When Africans uprise against ‘Africa Rising’, what role for IT?

*Information as Resource Curse antidote*

Patrick Bond, University of KwaZulu-Natal Centre for Civil Society, Durban

presented to the 8th Conference of the International Development Informatics Association

*ICTs for inclusive communities in developing societies*

Port Elizabeth, South Africa, 3 November 2014
When Africans uprise against ‘Africa Rising’, what role for IT?

The conditions created in Africa by the combination of long-term austerity, dictatorial regimes, socio-political injustice and ecological stresses have generated a new wave of protests across the continent since 2010. These protests relate to various dispossessions: wages and working conditions, state capture by elites, service delivery, civil liberties, land grabs, pollution and the like. In a 2013 measurement by the African Development Bank, major public protests rose from an index level of 100 in 2000 to nearly 450 in 2011 and 520 in 2012, with unrest especially important in Algeria, Angola, Burkina Faso, Chad, Egypt, Gabon, Morocco, Nigeria, South Africa, Tunisia and Uganda. In 2013, the index rose higher, to 550. In September 2014, the World Economic Forum’s Global Competitiveness Report recorded South Africa as having the world’s angriest working class (for the third year in a row), followed closely by Angola, Burundi, Mauritania, Mozambique, Algeria, Cameroon, Chad and Guinea (all within the world’s top 20 sites of class struggle). And yet this is the era of ‘Africa Rising’, high commodity prices, and enormous hope invested in the potential for Information Technology’s spread, including innovative relationships between IT and opportunities to create prosperity in Africa. Is there a connection between the claims of Africa Rising in economic, infrastructural and technological respects, and Africans uprising? If so, what are some of the antidotes suggested by critical political economic theory?
...ANOTHER MEDIA HOUSE INFECTED!

carries a fatal dose of political interference
People want control, they want power. It’s a lethal cocktail. Greed, power and ignorance."
From: Yunis Shaik [mailto:YShaik@hci.com]
Sent: 26 March 2014 01:36 PM
To: Bronwyn Keene-Young
Subject: RE: EP

...I received three sms from Ebrahim and a phone call which gave rise to me sending an email to Marcel and yourself – Mark was inadvertent ...

The fact that Ebrahim comes knocking on my door arises from the undertaking you and Marcel had given him with regard to coverage of the infra-structure programme. To remind you, you had undertaken to give due coverage to infra-structure programmes that is being unveiled by the government in the evening news. In the words of Marcel: “we will cover the story in the evening news bulletin.” In addition to that, etv would do short stories and other paid for advertising.

R

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controversy: De Hoop Dam (mainly for platinum mines)

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Infrastructure

South Africa opens R3bn De Hoop Dam

24 March 2014

President Jacob Zuma officially opened the R3-billion, 347-million cubic metre De Hoop Dam in Sekhukhune, Limpopo province on Monday.

Built on the Steelpoort River, with a wall approximately 1 015 metres long and 81 metres high, the De Hoop Dam is the 13th largest dam in South Africa and one of the largest to be built in the country in the last 20 years.

It is also one of the projects falling under the Presidential Infrastructure Coordination Commission, established by Zuma in 2012 to coordinate and fast-track infrastructure

self-conscious ‘sunshine journalism’
controversy over De Hoop Dam: *mainly for platinum mines and agri-business – threatening Kruger Park*

**OLIFANTS PLAN DAMNED FROM THE START**

Different arms of the government are at one another’s throats over a proposed 21-storey dam on a major river that passes through the Kruger National Park and feeds Mozambique.

South African National Parks (SANParks) has threatened legal action against its principal sponsor, the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, and the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry.

Water Affairs plans to start building the R4billion De Hoop dam on a tributary of the Olifants river in the middle of this year, mainly to feed mining interests.

But SANParks and critical NGOs protest that the project violates national and international laws and pits ministries against each other.

“It will boil down to which department has the most political clout,” said Nick King, executive director of the Endangered Wildlife Trust (EWT), which rejects the project. “Water Affairs’ mandate is the delivery of water; Environmental Affairs must conserve the resource base and SANParks protects biodiversity.”

In last year’s State of the Nation speech, President Thabo Mbeki announced the proposed De Hoop dam is “to provide water for platinum mining and agriculture”. Half a dozen platinum mines are planned for surrounding Sekhukhuneland, which straddles the border between Mpumalanga and Limpopo.

But the Steelpoort river, where the dam will be built, is a major tributary feeding the Olifants. For the first time on record, the Olifants stopped flowing last year for 78 days because of drought and growing demands on its water.

Impact Assessment for De Hoop Dam to be released

For five weeks following August 18, 2005 the public can review the draft Environmental Impact Report (EIR) for the construction of the 80m high dam on the Steelpoort River and its associated water reticulation system (the Olifants River Water Resources Development Project ORWRDP). After several months of specialist studies the report is now ready to be circulated amongst interested and affected parties.

The proposed De Hoop Dam will inhibit water flow in one of the Olifants River’s largest tributaries in order to provide water to nearby mines and communities. The dam is projected to be built in Mpumalanga, but would mainly supply water to the Limpopo Province. The EIR has taken significantly longer to complete than initially projected.
controversy over De Hoop Dam: mainly for Limpopo platinum mines while ‘beneficiary’ communities suffer

- downstream impact
- over-runs doubled the cost
- infrastructure for villages?

City Press

At South Africa’s 13th-biggest the work is nearly done.

Only two construction cranes towering alongside the De Dam’s 1.5km-long concrete stands 88m high, one of the South Africa which can supply the 12.5 cubic metres (per day) of water. Workers put in their work and hope that the water will start flowing soon.

