debates in and about global justice movements, a decade on

reflections on theory, history, scale politics, themes and narratives

(with reference to Africa, AIDS medicines, climate, water, soccer and post-apartheid South Africa)

slides by Patrick Bond
University of KwaZulu-Natal Centre for Civil Society, Durban (http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs)

Source: Economist Intelligence Unit
Karl Polanyi’s ‘double movement’

The Great Transformation (1957): ‘the extension of the market organisation in respect to genuine commodities was accompanied by its restriction’ via civil society activism

Frantz Fanon on global & national elites:

Can global governance (G8/G20, UN, WTO, IMF/WB, Kyoto) and African elites (African Union, NEPAD) do this work?

*The national bourgeoisie will be quite content with the role of the Western bourgeoisie’s business agent, and it will play its part without any complexes in a most dignified manner... In its beginnings, the national bourgeoisie of the colonial country identifies itself with the decadence of the bourgeoisie of the West. We need not think that it is jumping ahead; it is in fact beginning at the end. It is already senile before it has come to know the petulance, the fearlessness, or the will to succeed of youth.*

Frantz Fanon, ‘Pitfalls of National Consciousness’
According to Friedman (advisor to Pinochet after 9/11/73 coup): ‘only a crisis - actual or perceived - produces real change’

Klein: ‘It was the most extreme capitalist makeover ever attempted anywhere, and it became known as a "Chicago School" revolution, as so many of Pinochet's economists had studied under Friedman there. Friedman coined a phrase for this painful tactic: economic "shock treatment". In the decades since, whenever governments have imposed sweeping free-market programs, the all-at-once shock treatment, or "shock therapy", has been the method of choice.’

Other examples: Malvinas war of 1982 (Argentina, Britain), China’s Tiananmen Square 1989, Eastern Europe 1990s, 9/11/01, 3/03 war on Iraq, 12/04 tsunami, 8/05 Katrina, SA
Key feature of imperialism: 
Capitalist/non-capitalist relations

Rosa Luxemburg

Accumulation of capital periodically bursts out in crises and spurs capital on to a continual extension of the market. Capital cannot accumulate without the aid of non-capitalist organisations, nor ... can it tolerate their continued existence side by side with itself. Only the continuous and progressive disintegration of non-capitalist organisations makes accumulation of capital possible.

-- Rosa Luxemburg, The Accumulation of Capital, 1913.
Long waves of debt and default (by sovereign leaders)

The Kondratieff Wave

Adapted from The Inflation Survival Letter, p. 134
Several decades of per capita GDP growth stagnation

Recent stock market crash in historical terms

Worse than 1929

Source: Eichengreen and O’Rourke
Long waves of debt and default (by sovereign leaders)

Source: Barry Eichengreen
### Waves of commodification and decommodification

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<td>1834 – Poor Law Reform</td>
<td>1933 – Abolition of Gold Standard</td>
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Source: Michael Burawoy
**Centuries of counter-hegemonic movements**

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<tr>
<th>1760</th>
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<td><strong>Movement Cluster</strong></td>
<td>1760</td>
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<td>Anti-imperial? / National: 1820s/30s Habsburg, Russian, Ottoman cases</td>
<td>Europe: labor, (1873-96 peak) 2nd international nationalist movements</td>
<td>Garvey 1919-27 Comintern</td>
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<td>Greece (1831) eg. Belgium (1830)</td>
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<td>Non-aligned USSR</td>
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<td>America revolution Jamaica/Ireland</td>
<td>Mexico 1910, Ireland, Ottoman Empire (1908) Peasant Revolutions</td>
<td>Nationalist</td>
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<td>Slave revolts: 1740s+ Anti-incorporation activity</td>
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<td><strong>Links? Within/Across Periods? Non/antagonistic?</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Themes for the epoch</strong></td>
<td>Core: Chartists to Revolutions Anti-imperial? Breakup of empires, diasporas. Dutch, Russia, Ottoman</td>
<td>Core/key: labor movements -- become reform movements Semiperiphery: revolution/1917</td>
<td>Core: no A-S movements Labor become systemic</td>
<td>Expiration of traditional and new social movements, e.g.</td>
<td>Labor, Socialist, nationalist movements become systemic</td>
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<td>Periphery: anti-colonial and anti-incorporation</td>
<td>Anti-Incorporation, anti-Imperial Revolts? [Peasant Rebellions?] Anti-colonial, Pan-movements</td>
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<td><strong>Key Transformation(s)</strong></td>
<td>Rise UK hegemony; Spanish, Dutch and French defeated (due to movements?) Slave revolt/republic</td>
<td>Rise of US hegemony Colonial/Decolonization 1968: cycles converge</td>
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<td>See above</td>
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<td>Settler Decolonization in Americas Empires breakup—movements New state forms</td>
<td>New state form New movement form (1848) Turn to reform in core, success Turn to anti-colonial movements in periphery, failure</td>
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*Source: William G. Martin*
The ‘double movement’ in the Third World, 2000
(select examples)
The ‘double movement’ in the Third World, 2000

