

The World Order and Global Challenges Faced by BRICS Cooperation

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On September 4th, the BRICS leaders met for the ninth time in Xiamen

Abstract: *Where is the existing world order moving? Where is globalization going at this stage? These are the two fundamental challenge facing the current world as well the BRICS cooperation today. Can BRICS cooperation play a key role in maintaining the world order and building a new world order? Can BRICS cooperation rectify globalization and create a meaningful 'new development'?*

I. Introduction

In Chinese, the "BRICS" refers to the member countries (Brazil, China, India, Russia and South Africa) participating in the international coordination and international cooperation. So far, the BRICS is still just an international forum. The concept of "BRICS Cooperation Organization" has not yet emerged.

Despite the various proposals, the BRICS has not been replaced by such as G5 (the 5 nations group) or G11 (a group formed by 11 largest emerging economies).

From 2013 to 2016, the leaders of the BRICS members in Durban, Fortaleza, Ufa and Goa held 4 meetings (Chinese side did not use the wording "summit"). After each meeting, a

statement (declaration was used sometimes in Chinese) was issued. It is worth noting that the "declaration" or "statement" was not yet modified by "joint", i.e. "Joint Declaration" was not used, but the "hosting city + declaration" such as Goa Declaration, etc..

All the BRICS statements include contents on the international order. The above 4 documents use the wording "international order" in stead of "world order", "Give full play to the central role of the United Nations and respect the fundamental position of international law, build a more equitable, democratic and multi-polar international order." "The international community should work together to respond to these challenges, achieve sustainable peace and build a more just, equal, democratic and multi-polar international order." "Safeguard the fair and just international order based on the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations." ¹

The global governance structure formed on the basis of pattern of international force has gradually lost its legitimacy and effectiveness, resulting in the increasing prevalence of transitional and temporary arrangements and seriously eroding multilateralism. We believe that the BRICS members is an important force for progressive change in the existing mechanism, and help to achieve a more representative and more equitable global governance, to promote a more inclusive global growth, and to build peaceful, stable and prosperous world", "we reaffirm the commitment to maintaining a fair and just international order based on the Charter of the United Nations." ²

"We reaffirm our strong support for the United Nations as the most important multilateral forum, carrying the mission of bringing about hope, peace, order and sustainable development to the world." ³

This paper intends to observe the BRICS framework and its development direction in the future by jumping out of the BRICS cooperation, but to select two focus of global issues -- the world order and globalization, discussing its present and future roles in these

two major issues, and then put forward the strategic proposals on how to improve the BRICS cooperation.

II. The relationship between the global framework and the world order

The author has discussed the relationship between the BRICS cooperation and the shifting world order. ⁴ This article emphasizes the relationship between the BRICS framework and the world order.

Currently, in the United States and Europe, etc, there are worries and even fears about the disruption, failure, and even the possible anarchism of the (existing) world order. Then, is the BRICS a factor for the world disorder worried by the West? Is the BRICS cooperation a heavy blow against the "liberal (liberalism) order"? Or is the BRICS cooperation an inevitable process to prevent disorder of the world, and build the "Western liberal order" into "a global liberal order"? Can the BRICS play an indispensable role in ensuring the world order transformation (from the West-dominated world order to a more just and democratic world order) and the future orderliness of the world?

The BRICS countries never mention anything about establishing a new international order, let alone building a new world order. It is a judgment or panic of the West to talk about that the BRICS members are shaping a new world order. However, some Western critics statements on the BRICS shaping a new world order are not based on what the BRICS say, but based on what the BRICS "do" to discuss the relationship between the BRICS members and the world order. The current main "actions" of the BRICS cooperation, that is, the establishment and operation of a New Development Bank and Stringent Reserve Arrangement and so on are generally interpreted as a try at shaping a new world order. ⁵ Indeed, these new international institutions (especially the new international financial institutions) have emerged in the

world order for the first time since the Bretton Woods system was born in the middle of the 1940s.

Of course, the article pays very much attention to the distinction between an "international order" and a "world order". The BRICS members insist on and demand for improving "the international order", and what it means to the "world order"? At least in the past 30 years (after the reunification of Germany in 1989), the BRICS members are part of the existing globalization of the world. The international order is not enough to solve the problems of globalization. It is here that the international legitimacy of the BRICS cooperation is based. In "the sixth BRICS leaders meeting" documents, there is a sentence to which we failed to pay enough attention: "global governance structure based on the previous pattern of international force is gradually losing its legitimacy and effectiveness, leading to increasingly prevalent transitional and temporary arrangements, seriously eroding multilateralism." In fact, the BRICS cooperation is no more than these "transitional and provisional arrangements? While adhering to the "international order", the BRIC members show general and large-scale acceptance and use of "global governance" concept quite different from the "international order". It is again in the "Fortaleza Declaration" that the BRICS members once again call for "more representative and more equitable global governance, for promoting a more inclusive global growth, for building a world of peace, stability and prosperity", ⁶ and inconsistency or contradictions between "international" and "world" can be almost seen across the board in the discourse system of the BRICS members.

As mentioned above, the BRICS member countries have their differences in the "world order" behind their "consensus" on the "international order". The future of BRICS cooperation depends on whether the member countries can face the world order and achieve real consensus on the world order.