He said at least 11 mines in Steelpoort, Burgersfort and Mogalakwena are also due to get their water supply in the area to help them enhance their operations and create more jobs.

However, the main beneficiaries of the dam appeared to be local cattle.

City Press spotted cows drinking directly from the dam although Segafa said this would stop when the dam was completely fenced in “soon”.

“The dam is still pouring water into the river on which it was built. We will never allow the river to dry up, so cattle can continue drinking from their old source of water.”

The project has not been without its problems and controversies.

Opposition parties and a few communities argued that mining companies would benefit the most from the De Hoop Dam.

In nearby communities, residents are adopting a “wait-and-see” attitude.

In Kutung village, about 3km from the dam, residents said they were glad some of them had found jobs during the construction phase, but that their work was now done.

A young resident, Lucas Leshaba, said: “The last time we had water coming from taps was late last year. Now all we see are big (bulk supply) pipes being laid past our village. We ask ourselves why the water is now going towards Steelpoort mining areas.

“We have become used to fetching water from the nearby river and people get sick from that water. Until we see regular water supply, we remain without much hope,” he added.
controversy over De Hoop Dam: *mainly for Limpopo platinum mines – will nearby villages continue to suffer?*

De Hoop Dam is government’s good story to tell, says Jacob Zuma

City Press

Poloko Tau @PolokoTau
24 March 2014 16:50

They are yet to drink from De Hoop Dam, but those who attended its official opening in Limpopo today, cheered and screamed as President Jacob Zuma mentioned some of the villages that will benefit from the multimillion-rand water project.

For Zuma, the De Hoop Dam is part of his government’s “good story to tell”. Zuma, who said he was not campaigning, went on to list several successes of the ANC-led government in the past 20 of democracy and the five years he has been in office.

From work opportunities created, to the school nutrition programme as well as improvements in the importance of reflecting on work done by government to tackle crime.

He said the dam would fulfil two purposes – and would act as a catalyst for social and economic development.

“The first [purpose] is to supply water to the towns, industries and poorly serviced rural communities in Sekhukhune, Waterberg, and Capricorn districts of the Limpopo province. Secondly, the dam will supply water to the mines in order to help unlock vast mineral deposits, mainly in the form of platinum group metals found in the region.”

Communities in the area and opposition parties in Limpopo have previously raised concerns around the planned water supply from De Hoop, saying more water was intended for mines and not water-starved communities.

Meanwhile, there was no clarity on when communities will start drinking from De Hoop.

Work on bulk water pipes was still being done in the areas to be supplied. The plan is to supply bulk water municipalities that will be responsible for purifying and supplying communities.

UDM accuses ANC of prioritising mines over the poor

25 October 2013 16:19

The United Democratic Movement (UDM) has questioned the opening of the De Hoop Dam in Tubaase near Sekhukhune in Limpopo, claiming it will benefit mines in the area while locals suffer.

“Factors which led to the ANC’s government and President Jacob Zuma to get their priorities right and provide water to those villages,” said UDM provincial secretary Mahlodi Raposoa today in a statement.

“Government was “acting like the apartheid government” that did not care for the poor.”
what other public policies are traded off for eNews coverage? what implications for political information?

- infrastructure?
- gambling?
- tobacco?
- tourism?
- transport?
From: Yunis Shaik [mailto:YShaik@hci.co.za]
Sent: 26 March 2014 01:36 PM
To: Bronwyn Keene-Young
Subject: RE: EP

...What is to be done when you are not available, the matter is pressing, the grievances are rising? And the undertaking to give more attention to the news was also to the President and other Ministers as part of our lobbying for support on the STB programme. These Ministers do complain and bitterly so that we do not cover the work of government with any degree of sufficiency.

I am fielded to go out and secure, so as to promote your best interests, a particular form of Public Policy that requires the unanimous support of Cabinet and the Presidency, in the face of steadfast resistance by just about everyone that matters, and all the while expend every bit of personal political capital built and stored over decades ...

Yunis Shaik
T: 27 21 481 7560
F: 27 21 426 2777
C: 27 83 265 8161
yshaik@hci.co.za
Ellies targets retail set-top box market

By Nicola Mawson, ITWeb news editor.
Johannesburg, 21 Jul 2011

Television equipment provider Ellies Holdings hopes to sell about 2.5 million set-top boxes, or about half the estimated retail market, of set-top boxes that will be needed when SA moves from analogue to digital television broadcasting.

The country has chosen to use the European DVB-T2 as its standard for migration. However, there are several issues that still need to be resolved before manufacturers can start producing boxes.

Moving from the old format of broadcasting will free up much-needed spectrum and is expected to create a competitive electronics manufacturing sector, as about 10 million households will need set-top boxes to convert signal so it can be viewed on older televisions.
The migration from analogue to digital television will determine the communication landscape for years to come. It has the potential to ensure everyone receives a vastly increased number of TV channels, transform ownership patterns, as well as free up valuable spectrum that can ensure greater access to high-speed Internet. However, there is a great risk that digital migration will entrench current communication inequalities or fail completely.
Every household will require a new Set-Top-Box (STB) to receive digital TV. The high cost of STBs, estimated between R700 and R1300, will prove prohibitive for many who will be cut-off from television entirely: No one should be cut off from television. We demand Free Set-Top-Boxes for all.

Government is proposing a limited STB subsidy for households that can prove their poverty: Apart from the unnecessary expense and bureaucracy involved in administering this proposed subsidy, no one should have to suffer the indignity of proving their poverty.

