the BRICS come to Durban
what we can expect from the March 2013 summit of subimperial powers

Scrambling for Africa

Cartoons by Zapiro
Berlin, 1884-85
‘Scramble for Africa’
Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Germany, Italy, Spain
“We must find new lands from which we can easily obtain raw materials and at the same time exploit the cheap slave labour that is available from the natives of the colonies. The colonies would also provide a dumping ground for the surplus goods produced in our factories.”

- Cecil John Rhodes

- African Lakes (Malawi, 1891)
- Northern Rhodesia (Zambia, 1894)
- Rhodesia (Zimbabwe, 1895)
- Zululand (KwaZulu-Natal, 1897)
- Boer republics (RSA, 1899-1902)
“I am sure that Cecil John Rhodes would have given his approval to this effort to make the South African economy of the early 21st century appropriate and fit for its time.”

- Nelson Mandela, launching Mandela Rhodes Foundation, August 2003
Stratfor (known as private-sector CIA)
South Africa's history is driven by the interplay of competition and cohabitation between domestic and foreign interests exploiting the country's mineral resources. Despite being led by a democratically-elected government, the core imperatives of SA remain

- maintenance of a liberal regime that permits the free flow of labor and capital to and from the southern Africa region, and
- maintenance of a superior security capability able to project into south-central Africa.

http://search.wikileaks.org/gifiles/?viewemailid=951571
January 2013: Pretoria deploys 400 troops to the Central African Republic during a coup attempt because ‘We have assets there that need protection.’

- deputy foreign minister Ebrahim Ebrahim, referring to arms and minerals

21st Century agent of imperialism?

Jacob Zuma, South Africa’s president, has warned western companies they must change their old “colonial” approach to Africa or risk losing out even more to the accelerating competition from China and other developing powers.

Western businesses and governments have a “psychological problem” and are still prone to lecturing Africa, Mr Zuma said in an interview with the Financial Times. He advised them to resist *warning against the embrace of China* and rethink their own investment strategies.

“I’ve said it to the private sector from the western countries: ‘Look. You have got to change the way you do business with Africa if you want to regain Africa. If you want to treat Africa as a former colony … then people will go to new partners who are going to treat them differently’,” he said.
what is subimperialism?

Ruy Mauro Marini (Brazil 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.**’
Resource Curse politics
Resource Curse? tyrants needed!

Hosni Mubarak, Egypt – 1981-2011
Moummar Gaddafi, Libya – 1969-2011
Meles Zenawi, Ethiopia – 1995-2012
Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasago, Equatorial Guinea – 1979-present
Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Angola – 1979-present
Robert Mugabe, Zimbabwe – 1980-present
Paul Biya, Cameroon – 1982-present
Yoweri Museveni, Uganda – 1986-present
King Mswati III, Swaziland – 1986-present
Blaise Compaoré, Burkina Fasso – 1987-present
Omar al-Bashir, Sudan – 1989-present
Idriss Deby, Chad – 1990-present
Isaias Afewerki, Eritrea – 1993-present
Yahya Jammeh, Gambia – 1994-present
Paul Kagame, Rwanda – 1994-present
with rare exceptions, Obama nurtures Africa’s tyrants
Nouakchott, Mauritania
The United States flew PC-12 surveillance aircraft from here to track al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb. The flights ended in 2008 after a coup.

Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso
The United States flies PC-12 surveillance aircraft from here north to Mali, Mauritania and the Sahara.

Entebbe, Uganda
The United States flies PC-12 surveillance aircraft from here over territory used by the Lord’s Resistance Army.

Camp Lemonnier, Djibouti
The U.S. military targets al-Shabab in Somalia and al-Qaeda in Yemen from this key base.

Victoria, Seychelles
The U.S. military flies Reaper drones over East Africa from this island base.

Manda Bay, Kenya
More than 100 U.S. commandos are based at a Kenyan military installation.
Africa’s existing oil

- substantial reserves
- oil and wars: Sudan, Angola, Chad, Congo
- US imports more than 20% from Africa

(credit: Horace Campbell)
Despite the political risk, Western oil companies are queuing up to explore.

