

CENTRE FOR CIVIL SOCIETY

CCS EVENTS AND ACTIVITIES, JANUARY - APRIL 2006



UKZN on strike

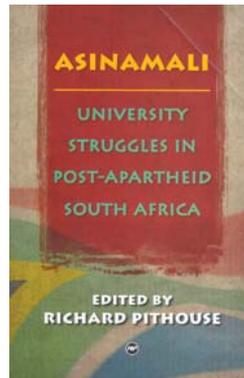
The first third of 2006 has passed quickly in part because of momentous events on and off campus. Most strikingly perhaps, our university's four unions downed tools for nine days during February, in a dispute with the UKZN executive over pay increases (the strike raised management's offer from 4 to 7%), defense of rudimentary benefits (including housing/medical allowances), and Vice-Chancellor Malegapuru Makgoba's hierarchical managerial style. CCS staff were proud to participate in and report on the strike (e.g. <http://southafrica.indymedia.org>), and we salute the unions for unity and powerful leadership, and our colleagues across the university for their courage. While defense of the rights of future UKZN workers is a challenge, the remarkable victory on most issues was due to solidarity stretching from Howard College where CCS is located, to the other four campuses: Westville, Pietermaritzburg, the medical complex and the Edgewood education school. On each rally day at these sites, more than a thousand workers found their voice, insisting that UKZN would not follow the standard World Bank model of corporate restructuring. As the largest contact university in South Africa (only Unisa has more students), the UKZN staff's resistance sends a strong signal that the neoliberal model *can* be resisted. Although the strike occurred after the book *Asinimali* went to press, this collection (edited by Richard Pithouse) provides other disturbing tales of university restructuring in South Africa. But perhaps the tide has now turned.

Another site of conflict with the UKZN administration concerns the well-publicised banning of Dr Ashwin Desai, who has served at the CCS since 2002. Based on apparently



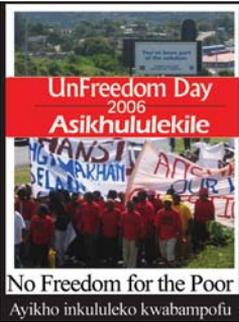
Ashwin Desai

inaccurate or incomplete information and legal advice, a hiring committee for the CCS Race and Redress project - in collaboration with the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) - was instructed by the university executive in late 2005 not to hire Ashwin, the only qualified applicant. The vice-chancellor cited a prior arrangement made at Westville campus in the wake of labour unrest a decade ago. HSRC was compelled to rescind the contract. Soon thereafter, the vice-chancellor also instructed CCS and the School of Development Studies not to renew Ashwin's unpaid honorary researcher contract. After newspapers reported the story, letters of



support came from far and wide, a previous (2003) 'unbanning' was acknowledged by a former Westville vice-chancellor and deputy council chair, colleagues at the School of Development Studies hosted the vice-chancellor on March 6. They rejected his advice and nominated Desai as honorary researcher on behalf of the Centre. That appointment is now being considered by Faculty Board.

Another crucial victory - affecting the entire South African society - was won by low-income Durban shackdwellers in the Abahlali baseM-jondolo movement. On February 27 they were banned by city manager Mike Sutcliffe from marching in their thousands to City Hall to articulate socio-economic grievances. After arrests and police beatings, the activists went to



court and had the ban on marching overturned, as the judge condemned the violation of their constitutional rights. We are extremely grateful to the activists for rewinning the democratic rights some of us mistakenly thought were permanently won in 1994.

Indeed, during a twelve-month period in 2004-05 there were some 5800 protests recorded by the SA police (many over similar complaints expressed by Abahlali baseMjondolo). That rate – 16 each day (of which an average of 3 are considered ‘illegal’ by police – has probably continued apace into 2006, especially in the run-up to the March 1 municipal election. Renewed state repression against this upsurge of civil society activity is a reminder that the muscles of civil and political rights must be continually exercised. Inspired by the Durban-wide unity generated through these efforts, CCS staff participated in the ‘UnFreedom Day’ events in Sydenham on April 27, which brought together thousands of shack dwellers, flat dwellers and others who share concern about municipal, provincial and national ‘state failure’, ranging from supply of essential services to the guarantee of political democracy.

With democracy comes the responsibility to speak out on issues of the day more regularly, and the Jacob Zuma rape and corruption trials will be a challenge for the Centre and its constituents, some of whom hold conflicting opinions. Several intermediate points might be made:

- The need to continually address patriarchy, domestic violence and epidemic-scale rape in our society is not in doubt.
- The chilling effect on rape survivors created by Zuma’s defense tactics – not to mention his damage to the cause of HIV prevention – is despicable.
- To be sure, a ‘conspiracy’ – a class-based fear of insurgent populism (no matter how unwarranted in this instance) – seems to have emerged against Zuma within elite factions of the ruling party, business and the media.
- The long-term lessons for establishing robust civil society watchdogging of the ruling party and state, of corrupt businesses (of which Zuma’s and Mbeki’s arms-dealing contacts are only a small fraction) and of male supremacists (especially those deploying faux cultural excuses) hardly require elaboration.

