

Durban's hosting of BRICS, 26-27 March 2013

International Convention Centre

- scrambled Africa:
*Durban 2013 =
Berlin 1885 remixed?*
- BRICS as (incoherent)
subimperialist bloc
- *'brics-from-below'*
alternative (@ Diakonia)



Berlin, 1884-85

'Scramble for Africa'



Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Germany, Italy, Spain



v. Lamberton, de Courcel, Marquis v. Denafel, Graf Kapnist, Said Pasha, Graf Gaggenitz, Graf de Cambray, v. d. Straten, Kollon, Raindre, v. Kasserow, Graf Benomar, Henry Sanford, Fürst Bismarck, v. Dind, Graf Szedgeny, Freiherr v. Bildt, Graf Wilhelm Dismarck, Innenhausschreiber Baisch.



- African Lakes (Malawi, 1891)
- Northern Rhodesia (Zambia, 1894)
- Rhodesia (Zimbabwe, 1895)
- Zululand (1897)
- Boer republics (1899-1902)

*“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 Rhodes



“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**.



*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 minerals*

*. K Patel, 'The world according to Dirco
(v. Jan 2013)', Daily Maverick, 25
January 2013.*

mainstream perspective:

- *South Africa is a **'Middle Power'**, and Pretoria attempts to constructively **'lead'** Africa while acting in the continent's economic and political interests (Maxi Schoeman),*
- *Pretoria is **'building strategic partnerships... in a constant effort to win over the confidence of fellow African states, and to convince the world community of its **regional power** status'** (Chris Landsberg),*
- *thus seeking **'non-hegemonic cooperation'** with other African countries (John Daniel et al)*

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.*’

**'collaborating actively'
with climate catastrophe**



Copenhagen Accord, COP 15, December 2009

**“they broke
the UN”**
(Bill McKibben,
350.org)

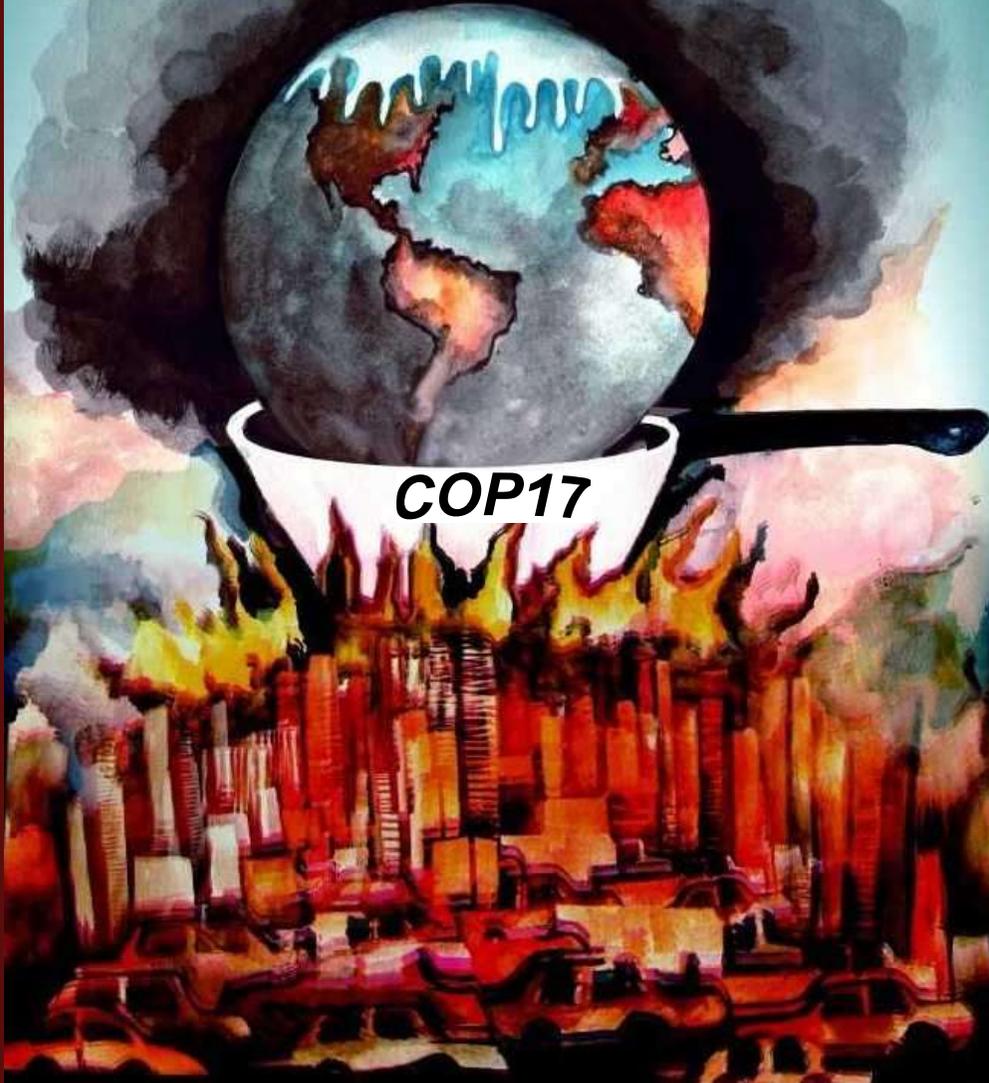
- Jacob Zuma (SA)
- Lula da Silva (Brazil)
- Barack Obama (USA)
- Wen Jiabao (China)
- Manmohan Singh (India)

**USA+‘BASIC’:
non-binding;
4 degree
increase**



**‘collaborating actively’
with climate catastrophe**

*allowed US sabotage,
no new emissions cuts*



Durban's COP17 'Conference of Polluters'

