soweto electricity; South African political ecology; NGO-donor relationships; community politics; and primitive accumulation.

CCS STAFF PUBLICATIONS

Books, edited books and edited journal special issues

Climate Change, Carbon Trading and Civil Society: Negative Returns on South African Investments – Amsterdam, Rozenberg Publishers, and Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, April.

Beyond Enclivity in African Economies: The Enduring Work of Guy Mhone (edited) – Johannesburg, Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa; Lilongwe, ActionAid; New Delhi, International Development Economics Associates; Nairobi, University of Nairobi Institute of Development Studies; and Durban, Centre for Civil Society, January.

A Political Programme for the World Social Forum? Democracy, Substance and Debate in the Bamako Appeal and the Global Justice Movements - New Delhi, CACIM and Durban, CCS.

The Accumulation of Capital in Southern Africa: Rosa Luxemburg’s Contemporary Relevance – Berlin, Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and Durban, Centre for Civil Society, January.

Review of African Political Economy: Special Issue on Debates on the Southern African Left, 34, 111, March.

Africanus: Special Issue on Transcending Two Economies, 37, 2, November.

Accredited journal articles

‘Introduction: Two Economies, or One System of Superexploitation’ – *Africanus*, 37, 2, November.

‘Two Economies’, Microcredit and the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa’ – *Africanus*, 37, 2, November.

‘Développement Urbain Inégal, Financiarisation et Accès à L’eau en Afrique’ - *Alternatives Sud*, 14, 2.

‘South Africa between Neoliberalism and Social Democracy? Respecting Balance while Sharpening Differences’ – *Politikon*, 34, 2.

‘Privatization of the Air turns Lethal: ‘Pay to Pollute’ Principle Kills South African Activist Sajida Khan’ – *Capitalism*

Nature Socialism, 18, 4.

- 'Linking Below, Across and Against: World Social Forum Weaknesses, Global Governance Gaps, and the Global Justice Movement's Strategic Dilemmas' – *Development Dialogue*, 49, October.
- 'A Death in Durban: Capitalist Patriarchy, Global Warming Gimmickry and our Responsibility for Rubbish' – *Agenda*, 73.
- 'A Water Policy Revolution?' (with Zoe Wilson) – *Global Social Policy*, 7, 2, June 2007, pp.143-146.
- 'Anti-G8-Bewegungen: Ein Internationaler Vergleich' ('Anti-G8 Movements: An International Scan') – *Welt Trends*, 55.
- 'Microcredit Evangelism, Health and Social Policy' – *International Journal of Health Services*, 37, 2, June.
- 'Competing Explanations of Zimbabwe's Long Economic Crisis' – *Safundi: Journal of South African and American Studies*, 8, 2, June.
- 'The Dispossession of African Wealth at the Cost of Africa's Health' – *International Journal of Health Services*, 37, 1, March.
- 'Primitive Accumulation, Enclivity, Rural Marginalisation and Articulation' - *Review of African Political Economy*, 34, 111, March.

Other journal articles

- 'Zuma, the Centre-Left and the Left-Left' – *Links*, 31, December.
- 'International Financial Reform in Africa: Is Reform on the Agenda?' – *Openspace*, 2, 1.
- 'Perils of Elite Pacting' – *Critical Currents*, Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation Occasional Paper Series #1, Uppsala, May.
- 'Global Apartheid's African Agents' – *TransAfrica Forum Globalization Monitor*, 4, 1, January.