THE CCS COMMUNITY

Two new staff joined CCS in early 2006: Associate Professor Sufian Bukurura as Research Director and Ntokozo Mthembu as Outreach Officer. A Tanzanian who completed undergraduate, masters and doctoral degrees at, respectively, the universities of Dar es Salaam, Warwick and Cambridge, Sufian comes to us from the UKZN School of Law, and prior to that, the Universities of Namibia and Swaziland and the Institute of Development Management at Mzumbe, Tanzania. He is a member of the Human Rights University Network of the South, the Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism, the International Third World Legal Studies Association, the UK Socio-Legal Studies Association and the Tanzania Network for Indigenous Knowledge. Sufian is the author of many book chapters and articles, as well as of the books *Essays on Constitutionalism and the Administration of Justice in Namibia 1990-2002* (Windhoek, Out of Africa Publishers, 2002) and *Protecting Prisoners’ Rights in Southern Africa: An Emerging Pattern* (Penal Reform International, Paris, 2002).

Ntokozo is from Kwa-Mashu and grew up at Amaoti in Inanda and in rural Kwa Maphumulo and Matatiele. He was formerly an organiser with the Azanian Workers Union and the Media Workers Association of South Africa. He participated in the CCS RASSP programme as part of the Workers Research Unit and published a paper on unemployed workers’ survival strategies in last year’s RASSP volume. He has conducted research regarding working conditions and second-hand clothing markets in Mozambique, Malawi, Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda. He has collaborated on research projects with the Wits Sociology of Work Unit, Workers College and Ditsela. Ntokozo holds bachelors and honours degrees from UKZN’s sociology department where he is currently a masters student.



Sufian Bukurura



Ntokozo Mthembu

We were sad to lose the services of Mandisi Majavu, former Outreach Officer, who relocated to Cape Town in February; and Saranel Benjamin, former Training Officer, who in January took up independent work in Durban, while remaining a CCS-affiliated UKZN School of Development Studies masters student.

Through the facilitation of Amanda Alexander, we were also very pleased to host several volunteer Visiting Scholars in early 2006 who contributed enormously to our intellectual atmosphere: doctoral candidates Mvuselelo Ngcoya of American University development studies (with a focus on globalisation/resistance); Kea Gorden of the University of California/Santa Barbara political science department (water and community organisations); Mandisa Mbali of Oxford University history (AIDS advocacy); and Shannon Walsh of McGill University public health (AIDS, community organising and visual pedagogy). In addition, professor Joel Kovel of Bard College (a specialist on ecology, psychology and political economy and editor of the journal *Capitalism Nature Socialism*) spent January-March at CCS. Visiting scholars arriving over the next weeks include professor Anne-Marie Mukhulu of Duke University African-American studies (community movements), and post-graduate students Alex Beresford of Edinburgh University Centre for African Studies (labour and social movement relations), Kerry Chance of University of Chicago anthropology (reactions to water/electricity disconnections), and Jeff Purcell of Cornell University African-American studies (community movements). CCS also advertised a new funding line to make it feasible for researchers from the Global South to spend time with us and carry out work on civil society empowerment (<http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs/default.asp?10,66>). Finally, we were grateful to many other passing visitors (e.g., Stewart Motha of Kent University and Sybille Toennies of Potsdam University) who shared ideas and contacts.

CCS TRAINING / EDUCATION

In early 2006, thanks to the generosity of the CS Mott Foundation, CCS began offering a series of free Saturday community education workshops, mainly at the Westville Campus, with core funding from Atlantic Philanthropies and the CS Mott Foundation:

- ‘School Fees and You’ (Ivor Baajtes, UKZN, 14 January): Provisions in the Education Act for non-payment of school fees on grounds of inability, were discussed. Forms were handed out, and procedures for submitting them to school principals were explained.
- ‘Twisting the Arm of the Law’ (Ashraf Kassiem, Western Cape Anti-Evictions

Committee; Heinrich Bohmke, local lawyer, 21 January): With the police increasing the number of illegal arrests, many social movements require training on legal representation.

- ‘Who wants to be Leader?’ (Raj Patel, UKZN, 18 March): Social movement organisation strategies vary across the world. This workshop drew on organising models used by the Brazilian MST, the Zapatistas and South African trade unions to offer different models of how a movement might be organised and how leadership might be held accountable to membership.
- ‘Building a KZN-Wide Social Movement’ (1 April): Bringing together social movements from Chatsworth, Wentworth and the Abahlali baseMjondolo, as well as other groups and individuals concerned, this event considered the shape and way forward for social movements across the province.

Amanda Alexander, Andile Mnguni and Shannon Walsh facilitated writing and photography workshops for women at Kennedy Road Community Hall on 8 and 29 April. The 20 participants produced stunning photos and stories, to be displayed at an exhibition at Pregs Govender’s Wolpe Lecture on 18 May and in the forthcoming CCS research report volume.