Naspers/Multichoice is using their satellite TV monopoly to offer low-cost DSTV decoders and draw people away from public free-to-air television. We demand that Set-Top-Boxes must be interoperable so people can move between service providers without needing new hardware;

New channels could be given to the current dominant broadcasters: We demand that ICASA allocate at least 50% of all channels be public and community TV and that additional channels be allocated to new entrants into the market;

The successful take up of Digital TV will depend on new channel offerings that incentivise people to migrate during the dual illumination period. The SABC’s 24 hour news channel (currently available only on DSTV) as well as the Parliamentary Channel and all Community TV stations currently on air must all be made nationally available to ensure take up of digital TV.
The electromagnetic spectrum (the airwaves) that the migration process frees up for telecommunications could be given to the existing four telecoms corporations to further entrench their dominance and profiteering practices: This **spectrum is a national resource and must be used to increase access to the internet and enable new telecoms companies – including public and non-commercial operators – to offer services.**

The rollout of STBs will essentially put a basic computer in every home. Government want these to be a ‘dumb box’ with only one piece of proprietary software that allows the passive reception of television. We demand that the STB be a ‘smart box’ that remains useful even when users buy new digital television sets. The STB must use a free/open-source operating system and include sufficient connection ports to become part of a low-cost Internet access point (e.g. for USB keyboards, dongles, a mouse etc).

The manufacture of STBs could become another site of tender fraud and corruption, cost increases and delays: The Government must **justify its decision to manufacture STBs locally and ensure complete tender transparency.**

Government has already paid a communication company R756 million to explain digital migration to the public. There is no evidence of any impact. Poor communication and consultation will make the migration to digital television unworkable: Government must ensure **total transparency of all cost and price information as well as proper public consultation on migration policy.**
If we do not act, it is likely that in the future, South African television will divided along Apartheid lines: Like our education and health already, there will be an expensive private service for those that can afford it, but the majority will have to make do with a poor quality public service, and those most marginalised could be cut off from receiving television completely.

Saturday 18 October 2014

JO'BURG: Marching from Media24/Naspers 89 Kingsway Ave to the SABC from 10am Contact 0739041626

CAPE TOWN: Marching to Vodacom & Independent Newspapers from Naspers/Media24outside the CTICC @ 10am Contact 0796481725

DURBAN: Mass Meeting at St. Philomena's 92 Rippon Rd, Sydenham @ 10am Contact 0834981583

Support: *120*4729#
World Bank’s main Africa policy paper (2011): “Success of Information and Communications Technology, especially mobile phone penetration, shows how rapidly a sector can grow. It also shows how the public sector can set the conditions for the exponential growth of a vital industry that could transform the continent.”
Digital Divide already debilitating

- “Towards Evidence-based ICT Policy and Regulation” by Johannesburg researchers Enrico Calandro, Alison Gillwald, Mpho Moyo and Christoph Stork (2010) unveiled ICT deficiencies:

- although “the mobile market, has experienced significant growth, outcomes have been sub-optimal in many respects”
cellphone penetration “figures tend to mask the fact that millions of Africans still do not own their own means of communication”

Africa continues to lag behind other regions both in terms of the percentage of people with access to the full range of communications services and the amounts and manner in which they can be used – primarily as a result of the high cost of services;

the cost of wholesale telecommunication services as an input for other economic activities remains high, escalating the cost of business in most countries;
the contribution of ICT to gross domestic product... is considerably less than global averages;

national objectives of achieving universal and affordable access to the full range of communications services have been undermined by poor policies;

as a general trend across the continent, while the voice divide is decreasing, the Internet divide is increasing and broadband is almost absent on the continent; and

the fixed-line sector continues to show no signs of recovery as most countries experienced negative growth between 2006 and 2008.
• for nearly all of Africa, cellphone penetration rates “remain below the 40% critical mass believed to trigger the network effects associated with economic growth”;

• even in more mature markets (Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Tunisia and South Africa), “The high ‘penetration’ figures result form the use of multiple-SIM cards, resulting in over-counting, often by several million”;
• “broadband uptake trails even other developing regions in the world with a penetration rate below 2%”; 
• “low penetration rates are mainly a result of the prohibitively high costs of Internet services”; 
• “the landing of several undersea cables and a number of terrestrial fibre investment projects have led to a significant reduction in the costs of accessing the Internet. In some countries, the drop in wholesale prices has not, however, filtered to end-user prices”; 
• “digital literacy and the affordability of access devices like personal computers, is expected to remain a challenge”;
“large numbers of citizens across the continent still lack access to or cannot afford the kind of communication services that enable effective social and economic participation in a modern economy and society”
Middle-Class Africa’ (hmmm: $2/day?!)
Afro-optimists re-emerged in 2011

• UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) Economic Report on Africa 2011 (July);
• African Economic Outlook 2011 by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, UNECA, United Nations Development Programme and African Development Bank (June);
• World Economic Forum’s Competitiveness Report (May);
• African Development Bank’s discovery of a vast new middle class (May);
• International Monetary Fund’s Regional Economic Outlook (April);
• World Bank’s new Africa strategy (February); and
• IMF research on African growth (February)
“Africa Rising”! (# of citations)
“Africa Rising” as GDP percentage increases, 1981-2012

Note: 2011 and 2012 excluding Libya.
Source: Leibfritz and Flaig (2013).
how reliable is GDP, to measure progress?

MISSING FROM GDP:
- resource depletion (crucial to ‘extractivism’)
- air, water, and noise pollution
- loss of farmland and wetlands
- unpaid women’s/community work
- family breakdown
- other social values
- crime

Genuine Progress Indicator
SA corporate profits: world’s 3rd highest

Source: IMF Article IV on SA, July 2013

![Graph showing correlation between Return on Assets and Product Market Regulation for various countries, with South Africa highlighted. The x-axis represents Product Market Regulation (2008, index scale of 0-6 from least to most restrictive), and the y-axis represents Return on Assets (in percent, 2011). The graph includes countries such as South Africa, United Kingdom, United States, and others, with South Africa circled.]
artificially high?