Book chapters

- 'Resource Extraction and African Underdevelopment' – in B.Moyo (Ed), *Africa in the Global Power Play*, London, Adonis Abbey.
- 'Sudafrica: 'Desarrollo Sostenible' Post-Apartheid en el Contexto del Apartheid Global' ('South Africa: Post-Apartheid 'Sustainable Development' in the Context of Global Apartheid') – in A.Nadal and F.Aguayo (Eds), *Experiencias de Crisis y Estrategias de Desarrollo*, Mexico City, El Colegio de Mexico Press.
- 'Microcredit Snakes and Ladders Between South Africa's 'Two Economies'' - in F.Chowdury (Ed), *Micro Credit: Myth Manufactured*, Dhaka, Shrabon Prokashani.
- 'Microcredit Evangelism in Health and Social Policy' - in F.Chowdury (Ed), *Micro Credit: Myth Manufactured*, Dhaka, Shrabon Prokashani.
- 'Volatile, Uneven and Combined Capitalism' – in R.Albritton, B.Jessop and R.Westra (Eds), *Political Economy and Global Capitalism: The 21st Century, Present and Future*, New York, Anthem Press.
- 'Johannesburg: Of Gold and Gangsters' – in M.Davis and D.Monk (Eds), *Evil Paradises: The Dreamworlds of Neoliberalism*, New York, New Press.
- 'The Dispossession of African Wealth at the Cost of Africa's Health' – in V.Navarro (Ed), *Neoliberalism, Globalization, and Inequalities: Consequences for Health and Quality of Life*, New York, Baywood.
- 'Uneven Health Outcomes and Political Resistance under Residual Neoliberalism in Africa' – in V.Navarro (Ed), *Neoliberalism, Globalization, and Inequalities: Consequences for Health and Quality of Life*, New York, Baywood.
- 'Johannesburg as Emblem of Global Apartheid' – in PSubiros (Ed), *Apartheid: The South African Mirror*, Barcelona, Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona.
- 'South Africa's Coega Complex: Cheap Energy for Industry' – in P.Burnett and F.Manji (Eds), *From the Slave Trade to 'Free' Trade: How Trade Undermines Democracy and Justice in Africa*, Oxford, Fahamu.
- 'Introduction' – in P.Bond, R.Dada and G.Erion (Eds), *Climate Change, Carbon Trading and Civil Society: Negative Returns on South African Investments*, Amsterdam, Rozenberg Publishers and Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg.
- 'Dirty Politics: South African Energy' - in P.Bond, R.Dada and G.Erion (Eds), *Climate Change, Carbon Trading and Civil Society: Negative Returns on South African Investments*, Amsterdam, Rozenberg Publishers and Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg.
- 'Oil Companies and African Wealth Depletion' – in P.Bond, R.Dada and G.Erion (Eds), *Climate Change, Carbon Trading and Civil Society: Negative Returns on South African Investments*, Amsterdam, Rozenberg Publishers and Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg.
- 'Conclusion' - in P.Bond, R.Dada and G.Erion (Eds), *Climate Change, Carbon Trading and Civil Society: Negative Returns on South African Investments*, Amsterdam, Rozenberg Publishers and Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg.
- 'The Sociopolitical Structure of Accumulation and Social Policy in Southern Africa' - in J.Adalina (Ed), *Social Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa*, London, Macmillan.
- 'Civil Society and Wolfowitz's World Bank: Reform or Rejection Revisited' - in D.Moore (Ed), *The World Bank: Poverty*,

