



UNC
GLOBAL

THE UNIVERSITY
of NORTH CAROLINA
at CHAPEL HILL

COLLEGE OF ARTS & SCIENCES

STUDY ABROAD OFFICE

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July 27, 2011

Administrative Board of the College of Arts & Sciences
Office of General Education
CB # 3510
300 Steele Building
UNC-CH

Dear Colleagues:

CIVIL SOCIETY, GLOBALIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT: SOUTH AFRICA

The Study Abroad Office in conjunction with the Department of African and Afro-American Studies and the Curriculum in Global Studies writes to submit this proposal for a six week Summer Program at the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Center for Civil Society in Durban, South Africa. If approved, the program will start in the summer of 2012. The proposal has been developed over the last year by Dr. Eunice Sahle (Associate Professor, Department of Africa Studies and Curriculum in Global Studies) and Mr. Rodney Vargas (UNC-Chapel Hill, Office of Study Abroad). As part of this process, Mr. Vargas and Dr. Sahle held meetings with several members of the program's partners at the Center for Civil Society in May of 2011. They also visited sites in Durban and outside Durban that will offer students opportunities to deepen their knowledge about South Africa's economic, political and socio-cultural processes historically and in the contemporary era.

Partner Institution: University of Kwazulu-Natal (UKZN)

The University of Kwazulu-Natal is one of the leading institutions of higher learning in South Africa, Africa and the world. Specifically, its School of Development Studies, which hosts the Center for Civil Society, offers a renowned multi-disciplinary program in International Development Studies which attracts students from the rest of Africa,

Europe, North America, Asia, Middle East and Latin America. Further, the Center for Civil Society is a leading site for studies on the intersection of globalization, development, state, human rights and the role of civil society in economic, cultural and political processes and it has hosted several Study Abroad Programs from Canada, Europe and the USA. Its current Director, Professor Patrick Bond, is a well-known economic geographer who is respected for his work on South Africa's political economy, civil society and global issues. In addition, in recent decades, Dr. Sahle has collaborated on various projects with intellectuals in South Africa, particularly at the University of KwaZulu-Natal where she has been a visiting scholar while carrying out research on civil society, citizenship and human rights in post-apartheid Durban.

In addition to the Center for Civil Society, the University of KwaZulu-Natal has various academic units focusing on issues that are relevant to the central intellectual concerns of the program. For example, Professor Alan Whiteside's Health Economics and HIV/AIDS Research Division (HEARD) will offer important resources as students engage with debates concerned with HIV/AIDS in South Africa. Further, the Community Scholars Program linked to the Center for Civil Society will provide students with excellent opportunities to discuss issues they will be studying in class with scholars who are involved in various economic, human rights and others social practices at the community level.

Additional information about UKZN and the Center for Civil Society can be found at:

[http:// www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs](http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs)

Rationale for the program

The main objective of the proposed program is to study economic and political developments in South Africa, and Africa in general, in the context of the historical process of globalization. Since the end of apartheid, South Africa has been considered an emerging economic and political power – in line with countries such as Brazil, India and China - with growing influence on political and economic processes in the Southern African region and other parts of Africa. In addition, during this period the country has seen the rise of civil society groups such as the Treatment Action Campaign and others that have engaged with the South Africa government and global actors in matters concerning health, education and economic policy. These groups have also utilized and broadened intellectual and policy debates involving discourses on human rights and constitutionalism in the country. The program is unique in that, while focusing on South Africa, it will also examine political and economic developments in other members of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) specifically Zimbabwe, Malawi and the role of South Africa in the evolution of the African Union and SADC.

The academic uniqueness of the program is embodied in the courses that will be taught in Durban. First, one of the seminars (INTS 405) not only focuses on South Africa's

economic and political developments but also contemporary political-economic developments in other SADC countries mainly Malawi and Zimbabwe and the role of China and South Africa in these countries. The instructors for INTS 405 are well suited to offer such a comparative course for not only are they scholars of South Africa but also they both have extensive knowledge of Malawi and Zimbabwe given their Ph.D research – Dr. Sahle (Malawi) and Dr. Bond (Zimbabwe) - and they continue to carry out research in both countries. Second, AFRI 416 offers a focus on human rights with an examination of issues of urban citizenship and governance in the post-apartheid Durban; and on human rights debates in South Africa as they pertain to health (focusing on HIV/AIDS) and water and sanitation (Inanda Dam communities outside Durban), poverty (Chatsworth) and the environment (South Durban). Students will therefore receive an excellent introduction to contemporary intellectual and public policy debates in South Africa in light of the emergence of a democratic constitution and the embrace of constitutionalism both in theory and practice in post-apartheid South Africa.

Program Structure and Content

The program will be offered from May 15 to June 30, 2012, and continuing every year after that. Students will receive UNC graded credit for two courses, which carry a total of 6 graded-credits and fulfill both General Education and Elective course requirements. Description of the content and grading structure and overall course requirements are indicated in the syllabi attached to this proposal.

The following courses will be offered:

INTS 405: Comparative political economy of development (Professor Eunice Sahle and Professor Patrick Bond as Co-instructor, UKZN)

During a regular semester at UNC, this course examines the emergence of the field of development studies in the post-1945 and examines the evolution of dominant development discourses and concrete historical processes of development in selected countries in Asia, Africa, Caribbean and Latin America. It also explores responses to global economic and political developments by states and groups in civil society in these regions.

For the program in South Africa, the course will focus on the following issues:

South Africa:

- a. Post-apartheid economy and the role of the state and institutions of global governance.
- b. South Africa's role in regional and continental political and economic bloc formation: Southern African Development Community and The African Union respectively.

- c. Historical and contemporary labor regimes and the role of migrant labor systems. Multinational Corporations and Durban's development.
- d. Contemporary Malawi political developments in Malawi and the role of China and South Africa.
- e. Zimbabwe economic and political developments in the 21st Century and the role of South Africa and China.

**AFRI 416: Human rights and social justice movements in contemporary Africa
(Professor Eunice Sahle)**

When offered at UNC, this seminar examines major debates pertaining to philosophies of rights and justice and explores the ways in which they inform contemporary social movements' projects in Africa. The course further explores the links between African human rights and social justice movements with developments at the global level such as the evolution of International Criminal Court tribunals in Africa, transitional justice issues, African Diaspora (Canada, France and the UK) human rights organizations and the World Social Forum process.

While drawing on elements of these themes, the course in South Africa will focus more specifically on the following topics:

1. Civil society-state relations (urban governance and citizenship in the city of Durban)
2. Civil society organizations in South Africa and issues of HIV/AIDS, poverty and the environment.
3. Rural civil society in KwaZulu-Natal and the struggle for water and sanitation (Inanda communities)

Please see **Appendix One** for the proposed courses schedule for the summer 2012 and **Appendix Two** for the program syllabi. Please see **Appendix Three** for the CV of the non-UNC faculty.

Program Activities

a) The students will participate in three "Reality Tours" coordinated by UKZN's Centre for Civil Society. With these reality tours the Centre introduces students to the work of leading civil society leaders. The community groups to be visited will be: Inanda Dam, the hotly-contested source of Durban's water; Chatsworth, historically an Indian community created under the "Group Areas Act" during the apartheid era and marked by a range of social dislocations generated by poverty; South Durban Community Environmental Community Alliance, a community civil society group located in the largest petrochemical complex in a residential area in Africa.

b) Students will have opportunity to volunteer with University of KwaZulu-Natal recommended civil society groups. This will be in group format and it is not a requirement of the program.

Program Requirements

Students will be required to have a minimum GPA of 3.2 and be either Juniors and Seniors. The program will be available to eligible UNC-Chapel Hill undergraduate and graduate students only. There is no language requirement.

Student Accommodation and Resources

Students will live in a guest house located in one of the oldest and generally safe neighborhoods – Glenwood - within walking distance of the UKZN campus, shops, banks, restaurants and clinics. Students will be in comfortable double rooms and will be provided breakfast. The guest house also provides access to a fully stocked guest kitchen, internet, barbeque facilities, and laundry services. It is well served by public transportation.

At the Centre for Civil Society, students will use their classrooms and other facilities. CCS provides visiting students with a temporary university access card, access to the UKZN library and the CCS resource centre, access to a computer and shared workspace, and a warm invitation to participate in all CCS events. The UNC-Chapel Hill group will also have access to the campus clinic, restaurants, banks, travel agencies, bookstore and convenience food markets.

Safety and Security in South Africa

Street crime is the major risk that students will face in South Africa. Overall, the most reported crime incidents are around ATM scams that involve stealing cash, cards, personal identification number or all three. In general, Durban is much safer than cities such as Johannesburg and Cape Town where crime can be violent, but street pickpockets are nevertheless abundant. Students will be advised to follow the basic safety precautions to minimize the risks, such as remaining alert and exercising common sense. Students need to be careful, pay very close attention to what those around them are doing in crowded areas, especially at traffic lights, guard their bags and cameras carefully and be aware that they are not being followed.

The US State Department indicates that “The vast majority of visitors complete their travels in South Africa without problems; however, visitors should be aware that criminal activity, often violent, is prevalent throughout the country. The government has in place a number of strong anti-crime initiatives, but violent crimes such as armed robbery, carjacking, mugging, "smash-and-grab" attacks on vehicles, and other incidents are still

common and do affect visitors and resident U.S. citizens." The US State Department offers additional specific information on South Africa at the following web site:

http://travel.state.gov/travel/cis_pa_tw/cis/cis_1008.html

We hope this proposal has given a clear representation of the summer study abroad program that we wish to offer in 2012 and thereafter every year. We are happy to provide any further information that you may need to evaluate this proposal.

