

sub-imperialism, no thanks!

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

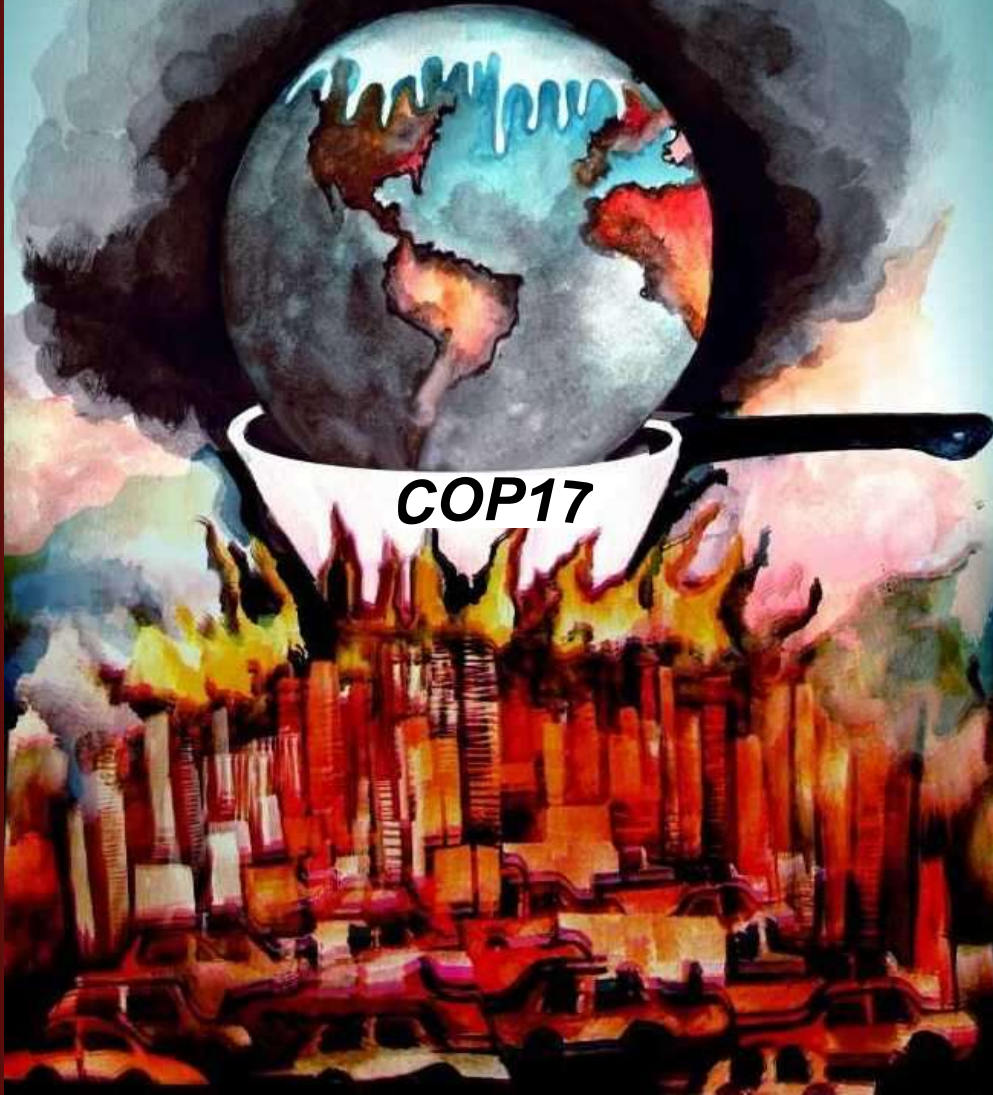
International Convention Centre

- the need for critique, &
- lessons from COP17

slides by Patrick Bond
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Centre for Civil Society



*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)

HOW THE COP17 DISCUSSES EMISSIONS

(REMEMBER THE FAMOUS BEANS SCENE IN 'BLAZING SADDLES'?)



EXCUSE ME!

YOU'RE EXCUSED..

PARDON!

PARP!

DON'T MENTION IT.

OOPS! BIG ONE!
...BUT THEN IM
A BIG BOY!

BRRAP!

POOT!

SORRY!

DON'T WORRY!

SAME HERE...
...PARDON...

