



Durban as BRICS host, 26-27 March 2013

International Convention Centre





FIFTH BRICS SUMMIT

DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA
26 - 27 MARCH 2013

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



FIRST brics-from-below SUMMIT

DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA
23-27 MARCH 2013

*brics-from-below and AFRICA:
Partnership for Society and Nature, not
Oppression, Inequality and Eco-destruction*



**BRICS-from-above
try to win
hearts and minds,
24 March**





Manmohan Singh

Xi Jinping

Jacob Zuma

Dilma Rousseff

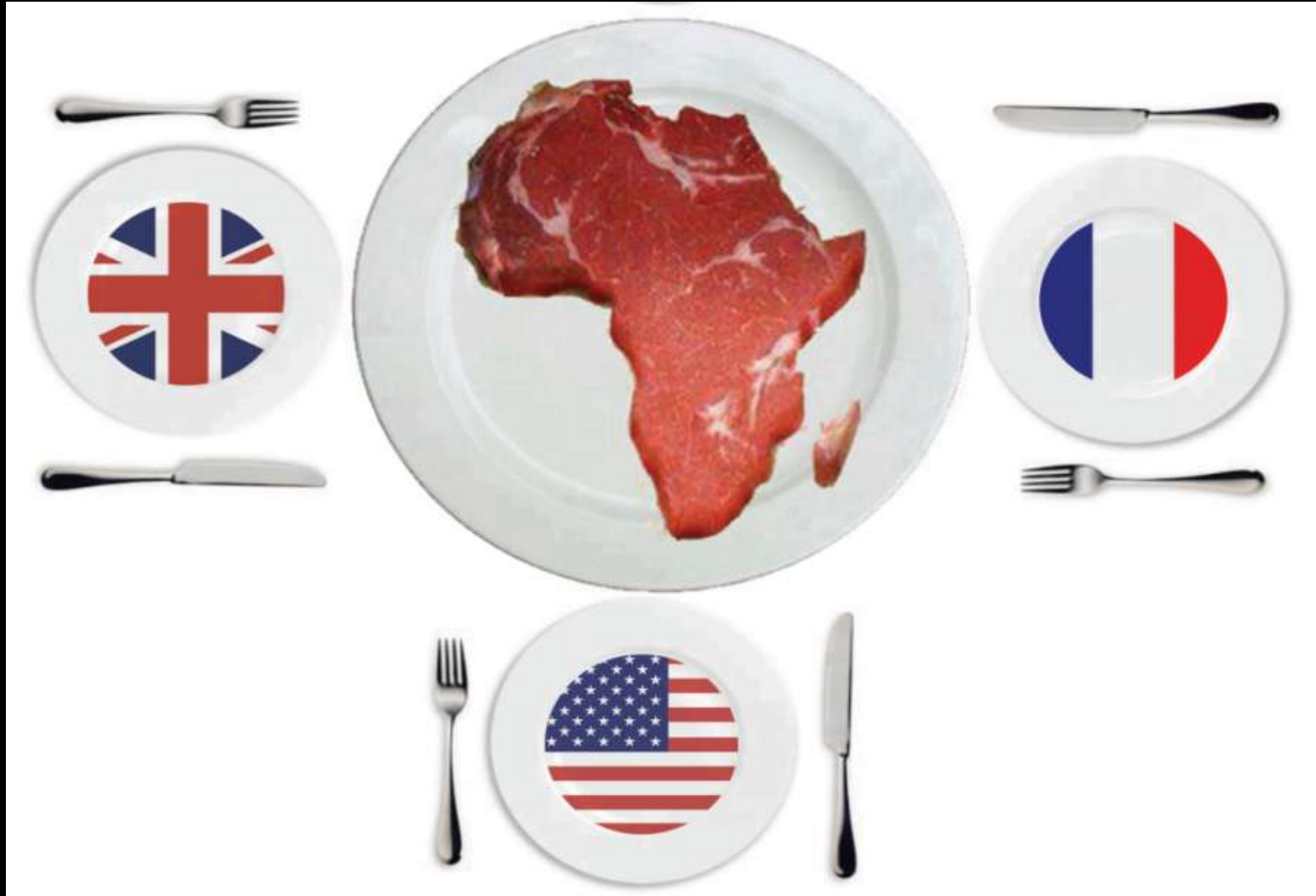
Vladimir Putin

SA WELCOMES

B R I C S

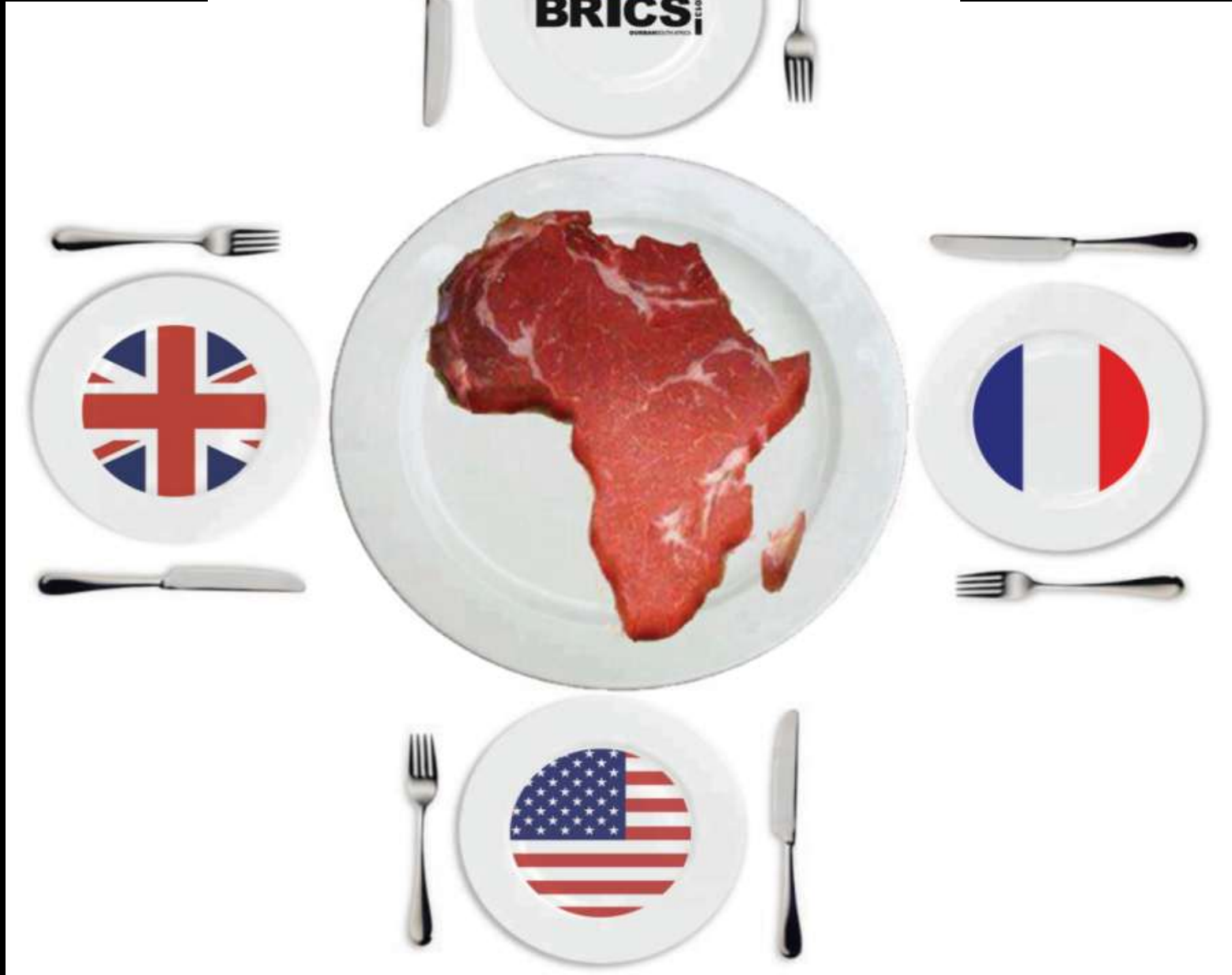


***against slavery, colonialism,
neocolonialism, neoliberalism?***



or just

within?



