



Children of Kennedy Road, Clare Estate, whose mothers were jailed from March 19-29 for protesting inadequate municipal services

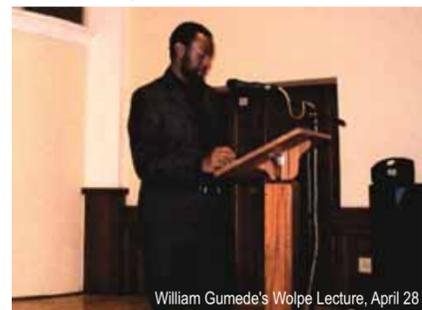
weeks - at Ike's Books, with host **Vishnu Padayachee**.

On 6 April, the Centre supported the UKZN Centre for Creative Arts 'Time of the Writer' festival by sponsoring a Westville campus workshop on 'Writers and Activism' with the famed Egyptian feminist author **Nawal El Saadawi**. CCS honorary scholar **Ashwin Desai** was discussant and CCS associate **Fazel Khan** chaired. **Desai** also chaired a panel at the festival on 6 April, on 'Writing, Resistance and Reconstruction', and **Mbali** was the respondent for **El Saadawi's** talk on 'Women, Creativity and Dissidence' on 7 April.

There were six additional CCS seminars, presented mainly by independent researchers supported by CCS grants:

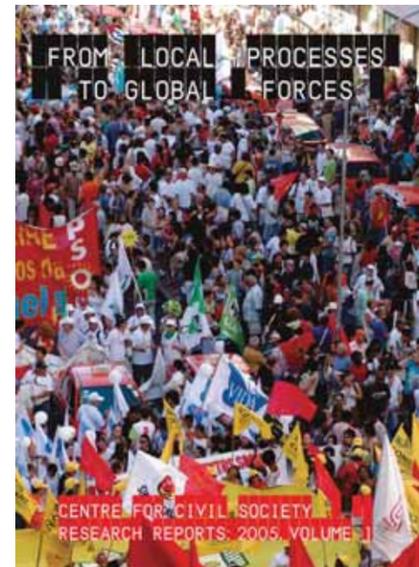
- **Greg Albo** on 'Contesting Neoliberalism: Conceptual and Political Divisions' (21 February);
- **Ntokozo Mthembu** on survival strategies in low-income eThekweni communities (4 March);
- **May Raidoo** on her doctoral research on gender relations and the informal sector in Phoenix (March 18th);
- **Andile Mngxitama** on crises in the land struggle (8 April);
- **Peter Alexander** of the University of Johannesburg Sociology Department on globalisation and new social identities in Johannesburg (15 April); and
- **Olagoke Akintola** on community responses to HIV/AIDS (29 April).

Another public interest seminar on water resources was held at the CCS on 10 January, and brought Earthlife Africa and the SA Water Caucus to CCS for debate about civil society analysis and strategies in the KZN region.



William Gumede's Wolpe Lecture, April 28

PUBLICATIONS



In February, CCS published six research reports in a joint volume entitled *Global Forces, Local Processes*. The theme brought together the following reports:

- 'Denaturalising Dispossession: Critical Ethnography in the Age of Resurgent Imperialism', by **Gillian Hart** (University of California/Berkeley Geography);
- 'Re-Membering Movements: Trade Unions and New Social Movements in NeoLiberal South Africa', by **Prishani Naidoo** and **Ahmed Veriava** (CCS);
- 'The Treatment Action Campaign and the History of Rights-Based Patient-Driven HIV/Aids Activism in South Africa', by **Mandisa Mbali** (CCS);
- 'Political Work: The Holy Spirit and the Labours of Activism in the Shadows of Durban's Refineries', by **Sharad Chari** (LSE and UKZN School of Development Studies);
- 'Wishful Thinking, Wilful Blindness and Artful Amnesia: Power and the UNDP's Promotion of Democracy in Botswana, Namibia and Tanzania', by **Zoë Wilson** (CCS); and
- 'Re-Thinking Politics Today: Elements of a

Critique of Political Liberalism in Southern Africa', by **Michael Neocosmos** (University of Pretoria Sociology).

