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About the Journal

AUSTRAL: Brazilian Journal of Strategy and International Relations was the first Brazilian journal in the area of International Relations to be fully published in English (2012). It is an essentially academic vehicle, linked to the Brazilian Centre for Strategy & International Relations (NERINT) and the Doctoral Program in International Strategic Studies (PPGEEI) of the Faculty of Economics (FCE) of the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS). Its pluralist focus aims to contribute to the debate on the international political and economic order from the perspective of the developing world.

The journal publishes original articles in the area of Strategy and International Relations, with special interest in issues related to developing countries and South-South Cooperation – its security problems; the political, economic and diplomatic developments of emerging countries; and their relations with the traditional powers. AUSTRAL is published semi-annually in English and Portuguese. The journal's target audience consists of researchers, experts, diplomats, military personnel and graduate students of International Relations.

The content of the journal consists of in-depth analytical articles written by experts (Professors and Doctors), focusing on each of the great continents of the South: Asia, Latin America and Africa. Thus, the debate and diffusion of knowledge produced in these regions is stimulated. All contributions submitted to AUSTRAL are subject to rigorous scientific evaluation.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Paulo Fagundes Visentini[1]

The Axes of World Power

The thirteenth edition of Austral is launched at a very special moment, namely the affiliation of the Brazilian Centre for Strategy and International Relations/NERINT to the Center for International Studies on Government-CEGOV/UFRGS and the opening of the allusive programming for the twentieth anniversary of NERINT, that will take place in August 2019. The first Centre for International Studies in the South of Brazil, NERINT became a reference for its academic seriousness and independent posture for two decades.

The first initiative will be the publication of a special issue (July-December 2018) with a Dossier organized by Professors Juliana Viggiano and Rafael Duarte Villa on *Security and Defense in South America*, within the framework of the Pro-Defense Call for Proposals of the Pandiá Calógeras Institute of the Ministry of Defense of Brazil and the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development of Brazil (CNPq). The development of the Security and Defense theme is a trend of Austral: Brazilian Journal of Strategy and International Relations, NERINT, as well as of the Post-Graduate Program in International Strategic Studies at UFRGS.

This inflection is justified by the growth of international tensions and uncertainties, in a multidimensional crisis, which lack academic and theoretical treatment. The reflections on this theme allow a deeper classification of the axes of world power, which are emerging in the context of the crisis and the American actions, which dismantle the existing multilateral system.

There are many ways to classify the powers and other nations, but here the proposed classification accounts the fracture lines that are forming and the alliances that can emerge from this reality. In this context, the discourse that appears in several sectors of the Brazilian State and society is paradoxical (and in many other nations). It looks like as if the Cold War was

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reborn, against the logic, arguments and social evidence of the opposite, because it depended on the schism of capitalism versus socialism, which may survive only on residual form in small nations. Rivalries today have an economic character and, in part, geopolitical.

The following interpretive proposal emerged from research and dialogue with the academia, the diplomacy, the media and the Armed Forces, as well as other sectors. It demonstrates a reality around which politics will show its rationality or irrationality. The first group of international politics is united in the *Anglo-Saxon military-rentier axis*: the United States, Canada, United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and, tangentially, Israel. These are the hegemonic nations that have military, diplomatic, financial, technological, intelligence and communications resources. Being in the post-industrial rentier phase, they live off the resources of the other nations, employing the means mentioned above.

The second is the *industrially developed axis* of the European Union, Japan and the Asian Tigers. With an advanced productive industrial capitalism and a high level of life of its populations, it differs from the first, because this group lacks the traditional power resources, like the military, and full sovereignty. They were protected during the Cold War, but today the situation is uncertain and tensions with the former axis are growing. Much of what will come depends on the political attitude that is going to be adopted by relevant nations of the axis, such as Germany and Japan, the defeated of World War II.

The third is the *emerging industrial axis*, integrated by the major BRICS nations, especially China and Russia, as well as Turkey and Iran, where State participation is crucial. This is what is called the semi-periphery, the explicit target of Donald Trump's US and his America First. Like the previous axis, its greatest desire is to avoid an armed conflict of global dimensions and to maintain its economic development. Although they have the resources to defend themselves, they cannot project power and depend on the attitude of the second axis.

Finally, the fourth is the *agrarian-mineral and peripheral human axis*, integrated by the middle and small nations of Latin America, Africa and geographical Asia (which includes the Middle East). They have abundant human, agricultural, or mineral resources (including energy), but do not have military capability or diplomatic articulation, tending to act in a fragmented way as a disputed zone by the other axis. Brazil and South Africa, apparently absorbed by their domestic political agendas, risk becoming part of this group.

In this context, this edition brings the contribution of authors from Russia, Kazakhstan, Nigeria and India, as well as of several Brazilian scholars. It opens with a theoretical discussion on the relevant concept of semi-periphery, two articles on Africa (Zuma's fall and the role of the African Union in the construction of the state on the continent) and three on the Middle East (Turkey's "Ottomanism", the problem of Syrian refugees and Islamic terrorism for the United States, and a thought-provoking comparison between Lula's foreign policy for the Middle East and Ahmadinejad's for South America).

Then there are three articles on Asia (the Indian perception of the Chinese OBOR initiative, the presence of China and India in Antarctica, and post-Nehru Indian diplomacy). Closing the edition there is an article about the impact of the national political changes in Mercosur´s framework, another on the tariff and technical measures on international trade and, finally, in the area of the International Law, about the Institute of International Defense.

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UNDOCKING AND COLLISION: THE RECENT PATHS OF THE SEMIPERIPHERY IN THE WORLD-SYSTEM

Maíra Baé Baladão Vieira[1]

Introduction

In the 1970s Immanuel Wallerstein set out to counter the current theories that dealt with the unequal development of countries. His proposal, an analysis of the world-system, included the idea that the framework structure of the international environment was composed of three different strata, periphery, semiperiphery and an organic nucleus. Of all the ideas presented by Wallerstein, the semiperiphery is still one of the most controversial concepts of his work.

The semiperiphery appears as an important part of the World-system morphology. Unlike the nucleus and the periphery, this stratum gathers certain peculiarities in its functions, the main one being the very maintenance of the system's equilibrium. In the face of the attribution of vital importance, many approaches have sought complementarities to the seminal idea of semiperiphery, as well as tried to construct methods that would make it possible to identify the countries that make up the said structure.

This article seeks to retake the relevance of the semiperiphery for the understanding of contemporary international circumstances. Its operation allows global data to be aggregated, offering a factual and updated temporary clipping of the most diverse economic and political facets that make up the World-system. In the first section, the most relevant constructs applied to the semiperiphery by Wallerstein and other authors will be resumed, including criticisms of the concept. In the second section we will discuss the most di-

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verse approaches already performed for the geographic definition of the semiperiphery, being one of the most important studies already performed, here replicated and later applied to some data for methodological exemplification purposes.

Conceptualizing the Semiperiphery: resumption of its main constructs

The analysis of the Wallerstein[2] World-System seeks to find since the 1970s the mechanisms that have lasted from century to century in the international division of labor. The author attempts to bring together elements of the social sciences that have dissociated into four specific areas of knowledge, history, economics, sociology and political science into one perspective, privileging the "system" as a unit of analysis and insisting on the *longue durée* of Braudelian inspiration as a temporal clipping dimension because it reflects the continuity of structural realities (Wallerstein 2005a).

Wallerstein's conception also sought to confront the then prevailing theory of modernization, which proposed extending the studies developed in Europe and the United States to the rest of the world, "universalizing universalism," in the author's words (Wallerstein 2003, 232). For him, the main problems of the modernization theory referred to the assumption that all states operated autonomously and were not affected in an impactful way by factors there are external to their borders, besides the fact that it assumed as a plausible possibility the development of all countries that were in stages prior to modernization: "The theory of modernization argued very simply the following: all societies go through a definite set of stages in a process culminating in modernity" (Wallerstein 2003, 232).

World-Systems analysis would then oppose the idea of a model-induced modernization (very convenient in Cold War times in which bipolarity gave a very distinct contour to two possible development projects) through two developments that would impact the study of International Relations. The first of them would be globality, replacing the traditional unit of analysis (society/state) with the World-System, once it assumed as impossible the analysis

2 Wallerstein's work on the World-System is supported mainly by the four publications that gave rise to the analysis of World-Systems, namely, The Modern World-System I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century (1974), The Modern World-System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750 (1980), The Modern World-System III: The Second Era of Great Expansion of the World- 1840 (1989) and The Modern World-System IV: Centrist Liberalism Triumphant, 1789-1914 (2011).

of countries in an isolated way since all were in an intensely interconnected system. The second epistemological contribution was the notion of historicity, derived from the first point: "If the processes were systemic, then the history - the whole history - of the system (as opposed to the history of the subunits, taken separately and comparatively) was the crucial element for understanding the present state of the system "(Wallerstein 2003, 234). Wallerstein argued that the whole analysis was both historical and systemic (Martin 1990, IX).

The World-system analysis was, for some authors, "an imaginative attempt to shake pre-established paradigms of comparative sociology" (Evans 1979, 17). On the one hand, the theory of modernization was marked by "blaming the victim" when they suggested that underdeveloped countries had poor values in terms of choices to promote development. Consequently, to overcome the endogenous obstacles would require high doses of cultural and financial transfer from rich countries to the poor. The salvation of the periphery would be given according to the links it could create with the core countries of the system (Evans 1979).

But not only the theory of modernization was contested by the analysis of the World-system. On the other hand, for the dependency paradigm, links to the core were the problem rather than the solution, as profit was drained to rich countries instead of remaining in poor countries. The political and economic power of the nucleus was used to prevent any structural change in the periphery (Evans 1979).

> What is invigorating about the World-system approach is that the issue of exogenous effects on development is no longer delineated in terms of the strength or weakness of the links between the nucleus and a given peripheral country. On the contrary, this question is given in terms of the consequences of occupying a given structural position in the World-system as a whole (Evans 1979, 15).

Another contribution of the concept refers to the explanation of the economic growth differential presented by nations (Snyder and Kick 1979). Many of the developmentalist explanations at the time treated economic growth as an endogenous process and further considered that it occurred in a preordained sequence whereby poor countries could replicate the experiences and strategies of rich countries. The evidence, however, was that international economic stratification had a very low pattern of change.

In the wake of globalization studies that identify world-empires from the most remote records of mankind, although the present system that began in the sixteenth century is recognized as just one of many others (Osterhammel and Peterson 2005), the Wallenstein approach differs from the others because it comprises a capitalist world-economy that for the first time in history was able to "include the whole globe in its geography" (Wallerstein 2003, 92). The present capitalist system has as a characteristic the incessant accumulation of capital with the maximum profit realization, that takes place through transnational chains of commodities that determine the borders of the world's economy labor division between multiple cultures and political systems.

An important aspect of the theory in question, with regard to this analysis, would be the treatment given to the structure of the World-System, which is divided into activities-center and activities-periphery, the first ones being those benefited by the added value in the unequal trade provided by international trade. However, the two types of activities are not always exclusive at the borders of a State, and "peripheral" activities may be carried out in the central countries (and vice versa), although the contrary is predominant (Wallerstein and Hopkins 1982).

Although the activities of one type or another were not fully coincident with the boundaries of either state, Wallerstein perceived a pattern in which the central or peripheral activities of the system were distributed unevenly among the various segments of the World-System, being these actually divided into three different categories. The third category would then be composed of semiperipheral States that would export peripheral products to central countries and central products to peripheral areas of the system (Wallerstein and Hopkins 1982).

> In each capitalist world-economy, economic life is organized under what might be called the "double triad," consisting on the one hand of the trinomial "material life - market economy - capitalism" and, on the other, hierarchical under the auspices of the whole "organic nucleus (or Center) - semiperiphery - periphery" (Lourenço 2005, 176).

The second triad, in contrast to the assumptions of the Economic Commission for Latin American and the Caribbean (ECLAC) regarding dependence, which considered that the unequal exchange drained riches from the periphery towards the center, composes an intermediate position with the semiperiphery that avoids the super polarization of the World-system. Yet, while most theorizations frame the intermediate categories as transitional, the analysis of the World-system considers it a permanent condition (Lourenço 2005). For the modernization and dependency theory, the intermediate extracts were considered temporary, however, for the analysis of the World-system, intermediate positions are considered something constant in the structure.

The three structural positions in the World-system were consolidated around 1640, but what allows the system to have political stability are three mechanisms. The first one is the concentration of military power in the hands of the dominant forces, the second, the ideological commitment to the system as a whole. The third mechanism is precisely the presence of the semiperiphery, since the existence of a third stratum means that the higher category will not have to face a unified position of all others because the middle level is both exploited and exploratory (Wallerstein 1974a): "Semiperipheral States play a particular role in the capitalist world economy, based on the dual class antinomy (bourgeoisie-proletariat) and function in the labor division (core-periphery)" (Wallerstein 1976, 462). These are states that, in part, act as peripheral zones alongside core countries and partly act as core countries alongside some peripheral areas.

The semiperiphery states play a facilitating role for the oppressive relations of the center and the periphery, being even economic and political agents of certain powers in times of expansion of world's economy. In spite of this, they are also exploited by the center, since they usually depend on obtaining the usual sources of growth, capital and technology (Wallerstein 1984).

In terms of the stability of the World-System, the effect of the semiperiphery is dual. The semiperiphery has a buffer function (Wallerstein 1974a), in order to avoid the possible conflicts that would arise from the poor distribution of the rewards in an extremely polarized world structure, since the concentration of the military power in the hands of the dominant forces and the diffusion of the ideological commitment to the system would not be sufficient to avoid insurgencies against the system's center (Wallerstein 1974a): "The semiperiphery is not an artifact of statistical points, nor a residual category. The semiperiphery is a necessary structural element in a world economy" (Wallerstein 1974b, 350).

At the same time that it functions as a buffer of conflicts by keeping apart the exploitative relations that allow the unequal division of benefits, the semiperiphery is a place of political instability (Wallerstein and Balibar 1988). The expropriation mechanisms existing in the most different levels of violence and modernity, which do not clash precisely because of the semiperiphery existence, coexist within it, dividing the same space and generating social conflicts more frequently because within each of its units both central and peripheral activities are gathered (Wallerstein 2005a).

Terlouw (1993) goes in a similar direction by saying that the semiperiphery is the most dynamic region of the World-System. This dynamism is due to the fact that the social structure of the semiperiphery is more fluid and adaptive than the rigid structure of the nucleus. The semiperiphery must be more flexible because of the severe social tensions to which it is subjected. Social tensions are due to the fact that in the semiperiphery there are two types of exploitation: the one promoted between the nucleus, the semiperiphery and the periphery, and the other type that occurs between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. It is possible that the nucleus exploits the semiperiphery because in this zone the proletariat is more precarious than in the nucleus. The existence of precarious and not precarious proletarians in the semi-periphery would be the second reason why social conflict is much higher in this area.

Wallerstein also points out that the semiperiphery has a second dual effect that focuses on the stability of the World-System. The existence of this third category is not a guarantee of system pacification, precisely because they occupy an intermediate position - closer to a central position than the countries that concentrate peripheral activities -, the semiperiphery states constantly struggle to obtain reinforcement of the State apparatus in order to use it in economic interventions that can change its position in the system. These attempts, on the other hand, tend to reinforce the resistance of the center states, so that they constantly seek to reinforce their military apparatus (Wallerstein 1984). The State rivalry arising from these movements usually takes the form of a power balance, further encouraging the attempt of the stronger States to become dominant powers by gaining hegemony in the system (Wallerstein 2005a).

Still in the sense of the semiperiphery role in the World-System, a number of other roles were attributed to this stratum in the evolution of the current world economy. Chase-Dunn and Thomas D. Hall (2000) argue that the semiperiphery, as the link between core and periphery, is responsible for spreading the institutional, social, technical and organizational innovations. The very rise of the "West" in the formation of the capitalist system is understood by the authors as an instance of semiperiphery development:

> In this scheme, the semiperipheral States and the semiperipheral capitalist city-states were the actors who carried out the most important transformations in the ascension of ever larger empires, in the increase of the scale of the markets and in the eventual emergence of the predominant capitalism (Chase-Dunn 2000, 100).

The semiperiphery is an important locus of forces that transform the World-Systems. They are areas in which new institutional forms - that transform the systemic structures and the modes of accumulation - are generated. These forces eventually promote mobility to semiperipheral actors (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997). Chase-Dunn and Hall (1997) argue that new organizational forms, activities with different logics of operation, are more likely to emerge in semiperipheral areas, where the combined core and periphery are subject to contradictory forces. They argue further that the countries that have been most successful in the capitalist structure, which have achieved the status of hegemonic powers (the Netherlands, England and the United States are cited in the example), were all previously part of the semiperiphery and claim that "A semiperipheral locality is a fertile soil for those who wish to implement organizational, ideological or technological changes" (Chase-Dunn 2014: 16).

Another semiperiphery peculiarity is that its abilities to take advantage of the flexibilities offered by the contractions of economic activity are generally greater than those of the core or peripheral countries. In these moments, the intermediate zones gain advantage at the expense of the central countries, as they manage to expand the control of their domestic market at the expense of the core producers, as well as expand their access to peripheral neighbors (Wallerstein 1976). In these periods, the semiperipheral countries can not only choose from among the most diverse producers of the nucleus, but they can also accept their investments in the fabrication of manufactured goods.

Wallerstein (1974) mentions two important reasons for the fact that the World-System can only exist because it presents a trimodal structure, having a semiperiphery, being one political and the other economic political. Politics, as pointed out earlier, would be due to the fact that a system based on unequal rewards needs to maintain a constant concern about the possibility of rebellion on the part of its oppressed elements. A polarized system between a high-income and a low-income sectors would rapidly tend to disintegrate. To avoid crises, there needs to be an intermediate sector that tends to think of itself as something better than the lower sector rather than thinking of itself as inferior to the higher sector.

The second reason refers to the role of the semiperiphery in absorbing sectors that, for many reasons, become unprofitable in the core countries, and if this process did not occur the capitalist system it would quickly face several economic crises. Within the semiperiphery it accounts for the fact that, although it has managed to industrialize, it has not achieved material progress in the world's labor division, that is, structurally its condition remained the same. This is possibly due to the fact that "the intensive application of capital in the semiperiphery usually occurs with the use of technologies that are already obsolete at the core" (Chase-Dunn, 1998: 81). Lourenço's (2005) observation of a study by Arrighi and Drangel (1986), which will be dealt with in the following section, is quite elucidative:

> [...] the semiperiphery not only reached, but exceeded the organic core in terms of degree of industrialization. From 1965, the nucleus is already deindustrializing, but the gap between the three steps of the hierarchy does not change, because, over time, the industry was becoming peripheral. The industrialization of the periphery and the semiperiphery, therefore, was not a channel of subversion, but a reproduction of the hierarchy of the world economy (Lourenço 2005, 183).

One issue that rises is that the more the number of countries promoting processes of industrialization in the World-System, as a way of leaving the periphery, the more insignificant becomes the reward (Grell- Brisk 2017). Core agents migrating to the semi-periphery contribute to the decentralization and reallocation of resources in more profitable areas (Ruvalcaba 2013), making semiperipheral countries more attractive places for industrial migration than the core or the periphery (Mahutga and Smith 2011, 258 apud Ruvalcaba 2013, 152).

> Thus, the changes provoked by the Scientific-Technical Revolution in capitalist development imply a profound reorganization in the world industry and gave rise to the so-called new International Division of Labor (IDL). It is possible to industrialize outside the center of the World-System. Previously central chains, such as textiles, which were among the most dynamic in the world economy (Fröbel et al. 1981), can be transferred to the semiperiphery. In these regions, cheap and abundant labor could be harnessed, and enclaves of production destined for export activity were formed, selling to the center the products that had been made there since the First Industrial Revolution. The crisis in the central countries also led to the expansion of these productive investments. According to Fröbel et al. (1981, 7-9), there was a decline in employment and production in several industrial branches of industrialized countries during the 1970s. Changes were observed in the rationalization of labor and consequent problems in the labor market, in addition to the fiscal crisis of the State. On the other hand, there was an increase in the center's external investments, with an increasing percentage being directed to the developing countries. Among these investments, those destined to transfer productive capacity to other industrialized or developing countries gain importance. In the face of the recession in the industrialized countries, large companies achieve an increasing volume of sales and benefits worldwide (Lima 2007, 66).

It should be noted that in the 1980s several studies attempting to identify the semiperiphery used block modeling, often considering the proportion of manufactured products versus the proportion of raw material marketed by the country to determine its position in the market. hierarchy of the World-System. This would have no validity at the same time. Considering that the stage of industrialization is indifferent to establish the stratum to which the country belongs, this logic no longer holds.

Corroborating the notion that industrialization no longer corresponds to core activities, Korzeniewicz and Martin (1994), after categorizing countries into three groups following the methodology proposed by Arrighi and Drangel, applied the classifications to the production of six different products and observed that in the production of cars there was no transfer of production in the core-periphery sense as predicted the notion of a "new international division of labor". This new division had as presupposition the displacement of the manufacturing activities from nucleus to periphery.

Beyond the industrialization issue, semiperiphery meets in theory the two other specificities. One is related to the **role of the State** in the semi peripheral countries and the other one related to the issue of the **countries mobility** among the strata that compose the World-System. In relation to the role of the State, this is a distinctive feature of the semiperiphery: the interest of the state machine in controlling the market - both domestic and international - since semiperipheral states can never depend on the market to maximize their margins in the short term. profit (Wallerstein 1974). Highlights Terlouw:

> A semiperipheral country that wishes to improve its position in the World-System must, first of all, strengthen its state apparatus. Intense economic intervention is necessary to stimulate national production and to protect the national economy from the influences of the World-System. The bourgeoisie in the semi-periphery is not strong enough to compete effectively with the core producers. The economic survival of the bourgeoisie is dependent on active state intervention. The semiperipheral states therefore have the most active state apparatus (Terlouw 1993, 96).

Due to the mix of core activities and peripheral activities in this stratum, development and government policies end up with extremely opposing interests, but are in most cases characterized by state control (Ruvalcaba 2013). For Wallerstein, this results in the politicization of economic decisions may be seen as operative in semiperipheral states (Wallerstein 1974).

Another important aspect about the conceptions of the World-System is that its structural positions are considered permanent, assuming that the mobility of the units is very restricted or even nonexistent. Since hierarchy among countries is a necessary condition for the maintenance of the capitalist system, "abandoning a structural position means playing a new role in the division of labor and not escaping from the system" (Evans 1979, 16).

> Only a few semi-periphery countries can achieve status change at some point in their history. To achieve this, the country will have to accumulate a large share of advantage over the rest of the semiperiphery, that is, a country ascending in the hierarchy does so not only at the expense of core countries, but also at the expense of semiperiphery countries. This is not development, it is only a successful expropriation of a share of world profit (Wallerstein 1976, 466).

It turns out that in the stratification of the World Economy, the proportion of its three categories of economic insertion being constant, there is a low mobility of the countries between these strata (ideally only, as will be seen later) and the state apparatus of a semiperipheral state can do to change the mechanisms of unequal exchange existing in the capitalist system:

> The main thing to note about the set of chairs ... is that, even if the one who plays each role can change, the distribution of roles (how many in each role: that is, core, semiperiphery, periphery) remained remarkably constant, proportionally, throughout the history of the world-economy (Wallerstein 1984, 2).

Considering the expectation of nations mobility among the strata, it is assumed that a nation that played a peripheral role may, at least theoretically, see itself someday as part of the nucleus. However, internal change, even if combined with the transformation of links with rich countries, is not enough for a change of position. There needs to be a "wave" at the top (Wallerstein 1976). Wallerstein points out that:

> To be very concrete, it is not possible for all states to develop simultaneously. The so-called widening gap is not an anomaly, but a basic mechanism of operation of the world economy. Of course some countries can develop. But these progressing do so at the expense of those who decline (Wallerstein 1974, 7).

It is well known that among the peripheral countries some have changed their status and others have not (Wallerstein 1974, 8). For this to happen, Wallerstein (1974) points out that there are basically three types of strategy: seize the opportunity, be promoted by invitation and self-confidence. Wallerstein also considered that active change of status could occur in two different moments: “the transition from the peripheral to the semiperipheral state or the reinforcement of a semiperipheral state to the extent that it can proclaim that it is a member of the nucleus” (Wallerstein 1974, 6).

A characteristic that is finally emphasized in the semiperiphery is that this World-System stratum is an undisputed recipient of investments from countries of the organic capitalist economy core. When Wallerstein (1974) cites the two reasons for the semiperiphery existence, the economic rationale is detailed as follows: when a sector begins to present disadvantages for producers either by increasing wages (which occurs in the nucleus) or by one declining profit margins, the ability to move capital to other sectors is the only way to survive the cyclical changes that occur in the leading sectors. And the “sectors” from which these investments are derived are called semiperipheral countries.

> The concept of semiperiphery is not only a middle ground, because, as Wallerstein (1979, 69-70) puts it, the semiperiphery plays a key role in the world economy and in the interstate system. In the first, semi-peripheral states can alleviate capital congestion at the center (Lima 2007).

Criticism to the semiperiphery concept

The concept of semiperiphery engendered by Wallerstein is considered by some authors as his most important contribution (Babones 2005; Chase-Dunn 1998; Grell-Brisk 2017; Weng 2011; Lee 2009). But it did not become immune to criticisms of the most diverse ones like Lourenço: “The semiperiphery is something that is uncomfortably ‘in the middle’, which is not defined theoretically and which, moreover, is extremely diffuse and heterogeneous” (Lourenço 2005, 179). Sanderson emphasizes that while it makes sense to characterize the capitalist world economy as a hierarchical structure, concepts of core, periphery, and semiperiphery often produce reified forms of sociological analysis, and it is preferable simply to refer to global inequalities (Sanderson 2005).

Yet, it is pointed out that there is much more mobility in the capitalist world economy than the analysis of the World-System considers. Much of the capitalist periphery has moved towards the semiperiphery and much of the semi-periphery has moved towards the nucleus, and some formerly peripheral societies will soon become part of the nucleus (Sanderson 2005). In relation to the role of the semiperiphery as a mediator between the polarization of the core structure and the periphery, Sanderson criticizes the fact that this type of expression, "the role of the semiperiphery", considers that the World-System is a type of organic system where the system itself is aware of and allocates the tasks of each element on a global level. It is the World-System as a whole that acts and not the capitalists and workers that form the system (Sanderson 2005).

The other problem with the concept of semiperiphery is the fact that it can be classified in qualitative terms - the zone that has a stabilizing role - and in quantitative terms - economies with an intermediate level of development - causing the semiperiphery to become a kind of "garbage category" in which all societies that do not fit into the other concepts are dumped (Sanderson 2005). Sanderson (2005) suggests, in the end, that the concepts of nucleus, semiperiphery and periphery are "de-reified" as well as all the analysis associated with them. It argues that concepts can still be used, but only as descriptive indicators, and the notion that a core necessarily implies a periphery must be abdicated. Of particular importance, the author calls for the abandonment of the notion that the semiperiphery functions as a sort of mediating mechanism in the relationship between the three elements (Sanderson 2005).

Bringing attention to aspects of the longue durée, Chase-Dunn (1997) draws attention to the fact that, until more detailed comparisons have been made between the different types of World-System, it would be premature to conclude a priori that all core/periphery had three levels. The problem is that measuring regions comparatively using traditional methods poses a challenge. In order to analyze the relations between the different regions, archaeological methods could be used, however, some theses argue that some artifacts arose concomitantly in different regions of the world without any interaction. Also, in order to test the hypotheses that support the existence of core-periphery relations, it is assumed that it is possible to measure the level of intersocietary exploitation, and it would be necessary to develop indicators that account for the present inequality among the studied societies. For this type of inference, however, archaeological evidence is always problematic (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997).

In criticizing the existence of semiperiphery permanently, Lee (2009) systematized in four different types the critiques of the World-System trimodal form: criticism of functionalism, teleological explanation and instrumental vision of the State; criticism of the underestimation of class relations; criticism about the homogenization effect of unequal space in the same area of the world economy; criticisms of the status of national states as mere building blocks of the world capitalist economy (deterritorialization). Regarding the latter type of criticism, Lee (2009) points out that Castells, Hardt and Negri and Taylor share a critical position on the trimodality traditionally assumed by the World-Systems perspective, claiming that the trimodality of the core, the semiperiphery and the periphery lost its heuristic vitality as the world has changed.

Other streams thicken the chorus. Pires (1990) argues that the creation of the category of semiperiphery has its origin in a misunderstanding when it stands against the theory of dependence (and its polarized categorization of center-periphery). This misconception is given by the idea that a typology of analytical nature must correspond to situations or processes empirically observable. Among the critiques of the concept of semiperiphery is also that of Marxists who claim that Wallerstein's emphasis on the effects of structure on the units of the system caused him to neglect the fact that certain class structures historically determine local responses to market forces (Evans 1979).

Those who assumed that economic analysis allowed states to define the semi-peripheral regions are lamenting that this "does not provide evidence for the relationship between the economic position in the world economy, the geopolitical position and the emergence of semiperipheral policies" (Griffiths 2004). Others like Worsley (1979) strongly argued that much of the conceptual imbroglio was due to the forced attempt to put three categories where they should be four in times of bipolarity (capitalist-industrial, capitalist-underdeveloped/agrarian, communist-industrialist and communist-agrarian). Brenner (1976, apud Arrighi 1998), in turn, criticized the impossibility that socio-economic structures could be superficially generalized for each of the three proposed strata.

Boaventura de Souza Santos, although making use of the notion of semiperiphery to guide his conception of the conjuncture of Portugal in the late 1980s, condemned Wallerstein for creating a descriptive, vague and negative concept:

> Descriptive, because its theoretical content is quite reduced and little more than analog. [...] In addition to being theoretically inconsistent, the concept of semiperiphery is vague in so far as the criteria of the semiperipheral position are numerous and difficult to quantify. [...] Finally, the concept of semi-periphery is a negative concept in that the characteristics attributable to semi-peripheral States or societies are not based on their own materiality nor do they have a specific evolutionary logic and are rather a mixture of characteristics attributable to States or central and peripheral societies.

> (Santos 1985, 870).

Among the criticisms most common to the concept of semiperiphery are those that regret the fact that its application is somewhat restricted because there is no consensus on how it should be given its operationalization. As an example, it should be noted that in all attempts at geographical determination of the semiperiphery countries do not coincide. The attempt to transpose the concept to certain geographic units, however, is recurrent and intense, although for some authors like Chase-Dunn[3] this is not a necessary task: "To produce a map that shows where the semiperipheral countries are, it is necessary that cut-off points be adopted, but it is not necessary to argue that there are empirically discriminable positions in the global hierarchy" (Chase-Dunn 2014, 19).

The geographic unknown: measuring the semiperiphery

Although it is possible to extract some normative elements, Wallerstein, never took care to define spatially the geographical location of the semiperiphery. This is precisely to conceive the trimodal structure of the World-System as something metaphorical and representative of certain political-economic elements existing in a system of unequal exchanges. The geographical concentration of the peripheral or central economic processes is, of course, due to the emergence of the state, which Wallerstein, in his Braudelian longue durée paradigm, came to consider as one of the elements that emerged in the course of the capitalist world:

> Descriptive, because its theoretical content is quite reduced and little more than analog. [...] In addition to being theoretically inconsistent, the concept of semiperiphery is vague in so far as the criteria of the semiperipheral position are numerous and difficult to quantify. [...] Finally, the concept of semi-periphery is a negative concept in that the characteristics attributable to semi-peripheral States or societies are not based on their own materiality nor do they have a specific evolutionary logic and are rather a mixture

3 Wallerstein's work on the World-System is supported mainly by the four publications that gave rise to the analysis of World-Systems, namely, The Modern World-System I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century (1974), The Modern World-System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750 (1980), The Modern World-System III: The Second Era of Great Expansion of the World- 1840 (1989) and The Modern World-System IV: Centrist Liberalism Triumphant, 1789-1914 (2011).

> of characteristics attributable to States or central and peripheral societies. (Santos 1985, 870).

The concept of semiperiphery is controversial not only in the modern World-System, but also when reference is made to premodern systems. To remedy this problem, Chase-Dunn and Hall (1997) define the semiperiphery sufficiently broadly so that it follows one of the following principles:

> 1. A semiperipheral region must have typical forms of organization of the nucleus and the periphery.
> 2. A semiperipheral region must be spatially located between the nucleus and the periphery.
> 3. A semiperipheral region should be spatially located between two or more core regions.
> 4. Mediation between core and peripheral areas should be possible in semiperipheral regions.
> 5 A semiperipheral area should be one in which institutional characteristics are intermediate to those found in the nucleus and periphery (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997, 37).

Wallerstein (1974) argues that in trying to identify the semiperiphery one should not identify particular products or sectors, but rather observe the wage patterns and profit margins of certain products at certain times so that it is possible to determine who does what in the system. In a system of unequal trade, the semi-peripheral countries would be in the midst of their exported products, wage levels and profit margins. In one of the few times Wallerstein pointed to the geographical location of the semiperiphery[4]:

> The semi-periphery includes a wide range of countries in terms of economic strength and political landscape. It includes the economically strong countries of Latin America: Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Venezuela, possibly Chile and Cuba. It includes the entire outer edge of Europe: the southernmost layer of Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece; most of eastern Europe; parts of the northern zone such as Norway and Finland. It includes a number of Arab States: Algeria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia; and also Israel. It includes in Africa at least Nigeria and Zaire, and in Asia, Turkey, Iran, India, Indonesia, China, Korea and Vietnam. And it includes the old white Commonwealth: Canada, Australia, South Africa, possibly New Zealand (Wallerstein 1976, 465).

4 It is important to note that the three hegemonic powers recognized by Chase-Dunn (1998), the Netherlands, England and the United States, were during some part of their history in the semi-peripheral region of the World-System.

Despite the methodological difficulty presented in trying to determine the constitution of the semiperiphery, several attempts were made from the emergence of the concept. In 1979, Snyder and Kick presented some contributions to the operation of the semiperiphery by proposing a block modeling for 118 countries. They defined the structure of the system according to four types of international networks: trade flows, military interventions, diplomatic exchanges and sets of treaties.

In 1985, Nemeth and Smith proposed a World-System structuring based on the countries' trade patterns. For them, the strategic question was not the number of layers that would exist, but the fact that the countries occupied structural positions in a coherent World-System. Inspired by the work of Snyder and Kick (1979), Nemeth and Smith (1985) created a block modeling for 86 countries of unplanned economy, using, however, different variables that considered the type of product to be exchanged, be finished products or raw materials.

In the wake of Snyder and Kick (1979) and Nemeth and Smith (1985), in 1992 Smith and White reworked the analysis of international trade networks with the introduction of some improvements such as the use of a new standard of equivalence of industrialization standard and the development of the method more dynamically with the measurement occurring in three different years (1975, 1970 and 1980).

In an attempt to determine which countries are part of what category of the World-System, Terlouw[5] (1993) grouped six different indicators: participation in world trade, stability of trade relations (with regard to the change of partners), proportion of GDP per capita to world GDP, military power, number of diplomatic representations sent and received and the number of diplomats sent and received.

> It is a huge temptation to fill the semiperiphery with states that are not clear examples of the periphery or the nucleus. The semiperiphery can be easily used as a residual category for problematic states in the World-System theory, which maintain specific but unparalleled characteristics. The semiperiphery tends to harbor deviant cases, exceptions to the rule (Ter-

5 Terlouw (1993) classified two studies that attempt to measure the semiperiphery: relationships-focused studies (Snyder and Kick 1979; Nemeth and Smith 1985) and studies that focus on the characteristics of states (Arrighi and Drangel 1986). Terlouw (1993), when analyzing these various studies attempting to allocate states in the categories of nucleus, semiperiphery and periphery, observed that the only countries that were always in the nucleus were the United States, England and Germany, and the vast majority of countries were in some studies classified as semiperipheral, but no country was classified as semiperipheral in all studies.

louw 1993, 91).

Korzeniewicz and Martin (1994) followed the approach proposed by Arrighi and Drangel (1986), which will be discussed below, to find the representatives of the three layers of the World-System using a base covering 134 countries in 34 years. For the authors, in agreement with the seminal article by Arrighi and Drangel (1986), it was considered that the productive processes that constitute the productive chains generate unequal rewards, making the distribution of wealth in the World-System also occur in an uneven manner. If productive chains, then, reflect the division of labor in the system, the outcome of all transactions must be found in the global distribution of wealth.

Van Rossem (1996) constructed a map of the World-System collecting data from 163 countries for five different networks of dependency relations between nations: imports, exports, arms trade, presence of foreign troops and presence of diplomatic representation. Van Rossem assumes that the World-System is a multiple system consisting of military and economic relations. Their findings suggest that the best measure for the roles played by World-System extracts is the absolute size of the economy itself. His research, however, classified as unusual core countries in this position as Brazil, China and Saudi Arabia, leaving out a number of countries with better economic conditions.

Babones[6] (2005) recognizes that the most diverse attempts to measure the semiperiphery have been successful, reaching, through the analysis of trade patterns, economic networks, political or military relations or the distribution of income levels, the objective of demonstrating the existence of a structure divided into three different zones. Given that there is no widely accepted method for dividing countries into the three distinct zones, the author proposes an update of the method proposed by Arrighi and Drangel (1986).

Recently, Grell-Brisk (2017) presented another reprint of the method proposed by Arrighi and Drangel (1986) locating in the three strata, periphery,

6 Babones (2005) distinguished between the various attempts to determine which countries belong to which extracts, three different currents. The tradition of the networks given by the studies of Snyder and Kick (1979), Nemeth and Smith (1985), Van Rossem (1996) and Smith and White (1992) capture the notion of roles for the zones of the World-System, but suffer of some shortcomings as information is available for just about 60-80 countries. The tradition of the continuum is based on the Chase-Dunn theoretical current and expressed in the proposals of Terlouw (1992) and Kentor (2000), which emphasize a scale of states in a continuous line of status and power. Finally, Babones (2005) detects the income tradition, which is represented by the studies of Arrighi and Drangel (1986) and Korzeniewicz and Martin (1994) that consider the premise that all states contain to some extent activities of the nucleus and periphery at its borders, and the former being better paid, this should be reflected in the GNP per capita of the country.

semiperiphery and nucleus, the entire database of the World Bank for a temporal extension superior to the original study. The author's main conclusion was that, with China's entry into the semi-periphery, the structure as a whole would be compromised and no longer serve as a buffer against conflicts.

The proposal of Arrighi and Drangel (1986)

Among all the attempts to apply the semiperiphery to the world geographical divisions thus establishing a morphology for the concept, the study of Arrighi and Drangel of 1986 was a watershed. Wallerstein used the concept under discussion as a taxonomic tool in analyzes of particular conjunctures, such as when it reflects on "semiperipheral classical" countries like Russia and some Europeans that declined from the center of the World-System economy, such as Portugal and Spain. But his approach did not go far beyond what has hitherto been gathered in this text.

Because of this, in a classic study conducted in partnership with Jessica Drangel, Giovanni Arrighi set out on the complex task of identifying which countries would be part of the semi-periphery at different times in history, not without protesting against the little help offered in the undertaking itself author of the concept who was content to proclaim that a semiperipheral state would be one that met two criteria, (i) to be in an intermediate position in the unequal exchange system in terms of its exports, salary levels and profit margins within it, and (ii) the existence of an interest of the State concerned in play a highly interventionist role in their internal and external markets (Arrighi and Drangel 1986).

Due to the theoretical relevance of the semiperiphery, Arrighi and Drangel carried out in 1986 some methodological effort to find objective parameters for the classification of countries in this stratum of the world economy. In an attempt to demonstrate empirically the existence of a trimodal division in the capitalist economy, the authors instrumented the concept by analyzing the Gross National Product (GNP) per capita of 96 countries. The choice of indicator was due to the fact that countries of the center performed a greater volume of "core" activities than those of the other categories. Although no country performs only "core" activities or only "peripheral" activities, the former are marked by the peculiarity of concentrating the profit of the system. Central states, then, would be those who control access to the most profitable commodity chains of various states, those who provide the infrastructure and services required by the center's activities, and who are capable of creating a favorable climate for capitalist enterprises.

As central activities are more profitable in the world division of labor, and these are essentially linked to the process of innovation and creative destruction with a view to extending the monopoly described by Schumpeter (1975), to Arrighi and Drangel (1986: 31) the difference in command of all the benefits of the world division of labor must be reflected in commensurate differences in the GNP of the States concerned." From the graphical representation of the frequency distribution of the world population (in percentage terms) according to the country of origin, in relation to the logarithm of GNP (in intervals of 0.1), the author confirmed the constant presence of three intervals of distribution in nine different historical moments between 1938 and 1983. In addition to the three intervals, there were in some instances intermediate instances between these intervals that the authors called the perimeter of the semiperiphery and perimeter of the organic nucleus.

It is not known whether by the inertia caused by the lack of formulation that counteracted the height or by the precision of its methodological parameters, Arrighi continued considering the research carried out with Drangel as something very relevant, so much, that he mentions it in several of his texts until mid-1990s. However, from then on, when he mentions the study in the book "The Long Twentieth Century," it no longer indicates that he has found the three strata on which capitalism is based, but rather refers to them as income "countries" low, medium or high (Arrighi 1994, 348). Arrighi assumes in the foreword to that edition that there is no previous concern about the strata of the World-System:

> The class struggle and the polarization of the world economy in centers and peripheries - both of which played a prominent part in my original conception of the long twentieth century - almost disappeared from the scene. Many readers will be intrigued or even shocked by these and other omissions (Arrighi 1994, XII).

In 2003, Arrighi published an article with a concern very similar to the seminal study that will be reproduced here, comparing the convergence in the level of industrialization of the countries with the average GNP of the first world countries in order to realize how much the increases in the rates of industrialization accompanied the increase in income that each citizen was able to obtain in comparison to the citizens of the advanced economies. Thus the concern with dividing the gains of the world-economy appeared again on the radar of Arrighi, but the author does not assume to be reediting the previous research, as well as returns to deny the paternity of its findings when referring to it in a skewed way:

> It is a very stable wealth hierarchy that Giovanni Arrighi and Jessica Drangel (1986) found for the period 1938-1983. Based on the worldwide distribution of GNP per capita, they identified three distinct groups of countries (high, middle and low income countries). In addition, they found that long-term upward / downward mobility of countries from one group to another was extremely rare (Arrighi 2003, 6).

The curious thing is that although Arrighi did not associate the 2003 study with the 1986 research in which he tried to instrumentalize the concept of semiperiphery, Wallerstein himself reveals that this was indeed his intention in a 2005 article:

> And while our statistical data have a minimum of quality over the past 75-100 years, comparative studies such as the ones we have shown a steady trimodal distribution of wealth in the World-System, with some countries moving from one category to another. [...] The classic article is that of Giovanni Arrighi and Jessica Drangel, "The stratification of the world economy: an exploration of the semiperipheral zone". Arrighi is updating this argument for a future article (Wallerstein 2005, 1267).

Moreover, in an earlier study on the African continent of 2002, Arrighi reissues the preoccupation with the appropriation of the surplus value of the capitalist system (Arrighi 2002). In this study the author analyzes the GNP per capita of Sub-Saharan Africa as a percentage of GNP per capita. In both the 2002 and the 2003 studies, Arrighi was concerned with assessing the growth of the appropriation of income by certain groups of countries in a binary way, being satisfied to see whether they followed the growth of the two reference groups (the "first world" countries in one article and the total world population in another).

The apparent methodological impoverishment, since Arrighi no longer associated the inequalities encountered with the problem of the unequal international division of labor in the stratification of the world economy is understandable, since the abandonment of the debates of the 1970s in the framework of the Wallerstein World- have been a necessary sacrifice in the fight against the ever more pronounced proliferation of the current univocal idea of associated economic development or industrialization or an idealized conception of "good governance" in the case of developing countries. With these two researches, Arrighi establishes important parameters so that certain generalizing and reproductive patterns of the necessary structures of exploitation for the world economy do not uncontested, but, in taking this turn towards other fronts of debate, abandoned its previous methodology somewhat precipitately as will be supported below.

The conceptions of this study, however, are not immune to criticism, such as that of Lima:

> The methodology and some assumptions, however, may be considered insufficient. In the research, there is a lack of observations for some countries in different years, mainly for the peripherals and for some of the semi peripherals. There is a structural break in the series, since there is a change in the source, which also modifies the calculation methodology. These researchers made use of per capita GNP figures for dollars at the current exchange rate from 1937 to 1983. The different price levels to which different countries are subject at different times usually entail unavoidable discrepancies if these effects are not neutralized. International comparability becomes otherwise deficient (Lima 2007, 64).

Among the possible criticisms of the approach proposed by Arrighi and Drangel is the argument that per capita GNP is not an indicator that is given in relative terms. However, for Korzeniewicz and Martin (1994) the use of this indicator as a relative distribution of aggregate rewards is indicative of the distribution of core activities and peripheral activities in the world economy. Not all authors, however, agree with the statement:

> The use of per capita income as an approximation of the share of peripheral and central activities in a given country seems extremely problematic. It would be more representative for these purposes to use a stock measure - wealth, net worth - rather than flow. As these flow measures are much more sensitive to sharply temporary effects - the rise in oil prices, for example -, results in sharply distorted results on the hierarchical position of oil producing countries, as defined by Arrighi's article, of other countries in a similar position, with a strong specialization in few products (Lourenço 2005, 184).

Despite the critics, the method proposed by Arrighi and Drangel (1986) is consecrated in the literature. His conception was intensely replicated and also praised. In 1988, Peter Taylor published some notes supporting the proposed method. Taylor (1988) tested the robustness of Arrighi and Drangel's proposition by spatially reorganizing the world population by removing state boundaries while finding the same trimodal pattern, despite the changes.

Updating the study of Arrighi and Drangel (1986)

Replicating the stratification of Arrighi and Drangel, however, was an attempt that encountered a series of operational and methodological difficulties. At the outset, there was the fact, impossible to ignore, that the logarithmic progression of GNP does not analytically reflect any of the essential characteristics of the concept of semiperiphery described above from Wallerstein's work. The generic qualitative attributes of difficult verification really cannot be appropriated by means of a statistical study, however, in front of the obtained results, the risk of the own logic of the method proposed by the two authors, that is centered in the fact that the organic nucleus of the World-System concentrates the gains of the most profitable productive chains, regardless of where the production is located, and this must be represented in the GNP because this is an indicator that includes, in addition to GDP (Gross Domestic Product), the net income received from the outside (RLRE)[7]. Thus, while GNP reflects what is produced internally at the borders of a State, GNP also shows transactions in the international territory, owned by the citizens of this State.

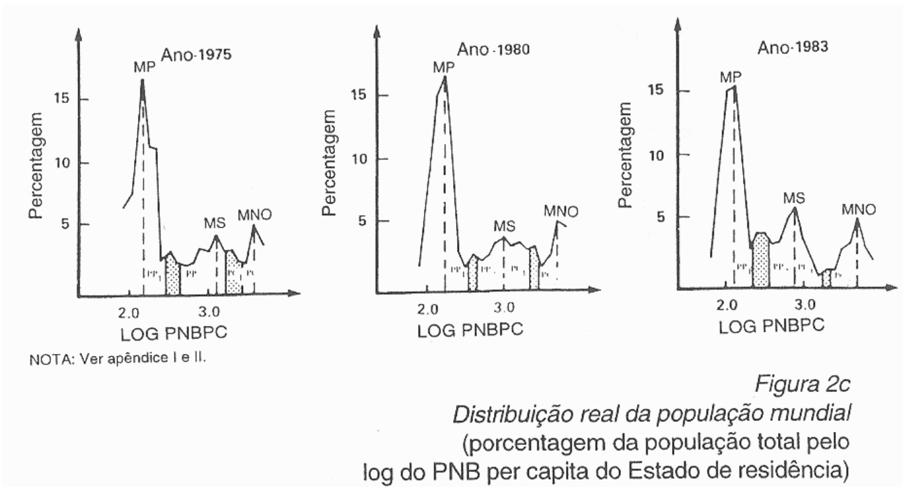
The second challenge in the replication of the study, which needed to be verified, at least in partial terms, was the set of indicators used by Arrighi and Drangel, since for the nine distributions of GNP calculated by the authors, three sources data were used in an unspecified way. Another central problem was the fact that not all countries were used in each of the distributions found by the authors, using three different country "baskets" for the calculations. In addition, in the reference study, GNP per capita of all citizens of the planet had been converted into constant dollars of 1970, using the deflator of the GNP North American.

Since the data available for conducting the study were World Bank databases and per capita GNP was informed in purchasing power parity, it was decided to replicate the Arrighi tests for the three distributions for which Figure 2 shows that, although they are not identical, the drawings reflect a distribution very similar to the original study (Figure 1), which proved the possibility that the search was replicated based on the procedure described below. It should be remembered that the small distinctions found between the original charts and the present ones are due to differences of lesser relevance between the databases used, which may have been caused by the absence of a

7 In the national accounts, Net Income Received Abroad (RLRE) includes the following balance of payments accounts: A) Balance of incomes: wages and salaries, direct investment income (includes profits and dividends and intercompany loan interest), income from investment portfolio (including profits and dividends and interest on debt securities), income from other investments. B) Current unilateral transfers (Carvalho and Silva 2006).

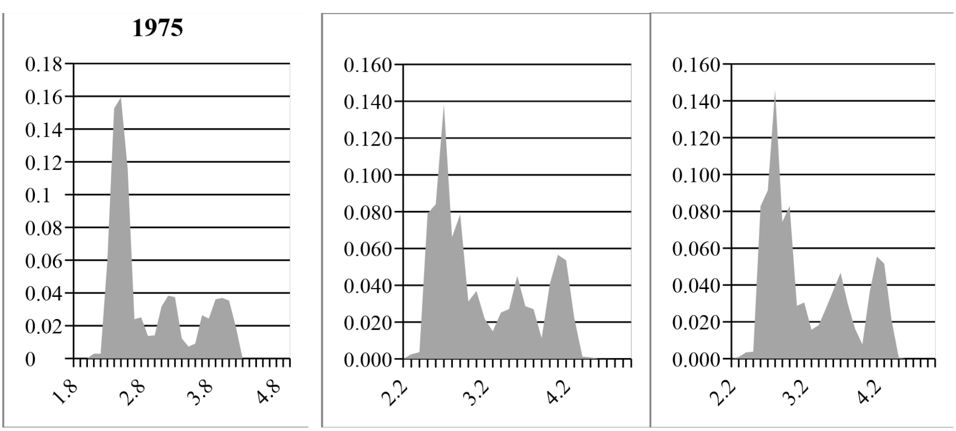
few countries in one or another edition of the study.

Figure 1: India and China – National Competitive Advantage



Source: Page 165 of ARRIGHI, Giovanni; DRANGEL, Jessica. The stratification of the world economy: considerations about the semiperipheral zone. In: ARRIGHI, Giovanni. The illusion of development. Petrópolis: Vozes, 1997.

Figure 2: Distribution of the percentage of the world population by the logarithm of annual per capita GNP for 1975, 1980 and 1983.



Source: World Bank. Self elaboration.

For the calculation of the distributions shown in Figure 2, the data available in the online databases of the World Bank (World Bank 2012; World Bank 2017) were used, with the exception of Russia for the period prior to 1989, which had estimated GNP based on data obtained from another source (Ofer 1988). GNP per capita was converted to a logarithmic scale and the population recorded for each country was converted to a percentage. The frequencies of the logarithm of the GNP found were distributed in decimal intervals and each was related to the percentage of the world population that corresponded in terms of income at each of these intervals. According to the proposal of Arrighi and Drangel (1986), the frequency distributions were attenuated by a moving average of three intervals. The result of these calculations is shown in Figure 2 above.

Before further results are presented for subsequent periods, other methodological considerations are needed. The reliability of the method was ensured in view of the impossibility that the same countries were included in the reply of the Arrighi and Drangel study, because the coverage of the calculations demonstrated above was much higher than the original study, which proves that the indicators proposed by the authors are able to graphically represent the World-System in its strata, independently of the states being absolutely the same. Since the proposition tested is a profit-sharing pattern in the World-System, which is not altered by small variations in the samples, the comparisons made above (Figure 1 and Figure 2) were interpreted as confirming the possibility of replicate the 1986 article method.

As stated, the present study was carried out with an even wider coverage of the world population than that of Arrighi and Drangel. The largest of the "baskets of countries" used in the original study contained 104 units, and in the above tests the entire data available from the 216 countries in the World Bank databases was worked on. In order to ensure that large portions of the population were not omitted from the calculations, both those already presented and those to be followed, counted the percentage of countries for which GNP per capita could not be obtained. The missing data at the World Bank bases were then 11% of the world population for the 1970s, 8% for the 1980s, 3% for 1990 and 1% for 2000 and 2010.

In conclusion to the methodological aspects, there are some comments regarding the procedures and their implications, two that discredit the proposal of Arrighi and Drangel and one in favor of the method. The first of these refers to the highly reductive approach given by the use of the logarithmic scale used to demonstrate the distribution of world wealth. Although this has consistently reflected a trimodal distribution, it allows for members of the semiperiphery category in 2010[8], for example, to include countries with an income as disparate as the Republic of Congo (with a GNP per capita of US $ 3,220) and Estonia (with $19,760.00). Although Arrighi and Drangel (1986) show that the world economy is extremely polarized intra- and inter-categories, it shows graphically that, nevertheless, on a logarithmic scale.

The second broadly debatable aspect of the method discussed here is the use of the moving average of three ranges within a same data sequence for curve smoothing purposes. In more stringent terms, the moving average could only be applied in time series, calculating, in the case in question, the average of the last three years of each of the indices presented in the study. However, Arrighi and Drangel (1986) used the resource on the frequency distributions found each year, making both the validity of the statistical resource arguable but obtaining a constant trimodal distribution result from 1938 to 1983.