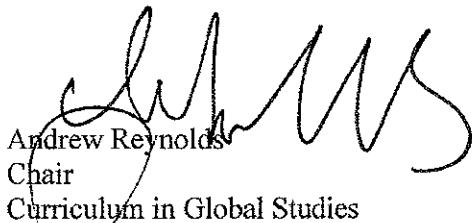
Sincerely,



Michael Lambert
Director, Center for African Studies

 Associate Chair for JEN

Julius Nyang'oro, Ph.D.
Chair
African and Afro-American Studies Department



Andrew Reynolds
Chair
Curriculum in Global Studies



Robert Miles, PhD.
Associate Dean for Study Abroad and International Exchanges

APPENDIX ONE -- WEEKLY SCHEDULE: (PROF. EUNICE N. SAHLE)

Week 1 (May 15 -18, 2012) – University of KwaZulu-Natal’s Center for Civil Society (CCS), Durban South Africa

	Mon	Tues	Wed	Thurs	Fri	
8.30-10.00	Depart USA	Arrival in Durban Housing allocation	Orientation: Campus, CCS Conference Room	Durban socio-economic geography: Tour led by Prof. Patrick Bond (CCS)	INTS405: Profs. Bond and Sahle	
10.30-12.00pm			Library visits		AFRI:416	
12.00-1.00			Lunch, CCS Conference Room	Lunch, CCS Conference Room	Lunch, CCS Conference Room	
2.00-4.00pm			Bed and Breakfast: Orientation (owner-manager): meal schedule (Breakfast), cooking facilities, rules and security	Tour of School of Development Studies and meeting with the Head of School, Faculty and Staff		

Week 2, May 21-25, 2012

	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thurs	Friday	
8.30-10.00am	INTS405: Profs. Bond and Sahle	INTS: 405, Profs. Bond and Sahle	INTS405: Profs. Bond and Sahle)	INTS405: Profs. Bond and Sahle	Field research (INTS405 and AFRI416): Chatsworth Flat Dwellers	

					communities— Led by Profs. Bond and Sahle, and a Community Scholar 8.30am- 3.00pm	
10.30- 12.00pm	AFRI416: Prof. Sahle	AFRI416: Prof. Sahle	AFRI416: Prof. Sahle	AFRI416: Prof. Sahle		
12.00- 1.00pm	Lunch, CCS Conference room	Lunch, CCS Conference room	Lunch, CCS Conference Room	Lunch and dialogue with UKZN's Community Scholars (Inanda, Chatsworth and South West Durban)		

Week 3, May 28-June 1, 2012

	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thurs	Friday	
8.30- 10.00am	INTS405: Profs. Bond and Sahle	INTS: 405, Profs. Bond and Sahle	INTS405: Profs. Bond and Sahle)	INTS405: Profs. Bond and Sahle	Field research (INTS405 and Afri416): Inanda Dam Communities — Led by Profs. Bond and Sahle, and a Community Scholar 8.30am- 3.00pm	
10.30- 12.00pm	AFRI416: Prof. Sahle	AFRI416: Prof. Sahle	AFRI416: Prof. Sahle	AFRI416: Prof. Sahle		
12.00- 1.00pm	Lunch, CCS	Lunch, CCS	Lunch, CCS Conference			

	Conference room	Conference room	Room			

Week 4, June 4-June 8, 2012

	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thurs	Friday	
8.30-10.00am	INTS405: Profs. Bond and Sahle	INTS: 405, Profs. Bond and Sahle	INTS405: Profs. Bond and Sahle)	INTS405: Profs. Bond and Sahle	Field research (INTS405 and Afri416): South West Durban Community Environmental Alliance – Led by Profs. Bond and Sahle, and a Community Scholar 8.30am-3.00pm	
10.30-12.00pm	AFRI416: Prof. Sahle	AFRI416: Prof. Sahle	AFRI416: Prof. Sahle	AFRI416: Prof. Sahle		
12.00-1.00pm	Lunch, CCS Conference room	Lunch, CCS Conference room	Lunch, CCS Conference Room			

Week 5, June 11-15, 2012

	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thurs**Mid-term**	Friday**Mid-term**	
8.30-10.00am	INTS405: Profs. Bond and Sahle	INTS: 405, Profs. Bond and Sahle	INTS405: Profs. Bond and Sahle)	**INTS405: Mid-term 9.00am-	**AFRI416: Mid-term**	

				11.00am***		
10.30-12.00pm	AFRI416: Prof. Sahle	AFRI416: Prof. Sahle	AFRI416: Prof. Sahle	Break		
12.00-1.00pm	Lunch, CCS Conference room	Lunch, CCS Conference room	Lunch, CCS Conference Room	Lunch, CCS Conference Room		

Week 6, 18-22, 2012

	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thurs	**Friday - Group meetings with Prof. Sahle- AFRI416 conference**	
8.30-10.00am	INTS405: Profs. Bond and Sahle	INTS: 405, Profs. Bond and Sahle	INTS405: Profs. Bond and Sahle)	INTS405: Profs. Bond and Sahle	Meetings: 9.00am- 12.00am - CCS Conference Room	
10.30-12.00pm	AFRI416: Prof. Sahle	AFRI416: Prof. Sahle	AFRI416: Prof. Sahle	AFRI416: Prof. Sahle		
12.00-1.00pm	Lunch, CCS Conference room	Lunch, CCS Conference room	Lunch, CCS Conference Room			

Week 7, 25-29

APPENDIX TWO: PROGRAM SYLLABI

AFRI 416:HUMAN RIGHTS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE MOVEMENTS IN AFRICA

Instructor: Professor Eunice Sahle

Summer 2012, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Center for Civil Society

May 16- June 29, 2011

Email: eunice@email.unc.edu

Office hours: 2.00pm-3.30pm Wednesdays, 2.00pm-3.30pm, Conference Room, Center for Civil Society, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa.

SEMINAR'S DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES:

The post-1948 era has seen the rise and global embedding of an international human regime. The evolution of human rights discourse has resulted in the rise of civil society groups and social movements dedicated to promoting rights-based framed practices in various countries. In the context of the African continent, civil society groups claiming to be interested in social justice issues – such as eradicating poverty, environmental ethics and justice, etc - frame debates about political, economic, and cultural processes through the normative philosophies underpinning the international human rights regime. The seminar will begin with an overview of the philosophical and historical developments that led to the globalization of human rights from the 15th century to the 1948 UN Declaration. Such an approach will deepen our understanding of the historical roots of human rights ideas; from the ideas concerned with natural law, the emergence of individual conceptualization of human rights, international law and the post-1948 developments in human rights. We will then move on to a focus on civil society groups involved in human rights struggles mainly in the areas of poverty, HIV/AIDS and the environment. We will also explore – through field work - the question of urban and rural governance, focusing how civil society groups in Chatsworth, South Durban and Inanda have engaged with governing structures in their struggles for social rights that are embodied in the country's regime of citizenship in post-apartheid era.

MODALITIES OF THE SEMINAR

This is an upper level seminar open to both upcoming seniors and graduate students. As such, it requires close reading and attention to the required material for each week. Overall, the course we take a seminar format. I will lead class discussions throughout our studies in Durban. Given the seminar format, participation is a key component of your grade. Please note that beyond being a grade requirement, participation will encourage interesting debates in our class. Overall, participation fosters the sharing of diverse ideas and critical interrogation of the ethical and analytical issues embodied in the material we will be covering throughout the term. At any rate, to get full credit for participation you must attend class, and be prepared to discuss the required material.

SEMINAR'S OTHER POLICIES

1. **Absence:** Any student missing class because of prior commitments should contact 2 days in advance.
2. **Substitutions:** There are no substitutions for course requirements.
3. **Make-up exams:** These will only be provided for those students who have legitimate excuses such as illness (as long as there is a doctor's note as required by the University).

4. **Research paper:** Please note that late papers will not be accepted.
5. **Email policy:** Unless there are unforeseen circumstances, I will respond to emails within 24 hours.

COURSE SCHEDULE

Please note that this schedule is subject to change as the course evolves. Thus, you should check Blackboard ('Announcements') and any email that I send for any changes to the schedule. Nonetheless, any change will be made in advance and you will be notified.

SEMINAR'S REQUIREMENTS

Participation	20%
Mid-term exam (May 15).	30%
Research paper based on field visits (due June 18)	25%
Group Presentations- in lieu of final exam - (Conference June, 29)	25%

Grade breakdown

100-93	A	79-77	C+
92-90	A-	76-73	C
89-87	B+	72-70	C-
86-83	B	69-67	D+
82-80	B-	66-60	D
		59-0	F

UNC'S HONOR CODE

The **Honor Code** is in effect in Afri416.

PLEDGE: *The Instrument of Student Judicial Governance* requires that you sign a pledge on all written work. ("On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid on this assignment.") This includes all assignments.

Required books:

Micheline R. Ishay, *The History of Human Rights: From Ancient Times to The Globalization Era* (Berkeley and California; University of California Press, 2004)

Ballard, Richard, Adam Habib, and Imraan Valodia. *Voices of Protest : Social Movements in Post-apartheid South Africa*. Scottsville, South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2006.

Maharaj, Brij, Ashwin Desai, and Patrick Bond. *Zuma's Own Goal : Losing South Africa's War on Poverty*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, c2011.

Books will be available by April 1, 2012 and should be purchased before our departure.

Week 1: Human rights: origins

August 26: Reading

Micheline R. Ishay, Chapter 1, 2, 3

Week 2: Human rights: Post-1948 developments

Stephen A. James, Chapter 2 – “World War II and its Aftermath” (E-book, UNC’s Libraries)

Stephen A. James, Chapter 3 – “The U.N. Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights” (E-book, UNC’s Libraries)

Micheline R. Ishay, Chapter 4

Jack Donnelly, Chapter 2 - “The Universal declaration Model”, in Jack Donnelly, *Universal human rights in theory and practice* (Ithaca: University Press, 2003).

Jack Donnelly, “Equal Concern and Respect”, in Jack Donnelly, *Universal human rights in theory and practice* (Ithaca: University Press, 2003).
2005).

Week 3: Civil society and struggles for social and environmental rights and Guest Lecture (Dr. Shauna Mottiar, Center for Civil Society, UKZN)

Stephen Greenberg, ‘The Landless People’s Movement and the Failure of Post-Apartheid Land Reform’ (textbook - Ballard, Richard, Adam Habib, and Imraan Valodia)

Firoz Khan and Edgar Pieterse, ‘The Homeless People’s Alliance: Purposive Creation and Ambiguated Realities’ (textbook - Ballard, Richard, Adam Habib, and Imraan Valodia).

Jacklyn Cock, ‘Connecting the Red, Brown and Green: The Environmental Justice Movement in South Africa’ (textbook - Ballard, Richard, Adam Habib, and Imraan Valodia)

Sakhela Buhlungu, ‘Upstarts or Bearers of Tradition? The Anti-Privatisation Forum’, (textbook - Ballard, Richard, Adam Habib, and Imraan Valodia)

Week 4: HIV/AIDS, civil society, development and human rights to health and Guest Lecture (Dr. Alan Whiteside, UKZN)

Sofia Gruskin and Daniel Tarontola, ‘Health and Human Rights’, in Gruskin, Sofia [et al]. *Perspectives on Health and Human Rights*. New York: Routledge, 2005.

Eleanor Gouws and Quarraisha Abdool Karim, ‘HIV infection in South Africa: the evolving epidemic’, in S.S. Abdool Karim and Q. Abdool Karim (eds), *HIV/AIDS in South Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

Steven Friedman and Shauna Mottiar, 'Seeking the High Ground: The Treatment Action Campaign and the Politics of Morality' (textbook – Ballard, Richard, Adam Habib, and Imraan Valodia)

*****Mid-term, May 15, 2012*****

Week 5 and 6: Poverty, development and civil society

*****Research paper (25%) based on field visits due June 18 by 11.30pm via email*****

Ashwin Desai, Brij Maharaj and Patrick Bond, 'Introduction: Poverty and eradication as Holy Grail' (textbook - Maharaj, Brij, Ashwin Desai, and Patrick Bond).

Andries du Toit, 'The proper subject for poverty research is inequality' (textbook - Maharaj, Brij, Ashwin Desai, and Patrick Bond)

Mary Galvin, 'Rural survival, development or advocacy?' (textbook - Maharaj, Brij, Ashwin Desai, and Patrick Bond).

Prishani Naidoo, 'The 'feminisation of poverty' as disabling discourse' (textbook - Maharaj, Brij, Ashwin Desai, and Patrick Bond).

Lenny Gentle, 'Poverty and social movements' (textbook - Maharaj, Brij, Ashwin Desai, and Patrick Bond).

Patrick Bond 'Limits to class apartheid' (textbook - Maharaj, Brij, Ashwin Desai, and Patrick Bond).

