

The BRIC perspective

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The BRIC perspective

Brazil, Russia, India, China & South Africa

- cooperation and its role in post-modern world
- present condition of discourse & practice in each in view of mandatory search for competitive international insertion : can same be combined with co-operation perspectives?
- lessons of history can be useful, provided these are learned : the changes of international perception of these and by these countries along latest 20 years
- is there the possibility of building a new model?

a new look at international insertion & co-operation perspectives

- it is now common knowledge that there have been systems of international law in ancient China, India, Greece and the Moslem Empire, among others. Once continuous forms of contact between different communities are established, rules ordering these relations are bound to develop. George ABI SAAB (1962)
- it is China, India, Egypt and other ancient Eastern states which should be considered the birthplace of international law E. KOROVIN (1959)
- within our Western purview a considerable body of knowledge which should tend to broaden our horizon and make us realize that there is much that is not new under the sun or exclusively European or Occidental HERSHEY (1926)
- In the course of time there grew up a network of Sino-foreign relations that roughly correspond in East Asia to the international order that grew up in Europe John King FAIRBANK (1968)

summary of contents

- situation of Brazil: search for int'l insertion
- Russia's transformations in a century
- India from KAUTILYA to nuclear power
- China's transformations by SIMA QIAN
- South Africa from apartheid to World Cup
- role of international law & relations in the shaping of a new multilateral world order

no short cuts available

- obviously no short cuts can replace the long study required for understanding each of these civilizations, complex and different
- same are to be considered in their respective history, culture, economy, international relations, the attitude towards international law, and politics, both internal & int'l.
- only then can joint views be attempted

the imperative search for competitive international insertion

- each and all countries are bound to undergo
- but at what price ?
- which models should be applied?
- as clear as the perception there are varied possible channels for implementation
- once the necessity is acknowledged, there will be variations on the choice of the priority partners

the imperative search & channels

- the BRIC perspective can mean a change of worldwide repercussion (beyond cold war)
- not only for 'internal' use, bilateral ways & interactions but mainly a device for strategic management of shared interests
- the relations of the five BRIC with varied possible channels of communication and interaction with the world

the imperative search & channels

redesign cooperation features in the world
old forms are tired and results insufficient
« BRIC perspective not only in internal use »
a new multipolar world in preparation
it is seen as necessary and is to be welcomed
but is not yet fully established
end of US hegemonist unilateralism (2000-08)

failure of imperialist unilateralism

- gross military, political, economic & legal failure of BUSH years – enough to show that this cannot be 'the' model for shaping the world
- if unilateralism died, it is still to be ascertained which multilateralism can we aim at, could we wait for and be operated?

beyond the imperative search for competitive international insertion

basic world changes in the latest twenty years since the end of the 'cold war' (1949-1989)
most of analysis written before look as old as ancient history, describing a world known, but that no longer exists
no clear-cut models for international relations have been established since: floating world variations on themes, familiar yet untried

short view of the latest 20 years

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| • contrast of decades | |
| (1991-1999) | (2000-2008) |
| end of cold war | US waged wars |
| positive balance sheet | negative outcome |
| Statute of Rome, ICC | US fights against |
| UN Sea Convention & | drawbacks to int'l |
| Law of the Sea Tribunal | environment law |

just over twenty years of substantial changes in the world

- fall of the Berlin Wall and domino effect in Central Europe: the wonderful year 1989, but
- 'fortress' Europe and the outside world is outside
- end of the Soviet Union: beyond the East-West confrontation pattern of Cold War years – Russia at crossroads in search of a future
- the United States: the 'dark' legacy of BUSH Jr. years (2000-2008) and challenges for B. OBAMA

short view of next 20 years

- if globalization cannot be avoided, it should be put to work properly – meaning to be useful for the largest number of people and countries and not just one or a ‘happy few’
- awareness of the need to protect human & nature resources – in order to maintain the viability of intelligent life on the planet ...

imperative search for competitive international insertion: all over again

- present conditions for discourse & practice
- the role to be played by Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa : with each other, among them & with other countries?
- just overlaps or may there be interactions?
- the search for a new pattern in international relations, or always more of the same stuff?

what BRIC should NOT be ...

- not go beyond a cooperation model (no EU)
- no historical or geographical imperatives
- no previously determined pattern to follow (variety of models from the EU to APEC)
- similarities among apparent differences for understanding common trends in BRIC
- no « thumb a lift » third countries added

BRIC should not be ...