In May, CCS initiated a series of 'Civil Society Readers', with the copublication of the second edition of *Fanon's Warning*, edited by **Patrick Bond**. Details on this and other staff publications are provided below.

EVENTS AND PROJECTS

Amanda Alexander and **Mandisi Majavu** provided campus film screenings and discussions of 'Flame' (on 16 March); 'The Massacre at Nueva Linda: He was Taken Alive, He must be Returned Alive', dealing with Guatemalan indigenous people's struggles and made by CCS Visiting Scholar **Filiberto Nolasco Gomez** (6 April); and 'Apartheid Did not Die', **John Pilger's** classic critique of SA transitional compromises. (**Pilger** has agreed to do a Wolpe lecture later in 2005.) Off campus, the same documentaries were screened, followed by discussions led by **Majavu**, in KwaMashu, Ntuzuma and Umlazi.

From 4-8 April, CCS co-sponsored an exhibition at the Malherbe Library on the land reform struggle entitled 'Our Land, Our Life, Our Future', with Cape Town's Trust for Community Outreach and Education. The week's programme of events included an exhibition launch with talks by **Mangaliso Kubheka** and **Thobekile Radebe** of the Landless People's Movement, two film screenings and **Mngxitama's** seminar.

Alexander, Nolasco and CCS research associate **Aoibheann O'Sullivan** arranged 'Shift the Lens: eThekweni Media Festival and Communications Workshop' on 23 April. The day-long event included workshops on writing press releases and media alerts, legal tips, and photography/filmmaking, and culminated with a talk by journalist **Futhi Ntshingila** of the *Sunday Times*. The 120 participants represented an excellent diversity of organizations, causes and movements. There is a Media Guide available in English and Zulu. Others who facilitated included **Rehana Dada**, **Heinrich Bohmke** and **Shanta Reddy**.

Research projects are winding down in the areas of social movements and social giving. On the first, **Richard Ballard** assisted honorary research professor **Adam Habib** and **Imraan Valodia** of the School of Development Studies in putting a book manuscript to bed at UKZN Press

in April, comprising 16 case studies. On the second, **Habib, Brij Maharaj** and **Annsilla Nyar** are working on a final book manuscript and, with **Colleen DuToit** of the SA Grantmakers Association, a dissemination strategy. **Vishnu Padayachee, Adam Habib** and **Mammo Muchie** began to finalise their book manuscript and submitted a second-stage proposal for the African Integration Project. The Research and Analysis Skills Training Programme led by **Saranel Benjamin** is coming to the stage of reports publication and book production, featuring nearly three dozen contributions from across the country.

Centre staff also participated in local, national and international movements and protests for social justice in early 2005, including the campaign against student financial exclusions at UKZN which was of national concern in January; community efforts to save South Durban neighbourhoods from a proposed highway; the uneasy mix of environmental and social justice struggles in Clare Estate; the highlighting of urban grievances by Cato Manor residents; the eThekweni Social Forum; Zimbabwean democracy campaigning; the global popular challenge to the illegal occupation of Iraq (and the appointment of its architect to run the World Bank); feminism within social movements; trade justice; and generic medicines for AIDS treatment. Staff reported on many of these movements and events on the CCS website and at <http://southafrica.indymedia.org>.

CCS STAFF ACTIVITIES

Amanda Alexander and **Mandisa Mbali** co-authored 'Have the Slaves Left the Master's House? A Report on the Africa Social Forum', which was widely distributed in January (including as a Pambazuka editorial, 8 January, reaching 60 000 African readers) and translated into French and German for web distribution. Alexander edited the second issue of the webzine *WeWrite* (<http://www.wewrite.org>), comprising a special issue on the World Social Forum.