Franco Barchiesi, 'Wage labour, citizenship and social discipline' (textbook - Maharaj, Brij, Ashwin Desai, and Patrick Bond).

Greg Ruiters, 'Poverty research, oppression and 'Free Basic Water' (textbook - Maharaj, Brij, Ashwin Desai, and Patrick Bond).

Week 7: Final research week for conference presentations and meeting with Dr. Sahle.

Conference meetings with Dr. Sahle

Monday June 25: 10.30am-12.00pm, Conference room, Center for Civil Society

Tuesday June 26: 10.30am-12.00pm, Conference room, Center for Civil Society

Thursday June 28, 2.00pm-4.00pm: Mandatory conference rehearsal, Conference room, Center for Civil Society

JUNE 29, 2012: AFRI416 CONFERENCE, CENTER FOR CIVIL SOCIETY: *Civil Society and Development in the era of contemporary globalization*****

INTS405: POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DEVELOPMENT

Instructor: Professors Eunice Sahle and Patrick Bond

Summer 2012, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Center for Civil Society

May 16- June 29, 2011

Email: eunice@email.unc.edu

Office hours: 2.00pm-3.30pm Wednesdays, 2.00pm-3.30pm, Conference Room, Center for Civil Society, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa.

SEMINAR: DESCRIPTION

Since the end of the apartheid order in 1994, South Africa has emerged as a major player in regional, continental and global political and economic issues. These developments have been studied by leading South African economists such as Vishnu Padayachee, Patrick Bond and others. Other scholars for example, Mahood Mamdani have generated seminal studies that have attempted to situate historical and contemporary developments in South Africa within broader political and economic processes that have underpinned the incorporation of the African continent in the world political and economic structure. Consequently, while this seminar will focus on historical and contemporary developments in South Africa, it will also examine core political economy issues in others parts of the African continent, such as the depending role of China, and the political economy of new regionalism focusing on the Southern African Development Community (SADC) - which includes but is not limited to South Africa, Zimbabwe and Malawi - and continental bloc formation that has resulted in the emergence of the African Union.

REQUIRED BOOKS:

- 1) Padayachee, Vishnu. *The Political Economy of Africa*. London; Routledge, 2010.
- 2) Mahmood Mamdani. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996.

The books will be available at the UNC's Bookstore by April 1, 2012 so that students can purchase them before our departure. All the other readings will be posted to UNC's E-Reserve by the same date and students will be required to print them out before leaving for Durban and confirm that they have done so during our pre-departure orientation in mid-April.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Exam (mid-term, May 30th)	25%
Research paper (Due June 11)	25%
Participation	20%
Final exam (June 27)	30%
Grading	

UNC's Honor Code

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill has had a student-administered honor system and judicial system for over 100 years. The system is the responsibility of students and is regulated and governed by them, but faculty share the responsibility. If you have questions about your responsibility under the honor code, please bring them to your instructor or consult with the office of the Dean of Students or the Instrument of Student Judicial Governance. This document, adopted by the Chancellor, the Faculty Council, and the Student Congress, contains all policies and procedures pertaining to the student honor system. Your full participation and observance of the honor code is expected.

Plagiarism: Please review the following website for insights on this important matter: [UNC Libraries' tutorials page](#). Further, make use of the [Writing Center's resources](#) for assistance with all your assignments.

PLEDGE: *The Instrument of Student Judicial Governance* requires that you sign a pledge on all your work for this seminar. ("On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid on this assignment.").

Please note that any violation of UNC's Honor Code will be taken very seriously in INTS405.

For further information on UNC's Honor Code, please review the following webpage: http://honor.unc.edu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=106:honorsyllabus&catid=43:facultycontent&Itemid=148

Grade breakdown (Please note that while Prof. Bond will be a co-instructor for this class, Professor Sahle will be responsible for grading all your work for INTS560)

100-93	A	79-77	C+
92-90	A-	76-73	C
89-87	B+	72-70	C-
86-83	B	69-67	D+
82-80	B-	66-60	D
		59-0	F

SEMINAR: FORMAT AND COMMENTS ON PARTICIPATION

This is an upper level undergraduate and graduate seminar that requires extensive engagement with the requirement material. As such, the seminar is discussion based. Professors Bond and I will lead the discussion throughout the term. Participation is a core component of upper undergraduate and graduate level courses. Thus, in depth and consistent contributions to class discussion is crucial to your success in the seminar. To enable you to achieve this goal, you are required to read the required material before coming to class.

SEMINAR'S OTHER POLICIES

1. **Technology in the classroom:** Laptops are allowed in our classroom for the purpose of taking notes. Please note that anyone found using laptops for any other purpose will not be allowed to bring his or her laptop to class. Further, no other - cell phones, pagers, players - technology will be permitted in our classroom.
2. **Absence:** Any student missing class should notify Professor Sahle right a way.
3. **Substitutions:** There are no substitutions for course requirements.
4. **Make-up exams:** These will only be provided for those students who have legitimate excuses such as illness (as long as there is a doctor's note obtained the same day that the assignment is due)..
5. **Research paper:** Please note that late papers will not be accepted.
6. **Email policy:** Unless there are unforeseen circumstances (such as power outage in Durban), I will respond to emails within 24 hours. I am the principle contact for this seminar, thus always contact me for all issues pertaining to it.

COURSE SCHEDULE

Please note that this schedule is subject to change as the seminar evolves. Thus, you should check Blackboard ('Announcements') and pay attention to any email that I send regarding the seminar. To enable smooth planning, please note that unless in the case of unforeseen developments, changes to the schedule will be made 3 days in advance.

Week 1: Introduction and theoretical framing of political and economic processes in Africa

Readings:

Mahmood Mamdani, 'Introduction: Thinking through Africa's Impasse', in Mahmood Mamdani. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Peri Soyinka-Airewele and Rita Kiki Edozie, 'Reframing Contemporary Africa: Beyond Global Imaginaries', in Soyinka-Airewele, Peyi, and Rita Kiki. Edozie. *Reframing Contemporary Africa: Politics, Economics, and Culture in the Global Era* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2010)

Iheanyi N. Osondu, 'Not Out of Africa? Sifting Facts from Fiction in the New Balkanization of Africa' (textbook - Peri Soyinka-Airewele and Rita Kiki Edozie)

Week 2: Globalization of South Africa and Africa: Historical perspective

Readings:

Mahmood Mamdani (textbook), Chapters 3, and 4)

Peri Soyinka-Airewele, 'Colonial Legacies: Ghosts, Gulas, and the Silenced Traumas of Empire', in Soyinka-Airewele, Peyi, and Rita Kiki. Edozie. *Reframing Contemporary Africa: Politics, Economics, and Culture in the Global Era* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2010)

Peter Lawrence, 'The African tragedy: International and national roots', In Vishnu Padayachee, *The Political Economy of Africa* (New York: Routledge, 2010)

Week 3: Contemporary political economy of globalization in Africa

Patrick Bond, 'Neoliberal Economic Constraints on Liberation', in Patrick Bond, *Elite Transition* (Scottsville: University of Natal Press, 2000)

David Moore and Showers Mawowa, 'Mbimbos, Zvipamlizis and 'primitive accumulation' in Zimbabwe's violent mineral economy: crisis, chaos and the state' (textbook – Vishnu Padayachee)

Joseph Mensah, 'Africa and the Political Economy of Time-Space Compression and Space of Flows: Unfashionable Observations' in Joseph Mensah (ed), *Neoliberalism and Globalization in Africa* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

Carlos Oya and Nicolas Pons-Vignon, 'Aid, development and the state in Africa', (textbook – Vishnu Padayachee)

Mid-term (25%) – May 30, 2012, 9.00am-11.00am

Week 4: Africa's South Africa's political economy of immigration

Readings:

Jonathan Crush and David A. McDonald, 'Transnationalism, Africa immigration and new migrant spaces in South Africa', in Crush, J. S., and David A. McDonald. *Transnationalism and New African Immigration to South Africa*. [Kingston, Ont.]: Southern African Migration Project and Canadian Association of African Studies, 2002.

Mahmood Mamdani (textbook), Chapter 7.

Jonathan Crush, 'Migrations Past', in McDonald, David A. *On Borders : Perspectives on International Migration in Southern Africa*. Ontario: Southern African Migration Project ; 2000.

Belinda Dobson, 'Women on the Move', in McDonald, David A. *On Borders : Perspectives on International Migration in Southern Africa*. Ontario: Southern African Migration Project ; 2000.

David A. McDonald, "Shades of xenophobia: in-migrants and immigrants in Mizamoyethu, Cape Town", in Crush, J. S., and David A. McDonald. *Transnationalism*

and New African Immigration to South Africa. [Kingston, Ont.]: Southern African Migration Project and Canadian Association of African Studies, 2002.

Week 5: South Africa, SADC Region and the political economy of new regionalism in Africa

***Research (25%) paper due June 11 by 11.30pm via email ***

Readings:

J. Andrew Grant, 'The New Regionalism in Africa', in J. Andrew Grant and Fredrik Soderbaum, *The New Regionalism in Africa* (Aldershoot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003)

Suresh Chandra Saxena, 'The African Union: Africa's Giant Step Towards Continental Unity', in John Mukum Mbaku, *Africa at the Crossroads: Between Regionalism and Globalization* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2004).

Fredrik Soderbaum and Ian Taylor, 'Introduction: Understanding the dynamics of micro-regionalism in Southern Africa', in Fredrik Soderbaum, *Regionalism and Uneven Development in Southern Africa* (Aldershoot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003).

James J. Hentz, 'Regional relations in the post-Apartheid era', in James J. Hentz, *South Africa and the logic of regional cooperation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005).

Week 6: Africa's political economy and the role of China

Readings:

Raphael Kaplinsky, Dorothy McCormick and Mike Morris, 'Impacts and challenges of a growing relationship between China and Sub-Saharan Africa' (textbook – Vishnu Padayachee)

Johathan Holslag, 'China New Mercantilism in Central Africa' *African and Asian Studies*, volume 5, no. 2. 2006.

Ian Taylor, 'China's oil diplomacy in Africa', in *International Affairs* 82: 5 (2006) 937–959. 2006.

Joshua Eisenman, 'China's Post-Cold War Strategy in Africa: Examining Beijing's Methods and Objectives', in Eisenman, Joshua, Eric Heginbotham, and Derek Mitchell (eds) *China and the Developing World : Beijing's Strategy for the Twenty-first Century*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, c2007.

Week 7: Africa's development and the political economy of resource-curse and Final exam

James Ferguson, 'Governing Extraction: New Spatializations of Order and Disorder in Neoliberal Africa', in James Ferguson, *Global Shadows Africa in the Neoliberal World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

Patrick Bond, 'Unequal Exchange Revisited: Trade, investment, wealth depletion' in Patrick Bond, *Looting Africa: The Economics of Exploitation* (New York: 2006).

Screening of the Documentary Film: *Black Gold*

Reading day: Tuesday: June 26, 2011

Final exam (30%) – Wednesday, June 27, 2011, 9.00am-12.00am hours, Seminar Room, Center for Civil Society (UKZN).

