

## Centre for Civil Society, University of KwaZulu-Natal School of Development Studies 2009 Report on Activities

**Introduction.** As 2009 drew to a close, the formal resolutions we had waited a year for finally passed the University of KwaZulu-Natal Council and Senate, giving CCS permanent status as a unit within the School of Development Studies. This followed a very positive 2007-08 UKZN official Review of CCS and then an inexplicable mid-2008 UKZN Administration threat to close the Centre, in turn rebuffed by the Howard College Faculty Board after local and international outcries – but not without damage to CCS's staff complement and morale. The team limped through 2009, and only in September were we authorized to grant contracts longer than three months' duration. Then on December 26, we mourned the death of our politico-cultural mentor Dennis Brutus, the great poet-activist who worked with us these last five years.

Externally, matters were just as hard for those civil society forces committed to social and environmental transformation. December was also the moment it became clear our planet will suffer extreme global warming, given the outcome of the UN's Climate Summit; CCS had contributed analysis, newspapers and inputs to a widely-viewed internet film ('Story of Cap and Trade'). Indeed, 2009's ongoing economic and environmental crises provided ample evidence of political gridlock on all the macro, meso and micro issues we work on. Having seen many of these processes up close, we're more impressed by ineptitude of those with power at global/continental/national/local levels, with the overweening elite self-interest (mainly on behalf of competing corporations, in the context of a dramatic downturn in profits, financial wealth and output), and with states' ongoing incapacity to pacify rising grassroots fury.

Sites for these observations included the Copenhagen climate fiasco (December); the failed World Trade Organisation ministerial in Geneva (November); inconclusive G20 and G8 meetings which left teetering a still dangerously unregulated global financial system in Pittsburgh (September), Italy (July) and London (March); and in Washington (September), the annual meetings of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, two institutions which sought more funding for destructive macroeconomic policy and 'development' projects. Within South Africa, similar ruling-elite inertia prevailed. So while Jacob Zuma's April election occurred thanks mainly to the vanquishing of the ANC's centre-right incumbents by its centre-left, his cabinet appointments witnessed scope for genuine post-Mbeki politics only in the health ministry (where National Health Insurance was vaguely promised). Promised banishment of exploitative labour broking began to fade by year's end – a problem we at UKZN relate to strongly because of the measly take-home pay of our outsourced cleaners (R1000/month), gardeners and security personnel, and their courageous fight for justice. Civil society responded with a honeymoon from protests of only a few hours.

Tragically, though, there soon emerged an overlap of community 'service delivery' grievances with xenophobic impulses. Those protests, considered to be of a 'popcorn' character (popping up in all manner of directions but quite quickly falling and coming to rest), lack ideological and strategic clarity and leadership, as our researchers found in several 2009 investigations. Because we believe the conditions for renewed xenophobia remain ripe, a major exploration of how Durban civil society reacted to the May 2008-January 2009 incidents was undertaken (alongside research in other major cities funded by Atlantic Philanthropies). The anticipation is that further tensions will arise due to the failure of the post-apartheid state to address underlying material causes. The Mott-funded project on philanthropy also assisted in generating studies of mutual aid systems that came into force during the 2008 pogroms. These protests have a long period of gestation still ahead before gestation into the kind of latter-day United Democratic Front that many have been hoping for. Meantime, the tension-filled run-up to the 2010 World Cup means that social anger expressed by oppressed, marginalized and displaced communities, hawkers (informal crafts producers and petty commodity traders), trade unionists, students, environmentalists and cultural workers will attract the state's armed force, so as to 'keep the peace'. In early 2009, Zuma's unstable coalition of partners nudged/winked so he could remain free from state prosecution. But the ruling party's corruption-riddled character ensures an unending string of scandals, including a dubious relationship with Hitachi in profiting from boilers for vast new coal-fired powerplants to be funded by the World Bank.