October 2008 - Hundreds of members from a slum community protest in the streets of Nairobi, organized as an annual celebration to the G8 summit. A strong stance is taken against privatization in the country, especially concerning schools and state-owned cotton companies.

February and April 2008 - Protests strike all over the country in late February against rising food and fuel costs, and later in April thousands of workers stage a two-day general strike in the nation’s largest cities, demanding increases in salaries to match rising costs of living. As one protestor put it in February “The choice is to demonstrate or to lose our homes.”

March & July 2008 - More than a thousand people take to the streets, clashing with police in repeated protests over skyrocketing food prices, chanting “We are hungry! Life is too expensive, you are going to kill us!” The World food Programme attributed the food crisis to rising fuel prices, the higher demand for meals in Asia, and the diversion of food to biofuel production.

August 2008 - Hundreds protest outside parliament against the sale of 10% of state in state-owned Ghana telecom to UK’s Vodafone. August 2008 - Hundreds of Ghanaian join members from Alliance for Accountable governance to demonstrate in capital against “Water loans,” denouncing the IMF and WB. Also this month, 9200 workers go on strike at South African based AngloGold Ashanti Limited over pay and working conditions.

2007-2009 - Nigerian Movement for Justice emerges in support of indigenous rights and against foreign companies blockading the government to displace them from their lands to mine their territory for uranium. While French companies have historically dominated the uranium sector in Niger, China, India, and South Korea have also secured contracts in recent years.

April 2010 - “Don’t Push Down My House” demonstrations against home demolitions and forced relocation in Banjul. May 1, 2010 - 16,000 public workers protest inflation and low pay, thus directly counteracting the influence of IMF loan situations which prioritize loan repayment before assisting workers.

2008-2010 - Tens of thousands of protests were recorded by police, many stories from inadequate ‘service delivery’ of water, electricity, housing, healthcare, education and other state services. Trade unions demonstrated against the monetized central bank. Simultaneously, as a consequence of economic stress and political intolerance, poor and working-class people engaged in xenophobic attacks against migrant workers from the region.

Protests in Africa since 2007

2009 - The first independent trade union in Nigeria is established in 63 years is established in Nigeria on the heels of 6 years of continuous worker rebellions. 2009 - 56,000 municipal tax collectors go on strike, providing the initial impetus for the establishment of an independent trade union.

February-May 2010 - Workers from more than 10 worksites stage a continuous protest outside the governmental parliament demanding an end to neoliberal policy of the Mubarak/Ahmed government. Also in 2010, China will pass the United States to become Egypt’s largest trading partner, signing a $2 billion oil refinery deal.

2007-2008 - A series of protests are staged by the Mansir tribe in Northern Sudan, victims of displacement due to the construction of the Merowe Dam project, funded by the China Civil Engineering and several Arabic Gulf countries. The camps ultimately affected between 50,000 and 70,000 people upon completion.

