

Marek Rewizorski *Editor*

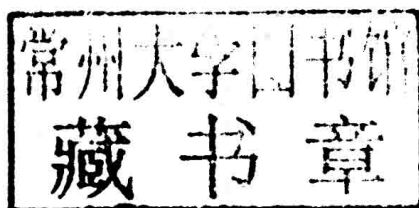
The European Union and the BRICS

Complex Relations in the Era of Global Governance

Marek Rewizorski
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 Springer

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Introduction

Marek Rewizorski

At the dawn of the twenty-first century, both state and non-state actors of International Relations are facing the need to find their place in reality, which appears to be increasingly unclear. The ongoing process of 're-configuration of the anarchic character of international environment' has begun to unfold. This process is articulated by unprecedented heterogeneity of entities operating 'across' state borders, and not 'within their limits'. It has been accompanied the emergence of many equivalent decision-making centres which base their actions on pluralism, co-operation and departure from hierarchical relations between territorial and non-territorial actors. 'Re-configuration' is accompanied by the idea of governance. It is linked more with controlling than governing, and so with a wide range of processes is used to co-ordinate decision-making and implement certain policies. It is worth noting that governance consists in the adaptation of individual and collective methods of solving common issues, so as to find solutions to continually emerging conflicts, mitigate differences in interests and, as a consequence, to broaden the field of possible co-operation between heterogeneous entities. Various formal and informal institutions play a key role here. Their intentions may become a catalyst of group activity (Commission, 1995: 2).

What fundamentally distinguishes governance from a traditional political order is the 'dilution' of hierarchical state power and thus, withdrawal from 'rule and control' as a method to regulate individual and collective actions. Indeed, governance shall be depicted as a package of horizontal interactions taking place between the state and public actors who are involved in various relations with the state and take advantage of the developed network structures, private and public partnerships, as well as other tools of political activity. Consequently, opposite poles of governance are taken by hierarchically organised states on one hand and

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self-organising and substantially decentralised groups of civil society on the other hand, which most frequently assume forms of non-government organisations, social movements and non-profit organisations.¹ In their operations they take advantage of the markets which are used to allocate resources and where formalised rules, imposed by the state, become weakened and the governance turns out to be of more economic and financial character.

When applying the concept of governance on a global level, it should be noted that it is based on contemporary transformations occurring in technology, transport and, above all, in communication. Reduction of time required to process and send information is the factor notably enhancing various forms of transnational political organisations. The afore-mentioned transformations are displayed especially by the supporters of neo-liberalism. As they argue, the state-centric model proves to be inadequate towards increasingly complex regulatory issues, which require good governance in order to be solved. It cannot be ensured by the states without participation of the markets (especially the business sector) and global civil society.²

Contemporary transformations, present mainly in the field of economy and politics, may constitute a kind of a threat to states and their positions within the international system. For there is no denying that 'the international system' is decreasingly dependent on the states' will, thus becoming a network structure created by "states, non-state participants, relations and links between them, binding rules of international law as well as international regimes, alliances and institutions" (Łoś-Nowak 2011: 28–29). Noting this, Anne-Marie Slaughter points at the questionable feasibility of global governance, saying: "We need more government on a global and regional scale, but we don't want the centralisation of decision-making power and coercive authority so far from people actually to be governed" (Slaughter 2004: 8). This "globalisation paradox" is highlighted by James A. Caporaso and Mary Anne Madeira when they ask: who is in charge of globalisation and who co-ordinates relationship among states, firms and people? (Caporaso and Madeira 2012: 73). This question seems to be crucial as more and more evident is the emergence of successive structures of global governance as a response to tension, crisis and uncertainty generated by the re-configuration of international environment. Increasing tension between the West and the non-Western world is accompanied by: (1) growing demand for international

¹ As indicated in political science literature, globalisation entails changes which result, for example, in an increased number of rapidly spreading non-government organisations constituting the basis for global civil society. The latter involves "entities, ventures, enterprises, non-profit organisations, social movements, various communities, celebrities, intellectuals, think-tanks, charity organisations, pressure groups, protest movements, media, Internet groups and sites, trade unions, employers' federations, international commissions, sporting organisations, all forming multi-level, tightly connected space". Cf. E. Pietrzak (2013: 85).