Such contradictions offer new opportunities for 'small-a' alliance-building, in an (un)civil society unintimidated by nationalist loyalties, unattracted to 'participation' in neoliberalism, and unwilling to relinquish what must be the world's highest per capita rate of social protest.

**CCS community.** It was not easy maintaining our team's balance when the playing field was sinking. The CCS staff cohort was reduced dramatically at the beginning of 2009, given a prohibition against formal hiring of any CCS staffperson aside from the director, Patrick Bond – an edict by the UKZN deputy vice-chancellor and dean (both of whom left in December). When that crippling restriction was lifted, two research officers – Baruti Amisi and Shauna Mottiar – were given contracts for CCS projects on xenophobia and social philanthropy, respectively.

In addition, our hard-working Community Scholars on short-term contracts during 2009 included Dudu Khumalo (Mzinyathi), Faith ka Manzi (Cato Manor), Oliver Meth (South Durban), Orlean Naidoo (Chatsworth), Molefi Ndlovu (*Durban Sings* communities) and Shepherd Zvavanhu (Inner City). Administrative functions were ably carried out by Helen Poonen, Amy Ramsamy and Lungile Keswa, and John Devenish provided contract web-based support. Their patience and commitment were outstanding, a testimony to the CCS mission.

Six post-graduate students were affiliated to CCS: Amisi Baruti, Richard Kamidza, Simphiwe Nojiyeza and Prishani Naidoo (after receiving high honours for her masters thesis), and Rehana Dada and Trevor Ngwane pursued masters/research theses. Visiting Scholars were productive and generous with their ideas and activism: Tess Arenas (Univ of Wisconsin), Simone Clair (Univ of Frankfurt), Andréas Godsäter (Univ of Gothenburg), Sofie Hellberg (Univ of Gothenburg), Rebecca Hinely (Georgetown Univ), Schwarzanne Leafé (South Durban Community and Environmental Alliance), Hayley Leck (Royal Holloway Univ of London), Giuliano Martiniello (Leeds Univ), Pamela Ngwenya (Univ of Oxford), Khadija Sharife (independent writer), Umesha de Silva (Univ of Ottawa), Nick Smith (Univ of Chicago), Sofie Statzel (City Univ of NY), Kristine Wasrud (University of Oslo), Claudia Wegener (London-based audio producer) and Daria Zelenova (Moscow Institute of African Studies). At the end of 2009, Ngwenya was granted a post-doctoral fellowship to work with CCS in 2010, especially on expanding participatory video research/training.

CCS also welcomed School of Development Studies masters students who enrolled for two courses taught by our faculty. Additional students were hosted by CCS, from St Catherine's University in Minnesota; the University of Ottawa's Department of Development Studies; and the Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa for a tailored course on Economic Justice Advocacy.

And our community was cheered in late 2009 by the award of new space for the centre to occupy in 2010: three floors at the top of Memorial Tower Building, Durban's highest point.

**Areas and methods of work.** CCS work activities continued to straddle four categories:

- political economy, ranging from macro crisis dissections to the 'material roots of xenophobia' to micro-scale mutual aid;
- political ecology, focusing on climate, energy and water;
- culture, especially the *Durban Sings* audio project, video training and tributes to the poetry of Dennis Brutus; and
- social movement studies, including the new 'Social Protest Observatory' which documents civil society demonstrations across South Africa on a daily basis.

In spite of short-staffing, our traditional six methods for sharing work with scholars and the general public were maintained:

- the monthly Harold Wolpe Lecture, a very active seminar series, courses, post-graduate student supervision and conferences/workshops;
- the website <http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs>;
- outreach activities including community work plus regular media interviews and guest lectures at leading universities;
- the CCS Resource Centre;
- the *CCS Wired* double-DVD set with two dozen films and our CCS research library CD; and
- publications, including the fortnightly 'Eye on Civil Society' column in *The Mercury*, a monthly ZNet commentary and numerous other popular and professional writings, as well as academic publications noted below.