in context of global crises, enter BRICS

**“a new global
economic geography
has been born”**

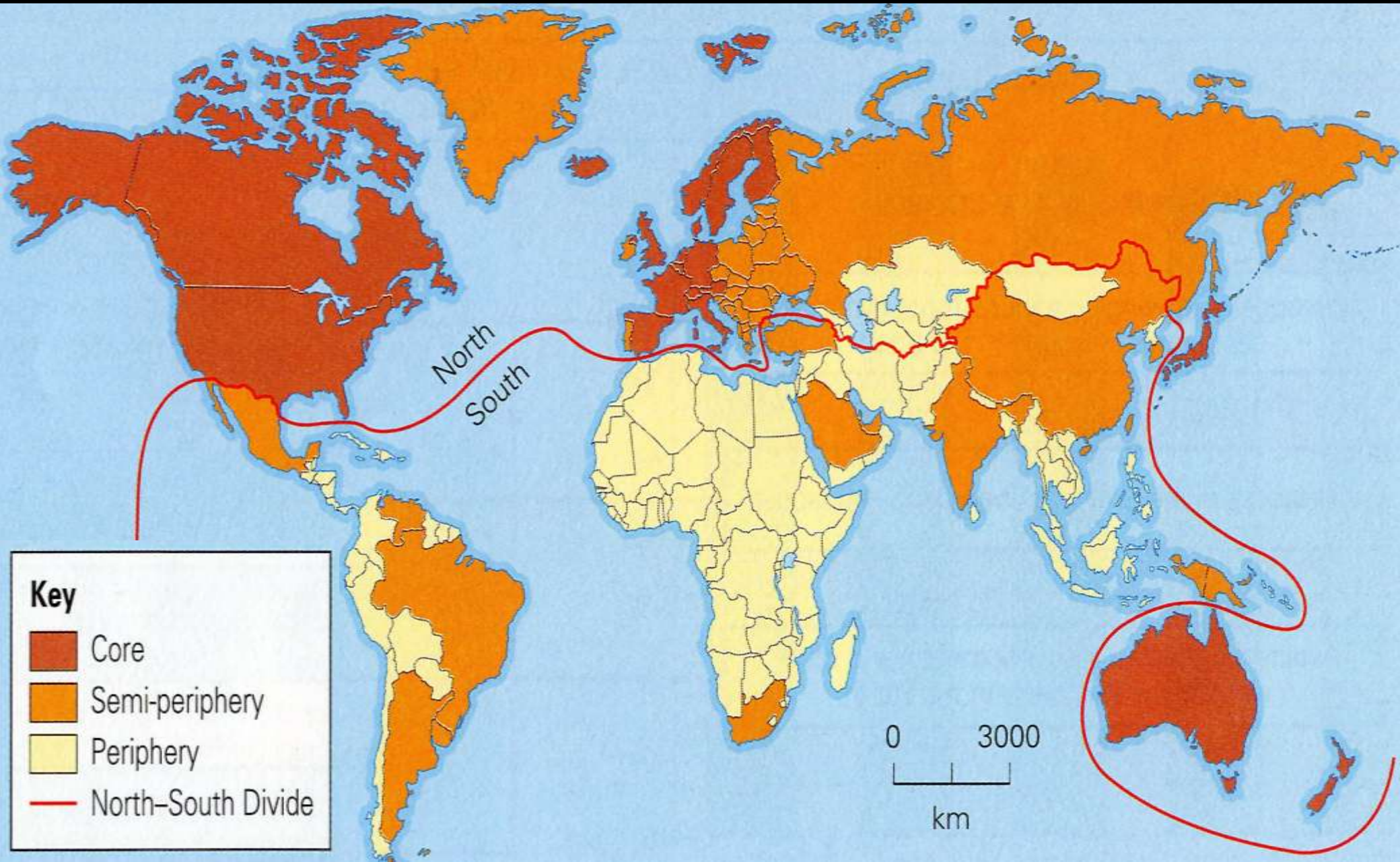
**– President Lula da Silva,
BRICS Brasilia Summit, 2010**



*why not **Mexico, Nigeria, Egypt, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Vietnam, South Korea, Philippines?***



and why not entire semi-periphery?



why BRICs? answer from New York/London: *building-block 'bricks' of 21st century world capitalism*

*Jim O'Neil,
Goldman
Sachs*



SOUTH AFRICA (added in 2010)

	Brazil	Russia	India	China	South Africa	Total BRICS	World	BRICS in the world
Area (km2)	8.514.877	17.098.242	3.287.263	9.596.961	1.219.090	39.716.433	510.072.000	7,79%
Area - land (km2)	8.459.417	16.377.742	2.973.193	9.569.901	1.214.470	38.594.723	148.940.000	25,91%
Population (mi)	192	143	1.200	1.341	50	2.926	7.021	41,67%
Work Force	104	75	487	816	18	1.500	3.262	45,98%
GDP - nom (US\$ bi)	2.517	1.884	1.843	6.988	422	13.654	70.280	19,43%
GDP - growth	2,9%	4,1%	7,4%	9,2%	3,1%	5,3%	3,7%	
GDP - PPP (US\$ bi)	2.309	2.376	4.469	11.316	555	21.025	78.980	26,62%
GDP <i>per capita</i> - nom (US\$)	12.917	13.235	1.527	5.183	8.342	4.666	10.010	
GDP <i>per capita</i> - PPP (US\$)	11.846	16.746	3.703	8.394	10.977	7.186	11.800	
Export total(US\$ bi)	256	394 *	242 *	1.552 *	97	2.541	18.150	14%
Import total (US\$ bi)	226	239 *	363 *	1.423 *	100	2.351	17.990	13%
Trade total (US\$ bi)	482	634 *	605 *	2.975 *	197	4.892	36.140	14%

Source IMF, 2011; Economist Intelligence Unit Country Report, march/2012; Sece x.