SA in the chair



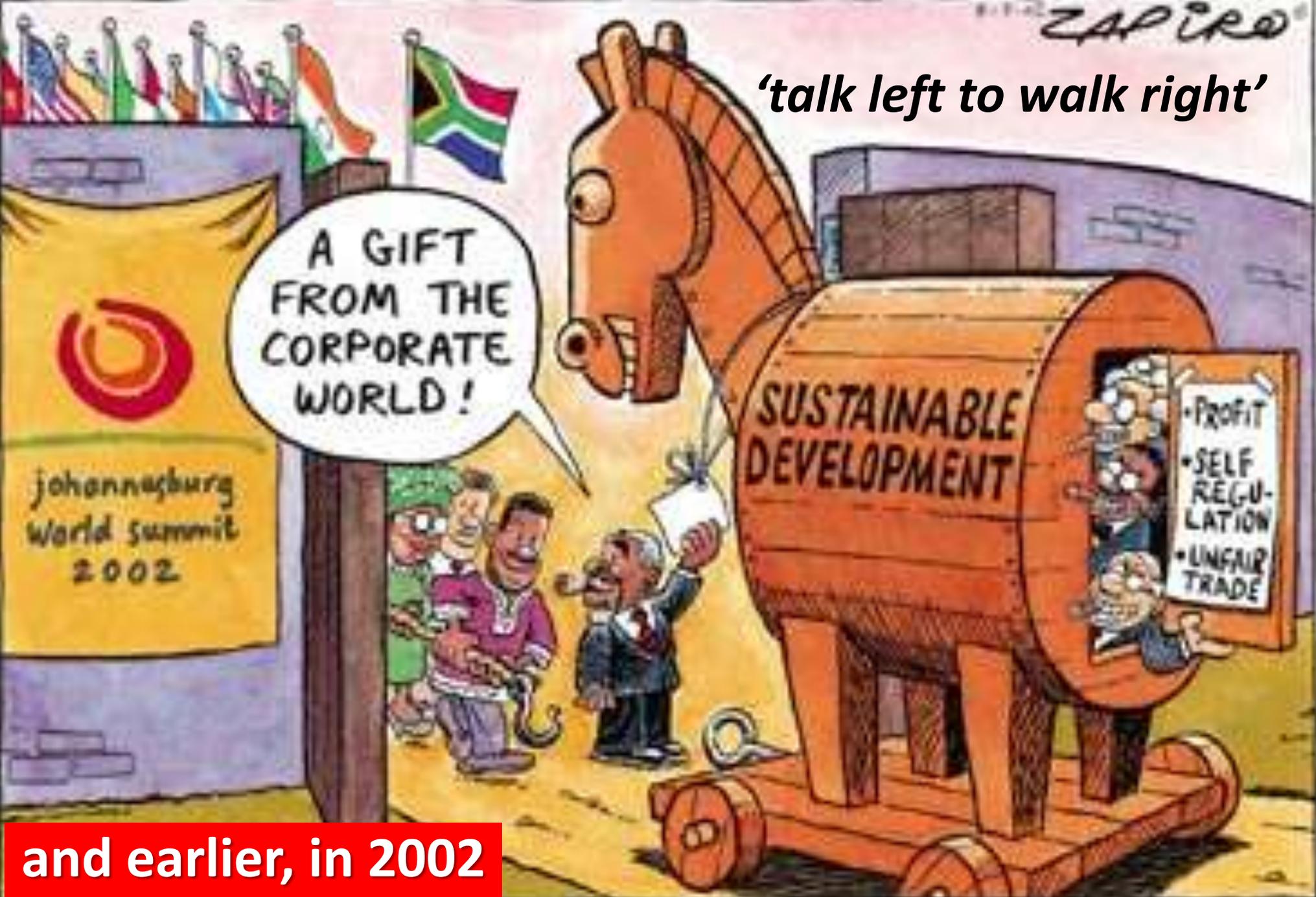
Durban COP17: 'Africa's Climate Summit'



confirmed 21st-c. climate-related deaths of 180 million Africans (Christian Aid)

ZAP IRO

'talk left to walk right'



and earlier, in 2002

A TIMETABLE TO
REDUCE EMISSIONS?!
..NOT UNTIL THERE'S MORE
EVIDENCE OF GLOBAL
CLIMATE CHANGE!

johannesburg
world
summit



© ZAPIRO
18-8-02

Environmental Performance Index and Pilot Trend Environmental Performance Index

Countries rapidly declining in EPI

95	India
...	...
98	Namibia
...	...
100	China
...	...
123	Turkmenistan
124	South Africa
125	Iraq
126	Kazakhstan
127	Kyrgyzstan
128	Estonia
129	Bosnia & Herzegovina
130	Saudi Arabia
131	Kuwait
132	Russia