**Publications.** Although most of our articles were in newspapers, CCS staff published more than 100 times in 2009. Perhaps the most interesting reflection of our work came through an interview/conversation with three CCS strategists – entitled ‘Sovereignty, Neo-Liberalism, and the Post-Diasporic Politics of Globalization’ – in *Radical History Review*. This article dovetails with statements about contemporary South African power relations published in the *New Left Review* (in a debate with the prolific liberal Bill Johnson) and about civil society politics in *Working USA*. Global and African political economy were the subjects of articles and chapters in the journals *Review of African Political Economy*, *Development Dialogue*, and *Capitalism Nature Socialism*; and the books *African Perspectives on Aid*, and *Globalisation and Health*. African social movement and state resistance to crisis were analysed in a chapter in the book *Confronting Global Neoliberalism*. Encyclopaedia entries were also published in *The International Encyclopedia of Revolution and Protest* and *The International Encyclopedia of Civil Society*. CCS’s major book output was a new edition of *Climate Change, Carbon Trading and Civil Society* (an edited collection of research mainly done within CCS, supported by the SA Netherlands Programme for Research Alternatives in Development and the SA National Energy Research Institute) as well as updates about climate politics as chapters in books: *Upsetting the Offset: The Political Economy of Carbon Markets* and *The Global Fight for Climate Justice*. An overview of eco-politics was published in Spanish, in the journal *Ecología Política*. And our thinking about ‘Global Civil Society Strategies for Social Justice’ appeared in the *African Journal of Rhetoric*. Many other Africa-wide critical studies appeared in periodicals such as *Political and Economic Weekly* (India), *BBC Focus on Africa*, *The Thinker*, *The Ecologist*, *Foreign Policy in Focus*, *Foreign Policy*, *African Business*, *New African*, the *Mail & Guardian*, *Huffington Post*, *Southern Africa* (Sweden), and *Independent Mirror* (Namibia),

**Funding.** We appreciate the core funding support that continued from Atlantic Philanthropies and CS Mott, as well as resources provided in 2009 by the Harold Wolpe Memorial Trust for monthly lectures, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation for Durban Sings and CCS Wired, the Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa for a regional Economic Justice course, the SA National Energy Research Institute for electricity/climate research, and the SA-Netherlands Programme for Alternative Research in Development for student support.

#### **CCS WOLPE LECTURES AND THE *CRISES AND COMMONS* CONFERENCE**

CCS has hosted Durban’s finest lecture series since 2002, thanks to the Harold Wolpe Memorial Trust: (<http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs/default.asp?11,22>). During 2009, the monthly Wolpe Lecture at the UKZN’s Howard College Auditorium was attended regularly by an average of 300 people, with more than 450 participants at Immanuel Wallerstein’s lecture on November 6. The lectures were initiated in January by Giyani Dube of the Road to Lindela Project about anti-xenophobia work by refugees, Lubna Nadvi of the University of KwaZulu-Natal on the Israeli incursion into Gaza and Kate Griffiths of the City University of New York about the Obama presidency - aided by Zimbabwean pro-democracy singers Timothy Rukombo and Mambo Rusere. This was followed in April by William Gumede of the University of the Witwatersrand on ‘The Democracy Gap’, his new book (delayed by a month in solidarity with a UKZN student strike); the Methodist Bishop of Johannesburg Paul Verryn, on his efforts to provide space for refugees in central Johannesburg, in May; and in June, Alex Callinicos of the University of London, speaking about the world capitalist crisis and ineffectual global social movement resistance. In July, CCS turned the Wolpe Lecture over to the dozen low-income communities who are our most regular CCS Wolpe Lecture partners, and also participants in the *Durban Sings* audio project, for a series of oral histories. Nigerian communications guru Tunde Adegbola was the main lecturer, though as witnessed at <http://durbansings.wordpress.com>, the social, political, economic and environmental concerns of communities took centre stage. In August, the Wolpe Lecturer was Norman Finkelstein, applying Mahatma Gandhi’s legacy to the Middle East conflict.