26% of land area
42% of population
46% of work force
19% of nominal GDP
26% of purchasing power
parity GDP



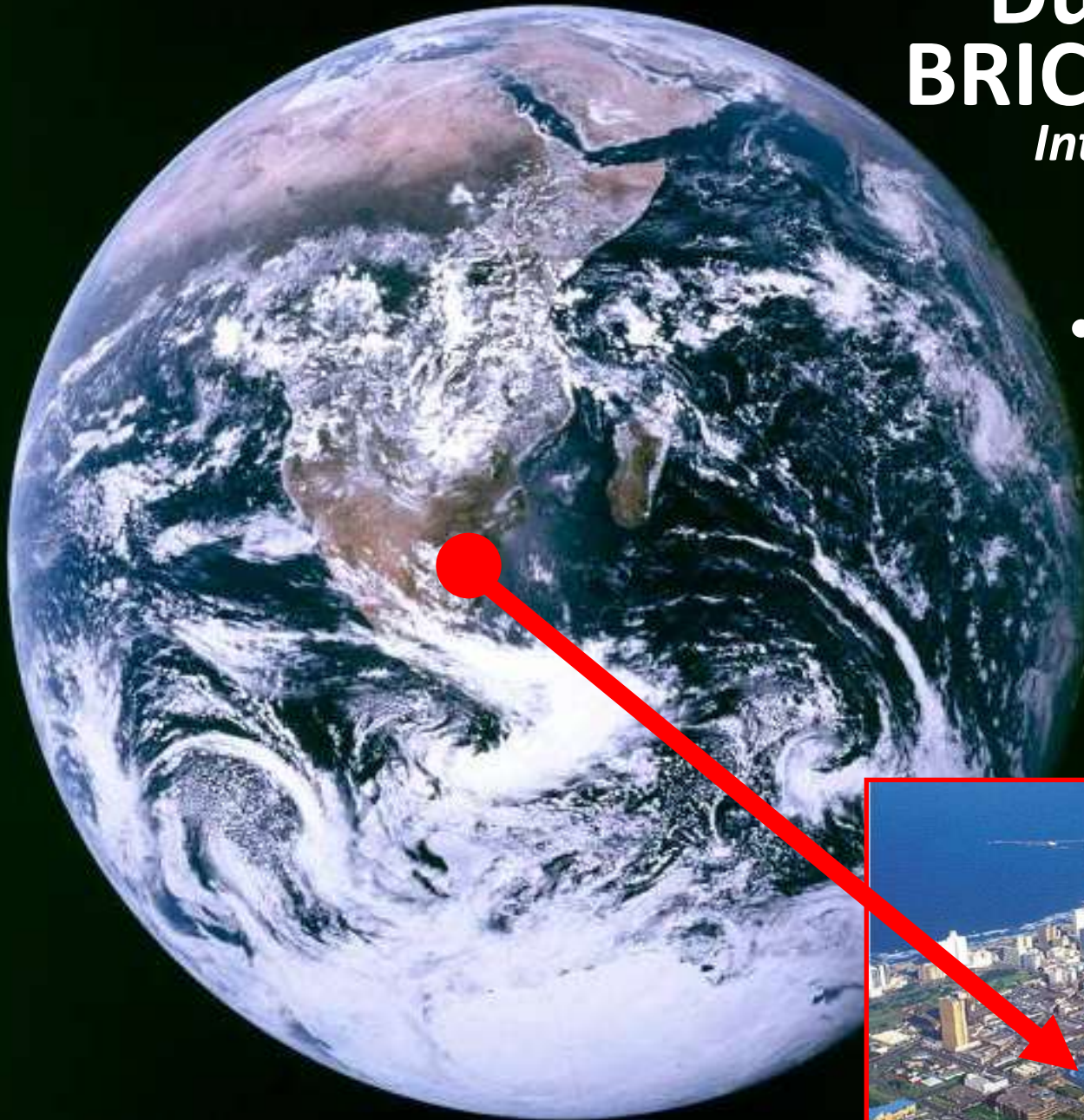
world GDP (2011)

Country	GDP (PPP) \$Million
World	78,897,426
BRICS	20,990,530
European Union	15,821,264
United States	15,094,025
China	11,299,967
India	4,457,784
Japan	4,440,376
Germany	3,100,080
Russia	2,383,402
Brazil	2,294,243
United Kingdom	2,260,803
France	2,217,900
Italy	1,846,950

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

International Convention Centre

- 'Gateway to Africa' *or*
- scrambled Africa:
Durban 2013
= Berlin 1885?



**FIFTH
BRICS SUMMIT**

**DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA
26 - 27 MARCH 2013**

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

Berlin, 1884-85
'Scramble for Africa'



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





- African Lakes (Malawi, 1891)
- Northern Rhodesia (Zambia, 1894)
- Rhodesia (Zimbabwe, 1895)
- Zululand (KwaZulu-Natal, 1897)
- Boer republics (RSA, 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 John Rhodes

21st Century agent of imperialism?



“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

21st Century agent of imperialism?



talk left... to walk right

ft.com/frontpage Europe All times are London time

Home Africa Asia-Pacific

FINANCIAL TIMES

March 3, 2013 9:30 pm

Zuma warns west's 'colonial' corporates

By Alec Russell in Cape Town



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

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

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

and health, says

21st Century agent of imperialism?



Stratfor (known as private-sector CIA)

*South Africa's history is driven by the interplay of competition and cohabitation between **domestic and foreign interests exploiting the country's mineral resources**. Despite being led by a democratically-elected government, **the core imperatives of SA remain***

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

<http://search.wikileaks.org/gifiles/?viewemailid=951571>

21st Century agent of imperialism?



**January 2013: Pretoria
deploys 200+ troops to the
Central African Republic
during a coup attempt
because **'We have
assets there that
need protection.'**
- deputy foreign minister
Ebrahim Ebrahim,
referring to arms
for local tyrant**



François Bozizé

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





13 SA SUPPORT TROOPS KILLED IN C.A.R.

SO, IN A UNIQUE TWIST,
SA SENT CARGUARDS
TO CENTRAL AFRICA!

... BUT WHEN THE
CAR IS A CROCK
AND THE DRIVER'S
LICENCE IS FAKE...

... THE QUESTION
IS WHY?!





Brandon Proctor
BUSINESSDAY 2013/03/27

SA National Defence Union general secretary, Pikkie Greeff, told the *M&G* that soldiers said they had not been in the CAR to do any training of the CAR army. “Soldiers who were on the ground have told us that they never trained anybody. All along they were there to protect assets and President Bozizé.”

SANDF to SANDU: “stop irresponsible, childish and ill informed comments and statements about the loss of lives of our members in the Central African Republic”.

SA's involvement in a foreign war demands explanation

by Songezo Zibi, *Business Day*, 27 March 2013

*Dishonesty from the government and incompetence from the military do not engender confidence in South Africa's ability to defend its sovereignty. It is not made clear why the Central African Republic is so important to South Africa. We are only told of the commendable, moral responsibility to defend democracy on the continent — but **that argument does not wash...***

*An innocuous statement issued on April 29 2006 by the foreign affairs spokesman at the time, Ronnie Mamoepa, could provide some useful clues. Following **Bozizé's working visit at the invitation of then-president Thabo Mbeki**, Mamoepa said the two heads of state had signed a co-operation agreement, which included defence, security, **energy and mining**. He also said that the Central African Republic's then minister of energy, mines and hydrography, Sylvain Ndoutingai, met representatives of **several South African companies involved in mining and exploration**.*

The lure of arms deals and diamonds – and possibly other mineral resources – sucked the ANC into the Central African Republic.

Mail & Guardian

AFRICA'S BEST READ

March 28 to April 4, 2013



CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Are these the deals our troops died for?



