# **Beyond the Social Economy Capitalism's Crises and the** Solidarity Economy Alternative



# **Conference Report**

Venue: University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa Date: 26 - 28 October 2011

Hosted by: Co-operative and Policy Alternative Center (COPAC) Supported by: Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung and Transnational Institute





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### FOREWORD

With support from the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung and the Transnational Institute, activists, academics and co-operators from Brazil, America, Argentina, Italy, England and South Africa met at Wits University in Johannesburg to participate in the first international solidarity economy conference held in South Africa, entitled 'Beyond the Social Economy: Capitalism's Crises and the Solidarity Economy Alternative'. This conference was convened by the Cooperative and Policy Alternative Center (COPAC) for two and half days from the 26-28 October 2011.

The context for this conference was capitalism's total crisis. As this crisis worsens society and planetary life is increasingly becoming unviable. We are living through a time of momentous change and transition. Despite this capital is attempting to socialise the costs of this crisis and is attempting to defend the gains made for a few. In this context the challenge to advance transformative alternatives, that shift power away from elites and towards people, is necessary. This is a big part of the conversation that is happening in mass movements rising up against neoliberal capitalism in Latin America, the Arab Spring, Spain, UK, Greece and now New York. Moreover, the World Social Forum has also been a crucial space for the diffusion and sharing of knowledge about such alternative practices.

In the South African context the Cooperative and Policy Alternative Centre (COPAC) has been attempting to pioneer transformative practices from below. In this regard it has been involved in grassroots cooperative development for the past 12 years. Through its grassroots efforts COPAC has established over two hundred cooperatives, developed a methodology for the development of cooperatives, advocated for cooperative legal and policy reform and has conducted research on cooperative development.

COPAC has actively championed a bottom up cooperative development practice. In this context it has been critical of the financialisation of cooperatives through Black Economic Empowerment (BEE). The spend of almost R1 billion from government over the past 5 years has led to widespread corruption, an 87% failure rate, a big push merely for quantitative outcomes and a top down cooperative building approach. Moreover, government is marrying a BEE-led cooperative development to the call to build a 'social economy'. COPAC has been critical of all these practices.

Over the past four years COPAC has actively sought to rethink cooperative practice in South Africa. As part of this effort COPAC has developed a focus on the solidarity economy as the basis of member driven and bottom up cooperative development. In this regard, international comparative research has been conducted in 14 countries and at the World Social Forum, an activist resource has been developed for bottom-up solidarity economy building (focusing on worker cooperatives, education cooperatives

and financial cooperatives), learning sites have been established, solidarity economy research mapping of the Ivory Park township has been conducted and a grass roots approach to solidarity economy forum building has been attempted as part of advancing a food sovereignty campaign.

### The conference was highly successful and achieved the following:

- An understanding, through an international and comparative perspective, of the importance of the solidarity economy as a transformative alternative in the context of the crisis of capitalism;
- Distinguished the solidarity economy and movement building approach from neoliberalised approaches to economic transformation, including the social economy;
- Learned about movement building practices, strategies and approaches in other parts of the world;
- Provided a platform for dialogue between South African and international activists engaged in advancing and building the solidarity economy alternative;
- Developed a strategic approach, including the formation of a national forum, for the building of a grassroots solidarity economy and movement alternative in South Africa;
- Laid the basis for the publication of a book, development of movement building tools and the conduct of further research as part of evolving a bottom up methodology for developing the solidarity economy movement in South Africa.

This conference report provides a brief overview of the conference, its main discussion points and its outcomes. It can be used as a learning tool on the above elements and as a pointer to begin exploring the various aspects of building the solidarity economy movement based on international experience, practice and theory.

The conference was characterised by high quality presentations, widespread and enthusiastic participation, and rigorous and critical questioning and debate, all of which contributed to deepening our understandings of the solidarity economy and locating it in particular contexts. It should be in this same spirit that this report and the building of the solidarity economy movement in South Africa will be taken forward!

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### A SOUTH AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE ON THE SOLIDARITY ECONOMY

COPAC convened the first International Solidarity Economy and Movement conference in South Africa guided by the following perspective and call made to grassroots cooperatives, movements and community organisations:

### **Our World is in Crisis**

- Economic crisis is increasing poverty, unemployment and hunger in the world;
- Planetary warming through green house gases has begun and is a major threat to the survival of the planet;
- Ongoing pollution and environmental destruction has placed limits on development.

### South Africa is in Crisis

- Over a million jobs have been lost since the beginning of the recession. Many more jobs are expected to be lost. With retrenchments workers and their families are struggling to survive;
- Inequality and poverty is on the rise, accompanied by one of the highest HIV/AIDs infection rates in the world;
- Violence is a big part of the 'dog eat dog' society we have, mainly affecting women and children;
- Our democracy is weak, with an uncertain future.

### There is an Alternative

We are living through a civilisational crisis. The power of markets, big transnational corporations, and rampant individual greed is leading our society and world to disaster. Through the World Social Forum progressive humanity has committed to advance alternatives to this crisis. One such alternative is the **solidarity economy process and movement**.

In Brazil, Argentina, Peru, in many local communities in the USA, in Quebec Canada, Italy, Spain, the UK, in Kerala India, the Philipines and many other countries the solidarity economy process and movement is being built. This draws on histories of working together and practical solidarity going back to ancient times but also modern experiences of cooperation that emerged in the 19th century as a response to the negative impacts of the industrial revolution on the lives of workers and poor communities.

### The Solidarity Economy Process and Movement is Not

- Another business model that enhances social capital and hence is an extension of the private sector. Instead, the solidarity economy is an alternative informed by ethical and social goals. Profits and market relationships are subordinate to these purposes. It is an end in itself.
- A version of Black Economic Empowerment (narrow or broad) supported by the state. The solidarity economy rejects the corruption, state control and lack of ethics within BEE. In the South African context the solidarity economy is an independent and grass roots alternative to BEE.
- A component part of the mixed economy; an add on within the existing system or a third sector. The solidarity economy is a process with many possibilities of scale, scope, location and depth. It is a means to transform society.
- A band aid to fix state or market failure like poverty. The solidarity economy addresses poverty and more. The solidarity economy is a preferred choice by all who believe in its vision, values, principles and practices.

### What is a Solidarity Economy?

It is a collective humanist response and democratic alternative from below to the crisis we face. It draws on our common humanity as the basis for solidarity action.

More concretely the solidarity economy is a voluntary process organised through collective struggle and conscious choice to establish a new pattern of democratic production, consumption and living that promotes the realisation of human needs and ecological justice.

### Working with a Vision

The solidarity economy process seeks to achieve:

- Collective self organising to sustain life (human and non-human);
- Democratic coordination of economic and social enterprises;
- Self managed enterprises;
- Worker and collective ownership;
- Participatory civic and social action;
- Ongoing education and learning for progress;
- Social transformation centered on human need and the environment.

