
The BRICS and Collective Financial Statecraft

Cynthia Roberts,
Leslie Elliott Armijo,
and Saori N. Katada

Contents

List of Figures ix

List of Tables xi

Acknowledgments xiii

Acronyms List xvii

1. *Introduction: The BRICS as a Club* 1

BRICS in the Aftermath of the Global Financial Crisis 2

Strategic Incentives in Unipolarity and Common Aversions 5

The BRICS and the Global Governance System 8

Formal Institutions and Informal Powers: The Emergence of Clubs 12

The BRICS as a Club 16

Clubs with Power Asymmetries and Dominant Powers with Outside Options 18

Plan of the Book 22

2. *Global Power Shift: The BRICS, Building Capabilities for Influence* 24

Conceptualizing Power 26

Measuring the Shift in Economic Capabilities 28

A New, Multipolar World? 37

The Global Financial and Monetary Capabilities of the BRICS 44

Redback Rising 59

Conclusion 64

3. *BRICS Collective Financial Statecraft: Four Cases* 67

Defining Collective Financial Statecraft 67

Four Categories of Collective Financial Statecraft 69

Inside Reforms: The BRICS Quest for Greater Influence within
the IMF and World Bank (Case 1) 72

Inside Reforms: Resist Manipulation of Financial Market Power for U.S./Western Political Aims (Case 2)	88
Outside Options: Create Parallel Financial Institutions Controlled by the BRICS (Case 3)	92
Outside Options: Diminish Dollar Dominance and Build the Financial Market Power of the RMB (Case 4)	100
Future Directions and Cooperative Opportunities Not Taken	105
Conclusion: Mostly Successful BRICS Collective Financial Statecraft	106

4. *Motives for BRICS Collaboration: Views from the Five Capitals* 109

Six Propositions	110
The View from Beijing: In Search of Legitimacy and Unthreatening Leadership	112
The View from Moscow: Russia's Struggle for Autonomy and International Influence	125
The View from New Delhi: Amplifying Voice and Anticipating Multipolarity	139
The View from Brasília: Enhancing Status and Inviting Investment	148
The View from Pretoria: Support for Growth and Regional Leadership	157
Conclusion: Explaining BRICS Collaboration	162

5. *Conclusion: Whither the BRICS?* 167

BRICS and World Order: Too Much Pessimism Is Unwarranted	167
Growth: The Essential Need to Return to the BRICS' Roots	170
The Tension Between Formal and Informal Rules	174
Summing up: The BRICS, Collective Financial Statecraft, and the Multipolar Future	177