Photography workshops

A course and workshop on development advocacy for students and Durban community leaders was offered from 10-13 April, cosponsored by the Vermont-based School for International Training (SIT). Organised by Patrick Bond and Des D’Sa of the South Durban Community Environmental Alliance, the course included participation from CCS staff and associates: Richard Ballard on urban citizenship, justice and new social movements; Raj Patel on land; Amanda Alexander on AIDS, race and advocacy; Sufian Bukurura and Horman Chitonge on human rights and development; Shannon Walsh and Fazel Khan (UKZN Social Policy) on video methodologies and pedagogy applied to contemporary socio-economic rights and political rights; Muna Lakhani (Institute for Zero Waste in Africa) on energy, waste and economic development; Amisi Baruti and

Richard Ballard on the refugee experience in Durban; Zoe Wilson on water/sanitation and delivery options; Kea Gordon and Phumzile Khubeka (HSRC) on community water projects; and Patrick Bond and Desmond D'Sa on housing, water, energy, economics and an overall review of development research and advocacy. A follow-up session on housing is being planned. SIT students also learned from the community leaders present: Gwen Bouverie from Burgers Mansions, Mdu Hlongwa from Abahlali base Mjondolo, Dawn Philemar from CTRA/Newlands, Shirley Ebrahim from Bayview Flats, Lucia Dube from Albert Park, Faith Manzi from Cato Manor, Meena Naicker from Merebank Flat Dwellers, Catherine Gordon from Wentworth Development Forum, Janet Christmas from Newland East, Zandile Nsibande from Abahlali base Mjondolo, Zeldi Norris from Sydenham Heights, Michael Govender from Chatsworth and Zodwa Nsibande from Abahlali base Mjondolo. This is the first in a series of such courses to be held with SIT, with the aim of forging further relationships between communities and visiting students, to generate knowledge for social change.

During the first four months of 2006, CCS staff - supported by Mandisi Majavu, former CCS visiting scholar Trusha Reddy and Patrick Bond - joined the York University Department of Political Science in Toronto and the Training and Research Support Centre (TARSC) in Harare for a certificated course on 'Civil Society and the State in Africa'. Led by York's Richard Saunders, the course was an on-line experiment in innovative teaching/discussion, with participation by 16 students and civic activists:

This course studies the ambiguous and tension-ridden relations between African civil society institutions and States, particularly with regard to demands for the expansion of social and economic rights and related claims made upon the public sector. It surveys varying experiences of government-society interaction, and uses case studies of leading sectors implicated in claims for social and economic rights - including health, education, land reform, food security and local government services - to reflect upon the policy-making challenges faced by civil society constituencies and national political structures. Another key objective of the course is the development of students' capacity to carry out online primary and secondary research on African civil society organisations and public sector activities, particularly research which supports policy interventions by civil society organisations.

Finally, a core part of the Centre mandate is training masters and doctoral students within the School of Development Studies in civil society scholarship. Three research masters students had their formal thesis proposals approved by the Higher Degrees Committee in January:

- Rehana Dada: 'Climate Change Adaptation and Mitigation in South Africa: An As-

essment of the Strength and Effectiveness of Civil Society Involvement in Developing Strategies and Actions'

- Prishani Naidoo: 'Histories In The Present: Investigating Indigency and "The Poor/s" as Silencing and Liberatory Discourses in Struggles for Free Basic Services in Orange Farm, Johannesburg'
- Ahmed Veriava: 'The Restructuring of Basic Service Delivery in Soweto: Life Strategies and the Problem of Primitive Accumulation'

All are supported by a grant from SANPAD, for which we are grateful, with additional support from the Norwegian government. An additional CCS doctoral student, Horman Chitonge, also received approval for his thesis proposal: 'Exploring the Challenges of Implementing a Right-Based Development: The Case of the Right to Water in Peri-Urban Zambia.' He is supported by the Norwegian government, RLF and Mellon Foundation.

CCS CONFERENCES

CCS cosponsored three gatherings during the first third of 2006:

- a workshop with the Geneva-based UN Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) on UN summits and civil society on 7-8 February;
- the Colloquium on Economy, Society and Nature in early March; and
- a conference with the Nelson Mandela Foundation, National Development Agency and SA Grantmakers Association on 'The State of Social Giving in South Africa Society' on 7-8 March.

Opened by eminent UKZN sociologist Fatima Meer, the UNRISD meeting reviewed a variety of ways that global-scale events provide opportunities for civil society education, mobilisation and advocacy. Presenters at the workshop included Patrick Bond and Ashwin Desai of CCS, Lisa Jordan of the Ford Foundation's Governance and Civil Society Unit, UNRISD project director Kléber Ghimire, Mario Pianta of the University of Urbino, Nora McKeon of the FAO in Rome, Xiaoyuan Shang from Beijing Normal University, Antonio Pradjasto Hardojo of the Indonesian Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies, Fatou Sarr of L'Institut fondamental d'Afrique noire de l'Université de Dakar, Silvada De Paula of the Brazilian Institute of Social and Economic Analyses in Rio de Janeiro, Juan Carlos Gómez Leyton of the Universidad de Chile and Santiago Daroca of UNRISD. Desai and Bond are working on an edited book collection, *Foreign Policy Bottom Up*, taking forward the experiences of

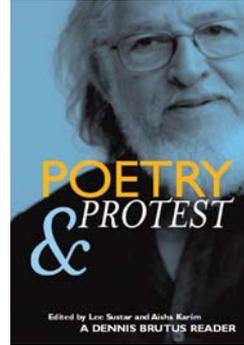
the World Conference Against Racism and the World Summit on Sustainable Development, as well as subsequent South African civil society internationalism. The Ford Foundation is thanked for financing the UNRISD project, and we are especially grateful to Kléber for establishing and deepening the links between the institutions. Papers will soon be online at [http://www.unrisd.org/unrisd/website/projects.nsf/\(httpProjectsForProgrammeArea-en\)/148D7A98D9E776FEC1256DC900315DB6?OpenDocument](http://www.unrisd.org/unrisd/website/projects.nsf/(httpProjectsForProgrammeArea-en)/148D7A98D9E776FEC1256DC900315DB6?OpenDocument)