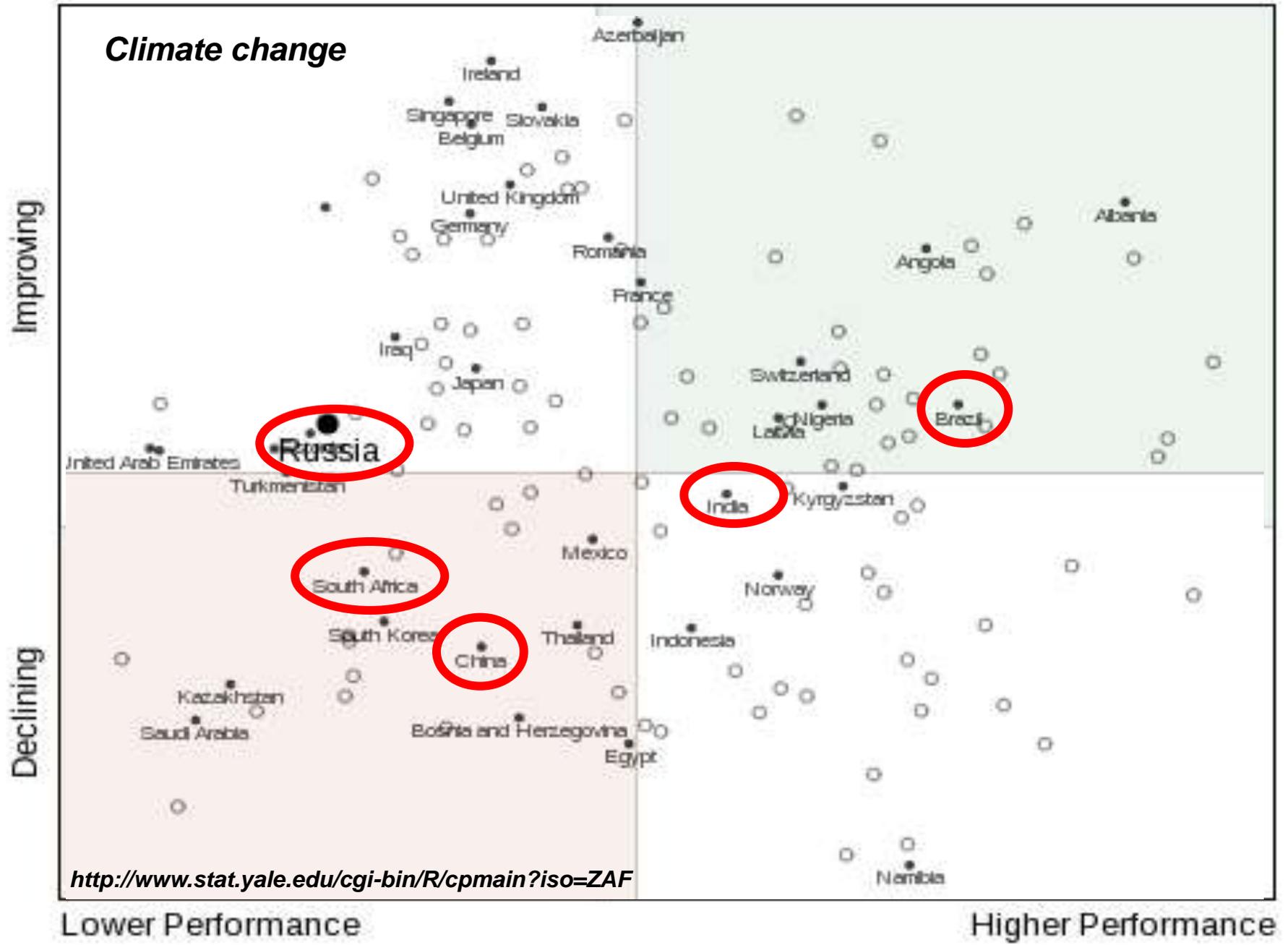
BRICS: unsustainable development



Environmental Performance Index trends, 2012

■ strongest performers ■ strong performers □ modest performers ■ weaker performers ■ weakest performers

EPI Performance Score versus Trend Score



<http://www.stat.yale.edu/cgi-bin/R/cpmain?iso=ZAF>

SA corporates' extraction, retail-based deindustrialisation, NEPAD/APRM, land-grabbing, neo-colonial infrastructure, Bilateral Investment Treaties

from ecology to economics

ZAPire®
THE TIME 18-2-10



Gordhan: \$2 bn (R17 bn) for IMF, insisting that they get 'nasty' (sic) to poor and working Europeans (other BRICs gave \$98 bn: Africa's IMF vote and influence shrunk)





MINISTRY: FINANCE
 REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
 Private Bag X115, Pretoria, 0001, Tel: +27 12 323 8911 Fax: +27 12 323 3262
 PO BOX 29, Cape Town, 8000, Tel +27 464 6100 Fax +27 21 461 2834

Ref: M 3/1/1 (389/09)

Dominique Strauss-Kahn
 Managing Director
 International Monetary Fund
 Washington, D.C.
 U.S.A.

BRICS agenda: polish chains of global apartheid

(vii) And finally, increasing the Fund's resources to address the crises: Pending a quota increase, the Fund's lending capacity is limited by bilateral lending or an equivalent expansion of the Fund's resources to Borrow. Temporary financing, however, will not be a solution for less developed countries, and given the need for a long-term solution, We therefore recommend a substantial SDR allocation.

Implemented to ensure the Fund is better able to respond to the challenges of globalisation, and remains a credible and effective part of the international financial and monetary system. My appeal is for the recommendations the rationale underlying this reform exercise – and its legitimacy and effectiveness through a package of measures – is not

I hope this report will serve the purpose you had intended. Please thank your staff on my behalf for their assistance and cooperation in drafting the report.

Yours sincerely,

TREVOR A. MANUEL (MP)
 MINISTER OF FINANCE

Date: 24 March 2009

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF EMINENT PERSONS ON IMF GOVERNANCE REFORM

Thank you for the opportunity you gave me to chair the Committee of Eminent Persons on IMF Governance Reform. The Committee has completed the report you commissioned, which is attached, but by way of background, allow me to elaborate on our intent and on the recommendations we proposed.

Our objective from the outset was to come up with a broad package of reform measures that would help bring the Fund back to the centre of the world economy by enhancing its capacity to respond to the evolving needs of its membership through improvements in the Fund's institutional framework. The Fund's ability to relate effectively to many of the countries that need its help – whether temporary or otherwise – needs work. In large part that is because the relationship between the Fund and its membership, as reflected in the Fund's governance structure, has not kept pace with changes to the distribution of economic activity in the world economy. Ultimately, the IMF's ability to act in the global interest will hinge on a governance structure that is adaptable, commensurate with the weight of emerging market countries in the global economy, and gives those states that utilise IMF services, particularly low-income countries a meaningful voice in its decision-making bodies.

To achieve this, we recommend the following measures:

Manuel led a committee whose recommendations gave the IMF a \$750 billion recapitalisation at G20 London meeting, April 2009

BRICS are the main reason Africa's vote cannot increase at Bretton Woods Institutions



CHAIRMAN

DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE
(Joint Ministerial Committee
of the
Boards of Governors of the Bank and the Fund
On the
Transfer of Real Resources to Developing Countries)



March 29, 2004

Dear Colleague:

I am writing in follow-up to the discussion, which the Development Committee held at its last meeting in Dubai, on the issue of Voice and Participation.

