The BRICS and their Critics in Geopolitical Context

Patrick Bond, Director, University of KwaZulu-Natal Centre for Civil Society and Professor of Political Economy, University of the Witwatersrand School of Governance

presented to the conference

Southern Africa beyond the West: Political, economic and cultural relationships with the BRICS countries and the global South
Livingstone, Zambia - 10 August 2015
(and thanks to Zapiro for best BRICS cartooning)
“We fought colonialism and imperialism and we are still fighting it... We will not be collateral damage in the battles in the geopolitical space.”

Fikile Mbalula
SA Sports Minister, 3 June 2015
The BRICS and their Critics in Geopolitical Context from above, middle and below ‘sub-imperialism’ in climate change, economy and ... soccer

Ufa, Russia 2015
Sepp Blatter re-elected as Fifa president for fifth term

- Blatter was endorsed by 133 of the 209 voting members
- He failed to get two-thirds majority necessary in first round
- Prince Ali Bin al-Hussein concedes before second-round vote

Owen Gibson in Zurich

Friday 29 May 2015 18.59 BST

a bad BRICS omen: imperial expansion and malgovernance of soccer:
- SA 2010
- Brazil 2014
- Russia 2018
• 

football imperialism

• no taxes

• no exchange controls

• no democracy
Durban’s Moses Mabhida: $390 million
“Alien’s Handbag”
FBI: bribery rife in FIFA
ZE VINNERS MET DE FIFA STANDARD...

...AS UNDEMOCRATIC AND CORRUPT AS WE ARE!
Jack Warner with Nelson Mandela; Sepp Blatter with Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma and Danny Jordaan
2015 FBI prosecution alleged that in 2004, Caribbean soccer official Jack Warner and Chuck Blazer solicited $10 million bribe to ensure World Cup went to South Africa.
Blatter forced to resign on 2 June

OH ALRIGHT, YOU CAN HAVE YOUR BALL BACK!
28 May: Jordaan selected by the ruling ANC to lead Port Elizabeth (SA’s 5th biggest city)
explanations of $10 million gift to Warner to fund soccer development not convincing
The $10 mn bribe? “We can't account for it. The fact that later they turned gangsters, that is not our problem. We were not sniffer dogs to check everybody’s legitimacy.”

“We fought colonialism and imperialism and we are still fighting it... We will not be collateral damage in the battles in the geopolitical space.”
are BRICS against colonialism, neocolonialism, imperialism?
The Brics are building a challenge to western economic supremacy

Radhika Desai

Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, united by rejection of the neoliberal model, plan to create their own institutions
The BRICS: Challengers to the Global Status Quo

Can the BRICS wrest control of the global economy from the United States and Europe, or will their internal contradictions tear them apart?

By Walden Bello, August 29, 2014.

The BRICS served notice that they are now an economic alliance that poses a challenge to the global status quo during their last summit in Brazil in mid-July, when they inaugurated two path-breaking institutions intended to rival the U.S.- and European-dominated International Monetary Fund and World Bank: a Contingency Reserve Arrangement, with an initial capitalization of $100 billion, that can be accessed by BRICS members in need of funds; and the “New Development Bank,” with a total authorized capital of $100 billion, that is open to all members of the United Nations. Both institutions aim to break the global North’s chokehold on finance and development.
BRICS Bank Challenge the Exorbitant Privilege of the US Dollar

At the end of the sixth Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) summit in Fortaleza, Brazil on July 16, 2014, the leaders announced the Fortaleza Action Plan. This was in the context of the Fortaleza Declaration (1) where the leaders reinforced their position that BRICS would be an international force in challenging the neo-liberal policies of the Washington Consensus. ...

The long term goal of the CRA will be to provide emergency cash to BRICS countries faced with short term credit crisis or balance of payments problems. Ultimately, in the context of the present currency wars, the CRA will replace the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as the provider of resources for BRICS members and other poor societies when there is balance of payment difficulties.
The BRICS’ new CRA has the potential to break the pattern not only of U.S.-EU global dominance but also of the harmful conditions typically attached to balance of payments support. It could prove very important in the next few years: A lot of money has poured into emerging market government bonds since the Fed set short-term interest rates at zero more than five years ago. A lot of it could up and leave when the Fed decides to raise interest rates here. Such rate hikes were a major cause of the Mexican peso crisis in 1995 and hit other countries such as Brazil and Argentina a few years later. The BRICS countries have indicated that they are open to having other countries join. China has about $4 trillion in reserves, so it has the potential to contribute vastly more and probably still come out ahead, as most of its reserves will likely be losing money in U.S. Treasury bonds. There’s no telling how soon this new fund will be up and running or how big or inclusive it will grow to be. But the upside potential for the world economy is very big.
The dollar is toast. The IMF is toast. The US debt market (US Treasuries) is toast. The institutions that support US power are crumbling before our very eyes. The BRICS have had enough; enough war, enough Wall Street, enough meddling and hypocrisy and austerity and lecturing. This is farewell. Sure, it will take time, but Ufa marks a fundamental change in thinking, a fundamental change in approach, and a fundamental change in strategic orientation.
EXCLUSIVE BROADCAST:
Andre Vltchek reports from Brazil – the first letter in “BRICS”

This show broadcasts on July 15, 2015.