### Values and Principles

Some of the main ethical values of the solidarity economy are **caring**, **sharing**, **self reliance**, **honesty**, **democracy**, **equality**, **learning**, **ecological consciousness**, **social justice and openness**.

The process of the solidarity economy is guided by the following principles:

- Solidarity: provides the social basis for the solidarity economy. It informs the cooperation between members inside a solidarity economy enterprise, between such enterprises and with the community more broadly.
- Collective ownership: ensures the assets and resources of the solidarity economy enterprise brings benefits to all within the enterprise, to the community and future generations. It ensures control and power is shared.
- Self management: gives members (women and men) and worker owners the rights to impact on decision-making. Such a principle ensures one-person-one-vote institutionalises accountability and responsibility. Ongoing education and training is crucial for viable self management.
- Control of capital: is a crucial practice to secure benefits for the individual enterprises, the wider solidarity economy and the community. It requires developing mechanism's to build up capital from below and subordinating it to democratic control so that the vision, values and principles of the solidarity economy informs lending practices. Such criteria will also inform the behaviour of the borrower.
- Eco-centric: places an emphasis on a non-destructive relationship with nature through inputs, production processes, services rendered, consumption and household practices.
- Community benefit: encourages a broader social awareness as an integral part of how the solidarity economy works. Such community benefit to be accounted for through transparent financial reporting.
- Participatory democracy: provides an institutional space for the decentralised power of citizens and solidarity economy actors for and with the solidarity economy process. Such an institutional space to bring together and unite such social forces to ensure effective coordination and development of the solidarity economy.

### **Building a Solidarity Economy Movement from Below**

#### The Role of a Solidarity Economy Activist

The main driver of a solidarity economy and movement building process is the solidarity economy activist. Such an activist practices the values and principles of solidarity economy, is committed to ongoing education and listening as part of self transformation. Moreover, such an activist has a broad understanding of peoples power and pushes the boundaries for innovation.

#### The Role of Solidarity Economy Actors

These are entities actively supporting the solidarity economy process. Civic organisations, religious organisations, sports and cultural organisations, youth organisations, womens organisations, street traders, slum deweller organisations, trade unions, unemployed peoples movements, landless peoples movements, community support NGOs and so on. Some of these actors would even play the role of solidarity economy catalysts to empower such a process by providing facilities and infrastructure for such a process to take root in a site like a ward/s or community.

### The Role of Solidarity Economy Enterprises

These entities are at the heart of the solidarity economy. They are also solidarity economy actors but not every solidarity economy actor is a solidarity economy enterprise. Some examples of solidarity economy enterprises are: worker cooperatives, burial societies, credit unions, cooperative banks, stokvels, communal property associations, community trusts, local community markets, development associations and member controlled mutual societies. A solidarity economy enterprise chooses voluntarily to be part of the solidarity economy process to achieve its vision, values and principles.

### **CONFERENCE INPUTS**

#### **DAY ONE**

Day one of the conference was about locating the solidarity economy alternative in response to the general capitalist crisis. It clarified how the solidarity economy alternative enables us to think about and undertake work and life under and beyond capitalism, clearly defining what we mean by solidarity economy as opposed to other approaches such as the social economy, and learning about practices and experiences of solidarity economy movement building from around the world. The day involved a number of high quality presentations that were particularly successful in linking theory around capitalism and its crisis, national and international contexts, and utopian (yet concrete) thinking to movement building and practice.

#### Session 1: Understanding Capitalism's Crises and the Limits of the Social Economy Response.

**Hilary Wainwright:** The Crises of Global Capitalism: Transformative Politics and the Solidarity Economy Alternative.

Wainwright is a politically engaged researcher and writer. She is a Fellow of the Transnational Institute and Senior Research Associate at the International Centre for Participation Studies at the Department for Peace Studies Bradford University. Her main political responsibility is as a co-editor of Red Pepper, the independent, green, feminist left magazine based in the UK, but with a self-consciously international perspective.

- For Wainwright the contemporary period was characterised as a crisis of capital not of labour.
- Wainwright's paper centred on the notion of labour under capitalism, and the conflict between labour as applied human creativity on the one hand, and as simple work, or employment, for capitalist profit in cycles of production and consumption, on the other hand.
- The notion of labour was therefore the central thread in her paper, and it was the concept through which she chose to work out how we can think about the solidarity economy in the context of global capitalism. That is, a transformative alternative such as the solidarity economy is in many respects about transforming the form that labour takes, how we undertake it, and the conditions under which we practice it. To quote from her paper: "how can we organise political economy differently to enable the potentialities of labour to be realised for the good of all, independently of the capitalist markets of finance, labour and commodities[?]".

- This means creating new practices of labour that no longer see it as a commodity, as it is under capitalism, but an integral social process labour as a commons, as a living resource for mutual wellbeing that needs nourishment and replenishment.
- In achieving this aim, Wainwright argued that we cannot depend on the state for development and transformation, the source must be social, where the drive for production comes from organised society.

**Michelle Williams:** Neoliberalism and the Diffusion of the Social Economy: The Case for the Solidarity Economy Alternative.

Williams is a senior lecturer in the Sociology Department at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

- The aim of Williams' paper was to contrast the notions of social economy and solidarity economy and show that they are fundamentally different from each other in origin, conception and practice. In short, the social economy is about amelioration of the negative social externalities of a market economy in which the state has retreated from much of its social welfare role.
- In contrast, the solidarity economy has a transformative vision, seeking to change the relations of power and wealth in the market economy/society.
- In short, the social economy is about social inclusion, while the solidarity economy is about social transformation.
- The social economy has come to the fore in the context of the deleterious effects of neoliberalism on society and concerns about re-embedding economies in societies proliferate. However, the social economy embodies a range of practices, from fair trade to church soup kitchens, that are ameliorative. Furthermore, social economy has been appropriated by neoliberalism as an approach to modernising and building capitalism.
- In contrast, the solidarity economy seeks a more transformational agenda in the form of democratic self-management, redistribution, solidarity, reciprocity, bottom-up processes, worker control and ownership, caring and sharing. It is not a blue-print for change, but about pre-figurative practices and values. It is thus also very much about creating a new culture, of solidarity over individualism, of people over profits, and of cooperation over competition.