Richard Ballard published a lengthy article, 'An Anatomy of New Power', in the *Mail & Guardian* (21 January), providing some of the core findings that have emerged from the Social Movements project. He also presented a paper entitled 'Assimilation, Emigration, Semigration, and Integration: "White" Peoples' Strategies for Finding a Comfort Zone in Post-Apartheid South Africa' to the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research in Pretoria (1 March). The international

symposium, entitled 'Territory, Control and Enclosure: The Ecology of Urban Fragmentation', attracted media coverage that drew specifically on Ballard's paper. Another related paper - 'When in Rome: Claiming the Right to Define Neighbourhood Character in South Africa's Suburbs' - was accepted by the UKZN-based journal *Transformation*.

Saranel Benjamin was respondent to a Sussex Institute for Development Studies research report on Public Participation at a Durban conference (25 January). With **Zoë Wilson**, she co-authored the article 'Power and South Africa's Social Movements in an Era of Globalisation' for Pambazuka (13 April).



The second edition of **Patrick Bond's** edited collection, *Fanon's Warning: A Civil Society Reader on the New Partnership for Africa's Development* was co-published in April by CCS, AIDC (Cape Town) and Africa World Press (Trenton, US). The first edition was, according to Peter Mwangi Kagwanja in *African Affairs*, 'A bold, piercing critique, a splendid ensemble of diverse articles, statements and commentaries by civil society groups, intellectuals, analysts and policy-makers on Nepad. The editor highlights the volume with a closely argued, theoretically rich, and nuanced introduction.' Bond's related presentations included 'Is the New Partnership for Africa's Development

Passé?', at the University of Pretoria Centre for International Political Studies Africa Dialogue Lecture Series (10 February); and 'Civil Society Debates on Participation in Governance and Development' at a Cape Town conference on Integrated Governance: Government, Business, Labour and Civil Society (8 April). Bond also authored two chapters published in books released in early 2005: 'Debates in Local Economic Development Policy and Practice', in an edited collection by Etienne Nel and Chris Rogerson, *Local Economic Development in the Developing World: The Experience of Southern Africa* (New Brunswick, US, Transaction Publishers); and 'Recalcitrant Reforms Require Tougher Tactics' in a Pambazuka book edited by Firoze Manji and Patrick Burnett, *African Voices on Development and Social Justice* (Dar es Salaam, Mkuki na Nyota Publishers). He also authored 'Strategies for Social Justice Movements, from Southern Africa to the US' for *Foreign Policy in Focus* (20 January) and 'South African Subimperialism and Nepad's Dénouement' for *debate* 8 (March 2005). For the *Mail & Guardian*, Bond wrote an obituary of Wits economist Guy Mhone ('A Questioning Mind Rests', 4 March) and he co-authored - with CCS masters research student **Rehana Dada** - a critique of carbon trading, 'Putting a Price on Fresh Air' (7 January). Also for ZNet Commentaries, Bond wrote 'A New War? On Wolfowitz's World Bank!' (23 March, also published at Counterpunch.org on 23 March); and 'Discussing the Porto Alegre Manifesto' (22 February). Bond and fellow UKZN academic **David Moore** reported back from Zimbabwe for Pambazuka in 'Elections, Despondency and Civil Society's Responsibility' (6 April, also published on ZNet on 15 April). During February-April, Bond also taught the UKZN School of Development Studies 'Development Economics' masters course and was visiting professor at Wits University Graduate School of Public and Development Management where he taught courses on 'Social Policy' and 'Globalisation and the Environment'.

Rehana Dada prepared a documentary for the SABC tv programme '50/50' on global warming and the Bisasar Road carbon trading pilot project, which will be broadcast in coming weeks. **Ashwin Desai** conducted research on poverty strategies and discourses for the SA-Netherlands Research Programme for Alternative Development. He also made a presentation to the Congress of South African Trade Unions' liberation anniversary conference (6 March): 'Shadow Boxing? Cosatu, Social Movements and the ANC Government'.