September 2009 - 130 Islamic march to the state house in Dar as Salaam to protest the eviction of 3,000 people from their ancestral lands in Loi Ombi at the hands of the United Arab Emirates-based Crescentic Construction company and the royal family of Dubai who now claim the land for recreational hunting purposes.

TYPE OF PROTEST

Resource Extraction
Diaposeation
Economic Crisis / Neoliberal reforms

Map design 2010, Linda Qingin; jquips.org
From civil society, ‘Another Africa is possible!’
(selected examples)

- **Treatment advocates** from SA and other African countries breaking the hold of pharmaceutical corporations on antiretroviral patents, thanks to international solidarity;
- **Apartheid reparations movement** (demanding $400bn) presently in US courts, using Alien Tort Claims Act;
- anti-extraction community movements in SA against **titanium** from beach dunes (MRC) and **platinum** (Anglo and Lonplats);
- **blood-diamonds victims** from Sierra Leone and Angola generated a partially-successful global deal at Kimberley, but Kalahari Basarwa-San Bushmen raise concern against **forced removals**, as the Botswana government clears the way for DeBeers and World Bank investments, and the **Marange** field of Manicaland, Zimbabwe is an ongoing resource curse;
Another Africa is possible!

- Lesotho peasants objecting to displacement during construction of the continent’s largest dam system (solely to quench Johannesburg’s hedonistic thirst), along with Ugandans similarly threatened at the overly expensive, corruption-ridden Bujagali Dam and Mozambicans in Justica Ambientale against Mphanda Nkuwa on the Zambezi River;
- resistance to water privatisation by Ghanaian, SA and activists in the Africa Water Network;
- campaigns against Liberia’s exploitation by Firestone Rubber;
- Africa Centre for Biosafety against Monsanto-driven GM crops;
- Niger Delta activists (including Environmental Rights Action, Mosop and the Saro-Wiwa legacy, women non-violent protesters and the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta) keeping ‘the oil in the soil’ (80%!), and Chadian and Cameroonian activists pressuring the World Bank to cease funding repression and environmental degradation;
- Durban Group for Climate Justice attacks the ‘privatisation of the air’ in carbon trading associated with new enclosures;
- Oil Watch (ERA) & groundWork linkages of Nigerian Delta and other Gulf of Guinea to affected southern/eastern African communities;
- Pan African Climate Justice Alliance addressing coming catastrophe.
African progressive leaders, political economists and social justice strategists (not comprehensive)

case study of successful internationalist social movement solidarity: *access to Anti-RetroVirals*

- 1990s – US promotes Intellectual Property above all, monopoly-patented ARVs cost $15 000/person/year
- 1997 – SA’s Medicines Act allows ‘compulsory licensing’
- 1999 – Al Gore for president, ACTUP! opposition, Seattle WTO protest and Bill Clinton surrender
- 2000 – AIDS Durban conference, Thabo Mbeki denialism
- 2001 – ‘PMA-SA v Mandela’ lawsuit w MSF & Oxfam, while TAC imports Thai, Brazilian, Indian generics
TAC’s Anti-RetroVirals campaign:

2001 – Constitutional Court supports nevirapine, major WTO TRIPS concession at Doha
2002 – critiques of Mbeki, Manto Tshabalala-Msimang
2003 – ANC compels change in state policy
2004 – generics produced in SA
2009 – nearly 800 000 public sector recipients
2010 threats – fiscal conservatism, Obama Pepfar cuts

strategic successes:
* commoning intellectual property
* decommodification
* destratification
* deglobalisation of capital
* globalisation of solidarity
I sympathise with those who would minimise, rather than with those who would maximise, economic entanglement among nations. Ideas, knowledge, science, hospitality, travel - these are the things which should of their nature be international. But let goods be homespun whenever it is reasonably and conveniently possible and, above all, let finance be primarily national. - John Maynard Keynes (1933), ‘National Self-Sufficiency,’ Yale Review
little/no progress with global governance:

- top-down failures in economics, politics, environment
- Montreal Protocol on CFCs, 1996

but since then:
- Kyoto Protocol 1997 and aftermath – Copenhagen Accord a climate disaster
- World Bank, IMF Annual Meetings: trivial reforms - China rising, Africa falling
- Post-Washington Consensus: rhetoric since 1998
- UN MDG strategies, 2000
- WTO Doha Agenda 2001: failure
- Monterrey 2002 Financing for Development and G20 global financial reregulation 2008-09: failure
- renewed war in S.Asia, Middle East, 2001-?
- UN Security Council Reform 2005
- G8 promises on aid, NEPAD/APRM, Gleneagles: ?
not in leaders' interests to address climate

A TIMETABLE TO REDUCE EMISSIONS ?! ..NOT UNTIL THERE'S MORE EVIDENCE OF GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE!
Climate Justice Movement’s demands (Copenhagen):

• **1) cut greenhouse gas emissions (45% by 2020) consistent with what science demands**
• **2) pay climate debt ($400 bn/year by 2020) to eco-social victims**
• **3) decommission carbon markets**
1) why Copenhagen Summit failed

On last day, backroom deal by Barack Obama (USA), Jacob Zuma (SA), Lula da Silva (Brazil), Manmohan Singh (India), Wen Jiabao (China) – designed to *avoid needed emissions cuts*; instead, business-as-usual for *white-owned fossil-fuel industry and mainly-white overconsumers*
2) US climate rep Todd Stern, on the demand for recognising climate debt:

“The sense of guilt or culpability or reparations – I just categorically reject that”

(statement at Copenhagen, 12/09)
The debt of nations and the distribution of ecological impacts from human activities

U. Thara Srinivasan\textsuperscript{ab}, Susan P. Carey\textsuperscript{c}, Eric Hallstein\textsuperscript{d}, Paul A. T. Higgins\textsuperscript{de}, Amber C. Kerr\textsuperscript{d}, Laura E. Koteen\textsuperscript{d}, Adam B. Smith\textsuperscript{d}, Reg Watson\textsuperscript{f}, John Harte\textsuperscript{cd}, and Richard B. Norgaard\textsuperscript{d}

\textsuperscript{*}Pacific Ecoinformatics and Computational Ecology Laboratory, Berkeley, CA 94703; \textsuperscript{+}Energy and Resources Group, 310 Barrows Hall, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720-3050; \textsuperscript{a}Department of Environmental Science, Policy, and Management, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720-3114; \textsuperscript{b}American Meteorological Society, 1120 G Street NW, Washington, DC 20005-3826; and \textsuperscript{c}Sea Around Us Project, Fisheries Centre, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC, Canada V6T 1Z4

As human impacts to the environment accelerate, disparities in the distribution of damages between rich and poor nations mount. Globally, environmental change is dramatically affecting the flow of ecosystem services, but the distribution of ecological damages and their driving forces has not been estimated. Here, we conservatively estimate the environmental costs of human activities over 1961–2000 in six major categories (climate change, stratospheric ozone depletion, agricultural intensification and expansion, deforestation, overfishing, and mangrove conversion), quantitatively connecting costs borne by poor, middle-income, and rich nations to specific activities by each of these groups. Adjusting impact valuations for different standards of living across the groups as commonly practiced, we find striking imbalances. Climate change and ozone depletion impacts predicted for low-income nations have been overwhelmingly driven by emissions from the other two groups, a pattern also observed for overfishing damages indirectly driven by the consumption of fishery products. Indeed, through disproportionate emissions of greenhouse gases alone, the rich group may have imposed climate damages on the poor group greater than the latter’s current foreign debt. Our analysis provides \textit{prima facie} evidence for an uneven distribution pattern of damages across income groups. Moreover, our estimates of each group’s share in various damaging activities are independent from controversies in environmental valuation methods. In a world increasingly connected ecologically and economically, our analysis is thus an early step toward reframing issues of environmental responsibility, development, and globalization in accordance with ecological costs.
3) promotion of carbon trading

But isn’t carbon trading a gimmick for the North to avoid cuts; and now dead?