ANC security and intelligence strengthen partnership with special adviser to toppled CAR president in business interests involving armoured vehicles and diamonds 2 & 3

Zuma escalated SA's mission despite warnings of growing instability

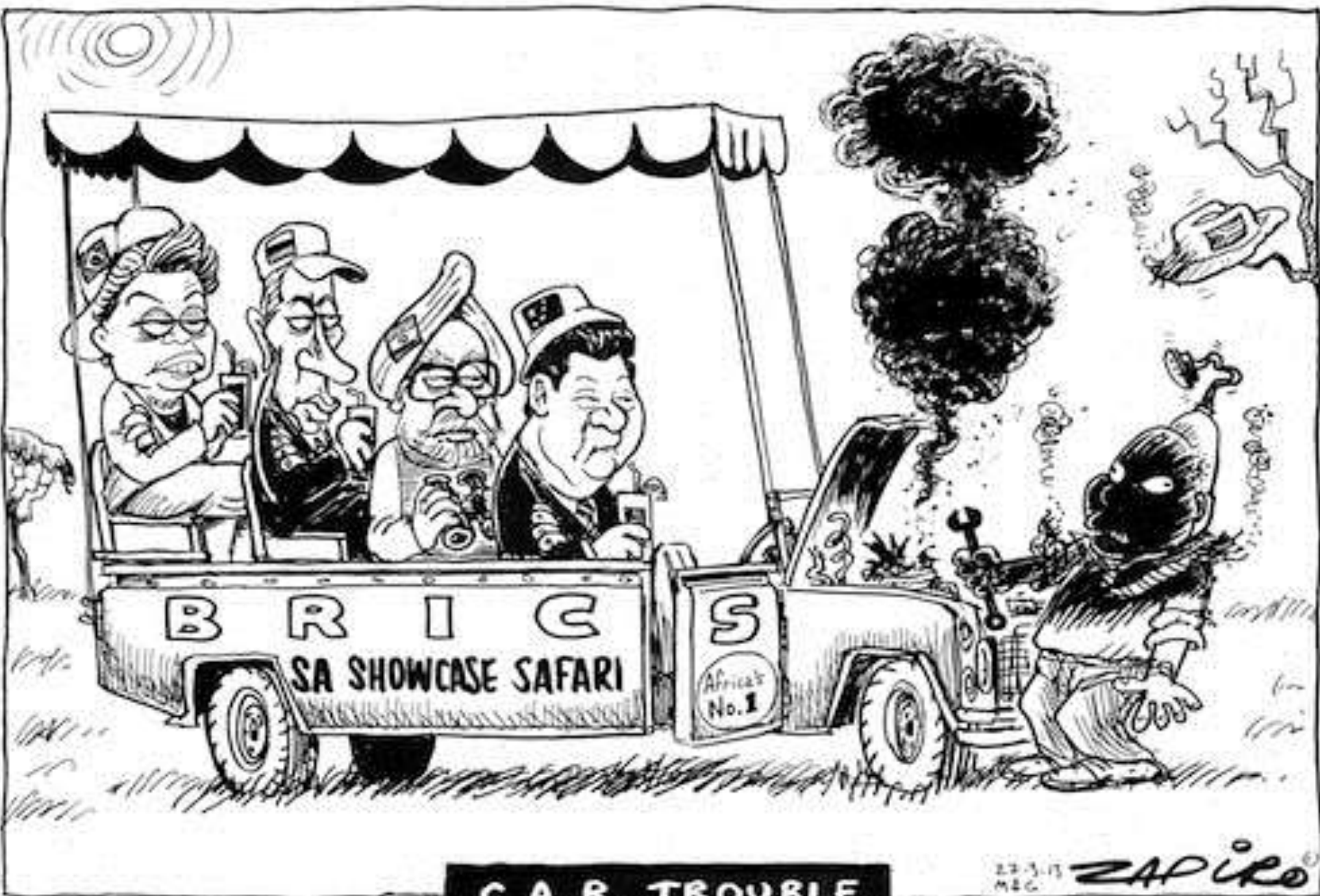


The rise and fall of François Bozizé

'Prisoners', casualties and contradictions

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.