In November, the next major Wolpe event was a joint conference on *Crises and Commons*, featuring the annual Wolpe Memorial Lecture by Wallerstein. The conference began with a November 4 ‘Reality Tour’ for sixty conference attendees, travelling from UKZN for site visits in social justice conflict zones including Warwick Junction and Albert Park in the Inner City, Wentworth in South Durban, lunch at Chatsworth and the Bottlebrush shack settlement, Cato Manor’s biodigester, and finally the university where a ‘solidarity seminar’ was held with BulBul rubbish dump opponents, Abahlali baseMjondolo activists (recently displaced by physical attacks) and university contract workers protesting wages and working conditions. The Reality Tour was recorded by Ngwenya:

<http://vimeo.com/10374472>

On November 5, the conference opened with Dennis Brutus offering a moving mandate and poem ('Gull'). Although in the first main session, on Durban and South Africa, the invited representative from the municipality did not arrive, there were impressive presentations from Durban residents and especially from the *Amandla!* journal representative (Mazibuko Jara). After a long discussion, Dani Nabudere presented the main paper on the African economic crisis by Dani Nabudere – drawing on his book *The Crash of International Finance Capital* – followed by reports from participants from Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Lesotho and the DRC. After lunch, the discussion turned to environmental crises, with presentations by Hazel Henderson on environmental resources as a commons. This was followed by Michael Hardt's paper on the commons (via videotel) and a reply by Ashwin Desai. Then Wallerstein delivered the Wolpe Lecture.

On November 6, the first event of the day was a solidarity march and service delivery protest to City Hall with activists from the oppressed South Durban communities of Wentworth, Merebank and Umlazi. The conference resumed at 11am following some films of resource commoning, with Alaskan visitors showing how the 'ownership state' captured natural resources so that public, not for-profit, benefit could be realised. Other discussions included commoning of natural resources in the Ecuadorian Amazon's Yasuni Park, the Niger Delta and the Xolobeni titanium fields. After lunch, discussions continued on local-level state service delivery (especially access to AIDS medicines) and the commoning of land, water and electricity by activists and scholars from Mzinyathi, Chatsworth and Soweto, and the Global Water Commons campaign was explained by Anil Naidoo on skype from Ottawa. The afternoon featured 'commoning of people' via local unity activities (such as *Durban Sings*) and anti-xenophobia activism. The evening cultural event included a celebration of regional solidarity.

On November 7, the Skenjani Roji Seminar (in conjunction with iKwezi Institute's Mzwanele Mayekiso) was a day devoted to exploring in more detail both the commons philosophy and social movement strategies and tactics. Desai presented the main paper – a tough critique of social movement shortcomings - with Ngwane debating left analysis, strategies and tactics. Vishwas Satgar (*Amandla!*) argued for a South African conference of the Democratic Left and Nabudere proposed a Global Campaign for the Commons. Both were endorsed in the final plenary.