² The above views are not new. They stem from the tradition of political concepts of the West, highlighting the importance of the mechanisms of free market, reciprocity, trust and solidarity. They provide contrast with control and subordination, as concepts thoroughly anti-liberal. Cf. Streeck and Schmitter (1985): 119–138.

co-operation in the context of recurring global financial and economic crises; (2) ineffectiveness of the twentieth century triadic systems, namely (a) the economic triad of Western countries—US-EU-Japan, (b) the institutional triad of international economic organisations—the IMF-World Bank-WTO against the threats and challenges emerging in the period of turbulence accompanying the formation of new, post-Cold War international order; (3) the growing role of non-Western countries clustered within the BRICS group (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) and relative reinforcement of their ability to act politically in the international arena; (4) the increasing number of interactions among countries and their citizens triggered by the revolution in communication technologies and the occurrence of cyberspace; (5) the increasing proneness of even the greatest powers and their citizens to cross-border threats triggered mainly by terrorism, diseases, climate changes adversely affecting humans; (6) development of global networks of connections playing the fundamental role in creating, developing, diffusing and implementing various norms, rules and regulations covering a growing number of new areas, from banking supervision to health protection policy.

The above-mentioned issues emerge among substantial differences across the world on desirable institutional arrangements. According to Dani Rodrik's view, while the EU proves that international democratic governance is possible, its experience of difficulties in achieving a strong political union even among a comparatively small number of like-minded countries demonstrates the demanding requirements of global governance (Rodrik 2011: 220). How, in these conditions, the EU has to step outside the cradle of its system of rules and entangle into relations with non-Western world, symbolised by the rise of BRICS, where truly global norms have emerged only in narrow range of issues. This becomes extremely difficult. What is more, as Jan Nederveen Pieterse asserts, "...the rise of emerging societies is a major turn in globalisation. ...North-south relations have been dominant for 200 years and now an East-South turn is taking shape. The 2008 economic crisis is part of a global rebalancing process" (Pieterse 2011: 22). Where in this pattern is a place for the EU? Has Brussels already developed, or at least designed, a master plan of 'defending' its relevance on the world stage? How does each of the BRICS powers perceive the EU and how are they perceived by its European interlocutor? Is the co-ordination of non-Western countries co-operation within BRICS a threat to the primacy of Western countries and may it become a factor disturbing the fragile order that exists on the international political scene?

These questions are steadily growing in importance since the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, when the BRICS made their mark on the global economic landscape. The acronym 'BRIC' originated in a Jim O'Neill's report (2001), and the paper published 2 years later (Wilson and Purushothaman 2003), where Goldman Sachs' economists argued that the BRIC countries—Brazil, Russia, India and China—may eclipse many of the richest countries of the world by 2050 and become the four leading global economies. O'Neill predicted that China and India would become the dominant global suppliers of manufactured goods and services respectively, while Brazil and Russia would become similarly dominant as suppliers of raw materials. In December 2010, the BRIC was supplemented with the inclusion of South Africa.

The rise of the BRICS can be viewed as a catching-up process, thereby creating both opportunities and challenges for the EU—the very core and cradle of the West. Major challenges are emerging from the heterogeneous characters of individual BRICS countries, which pose quite different policy responses on the side of their partners, especially the EU. This “economic giant, political dwarf and military worm” (Whitney 1991) is confronted by the BRICS in terms of trade, investment, a shrinking stock of jobs (the effect of off-shoring and outsourcing), competition in products markets and changing patterns of commodity flows. Hence, economy matters, but at the same time there are different political systems (of individual member states), especially regarding state interference in the economy, which require different EU policy strategies towards individual BRICS’s members.

