

sub-imperialism, no thanks!

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

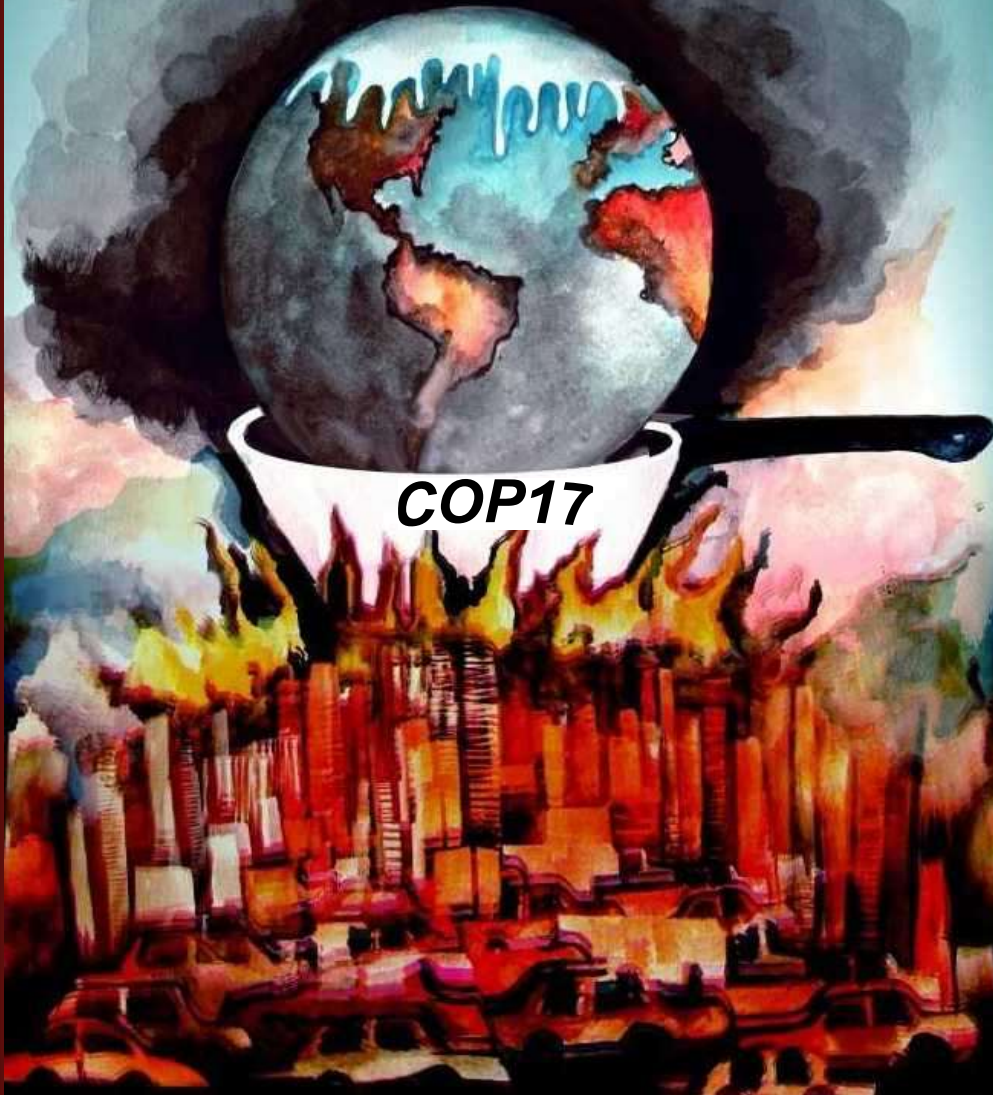
International Convention Centre

- **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)

Copenhagen Accord, COP 15, December 2009

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

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

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



again and again, they do this to us





BRICS 2013 in Durban: a conference 'for Africa'

What do BRICS want here?