**Sierra Leone**
An “active petroleum system” discovered by Anadarko 1125km west of the Jubilee field.

**Uganda**
Up to 2bn barrels found under and around Lake Albert.

**Tanzania**
Already a gas producer, and further prospecting occurring in the Rovuma basin.

**Mozambique**
Anadarko committing over $250m over the next few years in exploration.

**Liberia**
Several prospecting licences for auction.

**Côte d'Ivoire**
Vanco’s Orca 1-x exploratory well will reveal offshore potential.

**Ghana**
Potential upside of 1.8bn barrels in the Jubilee field, and 1.4bn barrels in Tweneboa-1.

**DRC**
Political turmoil means exploration is still years behind its neighbours.

**Madagascar**
TOTAL drilled an estimated 80 wells in 2009.
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

Tanzania  20
Zimbabwe  20
Pretoria’s Marius Fransman: “Our presence in BRICS would necessitate us to push for Africa’s integration into world trade.”

DBSA's Michelle Ruiters: “Our main focus is... financing large infrastructure cross-border projects, specifically because we find that most of the blockages that exist around infrastructure delivery are those on the cross-border list.”
SADC deputy executive secretary João Samuel Caholo: “There is resentment towards the DBSA in certain quarters because it is in South Africa, and South Africa is the only shareholder. SADC has no say in what the DBSA does and although the bank does work on a bilateral level with SADC countries, we need our own bank.” (June 2012)

DBSA CEO Patrick Dlamini reporting on R370 mn loss in 2012: “We can no longer allow the DBSA to be associated with shoddy work” (December 2012)

- Development Bank of Southern Africa
- China Development Bank
- Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento Economico e Social (BNDES)
- Russia’s Vnesheconombank
- Export-Import Bank of India
what, exactly, do ‘integration’ and ‘blockage’ and ‘shoddy’ and ‘no say’ mean, in such a ridiculously Resource-Cursed region like ours?

• much worse extractivist ‘Dutch-Disease’ bias,
• exported profits and current-account deficits,
• corrupted politics (e.g. Marikana, Marange),
• forced displacement and worsening migrancy,
• climate chaos and energy abuse (especially SA),
• air/water pollution and water scarcity
NEPAD warmup: a ‘new’ Partnership for Africa’s Development?
NEPAD: abolishing – or polishing – global apartheid?

New Partnership for Africa’s Development is ‘philosophically spot on’

- Walter Kansteiner, US State Dep't, 2003
The most fundamental flaws of Nepad, which reproduce the central elements of the World Bank's *Can Africa Claim the 21st Century?* and the ECA's *Compact for African Recovery*, include:

- (a) the neo-liberal economic policy framework at the heart of the plan, which repeats the structural adjustment policy packages of the preceding two decades and overlooks the disastrous effects of those policies;
- (b) the fact that in spite of its proclaimed recognition of the central role of the African people to the plan, the African people have not played any part in the conception, design and formulation of Nepad;
- (c) notwithstanding its stated concerns for social and gender equity, it adopts the social and economic measures that have contributed to the marginalisation of women;
Codesria and Third World Network-Africa
‘Declaration on Africa’s Development Challenges’

– (d) that in spite of claims of African origins, its main targets are foreign donors, particularly in the G8;
– (e) its vision of democracy is defined by the needs of creating a functional market;
– (f) it under-emphasises the external conditions fundamental to Africa's developmental crisis, and thereby does not promote any meaningful measure to manage and restrict the effects of this environment on Africa development efforts. On the contrary, the engagement that it seeks with institutions and processes like the World Bank, the IMF, the WTO, the United States Africa Growth and Opportunity Act, the Cotonou Agreement, will further lock Africa's economies disadvantageously into this environment.
‘good governance’: NEPAD’s Zim test

Dave Malcomson of NEPAD secretariat (responsible for int’l liaison and co-ordination):

‘Wherever we go, Zimbabwe is thrown at us as the reason why NEPAD’s a joke.’

*Business Day, 28 March 2003*