The CCS Colloquium on Economy, Society and Nature was a major event, attracting an average of 120 people each day from 28 February through 4 March. The gathering reviewed traditions of South African, regional/continental and global political-economic theory and contemporary analysis, focusing upon market-nonmarket interactions and new forms of 'primitive accumulation'. The objective was to not only generate sound analysis, but to inform and be informed by concrete struggles against exploitation, racism, sexism and ecological destruction. Foundational theory and research provided by four scholar-activists - Harold Wolpe in South Africa, Guy Mhone and José Negrão in Southern Africa and Rosa Luxemburg in Europe - considered how market forces systematically exploit other modes of production, society (especially via women's unpaid labour and racism) and the natural environment.

Financing was generously provided by the Harold Wolpe Memorial Trust, the Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation (RLF), the Research Council of Norway, the SA National Research Foundation, and the SA-Netherlands Research Programme on Alternatives in Development (SANPAD). Patrick Bond, Horman Chitonge, Helen Poonen, Lungu Keswa and Joel Kovel were responsible for organising, support and editing work, and there are plans for three publications of the proceedings, including a special issue of the *Review of African Political Economy* (December 2006), a joint CCS-RLF publication, and articles in the political ecology journal *Capitalism Nature Socialism*. Papers presented are posted at <http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs/default.asp?5,75>

On 28 February, Wolpe's race/class analysis known as 'articulation of modes of production' undergirded work by many of the contributors: Ann-Marie Wolpe (Wolpe Trust), Michael Perlman (CalState), Ari Sitas (UKZN), Caroline Skinner (UKZN), Imraan Valodia (UKZN), Renato Palmi (UKZN), Sthembiso Bhengu (UKZN), Nina Hunter (UKZN), David Hemson (HSRC), Simon Mapadimeng (UKZN), Isobel Frye (Naledi), Charles Meth (UKZN), Devan Pillay (Wits), Mark Butler (groundWork), Lubna

Nadvi (UKZN), Richard Ballard (UKZN), Bill Freund (UKZN), Ashwin Desai (UKZN), Vishnu Padayachee (UKZN), Margaret Legum (SANE), David Masondo (Wits), and Martin Legassick (UWC). That evening, Ike's Books and CCS hosted a memorable launch of two books: Amanda Alexander's edited collection of CCS Wolpe Lectures, *Articulations*, and Dennis Brutus' new



biography and poetry collection *Poetry and Protest* (Chicago, Haymarket Press and UKZN Press). Those paying tribute to Brutus included the inspiring radical poets Vonani wa ka Bila (Timbila Collective), Mphutlane Bofelo and Pinky Magwaza (Jubilee SA). The Wolpe Trust's Tracey Bailey is thanked for special support.

On March 1, devoted to the memories of the noted Malawian structural economist Mhone and Mozambican agroeconomist and land redistribution advocate Negrão, we were fortunate to have a major opening input by Adebayo Olukoshi of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa. Others who presented included Lloyd Sachikonye (UZimbabwe), David Moore (UKZN), Horacio Zandamela (Wits), Riaz Tayob (Seatini), Patrick Bond (UKZN), Dennis Brutus (Jubilee SA) and Horman Chitonge (UKZN). Later, CCS hosted the launch of the book *The Great Trek North* by Console Tleane, who authored the study of SA corporate media/ICT penetration of the subcontinent while at the Freedom of Expression Institute. Personal tributes to Mhone and Negrão



were provided by Judica Maketha (ILO), Yvonne and Pat Mhone, Omano Edigheji (CPS), Sabina Asselle (Cruzeiro do Sul), Patrick Bond (UKZN) and Tawanda Mutasah (Osisa). Tawanda and his colleagues Ashraf Patel and Roshnee Narrandes are due our special thanks.

On 2 March, a tribute to Luxemburg's pathbreaking North-South analysis included papers by Jeff Guy (UKZN), Nicola Bullard (Focus on the Global South), Arndt Hopfmann (RLF), Massimo De Angelis (U.of E.London), Ahmed Veriava (UKZN), Prishani Naidoo



