

Der Hype um den BRICS-Gipfel in Johannesburg

Kann der Gipfel die Fundamente des fragmentierten BRICS-Staatenbunds erneuern?

<https://www.rosalux.de/news/id/50909/der-hype-um-den-brics-gipfel-in-johannesburg>

The BRICS+ emerge from Johannesburg:

Implications for imperialism, sub-imperialism and the world left

Patrick Bond, University of Johannesburg Centre for Social Change

ROSA LUXEMBURG STIFTUNG

Berlin, 18 September 2023

- BRICS background and 'sub-imperialism' framings;
- revealing disappointments: vaccine centre (and WTO alliance), internet cable, financial reforms (Contingent Reserve Arrangement) and 'de-dollarization';
- sub-imperialism within imperial multilateralism (UNFCCC climate politics, Bretton Woods Institutions, WTO, WHO, UN Security Council);
- regional and international super-exploitative relations, global value chains and raw-materials extractivism;
- geopolitics, Putin-solidarity, BRICS+ fossil-addicted tyrannies.





BRICS **2023**
SOUTH AFRICA



BRICS
from-below

SOUTH AFRICA

2023

Since 2013 in Durban and nearly every year since, the 'People's BRICS' network has raised the alarm about fake BRICS alternatives to Western corporate, imperial power.

We support progressive movements in BRICS and BRICS+ countries fighting



- wars, violations of sovereignty
- worsening inequality, poverty
- exploitation, unemployment
- pandemic mismanagement
- looting Africa's resources
 - climate change, ecocide
 - violence against women
 - abusive high technology
 - censorship, surveillance
 - austerity, neoliberalism
 - false 'de-dollarisation'
- human rights abuses
- LGBTQI+ repression
 - venal corruption
 - subimperialism
 - BRICS+ tyrants

BRICS **from-below**

SOUTH AFRICA

2023

BRICS+ threats to people and planet reflect sub- not anti-imperialism

Brazil-Russia-India-China-SA Monday, Aug 21, 9am-5pm Kerzner School of Hospitality & Tourism Bunting Road Campus, University of Johannesburg

Sponsored by the SA Research Chair
Initiative in Social Change
RSVP by 18 Aug: lsingh@uj.ac.za



Centre for Sociological
Research and Practice



Can the **BRICS** really change the world?

Western-dominated, pro-corporate
multilateralism is unable to
resolve the 'polycrisis' ...
so who should?!



BRICS

from-below 2023

<http://bricsfrombelow.org/> JOHANNESBURG SOUTH AFRICA

Analysis:

- wars, violations of sovereignty
- worsening inequality, poverty
- exploitation, unemployment
- pandemic mismanagement
 - looting Africa's resources
 - climate change, ecocide
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 - LGBTQI+ repression
 - venal corruption
 - subimperialism
 - BRICS+ tyrants

Brazil-Russia-India-China-SA Tuesday, Aug 22, 9am-5pm Kerzner School of Hospitality & Tourism Bunting Road Campus University of Johannesburg

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BRICS

from-below 2023

<http://bricsfrombelow.org/> JOHANNESBURG SOUTH AFRICA

Teach-in!

- wars, violations of sovereignty
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BRICS+ threats to people and planet

Top-down Problems

Bottom-Up Solutions

BRICS 'Polycrisis'

GEOPOLITICS

- wars, violations of sovereignty
- subimperialism

POLITICAL ECONOMY

- worsening inequality, poverty
- exploitation, unemployment
 - austerity, neoliberalism
 - false 'de-dollarisation'
 - corporate corruption
- abusive high technology

POLITICAL ECOLOGY

- looting Africans' resources
- climate change, ecocide

STATE-SOCIETY RELATIONS

- pandemic mismanagement
- violence against women
- censorship, surveillance
 - human rights abuses
 - LGBTQI+ repression
 - state corruption
 - BRICS+ tyrants



GEOPOLITICS

- peace movements
- regional solidarity

POLITICAL ECONOMY

- progressive social policies
- class struggle
- economic justice
- genuine financial delinking
- anti-corporate activism
- tough state regulation

POLITICAL ECOLOGY

- say "no!" to extractivism
- climate justice movements

STATE-SOCIETY RELATIONS

- socialised public health
- feminism and mutual aid
- Right to Know
- human rights advocacy
- LGBTQI+ solidarity
- anti-elite protests
- widening BRICS+ solidarity



From-below BRICS Polysolution

Venue: Innesfree Park, Sandton

Aug 23, 10am-2pm

PROTEST MARCH

Why? BRICS leaders and corporates endanger us all!



We oppose

- WARS AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS
- INEQUALITY AND AUTHORITARIANISM
- CLIMATE CHANGE AND ECOCIDE

UNITED FRONT
Johannesburg



BRICS
from-below

<http://bricsfrombelow.org/>

JOHANNESBURG SOUTH AFRICA

2023





BRICS+ threats to people and planet

last in-person meeting of all BRICS leaders: Brasilia, 2019



BRICS+ threats to people and planet
meeting of the BRICS leaders, Sandton, 22-24 August 2023
with Vladimir Putin subject to arrest warrant for war crimes
against tens of thousands of kidnapped Ukrainian children

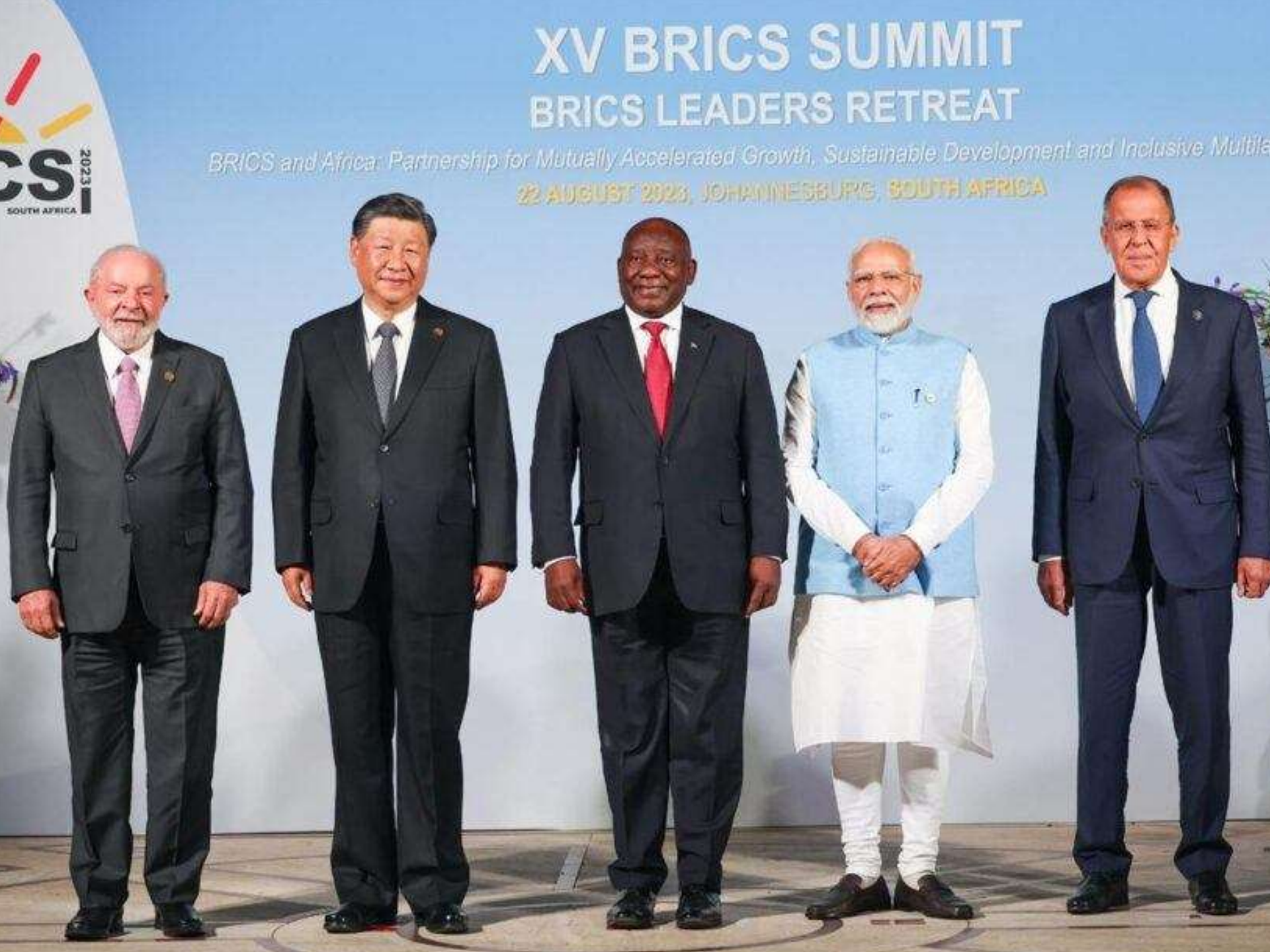
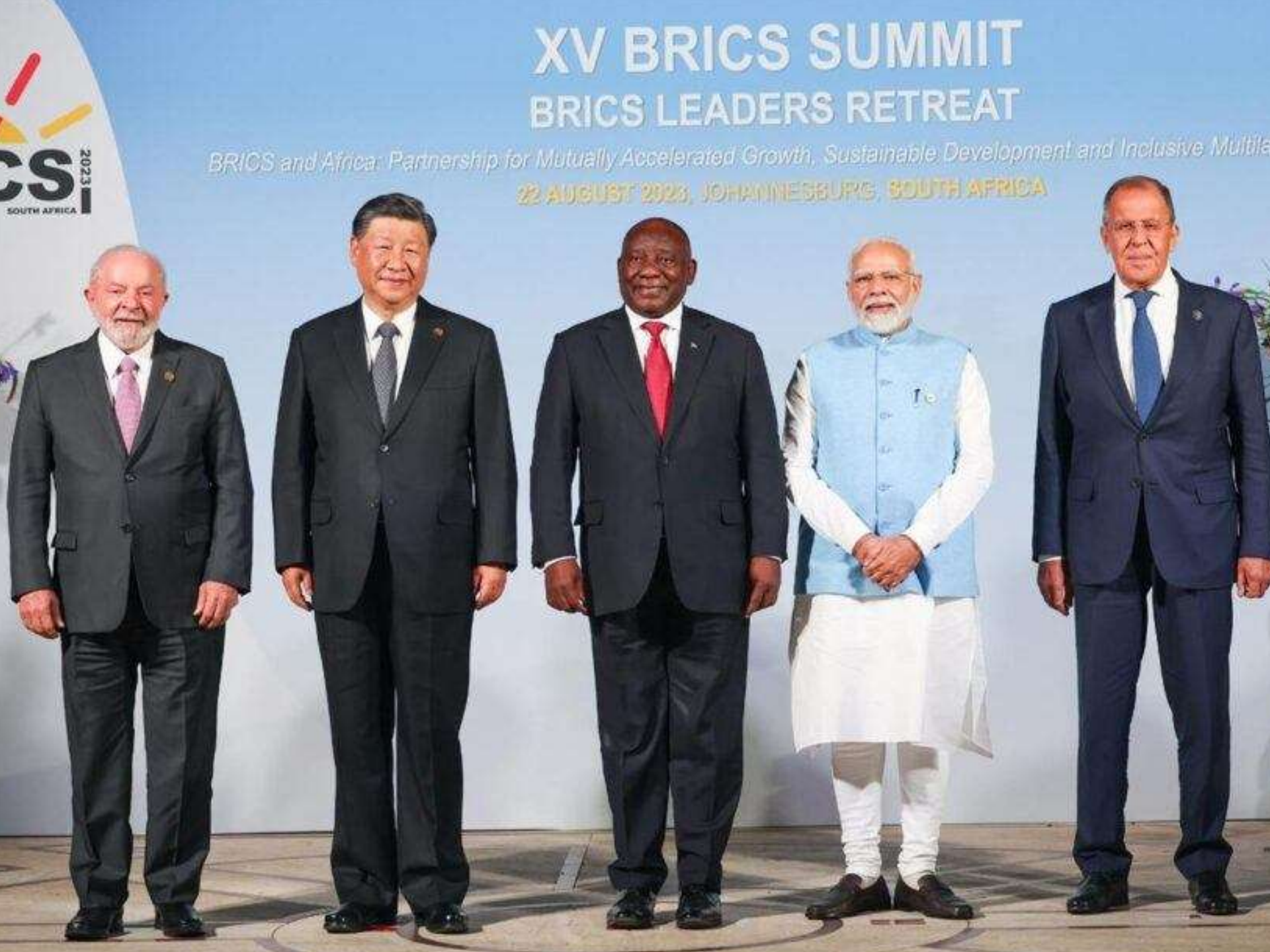


Ramaphosa

Lula .Modi

Xi

Putin



XV BRICS SUMMIT BRICS LEADERS RETREAT

BRICS and Africa: Partnership for Mutually Accelerated Growth, Sustainable Development and Inclusive Multilateralism