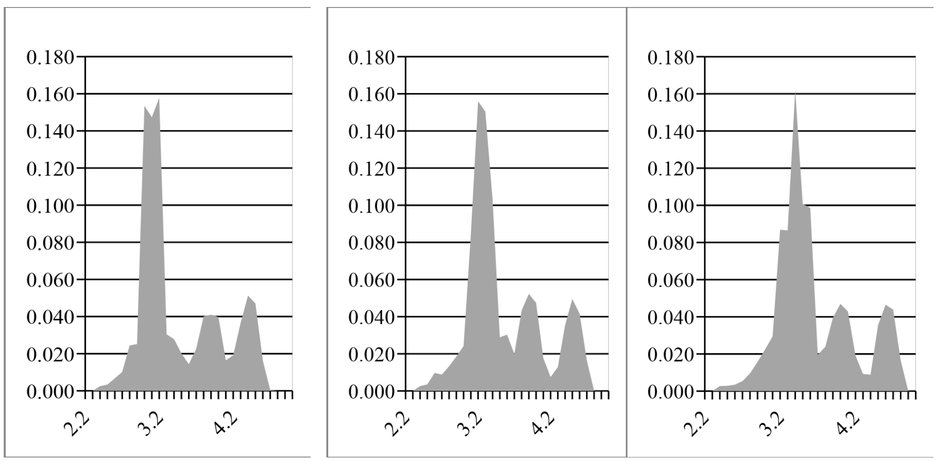
Finally, regarding this referendum of the Arrighi and Drangel (1986) method, the calculations were made using other indicators to verify if the moving average polemic would produce the same effect. It was found, then, that the debatable use of the attenuation by the moving average of three intervals is not a subterfuge that allows to be found trimodal distributions for any and all data inserted in the function. Tests were performed for all the years that will be presented here with GDP, and the constant trimodal distribution pattern that appears with the use of GNP was not found. Given the appropriate methodological considerations that had as their main objective to recover the validity of the research of Arrighi and Drangel of 1986, the results were surprising. The present study graphically found the trimodal distribution of the world GNP in all years between 1972 and 2003. It is assumed that the same pattern was not found in the years prior to 1972 due to the unavailability of data, since for more than 24% of the population global GNP data were missing from the source used, the World Bank.

According to expectations for the entire 1990s, it was possible to lo-

8 In 2010, the following countries were included in the per capita GNP: Congo, Rep., Moldova, Iraq, Guyana, Micronesia, Kiribati, India, Timor-Leste, Mongolia, Honduras, Cape Verde, Samoa, Vanuatu, Fiji, Tonga, Morocco, Bolivia, Guatemala, Swaziland, Bhutan, Georgia, Sri Lanka, Paraguay, Syrian Arab Republic, Angola, Armenia, Jordan, Egypt, Arab Rep., Belize, Namibia, El Salvador, Ukraine, Jamaica, Turkmenistan, China, Ecuador, Maldives, Algeria, Thailand, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Peru, Dominican Republic, Colombia, Tunisia, Azerbaijan, Grenada, South Africa, St. Lucia, Kazakhstan, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Macedonia , Brazil, Palau, Serbia, Costa Rica, Dominica, Venezuela, Panama, Montenegro, Gabon, Bulgaria, Belarus, Botswana, Mauritius, Uruguay, Romania, Lebanon, Malaysia, Mexico, Chile, Turkey, Argentina, St. Kitts and Nevis, Latvia, Lithuania, Croatia, Hungary, Poland, Russian Federation, Estonia.

cate the periphery, the semiperiphery and the center (organic nucleus) in the distribution map, as can be seen in Figure 3. It is important to note that the graphs presented here do not demarcate the (cut lines in the original study distributions) were used to separate the perimeters that divide the three zones

Figure 3: Distribution of the percentage of the world population by the logarithm of annual per capita GNP for 1990, 1995 and 2000.

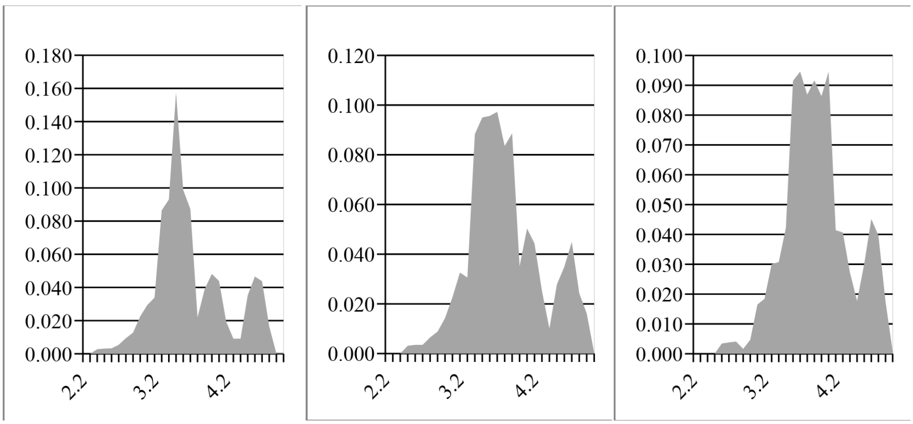


Source: World Bank. Self elaboration.

Though, what happens with the stratification of the world economy in the beginning of the last decade is something that neither Arrighi, much less Wallerstein, would expect to occur as it can be seen in Figure 4. For Wallerstein, the existence of an intermediate layer is essential for the stability of the system, and he was emphatic in stating that "It is a regular condition for any kind of World-System to have a three-layered structure. When this ceases to be the case, the World-System disintegrates itself." (Wallerstein 1974a, 404). However, he accepted that some countries would shift from category to category, as the ones that occupied a central position would fall in a decline trajectory, a process that was thoroughly dealt with in the volumes that support the systemic analysis.

Arrighi, on his turn, approached the structure of the World-System in an even more static way, stating that, even though, there were endless efforts of peripheral and semiperipheral States to get closer to the income of the organic nucleus, in terms of repositioning in the stratum, 95% of the countries stayed, in all moments, in the same group (periphery, semiperiphery or center) in the original study, whereas few were able to rise or were lowered to inferior categories: the up or down mobility of states, individually, is not excluded, but is considered exceptional" (Arrighi and Drangel 1986, 42). In the following case, the results found counter this position.

Figure 4: Distribution of the percentage of the world population by the logarithm of annual per capita GNP for 2001, 2005 and 2010



Source: World Bank. Self elaboration.

In the year 2003, a trend that is further deepened in 2009 began, with the collapse of the periphery and the global semi-periphery. If the World-System has long been predicted to lead to definitive structural changes, as seen in the whole debate that has emerged on the problems of capitalism due to the crisis of 2008, the evidence presented in this analytical model supports the idea that profound changes are occurring. Two state units, however, are responsible for a large number of them, since the distribution of the graphs presented was summarized by the entry of China and India into the semiperiphery in 2003.

If these tendencies are final, and if Arrighi and Drangel's (1986) study, here reproduced, can be given as necessary to indicate the formations of the strata of the world economy conceptually developed by Wallerstein, the coming epoch promises to be of great turbulence because the middle layer, which once guaranteed that culturally distant and unequal worlds, but deeply connected by economic ties, merged with the advancement of the periphery towards economically central activities.

In addition to the considerations already made, it should be pointed out that the intention to replicate the study developed by Arrighi and Drangel was not intended to praise a supposed econometric scientism, but rather to bring back to the center of attention to certain theoretical constructions that, developed in another time and place, have their genesis precisely at the epicenter of the events that culminated in the transformations that we live at the same time.

The statistical exercise performed here revealed the rupture of structures that, according to Wallerstein, have stabilized since the seventeenth century (Wallerstein 1974a). Considering his epistemological tradition, some other developments of his work can be used to analyze the tendencies that are being formed:

> The main explanation for the supposed fundamental structural change has been the dissatisfaction of the exploited and oppressed. As conditions worsened, the people below, or some very large group, were destined, he argued, to rebel. There would be what is generally called a revolution. I will not return to arguments and counter-arguments, which are undoubtedly quite familiar to almost anyone who has seriously studied the history of the modern World-System. [...] However, I do not believe that a new version of the revolutionary movement is the fundamental factor in what I see as the structural collapse of the world capitalist economy. Systems collapse not primarily because of rebellion from below, but because of the weaknesses of the ruling classes and the impossibility of maintaining their level of gain and privilege (Wallerstein 2005b, 1269).

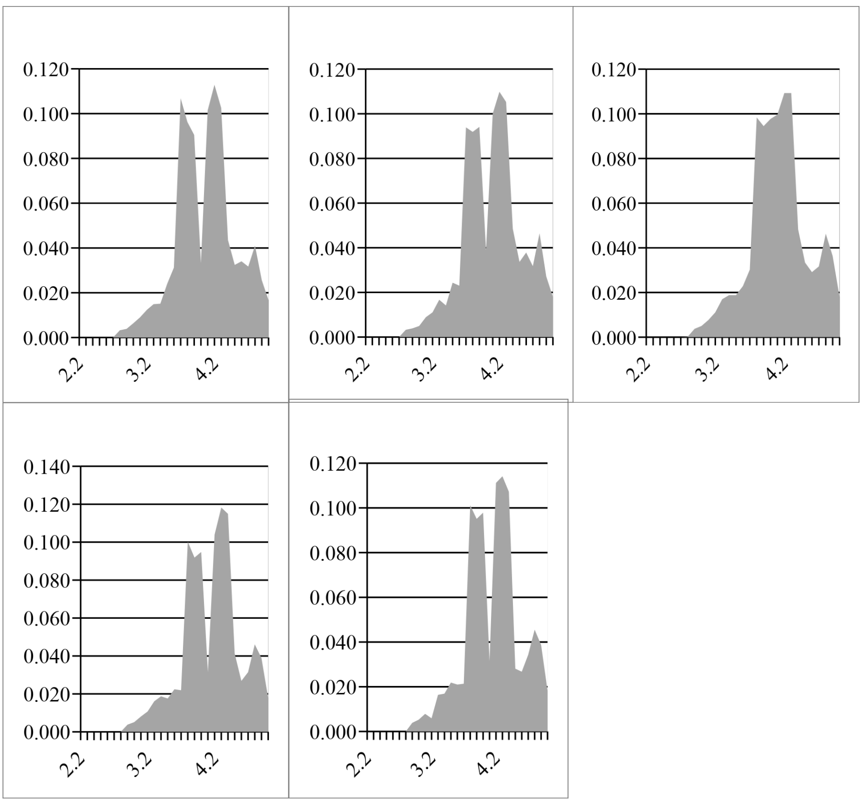
Regarding the citation above, it must be agreed that the profound transformation of the structure has occurred up to the present moment in a silent movement in terms of the conflict that should be expected due to the narrowing of the borders of the periphery alongside the semiperiphery, precisely because the intermediate stratum, is the stabilizing element of the system. However, the process of extinguishing the intermediate layer, which later reverted, was not due to the insurgency of the strata exploited by the organic nucleus, but to the inability of the latter group to maintain the status quo.

In addition to the analysis of the distributions of the extracts for the years already reported, the semiperiphery has come to exist again in the past few years, as can be seen in Figure 5.

As shown in the reconstructions of the Arrighi and Drangel (1986) methodology, the collision of the semiperiphery with the periphery ceased to occur since 2011, and repeated itself in 2013. Although the future scenario is rather indefinite, it can be expected that is a time of change during which states will change positions and the stability of the World-System could be put in check. In a phase of changes some choices will be given to semiperipheral states:

> Semi-peripheral states are at the checkpoint where two different paths emerge: to advance their democratic processes, the advance of their governmental institutions, the protection of human rights, that is to say, that the state apparatus is similar to that of the countries of the nucleus; or to see themselves incapable of maintaining the rule of law, moving backwards towards the arbitrary exercise of authority and human rights violations, diminishing the institutional quality, in short, deepening the process of peripheralization (Ruvalcaba 2013, 149).

Figure 5: Distribution of the percentage of the world population by the logarithm of annual per capita GNP for 2011 to 2015.



Source: World Bank. Self elaboration.

Final considerations

The current landscape of the international system makes it possible for most observers to become aware of the leading role played by China and the other countries included in categories such as mid-level powers, regional powers, emerging markets, countries of the global "South", among others. Of all possible classifications, to call them semiperiphery is also feasible nowadays.

It is not possible, however, to say that the semiperiphery is not a very controversial concept because of the amount of criticism it has attracted. Some authors claim that the semiperiphery as a theoretical construct is diffuse, heterogeneous, reified, deterritorialized, difficult to empirical observation and negligent towards class structures. However, many of these criticisms can be answered at a time when Wallerstein's work is analyzed as a whole, since the author has distributed the concept of semiperiphery throughout many publications.

It should also be considered that the semiperiphery, throughout its almost half century of conception, has been the subject of several studies, which sometimes challenge the possibility that this important contribution of Immanuel Wallerstein is presented as an operable way for the analysis of political developments and economic conditions in the current World-System.

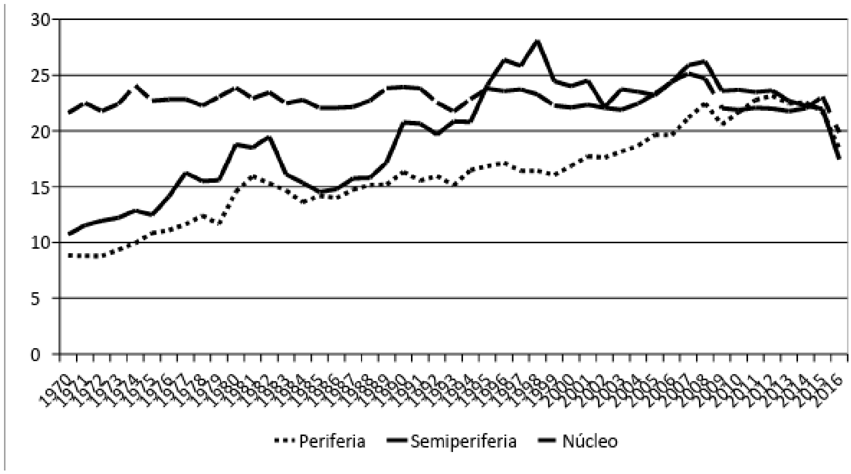
Many studies that have been presented here have used the most diverse possibilities to grant a little more materiality to the semiperiphery, using variables such as trade flows, military interventions, diplomatic exchanges and sets of treaties, industrialization patterns, stability of relations trade, military power, the proportion of GDP per capita relative to world GDP, or the distribution of income levels.

Among all the possibilities offered by the literature, however, the method proposed by Arrighi and Drangel (1986) stands out as one of the most successful ways of measuring the semiperiphery. Its application in other indicators (GDP), even, did not show the same trimodal pattern, which reinforces the notion that this proposal has fully reached the objective of identifying the countries that make up the three different strata that make up the World-System.

From the update of the study by Arrighi and Drangel (1986) and starting from a new definition of which are the countries of the semiperiphery, it is possible to use this categorization in different analytical approaches of the international scene. As an example, the semiperipheral countries mentioned by the method were taken and some indicators provided by the World Bank were applied in order to analyze the relevance of their results in terms of reflecting with a consistent way the political reality and economic development of the international scene.

Taking into account certain specific economic indicators, gross fixed capital formation, international reserves, IMF credit use and balance of trade balance, it is allowed to analyze the behavior of these variables for the semiperiphery, core and periphery countries, according to the result of their distribution in the year 2015[9]. The demonstration of these indicators is important for understanding the usefulness of applying the differentiation of the three strata in the World-System.

Figure 6: Gross fixed capital formation as a percentage of GDP (1970-2016) for the periphery, semiperiphery and organic nucleus.



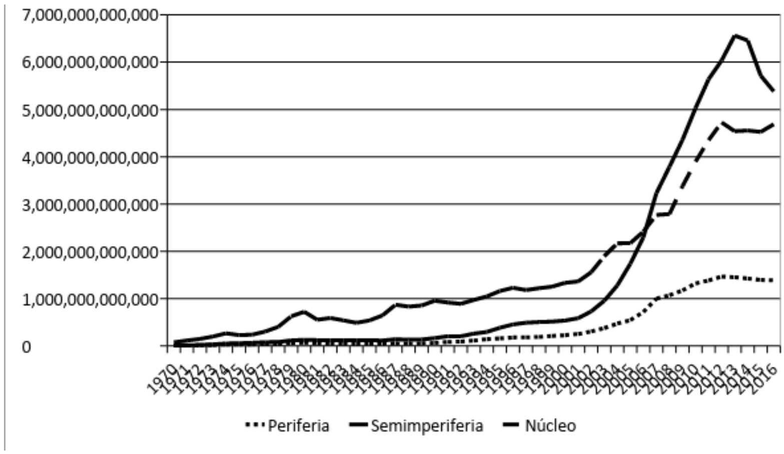
Source: World Bank. Self elaboration.

The first presentation regarding the gross formation of fixed capital expressed in Figure 6 corresponds to an expectation of reality. Central economies maintain a more stable indicator growth, in line with what is expected from more mature economies. The semiperiphery, in accordance with its rise since the end of the Cold War, behaves in order to show its expressive development occurred in the last two decades. The periphery, on the other hand,

9 According to the methodology developed by Arrighi and Drangel (1986), the distribution of countries in the World-System strata would be as follows: NUCLEUS: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brunei Darussalam, Cape Verde, Qatar , Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Korea, Kuwait, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Singapore, Sweden, Switzerland, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom . Periphery: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Algeria, Armenia, Bangladesh, Belize, Benin, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Bhutan, Cameroon, Cambodia, Canada, Chad, West Bank and Gaza, Comoros, Rep. Congo, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Egypt, El Salvador, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Fiji, The Gambia, Gambia, Ghana, Georgia, Guatemala, Guiana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Haiti, Honduras, Yemen, Marshall Islands, Islands Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Mauritania, Micronesia, Mozambique, Moldova, Mongolia, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Republic of Korea, Samoa, Malabo, Jamaica, Kiribati, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Serbia, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Sudan, South Africa, South

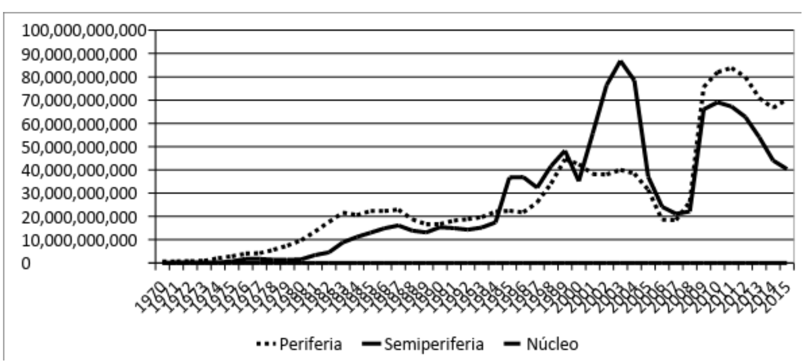
presents the constant growth of investments, in keeping with the marked international expansion of the industrialization of the central countries in vogue since the end of World War II.

Figure 7: International reserves (1970-2016) in US $ for periphery, semiperiphery and organic core.



Source: World Bank. Self elaboration.

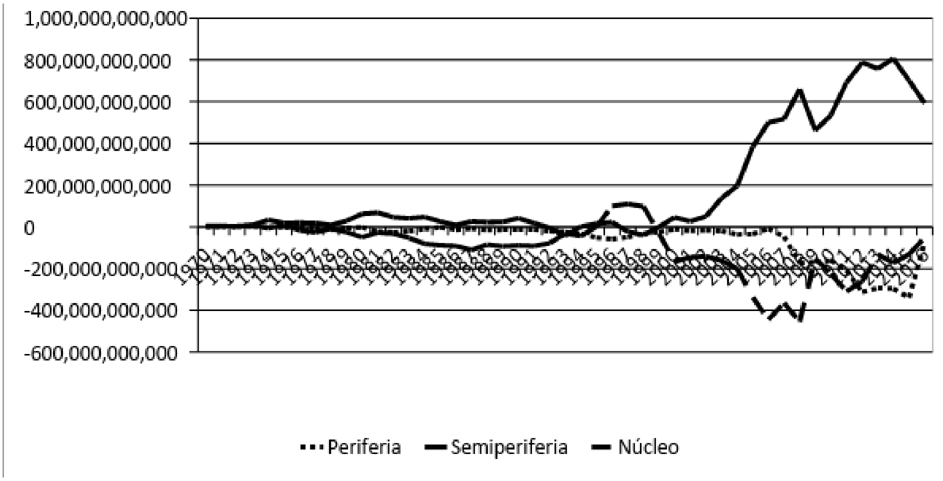
Figure 8: Use of IMF credit (1970-2016) in US $ for periphery, semiperiphery and organic core.



Source: World Bank. Self elaboration.

Africa, Thailand, Kuwait, Niger , Tajikistan, Tanzania, Timor-Leste, Togo, Tonga, Tun Tanzania, Tuvalu, Ukraine, Uganda, Uzbekistan, Vietnam, Zambia, Zimbabwe. SEMIPERIPHERY: Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Barbados, Belarus, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Kazakhstan, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Croatia, Dominica, Slovenia, Estonia, Gabon, Grenada, Greece, Equatorial Guinea, Hungary, Latvia, Lebanon, Lithuania, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Montenegro, Nauru, Oman, Palau, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Slovak Republic, Romania, Russia, Santa Lucia, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Seychelles, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkmenistan, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Figure 9: Balance of trade balance (1970-2016) in US $ for periphery, semiperiphery and organic core.



Source: World Bank. Self elaboration.

Regarding the indicators of financial impact, international reserves, IMF credit use and balance of trade balance (Figures 7, 8 and 9), these evidences the unusual influx of capital in the semiperiphery of recent decades. Recently, the prosperity enjoyed by the emerging economies to the detriment of the recessive processes under way in the advanced economies has been evident. To a large extent, the good tide could be attributed to the large investment inflows that these economies have received since the mid-1990s.

In addition, since the Asian crisis at the end of the 20th century, most emerging countries have accumulated successive current account surpluses (on the other hand, central economies have incurred deficits, only the US responsible for half the world's deficit). These surpluses increased by the investment flows made possible by the expansion of US debt contributed enormously to international liquidity and the constitution of reserves.

Despite the generally positive results for the recipient economies, it should be argued that the previously described success of the semiperiphery in capturing global liquidity cannot be attributed solely to the strengthening of its capacities, and is largely taxed by changes in the system mechanism The understanding of this process can occur as a consequence of the financialization of the world economy, or financial globalization, that started forty years ago.

These developments have contributed to the deepening of what is nowadays widely debated as financial globalization that has led to the financial investment of its national bases, or even the detachment of these investments from the productive bases in a directly linked and proprietary way.

Financial globalization, or "world financialization" in the conception of Chesnais (2005), based on the processes described above, was based on a deregulation and liberalization *continuum* that dismantled the barriers to financial activity in the industrialized countries, multinationals to opt for the centralization of non-reinvested earnings in production, opting instead for the international financial performance instead of the productive one. In this race for profit, some countries of the semi-periphery obtained the seal of the financial markets to become the destination of capital accumulated both by industries and their *holdings*, and for these transnational actors the geographic paths of their investments were ideologically indifferent, since sufficiently secure.

It is not part of the normalcy of the capitalist logic that emerging economies that traditionally imported, high cost of capital surplus economies, to access significant financial flows, to finance its persistent current account deficits. The shortage of capital, accentuated the underutilization of labor, wasting thus potential for growth through the creation of internal markets and services to a consumption *standard* considered basic in advanced economies. This financial availability led to strong growth in a select group of emerging nations, with significant improvements in the standard of living of these populations and an increase in their *per capita* income.

The phenomena pointed out by the use of semiperipheral classification in selected indicators are consistent with Wallerstein's developed theoretical work. The semiperiphery then presents itself as the recipient of the center capitals. The feeble industrialization endured by the semiperiphery was not enough for the countries that are part of it to change their structural position in the World-System, since the reward for the process of industrialization was reduced with its diffusion.

Finally, the semiperiphery is a concept that concentrated a series of criticisms, but with the operationalization of its constructs given by Arrighi and Drangel (1986) and with the use of its definitions for the exemplification of the possibility of clarifying certain topics, it has become part of the theoretical principles that underlie it and, moreover, proved to be an important construction that, even if formulated forty years ago, is still very useful for the understanding of contemporary phenomena.

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ABSTRACT

The concept of semiperiphery is considered by many authors as the most important contribution of Immanuel Wallerstein's work. Since its definition in the 1970s, strenuous attempts have been made to define a geographical dimension. This article seeks to retake the relevance of the semiperiphery to the understanding of contemporary international circumstances. Its operation allows global data to be aggregated, offering a factual and updated cut of the most diverse economic and political facets that make up the World-System. To define which countries make up the semiperiphery in the present time, one of the attempts is replicated and an update of the listing is presented. In the end, some examples of instrumentation of the concept are presented, based on selected indicators.

KEYWORDS

Semiperiphery, World-system, Immanuel Wallerstein.

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RISE AND FALL OF JACOB ZUMA

Vladimir Shubin[1]

Introduction

In May 2014 I suddenly received a telephone call from the South African Embassy in Moscow, then an official invitation signed by Jacob Zuma followed: he wanted me to be present at his second inauguration. Unfortunately I failed to do it, I was still recovering from a surgical operation, but the very fact was significant, not because I had been involved, but because it symbolized friendly relations that existed between the South African president and those in Russia who took part in supporting the long struggle against the apartheid regime.

I read and heard later that the inauguration ceremony was quite successful. Two weeks earlier the African National Congress headed by Zuma received 62.15% votes in general election. That was 3.7 % less than in 2009, but still quite impressive. The Congress of the People, the party created by those in the ANC who opposed Zuma, suffered a debacle, it received 0.67%. Although, a "leftist" party, the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) received an impressive result for a new structure, 6.35% votes, and the main opposition, Democratic Alliance increased its result by 5.5% to 22.23% (Election Resources 2014), but it in no way they threatened the dominance of the ANC.

True, Zuma first term witnessed some achievements both in domestic and in foreign policy. The ambitious National Development Plan «*Our future – make it work. 2030*» was adopted, and South Africa joined the association of leading "non-Western" countries – Brazil, Russia, India and China, transforming BRIC into BRICS. The South African President chaired the 5th BRICS summit in eThekwini (Durban) in March 2013, and at the initiative of South Africa, a forum for dialogue with African leaders on the theme "Unlocking Africa's potential: BRICS and Africa Cooperation on Infrastructure"

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was also held during the summit, which was attended by heads of state and government and heads of African continental and regional organizations.

Let us recall that in late 2007, Jacob Zuma came to the leadership of the ANC, when at the national conference of this party he won over the then president of the country Thabo Mbeki, having received the support of 60% of delegates. In 2009, after the general election Zuma confidently took over as president of South Africa, having been elected by the ANC majority in parliament.

Zuma's way to presidency was rather hard. "A simple man" – that is the term Jacob Zuma was often characterised[2]. Indeed, he was born in a village in KwaZulu-Natal and according to the majority of sources never received formal education, doing odd jobs to help his family after his father's death and teaching himself how to read and write.

Zuma joined the ANC in 1959 and the armed organization, Umkontho we Sizwe in 1962, soon after its formation by the ANC and South African Communist Party. The next year he was arrested with a group of young Africans on the way abroad for military training and sentenced to ten years imprisonment.

After the release in 1973, Zuma worked in the ANC underground structures in KwaZulu-Natal, but two years later had to go into exile. Before long Zuma became popular in the ranks of the liberation movement and was elected to the ANC National Executive Committee in 1977. Soon, he was included in the group of ANC leaders, who underwent training in the Soviet Union (S.A. History 2017)[3].

He was initially based in Swaziland and Mozambique and remained in Mozambique even when most of the ANC leaders had to leave after the signing of the notorious Nkomati Accord ("Agreement on non-Aggression and Good Neighbourliness between Mozambique and South Africa") by presidents Samora Machel and Peter Botha on 16 March 1984. He was involved in "sensitive" activities, maintaining contact with the ANC underground in South Africa. I recall that when our delegation was leaving Lesotho in 1984, at the last moment, at the airport, a councilor of the newly established Soviet embassy passed me an envelope that ANC comrades asked to deliver to their

2 The irony is that former minister Ronnie Kasrils used these very words for his recently published very critical book about Zuma.

3 The group was headed by Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General and included such prominent persons as Sindiso Mfenyana, Reginald September and Dulcie September; later ANC representative in Paris killed by unknown assassin. The course was held at the Training Centre of the Soviet Defence Ministry, even if some fans of sensations claimed that he studied in "the KGB school for sabotage and terrorist activities" (https://ria.ru/world/20180215/1514653931.html)

colleagues in Mozambique. Moreover, the name of the recipient, Jacob Zuma, was marked on it. I carried a diplomatic passport, but on the way to Maputo the plane was to land at Matsapa airport in Swaziland, practically controlled by Pretoria's security, while Moscow had no diplomatic relations with that country. "On the other hand," I thought, "perhaps this letter can save somebody's life, so I have to take the risk."

When Zuma had to leave Mozambique on Pretoria's demand he joined the ANC HQ in Lusaka, Zambia. There in 1987 he was appointed deputy head of the ANC Department of Intelligence and Security, having conceded the top post to Joseph Nhlanhla, future South African Minister of Intelligence Services.

In this capacity he took part, often together with Thabo Mbeki, in confidential discussions with Pretoria regime's representatives and was a member of the ANC team who were the first to legally come to South Africa on March 21 1990 after the unbanning of this organization.

At the first legal national conference in Durban in July 1991 Zuma was elected deputy to the ANC new Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa. However Zuma political work was concentrated in his native KwaZulu-Natal. The Inkatha Freedom Party of Gatsha Buthelezi won the 1994 election there, but Zuma became a member responsible for Economic Affairs and Tourism in the province's Executive Committee, formed on a coalition basis. (Many believe that the election was rigged in favour of the Inkatha. but the ANC top leadership decided not to question the results for the sake of peace in the province).

As the ANC chairperson in Kwazulu-Natal he did a lot for the rapprochement with the Inkatha and establishing lasting peace in the province. From 1994 he combined his post with the position of national chairperson of ANC and in 1997 he was elected the ANC Deputy President. Then two years later, after the second general election new South African President Thabo Mbeki appointed Zuma his deputy.

Zuma was regarded as a future heir of Mbeki in the ANC and state presidency, however soon he faced troubles. In 2002 Zuma was implicated in a major scandal, in connection with the trial of his close associate and financial advisor (and former underground operative) Schabir Shaik, who was accused of "corruption, fraud, theft of company assets, tax evasion and reckless trading" in the case connected with a so called "arms deal"[4]. On 23

4 The name used by South African mass-media for the Strategic Defence Acquisition, a South African military procurement programme. It involved a US$4.8 billion (R30 billion in 1999 rands).

August 2003 Bulelani Ngcuka, then the head of the National Directorate of Public Prosecutions told journalists: "We have concluded that, whilst there is a prima facie case of corruption against the deputy president, our prospects of success are not strong enough. That means that we are not sure if we have a winnable case. Accordingly, we have decided not to prosecute the deputy president" (News 24 2003).

That statement was hardly fair and many in South Africa saw it as an example of "conspiracy" against Zuma. He accused the prosecution of finding him guilty without having the necessary evidence (IOL 2003). Other examples followed, per instance the Schabir Shaik's trial was presided by Hilary Squires; a retired judge, former Rhodesian MP and even a minister in Jan Smith government in Rhodesia, was brought in specifically do it.

Therefore when after Sheik's conviction Thabo Mbeki "released" Zuma of his duties as Deputy President on 14 June 2005, there was a strong belief that Zuma was wrongly treated and two months later at the ANC National Council meeting his opponents failed to remove him from the post of the party's "second-in-command". Then when in August 2005 the investigators team searched Zuma's houses and his lawyer's premises and seized 93 000 documents; in his home in a Johannesburg suburb they almost clashed with the VIP protection unit (Namibian 2005) .

However it was not the end of Zuma's troubles. In December 2005, Zuma was charged with raping a younger woman, Fezekile Kuzwayo, a daughter of his old comrade. Zuma pleaded not guilty and in May 2006 was acquitted. Moreover, rumors were widely spread by his supporters that the whole episode was another conspiracy against him. I recall how my former colleague, a prominent African professor tried to convince me that the lady had been trained during three month to seduce Zuma.

The suspicion about anti-Zuma conspiracy was heated up by the circulation of e-mail messages, attributed to his opponents. The investigation, ordered by Ronnie Kasrils, minister of intelligence, proved they were hoax but far from everybody believed it.

A decisive battle for the ANC Presidency took place at the ANC National conference in Polokwane (former Pietersburg) in December 2007. It appears that Thabo Mbeki made a mistake to stand for the third term as the ANC President; although it is allowed by the party constitution, it looked like "clinging to power". By that time Zuma's supporters formed a so called "coalition of the wounded" (named after the notorious "coalition of the willing" during the US and UK aggression against Iraq in 2003). It consisted of the persons who had been one or another way offended or upset by Thabo Mbeki. However, another reason for delegates to support Zuma was more important:

he was considered as “a man of the people” as distinct from Mbeki who was often regarded aloof and “moderate”, pursuing “neoliberal” policy. Therefore Zuma was supported in particular by the SACP and Congress of South Africa Trade Unions (COSATU) as well as by the ANC Youth League. On 18 December Zuma won over Mbeki with convincing majority of delegate votes – 2329 to 1505 (IOL 2007).

In that period the corruption charges against Zuma were still “simmering”. Zuma had to appear in the Court on 29 June 2005 on two counts of corruption (The Guardian 2005), then an investigation was extended to include fraud, however on 20 September 2006 the case was stroked for “technicality”, on the grounds that the State had charged Zuma before properly investigating and preparing its case against him (S.A. History 2007).

Nevertheless, just a couple of weeks after Zuma’s victory in Polokwane, corruption charges against him were reinstated (The Guardian 2009). However on 12 September 2008, Judge Chris Nicholson of the Pietermaritzburg High Court “threw out the prosecution” (again on procedural ground), and moreover, he said that the decision to prosecute Zuma appeared to have been “politically motivated” (The Guardian 2008). Addressing about ten thousand supporters outside the court house, jubilant Zuma said the case was a lesson to anyone who abuses power. It is “a victory for democracy”. However again it was not the end of the story.

Mbeki appealed the Nicholson verdict, and next February a Supreme Court of Appeal bench unanimously dismissed Nicholson’s Zuma judgment with contempt (Mail & Guardian 2009), but it was too late. On 19 September 2008 the ANC National Executive Committee at a meeting that went on until early morning decided to “recall comrade Thabo Mbeki before his term expires”; and ANC secretary-general Gwede Mantashe told reporters at a press conference after the decision was taken that the Nicholson judgment played a major role in it. Mbeki himself said later: “That was a decision not made by the ANC but by Judge Nicholson and the ANC acted on it” (IOL 2009) .

Several members of Mbeki’s government resigned following him, including Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, Dr Essop Pahad, minister in the Presidency and Ronnie Kasrils, minister of intelligence services.

In the author’s opinion this episode is a convincing evidence of the defectiveness of the “most democratic” constitution of South Africa: without violation of its clauses a single person by taking a wrong decision changed the destiny of the country.

However Zuma could not be elected state president at once, because he surrendered his parliamentary seat in 2005, and the top post was occupied by his deputy in the ANC, Khalema Motlanthe. It was pre-decided that Motlanthe's term in the office would be short, till the next election, scheduled for 2009, but in any case he served his country with dignity and efficiency.

Zuma's time came on 6 May 2009 when parliament elected him President of the Republic of South Africa. Zuma's critics reminded that as Deputy President during six years he hardly opposed so called "neoliberal" course of Mbeki's government and that both of them, then members of the Politbureau, left the Communist Party in 1990, when it became legal and there was no place for secret membership anymore. Nevertheless his election was generally regarded as a "turn to the left", or, as a leader of the SACP told me, "a potential for the left turn". This even created some concern in the right-wing circles both in South Africa and beyond about the country's future, especially of its economy.

Initially, president Zuma, an easily accessible person who often used progressive rhetoric was quite popular. Moreover, he did appoint some "lefties" to his cabinet, including Dr Blade Nzimande, SACP General Secretary. In December 2012 at the ANC congress in Mangaung (Bloemfontein) Zima received even more support than five years earlier - more than 70% of delegates. However, disappointment in the results of the ANC government's rule has been growing even in the ranks of the ruling party. In 2012, the ANC conference clearly expressed concern about the low pace of social and economic reforms, which found expression in the adoption of the provision on the "second phase of the transition from apartheid colonialism to a national-democratic society" that "will be characterized by decisive actions to effect economic transformation and democratic consolidation, critical both to improve the quality of life of all South Africans, and to promote nation-building and social cohesion."[5] According to Zuma, in the course of it there had to be a "radical shift" towards greater state involvement in the economy, especially in the mining sector.

However, on the contrary during the second term of "Zuma's rule" the political and economic situation in the country became more complicated and the role of the state was weakened. Yet one acute social problem in South Africa was and remains xenophobia. For the most part, it is caused by economic reasons, and periodic outbreaks of violence against foreigners, mainly labor migrants from African countries, were a consequence of high unemployment.

In its election campaign in 2014, the ANC actively used two jubilees

5 Declaration Of the 53rd National Conference of the ANC. http://www.anc.org.za/events.php?t=53rd%20National%20Conference%20-%20Mangaung

- its centennial, celebrated throughout 2012, and the 20th anniversary of the establishment of a democratic system in South Africa in April 1994. But in the political vocabulary, especially among the opponents of the government, two other notions prevailed - Nkandla and Marikana.

In the first case, it concerned the construction of several facilities – visitors' centre, kraal, poultry house, swimming pool - at Jacob Zuma's private state expense estate in his homeland, in Nkandla, in KwaZulu-Natal province. Almost 450-page report of Public Protector (ombudsman) Thuli Madonsela stated that part of the expenses for the construction could not be justified according to the South African law on national key points and suggested that Zuma at least partially pay them into the treasury. However, later the police minister Nathi Mthethwa, who was responsible for the "key points", said that in the report of Mandosela the expenses were exaggerated fivefold, and that in any case, the president should not compensate them. His position was supported by the ANC majority of members of parliament. So the issue was "frozen" for some time, but "exploded" later, when on March 31, 2016, the South African Constitutional Court on the suit of the opposition EFF unanimously decided that the demand of Public Protector was valid and binding for execution, and the resolution of the parliament, which supported the president, was incompatible with the constitution and illegal. Moreover, the court also ruled that, having failed to comply with this order earlier, the president violated the obligation to "uphold, defend and respect" the Constitution (News 24 2016), and this gave rise to another attempt to oust Zuma, although the parliamentary majority - ANC members - did not allow to do it.

In the second case, it was a real tragedy. On August 16, 2012, near the platinum mine of Marikana in the North-West Province of South Africa, 34 persons were killed by police bullets and 78 workers were injured, when they participated in the strike demanding pay increase. It happened after ten people had been killed, including two policemen and two security guards of the "Lonmin" company. This tragedy caused a huge resonance in the country; it was compared to the shooting of a demonstration of Africans in Sharpeville in 1960. Police actions were severely criticized.

Soon another blow was delivered on President's prestige. Before the 2009 election, on April 1 the National Prosecuting Authority dropped charges against Zuma that included 783 (!) episodes of "corruption, fraud and extortion" but it proved to be not for good (Politics Web 2009). The High Court of Gauteng Province on April 29, 2016 overruled this decision. Moreover, the court ruled that Mokotadi Mpshe, who was then the National Director of Public Prosecutions, acted under pressure.

Then the relations between President the Gupta family were brought to a public scandal. Immigrants from India, the Gupta brothers founded business in South Africa in 1993, having built an entire empire in 20 years, engaged in a variety of activities. They established close ties with Jacob Zuma before he became president; his close relatives – one of his wives[6], a son and a daughter - held high positions in the companies belonging to the Gupta clan, who enjoyed various preferences and privileges from the South African government.

The first major scandal involving the Gupta brothers occurred in 2013, when a chartered plane, flying from India with guests to the wedding of their niece, despite the rules, was allowed to land at the military airfield Waterkloof near Pretoria, reserved for arriving heads of state and diplomatic delegations. More serious events occurred at the end of 2015 when unexpected dismissal on December 9 of the Minister of Finance Nhlanhla Nene, who was replaced by the little-known "backbencher" David van Rooyen, was associated with the Gupta family. This Zuma's decision adversely affected the country's financial system, causing a sharp weakening of the rand and a cheapening of South African assets. The immediate loss to the country was R500 billion, and the actual loss may turn out to be a lot more (BizNews 2016). There were also reports that, shortly before, a number of persons who supposedly knew about the upcoming events had relied on lowering the rate of rand. They took rands to buy dollars, and when the rand fell, they exchanged dollars back for rand, which brought them several billion in profits. Moreover Msebisi Jones, Deputy Minister of Finance, publicly stated that on the eve of Nene's resignation the Gupta brothers offered him the post of minister (Mail & Guardian 2016) . Zuma insisted in the parliament that "no minister was appointed by the Guptas or anyone else" (News 24 2016), but protests, especially on the part of business structures, were so powerful that in four days he was forced to replace the newly appointed minister with Pravan Gordan, who previously held this post in 2009-2014.

The president tried to distance himself from the Gupta family, but his reputation was irreparably damaged, and in the South African political vocabulary a new term appeared - "state capture," meaning the use of the state apparatus and state property for personal purposes. Thuli Madonsela had a good reason to begin new investigation that finally resulted in report ironically titled "State of Capture".

In this situation, Jacob Zuma not only became a target for criticism, but various political forces began to call for his resignation, including those,

6 Zuma's private life is beyond the theme of this article. We will just mention that he married six women and according to mass-media by May 2019 had 22 children from 11 women and was going to marry one more wife, 24 years old, who just delivered his child.

who supported him earlier against Mbeki. The most radical position, as usual, was taken by the EFF that demanded also the dissolution of the parliament and the new general elections. Direct appeals to the president to step down were heard from Ahmed Kathrada, sentenced with Nelson Mandela to life imprisonment, as well as from other ANC veterans and religious figures. A group of military veterans, top commanders and commissars of the Umkonto we Sizwe - ANC People's Army - urged the leadership of the party "to assess... the wisdom to continue with Comrade J Zuma at the helm of both the ANC and the State. We are of the view, that for the sake of the ANC and the country a dignified exit should be negotiated with Comrade J Zuma".

Under these circumstances, local elections in August 2016 became of national importance. In general, the ruling party predictably won a victory; however, some called it "Pyrrhic": although the ANC gained control over more than 78% of the country's administrative districts, it received only 54.59% of the vote. This was the worst result since 1994 and almost 8% less than in previous local elections. At the same time, the main antagonist of the ANC, the Democratic Alliance, although it received twice less, 27.02% of the vote, strengthened its control over the parliamentary capital of the country - Cape Town and received a relative majority of seats in the administrative capital of the country Tswane (Pretoria) (although the gap was small - 93 seats for the DA against 89 for the ANC) and in the large municipality of Nelson Mandela Bay (Port Elizabeth) in the Eastern Cape Province, traditionally considered ANC stronghold. In Johannesburg, ANC managed to retain the relative majority of votes, but it lost its previous majority of seats in the city council. EFF received only 2% more votes than in the national elections in 2014, although they were expecting to double or even triple the number. But in the coming, as the South African newspapers wrote, was "the era of coalitions": despite the third place with 8.24% of the vote, "Economic Freedom Fighters" got a chance to become a "kingmakers" and successfully implemented it.

Thus, with the assistance of EFF and some small parties, DA managed to gain control not only over Tshwane and Nelson Mandela Bay, but also over Johannesburg, the economic capital. No matter how dramatic it was for the ANC to lose control over these major cities, the moral blow that this party was forced to endure was no less painful. Zuma has repeatedly stated earlier that the ANC will rule "until Jesus comes", so after the election, offensive jokes became popular: "Zuma went to meet Jesus at O.R. Tambo International Airport," "Jesus came for Zuma in Tshwane", etc.

The significant loss of ANC votes can be explained not only by complex social and economic problems (minimal GDP growth, high unemployment, wide-spread poverty), but also by the factional struggle within this party, and especially corruption scandals that directly affected Jacob Zuma. In the run-up to the elections, there were two opposing views in the ANC. Some believed that Zuma turned into an "albatross on the neck" of the party; others believed that the resignation of the leader on the eve of the election would create chaos and weaken the position of the ANC. The second point of view won, but the election results led to the renewal of demands for changes in the leadership of the ANC. Many prominent and ordinary ANC members blamed the party leader for the failure.

The culmination of the events was the funeral of Ahmad Katrada, who died on March 28, 2017. It was attended by almost all the top leaders of the ANC, except for Zuma, who was reportedly not wanted by the family of the deceased. The situation was heated the day before, when president, without any explanation, withdrew from the foreign trip the country's popular finance minister, Pravan Gordhan and his deputy Msebizi Jonas, who were in open conflict with the Gupta clan. Zuma predecessor Khalema Motlanthe in his funeral speech directly quoted Katrada's letter to the president with the call to resign[7].

Zuma's, so to say, reply was one more, 11th since he became president, reshuffle of the cabinet. In particular, he fired Gordhan and Jonas, without consulting with other senior leaders of the ANC and the country. Zuma's deputy in the party and state Cyril Ramaphosa, the general secretary of this party, Gwede Mantashe, and its general treasurer, Zweli Mkhize, openly expressed disagreement with such actions.

For the first time, the issue of Zuma's resignation at the meeting of the ANC National Executive Committee was put up in November 2016, although it did not receive the support of the majority. The same happened with the non-confidence vote in April 2017 proposed again by the opposition in parliament, although for the first time it was supported by some of the parliamentarians from the ANC; and the two ANC allies in the "tripartite alliance" - the SACP Communist Party and COSATU demanded his resignation.

Zuma managed to delay the execution of the court decision on his criminal case and the implementation of the decision to establish an independent legal commission to investigate the charges contained in the report on "state capture", but the moment of reckoning was approaching – the ANC national conference was scheduled for December 16-20, 2017.

Seven candidates were nominated for the presidency of the party, including Cyril Ramaphosa and Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, a former minister and from 2012 to 2017 chair of the African Union Commission. Both can-

7 Hartley R. The story of the very political funeral of Ahmed Kathrada.

didates were well-deserved, but Nkosazana's marriage to Zuma as well as his public support for her were detrimental. Although they divorced almost 20 years earlier, and at ANC conference in 2007 she was a candidate for the post of ANC chairperson on Thabo Mbeki' "slate", her opponents and the media referred to her as Zuma's "ex-wife". On December 16 Zuma announced the gradual introduction of free higher and professional education for students from families whose annual income does not exceed 350 thousand rand. This basically satisfied the demand of participants of student's protests in 2015-2016, but since such a decision was made public on the day of the opening of the ANC conference, it was regarded as the last minute attempt to help Nkosazana.

Ramaphosa won an undoubted victory in the election of the president of the ANC, although with a slight advantage, (2 440 votes against 2 261 votes for Dlamini-Zuma) (BizNews 2017), but among the six top leaders of the ANC and among the 80 members of the National Executive Committee, his obvious supporters occupied only about half of the seats. However many of his recent opponents began to move to the new leader's side; a vivid example is David Mabuza, then the ANC Chair and Premier in Mpumalanga province. Although he was regarded earlier as Jacob Zuma's supporter, it looks like he provided vital votes of delegates from "his" province for Ramaphosa and was "rewarded" by the post of Deputy President.

After the conference appeals to Zuma to resign intensified, as the retention of the post of president would weaken the ANC's chances of winning the upcoming parliamentary elections not later than May 2019. However when the ANC new top leadership tried to pursue him to voluntarily do it, he remained resilient.

So, on February 13 the ANC National Executive Committee took a decision to recall him. That was similar to the events of September 2008, but as distinct from Thabo Mbeki Zuma was still clinging to power. He insisted on several months delay to chair the summits of the Southern African Development Community and BRICS, to be held in South Africa.

To assess his action one has to take in mind that in South Africa to leave "in a good way", obtaining a guarantee against criminal prosecution and retaining property for the president and his family (as was done recently for Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe) is practically impossible given strict legal norms. So it was reported that Zuma had put forward, as a condition of his resignation, payment of his future (terribly high!) expenses for lawyers and other legal costs.

Zuma agreed to leave only after it became clear that non-confidence vote scheduled on February 15 was going to be supported by both the opposition and his own party. Zuma took this step late on the previous evening, addressing the nation on TV. Having underlined his disagreement "with the decision of the Leadership of my organisation", Zuma, nevertheless announced his resignation "as President of the Republic with immediate effect". Referring to "the instances of violence that have occurred because of the different views among members of our organization outside our headquarters, Luthuli House" he proclaimed: "No life should be lost in my name and also the ANC should never be divided in my name" (News24 2018) .

In accordance with the Constitution of South Africa, Ramaphosa immediately became the acting president of the country. The election of a new president was to be held within 30 days, but the day after the resignation of Zuma, on February 15, the National Assembly unanimously elected Ramaphosa. Only deputies from the EFF left the chamber, declaring the illegality of the parliament, but they also joined the standing ovation after Ramaphosa's "State of the Nation" address next day.

Thus, the change of the supreme power in South Africa took place purely democratically, without any interference by the security forces. None of the ministers who were considered supporters of Zuma, resigned.

The end of the prolonged uncertainty was welcomed both within South Africa and beyond. The credit ratings of South Africa were lowered by two of the top three international agencies primarily because of the political situation in the country, but its stabilization after Ramaposa's arrival to the country's leadership is helping to raise them. There has already been a noticeable strengthening of the South African rand, and the rate on government bonds of South Africa has decreased. The main and urgent task facing the new president is the fight against corruption, which has already begun. For example, an arrest warrant has been issued for one of the brothers Gupta, who is hiding from the police.

It can be assumed that in the near future the focus of South Africa's leadership, headed by Ramaphosa, will be on domestic policy. It is noteworthy that only two paragraphs were devoted to foreign policy in Ramaphosa's State of the Nation Address; one of them spoke of free trade zones on the African continent, and the other about the South African presidency in the BRICS (South African Government 2018).

The entry of South Africa into the BRICS was the main achievement of South Africa's foreign policy under Zuma. Having publicly stated about three attempts to poison him, Zuma emphasized that he "almost died just because South Africa joined Brics under my leadership" (The Citizen 2017). There is no reason to expect significant changes in South Africa's foreign policy after the election of Ramaphosa, although the "anti-imperialist" rhetoric that characterized the previous president (which could not prevent, for example, the expansion of military cooperation with the African Command of the United States) may be weakened.

The Department of International Relations and Cooperation two weeks before the resignation of Zuma has already announced an extensive program of events for the period of the country's chairmanship in the BRICS. However, the difference in the priorities named in this programme and in Ramaphosa's programme statement deserves attention. In the first case they were for: establishment of a Virtual Vaccine Research Platform for Collaboration with BRICS vaccine innovation and development partners, establishment of a BRICS Gender and Women's Forum, establishment of a Working Group on Peacekeeping and leveraging the Strategy for BRICS Economic Partnership as linked to the Fourth Industrial Revolution" (Republic of South Africa 2018), while Ramaphosa named only one - "the promotion of value-added trade and intra-BRICS investment into productive sectors" (Times Live 2018). Hence we can conclude that the new president, first of all, hopes that this association will contribute to solving the problems of the South African economy.

As for the political views of Ramaphosa, who at one time openly advocated socialism, and then became a major businessman, he formulated them in a rather peculiar way: "I am a capitalist with a socialist instinct" (Mail & Guardian 2015). It remains to be seen how these two notions will expressive themselves during his presidency.

Ramaphosa is characterized by a desire to solve problems through negotiations, avoiding extreme measures. For example, he spoke in 2008 against the recall of Thabo Mbeki as president, and after his election as ANC president patiently negotiated with Jacob Zuma for his resignation and later even arranged a farewell cocktail party for the former president and members of his government (ENCA 2018).

During the cocktail Zuma looked quite pleased with life, but it was hardly sincere. His departure from the state post lifted the brakes of the South African legal mechanism, and it soon came into action. Already on April 6 Zuma faced 16 charges that include fraud, corruption and racketeering in the High Court in Durban (Times Live 2018). As before, he welcomed his supporters who carried posters "Hands off Zuma" and "100% innocent" (there are still a lot of them in his native province) with his favourite song "Umshini Wami ([Bring me] my machine-gun)" (Daily Maverick 2018). But this time fortune is unlikely to be on his side. The next court session is scheduled for June 8, and the prosecutor's office named 207 state witnesses (The South African 2018). So far, Shabir Shaik, who was released from prison "for health reasons" after serving just two years of 15, is not amongst them, but he will testify in court if subpoenaed (WN 2018). What will be the strength of his evidence that is regarded by media as a potential "explosion" and how many more "bombers" can join him? What will happen with Jacob Zuma? We have to wait to receive final answers and taking into account South African legal system, probably for years.

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ABSTRACT

In May 2014 I suddenly received a telephone call from the South African Embassy in Moscow, then an official invitation signed by Jacob Zuma followed: he wanted me to be present at his second inauguration. Unfortunately I failed to do it, I was still recovering from a surgical operation, but the very fact was significant, not because I had been involved, but because it symbolized friendly relations that existed between the South African president and those in Russia who took part in supporting the long struggle against the apartheid regime.

KEYWORDS

South Africa; Politics; Jacob Zuma.

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AFRICAN UNION, STATE-BUILDING AND THE CHALLENGES OF STATE FRAGILITY IN AFRICA

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Introduction

The trajectory of African development since its decade of independence tends to be a contradictory admixture of hope and despair. Undoubtedly, political independence came with great expectations which were hinged on the dialectical permutation that the collapse of colonialism would usher in an epoch of unhindered national development. But that hope was quickly transformed into despair as African states became embroiled in all manner of socio-economic and political contradictions, thus occupying the "bottom of global development and poverty scale, with human conditions largely moving backwards" (Odukoya 2018, 174). The early attempt at institutionalising African unity was under the auspices of the Organisation of African unity (OAU) (now African Union, AU). Scholars are of the opinion that OAU was successful in actualizing the dismantling of colonialism and apartheid but ineffective in motorising the integration of African states and steering them to sustainable development (Packer and Rukare 2002; Ibeike-Jonah 2001; Bekerie 2001).

African statehood has been at a crossroads, mainly as a result of centrifugal forces that tug at its cohesiveness. Majority of African countries are categorised as fragile or failed states. The general challenge of fragility is captured by OECD (2016, 24) thus, "over 1.6 billion people, or 22% of the global population, currently live in … fragile contexts. Population in these fragile contexts is anticipated to increase to 3 billion people, or 32% of the global population, by 2050." Of particular challenge is that African states dominate the list of fragile states. For instance, out of 47 countries identified as fragile

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states in 2012, 28 of them were African states, thus making over half of African states fragile (OECD 2012). Even more alarming are current data on state fragility as at 2016: out of 56 fragile contexts examined and measured under the OECD's fragility framework, 35 are in sub-Saharan Africa (OECD 2016).