• ‘The concept is in wide disrepute... Obama dropped all mention of cap and trade from his current budget... Why did cap and trade die? The short answer is that it was done in by the weak economy, the Wall Street meltdown, determined industry opposition and its own complexity’

  - New York Times, 26 March 2010

• plus, Senator Maria Cantwell (D-Washington) adds: ‘Enron scandal and rocky start to a carbon credits trading system in Europe that has been subject to dizzying price fluctuations and widespread fraud.’
carbon market’s 5 crashes, 2006-09

Impossible to finance renewable energy with such low carbon prices
but no serious Capitol Hill alternative

• John Kerry (D-Mass) and Joe Lieberman (I-Conn) promote industry-friendly climate legislation, not likely to pass

• Cantwell and Sue Collins (R-Maine): ‘Carbon Limits and Energy for America’s Renewal Act’ – *not adequate*

• CLEAR’s **low cuts** are an unacceptable insult to the rest of the world: 8% down from 1990-2020

• CLEAR fails to mention repaying victims of climate change the ‘climate debt’ owed them by the US.

• Maggie Zhou criticizes ‘offset-like projects’ in CLEAR, promotion of **unproven or dangerous techie fixes** (carbon capture and storage, and oil or gas reinjection), and a **too-narrow carbon pricing band range**.
but no serious Capitol Hill alternative

• A genuine climate bill would strengthen command-and-control regulatory mandates for the Environmental Protection Agency, utility boards and planning commissions.
• Proper mandate for profound economic transformation so as to generate (and fund) new production, consumption, transport, energy and disposal systems.
• If CLEAR passes Senate, House conference negotiators will destroy it with Waxman-Markey pork (private offsets, carbon trading, oil/nuke/agro subsidies, EPA neutering, etc).
“I can’t understand why there aren’t rings of young people blocking bulldozers and preventing them from constructing coal-fired power plants.” - Al Gore speaking privately, August 2007
one genuine climate change strategy: plug fossil fuel consumption

- Niger Delta women, Environmental Rights Action, MEND
- Australian *Rising Tide* v Newcastle coal exports
- British Climate Camp
- West Virginia Mountaintop Removal blockades
- Alberta, Canada tar sands green & indigenous activists
- Alaska wilderness and California offshore drilling
- Oil Watch
- Ecuadoran indigenous activists in Connai, Accion Ecologica: Yasuni National Park oil
- South Africa: attempt to stop W.Bank $3.75 bn coal loan
five fields of ‘Climate Justice’ activism:

from 2007, escaping global cul-de-sac

1) at global scale, work in solidarity to block major climate-destructive projects, continue to make demands – albeit unwinnable in the foreseeable future given the adverse balance of forces in the UN and G8/G20 - for
   – 1) huge emissions cuts (for First World, by 2020, 45% below 1990, for <1.5 deg. C),
   – 2) Climate Debt payments (scaling up to $400 billion/year by 2020),
   – 3) carbon market decommissioning;

2) at national scale, continue to make demands – also unwinnable in most settings, where due to adverse power balances, unacceptable legislation and/or gridlock are most likely - for
   – industrialised countries to make 45% emissions cuts, Climate Debt payments and carbon market decommissioning, plus massive state investments in transformed, decentralized energy systems, transport and infrastructure, and
   – semi-industrialised economies (e.g. especially BASIC) to make cuts based upon reversing their growing fossil fuel addictions, and in some cases (e.g. South Africa) pay a climate debt to poorer neighbours, and reject CDMs and offsets;
five fields of Climate Justice activism

• 3) at **national scale** where environmental regulatory agencies exist, challenge the institutions to restrict greenhouse gas emissions as **dangerous pollutants** (for example, as in the US after lawsuits and direct action protests against the EPA);

• 4) at **regional/provincial/state/municipal scales**, engage **public utility commissions and planning boards** to block climate-destructive practices and projects; and

• 5) at **local scales**, target **point sources of major greenhouse gas emissions, power consumption or excessive transport**, and raise consciousness and the cost of business-as-usual through direct action and other pressure techniques.
Water in South African townships: world-famous struggle against commodification
South Africa’s right to water?