World fraud champs
GRAEME HOSKEN | 19 February, 2014 00:19
SUNDAY TIMES

South Africa is the world leader in money-laundering, bribery and corruption, procurement fraud, asset misappropriation and cybercrime. File photo
Image by: SUPPLIED

Financial Mail

8 out of 10 managers commit economic crime in SA, PwC survey
FEBRUARY 20 2014, 09:21
Moeletsi Mbeki:

“Big companies taking their capital out of South Africa are a bigger threat to economic freedom than... Julius Malema.”
Thabo Mbeki runs AU’s ‘High level Panel on Illicit Financial Flows from Africa’

Illicit Financial Flows from Africa: track it, stop it, get it

Illicit money outflows are draining Africa’s domestic resources, depriving it of crucial investment funds

By: Masimba Tafirenyika
From Africa Renewal: December 2013, page 14

The figures are staggering: between $1.2 trillion and $1.4 trillion has left Africa in illicit financial flows between 1980 and 2009—roughly equal to Africa’s current gross domestic product, and surpassing by far the money it received from outside over the same period. Illicit financial flows are money earned illegally and transferred for use elsewhere. The money is usually generated from criminal activities, corruption, tax evasion, bribes and transactions from cross-border smuggling.

The numbers tell only part of the story. It is a story that exposes how highly complex and deeply entrenched practices have flourished over the past decades with devastating impact, but barely made it into the news headlines. “The illicit haemorrhage of resources from Africa is about four times Africa’s current external debt,” says a joint report by the African Development Bank (AfDB) and Global Financial Integrity, a US research and advocacy group.

The report, Illicit Financial Flows and the Problem of Net Resource Transfers from Africa: 1980–2009, found that cumulative illicit outflows from the continent over the 30-year period ranged from $1.2 trillion to $1.4 trillion. The Guardian, a British daily, notes that even these estimates—large as they are—are likely to understate the problem, as they do not capture money lost through drug trafficking and smuggling.

Turning logic upside down

“The traditional thinking has always been that the West is pouring money into Africa through foreign aid and other private-sector flows, without receiving much in return,” said Raymond Baker, president of Global Financial Integrity, in a statement released at the launch of the report earlier this year. Mr. Baker said the report turns that logic upside down, adding that Africa has been a net creditor to the rest of the world.
crime includes vast African capital flight
Composition of world’s illicit financial flows

- Corruption (bribery and embezzlement of national wealth) - 35%
- Criminal activities (trade in drugs, weapons and people) - 60%
- Commercial transactions through MNCs - 5%

• **the sin at the origin**: capital outflows are illicit if they involve funds that were acquired illegally (through corruption, drug and human trafficking, trade mispricing, ...)
• **the sin at transfer**: capital outflows are illicit if they are not properly recorded with national authorities
• **the sin at hidden foreign holdings**: capital held abroad is illicit if it is not reported to the authorities (most likely due to sins #1 and #2)

Source: Kar and Cartwright-Smith (2010)

Source: Leonce Ndikumana
# Illicit Financial Flows from Africa 1970-2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Cumulative IFFs US$ bn</th>
<th>Share in Africa’s total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>217.7</td>
<td>30.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>105.2</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>81.8</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Côte d’ivoire</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Congo, Republic</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Illicit Financial Flows due to trade, 2001-10

Africa: Cumulative IFF via Trade Mispricing, USD billion, (2001-2010)

Source: Simon Mevel, Siope Ofa & Stephen Karingi / RITD / UN-ECA
## Illicit Financial Flows due to trade, by sector

Top 10: Cumulative IFF from Africa by GTAP Sector, 2001-2010.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GTAP Sector</th>
<th>USD Billion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metals nec (Copper &amp; Gold and other non-ferrous metals)</td>
<td>84.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil</td>
<td>69.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural gas</td>
<td>33.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minerals nec (non metallic minerals eg. Cement, gravel, plaster etc)</td>
<td>33.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petroleum, coal products</td>
<td>19.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crops</td>
<td>17.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food products</td>
<td>16.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinery and equipment nec</td>
<td>16.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wearing apparel</td>
<td>14.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferrous metals (Iron &amp; steel)</td>
<td>13.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>318.54</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Simon Mevel, Siope Ofa & Stephen Karingi / RITD / UN-ECA
Illicit Financial Flows due to trade, 2001-10

Source: Simon Mevel, Siope Ofa & Stephen Karingi / RITD / UN-ECA

Cumulative IFF by destination

- USA: 50.8
- Spain: 29.5
- China: 28.4
- Rest of Western Asia: 26.9
- Germany: 26.6
- India: 25.7
- Italy: 21.4
- Japan: 19.6
- Belgium-Luxembourg: 15.9
- United Kingdom: 14.9
- Turkey: 14.8
- France: 10.8
- Korea: 9.8
- Rest of South Central: 8.9
- Austria: 7.3
- Portugal: 5.6
- Russian Federation: 5.3

SACU = Southern African Customs Union:
- South Africa
- Botswana
- Namibia
- Lesotho
- Swaziland

Nigeria, Egypt, Morocco, Algeria, Sudan, Tunisia, Congo, Zambia, Cameroon, Libya, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Mauritania, Tanzania, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Guinea, Togo, Ethiopia, Mauritius, Uganda, Madagascar, Malawi, Benin, Burkina Faso, Niger, Senegal, Seychelles, Rwanda
during recent platinum strike, disputes over corporate profitability have major implications for potential wage settlement. 