In the 4 statements of the BRICS member countries, there is wording on "gradual change"

of the existing international order. The existing international order is essentially an open or liberal multilateral system. The United States and other Western countries call the order "the liberal world order". The United States and Europe, however, are in dominant position in this liberal order. Actually, what the BRICS members is unsatisfied is not the liberal order itself, but the control of this order by the United States and other Western countries. The usual American explanation for this control is that the United States plays the role of "world leadership" (leading the world). What the BRICS members try to "gradually" change is only the U.S. control or the U.S. leadership, which is the same as the BRICS members request the international financial institutions of Bretton Woods to increase the BRICS decision-making power, which will not change the "liberal" nature of the current global multilateral institutions, but can also support or strengthen the liberal order as the U.S. contribution to these institutions on continuous decline. However, there emerge two problems: first, in the view of the United States and other Western countries, non-western countries entry into the order does not mean the liberal order expanded or strengthened, but the liberal order becomes more mixed, or even not liberal any more. ⁷Second, the "pragmatic" cooperation from the BRICS members indicates that the power and position of all countries in the BRICS cooperation are absolutely on equal footing, and there is no dominant or hegemonic state as in the Bretton Woods system. This is cooperation without hegemony. Such rules actually lead to the BRICS cooperation that is not a "liberal" cooperation. If too much emphasis is put on power and competing for power, then, many small and medium-sized countries may find it difficult to participate in its cooperation. In addition, China's super economic strength in the BRICS, the absolute equality of the BRICS internal governance rules may become special arrangements to restrict China's leadership or limit China's leadership.

In a word, the order demands of the BRICS members seem to work for a more improved liberal international order, but from

motives and actions of the BRICS member countries, and what the BRICS members pursue is only a realist "(realism) international order". If it is not in the pursuit of global (open, inclusive and fair) liberal world order, but only a realist (pragmatic) international order, then, which is not the liberal world order in the era of globalization. The BRICS members are indeed beneficiaries of liberal world order. But, unfortunately, some people mistakenly equate the liberal world order to the U.S.-led or West-led (indeed, some Americans also have such narrow understanding and recognition of the liberal order) order, so the BRICS member countries hesitate to openly and comprehensively support liberal global order.

On January 17, 2017, Chinese President Xi Jinping called for support of free trade and globalization at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, which is an extremely correct understanding and action. This thinking and action point to the direction for the BRICS "second decade" in the future. A series of Xi Jinping's speeches, especially the speeches on the Belt and Road Initiative state that the Belt and Road Initiative is "open" and "inclusive", so he believes that only these openness and inclusiveness can eventually last stably.⁸ As one of the BRICS members, China finally voices what the BRICS cooperation must say, a "pursuit" by the "realist (realism)" international order, after all, cannot stably last. The future of the BRICS depends on its embrace of the global liberal order.

What the BRICS members disagree should not be the "global liberal order", but should be the control of the liberal order by the world leadership role of those countries including the United States.

The UK's decision to secede from the European Union (Brexit) has exposed the serious problems of the European integration that is pivotal in the current world order. The European Union (EU), without Britain, will be a EU's reform in failure, and its role in the world order will be on decline. The EU was

once a direct or indirect example of integration for other regions of the world. The EU crisis will have a negative impact on the integration process of other regions of the world. And if economic nationalism (the United States First) is applied to guide the relationship between the United States and the world, the existing multilateral systems (such as the World Trade Organization) and the global governance process (such as global climate governance) will be greatly impacted.

In the future "second decade", can the BRICS members reach frank consensus on the world order? If the BRICS members can hardly reach an agreement on the world order, the current operation of the international institution (such as the BRICS NEW Development Bank), or its demand for a just, fair and reasonable international order in the world cannot make real progress. Different from the beginning, nowadays a decade later, the West has noticed and acknowledged the existence of the BRICS cooperation. Can the BRICS members and the Western countries coordinate and achieve consensus on the issue of world order and establish a truly mixed or hybrid (mixed or hybrid) world order in the global framework, including the BRICS, such as the G-20?

It is not the BRICS forum, cooperation covering almost everything, that is the most striking, but its international financial cooperation, similar to the Bretton Woods system, institutionalized and newly born, while the goal and function restricted by its self. These new international financial institutions are different from the Bretton Woods system and, in theory, may contribute to the reform of the international financial system. BRICS members in the international financial system demand their decision-making power (voting rights) in conformity to their economic strength. The BRICS institutions (such as New Development Bank) in the future are to last

steadily - sustainably, and must comply with the logic of this international cooperation.

In addition to the backbone of international financial cooperation, the BRICS must have another pillar, this pillar is one of the central points of this article, i.e. the global governance for global peace and global security, concretely speaking the global coordination (global concerts of powers).

The BRICS once establishes and operates a global concert of powers (global coordination), which is important supplement and contribution currently to the Security Council of the United Nations system and other global governance systems, and will play a crucial role in the maintenance of world peace.

At present, the BRICS countries pay attention to a series of major global issues. But the real coordination of these issues, that is to solve these problems is not enough, still far away from the goal to provide the "BRICS solutions" decided by the BRICS framework.

To contribute to the new world order and play a role in addressing global major challenges, the existing BRICS membership is inadequate, and more members (stakeholders) will be required to participate. Therefore, expansion of BRICS membership is necessary and urgent. However, expansion cannot only admit qualified ones economically, attaching importance not only to economies scale, but to admit those important countries identifying with the BRICS concept of world order (the principles and values). The expanded BRICS framework is more conducive to global coordination (concert of powers).