At that time, it was widely recognized that this was a multi-dimensional issue, requiring progress on a range of issues over time. At the institutional level, important steps have been taken over recent years to increase transparency, decentralize operations, and to strongly promote country ownership of programs through the adoption of the Poverty Reduction Strategy in low-income countries.

Our Executive Boards have initiated steps to strengthen capacity in the offices of the two African Executive Directors, to help build capacity in national capitals and to promote the use of communications technologies to enhance dialogue between Washington and capitals. A new Analytical Trust Fund is being established to provide additional policy and research support to the African chairs.

While these are all necessary and important steps, many Members considered that additional efforts with respect to voting rights and the operation of the Boards should be pursued, recognizing that these raised sensitive and complex political issues and that time would be required to build the necessary political consensus.

While asking our Executive Boards to report to us at our Annual Meetings on all their relevant efforts, we also indicated that we would consider a roadmap on process and procedures at our Spring meeting.

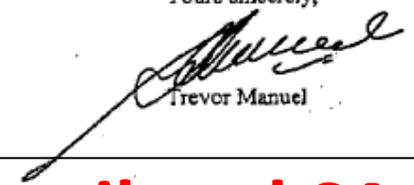
With respect to voting rights (at both the Bank and Fund), there was a clear sense that agreement can only be reached on a package of measures, and that this was only likely to be achieved in the context of agreement to increase Fund quotas. Views differ on the timing of any such agreement, but it is likely to be postponed for some time. I would therefore propose that we use this time to consider and reach tentative agreement on a number of building blocks that could subsequently be incorporated in any decision on a Quota increase and subsequent adjustment of IBRD capital shares. Over the next year, our Boards should be asked to report to us on options for addressing the issue of Basic Votes – an issue on which virtually all Members agreed that

action should be taken. Over the subsequent year, the Boards should be asked to report to us on options for addressing those situations where countries' quotas/capital shares are egregiously out of line with their economic strength. These building blocks would then be available to be incorporated in negotiations on an eventual quota increase and any future decisions on Bank capital shares.

With respect to the Boards, we (or our Boards) have discussed whether adjustments should be made to their current composition and structure. A wide range of views has been expressed and there is no apparent consensus on changes at this time. I would therefore like to propose the establishment of an independent "Eminent Persons' Group" to consider the composition, structure and functioning of the Boards and to report to us at our 2005 Spring Meeting. Being independent would allow such a group to not be constrained by country positions, thereby leaving us the freedom to accept or reject, in whole or in part, any of their recommendations. I would hope that we could identify 6 – 8 people as members of this Group who have had extensive experience at the national level and at the institutions. A report in about a year's time would then leave us with about 6 months to consider any changes that we might wish to introduce before constituency elections are held in 2006. If there is broad agreement with this approach, I would proceed to propose terms of reference and membership for such a group.

I encourage you to reflect on this "roadmap" going forward and I would welcome your views. I have also asked Lesetja Kganyago to discuss this with Deputies when they meet on April 6th in London. I hope we might reach agreement on this process by the time we meet in Washington in April.

Yours sincerely,


Trevor Manuel

**and India, Brazil and SA
cannot join UN Security
Council because Russia and
China won't support them**

South Africa as BRICS' most aggressive proponent of *financial liberalisation*



South African Reserve Bank

Address by Daniel Mminele, Deputy Governor, South African Reserve Bank, at the G-20 Study Group, "South Africa and the G-20 – Challenges and Opportunities",

31 October 2012, Southern Sun Pretoria

*South Africa aligns itself with different groups to ensure that decisions on key issues reflect **our country's best interest**. With regard to quota and voice **reform in the IMF**, for example, South Africa is mostly aligned with emerging-market economies.*

*However, with regard to the **financial transactions tax** that was mooted by the Europeans, **South Africa opposed this proposal** and was supported by a few other advanced economies. **South Africa is aligned with advanced economies on the issue of climate finance**, while other developing countries generally feel that this issue is best addressed at the United Nations.*



Pretoria's choice:

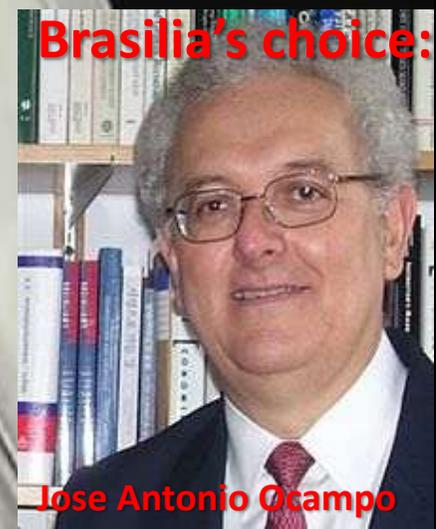
Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala

Occupy Nigeria!

Moscow backed
Washington's choice:
Jim Yong Kim

**in 2012, BRICS could not even
agree on World Bank leadership**

**a fake Power Bloc?
divided-and-conquered
sub-imperialism**



Brasilia's choice:

Jose Antonio Ocampo

Paris Yeros and Sam Moyo on BRICS subimperialisms

- *Some are driven by **private blocs of capital** with strong state support (Brazil, India);*
- *others, like China, include the direct participation of **state-owned enterprises**;*
- *while in the case of South Africa, it is increasingly difficult to speak of an autonomous domestic bourgeoisie, given the **extreme degree of de-nationalisation of its economy**, post-apartheid.*
- *The degree of participation in the Western military project is also different from one case to the next although, one might say, there is a **“schizophrenia”** to all this, typical of **“subimperialism”**.*

hierarchy of sub-imperialists

SA WELCOMES
PREMIER WEN JIABAO

COMPLIMENTS.
VERY TASTY!

THANKS.
..ER.. COULD WE
OFFER YOU A
LITTLE LESS?..

CHINA

JOBS

SA TEXTILE
INDUSTRY



would Dalai Lama get a visa?



ASK ME ANYTHING
EXCEPT HOW TO
GET A SOUTH
AFRICAN VISA
IF THE CHINESE
DO NOT WISH IT

DARN!