C.A.R. TROUBLE

22.3.13
M&C

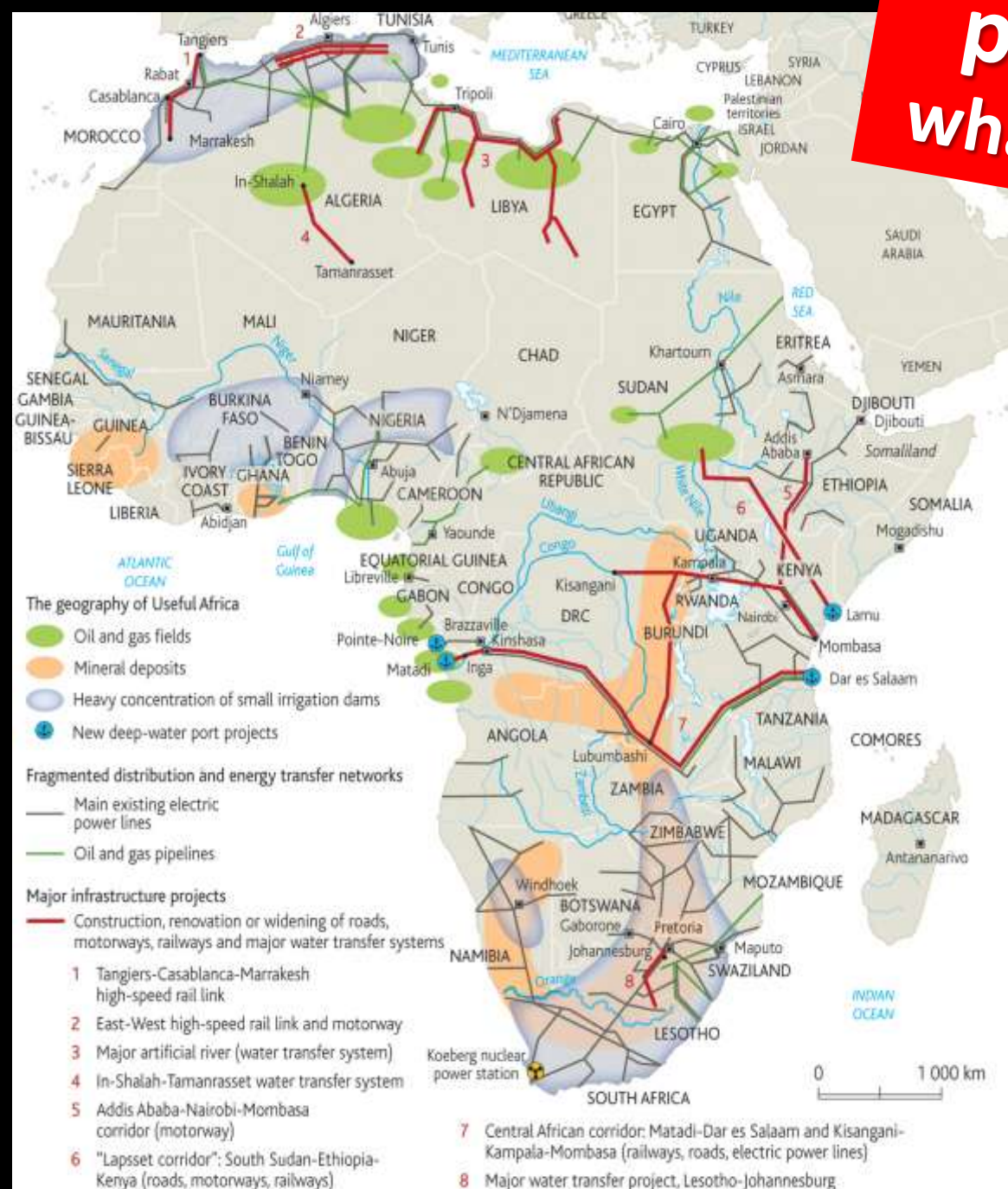
ZAPIRO

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

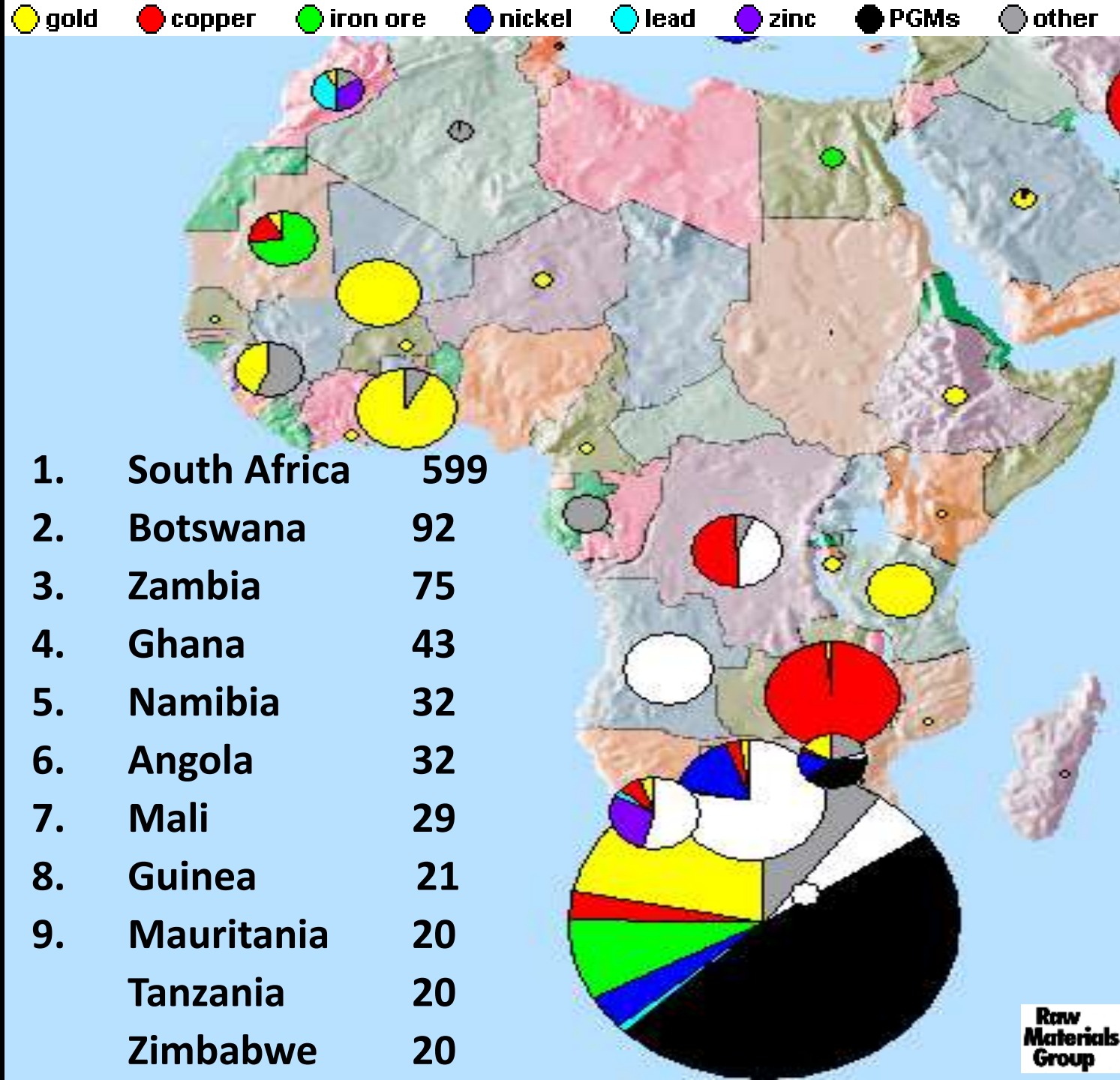
useful Africa

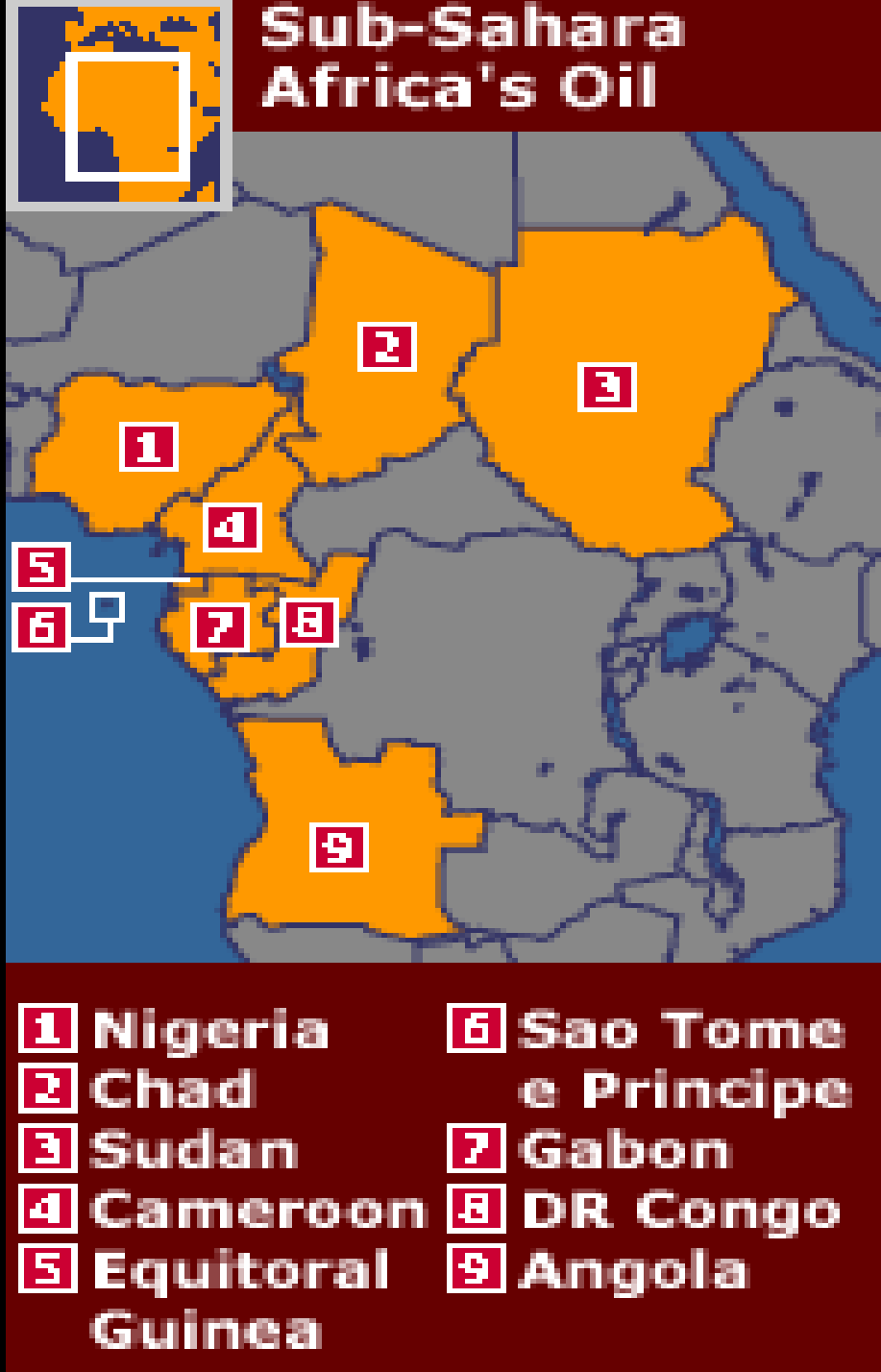
Source: *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Feb 2011

- 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."