APPENDIX THREE

NON-UNC FACULTY CV

PATRICK BOND CURRICULUM VITAE 2011

PERSONAL DETAILS

Current Positions:

Senior Professor of Development Studies and Director of the Centre for Civil Society,
University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban

Residential Address:

655 Marine Drive, #6, The Bluff 4052, Durban
Cell phone: (27) 83 425-1401
E-Mails: pbond@mail.ngo.za, patrick_bond@yahoo.com
Skype: patricksouthafrica

Office Address:

Memorial Tower Building F199, Howard College
University of KwaZulu-Natal 4041 Durban
Phone: (27) 31 260-2454
Fax: (27) 31 260-2502
Email: bondp@ukzn.ac.za

Born: 17 November, 1961 (Belfast, Northern Ireland)

Primary/Secondary Schooling: Huntsville, Alabama and Silver Spring, Maryland (US), and
Freiburg im Breisgau (Germany)

Nationality: dual British/US, with SA permanent residence

Children: one son (South African/US, born 1995) and one daughter (SA/US, born 2008)

ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS

Doctor of Philosophy: Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore), Department of Geography and
Environmental Engineering; supervised by Professor David Harvey; full scholarship
throughout doctoral programme; dissertation entitled 'Finance and Uneven
Development in Zimbabwe,' 1985-92; Pre-Dissertation Fellow, and Fellow of the
International Doctoral Research Fellowship Program for Africa, Social Science
Research Council and American Council of Learned Societies, New York.

other post-graduate studies: Wharton School of Finance, University of Pennsylvania
(Philadelphia), courses in Finance and Urban Studies, 1983-85.

Bachelor of Arts: Swarthmore College (Philadelphia), Economics Major, Political Science
Minor, with Concentration in Public Policy, 1979-83.

other undergraduate studies: University of Pennsylvania, Economics, 1983; Haverford College
(Philadelphia), Philosophy, 1983; Johns Hopkins University, Economics, 1982;
Peabody Conservatory (Baltimore), Classical Guitar, 1982.

ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

EMPLOYMENT

Senior Professor, 11/08-present; Professor, 10/04-11/08, School of Development Studies;
and Director of the Centre for Civil Society (10/04-present), University of KwaZulu-
Natal, Durban.

Professor, 5/02-9/04; Associate Professor, 1/99-4/02, Senior Lecturer 7/97-12/98,
University of the Witwatersrand Graduate School of Public and Development
Management, Johannesburg.

Senior Economist, National Institute for Economic Policy, Johannesburg, 11/95-6/97.
Assistant Professor of Social and Health Policy, Johns Hopkins University School of Public
Health Division of Health Policy, Baltimore, 9/94-10/95.

Senior Researcher (Development Finance), Planact, Johannesburg; advisor to South African
National Civic Organisation, Finance and Economic Development Desk and to numerous
civic associations in Gauteng Province on development policy, projects, and finance,
5/90-9/94.

Economics correspondent, Pacifica Radio News, Washington, 5/88-6/89.
Washington correspondent, American Public Radio 'Marketplace', Los Angeles, 1/89-6/89.
Instructor, Temple University Department of Geography and Urban Studies, Philadelphia,
1/88-5/88.

Part-time researcher (housing and urban finance), Community Development Coalition,
Philadelphia, 8/85-5/87.

Research intern (international debt), U.S. House of Representatives, Financial Institutions
Sub-committee of Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee, Washington, 5-8/86.
Community Development Specialist, Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, 8/83-8/85.

VISITING ACADEMIC POSITIONS

Visiting Scholar, University of California/Berkeley Department of Geography, 9/10-6/11.

Visiting Researcher, Gyeongsang National University Institute of Social Sciences, Jinju, South
Korea, 2005-2010.

Visiting Professor, Suffolk University, Boston, 9/09.

External Examiner, University of Mauritius Department of Social Development, 9/06-/8/09.

Visiting Professor and H. James Birx Distinguished Scholar, State University of New York,
Geneseo, 2/08.

Adjunct Professor, York University Department of Political Science, Toronto 9/04-6/07.

Visiting Professor, Stellenbosch University Sustainability Institute, 2/07.

Visiting Professor, Chulalongkorn University Focus on the Global South, Bangkok, 10/06.

Visiting Professor, University of the Witwatersrand Graduate School of Public and
Development Management, Johannesburg, 9/04-12/05.

Visiting Professor, Central European University Summer School on Transnational Flows,
Structures, Agents and the Idea of Development, Budapest, 7/05.

Visiting Professor, Africa University Institute of Peace, Leadership and Governance, Mutare,
8/04.

Honorary Lecturer, University of the Witwatersrand Department of Geography, Johannesburg (1996-2004).

Visiting Professor, York University Department of Political Science and Faculty of Environmental Studies, Toronto, 9/03-6/04.

Visiting Professor, Concordia University Institute in Management and Community Development Summer School, Montreal, 6/02.

Visiting Professor, Summer School in International Political Economy and Ecology, York University Department of Political Science and Faculty Environmental Studies, Toronto, 7/01.

Visiting Professor, Yokohama National University Department of Economics, 4/99.

Visiting Research Associate, University of Zimbabwe, Department of Political and Administrative Studies, Harare, 6/89-4/90.

Visiting Scholar, Institute for Policy Studies, Project on the International Economic Order, Washington, 5/88-6/89.

LECTURING EXPERIENCE (FULL COURSES)

Masters course: 'The Political Economy of the Welfare State' - University of KwaZulu-Natal School of Development Studies, 2007-09.

Masters executive course: 'The Economics of Development: Economic Justice Advocacy and Social Policy' - University of KwaZulu Natal School of Development Studies, Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa, and ActionAid Africa, 2006-08.

Masters course: 'South African Economic Issues' - University of KwaZulu-Natal Masters Programme in Social Policy, 2007.

Masters course: 'Development Economics' - University of KwaZulu-Natal School of Development Studies, 2005-2006.

Masters (of Management) elective course: 'An Overview of Social, Development and Economic Policies in Post-Apartheid South Africa' - University of the Witwatersrand Graduate School of Public and Development Management, 1999-2005.

Masters elective course: 'Advanced Topics in Political Economy: Environment and Globalisation' - University of the Witwatersrand Graduate School of Public and Development Management, 2002-05.

Masters course: 'Political Economy, Geopolitics and Peace' (cotaught with Nicola Short) - Africa University Institute for Peace, Leadership and Governance, Mutare, 2004.

Masters course: 'Third World Politics and Development' - York University Department of Political Science, 2004.

Masters/undergraduate course: 'Globalisation and the Environment' - York University Department of Political Science and Faculty of Environmental Studies, 2004.

Masters/undergraduate course: 'Multilateralism' - York University Department of Political Science, 2003.

Masters elective course: 'The Political Economy of Infrastructure Development' (co-taught with Richard Tomlinson) - University of the Witwatersrand Graduate School of Public and Development Management, 2001-03.

Masters executive course: 'Social Policy for African Nation-States and Municipalities' (cotaught with Jimi Adesina and Guy Berger) - University of the Witwatersrand

Graduate School of Public and Development Management and Rhodes University Department of Sociology and School of Journalism, 2003.

Masters core course (co-taught with Kuben Naidoo and Masimba Manyanya): 'Public and Development Finance' - University of the Witwatersrand Graduate School of Public and Development Management, 2000-02.

Masters executive course (co-taught with Michael Dorsey): 'Advanced Topics in Political Economy: Globalisation and Environment' - University of the Witwatersrand Graduate School of Public and Development Management, 2002.

Masters executive course (co-taught with Michael Dorsey): 'Advanced Topics in Political Economy: Environment and Development in Southern Africa' - University of the Witwatersrand Graduate School of Public and Development Management, 2002.

Masters elective course: 'Advanced Topics in Political Economy: Corporate Globalisation' - University of the Witwatersrand Graduate School of Public and Development Management, 2001.

Masters and doctoral course: 'Summer School in International Political Economy and Ecology' - York University Departments of Political Science and Environmental Studies, Toronto, Canada, 2001.

Masters executive course: 'Advanced Topics in Political Economy: Zimbabwe' - University of the Witwatersrand Graduate School of Public and Development Management, 2001.

Masters executive course: 'Development Debates and the South African Media' - University of the Witwatersrand Graduate School of Public and Development Management, 2000.

Masters core course (co-taught with colleagues): 'Resources Management' - University of the Witwatersrand Graduate School of Public and Development Management, 1997-2000.

Masters (in Local Government and Development) course (co-taught): 'Economics for Public Managers' - University of the Witwatersrand Graduate School of Public and Development Management, 1999.

Masters (in Public Policy and Taxation) course: 'Special Topics Lectures' - Yokohama National University Department of Economics, Yokohama, Japan, 1999.

Undergraduate course (co-taught with Greg Ruiters): 'Development Management' - Univ. of the Witwatersrand Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, 1999.

Diploma course: 'Economics and Public Finance' - University of the Witwatersrand Graduate School of Public and Development Management, 1997-99.

Third year undergraduate course (co-taught with Roger Kibasomba): 'Politics and Society in Post-Colonial Zimbabwe' - Univ. of the Witwatersrand Dept. of Political Studies, 1998.

Certificate courses: lectures for short courses on 'Economic Development Strategies'; 'Managing Public Private Partnerships'; 'Urban Property Management'; 'Media and Society'; 'Gender and Development'; 'Housing Theory, History, and Policy'; 'Development Theory and Practice'; 'Information Technology'; and 'Hospital Management' - University of the Witwatersrand Graduate School of Public and Development Management, 1997-present.

Honours course: 'Geographical Perspectives on the RDP' - University of the Witwatersrand Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, 1996-97.

Doctoral and masters course: 'Policy Analysis and Synthesis' - Johns Hopkins University School of Public Health Department of Health Policy, 1995.

Doctoral and masters course: 'Globalization and the Welfare State' - Johns Hopkins University School of Public Health Department of Health Policy, 1994-95.

Doctoral and masters course: 'The Role of Government in Health Policy' – Johns Hopkins University School of Public Health Department of Health Policy, 1994-95.
 Undergraduate course: 'Finance and Urban Development' – Temple University Department of Geography and Urban Studies, 1988.
 Guest lectures at universities, including Aalborg, Africa (Mutare), Alberta, American (Washington), Autonoma Metropolitana-Xochimilco (Mexico City), Autonomous University of Barcelona, Binghamton, Birzeit (Ramallah), Botswana, California/Berkeley, California/Los Angeles, Cambridge, Cape Town, Carleton (Ottawa), Catholic (Porto Alegre), Central European (Budapest), Cheikh Anta Diop (Dakar), Christian Michelsen Institute (Bergen), Chulalongkorn (Bangkok), City College of New York, City University of New York, Clark (Massachusetts), Curtin (Perth), El Colegio de Mexico (Mexico City), Columbia, Concordia (Montreal), Cornell, Dar es Salaam, Dartmouth, Durban University of Technology, Free (Berlin), George Mason, Georgetown, Georgia, Gothenburg, Gyeongsang (Inju), Hamburg, Harvard, Hofstra (Long Island), Illinois (Urbana), Johannesburg, Johns Hopkins (Baltimore), Korea (Seoul), KwaZulu-Natal (Durban), Leeds, London, London School of Economics, London School of Oriental and African Studies, Lund, Manchester, Mandela (Port Elizabeth), Massachusetts (Amherst), McGill (Montreal), Michigan, Michigan State, Minnesota (Minneapolis), Murdoch (Perth), Nairobi, Newcastle (Australia), New York, North Carolina, Notre Dame College (Baltimore), Oslo, Ottawa, Oxford, Pretoria, Queens (Kingston), Rhodes (East London and Grahamstown), Roskilde, Rutgers (New Jersey), Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow), Ryerson (Toronto), San Francisco, SongKongHoe (Seoul), Stanford, State University of New York (Geneseo), Stellenbosch, Sydney, University of Technology Sydney, Toronto, Trinity College (Dublin), Warwick, Western Cape (Cape Town), Wisconsin (Madison), Witwatersrand (Johannesburg), Yokohama National, York (Toronto) and Zimbabwe.