From the above-understanding, the author proposes the following few points:

(1) BRICS member countries should hold a special summit on world order. The BRICS is born as the world is moving to disorder, and the BRICS does not exacerbate the world's disorder and causes conflicts between world orders. The BRICS is not to reinvent the wheel. To restart

means overturning the basic international system such as the United Nations system and others formed after the Second World War. The aim of the BRICS is to improve the current world order so that it becomes global, multilateral, open, inclusive and fair.

(2) Under the circumstances that the world disorder may be accelerated, policy coordination on the world order by the BRICS members should be accelerated rather than slowed down, and should be strengthened rather than weakened.

(3) The BRICS member countries should leverage its collective position in international cooperation such as the United Nations and the G20, call on western countries to hold a global conference on the world order under the framework of the United Nations, and to soon possible reach consensus on what the new world order is and how to prevent world disorder, so as to prevent emergence of a world order conflict.

(4) The international financial system under the BRICS framework is inadequate, and there must be a global concert of powers for long-term peace for the world under the BRICS framework. Economically and financially, the new emerging international financial institutions in operation and under construction such as the BRICS "New Development Bank" and "Stringent Reserve Arrangement" should become a pilot project of the global economic governance with "new development" as the goal. Regarding world peace and international security, the BRICS cooperation should be further institutionalized and become a pilot project of global security governance - global coordination (concert of powers) with "lasting peace" as the goal.

II. The global challenges faced by BRICS cooperation

For most countries, globalization means

more profound challenges and it is necessary to respond to the challenges of globalization from all perspectives. International cooperation has long been regarded as a fundamental solution to the challenges of globalization.

It is not nowadays that globalization generates some problems in the West and elsewhere. The emergence of the BRICS mechanism provides a solution to the difficulties or challenges met by globalization driven by Western developed countries. In 2001, economist Jim O'Neill, having worked for Goldman Sachs and the British Conservative Party Administration, proposed the "BRICs" (excluding South Africa then) concept, as people's optimistic view of globalization after the end of the Cold War was being replaced by a more cautious view of realism. In 1999, the first high-profile anti-globalization social protests broke out in places like America and Europe (such as Seattle).

The author has not interviewed O'Neill and in no way knows whether he took into account the "anti-globalization" social protests staged in Seattle and other places while he put forward this concept. However, a neglected situation is that the reason that he-proposed concept attracts so much attention is just because this concept points to a way to meet the difficulties encountered by globalization in the United States and Europe, which can be seen from the fact that the G20 forum after 2008 was upgraded to political summit.

O'Neill's concept is indeed an excellent solution. Actually, Russia became a member of G8 in 1998. In 2001, China joined the World Trade Organization (WTO). In 2003, G8 invited China and India, etc. for dialogue (G20 predecessor). This trend developed into 2008 when globalization with the United States as the center finally met with crisis, in fact, it is the BRICS members that help the United States and other Western countries to respond to this crisis.

For a while, many people enjoy the honeymoon of globalization. The "global capital" from the west and rapid progress of technology strike a strategic alliance with the current BRICS members "labor dividend" and "ecological environment (including land) dividend", greatly deepens and extends the globalization, creates super prosperity hitherto unknown in human history. This process is once thought to have affected almost all regions and all peoples on earth ever before.⁹

However, the expansion of connotation and extension of globalization can only temporarily alleviate the plight of globalization. Since 2008, the following situations have occurred: First, China and other BRICS members have also experienced different economic decline, and the so-called "quality of the BRICS" is not good.¹⁰ The transformation of China's economic growth mode has not been realized, and the "MIT" has not yet been overcome, the aging population and climate change challenge the sustainability of the economic growth. Second, the West has been trying to settle the imbalance posed by globalization through politics (democracy), and solve those problems incubated by globalization, but old politics are hard to cope with new economic problems. The U.S. response to the challenge of globalization through political change did not start with the year 2016. American voters regard Barack Obama as a "hope of change", and Barack Obama is elected under the banner of "change". After Obama came to power, his health care reform and climate change policies are all in response to the challenges of globalization. However, Obama Administration's 8 years of adjustment had not fundamentally solved the problem.

Global governance is universally pushed as globalization is considered "inevitable". In the 1990s, the then U.S. President William J. Clinton and British Prime Minister Anthony C. L. Blair were talking bombastically about the "globalization's" inevitability. In fact, global governance is the answer to the challenge of globalization, i.e. global challenges and global solutions. In the theory and practice of global

governance, international norms, human-centered international standards, rules and institutions are the main body, such as "more humanized globalization" (global economic governance), "human rights" (the global human rights governance), "human security" and "protection responsibilities" (global security governance), "human development" (global development governance), etc. However, in the context of globalization across the board, these "human-centered" global governance norms, rules and institutions are not truly implemented.

At present across the world, many countries and non-state actors (such as the United Nations) become more and more aware of disastrous consequences such as the increasingly expanded inequality among humankind and the deteriorating environment on which future human generations to come should survive, the earth resource depletion and others caused by globalization.¹¹

BRICS members and BRICS cooperation must be fully aware of the deep relationship between BRICS and globalization, and identify the BRICS cooperation as a collective action plan to respond to the challenges of globalization.