“WHY HAVE AMPLATS, IMPALA AND LONMIN BEEN SYSTEMATICALLY SELLING THEIR PGM METALS BELOW MARKET PRICES?”

General comments
AIDC has been commissioned by the Marikana Commission of Inquiry to investigate the financial position of Lonmin before 2012, in respect of its capacity to meet the wage demands of its workers. During the course of this investigation we found a peculiar trend, namely the company was for the last 10 years, systematically selling its metals below the global market prices. We found this alarming and we started to speculate what could be the reason.

Since Lonmin had formed a Cartel in dealing with AMCU in the current wage strike, which has now entered its fifth month, we wondered if Amplats and Implats were engaged in a similar practice.

Our research reveals that the world’s three biggest platinum producers have been systematically under-selling their metals. Over ten years this amounts to a forfeiture of potential revenue of more than R15 bn. Not only is this a forfeiture of revenue to the companies and their shareholders but represents a loss in tax revenue for the state and for possible investment in SA.

**Demanding the impossible? Platinum mining profits and wage demands in context**

**Invitation to Launch of New Report**

*Hosted by Society, Work and Development Institute (SWOP)*

**Date:** Friday, 6 June 2014  
**Time:** 1pm  
**Venue:** WITS University, Graduate Humanities Seminar Room  
ground floor South West Engineering building, East Campus

This report sheds light on the question: can the platinum producers (Amplats, Implats and Lonmin) afford the wage demands of striking workers? It does not provide a conclusive answer but broadens the terms of the debate with an historical view of labour costs and profits in the thirteen years preceding the strike. This is in contrast to the current public debate which has been hampered by the foregrounding of certain sets of financial data at the expense of others, and by the platinum producers successfully limiting the analysis to the last couple of years.

The report finds that platinum producers made enormous profits between 2000 and 2008. During this period labour received a very thin slice of the pie with its share of value added averaging just over half of the South African norm. Meanwhile shareholders and executives took home huge sums in dividends. When considering 2000 to 2013 the trends are less extreme but still significantly skewed against labour. The report also calculates the implications of the wage offers and demands. It shows that the producers’ offer is far less generous than they profess and that the AMCU demands are far less costly than the producers claim. It goes on to offer a counterfactual example of the cost of AMCU’s wage demands put alongside the dividends paid to shareholders over the thirteen year period. The report concludes by raising wider questions of how workers and
De Beers hurts the SA Treasury
**Trade mispricing by just one firm, 2004-12**

Leverhulme Centre for the Study of Value

LCSV WORKING PAPER SERIES NO. 4

**A.M.C.I.R**
The African Network of Centers for Investigative Reporting

**US$2.83 billion**

http://thestudyofvalue.org/2014/05/15/new-lcsv-working-paper-explores/

### Rough and polished

A case study of the diamond pricing and valuation system

Sarah Bracking and Khadija Sharite

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Domestic Production</th>
<th>Imports</th>
<th>Exports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KPI Value (cts)</td>
<td>KPI Value USD (mill)</td>
<td>KPI USD per carat (A)</td>
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<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>14.09</td>
<td>1,075.76</td>
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<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>15.56</td>
<td>1,319.09</td>
<td>84.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>14.93</td>
<td>1,361.82</td>
<td>91.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>15.21</td>
<td>1,417.33</td>
<td>93.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>12.90</td>
<td>1,236.24</td>
<td>95.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>6.14</td>
<td>885.54</td>
<td>144.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>8.86</td>
<td>1,194.28</td>
<td>134.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>9.04</td>
<td>1,388.68</td>
<td>197.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>7.08</td>
<td>1,027.13</td>
<td>145.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total | 3,340.34 | 2,825.26
capital flight outstrips all other flows

Source: Leonce Ndikumana
new measurements: against GDP

MISSING FROM GDP:
- resource depletion (crucial to ‘extractivism’)
- air, water, and noise pollution
- loss of farmland and wetlands
- unpaid women’s/community work
- family breakdown
- other social values
- crime

Genuine Progress Indicator
Africa’s mining production by country, 2008

1. South Africa       599
2. Botswana          92
3. Zambia           75
4. Ghana            43
5. Namibia         32
6. Angola          32
7. Mali             29
8. Guinea           21
9. Mauritania      20
10. Tanzania      20
11. Zimbabwe      20
land-grabbed Africa by India, China, South Africa (and Brazil)

The 21st-century African land rush

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country and Total Land</th>
<th>Total Land and Regional Areas</th>
<th>Target Countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brazil 28,000 ha</td>
<td>Eastern Africa 28,000 ha</td>
<td>Brazil; Mozambique, Ethiopia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India 1,924,509 ha</td>
<td>Central Africa: 15,000 ha</td>
<td>Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao, Philippines, India, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Mozambique, Sudan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa 1,140,683 ha</td>
<td>Eastern Africa: 126,171 ha</td>
<td>Cambodia, China, Sudan, Lao, Philippines, India, Bolivia, Peru, Argentina, Benin, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Mali, Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda, Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa 1,416,414 ha</td>
<td>Central Africa 340,000 ha</td>
<td>Colombia; Angola; Benin; Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Mozambique; Madagascar; Senegal; Tanzania; Zambia; Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Tomaso Ferrando
SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA
Is SA getting trade and foreign policy right?
South Africa (re)joins the scramble for the Central African Republic: early March 2013
a few days later, return from CAR
C.A.R. TROUBLE
The lure of arms deals and diamonds – and possibly other mineral resources – sucked the ANC into the Central African Republic.