#### Session 2: The Solidarity Economy Alternative and Movement in Brazil.

#### Euclides Andre Mance: The Grassroots-led Construction of Solidarity Economy in Brazil.

Mance is trained as a philosopher and is one of the founders of the Philosophy of Liberation Institute. In 2009 he participated in the creation of Solidarius Brazil, an enterprise of solidarity economy development and promotion. In the years 2010 and 2011 he participated in conferences related to public policies for solidarity economy, at the invitation of the Government of Ecuador and the Andean Community of Nations. Among his published works are *The Network Revolution (1999), Solidarity Collaboration Networks (2002), How to Organize Solidarity Networks (2003), Zero Hunger and Economic Solidarity (2004) and Solidarius Constellation (2008).* 

- Mance provided a useful overview of the process and practices around building the solidarity economy in Brazil. He focused mainly on the methodological processes adopted in constructing the solidarity economy, involving the constitution of collaborative networks and solidarity-based supply chains to construct productive networks and reorganise economic processes.
- Solidarity economy practices in Brazil date relatively far back to a range of traditions and initiatives centred on cooperation and mutual benefit. More recently, sources of this activity come from various social sectors and forces, such as neighbourhood associations, peasant movements, religious communities, labour unions and so on.
- Key to the emergence of the solidarity economy movement and formal forums and institutions in this regard, however, has been the capacity of the popular sector in civil society and the state to formulate and implement its positions and to dispute and contest public policies, which Mance argued "are defining aspects in the emergence and development of the solidarity economy in Brazil."
- What was clear from Mance's presentation is how conscious, deliberate, organised, knowledge and research based the solidarity economy network in Brazil is. It has a clear strategy for integrating and building the solidarity economy on a national scale, key elements of which are:
  - Diagnosis of the economic trends of particular territories and networks;
  - Projections of the fulfilment of existing needs and demands;
  - Planning and constructing solidarity economy-based circuits, rebuilding supply chains to fulfil the identified needs and demands; and
  - Adoption of social technologies that are adequate in strengthening solidarity-based economic exchanges between participants.
- The solidarity economy movement in Brazil is therefore not a social movement, but a socioeconomic movement. This is because it is not restricted to policy demands or proposals to the state, but is about creating an alternative economic reality: "solidarity economy creates economic means, economic value, and representations of economic value."

# **Rosana Pontes:** The Capitalist Crisis, the Response of the Brazilian State, and the Role of the Solidarity Economy Movement.

Pontes is a worker in the solidarity economy, a member of the Network of Rural Women of the Northeast of Brazil and an activist for legislation on the solidarity economy. She has worked in articulating the national programme of the solidarity economy, has been coordinator of Pernambuco's festival of Solidarity Economy for five consecutive years since 2003, has been coordinator of the evaluative research on market shows that occurred in a number of Brazilian States and is a member of the local FBES (Brazilian Solidarity Economy Forum) committee and member of the last executive national committee of FBES.

- While Mance provided the conference with an excellent overview of the solidarity economy movement in Brazil and the mechanics of its internal processes of building, Pontes provided the conference an overview of the relationship between the solidarity economy movement and the Brazilian state. She set the scene by introducing the current crises faced by humanity, of economic and ecological crisis, and of the social crisis of poverty and inequality, all factors very evident in Brazil, where it is the least privileged classes that pay for these crises.
- Linked to this context is a high degree of public sector corruption in the Brazilian state, which has been responded to strongly by civil society and social movements. In turn there has also been strong tendency for the state to criminalise social movements. However, as Mance showed, the solidarity economy movement has been about more than opposition, but about organising on principles of creating alternative economic structures, and has engaged with the state accordingly, from a position of rationally articulating precisely what it wants. Pontes emphasised the bottom up practices and movement driven nature of the solidarity economy in Brazil. She also stressed the creative tension that exists between the state and the solidarity economy movement.
- Public hearings were held in Brazilian states, and 23 of them found in favour of formally supporting the solidarity economy. However, the movement has demonstrated the possibility, and importance, of engaging with the state, but on its own terms. This requires knowing what the movement wants from the state, as well as social mobilisation to pressure it. For example, the government wanted to introduce public policy for the solidarity economy under the same department that deals with small and medium enterprises. However, the movement refused this, in order to be sure that it does not become seen as simply another form of business of the capitalist economy, and so become bureaucratised in the process. The result of the movement's strong position and refusing to compromise on it was that the Secretariat for the Solidarity Economy remained under the Department of Labour. The ambition of the movement is demonstrated by the fact that it is now campaigning to have a Ministry dedicated solely to the solidarity economy, and they are now in the process of trying to collect 1.5 million signatures, or 1% of the Brazilian electorate, to support this and show that it would be a popular initiative.
- The Brazilian Solidarity Economy Forum therefore engages with the state intensively, and from a position of social power. The Forum is movement driven rather than state driven. However, the Forum also engages in broader social issues and has a number of campaigns in this regard, like a popular initiative for the reform of the Brazilian political system, a campaign against pesticide and for life, a campaign around Rio+20, and so on.

Session 3: The Crisis of Capitalism and the Solidarity Economy Alternative in the USA, Italy and South Africa.

### Ana Magerida Esteves: The Solidarity Economy Movement and Alternative in the USA.

Esteves is a member of the United States Solidarity Economy Network (ussen.org) in the Research & Policy Working Group. She is also a founder and coordinating editor of the Portuguese Language group and a member of "Interface - A Journal for and about social movements" (www.interfacejournal.net).

- Esteves showed that in contrast to a view of America as characterised only by unbridled capitalism, there is a significant and old solidarity economy movement there. The sector evolved out of the New Deal, together with civil rights movement and the socio-cultural criticisms of capitalism. Thus while the solidarity economy movement was consolidated in 2007 as a political actor, the movement draws on the recognition and convergence of long existing economic practices that represent alternatives to capitalist production. The roots of this consolidation began in processes between the 1970s and 1990s when there was massive devolution of US industries to lower wage countries. With the consequent downsizing and closure of factories there were many occupations, and new forms of production in the form of cooperatives.
- The building of the solidarity economy in the US has come to centre quite largely on the United States Solidarity Economy Network (USSEN), and involves less of a structured approach than an emergent framework of communicative and participatory action based on a range of values and principles. As such, methodologies have involved a social constructivist approach, learning from experience and collaborative capacity building. It works with a politics of possibility and promotes a cooperative and solidarity approach to human nature *homo solidaricus*.
- An important and prominent part of this methodology of building the solidarity economy in the United States is the collaboration between technical experts and grassroots activists. In turn, a further important aspect is the participatory approaches adopted to knowledge production and diffusion through research and education. The core methodology of the United States Solidarity Economy Network (USSEN) involves:
  - Publicising and promoting mutual recognition between different kinds of experiences, with the purpose of building connectivity by promoting a convergence of goals between them and the emergence of networks;
  - Supporting those experiences through capacity-building;
  - Promoting the replication of best practices;
  - Promoting the emergence of a new economic culture, as well as worker, producer and consumer identities, through participatory processes of knowledge production and education.

• Thus key to building the solidarity economy is a strategy of collaborative capacity building, which takes two forms. Firstly, the practicing of a 'politics of possibility', which involves identifying general patterns of existing norms and practices that conform to non-capitalist economic activities. Secondly, participatory action research is used to 1) analyse the impact of solidarity based initiatives 2) develop training, advocacy and educational material and 3) strengthen the solidarity economy sector by promoting inter-cooperative purchasing and cross-sector collaboration.