SUPERVISION OF POST-GRADUATE RESEARCH

Primary supervision for doctoral degree dissertations:
 School of Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal: Horman Chitonge ('Rights-Based Development and Water in Zambia', 2005-2008, awarded 2009), Prishani Naidoo ('Water and Indigency Policy in Johannesburg', 2009-2010, awarded 2011), Baruti Amisi ('The Inga Hydropower Project and Civil Society Responses', 2006-present), Richard Kamidza ('Southern African Trade and Civil Society Advocacy', 2006-present), Simphiwe Nofijyeza ('African Development Bank Financing of Malawi Water', 2006-present), Kim Adonis ('Johannesburg Water Pricing', 2010-present).
 Graduate School of Public and Development Management, University of the Witwatersrand: Peter Benjamin, 'Informatics for Community Development,' (1997-1999, awarded at Aalborg Univ, 2001); Juma Okuku: 'Ugandan State and Industry' (2005-2008, awarded in 2008); Horacio Zandamela: 'Rural Credit and Local Economic Development in Mozambique,' 2000-2004 (awarded 2004).
 Department of Health Policy, Johns Hopkins University School of Public Health: Luis Alberto Aviles: 'Uneven Development in the Health System of El Salvador,' 1994-95.
 Primary supervision for masters degree dissertations and research reports:
 School of Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal: Horman Chitonge (human

rights and development, 2005), Maria Dalene (community radio, 2005-08), Prishani Naidoo (water commodification and decommodification, 2005-09), Eli Bernstein (South African fair trade, 2010) and Trevor Ngwane (Johannesburg civil society reaction to municipal services commercialisation, 2007-11).
 Graduate School of Public and Development Management, University of the Witwatersrand: Tamara Braam (gender and water delivery), Jose Correia (Mozambique rail privatisation), Alice Donga (township service delivery), Patrick Flusk (municipal services partnerships), Prathima Garbharran (cultural industries strategy), Antonio Hercules (poverty eradication strategies), Thami Hlekiso (informal credit suppliers), Stanley Hove (competition and liquor policies), Kosi Lisa (solar electrification project design), Leseho Manala (foreign aid and poverty), Thuso Maphala (Zimbabwe housing policy), Lindiwe Mbanjwa (education and fiscal decentralisation), S.R. Mhlongo (private sector water delivery), S.N. Mkhulise (growth and development in Ekurhuleni), Phineas Mohajane (NGOs and welfare services delivery), Daniel Ndlolzi (Johannesburg inner-city informal trading), Tomsie Phillips (elections planning), Llanley Simpson (intellectual property rights and information technology), Fancy Sentle (ecotourism), Moeketsi Tedile (community sanitation project participation), Veronica Thale (women and microenterprise finance), Savi Veerapan (rural credit and savings), Horacio Zandamela (interest rates and SMMEs), and Langa Zita (macroeconomic and industrial strategies), 1997-2004.

ADMINISTRATIVE/DEPARTMENTAL DUTIES

University of KwaZulu-Natal School of Development Studies: Board of Studies, Faculty Board, 10/04-present; Coordinator of PhD Programme, 4/05-12/07.
 University of the Witwatersrand Graduate School of Public and Development Management: PhD Academic Programme Founder and Convenor from 9/97-6/03; Masters/Research Degree Academic Programme Founder and Convenor from 9/01-6/03; member of Masters and Diploma Degree Admissions Committees, 9/97-present; co-director of Municipal Services Project from 1/00-6/03; Masters of Management by Research Programme Manager from 2/01-6/03; member of Post-Graduate Higher Degrees Committee, 2/01-present; member of the University Research Review Committee (Commerce and Management) 5/00-12/00; Assistant Director (Research) from 1/98-7/99, member of Management Committee from 1/98-7/99; member of Faculty of Management Post-Graduate Committee from 9/97-7/99; director of RDP Audit research project from 11/98-5/99; Coordinator of all masters and diploma degree core economics courses, 1997-99.
 Johns Hopkins University School of Public Health; Departmental Management Committee, Doctoral and Masters Admissions Committees, 1994-95.

SERVICE TO THE UNIVERSITY, PROFESSION AND COMMUNITY

Research associate and voluntary technical support for the Institute for Zero Waste in Africa (Durban, 2005-present), Southern Africa Center for Economic Justice (Johannesburg, 2000-2004), South Council of 50 Years is Enough Network (Washington, 1999-2004), Africa Institute of South Africa (Pretoria, 2001-02), Alternative Information and

Development Centre (Cape Town and Johannesburg, 1998-2002), Development Research Institute (Johannesburg, 1996-98), and numerous individual township civic associations in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal, 1997-present.

Member of the International Advisory Committee to the International Encyclopedia of Civil Society, Heidelberg, 2007-present.

External Examiner, University of Mauritius Masters of Science in Social Development, 2006-09; University of Johannesburg Department of Sociology, 2008-09; University of the Witwatersrand Development Studies, 2006; University of Cape Town Department of Political Science, 2006; University of Durban-Westville Social Policy Programme, Durban, 1999-2002; Wits University Department of Architecture, 2001-2003.

Co-director, Municipal Services Project (<http://www.queensu.ca/msp>) (Johannesburg/Kingston), and co-editor, Municipal Services Project Occasional Papers Series, 2000-03.

Assistance in drafting speeches, articles and papers regarding socio-economic development issues for political/social leaders, including Archbishop Njongonkulu Ndungane, 2000-02; anti-apartheid activist Dennis Brutus, November 2000; SA Municipal Workers President Petrus Mashishi, September 1999; Water Minister Kader Asmal, March 1997; President Nelson Mandela, June 1996; RDP coordinator Jay Naidoo, April 1994; Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions secretary Morgan Tsvangirai, December 1992; and SA National Civic Organisation president Moses Mayekiso, 1992-94.

Monthly columnist, *ZNet* (<http://www.zmag.org>) (Boston), 2000-present and *Muslim Views* (Cape Town), 2009-present.

Editor, *Watching the World Bank in Southern Africa* newsletter (Alternative Information and Development Centre, Cape Town), 2000-2002.

Editorial advisory board member, *Socialist Register* (York University, Toronto), 1996-present.

Contributing writer, *Multinational Monitor* (Washington), 1996-present.

Editorial or advisory board member of international journals: *International Journal of Health Services* (Johns Hopkins School of Public Health), 1996-present; *Historical Materialism* (London School of Economics), 2004-present; *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development* (American University), 2004-present; *Studies in Political Economy* (Carleton University), 2004-present; *Capitalism Nature Socialism* (Bard College), 2004-present; *Review of African Political Economy* (Sheffield University), 2007-present; *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities* (Unesco, New York); *Antipode* (Manchester University), 2010-present; *International Critical Thought* (Chinese Academy of Sciences), 2010-present; and *Millennium* (London School of Economics), 2000.

Reviewer of articles submitted to *African Affairs*, *African Studies*, *American Journal of Public Health*, *Antipode*, *International Journal of Health Services*, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *Law, Democracy and Development*, *Millennium*, *Social Science and Medicine*, *Society and Space*, *Studies in Political Economy*, and *Urban Forum*, 1990-present.

Reviewer of manuscripts submitted to *Monthly Review Press*, *University of KwaZulu-Natal Press*, *St. Martin's Press*, *Codesria Press*, *University of Indiana Press* and *Wits University Press*, 1998-present.

Regular (voluntary) speaker for non-governmental organisations, community groups, trade unions, churches and student groups on development issues, 1990-present.

Zimbabwe electoral observer and research coordinator for Manicaland Province, Electoral

Institute of South Africa (Johannesburg), 2000.

Editorial Advisory Board member, *Reconstruct* (Johannesburg), 1992-94, 1999-2000.

Assessor (voluntary) for the Ramaphosa Black Economic Empowerment Commission, Johannesburg, 1999-2000.

Visiting professor (Special Topics Lectures), Yokohama National University, Japan, 1999.

Editorial collective member, *debate* (Johannesburg), 1996-1998.

Co-host of African NGO Conference on Housing Finance Policy, Johannesburg, 1998.

Columnist, *Local Government Chronicle*, Johannesburg, 1997.

Co-chair, South African Department of Health Technical Committee on Managed Care and Health Industry Structure, 1997.

Technical support on socio-economic policy to national Democratic Movement advocacy organisations (RDP Council, Congress of South African Trade Unions executive, SA National Civic Organisation, Consumer Council of South Africa, Disabled People of South Africa) (Johannesburg), 1995-97.

Reviewer of proposals submitted to social science research councils in South Africa, Norway and Canada (1996-present).

Technical support to the ANC/Alliance *Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)* coordinating team, including quantification and popularisation (eg. drafting newspaper articles and speeches) for the ANC programme of governance (Johannesburg), 1993-94.

Technical support on negotiations between SA National Civic Organisation (National Office) and many banks, agencies and private firms; SANCO representative to RDP editorial committee (Johannesburg), 1992-94.

Production editor, *Umthunywa/Morongwa*, SANCO newsletter (Johannesburg), 1993-94.

Editorial Advisory Board member, *BankCheck* (Berkeley CA), 1993-97.

Board of Trustees member, Institute for African Alternatives (Johannesburg), 1994.

Technical support to civic associations on development projects, financial packaging and negotiations—in inner-city Johannesburg and in black townships including Soweto, Alexandra, Etwatwa, Wattville, and Ekangala (Johannesburg), 1990-94.

Technical support to Harare Street People's Organisation, 1989-90.

Author of first successful Community Reinvestment Act legal challenge against bank 'redlining' (Continental Illinois Bank, Chicago, 1989), and technical support for community groups in more than a dozen other CRA challenges leading to several hundred million dollars of reinvestment commitments (various cities), 1985-89, 1995.

Coordinating Committee Member, US Debt Crisis Network (Washington), 1985-89.

Anti-apartheid leadership in Baltimore in Washington; expert testimony to the UN Centre Against Apartheid, Maryland House of Delegates, and Baltimore City Council; and involvement in national anti-apartheid strategy concerning international financial sanctions, 1985-87.

Editor, *Cascade* development newsletter, Philadelphia Federal Reserve, 1984-85.

MAJOR ACTIVITIES WITH CIVIL SOCIETY

SOUTH AFRICA

Alternative Information and Development Centre: analysis of impact of fiscal and monetary policy on employment, 2005.