Didier Pereira, a special adviser to ousted Central African Republic President Francois Bozize, partnered with ‘ANC hard man’ Joshua Nxumalo and the ANC’s funding arm, Chancellor House, to secure a diamond export monopoly in the CAR.

Pereira is currently partnered to the ANC security supremo and fundraiser, Paul Langa, and former spy chief Billy Masetlha.
Khulubuse Zuma's R100bn oil deal

Jacques Pauw   @City_Press
18 May 2014 15:01

City Press

Controversial business tycoon Khulubuse Zuma is sitting on a R100 billion oil fortune in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), which he allegedly obtained with the help of his uncle, President Jacob Zuma.

A City Press investigation has discovered that President Zuma played a crucial role in a 2010 decision by DRC President Joseph Kabila to allocate two oilfields in the northeastern DRC, in regular armed conflict, to the state-owned company Sonatrach, and to his own company, Global Oil and Energy Services.

News over ownership of Congolese oil blocks raises further corruption concerns

29th June 2012

The Financial Times has reported that Dan Gertler, a businessman close to the Congolese president, is one of the main partners in two offshore companies that obtained oil blocks in northeastern Democratic Republic of Congo in controversial circumstances.

The article, published on Monday, follows the publication of Global Witness briefings highlighting corruption risks associated with offshore companies that have ties to the Congolese government.
the turn to ‘natural capital’ accounting by 10 African states, 24 May 2012

THE GABORONE DECLARATION

We, the participants at the Summit for Sustainability in Africa, meeting from 24 to 25 May 2012 in Gaborone, Botswana,

REAFFIRM OUR COMMITMENT TO IMPLEMENT ALL CONVENTIONS AND DECLARATIONS THAT PROMOTE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, IN

COMMUNIQUÉ ON NATURAL CAPITAL ACCOUNTING

Recognizing the limitations of GDP as a measure of well-being and sustainable growth that values environmental and social aspects of progress;

TO ENSURE THAT THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF NATURAL CAPITAL TO SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC GROWTH, MAINTENANCE AND IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIAL CAPITAL AND HUMAN WELL-BEING ARE QUANTIFIED AND INTEGRATED INTO DEVELOPMENT AND BUSINESS PRACTICE;

Through:

- Integrating the value of natural capital into national accounting and corporate planning and reporting processes, policies, and programmes, in agreed efforts, including the appended Communiqué on Natural Capital Accounting,

- Building social capital and reducing poverty by transitioning agriculture, extractive industries, fisheries and other natural capital uses to practices that promote sustainable employment, food security, sustainable energy and the protection of natural capital through protected areas and other mechanisms,

- Ecosystem restoration measures, as well as actions that mitigate stresses on natural capital,
By the numbers

10 Signatory Countries

Visionary leaders from 10 African countries have committed to moving the value of nature to the center of their development strategies. The signatory countries are Botswana, Gabon, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, South Africa and Tanzania. Membership is still open to other interested countries.
WAVES ‘50/50’ Campaign for Natural Capital Accounting

Building on the Gaborone Communique on NCA from the African Sustainability Summit, hosted by Botswana May 24-25, signed by 10 African countries

62 (32 developing) countries signed the NCA Communique, endorsing:

- Implement natural capital accounting where there are internationally agreed statistical standards – the SEEA
- Develop methodology for the more difficult to measure natural capital – ecosystem services
- Demonstrate how NCA can support decision-making for sustainable development

Glenn-Marie Lange, Program Manager for WAVES Global Partnership, Environment Department, The World Bank
World Bank (minimalist) adjustments to ‘genuine savings’

fixed capital (-), education (+), natural resource depletion (-), and pollution (-).

most influential natural capital accounting.
World Bank (minimalist) adjustments to ‘genuine savings’ fixed capital (-), education (+), natural resource depletion (-), and pollution (-)

Figure 1: Decomposing change in wealth per capita, Sub-Saharan Africa, 2010

1. Depreciation of produced capital
2. Formation of human capital
3. Depletion of natural capital
4. Population growth

% of GDP

Change in wealth per capita offers a comprehensive framework to look at sustainability threats to the twin goals. It is derived from standard national accounting measures of gross national savings by making four types of adjustments (Figure 1):

1. Deduction for depreciation of produced capital, measured by capital consumption of produced assets;
2. Addition from human capital formation, measured by current expenditures on education;
3. Deduction for depletion of natural capital, including minerals, energy, and forest resources; and
4. Deduction for wealth-diluting effects of population growth, based on the additional savings needed to keep current tangible wealth per capita constant with a changing population.

As the case of Sub-Saharan Africa in 2010 illustrates, aggregated gross savings and formation of human capital are not sufficient to compensate for depreciation of produced capital, depletion of natural capital, and population growth. The result: the region is wealth depleting (Figure 1).

Furthermore, Sub-Saharan Africa is the region with the poorest record on sustainability. 88 percent of its countries were found to be depleting their wealth in 2010 (Table 1). The share of countries with wealth depletion—globally at about 45 percent—decreases as income levels increase (Table 1), indicating that poorer countries face severe sustainability challenges.

In many resource-rich countries, reinvesting natural resource rents in other forms of productive capital is one important way of avoiding wealth depletion.