### Marco Berlinguer: Challenging the Limits of the Social Economy in Italy.

Berlinguer is a political activist and researcher. He has been the director of Transform! Italia, a centre of political research, since 2001. He is part of the organization of the processes of the World Social Forum (WSF) and of the European Social Forum (ESF). He has also contributed to the foundation and coordination of other European and International networks and projects, like Euromovements; Eurotopia; The Network of the Charter for Another Europe, Networked Politics, Labor and Globalization. Within the framework of these networks and organizations, he has also edited and published a number of publications.

• Berlinguer gave an overview of the social economy in Italy, and showed how the enterprises and actors in this sector, and the range of goods and services that they provide, go beyond the two main economic actors, the state and the capitalist company. Furthermore, they produce goods and services and engage in economic activity that is not detected by conventional forms of measurement of value creation and economic activity.

### Vishwas Satgar: The Solidarity Economy Movement and Alternative in South Africa.

Satgar has been a grassroots activist for 27 years. He is the founder and a board member of the Cooperative and Policy Alternative Centre (COPAC). He is actively guiding COPACs solidarity economy facilitation role. He is also a senior lecturer in international relations at the University of Witwatersrand.

- Satgar provided an overview of the beginnings of a solidarity economy movement in South Africa. He began by providing an understanding, rather than a definition, of the solidarity economy as understood in the South African context. Importantly, it cannot be made to fit into narrow definitions, but is rather articulated as a way of organising production and society along lines different to capitalism. It is therefore transformative in vision, and is guided by specific values, principles and aims. It is a process grounded in emancipatory political practice with numerous possibilities of scale, scope and depth.
- He argued that the historical roots of the solidarity economy can be found in pre-capitalist times, in the form of 'ubuntu' (putting humanity first) and collective forms of land use. However, the solidarity economy has not emerged as a significant counter-hegemonic alternative as part of the national liberation struggle. He explained this as including racialised proletarianisation and associated urban and rural dichotomies, the nature of the national liberation movement which was directed at mass resistance against the apartheid state rather than transformative practices, and the state-centric vision of the nationalist utopian imagination that did not authorise thinking about alternatives grounded more centrally in social power and civil society.

- However, post-apartheid South Africa has also opened up new opportunities for building the solidarity economy, due to the end of institutionalised apartheid, the crisis of South Africa's neoliberalised political economy and the presence of grassroots anti-capitalist emancipatory organising.
- Satgar argues that the vision and intent of building the solidarity economy in South Africa can draw on Rick Turner's utopian Marxism, which, instead of a determined focus only on the constraining structures of capitalism, paid most attention to human freedom, consciousness and value creating practice. This opens up the opportunity to think about the ability of humans to engage in anticipatory practices of emancipation and transformation rather than only oppositional struggles against capitalism. That is, we do not have to wait for the overcoming of capitalism before we build and create a society that genuinely meets people's needs. Humans are capable of creating such an alternative within capitalism, and to use that alternative as a tool for challenging and overcoming capitalism.
- With this understanding, Satgar went on to explain a concrete experience of beginning to build the solidarity economy in Ivory Park, a township outside of Johannesburg. It is important as it serves as a leaning site for building the broader movement. It has faced many challenges, but a second wave of cooperative development is in process and a Solidarity Economy Education and Communication Cooperative (SEECC) has been established that is responsible for being the centre of taking forward the programme of building the solidarity economy in Ivory Park. Research mapping has also been conducted and written up in a report that outlines the framework for developing the Ivory Park solidarity economy, with a priority focus on achieving food sovereignty. The challenges remaining in Ivory Park, and for building the movement in South Africa, include popular education and building activists, ensuring the movement is built from below, building a national strategy and campaign focus, and clarifying how to strategically engage with the state.

### **DAY TWO**

Day two of the conference looked at interventions of solidarity economy alternatives in response to unemployment and hunger in the context of the global capitalist crisis, through worker takeovers of factories in Argentina and South Africa's first worker factory occupation. With regards to the hunger question. Both rural and urban South Africans are experiencing hunger due to a globalised agro-industry and poor land reform policies hence the need for communities and social movements to develop their own means of controlling food systems through food sovereignty strategies. This is a key priority. The inspiring presentations explored new patterns of ownership, finance mechanisms and property relations for disaffected workers, communities and social movements.

Session 4: Worker Take Overs, Worker Cooperatives and Challenges of Worker Controlled Finance in the Solidarity Economy.

**Brendan Martin:** The Crises and Waves of Factory Take-overs in Argentina: Experiences and Challenges of Financing.

Martin co-founded The Working World with Avi Lewis. Started in Argentina to work with the recovered factory movement, The Working World is a rotating loan fund that uses alternative methods of finance to successfully fund and support worker run companies. After living in Argentina for six years, Martin took that success to other parts of the globe with a branch of The Working World in Nicaragua started in

2009 and one just founded in New York City in 2011. Prior to the Working World, Martin was trained as an economist with a focus on alternatives and cooperatives, and Martin worked in the conventional finance industry for a number of years learning the secrets of the trade. Throughout his life, Martin has been an activist, participating in varied movements around the globe, an author, writing on experiences in alternatives, and one of the multitude looking to build alternatives for the way forward.

Some of the key financing steps that Working World follows are:

- Investment;
- Wealth created;
- Fund restored;
- Workers have control.

The basic mechanism of the rotating fund is that risk is carried by the fund and its administrators rather than the borrowing cooperative. That is, the cooperative repays the loan only if it is able to as a result of a successful outcome of the loan. If it fails then it does not pay it back. Fund administrators therefore work very closely with the borrowing cooperative and its members in planning, designing and implementing a strategy based on the loan, ensuring participation and democratic practice.

They have completed 500 projects supporting 100 co-operatives with a 95% success rate. The Working World rotating loan-fund for the worker-controlled factories of Buenos Aires has made all their finances transparent, made the workers themselves their watchdogs, and then set about developing practical methods to invest. With no institutional backing and only money gathered from supporters, they made their first ten, tiny investments in 2005. By the end of 2011, they have made five hundred investments in worker controlled companies totaling over USD 2 million, and over 97% of those investments successfully matured and paid the fund back.

Working has also worked in Nicaragua. One such example is a co-operative in Nicaragua. The finances invested helped expand a honey farmers cooperative to grow more food, sell honey wine as well open a fish restaurant.

# Athish Kirun: The Mineline Factory Occupation and Worker Cooperative Experiences and Challenges of Financing.

Kirun is a student currently studying a Bachelor of Arts in community development and is a COPAC organiser, researcher and grassroots facilitator.