1 The Book’s Rationale and Objective

The book can be seen as an effort made by group of authors to advance discussion on the rise of BRICS, positioning the relationships of emerging powers with the EU, measuring its intensity, and assessing the impact of the EU—BRICS relationships on global governance. There is also a more general objective referring to the question shared by many IR scholars and policy-makers: Will future world politics be characterised by systemic conflict between the established powers (here the EU and its members) and the emerging late-comers (here BRICS) or by peaceful assimilation of the new powers into the existing liberal order. In simple words, the main purpose of this work is exploring the relations between the EU as a “smart” and economic power (but relatively losing its political standing) with other zones in Euro-Asia (Russia), Asia (China, India), Latin America (Brazil) and Africa (South Africa), namely BRICS, thereby also focusing on institutional linkages between these actors.

This book has been divided into two parts. The first has been centered on such themes as outlining and analysing the rise of BRICS, immersing it into theoretical approaches and linking it with global governance, tracing the development of a new global order where the BRICS and the EU experience transformations, assessing the effectiveness of BRICS and its institutionalisation, analysing and explaining how BRICS and the EU mark their way in global governance forums, such as the G20. The second part is focused on exploring the links between the EU and individual BRICS in areas of (1) politics, (2) economy, (3) trade and finance, (4) development, (5) external relations and security, exploring the opportunities and challenges in their mutual relationship.

2 The Chapter Contributions

Chapter “BRICS and the Evolution of a New Agenda Within Global Governance”, by Niall Duggan, develops a fresh look on the evolution of BRICS and a new agenda within global governance. He follows the constructivist approach,

according to which states are differentiated not just based on power, as would be the case in realism, but also according to a state's social role within a given system, which may change over time. He observes that the rise of the BRICS and the advance of the 2008 global financial crisis have fuelled a new round of debate concerning the sustainability of transatlantic norms, ideas and institutions that have dominated global governance since its foundation. Many of the bodies and organisations that help create global governance were developed between 1945 and 1980 and have been dominated by Western actors and a Western agenda. Using the role theory, this chapter looks at the rise of the BRICS within the international system and the evolution of a new agenda within global governance, such as the G20, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the United Nations.

Chapter "The BRICS in the Global Order: A New Political Agenda?", by Marco António Martins, views BRICS as the symbol of a new political and economic order. He argues that the international system, led by the United States (together with the EU member states), is presently experiencing turbulent structural changes that consists of the need to implement political, social and economic measures and to create adjustments of the political debate towards the construction of a policy that can respond concurrently to the overall welfare and to international stability. To that order, it's important to measure the limits and the possibilities of these 'new' actors. He questions: Is it only a matter of political power with international impact, or is it a matter of a new concept of civilization in the international system?

Chapter "Is BRICS Institutionalization Enhancing its Effectiveness?", by Marina Larionova and Andrey Shelepov, aims to explore how BRICS institutionalisation correlates with its effectiveness. Thus, the authors examine the data on BRICS institutionalisation in relation to several effectiveness dimensions. First, they look at how institutionalisation correlates with the balance of global governance functions in BRICS performance, namely: deliberation, direction-setting, decision-making, delivery and global governance development. This analysis is made on the basis of the discourse share devoted to a concrete function in the total annual discourse of the forum. Second, the authors explore BRICS contribution to a global governance agenda tracking the dynamics of priorities on the BRICS agenda and assessing the shares of specific priorities in the total discourse. Third, they evaluate the BRICS contribution to development of multilateral global governance, analysing the references to international institutions in the BRICS discourse, mandates to international institutions and mechanisms established by BRICS within the forum. Finally, the study looks at the BRICS compliance performance on concrete commitments made by the leaders at their summits.

Chapter "Participation of the European Union and the BRICS in the G20", by Marek Rewizorski, mainly focuses on the issue of participation of the European Union and BRICS in the G20 summits. There is question arising as to which roles are designed for the EU institutions. The analysis is conducted under post-Lisbon legal order and uses principal-agent model to explain the EU participation in the G20. Attention is also drawn to BRICS as leading emerging economies and political powers at the regional and international level extending their influence in the G20. He points at the increasing activity of emerging economies in the Group of

Twenty and explores the possibility of developing co-ordinated positions by the BRICS members in the G20 summits.