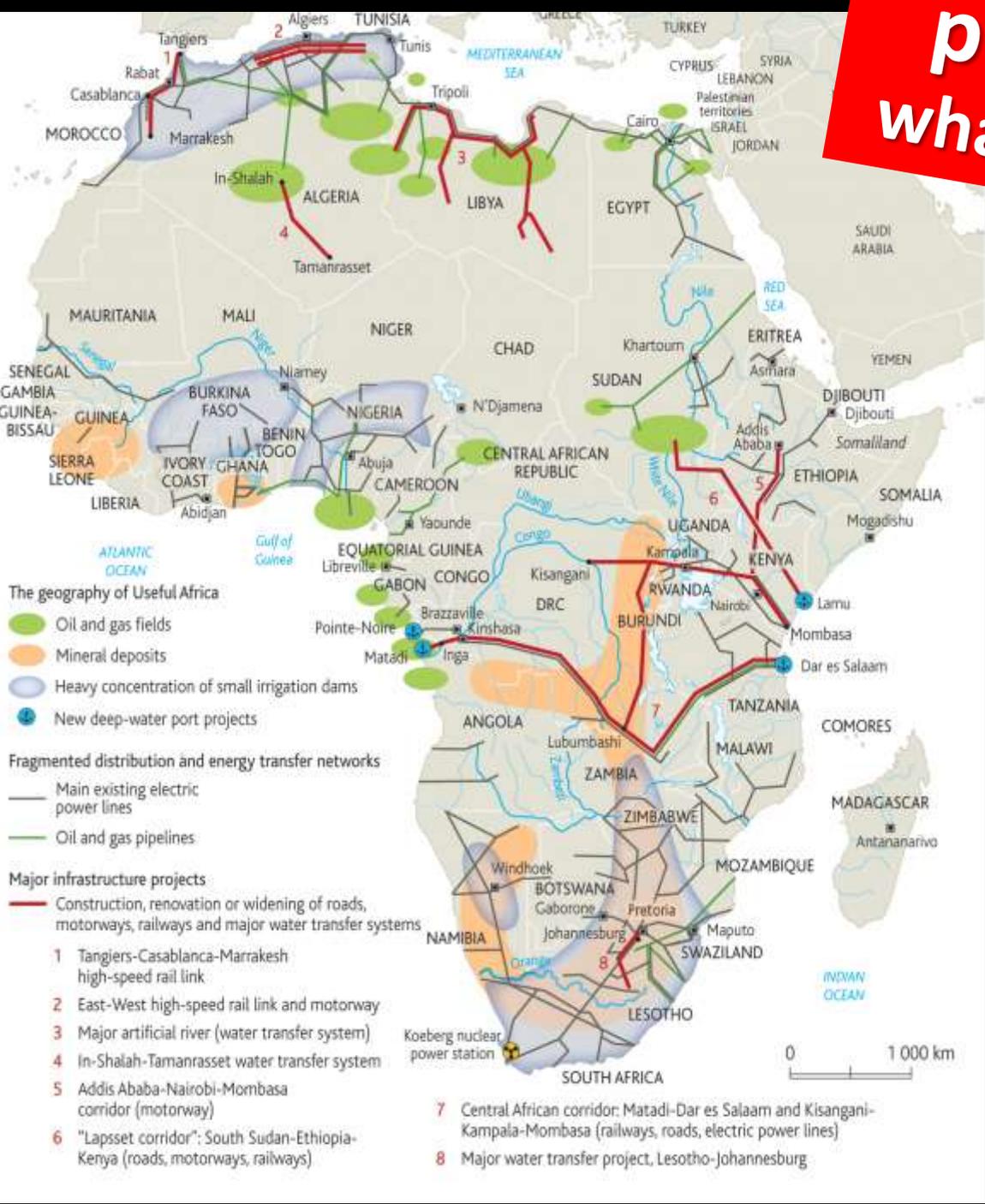


**possible BRICS unity
what do they all want here?**

useful Africa

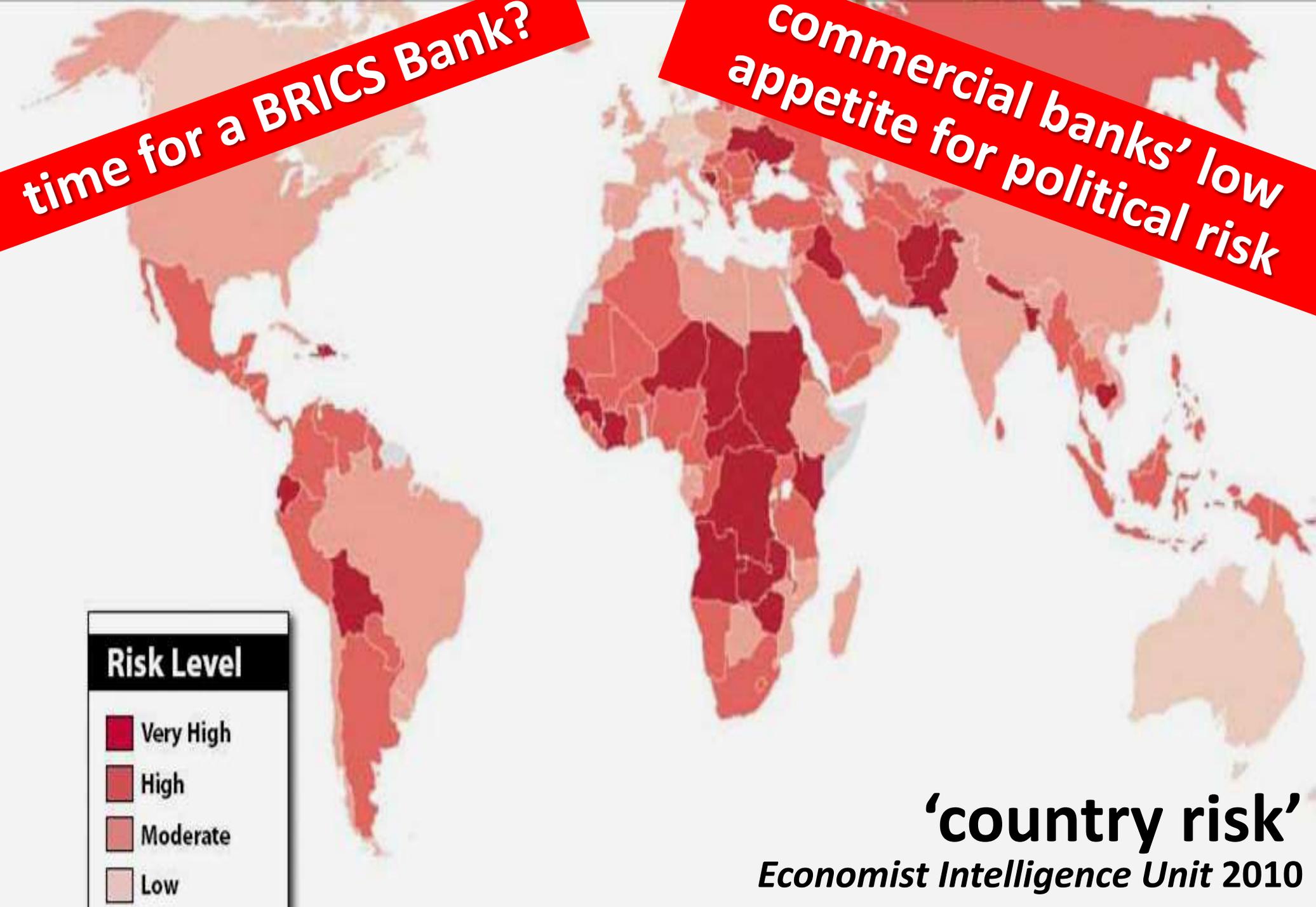
Source: *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Feb 2011