Sufian Bukurura, Adebayo Olukoshi



Russell Ally, Elmar Altvater, Peter Alexander, Margaret Legum



Abahlali base Mjondolo



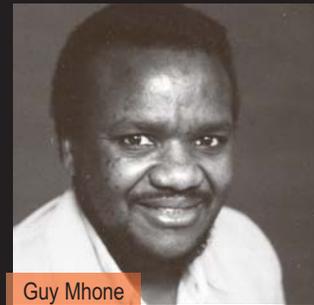
Anne Mayher, Elizabeth Stanley



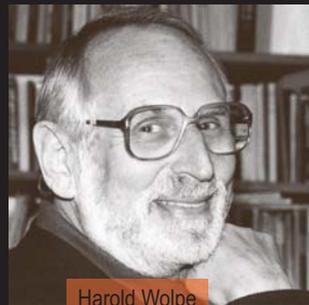
Ann-Marie Wolpe, Michael Perelman



Ntokozo Mthembu, Mdu Hlongwa



Guy Mhone



Harold Wolpe

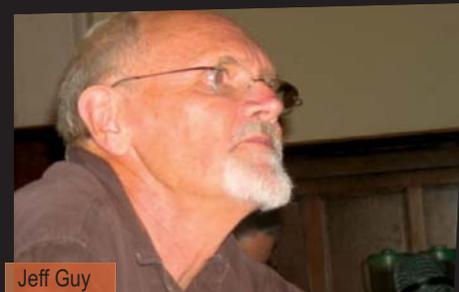
COLLOQUIUM ON ECONOMY, SOCIETY AND NATURE



José Negrão



Rosa Luxemburg



Jeff Guy



Horman Chitonge, Baruti Amisi, Dennis Brutus



Prishani Naidoo, Ahmed Viriava, Gill Hart



Devan Pillay, Massimo DeAngelis

Muna Lakhani, S'bu Zikode, Joel Kovel



Lenny Gentle



Virginia Setshedi, Salim Vally, Rehana Dada



Bobby Peek, Mark Butler



Trevor Ngwane, Greg Ruiters



David Moore, Lloyd Sachikonye, John Karumbidza, Horacio Zandamela

(UKZN), David Whitehouse (Chicago), Elmar Altvater (Free Univ.), Gill Hart (Berkeley), Joel Kovel (CNS), Virginia Setshedi (FXI), Rehana Dada (UKZN) and Salim Valley (Wits). On 3-4 March, political economy of a more practical nature was discussed by community activists, with resource people including Lenny Gentle, Trevor Ngwane, Elmar Altvater, Ulrich Duchrow, Lenny Gentle, Joel, Kovel, Muna Lakhani, Ntwala Mwilima, Bobby Peek, Vanessa Black, Greg Ruiters, Julie Smith, Virginia Setshedi and S'bu Zikode. The CCS-RLF publication, due out by July, will carry forward the debates, focusing on the legacy of Luxemburg's work *The Accumulation of Capital*. Arndt and Rose Khumalo are warmly thanked for the RLF's special support.



The Social Giving Project Conference

The Social Giving Project held a conference in Johannesburg on 7/8 March in partnership with the Nelson Mandela Foundation and the National Development Agency (NDA), in order to disseminate and discuss the research findings of the project. The aim was to offer a broad overview of the state of philanthropic resources in South Africa, and to assess the nature and means of the challenge to mobilise such resources for the ends of poverty alleviation. This conference drew the attention of key role players in civil society. It was widely attended and brought together a cross section of civil society actors as well as a range of national stakeholders in the philanthropic/giving arena, such as corporates and government. Key presentations were made by CCS honorary professor Adam Habib and Social Giving Project research associates Deborah Ewing, Mark Swilling, Brij Maharaj, Mandela Seleane and Steven Friedman. Other presenters included Christa Kuljian (Center for Policy Studies), Lulama Makhubela (NDA) and Mokhethi Moshoeshoe (Sustainability Research & Intelligence). The research is helping to identify new and innovative strategies in the struggle for poverty eradication. We are grateful to NDA staff for organising support and the funders - Atlantic, Mott and Ford - for their strong support.

CCS SEMINARS AND FILMS

The CCS Seminar Series, coordinated by Sufian Bukurura, included five presentations:

- Peter Rachleff, Macalester College: 'Labour Strategy in the US and South Africa', 16 January
- Joel Kovel, Bard College: 'From Ecological Crisis to Socialism', 24 March
- Einar Braathen, Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research: 'The Local Politics of Conflict: The Transformation of a Township in Durban/eThekweni', 28 March
- Shannon Walsh, McGill University: 'Facing the Truth: Visual Methodologies for Social Change in Khayelitsha and Atlantis', 18 April
- Timothy Sizwe Phakathi, Oxford University: 'Self-Directed Work Teams in a Post-Apartheid Gold Mine: Perspectives from the Rockface', 28 April

There were also films and discussions held under CCS auspices:

- 'Aristide and the Endless Revolution' with Sasha Kramer (Stanford University), 2 March
- 'Rosa Luxemburg' with Arndt Hopfmann (RLS), 3 March
- 'Shocking and Awful' (on the Iraq War) with DeeDee Halleck (University of California/San Diego), 13 March

Several new videos were produced by CCS associated Aoi bheann O'Sullivan, including profiles of unemployed workers, the debate over Bissar Road dump and carbon trading, and anti-neoliberal activism. In addition, Shannon Walsh and Heinrich Boehmke have made a new film, *Inkani*, which 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.

The Harold Wolpe memorial lecture series resumes in May with talks by gender/rights activist Pregs Govender and Friere scholar Peter McLaren.