FRRAP!!

BLOPRT!

Copenhagen Accord, COP 15, December 2009

“they broke the UN!”
(Bill McKibbin, 350.org)

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

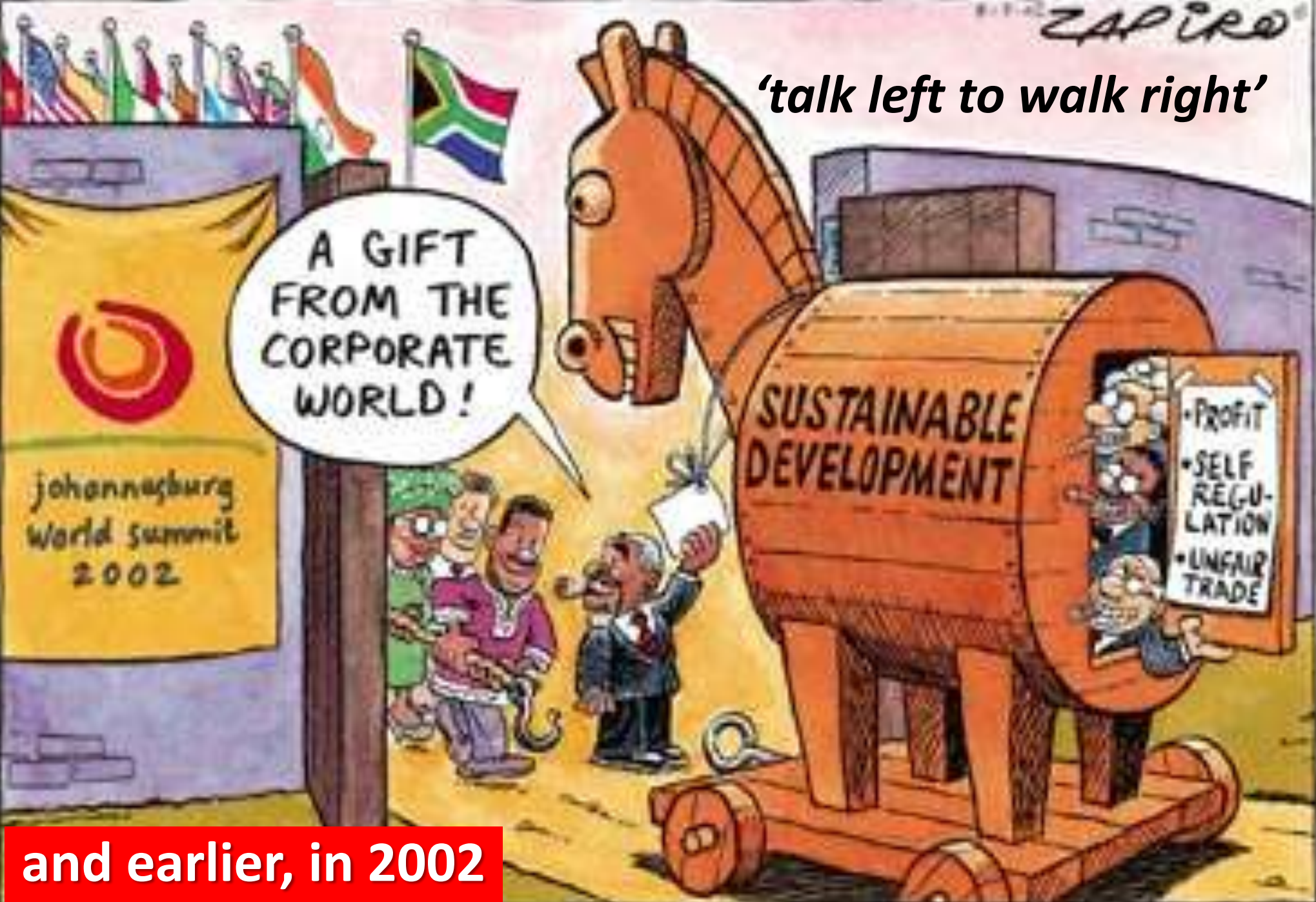
**USA+‘BASIC’:
non-binding;
4 degree
increase**



again and again, they do this to us

ZAP IRO

'talk left to walk right'