Not only European and American countries have to face the problems brought about by globalization, the BRICS member countries also need to face the problems brought about by globalization. The challenges of globalization to the BRICS members are more severe than that to the European and American countries. Compared with the BRICS members, European and American countries take the lead to solve the global challenges, and may go out of the predicament of globalization earlier. Many Western countries through political reform correct the problems of globalization, the BRICS member countries should have sense of more urgency, not only deepen the reform from the domestic perspective, but also correct the imbalances in

the globalization disorder from the global mutual cooperation perspective. Thus, the globalization promoted by the BRICS is a real "New Globalization", Otherwise, the BRICS will continue to maintain the outdated globalization full of problems.

Similar to the issue of world order, the future of BRICS cooperation will depend on new consensus about globalization and its direction among member states. Globalization from yesterday's "inevitability" to today's globalization in retreat and to even de-globalization in some sectors and places "make the BRICS members obtain collective heating from a common market". What this collective efforts needs to avoid is to drive globalization to go into a direction that must be avoided today. Or, even if such globalization is given a "new" name, it is ultimately unsustainable.

The Chinese government has launched the Belt and Road Initiative in attempt to pave a path for "new globalization". It is well-done and has been recognized by the international community. The "new globalization" is first of all to solve seriously neglected problems of the real basic economy of the globalization in the past, China attempts through infrastructure investment around the world, especially to connect Asia, Africa, Europe, and even Latin America. If this connectivity achieved, this will be the world's largest development of interrelationship. China is not only in the world, but also among the BRICS members, to take the lead in rectifying (balancing) globalization. In this sense, the BRICS cooperation needs to respond to China's new globalization policies and actions. Can the BRICS cooperation and the Belt and Road Initiative complement each other?¹²

The actual situation may not be so optimistic. Within the BRICS, its members such as Brazil, which is still perplexed by the problems of the globalization in the past - all new political and economic crisis are

continuation of the old ones. While India, however, always considers and responds to any international initiative sponsored by China from a geopolitical perspective, and adopts a competitive and confrontational posture. The predicament of China-India bilateral relations would affect the cooperation effectiveness between the two countries in the multilateral framework, including the BRICS.

From the above understanding, the author proposes the following few points:

(1) The BRICS needs to reconfirm the correct direction of globalization, BRICS member countries should individually and collectively try to solve the challenges of globalization over the past few decades at domestic, regional and global levels, respond to the negative side of the globalization, and set up examples in their respective countries and within the BRICS to avoid the beaten track of the globalization and pursue a brand new globalization.

(2) Take the "new development", i.e.

reducing human inequality, promoting human free development, maintaining human common security, achieving lasting peace, safeguarding human basic rights, building responsible society, keeping ecological sustainability, etc. as globalization goals commonly pursued the BRICS.

Ending comments

The BRICS cooperation is the biggest kinetic energy in the current world order and globalization changes, but its prospects are still impacted by some uncertainties. In the first decade, the BRICS is an important factor affecting the world situation. In its second decade, where will the BRICS develop? Can the BRICS member countries reach the common denominator in shaping a new world order and a new globalization? It has to redouble its efforts in this historical process.

(Excerpts of the article from the *International Review* No. 4, 2017)

Footnotes:

1. See 2016 Goa Declaration by the 8th BRICS Leaders Meeting.
2. See 2014 Fortaleza Declaration by the 6th BRICS Leaders Meeting.
3. See 2013 Durban Declaration by the 5th BRICS Leaders Meeting.
4. See Pang Zhongying, "BRICS Cooperation and the World Order in Transition", *Academic Front*, September, 2014.
5. There are lots of similar comments, such as W. P. S. Sidhu, "Brics: Shaping a New World Order, finally", <https://www.brookings.edu/opinion/brons-shaping-a-new-world-order-finally/>
6. See 2014 Fortaleza Declaration by the 6th BRICS Leaders Meeting.
7. See <https://www.wiltonpark.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/WP1534-Report.pdf>.
8. Xi Jinping, "Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the Belt and Road International Cooperation Forum, Beijing, 14 May 2017.
9. Robert O. Keohane, "Governance in a Partially Globalized World: Presidential Address, American Political Science Association, 2000, <https://www.princeton.edu/system/files/research/documents/finalapsrpaper.pdf>.
10. See Wu Jinglian, "Supply-side Reform: Reshaping China's Layout in Economic Transformation, Beijing, China Wenshi Press, 2016, P.3.
11. See Antonio Guterres speech at Opening Ceremony of the Belt and Road International Cooperation Forum.
12. See Pang Zhongying, "Where will the BRICS Cooperation Go?", *Contemporary World*, No.6, 2017.

Guiding the Global Economic Governance System Reform in the Spirit of BRICS

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BRICS cooperation is praised as a typical model of emerging market economies and developing countries. With the joint efforts of Member States, BRICS cooperation has successfully passed through the first decade, and has yielded fruitful results in politics, economy, humanity and many other fields. On the occasion of the start of cooperation in the second decade, the BRICS 5 members should uphold the spirit of openness, inclusiveness, cooperation and all-win outcomes, enhance mutual understanding, consolidate the consensus on development, strengthen solidarity and cooperation, effectively enhance the institutional discourse and influence of the emerging economies in the global trade and investment, the sustainable development, the international financial system and energy governance pattern, promote the reform of the global economic governance system with the BRICS members cooperation to work together to build a community of shared future for mankind.

