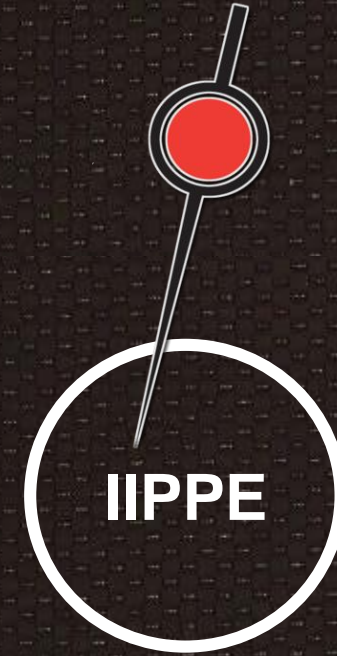


BRICS PLUS

The Clash of Globalizations in a Multicentric System



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The Fundamentals: defining the BRICS.

- Between **Superstructure and Structure**.
- BRICS plus as a **political formation**.
- BRICS plus as an evolution emerging from socioeconomic formations.
- Diverging from the International Liberal Order: BRICS plus's **normative foundations** and outcomes.



Objectives of the paper.

- What's the **significance** of BRICS plus?
- **Does it remain** a group of emerging countries making demands for greater participation?
- **Which changes** are most important in analyzing the transformation of BRICS into BRICS plus?
- What is the **direction** of these changes? Do they interact with geo-economics?





From Quantity to Quality

- Dialectics as the Science of interconnections (Engels).
- The focal point: China's development.
- The Interpenetration of opposites in the International Liberal Order.
- Towards a global reconfiguration of power through multiple cooperation initiatives.

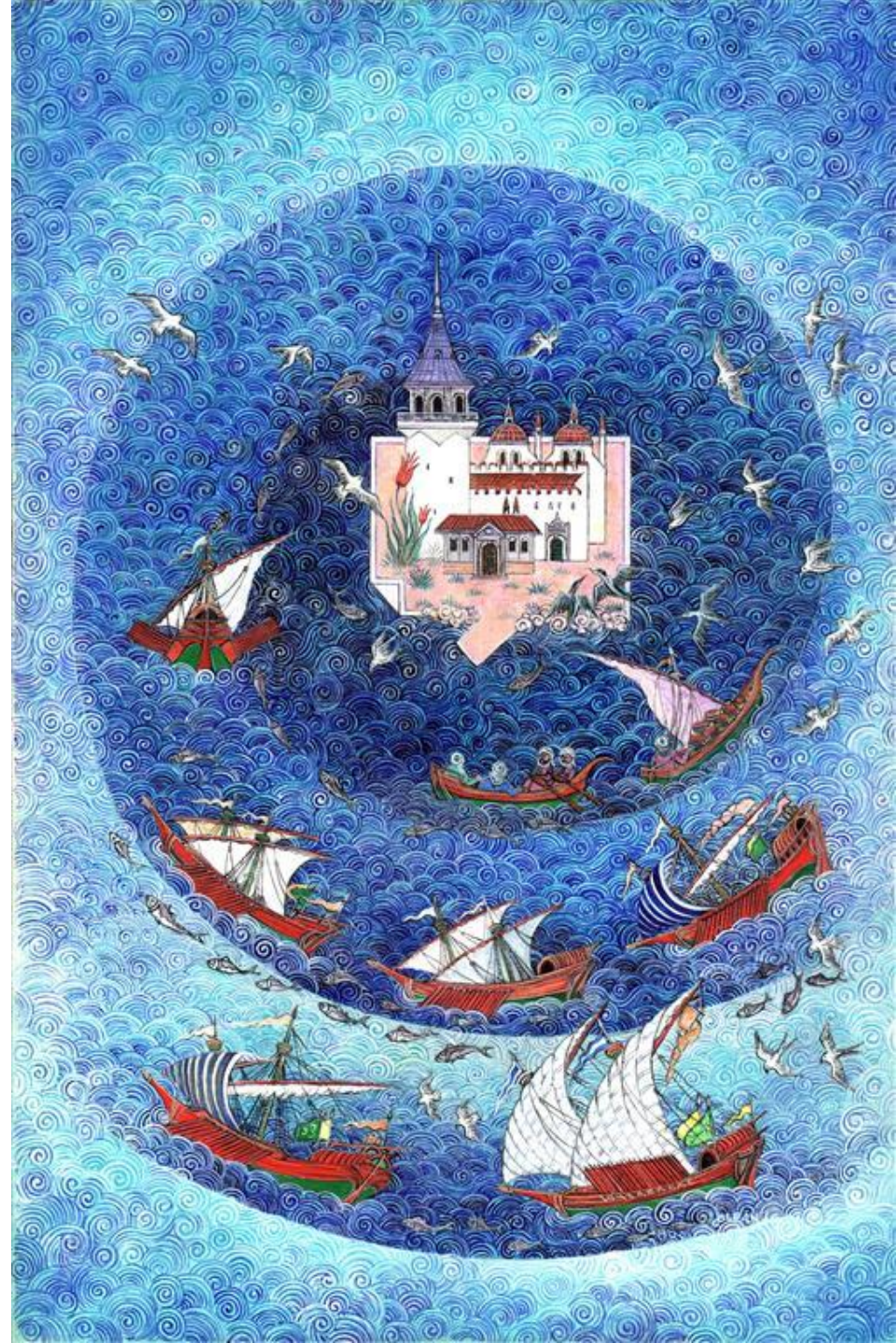
The Clash of Globalizations: The Structure.