and earlier, in 2002

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

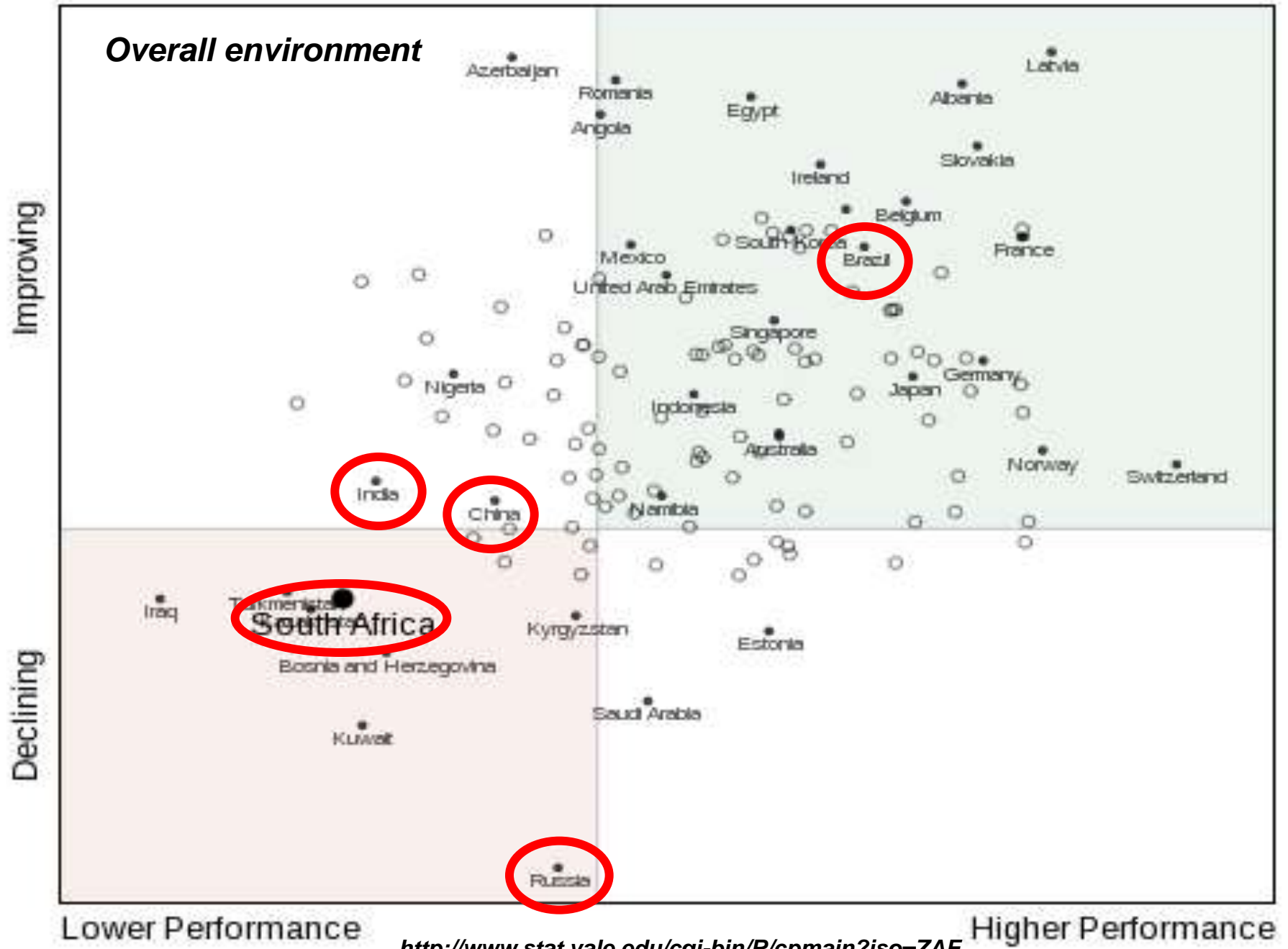