It is now archived here — Use Player

Globetrotting Truth Jihad Radio correspondent André Vltchek reports from Brazil – a pillar of the BRICS alliance that is challenging Western imperialism and its bankster-driven New World Order project for global corporate tyranny.
Among the BRICS, there is no place for countries that are siding with the colonialisit powers, as there is no place for those nations that are tormenting and sacrificing their own people. For now it is still just an acronym of the countries, its members. But soon, who knows, it may be interpreted as the Broad Revolutionary Internationalist Causeway towards Socialism.
On sub-imperialism and BRICS-bashing

Pambazuka News 673 (April 2014) carried nine articles on ‘sub-imperialist’ BRICS – Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. Three of the articles are by Patrick Bond and four by his present or past students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal Centre (UKNC) for Civil Society of which Bond is the Director. This essay focuses on the paper by Bond – “BRICS and the tendency to sub-imperialism” – that is a little better grounded in theory than the others. I argue that Bond and his colleagues are inventing a category that simply does not exist. It is a distraction from real issues of concern to progressive forces everywhere. I write in the hope that others might feel inclined to join in this debate.
BRICS: anti-imperialist, sub-imperialist or in between?

A BRICS Reader for the Durban Summit
are BRICS against colonialism, neocolonialism, imperialism?
or within?
The Accumulation of Capital in Southern Africa
Rosa Luxemburg's Contemporary Relevance

The revived interest in Luxemburg's ideas about imperialism is not surprising. More than her contemporaries (Lenin, Bukharin, Hilferding), she pointed out the dialectical relations between markets and the 'non-market' spheres of life, to which we should add the environment. These relations are central to a new period of 'primitive accumulation' that has generated powerful resistance in many corners of the earth. Southern Africa is an especially important site to reconsider the dynamics of capital accumulation, given the reliance of regional businesses upon superexploitative systems such as colonialism, apartheid and neoliberalism.

This collection is drawn from a collaboration between the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and University of KwaZulu-Natal Centre for Civil Society, in which the Rosa Luxemburg Political Education Seminar 2006 overlapped with the Centre's Colloquium on Economy, Society and Nature. The event attracted some of the world's leading political economists alongside regional analysts.

This volume features work by Luxemburg, Arndt Hopfmann, Jeff Guy, Ahmed Veniava, Massimo De Angelis, Elmar Alvater, Patrick Bond, Isobel Frye, Caroline Skinner, Imran Valodia, Greg Ruiters, Leonard Gentile, Ulrich Duchrow, Ntzwala Mwilima, S'bu Zikode, Salim Vally and Trevor Ngwane. The editors are Patrick Bond, Herman Chittenge and Arndt Hopfmann.

Capitalists have come to understand that to destroy the subsistence economy altogether would not be in their best interests for two reasons: first, and most obviously, the employers are not prepared to absorb the entire subsistence sector; second, and more subtly, self-provisioning has provided subsidised wage labour. Luxemburg knew this as well as anyone, and Southern Africa is an exemplary case. For me, the Durban conference was an eye-opener. You had poor young people, who live in shacks constructed of the sort of materials that you could scrounge up in the nearby dump, going toe to toe with some of the smartest and most articulate academics you can imagine. There was mutual respect on all sides, as is evident in this excellent collection.

Michael Parenteau, California State University and author of The Invention of Capitalism: The Secret History of Primitive Accumulation

imperialism through capitalist/non-capitalist relations

Rosa Luxemburg

Accumulation of capital periodically bursts out in crises and spurs capital on to a continual extension of the market. Capital cannot accumulate without the aid of non-capitalist relations, nor ... can it tolerate their continued existence side by side with itself.

Only the continuous and progressive disintegration of non-capitalist relations makes accumulation of capital possible.'

The Accumulation of Capital, 1913
Non-capitalist relations provide a fertile soil for capitalism; more strictly: capital feeds on the ruins of such relations, and although this non-capitalist milieu is indispensable for accumulation, the latter proceeds at the cost of this medium nevertheless, by eating it up.

Historically, the accumulation of capital is a kind of metabolism between capitalist economy and those pre-capitalist methods of production without which it cannot go on and which, in this light, it corrodes and assimilates.
what is sub-imperialism?

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.’
The Enigma of Capital and the Crises of Capitalism

David Harvey

Limits to Capital

David Harvey

El Maestro en Rojo y Negro

Ruy Mauro Marini

Dialética da Dependência

Ruy Mauro Marini

América Latina, Dependencia y Globalización

Ruy Mauro Marini

A Outra Margem

Ruy Mauro Marini

Colecção

Editora Vozes
World GDP per capita growth, 1961-2003 (annual change in %)

- **GDP per capita growth**
- **Mean per decade (arithmetic)**

*Forecast:

• Southern Africa (except Botswana) particularly hard hit
uneven development and ‘spatial fix’

roots of crisis:
long-term stagnation of EU, US and Japan after Post-War ‘Golden Years’
uneven development and spatial fix
The opening up of global markets in both commodities and capital created openings for other states to insert themselves into the global economy, first as absorbers but then as producers of surplus capitals. They then became competitors on the world stage. What might be called ‘sub-imperialisms’ arose... each developing centre of capital accumulation sought out systematic spatio-temporal fixes for its own surplus capital by defining territorial spheres of influence...
extreme BRICS inequality (2011)
the worst Gini coefficients amongst large societies

the new transnational capitalist class doesn’t spread the wealth

Figure 0.8. Public social expenditure in OECD countries and emerging economies

Total public social expenditure, latest year available

1. Data refer to 2007 for OECD member countries, 2005 for Brazil, 2006-07 for India and South Africa and 2008 for China.
2. Policy areas covered include old-age, survivors, incapacity-related benefits, family, health, active labour market policies, unemployment, housing.
3. Information on data for Israel: http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888932315602.