- aiming at integrated Europe: this is to be admired, not tried by other groups
- tired of long and fruitless endeavours at integration in South & Latin America
- the repetition of old colonialist models (culturally speaking, south-south as opposed to old north-south cooperation patterns)

BRIC as cooperation, not integration

- converging circumstances and similarities can help advance building ‘cooperation’
- ‘integration’ may be too much to be aimed and this is neither a magic word, nor the solution to all troubles, internal & external
- Brazil & MERCOSUL have 15 years of failed negotiations with the EU: no results

lessons of history, can be useful, when learned

- in order to be useful, lessons of history have to be learned – this is a good perception, but is not mine : SIMA QIAN’s – the classical Chinese historian could be a guide & also his perception of constant change in time
- the imperative search for competitive international insertion requires new patterns – it can not just be more of the same stuff!

lessons of history to be learned

- the BRIC perspective is not bound to repeat mistakes of previous eras, but can innovate in the new multipolar world taking shape
- no 'humanitarian' treatment to be expected
- no 'charity' handling to be expected from each other ... but good faith and fair play required to build any lasting relationship (lessons to be avoided in the future, such as Russia on Brazilian meat/ China on Brazilian soybean)

there are useful lessons from history ... but not as an end in themselves

- aggressive hegemonism is to be set aside – disastrous results of past decade as evidence of a dated model – enough is enough
- building dialogue and cooperation channels requires perception of common needs and sharing views on goals to be achieved
- cooperation within BRIC and BRIC+ other countries can innovate, but is yet to be built

international perception and need to react creatively to changes, or decay

extension and relevance of changes in the world, & each of BRIC countries over latest twenty years
no need of extensive review to ascertain same – mostly positive, and other issues not so much – just consider how deep & broad transformations : Brazil since 1988, Russia since the end of the USSR, India as a nuclear power, China since 1989 and South Africa since the end of the 'apartheid'

changes of international perception

- nuclear powers (Russia, India & China) & Brazil played by the rules: 'nuclear free Latin America'
- permanent members with veto power in the UN-SC (Russia, China) (claim: India, Brazil, S.Africa)
- human & nature resources: assets to develop and to be preserved – the imperative of education, interactions among cultural heritages and diversity
- changes in world balance going on in accelerated pace – but economic, political, social, human & environmental impacts seem not yet to be fully perceived or simply disregarded – for the future?

changes of international perception & responsibilities of each

- no need to stress the various effects and wide-ranging impact of 'globalization' – enough said over the last years – remains superficial looked beyond the weekly review
- as globalization cannot be avoided, should work properly: sharing benefits and not only the costs thereof: building interactions and crossroads
- why not a multilateral BRIC oriented model ? new perceptions in order to understand changes and to give tailor-made shape to emerging trends

possibility of building a BRIC model

- perspective of multilateral cooperation can be a valid answer to changes underway
- but yet to be given a chance in practice
- can be a relevant innovation for a world to be built over the next two or three decades
- take into account not only economic and political balance & trade flows, but give enough room for principled mutual respect

possibility of building a new model

- BRIC as a new model yet to be built should avoid 'more of same' old models (away the illusion of the « pax americana »)
- BRIC + is underway and can be a valid answer not only to parties concerned
- as a matter of 'cooperation' – coordinated action, intergovernmental initiatives, no need of new common institutional structures

BRIC is a choice, not destiny, but not repete old exploitation patterns

- no historical or geographical imperatives – especially for Brazil and South Africa / not forget remaining border issues among the other three
- no need of talk about common destiny, of binding imperatives and the like – BRIC as a choice, and a choice to be built, a channel, a viable alternative
- no required format or mandatory recipes – no need to 'reinvent the wheel': models for international economic cooperation known, to select at choice

possibility of building a new model

- beyond superficial differences there are common needs and goals to be pursued: it is a matter of perception of realities & assess tasks to be done
- perception of realities also as a humanist effort (understand the other) and to get a picture comprehensive enough to evaluate what can be useful to bind these five together, what draws us apart, how can BRIC+ interact with other groups
- can be both efficient and equitable as a new model

the BRIC perspective and beyond

- is so far prospective, as it is yet to be built
- can be as relevant as the concerned parties undertake to make same: BRIC & BRIC+
- artists of the floating world, according to trends and evaluations (sometimes RIC, or IBSA, or BIIC – with Indonesia and not Russia, with or without South Africa)
- what next ? burden of evaluation of risks

the BRIC perspective and beyond

- can make sense as a tool for competitive insertion in the world, with 'added value'
- not just flows & balance of trade but more
- in order to make a difference add lasting element as 'knowledge' : « BRIC masters » as programs with interdisciplinary approach languages, cultures plus legal education
- time to get acquainted with each otherness