BRICS: unsustainable development



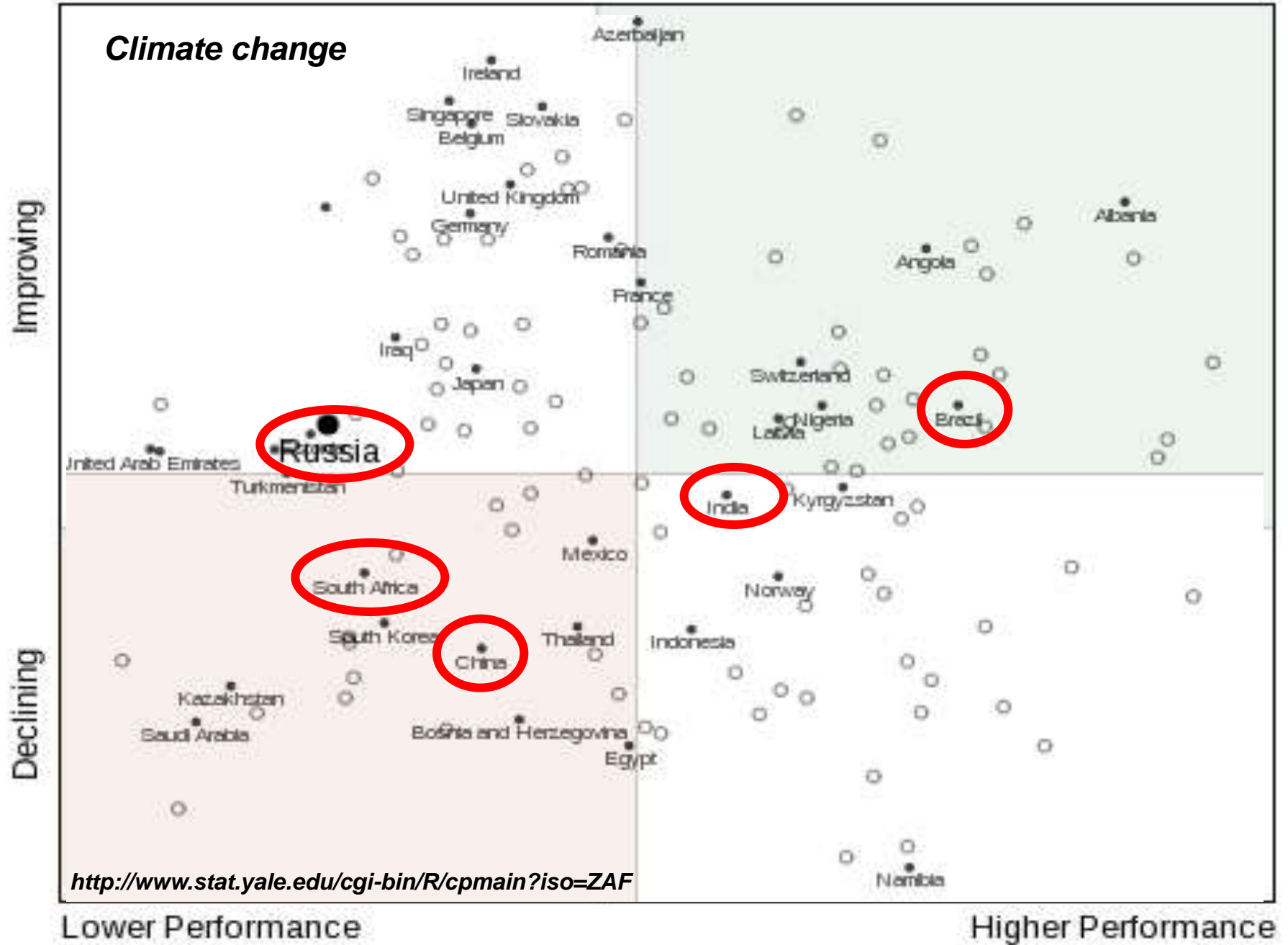
Environmental Performance Index trends, 2012