'Useful Africa'

Source: *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Feb 2011


The geography of Useful Africa

-  Oil and gas fields
-  Mineral deposits
-  Heavy concentration of small irrigation dams
-  New deep-water port projects

Fragmented distribution and energy transfer networks

-  Main existing electric power lines
-  Oil and gas pipelines

Major infrastructure projects

-  Construction, renovation or widening of roads, motorways, railways and major water transfer systems

- 1 Tangiers-Casablanca-Marrakesh high-speed rail link
- 2 East-West high-speed rail link and motorway
- 3 Major artificial river (water transfer system)
- 4 In-Shalah-Tamanrasset water transfer system
- 5 Addis Ababa-Nairobi-Mombasa corridor (motorway)
- 6 "Lapsset corridor": South Sudan-Ethiopia-Kenya (roads, motorways, railways)
- 7 Central African corridor: Matadi-Dar es Salaam and Kisangani-Kampala-Mombasa (railways, roads, electric power lines)
- 8 Major water transfer project, Lesotho-Johannesburg



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

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

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

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

Brasilia's choice:



Jose Antonio Ocampo

APARTHEID

AMATEUR!

GLOBAL
APARTHEID

SUBSIDISED
OVER-CONSUMPTION

TRICKLE
DOWN

IMF

WTO

WORLD
BANK

Zeiro



Pretoria abolishing – or polishing – global apartheid?



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

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



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. South Africa in Africa, while repatriating profits to London, NY, Melbourne**
- **legitimation of the Washington Consensus and “international community” institutions**