Despite the divergences in the conceptualization state fragility in both donor and academic circles (Olowu and Chanie 2016), this paper adopts the OECD definition which recognises the universality and multidimensionality of fragility by its harmonization of the parameters in divergent definitions. The OECD definition identifies and measures five dimensions of fragility namely economic, environmental, political, security and societal. Thus, within the context of these dimensions, state fragility connotes "the combination of exposure to risk and insufficient coping capacity of the state, system and/or communities to manage, absorb or mitigate those risks. Fragility can lead to negative outcomes including violence, the breakdown of institutions, displacement, humanitarian crises or other emergencies." (OECD 2016, 22).

The fragility of African states is linked to the mismanagement of opportunities by the emergent post-independence leaders and sustained afterwards by piratic and roguish political class riding on the wings of authoritarianism (Ahluwalia 2001). These leaders failed to facilitate structural, institutional and governance reforms that could have set the stage for the proper take-off of African statehood. Instead of state-building, they embarked upon nation-building, thus turning the potential advantage of ethnic heterogeneity, which characterised almost all African states, into a curse (Nzongola-Ntalaja 1999; Green 2011).

The recourse of African leaders to primordial and neopatrimonial ties as basis for solidarity was part of their strategies to hold onto political power whose utilitarian value consisted of its guarantee of access to state resources (Otunnu 2018; Ake 1981). The parochialism of exclusionary politics as basis for solidarity not only resuscitated the psyche of resistance as marginalised ethnic groups fought for inclusion but also resulted in social fragmentation and the de-legitimization of the state.

This paper problematizes state fragility in Africa tracing its roots to the serial failures of successive African leaderships to transform the colonial state, massive exploitation of the state by opportunistic elite and connivance of local elites with external forces (Otunnu 2018; Sigman and Lindberg 2017) and the seeming inaction of the AU with reference to its constitutive act. The paper contends that the relevance of AU in the overall architecture of reversing the contemporary fragility of African states lies in the single-minded expansion of its institutional and structural capability to meet its objectives on the economic, political and security fronts as avowed in the vision and spirit of its constitutive act.

Theorising Statehood in Africa: Going Back to the Basics

Contemporary statehood in Africa is a product of centuries of contact and formal political domination by European states. The foundation of statehood in Africa did not follow the patterns of state formation that underpinned the emergence of states in Europe (Herbst 2000). Rather, states emerged in Africa according to the imperial interests of the European states. The conference, which was convened in Berlin in 1884-5 laid the ground rules for the partition of Africa (Gbenenye 2016; Griffiths 1986). Even though the partitioning of Africa was the agenda of the conference, African representatives were not in attendance and the 'triumphant' imperial powers neglected to organise referenda across the artificially-banded states to determine their support or otherwise. Thus, the conference was a European platform to share, among competing European powers, the continent of Africa as if it were a chattel (Gbenenye 2016; Igwe 2002; Okafor 2000). The exclusionary nature of state creation in Africa marginalised its people and resulted in lack of motivation to preserve and nurture the inherited states even after independence.

The emergence of state system often coincides with voluntary agreement of the people to found a socio-political entity. Such "founding" often entails the dismantling of the old social order and the erection of a new one in its stead. As Nnoli (2003, 14) asserts, "by the emergence of a new state we mean the coming into position of control of state power by a new ruling class at the expense of the old ruling class." But such a state must derive its essence and legitimacy from the people. Although the scramble for Africa by the Europeans led to the dethronement of the indigenous social order, it essentially lacked the support of the people. This essential condition of state formation which was neither fulfilled by the imperial powers nor rectified by the emergent African leaders after independence is amongst the factors that tend to haunt Africa's state system (Okafor 2000).

The retention of the colonial states by the emergent African leaders was a manifestation of their failure to recognise the incongruity of the inherited colonial state system to the future of independent Africa. Apart from the motives that spawned the emergence of colonial states, which were narrow and detrimental to the indigenous African people, these states had attributes that decidedly narrowed their viability. As Griffiths (1986); Easterly & Levine (1997) point out, European colonialism lumped together people of diverse cultures and traditions, created arbitrary geographical boundaries that were in grotesque shapes and varied sizes and evolved state entities that were either small and economically unviable or large and unwieldy and as such ungovernable.

At the root of the contemporary crisis associated with state-building in Africa is the reliance of African leaders on faulty foundation of state system to drive statehood. This faulty foundation underpins the illusionary character of African states (Jackson and Rosberg 1986). The illusions of African statehood consist of the disconnect between it and the prevailing notion of the state in modern political, legal, and social theory as well as the experiential difference in the trajectory of state development between Europe, which is seen as a model, and Africa (Jackson and Rosberg 1986; Rotberg 2004; Akude 2009). Although the concept of state is contested by scholars on account of lack of exclusive attributes that differentiate it from other socio-political organizations, it ordinarily incorporates such referents as independent political structure of sufficient authority and power to govern, a defined territory, population and external recognition (Jackson and Rosberg 1986; Clapham 2002). As a result of the deviation of African states from the European model, such terms as "monopoly state," "shadow state," "quasi state," "juridical state," and "developmental state" among others have been used to characterise them (Otunnu 2018; Akude 2009; Clapham 2002). All these descriptive concepts depict African states as lacking the capabilities of sovereignty necessary for effective exercise of power and authority.

The dilemma of postcolonial African statehood is that most states failed even before they were formed (Englebert and Tull 2007). The manifestation of this failure is encapsulated in the various dimensions of contradictions that beset African states immediately after political independence. A checklist of these contradictions spans the broad spectrum of development challenges and range from the distorted postcolonial dreams of inclusive development, violent conflicts, pervasive poverty, political instability and incapacity to implement policies to institutional weakness among others (Clapham 2002; Ahluwalia 2001; Jones, De Oliveira and Verhoeven 2013). There is tendency among scholars to view postcolonial African states as successor to, rather than continuation of, the colonial states. Such theoretical postulations discount the role of the erstwhile imperial powers in spawning and deepening the contradictions of African statehood or enthroning what scholars have variously termed the "African developmental crisis" or "African tragedy" (Smith 2006; Leys 1994). Rather, some anchor the crisis of statehood in Africa on predatory theory, which regards the state as an agent of particular groups, and situate leadership failure as a necessary manifestation of the predation (North 1981; Clapham 2002). And others conceptualise it within the ambit of actor-network theory and thus approximate the crisis of statehood in Africa to material contradictions or "consequence of the absence of the physical infrastructure that is constitutive of modern government" (Schouten 2013). Oloruntoba & Falola (2018) and Omeje (2016) have pointed out these characterizations tend to obfuscate the role of external forces in shaping and contributing to the dysfunctionality of the state in Africa. A most obvious of these contributions was the manipulation by the colonial powers which raised the crop of leaders that took over leadership at independence and created links that consolidated post-independence relationships with them (Onimode 1983; Ake 1981).

The crisis that enveloped African states shortly after independence was an extension of popular opposition that had trailed colonialism. Because the post-independence African elite carried on with governance without any form of an overhaul of the inherited state system, and also proceeded to treat it in terms of business as usual, the resistance that characterised colonial rule was transferred to it. The bedrock of the crisis of statehood in Africa is the unresolved issue of social contract. The social contract theoretical perspective is concerned with political authority and legitimacy within state formations and is anchored on the principle of basic freedom, consent and equality (Neidleman 2012).

The central element in social contract is consensus, notwithstanding whether the consensus is built on explicit, tacit or hypothetical consent of the people (Van der Waldt 2013; Neidleman 2012; Abioye 2011). Essentially, consensus leading to social contract is achieved through bargaining with broad spectra of the polity. Thus, the essence of social contract is to legitimatise the basis for citizens within a state territory to "enjoy the rights and reap the benefits of the social order if s/he lives by its rules and fulfils the responsibilities of membership" (Flanagan 1999, 135). Igwe (2002) has argued that constitutional development represents a major approximation to social contract in contemporary state system as no state actually emerged from prior consultations akin to the classical social contract theorisation of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau.

National constitutions have been represented by scholars as a symbolisation of social contract and concrete approximation to voluntary expression of consent by the people within the state system (Van der Waldt 2013; Abioye 2011; Diehl et al 2009). If this argument is taken further, it means that postcolonial African constitutions symbolise social contract. Constitution-making – both in the colonial and postcolonial era - could have served the purpose of social contract and, thus, state-building in Africa but it is undermined by certain systemic shortcomings. Constitution-making in Africa, which essentially adopted top-bottom strategies, only fulfilled the desires of the elite and marginalised the people. Unlike the constitutions of western countries, which emanated from genuine pro-people platform, most African constitutions were parodies and lacked the credentials of representation. Thus, despite the insertion of phrases that pretended to confer authorship of constitutions on the people such as 'we, the people...', most African constitutions were not rooted in the people as most of the representatives that drafted them were imposed by both colonial and postcolonial governments (Abioye 2011). Postcolonial constitutions were not patently designed to tackle injustice and enthrone socio-political and economic justice but to entrench the ruling elite.

The disconnect between social contract and postcolonial African constitutions is domiciled in the conception of state power and its utilitarian value. State power was seen from economistic prism; that is, as a tool for accumulation. By extension, postcolonial constitutions were designed to preserve the colonial state with its legacy of state power for accumulation purposes (Ake 1996). This perception underpinned the personalisation and privatisation of the state and the attendant resistance that ultimately degenerated to various conflicts across Africa. But the personalisation of the social contract by the postcolonial African leaders created the neopatrimonial state that exists to serve the interest of the ruling class as well as their preservation. Such preservation precluded any form of regional or continental governance structure that could emasculate their exercise of power (Sigman and Lindberg 2017).

From State-building to Nation-building: Ethno-identity Pressures and the Crisis of Statehood

The nature of African statehood is both the root and component of the crisis that confronts the continent. This crisis is what has given rise to post-coloniality, which encapsulates the "post-colonial predicaments which African states have endured and continue to experience" as well as the "dilemmas of modernisation and the manner in which African states negotiate their way through complexities that have grown out of the colonial experience" (Ahluwalia 2001, 1). It is not as if the crisis of statehood is a post-independence phenomenon; it predated independence. The crisis of statehood had its origin in the colonial era when Africans challenged the legitimacy of the arbitrarily balkanised African territories. As Okafor (2000, 31-32) observes, "it was a crisis about the legitimacy of the form, organisational structure, and the behaviour of the state in the eyes of its component peoples."

The attainment of independence in the 1960s by African states neither assuaged nor addressed the legitimacy question. Indeed, independence redefined and exposed the bare contours of African statehood and intensified the contention of the centrifugal forces in them. Despite the seeming survival of African states, the domestic centrifugal forces have contributed to their near collapse and attendant development challenges. Thus, African states have been perennially enmeshed in the struggle for survival. The preoccupation of African states with survival has led to their characterisation as juridical states. Clapham's (2002, 4) claim that "the evident weakness of African states did not reduce them to a state of inertia, in which their fate was determined by external powers" was not only analytically misleading but out of sync with the reality of the African situation. The inability of African states to enthrone development deepened domestic crises with continual threat to their sovereignty. As Ahluwalia (2001, 54) asserts, African states became entrapped as subjects of "new colonial administrators" made up of the World Bank, the IMF and a host of non-governmental organisations who determine and dictate their fundamental policies.

The weakness of African states made them pawns in the chessboard of ideological contestation in the cold war era. The artificiality and tenuousness of these states were made manifest when, at the end of cold war era, western states began to withdraw their support from the puppet-regimes across Africa. Underscoring the influence of external powers in propping up regimes and masking the weakness of African states, Gettleman (2010) asserts, "the cold war's end bred state collapse and chaos. Where meddling great powers once found dominoes that needed to be kept from falling, they suddenly saw no national interest at all". The effect was the proliferation of conflicts as so many rogue groups emerged with such rapidity that governments began to collapse. The devastating effects of these conflicts on African development have been enormous. Between 1990 and 2005, it was estimated that Africa squandered close to US$284 billion (or US$18 billion yearly) to prosecute conflicts (IANSA, Oxfam and Saferworld 2007, 9).

There appears to be retrogression in the nature of statehood in Africa. Going by Jackson and Rosberg's (1982) typology of empirical and juridical statehood, which also coincides with Jackson and Sørensen's (2007) classification of states into formal or legal institutions and substantial political-economic organisations, African states seem to have degenerated from empirical statehood which the erstwhile imperial powers left at independence to juridical statehood in the course of time, as independent states. The distinguishing characteristics of empirical and juridical statehood lie in their features: while empirical statehood depicts states that possess the capability to protect their sovereignty through the functionality of their administrative and governance structures as well as the wherewithal to project and protect their national interest, juridical statehood signifies states that lack the basic sovereign authority and power to exclusively impose its will both on its territorial space and in the international arena (Akude 2009; Jackson and Sørensen 2007; Jackson and Rosberg 1982).

The degeneration of postcolonial African states to juridical statehood is a product of the inability of the emergent African leaders to fully understand the role of the state. This distortion in the role of the state manifested at three levels: at the first level, the elite converted the state into a means of accumulation and the state was unable to manage ethnic diversity. As Ake (1981, 126) affirms, "the massive intervention of the state in the economic sphere and the use of political power as the means of appropriation distorts (sic) the role of the capitalist state in Africa". At the second level, the arbitrariness that characterised the composition of most African states and their multiethnic character provided the environment for the explosion of primeval sentiments. Although scholars hold divergent positions about the relationship between ethnic diversity and conflict (Bleaney and Dimico 2017), postcolonial African leaders have often exploited the diversity in ethnic composition to achieve parochial political and economic objectives including conflicts (Green 2011; Ukiwo 2005; Nzongola-Ntalaja 1999; Ake 1981). The primeval sentiments are normally mobilised to ensure victory in intra-and inter-elite rivalry for political ascendancy. At the third and last level was the increasing predilection toward the homogenisation of the intra-state differences. This consisted of attempts to paper over the diversity in the state by making one nation out of multiple nations that make most African states (Okafor 2000). This attempt spawned the ground for the pockets of conflicts across Africa.

After the supervised elections that produced the first crop of postcolonial African leaders, which Onimode (1983) insists coincided with the interest of the retreating imperial powers, the task of state-building changed to nation-building. Although concepts of "state-building" and "nation-building" are used interchangeably, they have different connotations. Nation-building is conceived in ethnic, cultural, historical or political sense and denotes actions undertaken to mobilise and forge a common sense of nationhood in a multi-national setting. Nation-building is often undertaken to counter alternate sources of identity and loyalty. State-building, on the other hand, comprises purpose-driven actions of the ruling elite or national actors directed at increasing and strengthening the capacity and capability of the state to carry out its statutory responsibilities (OECD 2008).

In the post-independence era, the emergent African leaders enacted their own form of "divide and rule" strategy as they relied on primordial ties as basis for solidarity and retention of political powers. In other words, instead of diversity being managed and converted into a source of strength and opportunity for development, it became the Achilles heel of intra-state integration. It was not an accident, but part of the survival strategies of the elite to hold on to power, which was and still is, central in the matrix of accumulation. Across Africa, the ruling elite promoted ethnicity, religious affiliations and other group identifiers as basis of primary allegiance. In Nigeria, for example, not only did the emergent leaders root their political platforms in their ethnic regions, they professed the unworkability of the Nigerian state as the late Obafemi Awolowo described it as a mere geographical expression and Tafawa Balewa (Nigeria's first Prime Minister), as an intention of Britain and its colonial policy (Coleman 1986; Uzoigwe 1999). Even in states like Somalia with one ethnic group and religion, the forces of ethnicity, in the form of "clan factions," played detrimental roles that culminated in its "its complete political and economic failure as a state" (Loubser and Solomon 2014, 1).

The deployment of the ethnic card by Africa ruling elite led to the distortion and retreat of the state and its democratic credentials. In place of people-oriented government anchored on multi-partyism, the state moved towards one-party system, thus becoming a replica of the colonial state that had been overthrown (Kadima 2006). Berman (1998, 305) identifies the essential features of these states as "bureaucratic authoritarianism, pervasive patron-client relations and complex ethnic dialectics of assimilation, fragmentation and competition". The reaction to the personalisation of the state was the enthronement of the psychology of resistance by those who believed they had been marginalised. Ethnic politics across African states also created the crisis of citizenship. As Manby (2009, 1-2) asserts, "…questions of citizenship have been used to prevent specific individuals from challenging for political position or to silence those who criticize the government." For instance, such personalities as Kenneth Kaunda, former president of Zambia and Alassane Ouattara, former prime minister of Côte d'Ivoire, were among politicians who found themselves excluded from office or denied citizenship on account of seemingly absurd arguments about their ancestral origins.

Most of the intra-state conflicts originated from ethnic nationalism targeted at resisting domestic imperialism. The cost of conflicts has been enormous, ranging from the depletion of human resources necessary for development, the retardation of chances of development to fragile state system incapable of undertaking state functions. World-wide estimates of conflict-related deaths between 1960 and 2005 were put at 6.6 million. Out of this number, Africa accounted for 1.6 million or 24 percent (AfDB 2008). The preoccupation of African states with issues of state-survival underpins the lack of meaningful progress in the area of continent-wide integration.

African Union, State Fragility and the Contradictions of Statehood

The AU (formerly OAU) has been in existence for the past fifty-five years having emerged from the deep introspective recognition of African unity as basis for relevance in the global arena. In theorising about uniting African states to form a political leviathan, post-independence African leaders took it as given that the states created by the Europeans could be relied upon to build continental political edifice. Thus, the then OAU, (now AU) through a resolution of the Assembly of Heads of States and Government in 1964 adopted the existing colonial boundaries and did not push for their renegotiation as basis for the quest for continental unity (Okafor 2000; Manby 2009).

Although African states were decreed into existence to satisfy European interests, namely the quest for politico-economic ascendancy, advancement of their economic interest, the maintenance of the psychological make-belief of imperial relevance and quest for power, it was contended by African leaders that readjusting the inherited colonial boundaries would be counter-productive as it had the potentiality of leading to avoidable conflicts (Ahluwalia 2001). Some scholars rationalised the position of AU (then OAU) on colonial boundaries on three grounds, namely, pragmatic reasons; ideological reasons; and political rationality and contended that the justification for AU's line of action then lay in the near-absence of inter-state conflicts (Ahluwalia 2001; Okafor 2000).

The contemporary fragility associated with African states originated from the evolutionary crystallisation of the contradictions of colonial statehood and therefore, calls to question the historical decision of AU in 1964 to retain colonial boundaries. Indeed, that decision reflected a serious contradiction that is difficult to situate. The then OAU was a product of compromise that attempted to harmonise the extreme positions of the Brazzaville, Casablanca and Monrovia groups, which oscillated between immediate setting up of United States of Africa with African Central Government (ACG) and gradualism based on forging continental unity after state consolidation (Williams 2007; Igwe 2002; Ibeike-Jonah 2001). The emergence of OAU was a tacit renunciation of the proposition for ACG. Thus, the most natural path for OAU given its major objectives, especially the promotion of unity and solidarity among African states and eradication of all forms of colonialism on the continent, would have been to work towards re-examining statehood from the perspective of colonial boundaries as a means to removing the basis for future tensions (Laumann 2012).

Paradoxically, this policy failure led to the consequence which the then OAU leadership had intended to avoid, namely conflicts. As Ahluwalia (2001, 69) avers, "the [OAU], whilst recognising that inherited borders were problematic, feared endless conflicts over them and decided that these European-drawn borders were to remain uncontested". But, having focused on fear of inter-state conflicts, its inaction on state territoriality inadvertently spawned a different sort of conflicts - internal conflicts - with devastating consequences on statehood (Gbenenye 2016; Manby 2009; Okafor 2000). Even some of the internal wars developed the character of inter-state war. For instance, the crisis in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) was an offshoot of citizenship crisis that started at independence but crystallised in 1964 when the first constitution set parameters for citizenship, which potentially denationalised some segments of the country, especially the Banyarwanda populations. As Manby (2009, 8) has observed, "those excluded by these laws form the core of the rebel groups that have challenged central authority since the late 1990s".

State fragility appears to be descriptively denotative of postcolonial African states although such countries as Afghanistan, Bosnia, Cambodia, Haiti, and Kosovo among others are situated within this categorisation (OECD 2012). There is no agreement among scholars about the impact of colonialism on fragility of African states, especially because of lack of homogeneity in colonial policies of erstwhile imperial powers, the nature of colonial settlement and the duration of colonial rule. Thus, while some studies found correlation between colonialism and contemporary fragility of African states (Ziltener and Kunzler 2013), others found no such relationship (Tusalem 2016; Bertocchi & Guerzon 2012).

There appears to be no real analytical demarcation between such concepts as "failed state", "collapsed state" or "fragile state". They all depict a state that is in various forms of distress, characterized by the breakdown of law and order as well as loss of political and administrative capacity to govern and oversee the efficient distribution of public goods and services (Tusalem 2016). Notwithstanding the problem of analytic impreciseness, these concepts yield certain regular meanings that fall within the capacity of a state to satisfy issues bordering on security, the provision of basic services, and the protection of essential civil freedoms (Eizenstat, Porter and Weinstein 2005). State fragility coincides with the loss of empirical statehood and descent to juridical statehood. OECD (2007) follows this trend when it defined state fragility in terms of "state structures lack[ing] political will and/or capacity to provide the basic functions needed for poverty reduction, development and to safeguard the security and human rights of their populations." The onset of fragility in African states is traced to independence. As Okafor (2000, 34) puts it, "...

the post-colonial African state has been crisis-ridden virtually since the very moment of its independence. ... The moment of independence was for many African states also at once the moment of crisis." During the 1960s, there were seven episodes of conflict involving Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan (first war), Rwanda, Ethiopia (in Eritrea), Burundi (1965), Nigeria (Biafra), and Equatorial Guinea (Strauss 2012). A common shortcoming in the various definitional boundaries of state fragility is their discountenance of the unequal global system as part of the identifying parameters of fragile states.

Prior to OAU's transformation to AU in 2001, the conclusion of scholars and leaders was that even though it did commendable work in mobilising and championing the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid cause, it failed abysmally in consolidating Africa's political and economic independence (Ibeike-Jonah 2001). The disconnect between OAU's avowed objectives and actual performance prompted Julius Nyerere to describe it as a forum where African leaders convened once a year to pass ineffective resolutions (cited in Bekerie 2001). The seeming ineffectiveness of OAU was attributed to the "personalistic, materialistic and opportunistic character of African politics" (Berman 1998, 305). There were other reasons too: the first was the primacy of political power in the calculation of the elite. The fact that political power was a visa of sorts to economic wellbeing through accumulation made its relinquishment for continental unity difficult (Ake 1981). Second, most African leaders were not products of democratic process and thus couldn't care less about African unity (Ibeike-Jonah 2001). Third, there were varying political and ideological pretensions and divisions that stoked distrust and, thus, undermined attempts at building a formidable continental organisation. Lastly, there was overbearing influence of the erstwhile imperial powers through the division of Africa into Anglophone and Francophone geo-economic and geopolitical zones (Bekerie 2001).

Reinventing the AU for the Exorcism of the Spectre of State Fragility and Failure

The transformation of OAU to AU in July 2001 was a direct response to the shortcomings of OAU and the need to strengthen it to meet the challenges of globalisation. The AU differs significantly from OAU in a number of ways: one, it professes respect for democratic principles and denounces non-democratic methods of changing governments; two, it reduces the bar on non-interference in the internal affairs of all member states; three, it accords itself the responsibility to protect by making provisions for collective action in grave circumstances such as wars, genocide and crimes against humanity; four, legitimate governments could request for intervention if it is under threat of military coup d'état; and lastly, it sets up good governance institutions such as common parliament, Central Bank and a court of justice modelled after the European Union (Okhonmina 2009; Williams 2007; Packer and Rukare 2002; Ibeike-Jonah 2001).

As at the time AU came on board, almost every part of Africa was embroiled in varying degrees of political, economic and security challenges. The ensembles of state fragility do not just comprise the incapacity of the state to provide the conducive environment for development but extends to the nature of the global economic system, especially the peripheral status of African states. It could not be by accident that all states categorised as fragile states are countries of the periphery with colonial foundations (Tusalem 2016; OECD 2012). As has already been noted, the overbearing influence and meddlesomeness of the developed countries in African states had sustained dictatorial regimes before the "third wave of democratisation" and continues to dictate policy directions. All the questionable leaders and dictators in Africa from Idi Amin of Uganda, Jean-Bedel Bokassa of Central African Republic to Mobutu Sese Seko of DRC were originally the product of this support. The end of the Cold War with the withdrawal of western support exposed these governments as many of them, from Somalia, Sudan, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire, Rwanda to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DR-C), became theatres of diverse forms of intra-state violence.

The greatest problem facing the AU is how to break the fragility trap in Africa. The Malian case has also provided a twist about how easily a country could switch from stability to fragility (OECD 2012). Before the military coup d'état that plunged Mali into crisis, the country was showcased as an epitome of democratic consolidation having held repeated elections (Kim 2013). State fragility in Africa is a product of internal and external factors. Internal factors include ethno-religious crises, terrorism, poverty, corruption, political intolerance, inoperative or weak enforcement of the rule of law and political instability spawned by political desperation among others. At the external level are such factors as the unfavourable global capitalist system, small arms and light weapons proliferation, iron-tight hold of erstwhile imperial powers on their former colonies as exemplified by the pattern of economic regionalisation and proxy wars.

The continued relevance of AU is dependent on its capacity to dismantle the various impediments to efficient operations. Granted that, on paper, the AU possesses the institutional facilities to handle security challenges, the question is: does it have the capacity to pull it off? Based on the experience of the Arab Spring, particularly the Libyan crisis and the Malian conflict, the answer might be in the negative. The various institutions set up by the AU, especially the Peace and Security Council (PSC), which entered into force on 26 December 2003, represent the broad security architecture to secure peace in Africa. The PSC and other institutions within the AU such as the African Standby Force (ASF), the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS) and the Panel of the Wise (PW), "are meant to deliver comprehensive peace to the continent as they are 'home grown initiatives that are meant to put the destiny of the continent into the hands of the African people'" (Kasaija 2013, 121).

The effectiveness of AU is dependent on certain critical factors, especially the full and proactive support of its membership. As appealing as the AU maxim of "African solution to African problems," might appear, it would degenerate to mere sloganeering in the absence of requisite tools to effect the solution. As the Libyan and Malian conflicts demonstrated, the AU lacks the requisite tools to independently deal with crises on the continent. With respect to the Libyan crisis, AU's indecisiveness created room for both the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) to pay more attention to the position of the Arab League and other organisations. The AU, despite its avowed commitment to the notion of 'non-indifference', neither intervened, threatened to intervene nor imposed any form of sanction on Libya, no matter how symbolic, throughout the nine-month period of the Libyan conflict (Kasaija 2013). As a matter of fact, the AU was sharply divided with some countries either recognising the rebels or sitting on the fence.

Security challenges are not the only triggers and drivers of state fragility. Socio-economic issues, especially deprivation of access to means of livelihood, either through skewed and detrimental state policies or from such causes as climate change, are as potent drivers as armed conflicts in plunging a state into the ranks of fragile states. The pervasive poverty and hunger across Africa are not only major contributors to its fragility but also its outcome. In 2010, about 239 million people in Africa were categorized as being undernourished (FAO 2010). By 2016, there was further deterioration. According to FAO et al, (2016, 11), Africa had the "highest levels of severe food insecurity, reaching 27.4 percent of the population – almost four times that of any other region in 2016," meaning that more than 243 million people in Africa did not have access to sufficient food energy. Similarly, the United Nations estimates put the number of people living in extreme poverty in 2008 at 386 million (United Nation 2012). Added to the foregoing are the data on internal and supranational displacements. In 2011, the proportion African people categorized as comprising "population of concern" to UNHCR was put at 13.5 million. By 2016, this number had increased to 19.6 million, mainly as a result of the exacerbation of conflicts and conflict zones in Africa. The concept of "population of concern to UNHCR" is used to refer to refugees, asylum-seekers, internally displaced persons (IDPs), returnees (refugees and IDPs), stateless persons, and others of concern to UNHCR (UNHCR 2012; 2016).What all these statistics suggest is that there is serious task ahead of AU if it must be relevant in reversing the trend of state fragility in Africa.

The five-step strategy enunciated by Jim Yong Kim, the president of the World Bank Group, to help fragile states get back on the path of recovery is instructive. Kim (2013) enumerated the steps to include understanding the drivers of fragility and conflict; delivering faster, more flexible and timely assistance; quick wins, that is, the quest to achieve early results in order to win public trust in building institutions while also focusing on the long term goals; provision of jobs and more jobs to help break the cycle of poverty and violence; and setting in motion coordinated, rather than disjointed, development assistance. Kasaija (2013) has pointed out that the problems facing the AU consisted of division among AU members, financial constraints and institutional incapacity. Emphasizing the disconnect between proclamation and reality in terms of the capacity of AU to intervene militarily in disputes, Kasaija (2013, 122) observes that the thinking behind the African Standby Force (ASF) is to have a peacekeeping force capable of rapid deployment in pursuit of AU, UN mandate, but "since it was first mooted in July 2002, the ASF has been a work in progress".

Conclusion

State fragility appears to be the most daunting challenge to Africa. Fragility is not the cause of Africa's development crisis but rather the manifestation of the incapacity of African states to discharge their stately functions. The roots of fragility were firmly planted when the emergent post-independence African leaders declined to re-draw the boundaries of the colonial states they inherited. Added to this was the privatisation of the state through the instrumentality of ethnicity.

State-building and state fragility are opposite sides of the same coin. As a matter of fact, what is needed to reverse state fragility is a robust and result-oriented state-building. The relevance of AU in driving the reversal of state fragility lies in increasing its capability. As it is, there is a serious disconnect between the avowed objectives of AU and its capability to actualise them. The challenge which AU faces in facilitating state-building and thus end state fragility is the strengthening of its institutional capacity.

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ABSTRACT

This article evaluates the transformational role of the African Union (AU) in enhancing state-building and reversing the fragility of African states. Essentially, the AU was repackaged in July 2001 as a strategic platform to meet new aspirations for African unity and development. This article notes that after over half a century of collective African attempt at strengthening its state system, the picture is still one of fragile statehood, thus emphasizing the imperative of evolving new strategies to reverse the forces of state fragility in the continent. The article contends that in the face of concerns for African development within the context of sustainable development goals (SDGs), a healthy and functional state system is an irreducible minimum requirement. In order to repair the seemingly battered image of statehood in Africa, the AU must contend with, and overcome, the interplay of internal and external forces that conduce to and trigger fragility.

KEYWORDS

African Union; crisis of statehood; ethno-identity; fragile statehood; nation-building; state-building.

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TURKISH IMAGE IN THE WEST DURING THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE: HISTORICAL FACTS AND PRESENT DAY CONNOTATIONS

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Introduction

Once again the history repeats itself when we hear the news about 'Serbian butcher Ratko Miladic', who slaughtered thousands of Bosnians, was convicted of war crimes, genocide, war crimes against humanity and sentenced to life imprisonment by the UN Tribunal. On the day he entered Srebrenica, he had obnoxiously said, "He would take revenge on Muslims" in Bosnia referring them as "Turks". How and where did all this "Taking revenge on each other between Christians and Muslims" story start in the history? When we study about the "Turkish Image" in early modern plays in England, it is as if the same starting point of Linda McJannet when she wanted to write her book *The Sultan Speaks*. McJannet (2006, viii) tells us how and why she started to write her book in her preface to her book,

> As I was reading *The Couragious Turke*, a university play depicting the conquest of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Murad I. The play dramatizes his victory at Kosovo in 1389 and his subsequent assassination by a wounded Serbian soldier, events to which Slobodan Milosevic frequently referred in his efforts to inflame Serbian Christians against Muslims in the former Yugoslavia. "So," I exclaimed to myself, "that's why they're Muslim!" Apparently, the Ottoman presence in Eastern Europe had not loomed large in my college courses on European history, and I suspect that for most students

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> since then the omission was not remedied until after September 11, 2001, if indeed it has been remedied at all.

She is also "...struck by the similarities between the martial rhetoric in histories and plays about the Turks when President George W. Bush responded to the attacks of September 11 by using the term "crusade". Thus, we are apparently reminded of the conflict dating back to the time of Seljuk Empire and Crusades around 1071-1095 when Seljuk Turks conquered Syria and Palestine, not surprisingly during the earlier Muslim rule, especially during the Umayyad (650–750) and Abbasid (750–969) dynasties as "there was a relative peace and prosperity in the city"[3]. It all started when the Turks were really considered as a real threat to Istanbul (Constantinople) and to Europe onward. The story perpetuated once again over Turks, in particular Jerusalem just after the First World War when Ottoman Empire gradually went into a state of "The Sick Man of Europe". Several regions of Ottoman Empire, what is Turkey today were occupied by Westerners: Istanbul by England, South East by France, South by Italy, West by Greece. McJannet (2006) refers just at the beginning of her book to two very dramatic incidents when the president of the USA, George W. Bush responded to the attacks of September 2011 by using the term "crusade", and Rana Kabbani, author of a study of nineteenth-century travel narratives, "post-Crusader Europe would never wholly emerge from the antagonism [of] its 'Holy Wars'"[4]. As late as 1920, she reports, the French general Gourand, on arriving at the tomb of the famous Saracen leader in Damascus, " announced gloatingly, 'Nous revoila, Saladin!' " meaning in English "Saladin, We are back!". These two seemingly notorious incidents prove the long-established both political and military competition between the East and the West, against Muslims even though Turkey has nothing to do with the former incident.

A New Flame in the Conflict: Trump

Further back in the history, the first encounter of the English with the Ottoman Islamic world (Still not Turkish at the time) in Europe dates back to 1396 during The Battle of Nicopolis / the Crusade of Nicopolis. According to Halil Halad (2013, 749) The Duke of Lancaster sent his son Bolingbroke ac-

3 See the entry: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Jerusalem. Accessed on November 22, 2017.

4 See the entry: Barr, James. "General Gouraud: 'Saladin, We're Back!' Did He Really Say It?". Posted by Joshua on Friday, May 27th, 2016. http://www.joshualandis.com/blog/general-gouraud-saladin-back-really-say/. Accessed on November, 2017.

companying 1000 warriors armed with spears to fight against Bayazid. After the defeat he turned back to England embarking a Venice ship and saved his life.

Thus, with the ever growing military and political power of Ottoman Empire, Turks were seen on stages naturally more as the curiosity about their lifestyle culture increased among the western people. During this period, however, how Muslims, better to say, Ottoman Turks were perceived and presented and what contributed to the creation of this image is our concern. According to Aksoy in her preface to *Rönesansİngilteresinde Türkler* (2004, vii) *tarihin çeşitli dönemlerinde Avrupa'nın Türklere karşı tutumu, Osmanlı'nın gücüne, kazandığı zaferlere bağlı değişmiş, Batı edebiyatında, tiyatrosunda Türk imgesi de aynı doğrultuda şekillenmiştir. Dolayısıyla Avrupa tarihinde ve coğrafyasında bütünsel bir Türk imgesinden söz etmek güçtür.* (It is less likely to have a holistic Turkish image in the Renaissance period. We can say that this image has changed in proportion to the decline and rise of Ottoman Empire. It is a known fact that for the audiences of the period brutal scenes were an inviting factor). In Aksoy 2004, 14:

> *Avrupa'nın sürekli olarak Türk tehdidiyle karşı karşıya kalması, Türk karakterine, Türk adetlerine karşı aşırı bir merak yarattığından, Türkleri doğal olarak, tiyatro sahnesine getirmiştir. Ayrıca, bu durum, esmer yüzü, yadırgatıcı Doğulu giyimi kuşamıyla etkileyici bir sahne dekoru oluşturulmasına da yarıyordu; Türk, hainliği ve zalimliğiyle tanındığından en kanlı sahneleri bile inandırıcı kılıyor, putperest inancıyla bir Hıristiyan kahramanın karşısına konulduğunda da, Hıristiyanlık'a övgüler düzen dini vaızlar için fırsat yaratıyordu.* (The Turkish lands became a focus of curiosity for Europeans with respect to the inhabitants' exotic costumes, beliefs and manners, and accounts stressed the Turks' wickedness, malice and violence which impressed and appealed to the western public. Consequently, playwrights such as Marlowe, Kyd and Shakespeare introduced Turkish figures in their works, using Turkish history as a source of material).

A complementary opinion about the creation of Turkish image is put forward by McJannet (2006, 3) in her preface referring to Matar's assertion "that in England, as in Spain, Portugal, France, and Italy, "the stereotype developed in literature" (specifically dramatic literature) and religious discourse "played the greatest role in shaping the anti-Muslim national consciousness":

> Government documents, prisoners' depositions, and commercial exchanges show little racial, sexual, or moral stereotyping of the Muslims. . . . It was plays, masks, pageants, and other similar sources that developed in British

> culture the discourse about Muslim Otherness. . . . Eleazar and Othello [became] the defining literary representation of the "Moor," and Bajazeth, Ithamore, and Amureth of the "Turk."

However, there are other ideas as to how this negative image was created and intensified in the west. Robert Schwobel, (1967, 10) for instance, asserts in his work , The Shadow of the Crescent that the loss of "Constantinople" and the fear aftermath that Turks would attack Europe and destroy Christianity is the biggest factor in this creation of Turkish image.

Plays Depicting Negative Images of Turks

We know now that Turkish figures in the past were often confused with the Moor and Arabs. Although there were minorities of Arabic nations or North African nations under the reign of Ottoman Empire, they were basically Turkic tribes uniting under the flag of Ottoman Empire in Anatolia, Minor Asia and then spreading into Europe. Main plays, chronicles and travel accounts, to list some, portraying Turkic figures negatively were Robert Schwobel's *The Shadow of the Crescent* (1967), Richard Knolles's *The Historie Of The Turkes* (1603), Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), Ben Jonson'un *Volpone* (1605), Joseph Q. Adams's *The Turke* (1613), John Ford's *'Tis Pity She's A Whore* (1625-1633), Thomas Dekker's *Honest Whore* (1604), Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great*, (1587) George Peele's *Turkish Mahomet and Hyrin the Fair Greek* (1594), Lodowick Carlell's *Osmond the Great Turk* (1638), Gibert Swinhoe's *Unhappy Fair Irene* (1658) anonymous *Solymannidea Tragodia* (1581), Fulke Greville's *Mustapha* (1608) Thomas Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda* (1598-1599) and William Davenant's *The Siege of Rhodes* (1656). The negative images of Turk did not result from their ethnic or linguistic identity but mostly from their religious identity since they represented the 'Others': Muslims.

Another idea is introduced by Bassnett (1993, 99) in her *Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction*. In reference to a recent map of Europe which appears to contradict previous ones by including Turkic or ex-Soviet republics within Europe, she criticizes "the changes of image-making and of geographies and considers actors other than the playwrights in shaping the image:" The map-maker, the translator and the travel writer are not innocent producers of text. The works they create are part of a process of manipulation that shapes and conditions our attitudes to other cultures while purporting to be something else." Some playwrights, for instance, used notes in the margins of the plays or in asides to create an extra scorn on the Turks even if they were not uttered by the actors and actresses.

So who were the Turks they were afraid of? Were they limited to the Turks they had met in Europe and in Asia Minor or in Middle Asia steppes? In his thesis completed at University of Warwick, Aydin (1994, 2) highlights the unique identity of the Turks referring to Elenor Bisbee that:

> Throughout Western versions of the history of the Turks within the Oriental context, Turks have never been detached from other Islamic nations of the Middle East, although they have completely different origins geographically, with a different cultural, traditional, and above all, linguistic identity. They came to Anatolia from Central Asia nine hundred years ago with their Ural-Altaic language as distinct from the Indo-European or Semitic language groups.

Although latest findings of around 35 Kurgans in the center of Istanbul may well prove that Turks might not have been invaders but residents of Istanbul as long as 3500 years ago, in this article we will be limited with the popular wisdom that Turks came to Asia Minor around 1071[5].

Westerners' position were not certain as to who they really were. Turks were often confused with Arabs until the Westerners really got into touch with the Ottoman Turks and Turkic nations of the Middle Asia where they originated from earlier than the conflict had begun. We can broadly classify their views into two broad categories: unconditional haters because of religious and political matters and others: ambiguous ones and objective ones. Were they "sensualists capable of monstrous cruelty toward Christian captives" as Erasmus represented in De bello Turcico (1530) or as McJannet (2006, 176) puts, were they: "Finally, a Pejorative epithets associated with the Ottomans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries included "bloody," "cruel," and "barbarous." The Turks were compared to forces of nature (whirlwinds or floods) or beasts (wolves, vipers, boars) and depicted in bestial terms such as "unbridled" or "swarming." Their rule was described as "tyranny" or a "yoke." We can encounter such negative associations even in travelers' diaries. A German traveler Dernschwam4 misunderstands the meaning of the daily call for praying from the mosques and comments that (in Çetin, 2010, 22) "*Edirne'de Türklerin hocası veya imamı günde dört defa çıkarak hu hu diye bağırıyor. Bir şeyler haykırıyor. Zaten onların başka bir şarkıları ve müzikleri dahi yok*." (Dernschwam 1987, 45). (In Edirne city the hodja of Turks appear four times a day and yells out meaninglessly saying "Hey hey". They have no

5 See also: Prof Erich Felgt Edward Augustos Freeman. First natives to Europe were Turks and Hungarians. We killed them. Race and Language, Part I. (Footnote 1: From "Historical Essays", Third Series, 1879).

songs and no music at all). However, he doesn't know the simple fact that Mosques call for praying five times a day in that culture. For another instance the same travel writer gives false information about the practice of fasting as part of worshipping on certain days. He notes," The poverty in this country condemns them to stay hungry so they have to fast."

Positive Images Stated by Famous Historical Figures

Were they "villain, rude peasant, raging Turk, not anchored, cruel"? Of course not. Along with the ordinary westerners, there are many famous people who disprove these biased epithets. One outstanding figure is Pierre Loti (1850 – 1923) (Louis Marie-Julien Viaud). However, we will list only four of the historically famous figures defining Turks. Firstly, we can cite the king of Sweden XII. Karl who said after a defeat at Poltava in 1709 and taking refuge in Ottoman Empire and staying there about five years:

> I was almost captured in Poltaya. It was death for me but I got away. In front of the "Bug river", it was even more dangerous; in front of me was water and behind me the enemy as burning sun on the hills... Water wanted to drown me and Sun wanted to burn me. I got away. But today I fell hostage to the Turks. Not even iron, water and fire could enslave me but they could. There's no chain on my feet and I'm not in a dungeon. I do whatever I want. This time I'm hostage to compassion and nobleness and kindness. The Turks have tied me using this diamond rope. Only if you knew how sweet it is to live as a free slave among Turks; Generous, noble, gentle.

A second figure to be noted here is Napoléon Bonaparte, French General who said: '"There are two great virtues that glorifies a human being. Man being brave, woman being fair and honest. Apart from these two there is one virtue for both men and women. To be loyal to their home and their country and even give their life for it. Turks are heroes having this virtue. Because of this, we can always kill Turks. But we can never defeat them".

Thirdly, we will quote William Martin: "Among all of the nations, the most honorable and the most friendly people are only the Turks. If you go to a Turkish village that has not been under foreign influence; you will see and learn what true hospitality is in fact". Lastly, Orientalist Alphonse de Lamartine can be read as saying, "Turks as a race and nation are the most noble and the foremost of the nations. They are socially, religiously and ethically admirable for people who are unbiased". His famous statement about the Prophet Muhammed is also considerable. He attaches great importance to his service for the mankind and says, “Philosopher, orator, apostle, legislator, warrior, conqueror of ideas, restorer of rational beliefs, of a cult without images; the founder of twenty terrestrial empires and of one spiritual empire, that is Muhammad. As regards all standards by which human greatness may be measured, we may well ask, is there any man greater than he”.

Of course there are other examples in which even the haters of Turks had to accept some facts objectively in the plays in England. In some, for instance, Turks were portrayed (McJannet, 2-3) as forces “sent by God to teach Christian Europe about its own sins”. McJannet goes on to say that there are obvious changes in the perception of Turks in time and she observes, in the early modern period, however, the Ottomans were seen as masters of a sophisticated and ably administered empire. As Barbara and Charles Jelavich (in McJannet, 2) have remarked:

> The negative opinion often held of Ottoman civilization is usually based on judgments made in the 18th and 19th centuries, when the state was in a period of obvious decline. In the 15th and 16th centuries, however, Ottoman institutions may have offered the Balkan Christian a better life than he had led previously.

Although there are countless number of negative associations about Turks, why, then, there are also so many positive comments on the nature and culture of Turks. A good example is supplied through the mouth of a Venice Ambassador to Cairo who writes, in his accounts, (McJannet, 46)” ... that he never found man worthy to be compared to Selimus for justice, humanity, fortitude, and such other moral virtues: and that he was passing well nurtured and broken to all civility...”. Another positive example about the manner of Turks is seen in Richard Grafton’s *The order of the greate Turckes Courte* (London, 1542), a translation of Antoine Geuffroy’s *L’État de la cour du gran Turc* in which “Turks fascinated him by their attention to personal cleanliness (both as a prelude to prayer and after “every purgation of nature”). It will be significant to note here that as Hisar (2012) points out “during those days England had no indoor toilets in their houses. They used a chamber pot under one’s bed at night and dispose its contents onto the streets.”

Historians of the time not only praised Turks for their hygiene but also “admired the Ottomans for unity, martial excellence, and strict justice, qualities which they sometimes felt were lacking in their own societies”. Almost a decade before the formal diplomatic relations were established with England in 1581, Elizabeth I corresponded with Murad III addressing him , “The Great Turk”, McJannet (63) concludes that:

> Consequently, with the increasing interest in Turks and their culture, " these histories of the Turks, translated or written in English between 1542 and 1600, suggest that European Christians were fascinated by Ottomans and considered it important to study their history and customs." Marlowe imagined a sultan who departed from the alleged stereotype of the raging Turk and embodied the spirit (if not the letter) of the Turks' own chronicles. His play suggests that early modern drama could enter into imaginative dialogue with the Ottomans and the Muslim east in ways that even the most narrativized histories could not.

However the developing economies and emerging economies, which are focusing on their economic growth face serious challenges as they try to curb their dependence on conventional fuels. To meet emission reduction target and strengthen the alternative energy sector many of the developing economies will need large scale technology financial support from foreign countries that have advanced technologies. While countries like India and China among the developing block in Asia have made significant foray into the alternative energy sector, many of their counterparts in the region still lag far behind with regard to clean energy development. Being two economies in the region with growing share of alternative sources in the energy mix, India and China are well equipped to play critical role in strengthening the alternative energy sector in the other developing economies.

Huntington's Theory Challenged

We have almost all come to believe that there is no use putting blame on each other, accusing each other for what wrong they have done so far. Instead, we can concentrate on what contributions we can make for the future peace of the world. After so many years of Huntington's theory of 'Conflict between Cultures' several scholars put forward ideas against his theory in the hope that he may be proven wrong for the sake of the peace and understanding between religions and cultures. We are going to refer to some of them; firstly, we can cite a source to base our ideas on from the very essence of Islam, from Muhammad's Last Sermon (Farewell Sermon) according to Hadith reported in Musnad Ahmad ibn Hanbal (632 AD): "An Arab has no superiority over a non-Arab nor a non-Arab has any superiority over an Arab; also a black person has no superiority over a white person, nor a white person has any superiority over a black person, except by piety and good action. Indeed the best among you is the one with the best character…"[6]. All Muslims should take these words granted if they are true believers. Moreover, Mohammed's Last Sermon is like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a milestone teaching for Muslims with which they should act in conformity.

Another scholar, Murshed (2013, 22) of Erasmus University, Netherlands addresses to the various face of Islam as of Christianity and states, "Thus, it is conceivable for an individual to be simultaneously a Muslim, a Western citizen, a believer in democracy, as well as someone who respects difference and human rights. Furthermore, culture is not immutable; it evolves over time, and changes as material conditions alter." So, "They hate us" saying of Trump cannot be accepted and considered the speech of whole Islamic nations. Several Islamic nations enjoy a secular, relatively good democracy such as Turkey. In the same manner, in an interview conducted by J. Paul Barker (2013, 44) Arshin Adib-Moghaddam opposes Huntington's theory stating that:

> I came to the conclusion that Huntington presented a theory of conflict nurtured by a good deal of unscholarly ignorance of other cultures. Huntington's thesis is deceptively facile. I was increasingly convinced that the clash of civilizations is one of the most inaccurate theories ever invented. Huntington was not educated in the history of Islam. In his writings he routinely conflated being Arab with being Muslim, and vice versa.

Other group of Postmodern scholars we may call 'The New Orientalists' such as Nietzsche and Foucault have logical observations about the fallacies of Christianity to the extent that they, in times, expressed their dislike and thus felt sympathy for Islam for several reasons. What are the conclusions we can draw from their positive comments on Islam and naturally Turks who have been strong representative of Islam for ages? They are some of the pioneers who have paved the ways for an intercultural/interreligious dialogue. Whether we call it 'between civilizations' or 'between East and West, between Mohammed and Christ, it is certain that we enter an age of pluralism through social media such as Facebook, Instagram and Twitter with increasing number of exchanges, even challenges between the concerned parties. Ian Almond (2007, 3) comments on this progress that:

6 [My translation] (Dernschwam 1987:119). Page 22 in *Muslim Behaviours, Ceremonies and Religious Places According to the XVIth Century German Travellers* by Firdevs Çetin Vakıflar Dergisi Yıl: Aralık 2010 - Sayı: 34. See also: http://www.themodernreligion.com/prophet/prophet_last-sermon.htm.13 See, Jeremy Salt, *The Unmaking of the Middle East: A History of Western Disorder in Arab Lands*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

> Despite the wide diversity of critical approaches, a certain pattern has dictated Muslim responses to the postmodern: a sometimes free, sometimes grudging acknowledgement that postmodern thought may aid Islam in its encouragement of pluralism and challenge to European hegemony (and in particular in its deconstruction of secular nationalisms), accompanied by some distinct reservations of varying degrees with regards to the price Muslims may have to pay for this postmodern assistance in decentring the West.

Will these views and global changes solve the conflict and help improve the understanding between the civilizations? Yet, there are still some doubts on both sides.

Beginning with the establishment of the Badaliya Prayer group in Cairo in 1934 and II. Vatican Council, this dialog mission continued in Turkey when Pastor Thomas Michael visited and gave seminars in some Faculty of Theologies in 1987 trying to spread the seeds of the mission . However, on Muslim side in Turkey, in time, there appeared strong objections to the notion of 'dialogue' since it poses a 'monolog' on Muslims within Christian context. The once leading, appreciated figure foregrounding from Turkey, during 90s and 20s for interreligious dialog was Fethullah Gulen, who was later charged with terrorism and for allegedly plotting to overthrow the democratic Turkish government on the 15th July 2016. His activities were also called 'parallel state' and he was put in the red, most wanted list of Interpol by the Turkish Government. This 15/7 coup attempt is as important for Turkey as 9/11 for the USA. During the troubled previous years and later after the failed coup attempt in Turkey, some other terrorist groups such as PKK, YPG and ISIS in Iraq and Syria were created by the West, causing a new threat to the fragile regional peace. Consequently, Turkey had to launch Operation Olive Branch into Northern Syria to clear the region from US backed terrorists and restore the order along her border. These events led Turkish president Erdogan to call these terrorist affairs as "collaborators in a postmodern crusade that our region is exposed to" in the region just as how President Bush had called the 9/11 'Crusade'. It is anachronistic to watch US officials on the news stating that they support a terrorist group, YPG against another one, ISIS instead of supporting one of her best allies, Turkey. In the light of these facts, one of the major opponents of 'interreligious dialog' including Mehmet Oruc, Mehmet Bayrakdar (2007, 290) notes that supporters of Fethullah Gulen[7] and he,

7 Fethullah Gulen was put in Interpol's red list for allegedly plotting to overthrow the Turkish government through activities of a "parallel state" against the legally elected government. He is believed to be manipulated by CIA in organizing a coup on 15th July 2016, which failed in Turkey.

himself pioner a view of Islam without Prophet Mohammed" and the dialog mission to which Gulen wants to serve sends an encyclical to all churches titled "Redemptoris Misso"[8] (http://w2.vatican.va, 1990, 38) in which II. John Paul defines the purpose of that mission:

> Despite the wide diversity of critical approaches, a certain pattern has dictated Muslim responses to the postmodern: a sometimes free, sometimes grudging acknowledgement that postmodern thought may aid Islam in its encouragement of pluralism and challenge to European hegemony (and in particular in its deconstruction of secular nationalisms), accompanied by some distinct reservations of varying degrees with regards to the price Muslims may have to pay for this postmodern assistance in decentring the West.

This ultimate goal of the Pope must be alarming enough for a Muslim who is stuck to his religion and its prophet because essentially to be a Muslim is to address to both God and to Mohammed in the same phrase; "There is no god but God. Muhammad is God's messenger"[9] So many scholars are in the belief that those who are in the interreligious dialogue have tried to alter the basic principles of Islamic faith. In a similar statement Mehmet Oruç (2013, 7) states that, "Dialog and tolerance introduced recently is handled in another meaning. Rather than 'tolerance' it aims to bring together three religions on a certain axis, in such a way to unite them into a whole, which is totally the opposite what Islam has told its believers; "Islam is the last religion and Mohammed is the last Prophet". How will the process continue in the light of these above mentioned facts remain unanswered although there are some good will prescriptions.

One of the most important suggestions from the Turkish side to restore the peace between the parties comes from Mahmut Aydın (2002, 13) who states that "this Islamic background of Turkey as an advantage, since the Turkish Islamic mentality could be a means for peace between Muslims and others by accepting Turkey into the European Union, the Christian West might show its own sincerity about entering into dialogue with Muslims and

8 An encyclical given in Rome, at St. Peter's, on December 7, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Conciliar Decree Ad Gentes, in the year 1990, the thirteenth of my Pontificate. See: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Redemptoris_missio.

9 This sentence, the shortest form of the Islamic Declaration of faith or testimony (*shahādah*) means: "There is no deity (God, *ilāh* in Arabic) but the One and Only God (*Allāh* in Arabic); no-one is to be worshipped but God (*Allāh*) alone. – Muhammad is God's messenger (to mankind)." This short formula is sometimes called the *kalima* (literally, "word") or the *kalimat at-tauḥīd* ("the word of confession of [God's] Oneness"); *kelime-i tevhîd* in Turkish.

showing Muslims that the European Union is not necessarily a Christian Club". Turkish constitution article 10 is in conformity with Western values. It writes "Everyone is equal before the law without distinction as to language, race, color, sex, political opinion, philosophical belief, religion and sect, or any such grounds".