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

EPI Performance Score versus Trend Score

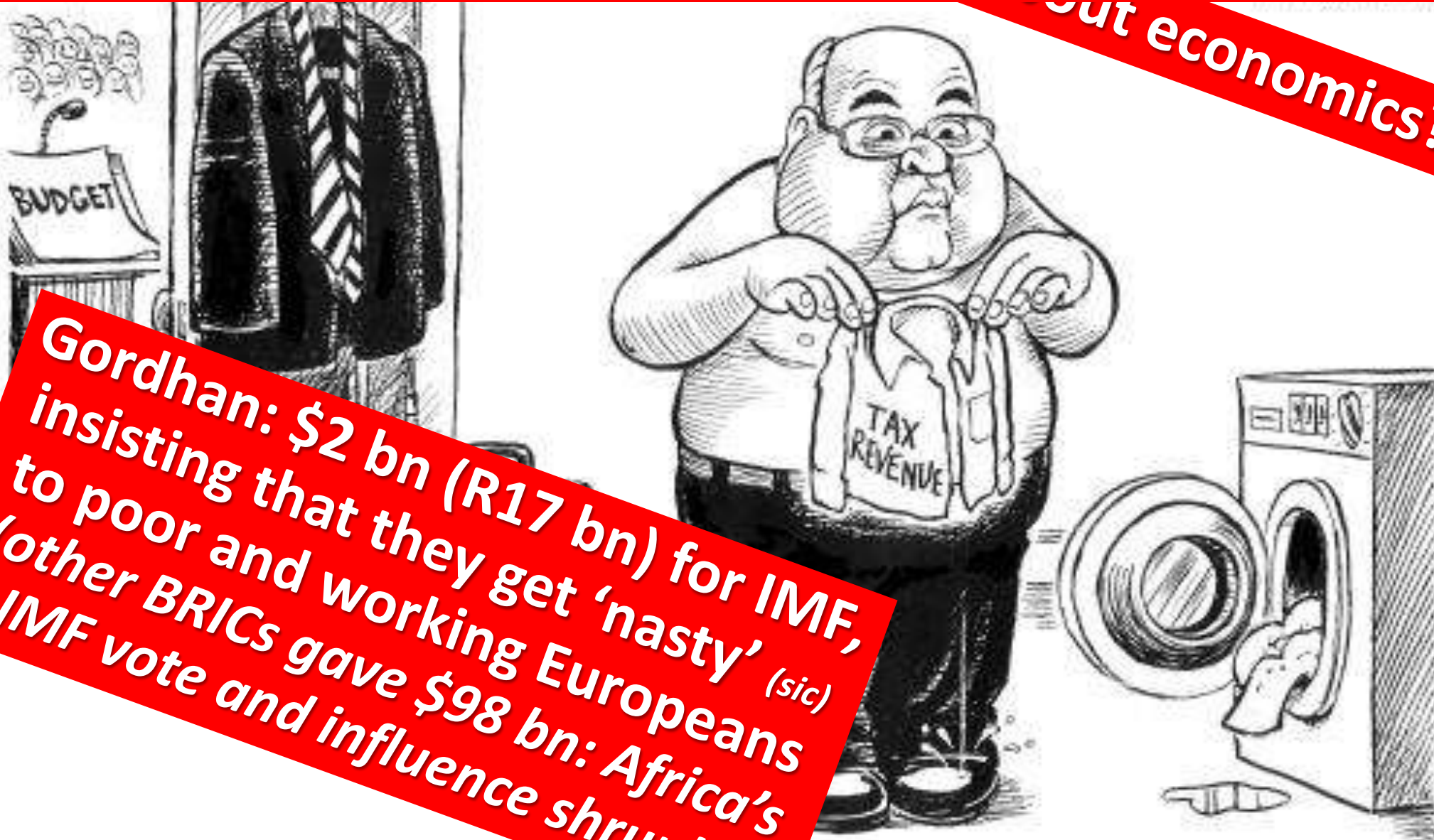


EPI Performance Score versus Trend Score



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

but economics?



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)



Pretoria's choice:

Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala

Moscow backed
Washington's choice:
Jim Yong Kim

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

**yet BRICS couldn't even agree
on 2012 World Bank leadership**



Brasilia's choice:

Jose Antonio Ocampo

APARTHEID

AMATEUR!

GLOBAL
APARTHEID

SUBSIDISED
OVER-CONSUMPTION

TRICKLE
DOWN

IMF WTO

WORLD
BANK

Zapiro





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

Dear *Dominique*,
 International Monetary Fund
 800, 20431

Dear *Dominique*

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:

(vii) **And finally, increasing the Fund's capacity to respond to the current and future crises:** Pending a quota increase, the Fund's capacity could be raised by bilateral lending or a new General and New Agreements to Borrow. Temporary measures will not provide a systemic solution for less developed countries. Increasing the Fund's capacity to respond to growing demand, will not suffice in the long-term. Consideration be given to a substantial SDR allocation.