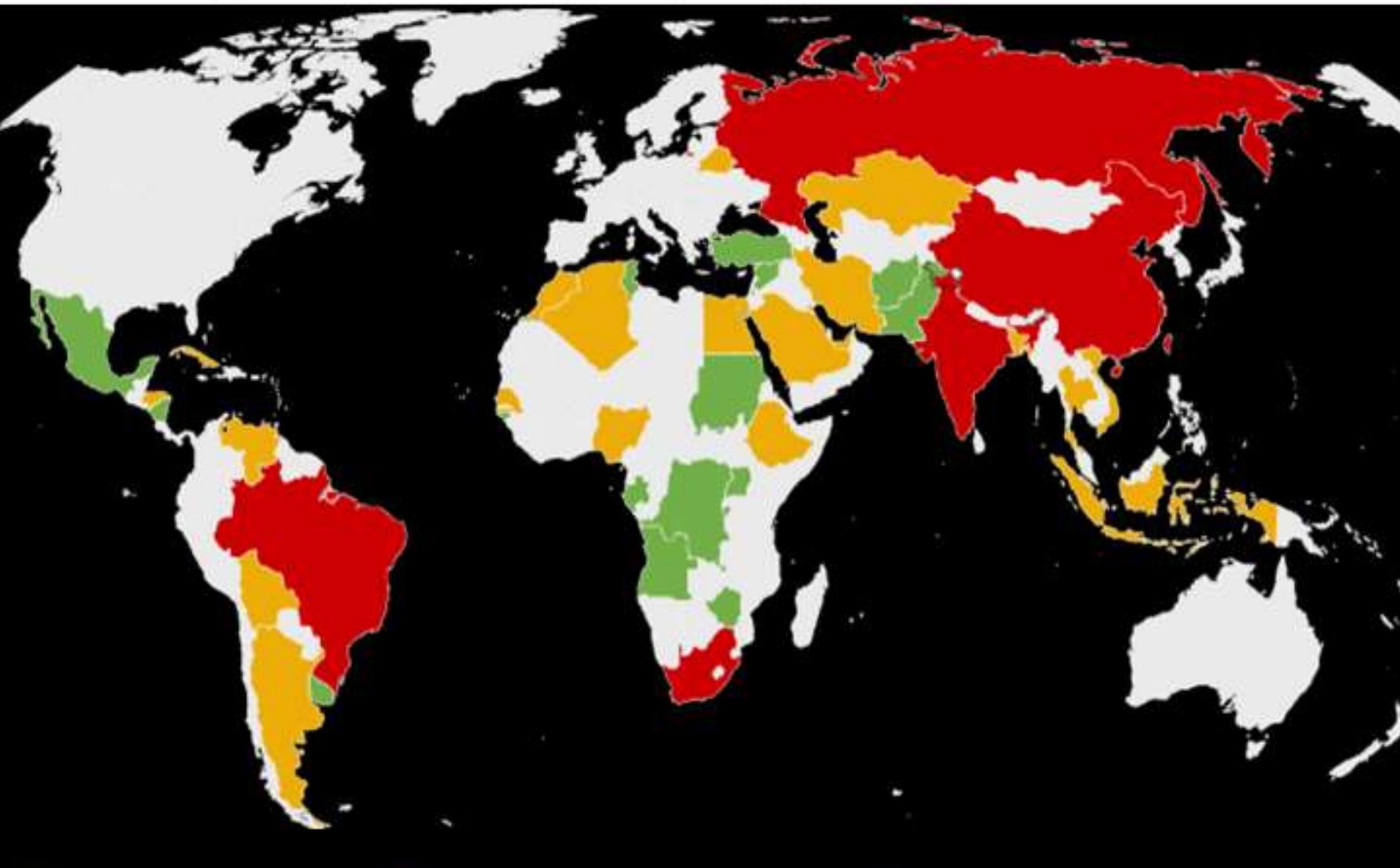
22 AUGUST 2023, JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA

CS
2023
SOUTH AFRICA

BRICS+ first expansion: Argentina, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, Saudi Arabia, UAE



BRICS applicants and prospective candidates, 2023-24













■ BRICS member ■ Applied to join BRICS ■ Interested in joining BRICS












BRICS+ now 29% of global GDP

Original BRICS Member	Country	GDP (USD billions)	Share of Global (%)
Yes	 Brazil	\$2,081	2.0%
Yes	 Russia	\$2,063	2.0%
Yes	 India	\$3,737	3.6%
Yes	 China	\$19,374	18.4%
Yes	 South Africa	\$399	0.4%
No	 Saudi Arabia	\$1,062	1.0%
No	 Iran	\$368	0.4%
No	 Ethiopia	\$156	0.1%
No	 Egypt	\$387	0.4%
No	 Argentina	\$641	0.6%
No	 UAE	\$499	0.5%
-	BRICS Total	\$30,767	29.3%
-	Rest of World	\$74,362	70.7%

BRICS+ now 46% of global population

Original BRICS Member	Country	Population	Share of Global (%)
Yes	 Brazil	216,422,446	2.7%
Yes	 Russia	144,444,359	1.8%
Yes	 India	1,428,627,663	17.8%
Yes	 China	1,425,671,352	17.7%
Yes	 South Africa	60,414,495	0.8%
No	 Saudi Arabia	36,947,025	0.5%
No	 Iran	89,172,767	1.1%
No	 Ethiopia	126,527,060	1.6%
No	 Egypt	112,716,598	1.4%
No	 Argentina	45,773,884	0.6%
No	 UAE	9,516,871	0.1%
-	BRICS Total	3.7 billion	46.0%
-	Rest of World	4.3 billion	54.0%

BRICS+ now 43% of oil production

Original BRICS Member	Country	Thousand Barrels per Day	Share of Global (%)
Yes	 Brazil	3,107	3.3%
Yes	 Russia	11,202	11.9%
Yes	 India	737	0.8%
Yes	 China	4,111	4.4%
Yes	 South Africa	0	0.0%
No	 Saudi Arabia	12,136	12.9%
No	 Iran	3,822	4.1%
No	 Ethiopia	0	0.0%
No	 Egypt	613	0.7%
No	 Argentina	706	0.8%
No	 UAE	4,020	4.3%
-	BRICS Total	40,454	43.1%
-	Rest of World	53,394	56.9%

BRICS+ now 25% of global exports

Original BRICS Member	Country	Exports (USD billions)	Share of Global (%)
Yes	 Brazil	334	1.3%
Yes	 Russia	532	2.1%
Yes	 India	453	1.8%
Yes	 China	3,594	14.4%
Yes	 South Africa	123	0.5%
No	 Saudi Arabia	410	1.6%
No	 Iran	73	0.3%
No	 Ethiopia	3.9	0.02%
No	 Egypt	49	0.2%
No	 Argentina	88	0.4%
No	 UAE	599	2.4%
-	BRICS Total	6,259	25.1%
-	Rest of World	18,646	74.9%

original expectations, 2008



a BRICS reader for the 2023 Johannesburg debates

Edited by Patrick Bond with contributions from:

Miguel Borba	B. Ghamari-Tabrizi	Ilya Matveev
Sarah Bracking	P. Hlubi-Majola	Fred M'membe
Helena Cobban	Irvin Jim	Naledi Pandor
Angela Davis	Boris Kagarlitsky	Vijay Prashad
Pepe Escobar	Michael Karadjis	Arundhati Roy
Ana Garcia	Andrew Korybko	Basav Sen

Brazil-Russia-India-China-SA

21-22 August 2023, 9am-5pm

@Kerzner School of Hospitality & Tourism

UJ Bunting Road Campus

Sponsored by the SA Research Chair
Initiative in Social Change



Can the
BRICS
really

**change
the world?**

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so, who should?!

BRICS **from-below** **2023**

<http://bricsfrombelow.org/>

JOHANNESBURG SOUTH AFRICA

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BRICS+ Hype, Hopes and Helplessness

a BRICS reader for the 2023
Johannesburg debates

BRICS+ Hype, Hope and Helplessness



BRICS+ is *not* anti-imperialist...it is **sub**-imperialist



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*'

BRICS+ operates *within* imperialism subject to persistent capitalist crises

Global capitalism has experienced a chronic and enduring problem of over-accumulation since the 1970s. I interpret the volatility of international capitalism during these years, however, as a series of temporary spatio-temporal fixes that *failed* even in the medium run to deal with problems of over-accumulation.

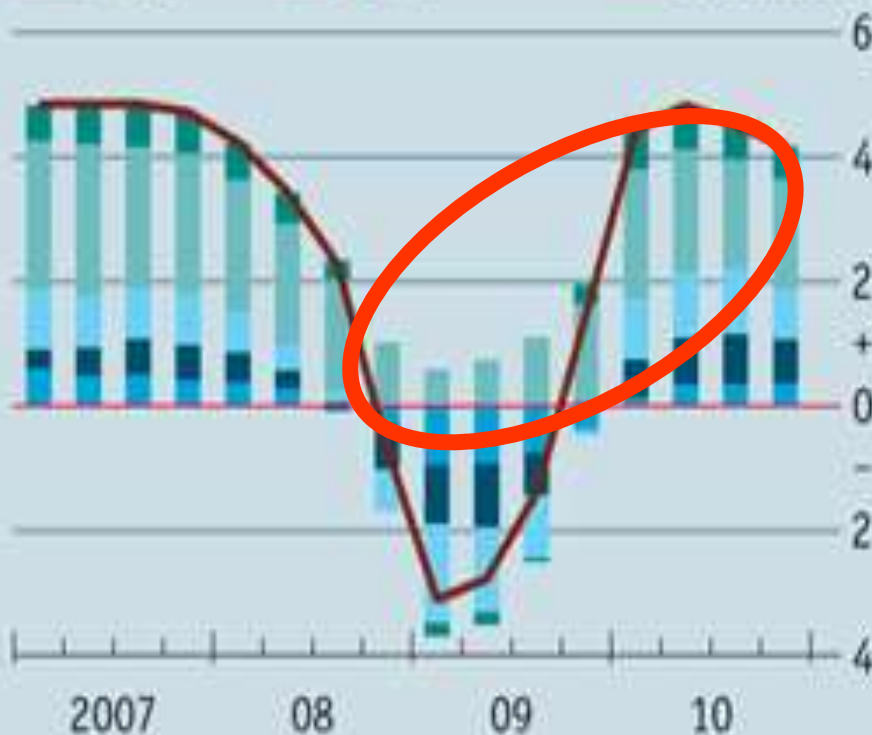
David Harvey, "The 'New' Imperialism:
Accumulation by Dispossession", SR 2004,
The New Imperial Challenge



World GDP*

% change on a year earlier

■ Euro area ■ United States ■ Other OECD
■ BRICs ■ Other — World total



*Estimates based on 52 countries representing 90% of world GDP. Weighted by GDP at purchasing-power parity

Source: *The Economist*



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.

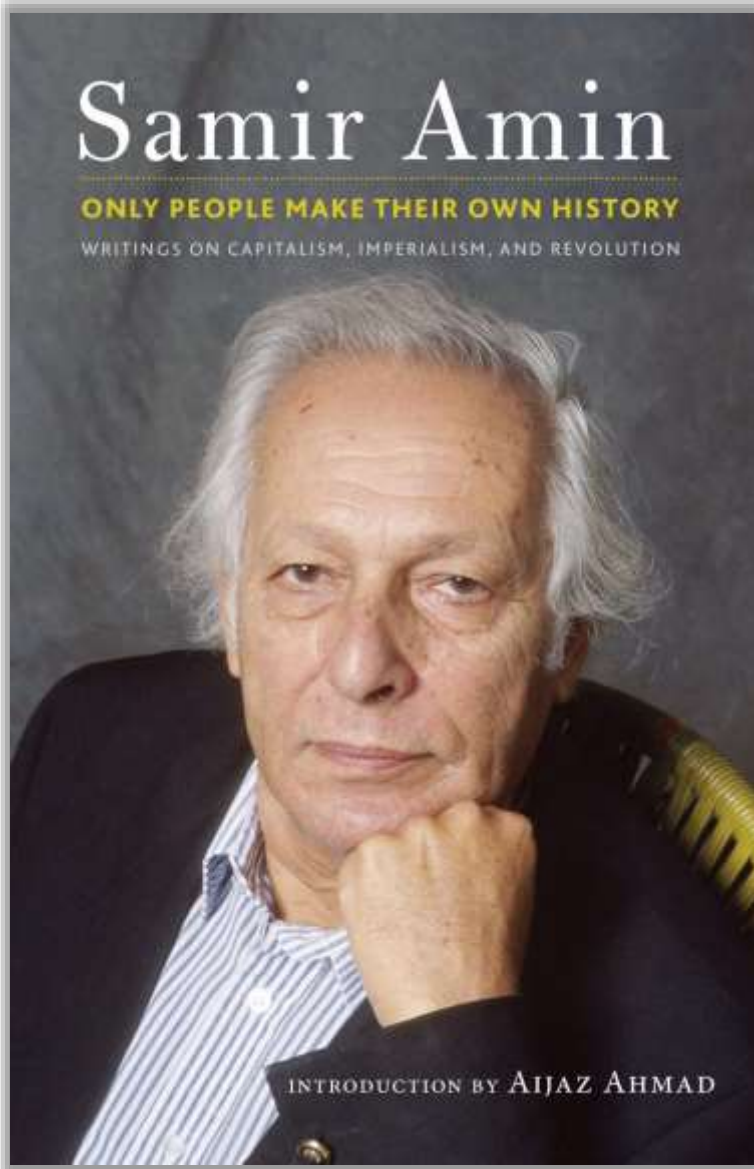
What might be called 'sub-imperialisms' arose...each developing centre of capital accumulation sought out systematic spatio-temporal fixes for its own surplus capital by defining territorial spheres of influence...

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”**.*

Moyo S and Yeros P (2011) Rethinking the theory of primitive accumulation. Paper presented to the 2nd IIPPE Conference, 20–22 May 2011, Istanbul.

A realistic interpretation of BRICS



“ The ongoing offensive of United States-Europe-Japan collective imperialism against all the peoples of the South walks on two legs:

- the economic leg — globalised 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.”

G20

G8

G7

***Imperialism and
sub-imperialism
in the G20***

Germany



U.K.



France



Canada



U.S.



Italy



Japan



Russia



Turkey



European Union



Argentina



Brazil



South Korea



Mexico



China



Indonesia



Saudi Arabia



Australia



India



South Africa



G20

G8

G7

*three 'rogue'
sub-imperial BRICS+
within the G20*

Germany



U.K.



France



Canada



U.S.



Italy



Japan



Russia



Turkey



European Union



Argentina



Brazil



South Korea



Mexico



China



Indonesia



Saudi Arabia



Australia



India



South Africa



G20

G8

G7

***'rogue' imperialism:
seizure of \$600+ bn
of Russian assets;
U.S. attacks on China***

Germany



U.K.



France



Canada



U.S.



