



COURSE OUTLINE

ECONOMIC JUSTICE ADVOCACY, ENVIRONMENT AND SOCIAL POLICY

**UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
CENTRE FOR CIVIL SOCIETY
in the SCHOOL OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
and
OPEN SOCIETY INITIATIVE
OF SOUTHERN AFRICA
ECONOMIC JUSTICE PROJECT
22-29 June 2008
Durban, South Africa**

Course Presenters: Patrick Bond (Research Professor and Director of CCS), Dennis Brutus (CCS Honorary Professor), with additional inputs from Grace Kwinjeh (CCS Visiting Scholar and OSISA Southern African Resource Watch), Deprose Muchena (OSISA), Claude Kabemba (OSISA Southern African Resource Watch), Baruti Amisi (CCS doctoral candidate), Simphiwe Nojiyeza (CCS doctoral candidate), Orlean Naidoo (CCS community scholar), Dudu Khumalo (CCS community scholar), Oliver Meth (CCS community scholar), Ennie Chipembere (ActionAid Zimbabwe) and Ben Cashdan (Broad Daylight Films)

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Economic Justice Advocacy, Environment and Social Policy

Objectives of the course

The course – which has been taught at masters degree level at the UKZN School of Development Studies - is designed to introduce you to selected conceptual, theoretical, policy and practical issues in political economy, especially as applied to economic justice advocacy, environmental crises and social policy. Each student is expected to display an understanding of key microeconomic and macroeconomic concepts and theories and to be able to apply these to the economic policy debates underway in 'Third World' (or 'developing') countries, especially in Africa. More specifically, you are expected to prepare and contribute to seminars, and in the process:

1. Demonstrate an understanding of political economy, including central debates about social theory (class, race, gender), environmental economics, and controversies over economic methodology.
2. Show a critical understanding of the concept of a market, to understand how markets work, and to understand the strengths and shortcomings of the market mechanism.
3. Establish the theoretical, historical and comparative arguments over whether developing countries should follow "Washington Consensus" economic, environmental and social policies, and show an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of these theoretical arguments.
4. Understand the key elements of the world and African economies.
5. Understand how governments intervene in the macroeconomy and the range of complications resulting from this intervention.
6. Understand tensions between economic growth, environment and social relations, using detailed case studies.
7. Understand opportunities for civil society advocacy for global, regional or national economic justice.
8. Interpret overlaps between economic justice advocacy and the construction of appropriate social policy for social and environmental protection, particularly in relation to urban poverty (including housing and municipal services), water systems and hydropolitics, and climate change.
9. Write a short essay (800 words) with a coherent argument on an economic policy problem relevant to readers of a newspaper in your country.

Course meetings

The course meets over the period 22-29 June 2008. All meetings will take place at the accommodation venue arranged by CCS and Osisa in Durban (www.ansteysbeach.co.za). The schedule anticipated for the course is as follows. After an early breakfast, there will be an intensive four hour session (8:30-1pm with a 10:30-11 tea break); followed by a four hour break (including lunch) for site visits, individual/group work, reading, writing or recreation; followed by a two hour work session (5-7pm); a dinner break that includes discussion and films (7-8pm); and another hour-long work session (8-9pm); with subsequent optional films on social justice topics and Africa (9-11pm).

Materials

The core material of the course is presented in the book *Looting Africa: The Economics of Exploitation* by Patrick Bond (UKZN), published by Zed and UKZN Press in 2006. Another core book, *Poetry and Protest* by Dennis Brutus (UKZN and Haymarket), will also be provided to students. In addition, a compact disk will be provided, containing numerous documents relevant to economic, social and environmental policy, downloaded from the internet. The main point of the CD is to provide all participants with seminal but contemporary and comparative material that assists your own interpretations of home sites and interests. The CD includes some of the required course readings. Finally, a DVD, *CCS Wired*, will be provided, with several films screened and discussed depending upon participant specialisations.

Method

Participants are expected to take responsibility for preparing a detailed analysis/assessment of at least one reading, and to provide notes on one reading per class meeting. Note that seminar presentations and notes count 10% of your final mark for this course.

Assessment

The final course mark will be made up as follows:

1. 30% of the mark will be based on seminar participation and presentations.
2. 70% of the mark will be based on the short essay.

Outline and readings

In addition to work specified, each student will be encouraged to develop their own tailor-made reading based upon specialisations in sectoral work and country commitments, using the CD and additional readings.