Africa's mining production by country, 2008





Africa's existing oil

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

<http://www.catholicrelief.org/images/oil/Africa-Map-Web-PS0301-Da.jpg>

(credit: Horace Campbell)

Despite the political risk, Western oil companies are queuing up to explore

Sierra Leone

An "active petroleum system" discovered by Anadarko 1125km west of the Jubilee field



Uganda

Up to 2bn barrels found under and around Lake Albert

Tanzania

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

Mozambique

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

Liberia

Several prospecting licences for auction

Côte d'Ivoire

Vanco's Orca 1-x exploratory well will reveal offshore potential

Ghana

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

DRC

Political turmoil means exploration is still years behind its neighbours

Madagascar

TOTAL drilled an estimated 80 wells in 2009

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)



**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)

BRICS

DEVELOPMENT
BANK



...FILLING IN
A WITHDRAWAL
SLIP, JACOB?!!!

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**,
- air/water **pollution** and water scarcity
- **climate** chaos and energy abuse (especially SA),

who's causing
climate catastrophe?



Copenhagen Accord, COP 15, December 2009

*"they broke
the UN"
(Bill McKibbin,
350.org)*

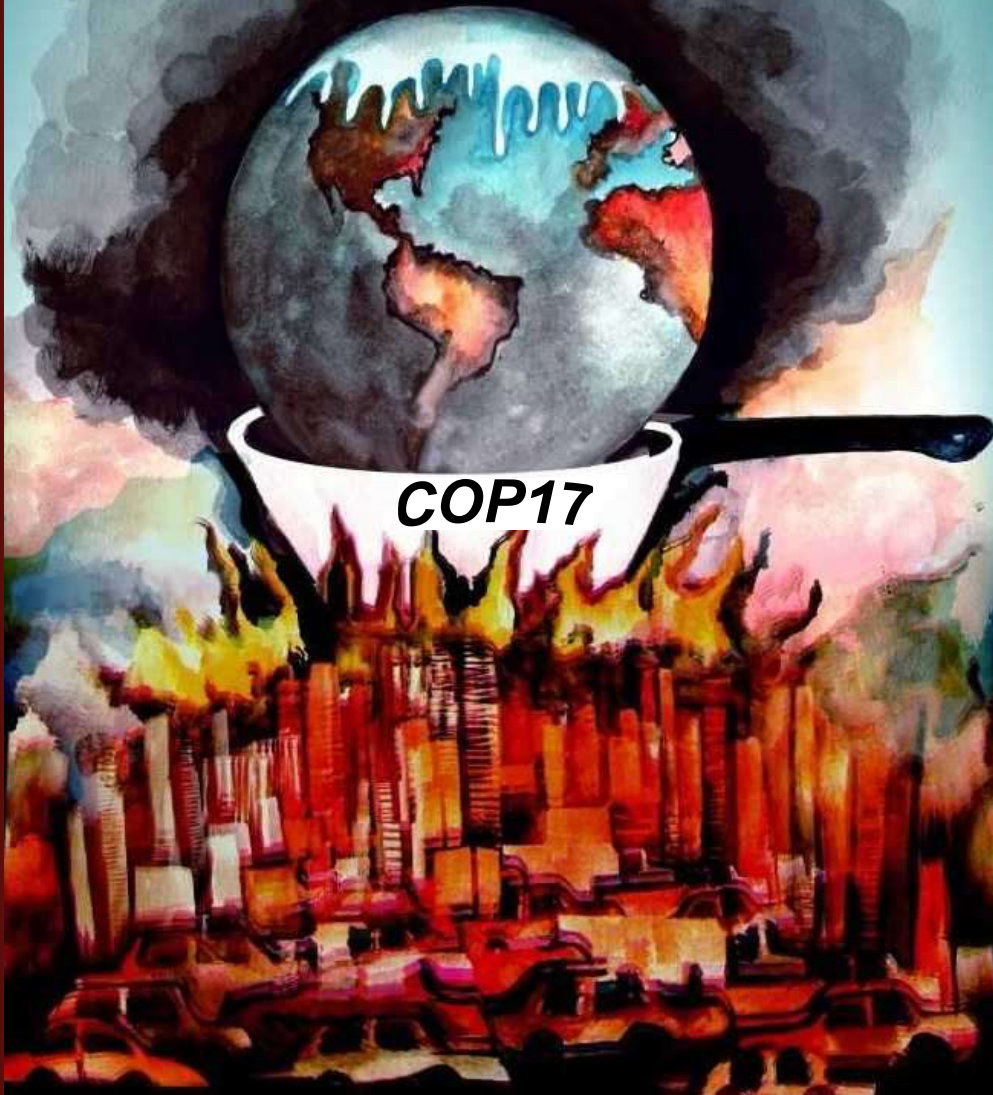
- Jacob Zuma (SA)
- Lula da Silva (Brazil)
- Barack Obama (USA)
- Wen Jiabao (China)
- Manmohan Singh (India)

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



**'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)

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.



LARGE LAND ACQUISITIONS IN SELECT COUNTRIES

COUNTRY	PROJECTS	AREA (acres)	DOMESTIC SHARE*
Sudan	132	9.8 million	78
Mozambique	405	6.6 million	53
Liberia	17	4.0 million	7
Ethiopia	406	2.9 million	49
Cambodia (Asia)	61	2.4 million	70
Nigeria	115	2.0 million	97

* Proportion of area held by domestic investors

KEY COMMODITIES DRIVING LAND USE CHANGE, 1990-2007

COMMODITY	AREA 2007 (millions of acres)	CHANGE 1990-2007 (millions of acres)	PERCENTAGE OF LARGE-SCALE OPERATIONS	KEY CONTRIBUTORS (% of net increase)**
Corn	390	67	52%	China (29%) US (29%) Brazil (9%)
Oil palm	36	20	55	Indonesia (50) Malaysia (26) Nigeria (11) Myanmar (3) Thailand (21) Indonesia (18)
Rice	385	22	4	Canada (32) India (15) France (8)
Flaxseed	74	30	85	Argentina (33) Brazil (28) India (18)
Soybean	222	81	78	Russian Federation (41) Ukraine (38) Myanmar (10)
Sunflower	67	10	90	Brazil (47) India (28) China (9)
Sugar cane	57	15	55	China (35) US (18) Russian Federation (12)
Plantation forestry	343	91	N/A	

SOURCES: Food and Agriculture Organization, International Food Policy Research Institute