StatLink: http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888932535546
could social spending increase?

BRICS have a lower public domestic debt than peer economies, could spend more, or ‘Quantitative Ease’
‘Great Deceleration’: BRICS’ GDP slows
Uneven Geographical Developments

The Moving Map of Neoliberalization

A moving map of the progress of neoliberalization on the world stage since 1970 would be hard to construct. To begin with, most states that have taken the neoliberal turn have done so only partially—the introduction of greater flexibility into labour markets

Competition between territories (states, regions, or cities) as to who had the best model for economic development or the best business climate was relatively insignificant in the 1950s and 1960s. Competition of this sort heightened in the more fluid and open systems of trading relations established after 1970. The general progress of neoliberalization has therefore been increasingly impelled through mechanisms of uneven geographical developments. Successful states or regions put pressure on everyone else to follow their lead. Leapfrogging innovations put this or that state (Japan, Germany, Taiwan, the US, or China), region (Silicon Valley, Bavaria, Third Italy, Bangalore, the Pearl River delta, or...
**territorially-rooted power blocs** are generated by internal alliances (and conflicts) within national boundaries, or occasionally across boundaries to regional scale... they become the critical units of analysis when it comes to fending off the devalorization of overaccumulated capital.
The ongoing offensive of United States/Europe/Japan collective imperialism against all the peoples of the South walks on two legs: the economic leg—globalized neoliberalism forced as the exclusive possible economic policy; and the political leg—continuous interventions including pre-emptive wars against those who reject imperialist interventions. In response, some countries of the South, such as the BRICS, at best walk on only one leg: they reject the geopolitics of imperialism but accept economic neoliberalism.
TALK LEFT WALK RIGHT
South Africa's Frustrated Global Reforms

Patrick Bond
Cartoons by Zapiro

NEW EDITION
on the one hand, opportunities

- Snowden asylum in Moscow
- promised BRICS internet rerouting to avoid US snooping
- Obama bombing of Syria foiled by BRICS at G20, September 2013
- Russia -> Crimea implications at G20
on the other hand, threats

if the US National Security Agency finds it hard to e-jam BRICS parliaments... do it yourself

#BringBackTheSignal
SOUTH AFRICA  Thursday 12 February 2015 - 8:41 pm

Cape Town, 12 February 2015 - Opposition MPs chant 'bring back the signal' after reports that a device has been placed in the gallery to jam the signal and deny those inside internet access.
GOVT. AGENTS ARE SPYING ON US
— community activists
A coherent geopolitical alliance – or too diverse?
Paris Yeros and Sam Moyo on BRICS sub-imperialisms:

- 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 “sub-imperialism”.
sub-imperialism seen from SA

- open advocacy and practice of neoliberalism in local economic policy terms (‘There Is No Alternative’), albeit sometimes with a tokenistic welfarist component to diminish the socio-political insecurity that results from state-services shrinkage;
- dominance as a regional platform for accumulation drawn from hinterland neighbours (Protea Hotel!);
- legitimation of the Washington Consensus ideology and its multilateral institutions (e.g., 2012 recapitalization of the IMF, PIDA PPPs and Nepad’s structural adjustment apologetics),
- playing the ‘deputy sheriff’ function in regional geopolitical terms (e.g. Lesotho, DRC, Zimbabwe); and
- engaging in confusing (and often confused) ‘talk left, walk right’ moves in foreign policy so that critique of the West accompanies practical conciliation with the overall reproduction of world power.
Is the BRICS bloc making progress?

**NO**, global governance is failing, the **climate** is heating, world finance is wilding (and **SA debt** is soaring), BRICS economies are crumbling, trade and **FDI** are Resource Cursing the hinterlands, **mega-projects** are White Elephants... and BRICS’ internal protesters are becoming more militant... and more repressed.
### Top Concern

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Climate Change</th>
<th>Economic Instability</th>
<th>Global Economic Instability</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>33</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
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</table>

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**FOR RELEASE JULY 14, 2015**

Pew Research Center

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*Meanwhile, the world’s biggest problems go unresolved.*

- **% saying they’re “very concerned”**
  - Climate Change: 74
  - Economic Instability: 56
  - Global Economic Instability: 33

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**Global Climate Change Instability**

- **75%**
- **49%**
- **33%**
### Top Threats by Region

*Median very concerned about ...*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Threat</th>
<th>Global %</th>
<th>U.S. %</th>
<th>Europe %</th>
<th>Middle East %</th>
<th>Asia/Pacific %</th>
<th>Latin America %</th>
<th>Africa %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Global climate change</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global economic instability</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Islamic militant group in Iraq and Syria (ISIS)</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>38</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iran’s nuclear program</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyberattacks on govt’s, banks or corporations</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tensions between Russia and its neighbors*</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Territorial disputes between China and its neighbors**</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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* Not asked in Russia.