• ‘everyone has the right to an environment that is not harmful to their health or well-being... everyone has the right to have access to... sufficient water’

• 2003-09 lawsuit by Soweto activists and SA Coalition Against Water Privatisation against Johannesburg government (and by implication, Paris-based Suez): http://www.law.wits.ac.za/cals
two core aspects of Mazibuko v Johannesburg case

• **How much water?**
  – City of Joburg and Suez (2001): 25 litres/capita/day
  – Phiri activists, CAWP, CALS (2003): 50 lcd
  – High Court (Tsoka in April 2008): 50 lcd
  – Constitutional Court (Sept 2009): ‘we don’t DO policy’

• **What delivery mechanism?**
  – Joburg, Suez: pre-payment meters
  – Phiri et al: credit meters (as in white areas)
  – High Court: pre-payment meters are discriminatory
  – ConCourt: no problem with pre-payment meters
lessons from Mazibuko

• Use rights narrative purely for **defensive purposes** (injunctions against disconnections), **not to change policy** (confirming Critical Legal Studies’ ‘contingency’ theory)

• Use rights narrative for **social education and mobilisation** (Treatment Action Campaign) but beware demobilisation potential

• For real relief: reconnection, turning meters into ‘statues’, ‘commoning’ and mutual aid, social mobilization and protest
protest and state repression in world’s most unequal major society

“This is a country where staggering wealth and poverty already stand side by side.

The World Cup, far from helping this situation, is just putting a magnifying glass on every blemish of this post-apartheid nation.”

Dave Zirin, renowned sportswriter
protest: racial apartheid...
a scene from Soweto, 1976
A few kms from Soweto, a scene from Riverlea, next to Soccer City, October 2009

... now class apartheid
more Fifa protest:

informal traders facing restrictions, displaced Durban fisherfolk, CT residents of N2 Gateway project forcibly removed, construction workers, students in Mbombela who lost school, and poor towns’ residents demanding provincial rezoning

Johannesburg SA Transport and Allied Workers Union wage strike, 2010

Durban’s Warwick Early Morning Market: anti-displacement protest, 2009

Cape Town construction workers strike, 2008
ubiquitous ‘service delivery protests’
state repression

longstanding problems of SA police brutality, e.g. 2004 torture of Landless Peoples Movement activists and police general Bheki Cele’s 2008 ‘shoot to kill’ order in KwaZulu-Natal

Local gov’t minister Sicelo Siceka’s ’turnaround-around’ municipal strategy: no change
South African campaigns for decommodification, destratification and the deglobalization of capital

• SA activists turning several ongoing struggles to turn basic needs into human rights:
  – free antiretroviral medicines;
  – National Health Insurance;
  – free water (50 liters/person/day);
  – free electricity (at least 1 kWh/c/d);
  – thorough-going land/housing reform;
  – free basic education;
  – renationalisation of Telkom for lifeline phone services;
  – prohibition on services disconnections and evictions;
  – a 'Basic Income Grant'; and
  – the right to a job!

• as ‘non-reformist reforms’, all such services should be universal, partly financed by penalizing luxury consumption.

• interlocking/overlapping campaigns – but so far not unified due to macropolitical conjuncture (especially rise of ANC Zuma faction)
dedicated to the memory of SA’s greatest political economist of sport, 

**Dennis Brutus (1924-2009)**

Robben Island veteran; critic of corporate athletics; organiser of 1960s Olympic Boycott of white South Africa, of expulsion of white SA from Fifa in 1976, and of 1970s-80s cricket, rugby and tennis anti-apartheid campaigns; leading poet and literary scholar; global justice movement strategist; and at time of death, UKZN Centre for Civil Society Honorary Professor

_“When you build enormous stadiums, you [are] shifting resources ... from building schools or hospitals and then you have these huge structures standing empty. They become white elephants.”_ 

- in Fahrenheit 2010

given South Africa’s extreme inequality, Brutus opposed World Cup luxury, waste, corruption, commercialisation.