#### **CCS SEMINARS, WORKSHOPS, FILM FESTIVALS AND OTHER EVENTS**

- Climate Justice Film Festival cosponsored with Climate Justice Now! South Africa, 10 December
- Kristine Wasrud seminar on 'Participation and Influence in Water Policy in Durban', 11 December
- Umesh de Silva seminar on 'Traditional farming in Umzinyathi', 9 December
- Oliver Meth at CCS Workshop on women and child abuse, Cato Crest Library, 8 December
- Sinegugu Zukulu and John Clarke seminar on 'Resilience, resolarisation and relocalisation', 30 November
- Nick Smith seminar on 'Politics of protection/crime/policing', 26 November
- seminar with UKZN Workers Forum on 'Outsourced and contract workers at UKZN', 24 November
- Third Climate Justice Now! KZN meeting, 20 November
- MAKE SOME NOISE! Anti-xenophobia concert and culture, 6 November
- Immanuel Wallerstein Wolpe Lecture: 'Crisis of the Capitalist System - Where to from Here?', 5 November
- 'The Crises and the Commons: Durban debates on politics, economics and environment' conference, 4-7 November
- Special fundraising event: 'Solidarity with Durban's oppressed: Bottom-up resistance strategies of shackdwellers, pollution victims and labour-brokered workers', 4 November
- seminar with UKZN Workers Forum on 'Problems faced by UKZN workers', Westville campus, 28 October
- Bengt Brücke and Stellan Vinthagen and seminar on 'Ethics, resistance and global justice', 26 October
- Tri-Continental Film Festival Durban community screenings – (hosted by Oliver Meth) at Inanda, Chatsworth, Wentworth, CBD, and Folweni, 1-12 October
- Helen McCue seminar on 'Grassroots mobilising within refugee communities: Perspectives on Palestine and Australia', 18 September
- Dick Forslund and Patrick Bond seminar on 'South Africa's capitalist crisis and civil society', 7 September
- Dudu Khumalo seminar on 'The Durban public transport crisis', 1 September
- Patrick Bond seminar on 'National Health Insurance: Can SA afford it?', 24 August
- John Berg seminar on 'Barack Obama's presidency and civil society reactions', 24 August
- Norman Finkelstein Wolpe Lecture: 'Resolving the Israel-Palestine conflict: What we can learn from Gandhi',

20 August

- seminar with UKZN Workers Forum on 'Outsourced workers at UKZN', 12 August
- Dr Essop Pahad seminar on 'Thinking about the legacy of Mbeki's politics', 4 August
- Barak Hoffman seminar on 'Democracy and civil society research in Ghana and SA', 27 July
- CCS hosts free screenings of Durban International Film Festival, 25 July - 1 August
- Sean Flynn and Maj Fiil seminar on 'Water rights', 24 July
- Sein Win seminar by Burmese prime minister (exiled) on solidarity (SKYPECAST), 21 July
- Tunde Adegbola A Pan-African Harold Wolpe Lecture and cultural events, 16 July
- Alex Callinicos Wolpe Lecture: Economic crisis and prospects for social revolution, 18 June
- Blair Rutherford seminar on 'Zimbabwe farm labour, social justice and citizenship', 17 June
- Trevor Ngwane seminar on 'Community resistance to energy privatisation and ecological degradation', 11 June
- DURBAN SINGS central editorial workshops, 8 and 22 June
- Gaby Bikombo, Judy Mukweeny, Harry Ramlal and Caroline Skinner seminar on 'The war of Warwick Junction', 9 June
- Peter McKenzie seminar on 'Footsack: On the ball for 2010', 28 May
- Björn Surborg seminar on 'Contesting Johannesburg's extractive industries', 25 May
- Paul Verryn, Methodist Bishop of Johannesburg Wolpe Lecture on 'Poverty and xenophobia', 21 May
- Robert Jensen, University of Texas, seminar on 'Whiteness and social change in the US', 21 May
- Tony Clarke, Polaris Institute seminar on 'The state of the world water wars', 15 May
- Molefi Ndlovu, seminar on 'Azania rising: The demise of the 1652 class project', 13 May
- Rehana Dada seminar on 'Climate mitigation case studies', 11 May
- CCS/DYFS - Anti-xenophobia film screening facilitators workshop, 9 May
- Orlean Naidoo, seminar on 'Chatsworth upgrading struggles and victories', 8 May
- Joan Canela and Helena Ocina seminar on 'Social movements in Bolivia and Catalan', 5 May
- William Gumedé Wolpe Lecture on 'SA's 'democracy gap'', 30 April
- Three representatives of the Tamil liberation movement youth seminar on 'The Tamil people under seige', 21 April
- John Minto seminar on 'The legacy of anti-apartheid sports boycotts', 16 April
- Nelson Muhirwa and Jean Chrisostome Kanamugire seminar on 'The Rwandan genocide', 15 Years On, 8 April
- Oliver Meth seminar on 'Wentworth crime, gangs and civil society', 7 April
- Ida Susser booklaunch, 'AIDS, Sex and Culture', with Quarraisha Abdool Karim, at Ike's Books, 2 April
- Sofie Hellberg seminar on 'Governing lives through hydropolitics in eThekweni', 1 April
- Simone Claar seminar on 'Post-apartheid political economy and state policy', 19 March
- Simphiwe Nojiyeza seminar on 'African Development Bank water projects', 12 March
- Deniz Kellecioglu seminar on 'Zimbabwe civil society confronts Mugabe's economy', 11 March
- Kalinca Copello seminar on 'ICTs and social movements: From Chiapas to Brazil to South Africa', 6 March
- Lisa Ramsay and Schwarzanne Leafé seminar and Film, on 'Climate change and eco-social resistance in South Durban', 27 February
- Orlean Naidoo and Patrick Bond seminar on 'Free basic water', and screening of the film Flow, 18 February
- Ida Susser seminar on 'AIDS, sex, culture and civil society', 11 February
- Dennis Brutus and Moya Atkinson Film/seminar on 'The US anti-war movement', 9 February
- Dennis Brutus, Lubna Nadvi, Monica Rorvik and Salim Vally seminar, on 'Should Israel be boycotted? If so, how?', 27 January
- Giyani Dube, Lubna Nadvi, Kate Griffiths and Timothy Rukombo Wolpe Lecture: 'Civil society internationalism - from Lindela to Gaza to Washington', 22 January
- Pamela Ngwenya, Molefi Ndlovu and Claudia Wegener seminar on 'Participatory community audio/video as a tool for social research', 21 January
- Dale McKinley, Orlean Naidoo, Dudu Khumalo and Bryan Ashe seminar on 'The World Water Forum', 19 January
- Mavuso Dingani Film/seminar on 'The Zimbabwean exile in Durban', 6 January