- 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."



time for a BRICS Bank?

**commercial banks' low
appetite for political risk**



'country risk'
Economist Intelligence Unit 2010

- Development Bank of Southern Africa
- China Development Bank
- Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento Economico e Social (BNDES)
- Russia's Vnesheconombank
- Export-Import Bank of India

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)

A world map with a red tint, showing the outlines of continents. A red diagonal banner is overlaid on the top right portion of the map.

commercial banks' low
appetite for political risk

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)

What, exactly, do 'integration' and 'blockage' and 'shoddy' and 'no say' mean, in such a ridiculously

Resource-Cursed region like ours?

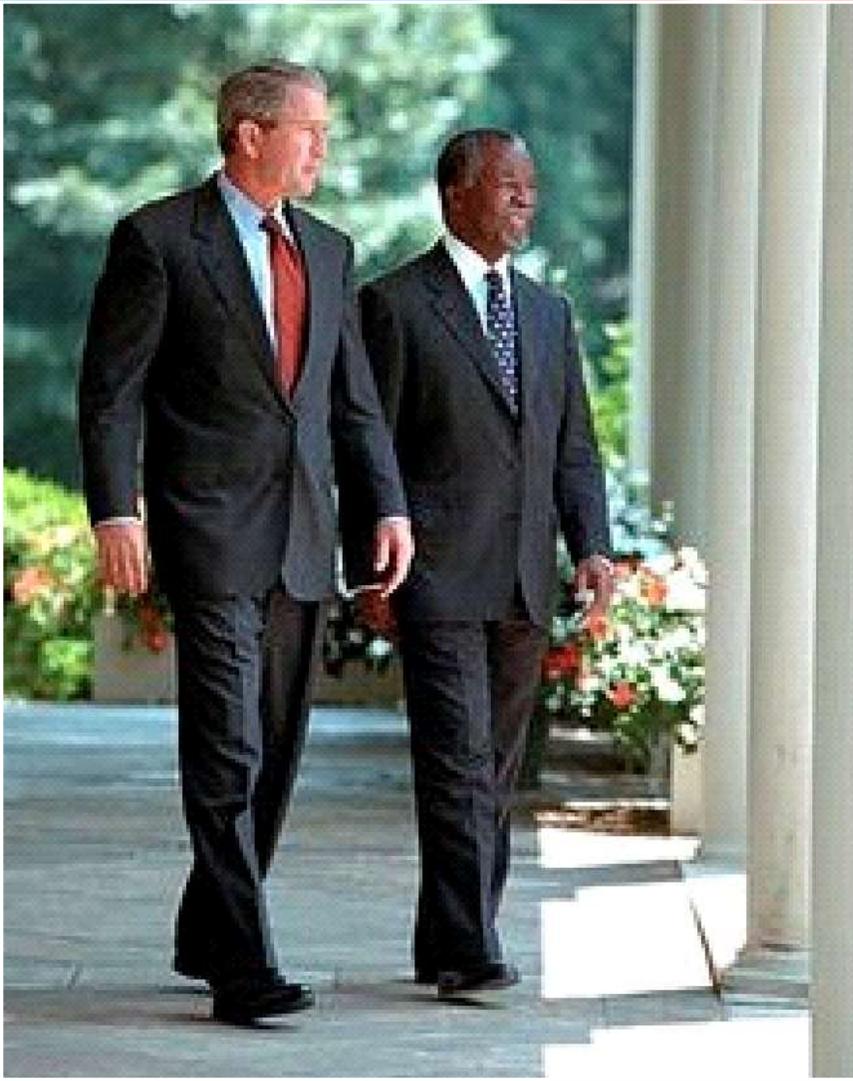
- much worse **extractivist** 'Dutch-Disease' bias,
- **exported profits** and current-account deficits,
- **corrupted politics** (e.g. Marikana, Marange),
- forced **displacement** and worsening **migrancy**,
- **climate** chaos and energy abuse (especially SA),
- air/water **pollution** and water scarcity

NEPAD's false start



Mbeki as viewed by *The Economist*

***abolishing – or
polishing – global apartheid?***



***New Partnership
for Africa's
Development is
'philosophically
spot on'***

***- Walter Kansteiner, US
State Dep't, 2003***

NEPAD on infrastructure and social services

- model is quasi-privatisation, corporate-driven, mimicking **Washington Consensus** approach
- 154. ... The next priority is the implementation of a Public- Private sector partnership (PPP) capacity-building programme through the **African Development Bank** and other regional development institutions, to assist national and sub-national governments in structuring and regulating transactions in the **provision of infrastructural and social services.**

'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.