Association of Residents and Civic Organisations of Gauteng: informal policy advisor, 1998.
 Climate Justice Now! South Africa: founding member, 2010.
 Congress of South African Trade Unions (Johannesburg): justification for a national housing agency, restructuring of Eskom to rationalise housing delivery capacity, author of advocacy paper on capital controls, and provision of National Health Insurance costing estimates, 1996-97, 1999; 2008.
 Consumer Council of South Africa (Johannesburg): preparation of report and parliamentary testimony on financial services industry issues, 1996.
 Disabled People South Africa (Cape Town): analysis of government economic policies and their impact on disabled entrepreneurs, employees and job-seekers, and analysis of trends in the global economy, 1996, 1998-99.
 Eastern Cape NGO Coalition (East London): team leader in analysis of provincial RDP-related policies, 1997-99.
 Eastern Cape Socio-Economic Consultative Council (Bisho): team leader in analysis of the Eastern Cape economy, of the economies of Butterworth, Port Elizabeth and Stutterheim, and of rural infrastructure/services strategies, and chief drafter of *A Socio-Economic Snapshot of the Eastern Cape* and several other publications, 1996-2001.
 Electoral Institute of South Africa (Johannesburg): researcher for 2000 parliamentary election in Zimbabwe, responsible for Manicaland Province, 2000.
 Environmental Monitoring Group (Cape Town): author of study on financing of Southern African dams, on behalf of EMG and other environmental groups, for the World Commission on Dams, and co-author of a booklet, *Water Privatisation in SADC Countries*, prepared for Bonn Ministerial Summit on Water, 1999-2001.
 Equinet (Harare): lead author of studies on regional poverty and health equity, and on African resource outflows, 2002, 2005.
 Institute for Zero Waste in Africa (Durban): Member of board of directors, 2005-present.
 Johannesburg Inner-City Community Forum: informal advisor on technical aspects of inner-city planning, housing and economic development, 1999.
 Mandela Metropole Sustainability Coalition (Port Elizabeth): lead co-author of technical report on alternatives to the Coega Port/IDZ, 2001.
 National Economic Development and Labour Council, Community Constituency (Johannesburg): team leader in analysis of numerous development issues, 1996-97.
 National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union: coordination of National Health Insurance and state pharmaceutical industry modeling, 2008-10.
 National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa: assistance in macroeconomic policy formulation, 2009-10.
 National Housing Forum (Johannesburg): analysis of housing finance institutions, 1993.
 Northern Province NGO Coalition (Pietersburg), team leader in analysis of provincial RDP-related policy, 1997-98.
 RDP Council (Johannesburg): team leader of analysis of all major government policies related to the Reconstruction and Development Programme, 1996-97.
 Rural Development Services Network (Johannesburg): team member and lead author of research on rural water delivery issues, 1998-99.
 South African Environmental Project (Cape Town) and other environmental organisations: team leader of economic analysis of the Coega port/Industrial Development Zone, 2001.
 South African Municipal Workers Union (Johannesburg): advisor on municipal services

options for Johannesburg, 1999-2000.
 South African National Civic Organisation (Johannesburg): advisor to president (1992-93), and to Economic Development and Housing desks, 1992-97.
 South African Non-Governmental Organisation Coalition (Johannesburg): writing/editing report to Commonwealth on status of civil society, 1999.
 Institute for Zero Waste in Africa (Durban): founding board member, 2005.

ZIMBABWE

African Network and Forum on Debt and Development (Afrodad) (Harare): author of studies on exchange controls, Monterrey financing for development and global governance and economic reform, 2000, 2002, 2005.
 Regional Network for Equity in Health in Southern Africa (Equinet) (Harare): author and co-author of studies on African economics, 2002-05.
 Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development (Harare): analysis of international financial policy advocacy options, 2001.
 Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (Harare): analysis of pension/provident fund investments and housing policy, and of infrastructure policy, alternative development finance and Zimbabwe's role in the Southern Africa region, 1992-93, 1999-2000.

UNITED STATES

Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (Washington): skills training on financial analysis, and analysis of urban and corporate finance in Chicago and New York City, 1987-89; and analysis of aspects of multinational corporate location in Swaziland, 1991.
 Economic Policy Institute (Washington): analysis of international financial penetration of the South African economy, 2001.
 Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union (Los Angeles), financial skills training and analysis of corporate financial relations in California and Nevada, 1988-89.
 International Brotherhood of Teamsters (Washington): skills training on financial analysis, and analysis of urban and corporate finance issues in Atlanta, Baltimore, Dallas, Northern California, and Washington, 1995-96.
 MidAtlantic Healthcare Purchasing Coalition (Baltimore): analysis of healthcare purchasing alliances in Maryland and Minnesota, 1994-95.
 Private Agencies Collaborating Together (Washington): report on rationale for a South African Community Reinvestment Act, 1995.
 Service Employees International Union (Washington): skills training on financial analysis, 1989 and analysis of corporate financing of health care, 1995.
 Sheetmetal Workers Union (Washington), skills training on financial analysis, 1989.
 United Electrical Workers of America (Washington), financial analysis, 1988.
 United Mine Workers of America (Washington), financial training and analysis of urban/rural and corporate finance issues in Cleveland, rural Kentucky, New York City, Omaha, Pittsburgh, St. Louis and Washington, 1988-89.

INTERNATIONAL

- ActionAid (Lilongwe): designed and implemented course for presentation to masters-level students drawn from African staff and partners, 2006-present.
- Bread for All (Zurich): author of study on the application of financial transaction and currency taxes to South Africa, 2000.
- Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation (Uppsala): assisted in establishment of Durban Group for Climate Justice and in various facets of 'What's Next?' project, 2004-06.
- Ford Foundation (New York) and World Resources Institute (Washington): analysis of impact of World Summit on Sustainable Development on South African civil society, 2003.
- Freie Universitaet (Berlin): author of two research papers on aspects of Johannesburg infrastructure and civil society, 2003.
- Greenpeace (Amsterdam): survey of international carbon trading regimes, 2008.
- Kairos Europa (Frankfurt): analysis of structural adjustment programmes, 2001-02.
- World Conservation Union (IUCN) Commission on Environmental, Economic and Social Policy (Gland): steering committee member of the Theme on the Environment, Macroeconomics, Trade and Investment, 2006.

WORK WITH INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

- European Union (Pretoria): led team analysing Department of Public Works capacity in three provinces (Eastern Cape, Northern Province and Gauteng), and wrote three studies for an evaluation of EU funding policy in post-apartheid South Africa, 1997, 1999.
- International Development Research Centre (Ottawa): analysis of social service provision in Eastern and Southern Africa, 2000.
- International Liaison Office of Jean-Bertrand Aristide, President of Haiti (Washington and Port-au-Prince, Haiti): analysis of structural adjustment, privatisation, economic development and credit, 1995.
- Southern African Regional Poverty Network (Midrand): Analysis of the impact of trade and investment on poverty, 2007.
- Southern Africa Trust (Midrand, South Africa): Member of Regional Poverty Observatory advisory group, 2007.
- United Nations AIDS (Geneva): author of three reports on economics, public policy and politics in Africa, 2003.
- United Nations Municipal Development Programme for Eastern and Southern Africa (Harare): author of report on Local Economic Development trends in South Africa, 2000.
- United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (Geneva): research on health and water policy in Southern Africa with the African Social Policy Group, 2003; co-organiser of Durban conference on Civil Society and World Summits (2006); and co-author (with Ashwin Desai) of major study on 'South African Foreign Policy, Bottom-Up', 2006-07.
- United Nations University/World Institute of Development Economics Research (Helsinki): co-author (with Guy Mhone) of macroeconomic analysis of Botswana and Zimbabwe, 2000-01.
- World Health Organisation Global Knowledge Network Commission on the Social Determinants of Health (Geneva): commission member with co-responsibility for water and health, and responsibility for geopolitics and finance, 2006-08.

SERVICE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT

POLICY AUTHORSHIP AND EDITORSHIP

- Refocusing Development on the Poor: Draft Local Economic Development Policy Paper* – Department of Provincial and Local Government, Pretoria, March 2002.
- Gauteng Green Paper on Public Works* (co-authored with George Dor) – Gauteng Department of Transport and Public Works, Johannesburg, May 2001.
- Local Economic Development Policy Paper* (co-authored with Meshack Khosa) – Department of Provincial and Local Government, Pretoria, September 2000.
- An Accelerated Framework for the Restructuring of State Owned Enterprises* (chapter drafter and co-editor) – Department of Public Enterprises, Pretoria, August 2000.
- Towards a State Property Agency for the 21st Century* (drafter) – Department of Public Works, Pretoria, April 1999.
- Draft Gauteng Green Paper on Public Works* (co-authored with George Dor and Thami Hlekiso) – Gauteng Department of Transport and Public Works, Johannesburg, January 1999.
- Financial Access for SMMEs: Towards a Comprehensive Strategy* (editor) – Department of Trade and Industry, Pretoria, May 1998.
- Proposed Guidelines for Competition Policy: A Framework for Competition, Competitiveness and Development* (chief drafter) – Department of Trade and Industry, Pretoria, November 1997.
- Public Works in South Africa: Towards the 21st Century (White Paper on Public Works)* (co-edited with Meshack Khosa) – Department of Public Works, Pretoria, October 1997.
- White Paper on Liquor Policy* (co-authored with George Dor) – Department of Trade and Industry, Pretoria, May 1997.
- Public Works in South Africa: Towards the 21st Century (Green Paper on Public Works)* (co-edited with Meshack Khosa) – Department of Public Works, Pretoria, October 1996.
- Taking the RDP Forward: A Framework for a National Growth and Development Strategy* (chief drafter) – Minister without Portfolio within the Office of the President, Pretoria, March 1996.
- White Paper on Reconstruction and Development: Government's Strategy for Fundamental Transformation (RDP White Paper)* (chief drafter) – Minister without Portfolio within the Office of the President, Pretoria, September 1994.
- The PWV Provincial Reconstruction and Development Programme* (chief drafter, first draft) – African National Congress/Alliance, Johannesburg, May 1994.
- The Reconstruction and Development Programme* (member of editorial team, with Alec Erwin, Max Sisulu and Jeremy Cronin) – African National Congress/Alliance, Johannesburg, February 1994.

ADDITIONAL WORK FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT

- Department of Constitutional Development (Pretoria): primary author of two studies on local economic development for joint project with British Department for International Development; editor of critical analysis of Municipal Infrastructure Investment Framework; author of contributing document on municipal service delivery for the

Local Government Green Paper; co-author of research study specifying environmental, health, planning and economic aspects of infrastructure; contributor to Integrated Development Planning: A Manual and Guidelines for Municipalities; analysis of pros/cons of taking World Bank infrastructure loans, 1996-99.

Department of Health (Pretoria): briefings to policy officials on socio-economic issues; advisor on generic pharmaceuticals policy; consultant on managed healthcare regulation and co-chair of working group on private health sector industry structure, 1996-97.

Department of Labour (Pretoria): team leader of two research consultancies on employment-generation in the construction, housing and financial services industries, 1996-97.

Department of Provincial and Local Government (Pretoria): contributor to Municipal Infrastructure Investment Framework, 2002; contributor to revision of the Municipal Infrastructure Investment Strategy, 2006.

Department of Public Works (Pretoria): team leader of evaluation of community-based public works projects in the Eastern Cape and Northern Province, 1999.