The Mineline factory occupation started in October 2010. The circumstances for the occuation were two fold. Firstly on the 4th of August 2010, three workers were killed in an explosion due to an old and poorly maintained broiler. The second reason was that the owner had defrauded the company of over 50 million rands from loans from ABSA and non payment of taxes to the SARS.

The strategy and tactics around the occupation was always collectively determined by the workers and was centered around four key demands. Firtsly demanding that the liquidator stop all asset stripping and produce an inventory of what assets have been taken and not taken. Secondly the creditors such as ABSA & SARS pursue the employer for money owed and not through the sale of the assets. The third was about criminal charges against the employer for fraud and the death of the three workers. Finally

pursuing the government and unions for start up funding as well as technical skills training. These agencies included the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) distress fund, The Department of Trade Industry (DTI) Co-operative Incentive Scheme, the COSATU Job Creation Trust and finally the training layoff scheme through the merSETA.

Some of the tactics involved in the occupation included changing locks, workers guarding the factory day and night (working collectively with the liquidators security company) and mobilising community and external support from progressive activists and organisations to monitor and prevent any further asset stripping.

Some of the positive outcomes from the occupation were that workers received co-operative education and traning which helped them to formally register as a worker co-operative. This gave workers three important rights. (i) The right to right to strategic, operational & financial decision making. (ii) right to information. (iii) right to share in the profits & losses. They also agreed on a shared based cooperative model which would help the cooperative long term as an important source of internal capital in times of distress. Their division of surplus formula of 40% for reinvestment, 40% to worker owner members and 20% for education & training would also ensure long term sustainability and growth.

The cooperative was now ready for financing however both the private sector and public sector failed to finance the cooperative. ABSA rejected their business plan & did not want to give the cooperative a loan. The department of Labour is non responsive with insolvent companies hence it did not provide its services. The IDC has a distress fund that helps bail out companies in distress and did not want support a worker takeover. It however changed its position after the workers threatened mass action outside their head offices in Sandton. The IDC tried to manipulate and undermine the cooperatives autonomy by saying that its third party BEE company Dinkwanzi becomes the primary company and the workers be employed by this company and will benefit by having shares in the cooperative that they would need Dinkwanzi to purchase all the assets in an auction and strung the workers along resulting in the company being unable to secure the assets in a deal with the liquidator and the workers losing their factory.

This left the workers facing many challenges of now trying to secure a new premises, planning and capitalisation of their business plan. However the workers remain rightfully adamant that the IDC needs to still support them and have put continued pressure on them. They are currently in the process of finalising their business plan for full start up capitalisation. The workers hope that the IDC will rethink their strategies to support worker take overs and develop a worker co-operative strategy.

### Session 5: The Solidarity Economyand Food Sovereignty.

# **Mazibuko Jara:** Agro Industry and the Crisis of Food Sovereignty in South Africa - What Role for the Solidarity Economy Movement.

Jara is a senior researcher at the University of Cape Town Law, Race and Gender Unit. He is also part of the *Amandla*! editorial collective, South Africa's radical left magazine. He is soon to complete his PhD around land reform issues in South Africa, and is working with a community in Keiskammahoek in the Eastern Cape of South Africa on how to start building the solidarity economy. He is also a Cooperative and Policy Alternative Centre (COPAC) associate.

Jara's contribution presents the dilemmas for the nascent solidarity economy alternative arising out of South Africa's complicated agrarian structure and its increasingly globalised agro-industry which 17 years of post-apartheid economic, industrial, agricultural and land reform policies have failed to transform and democratise.

South African food is largely produced by large-scale, industrialised and white-owned commercial farms in which there is unsustainable exploitation and abuse of labour and ecological resources. Less than 40,000 commercial farm units produce about 95% of the country's total agricultural output. According to national aggregates, in most years these commercial farmers produce enough food to make this country self-sufficient. In addition, several agricultural sub-sectors are also highly competitive global players earning a significant portion of their income from exports. This "world class status" of South Africa's commercial agriculture contrast with landlessness, widespread rural poverty and the net food buyer status of the majority of rural black dwellers.

Some of the key problems of the agricultural industry in South Africa are small scale farmers who supply their produce to pack sheds and other third party businesses who sell it at a fraction of the cost as compared to the pack shed and the final franchised retailers who make very high profits. There is a need to expose the dominant logic of capitalists profiting of farmers e.g. apple and bread exporting and pricing. Skewed agricultural markets therefore creates small market opportunities for small scale farmers. Food and retail profits of supermarkets are huge at about an annual average 1.4 billion rands. There is an increase in domestic input costs of fertilizers and petrol. Agro chemicals on the increase since the 90's. Only 80% of our food is produced by 25% of our farmers. Redistribution of land April 1994 to June 2010 is very poor.

The fundamental implication this has for the solidarity economy is to link it directly to agrian reform. This should provide finance and credit access to markets, training, development of agricultural infrastructure and an extension of support services. The movement must be autonomous from the private business and the logic of the private sector, political parties & government. More engagement for these opportunities need to be formalised through a conference of organic farmers.

# **Ricado Jacobs, South Africa (SPP):** Agrarian Reform for Food Sovereignty Campaign: Experiences and Lessons.

Jacobs is employed with the Surplus People Project. He has been involved with land and agrarian transformation issues for the past 15 years.

Jacobs's presentation focused on new agrarian social movements and the need for them to focus on key experiences and lessons that can be learned through the Food Sovereignty Campaign to build a vibrant and dynamic anti capitalist movement. The Right to Agrarian Reform for Food Sovereignty, in short the Food Sovereignty Campaign, was born out of a process of popular education in 2006 and 2007. La Via Campesina and Zapatista's provided a central experience. Connecting the everyday anti capitalist politics and resistance of small scale farmers, farm workers and rural dwellers to confront the state and neoliberal capitalism collectively. Demands were developed at a local level where each sector or social force have articulated their demands which culminated in a set of collective demands. He explained that the cause of the agrarian crisis in South Africa is due to the states commitment to the neoliberal capitalist restructuring in agriculture and the multiple crises that it generated post 1994, in South Africa's democracy. This has resulted in corporate food chain dominance and food price increases. Agricultural employment shifted, creating job losses, dispossession, farm evictions and displacements.

The key demands of the campaign included agrarian reform that takes away land from current owners and agribusiness. Food sovereignty - enough food for everyone plus democracy and liberty in decision making about food. No more control by business corporations but control by all people. Agro ecology - a way of doing agriculture that does away with unequal land access, environmental damage, racism and sexism and the chemical industrial model of agriculture. A socialist system that abolishes class divisions between people and make meeting human needs the primary objectives of economic activity. Fighting sexism and gender based violence.