Italy



Japan



Russia



Turkey



European Union



Argentina



Brazil



South Korea



Mexico



China



Indonesia



Saudi Arabia



Australia



India



South Africa



A formidable power bloc uniting wealthy and middle-income high-emitting economies

Copenhagen Accord, 2009

U.S. + 'BASIC':

Barack Obama

Wen Jiabao

Lula da Silva

Manmohan Singh

Jacob Zuma



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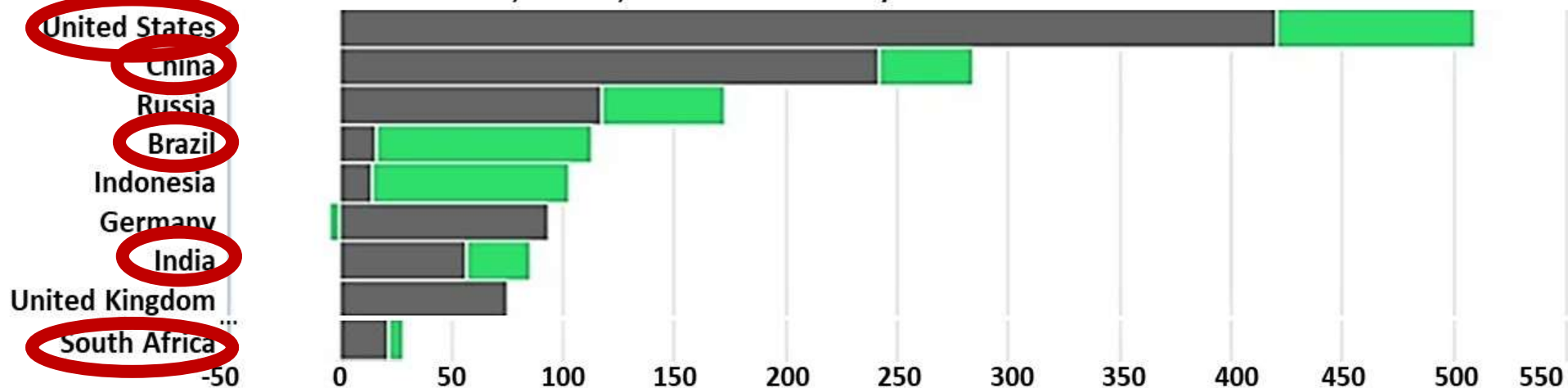
Jacob Zuma



The countries with the largest cumulative emissions, 1850-2021

Billions of tonnes of CO2 from fossil fuels, cement, land use and forestry

● Fossil ● Land



BRICS+ expansion raises bloc's emissions levels substantially:

annual megatonnes CO2 emissions (2020)

BRICS expansion: Johannesburg Summit, August 2023



China	10,944,686
India	2,200,836
Russian Federation	1,618,271
Iran, Islamic Rep.	616,561
Saudi Arabia	513,556
Brazil	414,139
South Africa	393,242
Egypt, Arab Rep.	210,752
United Arab Emirates	188,089
Argentina	154,536
Ethiopia	18,098
World	33.566.428

are negotiations to reduce greenhouse gas emissions working?



Copenhagen UNFCCC COP15:
G77+China chief negotiator
8 December 2009

SA journalist Martin
Welz on Di-Aping's
statement:

"Many African negotiating delegations were unprepared and some members were either lazy or had been 'bought off' by the industrialized nations.

"He singled out South Africa, saying that some members of that delegation had actively sought to disrupt the unity of the bloc."

Lumumba
Di-Aping

West+BRICS unite for climate injustice

Durban,
December
2011



BRICS originated in a financier's dream

Building BRICS: from conceptual category to rising reality



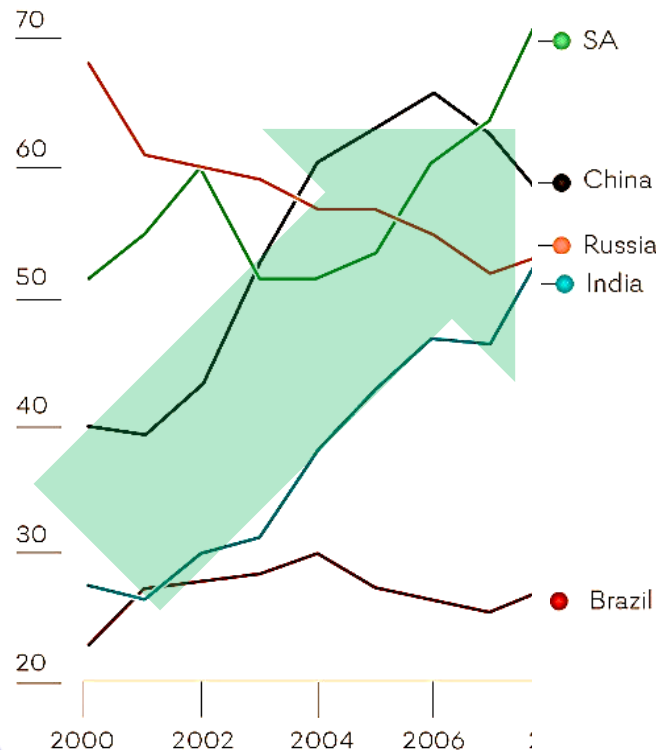
When the original BRIC acronym was coined in 2001, the economic potential of its four countries – Brazil, Russia, India and China – was considerable. But the scale of their growth has far outstripped even the most optimistic predictions

By Jim O'Neill, Goldman Sachs



Jim O'Neill

BRICS TOTAL TRADE AS A SHARE OF GDP



Source: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NE.TRD.GNFS.ZS> and <http://www.brics.utoronto.ca/newsdesk/BRICS-2012.pdf>

But BRICS led 2010s deglobalisation

Building BRICS: from conceptual category to rising reality



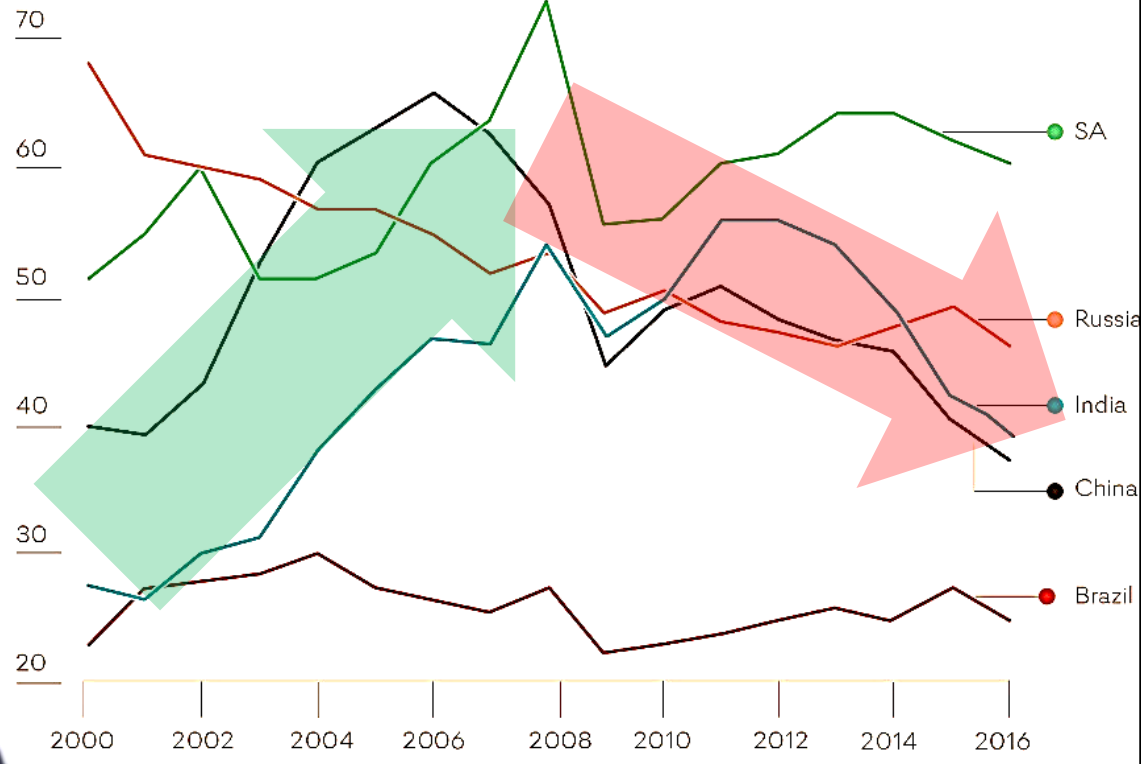
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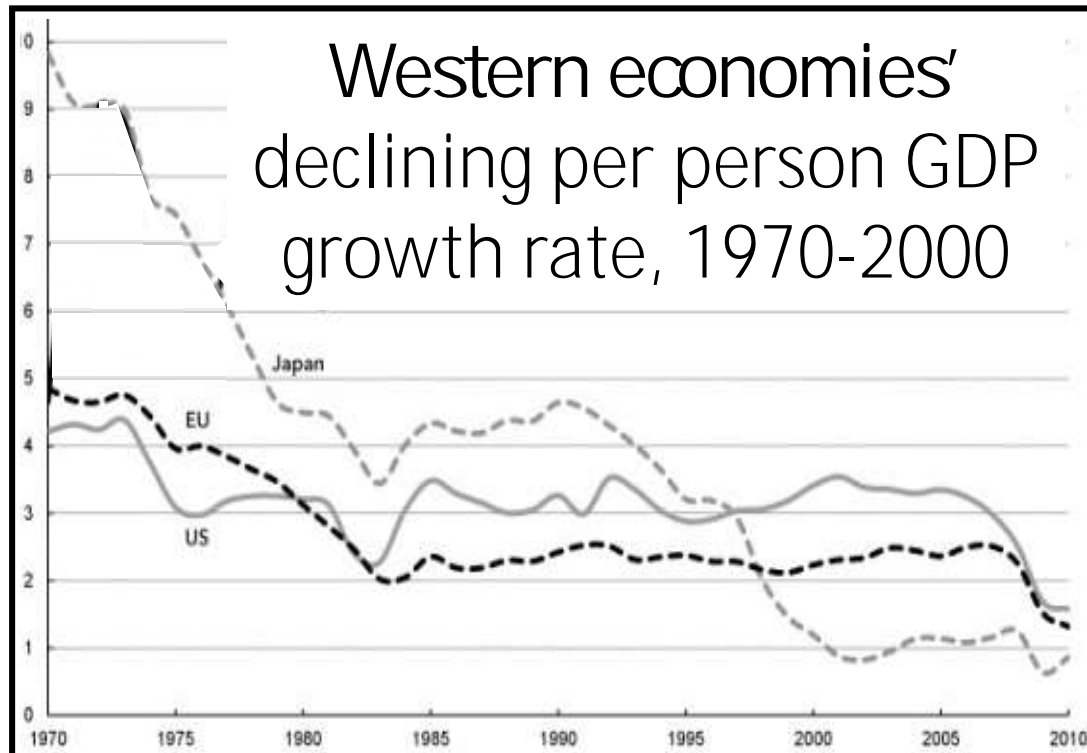
BRICS TOTAL TRADE AS A SHARE OF GDP



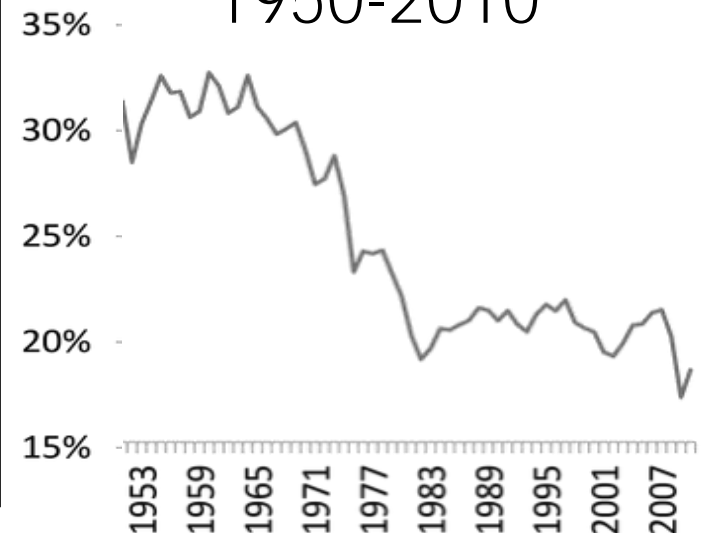
Source: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NE.TRD.GNFS.ZS> and <http://www.brics.utoronto.ca/newsdesk/BRICS-2012.pdf>

BRICS rose due to Western crises

- At the core, the durable late 20th century condition of '**stagflation**' (also termed '**overaccumulation of capital**') was witnessed in huge gluts in many markets, declining Western per capita GDP growth, excessive savings and falling corporate profit rates, starting in the U.S and affecting the world economy – especially its propensity to invest in 'fixed capital'