Codesria and Third World Network-Africa

Declaration on Africa's Development Challenges, 26/4/02 *critique of New Partnership for Africa's Development*

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**;

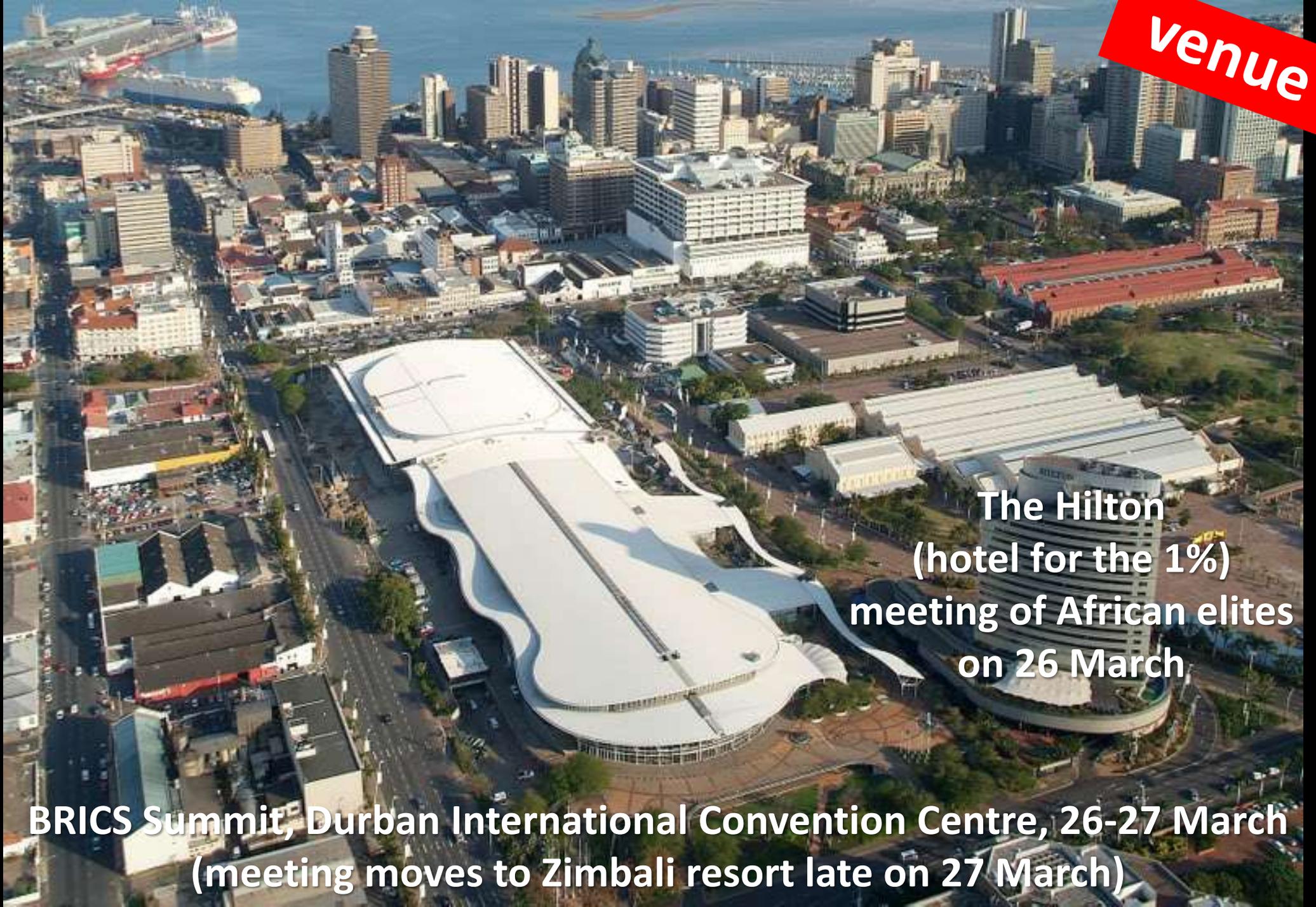
Codesria and Third World Network-Africa

Declaration on Africa's Development Challenges, 26/4/02

- (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**

BRICS Summit, Durban International Convention Centre, 26-27 March



An aerial photograph of Durban, South Africa, showing a dense urban landscape. In the foreground, the Durban International Convention Centre is visible, a large, modern building with a white, curved roof. To its right is the Hilton hotel, a tall, cylindrical building. The city extends to the waterfront, where several large ships are docked. A red banner in the top right corner contains the word 'venue' in white text.

venue

The Hilton
(hotel for the 1%)
meeting of African elites
on 26 March

BRICS Summit, Durban International Convention Centre, 26-27 March
(meeting moves to Zimbali resort late on 27 March)

Occupy ICC!
new site for struggles
at biggest African
convention centre



**FIFTH
BRICS SUMMIT**

DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA
26 - 27 MARCH 2013

*BRICS and AFRICA: Partnership for
Development, Integration and Industrialisation*



**from-below
BRICS** 2013
COUNTER SUMMIT DURBAN SOUTH AFRICA



Occupy COP17, Dec 2011



**Rural Women's Assembly at
the Occupy COP! site, 2 Dec**





Rural Women's Forum march for Climate Justice at COP17, Durban, South Africa, Friday, December 2, 2011