## CCS STAFF/STUDENT LECTURES AND PRESENTATIONS

- Patrick Bond addresses climate seminar at University of Lund Business School, 15 December
- Patrick Bond at Roskilde University Civil Society Centre, Roskilde, Denmark, 7 December
- Patrick Bond keynotes Leeds University 'Democratisation in Africa' conference, 4 December
- Patrick Bond speaks at Mandela Foundation about SA economic disasters, 26 November
- CCS and Durban Sings! at the Global Crisis and Africa conference hosted by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, Randburg, Johannesburg 19-21 November
- Faith Manzi and Oliver Meth at the Gender Based Violence Workshop, Durban 27-28 October
- Baruti Amisi, Trevor Ngwane and Patrick Bond on 'Anti-xenophobia research', at StrategyandTactics seminar, Johannesburg, 19- 20 October
- Durban Sings (Molefi Ndllovu and Claudia Wegener) at National Oral History Conference, Johannesburg, 13-16 October
- Patrick Bond lectures at Suffolk Univ, Boston, 29 Sept-2 Oct
- Patrick Bond Booklaunch: Climate Change, Carbon Trading and Civil Society, Cape Town, 18 September
- Dennis Brutus honored by War Resisters League, New York, 18 September
- Patrick Bond skypecast on climate and ecological debt to Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke, Copenhagen, 16 September
- Oliver Meth People to People International Documentary Conference, 10-12 September
- Patrick Bond debates Sampie Terreblanche (Stellenbosch), 6 August, UCT
- Patrick Bond addresses Ecuador eco-finance conference (videolink), Quito, 4 August
- Patrick Bond at the South African Civil Society Energy Caucus Meeting, Johannesburg, 29-30 July
- Patrick Bond lecture at carbon trading conference, Johannesburg, 22 July
- Patrick Bond lecture on SA Political Economy, San Francisco socialist conference, 4 July
- Orlean Naidoo on participation at DDP seminar, 30 June
- Patrick Bond speaks on 'World Slump: Financial Crisis and Emerging Class Struggles in the Global South', 28 June, Toronto
- Patrick Bond on African social resistance to economic crisis, 26 June, Moscow
- Oliver Meth and Orlean Naidoo facilitate Diakonia Council of Churches Democracy Course, 24 -26 June
- Patrick Bond, Abedian, Dumisa, Maharaj et al on 'Zumanomics', UKZN Business School, 3 June
- Rehana Dada keynote address to Southern African Faith Communities' Environment Institute AGM, 2 June
- Patrick Bond on African underdevelopment at Sussex IDS conference (via skypecast), 1 June
- Trevor Ngwane presents at the International Conference on Ideas and Strategies in the Alterglobalisation Movement, Seoul, 29 May
- Patrick Bond debates 'The G20 Global Deal' at Wits/Osisa, Johannesburg, 12 May
- Patrick Bond, Johannesburg Wolpe Lecture at Wits Univ, 7 May
- Patrick Bond at Cosatu electricity workshop, Johannesburg, 6 May
- Rehana Dada at York Univ climate ecojustice conference, Toronto, 16-17 April
- Dennis Brutus celebrations, honorary doctorates conferred at Rhodes Univ and Mandela Univ, 16-17 April
- Dennis Brutus and Patrick Bond on Reconciliation and Memory in Post-Apartheid SA, Nelson Mandela Foundation, Johannesburg, 2-3 April
- Claudia Wegener and Molefi Ndllovu Digital Soiree Durban Sings Internet Radio project, 24 March
- Oliver Meth presents at the HSRC Violent Crime and Democratization in the Global South Conference, 18-20 March
- Patrick Bond debates ANC economic policy, 9 March, Durban
- Patrick Bond presents to ActionAid/Nepad conference on global financial crisis, 24 February, Midrand
- Molefi Ndllovu Johannesburg: Market Photo Workshop, 22-28 February
- Patrick Bond seminar on 'The ongoing global financial crisis', University of Johannesburg, 6 February
- Durban Sings internet audio and community radio with Molefi Ndllovu and Claudia Wegener, 2-6 February
- Patrick Bond in dialogue with Jeremy Cronin on financial crisis, Johannesburg, 28 January