**Table 1. Overview: Data and Wealth Depletion in 2010**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of countries with data</th>
<th>Share of countries with wealth depletion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Global</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High income countries</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper middle income</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower middle income</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low income</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asia</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe &amp; Central Asia</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Asia &amp; Pacific</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East &amp; North Africa</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America &amp; Caribbean</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


substantial ‘subsoil assets’ within ‘natural capital’ ($/capita)

depletion of subsoil (mineral) assets = 9% of income

net decline in SA’s per person wealth: $245
Adjusted Net Saving in Resource-Rich Countries, 2008

The graph illustrates the adjusted net saving as a percentage of GNI against energy and mineral rents as a percentage of GNI for various countries. The points represent different countries, with some notable ones being Botswana, China, Uzbekistan, Equatorial Guinea, Angola, and Congo Rep.
Adjusted Net Savings as a Percentage of GNI for Selected Regions, 1970–2007

- East Asia and the Pacific
- Latin America and the Caribbean
- Sub-Saharan Africa


Percent of GNI:
- East Asia and the Pacific: Decreasing trend
- Latin America and the Caribbean: Increasing trend
- Sub-Saharan Africa: Mixed trend
“Africa Rising” reality check from WB

Source: Authors’ calculations based on World Bank data.
what’s rising? multinational corporate profits as a percentage of firm equity

African protests rising

The top ten motivations of protests in 2013 (as % of total protests reported)

- Demand for salary increase
- Protesting the legitimacy of the governance and management rules
- Demand for dissolution of government or stepping down of the head of state
- Unemployment/pressure for new recruitment plan
- Quality of public service delivery
- Working conditions
- Unpaid salaries
- Demand for more political rights and civil liberties, more equality
- Reaction to executive overreach (arrests of journalists, protesters, opposition, etc.)
- Protesting political or legal reforms or proposals thereof

Source: Authors' calculations based on AFP information. [Link](http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888932807474)
African protests work
African protests continue

Thousands protest army power grab in Burkina Faso

BY AGENCY STAFF, NOVEMBER 02 2014, 17:15

Related articles
- Burkina Faso’s leader refuses to quit
- Burkina army seizes power after uprising against veteran ruler
- Protesters storm Burkina Faso parliament over vote

OUAGADOUGOU — Several thousand people protested in the capital of Burkina Faso on Sunday against the army’s power grab after the turbulent overthrow of President Blaise Compaore.
African protests (and food prices) rising
Table 3: Africa’s relative worker militancy, 2013, amongst 148 countries (10 most pliable, along with 39 African countries, with 1 as most militant and 7 as least)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Militancy Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Qatar</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Gabon</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Cote d'Ivoire</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Seychelles</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Madagascar</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>4.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>4.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


broader resistance to extractivism: African working classes are extremely militant
SA’s high social protest rate
3000 violent (thousands more non-violent) from 2009-12

On 19 March the Minister of Police, Mr. Nathi Mthetwa, informed parliament about the number of ‘crowd management incidents’ that occurred during the three years from 1 April 2009.\(^1\) Table 1, compares the new data with similar statistics for the preceding five years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Peaceful</th>
<th>Unrest</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2004/05</td>
<td>7,382</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>8,004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005/06</td>
<td>9,809</td>
<td>954</td>
<td>10,763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006/07</td>
<td>8,703</td>
<td>743</td>
<td>9,446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007/08</td>
<td>6,431</td>
<td>705</td>
<td>7,136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008/09</td>
<td>6,125</td>
<td>718</td>
<td>6,843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009/10</td>
<td>7,897</td>
<td>1,008</td>
<td>8,905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010/11</td>
<td>11,681</td>
<td>973</td>
<td>12,654</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011/12(^3)}</td>
<td>9,942</td>
<td>1,091</td>
<td>11,033</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Reference details needed.
\(^2\) Data from the South African Police Service.
\(^3\) Data includes an additional category for 2011/12.
Pretoria - Police handled more than 12 000 public protests during the 2012/2013 financial year, Police Minister Nathi Mthethwa said on Thursday.

"Over the past four years, a total of 46 180 incidents were attended to and all were successfully stabilised, with 14 843 arrests effected," he said at the release of the 2012/2013 crime statistics in Pretoria.

These were made up of 41 104 peaceful and 5 076 violent protests by the SA Municipal Workers Union (Samwu), the SA Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union (Saccawu), protests in De Doorns in the Western Cape, Marikana in the North West, and Zamdela in the Free State.

"During 2012/13 alone, police managed 12 399 public incidents. Of these 10 517 were peaceful and 1 882 were violent public protests with a total of 693 various criminal cases reported," Mthethwa said.

"Most of the cases were reported in the Western Cape and North West provinces. Currently, stability has been restored."

- SAPA
South Africa’s Multiple Resource Curses, the Metalworkers’ Break and Community Uprisings

PATRICK BOND

The African National Congress (ANC), led during the 1990s by the late Nelson Mandela, is projected to be reelected in South Africa’s May 7, 2014 national election by a wide margin, probably with between 50 and 60 percent of the vote. But underneath the ruling party’s apparent popularity, the society is seething with fury, partly at the mismanagement of vast mineral wealth. The political and economic rulers’ increasingly venal policies and practices are so bad that not only did ANC elites play a direct role in massacring striking mineworkers in August 2012, but corporate South Africa was soon rated by PriceWaterhouseCoopers as “world leader in money-laundering, bribery and corruption, procurement fraud, asset misappropriation and cybercrime,” with internal management responsible for more than three quarters of what was termed “mind-boggling” levels of theft.

With such degeneration from above, the country’s impotent socialist left was pleasantly surprised last December when the largest union in Africa, the 342,000-strong National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (“Numsa”) split away from the ANC. Numsa pledged to organize mineworkers and any other disgruntled workers, and to steadily reconstruct a new South African left from below, including radical social movements once derided as “ultraleft” (because from the early 2000s they had already broken with the ANC). The “Numsa Moment”—which I think can be contrasted to some local trade unionists’ “Lula Moment” advocacy, akin to Brazilian labor corporatism—is of enormous importance, especially if it leads to a “united front approach” and the “movement towards socialism” as promised in Numsa’s “Breaking New Ground” congress of 1,300 shop...
brics-from-below march: outside US consulate, 27/3

eita BRICS!
DON’T CARVE AFRICA
Des D’Sa presenting statement of demands, 27 March 2013
anti-imperialist, sub-imperialist or in between?