Global Day of Action, Durban, South Africa, Saturday, December 3, 2011

Occupy COP17! went
inside ICC, 9 December





a call to rebuild BRICS, bottom-up, at Durban summit

- *critical civil society* – brics-from-below – should share views
- *bottom-up unity* of peoples in BRICS and their hinterlands
- *collaborate* on analysis, advocacy and activism
- *meet in the spirit of the World Social Forum*
- *draw world's attention to most dangerous BRICS state policies, to corporate and parastatal power plays, and to these countries' extreme uneven development*



BRICS serving the world's 1%?

brics-from-below!

join a civil society summit during the
Brazil-Russia-India-China-South Africa
heads-of-state summit in Durban, March 22-27

with

groundWork, Friends of the Earth-South Africa (<http://www.groundwork.org.za>)
the South Durban Community Environmental Alliance (<http://www.sdcea.co.za>)
and the University of KwaZulu-Natal Centre for Civil Society (<http://ccs.ukzn.ac.za>)



Friday 22 March:

* 7-10pm *UKZN Time of the Writer* festival panel (Sneddon Theatre at Howard College Campus), with a focus on *progressive critiques of SA political economy and social culture*, in conjunction with *brics-from-below*

Saturday 23 March:

* *brics-from-below* free morning at Fairvale High School in Wentworth, South Durban (next to Engen oil refinery), with rooms available for meetings, seminars, etc

* 1-6pm: *Teach-Out, Teach-In in South Durban* at the Fairvale High School hall, aiming to educate *brics-from-below* visitors about adverse conditions in SA communities, and visitors to educate SA about their struggles

* 6-10pm: Cultural event to entertain *brics-from-below* and link African counter-hegemonic culture with music

Sunday 24 March:

* meeting times/places available for *brics-from-below* visitors at Diakonia church centre in central Durban

* *brics-from-below* Reality Tours of Durban (various sites being organised along with inexpensive transport)

brics-from-below!

join a civil society summit during the
Brazil-Russia-India-China-South Africa
heads-of-state summit in Durban, March 22-27

with

groundWork, Friends of the Earth-South Africa (<http://www.groundwork.org.za>)
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and the University of KwaZulu-Natal Centre for Civil Society (<http://ccs.ukzn.ac.za>)



Monday 25 March:

- * *brics-from-below summit, Day 1 at Diakonia – what are the eco-social-labour struggles within BRICS ?*
- * *evening event will be a public debate between brics-from-below and BRICS corporations*

Tuesday 26 March:

- * *brics-from-below Summit, Day 2 at Diakonia - what are BRICS doing in Africa and at global scale?*
- * *a special series of talks will occur on the BRICS Development Bank arranged by Mais Democracia (Brazil NGO)*
- * *evening event (including WSF video link) with public debate between brics-from-below and BRICS leaders*

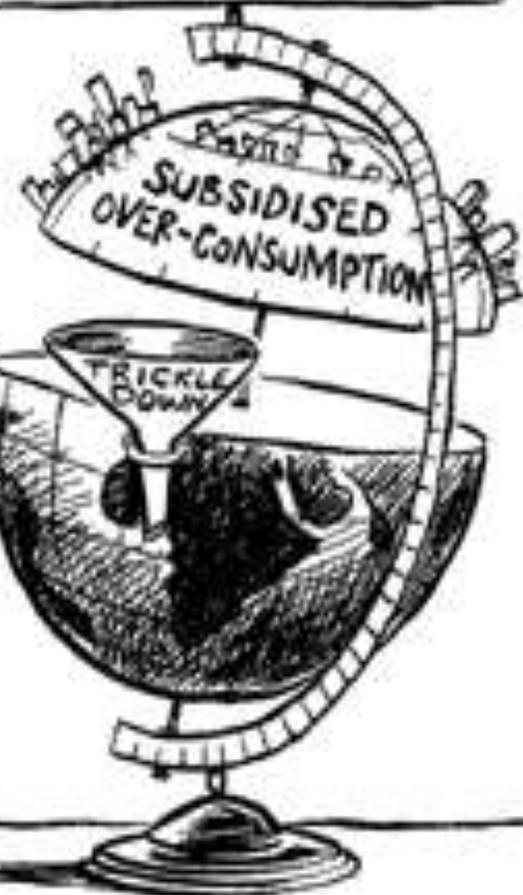
Wednesday 27 March:

- * *Diakonia as main morning site for brics-from-below meetings of visiting groups*
- * *brics-from-below to visit International Convention Centre around lunchtime*

APARTHEID

AMATEUR!

GLOBAL
APARTHEID



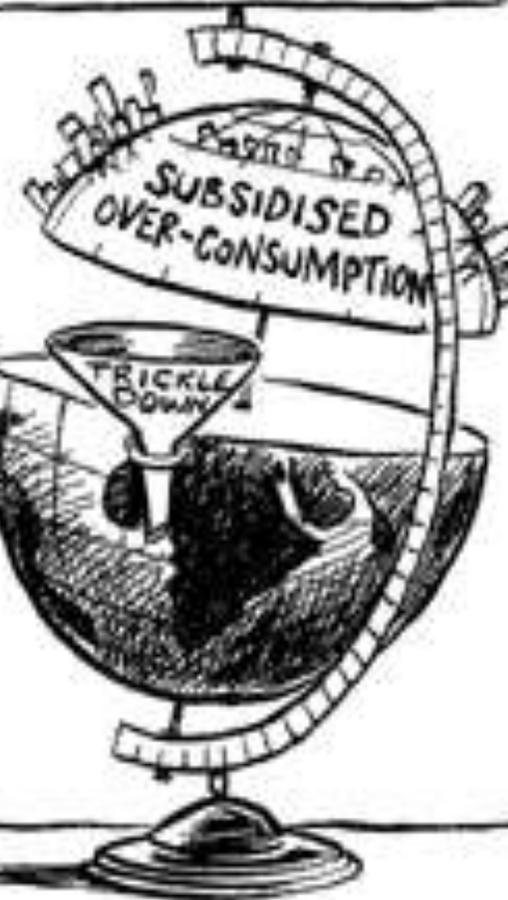
IMF WTO

WORLD
BANK

APARTHEID

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BRICS 2013

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