CCS PUBLICATIONS



Many of the Harold Wolpe Memorial Lectures given since 2002 - along with some reviews by members of the CCS community - have been collected in a collection edited by Amanda Alexander and copublished in late February by Africa World Press, *Articulations*:

- Michael Burawoy: 'From Liberation to Reconstruction: Theory and Practice in the Life of Harold Wolpe'
- Patrick Bond: 'Ten Years of Democracy: A Review'
- Kerry Chance and Mandisa Mballi: 'Talking is Walking: A Critical Review of Patrick Bond's Wolpe Lecture'
- Lungisile Ntsebeza: 'Slow Delivery in South Africa's Land Reform Programme: The Property Clause Revisited'
- David McDonald: 'You Get What You Can Pay For: Cost Recovery and the Crisis of Service Delivery in South Africa'
- Nigel Gibson: 'Fanon, Marx, and the New Reality of the Nation: Black Political Empowerment and the Challenge of a New Humanism in South Africa'
- Mavuso Dingani: 'A Critical Review of Nigel Gibson's Lecture'
- Charlene Smith: 'Keeping it in Their Pants: Politicians, Men, and Sexual Assault in South Africa'
- Console Tleane: 'Is There Any Future in the Past? A Critique of the Freedom Charter in the Era of Neoliberalism'
- Andile Mngxitama: 'A Review of Console Tleane's Wolpe Lecture'
- Jonathan Jansen: 'The (Self-Imposed) Crisis of the Black Intellectual'
- Pravasani Pillay: 'It Don't Mean A Thing If You Ain't Got That Swing: A Review of Jonathan Jansen's Wolpe Lecture'
- Amina Mama: 'Critical Capacities: Facing the Challenges of Intellectual Development in Africa'
- Sindisiwe Mbandlwa: 'A Review of Amina Mama's Wolpe Lecture 229'
- Darryl Accone: 'Passageways: Revisiting Self, The Society of the Spectacle, and Moby-Dick in the Wake of September 11'
- Pravasani Pillay: 'A Review of Darryl Accone's Wolpe Lecture 251'
- David Theo Goldberg: 'The Death of Race'
- Ferial Haffajee: 'An Incomplete Freedom: The State of the Media Ten Years into Democracy'
- William Mervin Gumede: 'Democracy and the Importance of Criticism, Dissent, and Public Dialogue'
- Dalicebo Mthiyane: 'A Review of William Mervin Gumede's Wolpe Lecture'
- Naomi Klein: 'The Rise of Disaster Capitalism'
- Ela R. Bhatt: 'Organising for Second Freedom'
- Wilfred Mhanda: 'The Struggle for Zimbabwe: Contesting the Meaning of Liberation'

Many of last year's CCS Research Reports published in the second volume were reprinted as a special issue of the *Journal of Asian and African Studies* (issue 41).

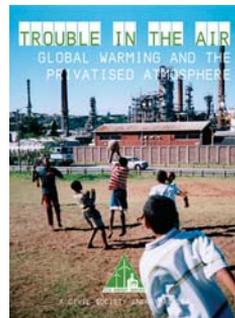


- Amanda Alexander and Mandisa Mballi: 'Problematising Resistance: An Introduction'
- Sanya Osha: 'Birth of the Ogoni Protest Movement'
- Andile Mngxitama: 'The Taming of Land Resistance: Lessons from the National Land Committee'
- Rajeev Patel: 'International Agrarian

Restructuring and the Practical Ethics of Peasant Movement Solidarity'

Peter van Heusden and Rebecca Pointer: 'Subjectivity, Politics and Neoliberalism in Post-apartheid Cape Town'

- Mthetho Xali: 'Seeking Trade Union and Community Organisation Linkages in the Cape Town Metropolitan Area: Possibilities for New Trade Unionism and New Social Movements'
 - Teresa Barnes: 'Changing Discourses and Meanings of Redress in South African Higher Education, 1994-2001'
 - Richard Pithouse: 'Coffin for the Councillor: A Report on the Emergence of a Shack Dwellers' Movement in Durban, South Africa'
 - S'bu Zikode: 'The Third Force'
- Other CCS reports by research associates have recently been posted on the website at <http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs/default.asp?5,14>



The CCS-Transnational Institute book *Trouble in the Air: Global Warming and the Privatised Atmosphere*, the product of last October's energy colloquium, has been online for five months following its launch at the National Climate Change Conference in Johannesburg and the Kyoto Protocol Conference of Parties in Montreal last December.

More than 8000 downloads of the book have been recorded at the website of our partner (<http://www.carbontradewatch.org>). Many thanks are due our funding partner, SANPAD.

Finally, CCS is pleased to regularly contribute the 'Eye on Civil Society' column to *The*

Mercury newspaper, and we thank the editors for a fortnightly space, taken up in early 2006 by Patrick Bond, Annsilla Nyar, Raj Patel and Richard Pithouse.

STAFF ACTIVITIES

Amanda Alexander has continued research with a team from the Womandla HIV/AIDS Network on the gendered assumptions of HIV/AIDS research and their effects on the spheres of activism and policy-making. She edited *Articulations: A Harold Wolpe Memorial Lecture Collection* and coedited with Mandisa Mbali the special double issue of the *Journal of Asian and African Studies* (41, 1/2). She also continued work on CCS publications, visiting scholar programme, Wolpe Lecture committee, various outreach activities, and editing.