The political strategies developed for the campaign included mass meetings and other gatherings to discuss their problems, share experiences and work out strategies. Participation in marches and other protest actions that promote their goals. Popular education and training that lead to direct action like land occupations and blocking roads. Submissions to state institutions such as parliament, and government departments. Practice and promote agro ecological agriculture as a counter to the dominant industrial agriculture. The actions that emerged were a protest march in 2008 against the failure of the state to implement agrarian reform and the impact of the industrial model of agriculture. Occupation of government offices namely the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform & local government. Land occupations in both urban and rural areas. Agro ecological market days as a form of resistance. Pamphlet distribution and radio interviews. The marches were a prelude to market days. Cape Town activists forced the state to recognize urban agriculture as a legitimate form of agrarian reform. Resistance against multinational companies like Monsanto in a remote village of Lutzville 320 km from Cape Town. Farm worker/ dweller forum engaged in action research to understand fear and activism.

The overall experiences and lessons learned was that popular education is important to advance an emancipatory project. Movements have to be built on the understanding of everyday forms of politics and resistance as a basis for building resilient and vibrant movements. Solidarity production/output is an important pillar often ignored by land and agricultural policies. Unity and linkages between urban and rural struggles to create rural and urban Solidarity. The agrarian question is not a rural crisis only but also a urban crisis. The ecological dimension of agrarian question is important.

# Andrew Bennie, South Africa (COPAC): Food Sovereignty a Key Pillar of the Solidarity Economy: Experiences and Lessons from Ivory Park.

Bennie completed his Masters in Development and Environmental Sociology at the University of Witwatersrand in 2010, and now works as a solidarity economy and cooperative development facilitator at the Cooperative and Policy Alternative Centre (COPAC).

Bennie's presentation was themed around linking food sovereignty to the building of the solidarity economy. He highlighted the context of the global food crisis and drew on two case studies of a bakery co-operative and agricultural co-operative in the township of Ivory Park in Johannesburg. They illustrate that nascent alternatives to the crisis ridden model of global agriculture do exist however these alternatives need to be consciously linked to the building of transformation alternatives like the solidarity economy to work towards food sovereignty. Bennie highlighted the importance of thinking about the relationship between the solidarity economy and food sovereignty. In short pre conditions for achieving food sovereignty imply social conditions of certain levels of racial, gender and class equality. The solidarity economy can be seen as a tool of struggle for social transformation.

### **Experiences from Ivory Park**

COPAC has been working in Ivory Park for the past 10 years to help facilitate and build a co-operative movement through various interventions. Ivory Park is an expression of high rates of urbanization in South Africa. It has a 52% unemployment rate, low rates of formal employment an low incomes levels. 42% of households suffer from food insecurity resulting in household food stress. An average food expenditure of R700 per month was recorded in a COPAC 2010 survey. However there are nascent alternatives emerging namely the Tswelelane bakery co-operative and Boikhanyo poultry and vegetable worker co-operative. Tswelelane is a successful co-operative that sells an arrange of baked products. They have on average 100 customers a day from the local community. Boikhanyo is a small scale vegetable producing co-operative providing healthy organic food to their community and its members. It has provided a source of livelihood and income to its members and assisted them with sending their children to school. It is well supported by the community. But key to these two case studies is the food sovereignty strategy that has been initiated and the challenges it faces. Some of these challenges are to strengthen the structure of the food sovereignty sub committee within the Eco city solidarity economy education & communication co-operative. Working capital is a challenge for the co-operatives. More internal education is needed to strengthen these co-operatives. More capacity is needed in building local linkages and organising community education around the importance of the campaign. And finally creating a local supply chain that will turn consumption towards locally produced food.

### **PUBLIC EVENTS**

Over the course of the conference, three public events were hosted that covered themes relevant to building the solidarity economy.

The first event was held on the first evening of the conference, on 'The Crisis, Factory Takeovers and Worker Cooperatives in Argentina and South Africa'. A short documentary on worker factory takeovers in Argnetina was shown followed by a talk by Brendan Martin of Working World Argentina, which is a key solidarity economy financing institution for recovered factories and other cooperatives in Argentina and other Latin American countries. Sipho Linda from the Mineline factory attempted worker takeover also spoke on their experience in South Africa. He emphasised the challenges and the need for ongoing solidarity.

The second event, on the afternoon of the second day, hosted a keynote address by the South African Minister of Finance, Pravin Gordhan. He spoke largely around the opportunities for engaging the state in the development of South African society and the role that the state is attempting to play. He was well aware of the challenges to development in South Africa, particularly given rampant corruption and mismanagement at local government level, but argued that it is up to citizens and civil society to come forward and work with the state.

### MAIN THEMES OF DISCUSSION EMERGING FROM THE CONFERENCE

- Should there be such a strict distinction between social economy and solidarity economy are certain aspects of the social economy not also important for the solidarity economy? It was understood that there are similarities between the two that can be built upon. But the reason why it is important to make the distinction analytically and politically is that the social economy together with it then it can easily be incorporated and lose its transformative radical aims and vision. So in this regard the solidarity economy is different from the social economy, and it is important to make this distinction analytically. It is also important to demonstrate the transformative thrust of the solidarity economy in practice. Moreover, given the total crisis of capitalism advancing the transformative thrust of the solidarity economy is more necessary than the ameliorative orientation of the social economy.
- Role of the State A clear issue running through much of the discussion was around the role of the state and how the solidarity economy movement relates to it do we ignore the state, or see it is an important institution to contest and 'change'? There was general agreement that state cannot be the driver of the solidarity economy. It is not a source of change, rather, creativity and the source of transformation must come from people organised for change through the solidarity economy, building up social power. This was a key lesson learnt in Brazil.
- The role of values and alternative culture in building the solidarity economy it is about imagining an alternative, the politics of possibility. It also means deepening popular education through cultural and social practices about the values and practices of the solidarity economy movement.
- In terms of the role of work, it was emphasised how the solidarity economy is not just about creating non-alienated production, but also non-alienated consumption and finance. It is about creating a non-alienated society.
- How does the solidarity economy relate to broader conceptions of socialism? It was understood that the two are not separate, but that the solidarity economy can be understood as a grassroots, bottom-up building of socialism, or more specifically, ecosocialism.

### **MAIN OUTCOMES**

### **Strategy Going Forward**

Claim the Future Now, Build the Solidarity Economy Movement from Below!

Amended and Adopted at the 1st International Solidarity Economy Conference 26 - 28 October 2011

#### Introduction

The solidarity economy is a process grounded in a bottom up anti-capitalist emancipatory practice.

In 2010 COPAC made a call to build a grass roots and bottom up Solidarity Economy Movement in South Africa. As an NGO COPAC is not the movement but is merely willing to play a facilitation role over the next 3 years to ensure the necessary processes, platforms and grass roots capacities are in place to ensure the Solidarity Economy Alternative and Movement emerges in South Africa.

Such a process has to be driven from below and collectively owned.