## PUBLICATIONS

### Book

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

### Accredited, peer-reviewed journal articles

- 'Apartheid Reparations and the Contestation of Corporate Power in Africa' – *Review of African Political Economy*, 119.
- 'Realistic Post-Neoliberalism: A View from South Africa' – *Development Dialogue*, 51.
- 'Background Tensions within Volatile Global Capitalism' – *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 20, 1.
- 'Sovereignty, Neo-Liberalism, and the Post-Diasporic Politics of Globalization: A Conversation about South Africa' – *Radical History Review*, 104.
- 'In 'Power' in Pretoria' - *New Left Review*, 58, July-August.
- 'La Crise Economique et Sociale de l'Afrique du Sud' – *Informations et Commentaires*, 148.
- 'Removing Neocolonialism's APRM Mask: A Critique of the African Peer Review Mechanism' - *Review of African Political Economy*, 122.

### Book chapters

- 'Global Political-Economic and Geopolitical Processes, Structures and Trends' - in R. Labonte, T.Schrecker, C.Packer and V.Runnels (Eds), *Globalisation and Health: Pathways, Evidence and Policy*, London, Routledge Press.
- 'Southern Africa: Popular Resistance to Neoliberalism, 1982-2007' – in I.Ness (Ed), *The International Encyclopedia of Revolution and Protest*, Malden MA, Wiley-Blackwell.
- 'African Resistance to Global Finance, Free Trade and Corporate Profit-Taking' – in R.Westra (Ed), *Confronting Global Neoliberalism: Third World Resistance and Development Strategies*, Atlanta, Clarity Press.
- 'Repaying Africa for Climate Crisis: Ecological Debt as Development Finance Alternative to Carbon Trading' – in S. Böhm and S. Dabhi (Eds), *Upsetting the Offset: The Political Economy of Carbon Markets*, London, MayFlyBooks.
- 'Carbon Charade' – in D.Ransom and V.Baird, *People First Economics*, Oxford, New Internationalist Publications.
- 'Political Activism and Class Struggle - not Markets - will Save the Planet' -- in I.Angus (Ed), *The Global Fight for Climate Justice*, Toronto, South Branch Publications and London, SR Books.
- 'Neoliberal Urban Policy: Are those Planact Fingerprints?' – in L.Royston (Ed), *Planact*, Johannesburg.
- 'Africa battles Aid and Development Finance Inflows/Outflows' – in *African Perspectives on Aid*, Harare, Afrodad and Oxford, Fahamu.
- 'Naomi Klein' – in H.Anheier and S.Toepler (Eds), *International Encyclopedia of Civil Society*, Heidelberg, Springer Press.
- '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.