Chapter "Russia, China and the EU: Power Relations in a Complex International System", by Maria Raquel Freire, addresses the complexity of relations between Russia, China and the European Union (EU), in the broader context where these take place—the 'shared neighbourhoods' space and political, economic and security dynamics with a focus on energy. These three big players pursue co-operation and competitive policies, and the way in which they inter-relate, and not only define but empower their policies and practices, affects the balance of power between them. This chapter analyses the dynamics associated to Russia, EU and China relationships from the perspective of Russian foreign policy, with a focus on energy issues and how these have created (inter) dependencies crossing the geographical area where these actors are present. The author argues energy has been a game-changer in relationships among these actors, both empowering and obstructing the conduct of policies, at the bi-lateral level and in multi-lateral contexts. The internal/external inter-linkages shaping relations demonstrate duality in policies, either fostering co-operative dynamics or contributing to competition. From these interactions, selective balancing has been a common trend, allowing power shifts and adjustments in a changing international system.

Chapter "Examination of the Contemporary EU-China Economic and Political Links", by Mireia Paulo, views EU-China institutional relationships. Analysing this strategic partnership raises a number of questions. She looks at the political and economic links between the partners, referring also to potential issues for co-operation, such as climate change, emergency management and maritime security. The chapter also remarks on such sticking points such as human rights. It then explores the economic relationships by highlighting the economic and trade interdependencies. The author claims that mutual frictions persist in regard to the trade imbalance, the opacity of the Chinese market and anti-dumping practices.

Chapter "India's Rise, the European Union and the BRICS: An Uneasy Relation", by Johannes Dragsbaek Schmidt, aims to critically assess the current diplomatic and strategic relationships between India and the EU, using the critical international political economy (CPE) approach. In the author's view, there are fundamental deficits on both sides—most of them domestic—that impede their explicit or implicit foreign policy, security and global projections, as well as their abilities to work together effectively. He argues that the Eurozone crisis has changed the potential for a unified EU foreign policy and sharply added to the skeptical perception in Delhi of a Europe which does not present a coherent platform towards India in diplomacy, security and geo-politics. The India—EU relationship has been determined by the national interests or preferences of its member states, which are reflected in the lack of trust and no real shared interests between the two so called strategic partners.

Chapter "From Interregionalism to Bilateralism: Power and Interests in EU-Brazil Trade Cooperation", by Aukje van Loon, focuses, within the context of the EU's relations with Latin America and more specifically Mercosur (Mercado Común del Sur), on the relationship with Brazil. The author notes that bilateral

co-operation, in this case group-to-country co-operation between the EU and Brazil, was institutionalised at the Lisbon Summit of July 2007, culminating in the EU—Brazil strategic partnership. This partnership was an indication of the EU's recognition of the position Brazil today occupies in the international system. On the other hand, as she observes, it lays bare the EU's limited success with Mercosur. This shift from an interregional approach with Mercosur to one of bilateral engagement with Brazil leads to the question of why, after so many years of efforts had been made to develop group-to-group relations with Mercosur, has the EU shifted to direct bilateral relations with Brazil? In answering this question, the author uses a dual-causal framework, highlighting the basic characteristics of two theoretical paradigms in international relations, neo-realism and liberalism.

Finally, chapter "Opportunities, Challenges and Prospects of South Africa in the BRICS" by Sotiris Petropoulos, analyses opportunities, challenges and prospects of South Africa in the BRICS, as the last country to be included in the BRIC (S) grouping during December 2010. This development initially generated much skepticism due to the significant differences from the other members of the grouping, especially in terms of GDP, population size and overall importance in the global financial landscape. He observes that South Africa can be viewed as the representative of Sub-Saharan Africa (leader of Southern African Development Community—SADC, prominent member of the African Union—AU) while being the only African country in the G20 which also enjoys special ties with the EU due to its history and current EU policies. And even in financial terms, South Africa is reported as the world's richest country in terms of mineral reserves while it has a highly developed and modern financial system. He argues, that part of a push for transforming the global governance structures towards being more responsive to developing world's voices, South Africa can expect a better placement in global order, while its inclusion offers the BRICS initiative the view that its agenda represents the welfare of the developing world as a whole.

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