Together, these measures will ensure the Fund is better able to respond to the challenges of economic and financial globalisation, and remains a credible and effective guardian of a stable, market-based international financial and monetary system. My appeal is that in implementing these recommendations the rationale underlying this reform exercise – improving the Fund's legitimacy and effectiveness through a *package* of measures – is not lost.

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*

BRICS agenda: polish chains of global apartheid

Manuel led a committee whose recommendations led to \$750 billion IMF 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.

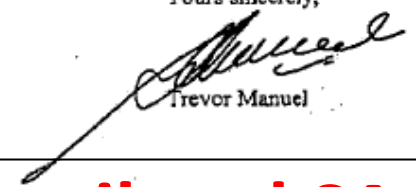
With respect to voting rights (at both the Bank and Fund), there was a clear sense that agreement can only be reached on a package of measures, and that this was only likely to be achieved in the context of agreement to increase Fund quotas. Views differ on the timing of any such agreement, but it is 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,

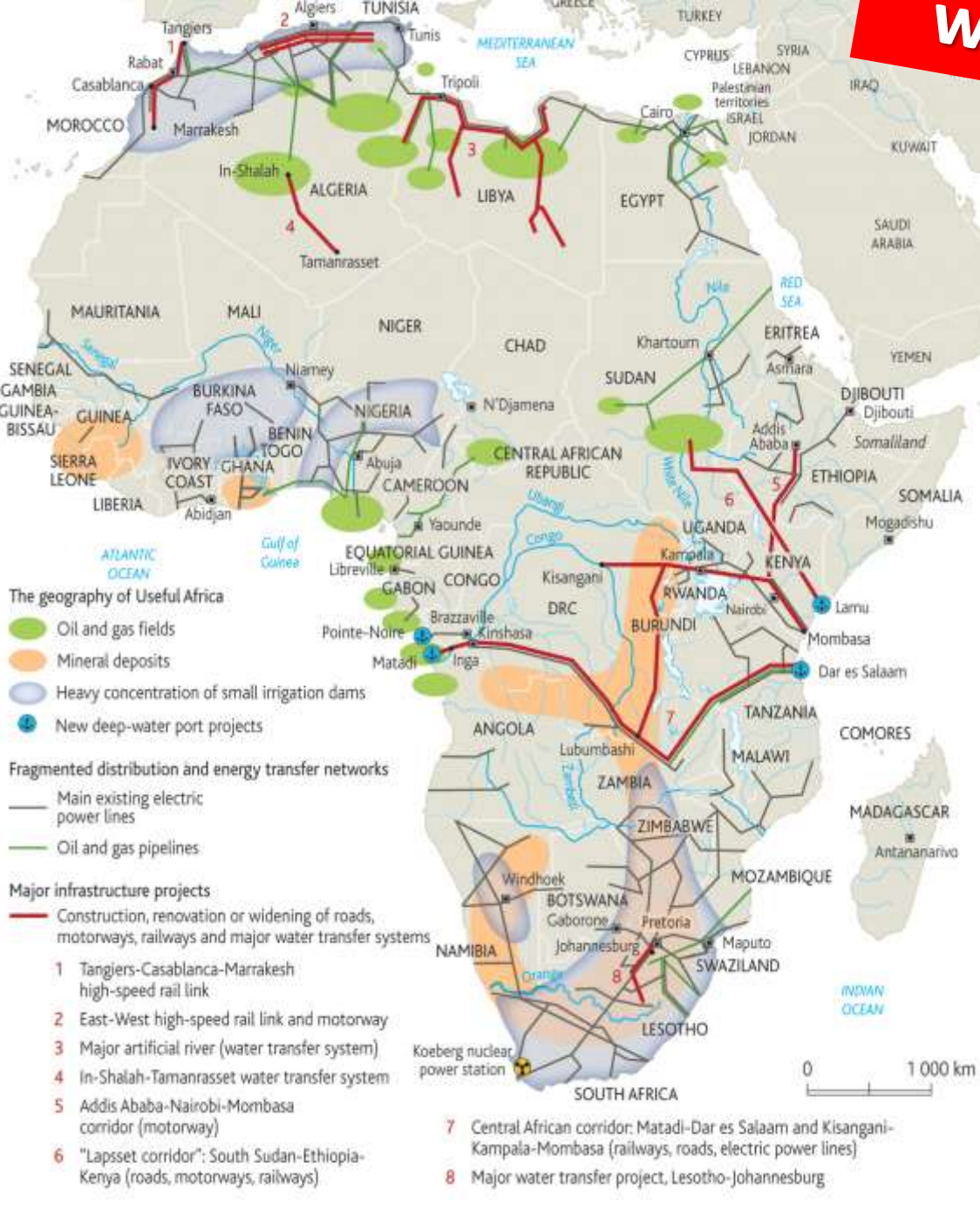

Trevor Manuel

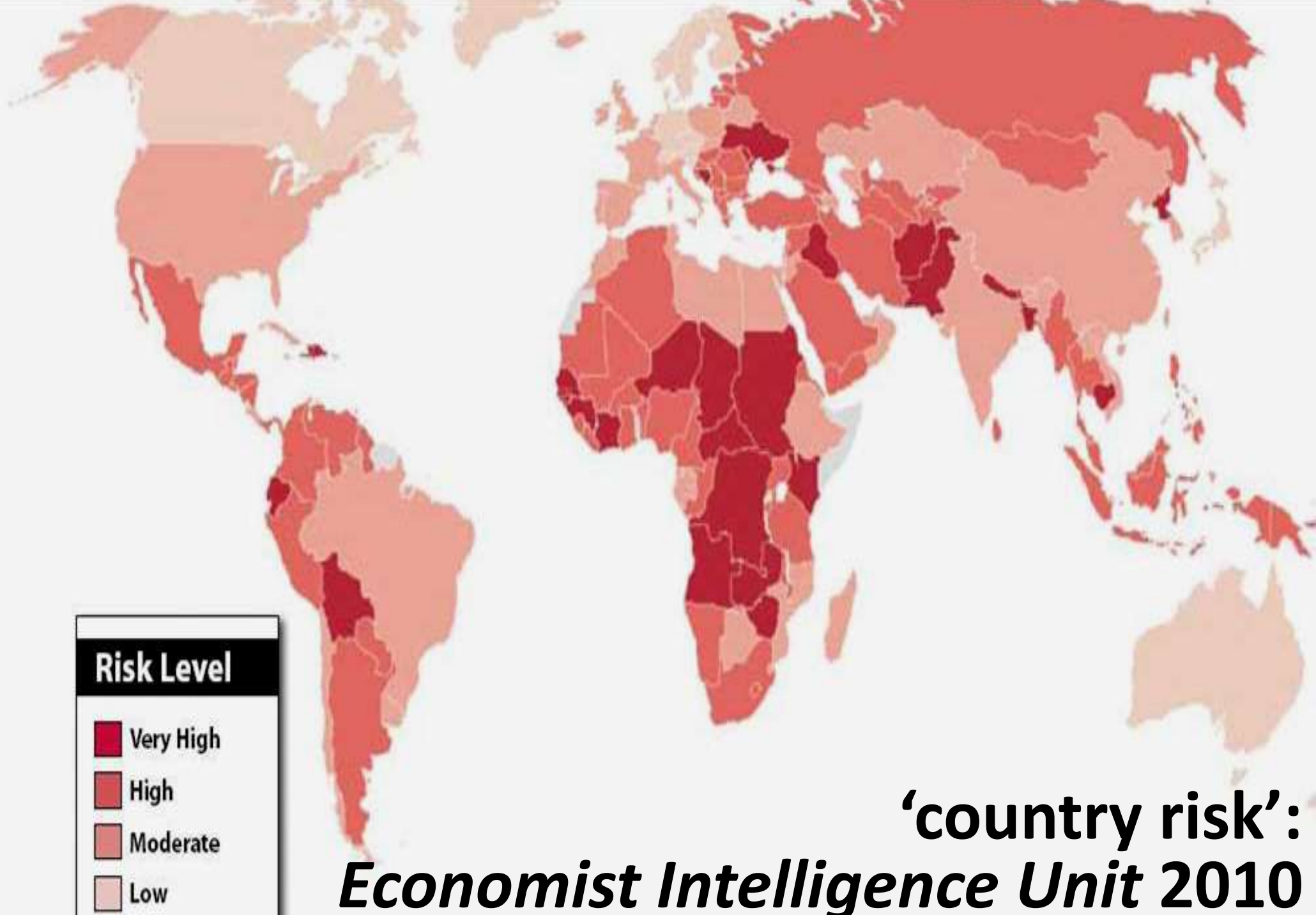
**and India, Brazil and SA
cannot join UN Security
Council because Russia and
China won't support them**

What do BRICS want here?