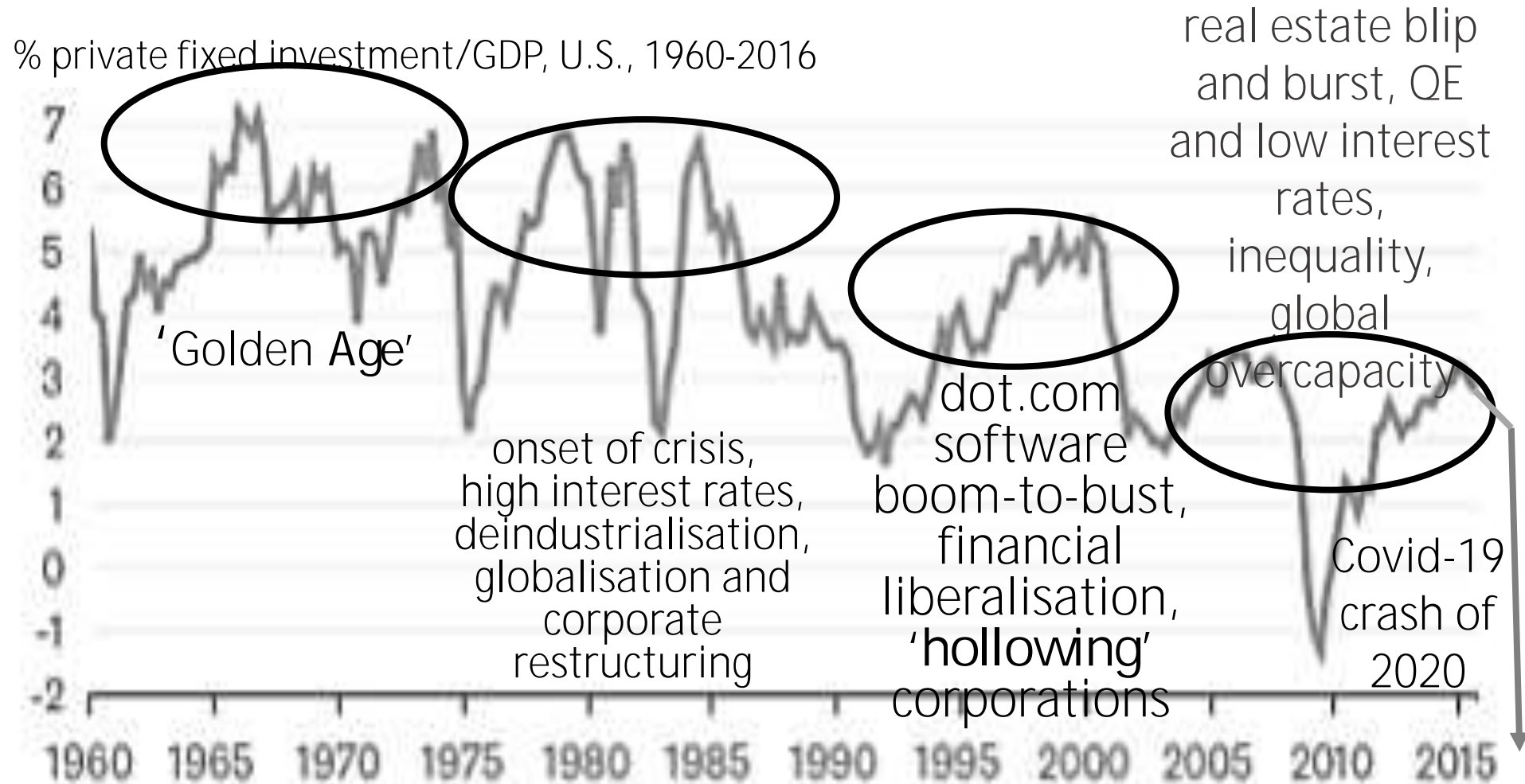


Falling rates of global corporate profitability, 1950-2010



Western capital needed an escape route

Rate of U.S. capital accumulation fades



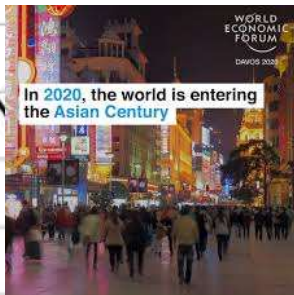
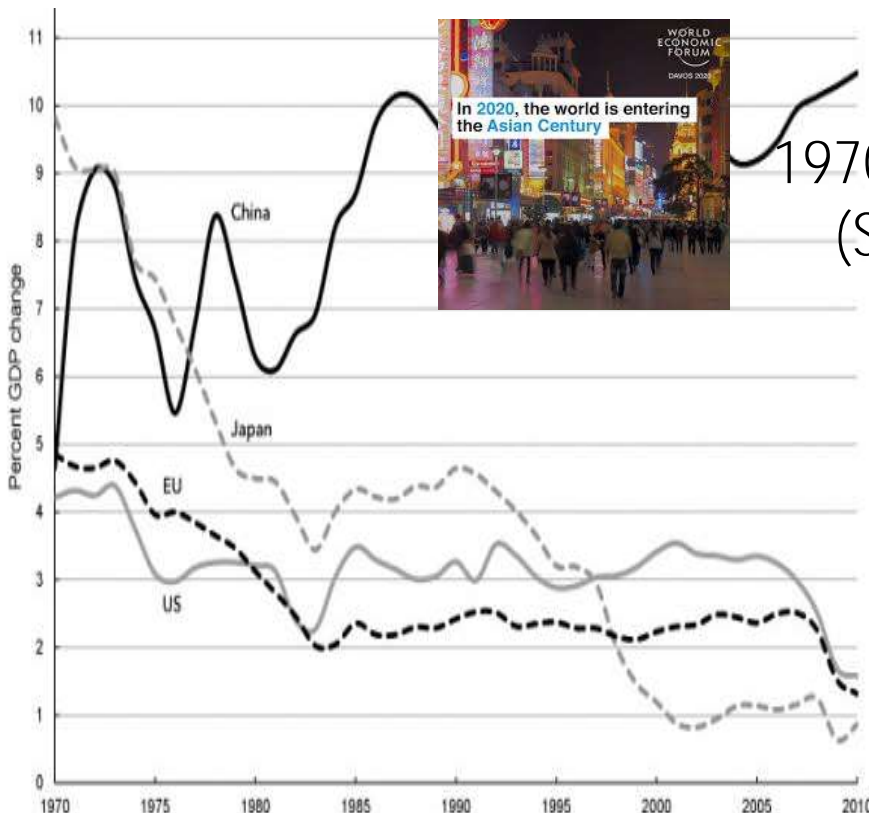
Source: U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis

BRICS growth led by Asians

- **Geographical shifts in production and finance** continue to generate economic volatility and regional geopolitical tensions, through unevenly valued currencies and markets, as well as pressure to 'combine' market and non-market spheres of society and nature in search of profits.

GDP growth rate per person, 1970-2010

as the West fell,
East Asia rose



1970s-80s 'Newly Industrialising Countries'
(S.Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore)

1990s exporters
(China, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia)

next: Vietnam and Philippines

South Asia: India, Bangladesh

But after 2008 it all came undone

The Economist Globalisation unwound

Has covid-19 killed globalisation?

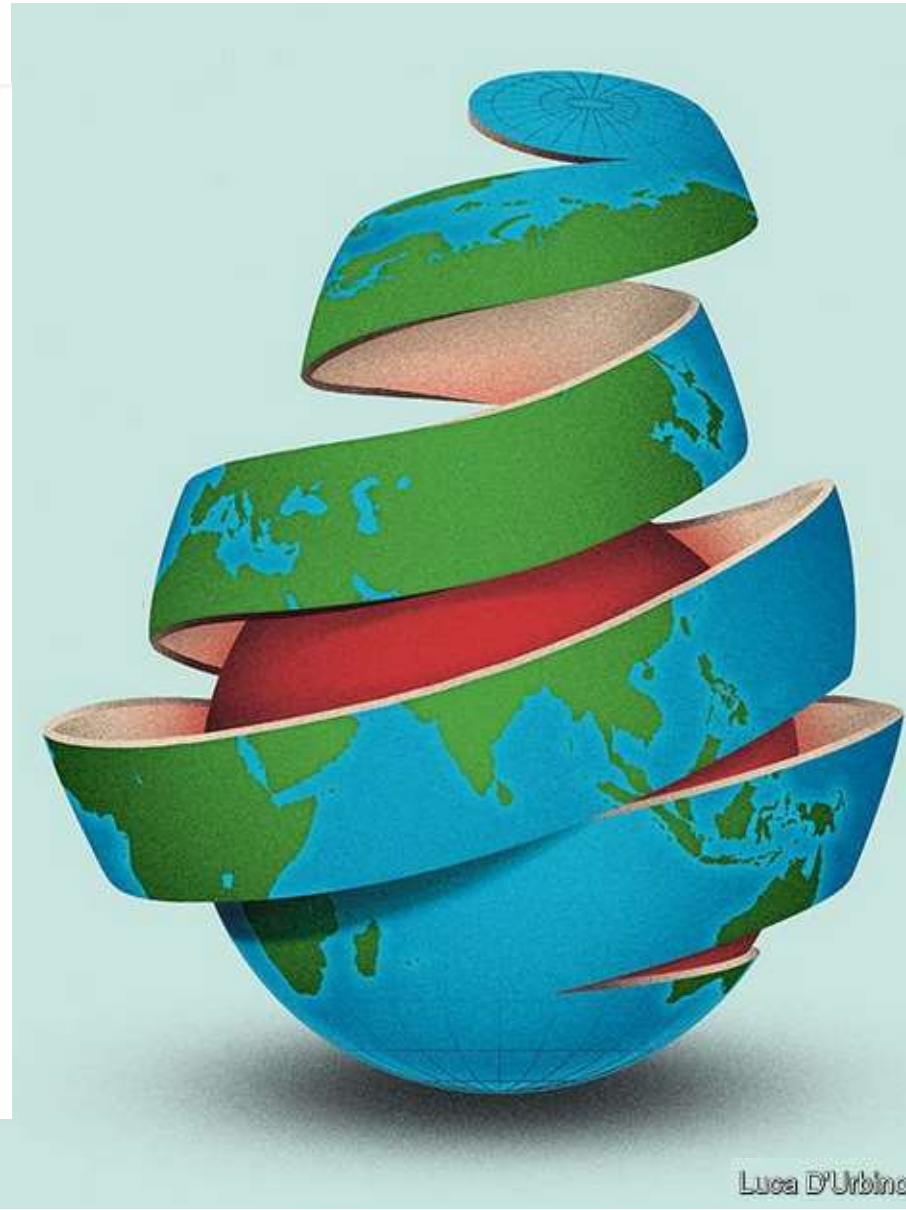
Leaders

May 14th 2020

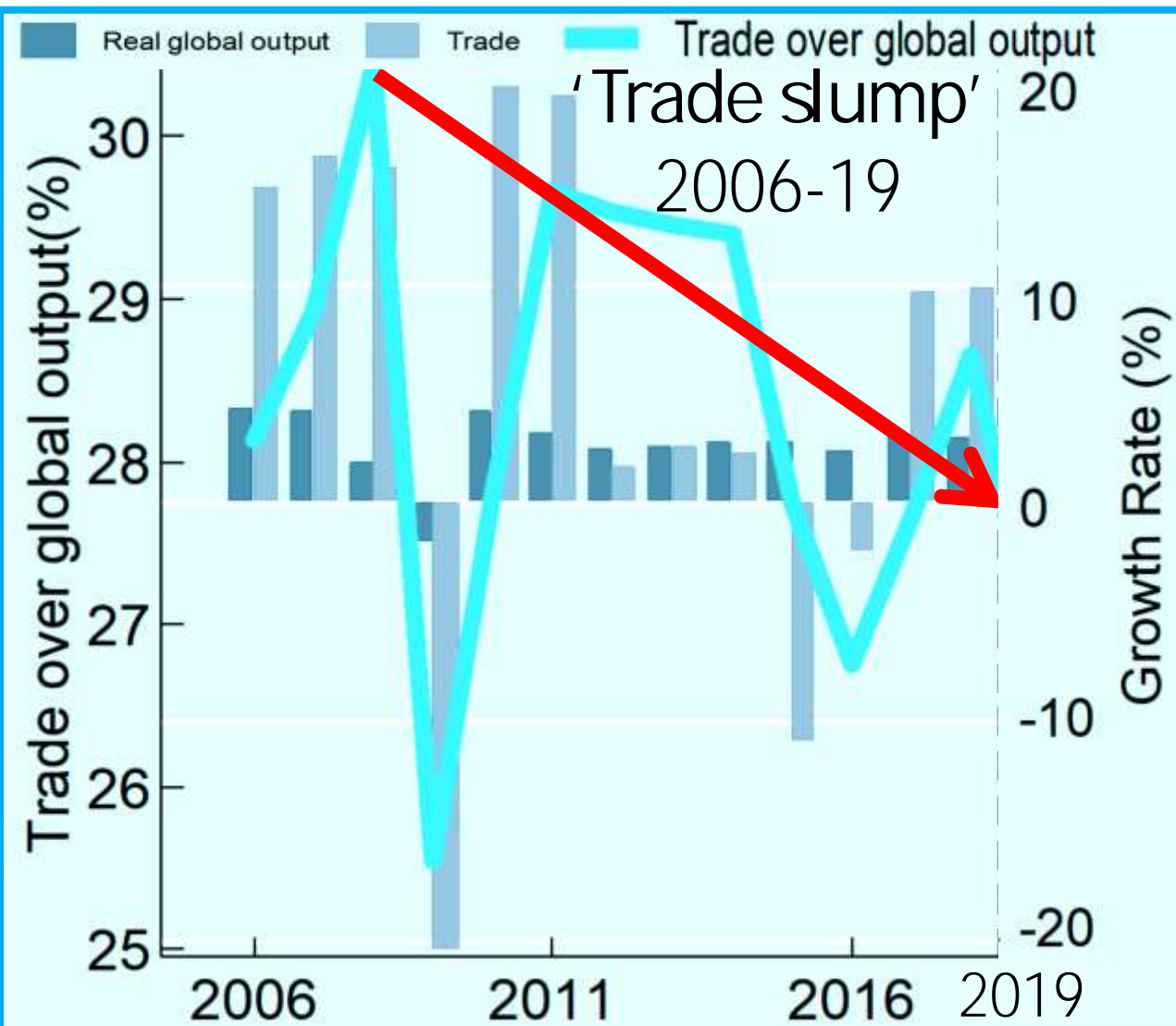
The flow of people, trade and capital will be slowed

EVEN BEFORE the pandemic, globalisation was in trouble. The open system of trade that had dominated the world economy for decades had been damaged by the financial crash and the Sino-American trade war. Now it is reeling from its third body-blow in a dozen years as lockdowns have sealed borders and disrupted commerce (see [Briefing](#)). The number of passengers at Heathrow has dropped by 97% year-on-year; Mexican car exports fell by 90% in April; 21% of transpacific container-sailings in May have been cancelled. As economies reopen, activity will recover, but don't expect a quick return to a carefree world of unfettered movement and free trade.