The right time to push the global economic governance system reform

Currently, the situation of international economic cooperation and competition is undergoing profound changes, and the global economic governance system and rules are facing major adjustments. The existing global economic governance framework has been unable to effectively cope with a series of problems and challenges facing the global economy, so the urgency to reform the global economic governance system has become

increasingly prominent. Only by adapting to the new requirements of the international economic pattern, can we provide a strong safeguards for the global economic development.

In the past 10 years, the proportion of the BRICS total economy to the world economy rose from 12% to 23%, the total trade volume rose from 11% to 16%, the foreign investment rose from 7% to 12%, 3 billion people's quality of life is improving continuously, and the international role and standing of the BRICS 5 members are constantly upgrading. In the past decade, the BRICS cooperation continues to get deeper and more effective, and has formed multi-level, all-dimensional, and wide-ranging cooperation mechanisms led by the leaders summit, with senior representatives of security affairs, professional ministers meeting and coordinator meetings as the backbone and with business forum, financial forum, entrepreneurs forum and think tank meetings as the support. With further deepening of the mechanisms, pragmatic cooperation of economics and trade between the BRICS member countries is becoming more and more mature and improved, has basically formed a rather comprehensive and solid economic and trade cooperation framework covering trade and investment facilitation, trade in services, e-commerce, intellectual property rights and multilateral policy coordination.

In the second decade of cooperation among the BRICS, the BRICS 5 member countries should actively participate in promoting international economic and financial reform, in consolidation and innovation of the

multilateral trading system and international relations democratization, legalization and rationalization, so as to ensure equal opportunities, equal rights, and equal rules, to become active participant, and firm promoter and leading reformer of the global economic governance system, and to contribute to the world the "BRICS program".

Work together to build a new-type global economic governance system in 21st Century

As a new force in the international political and economic arena, the BRICS has become an indispensable player in participating in global affairs. But be aware, compared to the mature Group of 7 (G-7) and the Group of 20 (G-20), the institutional arrangements of BRICS cooperation mechanisms are still lagging behind in the role deciding, agenda setting, program performing, agreement reaching and membership admitting, etc. In this regard, the BRICS members should uphold the open, inclusive, cooperative and all-win spirit, conform to the trend of adjusting and involving world political and economic situation, follow the principle of multilateralism and the basic principles of international relations, work together to build a new-type global economic governance system in 21st Century with enhancing the representation and discourse of emerging market economies and developing countries as the goal, with promoting reforms of world trade and investment pattern, the global development governance structure and international financial governance system as well as global energy governance pattern as the priorities.

upholding the spirit of openness and promoting the building of an open and transparent world trade and investment governance pattern. Crystallizing consensus, leveraging the comparative advantages of member countries, strengthening the industrial

chain and value chain division and collaboration, promoting trade and investment continuously to play an important engine for global economic growth with implementing the BRICS Strategy for Economic Partnership and Framework on Strengthening BRICS Economic and Technological Cooperation as an opportunity to inject new vitality into the process of the world trade and investment governance pattern in difficulties. Speeding up and facilitating the free flow of personnel, goods and services, capital and technology, promoting trade liberalization with the greatest sincerity and making contributions to the construction of an open, inclusive, universal, balanced and all-win economic globalization. Continuously supporting and maintaining the multilateral trading system, promoting the progress achieved by the Doha Round negotiations as early as possible, opposing all forms of trade protectionism, and safeguarding the common interests of emerging market economies and developing countries. Guided by the Outline for BRICS Investment Facilitation Cooperation, improving the transparency of investment policies and measures, reducing the cost and administrative burden of potential investors, enhancing coordination and consistency of transnational investment cooperation, reducing the fragmentation tendency of investment rules from the head source, and striving to create a transparent, efficient, fair and stable investment environment. Speeding up the discussions for establishment of the BRICS free trade area, exploring new models of economic and trade cooperation for emerging economies, and setting an example for South-South cooperation worldwide.

Practicing the spirit of inclusiveness, and promoting the construction of coordinated and interacted global development governance pattern. Strengthening strategic docking to ensure inclusiveness of different systems,

mutual learning of different civilizations, mutual benefit of different models, and striving to achieve coordinated and linked development. Strengthening the core position of the right to development, adhering to the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities, promoting the implementation of the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, attaining the inclusive, universal and sustainable growth, assuring everyone to enjoy the dignity and development. Giving constructive play to the role of the BRICS New Development Bank in promoting deep cooperation among the member countries, and concentrating resources on building a number of demonstrative and leading quality projects to inject new vitality into the development of emerging market economies. Holding high the banner of righteousness, and striving to achieve new breakthroughs in poverty eradication, disease prevention and control capacity, and the creation of high-quality employment, and ensuring more countries and various groups to share the fruits of world economic growth.

Inheriting the spirit of cooperation, and promoting the construction of a fair and efficient global financial governance pattern. Strengthening high-level policy coordination; and actively promoting the BRICS cooperation mechanized, systematic and solid; and striving to enhance the legitimate rights and interests of emerging economies in international financial governance. Continuously promoting the International Monetary Fund (IMF) voting rights and governance structure reform so as to start as soon as possible the implementation of the 15th round of inspection on total shares, and effectively enhance the financial discourse of emerging economies. Supporting the construction of the international official debt restructuring platform, so as to promote the Paris Club to expand its membership to admit more emerging creditor countries. Further expanding the market use of the special

drawing rights (SDR) and strengthening its role of a stabilizer and ballast as an above-sovereign currency in the international financial and monetary system. Drawing on the successful experience of the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and other multilateral development financial institutions, further building, maintaining, and developing the BRICS New Development Bank and the Stringent Reserve Arrangement, and maintaining the stability of the international financial markets. Promoting the construction of anti-cyclical macro-prudential financial management system framework, closely monitoring potential risks and signs of problems to avoid a negative impact of high-intensity cross-border capital flows on economic growth.