** Not asked in China.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q13a-g.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER
the societies that don’t care about climate...
GHG/capita by country 2000

USA
Australia
Canada
Saudi Arabia
Kazakhstan
Russia

South Africa

... owe the most ‘climate debt’
climate ‘creditors’: who’s owed for damage

Climate Demography Vulnerability Index

main losers:
- Central America and Caribbean
- Andes and Amazon
- Central/South Asia and Middle East
- SubSaharan Africa
- Southeast Asia and small islands

Geographic disparities and moral hazards in the predicted impacts of climate change on human populations

J. Samson, D. Berteaux, R. I. McGill and M. M. Humphries
South African International Marketing Council: ‘evidence of SA’s ability to punch above its weight includes the success of the BRICS summit in March in Durban... the time had come for the newest member of the group to get on with proving it deserved a seat at the table.’

where can this meat be cooked? UNFCCC!
Copenhagen Accord, COP 15, December 2009

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

“they blew up the UN”
(Bill McKibben, 350.org)

USA+‘BASIC’: non-binding deal means 4 degrees increase = 9 degrees in Africa
Africa burning
Durban COP17: ‘Africa’s Climate Summit’

confirmed 21\textsuperscript{st}-c. climate-related deaths of 180 million Africans (Christian Aid)
COP 17

Gambling on the future of the Planet

NO RIFFRAFF!
THE STAKES ARE TOO HIGH!
are UN negotiations to reduce greenhouse gas emissions working?
New York Times: ‘BRICS can agitate for a seat at the table’ of the global economy, through ‘signing new financial cooperation agreements... [and] signaling discontent at their lack of influence over decision-making within the world’s existing financial institutions, and exploring steps to do something about it’ (April 2012)
BRICS New Development Bank and CRA: against or within BWIs?
financiers have been wilding, delinked from the world’s real economy

market value of financial assets
and aggregate global GDP at current prices (billion US dollars)

Source: Leda Paulani, USP with McKinsey Global Report data
uneven financial flows burst boundaries
emerging markets began closing capital accounts

Cross-border capital flows, $trn*

Capital-account openness in emerging markets*, 1 = most open

*20 countries based on an index developed by Menzie Chinn and Hiro Ito, which tracks restrictions on cross-border financial transactions

Source: European Central Bank

1980 85 90 95 2000 05 10 12

Source: McKinsey Global Institute

*2012 exchange rates, 173 countries
is China an alternative to Washington for African infrastructure finance?... or is it Washington’s ally?

does liberalising China need alternatives to invest its current account surplus?... or instead will it continue US T-Bill purchases?
SA loses its surpluses

1) Trade deficit

2) "Net income account deficit" - dividend/profit/interest outflows

Source: SA Reserve Bank Quarterly Bulletin 1/2009

Early 2000s corporate flight: AAC, DeBeers, Old Mutual, SAB, Investec, Mondi, etc

Update: no improvement
SA corporate profits: world’s 3rd highest

Source: IMF Article IV on SA, July 2013
World fraud champs
GRAEME HOSKEN | 19 February, 2014 00:19

SUNDAY TIMES

Times
LIVE

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

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

$32 billion

$150 billion
South Africa’s total outstanding external debt increased from US$130.4 billion at the end of June 2013 to US$136.6 billion at the end of September as both foreign currency- and rand-denominated debt edged higher over the period. Expressed as a ratio of gross domestic product, the country’s outstanding foreign debt increased from 35.4 per cent at the end of June 2013 to 38.2 per cent at the end of September – the highest ratio to be recorded since the foreign debt standstill era of the mid-1980s.

**How big a bailout might SA need in a debt crisis?**

*(in 1985, $13 billion)*

**SA’s CRA quota is now $10 billion**

i.e., after $3 bn, we’d need to go to IMF

* Source: SA Reserve Bank Quarterly Bulletin 1/2014*
Moeletsi Mbeki:

“Big companies taking their capital out of South Africa are a bigger threat to economic freedom than Julius Malema.”
South African-based TNCs returned just 33% of dividends back home in relation to TNC outflows from SA, 2009-11.

Average dividend receipts as a percentage of dividend payments for selected countries
2009 to 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States*</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands*</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden*</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France*</td>
<td>150</td>
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<tr>
<td>United Kingdom*</td>
<td>140</td>
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<tr>
<td>Germany*</td>
<td>130</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>80</td>
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<td>Hungary</td>
<td>60</td>
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<tr>
<td>Australia*</td>
<td>50</td>
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<td>South Africa</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td>Chile</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>Turkey</td>
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<td>India</td>
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<td>Colombia</td>
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<td>Russia</td>
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<td>China PR</td>
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<td>Poland</td>
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<td>Argentina</td>
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<td>Brazil</td>
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<td>Phillipines</td>
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<td>Indonesia</td>
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* Advanced economies

Source: SARB Quarterly Bulletin 2/2015
South African-based TNCs returned 45% of dividends back home in relation to TNC outflows from SA, 2012-14.

Source: SARB Quarterly Bulletin 2/2015
sites where SA capital can earn more dividends from outside SA, to balance dividend outflows to other sites outside SA.
SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA
Is SA getting trade and foreign policy right?
Manmohan Singh       Xi Jinping             Jacob Zuma
Dilma Rousseff       Vladimir Putin
Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Germany, Italy, Spain

‘Scramble for Africa’

Berlin, 1884-85
land-grabbed Africa by voracious India, China, South Africa (and Brazil)