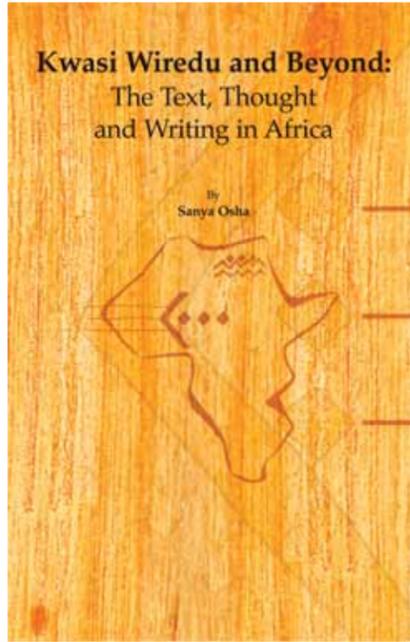
Alan Fowler was active in international research and aid networks. He contributed to an Overseas Development Institute debate on organic use of pro-poor research in London (21st and 22nd March); to a conference on Religious NGOs and international Development and board meeting of the International Society for Third Sector Research (ISTR) from 6 to 9 April followed by a Norwegian Aid seminar in Oslo on an Africa Civil Society Research Network (11th April); to an Amman, Jordan conference on community development and civil society (18th-20 April); and to a joint conference ISRR European Research Network (EMES), on 'Concepts of the Third Sector: The European Debate: Civil Society, Voluntary and Community Organisations, Social Economy' (27-29 April). He published a book chapter, 'Towards a Working Ethical Paradigm for NGOs', in a book edited by T. Ward: *Development, Social Justice and Civil Society: An Introduction to the Political Economy of NGOs* (Paragon House, St. Paul). **Mandisi Majavu** continued writing for ZNet Commentaries - 'Rap on Race' (21 March) and 'Congo, A Story of Unimportant People' (27 April) - and the CCS website. He also participated in a Johannesburg conference of the Freedom of Expression Institute on Southern African socio-economic rights and access to information (25-26 April). **Mandisa Mbali** attended the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil in late January. Her report-backs included web blogs and an introductory talk at the Wolpe Memorial Lecture in February. She also organised on gender equity within the health-rights movement, and advocated for generic medicines exceptions in the World Trade Organisation.



Local environmental activist Sajida Khan at Bisasar Road, Clare Estate.

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Annsilla Nyar authored a chapter for a book on philanthropy in Africa, supported by the East Africa Ford Foundation office. Her work evaluates community foundations and questions whether this model will prove replicable in the fundamentally different SA environment.



The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (Dakar) has just published post-doctoral scholar **Sanya Osha's** book *Kwasi Wiredu and Beyond: The Text, Writing and Thought in Africa*. According to Abiola Irele of Harvard, 'This study offers a comprehensive exploration of the work of Kwasi Wiredu, arguably Africa's leading philosopher. It not only provides an insight into the richness of his thought but also the tensions by which it is traversed, both of which contribute to the energy that informs Wiredu's work'. Here is the book's brief description: 'Kwasi Wiredu is one of Africa's foremost philosophers, whose thinking on conceptual decolonization in contemporary African systems of thought is well known. Wiredu advocates a re-examination of current African epistemic formations in order to subvert unsavoury aspects of tribal cultures embedded in modern African thought, as well as deconstruct the unnecessary Western epistemologies to be found in African philosophical practices. In this book Sanya Osha argues that Wiredu's apparent schematism falls short as a viable project and suggests that because of the very hybridity of

postcoloniality, projects seeking to retrieve the precolonial heritage are bound to be marred at several levels. Language itself presents a major problem which Wiredu's thesis does not fully address. Additionally, the postcolonial milieu with its welter of social disarticulations presents numerous problems of its own to Wiredu's project of conceptual decolonisation. To buttress his argument, the author draws on postcolonial theory as advanced by figures such as Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, Homi Bhabha, Abiola Irele and Biodun Jeyifo among other scholars'. Osha also reviewed *Relocating Agency: Modernity and African Letters* by Olakunle George for *Comparative Literature Studies* (v.42, #1, 2005). He wrote 'Nigeria's Candlelight Globalism' for *African Renaissance* (January-February 2005); and 'The Weapon of Speech: Rhetoric and the Nigerian Military' for *African Renaissance* (March-April 2005). And he participated in a conference on 'Writing and African Women: Poetics and Politics of African Gender Research' at the University of the Western Cape (January 19-22).