Carrying forward the all-win spirit, and promoting the construction of a green and low-carbon global energy governance pattern. Deepening practical cooperation in the field of energy, and promoting the construction of a more effective, open, inclusive and universal global energy governance framework. Orderly promoting the global energy network construction, making great efforts to build a clean energy + smart grid + UHV grid ecosystem, and comprehensively enhancing the efficiency of energy development and utilization by emerging economies. Vigorously promoting green financial innovation, strengthening environmental protection and ecological construction efforts through environmental funds, green credit, green securities, green bonds, green insurance and other innovative financial products. Further calling on the international community to fully comply with the Paris Agreement on Climate Change, and earnestly enhancing the ability to respond to climate change by developing countries.

(Excerpts of the article from Guangming Daily, August 31, 2017)

BRICS Cooperation: a High Building Starts with the Foundation

By Song Yin and Xu Lin, PLA Daily Senior Rporters

A few lines to begin with

On September 3rd in Xiamen, having attended the BRICS Business Forum Opening Ceremony and delivered a keynote speech, President Xi Jinping recalled the extraordinary history of the BRICS cooperation development, came up with a profound summary of practical enlightenment, put forward the Chinese ideas and Chinese program to open the second "golden decade" for the BRICS cooperation, and drew a beautiful vision for the BRICS cooperation to become deepened, solid and stabilized to go into the future.

The red logo for China, green logo for Brazil, blue logo for Russia, orange logo for India, and yellow logo for South Africa, the five colorful logos go very well together, like the sails on a big boat, and also like a rotating earth, a metaphor for the BRICS to pull together in times of difficulties to drive towards a better future.

A decade of painstaking work and hardships, 10 years of encouragement to each other. As a typical model for emerging market economies to get united for self-building, and for reform and innovation, the BRICS has already developed close cooperation among its member countries from the simple investment concept led by the BRICS leaders summits and

supported by meetings of foreign ministers and other ministerial meetings, and continuously brought about fresh surging BRICS positive energy for the world.

The 10-year experience for the BRICS member countries to come together is inseparable from their mutual understanding and cooperation, as well as from the increasingly important Chinese contribution, Chinese commitment and Chinese wisdom.

As one of the founders of the BRICS, China with other BRICS members have always been committed to deepening practical cooperation to achieve mutual benefits and all-win outcomes. In 2014, at the BRICS leaders sixth summit held in Fortaleza, Brazil, President Xi Jinping initiated to develop "open, inclusive, cooperative, all-win" spirit of the BRICS, and to establish a closer, more comprehensive and solid partnerships.

Since this initiative, the BRICS members continue to strengthen communication, cooperation and strategy docking, turning the BRICS spirit into programs and put it into action, harvest gratifying fruits not only for the benefits of peoples of the five member countries, and has also made outstanding contributions to safeguarding the interests of the vast number of developing countries and

improving the global governance system.

In the face of the complicated international environment, the world expects more Chinese voices. In recent years, China's leaders have put forward a series of new concepts, new ideas and new strategies for global governance and development, which have been widely recognized by the international community. Meanwhile, as an initiator of the BRICS spirit, China is changing from experiencing a beneficiary from globalization to globalization contributor and guide, more and more countries are beginning to take China's development "ride", and choose to join the BRICS cooperation circle of friends.

Even high mountains and deep seas cannot distance people with common aspirations. Looking forward to the magnificent prospect of BRICS cooperation, as President Xi Jinping points out: the BRICS member countries will usher in a more vigorous second decade, let us work together with the international community, let our cooperation benefit peoples of the five member countries, let the well-being of world peace and development benefit people across the world.

Records of collaboration on the way forward in the first decade

Extensive consultation for cooperation strategy, jointly plan development blueprint. The BRICS cooperation develops from nothing, from surface to depth, prioritizes on development, and upholds mutual benefit. Having gone through a decade of hardships and rainstorm, the BRICS cooperation is developing healthily with great vitality and has become a key-force for pushing global economic growth, improving global economic governance, and maintaining world peace and stability.

The BRICS impact is getting significant. China, Russia, Brazil, India and South Africa are respectively located in Asia, Europe,

America, and Africa, their total territory amount to 30% of that of the world, their voting rights accounts for 13% of that of World Bank, their total population for 44% of that of the world, and their shares for 15% of that of the International Monetary Fund.

The BRICS has become an important engine because of growth rate. From the year 2006 to the year 2016, the BRICS total economic aggregate to that of the world rose to 23% from 12%, total trade volume to 16% from 11%, total overseas investment to 12% from 7%, and contribution rate to the world economy is more than 50%. The IMF forecasts that by 2030, the economic growth of the BRICS members will be higher than that for developed countries and other newly emerging economies. The BRICS becomes regional standard and leads innovations. The BRICS annual R&D input accounts for 17% of the World total, its high-tech products exports volume is close to US\$ 6 trillion, about 28% of the world products, about 590,000 technical papers are published, amounting to about 27% of the world technical papers. The BRICS members contribution to world technical innovation gradually increases with growing impacts. The BRICS members have become regional standards and a leading force, guiding technical, economic and social development in their surrounding areas.