From the socio-politic view point, Turkey is an irreplaceable future partner both for Europe and the USA. Latest report published by European Commission (2017, 13) states that within the framework of accession negotiations, 16 chapters have been opened so far and concludes that to ensure the full and sustained implementation of the EU-Turkey Statement requires continuous efforts and political determination from all sides. The EU and the USA seem unaware of the fact that Turkey secures NATO and European borders against terrorist attacks and refugee flood into the Union.

Conclusions

For the present status of Turkey, it should, first, always be kept in mind that as a secular and modern Turkey, her contributions to the future process of world peace, in any way whatsoever it may be called, is globally vital. Just to remind how important Turkey representing Muslims is that after the First World War Mustafa Kemal Ataturk willingly abolished the Caliphate on March 3, 1924 while, still today, the Pope and some other Western Monarchies such as The Queen Elizabeth, The King of Spain etc., enjoy their title. Muslims have recognized and have had faith in all prophets including Jesus Christ from the beginning. However Christians, "for the first time in the history of Christianity, in Vatican Council, non-Christian religions were officially considered as entities which Christians should respect and seek to discover". In the past many considered Mohammed as a terrorist or even accused him of creating a sect of Christianity. "In Western Europe, down to the 13th century or so, Christians had a mistaken belief that Muhammad had either been a heretical Christian or that he was a god worshipped by Muslims. Some works of Medieval European literature referred to Muslims as "pagans" or by sobriquets such as the "paynim foe" (enemy)". My personal statement about the conflict from the beginning is that it all 'raison d'etat'. We cannot reduce the issue to the 'expansion' of Muslim Turks since there are views previously stated that they were early settler of Europe together with Hungarians. Secondly, many scholars note that there is also polarization in Turkey between the parties; Laicists and Islamists, on the way to modernity and it is not easy to solve it even within Turkey. So which party will dominate in the future and represent Turkey in the interreligious dialogue is not certain. Çarkoglu and Toprak (2007, 104) find out in their study that "Turkey seems to harbor two widely divergent societies that are clearly separated from each other. On one side are urban, better-educated people with a relatively high income level who do not feel extremely committed to religious values and who define themselves as secular; and on the other side are rural, less-educated people with a relatively low income level and who define themselves as Islamist and religious." Both parties resent with the view that Turkey does not belong and deserve to be a European Union member. Like Huntington's and other pessimistic views that there is long way for Christians and Muslims to understand each other Çoban (2008, 106) in his study of two missionaries E.M. Wherry and Ron Peck about Islam observes the same reality that "living together is a dream". It should be noted that there is a hundred years in time between these two missionaries and the question is still at the door. Instead of taking a pessimistic point of view we should, as (Çatalbaş and Çetinkaya, 6) suggest "Christian-Muslim dialogue should be organised by official institutions in Turkey and should be practiced by experts who know Christianity very well". However, on the brink of the new millennium, new actors such as the USA is pushing the matter into a darker aspect declining herself a God like decision maker.

About this new threat Falk (2004, 219) observes that "...removing the threat of global fascism would not entirely dispose of the existence of an American empire. There would still be the advocates of benevolent empire and the structural possibilities of reviving an economistic approach to globalization as it existed in the 1990s" and thus, he comes to "the unhappy conclusion that the danger we and the world faces is the distinct possibility that American foreign policy, as now practiced, and to the extent it is successful, will eventuate in a form of world order best described as "global fascism" (2000, 260). As the welfare of Turkish people increases, the gap between religion and politics will be closed and solving the problems between the social structures will become easier. I will take the standpoint of Aydın here as we end our article "instead of making dogmatic claims about our faiths, we need to prove their quality in practice".

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ABSTRACT
Throughout history there have been opposing forces, one of which is the conflict between 'West and East' as Huntington claims. One of the earliest, major competitions, in this matter, has been the one with Ottoman Empire, representing Islam and European countries, followers of Christianity. These forces have been clashing in the form of several means and for reasons to predominate each other if they can achieve it at all. How has such a 'clash' begun between civilizations and what is the present status of it between Turkey and Western countries? This study aims at highlighting the background from a historical point of view beginning with the capture of Jerusalem by Ottoman Turks and how Turkish Image is created and portrayed in Early English Plays in relation to the rise and fall of Ottoman Empire as depicted in The Sultan Speaks by Linda McJannet. Since the core of the Ottoman Empire is modern Turkey today, the recent changes in their image on the way to full membership to the EU as well as to 'interreligious/intercultural dialog' in an attempt to bring peace to both parties in question for a sustainable and amicable future. It is concluded that there are still concerns between the global signatories. It will take some more time and effort to mature the thinking that they could live harmoniously developing their countries economically and their democracies for a mutual understanding.

KEYWORDS
Turkish Image, Early Modern Plays, Ottoman Empire, Islam, Turks.

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ISLAMIC TERRORISM AND THE US POLICY FOR THE RESETTLEMENT OF SYRIAN REFUGEES

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Introduction

This article elaborates a reflection on the US refusal, between 2016 and 2017, to resettle Syrian refugees from the Syrian Civil War, which began in 2011 and is still ongoing. Due to the conflict, a large number of Syrians were forced to move, seeking refuge in neighboring countries or in the West.

In the US, however, despite the national refugee policy, the Syrians have encountered a number of difficulties in obtaining refugee status because they are Arabs and mostly Muslims. This causes them to be perceived as a threat to national security by a large part of the US population in the face of the recent terrorist attacks committed by Islamic radicals in the country. Therefore, the importance of the subject is as much for its contemporaneity as for its treatment as a matter of security, not only national, but, above all,

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human.

Thus, this text highlights the way in which the Syrian Civil War has contributed to the current refugee crisis and aims to provide a partial analysis of the reasons why much of US society and President Donald Trump are against the resettlement of Syrian refugees. The hypothesis is that terrorist attacks carried out by Islamic radicals in the US contributed to the increase of prejudice and generalization regarding Arabs and Muslims and, therefore, the Syrian refugees would be conceived as probable threats to the national security.

In order to achieve the above objectives, the Geneva Refugee Convention (1951) will be analyzed aiming to categorize the Syrians as refugees and to emphasize the responsibilities of the international community in their protection. Then, a bibliographical review will be carried out, corroborated by some secondary descriptive data about the perception of the American society on the Syrian and Muslim refugees.

Then it will be discussed how the social constructions Edward Said calls Orientalism and the ideas of a "Clash of Civilizations" formulated by Samuel Huntington and Bernard Lewis permeate American society, especially after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. These concepts are therefore used to explain the association of Syrian refugees with Islamic terrorism, although there is no evidence to support this association.

Syrian civil war and the current refugee crisis

Migrations are a common feature of humans, including the different peoples of the Middle East. A fact that precedes even the formation of the States and the delimitation of national borders, as we know today in the region. Although the causes of these migrations vary, they were mostly motivated by political conflicts and instabilities, especially during periods of colonialism and postcolonialism (Hanafi 2014). So, in most cases, they were forced migrations.

This is the current situation of some 5.5 million Syrian refugees, who, according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), have since 2011 sought refuge in Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Turkey (UNHCR 2017). This has mainly occurred because of the Syrian Civil War that began in March 2011 following protests against Syrian President Bashar al-Assad as part of the wave of political transformation that hit several countries in the Middle East and North Africa in late 2010. This event came to be known as "Arab Spring".

According to Magalhães (2016), the protests against President Assad began in a peaceful manner, but from the outset they were repressed with brutal violations of human rights by the government. The Arab Spring was therefore unable to overthrow the Syrian government and, after a year and a half of riots in 2012, approximately 31,000 Syrians were killed, mostly civilians, as a result of conflicts between government forces and opposition groups. Add to this a number of 320,000 refugees, which brings the events in Syria to be considered a civil war (Magalhães 2016).

More than five years after the start of the conflict in 2018, the Syrian president still holds power and political stability seems to be something more difficult to achieve. The situation got even worst in 2012, with the emergence of the terrorist group Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, ISIS, occupying regions of the country and further fomenting sectarian conflicts (Lynch 2016).

As a consequence of these events, the international community is currently facing one of the greatest humanitarian crises since World War II (UNHCR 2016; 2017). According to the Syrian Refugees project of the Migration Policy Center of the European University Institute in Florence, it is estimated that 11 million Syrians have been forced to leave their homes since the beginning of the Civil War and currently around 13.5 million of people need humanitarian assistance within the country. Among those who escaped the conflict, most of them sought shelter in neighboring countries to Syria or other regions of the country. As for the refugees, about one million of them sought refuge in Europe, the majority in Germany, with approximately 300,000 requests, followed by Switzerland with 100,000; the two are the main European Union host countries (European University Institute 2017).

The US, in turn, from the beginning of the conflict in 2011 until 2016 had received only about 12,000 refugees (Connor 2016). The trend, however, will be that it will still not receive a greater number than this in the coming years, since when assuming the presidency in January 2017, Donald Trump, signed an Executive Order that suspended, indefinitely, the reception of Syrian refugees (White House 2017). The reasons for this, though, will be discussed throughout the text. Rather, it is necessary to conceptualize what is a refugee and to analyze whether the Syrians can indeed be placed in this category.

According to Article 1A (2) of the 1951 Geneva Convention, a refugee is any person who

> [...] fearing of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and cannot or, because of this fear, does not want to rely on the protection of that country , or that if he does not have a nationality and is outside the

> country in which he had his habitual residence as a result of such events, he cannot or because of that fear he does not want to return to it.

The Syrians, therefore, fall within the definition of the Convention because they are outside their country of nationality due to a certain fear of persecution and therefore cannot return or rely on the protection of their country of origin. As Andrade points out (2011), they can be considered as refugees because of persecution for belonging to a social group or by political opinion.

Therefore, because they fall into refugee status, Syrians receive UNHCR protection and are allowed to enter countries that are signatories to the 1951 Convention and remain there as refugees.

Pacífico (2014) points out that refugees can be considered an elite in the sense of protection of human rights, mainly because they are protected by a ready and finished international regime, with UNHCR as an international institution and the Geneva Convention of 1951 as binding treaty. In addition to this, there are a number of specific norms of protection at the regional and national levels, such as the American system, the African system and the European system. The existence of all these refugee protection mechanisms, however, has not brought great guarantees to the Syrians, since most of the countries that shelter them – Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey, Iraq and Egypt – are not signatories to the 1951 Convention, which significantly limits the performance of UNHCR and the possibility of refugees to stay and integrate into national societies, even though in most cases they have common social elements such as language and religion. Other countries, however, although signatories to the Convention, have placed obstacles in the way of receiving and resetting Syrians, like the United States.

US refusal to accept Syrian refugees

The United States created its first refugee law during World War II in order to resettle Europeans fleeing persecution from the conflict. In this way, as the American Immigration Council points out, that the US had become the country that most resettles refugees in the world. After the Vietnam War, in 1975, with the experience of resettlement of Indochinese refugees, Congress adopted the Refugee Act of 1980, a law incorporating the concept of refugee under the 1951 Convention into US law, providing a basis for American Refugee Admissions Program (American Immigration Council 2015).

This program includes individuals who already have refugee status and are in a country other than their country of origin, which undergo a strict screening process that can last up to two years, passing through all the US security agencies. The objective is to ensure that individuals truly fall into the concept of refugee and do not pose risks to national security (American Immigration Council 2015).

Based on this resettlement program, each year the US president, together with the Congress, determines the number of refugees to be admitted. In fiscal year 2016, this figure was 85,000 (American Immigration Council 2015), of which, according to President Barack Obama, 10,000 would be Syrians. After the terrorist attacks in Paris on November 13, 2015, however, Congress vetoed Obama's plans (Guly 2015). In addition, more than half of the US governors expressed that they would not resettle any Syrian refugees (Fantz and Brumfield 2015). Yet President Obama has managed to achieve his goal and the US has received more than 10,000 Syrians in 2016 (White House 2016).

As a result, by assuming the presidency in January 2017, Trump announced that the refugee quota for fiscal year 2017 would be 50,000, excluding Syrians and prioritizing minorities who were victims of religious persecution in their home countries. In addition, the decree signed by the new president also suspended the program for the reception of refugees for a period of 120 days, starting on 27 January 2017. The purpose of this suspension was to strengthen national security measures, which aim to make the refugee screening process more rigid (White House 2017).

According to Carlier (2016), the US refusal to receive Syrian refugees can be understood on the basis of four factors: 1) the lack of multicultural policies and the integration of migrants; 2) the increase of Islamophobia; 3) the number of terrorist attacks that have occurred in the country since September 11, 2001; and 4) the polarity of the political system (Calier 2016). In this article we defend the hypothesis that, among these factors, the third is the most influential, the second being a direct consequence of it. Therefore, the factors are not excluded, on the contrary, they are simultaneous.

As Desilvier (2015) points out, historically, US society is resistant to receiving large masses of foreigners fleeing wars and persecutions, regardless of the official policy adopted by the government. What has manifested throughout history through opposition to the resettlement of Jews, Hungarians, Vietnamese and Cubans (Desilvier 2015). More recently, this opposition has been to the Syrians. According to Boomerang Politics (2015), after the Paris bombings in 2015, about 53% of Americans are opposed to the resettlement of Syrians in the United States; 11% would accept only Syrian Christian refugees and 28% would support Obama's initial proposal to resettle 10,000 Syrians regardless of religious affiliation (Talev 2015). According to the Pew

Research Center (2015), however, before the attacks, 51% of Americans were in favor of the president's decision, while 41% disapproved (Pew Research Center 2015).

> Degree of Islamophobia, or prejudice against Islam or Muslims, is another relevant factor in evaluating the responses to the Syrian refugee crisis, as the majority of Syrian refugees are Muslim ("Defining Islamophobia", n.d.; Kiely et al, 2015). Common defenses to delaying or banning Syrian refugee resettlement have to do with fears of Islamic extremists slipping through the refugee vetting process since ISIS began to occupy large portions of Syria (BBC News, 2015). This fear has increased after the Paris attacks in part because a Syrian passport was found near the body of the attackers, although authorities are almost certain the passport is a fake (Tharoor, 2015b) (Carlier 2016, 54).

According to the Pew Research Center, Americans see Muslims less favorably than any other religious group and Republicans have an even more negative view than the Democrats (Pew Research Center 2015). A survey conducted in 2015 shows that 55% of Americans have a rather unfavorable view of Islam (Kaleem 2015).

The causes for this perception of Muslims by American society come mainly from the incidence of terrorist attacks committed by Islamic radicals in US territory since the fall of the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, by al-Qaeda. Gutowski (2015) points out that according to the Washington Free Beacon, there were six bombings, including bombings in the Boston marathon and shots in San Bernardino. The reported attacks include those who were motivated by Islamic radicalism and had at least one death (Gutowski 2015). It is estimated that a total of 3,016 Americans were killed. The number of people injured in the September 11 attacks is not yet known, but the total number of other attacks on US soil is 290 wounded (CNN Library 2016).

It is necessary to emphasize, however, that this sum does not include the Orlando bombing in June 2016, when an Afghan man born in the United States, after swearing allegiance to the ISIS, opened fire in a gay nightclub. The attack was considered the worst since September 11 and killed 49 people, leaving about 53 injured (CNN, 2016). Considering this attack, the number of Americans killed in terrorist attacks with Islamic motivation increases from 3,016 to 3,065, and the number of wounded increases from 290 to 343 people.

Thus, as Carlier (2016) infers, due to the high incidence of Islamic terrorism in the US, there is a tendency between the government and the civilian population to be more concerned about the occurrence of future terrorist attacks, especially by ISIS and other Islamic extremists (Carlier 2016). Although there are several factors that contribute to the refusal of Syrian refugees, this is one of the causes for this; since many Americans fear that ISIS militants infiltrate the refugee system by pretending to be Syrian refugees. This fear, however, is questionable, since all refugees, before entering the US, undergo a rigorous screening process, which, as stated, can last from a year and a half to two years (Bauman, Soerens and Smeir 2016). In addition, none of the attacks on US soil were authored by a refugee, demonstrating that it is easier for an Islamist extremist to enter the country with a tourist visa than a refugee (Mathias 2017). In this way, it can be inferred that the high incidence of terrorist attacks coupled with the population's lack of knowledge about the process of receiving refugees in the United States is what leads Americans to oppose the resettlement of Syrian refugees (Carlier 2016).

All these facts, therefore, confirm that the hypothesis defended is contemplated and that an explanatory north is discerned, according to which the fear of the Syrian refugees would be a variable derived from the traumas caused by the Islamic extremism. Thus, it is analyzed whether this phenomenon can be classified as Orientalism, according to the concept elaborated by Said (1990). For this, however, it is necessary first to understand the impact that the idea of the "Clash of Civilizations" has had on American society (Huntington 1993; 1996).

Between the Clash of Civilizations and the Orientalism

After the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the "Clash of Civilizations" theory advocated by the American political scientist Samuel P. Huntington was popularized in the United States, and in the West in general, in an article first published in 1993 in the journal Foreign Affairs and expanded in 1996 in the book *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order*. According to the author, in the post-Cold War scenario, conflicts would no longer be motivated by ideological or economic issues, but rather by cultural and religious issues. A new world order would emerge in which states, while remaining the central actors of international relations, would essentially be between groups belonging to different civilizations (Huntington 1993).

Huntington points out, however, that one of the main clashes of civilizations is in the line of fracture between the West and Islamic civilizations, an ancient conflict that began along with the rise of Islam and began to intensify even more at the end of the 20th century (Huntington 1993). In his book, published in 1997, he states that "The borders of Islam are bloody", and that there is evidence that Muslims have waged more wars than individuals of any other civilization (Huntington 1997, 328).

As Smaili (2015) points out, this view that the East, and in particular the Arab and Muslim countries, were responsible for violence and terror and were declaring war on the West came to be spread throughout the globalized world. According to her, September 11 would serve to show the world that the clash of civilizations is imminent and that, therefore, the Middle East should be indiscriminately occupied and dominated. In this way, millenarian cultures of the East became relativized and reduced, being restricted only to the religious element, especially to the differences between Islam and the West. This further corroborated the promotion of a stereotyped view of Arab and Muslim as uncivilized (Smaili 2015).

So it would be this reductionist conception of the Middle East and Muslims that would justify, for example, the 2003 invasion of Iraq by US and British troops in the name of the "War on Terror" in order to overthrow the autocratic rule of Saddam Hussein and democracy in the region. It would also be the same conception that leads a large part of American society to oppose today the resettlement of Syrian refugees, mostly Muslims.

It is to this social construction that the Palestinian intellectual Edward Said referred, initially in 1978, as "Orientalism", which would be an institution created by the West to negotiate with the East, being basically a style of Western domination that seeks to dominate, restructure and have authority over the Orient (Said 1990).

As Demant points out (2004), it would be a Western structure of knowledge as a form of power that aims to portray the East, and especially the Muslim world, in an improbable and hostile way, in order to maintain a project of domination that persists even after formal independence of Muslim countries (Demant 2004).

Said goes further and elongates four dogmas that constitute Orientalism: 1) the absolute and systematic difference between the West as superior and the East as inferior; 2) preference for abstractions on the East based on religious texts at the expense of modern oriental reality; 3) the conception that the East is eternal, uniform and incapable of self-definition; and 4) the vision of the Orient as something to be feared or controlled (Said 1990).

Among these dogmas one can observe how at least two of them help in the construction of proto-answers to the problematic of this article: the preference for sacred texts as a definition of the Orient rather than the modern experience of the region and the vision of the Orient as something to be always feared. Still, it cannot be said that the refusal to receive Syrian refugees would be a way of exercising control and domination over the East, as suggested by the idea of Said's Orientalism.

Both dogmas manifest themselves, as described, in the unfavorable view of most Americans to Islam. This perception is mainly a consequence of the terrorist attacks committed in the name of Islam. But it was suggested well before them in 1990 when Lewis defended the idea that the conflict between Islam and the West came from the founding of religion, with its ideals of jihad – holy war – and repudiation of Western values. Therefore, it is a conflict initiated by the East itself and not by the West. It is on the basis of this premise that the expression "clash of civilizations" arises, supporting the work of Huntington (Dias 2008, 23).

Lewis, according to Demant (2004), of the internalist school of Islam studies, sees in Islam the central cause of the underdevelopment of the countries of the Middle East and the lack of democracy, predicting still more conflicts between Islam and the West. This view, however, is opposed by the externalist school, which considers this view of Islam as quite reductionist and points to external factors, such as Western interventions, as the causes of violence perpetrated by Muslims. Said is one of the main exponents of this school and therefore one of the greatest critics of Huntington and Lewis (Demant 2004).

This article, in turn, argues that, in addition to Lewis and Huntington's internalism and Said's externalism, there is a third alternative with regard to the causes of animosity between the West and Islam, suggesting that it is necessary to consider the religious potential of Islam to legitimize and even incite the violence and negative impacts of imperialism and Western interventions in the Middle East. An example of this would be the very emergence of ISIS, since the group, despite the use of Islamic elements to justify its action, is the result of the US invasion of Iraq (Brancoli and Grinsztajn 2016).

At the same time, it is necessary to recognize that the terrorist attacks and the action of groups like ISIS, reify only the positions of Lewis and Huntington. This occurs, for example, in the group's use of Quranic texts as a pretext for persecution of Christians and other religious minorities in Iraq. One of these texts used by the group is Surah 9:29 of the Islamic holy book, which states:

> I fight against those who do not believe in Allah and the Last Day, nor abstain from what Allah and His Messenger have forbidden, nor do they profess the true religion of those who have received the Book, until they gladly pay Jizya (fee or fee paid non-Muslims within the Islamic State) and

feel submissive (Koran, Surata 9.29).

When conquering the Iraqi city of Mosul in June 2014, ISIS did just that by forcing Christians to pay taxes, to convert to Islam, to leave their homes or to be killed (Mitchell 2015). This further strengthens the rhetoric of a clash of civilizations between the Christian West and the Islamic Middle East, prompting many to act in an Orientalist fashion, according to Said's premises, compressing a whole collectivity of Muslims into a single mass, standard the actions of a specific actor and sacred texts of an ancient culture.

Despite this, however, it cannot be inferred that every Muslim and especially Syrian refugees are potential terrorists. This can be seen from their own view of ISIS. As Poushter (2015) points out, in a survey of the Pew Research Center (2015) in 11 Islamic-majority countries, from Nigeria to Jordan and Indonesia, most Muslims are against ISIS actions. In the Arab countries where a large number of Syrian refugees are now likely to be accommodated in the US, rejection of ISIS is almost unanimous. In Lebanon, where ISIS attacks already occurred, 99% of those interviewed said they had a very unfavorable opinion of the group. In Jordan, the opposition is 94% (Poshter 2015).

Therefore, even though the Koran has texts that clearly legitimize violence and there are Islamic groups that use them to do so, this does not justify the fear that all Syrian refugees of Islamic faith are potential terrorists. Believing this is ignoring the reality of thousands of Muslims around the world and even most of the Syrians, many of whom were forced to flee from the horrors committed by ISIS itself. Thus, in the face of the current humanitarian crisis of refugees, it is imperative to adopt measures aimed at effectively combating Islamic extremism, but without thereby generalizing and criminalizing all Muslims, which could happen if the reception of refugees is not seen as a threat, but as a way of maintaining national security.

Refugee protection as national security measure

Despite American resistance to the resettlement of Syrian refugees and fears of Muslim refugees, according to the Pew Research Center (2016), 2016 was the fiscal year in which the United States received more Muslim refugees since 2006 when a large number of Somalis entered the country. In all, of the approximately 85,000 refugees received, almost half of them (46%), 38,901, were Muslims. Of the total number of refugees, 12,486 were Syrians; 9,012 Somalis; 7,853 Iraqis; 3,145 Burmese; 2,664 Afghans; and 3,741 from other nationalities (Connor 2016; Homeland Security 2016).

Soon, President Obama not only succeeded in meeting his goal of settling 10,000 Syrian refugees, but also exceeded it, receiving 12,587 people. Yet, according to Connor (2016), 99% of them were Muslims and less than 1% Christian. According to the author, this was due to the religious distribution of Syrian demography, which in 2010 was made up of 93% by Muslims and 5% by Christians (Connor 2016). However, other experts suggest that the real cause of this disproportionality is the fact that Syrians entering the United States as refugees come from UN-run camps in Jordan, where there are no Christians, who claim to suffer in the camps in the most varied forms of religious persecution, from rapes to kidnappings (Abrmas 2016). In response to this, as pointed out, the Executive Order signed by Trump on January 27, 2017 is clear: in addition to suspending the reception of Syrian refugees for the next 120 days, it also prioritizes religious minorities, among them Christians.

Trump's actions further reinforce the hypothesis advocated here that terrorist attacks committed by Islamic radicals in the US directly contribute to the criminalization of Arabs and Muslims, especially those who fit into the refugee situation, such as the Syrians. This feeling, however, has been further exacerbated by the fact that *jihadist* organizations such as the ISIS currently control the main border crossing points on the migratory routes to Europe (Napoleoni 2016). In addition, according to reports from the Quilliam Foundation, a British think tank, ISIS has also been active in refugee camps in Lebanon and Jordan, attempting to radicalize young people and unaccompanied minors to carry out terrorist attacks in Europe (Osborne 2017).

Therefore its is appropriate to reiterate once again the rigor and effectiveness of the current US refugee resettlement system, which makes Trump's measure of excluding Syrian refugees for an indefinite period somewhat unnecessary and which, instead of ensuring national security, can cause more insecurity at the international level. This perception is supported by the reasoning that keeping a large number of Syrian refugees in camps in the Middle East, without infrastructure and without any support, helps to make more young people the target of ISIS *jihadist* propaganda and more refugees take the routes controlled by the group towards Europe, generating a revenue that may be higher than that obtained from the sale of oil by *jihadists* (Napoleoni 2016).

Moniz Bandeira (2017) also draws attention to this fact, noting that after the removal of Gaddaffi in 2011, ISIS penetrated into Libya and began to occupy extensive territories in the country, using refugee trafficking as a means to smuggle weapons for Syria, Iraq, Yemen and the Gaza Strip (Moniz Bandeira 2017). In addition, comparing refugees with terrorists is corroborating the ISIS narrative and facilitating its strategy.

It is therefore possible to infer that it can be applied to the USA, since the country, together with Europe, are the biggest enemies of ISIS. Hence, receiving refugees and integrating them into society would be an effective counter-terrorist measure as this would compromise the *jihadists*' narrative that war is necessary to create a place where Muslims will no longer be discriminated because of their faith.

For this to happen, however, American society must be made aware of the political, economic and cultural gains that refugees can bring, dismantling the image that every Arab and Muslim is a terrorist, when many are, in fact, as victims of terrorism as the US has already been.

The deconstruction of these prejudices, however, is not an exclusive task of US government and society, but also of the Arabs and Muslims themselves. For Memmi (2007), Muslim fundamentalists in their struggle against Western imperialism made use of terrorism as a form of resistance, generating distrust of all Arabs and more resentment against the West. However, it is up to the other Muslim Arabs to deconstruct these perceptions, not desiring to live in symbiosis with the West, while being indulgent to those who want to destroy it. In the words of the author, "[t] he normal and desirable destiny of every immigrant is to become a simple citizen, provided that he does not appear as an enemy of his host country" (Memmi, 2007, 181). It is up to Muslims, especially refugees resettled in the West, to condemn the actions of groups such as ISIS and seek to integrate into local customs. It is therefore necessary to dismantle in the West and the Middle East the notion of a violent and unavoidable clash of civilizations.

Finally, it would be of the utmost importance that President Trump rethink his refugee policy and continue the resettlement of Syrian refugees, increasing his quota in the coming fiscal years. According to the UNHCR (2017), six out of ten Syrians were forced to leave their homes, and today there are around 12.5 million Syrian IDPs among refugees, internally displaced persons and asylum seekers (ACNUR 2017). As Arar, Hintz and Norman (2016) point out, although the media have lately focused on the situation of Syrian displaced people in Europe, the number of internally displaced Syrians and neighboring nations is much higher than on the European continent. By mid-2016, some 4.8 million Syrian refugees were living in neighboring Syria, with approximately four in 10 refugees residing in Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt or Iraq (Arar, Hintz and Norman 2016). Less than one in ten Syrian refugees are in Europe today, and as has already been pointed out, only a little over 10,000 Syrians were resettled in the United States (Connor and Krogstad 2016).

Thus, by comparing US political and economic conditions with those countries and US strategic interests in the Middle East, it becomes imperative that the United States act more effectively in the protection of refugees. This should occur not only because of national security, but above all because of human security. To act in this way is the best way to defuse Orientalism and, at the same time, avoid the "Clash of Civilizations".

Beside South Africa, Ethiopia also set a promising legal precedent when it prosecuted its former President, Mengistu Haile Mariam, finding him guilty and sentencing him to death, albeit *in absentia*, ironically holed up somewhere in Zimbabwe. On a more positive note, the African Court of Justice and Human Rights sought to establish a Chamber with jurisdiction over persons who commit international crimes in Africa. Like the ICC, the African Court of Justice and Human Rights is a noble idea that can only be evaluated once it has been implemented. At the moment, hope of ending impunity in Africa remains with the ICC. However, the ICC needs to undergo a metamorphosis of some sort if it is to become more relevant and appealing, especially to victims of gross human rights violations in Africa.

Final Remarks

In the present article, it was sought to demonstrate that the Syrians fleeing the Syrian Civil War and the ISIS actions have a well-founded fear of persecution and are therefore conventional refugees. This could be verified by the US government itself, which despite its long screening process for receiving refugees, welcomed in 2016 more than 10,000 Syrians. The effectiveness of the US refugee program towards national security has been proven by the fact that to date no terrorist has been able to enter the country as a refugee.

Added to this, the fact that of all terrorist attacks committed in the country, none was committed by a Syrian national. This runs counter to the Executive Order signed by President Trump in January 2017, which suspended the resettlement of Syrian refugees for an indefinite period. The justification for this, according to Trump, would be to prevent foreign terrorists from entering the country, in view of the September 11 attack. However, none of the 19 suspects were Syrian, being mostly from Egypt and Saudi Arabia, two US historical allies in the Middle East and with whom the Trump Administration has increasingly tightened relations, including granting a tourist visa to the citizens of those countries.

In addition, it has also been found that the Syrian refugees are today a very significant contingent of the large number of current displaced persons around the world. According to UNHCR, of the 65.6 million people forced to leave their homes in 2016, 5.5 million of them were Syrian refugees (UNHCR, 2017). This situation, as demonstrated throughout the work, requires the responsibility of the entire international community, especially the states party to the 1951 Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees. This applies even to the United States, which, in addition to being one of the greatest powers in the contemporary international scene, is also part of the international refugee protection regime.

That said, the hypothesis raised at the beginning of the work shows that the US refusal to accept Syrian refugees is mainly due to traumas related to Arabs and Muslims, as well as national security concerns. Islamophobia in American society would therefore be a direct consequence of the increase in terrorist attacks by Islamic extremists. This was seen on the basis of analysis of secondary data on the perception of US society in relation to Syrian Muslims and refugees as well as on the part of the government which reinforces a non-existent causal link between protection of Syrian refugees and the increase in terrorist attacks

It is also verified that the sacred book of Islam has violent passages that are used by terrorist groups like ISIS to justify their actions and that this, together with the attacks, in fact reverberates the idea of a clash of civilizations in American society. However, as it has been shown, generalizing about all Syrians on this basis alone is one of the premises of what Said calls Orientalism, although in this particular case it does not go so far as to attempt to colonize and exercise control over the Middle East, either by political and economic interests or simply out of fear of the unknown.

Therefore, it is concluded that it is imperative to debate these ideas. Syrian Muslims are one of the main victims of ISIS actions and therefore, receiving them in the US would be one way to combat the ideology propagated by the group. This could be done through a refugee policy that instead of prohibiting the entry of Syrians, strengthen the screening process and seek to integrate the Syrians into American society.

Such a policy would bring numerous benefits to both the West and the Middle East, ending centuries of conflict between the two regions of the world. For this deconstruction to occur, however, a mutual effort is needed both on the part of American society and the Muslim Arab refugees themselves. Just as Americans need to be able to see the Syrians first as individuals who, like them, are seeking stability and security, Syrian refugees need to continue to demonstrate their willingness to integrate into the host communities and to condemn terrorism.

In the long run, however, the facts do not appear to contribute to this, and the fear of terrorism tends to further strengthen the narrative of the clash of civilizations and opposition to the resettlement of Syrian refugees in the United States, especially after the administration of Donald Trump.

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ABSTRACT

This article addresses the refusal of US policy, between 2016 and 2017, to resettle Syrian refugees from the Syrian Civil War, which began in 2011 and has forced millions of Syrians to migrate to neighboring countries or to the West. Thus, the hypothesis defended is that the terrorist attacks by Islamic radicals in the US contributed to the increase of prejudice and generalization regarding Arabs and Muslims and, therefore, the Syrian refugees would be conceived as probable threats to the national security. In order to verify this, we present a bibliographical review confirmed by some secondary descriptive data on the perception of the American society on the Syrian and Muslim refugees. The work of Said (1993) on Orientalism, as well as the writings of Huntington (1993, 1997) on the Clash of Civilizations, are used as theoretical reference. Finally, it is concluded that the US refusal to resettle Syrian refugees is mainly due to traumas related to Arabs and Muslims, as well as national security concerns, albeit unfounded.

KEYWORDS

Refugees, Syrian Civil War, Orientalism.

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LULA'S DIPLOMACY IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND AHMADINEJAD IN LATIN AMERICA

Bruno Mendelski de Souza[1]

Introduction

The administrations of Presidents Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (2003-2010) and Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (2005-2013) represented a transformation in the foreign policy of their countries. They implemented a more assertive diplomacy with the purpose of expanding the international projection of their States through efforts on the diversification of their external relations. Both Brazil and Iran focused their attempts in the relations with the southern countries. Within this group of nations, the present article chose to analyze the efforts of Brasília in approaching the Middle Eastern[2] countries and of Tehran regarding the Latin America.

The foreign policy of Lula is receiving great attention in the Brazilian academy. In a growing scale, one also finds works which approach Lula's foreign policy for the Middle East[3]. However, the foreign policy of Ahmadinejad for Latin America, which gathers great attention of researches outside Brazil[4],

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2 For the purpose of this article, the broad conceptualization proposed by Fawcett (2013) was adopted which includes the Arab States in the North Africa (Mauritania, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Sudan, South Sudan, Djibouti and Somalia) and in the West Asia (Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Oman and Yemen) and non-Arab States of West Asia (Turkey, Israel and Iran).

3 Breda dos Santos (2014), Casarões e Vigevani (2014), Holland (2013), Haffner e Holland (2012), Notari (2015), Oliveira, Silva e Souza (2015), Silva e Kunrath (2010), Silva e Pilla (2012), Santos (2015).

4 Arson, Esfandiari e stubits (2008), Brandon e Gray (2015), Daremblum (2011), Fouzi e Mirabzadeh (2011), Hunter (2010), Johnson (2012), Lotfian (2010), Mena (2012), Pirsalami (2013), Katzman (2015), Warnaar (2013), Watson (2016).

does not spark interest amongst Brazilian academics[5]. In the face of this gap, the present article presents a comparative study between the foreign policy of president Lula for the Middle East and of Ahmadinejad for Latin America.

In Brazil, the specialized literature in foreign policy has, historically, identified concepts and fundaments that not only are regular features of Brazilian externa actions, but that also work as ideational support for these policies. Added to this ensemble of works, for Amado Cervo (2008b), these concepts of national foundations are useful to establish a set of explanatory and evaluative data, being operational. Based on this perspective, the present study chose to investigate Lula's foreign policy for the Middle East bearing in mind the traditional and historical concepts of Brazilian diplomacy. They are: *universalism* (Lessa 1998), *multilateralism* (Lessa 1998), *South-South Cooperation* (Lima 2005), *autonomy* (Saraiva 2013; Vigevani and Capeluni 2007) and *pragmatism* (Cervo 2008a).

Similarly, Iranian foreign policy has been influenced by ideational and historical factors, especially in the period after the Islamic Revolution (1979). Even though some of these concepts are associated with the ones mentioned above, they have their own specificities, linked to Iran´s local context. Bearing this in mind, Iranian authors were selected, bringing their own concepts for the analysis of Ahmadinejad diplomacy for Latin American: *anti-imperialism* (Nia 2012), *South-South cooperation* (Hunter 2010) and *pragmatism* (Ramanzani 2008).

Based on these concepts, it is possible to notice that both foreign policies of Lula for the Middle East and of Ahmadinejad for Latin America were guided by two principles in common: *South-South cooperation* and *pragmatism*, as well as an intense presidential diplomacy. Lula's diplomacy, influenced by the ideas of *universalism* and *multilateralism*, executed a foreign policy which tried to engage all Middle Eastern countries, seeking to give them the same institutional mechanisms. On the other hand, Ahmadinejad's diplomacy, motivated by the *anti-imperialism* principle, restricted its attention to the Latin American countries that also praised this value. Therefore, Tehran's actions were centered in the bilateralism, characterized by little institutionalization and associated to the political wills of the leaders.

Methodologically, we employ the presentation of values, combined with a more empirical analysis, highlighting information regarding the commercial and institutional engagement of Brasília with the Middle East and

5 The few existent studies that approach the Iranian foreign policy for the Latin America do not deal with this theme as central, but within the perspective of the Brazilian relations with the Middle East. Though, it is emphasized the work of Preiss (2011) who studies the bilateral relations between Brazil and Iran.

Tehran with Latin America. Through the bibliographic review of primary and secondary sources, present trade flows, official visits and the opening of diplomatic missions, bilateral and multilateral initiatives, as well as the presidential diplomacy employed by Lula and Ahmadinejad. Supported by these informations, it was possible to accomplish a better comparison between the two diplomacies.

Conceptual and historical elements of Brazilian Foreign Policy

In Brazil, constitutionally, the President of Republic (Chief of the Federal Executive) develops and executes Brazilian foreign policy, operationalized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (which has a chancellor indicated by the president); the legislative, in such case, has an advisory role (Sanches et al. 2006). Traditionally, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brazil (MFA) is recognized by its efficiency and high degree of professionalism, facts that lead it to hold an essential role on the conduction of Brazilian foreign policy (Pinheiro 2003). Hence, the president plans and supervises the Brazilian foreign action (Figueira 2009), supported by the MFA, and inserted in the political-economical environment. Furthermore, the president and the MFA are influenced in their visions of world by some concepts and historical principles of Brazilian foreign affairs.

Historically, Brazilian foreign policy employs a series of principles and practices that endured through time and present traces of continuity (Cervo 2008a). In a general view, the different administrations' foreign policies have performed within these patterns boundaries, adding, however, new nuances and peculiarities. For Cervo (2008a), one important principle of Brazilian foreign action is pragmatism, understood as the evolution of the realism, which is characterized by the pursuit of the national interest through the diplomatic cleverness on the social and economical dynamics, as well as on the decision making processes of other governments.

Vigevani and Cepaluni (2011) complement the concepts of autonomy and universalism with other important and traditional orienting values of Brazilian foreign policy. Both concepts are, moreover, one of the remarkable characteristics of the Lula's diplomacy (Vigevani and Cepaluni 2007). According to Lessa (2008), in its diplomatic history, Brazil supports universalism, which presents itself as the effort to achieve full participation in the world political game, based on the adoption of international multilateralism, by the promotion of the peaceful resolution of conflicts and the defense of a righteous world, that guarantees more opportunities for all States. Historically, this tradition of autonomy and universalism is operationalized through the South-South relations. As Lima (2005) points out, Brazil in some of the most significant moments of its diplomacy history focused its efforts on operationalizing its pursuit of an independent foreign action through the South-South cooperation, especially during the Independent Foreign Policy (1961-64) and the Geisel administration (1974-79).

Even when South-South cooperation was not praised as an important mechanism of Brazilian foreign policy, Brasilia was involved in international forums and movements, in a smaller or greater way, that sought to redirect the construction of the international order during the Cold War, from an East-West vision towards a North-South one (Menezes and Ribeiro 2011). Lula's rise would go back to this tradition when "seeking more direct strategies to enhance the autonomy of the Brazilian actions, strengthening the universalism through the South-South cooperation and the multilateral forums, and reinforcing Brazil's proactive role in the international politics" (Saraiva 2013, 76, our translation). Chancellor Celso Amorim emphasized these principles in his inaugural speech in January 2nd, 2003:

> **Our foreign politics cannot be confined to a single region, nor can be restricted to a single dimension.** Brazil can and must contribute to the construction of a peaceful and solidary world order, founded by the Law and the multilateralism principles, aware of its demographic territorial, economic and cultural weight, and of being a great democracy in process of social transformation (Ministério das Relações Exteriores do Brasil 2003: 2, emphasis added, our translation).

Considering Brazil´s South-South relations, we then proceed to the analysis of Lula's foreign policy for the countries of the Middle East.

Brazilian Foreign Policy for the Middle East: rapprochement and detachment

The relationship between Brazil and the countries from the Middle East are characterized by periods of rapprochement and detachment, a reason that lead Brun (2016) to define them as discontinuous. The involvement of Brazil in the Middle East remained low until the first oil crisis in 1973, a fact that lead Brazil to search for an approximation with more countries that exported this commodity as Iraq and Saudi Arabia (Casarões and Vigevani 2014). During the 1970s and the 1980s, Brazil increased, considerably, its commerce with the region, guided, essentially, by its interests in oil and in the selling of war products (Fares 2007).

Politically, during these decades, Brazil maintained itself close to Arab countries. The peak of this approximation was expressed in the Brazilian involvement in the United Nations' General Assembly in 1975, defending that Zionism would characterize a form of racism (Brun 2012). However, from the beginning of the 1990s, there was a significant change in Brazilian behavior towards the Middle East (Silva and Pilla 2012).

Influenced by the euphoria of the end of the Cold War and the paradigm of globalization, the Brazilian foreign policy abandoned its Third World[6] discourse and reduced its presence in regions such as Africa and the Middle East (Silva and Pilla 2012). Politically, this change may be seen in President´s Cardoso choice of not visiting any country during his administration (Oliveira, Santos and Souza 2015). Economically, this change in foreign policy was illustrated by the weight of the Middle East in the Brazilian foreign trade: in 1980 the region represented 20% of the total commercial transactions, yet, in 1999, it accounted for only 2,6% (Brun 2012).

When Lula came into power in Brazil, in 2003, Brasília not only recovered its interest in the Middle East as in the 1970s and 1980s, but it also surpassed the commercial emphasis that characterized this period with a more comprehensive and assertive agenda (Holland 2013). For Silva and Kunrath (2010), Lula's diplomacy for the Middle East was guided by the pursuit of new economic and political partnerships with countries of the region, in the view of the Brazilian government's desire to play a mediating role in the Middle-eastern conflicts and, globally, to build a multipolar order.

For that matter, added to the increase of the commercial relationship with the Middle Eastern States, Brazil sought a greater activism that can be observed in four events: 1) the tour in the region carried out by President Lula (2003); 2) the launch of the Latin America-Arab Countries Summit (2005); 3) the Tehran Declaration (2010); and (4) the recognition of the Palestinian State (2010) (Brun 2012, 43).

Regarding diplomatic traditions, the principle played a greater influence on Lula's foreign policy for the Middle East was the idea of universalization. In his first speech during the General Assembly of the United Nations in 2003[7], Lula clearly presented this ideal: "Apart from deepening the already relevant relations with our traditional partners from North America

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6 In this article, the terms Third World and South-South cooperation will be applied as synonyms.

7 President Luís Inácio Lula da Silva Speech, in the opening of the 58ffl General Assembly of the United Nations in New York, September 23rd, 2003.

and Europe, we seek to broaden and diversify our international presence" (Ministério das Relações Exteriores 2003, 125, our translation). Vigevani and Cepaluni (2007, 2011) define that Lula's foreign policy is characterized by the pursuit of *autonomy through diversification* in a way that his administration complemented the traditional principles of autonomy with an emphasis in the pursuit of different partners. Lula's presidential visits to diverse countries in the Middle East were part of this diplomatic strategy of deepening Brazil's relations with States from all continents, illustrating this universalist conception, placed equally within the effort of autonomous and sovereign insertion (Silva and Kunrath 2010).

Together with the universalist and autonomist ideal it is possible to find the connection with the South-South approach (Saraiva 2013). In agreement with Leite (2011), the tradition of South-South cooperation finds in the "Independent Foreign Policy", in Geisel´s government and in Lula's administration, three important moments of the Brazilian diplomatic history.

Dialoguing with the traditional concepts of Brazilian foreign policy, one finds the set of ideological beliefs of the Workers' Party (PT). Among them, the perception that Brazil should become an actor of greater relevance in the international system possibly motivated the shift of perspective for the Middle East, as Brasília sought to take position in relation to the main tensions in that region (Brun 2012). Also, the historical ideals of PT of anti-imperialism, cooperation with developing countries and solidarity between people were the visible principles in Lula's foreign policies (Almeida 2012). This understanding of the world by PT contributed to Brazilian foreign policy greater activism and more focus on cooperation with developing countries (Hirst, Lima and Pinheiro 2010). Specifically, regarding the Middle East, Brun (2012, 2016) identifies that the traditional concepts in the PT's international relations' perspective as the defense of the South-South relations and the historical position in favor of Palestine in the pursuit of its self-determinist[8], resulted in a natural approximation with the region's countries.

However, it is important to mention that Lula's foreign policy, although permeated with ideological elements, cannot be reduced to this variable: in fact, it has sought to be as pragmatic and realistic as possible (Vigevani and Cepaluni 2007). This position is also shared by Brun (2016) who argues that, despite the increase in the ideological influence in Brazilian relations with the Middle East, emphasizes its combination with persistent pragmatism. This can be observed in the search for the diversification of partners, as shown in the subsection below.

8 Lula has even met, in 1995, the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization at the time, Yasser Arafat, in Colombia (Brun, 2016).

Foreign Trade between Brazil and the Middle East (2003-2010)

The effort of a greater approximation between Brazil and the Middle East embodied a considerable expansion of trade with the region. Brazil's trade with the Arab countries increased from USD 5.48 billion (2003) to USD 19.85 billion (2010) (Silva and Pilla 2012). Santos (2015) complements that the developing of Brazil's international profile during Lula's administration and his travels with businessmen associated with the actions of Brazilian Arabian Trade Chamber, enabled Brazil to multiply trade three times more than its previous peak (2008).

In order to highlight this information, based on the data provided by the World Bank, the volume of Brazil's foreign trade with the Middle Eastern countries is presented. In order to illustrate trade evolution, we present the data collected from 2003 (the beginning of Lula's administration) and 2010 (the last year of his governme nt).

Table 1: Trade information of Brazil with the Middle Eastern[9] countries in 2003.

Partner Name	Trade Balance (US$ Thousand)	Export (US$ Thousand)	Import (US$ Thousand)	Import Partner Share (%)	Export Partner Share (%)
United Arab Emirates	532,548.89	551,333.45	18,784.56	0.04	0.75
Lebanon	48,066.66	54,925.06	6,858.41	0.01	0.07
Turkey	279,141.10	337,190.78	58,049.69	0.12	0.46
Egypt, Arab Rep.	427,514.73	462,132.73	34,618.00	0.07	0.63
Israel	-130,937.36	187,494.93	318,432.28	0.66	0.26
Kuwait	-36.29	73,953.54	73,989.83	0.15	0.10
Jordan	36,294.09	37,116.87	822.78	0.00	0.05
Morocco	24,504.81	226,505.09	202,000.28	0.42	0.31
Iran, Islamic Rep.	855,321.65	869,163.68	13,842.04	0.03	1.19
Qatar	23,403.58	30,690.25	7,286.67	0.02	0.04
Syrian Arab Republic	55,411.10	66,617.77	11,206.67	0.02	0.09
Oman	44,010.40	44,013.65	3.25	0.00	0.06
Algeria	-969,341.89	153,705.20	1,123,047.09	2.32	0.21
Tunisia	14,034.48	56,343.38	42,308.90	0.09	0.08
Mauritania	19,507.48	19,540.05	32.57	0.00	0.03
Libya	26,551.88	52,553.85	26,001.97	0.05	0.07
Iraq	-237,369.97	42,367.55	279,737.53	0.58	0.06
Somalia	21,586.19	21,631.88	45.69	0.00	0.03

Source: World Bank (Online)

9 There is no data for Sudan, South Sudan, Djibouti, Bahrain and Yemen for this year

Table 2: (Above) Trade information of Brazil with the Middle Eastern[10] countries in 2010

Partner Name	Trade Balance (US$ Thousand)	Export (US$ Thousand)	Import (US$ Thousand)	Import Partner Share (%)	Export Partner Share (%)
United Arab Emirates	1,674,998.17	1,851,818.99	176,820.82	0.10	0.94
Turkey	377,679.92	1,029,717.68	652,037.75	0.36	0.52
Egypt, Arab Rep.	1,797,340,49	1,966,139,28	168,798,79	0,09	1,00
Israel	-674,164.62	337,310.21	1,011,474.83	0.56	0.17
Lebanon	240,011.96	241,671.34	1,659.38	0.00	0.12
Kuwait	94,921,91	339,014,63	244,092,72	0,14	0,17
Iran, Islamic Rep.	1,997,066.42	2,120,323.82	123,257.40	0.07	1.07
Syrian Arab Republic	499,648.29	547,056.05	47,407.76	0.03	0.28
Jordan	218,657.20	220,181.58	1,524.39	0.00	0.11
Morocco	38,649.63	703,554.80	664,905.17	0.37	0.36
Algeria	−1,522,667.74	838,696.56	2,361,364.30	1.31	0.42
Tunisia	93,314.35	217,539.77	124,225.42	0.07	0.11
Bahrain	566,939.99	609,371.38	42,431.39	0.02	0.31
Qatar	75,240.99	294,996.82	219,755.83	0.12	0.15
Libya	355,257.80	456,120.71	100,862.91	0.06	0.23
Oman	139,121,69	151,295,43	12,173,75	0,01	0,08
Iraq	-450,963.95	287,739.28	738,703.23	0.41	0.15
Yemen	416,232.31	416,234.27	1.96	0.00	0.21
Mauritania	105,833,88	105,838,81	4,92	0,00	0,05
Somalia	63,547.01	63,549.34	2.32	0.00	0.03

Source: Source: World Bank (Online)

By analyzing the data, it is possible to conclude that Brazil expanded exports to all the countries in the region. Regarding imports, with the exceptions of Mauritania, Lebanon and Somalia, there was a growth with all the countries. Brazil also, during Lula's administration, managed to reverse

10 There is no data for Sudan, South Sudan, Djibouti for this year.

the historical deficit in trade relationship with the countries of the region. In 2010, Brazil had a deficit with only three countries in the Middle East (World Bank Online).

However, it is important to note that despite the significant growth in foreign trade, the participation of Middle Eastern countries is still very low in the total values of Brazilian transactions. The top three importers of Brazil, in 2010, Saudi Arabia (1st), Iran (2nd) and Egypt (3rd), represented, respectively, only 1.57%, 1.07% and 1% of the total exported by the country. This makes these three countries occupy, in that order, only the position of 18th, 23rd and 25th largest importers in Brazil. The situation is similar regarding imports. The three top markets in the Middle East for Brazilian imports are: Algeria (1st), Saudi Arabia (2nd) and Israel (3rd) and they correspond, respectively, only to 1.31%, 1.14% and 0.56% of the total of Brazilian imports. These countries occupy the 17th, 19th and 31st places between main Brazilian exporters (World Bank Online).

Similarly, the concentration in a few countries of most of Brazil's trade flow to the region can be pointed out: the top three countries in Brazil's export ranking accounted for 65% of Brazil´s sells to the Middle East in 2010. In the area of imports, the volume is still more concentrated, with about 94% of all Brazilian imports coming from three countries (Algeria, Saudi Arabia and Israel) (Santos 2015).

Furthermore, in 2003[11], the Middle East represented 6.37% of Brazilian exports, and 5.17% of imports. In 2010, it represented 4.51% of exports and 7.49% of imports (World Bank Online). In other words, in spite of the growth of the volume (as stressed above), the value not only remains low, but the region also reduced its participation in Brazilian exports.

Presidential Diplomacy, Heads of State and Government Visits and the Opening of Brazilian Diplomatic Missions in the Middle East

Lula's foreign policy not only maintained its predecessor's practice of using presidential diplomacy, but it also has given dynamism to action, improved by the unprecedented personal participation of the president in foreign affairs (Barnabé 2010). The former President, in partnership with Chancellor Amorim, took the lead in the execution of the foreign policy. Almeida

11 These data take into account the geographical division of the World Bank for the Middle East which excludes Mauritania, Sudan, South Sudan, Djibouti, Somalia and Turkey

(2012) considers Lula's diplomacy extremely active, established much more by the charismatic figure of the former President than by the concrete Brazilian capabilities that would sustain a condition of global power. Due to exercise of Presidential diplomacy Lula had become the Brazilian Head of State who had spent more time abroad, visiting 263 destinies (Ministério das Relações Exteriores 2011).

Regarding the Middle East, Lula was the first President to make an official visit to the region (Leite 2011). Lula has visited ten Middle Eastern Countries during his administration: Syria (2003), Lebanon (2003), United Arab Emirates (2003), Egypt (2003), Libya (2003, 2009), Palestine (2010), Israel (2010), Iran (2010) and Qatar (2010) (Ministério das Relações Exteriores 2011). As presented by Silva and Kunrath (2010), the main motivation of Lula's visits to the Middle East is a result of a political strategy which illustrates the attempt to promote the country as a mediator of the conflicts in the region, with the intent to expand its international projection and increasing the possibility of the country to become a permanent member of the Security Council of the United Nations.

Such an intense agenda of international travels to the Middle East was supported by chancellor Celso Amorim who visited the region in all the years of the Lula's government, making a total of 44 visits (including multilateral meetings), with the exception of 2007 (Brun 2016). Amorim was the Brazilian chancellor who most visited the region (Brun 2016). These actions not only corroborate, but give a new life to the universalism in the Brazilian foreign policy.

On the other hand, Lula received 12 official visits from Heads of State and government from the Middle East: Palestine (3 times), Lebanon (2 times), Syria (2 times), Algeria (1 time), Qatar (1 time), Iran (1 time), Israel (1 time), Jordan (1 time), Kuwait (1 time), Libya (1 time), Morocco (1 time) and Turkey (1 time) (Brazil 2011). For that matter, it is highlighted that Brazil received in less than two weeks the leaders of three key countries in the geopolitics of the Middle East: Israel, Palestine and Iran (Brazil 2011).