Baruti Amisi continued running the Resource Centre and assisting the Grants Programme. He represented CCS at the World Social Forum polycentric session in Bamako (19-23 January), and presented a paper, 'The Struggle for Land and Human Rights in South Africa at an ActionAid 'Towards Just and Democratic Governance: Global Convention on Social Movements, Unions, Land & Livelihoods Rights' in Bangkok (18-20 February). As a human rights activist, Amisi is the Chairperson of the KwaZulu-Natal Refugee Council, and is also coordinator of the African Initiative for Peace, Democracy and Development which is actively involved in the global campaign for democracy and legitimacy in Haiti.



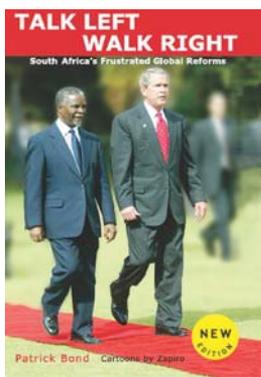
Amisi

Richard Ballard presented papers on 'Social Movements in South Africa' to the CCS Colloquium on Economy Society and Nature (28 February) and 'The Ant and the Grasshopper: Rationalising Exclusion and Inequality in the Post-apartheid City' to the Association of American Geographers

conference in Chicago (9 March). He did final preparation – alongside Adam Habib and Imraan Valodia – of the co-edited book *Voices of Protest: Social Movements in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (University of KwaZulu-Natal Press). He also took part in a workshop in Lubumbashi, DRC, as part of general negotiations between the Universities of KwaZulu-Natal, Lubumbashi and Leige (Belgium) to establish joint civil society research projects (24-28 April).

Patrick Bond worked with colleagues, activists and students to initiate the economic justice research theme, as well as with environmentalists and community leaders on various projects. At the School of Development Studies, he taught the Development Economics course for masters students, and also lectured on the CCS-York-TARSC Civil Society course. Amongst publications were a chapter in the Wolpe memorial book *Articulations* and a new journal article republished in French: 'Global Governance Campaigning and MDGs: From Top-down to Bottom-up Anti-poverty Work' in *Third World Quarterly* (27, 2), and 'OMD et Gouvernance Mondiale: Quelles Luttes Contre la Pauvrete?' in *Alternatives Sud* (13, 1). His chapter 'Johannesburg's Resurgent Urban Social Movements' was published in Nigel Gibson's edited collection *Challenging Hegemony: Social Movements in Post-Apartheid South Africa and the Quest for a New Humanity* (Trenton, Africa World Press), and he coauthored a bookchapter and article with Ashwin Desai (see below). Patrick's Equinet Discussion Paper on 'The Dispossession of African Health at the Cost of African Health' was issued by the Harare-based Regional Network for Equity in Health in East and Southern Africa on World Health Day, April 7. Published writings for other periodicals included 'The War for Water' in *The Mercury* (29 March); 'Water Activists Turn on the Taps and Turn up the Pressure' in *Pambazuka* (24 March) and *ZNet Commentaries* (23 March); 'The Loans of Mass Destruction: Wolfowitz's Anti-Corruption Hoax at the World Bank' in *Counterpunch* (8 March), *ZNet Commentaries* (7 March) and *Third World Resurgence* (April); two articles in *The Zimbabwean* - 'Pride at the Root of it All?' (4 February) and 'Time for Exhausted Nationalism?' (27 January); 'Municipal Elections Won't Appease Furious South Africans' in *ZNet Commentaries* (2 February); and two articles in the *Sunday Independent*: 'Why Angry Residents are Engaged in Municipal Protest' (29 January) and 'Don't Trust Politicians to Fix Global Problems' (8 January). Patrick also gave presentations on

'Climate Change and Energy Crises: A Critique of the South African State and Capital' to the Goedgedacht Forum for Social Reflection in Malmesbury (8 April); 'Water Commodification in South Africa' and 'Human Rights and Cooptation' to the opening plenary of the Human Rights and Global Justice Conference at Warwick University Law School and the Centre for Globalisation and Regionalisation (31 March); and 'South African Subimperialism' to the CCS Colloquium on Economy, Society,



Nature, UKZN (1 March). His books *Talk Left, Walk Right: South Africa's Frustrated Global Reforms* (second edition, UKZN Press and Africa World Press) and *Looting Africa: The Economics of Exploitation* (Zed Books and UKZN Press) were sent to the publishers and will be available in May and June, respectively.

Sufian Bukurura published a chapter, 'A Judiciary in Transition: Selection of Judges in Namibia', in the edited collection by KE Malleson and PH Russell, *Appointment of Judges in an Age of Judicial Power: Critical Perspectives from Around the World* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press). He also took part in conferences on 'The Legacy of Walter Rodney' at the University of Dar es Salaam (16-17 January) and on law and human rights at University of Pretoria (24-26 January).

Ashwin Desai copublished (with Patrick Bond) 'Ager die neoliberaale retoriek in SA' in *Die Vrye Afrikaan* (17 March) and 'Explaining Uneven and Combined Development in South Africa', in Bill Dunn's edited collection, *Permanent Revolution: Results and Prospects 100 Years On* (London, Pluto Press). His article 'When Rhodes met Mandela' appeared in the *African Sociological Review* in early 2006. Ashwin also delivered a paper on race and transformation in rugby at the University of Johannesburg Sociology Seminar (24 March) and was a visiting lecturer of sociology at Rhodes University (April-June).