** Changes in crop area may include substitution for other crops as well as area expansion

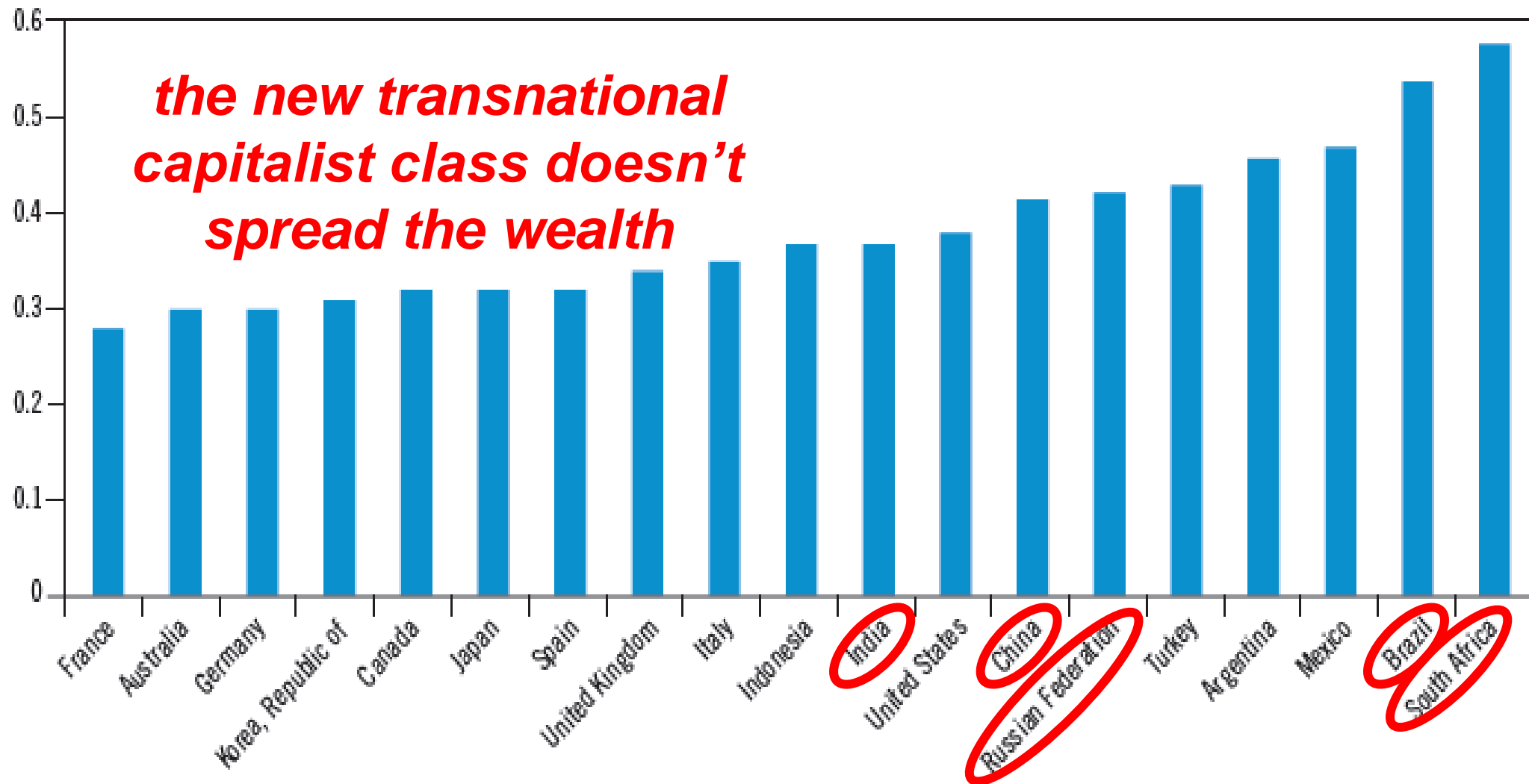
REUTERS/AGFAR

Country and Total Land	Total Land and Regional Areas	Target Countries
Brazil 28,000 ha ¹⁹	Eastern Africa 28,000 ha	Brazil; Mozambique, Ethiopia
India 1,924,509 ha	Central Africa: 15,000 ha Eastern Africa: 1,761,800 ha Northern Africa: 8,020 ha South East Asia: 139,689 ha	Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao, Philippines, India, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Mozambique, Sudan
China 1,140,683 ha	Central Africa: 10,000 ha Eastern Africa: 126,171 ha South America: 348,972 ha South-East Asia: 628,139 Western Africa: 26,000 ha	Cambodia, China, Sudan, Lao, Philippines, India, Bolivia, Peru, Argentina, Benin, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Mali, Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda, Zimbabwe
South Africa 1,416,411 ha	Central Africa 340,000 ha Eastern Africa: 367,174 ha South America 55,794 ha Western Africa 650,000 ha	Colombia; Angola; Benin; Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Mozambique; Madagascar

Source: Tomaso Ferrando

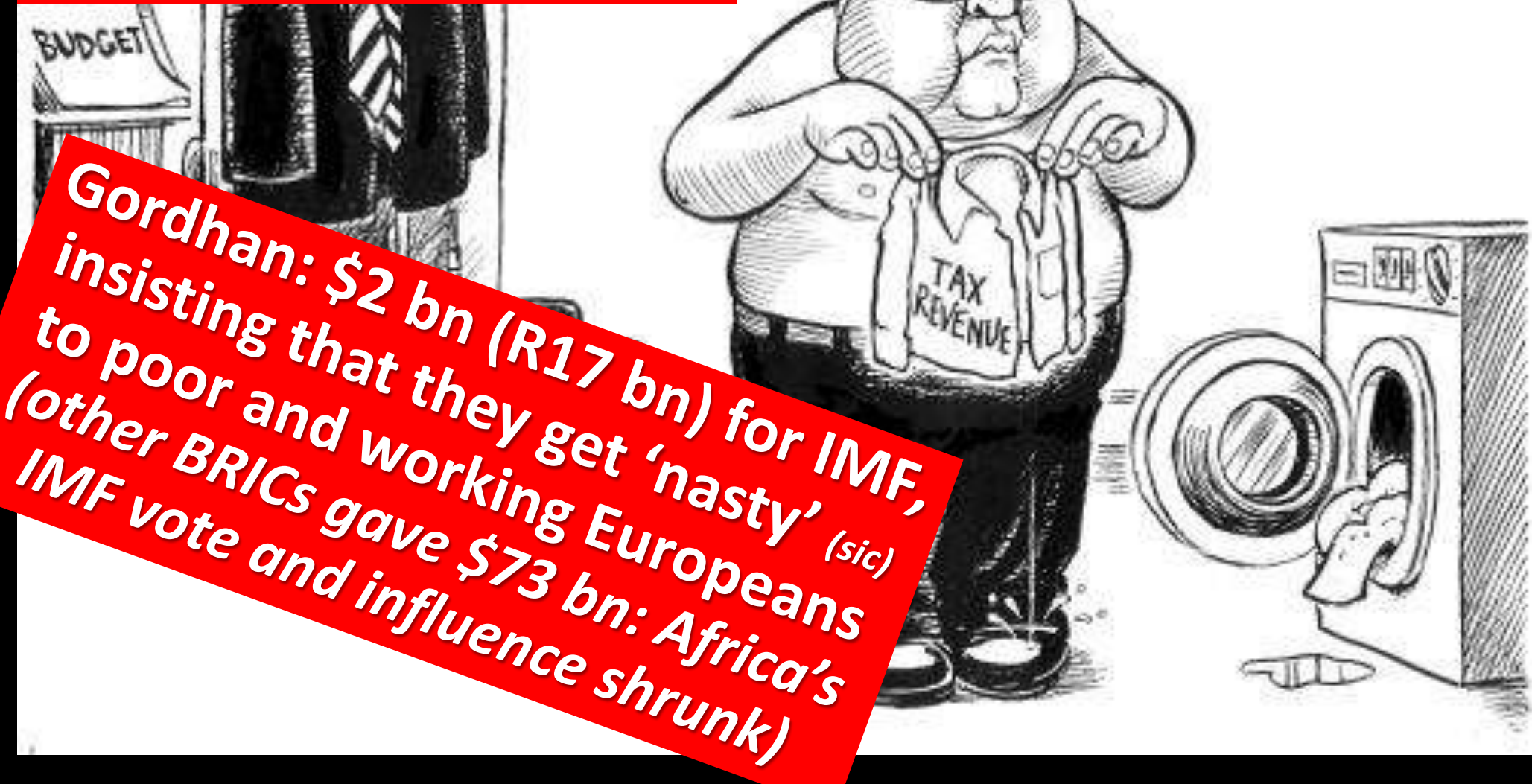
extreme BRICS inequality (2011)

the worst Gini coefficients amongst large societies



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

ZAPire®
THE FIMFL 18-2-10



Gordhan: \$2 bn (R17 bn) for IMF, insisting that they get 'nasty' (sic) to poor and working Europeans (other BRICs gave \$73 bn: Africa's IMF vote and influence shrunk)

BRICS and international finance

what role for recapitalised IMF?