This situation indicates clearly the conciliatory and universalist posture that the Brazilian foreign policy has been developing and that, in Lula's administration, found great expression. Preiss (2011) complements that the circumstances above demonstrate the Brazilian interest and ability to become a relevant actor in the Middle East. Lula's speech on the occasion of Ahmadinejad's visit to Brazil on November 23, 2009, illustrates these points:

> **We maintain an open and frank dialogue with all the countries in the region.** With this spirit, I have received, in the recent days, the Presidents

> of Israel and the Palestinian Authority. To Shimon Peres and Mahmoud Abbas I repeated the Brazilian position on the Middle East conflict. We defend the right of the Palestinian people to a viable state and a dignified life, alongside a secure and sovereign State of Israel.
>
> **But the search for an understanding, in this and other regional issues, requires the incorporation of new interlocutors genuinely interested in peace.** To dialogue, it is necessary to build channels of trust, with detachment and courage. It is these same values and principles that must prevail in the search for peace in the Middle East (Ministério das Relações Exteriores 2009, 184, emphasis added, our translation).

The universalist and aggregator discourse of Lula's foreign policy, accompanied by the international prestige of the President, supported the pursuit for a greater international protagonism of Brazil, as the claim above exemplifies. This effort was also executed by the opening of diplomatic missions in the Middle East.

Brazil had opened embassies in Morocco, Oman and Qatar, and consulates in Turkey, Lebanon and the Palestinian Territories (Breda dos Santos 2014). A commercial office was also opened in the United Arab Emirates, and business missions were sent to Libya and Saudi Arabia (Leite 2011). This movement was part of the Brazilian strategy to expand its international relations and, in the end of Lula's administration; the country opened 30 embassies[12], as well as a Representative Office in the West Bank with the Palestinian National Authority (Leite 2011; Jakobsen 2016).

Bearing this is mind, considering the 24 Middle Eastern countries, Brazil maintained diplomatic relations with all of them; the country only does not held direct diplomatic missions in Yemen and Bahrain[13] (Itamaraty Online). Therefore, the intensification in the opening of diplomatic missions lead by Lula's administration and the agenda of receiving Heads of States from the Middle East correspond to the attempt of expanding the international projection of the Brazil as a *global player* seeking a universalist multilateralism (Saraiva 2013). Along the same line, Lessa (2017, 9) complements, arguing that Lula's universalism, as well as the traditional commitment in being present in the most important international forums, developed "a variant regarding the extensions of the diplomatic channels, the geographic universalism and -the extraordinary growth of the number of diplomatic missions".

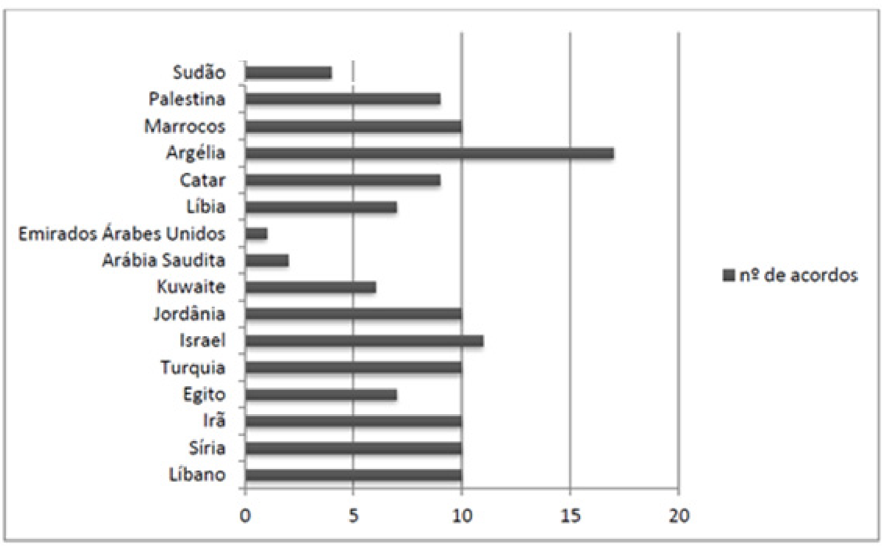
12 These refer only to those with their own physical structure. In addition to these, Brazil has opened five other facilities with representations in other countries (Jakobsen 2016).

13The Brazilian embassy in Saudi Arabia respond for Yemen and the Brazilian embassy in Kuwait responds for Bahrein (Itamaraty Online).

Bilateral and Multilateral Cooperation between Brazil and the Middle East (2003-10)

The bilateral cooperation, achieved by the signing of agreements, is another indicator of the measurement of the importance of a country or a region. During Lula's administration 135 agreements[14] were signed with Middle Eastern countries (Serpru apud Santos 2015). In comparison, the Brazilian government which appears in the second position in this matter is Figueiredo´s one with 17 signed agreements. Through an historical perspective, from all the agreement signed with the Middle Eastern countries, 37% of them were signed during 1946 to 2002 and 63% of them were signed during Lula's administration (Santos 2015). The universalism of Lula's foreign policy for the Middle East can be seen in the fact that Brazil signed bilateral agreements with all countries in the region (as shown in the table below).

Table 3: agreements signed between Brazil and the countries of the Middle East



Source: Serpro apud Santos (2015), our translation.

Within these agreements, one highlights the ones with Israel: the bi-

14 Of these, in the year 2015, 97 agreements (71.85%) were still in force (Serpru apud Santos, 2015).

lateral cooperation between Brazilian and Israeli companies; the opening of a Brazilian Air Force Office in Tel Aviv in 2003; and the prospection in the area of renewable energies. Brazil has also acted in projects of infrastructure in the United Arab Emirates, with the Gulf Monarchies, through Brazilian companies of civil construction (Holland 2013). In November, 2009, a mission of the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Food Supply in Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates was planned with the intention of prospect opportunities to the Brazilian agriculture. It is also important to stress the Agreement on Technical Cooperation between the Government of Brazil and the Government of the Jordan (2008) that involved the visit of the Brazilian Ministry, Sérgio Rezende, to the country in 2010 in order to begin the implementation of the terms of the agreement; and the selling of the Brazilian planes "Super Tucano" to Jordan (Holland 2013).

Added to the bilateral cooperation, Lula's foreign policy for the Middle East was characterized by the efforts on multilateral agreements as the Summit of South American-Arab Countries (ASPA), the trade agreements between Mercosur (Common Market of the South) and the Middle Eastern countries and the Tehran Declaration (2010). These projects also denote the attempt of the Lula's diplomacy to create a new arrange to counterbalance the international status quo (Cervo 2008a; Notari 2015).

The ASPA includes all South American countries, 22 Arab countries and was designed by Brazil. The 1st summit was held in May, 2005, in Brasília and in March, 2009, the 2nd summit[15] was reunited in Doha, Qatar (Breda dos Santos 2014). The chancellor Celso Amorim[16] states the goals of the group:

> (...) Intensifying the dialogue at the highest political level. Will help, at the same time, to expand the cultural bonds, as well as other types links through a positive bi-regional agenda, **uniting the people of these two great regions in the world**. The key worlds that define these purposes are, thus, dialogue and cooperation. **By fostering ties between our regions through concrete projects, we will be pragmatically contributing to the strengthening of South-South relations.**
>
> **We share values and goals in the multilateral level.** We can do more in areas of mutual interest, such as the reform of international financial in-

15 The initiative is still in operation, the last summit (4th) was held in November 2015 in Riyadh in Saudi Arabia. The 5th summit will be held in Venezuela in 2018 (Itamaraty Online).

16 Speech by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Celso Amorim, during the Arab League Summit held in Algiers, Algeria, on March 22, 2005.

> stitutions, the fight against hunger and poverty, the reform of the United Nations and elimination of distortions in the multilateral trading system. **Our voices will be better heard if we talk together** (Ministério das Relações Exteriores 2005, 85-86, emphasis added, our translation).

In Amorim's speech it is possible to note the five principles that guide Lula's diplomacy for the Middle East: universalism, multilateralism, South-South Cooperation, autonomy and pragmatism.

For Breda dos Santos (2014), initiatives such as ASPA are an example of Lula's "summit diplomacy", instrumentalized in mechanisms of political coordination in multilateral forums and multi-sector cooperation. The constitutive document of the ASPA, the Brasilia Declaration, expresses the efforts to institutionalize this multilateral coordination. Priority is given to coordination in multilateral fora on disarmament, terrorism, Millennium Development Goals and international trade (Ministério das Relações Exteriores do Brasil 2005: 340, 342, 343, our translation). This level of institutionalization also represents a different in the face of the personalist perspective of Ahmadinejad's diplomacy for Latin America.

Ferraboli (2014) analyzes the ASPA results and claim that in its first years, the summit has had a more vibrant feature, influencing in the duplication of foreign trade between the two regions. However, the inter-regional cooperation mechanism had been weakened in the last years, particularly as a result of Rousseff and Temer foreign policy retreat towards the Middle East and also due to the political and economic instability caused by the Arab Spring. Santos (2015) shares a similar perception when claiming that, although the ASPA has contributed positively for the expansion of the trade between the regions, the summit still needs some adjustment and is heavily affected by politics developments.

In addition to ASPA, we can mention that Brazil, in the trade arena, was committed to frame Mercosur within its strategy of diversifying Brazil's trade relations via non-traditional partners (Notari 2015). Partially mediated by ASPA, a discussion on the creation of a free-trade zone, between Mercosur and: Israel, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Morocco and the Gulf Cooperation Council[17], was started (Santos 2015, 75). The will of deepening trade relations with Arab countries, including the ones with conflicts with the great Western powers as Syria; yet, not excluding Israel, certify the universalist element to the Brazilian foreign policy complemented with the motivation of an independent international insertion, even though, possibly, in opposition towards the Great

17 Of these, only the agreement with Israel is in operation (since 2010) (ITAMARATY ONLINE).

Powers (Brun 2012).

This autonomist and, sometimes, combative dimension of Lula's foreign policy reached its peak in its relations with the Middle East due to the mediation of an agreement between the Iranian president, Ahmadinejah, and the Turkish premier, Erdogan, in May, 2010, aiming to establish a resolution to the Iranian nuclear impasse, which led to the Tehran Declaration (Brun 2016).

According to this agreement, Iran would commit 1,200 kilograms of enriched uranium to Turkey, which would stockpile the material, while Russia and France would enrich it by 20% (insufficient for military use), returning it under these conditions to Tehran (Silva and Pilla 2012). Besides the autonomist dimension, the arrangement also exemplifies the moderate Third World position of Brazilian foreign policy, as stated by Foreign Minister Celso Amorim[18]:

> Given the economic crises of recent years, a consensus emerges that the legitimacy and the effectiveness in international relations demand decisions taken in a democratic manner, with the participation of a large and representative group of countries. **World governance is being reconstructed. The world cannot be directed by small groups that call themselves decision makers.**
>
> **It is important to repeat the reasons that inspired two developing countries, non-permanent members of the Security Council, to dare to deal with such an issue in the sphere of international peace.**
>
> Turkey and Brazil were guided primarily by the goal - which, I am sure, is shared by all in this forum - of finding a formula that would guarantee the exercise of Iran's right to the peaceful use of nuclear energy, while providing guarantees that the Iranian nuclear program would have exclusively peaceful purposes (Ministério das Relações Exteriores do Brasil 2011: 249, 252, emphasis added, our translation).

The moderate aspect is illustrated by the Brazilian diplomacy effort on democratizing the international order through its own regulatory means and not subvert it as a whole.

Although the agreement failed and did not prevented new UN sanctions against Iran, the signing of the Tehran Declaration between Brazil, Turkey and Iran in May 2010 provided an unprecedented visibility to Brazilian di-

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18 Speech by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Ambassador Celso Amorim during the Disarmament Conference held in Geneva on June 15th, 2010.

plomacy, reaffirming its status as an emerging power with global aspirations (Brun 2012). After these considerations on Lula's foreign policy to the Middle East, we will present the analysis of the Iranian foreign policy.

Conceptual and historical elements of the Iranian Foreign Policy

Before presenting and discussing the fundamental aspects of the Iranian foreign policy, it is important to clarify the main factors regarding the decision-making process in its foreign policy. In Iran, the most relevant figure in foreign policy is the Supreme Leader who has, for example, the competence to declare war or peace and has, also, the control over the armed forces (Flanagan-Rieffer 2009). After the Supreme Leader, the president has the second most important role in domestic and foreign policies, nominating the Chancellor and establishing the tone and the strategies of the foreign policy, yet, the president do not determine the general strategy of the foreign policy (Watson 2013). The President is also affected by the Supreme National Security Council and Parliament, which is commonly disputed by three political groups: Conservatives, Reformists and Neoconservatives (Flanagan-Rieffer 2009). The first and the second support a more realist diplomacy, seeking good relations with the West. The latter, on the other hand, stand up for a more idealistic foreign action (based on the Islamic Revolution ideals) and opposed to the West (Flanagan-Rieffer 2009). Ahmadinejad belonged to the latter which was the majority during his government (Warnaar 2013).

Therefore, following this logic, foreign policy actions executed by the presidency are represented by a balance of the positions of the Supreme Leader, the Supreme National Security Council and Parliament and all of them are affected by a series of historical values provided by the Iranian society (Hunter 2010).

Since the establishment of the Islamic Republic in 1979, the hallmark of Iranian foreign policy has been its independence and anti-hegemonic character (Nia 2012). Both are provided by the country's constitution. According with the article 152:

> **The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is based on the rejection of any kind of domination**, both its exercise and submission to it; the preservation of the all-inclusive independence of the country and its territorial integrity; the defense of the rights of all Muslims; **non-alignment in relation to the domineering powers; mutual peaceful relations with nonaggres-**

sive states (Constitution of Iran 1992: 35, emphasis added).

The independent and anti-hegemonic ideals are also conceived within the world vision of the international relations. Article 154 of the Iranian constitution complements this subject, adding the the pugnacious and revolutionary bias of Tehran's foreign policy:

> The Islamic Republic of Iran considers human happiness throughout human society as its ideal. **It considers independence, freedom, and the governance of justice and truth as the right of all the people of the world. Consequently,** while it completely abstains from any kind of intervention in the internal affairs of other nations, **it supports the struggles of the oppressed for their rights against the oppressors anywhere in the world** (Constitution of Iran 1992: 35, emphasis added).

At the governmental level, these principles have been improved and carried out by Iran's Supreme Leaders: Ruhollah Khomeini[19] (1979-89) and Ali Khamenei (1989-) (Darabinia, Marzband e Foroughiniya 2017; Warnaar 2013).

The foreign policy thought of Khomeini can be summarized in five grand axes: 1) Combating tyranny and colonialism; 2) Support for the oppressed and liberation movements; 3) Support for Muslims; 4) Peaceful coexistence; 5) Mutual respect and non-interference in the domestic affairs of countries (Darabinia, Marzband and Foroughiniya 2017: 35-36). Within these five axes, one can emphasize the convergence of anti-hegemonic rhetoric with political Islamism. In Khomeini´s words (2002, our translation): "The people from the Islamic Nation are the followers of the doctrine that can be summed up in two verses of the Koran: do not oppress and do not accept oppression". The influence of the revolutionary ideal and the opposition to the great Western powers led to the conception of Iran as an independent and counter-hegemonic State (Moshirzadeh 2007).

Hunter (2010) complements by claiming that the combination of six factors had been responsible for shaping Iranian foreign policy, since 1979: 1) the past influence of great powers and anticolonialism; 2) the Third World discourse; 3) Islamist influences; 4) leftist ideas; 5) Arab radicalism; 6) Khomeini's thought. On the other hand for Moshirzadeh (2007), three important concepts constitute the identity of the Islamic Republic: independence, justice and resistance.

Such aspects were formed throughout Iranian history and played an

19 Khamenei's foreign policy positions will be discussed in the next section.

important role in the constitution of the identity of the Islamic Revolution, and then of the identity of the Islamic Republic. Moshirzadeh (2007) argues that the resistance discourse, part of the revolutionary identity, was central to the pos-Revolution context, yet, it was not hegemonic during the period of 1989-2005. This rhetorical framework, however, was restored with the election of Ahmadinejad in 2005.

Added to this set of beliefs, there is the regular pragmatism of international relations. As Ramanzani (2008) indicates, the balance between ideology and pragmatism within the process of formulating Tehran's foreign policy has been persistent, intricate and complex throughout Iranian history. Instead of what common sense may indicate, Iranian foreign policy, despite its traditional, constant and eventually aggressive religious rhetoric, has been developed, over the last thirty years, by a realistic perspective rather than by a supposed irrationality associated with religious fervor (Flanagan-Rieffer 2009).

Therefore, the need to avoid the growing international isolation of Iran, combined with the sharing of some ideals such as anti-Americanism, has strengthened the approximation with some countries in Latin America. Before analyzing such policies, it is important to state that Iranian relations with the subcontinent of Latin America are not a novelty in Tehran's diplomacy following a trend of proximity and distancing towards the region.

Iranian Foreign Policy for Latin America: pragmatism and ideology

As a result of the geographic distance, cultural differences, lack of common preferences and the absence of conflicts, Iranian relations with Latin America had always been brief (Hunter 2010). Venezuela is the only exception due to shared interests in oil (Tehran and Caracas are founding members of OPEP) (Johnson 2012). This distant reality only changed since the Iranian Islamic Revolution in 1979.

Right after the revolution, Iran actively sought to engage itself in a Third World policy and found in Latin American countries, which shared an anti-American rhetoric, interesting possibilities. Therefore, Tehran came closer to Castro´s Cuba and Sandino´s Nicaragua (Lotfian 2010). Moreover, during the 80s, Iran sought to expand their relations with the subcontinent because: 1) the Iran-Iraq War; 2) US economic sanctions in response to the hostage crisis; and 3) the isolation of the country (Lotfian 2010). However, significant regional and domestic changes deepened by the end of the war with Iraq, culminated in the rise of the Rafsanjani government (1989-1997) who adopted a foreign policy less guided by the principles of the Islamic Revolution and more pragmatic, which meant, among other things, a distancing from Latin America (Johnson 2012).

The Khatami administration (1997-2005), for its turn, tried a rapprochement with the subcontinent. In this period, the Iranian posture towards Latin America became more active and resulted in the growth of high level visits between the country and the region. (Hunter 2010). Recovering a past of relations with countries with an anti-US bias, Khatami strengthened the relationship with Cuba and Venezuela (Johnson 2012). In 2000, the Iranian President visited Cuba and, in 2001, Fidel Castro and Hugo Chávez went to Iran (Warnaar 2013). In 2004, the Venezuelan president visited Iran again and, in 2005, Khatami traveled to Venezuela in order to launch a tractor factory built with Iranian aid and signing a free trade agreement with Caracas (Warnaar 2013).

The rise of Ahmadinejad to presidency of Iran, in August, 2005, marked an intensification of relations with Latin America. Guided by the shared opposition to the US, which connects Tehran and some Latin American countries with leftists governments, and the Third World discourse, Iran planned the strengthening of its presence in the region (FARAH, 2008).

Loftian (2010) infers that the reasons for the Iranian expansion in the Latin America are: 1) the post-revolutionary anti-imperialist tradition and the need to find allies who share this view; 2) the political imperative of seeking support for the Iranian nuclear program; and 3) the traditional pragmatism of economic gains, especially oil exports. Within these three elements one emphasizes that the most important one is the second as a result of the UN sanctions[20] to the Iranian nuclear program, suspected of non-peaceful uses.

This new orientation of Iranian foreign policy counted on the convergence of two international conjuctural variables: the rise of oil prices and the rise of governments of Marxist and anti-imperialist inspiration in Latin America. The first allowed Teheran to have better conditions to undertake a more assertive position in the subcontinent, with numerous high-level visits, bilateral agreements and promises of investments (Warnaar 2013).

Similarly, the anti-US sentiment and the desire of Latin American countries such as Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Nicaragua to seek a more

20 The UN Security Council has imposed four sanctions on Iran through resolutions: 1,737 (2006); 1747 (2007); 1,803 (2008) and 1,929 (2010). Among its main deliberations are the freezing of assets of people and institutions linked to the Iranian nuclear program, restrictions on arms purchases by Iran and Tehran's investments abroad (Katzman 2017).

independent foreign policy have enhanced relations with Iran (Arnson and Esfandiari 2008). The speech below from the Supreme Leader, Khamenei in 2007[21], could, easily, fit in the rhetoric of Latin America leaders of the nations mentioned:

> The arrogant powers compared the world to a global village, and the US calls itself the head of the village in order to be able to do whatever it wants. Now if a nation or a political personality says or does something contrary to their wishes, they put all kinds of charges against him. This is the nature of our enemies (Khamenei 2007, 4, our translation).

This ideological affinity enabled Iran to diversify its international relations in order to avoid not only its growing isolation, but also to find alternative economic markets that would represent a relief to the sanctions received because of its nuclear program (Lotfian 2010).

Foreign Trade between Iran and Latin America (2005-2013)

In commercial terms, in spite of the growth of Iranian exports to the region during the government of Ahmadinejad, the total amount still is proportionally low, and foreign trade remains concentrated in a few countries. For Mena (2012), one of the direct effects of the Iranian incursion into Latin America has been the growth in trade volume. Although this volume added up in some cases, generally it had been erratic, and clearly it does not play an important role for Iran and its partners in the region yet.

According to the World Bank data (online), Iranian exports to Latin America and the Caribbean, during 2005 to 2011[22], increased in almost 400%, from USD28.610 billion (2005) to USD 111.738 billion (2011). However, it is important to highlight that this amount only represents 0.05% of the total exported by Tehran in 2005 and 0.09% in 2009. Imports, for its turn, declined by 19% in the same period, from USD 938,720 billion (2.43% of total imports) to USD 762,843 billion (1.12% of total imports).

Regarding bilateral trade results generated by the Iranian rapprochement with Latin America, these are also very modest as the data

21 Speech by Ayatollah Ali Khamenei to the residents of the province of East Azerbaijan (Iranian province) on 17 February 2007.

22 In the World Bank database, Iran's foreign trade data was only available by the year 2011. Presented in: <http://wits.worldbank.org/CountryProfile/en/Country/IRN/Year/2011/TradeFlow/EXPIMP>.

presented below shows:

Table 4: Foreign Trade of Iran with Latin America (2005)[23]

Partner Name	Trade Balance (US$ Thousand)	Export (US$ Thousand)	Import (US$ Thousand)	Import Partner Share (%)	Export Partner Share (%)
Venezuela	9,897.47	13,292.68	3,395.22	0.01	0.02
Brazil	-825,459.23	2,897.90	828,357.14	2.14	0.00
Colombia	396.10	536.67	140.57	0.00	0.00
Costa Rica	-905.75	17.16	922.91	0.00	0.00
Cuba	-791.44	885.59	1,677.03	0.00	0.00
Chile	-2,572.84	1,139.55	3,712.39	0.01	0.00
Panama	-261.88	1,259.80	1,521.68	0.00	0.00
Ecuador	-5,139.93	184.66	5,324.58	0.01	0.00
Argentina	-2,374.40	525.82	2,900.22	0.01	0.00
Uruguay	-52,774.96	58.75	52,833.71	0.14	0.00
Peru	-687.19	316.23	1,003.43	0.00	0.00
Jamaica	-12,622.37	49.50	12,671.87	0.03	0.00
Paraguay	-3,119.99	20.69	3,140.68	0.01	0.00
Honduras			42,40	0,00	

Source: World Bank (online)

One notices that in 2005 Iran had a trade deficit with all its partners with the exception of Venezuela and Colombia. Also, we can observe that in addition to the reduced transaction amount, Tehran maintained a trade relationship with only fourteen of the thirty-two Latin American countries. As the data below shows, there was no significant evolution in these trends until the year 2011.

23 There are no data from Bolivia, Guyana and Suriname, and about the trade with Central American countries only five of the twenty countries in the region appeared in statistics with Iran for this year.

Table 5: Foreign Trade of Iran with Latin America[24] (2011)

Partner Name	Trade Balance (US$ Thousand)	Export (US$ Thousand)	Import (US$ Thousand)	Import Partner Share (%)	Export Partner Share (%)
Venezuela	64,715.54	64,794.26	78.72	0.00	0.05
Cuba	5,357.30	5,758.58	401.28	0.00	0.00
Brazil	-597,355.09	17,173.94	614,529.03	0.90	0.01
Colombia	4.25	827.10	822.85	0.00	0.00
Argentina	-114,784.90	3,531.17	118,316.07	0.17	0.00
Peru	93.50	268.01	174.50	0.00	0.00
Ecuador	-2,858.05	182.24	3,040.29	0.00	0.00
Costa Rica	-127.18	32.06	159.24	0.00	0.00
Uruguay	-7,081.76	295.80	7,377.56	0.01	0.00
Panama	-3,234.37	269.35	3,503.71	0.01	0.00
Chile	-9,956.48	682.10	10,638.58	0.02	0.00
Honduras	-349.58	29.16	378.73	0.00	0.00
Bolivia			232.45	0.00	
Paraguay			6.20	0.00	

Source: World Bank (online)

Examining these data, one verifies that the lack of intensity in Iranian trade with the region remains and we can also notice the fact that these transactions did not take place within more than a half of the countries in the region. This trend seems to show that Tehran´s goals towards Latin American were much more focused on a political character than on an economic one.

While in 2005, Iran´s top three partners Latin America were Brazil (1st), Uruguay (2nd) and Venezuela (3rd); in 2011 they were Brazil (1st), Argentina (2nd) and Venezuela (3rd). As observed, despite the considerable growth of Iranian exports to Caracas, the biggest Tehran's markets in the regions still are the countries which did not receive the greatest attention by Iranian diplomacy, as it will be discussed.

24 There are no data from Guyana and Suriname, and about the trade with Central American countries only three of the twenty countries in the region appeared in statistics with Iran for this year.

Presidential Diplomacy, Heads of State and Government Visits and the Opening of Iranian Diplomatic Missions in Latin America

Making use of an intense Presidential diplomacy, the Iran of Ahmadinjead had undertaken a series of actions in the subcontinent in order to increase its influence in the region. Likewise, the President received many visits from Latin America leaders. One of the most important characteristics of Ahmadinejad's Presidential diplomacy was to seek for a greater projection and visibility for his actions, for example, his enthusiastic declarations on Tehran's new approach to the Latin American countries. During his first visit to the region, in 2007, Ahmadinejad claimed that: "fortunately, a great anti-imperialist coalition has been formed in this region" (Brun 2008, 37).

Guided by the shared anti-US rhetoric and the imperialism of the great powers, the Iran of Ahmadinejad based its relations with Latin America on his dynamics with Venezuela. For that matter, the personal relations developed by Ahmadinejad and Hugo Chávez contributed a lot to the situation. The Iranian president constantly referred to Chávez as his brother, illustrating their compromise against imperialism (Hunter 2010). The speech by Ahmadinejad in June 22nd, 2010, during his visit to Caracas, illustrates this dynamic:

> (...) I also thank the great lord, God, who gave me this opportunity to travel to Venezuela and have the **opportunity to meet my brother, my dear brother, President Chávez, a great revolutionary who is resisting against imperialism** today, against the great imperialism defending the rights of its people, in the same way as the rights of Latin America and all the independent peoples of the world (Ministerio del Poder Popular para Relaciones Exteriores de Venezuela 2013: 859, our translation, emphasis added).

Farah (2008) agrees, and argues that the expansion of Iranian relations with Latin America was supported by the personal friendship of Ahmadinejad and Chávez. It would be through this personal relation that the contacts of Tehran with the Equator of Rafael Correa and the Bolivia of Evo Morales would happen, as a result of the convergent interests of Iran and Venezuela (Farah 2008).

An agenda that, naturally, brought Latin American leaders closer to Ahmadinejad refers to the sharing of anti-US rhetoric and anti-imperialism (the first inspired by Marxism, and the second from the values of the 1979 Revolution). The Nicaraguan president, Daniel Ortega, helped this articulation stressing that the Iranian and Nicaraguan revolutions are "twin revolutions, with the same goal of justice, freedom, sovereignty and peace (...) despite the aggressions of imperialist policies" (Farah 2008, 15).

Within this common rhetoric against the great powers imperialism, Ahmadinejad, in a visit to Venezuela in January 9th, 2012, declared:

> (...) Throughout history, independent peoples have fought against all this arrogance. **Today, the Venezuelan people and the Iranian people are together and on a path of struggle against all the greed of arrogant imperialism.** The hegemonic and dominant system is in decline, since it took on a much more aggressive face, trampling all human values (Ministerio del Poder Popular para Relaciones Exteriores de Venezuela 2013: 514, our translation, emphasis added).

The sharing of these ideals enhanced the visits between Ahmadinejad and some Latin American leaders. Considering this fact, we list below the visits made by the Iranian President, and the ones received by former Iranian President in the 2005-2012 period (Johnson 2012):

Ahmadinejad Visits to Latin America:

Bolivia (three times), Brazil (once), Ecuador (twice), Cuba (once), Nicaragua (twice), Venezuela (six times).

Visits from Latin American leaders received by Ahmadinejad:

Bolivia (twice), Brazil (once), Ecuador (once), Guyana (once), Nicaragua (three times), Venezuela (nine times)

Considering both lists of nations visited and that payed visits to Iran, it is clear that the rapprochement strategy towards the subcontinent had a strong ideological component. All the above mentioned administrations can be characterized, in a higher or minor degree, by a Marxist inspiration and a sympathetic perspective in relation to the Third World, that is also supported by Iran. Moreover, the governments of such countries shared with Iran a critical view regarding American foreign policy and the support for a farer international order (Mena 2012).

The statements made during the exchange of visits between President Evo Morales from Bolivia and the President of Iran, are an example of these ideals. During the visit of Ahmadinejad to La Paz[25] in September 27th, 2007, both leaders issued a joint declaration

> - The Presidents congratulate themselves on the positive trends that have risen in Latin America **with the emergence and consolidation of democratic governments, in opposition to neoliberalism.**
> **- Maintenance of the process of revitalization and strengthening of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.**
> - Support the right of countries to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes within the framework of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as a mean to significantly contribute to the economic and technological development needs of the peoples (La Prensa Online, our translation, emphasis added).

As well as the anti-hegemonic and Third World rhetoric, the document expresses the Bolivian support to the developments of the Iranian nuclear program, one of the most important demands of Ahmadinejad's diplomacy.

The personalism (frequently associated with the anti-imperialism) is another important characteristic of Ahmadinejad's diplomacy and this trait can also be observed in the following Khamenei speech, during the visit of President Evo Morales to Iran in September 1st, 2008:

> **His attitude of paying attention to ordinary people and the poor** is a very valuable attitude, which is a source of honor for the nations. (...) The recent developments in Bolivia are pleasing and for sure the **hegemonic powers will pressure on you once they do not like such attitudes**, but resistance against those pressures will bring victory (Khamenei 2008, 1, emphasis added, our translation).

However, the approach conditioned by ideological preferences limited Tehran´s actions to a part of Latin America and also lacked institutional components, since it was dependent on the continuity of specific regimes in power in some States.

Following the same path, Farhi (2008) stresses that the depth of this relation in untenable since this interaction is much more based on a political opportunism than on long term economic or military partnership. Similarly, Farah (2008) discusses that Iranian relations with Latin American countries in general lack transparency and are built on the personal dynamics between Ahmadinejad and Latin American leaders. These personal relations signif-

25 Ahmadinejad was the first Iranian President to visit Bolivia

icantly had overpowered formal and institutionalized policies, traditionally managed by the Legislative and by the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Economics.

Regarding diplomatic relations, there was a growth in the opening of embassies in the region during the Ahmadinejad administration: Colombia, Ecuador, Uruguay, Bolivia, Chile and Nicaragua (Warnaar 2012). Added to these, there are those already in place in Argentina, Brazil, Cuba and Venezuela (Johnson, 2010). Therefore, Iran has diplomatic representations in eight out of twelve Southern America countries and it is one of the Middle Eastern countries with more representation in the region (Mena 2012). On the other hand, Bolivia, for its turn announced the change of its Middle Eastern embassy from Cairo to Tehran and the non-mandatory of passport and visa for the entry of Iranians in the country, the latter measure was also adopted by Caracas (Mirabzadeh 2011).

Iran´s Bilateral and Multilateral Cooperation with Latin America (2005-13)

In the context of investments and bilateral cooperation, Tehran also sought to deepen the relations with the region. According to Farhi (2008), Iran sought to attract investments, to export technical and engineering services, to promote other markets for their exportation, diversify its markets of imports and expanding their products exchange. Fouzi and Mirbzadeh (2011) complement by informing that most part of the exports of technical and engineering services were directed to Latin America.

As Farah (2008) points out, Venezuela served as the "entry" to Iran in Latin America, reinforcing the Chavista leadership while Iran gained space in its attempt for the end of its international isolation. The high oil price was used as a political instrument by both countries in order to guarantee an international insertion, understood by them as revolutionary (Brun 2008). The table below summarize the most important Tehran movements in the pursuit of intensifying their relationships with the Latin American countries.

Table 6: Relevant cooperation and investment agreements between Iran and its main Latin American partners:

Bolivia: in his first visit to the country, Ahmadinejad promised to invest one billion dollars in development projects. Agreements have also been signed for cooperation in the areas of hydrocarbons, mining, industry, agriculture, water, forestry, culture, science and technology.

Cuba: water supply projects, inauguration of production of anti-hepatitis vaccines in Tehran with the cooperation of Cuban experts, celebration of joint Iran-Cuba commissions. Creation of a joint venture in the scope of the communication between Cuba and Iran in 2011.
Ecuator: in 2007, a delegation of Ecuadorian businessmen, under the coordination of the Vice Ministry of Trade and Integration, visited Iran in order to prospect new business. During a visit to Tehran in 2008, Correa signed 12 cooperation agreements with Iran. The following year, Quito received instructors from the Iranian Revolutionary Guards to conduct training in conjunction with the Ecuadorian army.
Nicaragua: agreements were signed in the area of infrastructure, energy, health and construction, including the promise of Iranian funding for the construction of ports, health centers, houses and factories
Venezuela: Iranian investments in several sectors of the country's economy, including the construction of a tractor factory and two binational automobile factories. There was the opening of the Tehran-Caracas airline, the celebration of joint Iran-Venezuela commissions. Iran has been assisting Caracas in uranium exploration. About 200 agreements have been signed in a wide range of areas.

Elaborated by the author, based on Fernández (2008), Fouzie Mirabzadeh (2011) Johnson (2012), Maradiaga and Meléndez (2008), Montufar (2008), Warnaar (2013).

As the chart above shows, Iran focused on the countries that shared anti-American ideals. Fouzi and Mirabzadeh (2011) claim that the main reason for the expansion of Iran relations with some Latin American countries is the shared criticism to the American unilateralism and the intention of creating an anti-imperialist alliance. Farah (2008) states that Iranian relationship with Latin America is, essentially, political and not economical, given that most of the Latin American trade with the US, far exceeds the one with Tehran.

Nevertheless, economically, the countries that Iran developed relations are not in a position to help the country (Hunter 2010). Within this reality, it is important to emphasize that trade relations between the subcontinent and Iran still suffer with the great geographical distance that results in an increase of the transaction costs (Watson 2016). Regarding the issue of Iranian investments, Asnson and Esfandiari (2008) add that apart from the lack of reliable statistics, there is the problem of considering what was promised and what was accomplished in the region.

Tehran's presence was not significant regarding other countries in the region. With the elections of the leftists governments in Paraguay (2008) and Uruguay (2005), Iran sought to approach these nations, yet, it had not an expressive result (Hunter 2010). The relations with Argentina oscillated in extremes. On the one hand, there is the political tension generated by the Argentinian accusation that Iran was involved in a terrorist attack that killed at least a dozen of people in a Jewish center in Buenos Aires in 1994, which Tehran denies (Hunter 2010). On the other hand, both parts are motivated to increase bilateral trade: for Buenos Aires, the agreement is beneficial and for Iran, it represents a possibility to enhance the political relation with Argentina (Johnson 2012). These complex relations led to the fact that, despite cold political relations, Argentina became Iran´s second main trading partner. (Arnson and Esfandiari 2008).

Besides, since the ideological variable helped to deepen the relationship with some of Latin American nations, it also contributed to the detachment of some others. As Hunter (2010) points out, the overly ideological tone of Iranian diplomacy for Latin America set Tehran apart from the more moderated countries. Such circumstances may be noticed in the minimal trade with countries as Colombia, Peru and Chile as in the absence of more assertive political actions with those countries and other in Latin America.

In relation to Brazil, the country was positioned as the 8th Tehran´s destination of imports in 2011 (World Bank Online). Both countries also cooperate in the oil field, and Iran benefited from the Brazilian expertise on oil explorations in deep waters (Warnaar 2013). According to Johnson (2012), despite the considerable trade volume between the two countries, Brasilia-Tehran relations have been moderate until the end of 2008: during 2000-2007 period, Presidents Khatami and Ahmadinejad visited Latin America six times and in none of this occasions Brazil was in the agenda.

Discussing this point, Brun (2008) claims that Iran figures as an important Brazilian trade partner, yet, Brasilia seeks to position itself within a more pragmatic perspective interested in maintaining good relations with all its trade partners, thus preserving some distance from Tehran, which can be seen by the absence of Ahmadinejad's visits to the country during his first visits to the region. Also, Brun (2008) stresses that important countries of the region, as Argentina and Brazil, maintained a distance from Iranian proposals that had an anti-American characteristic.

However, since Ahmadinejad's visit to Brazil in November 2009, the nuclear issue has been central in the bilateral relationship, and Brazil has sought to develop a less cautious position on the Iranian nuclear dispute (Johnson 2012). Brazilian support for Iran had been developing over time and the Brazilian activism illustrates the converging interests of both countries regarding the international supervision on the nuclear energy (Johnson 2012). Preiss (2011) points out that Iran and Brazil share similar agendas, due to the closeness of their decision making independent positions both in the regional and in the international levels. This new path of bilateral relations possibly reached its peak with the signature of the Tehran Declaration in May 2010, a Brazilian and Turkish initiative with the purpose of putting an end to the Iranian nuclear dispute. Although the resolution has not been implemented in practice, the agreement was presented as success by the parts involved, and it also showed the greater participation of middle powers in the international system (Warnaar 2013).

Although there are actions of bilateral cooperation with some Latin American countries (especially the ones with Marxist inspiration), the status of multilateral cooperation is really low. As stated before, the ideological and personalist perspective, that characterize the bilateral relations, had contributed for the enhancement of Iran´s institutionalized relationship with Latin America. In this field, Tehran´s only achievement that can be mentioned is its relationship with the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of our America (ALBA).

However, even when one considers a more institutionalized relation, we see, once more, the presence of the ideological and personalist component of the political leaders involved. According to Watson (2015), Iran and ALBA had been signing several agreements and the bloc is an important source of diplomatic support, considering Tehran´s efforts to reduce its isolation. ALBA countries, in turn, benefit from Iranian investments (Watson 2015). After discussing Lula's foreign policy for the Middle East and Ahmadinejad polices, a comparative analysis follows.

A Comparative analysis of Lula's foreign policies for the Middle East and Ahmadinejad´s policies for Latin America

It was possible to observe similarities and differences between the two diplomacies in their efforts for the mentioned subcontinents. Table 7 presents a comparative overview of external policies:

Table 7: Conceptual, operational and resulting elements of Lula's diplomacy for the Middle East and Ahmadinejad diplomacy for Latin America.

	Foreign Policy Principles	**Foreign Policy Strategy**	**Foreign Policy Results**
Similar	Pragmatism South-South Cooperation	Presidential Diplomacy	**Economic** Restrained economic gain **Political** Growth of international projection (Brazil) Retrenchment of international isolation (Iran)
Different (Brazil)	Universalism Multilateralism Autonomy	Multilateralism/ Institutionalism Moderated Third World discourse	**Diplomatic/Institutional** - Inclusive expansion of diplomatic relations - Cooperation agreement with all the countries - Multilateral and Institutionalized actions (ASPA, Tehran Declaration, 2010)
Different (Iran)	Anti-imperialism	Bilateralism/ Personalism Radical Third World discourse	**Diplomatic/Institutional** - Selective expansion of diplomatic relations -Cooperation guided by shared ideology (Ex: ALBA and leftists governments) - Low institutionalism

Source: Elaborated by the author

The principles and traditions of both foreign policies played a greater role in the results of Lula and Ahmadinejad's diplomacies. Pragmatism allowed a realist reading of the international system and its power distribution, supporting a new direction for foreign policies. The focus in developing regions was also promoted by the concept of South-South Cooperation, valued by both diplomacies. Similarly, pragmatism and South-South cooperation were complemented by a revisionist perspective of the international order provided by the PT ideology (moderate revisionism) and the Iranian Islamic Revolution ideals (militant revisionism).

In this sense, Brazil and Iran, seeing themselves as unsatisfied middle powers, decided to expand their influence in regions where they had little relevance. Brasília, seeking to become a permanent member of the UN Security Council, had chosen to define itself as a mediator in the Middle Eastern conflicts, stressing its international influence. Tehran, in the other hand, fearful of its isolation and possible international intervention, had decided to intensify its relations with Latin America, seeking a greater political support for its nuclear program.

In the pursuit of these goals, the Brazilian and Iranian Presidents employed an active Presidential diplomacy, supported by the weight of their images, which they carried out in several international travels and accepted commitments. However, the strategy of Presidential diplomacy worked through two distinctive methods: Lula gave an institutional tone and sought to employ multilateral means; Ahmadinejad focused on a personalist approach and bilateral relationships.

Based on their political leaderships, Lula and Ahmadinejad also sought, through the Third World rhetoric, to develop a favorable environment for the growth of their presence in the aimed regions. The first, through a moderated and universalist discourse, focused on the necessity of cooperation between the countries of the South and the adoption of some practices of Northern States. The latter addressed a binary world view, and in that sense, irreconcilable between oppressive states and oppressed states (Warnaar 2013).

As a result, radical Third Worldism played a more decisive role in Ahmadinejad's diplomacy for Latin America than on Lula's moderate Middle East diplomacy. The Iranian perspective engaged only governments that shared its anti-imperialist rhetoric. On the other hand, Brazilian foreign policy, motivated by universalism, comprehended all of Middle Eastern nations, including those advocating a militant Third Worldism, such as Iran itself and Syria.

`Therefore, Tehran easily expanded its actions on the Latin American states that were governed by leftist regimes (Pirslami 2013). In this sense, the ideological perspective, at the same time, led to the rapprochement with some governments (Cuba, Nicaragua, Venezuela and Bolivia) and prevented the universalization of such Iranian actions to the governments that did not share these ideals (Mexico, Colombia and Chile).

In Brazil, universalism may be seen in the economical level (trading increasing with most part of the Middle Eastern countries) as well as in the political level (establishment of new cooperation agreements with all the States in the region) (SANTOS, 2015). Also, the traditional concept of multilateralism can be added: Brazil was committed itself with the creation of multilateral mechanisms, with an institutional character, as it could be seen in ASPA and in the attempts to sign free-trade agreements between Mercosur and the countries in the region.

Iran, on the other hand, developed an agenda for Latin America which was characterized by a selective and bilateral approach, conditioned by the political orientation of each government, as well as the specific interests of each President, characterizing these relations by a personal and non-institutionalized twist. Given the lack of institutionalization of such relations, there are lots of uncertainties regarding the maintenance of the agreements and the established agendas between Iran and its partners (Lotfian 2010).

In the trade area, both countries also achieved a considerable enhancing of their relations with the regions mentioned. However, despite this growth, the total amount of transactions between Brazil and Iran is, still, minimal. In Iran´s case, a component of fragmentation also needs to be considered since the increase in foreign trade was not uniform in all or at least in most countries of the region, unlike Brazil. Once more, the influence of the anti-imperialist and universalist principles can be found.

The universalist ideal in Lula's foreign policy may be observed as well in the reinforcement in the continuity and in the enhancement of its relations with Israel, an attitude that also showed Brazilian foreign policy defense of the value of dialogue (Cervo 2008a). Apart from the attempt to act as a mediator of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Brazil, aware that its approach to the countries of the Middle East (especially Iran) could be viewed negatively by Israel, attempted to intensify relations with Tel Aviv. So, one can list these efforts: Lula's visit to Israel in 2010, the five visits of the Chancellor Celso Amorim to the country and the signature, in 2007, of an agreement of free trade agreement between Mercosur and the government of Tel Aviv. Also, during Lula's government, Israel was the second Middle Eastern country with which Brazil signed more cooperation agreements (Brun 2012; Santos 2015).

Finally, we can infer that both diplomacies, despite taking into account its different strategies, achieved similar results: both reached an increase in their international projection. Brazil improved its prestige in the Middle East and had enlarged its global player credentials. Iran slightly managed to reduce its international isolation, guaranteeing the support of some Latin American countries for its nuclear program. However, these political gains came accompanied by the maintenance of a marginal commercial relationship with the considered regions.

Conclusion

In both administrations of Lula and Ahmadinejad, Brazil and Iran sought a new perspective in their foreign policies respectively paying greater attention to the Middle East and Latin America. They were guided by a Third World´s philosophy in distinct tones and employed different strategies (with the exception of Presidential diplomacy) and the results of such policies are more political than economic. When addressing the case of Brazil, the principles of cooperation between developing nations, provided by the international relations ideals of the PT, were added to the universalist tradition of Brazilian foreign policy, allowed Brasilia to present a broader and multilevel diplomacy towards the region. These actions were compatible with Brazilian goals to be a champion of the dialogue among peoples. For its turn, Iran combined pragmatism to reduce its international isolation, through the establishment of new alliances, with the traditional weight of the Islamic Revolution ideology in the development of its foreign policy. As seen, this variable both limits and makes possible Tehran´s foreign policy actions, as it can be seen in the partnerships with other countries strongly opposed to Washington.

Regarding both foreign policies operationalization, they relied on a strong presidential diplomacy with Lula and Ahmadinejad engaging and publicizing its most relevant actions. However, while Brazil acted multilaterally aiming at the institutionalizations of its relations, Iran focused on bilateral relations, characterized by a stronger personal identity.

If the economic results of this period were not that relevant (both the Middle East and Latin America place in each foreign trade balance, remained low), political results were more significant. Lula's assertive foreign policy allowed the country to play a protagonist role in the Middle East, as seen in its participation in the Tehran Declaration. Although this enlargement project suffered some resistance (in particular of extra regional powers), Brasilia reached some relevance nonetheless. However, Brazilian´s foreign policy active and assertive actions, led to the quenching of its relations with Israel, US skepticism and heavy criticism from the Brazilian media.

Addressing the Iranian case, Tehran partially succeeded in reducing its international isolation. Ahmadinejad succeeded in spreading his anti-imperialist agenda to several Latin American countries, gaining support for its nuclear program, even among moderate countries such as Brazil. However, it's important to stress that this support is provided by countries with a more critical orientation towards the international order and that this depends on the elected governments, which contributed to the instability and the feeble institutionalization of these arrangements.

An important issue that can be addressed in future studies relates to the continuity (or not) of all the agendas and actions of cooperation put forward by Lula and Ahmadinejad for the Middle East and Latin America. Due to the multilateral and institutionalized diplomacy by Brazil's President, and, on the other hand, the personalist style exercised by the Iranian President, the trend maybe that Lula´s initiatives present themselves as more solid than Ahmadinejad ones.

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ABSTRACT
The article compares Lula's foreign policy to the Middle East with Ahmadinejad's to Latin America. Methodologically, the historical concepts of each diplomacy is combined with empirical data on trade flows and diplomatic actions. It is argued that the implementation of foreign policies involved similar (presidential diplomacy) and distinct means (universalism and multilateralism by Brazil, and personalism, bilateralism and low institutionalization by Iran). The results of diplomacies also resembled: although the economic implications were modest, Brasilia politically increased its global projection capacity, while Tehran relatively reduced its international isolation.

KEYWORDS
Lula's Foreign Policy; Ahmadinejad's Foreign Policy; Foreign Policy Analysis.

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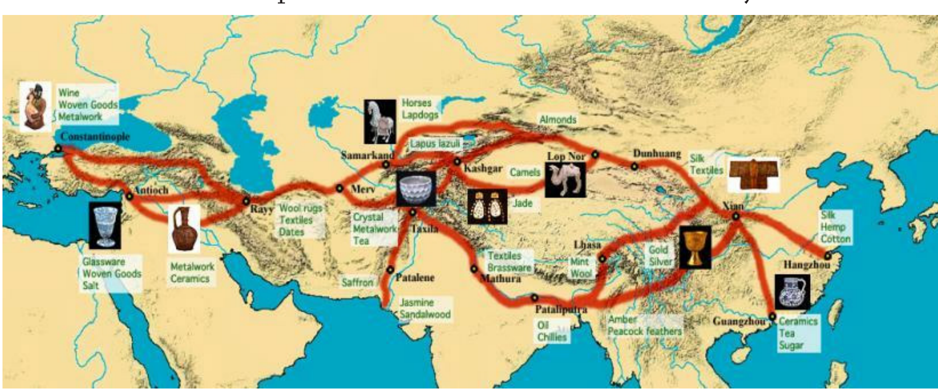
THE GAME FOR REGIONAL HEGEMONY: CHINA'S OBOR AND INDIA'S STRATEGIC RESPONSE

Anshuman Rahul[1]

Introduction

The Chinese have always felt the historic ownership of the Silk Road and that was valiantly challenged by the former US Department of State, Hillary Clinton during her speech in Chennai, India on 20th July 2011 when she remarked, "'New Silk Road' is a long-term vision of an international economic and transit network that links Central and South Asia, with Afghanistan at its heart" (US Department of State 2011). The Chinese establishment was completely perplexed as Hillary Clinton had used the term *Silk Road* to explain the 'US policy'. They considered as if they were being robbed of their history of more than 2000 years which signified their commercial ties with the outside world and provided a lifeline to Chinese economy.



Source: Silkroutes.net (2017)

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Ferdinand von Richthofen, a renowned German geographer and traveler in 1877 after his expedition to China had formally referred to the network of trade routes established by the Han dynasty as 'Seidenstrasse' (Silk Road) or 'Seidenstrassen' (Silk Routes). This network of trade routes had been in use since 130 BC but came to an abrupt end in 1453 AD as the Ottoman empire boycotted the trade with the west. Thereafter, the ancient silk routes lost its regional importance on account of political and military disruptions, changing geo-political conditions across Eurasia and the discovery of new sea routes by the western nations.

The ancient silk routes criss-crossed the trade routes stretching from China to Britain, covering the whole of Eurasia while crossing through India, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Eastern Africa, Greece and Rome. It derived the name *Silk Road* from the famous Chinese silk which was the most sought commodity in Egypt, Greece and particularly in Rome.

Maritime trade has also been an important branch of this global trade network famously known as the *Spice Roads* for supplying spices from the region to the world while covering more than "15,000 kilometers (km) from the west coast of Japan, past the Chinese coast, through South East Asia, and past India to reach the Middle East and so to the Mediterranean" (UNESCO 2017). It connected the Chinese civilization with the Indus Valley civilization, Mesopotamian civilization and the Arabian Peninsula. As a result, coastal cities of Goa, Muscat, Alexandria and Zanzibar became rich centers for exchange of commodities, ideas, language, customs and beliefs.

Thus, the ancient silk routes not only connected East with the West for exchange of goods but also led to the cultural and intellectual exchanges thereby establishing hubs of culture on the way. These routes played a crucial role in spreading of different religions across Eurasia. Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism and Islam spread the same way as travelers absorbed the cultures they encountered and then carried them back to their homelands with them.

China's Peaceful Rise

China's supreme leader, Deng Xiaoping in the background of domestic difficulties coupled with isolation in the international arena due to the 'Tiananmen Square massacre' pronounced the doctrine of *tao guang yang hui* (TGYH) in 1989 to describe the Chinese foreign policy. He stated, "When it comes to international situation, three sentences can summarize it. First, we should observe calmly. Second, we should secure our position. Third, we should cope with affairs calmly" (Chen and Wang 2011, 197). Deng used the exact phrase TGYH in 1992 when he pronounced, "We will only become a big political power if we keep a low profile (TGYH) and work hard for some years; and we will have more weight in international affairs" (ibid) in short "keep a low profile and never take the lead" (Guo 2006, 2).

China made efforts to change its image and win friends in the international community with TGYH becoming a well adopted strategy of China's foreign policy in the new millennium fueled with fast economic growth and supplemented by rich civilizational history. In this regard, China contributed in the UN peacekeeping missions, took lead in establishing Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and emerged as a key player in the launch of BRIC(S). No wonder TGYH has played a crucial role in China's 'peaceful rise' considering the troubled past.

The theory was slightly modified in 2004 to 'Peaceful Development', as China tried to re-assure the western world along with the neighbors that her rise will not be a threat to them and others can also benefit from China's *peaceful development*.

During the second term of Hu Jintao's presidency (2008-2013), the idea of 'China Dream' had already started taking shape. Li Junru, the Vice-President of the Party School of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was of the opinion that for re-storing China's place in the world, higher standard of living and China's economic development were essential components for achieving the status of 'rich and powerful country'. In this regard, President Jintao shelved the original plans of 'putting people first' and 'creating a harmonious society' due to the world financial crisis. China's rising income inequalities and regional imbalances were left on the backburner in order to ensure the momentum of the Chinese economy. To propagate the hopes of a resurgent and prosperous China, three mega-events were orchestrated – "the 2008 Beijing Olympics presented China as a soft superpower, the National Day military parade in 2009 reminded everyone that China also has hard power, and the Shanghai World Expo in 2010 was billed as the 'Olympics for Culture, Economy and Technology'" (Callahan 2013, 125).

The concept of 'China Dream' in mind and the confidence oozing out of successful experiment of peaceful development forced China to have a re-look at the doctrine of TGYH in the era of globalization. China by virtue of being an economic power-house combined with enhanced military capabilities aspires to be a 'great power'. The Chinese are of the belief that by 2020 they have an historic opportunity to become a relatively wealthy economy and one of the most powerful country. They aim to achieve this status by way of, "settling border issues with neighboring countries", "increasing economic relations with countries in the region" and by "becoming members of western and regional institutions, including the World Trade Organization (WTO), the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum (APEC), and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)" (Pan 2006).