- Multiple processes of qualitative change.
- Clash of Globalizations as a metaphor for the several processes of major structural transformations in the world.
- World changes not seeing in a century: causation and the processes emerging from the Chinese Embedded Globalization.
- Towards an embryonic globalization.



The Clash of Globalizations: The Pillars.

- The embryonic changes in the neoliberal paradigm occur by an interloop between the **transformation of the world market** and the **foundation of new institutional arrangements**.
- These institutional arrangements appear in many forms: from **diffuse legal entanglements** (such as the BRI) to **minilateral and multilateral forums for discussion** (such as FOCAC, CELAC, the CIS, COSBAN) to **institutional initiatives** (as the New Development Bank).



How Should we Understand the BRICS plus?

- Samir Amin's Conception of a Polycentric World Order.
- The Nature of the Interregnum.
- The undefinition of evolving contours.
- The emergence of the semiperiphery.



The Formation of the BRICS plus.

- The **BRICS emerge** as a political formation arising from **systemic chaos**.
- A new distribution of **global power reordering**.
- A contemporary **multicenter system**.
- **Financial cooperation arrangements**: The most important institutional achievement of the BRICS group.



The Formation of the BRICS plus.

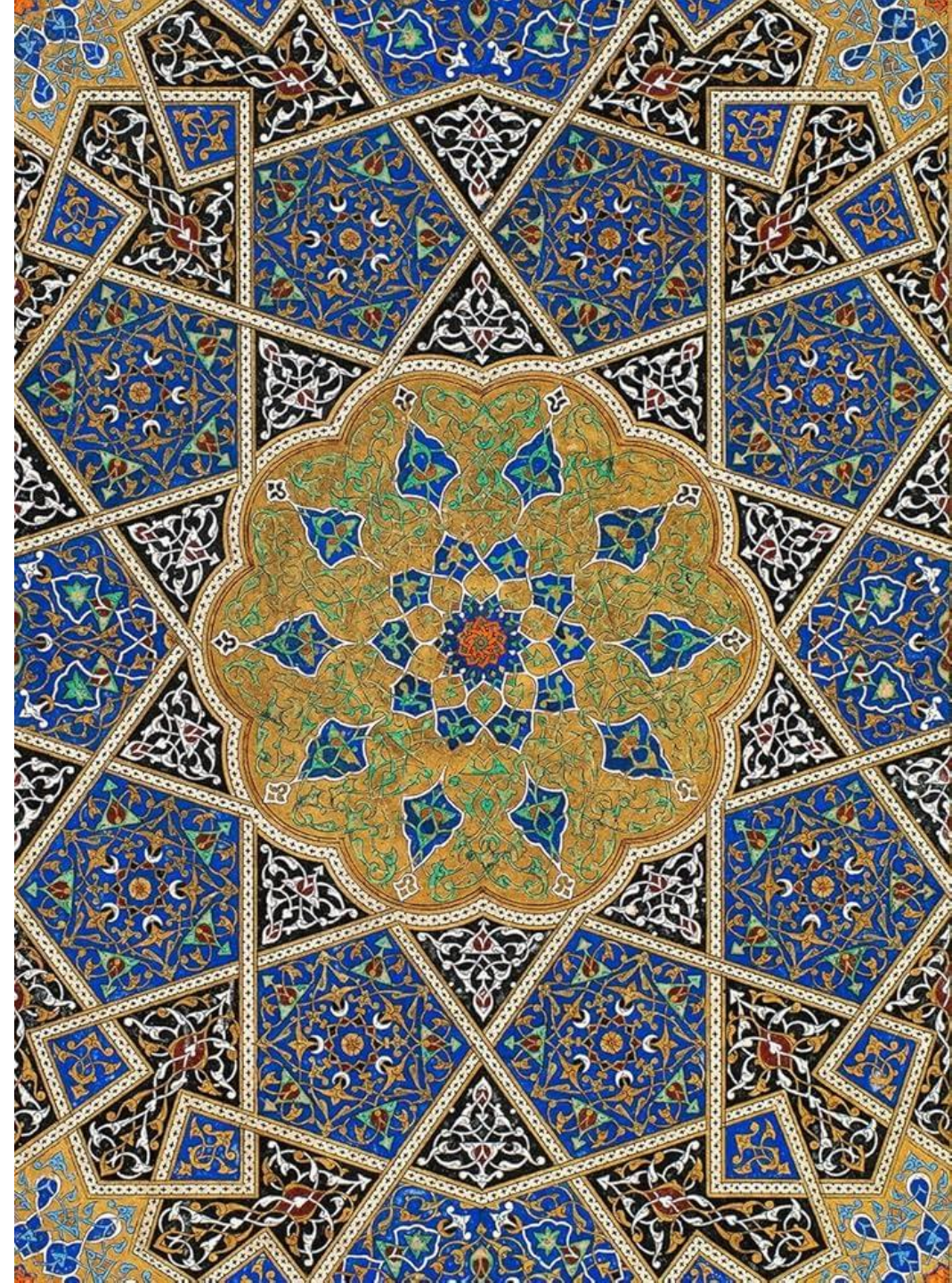
We can trace four distinctive moments of qualitative change towards institutional evolution.