During January and February, post-doctoral scholar **Raj Patel** engaged in fieldwork on civil society responses to genetically modified food in northern KwaZulu-Natal, and co-presented the research at a School of Development Studies Seminar entitled 'Can the Poor Help GM Cotton? A Report from the Makhathini Flats' (7 March). He is working with colleagues Harald Witt and Matthew Schnurr on articles for international journals on the issue, as well as a film documentary. Patel authored the article 'Global Fascism, Revolutionary Humanism and the Ethics of Food Sovereignty' in a special issue of the journal *Development* (48, #2) entitled *The Movement of Movements*, edited by Nicola Bullard and Wendy Harcourt. He also submitted articles to *Indymedia South Africa*, including 'Power Lines, and the Struggle for Democracy in Bayview'. His analysis of the World Bank presidential transition was published as 'The Wolf is Dead, Long Live the Wolf' in *Focus on Trade* (#108, April). Patel also gave the keynote address at a workshop on 'Land Reform, Land Use: Setting An Agenda for the 21st Century' at Valley Trust, KZN (14 February), and presented a paper - 'The Semantics of Solidarity with the South Asian Peasant Movement: Myth and Representation in Global Civil Society around the Bissasar Road Landfill in Durban' - at a conference on 'Globalization and Its Implications for Democracy in South Asia' at the University of Texas, Austin (8 April).

In early February, **Richard Pithouse** attended an International Financial Institutions Watchnet conference hosted by Third World Network in Ghana, aimed at developing civil society strategies on multilateral lenders. He also made contact with the Accra student movement and the Campaign Against Privatisation, which has since issued a call for SA solidarity against Rand Water and Umgeni Water, because of their bids on forthcoming World Bank privatisation contracts. While there, he helped facilitate the founding of *Indymedia Ghana*. Pithouse also published the articles 'The Explosive Alliance', in the *CLR James Journal* and 'Faith No More: Why a Community Revolted' in the *Sunday Tribune* (27 March). And he gave the first talk at Durban's Inanda Seminary Lecture Series, 'AIDS and Civil Society' (1 April).

Visiting scholar **Trusha Reddy's** long article on the Bissasar Road rubbish dump and carbon trading - 'Durban's perfume rods, plastic covers and sweet-smelling toxic dump' - was published on the CCS website (16 February, the day the Kyoto Protocol took effect) and at *Pambazuka* (24 February), and informed a *Washington Post* article critical of the pilot (12 March).

Zoë Wilson participated in a conference on 'Poverty Reduction through Better Regulation' in Johannesburg (21-23 January). She also conducted water research in Kenya and Zimbabwe, and prepared grant proposals on Rwandan women and the internet and on dry sanitation in eThekweni. Her chapter on 'Statemaking, Peacemaking and the Inscription of Gendered Politics into Peace: The Case of Angola' appeared in the early 2005 book edited by Jane Parpart, Angela Ravean-Roberts and Diane Mazurana: *Gender, Complex Emergencies, and Peacekeeping: National and International Feminist Perspectives* (New York, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc).

CCS COMMUNITY NEWS

We are sad to report that a long-time CCS stalwart, **Hermien Kotze**, will be moving from the Centre to a new project: establishing a bed & breakfast and conference facility in Swellendam, where we wish her the best of times. Do contact her about how to support the venture (kotzeh@ukzn.ac.za). Her duties in the field of research management, grant awards and publications will be covered by **Richard Ballard**.

The CCS welcomed three visiting scholars in the first four months of 2005: **Trusha Reddy**, working on carbon trading and Bissasar Road;

Andrew Carlson working on a Fulbright Scholarship investigation into Islam and community reproduction in Chatsworth; and Mexican-American filmmaker **Filiberto Nolasco Gomez** on indigenous people's campaigns for dignity and justice. A new PhD student, **Victoria Ayer**, joined the Centre in April. Her background includes a law degree from Boston University and democracy advocacy and grassroots education in Eastern Europe and Southeast Asia.