Just after assuming the charge of the party chief of CCP in November 2012 and set to be the next President in March 2013, Xi Jinping announced his epic vision to make 'China Great Again' while calling for the 'great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation'. He prescribed deadlines for achieving 'Two Centennial Goals'. First, to build a moderately prosperous society by 2021, when they celebrate the 100th anniversary of the CCP and; the second to become a fully developed, rich, and powerful nation by the 100th anniversary of the People's Republic in 2049.

In order to make the country great again, the Chinese dream consists of four parts notably "Strong China; Civilized China; Harmonious China; Beautiful China" (Kuhn 2013). However, the method to realize the said dream remains same i.e. public discussions continue to remain banned on "seven unmentionables" namely, "universal values, press freedom, civil society, citizens' rights, the party's historical mistakes, the notion of a privileged capitalist class and independence of the judiciary" (Ferdinand 2016, 945).

It is important to note the usage of the word 'Rejuvenation' instead of 'Rise' which clearly highlights the Chinese ambition to re-claim the lost international status and power instead of achieving something new. There is a "close connection between the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation and China's becoming a world power. If China does not become a world power, the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation will be incomplete. Only when it becomes a world power can we say that the total rejuvenation of the Chinese nation has been achieved" (Zicheng, 2011, 74).

In order to achieve this rejuvenation, Dr. Wang Yiwei, of Renmin University sought the renewal of Chinese ties with 'Eurasia' in accordance to the *Heartland Theory* of Halford Mackinder – the father of modern geopolitics who stated, "Who rules East Europe commands the Heartland; who rules the Heartland commands the World Island; who rules the World Island commands the World" (Fallon 2015, 142) whereby the 'World Island' comprises of inter-linked continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

One Belt One Road (OBOR) Initiative

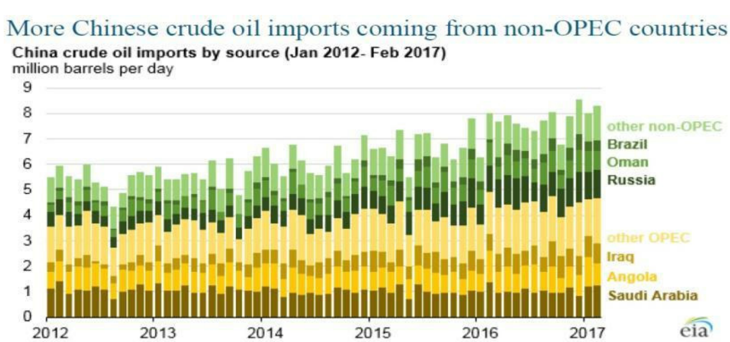
Source: Fallon (2015).

The *One Belt One Road* (OBOR) initiative was first introduced to the world in 2013 by President, Xi Jinping on his state visit to Kazakhstan. Since, the Chinese government is attempting to revive the *Silk Road* of ancient times through this initiative, it also being labelled as the 'Modern-day Silk Road'. In this context, China's "'Belt and Road' initiative sits well with Xi's 'China dream' of 'great rejuvenation of the nation', as it is an expression of China's confidence and international clout" (Fallon 2015, 141). China's rise as a global economic power-house can be realized from the fact that ever since 2010, China has been the "second largest economy in the world, largest exporter and the second largest importer in goods, the third largest source of outbound foreign direct investment, and the owner of the largest foreign exchange reserve" (Du 2016, 33).

The OBOR initiative led by China will bind together 65 countries and their 4.4 billion people with a collective GDP of $21 trillion (one-third of the world's wealth). It aims to "forge closer economic ties, deepen cooperation, and expand development in the Euro-Asia region" (Zimmerman 2015, 6) on the belief that increased connectivity has become the recipe for international development and stability resulting into 'win-win' cooperation. China through this initiative aspires to create a 'network of infrastructure' comprising of roads, rail, ports, electricity and energy. China has described the initiative as a mechanism to promote peace and stability in the region by strengthening its bi-lateral relations with neighbors rather than expanding its own influence in the region. However, some countries do share an opinion that OBOR initiative is a means of advancing China's regional, geopolitical and security interests.

At times, OBOR initiative is compared to the United Sates' administered 'Marshall Plan' which had two agendas i.e. to re-build the devastated economies of West Europe after the end of Second World War and to check the spread of Communism. In contrast, OBOR initiative appears to be "entirely a mercantile endeavor, designed to fortify China's economic interests around the world and open business opportunities for Chinese companies enduring a slowdown at home" (Djankov 2016, 4). The only difference being, earlier it was done on bi-lateral terms and now it has acquired a global strategy with a larger geographical space to cover. Even though this initiative has been "motivated by concerns about slowing domestic growth and a desire to boost China's global influence" it "has the potential to help solve a global infrastructure gap" and promote "growth in developing countries while boosting trade and generating investor returns" (Hancock 2017).

In the opinion of President Xi Jinping, the revival of the ancient silk route that linked the Eastern and Western cultures across Eurasia might help him achieve his dream to make 'China Great Again'. For this revival, the OBOR initiative plans to "weave Asia, Europe, Africa, and the Middle East closer together by constructing investment and trade networks using hyper-efficient infrastructure and new institutional linkages" (Villafuerte, Corong and Zhuang 2016). There have been several reasons for China to promote the OBOR initiative: to secure energy supplies, the low transportation cost, the search for new markets, to find outlets for Chinese companies abroad, among others.



Source: EIA (2017).

China is the world's largest net importer of crude oil and in order to meet its demand, it is constantly looking for new suppliers. In this regard, China sealed a deal with Russia in 2014 for 30-years of Russian gas at the cost of $400 billion. In 2016, while 57 percent of China's energy requirements were met by the members of Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), the rest were met by non-OPEC countries. Therefore, with increased energy supply from non-OPEC countries, the new pipelines being established in Central Asia and Russia acquire immense significance.

In accordance to the 2015 Vision document of OBOR, the two *Silk Routes* via land and sea would "aim to connect the vibrant East Asia economic circle at one end and developed European economic circle at the other" in the hope that the new markets will allow "Chinese companies to keep expanding even while domestic demand slows" but it could be possible only by "reducing transportation costs and potentially lowering tariffs, paving the way for Chinese goods to make a more competitive entry into these foreign markets" (Aris 2016). Therefore, the primary motive behind this initiative is to reduce the cost of transporting goods as well as the travel time. And this can be achieved only by creating and enhancing the infrastructure along the modern-day Silk Road.

Since, China is currently in a transitional period from double-digit growth rates to stable growth, it is seeking new opportunities to integrate with the western powers and the 'global south'. By strengthening relations with other countries and creating a large economic market, China aims to develop infrastructure and connectivity all the way to Europe which would in turn promote inter-continental trade and industry, regional economic policy co-ordination, financial integration, eliminating trade barriers and promoting cultural ties leading to greater people-to-people exchanges. In March 2015, "Chinese president Xi Jinping stated that annual trade with the countries along the Belt and Road Initiative would surpass $2.5 trillion by 2025" (Djankov 2016). Thus, with the help of this project, China eyes to find new markets which could absorb its excess domestic production of low-value goods thereby keeping the economy stimulated.

The Chinese push for OBOR initiative became necessary considering the fact that property and investment boom had ended at home "leaving China with significant overcapacity in industry and construction, deflation and rising debt management problems" (Du 2016, 42) thereby helping them find markets outside the country. It is also assumed that the infrastructure developed by the Chinese companies in countries sharing OBOR routes would help their economies grow and ultimately boost the demand for China's goods and services. Therefore, China expects that its own companies would plan, construct, involve Chinese labor and purchase Chinese equipment only for the OBOR projects if it is being funded by the Chinese banks.

Before 1st October 2016, China used to be the largest investor in the United States' (US) treasury bonds but soon started to sell these when its currency – Renminbi (RMB) joined the Special Drawing Rights (SDR) basket of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). China realized that "holding on to these currency reserves is not of much strategic or economic benefit" (Aris 2016) and prefers more direct investment overseas to make the best use of its over $4 trillion foreign reserves. The inclusion of RMB in the SDR basket ensured that RMB can be freely used for global trade. Its internationalization helped in decreasing the cost of trading, makes trade settlement convenient and avoids the risk of using a third party currency in bilateral trade. Thus, OBOR and the international stature of China's currency complement each other.

Connectivity of the OBOR Initiative

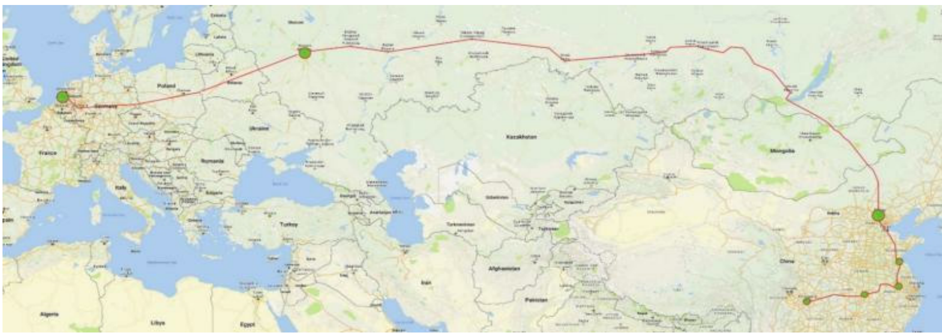
The OBOR initiative consists of two main components; the land-based 'Silk Road Economic Belt' that follows the ancient Silk Road and the sea-route based '21st century Maritime Silk Road' that links China to Southeast Asia and east Africa by sea. The two-pronged initiative would integrate Asia with Europe and Africa whereby 'trade-boosting infrastructure projects' would be established along the two routes.

Silk Road Economic Belt

According to the OBOR vision document, 'six international economic corridors' were to be created with an "estimated total investment of $890 billion or more for the One Belt (Silk Road Economic Belt)" (Ayoma 2016,6). The new land-based Silk Roads can take "advantage of already existing international transport routes, relying on core cities along the countries traversed and using key economic industrial parks as well as newly-developed free trade zones as cooperation platforms" (Casarini 2016, 97). The six planned economic corridors are:

New Eurasia Land Bridge (NELB) Economic Corridor

NELB is an international passageway of rail corridors covering approximately 12,000 km connecting Yiwu in eastern China to West European countries while crossing over 30 countries. It links Pacific to Atlantic Ocean. China has already started construction of several new international rail routes offering rail-to-rail freight transfer, and a "one declaration, one inspection, one cargo release" system for cargo moving across borders.



Source: Luft (2016).

China-Mongolia-Russia Economic Corridor (CMREC)

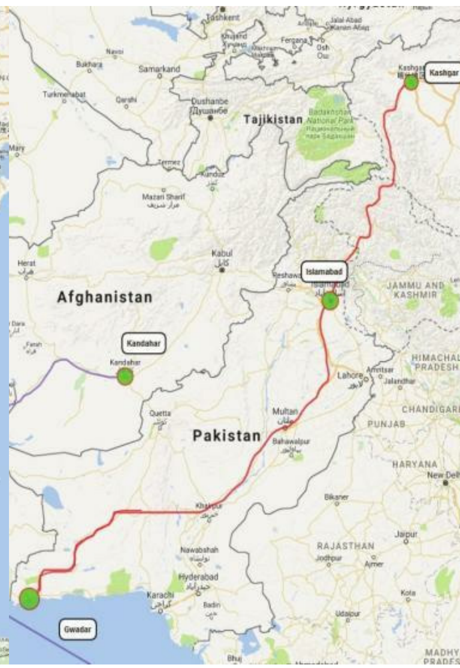
Source: Luft (2016).

CMREC comprises of two traffic arteries. One extends from China's Beijing via Ulaanbaatar (Mongolia) to Russia; and the other extends from China's Dalian to Russia's Chita, both connecting the Russian Trans-Siberian Railway originating at Novosibirsk and ending at Vladivostok. As transportation is the main priority of CMREC, it involves the road and rail connectivity of China, Mongolia and Russia. It also concentrates upon the advance customs clearance and other transport facilitation along with industrial capacity and investment; trade; cultural and people-to-people exchanges. China has shown considerable interest in south Mongolia's Tavan Tolgoi coal mines and Russia's natural gas. Since, China's needs a stable supply of these crucial resources, the two routes under CMREC can prove to be important.

China-Indochina Peninsula Economic Corridor (CICPEC)

CICPEC

CPEC



Source: Luft (2016).

CICPEC aims to link and deepen the relations of China with the six continental Southeast Asian nations namely Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam and Malaysia by means of developing an extensive transportation network and several industrial co-operation projects. ASEAN countries have been the key trading partners of China even before the China-ASEAN Free Trade Area (CSFTA) came into existence in 2010 but CICPEC is considered to be a game-changer for the economic development of the region.

China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)

CPEC is a flagship project under OBOR initiative covering 3,000 km from Kashgar, Xinjiang province of northern China to Gwadar Port of Pakistan connecting *Silk Road Economic Belt* in the north and the *21st Century Maritime Silk Road* in the south. It is a trade network of highways, railways, oil and natural gas pipelines and optical fibers.

China-Central Asia-West Asia Economic Corridor (CCWAEC)

Source: Luft (2016).

CCWAEC links China and the Arabian Peninsula through the ancient silk route. It originates in the Urumqi city of Xinjiang province and navigates through Central Asia before reaching the Persian Gulf, Mediterranean Sea and the Arabian Peninsula. It connects 5 Central Asian and 17 West Asian countries. A rail connection between China and Afghanistan was inaugurated in September 2016. CCWAEC includes regions that are rich in oil and various mineral resources thereby serving as an important energy source for China.

China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)

Referred as an 'international gateway to South Asia', BCIMEC will essentially be an expressway and high-speed rail link between the Kunming (China) and Kolkata (India) via Mandalay (Myanmar) and Dhaka (Bangladesh). The four countries had agreed to connect their cities by roadways, waterways and by air along with the power transmissions and oil pipelines. Apart from the gigantic markets of India, BCIMEC aims to provide China, an outlet to the Bay of Bengal – an additional way to circumvent the Strait of Malacca. Importantly, China has huge stakes in this corridor due to the availability of energy resources in Myanmar and Bangladesh but challenges have emerged to this corridor due to India's stand on OBOR.

Source: Luft (2016).

21st century Maritime Silk Road

The *21st century Maritime Silk Road* is one of the very essential components of OBOR initiative. Through the sea route, China aims to connect the littoral provinces with the "South China Sea and the Indian Ocean, and from there to Eastern Africa via the Horn of Africa and the Mediterranean to European ports by means of a network of port infrastructure, including deep sea ports, industrial zones, oil and gas storage facilities and railway connectors from where cargo can be shipped inland" (Luft 2016).

Funding for the OBOR Initiative

The three biggest Chinese state-owned banks namely; Industrial and Commercial Bank of China (ICBC), Bank of China (BOC), and China Construction Bank (CCB) are the primary source of funding for the overseas projects under OBOR initiative. China plans to "invest almost $1 trillion in infrastructure" with "$900 billion projects already underway" but Fitch ratings have warned that these "investments have been driven more by China's desire to exert global influence than focusing on real demand for infrastructure" (Weinland 2017).

These banks have provided "$225.4 billion in credits by the end of 2016" for over 800 projects while the two policy banks, "China Development Bank (CDB) and the Export-Import Bank of China have extended $200 billion in loans" (Qinqin and Jia 2017) along with China Agricultural Development Bank (CADB) under this initiative. However, slowdown of the Chinese economy and the limits on the use of foreign reserves are some of the impediments considering the dwindling balance sheets of the Chinese banks in lieu of bad loans provided for some problematic projects.

The New Silk Road Fund (NSRF) has been established by China in December 2014 with the primary investment of $40 billion pledged by the State Administration of Foreign Exchange, China Investment Corporation, Export-Import Bank of China and China Development Bank to provide exclusive funding for the projects under OBOR initiative. In May 2017, China pledged another $124 billion in the NSRF to finance projects under OBOR initiative in order to make it look like a 'win-win' business partnership with the participating countries.

Since the projects of such a grand scale cannot be fully funded by Chinese banks itself, China took steps to establish the Asian Infrastructural Investment Bank (AIIB) in January 2016 with an authorized capital for $100 billion. AIIB has been largely funded by China to create an "alternative but complementary Multilateral Development Bank (MDB) to the World Bank, specifically for funding infrastructural projects in Asia" (Aris 2016). According to the Asian Development Bank (ADB), Asia needs $8 trillion by 2020 to sustain the regional infrastructure but the World Bank (WB) and ADB "normally provide $20 billion" considering their limited capital of "$223 billion" and "$160 billion" respectively (Wang 2018, 253). In this regard, AIIB can become a vital cog and play a complementary role to the WB and the ADB.

New Development Bank (NDB) is not directly linked to OBOR initiative and was established as a multilateral development bank by the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) countries at Shanghai. NDB was established with an initial authorized capital of $100 billion to fund infrastructure projects in developing countries whereby all the five member states would have equal votes on board unlike the WB where votes are assigned on the basis of capital share.

It is important to note that the new multilateral institutions like AIIB and NDB do not have the financial strength to fund all the projects under OBOR initiative but do have the potential for 'fund raising' through "organizing bond issues, loan syndication, IPOs, setting up public-private-partnerships, creating special purpose vehicles and other means for funding the projects" (Enright, Scott & Associates 2016).

OBOR and its Strategic Implications for India

The two Asian powers, India and China share a complicated relationship. Due to their strong economy and constant increase in hard power capabilities, both countries not only aspire to continue their domination in their respective spheres of influence but also compete for untapped resources and markets. With the launch of OBOR initiative, both the countries are trying to challenge each-other's domination and simultaneously co-operate on several issues at global forum.

The competition between the two Asian powers in the changing geo-political realities has led to investment in the regional infrastructure networks. However, regional tensions between the two neighbors has escalated due to the "theory of strategic encirclement" coming into force. India fears encirclement by China while Pakistan fears encirclement by India and in the meanwhile, China fears encirclement by the United States due to its close relationship with India, Japan, and South Korea in addition to the US troops stationed in Afghanistan. These fears have "spurred greater infrastructure growth in all surrounding countries, as the potentially encircled look to set up alternate transit routes and project military power outside their own borders" (Daniels 2013, 94).

Due to the growing mistrust ever since 1962 Chinese attack; unresolved boundary dispute; China's occupation of Aksai Chin and further claim on Arunachal Pradesh has left India worried about the Chinese investments and military cooperation with other South Asian countries especially in her backyard. India is of the opinion that the building and operation of ports in Bangladesh, Myanmar, Sri Lanka and Pakistan by China is in accordance to the theory of String of Pearls whereby India is encircled by these Chinese built ports in the Indian Ocean that can be used for both commercial and military purposes.

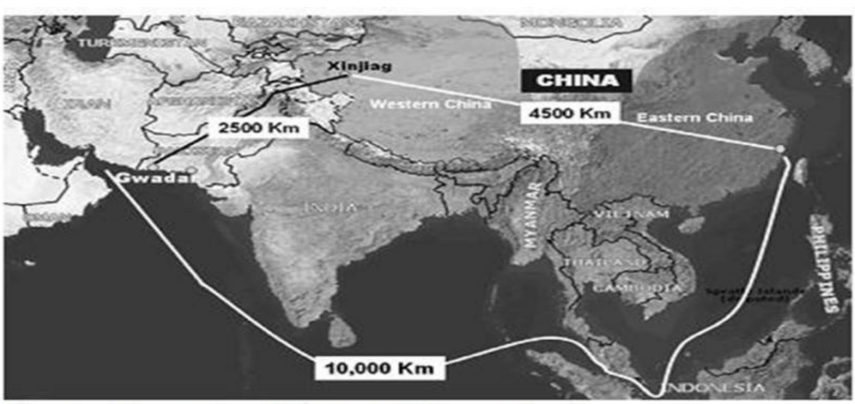
Furthermore, China's plans to change the course of several rivers in Tibet and build dams on river Brahmaputra; its recurrent opposition to India's membership in Nuclear Supplier's Group (NSG); frequent use of 'technical hold' to save Jaish-e-Mohammad chief, Masood Azhar from being declared a global terrorist by the United Nations (UN) and maintaining naval presence in the Indian Ocean has led to trust deficit. Along with these, China's 'all weather friendship' with Pakistan and the projects undertaken in Pakistan occupied Kashmir (PoK) under the OBOR initiative has resulted into the uneasiness for India.

On the other side, India's shelter to Dalai Lama, has been a major cause of irritation for China's troubled relationship with India. Importantly, India's growing strategic military engagement with Vietnam, Mongolia, Japan and the US has added to the tensions between the two. Therefore, India and China to overcome their fears of encirclement are using their 'soft-power' to attract partners from each other's sphere of influence and enhance their ties through 'infrastructure diplomacy' thereby generating strategic goodwill. However, the recent 73-day military stand-off between the two countries at Doklam, a disputed territory between China and Bhutan near India's 'Chicken Neck' has led to the lowest ebb of bi-lateral relations since 1962.

As far as OBOR is concerned, Tingyi Wang of Tsinghua University, Beijing exclaims that "OBOR is prompted by China's interests in energy, security and promotion of economic ties" but it is actually "driven by the vision of a greater Eurasian idea that calls for strengthening economic and cultural integration" and building of a "new type of international relations underpinned by win-win cooperation" (Ahmad 2016).

However, the former Indian Foreign Secretary, Shyam Saran is of the opinion that OBOR is a "twin dimensional initiative to secure its geostrategic realm, which has both a continental and a maritime dimension" and is "not just as economic initiative" but has "obvious political and security implications" (Saran 2015). The US Secretary of State, Rex Tillerson, also exclaimed, "Beijing encourages dependency using opaque contracts, predatory loan practices, and corrupt deals that mire nations in debt and undercut their sovereignty, denying them their long-term, self-sustaining growth" (Fernholz 2018).

CPEC and India's Apprehensions



Shortest Route from Western China to Gwadar

Source: Sudhan (2014).

China considers CPEC to be a 'crown jewel' of OBOR project set to be completed by 2030 with an investment of $46 billion. It includes a complex network comprising of Gwadar port, multiple Economic Zones, railways, highways, airports, fiber optics and energy pipelines. China seeks to develop CPEC as an alternative and stable route to Malacca straits for importing its energy resources from Middle East. Therefore, CPEC will act as a 'trade-bridge' between Asia, Africa and Europe. It is considered to be a very crucial link for OBOR as it links two projects – a land route in Eurasia and a sea route in South East Asia thereby connecting over 60 countries. CPEC would drastically reduce the distance to Xingjiang as it would take "just 6 days for the energy supplies to reach Chinese border through a pipeline as compared to 32 days via the current marine route and 19 days via proposed BCIMEC" (Rahman and Shurong 2017, 3).

China attaches immense importance to CPEC in view of any future blockade of the Malacca strait by the US or India in case of a military confrontation with the rise in hostility with its neighbors in the South China Sea. India at present definitely holds advantage over China in the Indian Ocean as China faces 'Malacca Predicament'. Therefore, China through CPEC seeks to acquire strategic advantage of the self-constructed Gwadar port located near the Persian Gulf through which almost 40 percent of world's oil passes through.

Since, China considers Pakistan to be an 'all-weather friend' and at times has colluded with it to contain India in the region. China through CPEC wants to have an unhindered access to the Indian Ocean by way of having a strategic footing in the Arabian Sea. China officially taking control of the strategically important Gwadar port under this project in 2015 has alarmed the Indian establishment who are of the opinion that "Gwadar could be converted into a dual-use port facility by China" (Panda 2015). India's apprehensions are founded on PLA's "strategic plans to enhance control over Pacific and the Indian Ocean in accordance with the 'high-sea defence' policy by pursuing its 'string of pearl strategy'" (Malik 2012, 62). China could encircle India by having access to ports of neighboring countries like Gwadar in Pakistan, Hambantota in Sri Lanka, Kyaukpyu in Myanmar and Chittagong in Bangladesh for both trade and military purposes. The recent Chinese acquisition of a military base in Djibouti along with the "terraforming of a number of rocks, reefs and atolls in the South China Sea into military bases, replete with radar and runways" (Garlick 2017, 144) does signify the Chinese geo-political ambitions.

India's involvement in the Persian Gulf and Gulf of Aden have always been "an eye sour for the Chinese", as a result, Zhao Nanqi, the director of the General Staff Logistics Department of the Chinese Navy had once stated "We can no longer accept the Indian Ocean as only an ocean of the Indians" (Malik 2012). The Chinese desire to contain India has been motivated by the fact that "US is courting India with the declared purpose of assigning the lead role in the Indian Ocean, which is unacceptable to both China and Pakistan" thereby forcing the two to "strengthen their alliance further" and "scuttle the Indo-US ambition of dominating the Indian Ocean" through their "strategic naval partnership centered on Gwadar" (Butt and Butt 2015, 30). In this regard a naval base at Gwadar just a few hundred km away from western India has provided a huge strategic leverage to China.

India's response to OBOR initiative has varied from a cautious welcome to an opposition. India welcomed BCIM Forum since its inception as it was considered as a 'zone' to promote connectivity through infrastructure development, trade and investments. But the transformation of BCIM Forum to BCIMEC under OBOR has delayed the progress of BCIM. India at times has differed with China on the agendas and purposes of BCIMEC. India considers BCIMEC to be a mechanism to expedite Chinese imports of natural resources and exports of processed goods in the region thereby further escalating the trade deficit. India also brought up the issue of "focusing on sub-regional development" considering the "development deficit of the northeastern region and particularly of the securitized border districts" along with an "emphasis on acknowledging Bangladesh and Myanmar as the least developed countries within the grouping" (Iyer 2017).

Moreover, India's opposition to CPEC has been based on the principle of violation of India's sovereignty as CPEC passes through the Gilgit-Baltistan region which falls under the illegal occupation of Pakistan. In reference to the CPEC, the Indian Spokesperson of Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) stated, "connectivity projects must be pursued in a manner that respects sovereignty and territorial integrity" (Taneja 2017). India bluntly conveyed China about its inability to compromise on the issue of sovereignty. The Indian Prime Minister (PM), Narendra Modi too implicitly criticized CPEC by averring "connectivity in itself cannot override or undermine the sovereignty of other nations" and "only by respecting the sovereignty of countries involved can regional connectivity corridors fulfill their promise and avoid differences and discord" (Mitra 2017). He vociferously spoke against it and dubbed it as unacceptable during his state visit to China in 2015.

Moreover, India did not display any interest in OBOR due to the lack of consultation and details offered by China prior to its launch. For instance, India had no problems in "joining the China-initiated Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank because there were extensive consultations between China and India prior to its establishment" (Taneja 2017). While raising objection to CPEC, India has termed the OBOR initiative as a "'unilateral' or a 'national' initiative of China, with a limited role of other participating countries in shaping the priorities of the connectivity projects" (Mitra 2017). The Indian Foreign Secretary, S Jaishankar in 2015 remarked, "The Chinese devised it, created a blueprint. It wasn't an international initiative they discussed with the world, with countries that are interested or affected by it....A national initiative is devised with national interests, it is not incumbent on others to buy it. Where we stand is that if this is something on which they want a larger buy-in, then they need to have larger discussions, and those haven't happened" (Pant and Passi 2017, 88).

In 2016, S Jaishankar, alluded to a "widespread perception in official circles in India that the BRI initiative is nothing but an attempt by China to unsettle the established regional order and replace it with a China-centric system that would marginalise other major Asian powers such as India and Japan" (Taneja 2017). In this background, India refused to participate in the OBOR Summit held at Beijing on 15th May 2017 citing three concerns namely issues related to 'sovereignty, procedures and leadership', the very same reasons that China has made to challenge the world.

Furthermore, India relies on the report of 'Center for Global Development' that considers OBOR to be a tool of *debt-trap diplomacy*. According to it, the strategy of China is to simply "provide loans on high interest to "smaller, lesser developed countries" for "infrastructural projects, acquires equity into projects, and when the country is unable to repay the loan, it gets ownership of the project and the land" (The Economic Times 2017). Thereafter, the land can be put to strategic use against India.

India also considers OBOR, especially CPEC to be a security and strategic threat and is of the assumption that if the *Maritime Silk Road* gets successfully implemented, then it would lead directly to India's backyard and China would "attempt to transform the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) into a Chinese controlled lake full of threatening-looking bases" (Garlick 2017). Therefore, in accordance to the theory of 'Realism', where power struggles are inevitable in the absence of any world government forcing individual states to resort to self-help strategies in the anarchic international arena; Chinese expansion into the IOR hardly leaves any option for India but to prioritize its security by any means.

India is wary of nefarious intentions of China's military, economic and diplomatic efforts to contain India within South Asia. In this context, CPEC along with Gwadar port offers China a very conducive environment to have a firm and long-term presence in the IOR. The stopover of Chinese warships and submarines at this port for a brief period left India in a tizzy. Importantly, China's efforts to expand her political clout in the Indian sub-continent with the help of CPEC has complicated the Indian efforts to internationalize the issue of Pakistan-sponsored terrorism. There is no denying the fact that India's relationship with China is largely constrained by the security dilemma.

India's Strategic Response

Though, India has been a late starter but it appears that the Indian government has taken cue from C Raja Mohan's *India's Grand Strategy* whereby the whole world is divided into three concentric geographic circles. The innermost circle consists of India and its 'immediate neighborhood' reflecting India's sphere of influence in which foreign powers' interference is absolutely non-desirable. The second circle is prominently known as the 'extended neighborhood' primarily comprising of rest of the Asian countries and the littoral states of Indian Ocean. In this circle, India's strategic interests is to counter the influence of other powers' from damaging its interests. The third circle comprises of 'rest of the world'. In this regard, with the rise in India's power status and the foreign policy undergoing a gradual change it is important to evaluate India's initiatives and relations with friendly countries to counter the OBOR initiative. India's resurgent foreign policy is inter-twined with 'economic diplomacy' and 'connective diplomacy'. In order to counter the massive in-roads made by China in India's immediate neighborhood through its 'aid to trade policy', India is engaging her neighbors with a new *Neighbourhood First Policy*.

Nepal

India shares a rich socio-cultural history with the *Madhesis* of *terai* region of Nepal whereby the long, open and porous borders not only provides unrestricted rights of trade, transit and movement to the Nepalese citizens but also the 'national' treatment under the '1950 Treaty of Peace and Friendship'. Being wary of Chinese dominant position and the political uncertainty in Nepal, "Indian establishment has always viewed Nepal as being within India's larger security envelope in relation to China" with some even considering "Nepal as not landlocked but 'India-landlocked'" (Ojha 2015). India has also never shied away from ensuring "Kathmandu to conduct a foreign policy that is largely pro-India"; and never hid the fact that "it wants to control the breadth and depth of Sino-Nepal relations" (Dabhade and Pant 2004, 165).

Nepal since mid-1990s has witnessed phases of monarchy, Maoism, republicanism, constitutionalism and democracy. Subsequently, relations between India and Nepal have deteriorated "over the last two decades due to misinformation, miscommunication and the conflicting political interests of different political parties in Nepal" (Sahu 2015). Taking advantage of this downfall between the two nations, China has stepped up its ante in the region to alter the *balance of power*. China considers Nepal "to be a vital part of an inner security ring that cannot be allowed to be breached by any global or regional power" (Dabhade and Pant 2004, 159). Therefore, to win over Nepal, China has made massive investments in mega projects. Infrastructure funding with cultural connotations has been part of China's foreign policy in Nepal. Under this plan, China has funded several hydropower projects and invested $3 billion to convert Lumbini, the birthplace of Lord Buddha, into a 'cultural zone'. In return, Nepal agreed to join OBOR initiative as it has been touted as a 'transit bridge' by China to reach South Asia. These investments have no doubt helped China to reduce Nepal's dependence on India.

China has historically supported Nepal in its disputes with India and with the help of its propaganda machine fueled anti-India sentiments. It is also important to note that in spite of India's stiff resistance, China has successfully managed to enhance its intelligence and military ties with Nepal thereby increasing India's anxieties. No wonder, China's economic might has helped her in achieving its objective of making "South Asia as a potential market for its cheap goods and to use some of the South Asian states as pivots to help establish a regional balance of power" (Sahu 2015). As far as India's track record is concerned vis-a-vis China, India has hardly delivered on its past promises made to Nepal. Many important multipurpose projects are stalled since decades. Failure to deliver on such crucial mega-projects, the Indian government have shaped the Nepalese perception that 'India promises and China delivers'.

The MoU signed between China and Nepal on OBOR seeks to "strengthen cooperation in connectivity sectors including transit transport, logistic systems, transport network and related infrastructure development" (Giri and Patranobis 2017). The opening of the four double lanes of 40.4 km strategic highway from Tibet to the Nepal border in September 2017 has left India worried as it can be used for "civilian and defence purposes, a move that Chinese experts say will enable Beijing to make forays into South Asia" (NDTV 2017).

It cannot be denied that Nepal has been pushed towards China by India due to her flawed decision-making. In retaliation to the alleged economic blockade of 2015 by the Indian-origin Madhesi protesters against the newly framed Nepal's constitution, Nepal signed agreements with China to import petroleum products and access to Chinese ports in an attempt to bypass India and break its monopoly over Nepal's fuel supplies. China seized this opportunity while harping on the reputation of non-interference in the domestic affairs and convinced Nepal to join the OBOR initiative and reap the fruits of development. No wonder, India's mis-steps and neglect have exacerbated its Nepal problem. Considering the ability of Nepal to play China-card very well, India offered to extend its natural gas pipeline in addition to fuel supply every month by road.

In order to maintain the influence in Nepal – a natural buffer between the two Asian powers, China stealthily stitched together *the Left Alliance* comprising of former Maoist rebels and moderate Communists before the 2017 general elections. The outcome of the polls certainly reflected the 'failure of Indian diplomacy' as KP Oli, set to be the next PM shared frosty relations with India in the past and his pro-China tilt underlined the erosion of India's influence in the country.

Bhutan

Bhutan has at times been referred as India's 'protectorate' considering the fact that it is the only immediate neighbor of China not to maintain any diplomatic ties with her. The failure to have full scale ties with Bhutan has not only become an issue of prestige for China but also its agenda of encirclement of India cannot be complete without it. In this background, the stand-off between the Indian Army and Chinese PLA for 73 days on the Bhutan's Doklam Plateau can be considered to be an attempt by China to bring Bhutan to a negotiating table by evoking fear and establishing the missing diplomatic relationship. According to Professor Phunchok Stobdan, "It is not just the Doklam border issue. The entire thing is about focusing on Bhutan... to change the status quo or create a rift between India and Bhutan... that is the real game" (Ganapathy 2017).

Bhutan, considered to be the closest ally of India has proven its faithfulness by not joining the OBOR initiative in contrast to all other South Asian nations. Nevertheless, it does not mean that Bhutan has no place for cheap Chinese products, it is freely available all over the country. In spite of the known limitations, China is trying to woo Bhutan through its *soft power*. Soon, it would "start financing non-government organizations and other influencers inside Bhutan as it has done in the case of Nepal in the early years" (Dasgupta 2017). A section of the Bhutanese society wants to maintain relations with China but majority of the populace is still wary of external influences on local culture by recalling the horror committed by China in Tibet after 1949.

However, India's intimate relationship with Bhutan is based on the '1949 Treaty of Friendship' through which India maintains its influence over Bhutan's foreign policy, defense and commerce. But Bhutan has communicated its fears about burgeoning trade imbalance and setbacks in the hydropower projects promised by India because "selling hydropower to India and contributing in its economic growth has long been held as the one main salvation to Bhutan's economic woes" (Lamsang 2017).

In accordance to the 2006 India-Bhutan agreement on hydropower development and additional protocol of 2009, India agreed to install 10,000 MW of hydro capacity in Bhutan by 2020 and purchase all the surplus power. But in a major setback to Bhutan, Modi government's refusal to back the '10,000 MW by 2020' can have major implications on India's relationship with the most trustworthy partner.

Bangladesh

Even though India played a crucial role in the liberation war of Bangladesh and share a healthy relationship with the current government, Bangladesh enjoys a much vibrant relationship with China vis-a-vis India. China's massive aid for Bangladesh's military modernization, her successful mediation between Bangladesh and Myanmar on the issue of oil exploration in the disputed waters of Bay of Bengal, infrastructure and port development have contributed in the efficacy of OBOR.

In this context, the development of Chittagong port by China is of immense significance. Apart from it, China was expecting to design, build and operate the first deep seaport of Bangladesh – Sonadia. However, it has been widely speculated that the trio of India, Japan and US have pressured the Bangladeshi government to scarp the Sonadia project in favor of Matarbari seaport (just 25 km north of Sonadia). For the swapping of this project, Bangladesh was offered a lucrative deal by Japan of four coal-fired power plants and an LNG terminal whereby 80 percent of the funding for the project was to be met by Japan on easy terms.

China's growing presence in the Indian Ocean has "caused diplomatic annoyance, as well as fear of hegemony on the maritime shipping routes" while India feared that Sonadia port project was "China's plan to come to close proximity to India by increasing its presence in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the Indian Ocean" (The Asian Age 2016) under the *string of pearls* strategy. Bangladesh was unable to resist the pressure as "India had stood behind the AL (Awami League) government in 2014 on the issue of the 'questionable general elections'" while "the US played a major role in bringing back Sheikh Hasina to power" and "she has a big stake in the US" considering US being the "Bangladesh's largest market for readymade garments, its largest earner of foreign exchange" (Ramachandran 2016).

It is important to note that Bangladesh has become the second largest importer of arms from China after Pakistan. In contrast, India has constantly avoided the engagement of high-level defense ties with Bangladesh. Nevertheless, India has extended a fresh Line of Credit (LoC) in 2017 to the tune of $4.5 billion in addition to the two made earlier excluding $500 million for Defense purchases.

As far as co-operation in the energy sector is concerned, India's NTPC entered into agreement to supply electricity from Nepal and Tripura while Adani and Reliance Power sought to establish power plants in Bangladesh. Moreover, ONGC obtained the rights for gas exploration in two blocks of Bay of Bengal. India also announced to bear the cost of laying 131 km Indo-Bangla Friendship pipeline for the sale-purchase of high speed diesel. Meanwhile, China lost the Khulna power project to India. The Indian government has shown its readiness for debt financing of Indian projects in Bangladesh.

Myanmar

China's investments in Myanmar grew dramatically since 2005 on account of: becoming world's largest consumer of imported resources; lack of competitors for Myanmar's rich natural resources due to economic sanctions and; Myanmar's strategic location. The investments have been mainly concentrated in the sectors of hydropower, mining, oil and gas, and infrastructure development. China began the construction of Myitsone Hydroelectric Project (HEP) in 2009 but was soon suspended by the military government in 2011 on account of domestic and international opposition on the issue of environmental impact and forced resettlements.

China negotiated to get the preferential access to Kyaukpyu deep seaport being built by the Chinese consortium due to its geo-political significance in exchange of the scrapped Myitsone HEP. The Sino-Myanmar pipeline which went into operation in April 2017 links Kyaukpyu seaport and Kunming in Yunnan province bypassing Malacca Strait from where China's 80 percent of oil passes through. It not only saves about "5,000 km in sailing distance for shipments travelling to China from India and points beyond" but the Kyaukpyu seaport is part of the string of pearls strategy which would "help China's ultimate goal of naval expansion in the region" (Wong 2017). Therefore, China has been on the driving seat with regard to investments made against Myitsone HEP and has taken complete advantage of the situation for its strategic benefit from the strategically located Myanmar in Bay of Bengal.

The bi-lateral relations between India and Myanmar has largely remained under-developed in spite of sharing common colonial legacy under the British administration and 1,643 km long land boundary. The economic relationship between the two countries have suffered on account of "logistical challenges", "lack of clear and consistent policy on both sides of the border" and "high tariffs" imposed by India making it "an unattractive market for Myanmar exporters" (Zaw-Aung 2016). However, with the change in government, the Indian establishment has enhanced its engagement with a view to make up for the time lost due to its policy of engaging a civilian government only.

The economic engagement between the two countries is expected to rise with the completion of Kaladan Multi-modal Transit Transport Project comprising of sea-route between Kolkata and Sittwe. Though, this project was mooted in 2003 and the effective work started in 2010, it got delayed due to inadequate fund allocation and planning failure, with a revised target to complete the project by 2019. Importantly, the construction of deep water port at Sittwe by India can be considered to be a response to counter-balance the 'China-Pakistan axis'.

However, India's failure to progress on the two HEPs agreed upon in 2004 on river Chindwin and Shwezaye was scrapped by Myanmar in 2013 after getting delayed by several years. The talks on 1,575 km Myanmar-Bangladesh-India gas pipeline did not bear fruits following Bangladesh's refusal to allow India to transport gas from her territory. The 'India-Myanmar Friendship Road' officially inaugurated in 2001 also lost its track. The Indian government after 15 long years proposed it as 1,360 km 'India–Myanmar–Thailand (IMT) Trilateral Highway' with the new deadline for its completion being 2020. It has been planned to extend it further to Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam in the form of East-West Economic Corridor (EWEC) to boost trade and commerce in the India-ASEAN Free Trade Area.

The lifting of US sanctions from Myanmar in 2016, provided a golden opportunity to India to engage her in a more vigorous manner and turn the land-locked North-eastern Indian states into 'Gateway to Southeast Asia'. The development of infrastructure in the region could have tremendously improved the connectivity and promoted trade and commerce. However, India's investments as well as the infrastructure projects are plagued by delays due to "lack of coordination among different implementing agencies, poor monitoring, and financial constraints" (Ramachandran, 2016) ultimately adversely affecting India's credibility amongst the neighbors.

Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka nurtured a close relationship with China during the decade long presidency of Mahinda Rajapaksa as India buckled under domestic pressure of coalition politics and failed to meet his expectations at the peak of ongoing and brutal conflict with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE). China encroached upon India's sphere of influence with the "diplomatic backing at a time when the West was threatening to sanction Colombo for crimes committed in its conflict with Tamil separatists" (Chazan 2017).

India's fiasco under the Congress government in handling its foreign policy with Sri Lanka provided a window of opportunity to the Chinese who gladly stepped in to fill the void. On one side China was providing fighter jets, anti-aircraft guns and radars to Sri Lanka and on the other side supported the Rajapaksa government at the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). In contrast, India's inconsistent policy of once supporting Sri Lanka's military offensive against LTTE by supplying five Mi-17 helicopters and then voting for the US sponsored resolution against her at the UN Human Rights Council in 2013 perplexed the tiny neighbor.

China offered its military and diplomatic support to Sri Lanka under Rajapaksa as it formed a "key component of China's 'One Belt, One Road' strategy of integrating the regional economy through infrastructure development" considering the fact that both Hambantota and Colombo port terminal built by China "sits bang in middle of the principal east-west sea lines of communication connecting China to the main oil exporters in the Middle East and Africa" (Chowdhury 2016). It is important to note that Sri Lanka's infrastructure development projects formed part of the Chinese *String of Pearls* strategy which aimed at establishing a "naval presence across South Asia by building ports and other facilities in friendly countries – including Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Myanmar" (Chazan 2017).

India's apprehension regarding theory of *String of Pearls* indeed came into play with the docking of Chinese sub-marines at the Colombo harbor in September 2014 after which the Indian PM, Narendra Modi personally reminded Rajapaksa about the "1987 Accord" between the two nations which provides that "their territories not be used for activities deemed prejudicial to each other's unity, integrity and security" (NDTV 2017 a). Moreover, Sri Lanka "was obliged to inform its neighbors about such port calls under a maritime pact" but "the same submarine resurfaced in Colombo in November, again without prior notice to Delhi" (Smith 2016). This proved to be the "final straw in India's relations with Rajapaksa" as India "worked behind the scenes to unite a fractured opposition and pave the way for the unity government of President

Maithripala Sirisena and Prime Minister Wickremesinghe" (Chowdhury 2016).

President Sirisena at the helm of power soon realized that Sri Lanka had little room to maneuver as more than third of government's revenue went towards servicing Chinese infrastructure development loans of over "$64 billion or 76 percent of GDP" (Chazan 2017) at the commercial interest rates. Sri Lanka comprehended the "Chinese modus operandi" as it was evident that "China undertook financially unviable projects in President Rajapakse's constituency and pushed Sri Lanka into a debt trap. Sri Lanka was compelled to hand over both the port and the neighbouring industrial area to China in a debt/equity swap" (Parthasarathy 2017). For this land grab exercise, China readily provided soft loans of $2 billion to build a deep sea port and a cricket stadium at Hambantota along with the second international airport nearby in the midst of jungles.

India proposed to work with the current Sri Lankan government with an aim to check the geo-political ambitions of China in its own backyard. India intends to make investments in Sri Lanka's power plants, highways, railways and SEZ along with the energy infrastructure in Trincomalee port involving the development of 'World War II oil storage facility' and the 'South Asia's deepest natural harbor'. These initiatives are of strategic in nature and will help counter-balance the Chinese influence and will serve India's interests by securing a foothold back in the region.

The offer of Trincomalee port to India by Sri Lankan government was a move designed to counter-balance "India's fears that some of these Chinese projects could someday have military implications, Sri Lanka attests that they are not partial to any one country in particular when it comes to investment and are willing to do business with a wide array of potential suitors" (Shephard 2017). Even though, Sri Lanka attempts play a more 'balancing act' to keep China on board and strengthen relations with India as well, it may be difficult to "strike a balance between the competing interests of China and India, while fending off domestic concerns over economic colonization" (Chazan 2017). India have also agreed to convert the Sri Lankan roadways into highways and to improve the railways sector with track upgradation and new rolling stock apart from the construction of buildings and houses in the Civil War affected area.

The change of power dynamics in Sri Lanka in January 2015 at the behest of India has started to bear some fruitful results. Since, India could not be much of a help to Sri Lanka in escaping the 'gigantic debt trap', India has to simply accept the fact that Hambantota port will be operated by Chinese firms. Unlike Myanmar, Indian diplomacy got shot in the arm when the Sri Lankan ambassador to China, Ambassador Karunasena Kodituwakku remarked, "Sri Lanka has very categorically informed the (Chinese) investor that it will not be allowed to be used for any military purposes" (The Economic Times 2017 a). Sri Lanka also paying heed to Indian protests regarding the proposed sale of 20 hectares of land in Colombo Port City to a Chinese company, switched the deal to a 99-year lease despite the Chinese insisting that their interest was commercial rather than military. India achieved another success when its "intense diplomatic manoeuvres" thwarted Sri Lanka's attempts to "sign a deal to purchase up to 12 JF-17s co-developed by Pakistan and China" as India has also been trying to "sell its own Tejas to the strategically located Indian Ocean island nation" (Chowdhury 2016).

However, it must be acknowledged that India herself needs to be blamed for the increased Chinese presence in Sri Lanka. The Rajapaksa government was literally forced by India to adopt a pro-China stand. India's "unwillingness to invest in Sri Lanka apparently caused it to miss the chance to develop Hambantota" and the Chinese "stepped in and filled an infrastructural investment gap which India failed to fill after the conclusion of the Sri Lankan Civil War. India therefore has to learn to live with a new geostrategic reality, permitted by earlier Indian inactivity, in which China has a significant presence in the IOR" (Garlick 2017).

Nevertheless, India's re-oriented approach towards Sri Lanka has resulted into some grand results but at the same time India has to ensure that its projects do not get delayed and its goodwill is not lost due to its involvement in the domestic politics while ensuring Sri Lankan ports do not get used for military purposes by China.

Chabahar Port in Iran

The development of Gwadar port by China in Pakistan has added to India's perception of its encirclement thereby forcing her to build a rival port at Chabahar. Often mentioned as 'India's gateway to Central Asia', Chabahar is considered to be one of the "most strategic transit locations" and "'Golden Gate' to the landlocked Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) countries and Afghanistan" (Roy 2012). It not only helps India to assert its presence in the region but also compete for the region's resources and markets while hedging against 'containment strategies'. It allows India to have direct access to Afghanistan while completely by-passing Pakistan which has constantly refused to provide land route for Indian shipments to Afghanistan and vice versa.

Source: Sudhan (2014).

The strategic nature of Chabahar port can be highlighted by the fact that it is merely 72 km west of Chinese-funded Gwadar port in Pakistan. India aims to connect the Chabahar to the 218-km-long Zaranj-Delaram highway built by her in Afghanistan with an estimated cost of $100 million and further linking it to Afghanistan's main circular highway grid connecting to Central Asian countries. Linking the two in a 'International North-South Transportation Corridor (INSTC)' project has long been a priority for India and Iran as it will provide the transit of goods through and Caspian Sea to Caucasus, Central Asia, Russia and Northern Europe.

The rivalry between Chabahar and Gwadar mostly hinges on two factors. Firstly, "the probability of a Chinese and Indian military (especially navy) presence in these ports will increase Sino-Indian rivalry in the Indian Ocean" and secondly, "there is an expectation that Chabahar port will diminish the importance of Gwadar port as a transit hub and route for Central Asian republics and Afghanistan" (Khalil 2017). Nevertheless, it can wisely be anticipated that Pakistan may allow China with whom her friendship is 'stronger than steel' to use Gwadar for military purposes against India but Iran will not allow the same considering its own healthy relationship with China.

International North-South Transportation Corridor (INSTC)

As China moves ahead with its OBOR initiative, India plans to counter it through INSTC, which will be a "7,200 km multi-modal trade corridor" whereby goods would travel by sea from the western ports of India to the port of Bandar Abbas in Iran, then move ahead by road and rail northwards through Baku to Moscow and St. Petersburg. The transportation of products between India and Russia takes a minimum of 45 days as it is required to pass through Arabian Sea, Suez Canal, Mediterranean Sea, North Sea and Baltic Sea whereas INSTC has the potential to cut the journey time between Mumbai and St. Petersburg to half. Out of the three dry runs to test the feasibility of INSTC, two in 2014 demonstrated that the new route was 30 percent cheaper and

40 percent shorter than the standard followed route. The INSTC will not only provide India a better access to the heart of Eurasia but will also provide an alternative to CPEC.

Source: (Shephard, 2017 a).

Vietnam

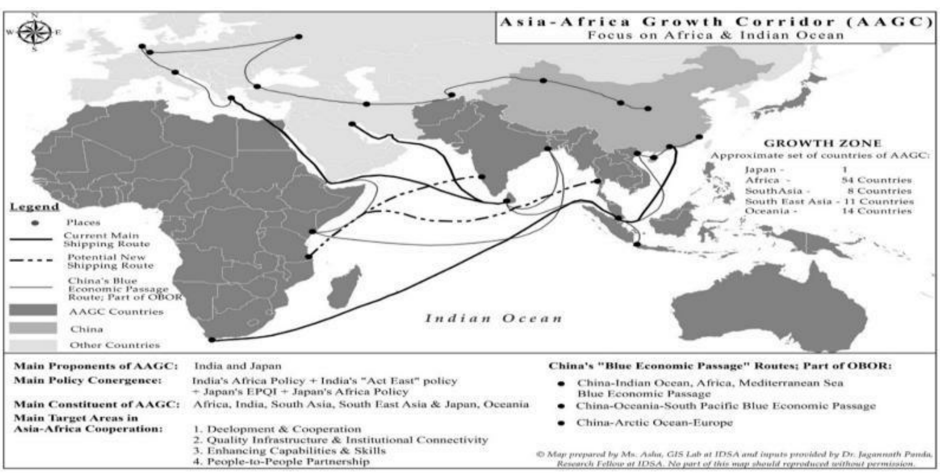
Vietnam lies in India's 'extended neighborhood' category and the relations between the two nations received fresh impetus in September 2016 when Indian PM, Narendra Modi visited Hanoi. In an attempt to further strengthen the ties, MEA Secretary (East), Preeti Saran observed, "Vietnam is India's important strategic partner and a central pillar of India's Act East Policy; and our priorities for cooperation range in a whole host of areas, including defence and security, trade and investment, maritime cooperation, energy resources, in integrating our self to the ASEAN community and for leveraging our interactions in the regional and international forums" (The Indian Express 2016).

Following his meeting with the Vietnamese counterpart, "Modi announced a new $500 million LoC for defence products" in addition to "$100 million LoC to Vietnam to purchase four offshore patrol vessels that are currently being built in Indian yards" (Joshi 2016). Modi and his Vietnamese counterpart signed various agreements in the fields of health, cyber security, ship building and naval information sharing. Interestingly, Vietnam has shown immense interest in acquiring Indian short range cruise missile 'Brahmos' while India agreeing to "set up a 'Satellite Tracking and Imaging Centre' in Southern Vietnam that will provide Hanoi access to pictures from Indian earth observation satellites that cover the region, including China and the South China Sea" which could "also be even used for military purposes" (Miglani and Torode 2016).

India's cooperation with Vietnam in the oil and natural gas exploration in the South China Sea has drawn China's ire whereby China declared it as 'illegal and invalid'. China also accused India of "aggressive moves" and mentioned that the efforts by Vietnam and Philippines to draw India and Japan respectively in the region "would have little impact since all of these states together can hardly match China in the regional strength and influence, let alone counterbalance and contain China" (Cheng 2011).

It is also important to note that Vietnam is one of the countries with which China has settled its land border dispute but Spartley and Parcel islands are hotly contested in the South China Sea. However, it is well-known that Vietnam by virtue of its location likes to "leverage its friendship with India to offset the rising power of its northern neighbor. But it is under no illusion that it can "take on" China; India is too weak to make up the power differential and its new friend, the United States, is too unreliable" (Joshi 2016). In this context, various reports emerged out stating China kept a close eye on Indian PM's visit to Vietnam as "Hanoi is also a party in the South China Sea dispute and has (also) staked a maritime and rich energy resource claim to use of its waters" (The Indian Express 2016).

Asia-Africa Growth Corridor (AAGC)



Source: Panda (2017).

The idea of Asia Africa Growth Corridor (AAGC) was crystallized during the Indian PM, Narendra Modi's visit to Tokyo in November 2016 and thereafter on 25th May 2017, the 'Vision Document' was launched during a meeting with ADB reflecting the growing value of Africa in both economic and strategic terms for India and Japan. AAGC is an India-Japan economic co-operation agreement aimed at the socio-economic development of Asia and Africa with an eye on counter-balancing China's OBOR and providing a benevolent alternative with Japan committing up to $200 million towards AGAC.

AGCC will primarily be a sea-corridor with an attempt to create a 'free and open Indo-Pacific region' by rediscovering ancient sea-routes and integrating Africa with India, South Asia, South East Asia, East Asia and Oceania by supplementing quality infrastructure. It will "enable Afro-Asian countries to industrialize and increase exports" while integrating "existing programmes of partner countries" by way of being "responsive to the needs of equitable and sustainable growth" in the development programmes based on "equal partnership, mutual trust and cooperation" (Chaturvedi 2017).