The BRICS financial reform pushes exchanges. On July 15, 2014, the BRICS New Development Bank was established, with operational funds of US\$50 billion, stringent reserves funds of US\$100 billion, further simplifying the settlements and loans between the BRICS members, effectively assuring capital flow and trade. In April 2016, the BRICS New Development Bank announced the first group of projects with its loans worth US\$811 million, used for green energy projects for China, India, Brazil and South Africa. In July 2016, the BRICS New Development Bank issues its first green bonds, totaling 3 billion

Yuan RMB.

The BRICS cultural exchanges show many shining spots. In 2014, China opened 34 Confucius Schools in the BRICS five members, and students of other BRICS members in China totaled more than 340000. In October 2015, the BRICS Universities Union was established, so BRICS Universities can exchange teachers and students, student credits are mutually recognized and degree can be mutually awarded.

Openness: continuously exploring march forward, and seeking common development

History always starts quietly from incubating situation. In 2001, among many world shaking events, the British economist Jim O'Neill created the "BRICs" concept, which was then still only a small investment group concept. However, it is at the end of the year that China formally assessed to the World Trade Organization and began to embrace the globalization in a more open manner. Other BRICS member countries have also taken the process of opening up with the role of emerging market economies.

Today, when looking back on the formation of the BRICS cooperation mechanism, we can find that adhering to the "open" policy is the founding spirit and a firm and consistent action of the BRICS. As a group representative of emerging market economies, soon after the BRICS cooperation started, it has met with the wide-spread of the global financial crisis so far. Since the outbreak of the crisis, the world economic "full recovery" scene is unable to emerge, but we are faced by "new mediocrity" picture such as low growth, low employment, low trade flows, anti-globalization, etc.

What actions should the world take? Where can the BRICS go? At this critical moment, in the face of "BRICS fading theory",

the voices of doubt, the BRICS member countries choose to get united to march forward, with unwavering open posture.

At the beginning of 2013 in Durban, South Africa, President Xi Jinping attended the BRICS leaders meeting for the first time. He said in the keynote speech: we should leverage the partnership to closely connect the BRICS member countries together, make great efforts to promote cooperation in areas of economics and trade, finance, infrastructure, personnel exchanges and others, and move toward the goal of integrated big market, big circulation at multi-levels, land-sea-air connectivity, cultural exchanges. In July this year, President Xi Jinping presided over the informal meeting of BRICS leaders in Hamburg, Germany, and stressed that the BRICS member countries should unswervingly in their efforts build an open world economy.

It is upholding the spirit of openness that the BRICS members, in the rise of anti-globalization today, still collaborate together, create a miracle, and produce a beautiful report card. In the first "BRICS decade", the proportion of the BRICS aggregate economy to that of the world rose from 12% to 23%, the total trade volume rose from 11% to 16%, the total overseas investment rose from 7% to 12%, and the contribution to world economic growth was more than 50%, thus, becoming the backbone force for guiding globalization. Even more demanding people have to admit that, compared with some of the challenges of today, the BRICS members, which adhere to the open road, have more opportunities to grow together.

Today, standing on the new starting point to open up further, facing just unfolding development of the BRICS, Jim O'Neill said emotionally that he never thought that the "BRICs" could get so popular, and become the symbols to describe the rise of emerging market economies, and the changing world

trends.

Inclusiveness: based on treating each other equally and adhering to seeking common ground while reserving differences

On April 18th this year, Liu Jieyi, Permanent Representative of China to the United Nations, made a speech on behalf of the BRICS. This is the first time since establishment of the BRICS cooperation mechanism in 2006 the BRICS member countries speak with one voice on major international issues in the United Nations.

As an international organization covering a population of 3 billion, as a cooperation platform composed of the emerging market economies in four continents and across the North and South hemisphere, people cannot help asking: what is it that has finally brought the BRICS member countries far across different geographical distance and transcending the development path and social system together.

Today the clash of civilizations can be heard without end to our ears, in the face of common destiny for mankind, President Xi Jinping points out: "different civilization embodies the different national wisdom and contribution, there should be no distinction between high or low civilizations, or between superior and inferior civilizations. There should be Dialogues among civilizations not exclusion between them; there should be exchanges but not be replacement among them.

Along the extraordinary journey of its first "decade", the BRICS is following the concept of equality, and seeking common ground while reserving differences that cooperation between the BRICS member countries transcends the outdated path of political and military alliance, establishes a new-type relationship featuring partnership rather than alignment; goes beyond the old thinking on distinction by ideology, and pioneers a new path of mutual respect.

- Promoting inclusive development. BRICS member countries actively support a multilateral system based on rules, openness, transparency, non-discrimination and inclusiveness. Under these principles, it is true that there are many differences between BRICS members, but more consensus and achievements have been reached. From promoting energy conservation and energy efficiency cooperation, to reaffirming the support of "Paris Agreement" and the "United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change", from strengthening cooperation to combating infectious diseases to enhancing food security capacity, in the past 10 years, the BRICS member countries have collectively coped with global challenges and made a positive contribution for the international community to achieve lasting stability.