## What is proposed is a modest strategy, to take a few key steps together. The strategy has 5 key elements.

### **Objectives of the Strategy**

- To build capacity for a grass roots anti-capitalist emancipatory practice to advance and build the solidarity economy below;
- To promote popular education and learning about the solidarity;
- To link existing examples and learning sites of the solidarity economy movement;
- To provide a framework for envisioning the spread and diffusion of the solidarity economy movement in South Africa;
- To outline strategic elements that are important to guide the building of the solidarity economy movement;
- To outline clearly what role the state should play in this process.

### **Key Elements**

#### 1. Establish local sites of hope and resistance to advance the solidarity economy

Bottom up movement building requires working at the grass roots in communities. Strategic partners are crucial to initiate and support local solidarity economy processes and to link in with existing local social forces. Thus far COPAC has partnered with the Ivory Park cooperative movement and the Unemployed Peoples Movement to establish 2 learning sites in Gauteng, (Ivory Park and Tsakane) and has partnered with the Unemployed peoples movement in Grahamstown and the Cultural Heritage organisation in Keiskamahoek to establish such sites there next year. Two sites will also be established in Durban in partnership with the Unemployed Peoples Movement and the Workers College.

Further places where solidarity economy sites can be established over the next three years include, together with organisations that would be willing to be strategic partners/solidarity economy actors to anchor and initiate the development of such local solidarity economy sites:

- Elsies River Elsies River Community Media Resource Centre in Western Cape (community newspaper)
- Bulungula, Wild Coast Eastern Cape Bulungula Incubator
- Parts of Western Cape and Northern Cape Environmental Monitoring Group (EMG) Indigo
- KwaZulu Natal Participative Development Initiative (PDI) and UPM
- SANCO FOPPECIA
- ABM Northern Cape
- Moutse Mpumulanga Mpumulanga community organisation
- Balfour Balfour Civic

Additional suggestions were to link our work with MST activists/Via Campesina in Africa and build some means of communicating on the various approaches. Building solidarity among migrant communities and sharing skills to assist each other to face the challenges. Develop specific interventions for targeting youth and their specific needs within the local sites.

## 2. Establish an Education and Communication Network for the Solidarity Economy and Movement

Without serious and ongoing education the solidarity economy will not build the necessary capacity. The solidarity economy process needs a network of popular educators. COPAC has been working with the model of a solidarity economy education and communication cooperative for every site to anchor this process. Thus far there are two such cooperatives in existence which provide the basis for such a network. COPAC will be establishing a secondary cooperative to link these cooperatives into a network. Such a secondary cooperative will coordinate the network, share and develop activist training tools and constantly support the solidarity economy movement building methodology.

In order to ensure that actors and activists building the solidarity economy in particular sites are adequately equipped with the skills and methodology, a national educators workshop should be organised, and should meet once a year as part of the national forum. This to ensure that a core of activists are trained to build on the ground as well to train others in their communities.

Education initiatives should include elements to deconstruct various forms of oppression that we both experience and perpetrate. How do we build our own relations in society and with nature looking at power relations, between genders, family life, inter personal lives, with nature - in order to build and internalize the values and principles of the solidarity economy.

### 3. Establish a National Solidarity Economy and Movement Forum

To advance the solidarity economy alternative and movement building process in South Africa a national forum of the solidarity economy needs to be established. Such a platform should be used to foster learning from actual experiences, elaborate and clarify movement building strategies, coordinate solidarity economy campaigns, link with the international solidarity economy movement and be the voice for the solidarity economy in the country. Such a forum will evolve and be an interim platform until the solidarity economy movement is organised.

The form of organisations that would be eligible to participate in this forum will include existing cooperatives, social movements, community based organisations and progressive NGOs. The specific criteria for organisations to participate in this forum should be a clear commitment to building the solidarity economy in the communities from which they come. Such organisations to work with the solidarity economy values, principles and within the framework of this strategy. In short commitment to practice and theory to advance the solidarity economy are the main criteria for participation in the forum. After a certain amount of time, these organisations should also be able to demonstrate the concrete work, and results of this work, on the ground to continue to be eligible for participation in this forum.

Initially a Google Group will be the main point of coordination and communication for the forum, and a Solidarity Economy Forum and Movement website will also be established.

It is suggested that in this period of building and advancing the solidarity economy alternative the forum should meet as much as possible in a year however this will depend on resources and the feasibility of participation.

### 4. Research, Education and Movement Building Tools

The solidarity economy requires various tools to support its development. Such tools have to emerge from practice. Thus far COPAC has developed three tools to assist this process: (i) the solidarity economy activist guide; (ii) mapping tool developed in Ivory Park; (iii) website with research reports, cooperative building tools, discussion papers etc. There are two books on the solidarity economy that COPAC will also be publishing. In addition to these tools for research and learning, other tools will include:

• The sharing of resources and movement building tools will involve constant research and documenting of processes in each solidarity economy site, which must be written up in popular form for sharing across other sites and through the national forum. Video resources, for example of lectures and workshops, as well as cooperatives and solidarity economy actors documenting their experiences, will provide a useful movement building tool;

- International resources from other countries, such as books and tools, will be translated and housed on the COPAC website initially, and websites of participating organisations in South Africa will be linked so as to further facilitate the sharing of resources;
- An online solidarity economy newsletter will be established to share solidarity economy practices and news from below. This will be housed on the COPAC website initially, and thereafter on the National Forum and Movement website, and sent out via email and the Google Group;
- The Brazillian NGO Solidarius has an excellent online tool which provides a good platform to link together producers of products to improve trade between solidarity economy members. Such a tool needs to be developed and maybe housed on the national solidarity economy forum and movement website;
- Use social networks and information and communication technologies to promote actions aimed at bridging the digitizing gap education among grassroots on use of communication technology to use it for forwarding the aims of solidarity and the struggles of the poor;
- Participatory video material done by the cooperatives to contribute to media production and training resources.

We need to identify and deal with the challenges of the cooperatives as vehicles for changing the economy such as equipment, experience, skills are still needed - popular education and communication to assist with developing vision and mission of cooperatives to further the solidarity economy and support of all cooperatives. Through solidarity economy forums and the Solidarity Economy Education and Communication model cooperatives need to be supported, developed and brought into the solidarity economy and movement.

### 5. Campaigns

The solidarity economy has to be built through campaigns and struggles. Such campaigns and struggles should link sites and movements. Thus far there are four potential campaigns we can advance together:

- Solidarity campaigns like with the Mine-Line factory workers occupation;
- Food sovereignty such a campaign links households/local enterprises, urban/rural and links directly with struggles for land. Resources in Ivory Park, through small farmer networks, cooperatives, ngos etc can be brought together effectively to build activist capacity for such a solidarity economy building campaign as an alternative to transnational corporation controlled agriculture;
- Housing campaign that links with community planning so that housing is embedded in local agriculture, encourages ecological action and improvement, and are designed in ways that create holistic public spaces for recreation, agriculture, and ecological sustainability;
- Public Policy Demands for a national worker cooperative Act, support program and for resources to support community based solidarity economy cooperative funds. COPAC has developed a host of materials to support such demands and can be used to build activist capacity around such demands. Such demands can be targetted at the national, provincial and local government.