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





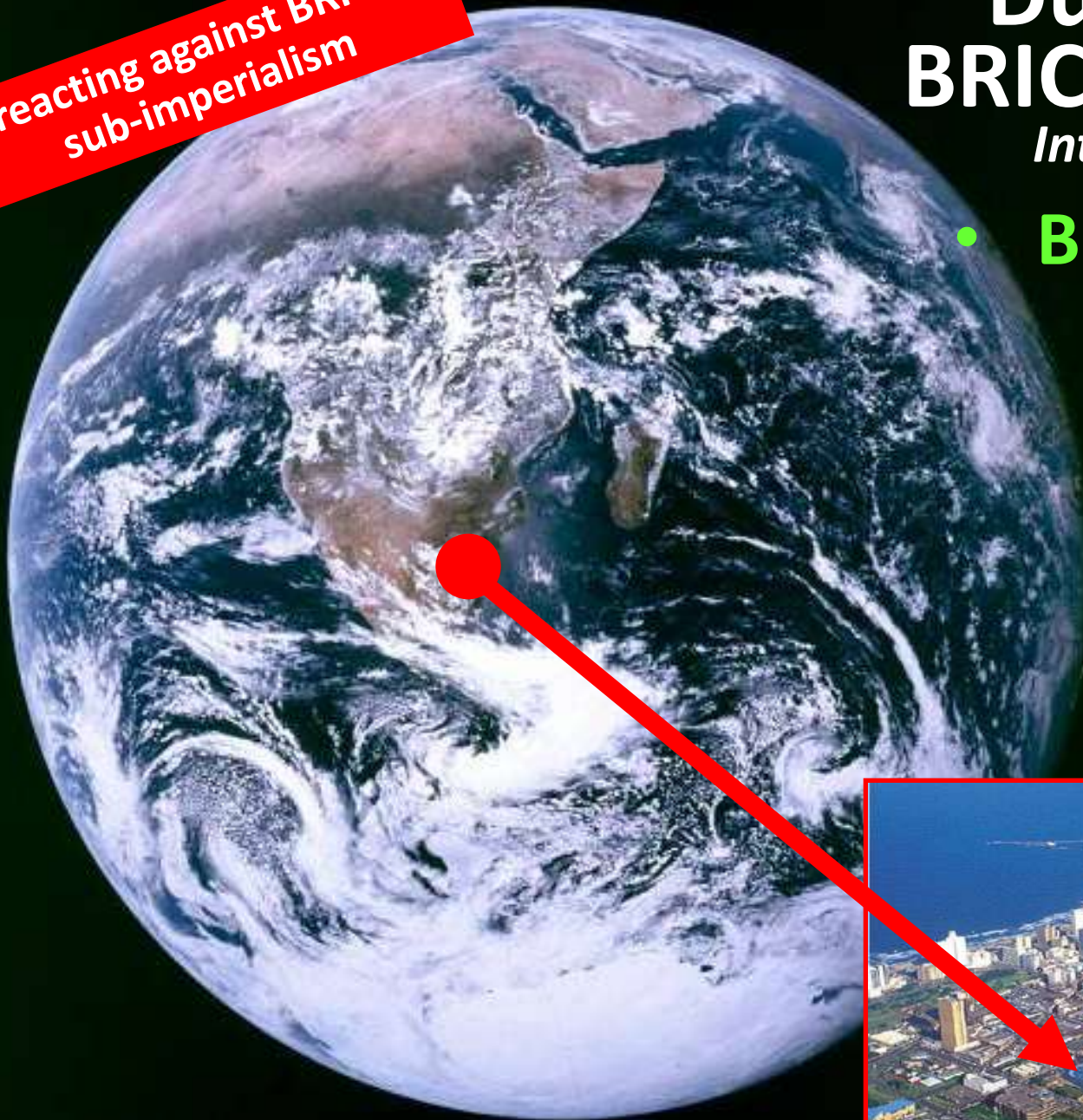
reacting against BRICS
sub-imperialism

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

International Convention Centre

- **BRICS counter-summit**
 - **logistics, learning lessons from the COP17**

slides by Patrick Bond
University of KwaZulu-Natal
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A satellite map of Durban, South Africa, showing the coastline and surrounding green hills. Four red dots are placed on the map: one at the top right near the airport, one in the center-left near the University of KwaZulu-Natal, one in the center-right near the International Convention Centre, and one at the bottom-left near the South Durban Community Environmental Alliance. Red lines connect these dots: a long line from the airport to the University dot, and a cluster of lines connecting the three dots in the southern part of the city.

airport

**join us in
Durban**

***South Durban,
UKZN CCS and
the ICC***

**University of KwaZulu-Natal
Centre for Civil Society**

**South Durban Community
Environmental Alliance**

**International
Convention
Centre**

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





The Hilton
(hotel for the 1%)

**options for teaching, learning
and activism, 23-27 March 2013**

**UKZN Centre
for Civil Society**
counter-summit
Mon-Tues, 25-26 March

**International
Convention Centre**
protest, 'Occupy BRICS'
Wednesday, 27 March

**South Durban Community
Environmental Alliance**
community rally/teach-in
Saturday, 23 March



King Shaka Airport

option for protesting BRICS arrivals,
along with beach party (24 March)



walk to highway
24 March (2.6 km)

2012 TerraMetrics
© 2012 Google
La Mercy Beach

Beach Hotels

International
Convention Centre
Durban

Durban
Exhibition
Centre

City Hall

Central
Business
District

Durban's Conference of Polluters (COP17) *what happened from 28 Nov until 9 Dec 2011?*



**UNFCCC
negotiations**

Occupy COP17!

**civil society 'People's Space'
at UKZN Howard College**

**Occupy COP17: new
site for struggles at
Africa's main
convention centre**





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





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

march, 3 Dec 2011





desired but not accomplished:
'beach going-away party'