The 21st-century African land rush

Worldwide, up to 115 million acres of farmland are leased to foreign investors, and the bulk of that is in Africa. Food security and the push to produce biofuels drive the land rush. This map shows a sampling of reported land deals in Africa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country and Total Land</th>
<th>Total Land and Regional Areas</th>
<th>Target Countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brazil 28,000 ha²</td>
<td>Eastern Africa 28,000 ha</td>
<td>Brazil; Mozambique, Ethiopia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India 1,924,50 ha²</td>
<td>Central Africa: 15,000 ha</td>
<td>Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao, Philippines, India, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Mozambique, Sudan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 ha²</td>
<td>Eastern Africa: 1,761,800 ha</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9 ha²</td>
<td>Northern Africa: 8,020 ha</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 ha²</td>
<td>South East Asia: 139,689 ha</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>China 1,140,68 ha²</td>
<td>Central Africa: 10,000 ha</td>
<td>Cambodia, China, Sudan, Lao, Philippines, India, Bolivia, Peru, Argentina, Benin, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Mali, Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda, Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ha²</td>
<td>Eastern Africa: 126,171 ha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ha²</td>
<td>South America: 348,972 ha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ha²</td>
<td>South–East Asia: 628,139</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ha²</td>
<td>Western Africa: 26,000 ha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa 1,416,41 ha²</td>
<td>Central Africa: 340,000 ha</td>
<td>Colombia; Angola; Benin; Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Mozambique; Madagascar, Malawi, Tanzania, Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ha²</td>
<td>Eastern Africa: 367,174 ha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ha²</td>
<td>South America: 55,794 ha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ha²</td>
<td>Western Africa 650,000 ha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Tomaso Ferrando
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.”
Africa’s mining production 2008

Country | Reserves (mn barrels)
--- | ---
South Africa | 599
Botswana | 92
Zambia | 75
Ghana | 43
Namibia | 32
Angola | 32
Mali | 29
Guinea | 21
Mauritania | 20
Tanzania | 20
Zimbabwe | 20

Africa’s oil and gas production and transport infrastructure 2011

Country | Reserves (mn barrels)
--- | ---
Nigeria | 37 200
Angola | 10 470
Ghana | 5 000
Gabon | 3 700
Congo (Republic) | 1 940
Equatorial Guinea | 1 705
Chad | 1 500
Uganda | 1 000
Sub-Saharan Africa’s oil and gas production and transport infrastructure, current and planned
Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA): $93 billion/year (Nepad was $64 bn/year and failed)
Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA): $93 billion/year (Nepad was $64 bn/year and failed)
South Africa’s oil, gas and coal reserves and contestations

- Sasol gas-to-oil
- Limpopo, Mpumalanga & KZN coal
- offshore KwaZulu-Natal oil
- Durban oil refining
- Cape Town oil refining
- Karoo fracking

- South Africa’s oil, gas and coal reserves and contestations
- Sasol gas-to-oil
- Limpopo, Mpumalanga & KZN coal
- offshore KwaZulu-Natal oil
- Durban oil refining
- Cape Town oil refining
- Karoo fracking
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.
WHEN THE POO WAS CLEANED UP...

OOPS!

THE STENCH OF A GREEDY, ARROGANT, RACIST LAND-THEIF WHOSE DREAM OF A WHITE MAN'S AFRICA AND WHOSE SETTING UP OF BLACK RESERVES MADE HIM THE TRUE ARCHITECT OF APARTHEID.
Bitter boy who shames his father and his people

Bandile Md陆lose

2015-04-30, Issue 724

http://pambazuka.org/en/category/features/94605

President Zuma’s son Edward is xenophobic and racist. Like the disgraceful Zulu King Zwelithini he supports, whose reckless utterances sparked the attacks on foreigners, Edward continues Cecil Rhodes’ odious legacy of dividing Africans.
Zuma's son wants foreigners out of the country

2015-04-01 07:07

Amanda Khoza, News24

Durban - President Jacob Zuma's son, Edward, has come out in full support of King Goodwill Zwelithini's controversial call to deport foreigners from South Africa.

“We need to be aware that as a country we are sitting on a ticking time bomb of them [foreigners] taking over the country.

“The reason why I am saying that is because some of the foreigners are working for private security companies where they have been employed for cheap labour. These companies are running away from complying with South African labour laws,” said the president’s eldest son.

‘Foreigners need to leave the country’

Zuma told News24 in an interview he fully agreed with Zwelithini’s sentiments that “foreigners needed to leave the country.”
“As I speak, you find their unsightly goods hanging all over our shops, they dirty our streets.”

“We cannot even recognise which shop is which, there are foreigners everywhere.”
“We must deal with our own lice. In our heads, let’s take out the ants and leave them in the sun. Immigrants must take their bags and go where they come from.”
Controversial business tycoon Khulubuse Zuma is sitting on a R100-billion oil fortune in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), which he allegedly obtained with the help of his uncle, President Jacob Zuma.

A City Press investigation has discovered that President Zuma played a crucial role in a 2010 decision by DRC President Joseph Kabila to allocate two oilfields in the northeast of the country to his nephew.
AURORA MINE

PLUS THOUSANDS OF JOBS

Khuubuse Zuma

PARDON ME!
Pretoria - President Jacob Zuma has extended the deployment of South African troops to the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Southern African and Indian ocean coast, and Sudan, the presidency said on Tuesday.

This was in fulfilment of South Africa's obligations to the United Nations, the Southern African Development Community, and the African Union, spokesman Mac Maharaj said in a statement.

The initial deployment period of April 1, 2014 to March 31, 2015 had been extended to March 31, 2016.

A total of 1388 SA National Defence Force troops were in the Democratic Republic of Congo, 220 were involved in anti-piracy operations along the coast, and 850 were in Dafur, Sudan.
Peacekeepers behaving badly: Why South African ill-discipline in DRC is a UN problem

South African National Defence Force (SANDF) peacekeepers in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) have had 93 cases of misconduct brought against them. Defence minister Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula has lamented the ill-discipline of the South African troops serving in the Congo, but there is more to this than just the criminality of South African troops; it points to fault lines in the UN peacekeeping apparatus in the DRC. By KHADIJA PATEL.
SA troops in the Central African Republic, 23 March 2013
15 troops returning from CAR in coffins, 24 March 2013
(after killing many hundreds of rebels – including children – over-running Bangui)
M&G (denied by African National Congress): Didier Pereira, a special adviser to ousted Central African Republic President Francois Bozize, partnered with ‘ANC hard man’ Joshua Nxumalo and the ANC’s funding arm, Chancellor House, to secure a diamond export monopoly in the CAR.