JUNE 22: ARRIVAL AND EVENING INTRODUCTION SESSION, 7-10PM

Dinner, introductions, videos on Dennis Brutus and social justice in Africa, and discussions about programme

JUNE 23 AM: INTRODUCTION TO GLOBAL POLITICAL ECONOMY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE ACTIVISM

From 8:30am, the course starts with a survey of economic processes that have dominated the world, especially the Third World, during the last three decades. Bond begins by highlighting the situation Africa faces, in the wake of the 2005 global governance, debt relief, trade liberalisation and aid reform efforts. Brutus will then introduce some of the major trends in social justice advocacy, drawing upon historical traditions (including Thoreau, Gandhi and King), and taking the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid cases as studies. Bond will then consider major global political-economic ideologies and institutions. An afternoon exercise is for participants to apply, and confirm or reject, the ideologies matrix *in their own context*.

Readings:

Bond	<i>Looting Africa: The Economics of Exploitation</i> , Ch. Two
Brutus	<i>Poetry and Protest</i> , pp.294-362.

REALITY TOUR 1: South Durban Toxic Tour

From 2-4pm, we will tour the neighbourhood, so bring your gas masks (just joking). Desmond D'Sa of the South Durban Community Environmental Alliance (<http://www.sdcea.org.za>) and Oliver Meth of CCS take us through the Wentworth, Merebank and Bluff petrochemical complex, the largest site of poison/residential mixing south of Nigeria.

JUNE 23 PM: CONTINUATION OF GLOBAL POLITICAL ECONOMY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE ACTIVISM

We resume at 5pm. In addition to discussions of how the world economy has evolved and how the economic crisis is presently unfolding, we will watch and discuss two films made by Ben Cashdan: *Two Trevors go to Washington*, and *Jubilee*. Further discussion on the strategy of *reparations* from multinational corporations and banks will draw upon Brutus's role (as a plaintiff) in the \$400 billion case to be heard in the New York courts on July 8.

JUNE 24 AM: POLITICAL ECONOMY AND AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT

The course next surveys frameworks for understanding the structure of political economies, and how the state influences and shapes the economy. Examples from African countries will be used, especially South Africa, the DRC and Zimbabwe, and participants will be expected to contribute ideas about macroeconomic processes in their own countries. Aspects of trade, finance, direct investment and labour markets

are considered. We will focus on the “Resource Curse” in several regional economies. Additional material will be drawn from the CD, particularly relating to macroeconomic and environmental problems in the students’ home countries. Claude Kabemba will discuss Southern African Resource Watch's activities in the DRC, along with Baruti Amisi who has embarked upon a doctoral study of the Inga power project.

Readings:

Bond and Manyanya	<i>Zimbabwe’s Plunge</i> (on CD), Chapter Four
Bond	<i>Elite Transition</i> (on CD), Afterword

REALITY TOUR 2: South Durban Toxic Tour

Departing at 1, we will go to Inanda where CCS community scholar Dudu Khumalo will take us through different sites of environmental and social injustice, including the source of Durban's water, the Inanda Dam. We will focus on water/sanitation debates, and from 4:30-6:30 join community activists at the Diakonia Centre in central Durban, along with CCS's Simphiwe Nojiyeza and Orlean Naidoo.

JUNE 24 PM: ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE – WATER, ENERGY, CLIMATE

After dinner, we will consider some of the debates surrounding dams, water supply, energy, electricity privatisation and climate, utilising films by Ben Cashdan and other documentary makers from *CCS WIRED*.

JUNE 25 AM: COUNTRY WORK AND ADVOCACY REPORTS

The morning will be spent by participants doing small-group work within countries, and also honing the Short Assignment argument. The first paragraph should be presented before the lunch break.

JUNE 25 afternoon:

This is a free period, in which you can enjoy the beach, continue your own reading and writing, or engage in other activities. For those who need to shop, there are two large centres with good variety, within a 20 minute walk.

JUNE 25 PM: GENDER, URBAN POVERTY AND ENVIRONMENT

Feminist economics will be reviewed, followed by urban political economy (especially services such as water and electricity, along with housing) and finally climate change and other cases of ecological economics that are most relevant to Africa: bulk water access, large dams and energy sources. Additional topics associated with gender, environment and urban concerns will be pursued according to contemporary events and participant interests, drawing from the CD collection. Films will be screened from *CCS WIRED*.