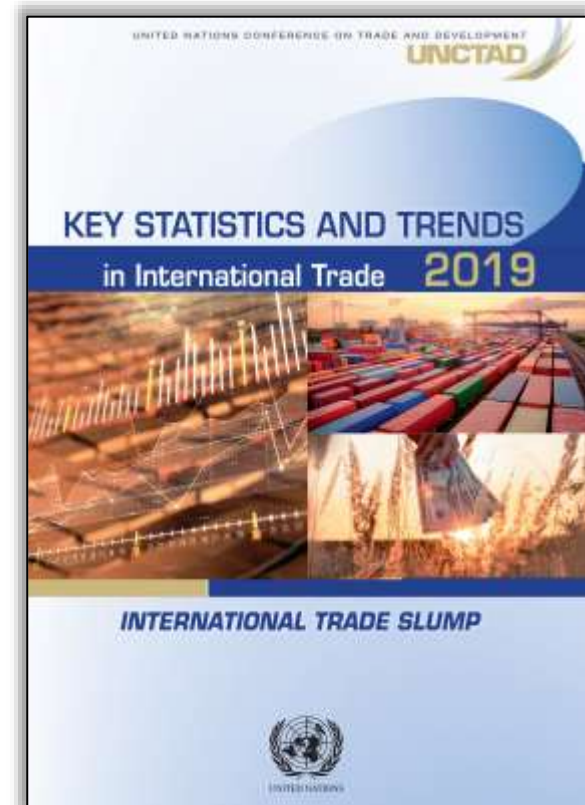
The underlying anarchy of global governance is being exposed. France and Britain have squabbled over quarantine rules, China is threatening Australia with punitive tariffs for demanding an investigation into the virus's origins and the White House remains on the warpath about trade. Despite some instances of co-operation during the pandemic, such as the Federal Reserve's loans to other central banks, America has been reluctant to act as the world's leader. Chaos and division at home have damaged its prestige. China's secrecy and bullying have confirmed that it is unwilling—and unfit—to pick up the mantle. Around the world, public opinion is shifting away from globalisation. People have been disturbed to find that their health depends on a brawl to import protective equipment and on the migrant workers who work in care homes and harvest crops.



Deglobalisation through 2020



Historic trade peak:
30.5% trade/GDP in 2007,
crash to 25.5% in 2009
(*"This is a commonly used
measure for globalisation
trends"* – UNCTAD 2019)



Yet BRICS expectations were high

The Brics are building a challenge to western economic supremacy

Radhika Desai

Tuesday 2 April 2013

theguardian

Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, united by rejection of the neoliberal model, plan to create their own institutions

Contingent Reserve Arrangement (CRA)
BRICS New Development Bank (NDB)



Brics leaders in Durban ... 'Countries whose governments were able and willing to resist the neoliberal development model developed faster.' Photograph: Druzhinin Alexei/ITAR-TASS Photo/Corbis

"The BRICS countries do have a mortar that binds them: their rapid development over the previous couple of decades was because governments were able and willing to resist the neoliberal model..."

"Once this is understood, the BRICS' increasing coherence becomes evident. They have long called for the reform of the IMF and the World Bank only to meet with resistance. Rather than waiting, they have decided to act."



Radhika Desai

BRICS expectations were *too* high

BRICS Bank Challenge the Exorbitant Privilege of the US Dollar

TeleSUR

Television network

La Nueva Televisión del Sur is a pan-Latin American terrestrial and satellite television network headquartered in Caracas, Venezuela. TeleSUR was launched with the objective of providing information to promote the integration of Latin America. [Wikipedia](#)



By Horace Campbell

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.



Horace
Campbell

This was in the context of the Fortaleza Declaration 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 provider of resources for BRICS members and other poor societies when there is balance of payment difficulties.

BRICS hype and hopes proliferated

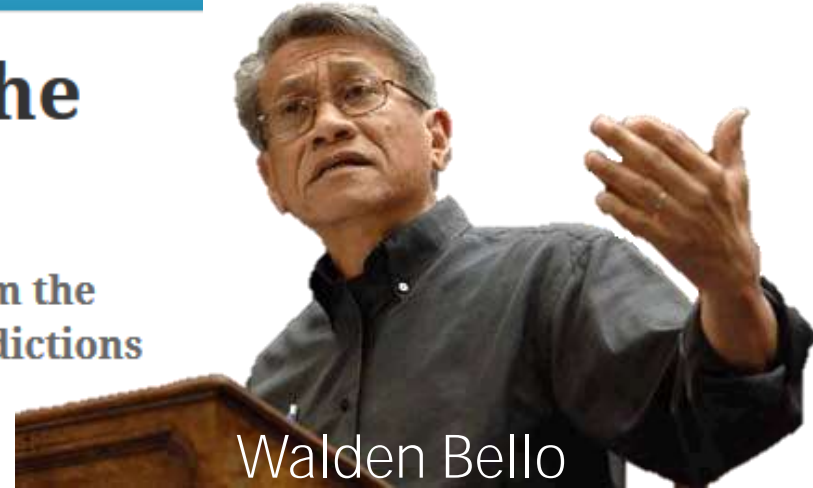
Foreign Policy In Focus

Issues ▾ Regions ▾ Publications ▾

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.

Source: <https://fpif.org/brics-challengers-global-status-quo/>

Jacob Zuma's extreme BRICS hype

"The ANC is part of the global anti-imperialist movement. We are historically connected with the countries of the South and therefore South-South cooperation such as BRICS is primary for our movement."

– President Jacob Zuma, 30 July 2017, Ekurhuleni

"I was poisoned and almost died just because South Africa joined BRICS under my leadership."

- 13 August 2017, Pongola



BRICS foiled by own conservatives

“BRICS, over the course of the past decade had tried to provide alternative institutional frameworks for trade and development...

“But the drive to create an alternative ratings agency to Moody's, to Standard & Poors, didn't really take off. The attempt to produce a new wire service that would have allowed these countries to not have to go through the European wire services, the Swift service that's based in Europe, that didn't take off...

“Now that several right-wing countries have emerged within the BRICS bloc, that is in India, in Brazil, in South Africa as well, these are right-of-centre governments as far as economic policy is concerned, and none of them really has the appetite to drive an agenda against U.S. dominance over trade institutions, over development institutions.”



Vijay Prashad

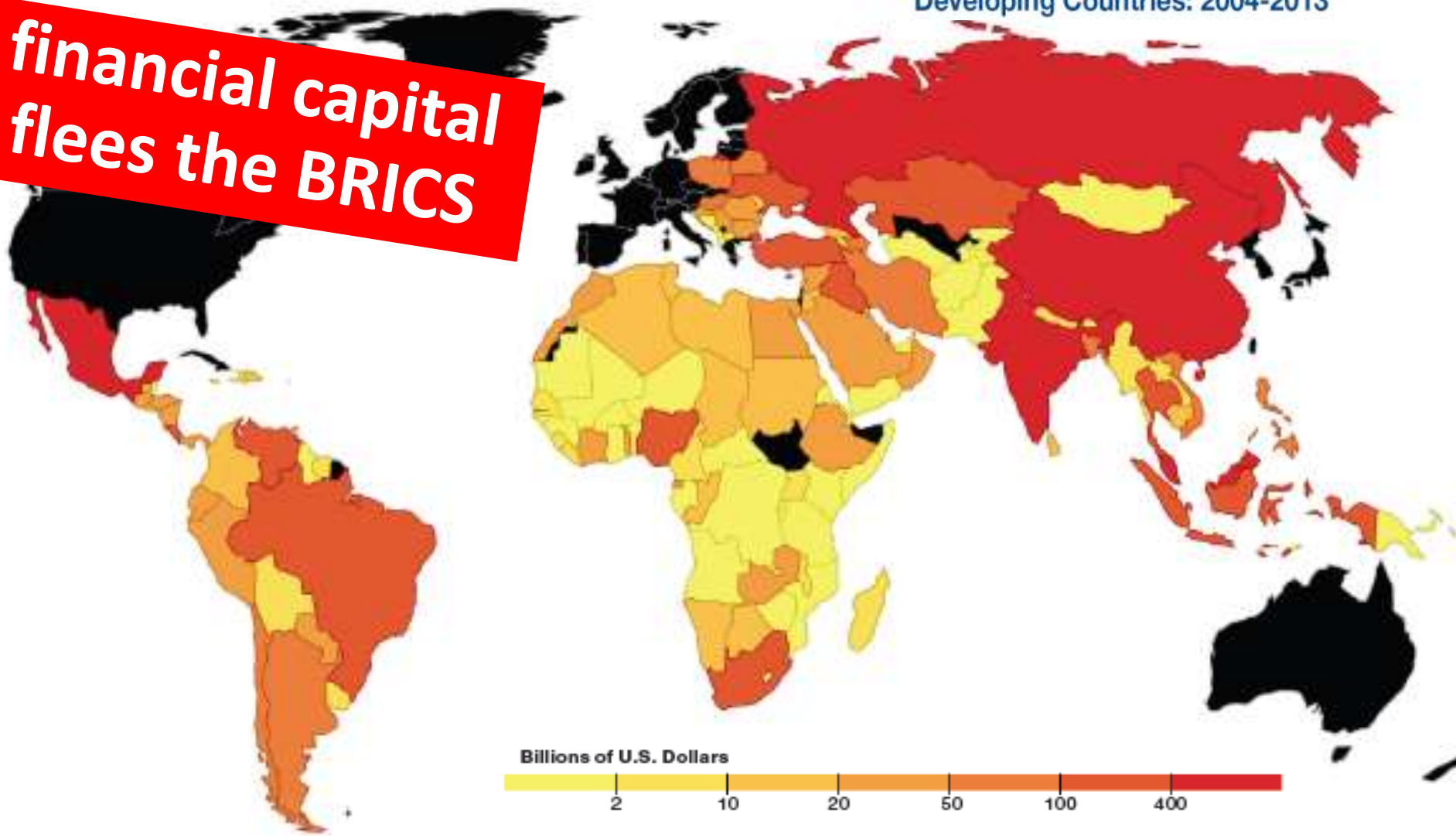
Heat Map, Cumulative Illicit Financial Flows from Developing Countries, 2004-2013

(in billions of nominal U.S. dollars)



Illicit Financial Flows from Developing Countries: 2004-2013

financial capital flees the BRICS



...when it came time to replace Strauss-Kahn after rape charges...



...the BRICS were again divided and no candidate from the South was given support, so French finance minister Lagarde – herself facing serious corruption charges – was ‘elected’ in biased vote

South Africa

Trevor Manuel a good bet to be next IMF boss

Alec Hogg looks locally for disgraced Strauss-Kahn's successor.

Alec Hogg | 21 May 2011 07:33



MOOI RIVER – For once, share prices and economic data dropped off the business lunch circuit this week. Talk, instead, focused on DSK – Dominique Strauss-Kahn – the craggy-faced 62-year-old Frenchman whose spectacular fall is matched only by the salacious tale which caused it.

ALEX BRUMMER: The IMF and the unelected elite who hold sway over the world but operate by different rules

After a year when hard-working citizens rose up against the inequalities and neglect of globalisation, there is one person who perfectly personifies the privileged Establishment and she remains firmly entrenched in office.

She is the French head of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Christine Lagarde.

In December she was convicted by a high-level court in France of being negligent in public office by authorising a multi-million-euro government payment to a controversial tycoon.

But not only did the court not hand down any punishment but the IMF board - representatives of the most powerful finance ministries around the world - said it retained 'full confidence' in her leadership.

Thus Lagarde has been left to serve out the rest of her five-year term as head of the world's economic and financial enforcer.

The sad fact is that the way Lagarde escaped any penalty speaks volumes about how behemoths such as the IMF, other global organisations, governments and a host of unelected elites operate under different rules to the rest of us.

The case centred on her time as France's finance minister when she approved £340m of public funds being spent on an out-of-court deal in favour of businessman Bernard Tapie following the botched sale of sportswear maker Adidas.

The money given prompted widespread indignation in France. Lagarde's independence as the IMF's managing director has been under scrutiny for some time. In 2016 she predicted economic disaster if the UK pulled out of the EU.



Alex Brummer

Lagarde owed her job at the IMF in the first place to the fact she was parachuted in thanks to the strong arm tactics of the French government.

At the time, the then IMF chief Dominique Strauss-Kahn had been forced to quit after being charged (and then acquitted) with a sexual assault on a chambermaid in a New York hotel. Yet the French government insisted that the remainder of his term must be served by another French person.

In spite of the cloud over Lagarde's integrity, leading finance directors ignored common-sense and conspired to keep her in office when her contract came up for renewal in the spring of 2016. Our then Chancellor, George Osborne, was the first to propose her reappointment.