7 July 2010

World Cup 'fanfest' party

City Hall

Central
Business
District

US
Consulate
in Old
Mutual
Tower



December 3 march route: Curries Fountain to beach

but many spaces for
creative photo-ops



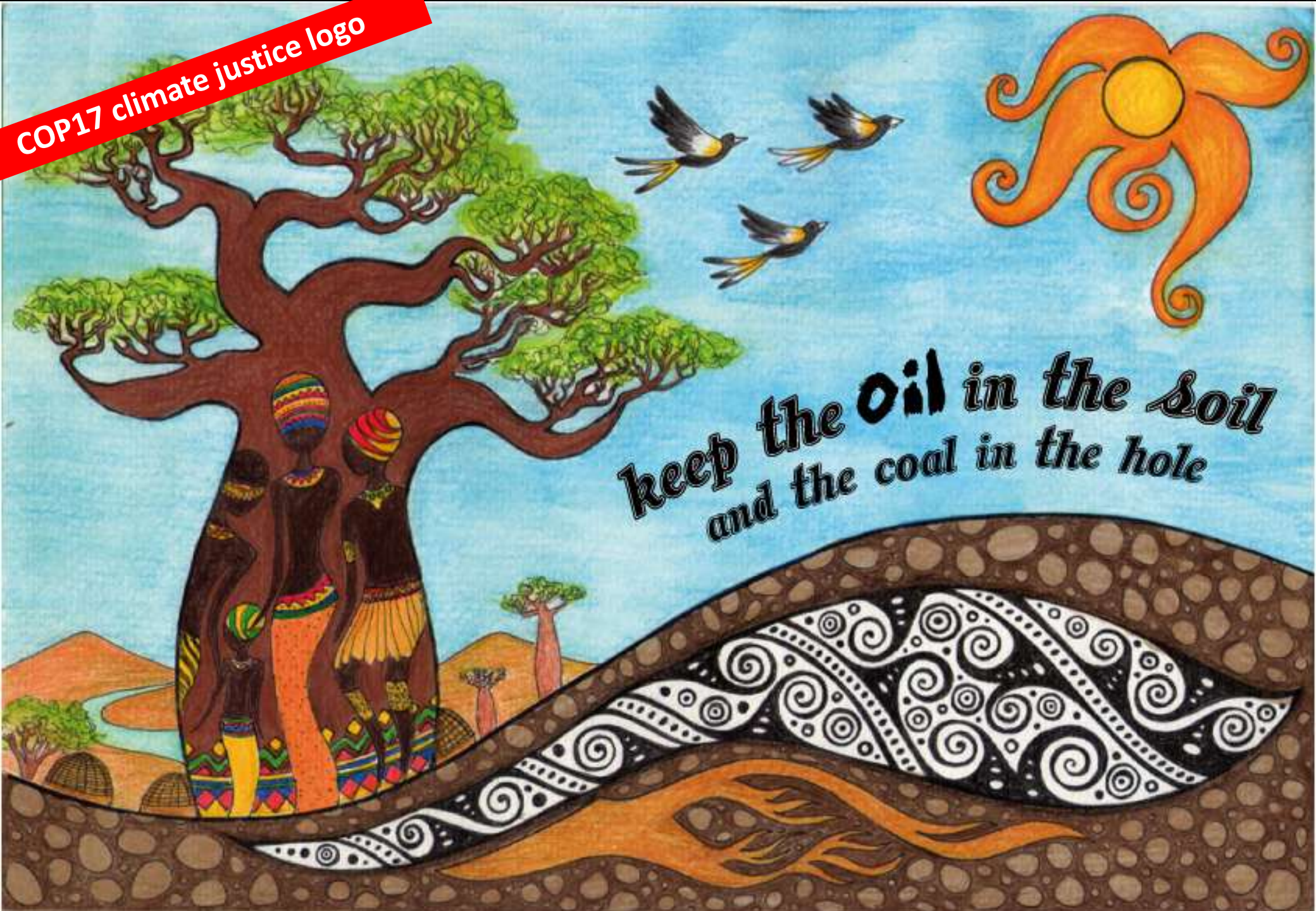
**Occupy COP17! went
inside ICC, 9 December**







COP17 climate justice logo



*keep the oil in the soil
and the coal in the hole*



official logo:



COP17/CMP7

UNITED NATIONS

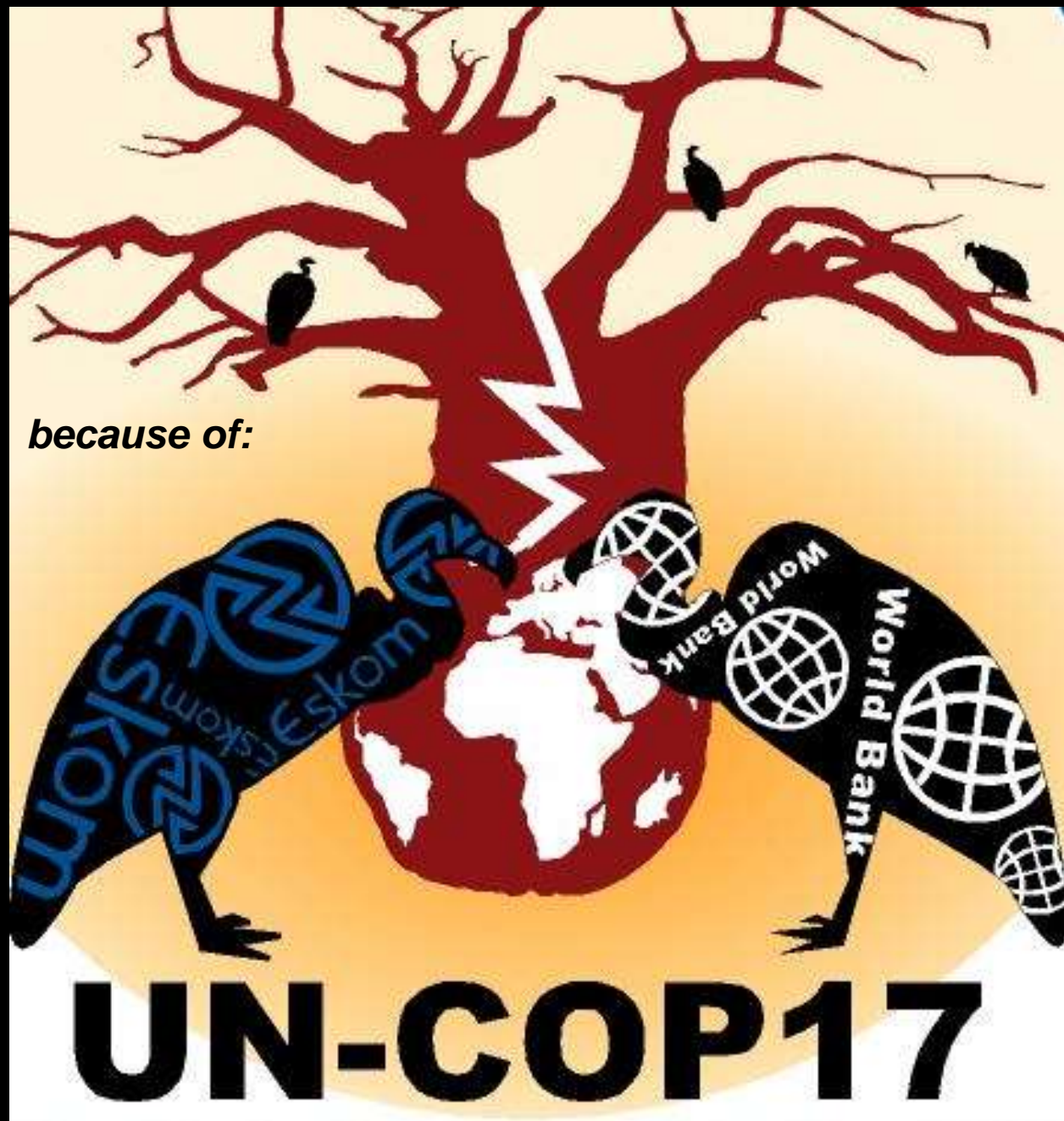
CLIMATE CHANGE CONFERENCE 2011

DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA

revised evidence-based logo:



because of:





*official SA logo
and slogan:*

**working together
Saving Tomorrow Today**

revised evidence-based logo, slogan:



warming together

Stealing Tomorrow Today

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.



- 1) **socio-economic attacks on the majority**, including severe inequality, poverty, disease, unemployment, violence (especially against women), inadequate education, prohibitions on labour organising and other suffering;
- 2) **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 has killed more than 50;

3) 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);

4) 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!

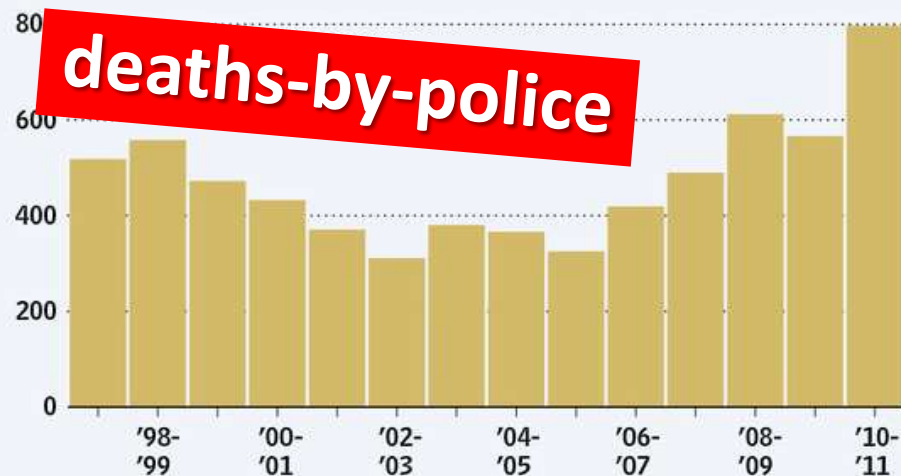
Initial organisations making this call : Alternative Information and Development Centre, Centre for Civil Society (University of KwaZulu-Natal), groundWork Friends of the Earth SA, People’s Dialogue, South Durban Community Environmental Alliance, Trust for Community Outreach and Education. For more information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

- *Brutal*
- *Repression*
- *Intensifying*
- *Corporate*
- *Sub-imperialism*



*a new word: “Marikana”
another new word: BRICS
for an old problem:*

Number of people who have died as a result of police action or while in police custody in South Africa



Source: Independent Police Investigative Directorate (IPID) annual reports via Institute for Security Studies