Department of Trade and Industry (Pretoria): contributor to department analysis of consumer banking issues, and researcher on infrastructure and competitiveness, 1997, 2000.

Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (Pretoria): contributor to Department budget and Medium Term Expenditure Framework submission, to drafting team for the Economic Water Pricing Policy, and to water tariff regulations, 1997, 1999-2000.

Development Bank of Southern Africa (Midrand): team leader on research concerning social benefits of infrastructure and services, 1997.

Greater Bloemfontein Transitional Local Council: contributor to analysis of water service delivery options, 1999.

Human Sciences Research Council (Pretoria): team leader on research on national housing finance, 1996-97, and on international financial determinants of SA policies, 1997-99.

Johannesburg Southern Metropolitan Local Council (Johannesburg/Soweto): research on local economic development, 1997.

Office of the President (Pretoria): Rapid Review Assessment of existing urban policy for the Urban Regeneration Strategy, 2000.

WORK FOR THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

African National Congress/Alliance RDP Editing Committee (Johannesburg): member of final editorial team, 2/93-5/94.

African National Congress Gauteng (then PWV) RDP Commission (Johannesburg): RDP editor/advisor and author of the first draft of the PWV Provincial RDP, 1994.

African National Congress National Executive Committee (Johannesburg): leader of team commissioned to audit government accomplishments in social and economic policy (An RDP Audit), 1998-99.

African National Congress Economic Transformation Committee (Johannesburg): Reference group on Realignment of Infrastructure Delivery for Integrated Development, 2001.

PUBLICATIONS, RESEARCH PAPERS AND PRESENTATIONS

BOOKS

Authored Books

Politics of Climate Justice: Paralysis Above, Movement Below – Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, October 2011.

A Pihagem na África – Rio de Janeiro, South Links, April 2008 (190 pp).

Looting Africa: The Economics of Exploitation – London, Zed Books and Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, June 2006 (187 pp).

Talk Left, Walk Right: South Africa's Frustrated Global Reforms (second edition) – Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, June 2006 (323 pp).

Elite Transition: From Apartheid to Neoliberalism in South Africa (second edition) – Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, May 2005 (383 pp).

Talk Left, Walk Right: South Africa's Frustrated Global Reforms – Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, April 2004 (283 pp).

Against Global Apartheid: South Africa meets the World Bank, IMF and International Finance (second edition) – London, Zed Books and Cape Town, University of Cape Town Press, September 2003 (356 pp).

Zimbabwe's Plunge: Exhausted Nationalism, Neoliberalism and the Search for Social Justice (co-authored with Masimba Manyanya) (second edition) – Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press and London, Merlin Press, January 2003 (304 pp).

Unsustainable South Africa: Environment, Development and Social Protest – Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, London, Merlin Press, and Trenton, Africa World Press, August 2002 (475 pp).

Zimbabwe's Plunge: Exhausted Nationalism, Neoliberalism, and the Search for Social Justice (co-authored with Masimba Manyanya) – Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, London, Merlin Press, and Trenton, Africa World Press, February 2002 (265 pp).

Against Global Apartheid: South Africa meets the World Bank, IMF and International Finance – Cape Town, University of Cape Town Press, October 2001 (328 pp).

Cities of Gold, Townships of Coal: Essays on South Africa's New Urban Crisis – Trenton, Africa World Press, June 2000 (401 pp).

Elite Transition: From Apartheid to Neoliberalism in South Africa – London, Pluto Press and Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, March 2000 (318 pp).

Uneven Zimbabwe: A Study of Finance, Development and Underdevelopment – Trenton, Africa World Press, July 1998 (515 pp).

Commanding Heights and Community Control: New Economics for a New South Africa – Johannesburg, Ravan Press, April 1991 (92 pp).

Forthcoming Books

Uneven and Combined South Africa: Crony Neoliberalism, Paranoid Nationalism and Tokenist Welfareism (with Ashwin Desai) – Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

Edited or Co-edited Journals

Capitalism Nature Socialism: Special Issue on the Durban Climate Summit, 4, December 2011.

Review of African Political Economy: Special Issue on Debates on the Southern African Left (coedited with Branwyn Gryffwyd-Jones, Ray Bush and Sarah Bracking), 34, 11.1, March 2007.

Africanus: Special Issue on Transcending Two Economies, 37, 2, November 2007.

Edited or Co-edited Books

- Zuma's Own Goal: Lasting South Africa's 'War on Poverty'* (co-edited with Brij Maharaj and Ashwin Desai) – Trenton, Africa World Press, August 2010 (432 pp).
- Climate Change, Carbon Trading and Civil Society: Negative Returns on South African Investments* (co-edited with Rehana Dada and Graham Erion) – Second edition, Amsterdam, Rozenberg Publishers, and Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, February 2009 (208 pp).
- Climate Change, Carbon Trading and Civil Society: Negative Returns on South African Investments* (co-edited with Rehana Dada and Graham Erion) – Amsterdam, Rozenberg Publishers, and Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, April 2007 (190 pp).
- Beyond Enclivity in African Economies: The Enduring Work of Guy Mhone* (edited) – Johannesburg, Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa; Lilongwe, ActionAid; New Delhi, International Development Economics Associates; Nairobi, University of Nairobi Institute of Development Studies; and Durban, Centre for Civil Society, January 2007 (56 pp).
- A Political Programme for the World Social Forum? Democracy, Substance and Debate in the Bamako Appeal and the Global Justice Movements* (collaboration with editors J.Sen and M.Kumar) – New Delhi, CACIM and Durban, CCS.
- The Accumulation of Capital in Southern Africa: Rosa Luxemburg's Contemporary Relevance* (co-edited with Horman Chitonge and Arndt Hopfmann) – Berlin, Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and Durban, Centre for Civil Society, January 2007 (208 pp).
- Trouble in the Air: Global Warming and the Privatised Atmosphere* (co-edited with Rehana Dada) – Durban, UKZN Centre for Civil Society and Amsterdam, Transnational Institute, October 2005 (225 pp).
- Fanon's Warning: A Civil Society Reader on the New Partnership for Africa's Development* (editor) (second edition) – Trenton, Africa World Press, Durban, UKZN CCS and Cape Town, AIDC, April 2005 (295 pp).
- From Local Processes to Global Forces: Centre for Civil Society Research Reports, 2005, Volume 1* (lead editor) – Durban, UKZN Centre for Civil Society, February 2005 (192 pp).
- Fanon's Warning: A Civil Society Reader on the New Partnership for Africa's Development* (editor) – Cape Town, AIDC and Trenton, Africa World Press, June 2002 (220 pp).
- An RDP Policy Audit* (co-edited with Meshack Khosa) – Pretoria, Human Sciences Research Council Press, June 1999 (199 pp).
- Township Politics: Civic Struggles for a New South Africa* (edited, by Mzwanele Mayekiso) – New York, Monthly Review, January 1996 (288 pp).

Forthcoming Edited Books

- Foreign Policy, Bottom-Up: A South African Diary of 21st Century Popular Globalisation* (co-edited with Ashwin Desai) – Geneva, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development University and Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 2012.
- African Political Economy and Social Protest* (with Eunice Sahle and Khadija Sharife) – To be submitted to Fahamu Books, 2011.

ARTICLES IN REFEREED JOURNALS

Published Articles

- 'What is it to be radical, in neoliberal-nationalist South Africa?' – *Review of Radical Political Economy*, 2011.
- 'Carbon Trading, New Enclosures and Socio-Economic Contestation' – *Antipode*, 2011.
- 'Xenophobia and Civil Society: Durban's Structured Social Divisions' (with Baruti Amisi, Nokuthula Cele and Trevor Ngwane) – *Politikon*, 38, 1, April 2011, pp. 59–83.
- 'South Africa Splinters' – *Review of African Political Economy*, 38, 127, March 2011, pp.113–121.
- 'From Copenhagen to Cancún to Durban: Deckchair Shifting on the Climate Titanic' – *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 22, 2, March 2011, pp.3–26.
- 'Anatomies of Environmental Knowledge and Resistance' (with Michael Dorsey) – *Journal of Australian Political Economy*, 66, December 2010, pp.286–316.
- 'Climate Justice Politics across Space and Scale' – *Human Geography*, 3, 2, September 2010, http://www.hugeog.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=164:cjpa_ssh32n2&catid=41:v3n2&Itemid=64.
- 'Climate Debt Owed to Africa: What to Demand and How to Collect?' – *African Journal of Science, Technology, Innovation and Development*, 2, 1, 2010, pp.83–113.
- 'Water, Health and the Commodification Debate' – *Review of Radical Political Economics*, 2010, 42, 3, September 2010.
- 'South Africa's Bubble Meets Boiling Urban Social Protest' – *Monthly Review*, June 2010, pp.17–28.
- 'Dennis Brutus: A Memorial Statement' – *Tydskrif vir Letterkunde*, 47, 1, 2010, pp.126–129.
- 'Maintaining Momentum after Copenhagen's Collapse: "Seal the Deal" or "Seattle" the Deal?' – *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 21, 1, March 2010, pp.14–27.
- 'La Crise Economique et Sociale de l'Afrique du Sud' – *Informations et Commentaires*, 148, 2009, pp.13–22.
- 'Removing Neocolonialism's APRM Mask: A Critique of the African Peer Review Mechanism' – *Review of African Political Economy* 122, 2009, pp.595–603.
- 'The Influence of Labour in the New South African Government' – *Working USA: The Journal of Labor and Society*, 12, December 2009, pp.575–589.
- 'Sudáfrica: Éxitos de los Activistas por la Salud y el Medioambiente' – *Ecología Política*, 37, 2009, pp.95–104.
- 'In "Power" in Pretoria' – *New Left Review*, 58, July–August 2009, pp. 77–88.
- 'Global Civil Society Strategies for Social Justice' – *African Journal of Rhetoric*, 1, 2009, pp.212–245.
- 'Apartheid Reparations and the Contestation of Corporate Power in Africa' (with Khadija Sharife) – *Review of African Political Economy*, 119, 2009, pp.115–137.
- 'Realistic Post-Neoliberalism: A View from South Africa' – *Development Dialogue*, 51, 2009, pp.193–211.
- 'Background Tensions within Volatile Global Capitalism' – *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 20, 1, 2009, pp.41–44.
- 'Sovereignty, Neo-Liberalism, and the Post-Diasporic Politics of Globalization: A