Development and Hegemony, Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

- 'Commodification, Capitalist Crisis and Uneven/Combined Development' – in S.Jeong (Ed), *Theories and Practices of Alternative Economic Systems*, Gyeongsang National University Institute for Social Sciences, Jinju, Korea.
- 'Postimperialistiske Økonomiske Forhold Mellom Nord og Sør?: Hva Hørge I Realiteten Skylder Afrikanske Debitorer' (Postimperialist Economics Between North and South? What Norway Really owes African Debtors) – in O.Manum (Ed), *Umthetho: Atte Afrikanske Forslag til Norsk Utenriskpolitikk*, Oslo, Fellesradet for Afrika (Norwegian Council for Africa) and Solidaritet Forlag.
- 'Perils of Elite Pacting' – in H.Melber and C.Wilß (Eds), *G8 Macht Politik: Wie die Welt Beherrscht Wird*, Berlin, Brandes and Apsel.
- 'Water: A Global Contestation' - in F. Holland and W. Dicke (Eds), *Global Civil Society 2006/07*, London, Sage.
- 'Introduction' – in P.Bond, H.Chitonge and A.Hopfmann (Eds), *The Accumulation of Capital in Southern Africa*, Berlin, Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung and Durban, Centre for Civil Society.
- 'South African Subimperial Accumulation' – in P.Bond, H.Chitonge and A.Hopfmann (Eds), *The Accumulation of Capital in Southern Africa*, Berlin, Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung and Durban, Centre for Civil Society.
- 'A Political Programme for the WSF?' – in J.Sen and M.Kumar (Eds), *A Political Programme for the World Social Forum? Democracy, Substance and Debate in the Bamako Appeal and the Global Justice Movements*, New Delhi, CACIM and Durban, CCS.
- 'Discussing the Porto Alegre Manifesto' – in J.Sen and M.Kumar (Eds), *A Political Programme for the World Social Forum? Democracy, Substance and Debate in the Bamako Appeal and the Global Justice Movements*, New Delhi, CACIM and Durban, CCS.
- 'Guy Mhone's Life' – in P.Bond (Ed), *Beyond Enclivity in African Economies: The Enduring Work of Guy Mhone*, Johannesburg, Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa; Lilongwe, ActionAid; New Delhi, International Development Economics Associates; Nairobi, University of Nairobi Institute of Development Studies; and Durban, Centre for Civil Society.
- 'Decommodifying Electricity in Post-Apartheid Johannesburg' - in H.Leitner, J.Peck, E.Sheppard (Eds), *Contesting Neoliberalism: The Urban Frontier*, New York, Guildford Press.

Occasional papers and research reports

- 'Linking Below, Across and Against: World Social Forum Weaknesses, Global Governance Gaps, and Civil Society's Political, Ideological and Strategic Dilemmas' – in S.Jin (Ed), *Alternative Economic Strategies for Socialism in the 21st Century*, Jinju, Institute for Social Sciences, Gyeongsang National University and Korea Research Foundation.
- 'Civil Society and Global Governance' – in D.Jakuta (Ed), *Working Papers of the International Society for Third-Sector Research*, Baltimore, ISTR.

The Harold Wolpe Lecture Series, 2007

- Fatima Meer, UKZN: 'Activism for Democracy'; 22 February
- Ngūgĩ wa Thiong'o, University of California/Irvine: 'Regaining our Tongues: The Challenges of Writing in Indigenous Languages'; 23 March
- Miloon Kothari, UN Special Rapporteur on Housing: 'Making Real the Right to Housing'; 19 April
- Jane Duncan, Freedom of Expression Institute: 'The Rise of the Disciplinary University'; 17 May
- world premiere of the documentary *Mbeki Unauthorised* with filmmaker Ben Cashdan; and Third World politics with Walden Belbo, Focus on the Global South; Miranda Moema, Instituto Brasileiro de Análises Sociais e Econômicas; and Virginia Magwaza-Setshedi, Freedom of Expression Institute, 28 June
- Horace Campbell, Syracuse University: 'Pan-Africanism and the 21st Century African Revolution'; 12 July
- Grace Kwinjeh, Save Zimbabwe Coalition: 'Zimbabwe's Crisis, Civil Society's Responsibility'; 23 August
- Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge, Member of Parliament and former Deputy Health Minister: 'Traditions of Social Activism'; 13 September
- Dennis Brutus, UKZN: 'Karl Marx at UKZN'; 25 October
Mondli Hlatshwayo, Social Movements Indaba; Des D'Sa, S.Durban Community and Environmental Alliance; and Orlean Naidoo, Westcliff Flat Dwellers: 'The State of SA's Social Movements'; 22 November

Public events. With respect to major public events (offered at no charge and in most cases with isiZulu translation), CCS was active not only in Durban but also across the continent and the world. The number of activities hosted by CCS in 2007 exceeded 100, including Harold Wolpe Lectures, reality tours of stressed Durban communities, seminars and conferences. CCS is grateful to all of those who gave their time voluntarily, to share ideas and activism.