### Non-accredited journal articles

- 'The Influence of Labour in the New South African Government' – *Working USA: The Journal of Labor and Society*, 12, December.



- 'Sudáfrica: Éxitos de los activistas por la salud y el medioambiente' – *Ecología Política*, 37.
- 'Global Civil Society Strategies for Social Justice' – *African Journal of Rhetoric*, 1.
- 'Reproducing Life as Guide to Climate Politics' - *Women in Action*, 2.
- 'False Solutions to Climate Crisis Amplify Eco-Injustices' – *Women in Action*, 2.
- 'Debating Global Justice Strategies: MDGs or a New African Liberation?' – *OpenSpace*, August.
- 'In "Power" in Pretoria: Some in South Africa's Ruling Alliance Contemplate a Shift Left' – *Relay*, July-September.
- 'Commentary: On Jeremy Cronin's Joe Slovo Memorial Lecture' – *African Communist*, 177.
- 'Mamdani sets back Civil Society' - *ACAS Bulletin 82: Reflections on Mahmood Mamdani's 'Lessons of Zimbabwe'*, March 2009.

#### Magazine and newspaper articles

- 'How Africa got burnt by Zuma and Obama in Copenhagen' – *Business Day*, 23 December.
- 'Countering critics of a cap-and-trade critique' – *ZNet, Counterpunch*, 15 December.
- 'Copenhagen friends and foes' – *Muslim Views*, December.
- 'From climate denialism to activist alliances in memory of Seattle' – *ZNet*, 30 November.
- 'Lessons for Copenhagen from Seattle via Addis Ababa' – *ZNet*, November.
- 'Are we facing hopeless climate macropolitics?' – *Muslim Views*, November.
- 'When the climate change center cannot hold' – *ZNet*, 24 October.
- 'National Health Insurance needed to solve SA health crises' – *Muslim Views*, October.
- "'Seattle" Copenhagen, as Africans demand reparations' – *ZNet*, 6 September.
- 'NHI denialists' distort costs of National Health Insurance' – *Amandla*, September.
- 'Numsa tackles neoliberalism' – *Amandla*, September.
- 'Climate summit in question: 'Seattle' Copenhagen (says Dennis Brutus), as Africans demand reparations' – *Muslim Views*, September.
- 'Finkelstein visit highlights scholar-activists and protest power' – *Muslim Views*, August.
- 'Economists Stiglitz and Yunus do not add to crisis debate' – *Muslim Views*, July.
- 'Political power balance shifts left – though not yet enough to quell grassroots anger' – *Muslim Views*, June.
- 'Zimbabwe under a subimperial, neoliberal thumb' – *Thinking Beyond*, June.
- 'From Nigeria to Durban, an oil change is needed', *Muslim Views*, May.
- 'Dying for the cause in Durban' – *Muslim Views*, April.
- 'Apartheid reparations and other courtroom brawls' – *Muslim Views*, March.
- 'Will Zimbabweans be told to tighten belts to repay debt?' – *Business Day*, 25 February 2010.
- 'Mamdani on Zimbabwe sets back civil society' – *Links*, February.
- 'Durban protests for Palestine via BDS' – *Muslim Views*, February.
- 'UN MDG financing up in smoke' – *Inter Press Service*, 19 January.
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