A BRICS Reader for the Durban Summit

edited by Patrick Bond

with the Centre for Civil Society, groundWork and
South Durban Community Environmental Alliance
and in conjunction with Pambazuka News
what is subimperialism?

Ruy Mauro Marini (Brasil 1965):
“It is not a question of passively accepting North American power (although the actual correlation of forces often leads to that result), but rather of collaborating actively with imperialist expansion, assuming in this expansion the position of a key nation.”
Blatter likely to go unopposed as Fifa president

a very bad omen: imperialist expansion and malgovernance of soccer:
- SA 2010
- Brazil 2014
- Russia 2018
FIFA
For the Good of the Game

- no taxes
- no exchange controls
- no democracy
BRICS rise, global governance crashes

top-down failures in economics, politics, environment
Montreal Protocol success banning CFCs, 1987

since then, global malgovernance:

- World Bank, IMF Annual Meetings: trivial reforms - China rising, Africa falling
- Post-Washington Consensus: rhetoric
- UN MDG strategies, 2000: missed targets
- WTO Doha Agenda 2001: failure (WTO dead)
- Monterrey 2002 Financing for Development and G20
global financial reregulation 2008-14: failure
- wars in Central Asia, Middle East, N.Africa, E.Europe
- UN Security Council Reform failed, 2005
- G7 -> G8 -> G20 co-optation (2008-13) -> G7 & G19 (2014)
- Kyoto Protocol 1997 and aftermath – Copenhagen, Cancun, Durban, Doha and Warsaw climate disasters
on the one hand, conjunctural opportunities

anti-imperialist:
- Snowden asylum
- Obama v Syria
- Russia -> Crimea
is China an alternative to Washington for African infrastructure finance?... or is it Washington’s ally?

does liberalising China need alternatives to invest its current account surplus?... or instead will it continue US T-Bill purchases?
‘Great Deceleration’: BRICS’ slower GDP
result (so far): a more intense metabolism of extraction and exploitation, especially in Africa
### Polanyi’s double movement: waves of market power

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oil Crisis - 1974</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

#### Marketization

- 1795
- 1834 – Poor Law Reform
- 1873/76
- 1848
- WWI
- World War II

#### Counter-Movement

- 1933 – Abolition of Gold Standard
- 1989
- 2008
- Ecological Catastrophe

Source: Michael Burawoy
social movements in 19th & 20th century history

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
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<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adapted by the author from Brand (1988) with additional information from Huber (1987) and others.

1. Chile
2. On and off in various Latin American countries
3. Incomplete data

Source: Andre Gunder Frank & Martha Fuentes
‘globalisation of people, deglobalisation of capital’

I sympathise with those who would minimise, rather than with those who would maximise, economic entanglement among nations. Ideas, knowledge, science, hospitality, travel – these are the things which should of their nature be international. But let goods be homespun whenever it is reasonably and conveniently possible and, above all, let finance be primarily national.

‘National Self-Sufficiency,’ Yale Review, 1933
what are ‘the commons’?

On the one hand, the commons refers to the earth and all of its ecosystems, including the atmosphere, the oceans and rivers, and the forests, as well as all the forms of life that interact with them. The commons, on the other hand, also refers to the products of human labor and creativity that we share, such as ideas, knowledges, images, codes, affects, social relationships, and the like.

- Michael Hardt, Duke University
commoning intellectual property: Treatment Action Campaign

• 1990s – US promotes Intellectual Property above all; monopoly-patented AIDS (‘AntiRetroViral’) (ARV) drugs cost $15000/person/year
• 1997 – SA’s Medicines Act allows ‘compulsory licensing’
• 1998 – US State Dept counters with ‘full court press’; TAC formed after stigmatisation/death of Durban activist Dlamini
• 1999-2003 – struggles against Al Gore, Big Pharma, WTO, Thabo Mbeki
• 2004 – battle won, generics finally produced in SA, life expectancy soars
• 2010-14– with 2.7 mn on ARVs, fiscal austerity & Obama’s Pepfar cuts

lessons for social resistance:
• commoning intellectual property
• decommodification
• destratification
• deglobalisation of capital
• globalisation of solidarity
example: digital information commons

Commons-sense
Copyright that makes commons-sense

Edition 2, April 2005

1. Editorial
The Creative Commons South Africa website was recently nominated for the prestigious ‘Prix Ars Electronica - International Competition for CyberArts’ in the Digital Communities section. Find out about this and other accolades for Creative Commons in southern Africa in Heather Ford’s Commons-sense newsletter editorial.

2. Letter from America: “The world’s largest encyclopedia in the world - and it’s free!”
Andrew Jankowich talks about the ‘wisdom of crowds’ and the Wikipedia project which, with 500,000 articles in English since its 2001 debut and about 1.6 million articles in other languages (including Afrikaans), is fast becoming the largest, most comprehensive and up-to-date encyclopedia in the world - all free to copy and share under the GNU-Free Documentation Licence.

3. How to use the Creative Commons licence: A guide for all at us Version 1.0
During the first months of Creative Commons awareness-raising in southern Africa, we’ve had a number of questions from people about how to correctly use the Creative Commons licence. Problem is that if you don’t use the licence correctly, it could be unenforceable. Follow these steps to ensure that you’re using the licence in a way that ensures maximum legal and marketing impact.
World Association for Political Economy

19-21 June, 2015

Wits University, join us!