Seminar speakers, 2007

Corinna Genschel, German Left Party social movement liaison office; Teivo Teivainen, University of Helsinki; Anil Naidoo, Council of Canadians; Patrick Bond and Horman Chitonge, CCS; Peter Hudis, Oakton Community College; Fanyt Wariyai, Jonah Gbemre, Jome Akpoduabo, Michael Keania Karikpo, Comrade Che, I. Ibegwura, and Victor Chris Egbe, Environmental Rights Action of Port Harcourt, Nigeria; John S. Saul, York University; Mandisa Mbali, Oxford University; Mazibuko Jara, Amandla Publishing and Orlean Naidoo, CCS; Llewellyn Leonard, University College London; MK Eelaventhana, Sri Lankan Parliament; Duduzile Khumalo, CCS; Rod Burgess, Oxford Brookes University; Ida Susser, City University of New York; Chris Benner, Pennsylvania State University; Maj Fiil, Food and Water Watch and Sean Flynn, American University; Henning Melber, Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation; Shannon Wash, McGill University and CCS; Pat Horn and Gaby Bikombo, Streetnet; James Ferguson, Stanford University; Ronald Suresh Roberts, independent writer; Rob Compton, State University of New York; Maria Brendler, Swedish Left Party; Kiama Kaara, Kenyan Debt Relief Network; Melanie Samson, York University; Kathleen Millar, Brown University; Dennis Brutus, CCS; Guiliiana Gemelli, University of Bologna; Ntokozo Mthembu, CCS; Anne Mayher, University of the Witwatersrand; David Wiley, Michigan State University; Baruti Amisi, CCS; Lionel Cliffe, Leeds University; David Manyonga, International Campaign Against Child Soldiering; Christi van der Westhuizen, University of Cape Town; Hwok-Aun Lee, University of Massachusetts/Amherst; Oliver Meth, CCS and Joan Van Niekerk, Child Survival; Zodwa Madiba and Arthur Lekalake (Operation Khanyisa Movement) and Alan Murphy, Ecopeace; Trevor Ngwane, Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee; Dara Kell and Christopher Nizzo, Skylight Pictures

CCS partners. In addition to local community organizations and NGOs, there are numerous regional and international partners CCS works with, and in 2007 we provided formal inputs to their conferences, seminars and workshops: the African Literary Association conference (Univ. of W.Virginia), the Centro Internacional Miranda series on political economy and political ecology (Caracas), Monthly Review (New York), and several leading universities: Alberta (Edmonton), Botswana, California/Berkeley, Cornell, Dartmouth, Gyeongsang, Harvard, Korea, London School of Oriental and African Studies, Nairobi, Stanford, Stellenbosch, SungKongHoe, Sydney University of Technology, and the United Nations University (Tokyo). Additional inputs were made to conferences and seminars for the Burmese liberation movement in Chiang Mai, the World Social Forum in Nairobi, the US Social Forum in Atlanta, the Accra conference on the First Governmental Efforts to Abolish the Atlantic Slave Trade, the New Zimbabwe Lecture and Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development deliberations on inflation in Harare, the Debt Audit Training workshop held by the Kenyan Debt Relief Network in Nairobi, the Brecht Forum and Left Forum (both in New York), Action Aid International in Washington and Nairobi, and in South Africa on numerous issues including climate change, energy, land, housing and water. To illustrate, CCS provided expert (volunteer) technical information about water pricing in the landmark socio-economic rights lawsuit, *Mazibuko v Johannesburg Water*, although government unsuccessfully attempted to have the CCS affidavit thrown out in a December 2007 High Court hearing (and in April 2008 the state lost the case to Soweto community activists).

Academic and training courses. CCS offered several courses on civil society and economic justice, in part thanks to our affiliation with the UKZN School of Development Studies.

CCS courses, 2007

On six occasions, courses were given by CCS staff, four of which were at post-graduate level:

- CCS/School for International Training/Community course (undergraduate), 'Globalisation and Development', 2-5 April and 1-5 November
- Social Policy masters course, 'Issues in South African Economics', 13 March-3 July
- CCS/SDS masters course 'Civil Society and Development' course, 4-18 July
- SDS 'Political Economy of the Welfare State' course, 30 July-27 August
- CCS/SDS and ActionAid International course, 'Economics for Development', 23-28 November (Nairobi)

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