- 2009 - The first moment of evolution happened during the crisis of neoliberal globalization. The crisis catalyzed previous negotiations over the creation of an emerging countries organization, evolving from previous arrangements to a more formal and effective international affairs coordination.
- 2014 – The formation of the BRICS Bank – now the NDB – and the Contingent Reserve Arrangement established the framework for the provision of liquidity in response to potential short-term Balance of Payments pressures.
- 2018 – The cooling down of the intraBRICS relations, with the members acting in a less coordinated ways, promoting bilateralization. This coincided with the emergence of the US-China rivalry at the global stage.
- 2022 – The announcement of the desire to extend the cooperation initiative to other emerging and developing markets at the Xiamen Summit.



Towards a Contemporary Understanding of the BRICS plus.

- The idea of **outreach**.
- The process of establishing structures for the BRICS outreach dates back to the **2010 Brasilia Summit**, where provisions for the invitations of non-member countries were established at the final documents of the forum.
- Throughout the **2010s decade**, the evolving relationship of the BRICS enabled the expression of regional interests at the centerstage of the forum, enabling the discussion of **expanding to interested regional partners** the discussion of core objectives for the **host nations**.





Agenda Formation

- China pointed to ASEAN+1 and the African Union.
- Russia focused on the Commonwealth of Independent States
- India aimed at regional South Asian Partners
- Brazil focused on UNASUR and MERCOSUR engagements
- South Africa furthered its vision for a intra-BRICS discussion of the New Partnership for Africa's Development and the South African Development Community.

BRICS plus... Who?

- **Conflicts of Interest** can arise from interregional arrangements regarding the expansion of the BRICS as a formal bloc.
- **Global issues and regional engagements** can superpose previous cooperation initiatives.
- Nonetheless, at the **2023 Johannesburg Summit**, the consolidation of the (first?) great expansion of the BRICS plus happened with the formal invitation of Argentina, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, the UAE and Saudi Arabia.
- The possibility for decline: the Case of **Argentina**.



Concluding remarks.

The **strategy of outreach** may transform the BRICS plus to a condition of minilateral political formation into an organization aimed at complex multilateralization.

The domino effect of expansion: over 40 interested potential members have already verbalized their interests in joining BRICS plus formal institutions.

The **future of the organization** may lead scenario of **integration of integrations**, in which a hybrid form of expanding (or not) of the original core happens while new members join the organization.

The formal articulations of the geopolitical links between the state point to the formalization of integrated strategies, like the BRICS common currency, or ulterior Global South-focused geopolitical articulations.

These are all important signs of the **qualitative transformations**, and point to further developments of the interaction between socio-economic formations within the global capitalism.



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Thank you.

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