IMF directors support Lagarde even after Dec 2016 conviction

	TOP 10 Voting Shares Countries after 2010 Reform				
	Presingapore	As March 2, 2011	Post 2008 Reform	post 2010 reform	Change 2008 vs 2010
United States *	17.023	16.723	16.727	16.479	-2%
Japan *	6.108	6	6.225	6.138	-1%
China * (vi)	2.928	3.651	3.806	6.071	37%
Germany *	5.968	5.863	5.803	5.308	-9%
France	4.929	4.842	4.286	4.024	-7%
United Kingdom	4.929	4.842	4.286	4.024	-7%
Italy *	3.242	3.185	3.154	3.016	-5%
India *	1.916	1.882	2.337	2.629	11%
Russian Federation	2.734	2.686	2.386	2.587	8%
Brazil *	1.402	1.377	1.714	2.218	23%

Countries that **Benefit** from the 2010 Reform

	Presingapore	As March 2, 2011	Post 2008 Reform	post 2010 reform	Change 2008 vs 2010
China * (vi)	2.928	3.651	3.806	6.071	37%
Turkey *	0.453	0.547	0.607	0.953	36%
Luxembourg *	0.139	0.137	0.195	0.291	33%
Syrian Arab Republic *	0.148	0.143	0.167	0.249	33%
United Arab Emirates *	0.292	0.299	0.328	0.488	33%
Singapore *	0.408	0.399	0.588	0.801	27%
Ireland *	0.395	0.388	0.528	0.713	26%
Kazakhstan *	0.179	0.176	0.199	0.254	23%
Colombia	0.399	0.359	0.336	0.432	23%
Brazil *	1.402	1.377	1.714	2.218	23%
Korea, Republic of *	0.76	1.328	1.364	1.731	21%
Angola	0.143	0.14	0.143	0.178	19%
Mexico *	1.198	1.43	1.467	1.798	18%
Iceland	0.085	0.084	0.078	0.093	18%
Equatorial Guinea *	0.029	0.028	0.05	0.061	18%
Vietnam *	0.162	0.159	0.212	0.256	18%
Poland *	0.638	0.827	0.699	0.841	17%
Spain *	1.408	1.383	1.624	1.918	15%
Iran, Islamic Republic of	0.697	0.685	0.623	0.736	15%
Qatar *	0.132	0.13	0.149	0.175	15%
Estonia *	0.041	0.041	0.067	0.078	14%
Azerbaijan	0.085	0.084	0.093	0.107	13%
Lebanon *	0.104	0.103	0.135	0.156	13%
Lithuania *	0.077	0.076	0.102	0.117	13%
Slovak Republic *	0.175	0.172	0.199	0.229	13%
Turkmenistan *	0.048	0.045	0.068	0.077	12%
India *	1.916	1.882	2.337	2.629	11%
Oman *	0.1	0.099	0.123	0.137	10%
Indonesia	0.964	0.947	0.954	0.951	10%
Thailand *	0.507	0.498	0.6	0.666	10%
Latvia *	0.07	0.069	0.086	0.092	9%
Greece *	0.388	0.381	0.466	0.511	9%
Bahrain *	0.073	0.072	0.099	0.108	8%
Ethiopia	0.073	0.071	0.082	0.089	8%
Russian Federation	2.734	2.686	2.386	2.587	8%

winners from 2010 vote restructuring (finally approved by US Congress in December 2015) include BRICs:

- China +37%
- Brazil +23%
- India +11%
- Russia +8%

Countries that are Adversely Affected by the New Reform

	Presingapore	As March 2, 2011	Post 2008 Reform	post 2010 reform	Change 2008 vs 2010
Tuvalu	--	0.0121	0.0301	0.0298	-1%
Costa Rica *	0.087	0.085	0.104	0.103	-1%
Croatia	0.179	0.175	0.174	0.172	-1%
Marshall Islands	0.0131	0.0128	0.0308	0.0304	-1%
Palau *	0.0129	0.0126	0.0308	0.0304	-1%
Japan *	6.108	6	6.225	6.138	-1%
United States *	17.023	16.723	16.727	16.479	-2%
Congo, Republic of	0.05	0.048	0.063	0.062	-2%
Pakistan	0.485	0.476	0.439	0.432	-2%
Micronesia, Federated States of	0.0138	0.0135	0.0314	0.0308	-2%
Cyprus *	0.075	0.074	0.082	0.08	-2%
Honduras	0.071	0.07	0.081	0.079	-3%
St. Lucia	0.018	0.018	0.035	0.034	-3%
Grenada	0.017	0.017	0.034	0.033	-3%
Samoa	0.017	0.016	0.034	0.033	-3%
St. Kitts and Nevis	0.0155	0.0153	0.0329	0.0319	-3%
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	0.0152	0.015	0.0327	0.0317	-3%
Dominica	0.0152	0.0149	0.0327	0.0317	-3%
Tunisia	0.143	0.14	0.143	0.137	-4%
Finland	0.59	0.58	0.53	0.507	-5%
Italy *	3.242	3.185	3.154	3.018	-5%
Belize	0.02	0.02	0.037	0.035	-6%
Vanuatu	0.019	0.019	0.036	0.034	-6%
Antigua and Barbuda	0.018	0.017	0.035	0.033	-6%
France	4.929	4.842	4.286	4.024	-7%
United Kingdom	4.929	4.842	4.286	4.024	-7%
Hungary	0.487	0.478	0.441	0.414	-7%
Panama	0.106	0.104	0.111	0.104	-7%
Austria *	0.869	0.854	0.867	0.809	-7%
Sweden	1.108	1.089	0.979	0.907	-8%
Germany *	5.968	5.863	5.803	5.308	-9%
Denmark *	0.764	0.75	0.779	0.711	-10%
Israel *	0.437	0.429	0.45	0.41	-10%
Malta	0.058	0.057	0.07	0.063	-11%
Swaziland	0.035	0.034	0.05	0.045	-11%
Belarus	0.188	0.185	0.183	0.164	-12%
El Salvador	0.09	0.088	0.097	0.086	-13%
Romania	0.483	0.475	0.438	0.388	-13%
Mongolia	0.035	0.034	0.05	0.044	-14%
Kosovo	--	0.038	0.053	0.046	-15%
Canada	2.928	2.876	2.554	2.214	-15%
Fiji	0.044	0.043	0.057	0.049	-16%
Barbados	0.042	0.042	0.056	0.048	-17%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.089	0.087	0.096	0.082	-17%
Netherlands	2.375	2.334	2.076	1.781	-18%
Switzerland	1.595	1.567	1.4	1.173	-19%
Suriname	0.054	0.053	0.066	0.055	-20%
Armenia	0.054	0.053	0.066	0.055	-20%
Mauritius	0.058	0.057	0.07	0.058	-21%
South Africa	0.867	0.852	0.77	0.634	-21%
Moldova	0.068	0.067	0.078	0.064	-22%
Cameroon	0.096	0.095	0.103	0.084	-23%
Bahrain	0.071	0.07	0.081	0.066	-23%
Georgia	0.08	0.079	0.089	0.071	-25%
Namibia	0.073	0.073	0.084	0.067	-25%
Bolivia	0.088	0.087	0.097	0.077	-26%
Algeria	0.576	0.527	0.418	0.359	-26%
Algeria	0.081	0.081	0.072	0.072	-26%
Algeria	0.276	0.263	0.207	0.207	-27%
Algeria	0.108	0.115	0.089	0.089	-29%
Algeria	0.134	0.138	0.105	0.105	-31%
Algeria	0.964	0.869	0.661	0.661	-31%
Algeria	0.162	0.162	0.123	0.123	-32%
Algeria	0.149	0.151	0.114	0.114	-32%
Algeria	0.628	0.573	0.428	0.428	-34%
Algeria	0.197	0.193	0.144	0.144	-34%
Algeria	0.222	0.215	0.159	0.159	-35%
Algeria	0.299	0.263	0.207	0.207	-37%
Algeria	0.414	0.384	0.278	0.278	-38%
Algeria	3.154	2.799	2.01	2.01	-39%
Algeria	0.517	0.475	0.341	0.341	-39%
Algeria	0.546	0.501	0.359	0.359	-40%
Algeria	0.633	0.577	0.413	0.413	-40%
Algeria	0.8	0.724	0.516	0.516	-40%
Venezuela, R.B. de	1.207	1.084	0.787	0.787	-41%
Belgium	2	2.083	1.855	1.3	-43%

BRICs raised their 'voice and participation' at IMF, by standing on African heads

biggest Third World vote losers at IMF in 2016:

- Nigeria -41%
- Venezuela -41%
- Libya -39%
- Sri Lanka -34%
- Uruguay -32%
- Argentina -31%
- Jamaica -31%
- Morocco -27%
- Gabon -26%
- Algeria -26%
- Bolivia -26%
- Namibia -26%
- South Africa -21% (!)

Odious Brics loan for Durban port project will not go unopposed

06 JUNE 2018 - 05:05 by DESMOND D'SA AND PATRICK BOND

DURBAN CONTAINER TERMINAL

LUMKILE MONDI: Brics bank could be more like World Bank

If the Brics bank continues to fail, it will be perceived as a political experiment forever in the shadows of the Bretton Woods institutions

BL PREMIUM

14 JUNE 2018 - 05:08 by LUMKILE MONDI

NDB lends Transnet \$200 million for fossil-centric, non-consultative, corrupt projects



A container ship docks at Durban's container port. Expansion is occurring when the South Durban Community Environmental Alliance is demanding a local fossil-fuel detox, as are many other organisations across the world, due to the looming catastrophe of climate change, say the writers.



A container ship docks at Durban Port. Picture: MARIANNE SCHWANKHART

The terms of the New Development Bank's (NDB's) articles of agreement lay down the principles of transparency and accountability in its operations, and its interim information disclosure policy provides a framework for engagement with

BRICS New Development Bank Corruption in South Africa

5 September 2021 by Patrick Bond



SA Reserve Bank
panicky due to Financial
Action Task Force grey
listing and SA's
relationship to BRICS

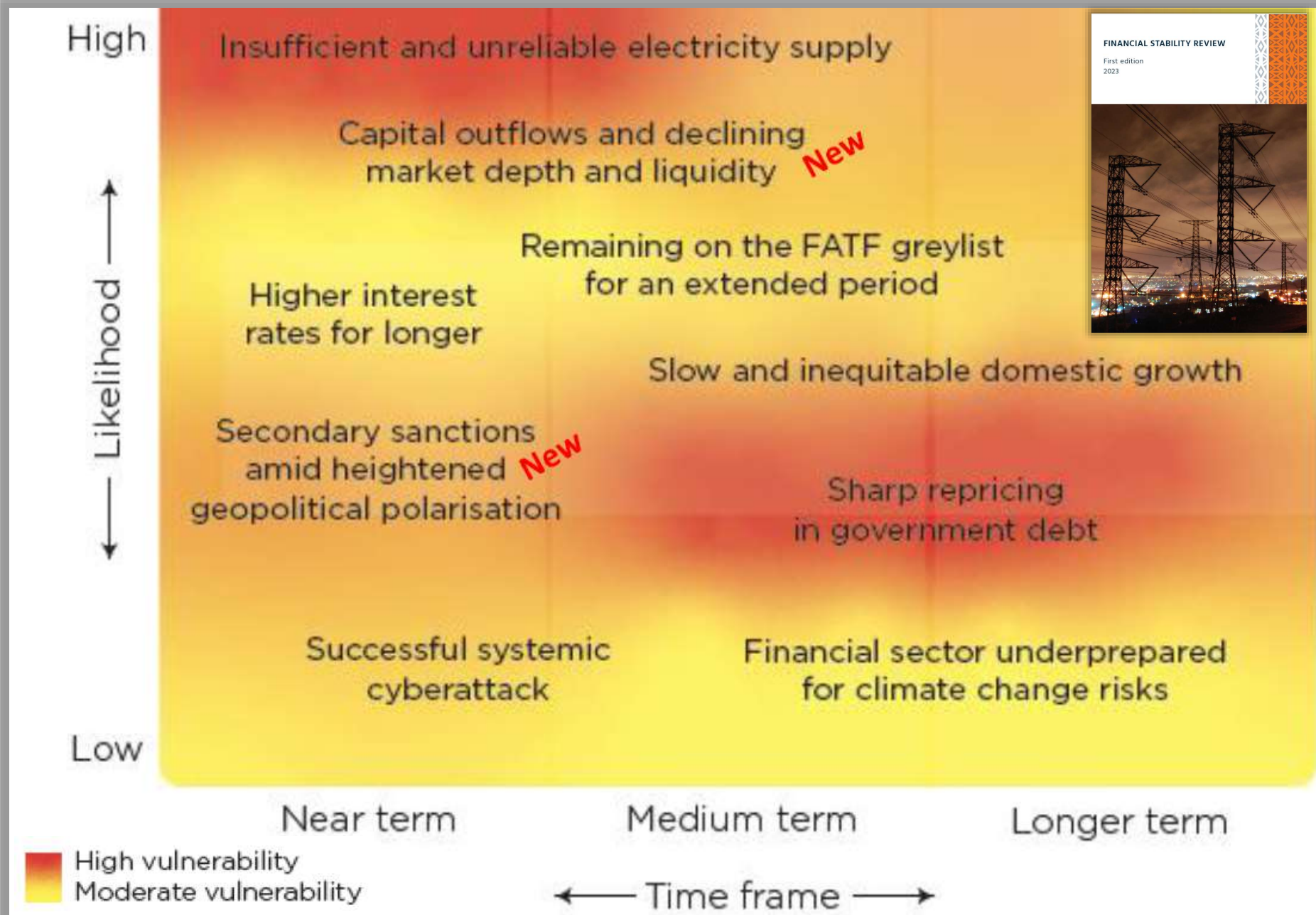
*mid-2023 SARB
Financial Stability
Review reveals
numerous concerns
about vulnerabilities
South Africa faces in
part due to the BRICS
relationship*