Moneyweb radio: “Many **African countries went through hell** in the 70s and 80s because of **conditionality** according to these loans. Are you going to try and insist that there is similar conditionality now that the boot is on the other foot, as it were?”

Gordhan: “Absolutely, the IMF must be as proactive in developed countries as it is in developing countries.

The days of this unequal treatment and the nasty treatment, if you like, for developing countries and politeness for developed countries must pass.”



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

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

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 resources to address the crises: Pending a quota increase, the Fund's lending capacity must be expanded through bilateral lending or an equivalent expansion of resources. The Fund must also be able to Borrow. Temporary financing, however, is not a substitute for a permanent increase in the long-term. We therefore recommend that the Fund should be able to increase its 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 that you endorse the recommendations the rationale underlying this reform exercise – the Fund's 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

TREVOR A. MANUEL (MP)
MINISTER OF FINANCE

Date: 24 March 2009

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.

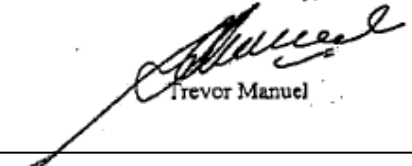
With respect to voting rights (at both the Bank and Fund), there was a clear sense that agreement can only be reached on a package of measures, and that this was only likely to be achieved in the context of agreement to increase Fund quotas. Views differ on the timing of any such agreement, but it is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



Occupy Nigeria!

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

Moscow backed
Washington's choice:
Jim Yong Kim

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



Brasilia's choice:

Jose Antonio Ocampo

ZAPIRO
INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER
EST. 1964

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?



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

International Convention Centre

- *'brics-from-below'*
alternative (@ Diakonia)





DIÁLOGO DOS POVOS
PEOPLE'S DIALOGUE
DIALOGO DE LOS PUEBLOS

South Durban Community Environmental Alliance



SDCEA



Institute of Globalisation Studies, Moscow



aglob

Глобальная аналитика



GLOBAL SOUTH



BRICS from-below 2013

INSTITUTO **MAIS** DEMOCRACIA
Transparência e controle cidadão de governos e empresas

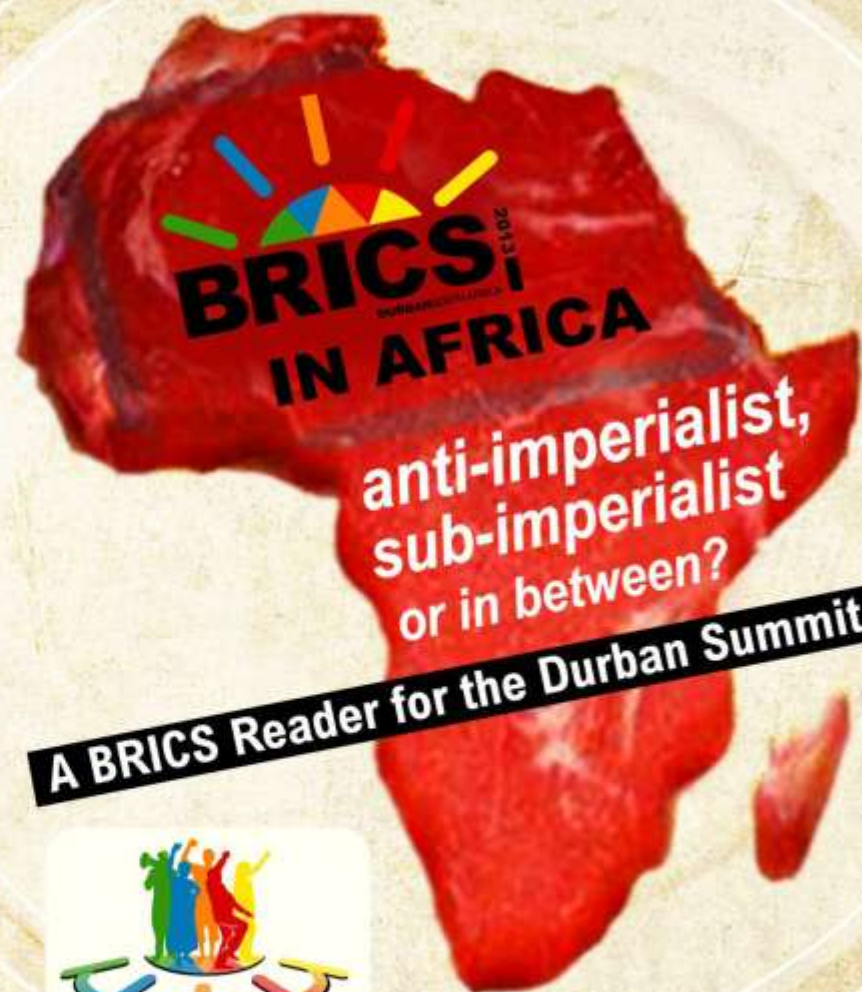


In Durban, five heads of state meet to assure the rest of Africa that their countries' corporations are better investors in infrastructure, mining, oil and agriculture than the traditional European and US multinationals. The Brazil-Russia-India-China-SA summit also includes 16 heads of state from Africa, 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.

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BRICS: anti-imperialist, sub-imperialist or in between? edited by Patrick Bond



edited by Patrick Bond
with the Centre for Civil Society, groundWork and
South Durban Community Environmental Alliance
and in conjunction with Pambazuka News

1) *political and civil rights violations include*

- internal militarisation,
- prohibitions on protest,
- rising media repression,
- official secrecy,
- debilitating patriarchy,
- homophobia,
- activist jailings, torture,
- even massacres (including Durban where a police hit squad has executed more than 50 suspects);

2) *socio-economic attacks on the majority*

- severe inequality,
- poverty,
- disease,
- unemployment,
- violence against women (including migrant labour)
- service non-delivery,
- mal-education,
- prohibitions on labour organising;

3) **regional domination** via

- *extraction, processing and marketing of hinterland raw materials,*
- *military hegemony,*
- *promotion of neoliberal 'Washington Consensus' ideology which reduces poor countries' policy space;*

4) a **maldevelopment** model that is

- *labour-exploitative,*
- *consumerist-centric,*
- *overly-financialised,*
- *eco-destructive,*
- *climate-threatening,*
- *nuclear-powered,*
- *politically-corrupting*
- *generating record corporate profits, but*
- *reaching crisis levels*



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



FIFTH BRICS SUMMIT

DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA
26 - 27 MARCH 2013

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



**bricks-from-below teach-in,
South Durban Community
Environmental Alliance, 23/4**



**brics-from-below
at Diakonia, 25/3**



**keynote by former
Ecuadoran economics
minister Pedro Paez**





halt violence against women



*climate
skype-in
with Bill
McKibben*



*350.org meets Pan-African
Climate Justice Alliance &
SA anti-coal activists*



counter-summit, 25-26/3

panel on Chinese contradictions



poli-econ seminar with Paez



*panel on land-grabs,
agriculture and water*



*watchdogging of
BRICS Development Bank*

**brics-from-below march:
outside US consulate, 27/3**







brics-from-below outside Hilton



brics-from-below outside ICC



brics-from-below at Occupy site



**Ewok raps hard
against BRICS at Occupy**



memorandum hand-over



abolishing – or polishing – global apartheid?



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