In 2006 Pereira signed a memorandum of understanding with the Central African Republic mining ministry. It was intended to create a public-private partnership, Inala Centrafrique. A South African company, Serengeti Group, which was majority-owned by Mr Nxumalo, had a 65% stake in it. Inala’s attempts to control diamond mining in the Central African Republic failed by March 2008... Pereira is currently partnered to the ANC security supremo and fundraiser, Paul Langa, and former spy chief Billy Masetlha.
"I hate South Africans. That's not a fair thing to say because I like a lot of South Africans but they really think they’re the bees’ knees and actually they've been the cause of so much trouble in this part of the world...

They think in Brics that the ‘s’ actually stands for South Africa whereas it stands for Africa...

I dislike South Africa for the same reason that Latin Americans dislike the United States, I think. It's just too big and too unsubtle.”
Zimbabwean beneficiaries: Gideon Gono, Grace Mugabe, Joyce Mujuru, Mines and Mining Development Minister Amos Midzi, General Constantine Chiwenga and wife Jocelyn, Central Intelligence Organisation Director Happyton Bonyongwe, Manicaland Governor Chris Mushowe, and several white Zimbabweans, including Ken Sharpe, Greg Scott, and Hendrik O’Neill

Zimbabwe arms shipment returns to China

Mark Tran and agencies

Zimbabwe arms ship quits S Africa

A Chinese ship carrying arms destined for Zimbabwe has been forced to leave the South African port of Durban four days after failing to unload.

Earlier, a South African judge ruled that the cargo of rocket-propelled grenades, mortar rounds and ammunition could not be transported overland.

Human rights groups had petitioned for a block on the arms and dockers had refused to unload the shipment.

Some fear Zimbabwe will use the arms to repress political opposition.

The country has yet to publish the results of its presidential election on 29 March, which the MDC opposition says was won outright by its candidate Morgan Tsvangirai.

President Robert Mugabe denounced the opposition on Friday in his first speech since the election, saying "thieves" were trying to steal the country.

People protesting in Durban against the offloading of arms from China destined for Zimbabwe. Photograph: Rajesh Jantilal/AFP/Getty Images

China today said a shipment of arms destined for Zimbabwe had been recalled after southern African countries refused to allow the weapons to be unloaded.

The Chinese ship, An Yue Jiang, first ran into trouble in South Africa where dock workers refused to unload it as a gesture of solidarity with their fellow workers in Zimbabwe.
China in Africa: how Sam Pa became the middleman

By Tom Burgis with Demetri Sevastopulo in Hong Kong

For a decade, Sam Pa has opened doors for Beijing in Africa. But his story reveals a troubling side to China’s ambitions. An FT investigation by Tom Burgis

Over the past decade, Pa has risen from obscurity to clinch deals across five continents worth tens of billions of dollars. He has helped to build from scratch a sprawling network of companies linked by common owners, directors and a registered address at 88 Queensway in Hong Kong. Those who have followed the network’s evolution have dubbed it the “Queensway group”.
The situation in the Marange diamond fields has evolved from small scale mining accompanied by violence, to large modern mining operations granted concessions in controversial circumstances.
in Marange, mining continues at low level - but there’s no trickle down to the masses... at the main eastern entrance to Chiadzwa near Hot Springs, absolutely nothing has changed except a new bank for the mining houses and employees
Rostec, VEB Buying Into World's Second Largest Platinum Field

12 August 2013 | Issue 5186

The Moscow Times

A group of companies that includes state-owned Rostec and Vneshekonombank is buying a 40 percent stake in a project to develop Zimbabwe's Darwendale, the world's second largest platinum field.

The consortium will invest in Ruschrome Mining, a Russian-African joint venture licensed to mine the field, Kommersant reported Friday, citing sources close to the deal and at the Russian Foreign Ministry.

The talks on the deal, which also includes the Netherlands-based aluminum company Vimetco, ended in mid-July, when Ruschrome's board of directors approved attracting a strategic investor to the project.

The Zimbabwean government and Zimbabwe's Center for Business Cooperation with Foreign Countries, an association of machinery producers and defense companies, each hold 50 percent in Ruschrome. The center will retain a 10 percent stake in the project.

Kommersant's source estimated the deal's value at $300 million.

The Darwendale platinum project in Zimbabwe has 19 tons in proven reserves and 775 total tons of metals including palladium, gold, nickel and copper.
Russians seek Penhalonga gold and diamonds
An Indian investor has pulled out of the Zimbabwe Iron and Steel Company (Zisco) and stopped engagement with government on the planned revival of the Redcliff-based steel producer due to complications involving the steel-maker’s global debts, the Financial Gazette has learnt.

The move effectively seals the fate of the deal, which first stalled due to bickering within the inclusive government over mineral concessions. The deal later suffered from government pressure to have the Indian firm takeover all government debts.

Essar Africa Holdings Limited (EAHL) took over the beleaguered steelmaker, which had been rebranded NewZim Steel in 2011.

Zisco was once one of Africa’s largest integrated steelworks.