Alan Fowler gave a presentation at the UK parliament on the security-civil society-aid nexus to an audience of parliamentarians, staff of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and civil society organisations (1 February). On 5 April

in the Academic Aula at the University of Utrecht, he gave a public lecture on the relationship between 'Constituency and Accountability'. From January, he was re-appointed senior adviser at the Centre for Leadership and Public Values at the University of Cape Town for the second phase of a research project investigating mutual assistance between poor people in Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. He is also a doctoral supervisor at Melbourne's University of Technology.

Ntokozi Mthembu participated in the CCS-SIT-Community seminar and spent late April studying African immigrants – largely Nigerian, Ghanaia and Moroccan – in Turin, Italy. During he April he also published several articles on the CCS website: a review of Dinga Sikwebu's Wolpe lecture on 'Labour and social movements: Will the twain ever the meet?'; 'Bosses in the security industry are united and workers remain divided', 'Will Azania (South Africa) ever be liberated from the yoke of oppression?', and 'The prospects of wage labour and labour movements in a globalised economy'.

Sanya Osha was involved in distribution and promotion of the two issues of the African philosophical journal *Quest* he edited in late 2005. One of his CCS research projects, on the Ogoni protests in Nigeria, was published in the *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, and his article 'Slow Death in the Niger Delta' appeared in the *African Review of Books* (2, 1, March).

Raj Patel has been completing research on the politics of the global food system. He has also presented work on the Durban shackdwellers' struggle at York University, Toronto, and at CCS, as well as being a resource person for leadership seminars within the shackdwellers movement, and producing a document for the UnFreedom Day Celebrations. In *The Mercury* he published 'The heart of the coming local government election is a contest over the politics of space' (17 January).

Richard Pithouse worked with the Abahlali baseMjondolo, lectured at Bard College, Temple University, Emerson University and the University of Chicago in April, authored an article in the *Journal of Asian and African Studies* edited by Alexander/Mbali and a chapter – 'Solidarity, Co-option and Assimilation: The Necessity, Promises and Pitfalls of Global Linkages for South African Movements' – in Nigel Gibson's edited collection *Challenging Hegemony: Social Movements in Post-Apartheid South Africa and the Quest for a New Humanity* (Trenton, Africa World Press), as well as 'Struggle Is a School: The Rise of a Shack Dwellers'

Movement in Durban' in the February issue of *Monthly Review*.

Zoe Wilson finalised her book *The United Nations and Democracy in Africa: Labyrinths of Legitimacy* (New York, Routledge and Pietermaritzburg, UKZN Press) for publication in mid-2006. She presented papers on 'Water and Development in South Africa' to the World Water Celebration seminar at Newcastle University (21 March); and on 'The Effects of Globalisation on Water as a Key Determinant of Health' at the University of Ottawa (18 January). She also managed and conducted research in rural areas of northern KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape regarding 'Second Order Water Scarcity in Southern Africa' (with Newcastle University's Department of Political Science), peri-urban and rural water provision in Southern Africa (with support from the Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa), and Durban public health and water (with the UKZN Pollution Research Group). Other projects she supported with the Pollution Research Group interfaced with the World Health Organisation, the Water Research Commission and the National Research Council, on 'Grey Water Research, Social Determinants of Ascarus Infection, and the Politics of Alternative Water and Sanitation Options' and the European Union's Knowledge Network for Solving Real Life Water Problems in Developing Countries.

Our administration and support staff – Helen Poonen, Amy Ramsamy, Lungi Keswa and Winnie Mtshali – work hard, sometimes literally to the point of exhaustion, so that all the activity above is seamless. They are much beloved for that, and for their excellent spirit throughout the turmoil.

THE NEXT PERIOD

Community activism and civil society advocacy will continue to expand in Durban and across South Africa in the period ahead, given the state's failure to address basic needs adequately, and the character of capital accumulation. CCS

staff and associates will continue making the case for transformation on grounds of race, gender, environmental, economic and many other grievances.

Forthcoming events our staff are looking forward to, so as to compare notes with others on these social justice challenges, include a civil society conference sponsored by the Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa in Addis Ababa in late May, the Water in Southern Africa Association conference in Durban, a June meeting in Seoul with the East Asian ally of CCS known as ARENA, a Sussex 'Silencing Human Rights' conference in June, collaboration with groundWork and Friends of the Earth International chapters for events in June, the Durban International Film Festival which will include some CCS-sponsored screenings in late June, the Civic World Assembly in late June in Glasgow, the International Society of Third Sector Research biannual conference in Bangkok, and the International Sociological Association's Durban quadrennial congress in late July, for which a variety of CCS events are being planned. Later in 2006 we will also be cohosting major workshops with international networks on corporate responsibility (with a focus on civil society resistance to minerals/oil depletion) and on equity, water and health.

Finally, CCS will also be carrying out our five-year review with David Sogge of the Netherlands Institute for Southern Africa in late May, as a generous start-up grant by Atlantic Philanthropies winds down. Your own comments on the Centre are warmly welcomed (bondp@ukzn.ac.za and dsogge@antenna.nl). Atlantic's Gerald Kraak, along with Russell Ally of the C.S. Mott Foundation, have been exemplary guides and core supporters of the Centre's work, and we remain most grateful for their ongoing interest. As we do for the feedback we get from you, the reader, about work done under these conditions not of our own choosing.