### **SOLIDARITY ECONOMY ART GALLERY** VISIONS OF VALUES AND PRINCIPLES

Participants at the conference were broken up into groups to illustrate the values and principles of the solidarity economy proposed by COPAC. This art gallery of solidarity economy visions is a useful learning tool for grass roots activism. It can be used to continue education work at the grass roots and can be used as a method in communities to elaborate local visions of the solidarity economy alternative.









GROUP TI DHARING VALUE S SHARING OF RESOURCES ( BATTERING) KNOWLEDGE/INFORMATION ( LEARNING FROM EACH OTHER LAND SHARING FOR FOOD PRODUCTION / SOWEREIGNTY SHARING THE ENVIRONMENT (MATURE RESOURCES)







### **Conference Program**

### Day One: Wednesday, 26 October 2011

Time	Session	Presentation
8:30 - 10:00	Registration and Tea	Wits, Professional Development Hub
10:00	Opening	Welcome: Annie Sugrue, Board Member COPAC Presentation on rationale: Vishwas Satgar, Board Member COPAC
10:15 - 11:30	Session 1: Understanding Capitalisms Crises and the Limits of the Social Economy Response	<ul> <li>Hilary Wainwright: The Crises of Global Capitalism: Transformative Politics and the Solidarity Economy Alternative</li> <li>Michelle Williams: Neoliberalism and the Diffusion of the Social Economy: The Case for the Solidarity Economy Alternative</li> <li>Chair: Annie Sugrue</li> </ul>
11:30 - 11:45	TEA	
11:45 - 13:30	Session 2: The Solidarity Economy Alternative and Movement in Brazil	<ul> <li>Euclides Andre Mance, Brazil (PACS): Building The Solidarity Economy Movement from below in Brazil: Origins, Concepts, Movement Building Experiences and Challenges</li> <li>Rosana Pontes, Brazil (FBES): The Capitalist Crisis, the Response of the Brazilian State and the Role of the Solidarity Economy Movement</li> <li>Chair: Ana Magarida Esteves</li> </ul>
13:30 - 14:30	LUNCH	
14:30 - 17:00	Session 3: The Crisis of Capitalism and the Solidarity Economy Alternative in the USA, Italy and South Africa	<ul> <li>Ana Magarida Esteves: The Solidarity Economy Alternative and Movement in the USA</li> <li>Marco Berlinguer: Challenging the Limits of the Social Economy in Italy</li> <li>Vishwas Satgar: The Solidarity Economy Alternative and Movement in South Africa</li> <li>Chair: Michelle Williams</li> </ul>
17:00 - 18:30	DINNER	
18:30 - 20:00	<b>Public Event:</b> The Crisis, Factory Take Overs and Worker Cooperatives in Argentina and South Africa	Documentary Screening Speakers: Brendan Martin, Working World Argentina and Mine-Line Factory Worker. Sipho Linda Chair: Athish Kirun, COPAC

### **Conference Program**

### Day Two: Thursday, 27 October 2011

Time	Session	Presentation
8:30 - 8:45	Arrival	Wits, Professional Development Hub
8:45 - 9:00	Recap	Andrew Bennie, COPAC
9:00 - 10:30	Session 4: Worker Take Overs, Worker Cooperatives and Challenges of Worker Controlled Finance in the Solidarity Economy	<ul> <li>Brendan Martin, Argentina (Working World): The Crises and Waves of Factory Take Overs in Argentina Experiences and Challenges of Financing</li> <li>Athish Kirun, South Africa (COPAC): The Mine-line Factory Occupation and Worker Cooperative Experiences and Challenges of Financing</li> </ul>
		Chair: Hilary Wainwright
10:30 - 11:00	TEA	
11:00 - 13:30	Session 5: The Solidarity Economy and Food Sovereignty	<ul> <li>Mazibuko Jara: Agro-Industry and the Crisis of Food Sovereignty in South Africa What Role for the Solidarity Economy Movement?</li> <li>Ricado Jacobs, South Africa (SPP): Agrarian Reform for Food Sovereignty Campaign: Experiences and Lessons Andrew Bennie, South Africa (COPAC): Food Sovereignty a Key Pillar of the Solidarity Economy: Experiences and Lessons from Ivory Park</li> <li>Chair: Mercia Andrews, TCOE</li> </ul>
13:30 - 14:45	LUNCH	
15:00 - 16:00	Session 6: Is There a Place for the Solidarity Economy in South Africa? Employment Creation, Public Finance and Cooperative Banks	<ul> <li>Keynote Address: Pravin Gordhan, Minister of Finance, South Africa</li> <li>In the light of South Africa's neoliberalisation over the past 17 years, the current crisis of neoliberal growth economics and the mass mobilisation taking place in the world against capitalism the input by the Minister will address the challenge of thinking beyond the policies and values of market centred growth policies. He will address the question of the role and place of plural economic practices including the solidarity economy to address South Africa's challenges.</li> <li>Chair: Vishwas Satgar, COPAC</li> <li>The media is invited to this session of the conference.</li> </ul>
		The media is invited to this session of the conference.
16:00 - 16:30	TEA	

### **Conference Program**

### Day Two: Thursday, 27 October 2011

Time	Session	Presentation
16:30 - 17:30	Session 7: COPAC Discussion Paper	Claiming the Future Now Building the Solidarity Economy and Movement from Below Andrew Bennie and Athish Kirun Chair: Mazibuko Jara, COPAC Associate and DLF activist
17:30 - 18:30	DINNER	
18:30 - 20:00	<b>Public Event:</b> The Climate Jobs Campaign	Jacky Cock
	The Chinace 500s Campaign	Chair: Ayanda Kota, UPM

### Day Three: Friday, 28 October 2011

Time	Session	Presentation
8:30 - 8:45	Arrival	Wits, Professional Development Hub
8:45 - 9:00	Recap	Andrew Bennie
9:15 - 11:00	Session 8: Break Away Groups: Building the Solidarity Economy and Movement in South Africa	Group 1: Facilitator, Andrew Bennie (each group to arrange a rapporteur) Group 2: Facilitator, Athish Kirun Group 3: Facilitator, Michelle Williams
11:00 - 11:30	ТЕА	
11:30 - 13:00	Session 8: Continued reportbacks	Plenary Report Back from Groups Chair: Mazibuko Jara, COPAC Associate and DLF Activist
	Session 9: Way Forward and Closure	Vishwas Satgar, South Africa (COPAC)
11:30 - 13:00	LUNCH	

### ANNEXURES

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