The takeover was widely publicised with government and EAHL jointly announcing, at the official handover ceremony on August 3, 2011, the launch of two entities, NewZim Steel (Private) Limited and NewZim Minerals (Private) Limited.
Zambian villagers take mining giant Vedanta to court in UK over toxic leaks

Fears of environmental catastrophe as report finds ‘constant contamination’ of streams around copper mine while locals report health problems and failed crops

A London-listed mining giant has been polluting the drinking water of villages in Zambia and threatening a wider health disaster, the Observer has found.

Leaked documents and a confidential internal report commissioned from Canadian pollution control experts show that Vedanta Resources’ giant mine in Zambia’s Copperbelt region has been spilling sulphuric acid and other toxic chemicals into rivers, streams and underground aquifers used for drinking water near the mining town of Chingola.
Global protests rage against Vedanta AGM

August 1st 2014. Protesters from Foil Vedanta, MPs and other organizations today held a loud and colourful demonstration at the AGM of controversial FTSE 250 mining company Vedanta at the Lincoln Centre, Lincoln Inn Fields, London. On 31st August parallel demos were held in Odisha, Delhi and Johannesburg. 400 miners protested Vedanta’s Konkola Copper Mines in Ndola, Zambia. In Odisha, India, a consultation on the proposed six fold expansion of the Lanjigarh refinery on 30th July met with major opposition after Vedanta lost permission to mine the Niyamgiri Hills this year. Meanwhile, Vedanta are accused of tax evasion and mismanagement at their Konkola Copper Mines subsidiary in Zambia after investigations revealed they may be externalising up to $500 million per year in profits.

Eight global demos against Vedanta in Afrika, India and London

August 3, 2015. Seven global locations in India and Africa held angry protests today and over the weekend opposing the activities of British-Indian mining company Vedanta while Vedanta’s AGM at Ironmongers Hall, Barbican, London was mobbed by a loud rally organised by Foil Vedanta, accusing the company of pollution, human rights abuses and financial mismanagement. In London a comical staged boxing match between Vedanta’s 69.6% owner and Chairman Anil Agarwal and new CEO Tom Albanese, revealed the company’s debt problems and internal dynamics while protesters chanted ‘Corporate criminal, shame on you!’
12th May 2014. A video released by activists from Foil Vedanta today, shows Vedanta boss, and 69% owner, Anil Agarwal, telling a large audience how he bought Konkola Copper Mines in Zambia for just $25 million, rather than the $400 million asking price, and receiving loud cheers when he states that the company brings in $500 million in profit each year. Foil Vedanta had previously released figures from Vedanta’s annual reports showing that the company made $362 million in 2013, but Vedanta CEO Tom Albanese had disputed this during his visits to Zambia in February, repeating the previous claim that KCM was making a very low profit or a loss due to high operational costs and taxes.
“The BRICS’ Development Bank says whenever people in the Third World, whenever they need to do something and they need funds, they are going to be provided, they are going to achieve their objectives without being put under more difficult conditions.”
BLOOMBERG: Will the new development bank act as a bridge, kind of get involved potentially in funding, building the infrastructure in South Africa, perhaps even getting involved in the nuclear energy plans? What's the possibility of that?

MBOWENI: Well I suspect that when the time comes... the executive will consider this. I think it falls squarely within the mandate of the bank to provide such capital for these large projects.

nuclear financing? turn to BRICS NDB

$100 Billion BRICS Lender More Keen on Risk Than World Bank

by Amogelang Mbatha
Jacob Zuma: ‘a fair, transparent, and competitive procurement process to select a strategic partner or partners to undertake the nuclear build programme.’

Moulana Riaz Simjee (Southern African Faith Communities’ Environment Institute): ‘This nuclear deal poses an enormous corruption risk. It is happening in secret and will make the arms deal look like a walk in the park.’
The public protector has a year left in office and hopes to resume quiet meetings with Cabinet. But Madonsela's going won't be with a whimper.

“From a legacy point of view we have some of the big investigations that I do hope that together with my team we can conclude, the Eskom ones, which include Medupi [coal-fired power station, currently under construction], and we also have been asked to do the nuclear one even before it has started,” Madonsela said this week, when the Mail & Guardian asked what she hopes to achieve before her term in office runs out in September 2016.

The new nuclear build programme, Madonsela said, has caused concern because it is not clear how it fits in with government’s planning framework and because it is “possibly predetermined in terms of its goal”.

Ambivalence about the BRICS NDB when it was announced in March 2013: “This discussion about the BRICS bank being located here in South Africa is very interesting. We love things to be located here, but these things are very costly. I would rather take that money and build the Coega Petro SA oil refinery here in Port Elizabeth.”

Mboweni: Beware politicians promising jobs

Addressing business leaders and academics in Port Elizabeth, Eastern Cape, this week during the launch of the Coega Development Corporation (CDC) journal, Perspectives, Mboweni accused government of failing to run its own entities, specifically Telkom [JSE:TKG], the SABC and SAA.

Responding to a question on the proposed setting up of a state-owned steel company, he warned against nationalisation.

He said: “I do not believe in nationalisation. The ANC government does not know how to run most things it owns. Look at what we are doing with Telkom.

“We do not know how to run an airline (SAA), the SABC is meant to just broadcast, just that, and we don’t know how to run it.”

Answering a question about the setting up of a Brics bank and government’s request to have it headquartered in South Africa, Mboweni said: “This discussion about the Brics bank being located here in South Africa is very interesting.

“We love things to be located here, but these things are very costly. I would rather take that money and build the Coega Petro SA oil refinery here in Port Elizabeth.”

He also dismissed the notion that governments could create jobs. “Be wary of any politician who comes to you now promising jobs. There are no jobs.