FINANCIAL STABILITY REVIEW

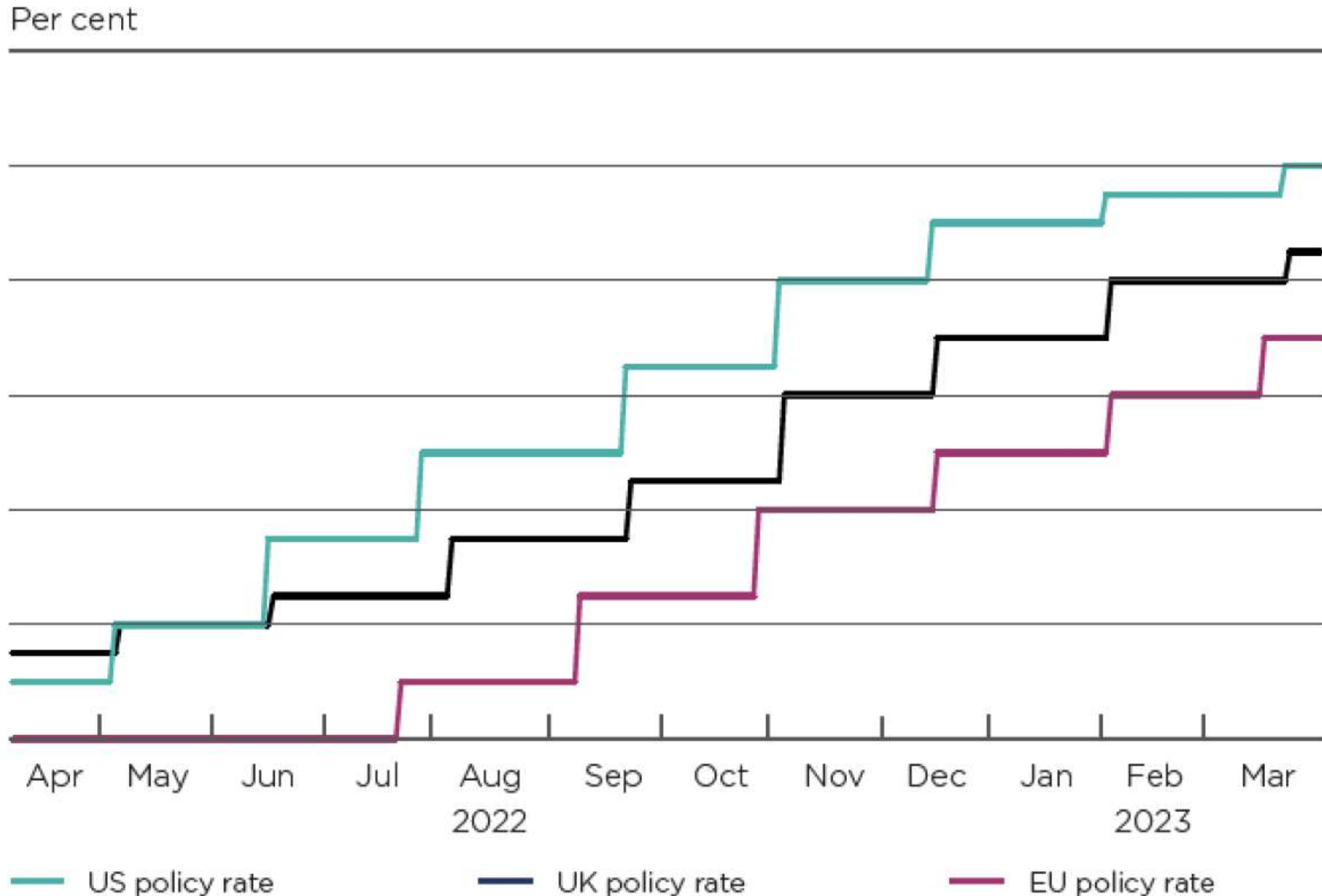
First edition
2023



SA Reserve Bank heat map for financial vulnerabilities



SA Reserve Bank follows U.S. Fed interest rate hikes

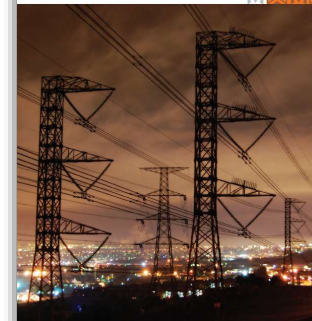


Since November 2021, rapid rise in interest rates and collapse of house prices (following artificial boom)

Figure 25: Real house prices, mortgage advances growth and prime lending rates



SA Reserve Bank spent post-apartheid era liberalising (especially loosening capital controls dozens of times), making SA *more* vulnerable to next world financial crises



SIGNATURE BANK®
Looking Forward. Giving Back.



- Funding and liquidity stress
- Realised losses on overvalued assets
- Governance and risks management deficiencies
- Confidence failures



In February 2023, South Africa was financially 'grey listed'

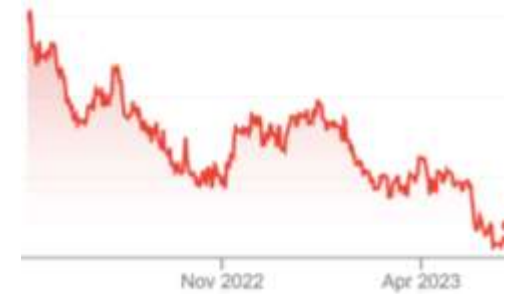


In February 2023, SA was grey listed by the Financial Action Task Force, due to inadequate Treasury and Reserve Bank regulation of Illicit Financial Flows, which are estimated (by Treasury) at 3-7% of GDP annually

Remaining on the FATF greylist for an extended period

- Initial impact had been priced in before the actual greylisting
- Possible lasting impact if SA does not get off the greylist in 24 months
- Higher transaction costs on international payments
- Higher country risk premium increases cost of funding in international markets
- Reputational damage and capital outflows
- Regional spillovers

In May 2023, SA's currency crashed to R19.8/\$ (recent peak had been R15.3/\$ in mid-2021) after 'Lady R' controversy



Secondary sanctions amid heightened geopolitical polarisation

- South Africa's political neutrality increasingly being questioned
- BRICS membership and bilateral political engagements add to complexity maintaining a convincing neutral stance
- Mere anticipation of possible sanctions affect risk appetite for exposures to South Africa
- An actual event, depending on the nature and extent thereof, could have the following effects:
 - Restrict SA's ability to make payments in USD
 - Loss of correspondent banking relationships
 - Damage to relations with SA's main trading partners and possible loss of preferential trade agreements
 - Sudden stop to capital flows
 - Severe regional impact



SA's \$8.5 billion Just Energy Transition Partnership 'carrot' and the Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism climate sanctions 'stick' are both inadequate

Financial sector underprepared for climate change risks

- High concentration of carbon-intensive activities, increase in uninsurable risks, immature international regulatory framework
- Move to energy alternatives, establishment of Presidential Climate Financial Task Team, carbon tax
- Affluent, paying consumers more likely to adopt energy alternatives - erodes Eskom's and municipal income base
- Increased cost of short-term insurance
- Loss of competitiveness and higher funding costs as the world shifts to carbon neutrality



Hype over de-dollarization led by China and Russia

South China Morning Post

China's yuan makes Brazilian inroads, as 'de-dollarisation reflects cracks' in US currency settlements

- Increase in yuan settlements with largest South American country shows how Beijing is trying to prevent being financially strangled amid US decoupling
- But yuan's overseas expansion is still curtailed by the fact that it is less convertible than the US dollar or euro, and as Beijing maintains strict capital controls

 Frank Tang in Beijing [+ FOLLOWS](#)
Published: 11:30am, 3 Apr 2023



China And Russia Look To Challenge The Petrodollar

By [Tsvetana Paraskova](#) - Apr 04, 2023, 5:00 PM CDT

- ▶ The U.S. dollar, which has been the currency of choice in oil trade since the 1970s, is still the dominant currency in the market.
- ▶ While the Chinese currency has made inroads in global trade, the yuan accounts for just 2.7% of the market.
- ▶ Several deals and summits in recent weeks signaled that China and Russia are moving to try to sideline the U.S. dollar.



Yet their governments didn't deliver on IMF and World Bank operational or ideological reform, or even leadership – and although gold is increasing in their portfolios, China still retains vast US\$ holdings

...the debate remains fierce when it comes to a basket of national currencies, a basket of goods, payment and settlement structures, the use of blockchain, a new pricing system, or setting up a single stock exchange.

Is it all possible, technically? Yes, but that would take 30 or 40 years to take shape, as the panel stressed.

As it stands, a single example of challenges ahead is enough. The idea of coming up with a basket of currencies for an alternative payment system did not gather steam at the BRICS summit because of India's position...

Two-thirds of trade are still carried in dollars and euros; the Chinese yuan accounts for only three percent. India refuses to use the yuan.

And there's a huge Russia-India imbalance: as much as 40 billion rupees are sitting in Russian exporters accounts with nowhere to go. A priority is to improve trust in the ruble: it should be accepted by both India and China.

The BRICS bank set up to dilute Western influence has stopped doing business with Russia

Business Insider SA

08 Mar



New Development Bank turns against Moscow

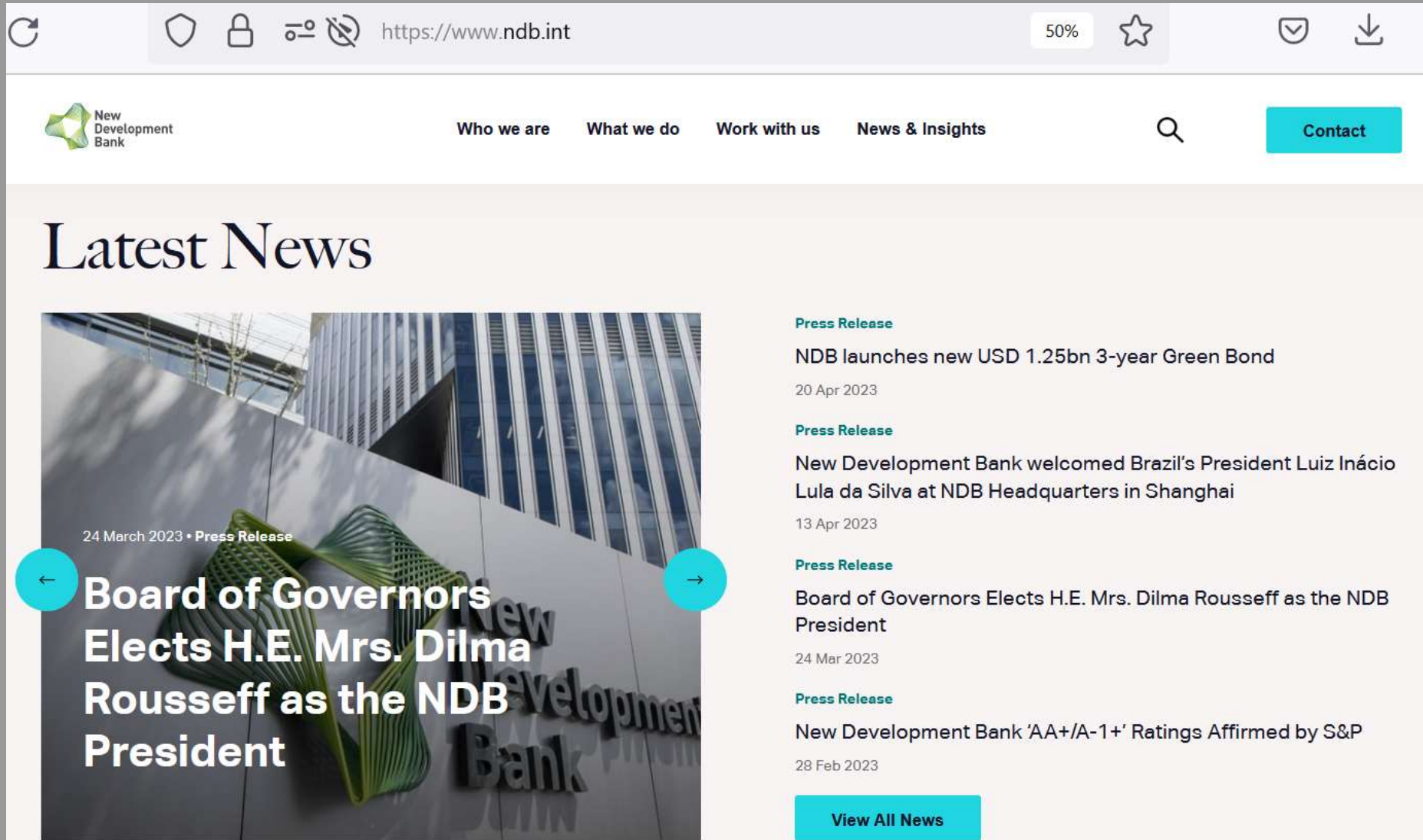
A week after Russia's invasion of Ukraine, a [surprising announcement was made by the BRICS NDB](#): in effect, Moscow (with its original 20 percent – now 18 percent – voting share) was now a [pariah country](#), unsuitable for new borrowing.

This decision was taken simultaneously with the board of the [Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank](#) (run by China), in which Russia was also a founding member.

Perhaps it was the sense of [Moscow's impending default on its foreign debt of at least \\$150 billion](#) (as had happened in 1998 under Boris Yeltsin's degenerate leadership and also back in 1917 after the Bolshevik revolution) – at a time major emerging economies (especially Argentina, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) struggled to repay foreign debt.

There was an obvious [desire not to annoy the New York credit rating agencies](#), which had until then given the NDB a highly-favorable AA+ investment-grade, but had just [downgraded Russia to the lowest-possible level](#).

The BRICS New Development Bank's new leader



The screenshot shows the official website of the New Development Bank (NDB). The browser address bar displays 'https://www.ndb.int'. The website header includes the NDB logo, navigation links for 'Who we are', 'What we do', 'Work with us', and 'News & Insights', a search icon, and a 'Contact' button. The main section is titled 'Latest News' and features a large featured article with a background image of the NDB building. The featured article is titled 'Board of Governors Elects H.E. Mrs. Dilma Rousseff as the NDB President' and is dated '24 March 2023 • Press Release'. To the right of the featured article, there is a list of three other press releases: 'NDB launches new USD 1.25bn 3-year Green Bond' (20 Apr 2023), 'New Development Bank welcomed Brazil's President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva at NDB Headquarters in Shanghai' (13 Apr 2023), and 'Board of Governors Elects H.E. Mrs. Dilma Rousseff as the NDB President' (24 Mar 2023). At the bottom of the news section is a 'View All News' button.

24 March 2023 • Press Release

Board of Governors Elects H.E. Mrs. Dilma Rousseff as the NDB President

Press Release

NDB launches new USD 1.25bn 3-year Green Bond

20 Apr 2023

Press Release

New Development Bank welcomed Brazil's President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva at NDB Headquarters in Shanghai

13 Apr 2023

Press Release

Board of Governors Elects H.E. Mrs. Dilma Rousseff as the NDB President

24 Mar 2023

Press Release

New Development Bank 'AA+/A-1+' Ratings Affirmed by S&P

28 Feb 2023

[View All News](#)

But Dilma Rousseff adopted neoliberal policies in 2013, which led to progressive protests (then a reactionary impeachment)

The BRICS New Development Bank still aims to attract Western investment and credit ratings



Investor Presentation

April 2023



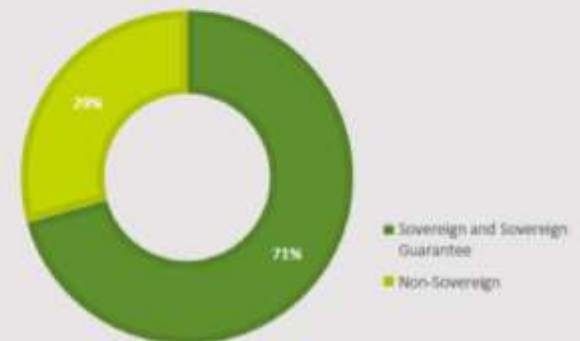
NDB very embarrassed that Russia still has 6.7% of bank's asset base

Exposures Related to Russia



- NDB has put new transactions in Russia **on hold**. NDB will continue to conduct business in full conformity with the **highest compliance standards** as an international institution and in line with the standards followed by peer institutions.
 - The Bank's operations are guided by its Articles of Agreement as well as the governance framework put in place by its Board of Directors. NDB has implemented prudent risk management policies and procedures, which are aligned to the practices of other global multilateral development banks.
- The Bank has a total outstanding exposure of USD 1.7 billion to Russian-domiciled entities as of March 31, 2022. **Exposure to Russian-domiciled entities represents less than 6.7% of NDB's total assets.**
 - Of this, USD 1.2 billion is either to the sovereign or backed by a sovereign guarantee, the balance USD 0.5 billion is to a non-sovereign client. These exposures are 53% denominated in EUR, 30% in CHF and 17% in USD. For financial year ended December 31, 2021, the Bank earned around 4% of the total interest income from its Russian loan portfolio.
- In addition to the above, NDB has an outstanding exposure of USD 0.2 billion to international organisations which have exposures to Russia. The exposure continues to be monitored and expected credit losses are being assessed and provided accordingly.
- NDB is actively monitoring the situation and continually assessing the impact of the changing regulatory and credit environment on the Bank's operations. NDB has implemented prudent risk management policies and procedures, which are aligned to the practices of other global multilateral development banks.