- Promoting inclusive governance. Facing the new situation to promote improvement of global governance, the BRICS members increasingly represent the interests of emerging market economies and developing countries in the international arena to speak with a unified "BRICS voice", and form a clear "BRICS Program". Transcending cultural superiority, adhering to mutual respect and mutual inclusiveness, the mankind will be bound to have brighter prospects.

- Promoting inclusive exchanges. State-to-state relations rely on people-to-people amity. In recent years, people-to-people exchanges between the BRICS members continuously strengthen, the exchange of teachers and students continuously expand, the dance, music, economic and trade exchanges complement each other. In September of this year, "Where Has Time Gone" the first BRICS co-produced film, will soon be released.

The BRICS members are like 5 fingers, each one has its good point when outstretched while making a fist when clenched. The history of BRICS cooperatively advocating

inclusiveness vividly implies cultural exchanges can transcend civilization discords and mutual learning among cultures and civilizations can transcend clash of civilizations and bring about of civilizations coexistence.

Cooperation: taking obligation and responsibility bravely, and improving global governance

Under the era conditions of deepening economic globalization, the development of BRICS members can not be spared. Only by strengthening cooperation, can we make the BRICS "quality" better and the BRICS more important.

The BRICS action plan for innovative cooperation, BRICS trade in services cooperation roadmap"..... In the past 10 years, from Durban, South Africa to Fortaleza, Brazil, from Ufa, Russia to Goa, India, cooperation has become the strongest voice for the coordinated development of the BRICS members. Finance is the blood of modern economy. Blood vessels are not blocked, growth is powerful. In recent years, BRICS cooperation in the financial sector has become a vivid example.

Just a few days ago, the BRICS New Development Bank approved 4 loan applications from China, Russia and India, which will be used in areas such as energy conservation, water supplies, and judicial system construction, etc.

The New Development Bank of BRICS, officially launched in July 2015, is the first international multilateral development bank established and led by emerging market economies in history. The establishment of this institution is a key step in the "consolidation" of BRICS cooperation. Since then, the BRICS mechanism has a "tangible" hold and pillar, and will irreversibly move towards a "community of shared interests".

Harmony is beneficial for both sides. Focusing on peace and prosperity, the BRICS

cooperation has put stress on both the economic and political aspects, and shouldered obligation and responsibility.

- attaching importance to economic cooperation. Service in trade cooperation roadmap, e-commerce cooperation initiative, investment facilitation cooperation framework, and economic and technological cooperation framework ... one item after another gradually unfolded, having stimulated the unlimited potential of BRICS members cooperation.

- strengthening coordination in the political area. The BRICS members are serving as an anchor of world economic stability and a shield of international peace. In recent years, the BRICS members continuously promote political security dialogue, especially coordinate their positions on major international and regional hotspot issues such as counter-terrorism, Middle East, Afghanistan and Syria, Ukraine and others, speak in a one voice. While, it has also collectively promoted the reform of the IMF and the World Bank in terms of share and voting rights, which has transferred more than 6% of the shares to emerging markets economies and developing countries.

These vivid facts have proved that in the face of increasingly shortage of global economic governance leadership and coordination ability, the BRICS grouped by emerging market economies and developing countries will be able to bear greater responsibility and realize more achievements in global governance.

All-win: expanding spoke influence and seeking stability

To seek interests should be seeking interests for the world. The butterfly effect of today's global situation makes more and more problems to be considered and solved by humankind as a whole. In this regard, President Xi Jinping points out sharply: only all-win

cooperation can do major things, do good things and do long-term things.

In line with all-win principle, in the past 10 years, the BRICS members continuously increase strategic docking, and promote mutual understanding and mutual learning. In this regard, China as a BRICS founding member constantly contributes China's wisdom and provides the Chinese program.

From the Hangzhou G20 summit to this BRICS summit held in Xiamen, from the Belt and Road Initiative to the BRICS spirit, for a long time, China's concept of pursuing all-win outcomes can be traced to the same origin. German Chancellor Merkel said emotionally that thinking in the long history perspective is China's great tradition.

An all-win situation does not only exist at the government and enterprises levels, but has increasingly integrated into basic necessities of life of the BRICS public, become a real "BRICS welfare". China's trains run into South Africa, the Russian ice cream is available in restaurants in China, Indians use the native version of Alipay.....

Just as the Belt and Road is not a private drive way, but a highway built by working together; BRICS cooperation is not closed and narrow "club", but an open and all-win "circle of friends".

In order to further strengthen cooperation, at the Xiamen summit, China creatively introduced a new concept of "BRICS + ", the BRICS five leaders will discuss cooperation with leaders of Egypt, Guinea, Mexico, Tajikistan, Thailand, and build a broader partnership. It can be imagined that the "BRICS +" will inevitably bring about a all-win "opportunity +"!

The BRICS cooperation of the second decade has started in Xiamen. However, as the famous poet Chernyshev J Ki said, "the path of history is not the sidewalk on Nevsky Avenue. It is completely moving forward in the field, sometimes through dust, sometimes through mud, sometimes across swamp, sometimes through jungle." Looking forward into the future, the BRICS members will continuously face risks and challenges, will also occasionally meet with differences, but as long as various parties adhere to the "open, inclusive, cooperative and all-win" BRICS spirit, it will be able to march forward steadily, and embrace a better tomorrow.

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