Former SA Reserve Bank governor Tito Mboweni. (Picture: Reg Caldecott)

COMPANY DATA

ANGLOGOLD ASHANTI LIMITED [JSE:ANG]

| Last traded | 75 |
| Change | 1 |
| % Change | 2 |
| Cumulative volume | 1126061 |
| Market cap | 0 |

Last Updated: 07-08-2015 at 05:07. Prices are delayed by 15 minutes. Source: McGregor BFA

View company snapshot for more news and data
SA Reserve Bank Governor (1999-2009) pushed monetarist policies

WE MUST TIGHTEN OUR BELTS....
The key thing though is that this development bank has to partner in some instances with domestic development finance institutions. For example, in South Africa where the DBSA, the DBSA is a perfect example of a potential partner for the development bank, because the DBSA is basically it's an infrastructure bank. And it's partner with the new development bank in South Africa, but also in other parts of Africa.
DBSA as an anti-model

• losing vast sums of money (several hundred million dollars worth in recent years, according to recent reports - about 7% of the existing loan book);
• pushing privatisation, especially in the region, even in areas such as electricity and road-tolling that are extremely controversial at home;
• facilitating pro-corporate extractivist policies in the region;
• doing ‘shoddy’ work (according to the present chief executive, who denied future work will be ‘corrupt’);
• de-emphasising environmental and social sustainability;
• on the personnel front, firing all the environmental and social experts (and even tossing out their intellectual journal, Development Southern Africa), and instead a discredited spy as its top international official; and
• being so arrogant that #2 official in the Southern African Development Community attacked DBSA and suggested need for its own SADC Bank;
• Mo Shaik concessions about a raft of DBSA projects which have failed (see paper)
African macro-imbalances

- Sub-Saharan African debt now soaring
- Current account deficits rising
“Africa Rising” (# of citations)

The number 100 represents the peak search interest

EMERGING AFRICA
"Africa Rising"
GDP percentage increases, 1981-2012

Note: 2011 and 2012 excluding Libya.

Source: Leibfritz and Flaig (2013).

orthodox understanding of why Africa is ‘rising’
“Africa Rising” reality check from WB
“African Middle Class Rising” (hmmm, a $2/day ‘middle class’?)

African *protests* Rising

![Graph showing the increase in public protest and civil violence from 1996 to 2013. The graph includes a link to the source: www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/en/outlook/governance.](image-url)

*Agence France Press*
African protests Rising

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

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

Source: Authors’ calculations based on AFP information. www.africanecoconomicoutlook.org/an/outlook/governance

http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888932807474
in 2014, a slight decline in African protests (but maybe due to bored AFP/Reuters journos)

Figure 10. Public protests and violence by non-state actors in Africa, 1996-2014

Remarkably, this rise in public protests contrasts with the “flatter” trend of violence by non-state actors. Also worth noticing is the fact that, while some governments have resorted to violence against demonstrators, most have shown a growing tolerance for freedom of expression. After peaking in 2013, at levels more than five times higher than ten years before, protests started to decrease slightly in 2014. This trend reflects an easing of tensions in most African countries, which contrasts with heightened tensions in a limited number of hot spots. The political normalisation of countries that had been in crisis, particularly since the Arab Spring, partly explains the overall decline in the intensity of protests.
Zimbabwe arms shipment returns to China

Mark Tran and agencies

A Chinese ship carrying arms destined for Zimbabwe has been forced to leave the South African port of Durban four days after failing to unload.

Reports say the ship is carrying millions of rounds of ammunition.

Earlier, a South African judge ruled that the cargo of rocket-propelled grenades, mortar rounds and ammunition could not be transported overland.

Human rights groups had petitioned for a block on the arms and dockers had refused to unload the shipment.

Some fear Zimbabwe will use the arms to repress political opposition.

The country has yet to publish the results of its presidential election on 29 March, which the MDC opposition says was won outright by its candidate Morgan Tsvangirai.

President Robert Mugabe denounced the opposition on Friday in his first speech since the election, saying "thieves" were trying to steal the country.

People protesting in Durban against the offloading of arms from China destined for Zimbabwe. Photograph: Rajesh Jantilal/AFP/Getty images

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The Chinese ship, An Yue Jiang, first ran into trouble in South Africa where dock workers refused to unload it as a gesture of solidarity with their fellow workers in Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe arms ship quits S Africa

Zimbabwe needs peace not China - Guns
In Durban, five heads of state meet to assure the rest of Africa that their countries’ corporations are better investors in infrastructure, mining, oil and agriculture than the traditional European and US multinationals. The Brazil-Russia-India-China-SA summit also includes 16 heads of state from Africa, including notorious tyrants. A new ‘BRICS Bank’ will probably be launched. There will be more talk about monetary alternatives to the US dollar.

Three narratives have emerged about BRICS. The first is promotional and mainly comes from government and allied intellectuals; the second is uncertain, with wait-and-see patience; and the third is highly critical, from forces who meet as ‘brics-from-below’ – this Reader is for them, and contains the best arguments we’ve located from all three camps.

Patrick Bond is senior professor of development studies and director of the University of KwaZulu-Natal Centre for Civil Society.
new book from ‘brics from below’ project, drawing on Brazilian (and SA) ‘sub-imperialism’ theories

“This book is a uniquely valuable resource for development scholars, students and activists. It includes outstanding contributions written by a stellar group of authors. They pierce through every aspect of the discourse around the BRICS, showing the reality beneath the politically engineered triumphalism.”

– Alfredo Saad-Filho, Professor of Political Economy, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London