The staff held a strategic planning session in mid-February, facilitated by **Ann Harper**, and developed several new initiatives which will come to fruition in coming months.

The CCS will be hiring a research director, post-doc and doctoral scholars in May-June, and we invite suggestions from our correspondents about people to be informed and recruited.

Visiting scholars who will join CCS in mid-2005 include **Graham Erion** (York University Law School) who works on climate justice networking, and **Audrey Sasson** (Columbia University International Relations) who is researching socio-economic rights.

FORTHCOMING ACTIVITIES

Our scheduled Wolpe Lectures are by Freedom of Expression Institute official **Console Tleane** on the Freedom Charter (26 May); **Naomi Klein** on Iraq (14 June); University of Cape Town professor **Amina Mama** on African feminism (23 June); Columbia University Africanist **Mahmood Mamdani** (29 June); Indian novelist **Arundhati Roy** (7 July); and Johannesburg-based trade union intellectual **Dinga Sikwebu** (4 August). The next CCS seminars are being presented by CCS's **Baruti Amisi** on Durban-based refugees' livelihood strategies (13 May); **Miles Larmer** of University of Pretoria on neoliberalism and new social movements in Zambia (27 May); **Baruti Amisi** and **Richard Ballard** on Congolese refugee struggles and organisation in Durban (3 June); and UKZN sociology professor **Ari Sitas** on black working class leadership and the SA transition (17 June).

In mid-June, CCS will host our masters and doctoral research students for two weeks of intense seminars, with instruction by **Richard Ballard**, **Patrick Bond**, **Dennis Brutus**, **Ashwin Desai** and **Hermien Kotze**. CCS will also co-host the African premiere of the **Naomi Klein/Avi Lewis** film *The Take* - about Argentine worker/community struggles for self-management and local democracy - at the Durban International Film Festival on 16 June.

The SA Sociological Association annual meeting will take place at the University of Limpopo in late June, and CCS will sponsor three panel sessions, drawing on our research on social movements, gender and poverty, led by **Saranel Benjamin** and **Richard Ballard**. **Annsilla Nyar** will be delivering a paper at an African philanthropy conference on 27-29 June in Cape Town hosted by the Ford Foundation. CCS will also participate in the UKZN conference on academia in late June, and at another UKZN conference on critical psychology where **Ashwin Desai** will provide a keynote speech.

Staff are busy in the period ahead, with CCS representation at a variety of conferences and seminars. These include, in May, the launch of *Agenda* feminist journal issues 62/63 in Durban; a UKZN-Pietermaritzburg debate on the journal *Public Culture's* treatment of Johannesburg; a CODESRIA conference in Maputo entitled 'Lusophonie in Africa: History, Democracy and African Integration'; the Centre for Economic Justice/Southern Africa's conference on resistance to regional neoliberalism in Johannesburg; and seminars at the University of California/Santa Barbara, the Brecht Forum in New York, Oxford University's School of Geography, and universities in Leeds, Glasgow and London.

In June, CCS can be found at the Caribbean Philosophy Association in San Juan, Puerto Rico; a Boston ZNet seminar on media; a UKZN conference on African universities; a Rhodes University colloquium on the university in society; and the other conferences noted just above. Alongside the Gender AIDS Forum, CCS is



UKZN students protesting their expulsion on grounds of class and race, 8 February



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HOWARD COLLEGE, ROOM F196, MTB, UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL, DURBAN 4001
T: +27 31 260 3577 F: +27 31 260 2502 E: CCS@UKZN.AC.ZA W: WWW.UKZN.AC.ZA/CCS

CENTRE FOR CIVIL SOCIETY

CCS EVENTS AND ACTIVITIES, JANUARY-APRIL 2005



Entrance to the Kennedy Road settlement adjacent to the Bissasar Road Clare Estate dump. Although they live overlooking a municipal waste dump, the residents of the Kennedy Road informal settlement cannot have their waste picked up because the city will not give them official rubbish bags.