RUSSIAN DOMICILED LOAN EXPOSURE BY TYPE



RUSSIAN-DOMICILED LOAN EXPOSURE BY CURRENCY



BRICS 'reformers' were amplifiers of (not alternatives to) Bretton Woods Institutions and \$-based financial power

- \$750 bn permission to recapitalise the IMF in 2009, including Special Drawing Rights expansion, led by South African finance minister who chaired the G20's committee
- \$75 bn increase in IMF capital supported by BRICS in 2012, reflected in comment by SA finance minister that during 2010s it should be more 'nasty' to Europeans
- IMF 2010-15 voting reform mainly hurt Africa (including South Africa which lost 26%) and small mainly-poor countries, while giving BRIC countries 20% more voting weight
- BRICS countries approved *status quo* leaders: Christine Lagarde as IMF director in 2011 and Jim Yong Kim as World Bank president in 2012, in spite of several BRICS-country candidates in competition, and Kristalina Georgieva at the IMF (2019), and at the World Bank, Trump-appointed David Malpass (in 2019), and Biden-appointed Ajay Banga (2023)
- representatives from BRICS capitals to New Development Bank include conservative men (from international banks) committed to neoliberal policies, i.e., commercialising development finance, privatising state assets, extreme monetarism and fiscal austerity
- the BRICS Contingent Reserve Arrangement (CRA) empowers the IMF and encourages structural adjustment loans for BRICS members, once 30% of their CRA borrowing quota is exhausted in an emergency (i.e. just \$3 bn for South Africa)
- CRA never appeared, e.g. when needed in 2020 (when SA borrowed \$4.3 bn from IMF)
- NDB joined West in imposing financial sanctions on Russia, March 2022
- 'de-dollarisation' talk, yet BRICS capital accumulation is still Western-vulnerable; China is buying more \$-securities; and currency deals suffer from asymmetric trade relations

what if the BRICS tried to construct a genuine alternative to the Bretton Woods Institutions?

- default on unpayable, unjustifiable debt taken out by corrupt elites (Eskom example), as did Argentina and Ecuador in 2002 and 2009;
- expel World Bank personnel, as did Ecuador in 2007;
- impose exchange controls against elites, as did Malaysia (1998), Venezuela (2003), Cyprus (2013), Greece (2015), China (2015-16);
- establish new common currency in order to avoid US\$ transactions (such as Ecuador's proposed sucre) and sanctions;
- provide solidarity financing for governments resisting financial imperialism...as was cruelly offered (by Russia's deputy finance minister) to Greece in July 2015 – but then never materialised;
- adopt socially- and ecologically-conscious financing strategies tied to compatible trade (like ALBA), such as were proposed and seed-funded by Venezuela in the still-born Bank of the South;
- arrange much more progressive versions of climate finance (e.g. than the 'JETP' offered to South Africa by the West in 2021-22)

Critics of the U.S. correctly call out hypocrisy



South Africa claims to adopt a stance of neutrality

**CYRIL:
'WE WILL
GO TO
UKRAINE
TO
MEDIATE'**



United States ambassador claimed Russian 'Lady R'
was loaded with SA weapons in December 2022



SA's NEW
FOREIGN POLICY

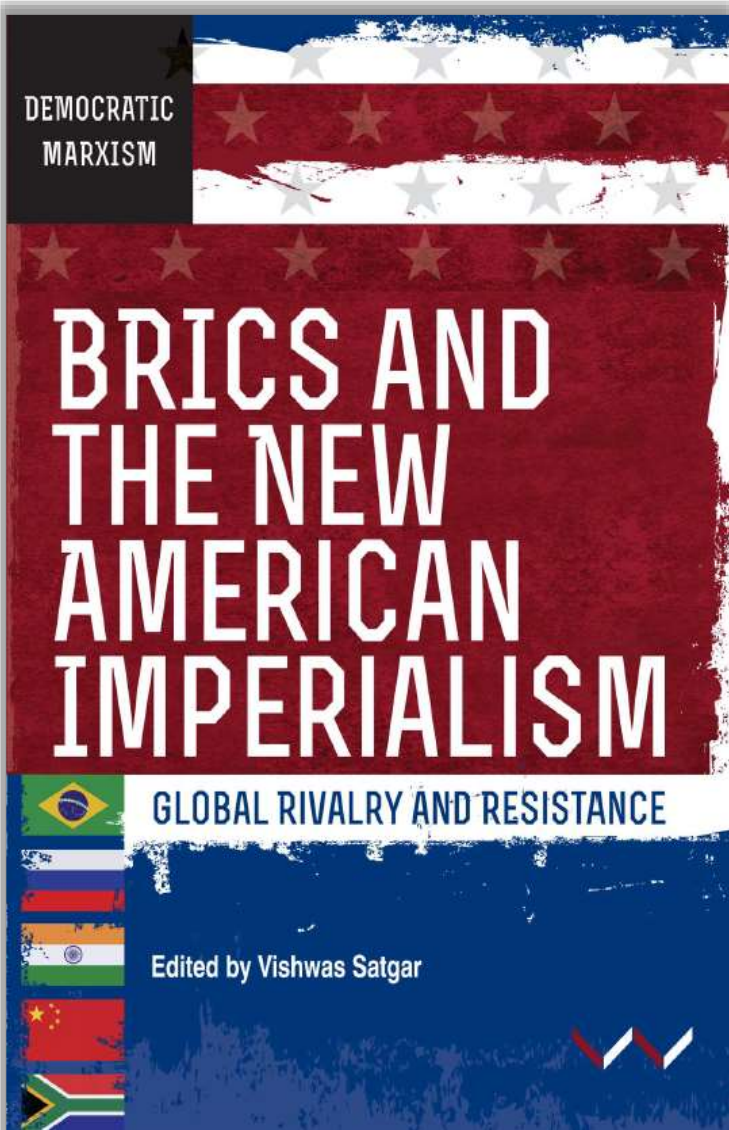


INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Iran's president will probably attend BRICS Summit, says SA's Pandor



BRICS as a sub-imperialist bloc



"The summitry of the BRICS has created an image of a rival bloc to the US-led Western bloc. But is this really the case? Do the BRICS have the capacity, institutional arrangements and ideational coherence to articulate an alternative world order? Do the domestic conditions in member countries lend themselves to advancing a consistent international relations policy that could give coherence to the BRICS?...

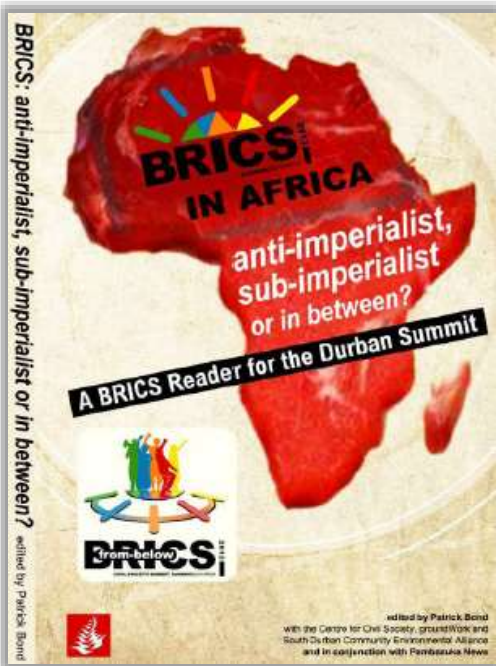
"The BRICS rhetorically asserted an 'alternative' strategy to key features of Western imperialism, while in reality fitting tightly within it. This fit works through amplified neoliberal multilateralism serving both the BRICS and the West, the regional displacement of overaccumulated capital, financialisation and persistent super-exploitative social relations.

"In short, in spite of what some term the 'schizophrenic' character of subimperialism, the BRICS all generally promote extreme spatio-temporal fixes and the predatory condition known as accumulation-by-dispossession."

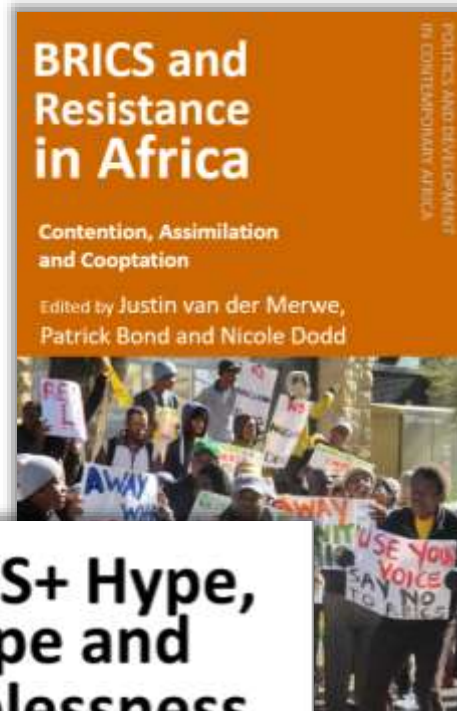


Vishwas Satgar

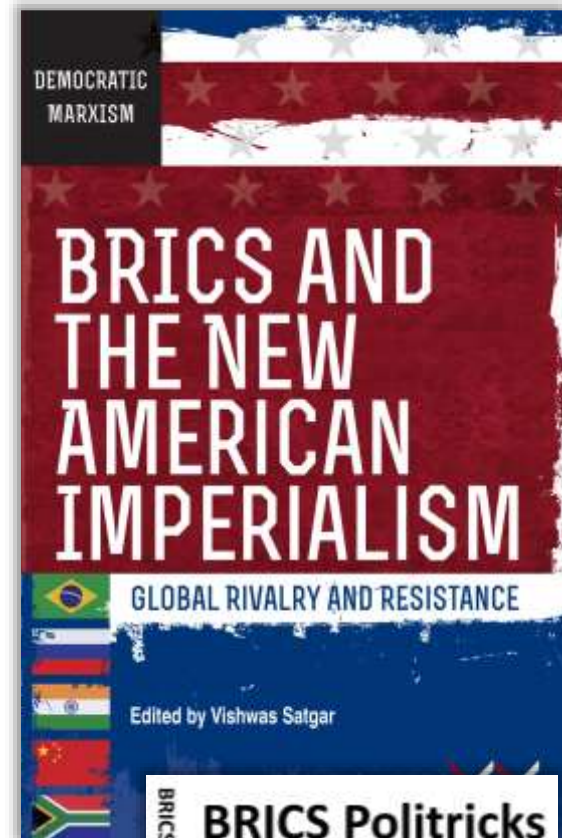
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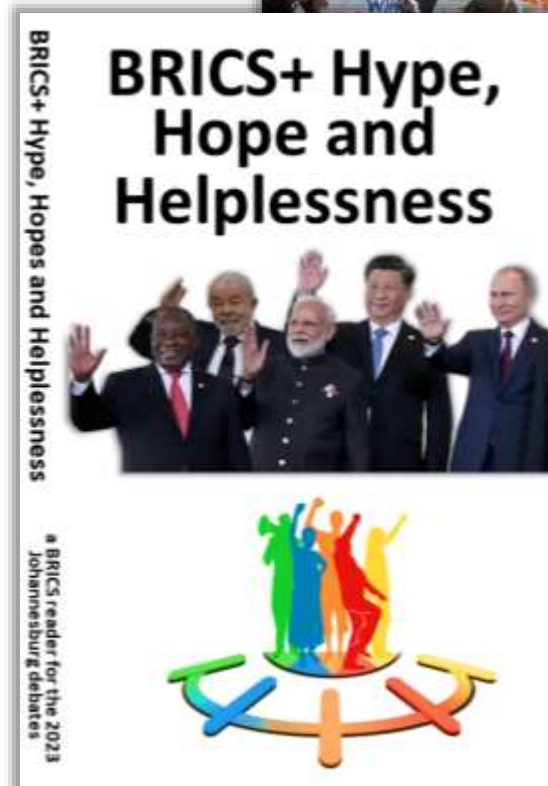
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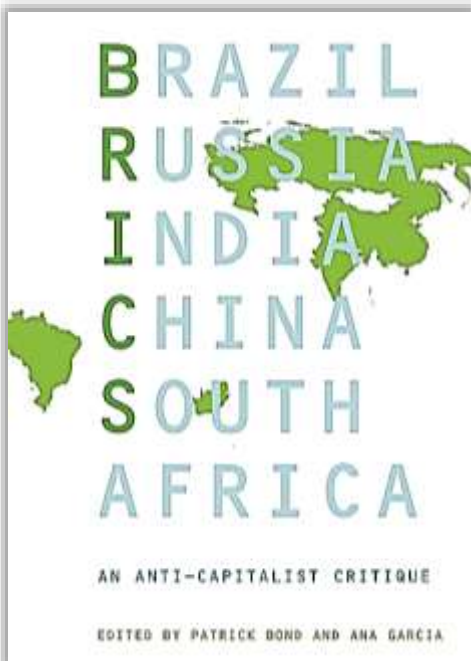
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