Readings:

Tsikata and Kerr	<i>Demanding Dignity</i> (on CD)
Bond	<i>Cities of Gold, Townships of Coal</i> , selected chapters (on CD)
Bond	<i>Unsustainable South Africa</i> , Chapter One (on CD)
Bond, Dada and Erion	<i>Climate Change, Carbon Trading and Civil Society</i> (on CD)

JUNE 26 AM: MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS AND POLICY SPACE

The course turns to an introduction to multilateral economic institutions – especially the Bretton Woods Institutions and WTO - and the problem of introducing alternative policy frameworks in developing countries, drawing upon participant experiences. Brutus discusses lessons from the World Bank Bonds Boycott campaign and South African disinvestment.

Readings:

Bond	<i>Against Global Apartheid</i> , Chapter Two (on CD)
Bond	<i>Looting Africa</i> , Chapter Three
Bond	<i>Fanon’s Warning</i> , NEPAD and annotated critique (on CD)
Brutus	<i>Poetry and Protest</i> (on CD), pp.294-362

REALITY TOUR #3: INNERCITY DURBAN

Hosted by CCS doctoral candidate Baruti Amisi, we will visit Streetnet to hear of their 2010 “World Class Cities for All!” campaign, the Warwick Triangle where Gaby Bikombo's Siyagunda organisation supports immigrant hawkers, the kwaMuhle apartheid museum and the 2010 construction site. From there, we move to the UKZN Centre for Civil Society in the Memorial Tower Building at Howard College, and onward to the evening Wolpe/Osis lecture panel on Zimbabwe.

JUNE 27 AM (1): CREATIVE WRITING AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

Brutus will share ideas for expressing social change issues in prose and poetry, drawing upon *Poetry and Protest* and other works.

JUNE 27 AM (2): SOCIAL MOVEMENT REACTIONS

Bond, Brutus and Kwinjeh discuss the South African case (especially the case of the Social Movements Indaba network), consider different stylistic and ideological approaches within social movements, and lead discussion on the World Social Forum. Readings will draw upon global, Africa-wide and country-specific experiences.

JUNE 27 Afternoon

Free time (see above). Short assignments are due by 5pm, and will be discussed prior to dinner.

JUNE 27 PM

Out on the town – options to be determined.

JUNE 28 AM: MEDIA AND ADVOCACY

Ben Cashdan will show a film on political democratisation and discuss economic justice advocacy via the broadcast media.

REALITY TOUR #4

After viewing “Struggle for Shelter”, we will go to the Chatsworth, Crossmoor and Umlazi sites where intense social movement mobilisations have occurred over housing, water and electricity, hosted by CCS Community Scholar Orlean Naidoo. We will end up at the Yellowwood Park game reserve for “tea at the mansion”.

JUNE 28 PM: SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIC PROSPECTS

A panel discussion will include reports from Zimbabwe from Deprose Muchena and Ennie Chipembere, and on the SA economy by Bond, and on regional extraction processes by Kwinjeh.

**JUNE 29 AM: COURSE ASSESSMENT AND FOLLOW-UP COURSE PLANS,
DEPARTURE**

Assignment: Short Essay – due Friday, June 27, 5pm

Write an 800-word essay on a topic related to the course, for submission to a newspaper of your choice in your country.

TIPS: An opinion-editorial ('op-ed') - usually placed in a newspaper 'opposite the editorial page' - is a brief argument meant to persuade. *Excessively preachy and moralistic argumentation is often a turn-off to readers.* Compressing a complex argument – often about politics or public policy – into 800 words or so is a very useful exercise. Think carefully about your readers' perspective, what they know and don't know, and how you might persuade them to take your point of view seriously. Here are some tips:

- First, expect to have *substantial* edits, from a good editor, to tighten the wording and especially rid your article of superfluous material. (Of 500 or so such articles I've written, the first 50 were tossed back by editors who were disgusted with my long sentences and babbling, so keep that in mind.)
- Try to start your article with a punchy attention-grabbing idea, possibly a quotation. Try to show why the article addresses a topical issue that the reader will be interested in understanding.
- Use quotations from people 'in authority' as much as possible. The reasons for quoting people include their standing (whether they are elites or grassroots people), their quotability (especially if they are good with soundbites), or their articulation of an idea you want to put across. But if you quote someone, give the reader an intro so that s/he knows why you are giving them space. Try to limit the quotation to a couple of sentences.
- Use statistics as much as is appropriate (don't overload, but definitely demonstrate that you are aware of facts).
- Appear balanced; indeed, try to anticipate what an opponent might argue, and be ready with an implicit or explicit rebuttal.
- Use interesting metaphors or other creative writing tools so that the article flows well and doesn't get bogged down in minutia.
- Try to end with a punch-line argument, whether it is witty or thought-provoking.
- Some newspapers allow 1000 (or even more) words, but you are *much* more likely to have an article published if it is 800 words.
- Provide a good ID note about yourself.