- Conversation about South Africa' (with Christopher Lee, Ashwin Desai and Molefi Ndlovu) – *Radical History Review*, 104, 2009, pp.143-161.
- 'The State of the Carbon Trading Debate' – *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 19, 4, 2008, pp.1-18, reprinted in *The Commoner*, 13, Winter 2008-09, pp.85-102.
- 'South Africa's "Developmental State" Distraction' – *Mediations*, 24, 1, 2008, pp.8-27, www.mediationsjournal.org/articles/developmental-state-distraction.
- 'Social Movements and Corporate Social Responsibility in South Africa' – *Development and Change*, 39, 6, 2008, pp.1037-1052.
- 'Can Reparations for Apartheid Profits be Won in US Courts?' – *Africa Insight*, 38, 2, 2008, pp.13-25.
- 'Macrodynamics of Globalization, Uneven Urban Development and the Commodification of Water' – *Law, Social Justice and Global Development*, 10, 2, September 2008, http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/law/elj/igd/2008_1/bond.
- 'Global Uneven Development, Primitivization and Political-Economic Conflict in Africa: The Return of the Theory of Imperialism' – *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*, 4, 1, 2008, pp.23-37.
- 'Collaborations, Co-optations & Contestations in Praxis-Based Knowledge Production' – *Review of African Political Economy*, 116, pp.89-93, 2008.
- 'Post-Imperialist North-South Financial Relations?' – *Studies in Political Economy*, 81, 2008, pp.77-97.
- 'Reformist Reforms, Non-Reformist Reforms and Global Justice: Activist, NGO and Intellectual Challenges in the World Social Forum' – *Societies without Borders*, 2008, 3, pp.4-19.
- 'The Case of Johannesburg Water: What Really Happened at the Pre-paid "Parish pump" (with Jackie Dugard) – *Law, Democracy and Development*, 12, 1, 2008, pp.1-28.
- 'Water, Human Rights and Social Conflict: South African Experiences' (with Jackie Dugard) – *Law, Social Justice and Global Development*, 10, 1, February 2008, http://www.go.warwick.ac.uk/elj/igd/2008_1/bond_dugard.
- 'Introduction: Two Economies, or One System of Superexploitation' – *Africanus*, 37, 2, November 2007, pp.1-21.
- '"Two Economies", Microcredit and the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa' – *Africanus*, 37, 2, November 2007, pp.216-230.
- 'Développement Urbain Inégal, Financiarisation et Accès à L'eau en Afrique' – *Alternatives Sud*, 14, 2, 2007, pp.53-83.
- 'South Africa between Neoliberalism and Social Democracy? Respecting Balance while Sharpening Differences' – *Politikon*, 34, 2, 2007, pp.125-146.
- 'Privatization of the Air turns Lethal: 'Pay to Pollute' Principle Kills South African Activist Sajida Khan' – *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 18, 4, 2007, pp.6-37.
- 'Linking Below, Across and Against: World Social Forum Weaknesses, Global Governance Gaps, and the Global Justice Movement's Strategic Dilemmas' – *Development Dialogue*, 49, October 2007, pp.83-98.
- 'A Death in Durban: Capitalist Patriarchy, Global Warming Gimmickry and our Responsibility for Rubbish' (with Rehana Dada) – *Agenda*, 73, 2007, pp.46-55.
- 'A Water Policy Revolution?' (with Zoe Wilson) – *Global Social Policy*, 7, 2, June 2007, pp.143-146.
- 'Anti-G8-Bewegungen: Ein Internationaler Vergleich' ('Anti-G8 Movements: An International Scan') – *Welt Trends*, 55, Summer 2007, pp.37-52.
- 'Microcredit Evangelism, Health and Social Policy' – *International Journal of Health Services*, 37, 2, June 2007, pp.229-249.
- 'Competing Explanations of Zimbabwe's Long Economic Crisis' – *Safundi: Journal of South African and American Studies*, 8, 2, June 2007, pp.149-181.
- 'The Dispossession of African Wealth at the Cost of Africa's Health' – *International Journal of Health Services*, 37, 1, March 2007, pp.171-192.
- 'Primitivization, Enclavement, Rural Marginalisation and Articulation' – *Review of African Political Economy*, 34, 111, March 2007, pp.29-37.
- 'Civil Society on Global Governance: Facing up to Divergent Analysis, Strategy and Tactics' – *Voluntas*, 17, 4, December 2006, pp.359-371.
- 'Reconciliation and Economic Reaction: Flaws in South Africa's Elite Transition' – *Journal of International Affairs*, 60, 1, Fall/Winter 2006, pp.141-156.
- 'Water Commodification: Can Human Rights Trump the Market?' – *Asian Exchange*, 22, 1, 2006, pp.39-59.
- 'Resource Extraction and African Underdevelopment' – *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 17, 2, June 2006, pp.5-25.
- 'A Crise Económica Global e a Pilhagem da África' and 'Global Economic Crisis and the Looting of Africa' – *Tensores Mundiais: Revista do Observatório das Nacionalidades*, 2, 1, June 2006, pp.207-311.
- 'South African Subimperialism' – *Contra/Relatos*, June 2006, 2, 2, pp.115-206.
- 'Global Governance Campaigning and MDGs: From Top-down to Bottom-up Anti-poverty Work' – *Third World Quarterly*, 27, 2, March 2006, pp.339-354, republished as 'OMD et Gouvernance Mondiale: Quelles Luttes Contre la Pauvreté?' in *Alternatives Sud*, 13, 1, 2006, pp.127-147 and 'ODM y Gobernabilidad Mundial: ¿Cómo Luchar Contra la Pobreza?' in *Objetivos de desarrollo para el milenio: puntos de vista críticos del Sur*, 2006, pp.147-172.
- 'Zimbabwe's Hide and Seek with the IMF: Imperialism, Nationalism and the South African Proxy' – *Review of African Political Economy*, 106, December 2005, pp.609-619.
- 'Labor, the State and the Struggle for a Democratic Zimbabwe' (with Richard Saunders) – *Monthly Review*, 57, 7, December 2005, pp.42-55, republished as 'El movimiento obrero y el Estado en la lucha por un Zimbabwe democrático', *Movimientos obreros de hoy: Monthly Review, selecciones en castellano*, 2006, pp.153-166.
- 'Suedafrikas Kapitulation vorm Neoliberalismus' 'South Africa's Capitulation to Neoliberalism' – *Das Argument*, 262, 47, 4, November 2005, pp.543-551.
- 'Globalisation/Commodification or Deglobalisation/Decommodification in Urban South Africa' – *Policy Studies*, 26, 3, 2005, pp.337-358.
- 'Gramsci, Polanyi and Impressions on the World Social Forum from Africa' – *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29, 2, 2005, pp.433-440; republished in D.Byrne (Ed), *Social Exclusion, Critical Concepts in Sociology*, London, Routledge, 2008.
- 'Decommercializzazione e Deglobalizzazione: Sfide Strategiche per i Movimenti Sociali Africani' – *Afriche e Oriente*, 6, 3, 2004, pp.5-17.
- 'Talk Left, Walk Right: Rhetoric and Reality in the New South Africa' – *Global Dialogue*, 6, 4, 2004, pp.127-140.
- 'Bankrupt Africa: Imperialism, Subimperialism and Financial Politics' – *Historical Materialism*, 12, 4, 2004, pp.145-172.

- 'The ANC's 'Left Turn' and South African Subimperialism' - *Review of African Political Economy*, 102, September 2004, pp.595-611.
- 'South Africa tackles Global Apartheid: Is the Reform Strategy Working?' - *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 103, 4, 2004, pp.819-841.
- 'Should the World Bank be 'Fixed' or 'Nixed'? Reformist Posturing and Popular Resistance' - *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 15, 2, 2004, pp.85-105.
- 'From Racial to Class Apartheid: South Africa's Frustrating Decade of Freedom' - *Monthly Review*, 55, 10, 2004, pp.45-59.
- 'Is NEPAD Passé?' - *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development* 5, 2004.
- 'Water Commodification and Decommmodification: South African Narratives from Johannesburg to Kyoto to Cancun and Back' - *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 15, 1, 2004, pp.7-25.
- 'Il Sudafrica e L'Apartheid Globale: La Strategia Riformista Funziona?' - *Alternative*, 2, 2004, pp.62-71.
- 'Un'Altra Africa e Possibile: La Resistenza di un Continente Considerato Perduto' - *CNS Ecologia Politica*, 13, 1-2, 2003, pp.44-52.
- 'The World Bank, Human Rights and Reparations' - *South African Journal of Human Rights*, 19, 2003, pp.717-745.
- 'Uneven Health Outcomes and Political Resistance under Residual Neoliberalism in Africa' (with George Dor) - *International Journal of Health Services*, 33, 4, 2003, pp. 607-30.
- 'Globalisation in Africa: African Anti-Capitalisms' - *Society in Transition*, 33, 2, 2003, pp.233-251.
- 'Siete Visiones Sobre la Cumbre de la Tierra' (with Joan Martínez Alier, Mick Brooks, Hubertus Samangun, Sunita Narain and Michael Goldman) - *Ecología Política*, 24, 2003, pp.29-60.
- 'The Limits of Neoliberal Water Policies in Africa' - *Austrian Journal of Development Studies*, 19, 4, 2003, pp.34-55.
- 'Local Economic Development Debates in South Africa' - *Urban Forum*, 14, 2-3, 2003, pp.147-165.
- 'A Johannesburg Roundtable Debate on Sustainable Development' - *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 13, 4, 2002, pp.80-84.
- 'The New Partnership for Africa's Development: Social, Economic and Environmental Contradictions' - *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 13, 2, 2002, pp.151-180.
- 'Zimbabwe, South Africa and the Power Politics of Bourgeois Democracy' - *Monthly Review*, 53, 11, 2002, pp.32-45.
- 'South Africa's Agenda in 21st Century Global Governance' - *Review of African Political Economy*, 89, September 2001, pp.415-428.
- 'Foreign Aid and Development Debates in South Africa' - *Transformation*, 45, June 2001, pp.25-36.
- 'Pretoria's Perspective on Globalization' - *Politikon*, May 2001, pp.81-94.
- 'Radical Rhetoric and the Working Class during Zimbabwe Nationalism's Dying Days' - *Journal of World Systems Research*, 7, 2, March 2001, pp.52-90.
- 'Economic Crisis in Zimbabwe: Outwards vs Inwards Development Strategy for Post-Nationalist Zimbabwe' - *Labour, Capital and Society*, 33, 2, November 2000, pp.162-191.
- 'Regionalism, Environment and the Southern African Proletariat' (with Darlene Miller and Greg Ruiters) - *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 11, 3, September 2000, pp.3-7.
- 'Defunding the Fund, Running on the Bank' - *Monthly Review*, 52, 1, 2000, pp.127-140.
- 'Economic Growth, Ecological Modernization, or Environmental Justice?: Conflicting Discourses in Post-Apartheid South Africa' - *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 11, 1, 2000, pp.33-61.
- 'Globalization, Pharmaceutical Pricing and South African Health Policy: Managing Confrontation with US Firms and Politicians' - *International Journal of Health Services*, 29, 4, 1999, pp.765-792.
- 'Global Economic Crisis: A View from South Africa' - *Journal of World Systems Research*, 5, 2, 1999, pp.413-455.
- 'Contradictions in Municipal Transformation from Apartheid to Democracy: The Battle over Local Water Privatization in South Africa' (with Greg Ruiters) - *Working Papers in Local Governance and Democracy*, 99, 1, 1999, pp.69-79.
- 'Zimbabwe's Political Reawakening' - *Monthly Review*, 50, 11, 1999, pp.1-17.
- 'Basic Infrastructure for Socio-Economic Development, Ecological Sustainability and Geographical Desegregation: South Africa's Unmet Challenge' - *Geoforum*, 30, 1, 1999, pp.43-59.
- 'Local Economic Development and Municipal Services Crisis in Post-Apartheid South Africa: The Case of Stutterheim' - *Urban Forum*, 9, 2, 1998, pp.159-196.
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