According to the vision document of AAGC, the focus will be upon: development and cooperation; 'quality infrastructure' and digital and institutional connectivity; enhancing capabilities and skills and; establishing people-to-people partnerships. The overriding goal is to enhance growth and interconnectedness between and within Asia and Africa.

The announcement of AAGC, that too just few days after India's refusal to participate in the OBOR summit drew many comparisons of AAGC with OBOR initiative. However, AAGC differs on many fronts: 1) it is a bi-lateral initiative of India and Japan unlike China's unilateral initiative; 2) AAGC adopts consultative approach in the decision making which has not been the case with China's OBOR initiative; 3) AAGC would be depending for funds on the governments, private and international organizations whereas funding of OBOR initiative is strictly met by the Chinese banks. Nevertheless, the success of AAGC will solely depend upon to what extent "India and Japan can push forward this idea ahead of China's BRI. India and Japan need to pursue structured and pointed cooperation both in the context of Africa and the Indian Ocean Region to make the intended objectives of AAGC a success" (Panda 2017).

Conclusion

Xi Jinping, by virtue of being the head of the ruling Communist Party of China is the President of People's Republic of China (PRC) and also as the Chairman of the Central Military Commission i.e. the head of the military. Being a staunch nationalist, Xi has "set China on an aggressive course of bullying its neighbors" while intensifying its territorial claims on the land as well as in the sea, encouraging Chinese military to "get ready to fight and to win wars and to win regional warfare under I.T.-oriented conditions" (Kuhn 2013). At the same time in order to ensure that China remains an economic powerhouse, Xi wants to integrate China's economy with the world through OBOR initiative. Remarkably, China has become more assertive in establishing relationships with India's neighbours thereby making unstable countries respond positively to the OBOR initiative.

India has serious reservations about the implications of OBOR initiative due to its strategic interests. India considers it to be 'China-centric' and a vehicle of China's influence in the region considering the projects to be too lucrative to refuse. However, the unilateral projects under OBOR initiative announced by China for the concerned countries will act as an 'economic trap' as it has been witnessed in Sri Lanka. India's disapproval of OBOR has been primarily related to CPEC passing through PoK which clearly highlights China's insensitivity to India's sovereignty and territorial claims. This will certainly affect the BCIMEC adversely considering India's discomfort to OBOR initiative. India considers OBOR initiative in geo-political and economic terms and therefore desired sufficient discussions and consultations beforehand but it was not the case. Likewise, India has been involved in two-way dialogue with member countries on the infrastructural projects under INSTC and AAGC.

However, India's track record in implementation of various infrastructural projects in the neighboring countries has been very poor due to lack of resources at its disposal. Therefore, India needs to first improve its internal resources and connectivity; assume greater responsibility in the emerging economic order and transfer benefits to other developing countries in the region. India has announced various connectivity projects in South Asia and beyond but from the strategic perspective the key project would be the development of Andaman and Nicobar Islands as a maritime hub in Bay of Bengal including a dry dock and ship building facility along with setting up of petroleum hub at the Sri Lankan port Trincomalee. After all, India promises to follow a policy of 'neighbours first'.

India's encirclement by China with an active assistance of Pakistan cannot be stopped but India as it has been observed is playing its cards well in international diplomacy. She has successfully protected its interests in Bhutan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka but has definitely lost out to China in Nepal. The worst military stand-off between India and China also came to an end at Doklam.

After refusal to join OBOR, India revealed her own plans to establish connectivity with Central Asia, West Asia, Africa and Europe through Chahbahar port, INSTC and AAGC. Moreover, the shelving of Sonadia port project by Bangladesh and tweaking the nature of usage of Hambantota port by Sri Lanka "serve as a reminder to Beijing that regional and global powers will oppose, perhaps even displace its OBOR-related infrastructure projects with projects of their own, should China's projects threaten its rivals' security and other interests" (Ramachandran 2016).

With regard to balance of power in background of India's encirclement by China, India has pursued to strengthen its strategic partnerships with Japan and the US. However, there cannot be any denying that Asian powers and the US have "different playbooks" whereby "the US wants a unipolar world but a multipolar Asia; China seeks a multipolar world but a unipolar Asia; and India and Japan desire a multipolar Asia and multipolar world" (Chellaney 2016).

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ABSTRACT
The OBOR initiative of China often termed as 'Modern-day Silk Road' is based on President Xi Jinping's epic vision to make 'China Great Again' by reviving the Silk Route of ancient times. This initiative aims to engage Eurasia economically by creating a network of infrastructure. In this regard, the article attempts to understand the geo-politics behind India's refusal to join OBOR and strategic response to counter the most appealing economic engagement of the present era but considered to be a debt-trap by India.

KEYWORDS
OBOR; China; India; Silk Road.

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THE STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF ANTARCTICA FOR CHINA AND INDIA UNDER MEARSHEIMER'S OFFENSIVE REALISM

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Introduction

This article aims to analyze the role of China and India in the Antarctic Treaty System (ATS). The growth of Chinese protagonism at the global level is certainly one of the great occurrences of the 21st century and susceptible of altering the equilibrium of the multipolar system. Considering this context, it is a matter of questioning the future that awaits the ATS concerning the strategic interests of these two emerging global powers. Will the process of international cooperation between ATS member countries remain stable or can it recede and lead to the end of the regime?

In the field of International Relations it is not possible to foresee the future of the international system, but the observation of certain variables allows us to conjecture about plausible scenarios. The article aims to investigate to what extent the new leadership exercised by China and India in the international system can interfere in the balance of power achieved by the ATS. The issue has been raised by some specialized researchers in Antarctic policy, most notably Anne-Marie Brady (2017). Brazil, although a signato-

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ry and an advisory member of the ATS, does not pay much attention to the political issues surrounding the sixth continent. The authors consider that the geographic proximity to Brazil, the relevance of Antarctica to two of our neighbors (Argentina and Chile with sovereignty claims), the strategic and climatic importance of the continent, the possible revision of the Protocol of Madrid (2048) a greater understanding on the subject[3].

The first part of this article aims to contextualize the ATS as well as to present the circumstances surrounding the adhesion of the two countries mentioned. In the second half of the article, we analyze the current transformation of China and India and ponder the consequences that their growing need for natural and energetic resources may entail for the maintenance of the ATS. The theoretical framework is the offensive realism as conceived by John Mearsheimer. This author's reflection does not directly address the Antarctic question, but its conceptual guidelines can be used to examine this issue because they point to the effects that the emergence of new *hegemons* can have on the international balance of power.

In the final considerations, it is argued that, while differences may arise in the aspects that regulate the inviolability of the continent and the permanence of the regime, there is no evidence that it will result in conflicts. Increased competition does not necessarily entail the termination of the Antarctic Treaty System, but it will require changes to sustain it.

Presentation

Antarctica is the most inhospitable continent on the planet and so it is the only one ever to have had an autochthonous population. The average temperature in summer is -30°C, while in winter it is -60°C. The lowest temperature ever recorded was -89.2°C at the Russian Vostok Station in 1983. About 98% of the continent is covered by ice (average thickness of 2,600 m). The continent is also the driest on Earth, with an average rainfall of 150 mm per year (as dry as the Sahara Desert). It is the highest continent, with an average altitude of 2,160 m. The total area is 13,661,000 kme, larger than Canada, and equivalent to 1.6 times the total area of Brazil.

Unlike the Arctic, which is nothing more than an ice cap, Antarctica rests on a land surface that in the past belonged to the mega-continent Gondwana and which, as it fragmented, also gave rise to South America, Africa and Oceania. Based on geological inferences it is estimated that Antarctica is

3 Environmental protocol prohibiting the exploitation of mineral resources in Antarctica. It may be reviewed by a simple majority and a minimum of 20 advisory members.

abundant in oil, gas, copper, uranium, among other minerals of great commercial value. However, the technological difficulty of extracting these resources still makes their commercial exploitation unfeasible. At a time of major advances in the field of bioprospecting and biotechnology, the continent's great biological diversity points to the continent's potential wealth. Antarctica is the main reservoir of fresh water on the planet with 70% of the total volume and contributes to refresh it preserving the balance of global temperatures.

The great challenges to human survival imposed by Antarctic geography and climate reduce the continent's permanent population to the teams of scientists who set out there to conduct research. In the summer there are about 5,000 people among researchers and logistical support staff at scientific stations, but in winter this number is only 1,000.

History

The Greeks already assumed the existence of a territory that opposed the arktos, whose presence was indicated by the polar star of the constellations of the great and small bear. In search of the *antiarktos*, the English captain James Cook crossed the Antarctic circle between 1772-75, travelling across the region in vain. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Russian expedition led by Captain Fabian Von Bellinghausen took up again in a more comprehensive way the trajectory navigated by Cook and in 1820 sighted for the first time the *Earth Incognita*.

Early explorations of the Antarctic region led to the emergence of an important and predatory seal skin business that was later replaced by whaling. The intense traffic of commercial vessels in the region stimulated the mapping of the area and to this movement were added several expeditions of scientific nature that had as objective the research of the local phenomena (Hatherton 1986). In 1911, the South Pole was reached by the Norwegian Roald Amundsen in victory against the British Robert Scott, who passed away, along with all his expedition.

The twentieth century presents the first territorial claims on the continent. The countries with some history of expedition in the region or bordering were the first to make their claims of sovereignty alleging geographical proximity, discovery, inheritance rights, etc. Between 1908 and 1940, the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, Norway, France, Chile, and Argentina claimed the equivalent of 2/3 of the Antarctic territory and some of these claims were in overlapping areas[4] (Quadri 1986).

4 This is the case of Argentina, Chile and the United Kingdom that present a superposition

During World War II, the military potential of Antarctica was uncovered and it served as the basis for submarines and German ships to attack allied merchant ships (Ferreira 2009). The polar routes and their surroundings were recognized as a strategic objective and became an alternative route for global transport between Asia, Europe and America (Couto and Silva 2003). After the war and from a bipolar international perspective, the fate of the continent was decided by the two great antagonistic powers: the United States of America (USA) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

Two proposals were presented in this period and both faced resistance. The first project consisted of the internationalization of Antarctica and was faced with the opposition of some countries that refused to renounce their territorial claims. The second alternative, the creation of a condominium of countries under the direction of the United Nations was also discarded, since it meant the inclusion of the USSR and its satellites in the understanding, a fact that contradicted the US government. Faced with the difficulty of reaching a consensus on the legal status of Antarctica, the *International Council for Scientific Union* (ICSU) decided to promote a worldwide research project, the International Geophysical Year (IGY).

IGY has brought together researchers from sixty-six countries around the world in an international research and scientific cooperation effort. Held between June 1957 and December 1958, he contributed to making science a continuation of politics by other means (Elzinga 2011) and instigated the US to convene an international conference to definitively resolve the legal situation of the continent. Twelve countries were summoned to the meeting in Washington DC in 1959: the host USA, the superpower rival USSR and nations that had set up a scientific base in the region during the IGY and thereby demonstrated their interest in Antarctica: South Africa, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, France, Japan, Norway, New Zealand and the United Kingdom (Ferreira 2009)[5]. The urgency of resolving the legal status of Antarctica stems from the fact that India, the leader of the non-aligned nations, had tried since 1956 to declare it - in the United Nations Assembly - as a common

of territorial demands. The United Kingdom's claim states that all land and islands of latitude 50°S between longitudes 20°W and 80°W are British due to the continued British presence in the Falklands. Argentina requires territory between longitudes 25°W to 74°W. Overlapping the previous claim, Chile, in turn, requires the longitude 53°W to 90°W.

5 When IGY was carried out, it was not known that this would be the requirement for future negotiations. Brazil participated in the IGY and even made several graphical ocean surveys, but because they were conducted on the Brazilian coast without sending an expedition to Antarctica, the country was not included in the debates. In an official note sent to the US ambassador to Brazil (July 1958), the country protested that it had not been included in the Washington D.C Conference.

patrimony of humanity. The Soviet determination not to undo its scientific stations and remain in Antarctica at the end of the International Geographical Year also weighed heavily on the decision.

Starting from a proposal presented by the Chilean jurist Julio Escudero Guzman, a model of partial internationalization of the continent was conceived, accompanied by a territorial moratorium and aiming at the preservation of the area south of 60°S latitude. Entry into Antarctica would only be allowed for expeditions and scientific bases with exclusively peaceful purposes in order to prevent the area from becoming "a scenario or object of international discord" (SAT 2015a). All the countries belonging to the UN or with the acquiescence of the original members could accede to the Treaty.

The Treaty was signed on 1 December 1959 and entered into force on 23 June 1961. The Convention for the Conservation of Antarctic Seals (1972), the Convention for the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources (1980) and the Madrid Protocol (for the protection of the environment - 1991) originating the Antarctic Treaty System (ATS). Since then, 41 countries have joined the ATS, the most recent of which is Iceland in October 2015. At present there are 29 consultative member countries which have voting rights in the *Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meetings* (ATCMs).

Brazil adhered to the Treaty in 1975 under the foreign policy of the "responsible pragmatism" of Ernesto Geisel´s government (1974-1979). During João Figueiredo´s government (1979-1983), Brazil became an advisory member of the ATS (September 1983) and inaugurated the Antarctic station Comandante Ferraz the following year[6].

Theoretical Considerations

The question of how Antarctica fits into the international interests of China and India will be approached from the neorealist perspective of John Mearsheimer. The realistic paradigm starts from the tradition inaugurated by E.H. Carr and Hans Morgenthau, but acquires a structuralist bias with the contribution of Kenneth Waltz. This author argues that it is the structure of the international system that determines the behavior of states and not the re-

6 In February 2012, a major fire destroyed the Brazilian station, and since then, the Brazilian Antarctic Program has continued its research being carried out from the ships of MB, "Ary Rongel" and "Almirante Maximiano", and the Antarctic Modules Emergencies (Mattos 2015). The new station began to be built in January 2017 at a cost of US $ 99.6 billion and should be ready by 2018. The Chinese Corporation for Imports and Exports was the bidding winner and is responsible for installing the modules (MCT 2017).

verse. This "from outside to inside" perspective contrasts with the first realists who attributed the dynamics of the international system to what happened at the level of unity. According to Waltz (1979), the behavior of states does not stem from the internal politics or aggressiveness of their leaders, but from structural factors such as anarchy and the international distribution of power.

To deny the influence of unity on the structure or, from domestic politics on the international system, is a question that raises a great deal of controversy. The structural authors, Mearsheimer inclusive, are aware of the simplification of their approach, but believe this to be the price to pay for the creation of a parsimonious theory. When a theory commits itself to dealing with the particular, it runs the risk of losing its explanatory capacity and remaining on the descriptive plane. The authors recognize the complexity of reality, but consider that the goal of a theory should be to extract and analyze regular patterns, although selection may lead to theoretical discrepancies.

Mearsheimer considers that the international system is anarchic, there is no central authority that contains states. Realists disagree with institutionalists when they argue that multilateral institutions can play the role of coercion of States by imposing sanctions. It is from the lack of security that comes the uncertainty and the need to ensure their own survival. As rational actors distrusting one another and ignoring how much is needed to prevent, states seek to maximize their power. From offensive motivation comes offensive behavior. In a competition scenario, the most effective way to ensure one's security is to become a hegemon. Mearsheimer notes that the great powers are not content with the status quo: they are revisionist because of the insecurity of the international system (Mearsheimer 2001).

International anarchy and the quest for maximizing power are rules that concern all states, yet not all hold the military (including nuclear) capacity and sufficient economic and demographic resources to become a *hegemon*. The international system is dominated by the great powers whose actions drive international relations, making the less powerful states to develop other strategies of survival.

When a great power emerges, the tendency of the other states is to articulate to contain this rise. Often, fear and lack of information lead states to dodge a direct confrontation and resort to the subterfuge of "buck-passing". In this case, and just like in the card game that names this behavior, the state passes on its turn. The most emblematic case of "buck passing" occurred in the years before World War II when Western countries avoided reacting to Nazi Germany's territorial offensives (Kaplan 2012).

It is within this theoretical context that Mearsheimer analyzes the rise of China as a superpower. As a state in the process of becoming a regional *he-*

gemon, it threatens US interests in Asia and more specifically in the east of it. Mearsheimer's reflection focuses on the Sino-American relationship and how the United States must reconsider its liberal ideology to assume a position of *Realpolitik* in the field of foreign policy (Mearsheimer 2001b).

According to this perspective, the ties that the United States has sought to expand with strategic partners in the region such as India and Japan should be interpreted. The defense cooperation agreement with India (*The Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement* - LEMOA) (Rapp-Hooper 2016), celebrated in the Barack Obama administration, is part of the recognition of this new strategy, as well as the annual naval exercises conducted by the US Navy with some of the ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) countries.

Mearsheimer's theory explores the consequences - for the United States - of China's rise, but it does not take into account how this fact can impact the rest of the world. Nor is India or the Antarctic question part of its analysis. His reflection, however, points to a paradigm shift in the current regional and global geopolitical balance. Although his view on the inevitability of a conflict between powers is controversial, his analysis is pertinent in signaling to the reconfiguration of power in course and the emergence of new actors in the international scene. It is within this realistic picture of states driven by insecurity and systemic pressures that we allow ourselves the exercise of speculating on how ATS can be affected by these new power relations.

China in Antarctica

China, as well as India, was not represented at the 1959 Washington DC Conference and only acceded to the Antarctic Treaty in June 1983. The country intended to participate in expeditions to Antarctica during the International Geophysical Year, but beyond of the Chinese government's meager budget resources for science, its plans were directly frustrated by the influence of the US that wanted to prevent the entry of communist countries into a continent of indefinite sovereignty and regulation. China came to participate in the AGI, but did not send an expedition.

In 1964, the Ocean State Administration of the State of China was created, which had as one of its objectives to organize polar expeditions. The Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), having as one of its targets the scientists - taken largely to farms of the interior of the country - prevented the continuation of the activities in the area. In the 1970s, *rapprochement* between the United States and the People's Republic of China allowed him to join the UN and the Security Council as a permanent member to replace Taiwan. The new orientation of Chinese foreign policy came after the break with the Soviet Union and the need to reformulate the strategic balance of the region. The country decided to join multilateral organizations and in 1983 it was STA's turn. The following summer (1948-1985), China sent its first expedition to Antarctica. The country was accepted as an advisory member with the right to vote, in October 1985, on the occasion of the XIII ATCM held in Brussels, Belgium (Brady 2017).

Since 2008, the Chinese Antarctic Program has been under the Ministry of Land and Natural Resources. The Shanghai-based Polar Research Institute is the body that coordinates the polar expeditions[7], including the maintenance of scientific stations and the "Xue Long" icebreaker, as well as all scientific research conducted in both the Arctic and Antarctica.

Although it has started its Antarctic program after Brazil, China already has four stations on the continent being two of permanent occupation:

a) Great Wall (1985), on Rei Jorge Island, where there is also the Brazilian station named Comandante Ferraz, with a maximum capacity of 80 people;

b) Zhougshan (1989), in the Larseman Hills region, near the Russian scientific station Progress II, with a maximum capacity of 60 people and prepared to operate fixed wing aircraft;

c) Kunlun (2009), used only in summer and with a maximum capacity of 24 people. It is worth noting that Kunlun is 4,087 meters high, being the highest scientific station in the Antarctic, and is 1,200 km from the coast (more precisely, from Zhougshan Station, where "Xue Long" arrives, bringing material and personnel to the stations Chinese). Its position, in the so-called "Dome A", one of the last points of that continent that had not yet been explored, is considered one of the best places in the world for astronomical observations. The Chinese plan to be able to operate this station uninterruptedly from 2020. From Kunlun to Zhougshan, a Chinese aircraft takes about four hours of flight time; and

d) Taishan (2014), also operating only in the summer, with the main mission being to serve as a logistical support point for Kunlun Station, which is difficult to reach, since it is situated on the way between it and Zhougshan.

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7 China also has growing interest in the Arctic, having achieved observer status with the Arctic Council in May 2013, consisting of the eight countries that face that ocean (Canada, Denmark, USA, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia and Sweden). The country operates a permanent scientific station in Ny-Alesund, Svalbard Archipelago, Norway, since 2004. Available at: http://www.chinare.gov.cn/en/. Accessed on: 05 May 2015.

Chinese expeditions take place every year. On the occasion of the 31st expedition (summer 2014-2015) and to commemorate 30 years of Chinese presence on the continent, a site was set up for the construction of a fifth station to be established, initially, on a Ross Sea island, in region where the United States, New Zealand, Italy, South Korea and Germany also have stations. The new Chinese station is scheduled to be ready by 2022 (Guo 2017)

The political commitment to the Antarctic program was reinforced by the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding between China and Australia for the creation of a joint commission responsible for dealing with issues of common interest on that continent (November 2014). The agreement, in addition to logistical issues, also signals an important political movement on the part of China, as it is the Australians who are most concerned about the increase in Chinese presence in Antarctica. Of the four Chinese stations, three are located within the area formally claimed by Australia and, according to Brady (2017), China has been carrying out military activities and mineral prospecting in the region in disagreement with the 1959 Treaty and the 1991 Protocol. the researcher, Australia "must rethink its assessment of risk in Antarctica and devise a strategy to protect its interests there" (Brady, 2017, p.6) China is Australia's largest economic partner, and it is on the island of Tasmania that is the city of Hobart, the main logistics hub for the Chinese Antarctic Program (The Guardian 2014).

The growing Chinese presence in Antarctica also appears in the numbers of Chinese tourists visiting that continent. Between 2016 and 2017, 5,145 Chinese were in Antarctica representing 15% of the total. China was the second most sending country to that continent, only behind the USA (40%), and slightly ahead of Australia (14%) (IAATO 2017).

The Chinese Antarctic Program, following the country's economic growth, saw a significant increase in its budget, reaching US $ 44 million in 2010, which was the fifth largest budget among Antarctic programs. That year it lost only to the budgets of the US, Australia, UK and Russia. In 2014 it became the largest budget in Antarctica and is the second country with the highest number of citizens there after the US (including scientists, tourists and fishermen) (Brady 2014).

In its latest five-year plan (2016-20), China has stated that it has the political intention of becoming involved in the governance of new fields of activity, including in the polar regions, in order to be considered a polar power. In addition to hosting the ATS consultative meeting in Beijing for the first time in May 2017, the country is also building a new ice break at the Jianguan shipyard in Shanghai, scheduled to operate from 2019 onwards. "Xue Long 2" (Liu 2017).

India in Antartica

India was one of the countries that, even before the International Geophysical Year was held, insisted that the question of the internationalization of Antarctica be discussed in the United Nations Assembly. It vigorously opposed the Antarctic Treaty and only acceded to it in August 1983, under very controversial circumstances. It was from its independence in 1947 that Indian foreign policy became involved in issues of worldwide concern. Under the government of Prime Minister Jawarhlal Nehru (1947-1964) and considering the claims of sovereignty as a vestige of the colonizing and imperialist mentality of the First World, India stood in favor of an international solution under UN determination. His attempt to discuss the case at the UN and form an anti-imperialist coalition ran up against the combined resistance of Argentina and Chile, which although they were colonial nations, had strong territorial interests in the sixth continent (Chaturvedi 2013).

When the Treaty was drafted and ratified despite its objections, India relegated the subject to second place and turned to its regional issues. Between the 1960s and 1970s, the country faced conflicts with neighboring Pakistan, China, and also with Portugal on account of the state of Goa. Under the second Government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi (1980-1984), the Antarctic geopolitical question reemerged. At the occasion, in the forum of non-aligned countries, the theme was raised again and the country expressed itself in favor of the internationalization of the continent (Villa 2004).

The strategy used by India to reach Antarctica was unconventional and aroused mistrust among the signatory members of the Treaty. In the summers of 1981/1982 and 1982/1983 two scientific expeditions were sent to the continent. The two expeditions had as main objective to choose an area to erect the first scientific station of the country in that continent. The Indians, in previous years, had already been on reconnaissance missions in Antarctica with the help of the Soviets. The current procedure, although not illegal, did not obey the usual behavior of adhering to the Treaty first, and then organizing an expedition. The Indians knew that their attitude was politically reprehensible, but they supported the principle that the Treaty was open to all UN countries as long as for peaceful purposes (Sharma 2001).

For Indira Gandhi, the expeditions were the "fulfillment of a lifelong dream", making India stand out as a power of international weight (NYT, 1982). Since the two expeditions took place after the XI Consultative Meeting (June/July 1981), at a time when the parties only met every two years, there was no official discussion to address the matter.

The New Scientist newspaper (1982) even published an article entitled

"Indians quietly invade Antarctica". On the eve of the twelfth meeting, on 19 August 1983[8], India acceded to the Treaty and achieved consultative status in the course of the Treaty on 12 September 1983. It was the fastest process of promotion of the whole history of the regime, an unprecedented episode that never reproduced again. In February 1984 the Dakshin Gangotri[9] scientific station was built, built by Indian Army military personnel, from the support of a British company with experience in construction on that continent (Khadilkar 2017).

The admission of India as a consultative member of the ATS served to defuse criticism of the regime and signal to the world that the previously exclusive club recognized the new balance of international order. Nevertheless, the suspicion remained that the country had as hidden agenda, the intention to implode the group, maneuvering its internal contradictions. There was also nonconformity among non-aligned countries: some interpreted the Indian attitude as "defection" and - an indication of their co-optation by the interests of the great powers and a turnaround in favor of political conformism (Beck 2014; Chaturvedi 2013).

It is important to note that the Treaty is relatively (and purposely?) vague about the requirements that must be fulfilled for the change of status. It refers only to the need to promote "substantial scientific research activity, such as the establishment of a scientific station or the sending of scientific expedition" (Article IX, paragraph 2). Until then, the only countries outside the original twelve members to gain consultative status had been Poland in 1977 and West Germany in 1981. The first took sixteen years and spent $ 3 million to build its station while the second he invested US $ 100 million in activities on the continent (Buck, 1998). India was thus the first country in the Third World to win such a prerogative, followed closely by Brazil.

When analyzing the circumstances surrounding the accession of China, India and other countries to the ATS, one must also consider the supposed revision of the Treaty foreseen for 30 years after its ratification. The two oil shocks (1973 and 1979) had shown the extent of dependence on this natural resource, and it was anticipated that the ban on the exploitation of mineral resources would be suspended in 1991. Between 1982 and 1988 sev-

8 It is important to note that Brazil has become an advisory member of the Antarctic Treaty System in the wake of the Indian movement. India's candidacy enabled the Brazilian request and inhibited any objection against, since the incoherence of accepting one developing country and refusing another.

9 Dakshin Gangotri was abandoned in February 1990 because of the constant displacements of the mass of ice on which the station was built. Currently, the facility serves as a deposit of material in support of Maitri station that is 85km.

eral meetings took place to elaborate the regulatory framework of what would be the new exploitation regime, the Convention for the Regulation of Activities on Mineral Resources (CRAMRA). During the 1980s, many countries (18 in all) joined the ATS and/or sought to become an advisory party in order to participate in the CRAMRA negotiation process.

CRAMRA was signed but never ratified and eventually abandoned due to pressure from environmental movements. Australia and France led the bloc of those who opposed ratification of the convention. In 1991, it was replaced by the Madrid Protocol, which strengthened Antarctica's environmental protection by prohibiting any commercial mineral exploration on that continent for the next 50 years from its ratification date (1998).

India has two permanent scientific stations:

a) Maitri (1989), with a maximum capacity of 40 people, located about 100 km from the coast, in Dronning Maud Land; and

b) Bharathi (2012), with a maximum capacity of 72 people, located 3,000 km east of Maitri station, right on the coast of Larsemann Hills.

Indian expeditions to the mainland have annual frequency and the thirty-sixth was carried out in the summer of 2016 to 2017. However, dependence on external logistical support is one of the great weaknesses of the Indian Antarctic program. The country does not yet have a polar ship and has leased foreign ships since the beginning of its program. Another limitation occurs for airplanes and helicopters, all contracted with specialized companies. The Indian Navy and Air Force even participated with their helicopters and airplanes, but only until 1994. Even the military presence of the three Forces, which was significant in the 1980s and 1990s, has now become almost zero. According to Khadilkar (2017: 318), "There is an urgent need for a wider debate to determine a national vision towards Antarctica and its relevance to the strategic interests if the country." According to the same author, Indian society, even the most educated classes, knows little about that continent, which demands of the government changes in the educational system, introducing the subject from an early age.

Examining the Advance of China and India

In 2010, when Secretary of State Hillary Clinton recognized the emergence of China and India as two new hegemons in the Asia Pacific region, capable of altering not only the regional but also the global balance.

> (...) we know that much of the history of the 21st century will be written in Asia. This region will see the most transformative economic growth on the planet. Most of its cities will become global centers of commerce and culture. And as more people across the region gain access to education and opportunity, we will see the rise of the next generation of regional and global leaders in business and science, technology, politics, and the arts (US Department of State 2010).

Clinton's speech points to a reality still under construction. By 2016, the United States maintained its global superpower status with a GDP of $ 18.6 trillion and a growth of 1.6% which should stabilize at that level in the coming years. The Chinese economy, despite the reduction in its growth rate, increased by 6.9% (2016) and its GDP reached US $ 11.2 trillion (2016) (WB, 2017). Although GDP is not a complete indicator, since it measures more the industrial production of an economy than its production of knowledge, it is still relevant to know the situation of a nation. Maintaining an average growth of 3 to 4% per year, the Chinese economy is expected to surpass the US by 2030.

The Chinese development strategy emphasizes major infrastructure works related to the project called "one Belt, one Road" (a belt, a road). The new "Silk Road" aims to serve the geoeconomic interests of China by connecting the country, by land and sea, to the rest of Asia, Africa and Europe. The financing of the works is being carried out through the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) created in 2015 by Chinese initiative as an alternative to the World Bank.

India's GDP in 2016 reached US $ 2.2 trillion and is on an upward curve with an average growth of 7% per year (2016). As the Indian population is around 1.3 billion (2015), per capita income is US $ 1,600, which places the country in the low middle income category. As a comparison, Brazil - with an equivalent economic dimension - has a per capita income of US $ 9,850 (2015). By 2013, only 1% of the Indian population had sufficient resources to be targeted for income tax.

In terms of its international status, China is already a global powerhouse, while India is in the way of becoming more than a regional actor. Of the 180 countries with which China has trade relations, it became the main partner of 124 (Ghemawat and Hout 2016). Although economically asymmetric, India is considered a strategic player to counter Chinese hegemony in Asia. The needs and rivalries of both countries tend to have repercussions globally. While the deepening of the Sino-Asian economic framework is seen by India as an obstacle to its own ambitions, China considers the Indian rise a geopolitical threat. If the China-Pakistan economic corridor contradicts the Indians, the same can be said of the India-United States defense cooperation for the Chinese. In the political arena, Indian democracy is the opposite of the Chinese single-party model.

The peaceful rise of China has, since 2010, revealed a turning point. China's foreign policy, particularly with regard to geopolitical interests in the South Sea, manifests more assertiveness in its projection of power and leads to the destabilization of a region highly sensitive to international interests. The actions combine the construction of artificial islands lined with military bases with the claim of maritime sovereignty based on the Convention on the Rights of the Sea, the positioning of oil rigs in disputed waters with Vietnam, the disrespect of an unfavorable international decision in litigation with the Philippines, the non-observance of the right of free passage of vessels and the dispute with Japan by the Diaoyu / Senkaku Islands, the latter in the East Sea. China rubs itself against all those countries that, directly or indirectly, oppose its growing search for protagonism.

India, on the other hand, has distanced itself from the legacy of non-alignment that has governed its foreign policy since independence and has assumed a posture of greater pragmatism in its international relations. New Delhi, within a multipolar and globalized world perspective, seeks international insertion through material power and rejects as obsolete the model that served as an alternative route during the Cold War. It is in the light of this understanding that the recent strategic rapprochement with the United States should be analyzed.

Until near the end of the twentieth century, the economic advance of a state placed it, almost automatically, on a level of military parity with its opponents/competitors. From the moment in which the use of technology in the military action intensified the distance between the potential military of each State deepened. Mobility within the international system is not flexible when it comes to the rise of new actors and/or downsizing of the former hegemons. The success of economic growth does not necessarily fill the technology gaps. China and India continue to face the challenge of overcoming the technological gap that separates them from more developed economies (Brooks and Wolforth 2016).

Currently, more than half of Chinese exports consist of processing trade industrial goods, that is goods whose assembly takes place in the country from foreign parts and components, without the use of local technology. The production model is convenient in that it attracts foreign resources and industrial activity to China allowing foreign firms to benefit from the low cost of Chinese labor and some tariff concessions (EAF 2012). The precariousness of local technology is revealed by the revenue received from the use of intellectual property rights (patents, copyrights, trademarks, industrial processes, etc.). While China (with Hong Kong) raised $1.7 billion and India $467 million in intellectual property rights in 2015, the United States received $124 billion and the Netherlands and Japan - second and third - record a revenue three times lower than the US, US $39 billion and US $36 billion respectively (WB).

The discrepancy in the values collected reveals the importance of technology and scientific knowledge in the development of the countries analyzed. It should be taken into account, however, that copyright collection represents a pre-existing picture, since patents typically last for twenty years. China and India have adopted strategies to reverse their technological backwardness. Considering that a scientific article is often the embryo of a technological innovation, it is necessary to analyze the number of scientific articles published by the countries. In 2013, the United States published 412,000 articles in the field of so-called hard science (physics, chemistry, biology, mathematics, biomedical, engineering, technology and the like), while China came in second with 401,000 (WB)[10]. As for investments in technology and research, and recalling the economic disparities between countries, South Korea allocates 4.29% of its GDP in this activity, while Japan directs 3.58%, the United States 2.73%, the China 2.05% and India 0.82% (WB 2005/15).

Today, China and India account for 40% of the world's population. In 2016, about 26 million Indians and 17 million Chinese were born (Statistica 2016). The relaxation of China's one-child policy should further stimulate the number of births in the future. Both countries have low rates of per capita energy consumption and it is estimated that these values should rise. To meet rising demand, Indians, as well as Chinese, will have to seek new sources of energy (EIA 2015b).

The maintenance of the Antarctic Treaty, with the continent focused only on scientific research and under strict environmental control, may not be in the interest of those actors who have an increasing voice in the international system.

Final Considerations

The rise of China as a new global actor and the expectation that India will also play this role in the near future prompts speculation about the

10 India 93 000, Japan 103 000, France 72 000, Germany 101 000, Israel 11 000, Netherlands 30 000 (2013).

continuation of the ATS regime. The theoretical matrix of Mearsheimer's offensive realism seems to point to the end of the inviolability of the white continent, not least because there is no enforcement mechanism for the regime. However, not necessarily the conflict would be military in nature.

Analyzing the most recent history of their external relations, India and China have been involved in conflicts with each other or with neighbors on issues of historical origin: border and/or ideological disputes. In the case of China, since Mao's death, the country has sought to successfully join the main international organizations. India, in turn, with the benefits of the globalization process, has been inclined to a more aligned rhetoric. Within a realistic perspective, national interests may collide with membership in international regimes and lead to a decrease in cooperation, but such an attitude does not necessarily lead to revisionism and military conflict.

We can speculate that in a not so distant future, motivated by the realistic model of seeking material security to meet the needs of its vast populations and open to the possibility of revising the Madrid Protocol (2048), China and India will lead a movement aimed at the suspension or relaxation of mineral exploration in Antarctica. So far in environmental terms both China and India have overcome their initial reluctance, taking their share of international responsibility and striving to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Both signed the Paris Agreement of 2015 and it is to be expected that the environmental concern will also include the maintenance of the ATS and the preservation of Antarctica as an essential continent for the planet's climatic equilibrium, but such positioning may suffer a setback.

The authors believe that a possible source of tension in Antarctica has to do with the absence of specific regulation on bioprospecting. The line separating licit scientific research from biopiracy is tenuous and may give rise to international legal conflicts. A regulatory framework should be created to bring the principles of ATS into line with international legislation on the subject (Convention on Biological Diversity and Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights) (Guyomard 2010). Currently, China has demonstrated difficulties in acting within the principles governing the intellectual property rights of foreign companies and its procedures cause discomfort in international relations. Diplomatic deliberation will be fundamental to protect patent rights without damaging the continent's international status as well as respecting territorial demands. In this sense, perhaps some of the contributions of the defunct CRAMRA may be used.

In an even difficult future, both Antarctica and ATS itself will become sensitive and strategic issues in the international political landscape. It is important to establish Brazil´s position in this debate in order to safeguard not only the continent, but also our national interests.

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ABSTRACT
The Antarctic Treaty was signed during the Cold War and intended to preserve the continent and transform it into a conflict free territory, prioritizing scientific cooperation. Despite having quadrupled the number of its signatories, the Antarctic Treaty System (ATS) faces nowadays the uncertainties of the new international order. Starting out from John Mearsheimer's realistic perspective, this paper aims to analyze, the strategic importance of Antarctica and the interests that China and India have on the continent, as well as speculate on how their rise on the international scenario can impact the future of the Antarctic Treaty System.

KEYWORDS
Antarctic Treaty System; Offensive Realism; China.

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GOODBYE, NEHRU: INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY UNDER GLOBALIZATION

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Introduction

India was probably the country that went further in the direction of economic planning and state intervention without breaking with Third World capitalism. The development of a national industry, a commitment towards the State and a secular policy, and the defense of non-alignment in the Cold War were fundamental pillars of the political horizon established in the country under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru and prevailed in India from independence in 1947 to the neoliberal inflection in the 1990s. Although since the 1970s the Nehruvian referential was explicitly questioned by the right as well as the left, it was in the early 1990s that an inflection, notable in all its dimensions, was established. Since then, the ideology associated with national-developmentalism, secularism, and sovereignty has been progressively diluted, paving the way for neoliberalism, communal politics, and integration with the United States-dominated world order (Tomlinson 1993; Rothermund 2003; Guha 2007).

This inflection is observed, first and foremost, in the performance of the Congress party itself, whose original ideological and moral references have eroded over the years, converting the organization of anti-colonial struggle into an ordinary party, ruled by power as an end in itself. It is under the government of the Congress that the first steps were taken towards economic opening in the 1980s, and were consolidated in the following decade, always under its command. At the same time, there are innumerable situations that attest to the omission, if not the complicity of the party in relation to communalism, that is, the instrumentalization of religion for political purposes. This leniency fecundated the ground for a poisoning of the Indian society,

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mainly capitalized on by the *Bharatiya Janata Party* (BJP), the "Indian People's Party", currently in power. In the sphere of international relations, it was the government of Congress that signed, in 2005, the *US-India Civil Nuclear Agreement*, widely interpreted as a renunciation of the elementary principles of non-alignment. This episode led to the breakdown of leftist forces with the newly elected Congress party administration, which returned to the country´s command after the first term under the BJP (1998-2004) (Rewa 2017; Vanaik 2017).

The fundamental landmark of distancing from Nehruvian ideology was the adoption of the so-called *New Economic Policy*, the Indian version of the neoliberal structural adjustment implemented in 1991, from which economic and trade openness was accelerated (Velasco and Cruz 2007). The country had already taken steps in this direction throughout the 1980s, but Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's (1984-1989) notorious intention to liberalize the economy faced resistance from above and below. It took an acute financial crisis to consummate the neoliberal *tour de force*.

Resistance to economic openness was rooted in the country's history. Indian independence resulted from a protracted anti-colonial struggle led by the INC, which had as its main lead the non-violence apostle Mahatma Gandhi. In the midst of this process, a secular Indian nationalism was forged that placed multiple religious and cultural differences in the background in the name of anti-colonial unity, which was not obvious in a territory that houses dozens if not hundreds of languages and ethnicities, as an unit by British imperialism. This feat was carried out against colonial policy, which stimulated religious and regional cleavages with the aim of divide and rule. Lately, this British policy is at the root of the bloody partition that gave rise in 1947 to India and Pakistan.

Although impotent to maintain territorial unity in the independence, secular Indian nationalism has asserted itself as the fundamental political benchmark of the new country. This nationalism had broad popular support, built in the anti-colonial struggle, but also an important bourgeois foundation. According to Adithia Mukherjee (2002), an Indian bourgeoisie, whose interests generally evolved in opposition to British domination, was established in the gaps of English rule. This phenomenon had two consequences: on the one hand, this bourgeoisie supported the agitation of the INC, which strengthened the anti-colonial struggle; on the other hand, focused on the political orientation and program of this organization, contributing to neutralize the most radical pressures within it.

As a result, independent India has neither subverted private property nor revolutionized the relations of production. But according to Mukherjee's terms, it was the country that most advanced in the direction of non-colonial economic development within the capitalism framework. In this perspective, the general contours of the Indian economic history diverge from other developmental experiences in the Third World, such as the Brazilian one, although the dilemmas and limits faced are similar.

In the late 1960s, India reacted to the impasses posed by national-developmentalism by intensifying State control over the economy: the country's major banks were nationalized (1969), as were the insurance industry (1971-72) and the coal industry (1973), while restrictions on foreign investment were strengthened. As a consequence, the share of foreign capital in the Indian economy was relatively small, and it responded in the early 1980s to about 10% of the value added in the manufacturing and mining sectors. Foreign participation in the financial sector was also marginal (Chandra; Mukherjee; Mukherjee 2008, 462).

In this context, the country did not experience recession, hyperinflation, nor a debt crisis analogous to the Latin American countries. On the contrary, there was an industrial growth rate of around 8% over the 1980s, distancing itself from the prevailing "Hindu rate of growth" prevalent in the previous two decades, which did not exceed 3.5%. However, the main driver of the expansion was public spending. Powerless to attack the income concentration in the country, the Indian State was responding to various pressures from business but also from the world of work. If the industry benefited from multiple incentives that, in liberal eyes, resulted in productive inefficiency, agriculture received substantial subsidies in a country where the majority of the population still lived in the countryside. The workers' organization had increased significantly in the independent country, and the number of days of work lost per year increased from 100 in 1961 to 891.6 in 1980 (Chandra, Mukherjee and Mukherjee 2008, 466).

Growth fueled by the expansion of public spending has resulted in rising fiscal deficits, which are covered by international loans at increasingly onerous conditions. In a decade, the surplus of US$ 1.5 billion registered in the balance of payments in 1977-78 (1.4% of GDP), became a deficit of US$ 9.9 billion in 1990-91 (3.5% of GDP). This was despite a favorable evolution in the trade balance in the second half of the decade (1985-1990), when the economy grew by an average of 5.5% per year. However, the country's financial expenses increased at an exponential rate, so that by the end of the decade, interest expenditures amounted about 1/3 of the State budget. In 1988, India was Asia's largest debtor.

Goodbye, Nehru

Vulnerability to short-term borrowing was a new phenomenon in the Indian economy, which expressed itself violently in the financial crisis in 1991. Facing fiscal and trade deficits in a time of international liquidity shortages to refinance the debt, the Indian State was hit by a balance of payments crisis, and was on the brink of moratorium.

In this context, according to Chandrasekhar, important sectors of Indian capital converged in favor of economic liberalization, with different motivations. Consolidated players saw in the international association a way to overcome the limits of the domestic market, which had been growing little for decades. Others were betting on openness and international partnerships as a resource to compete in the Indian market itself, in the face of state protection of traditional groups. There were sectors interested in opening new market niches through the privatization of state assets, while agribusiness sought to expand exports, but without giving up the subsidies. Finally, the modernization of consumption patterns aligned middle sectors in favor of trade liberalization, amplified by the cultural influence of the Indian diaspora - the largest population outside the country of origin in the world (Chandrasekhar 2017).

Thus, at the moment, despite the ambivalence of Indian capitalists in the face of globalization, liberalizing pressures prevailed and India embarked on a structural adjustment program aimed at reducing the balance of payments deficit and stabilizing the economy. In this process, the rupee was devalued and capital controls were progressively liberalized, as well as imports. Public expenditures were reduced, subsidies were cut and privatizations were carried out. In 2000, the Indian version of the *Fiscal Responsibility Act* entered the agenda in parliament and was approved in 2003.

Although the depth of structural reforms in the country was less extreme whereas compared to similar programs in Latin America and elsewhere, neoliberal orientation has prevailed in the conduct of the state ever since, despite successive political rotation. As a result of the opening of the country, between 1990 and 2007 the international exchange rate of goods and services in the Indian economy doubled from 17% to 31% of GDP, reaching 54% in 2013 (Bouillot 2016, 87).

Financially, while the public sector remains dominant, and still commanded 75% of banking assets in 2004, the reforms were enough to subject India to speculative capital dynamics. As in Brazil and other countries, liberalization has resulted in sharp trade deficits. The expectation that these deficits would be provisional, since the opening would dynamise exports of manufactured goods as in the Southeast Asia, was not fulfilled. The trade deficit jumped from US$ 6 billion in 2000-1 to US$ 185 billion in 2011-12, but the share of multinationals was limited to 10% of exports, while in China they accounted for 52% (Bardhan 2010).

In the early years of the adjustment policy, the balance of payments deficit was mitigated by remittances from non-resident Indians (NRIs), which surpassed all other forms of capital inflows combined. Its main source are the immigrants who work in the emirate oil tankers, even temporarily. By 2015, 27 million people of Indian origin have remitted more than US$ 70 billion to their country of origin, accounting for 3.5 percent of India's GDP, making it the largest transfer of wealth by an expatriate group in the world (Pande 2017, 117).

Beyond the remittances of expatriates, India relies on attracting foreign investment to compensate for growing trade deficits. As in other countries, the conjunction between neoliberal macroeconomic discipline and high interest rates mainly attracts speculative capital. Greenfield investments are minorities and the expectation of boosting industrial exports has been frustrated. Only the pharmaceutical and services sector has shown international competitiveness. Most foreign direct investment is focused on acquisitions and mergers targeting the Indian domestic market. The levels of taxation are negligible, since residents in Mauritius enjoy exemption, and most of the investments arrive in this way. On the whole, the Indian economy is increasingly vulnerable to financial speculation, and therefore more sensitive to the agency's disciplinary criteria that measure country risk (Neeraj 2006; Chandrasekhar 2011; Menon 2017).

If the industry participation remained stagnant, the service economy has grown significantly since liberalization. Between 1951 and 2015, the primary sector's share of GDP, mainly agriculture, fell from 58% to 17%, while the industry never exceeded 18%, and even with construction, accounts for less than 1/3 of GDP. On the other hand, the service industry accounted for 53% of GDP in 2015 (Boillot 2016, 39-40).

Between 1997-2008, information technology (IT) services rose from 1.2% of GDP to 5.8%, of which 80% is for export. It is an industry that is segmented between a skilled, but employing few industry, and a wide range of outsourced services that require a low-cost business process outsourcing, such as the notorious call-center industry (RoyChowdhuri 2016). In 2013-14, it is estimated that the latter accounted for 90% of exports of IT-related services, while the development of software products accounted for only 6%. Therefore, the success of these exports is directly linked to the outsourcing movement of the large transnational corporations that is in progress, aiming to cut costs. In this context, there are those who compare the export of services performed by cyber-coolies to the emigration of unskilled workers (Kuruvilla 2007). Growing on average over 9% annually since the beginning of the century, India's current contribution to global exports of services is estimated at 3.35%, of which 45% is software services, which represents the double of its worldwide participation in exports of goods (1.65%).

However, despite constituting itself mainly as an urban economic sector based on the exploitation of cheap labor, there is a gap between the weight of the service industry in the Indian economy and the generation of labor that corresponds to it: although it moves more half of the country's GDP, the sector employs less than 30% of the workforce, two thirds of which are in small enterprises in the informal economy. Despite the expansion of international business since structural reforms, only 6% of the workforce in the country is in the corporate sector and almost 90% remain outside the so-called organized sector of the economy, that is, have informal status (Sundar 2017; Bardhan 2010, 6). The slow pace of job creation in what will soon be the most populous country in the world is a serious problem, for which the expansion of the service sector offers no solution.

In fact, about 2/3 of the Indian population still lives in the countryside and half of the workforce is engaged in rural activities. Since independence, food security has been an indispensable social and political concern, which, to some extent, inhibits the expansion of agribusiness for export. Although agricultural goods account for 10% of exports, the country's economy is not driven by agricultural exports, or commodities. In addition to services, the country exports jewelry and precious stones, petroleum derivatives, pharmaceuticals, textiles and cars, among others.

Likewise, the country can be qualified as an agricultural giant. India is the fourth largest agricultural power in the world, after the United States, China and the European Union. It is the seventh largest territory in the world, but has the second largest acreage (after the United States) and the second largest rural population (after China): one in five of the world's rural workers live in India. The country is the world's leading producer of milk (all origins added) and spices; the second of rice, legumes, fruits, tea and sugar cane, as well as the third wheat producer (Bouillot 2017, 41).

However, an eloquent indication of low productivity and the country's social inequality is the finding that the supply of cereals and legumes per capita has long been stagnant: estimated at 470 grams per day in the early 1970s, in 2010 it was still less than 500 grams. In the impossibility of accomplish an effective agrarian reform in the light of the conservative alliances it secured, the Congress party oscillated between attempts at rural modernization, such as the "green revolution" in the 1960s and 1970s, and policies to mitigate poverty and hunger, such as the Public Distribution System (PDS), which distributes food at low prices. In the 1980s, when growth was driven by state investment, 60% of public employment created was in rural areas.

In the following decade however, this and other policies were reversed. The combination of import liberalization, cuts in subsidies and rural assistance programs, reduction of state services and jobs in the countryside, have condemned those who live off the land to abandonment. An extreme expression of this reality is the high rate of suicides recorded: 12,000 rural workers committed suicide per year since 1995, accumulating an estimated 300,000 people in 2018, according to University of Berkeley's calculations (Delacroix 2018).

The social impacts of neoliberal reforms, at a time when the benchmarks historically associated with the Congress party were in check, accelerated the end of this organization's domination in Indian politics. However, the social and moral degradation of congressional politics in a context of exacerbation of inequality and helplessness within the framework of neoliberalism facilitated political polarization towards communalism - a politicization of religion with a discriminatory orientation, often embedded in violent rhetoric and practices (Chandra 2002).

The roots of communalism are reminiscent of British colonial domination, which has shaped religious cleavages with the intention of weakening the Indian National Congress policy which, as we have seen, preached a secular nationalism, subordinating religious differences to anti-colonial unity. As Bipan Chandra (1988) analyzes, communalism is based on the premise that co-religionists share the same secular interests; and that these interests are incompatible or even antagonistic to that of other religions. It is an ideology based on fear and hatred in its extreme expression, which in recent years has established synergistic relations with the rhetoric of the war on terror.

The sharing of the subcontinent between India and Pakistan from a religious standpoint in 1947 was the most dramatic consequence of this policy, and although in India the Congress party preserved its commitment to secularism, it was unable to extirpate it. According to Yogendra, the Nehruvian politics identified communalism as one of the dimensions of the country's backwardness, which economic development would be in charge of overcoming. The limits of Nehruvian modernization are also expressed in the recrudescence of communal politics (Yadav 2017).

Over the years, communalism was always present, but it was from the 1990s that it ascended to a dominant place in Indian politics. According to Chandrasekhar (2017), secularism is seen as a dimension of the Congress party's national project, which had failed. Nominally, this party's monopoly was broken in 1977, when an anti-Indira Gandhi coalition, which included communal forces (Janata Dal), won the elections in 1977, reacting to repressive policies stemming from the 1975 state of emergency. In 1980, however, the Congress party regained the reins of national politics, and despite an interlude between 1989 and 1991, it preserved its dominance until 1996.

Two years later, in 1998, the BJP came to power. For the first time, a party that feeds on communal politics has run the country for a full term. The BJP has ideological and political roots in the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) - "Organization of National Volunteers", a fascist-inspired paramilitary organization that emerged in the context of the inter-war anti-colonial struggle, promoting the notion of Hindutva - the Hindu homeland. Placed in illegality by the Congress party at various times, the organization remains active, providing some of the key BJP cadres, as well as their ideological inspiration.

Thus, in the mandate of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee (1998-2004), Hindu nationalism took over the State, raising the degree of sensitivity of the religious question in the country, while shifting the economic dimension of national policy. Between 1991 and 2004, the rationality of structural adjustment gave the tone of the advanced reforms, under both parties. Since then, the cleavage between the Congress party and the BJP has been placed on the social and cultural dimensions of politics, while neoliberal rationality remains unquestioned.

Return of the Congress

When it returned to the country's command in 2004, with the support of the left, the Congress party intended to partially repair the situation that corroborated to create, in the field as in the city. Since the electoral campaign, the party has tried a *mea-culpa*, proposing a "reform with a human face", with the pretension of reconciling the economic reforms, whose foundations remained untouched, with social reforms.

In the countryside, the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (2005) provided elementary protection against rural unemployment, ensuring at least 100 days of work per year to farmers, while the National Rural Health Mission joined actions to expand rural infrastructure (Bharat Nirman). In the following years, the coverage of the social security system was expanded, programs for widows and disabled people living below the poverty line have been implemented (Indira Gandhi National Widow/Disability Pension Scheme), as well as a Midday meal scheme program, among other assistance initiatives. While some see a more universalist approach to social welfare provision, activists criticize sliding towards a discourse of citizenship rather than advocating for workers rights, responding rather to the agenda of nongovernmental organizations than to unions and workers' organizations (Nielsen 2017).

This social policy secured the re-election of the Congress party in 2008, facilitated by high growth rates, averaging 9% between 2004 and 2008. However, economic growth also unfolded in social conflicts. Massive flows of foreign capital, which in 2007 equaled 9.2% of GDP, intensified financial speculation, including on the stock market, but also real estate. Among the engines of economic growth was civil construction, whose expansion affected the city and the countryside, involving residential and commercial projects, infrastructure works and the creation of special economic zones (SEZ), provoking numerous conflicts in all cases. Some of these struggles have been successful at the local level, such as the resistance to the Communist-ruled Nadigram in West Bengal or the well-known battles against Coca-Cola factories that threaten the water supply of the peasant economy (Prashad 2015; India Resource Center 2018).

However, linguistic and ethnic diversity, coupled with religious and caste cleavages, hinder the political organization of all resistance at the national level. Even communism, historically identified with the left, has difficulties in overcoming divisions and projecting itself nationally, despite having commanded three states of the country for various mandates. The convocation of the left suffers, from the theoretical and practical point of view, to respond to the particularities of Indian society. In the picture of Yogendra, the communists try to adapt the reality of the country to the map they bring, referring to the civilizational pattern of central capitalism, not the opposite (Yadav 2017). The theoretical challenges are worsened, in practice, by a situation in which nine out of ten workers is in the informal sector. In this context, it is the mobilization of the so-called "untouchables" of Indian society that has achieved greater national repercussion, although this policy of the lower ones is not infamous to divisions and opportunism (Yadav 2017).