Course facilitator: Patrick Bond

Patrick Bond is a political economist with longstanding research interests and NGO work in urban communities and with global justice movements in several countries. He is research professor at the University of KwaZulu-Natal School of Development Studies where he directs the Centre for Civil Society, teaches development economics and public policy, and is involved in research on economic justice, energy, climate change and water. In service to the new South African government, Patrick authored/edited more than a dozen policy papers from 1994-2002, including the *Reconstruction and Development Programme* and the *RDP White Paper*. He earned his doctorate in geography and environmental engineering at Johns Hopkins (1985-92), following studies at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Finance (Philadelphia, 1983-85) and an undergraduate economics degree at Swarthmore College (Philadelphia, 1979-83).



Patrick's books include: *Climate Change, Carbon Trading and Civil Society* (coedited, UKZN Press and Rozenberg Publishers, 2007); *The Accumulation of Capital in Southern Africa* (coedited, CCS and Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, 2007); *Looting Africa: The Economics of Exploitation* (Zed Books and UKZN Press, 2006); *Talk Left, Walk Right* (UKZN Press, 2006, 2004); *Trouble in the Air: Global Warming and the Privatised Atmosphere* (edited, CCS and the Transnational Institute, 2005), *Elite Transition: From Apartheid to Neoliberalism in South Africa* (2nd edn, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2005); *Fanon's Warning: A Civil Society Reader on the New Partnership for Africa's Development* (edited, Africa World Press, CCS and AIDC, 2005, 2002); *Against Global Apartheid: South Africa meets the World Bank, IMF and International Finance* (University of Cape Town Press and Zed Books, 2003, 2001); *Zimbabwe's Plunge: Exhausted Nationalism, Neoliberalism and the Search for Social Justice* (coauthored with Masimba Manyanya)(UKZN Press, Merlin Press, Weaver Press and Africa World Press, 2003, 2002); *Unsustainable South Africa: Environment, Development and Social Protest* (UKZN Press and Merlin Press, 2002); *Cities of Gold, Townships of Coal: South Africa's New Urban Crisis* (Africa World Press, 2000); *An RDP Policy Audit* (coedited, Human Sciences Research Council Press, 1999); and *Uneven Zimbabwe: A Study of Finance, Development and Underdevelopment* (Africa World Press, 1998). He was born in 1961 in Northern Ireland.

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Course facilitators: Dennis Brutus



DENNIS BRUTUS (SOUTH AFRICA)

DENNIS BRUTUS (1924), poet, writer distinguished educator, and activist, was born in Zimbabwe of South African parents and educated in South Africa. Known as the "singing voice of the South African Liberation Movement", Brutus's political campaigns led to his being banned from all political and social activity and his subsequent arrest and incarceration on Robben Island. He left South Africa in 1966 and made his home in England until 1983 when he won the right to stay in the United States as a political refugee.

Currently living in the USA, he is a Professor of African Studies and African Literature, and is Chair of the Department of Black Community Education Research and Development at the University of Pittsburgh. He was formerly visiting professor at the Universities of Denver and Texas, and was Distinguished Visiting Humanist at the University of Colorado, Boulder. He has lectured worldwide as well as in South Africa, and was appointed Research Fellow at the University of Durban-Westville in 1997. Dennis Brutus was the recipient of the Langston Hughes Award in 1987 (the first non-African American to receive that award), and was honoured with the first Paul Robeson Award in 1989 for "artistic excellence, political consciousness and integrity".

The charismatic Dennis Brutus is an inspiring and highly respected speaker, in great demand by international audiences, and a dedicated activist with his current focus on the injustices of the IMF and World Bank policies in Third World countries.



Selected Bibliography

- Sirens, Knuckles, Boots: Poems*, Mbari, 1963
- Letters to Martha: and Other Poems from a South African Prison*, Heinemann, 1968
- Thoughts Abroad*, Troubador, 1970
- Poems from Algiers*, Austin Press, 1970
- A Simple Lust: Selected Poems*, Heinemann, 1973
- Strains*, Troubador, 1975
- China Poems*, Austin Press, 1975
- Stubborn Hope: New Poems and Selections from 'China Poems' and 'Strains'*, Heinemann, 1978
- Salutes and Censures*, Enugu, 1984
- Airs & Tributes*, Whirlwind Press, 1989
- Still the Sirens*, Pennywhistle, 1993
- Poetry & Protest, A Dennis Brutus Reader*, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2006