'Useful Africa'

Source: *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Feb 2011





'country risk':

Economist Intelligence Unit 2010



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 suggests **privatisation of infrastructure and social services**

- '106. ... **Promote PPPs as a promising vehicle for attracting private investors**, and focus public funding on the pressing needs of the poor, by building capacity to implement and monitor such agreements;'
- '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 the 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.



THE NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT

Codesria and Third World Network-Africa

Declaration on Africa's development challenges, 26/4/02

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**



critical essays on
**South African
sub-imperialism**

*regional dominance and global deputy-sheriff duty
in the run-up to Durban's March 2013 BRICS summit*

by Patrick Bond



‘sub-imperialism’?

- **looting the hinterland, e.g. SA in Africa, *but repatriating profits to London, NY, Melbourne***
- **legitimation of the Washington Consensus**

A call to rebuild BRICS, bottom-up, at Durban summit oppose neoliberalism, subimperialism and eco-destruction, 23-27 March 2013

Durban's hosting of the Brazil-Russia-India-China-SA summit in March requires critical civil society to share views ranging from local to global. We support bottom-up unity of peoples in these countries and their hinterlands, collaborating on analysis, advocacy and activism. We will meet in the spirit of the World Social Forum which arose to contest the ecologically, socially and politically destructive World Economic Forum.

Join us to draw the world's attention to the most dangerous BRICS state policies, to corporate and parastatal power plays, and to these countries' extreme uneven development.



BRICS serving the world's 1%?

- **socio-economic rights violations, including severe inequality, poverty, unemployment, disease, violence (especially against women), inadequate education, prohibitions on labour organising and other suffering;**

- **political and civil rights violations, such as increased securitisation of societies, militarisation and arms trading, prohibitions on protest, rising media repression and official secrecy, debilitating patriarchy and homophobia, activist jailings and torture, and even massacres, including in Durban where a police hit squad killed more than 50 in recent years;**

- **regional domination by BRICS economies, since signs of ‘subimperialism’ are emerging both through corporate exploitation of hinterland minerals and oil, and through BRICS promotion of ‘Washington Consensus’ neoliberalism – for example, in the recent donation of \$100 billion of our taxes to the International Monetary Fund, or in the desire of China, Brazil and India to revitalise the World Trade Organisation, or in India’s failure to continue supplying generic medicines (especially the AIDS drugs so important to us in Durban, with more HIV+ people than any other city on earth);**

• our elites' orientation to eco-destructive, consumerist-centric, financialised, climate-frying, nuclear-powered maldevelopment works very well for corporate and parastatal profits, but is reaching crisis proportions in all the BRICS, as witnessed here by the Marikana Massacre carried out by police on behalf of Lonmin on August 16, and in South Durban where \$30 billion in white-elephant state infrastructure subsidies for chaotic port, freight and petrochemical industry expansion (and more labour-breaking exploitation) are now being vigorously fought by communities that will be destroyed.

It is time the BRICS go under the microscope, along with their so-called 'development bank' (with its disturbing Brazilian, Chinese and South African precedents) and the currency cooperation and trade deals anticipated from this summit. It is time for popular voices to be heard, demanding the BRICS concept be rebuilt bottom up, to serve people and planet, not corporate profits, and to include our continents' oppressed peoples and countries at the fore, instead of as hinterland appendages to the BRICS regional bullies.

Join us in Durban in March 2013 to tell BRICS

sub-imperialism, no thanks!

Initial organisations making this call : Alternative Information and Development Centre, Centre for Civil Society (University of KwaZulu-Natal), groundWork Friends of the Earth SA, People's Dialogue, South Durban Community Environmental Alliance, Trust for Community Outreach and Education. For more information contact Patrick at pbond@mail.ngo.za, Bobby at bobby@groundwork.org.za or Desmond at desmond@sdceango.co.za