The Congress party's commitment to advancing social policies continued in the second term, culminating in the implementation of the *Right of Food Act* in 2013. This program, which seeks to provide basic foodstuffs at subsidized prices for 2/3 of the country's population, provoked an outraged reaction from the ruling class. On the other hand, successive corruption scandals undermined the party's prestige among the middle class, while the limits to job creation, despite economic growth, eroded popular party membership, defeated at the polls again by the BJP in 2014. Two data explain the gap between advanced social programs and the country's needs: more than half of adult women were illiterate, while more than 1.5 million children died each year from dehydration-related diseases such as diarrhea and dysentery (Bardhan 2010, 105).

In addition to macroeconomic continuity, economic growth has also marked the Indian trajectory in the twenty-first century, despite political alternation. This growth is driven by the services sector, including information technology (T.I.), but also by the financial sector and civil construction. Between 2012-13 and 2016-17, it is estimated that 68.7% of GDP growth was related to services; financial sector, insurance and real estate market accounted for more than 30%, while manufacturing was restricted to 18% (Bose 2013). However, Boillot and Bardhan both problematize the links between neoliberal reforms and economic growth, highlighting variables such as the favorable international context or more in-depth historical processes, such as the Indian university structure developed in the national-developmental years, policies implemented in previous decades that allowed the development of the IT industry, especially under Rajiv Gandhi (1984-89) (Bardhan 2010; Boillot 2016).

Despite the trend towards economic opening prevalent since the 1990s, the scope of reforms is still limited in India compared to other countries. In general, liberal analyzes estimate that the Indian market is relatively closed, reserving many products for local small businesses - although this list has declined from 400 to less than 80 in 2010.It is considered to be strict labor legislation compared to China, for example, making it difficult to lay off temporary contracts. The state bureaucracy is seen as a hindrance to foreign investment, while regulations hinder the acquisition of land for industrial purposes, which are still subject to confrontation with farmers and unions. Finally, the infrastructure is precarious and the Indian subcontinent is among the least integrated regions of the planet, either east to Southeast Asia, west to the Middle East, or north to China and Russia. The intra-regional trade rate is the lowest in the world, accounting for less than 5% of trade. Faced with these setbacks, the size of the domestic market is seen as one of the country's only strengths in the Asian context (World Bank 2015; Gupta 2017).

It is against this background that we will analyze below the strategies pursued by the Indian state in the regional environment, aiming at enhancing the opportunities of mercantile achievement in the context of globalization.

The Asian environment

The Nehruvian attempt for non-colonial economic development within the framework of capitalism corresponded at the international relations level to the equidistance of the Cold War blocs. India led by Nehru was the main political and ideological engine of the Afro-Asian conference in Bandung in 1955, which adopted and developed the “five principles of peaceful coexistence” (Pancha Sila) formulated by the Indian leader. This meeting unfolded in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, a fundamental reference of the anti-colonial struggles in the Third World under the Cold War, in which India always had a prominent role.

As with the attempt to develop national capitalism, the policy of non-alignment entailed contradictions. At the time, tensions with China brought the country closer to the United States, while conflicts with Pakistan led to the Soviet partnership. Another example of the paradoxes, the decision to build a nuclear bomb in the shadow of Pakistan, a country that evolved as a US military satellite in the region, contradicted Nehru’s political commitment to nuclear disarmament.

Despite paradoxes and contradictions, the horizon of Indian foreign policy was referred to non-alignment until the end of the Cold War, when the neoliberal inflection corresponded to a progressive alignment with the United States. Diplomatic indication of this approach, in 1992 India opened an embassy in Israel. Economic indication, US investments in the country rose from US$76 million to US$4 billion in less than twenty years, following the implementation of the *New Economic Policy* in 1991 (Shiva 2005).

This reorientation focused on how the country fits relations with the Asian environment. The non-alignment paradigm angled Asian solidarity on a broad scale, both geographical and civilizational point of view, conceiving the approach of the southern countries within the framework of a strategy of overcoming the colonial legacy, referred to Pancha Sila values. From this perspective, India assumed that the smaller bordering countries, many of which also suffered British colonization, would be natural allies.

From the 1990s, the prevalent approach has distanced itself from this counter-hegemonic orientation, based on a resigned approach, increasingly dictated by the mercantilist demands inherent in globalization. The ambition of an alternative civilizing horizon in the face of the Cold War gave way to a pragmatic rationality that, accepting US leadership and globalization, designs strategies that favor a less peripheral place for the country in the world order.

This perspective has modified the dynamics with the neighboring countries, and with Asia in general. The relationship with the border countries gained more importance, according to a rationality that conceives the regional leadership as a political asset in the world order, deriving recently in a policy of *neighbors first*. However, this leadership is hampered by the history of dissent bequeathed by partition, and the religious cleavages that accompanied it. With regard to Southeast Asia, the so-called *Look East policy* that has been around the country since the 1990s expresses India's interest in being linked to the economic dynamism emanating from the East. In both cases, whether in the immediate surroundings or in Southeast Asia, India has engaged in various political and economic initiatives of regional integration. In both cases, the projection of Chinese power influences calculations and decisions, while in the relationship with Africa the spirit of Bandung gave way to mercantile expansion.

Probably the most significant expression of the Indian inflection in the 1990s was the country's entry into the World Trade Organization in 1995 (Mazumdar 2017). This decision, taken by the Congress party's administration, made a shift towards multilateral trade openness, distancing itself from the Nehruvian national-developmental horizon. However, instead of boosting agricultural exports as expected, the entry to the WTO immediately affected sectors such as pepper and rubber, as well as undermining the hardware industry. In the following years, the progressive commercial opening affected several local productive sectors, for example, with the importation of cheap coconut from Sri Lanka and palm oil from Malaysia (Bhutani and Segupta 2017; Kuruvilla 2017). This process worsened the country's trade deficits, as analyzed previously.

Two years later, it became the embryo of the organization, which since 2004 was known as *Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation* (BIMSTEC). Originally a relatively loose arrangement, the composition of the organization is revealing the directions of Indian foreign policy. BIMSTEC is composed by countries from South and Southeast Asia: Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Bhutan and Nepal. It is kind of a bridge between the *Association of Southeast Asean Nations* (ASEAN) and *the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation* (SAARC) (ADB 2016).

The first was created in 1967, initially bringing together countries in the region committed to an anti-communist agenda (Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand). Subsequently, it evolved towards a free trade zone. SAARC was proposed by Bangladesh in 1985, with the accession of Afghanistan, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Maldives, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The organization, which had among its original expectations overcome the traumas of the partition in the subcontinent, also evolved towards a free-trade area, the South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA), which was completed in 2006.

In this context, BIMSTEC results from the convergence between the orientation of the Look East Indian policy with the *Look West policy* emanating from Thailand for similar reasons (Bonu 2012; Datta 2017). The organization provided India with a gateway to ASEAN, with the participation of Myanmar and Thailand, completing a step in the "Look East policy." On the other hand, the organization brings together SAARC countries, but without the presence of Pakistan, considered uncomfortable for Indian interests. In reality, the dissonance between these countries has always hampered the concrete progress of SAARC. In reality, the dissonance between these countries has always hampered the concrete progress of SAARC. In short, BIMSTEC expresses two fundamental trends in Indian foreign policy: the intention to consolidate leadership among the immediate surrounding countries, even if this implies in excluding Pakistan, which is seen as a condition to assert its international prominence, on the other hand, the economic commitment to intensify regional integration in the Eastern direction, with a view to strengthening economic ties within the framework of globalization (Yahya 2003; Palit 2016).

In the same framework, the Mekong-Ganga Cooperation (MGC) was launched in Laos in 2000, bringing together India and five ASEAN countries (Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand and Vietnam) around a tourism, culture, education and transportation agenda. In addition to the opportunity for greater connectivity, suggested by the evocation of two major rivers that serve the continent, the initiative is based on historical ties that link India with this region, going back at least to the spread of Buddhism. The archaeological site of Angkor Wat for example, Cambodia's main tourist attraction, was initially conceived as a Hindu temple, erected by the Khmer empire. In other words, there are relevant cultural similarities that may favor the rapprochement with India in terms of what some analysts refer to as soft power (Yhome 2017).

The proposal to integrate the region into globalization was not new. Since 1992, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) has been in charge of the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS), which does not include India, but includes regions of China related to the Mekong River (Verghese 2001, 195). In the early 2000s ADB also responded to new trends emanating from India and was leading the launch of the *South Asia Subregional Economic Cooperation* (SASEC) program in 2001. It is an initiative bringing together countries from South and Southeast Asia based on a regional infrastructure integration projects agenda comparable to the Initiative for the Integration of Regional Infrastructure in South America (IIRSA), advanced in this same context by the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) in South America. SASEC also proposed a joint regional integration strategy, although in the case of South America, the scale of the proposal is greater. According to Prabir De, this is not a coincidence, but there is a lot of interchange between the ADB and the IDB, which is reflected in the banking strategy. Chaturdevi is even more emphatic, suggesting that banks have begun integration processes on both continents (De 2017; Chaturdevi 2017).

Ultimately, the imperative of connecting India with Southeast Asia underlying BIMSTEC and SASEC is not an end in itself, but it is designed to integrate the country into global value chains, enhancing access to markets such as Japan and the United States (Taneja 2017). In this perspective, the infrastructure integration in the Eastern direction is a considerable challenge, which these initiatives intend to address. To begin with, the northeastern region of the country itself evolved as a kind of enclave, scarcely connected to the whole of India. Variables of different nature were involved in this situation. It is a border region with China, a country with which India has a sensitive and sometimes conflicting relationship. Since the war in 1962, India decided not to develop the infrastructure of the region as a defensive device against Chinese penetration, which in turn fueled resentment against the Indian state, expressed in various insurgent movements. Geography is even more complicated because it is a piece of outlying India involving Bangladesh, a country originated as East Pakistan in 1947 partition, preserving only a close geographical connection with the Indian region of East Bengal. The connection between the western and eastern borders of Bangladesh, both Indian territories, is easier by sea. On the other hand, despite a 1643 km border with Myanmar, only a poorly preserved road connects both countries. On the whole, the Indian northeast comprises relatively isolated and poorly integrated territories, where the presence of the State is scarce, except in the military aspect. The relative marginality of this population and the region's low economic development is still complicated by prevailing ethnic diversity and informal relations with neighboring countries (RIS 2011).

In reality, the informal economy and smuggling is an important feature of the political economy of the entire region that extends to the east of India, including trafficking in poppy-derived drugs in northern Myanmar. For many years, the characteristics of the political regime of this country, relatively closed for the foreign penetration, also impeded the integration. Still, there are Chinese interests, not always favorable to the development of border regions, nor to an east-west approach, which may counteract its influence in the region. Finally, the main economic interest of infrastructural integration is not the markets of these countries themselves, but India's connection to global chains via ASEAN space. In sum, geographical, ethnic, geopolitical and economic variables hamper the integration of East India into Southeast Asia.

However, from the 1990s onward, India's connection with its eastern neighbors was a challenge that needed to be addressed in order to tighten the country's economic ties with global markets. In this perspective, connectivity is the biggest problem: maritime connections are relatively efficient, but by land are not. According to Yhome, three main projects were initially designed to overcome this obstacle. The first of these is a trilateral highway connecting India, Myanmar and Thailand. A second project is the Kaladan multimodal corridor involving sea and land routes to circumvent Bangladesh, connecting eastern India to the northeastern states: the connection involves the connection of the Indian port of Calcutta with the port of Sittwe in Myanmar, from which makes the connection by the Kaladan River with Paletwa still in Myanmar, to then connect by road with the state of Mizoram in the northeast Indian. The third project is an India-Hanoi (Vietnam) railroad, which in 2017 was still on paper, while other projects were underway. Other infrastructural integration initiatives followed, such as the India-Mekong corridor and the aforementioned portfolio of projects associated with SASEC (Yhome 2017).

In accordance with infrastructural integration efforts, trade flows between India and the CMLV countries (Cambodia, Myanmar, Laos and Vietnam) doubled between 2004 and 2013, jumping from US$1.1 billion to US$11.2 billion. In the latter year, Indian investment in these countries was estimated at US$ 40.9 million. These figures, although significant, pale in comparison to ASEAN's investments in the CMLV countries this year, which reached US$ 3.5 billion, while China alone invested about US$ 2 billion (Dixit 2015).

In addition to infrastructural integration, trade exchanges were driven by free trade agreements, which resulted in a significant increase in the international exchange rate of the Indian economy, as already noted. In 2005 a free trade agreement was signed with Singapore, a country that hosts a significant Indian diaspora. However, the expectation that this agreement would serve as a gateway to ASEAN did not materialize (Chanda 2017). In 2009, a free trade agreement with ASEAN itself was signed. Agreements followed with Japan, Malaysia and South Korea, which in 2017 were in different stages of implementation. Negotiations with Australia, New Zealand and Indonesia were also in progress. In this process, trade between India and ASEAN countries multiplied by twenty in twenty years, reaching US$ 77 billion in 2014-5 (RIS 2016, xxxi). In the immediate environment, the creation of SAFTA agreed at a SAARC summit in 2004 put the subregion on the path of free trade.

However, there are those who point out that this proliferation of bilateral treaties responds to a certain fad, rather than being a weighted strategy.

In trade terms, since the beginning of the 2000s India has been facing a growing deficit with the ASEAN countries, as the increase in imports has not been offset by exports. In the service sector, there are non-trade barriers, such as the language issue, that make it difficult for Indian businesses to expand in countries like Japan and Korea (Chanda 2017).

In this context, significant sectors of Indian capitalism reluctantly receive the ongoing proposal of a *Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership* (RCEP), aiming to constitute a free trade area between the ten ASEAN countries and the six countries with which ASEAN has free agreements (Australia, China, India, Japan, South Korea and New Zealand). According to Chaturdevi (2017), industrial sectors agglutinated with the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) are against the initiative. The RCEP is envisaged as an alternative to the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), an initiative that encompasses several Asian and American countries, but excludes China and India. However, for Arpita Mukherjee (2017), RCEP would not offer any economic interest to India, which has signed trade agreements for political reasons.

However, the mercantile approach with China is cause for concern, since the trade deficit with China has also increased. In fact, the Chinese projection on Southeast Asia is a concern underlying Indian politics in the region and elsewhere. On the other hand, similar fears about Chinese power, in countries such as Thailand, Myanmar and even Japan, have favored the rapprochement with India (Hoda 2017). All Southeast Asian countries have some degree of apprehension or even hostility toward China due to past conflicts (Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam) or present tensions.

In the immediate environment, India faces dilemmas. Similar to what happens in China in Southeast Asia, the small countries of the Indian subcontinent are apprehensive about Indian projection. This fear refers not only to the trauma of the partition and to the various wars with Pakistan, but also to interventions in Bangladesh (1971, then East Pakistan), Sri Lanka (1987) and the Maldives (1988). In fact, at the beginning of 2018, the possibility of Indian intervention amidst the political crisis in the Maldives was re-emerging once again (Kazmin 2018).

On the other hand, Chinese investments in the Indian subcontinent have climbed since the launch of the *One Belt, One Road Initiative* (BRI) in 2013. It is a Chinese government strategy that evokes the ancient silk routes to intensify the country in the direction of Central Asia and Europe (*Silk Economic Belt Road*), but also in the south direction, articulating to varied maritime routes (*Maritime Silk Road*). In this context, China has presented itself as an available partner in circumstances where India does not wish to, or is unable to attend.

In Sri Lanka, the Chinese financed the construction of the port of Hambantota in the south of the island, which the Indians previously refused as expensive. At the end of 2017, less than seven years after the inauguration, the port was leased by the Sri Lankan government to the Chinese for 99 years, in the face of the impossibility of paying the debt, specifically integrating BRI (Purushothaman 2017). In Nepal, the impact of Chinese investments is notable on roads, hydroelectric and railways, as well as aid for the country's reconstruction after the earthquake of 2015, which killed more than 9000 people. While Chinese investment was estimated at US$ 8.3 billion in 2017, the Indian commitment was at US$ 317 million. This year, the Communists won the elections, foreshadowing a closer rapprochement between the kingdom and China. In Bangladesh, where relations with India have evolved favorably, the Chinese ambassador has announced investments of around US$ 10 billion in 2018, within BRI's milestones. Even the loyalty of little Bhutan, with whom India cultivates "sacred bonds" secured by economic dependence (95% of exports and 75% of imports), has been courted by Chinese investments. Meanwhile, the Maldives signed its first free trade agreement at the end of 2017, precisely with China.

Viewed in this light, the *Neighbors First* policy adopted by Prime Minister Narendra Modi since 2014 emerges first as a reaction to the corrosion of Indian hegemony in its immediate surroundings, rather than as a strategy to assert the country's leading role in the world order. The intention to cultivate the political loyalty of neighbors is driven primarily by security concerns, as they are countries that offer relatively small markets with limited attraction for Indian business. On the other hand, these countries find business opportunities in China, but also a political asset to be used in negotiations with India: the so-called *China card*, that is, the possibility of manipulating the approach with Beijing as a way of obtaining concessions from Delhi .

However, it is in Pakistan that the Chinese presence asserts itself in a massive way. In this country, the arm of BRI is the so-called *China-Pakistan Corridor*, involving investments in infrastructure in progress estimated at US$ 62 billion. This amount is equivalent to any direct foreign investment in the country since 1970, accounting for about 22% of Pakistan's GDP in 2015. The corridor crosses the Kashmir region, reason for dispute between India and Pakistan since the partition. The geopolitical reach of the corridor is not clear: some people consider Chinese ambitions to be limited, but hostile reactions rehearsed by Trump can make the approach to China a "self-fulfilling prophecy" in this country that has become an American military enclave in the region (Ali 2010). On the other hand, this move increases the importance of India in the eyes of the United States, seen by the Obama administration as a possible pivot to isolate China in Asia (Kuruvilla 2017).

With regard to Pakistan, a BJP communalist policy led by Modi, based on an instrumentalization of religious hostility for political purposes, particularly with Muslims, is not auspicious. However, in addition to the bellicose rhetoric that mobilizes Indian nationalism against China as well, unofficial dialogue channels remain open. And if there are no signs of substantive improvement in relationships, they are also not believed to be worsen.

India and Africa

In the face of the embarrassment of projecting westward toward Pakistan and Afghanistan, or to the north, where China is, Indian business has expanded in Africa in recent years. Despite difficulties related to language, infrastructure and the size of markets, Indian companies find greater openness (*goodwill*) in this continent, so that different sectors such as services (IT and telecommunications), mining, construction and the acquisition of land grabbing, has expanded its activities (Chanda 2017; Mazumdar 2017).

Major software companies such as Tata Consultancy Services, Infosys and Wipro operate in Africa, implementing low-cost operations to serve customers who outsource services from Europe and western Asia. Other companies are targeting the African ICT market, where middle-class expansion puts pressure on demand for products and services, such as 3G and 4G network connectivity. An example of this interest in the domestic market is the Indian company Bharti Airtel, which acquired Zain Telecommunications operations in Africa in 2010 and 2015, had 70 million subscribers in 17 countries (Keene 2015). Indian mining companies such as giant ArcelorMittal invest across the continent. Iron, coal and gold are the main products, but there are also businesses linked to rare metals and copper. In early 2018, GAIL, the state-owned natural gas company, was expanding business in Nigeria and Ghana. At the same time, India's demand for raw materials fosters land ownership in Africa. While it is difficult to access reliable statistics on this politically sensitive issue, a study indicates that in 2010 more than 80 Indian companies had invested about US$ 2.4 billion in buying or renting land in countries such as Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Senegal and Mozambique, mostly used to produce food for the Indian market (CUTS 2014).

Trade between India and Africa increased five-fold between 2005-06 and 2015-6, reaching US$ 52 billion in March 2016-17. Indian direct investment in Africa totaled US$ 14 billion in 2012, making it the seventh largest foreign investor on the continent. Although these numbers are modest in relation to all Indian businesses overseas, investments have increased since then, and political movements have also: since 2008, India-Africa Forum is held periodically. The most recent summit was held in New Delhi in 2015 and brought together 41 African heads of state (Dubey; Biswas 2016). At the moment, India was the largest investor in Ethiopia (including massive land purchases), and was among the top five foreign investors in countries like Kenya, Ghana and Zambia.

In general, the State has supported this expansion, without, however, developing a precise strategy until now (Chanda 2017). In the words of the Export Import Bank of India's president, "Indian history (in Africa) is a story of private entrepreneurship" (Khare 2013). However, this bank, among others, has moved concretely to boost this mercantile expansion.

Since 2005, Indian banks are allowed to support acquisitions operated by domestic companies abroad. Specifically, EXIM Bank's Overseas Investment Finance program aims to cover the entire business cycle of Indian investments abroad, including financing of joint ventures or wholly owned subsidiaries. The bank provides lines of credit to numerous institutions in Africa, which at the end of 2016 totaled US$ 7.7 billion in 44 countries. In the context of the India-Africa summit in 2015, the bank announced the launch of the *Kuzuza Project Development Company* (KPDC), which also has the participation of the *State Bank of India* and the ADB. This company works to make infrastructure projects with Indian participation in Africa, which according to a World Bank study, offers an attractive market, requiring investments of around US$ 90 billion per year (Srivats 2015). In early 2017, the bank raised US$ 10 billion through the *London Stock Exchange*, which will be used to support Indian export projects and investments abroad through long-term credit lines (Money Control 2018). In summary, EXIM Indian Bank has been a partner in the globalization of Indian business.

In this context of increasing commercial engagement with Africa, the Asia-Africa Growth Corridor (AAGC) was launched in 2017, an economic cooperation agreement between the governments of India, Japan and the African countries. According to the original document, an Indo-Japanese collaboration is sought to develop African infrastructure, including its digital dimension, with a view to enhancing linkages between countries across the Indian Ocean (RIS 2017). Above all, there is a sea corridor with ramifications over the territories, in an evident reaction to the Chinese *One Belt, One Road Initiative*, which foresees an arm extending over the same Indian Ocean. United by fears of Chinese projection, India and Japan are making efforts to expand business in and with Africa, as well as ensuring the supply of raw materials and food they need, while counterbalancing Chinese expansion in

Africa and the Indian Ocean.

Final thoughts: the BJP back to power

The election of Narendra Modi as the Indian prime minister in 2014 put Hindu nationalism again in command of the country, at a time when the Congress party faces the greatest crisis of legitimacy in its history, while the left is reduced to the least parliamentary representation since independence. Modi is a picture of the RSS, reputed for his probusiness attitude and brutal methods of doing politics as governor of Gujrati, Gandhi's home state, where he is accused of complicity in the massacre of thousands of Muslims in 2002. He is a rude but charismatic politician, adept of the spectacularization of politics and activism in social networks, which converts Hindu motives into an object of personal or business marketing, designing a modernizing version of Hindutva.

Adopting the slogan *Make in India*, Modi set out to increase the share of industrial GDP from 16% to 25% by 2022, creating 100 million new jobs. Under his presidency, the economy of the country continued to grow at a rapid pace, becoming the most dynamic economy of the G-20 in 2017, ahead of China, with a growth rate of more than 7%. In 2018, the country's GDP is projected to surpass the UK and France, making India the fifth world economy (Pinson and Stiel 2018).

However, the trends already described persevere: although the country was the world's ninth destination of foreign direct investment in 2016, few *greenfield* investments and even less employment generation. New sectors of the economy have been open to international capital, including universities, hospitals, banks and retail trade. Walmart, which operates 21 Best Price stores in India with the ironic slogan "Making Small Business Thrive," announces that it will multiply its business in the coming years. Meanwhile, in the second half of 2017 the manufacturing sector lost 87,000 jobs in a country that needs to create 1 million jobs a month to absorb the growth of the labor force. It is projected that in five years, the Indian population will surpass the Chinese population.

In his commitment to external openness and investment attraction, Modi recovered the idea of the ZES, but within the framework of a political strategy that aims to limit geographically the opposition to economic liberalization between industrialists and workers. The Chinese path is often emulated among Indian business sectors, albeit veiled (Mohanty 2018). At the same time, the government set up a Project Development Fund to support Indian industries interested in setting up manufacturing centers in the CLMV countries. This policy, contradicting the Make in India banner, is justified on the grounds that the competitiveness of Indian industry will increase, bringing in the long term more advanced practices and technologies for the country. Africa has also attracted some Indian industries, such as the manufacturer of transformers who announced the installation of a factory in Zambia in 2018, benefiting from local copper.

While Modi promises less bureaucracy and red carpet for international business, his domestic policy is marked by obscurantism and repression. Despite the constitutional surface, the government operates in a state of permanent exception, manipulating an aggressive Hindu nationalism amid authoritarian practices. It denounces the growth of a culture of impunity, while NGOs, intellectuals, activists and students are persecuted. In the same month that Modi was greeted at the Economic Forum in Davos in 2018, the Dalits stalled the country's financial capital, Mumbai, while the country's main university in New Delhi (UNJ) was in permanent turmoil. There is growing unease, under a government compared to fascism by intellectuals of different extraction (Vanaik 2017a).

The social base of the BJP is composed by large capitals, including those derived from the Hinduization of consumption, such as the Ayurvedic products industry; owners; the middle class reactive to corruption endemic in the INC; the Indian diaspora; part of the lumpenproletariat, between the youth without work and the untouchables. In the absence of a political project that goes beyond the art of winning elections, in which he became a master, the BJP's policy turns against the horizon historically associated with the Congress party: the state planning commission has been suppressed, while the government does not nor produces statistical data, despised as a leftist thing; at the same time, it manipulates the poverty line in its favor; the long-term loan structures have been emptied, and like other developmental tools, they become commercial. Even the social laws enacted in recent years are threatened. In terms of international economics, Arpita Mukherjee, a researcher at the prestigious *Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations* (Incrier), complained that the BJP does not believe in long-term research and therefore tends to make decisions that are less and less informed. related to adherence to PWNCs (Mukherjee 2017).

On the economic front, the BJP's management is to open and deregulate the domestic market with a view to attracting foreign investment, while supporting the projection of Indian business considered to be internationally competitive. In foreign policy, this dynamic deepens the trends already analyzed: political leadership in the regional environment (Neighbors first); infrastructural integration with Southeast Asia to connect to global value chains (Act East); expansion towards Africa. All these movements take into account the Chinese projection, in the region and in the world.

These goals sometimes overlap. Recently, India led the group of four countries that forced the cancellation of the 19th SAARC summit scheduled for September 2016 in Pakistan, claiming that Pakistan did not provide sufficient protection against acts of terrorism. The country then took advantage of the BRICS meeting in Goa to promote a meeting between BRICS and BIMSTEC in a move that deepened the exclusion of Pakistan and was described by the local press as "a masterstroke" (Gatty 2016; The Hindu 2016).

In BIMSTEC, the Indian goals of political leadership and economic integration converge. Prabir De mentioned three reasons to believe that the initiative would finally take off: a permanent secretariat was set up in Dhaka, led by an active secretary general, Sumith Nakandala (whose term expired in August 2017). Second, the land border agreements between India and Bangladesh, and maritime between Bangladesh and Myanmar, have removed the last diplomatic obstacles to infrastructural integration. Finally, the continuity of tensions between India and Pakistan should condemn SAARC to a slow evolution, favoring alternative forums (De 2017).

As for SASEC, in July 2016 the ADB's initiative counted 40 projects already completed or in progress, totaling investments of US$ 7.7 billion. There is an overlap (or complementarity, according to the approach) in relation to BIMSTEC, because as we have seen, the latter proposes to integrate India into Asean markets and beyond, emphasizing infrastructural connectivity with Southeast Asia. At the same time, the recent partnership with Japan around the AAGC will enhance the maritime connection from Africa. Taken together, while the Chinese project north-south corridors on the BRI landmarks, India engages in east-west corridors, bringing together partners equally concerned with Chinese expansion, as is the case with Japan.

From the point of view of the general orientation of recent foreign policy, the split between the Congress party and the BJP seems secondary. Since the inflection in the 1990s, the prevalent north is to negotiate the terms of the country's integration into globalization. In this perspective, the pace and time of the process is disputed, but not its direction. Of course, there are differences: Modi broke with the practice of the Indian heads of state who, when visiting Israel, also visit Palestine. Nor does it insist on the creation of a Palestinian state that has as its capital East Jerusalem, traditionally supported by the country. In a perverse way, Hindu nationalism flirts with Jewish nationalism, both backed by hostility to Muslims, with the approval of the White House.

If the policy is not equal, the difference has a limit, which is the insulation of the economy. In general, the BJP differs from the Congress party not because of the economy, but because of politics. Ironically, the ideology of both parties refers to an economic nationalism that, in practice, has been buried. If Congress itself dug the hole in the 1990s, the BJP strives to play the lime shovel. Although Hindu economic ideology refers to Swadeshi (self-sufficiency), the BJP in power is committed to liquidating the horizon associated with the Congress party, which includes national industrialization, secularism and non-alignment, as well as a feeble remission to socialism. Instead, they glimpse transnational capital, communal politics and alignment with the United States, referred to the ideology of Hindu nationalism.

The polarization between congressional politics and the BJP is real: communal politics makes victims to the bullet, and not only with misery. However, this polarization also fulfills a conservative function, eluting from the debate alternatives that face the structural dilemmas of Indian society. For as a proverb says in the country, when two elephants fight, the one who suffers is the grass.

But if the Congress party is hit, Hindu nationalism is not content to beat. The BJP's policy direction goes beyond demolishing what remains of the Nehruvian elephant, for it threatens the very existence of grass, turning the soil of Indian politics into quicksand, which risks engaging the country in barbarism.

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ABSTRACT

This article analyses the trends of India's foreign policy in recent years under the light of political and economic dynamics, with a focus in its regional surrounding. The text locates an inflection towards economic liberalization undertaken in the beginning of the 1990´s, and then moves on to the context of economic expansion in the 21st century. The achievements and limits of those processes are taken into consideration. In the political realm, as the legitimacy of the Indian National Congress (INC) was brought to check, so was its hegemony, in a process that has favored the rise of political agencies identified with hindu nationalism and communalism, such as the BJP. Overall, the hallmarks of Indian politics that prevailed since independence under leadership of the Congress Party are left behind: economic nationalism, secular politics, and international non-alignment. In this context, the broad orientation of Indian foreign policy also has changed. The text analyses the consequences of this inflection in the regional context, focusing the Neighbors first policy and the priority given to infrastructural connectivity with Southeast Asia (Look East and Act East policies), as well as the recent intensification of business in the African continent. Altogether, the expectations of an alternative civilizatory horizon in the context of the Cold War which has nurtured Nehruvian politics, has given place to a pragmatic rationality that accepts the United States leadership and as such, draws strategies adapting to the mercantile trends that typify globalisation.

KEYWORDS

India; Southeast Asia; Regional Integration; Look East policy; Neighbors first.

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REGIONAL INTEGRATION: MERCOSUR ON THE VERGE OF POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS

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Introduction

For almost all South American countries, the beginning of the 21st century symbolized a historic change in the direction of economic development. Several leaders who were critical of the neoliberal agenda put into practice during the 1990s rose to the Republican presidencies by electoral means and in a short space of time. The victory of so many governments identified with the left wing is something unprecedented in the region, but it did not happen by chance. It is the direct result of the failure of neoliberal policies to generate a new phase of growth after the so-called "lost decade" of the 1980s. This unique trajectory in South America was recognized by many authors as a return to a model of economic developmentalism led by the State (Hirst et al. 2010; Fiori 2007). Thus, with this scenario, a new spirit was created about South American integration, especially regarding the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR).

MERCOSUR has five Member States: Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay and Venezuela, and five Associate States: Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru. Bolivia is in the process of negotiation to be incorporated as a full member. At the time of its creation on March 26, 1991, the neoliberal vision of regionalism prevailed. In this perspective, South American integration would be a part of a broader liberalization process, as well as the entire American continent in which the United States would play a "natural" leadership role. This vision was incorporated into the external agenda during

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the two governments Fernando Henrique Cardoso (FHC) between 1995 and 2002.

However, the constraint produced in several countries of the region due to the neoliberal reforms of the 1990s was confronted in the first years of the 21st century with the arrival of governments which identified themselves with an agenda of development, with distinct priorities regarding the integration process of those promoted by previous governments. With this in mind, MERCOSUR introduced an agenda that was intended to go beyond purely commercial objectives of integration, while the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), a North American proposal that favors an integration focused primarily on trade and that should enter into force in 2005 was stalled.

Thus, within this new integration process, Brazil played a prominent role since the election of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva in 2002. In his inaugural speech, Lula stated that Brazil wanted to link its destiny with South America (Silva 2008 [2003]). This closer relationship with the South American countries was maintained by his successor, Dilma Rousseff, from the beginning of her government in 2011, although with some differences and in less favorable economic and political conditions. In this manner, we can say that for these governments MERCOSUR gained a significant geopolitical weight for each country and its strengthening prevailed as a state strategy.

However, the current Brazilian political crisis, which resulted in the removal of President Dilma in May 2016, without any legal basis, thus, forming a coup, started to threaten the integration process built in recent years[3] (Hirst 2016; Milani 2016). The current President Michel Temer, during his interim position, determined a neoliberal turn in the economy.[4] And this was also reflected in foreign policy. In fact, the appointment of José Serra as Minister of Foreign Affairs, an economist with no experience and technical knowledge on the international agenda, marked a profound change of position regarding the way in which Brazil has guided its foreign policy since 2003, especially in relation to South America. Nevertheless, this came as no surprise. Already in 2010, Serra stated that the Bolivian government of Evo Morales was an accomplice of drug trafficking, and that he feared no diplomatic incidents with

3 In general, the international press understood that the departure of Dilma was configured in a coup promoted by the Brazilian parliament.

4 Previously, in October 2015, the "A bridge to the future" program was announced. Under the justification of 'pacifying the country', this program establishes a totally pro-market agenda to 'put inflation in the target' and resume GDP growth. In this program, Michel Temer´s message that he came into power prepared to replace the president Dilma Rouseff. More information: http://pmdb.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/RELEASE-TEMER_A4-28.10.15-Online.pdf.

the neighboring country due to his accusation (Senra 2016).

Therefore, the bet of a South-South integration is giving way to a project of approximation with the western powers, notably with the United States. Instead of MERCOSUR, an open regionalism like the Pacific Alliance, in which a neoliberal model of integration prevails, has been gaining priority. This may explain Washington's obsequious silence about the breakdown of democratic order in Brazil.

MERCOSUR had completed its 25th anniversary and has a relatively consolidated institutional structure, which hinders deeper changes, even if a particular government does not have it as a priority. Nevertheless, one cannot underestimate the negative impacts of a radical change of orientation and of the hostilities that the new Brazilian government has been disseminating on the bloc.

The objective of this article is to analyze the changes in Brazil's foreign policy guidelines related to MERCOSUR since the beginning of the Lula government, and the return to the conception of integration of open regionalism with the arrival of Michel Temer to power. Besides this introduction the article is organized in three more sections. In the second section we will briefly review some notes on integration theory. The third section is divided into two parts. In the first one we will discuss the changes that the Lula and Dilma government represented for MERCOSUR, and in the second, under the Temer government, the role of the new chancellor José Serra on the bloc. This, as we show, indicated a return to the conception that prevailed until 2002 with some characteristics that made it even more deleterious as to the possibilities of integration of South America, even considering only the commercial side. And in the last section, the final considerations.

The Theory of Integration and Mercosur: Brief Observations

The model for Latin America's international insertion, systematized by ECLAC in the 1950s, manifested the center-periphery[5] vision elaborated by Raul Prebisch in the 1930s. In this way, industrialization is the basic variable for overcoming delays between countries. Although the conception of 'old' ECLAC has been considered 'autarchic', Macedo and Silva (2009) point

5 The center-periphery view states that, unlike that advocated by the classical and neoclassical theories of international trade, specialization based on comparative advantages would lead to a deepening of the inequality between the periphery - exporter of primary goods - exporter of industrialized goods. Thus, without any intervention by the State, trade relations would not promote the equal distribution of the fruits of technical progress.

out that Prebisch proposed a dynamic approach to the foreign trade policy of the periphery, so that the preferential rates practiced between the countries should reflect the evolution of the productive structure of these countries. Regionalization would be an option for import substitution, insofar as it strengthened the capacity and diversification of export of several countries and allowed the importation of countries of the region that produce at a lower cost (Carneiro 2009). Developmental regionalism[6] conceives regional integration as strategic importance for the promotion of economic development (List apud Teixeira and Desiderá 2012).

In general, economic integration processes are associated with preferential agreements around foreign trade tariffs of the countries involved. For its turn, liberal regionalism in its theoretical roots[7] does not see regional trade agreements as positive in terms of well-being, it is a case of second best in relation to a multilateral economic opening, as it would have been defended in the 1990s[8], above all. As the conventional theory of international trade (protectionism x free trade) does not go deep into aspects related to structural transformations and technical progress, its conception of integration is merely commercialist (Corazza 2006; Teixeira and Desiderá Neto 2012).

Regional economic integration, in conventional theory, can take any shape, either of a free trade area, or a political union. This closed perspective of Balassa (1962) served as a starting point for studies based on more critical perspectives of the process of regional economic integration, especially those in the periphery. Alongside the conventional theory of international trade, it belongs to the pragmatic view of the International Trade Organization (WTO). That is, as far as intergovernmental institutions are concerned, international trade is taken from the perspective of a Pareto optimality world-wide (free trade) and equilibrium, which is the second best (regional blocs). MERCOSUR, founded in 1991, expresses this second-best perspective.

The Latin American Integration Association (LAIA), the Latin American expression of developmentalism of the 1960s and 1980s in regional economic integration agreements, remains more like a regional WTO, in the sense of regulating blocks of trade with Latin American countries. In contrast, it is often remembered the example of East Southeast Asia and, of course, the European Union whose process began in the 1950s with the coal and steel

6 The developmental view of the economic process of integration is based on the studies of Frederich List (1841).

7 Economic liberalism built by Adam Smith and David Ricardo.

8 Schiff and Winters (2003) believe that integration agreements arise in response to the difficulties of multilateralism and in this case the regional blocs would be a step towards integration with the global economy.

agreements and which was only materialized with the Common Agricultural Policy. Both in the periphery and in the example of the center, geopolitical factors weighed heavily to may have some success. This success, not to sound conventional, express itself in terms of trade and investment flows. Moreover, intra-firm trade and income and employment multiplier, without the deepening of the agreement (reduction of trade barriers between countries) caused relative economic development differences between countries.

In this last aspect, the European Union with funds for regional compensation – which were almost all put into check after the euro crisis – is a model. Despite relevant agreements in East and South-East Asia, such as ASEAN and Chiang Mai (recently strengthened by China), the regional economic integration (theory) sustains itself in the European Union. The developmental motivation of industrialization had not inspired or deepened any of these agreements.

However, amongst the countries in the region- since the creation of the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA) and after LAIA[9]- a production integration was not as intense as the one that did take place in Asia (Carneiro 2008). Medeiros (2010) considers that the significance of regional integration occurs when it contributes to productive and technological development, and that free trade in itself - as advocated in open regionalism - would lead to increased asymmetries between member countries.

In addition, the panorama of Latin American integration in the 1990s did not prove promising even in terms of the intensification of trade flows between the member countries. Veiga and Ríos (2007) point out that MERCOSUR and the Andean Community of Nations (CAN) would be the most advanced regional integration schemes in terms of trade liberalization, since MERCOSUR exceptional treatment directed to automotive products and sugar in 2006, accounted for 93% of tariff lines, 80% in trade value, while in the CAN, liberalization was seen as total. However, "the two subregional agreements that explicitly opted for the customs union model and deeper integration projects have been able to establish, in the last fifteen years, free trade areas with significant coverage - an objective that, from the standpoint of the models above, is only an intermediate goal. " (Veiga and Ríos 2007, 10).

In the early 2000s, the pink-tide movement (Fiori 2011) in much of South America triggered the resurgence of developmentalist ideas. Veiga and Ríos (2007) define this new reality of greater regional economic coordination and cooperation, that goes beyond trade issues, as a post-liberal regionalism.

9 LAFTA, created in the 1960s, aimed at the establishment of a common Latin American market and was replaced in the 1980s by LAIA.

In 2009, the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) member countries created the South American Infrastructure and Planning Council (COSIPLAN) to provide greater political and strategic complexity for regional physical infrastructure integration activities. In this way, the aim is to ensure that the management of resources for the financing of infrastructure investment is not depleted of the promotion of economic integration and development (Calixtre and Barros 2010).

In the 1980s, when Brazil and Argentina began their talks for regional cooperation, they did so focusing on infrastructure such as the Integration and Economic Cooperation Program (PICE) in 1986. But in a complete opposite perspective. Today's regional infrastructure seeks to provide means for exports, with an outward prospect, in order to facilitate the outflow of multinational enterprises (e.g. like the Chinese ones). As a justification for these options, it is often remembered that improving position in global value chains will depend on improvements in logistics connections between countries (as in Asia).

In the 2000s decade, MERCOSUR`s political issues were hand in hand with the purpose of deepening South American infrastructure. The qualitative leap for the built of a physical infrastructure to connect all South American countries took place in 2000, when, during Fernando Henrique Cardoso´s government, the proposal for the creation of the Initiative for the Integration of Regional Infrastructure in South America (IIRSA) was presented. IIRSA was institutionally supported and structured by the Technical Coordination Committee (CCT) with the support of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and of the Andean Corporation (CAF)- which from 2007 onwards was renamed the Development Bank of Latin America - and the Financial Fund for the Development of the Silver Basin (FONPLATA). The main justification for the creation of IIRSA was based on the premises of open regionalism, that is, on the promotion of private investment, as well as on sustaining higher levels of competitiveness in international markets (Corazza, 2005). The planning of the investment portfolio in infrastructure and the corresponding territorial division of South America was carried out by the Technical Coordination Committee (CCT), following criteria of geographical proximity and productive complementarity and economic base.

The treatment of South American physical integration by indicative territorial planning in integration and development axes (IDA) followed a multinational logic of identification of similarities regarding natural resources and commercial flows and productive bases, which would indicate a purely geo-economic treatment of the process of integration of the sub-region. South American economies dependent pattern of international insertion to the countries' weak links. Not only natural and geographical factors such as the Amazon region and the Andean mountains imposed difficulties, but also the need to guarantee the flow of goods (in particular commodities) to developed economies, pushed for the need for the infrastructure framework to "look outside". Historically the urban centers of the region's economies have been built on the coastal and their adherence to local productive and logistic chains became a concern only in the twentieth century. And it was only in the 1990s, when the auspices of the regional trade blocs as the second best to free trade pointed to the direct correlation between trade competitiveness and logistics, that infrastructure projects to build regional physical links.

Nevertheless, trade flows are determinant of the level or stage of economic integration, although cooperation agreements, in general, constitute the preamble of economic integration. Few products explain the export pattern of the countries of the region to China. Basically, raw materials such as soy *in natura*, iron ore and fossil fuels. The major economies of the region, such as Brazil, have China as their main trading partner, overtaking the United States. In 2015, according to IDB (2016), the bloc's exports fell by 22.4% to around US $ 300 million - 33% below the level of exports registered in 2011. The preferred destination of the block exports has been Asia (without the Middle East): 31.2% exports and 29.8%, imports. Within the bloc, Brazil is the economy that over the years has maintained trade surpluses with all countries of the bloc, although in sharp reduction since 2009.

Between 2013 and 2016, it is worth mentioning, the values of the export guidelines of the MERCOSUR countries decreased due to the reduction of international prices of the main commodities, as well as the economic downturn. Political instabilities, especially experienced by Brazil and Venezuela, have contributed to a pattern of instabilities in trade exchange rates. It can be considered that the institutionality of the bloc itself has been unstable. With the scenario of macroeconomic, political and commercial instabilities, the institutional integration agenda did not make progress. In recent years, under the Uruguayan and Paraguayan presidencies, in the assessment of the IDB (2016), commercial tensions predominated due to the position, mainly of Argentina, to hamper imports. Then, mainly because of Brazil's position, the bloc's meetings were dominated by a lack of consensus regarding the exclusion of Venezuela and its ability to exercise the pro-tempore presidency.

An internationalized MERCOSUR agenda has given way to an internal agenda, albeit weakly, aimed at strengthening productive links between countries. In the perspective of the "pink tide", as discussed in the next section, we sought to deepen the integration between countries - although these actions looked more towards South America - considering that superficial arrangements anchored in the mere increase of trade flows could only deepening inequalities between the bloc's economies. The bloc's economies are converging to sign bilateral agreements with the European Union, China and the Pacific Alliance (the last one in decline). In addition to the political changes within the bloc itself, conventional economic integration is also affected by the world´s instability.

Mercosur and the Economic Integration Process Since 2000

Mercosur and the Pink Ride in South America

Embedded in different economic, ideological and political contexts, the objectives of regional integration projects change over time. In Latin America in the 1960s and 1970s it was understood that integration should support a project aimed at overcoming structural obstacles to the industrialization process, especially those related to the size of the markets and the need to transpose the limits created for the production of capital goods, as well as to minimize the external vulnerability of the countries of the region (Furtado 2007). In the 1990s, however, the focus of integrationist discourse became market liberalization, and in this context, integration schemes should foster international trade. In this view, it was assumed that trade liberalization among economies would broaden the regional market promoting a certain specialization among sectors of economies, as well as reducing costs and gains in scale. This "open regionalism" was the way in which MERCOSUR was conceived on March 26, 1991 (Gonçalves et al. 1998, 89).

In the early 2000s, with the arrival of left-wing and center-left governments, MERCOSUR began to seek new directions that sought to go beyond the merely economic objectives of integration (Vadell et al. 2009; Coutinho et al. 2007). According to Hirst et al. (2010, 23), unlike the previous period when foreign policy was an accessory to macroeconomic stability in order to ensure international credibility, foreign policy became proactive and pragmatic underpinned by three pillars: (i) maintaining economic stability; ii) recovery of the State's role as organizer of a neo-developmental agenda; (iii) social inclusion and the establishment of an important mass market[10].

10 About the concept of developmentalism of the Lula government, Fiori (2007, 259) considers that: "its strategic objective is not to build socialism, it is to 'unlock Brazilian capitalism', so that it achieves high growth rates capable of creating jobs and increasing the salaries of sustained form, strengthening the fiscal capacity of the investment and social protection of the Brazilian State".

The first symbolic act of the new foreign policy guidelines is in the document "Consensus of Buenos Aires"[11] signed by the presidents of Brazil, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, and Argentina, Néstor Kirchner, in October 2003. The document's purpose was to highlight the economic actions, and especially policies of both governments, such as strengthening democracy and the MERCOSUR institutions and the fight against poverty. In March 2004, the two governments announced new measures to intensify cooperation between South America with the "Copacabana Act". Another important step was taken at the MERCOSUR Ouro Preto Summit in 2004, when Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela became part of MERCOSUR as associated states (Amorim 2005, 2).

The new commitments made in favor of integration were visible in a set of initiatives that expanded MERCOSUR's institutional structure aimed at reducing economic inequalities, at the social agenda and at human rights (Klemi and Menezes 2016, 142). The reduction of asymmetries has become a central theme in MERCOSUR. In this sense, the MERCOSUR Structural Convergence Fund (FOCEM) was created in December 2004, and established in June 2005, with the objective of reducing asymmetries within the bloc, which in turn strengthened the integration process. FOCEM finances programs that encourage structural convergence, increase competitiveness and contribute to social cohesion, especially in less developed regions[12]. FOCEM receives non-refundable contributions totaling $ 100 million per year. Brazil is the largest contributor to the Fund, earmarking 70% of resources, and Paraguay and Uruguay are its largest beneficiaries.

The Social Institute of MERCOSUR (ISM) was also created in January 2007 and started operating in 2009. With permanent headquarters in Asuncion, it aims to intensify the social issue in the integration process. And the Institute for Public Policy and Human Rights (IPPDH) in 2009 with the purpose of supporting the strengthening of national capacities, institutions and public policies in Human Rights. Also, among the actions to advance integration are the formation of the MERCOSUR Parliament (Parlasul), a legislative and consultative body of the MERCOSUR peoples, which came into operation in 2005.

Another important initiative was the creation of the South American

11 The counterpoint to the so-called Washington Consensus, launched in 1989 that supported neoliberal policies in the 1990s obviously.

12 Several projects are focused on social areas, such as rural settlement, basic sanitation and housing (Subsidized housing) construction. While others aim to improve the integration of physical infrastructure, such as road construction and recovery and the transmission of electricity (Dulci 2010, 8).

Communities, renamed the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) in 2008 to integrate MERCOSUR and the Andean Community, as well as to inaugurate a common agenda for the South American countries, aiming at the development of the region[13] (Oliveira and Silveira, 2015). The South American Defense Council emerged from Unasur (Hist et al. 2010). The Defense Council is a decision mainly of Brazil, as expressed in the document "National Strategy of Defense" launched in the same year by the Brazilian government. Thus, in addition to advancing South American cooperation in defense, security, and military industries, the Council promoted a correct resistance to the United States military presence in South America and the US position of considering the American continent as a space strategy for their interests (Saint-Pierre, 2009). The South American Infrastructure and Planning Council (COSIPLAN) also emerged from UNASUR to grant greater political and strategic complexity to the activities of regional physical infrastructure integration. In this way, the aim is to ensure that the management of resources for the financing of infrastructure investment did not distance itself from the promotion of economic integration and development. COSIPLAN, started to manage the portfolio of investments in infrastructure projects between South American countries, replacing the financial institutions BID, CAF and Fonplata – which were a part of IIRSA. We can also mention the creation of the University of Latin American Integration (UNILA) in 2010 in Foz do Iguaçu on the triple border. From the beginning of its activities, UNILA already received students coming from Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay.

Regarding economic issues, we must highlight the rejection of the FTAA project, a competing project to MERCOSUR (Batista Jr. 2008), which was 'buried' during the Mar Del Plata Summit of the Americas (2005). At the time, MERCOSUR, in a united position and with the support of Venezuela, prevented the progress of the free trade project proposed by the US government in 1994 (García 2013, 56). In the same way, we can observe some initiatives that aim to deepen financial cooperation, anchored both in the institutional framework of MERCOSUR and in economic integration projects

13 In the evaluation of some authors, such as Calixtre and Barros (2010) and Bandeira (2006), South America, although in a diffuse way, has always been present in Brazilian foreign policy, such as in the early 20th century, when the subcontinent was a strategic variable, given the definitions of national borders. Later, in the 1930s, the region became the locus of national developmentalism and also of its frustration. From the 1980s onwards, Brazil's relations with its South American neighbors became embodied in relevant agreements, such as the PICE between Brazil and Argentina, the Amazon Cooperation Treaty (TCA) in 1978 between Venezuela and Brazil, Treaty of Rio de la Plata (TRP), in 1969, among the countries of the River Plate basin. Calixtre and Barros (2010) emphasize that the Brasilia Summit, held in 2000, represented the milestone to consolidate the concept of South America in politics.

between South American countries. From the perspective of financial co-operation, we can mention the agreement for compensation of commercial transactions between local currencies between Brazil and Argentina signed in 2008. And the intensification of the presence of Embrapa in South America seeking to foster economic growth through technology transfer and exchange of knowledge and experiences in the field of agricultural research (Hirst et al. 2010).

The general lines of the integration agenda remained during Dilma Rouseff´s government (2011-2014), mainly in relation to South America (Klemi, Menezes, 2016, Oliveira and Silveira 2015). However, this happened under adverse economic and political conditions, which created difficulties for the advancement of Brazilian diplomacy for MERCOSUR and for the South American integration process as a whole.

Crisis and Radical Change

On May 12 Dilma Rousseff was removed by the Federal Senate from the presidency of Brazil. Although not definitive, since it had a period of up to 180 days to defend itself[14], Vice President Michel Temer took over as interim and initiated a change in all Ministries. And it was exactly in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the change of course was probably the most radical. José Serra's choice effectively expressed a profound change in Brazilian foreign policy.

From his inauguration in May 2016 until he left office in February 2017, the then Minister José Serra applied a diametrically opposite agenda to the one that had prevailed since 2003, and we can affirm, a throwback even when compared to the approach with South America promoted by the FHC government. With a bellicose speech and with a clear contempt for South-South cooperation, the chancellor signaled a foreign policy focused strictly on trade and on closer ties with the United States, which have always viewed the process of South American integration with suspicion (Batista Jr. 2008, 237). Therefore, in a threatening tone, one of the first measures of the new minister was to request a study of the cost of diplomatic posts opened during the Lula and Dilma governments in Africa and the Caribbean. José Serra also considered the MERCOSUR - in his own words delivered in a senate speech

14 During this period the Senate would have to collect evidence and hear prosecution and defense witnesses to support the final decision. But that was only a formality, since, the whole process was political, and the decision of the senators were already taken. The definitive departure of President Dilma took place on August 31.

in March 2015 - a "megalomaniac delirium" - and that its maintenance meant a commercial retrogression for the country (Serra 2015). It is symptomatic, for example, the withdrawal of the MERCOSUR flag from the Itamaraty front.

In his inaugural speech, Serra assured that:

> One of the main focuses of our short-term diplomatic action will be the partnership with Argentina, from with which we share similar references for the reorganization of politics and the economy. Together with the other partners, we need to renew MERCOSUR, to correct what needs to be corrected, with the aim of strengthening it, first and foremost, about the free trade among its member countries, which still leaves something to be desired, to promote a shared prosperity and continue to build bridges, instead of deepening differences, in relation to the Alliance for the Pacific, which involves three South American countries, Chile, Peru and Colombia, plus Mexico (Serra 2016a).

However, as we will see, unlike the inaugural speech, its declarations and subsequent acts were aimed at weakening MERCOSUR and the South American integration project. His first decision as chancellor was to "emphatically reject" international criticism of the impeachment process. Serra quoted directly, Cuba, Bolivia, Ecuador and Nicaragua, and the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA). In a note, Itamaraty stated that:

> The Foreign Ministry strongly rejects the statements of the governments of Venezuela, Cuba, Bolivia, Ecuador and Nicaragua, as well as the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America / People's Cooperation Treaty (ALBA / TCP), that propagates falsehoods about the internal political process in Brazil. This process takes place in a framework of absolute respect for democratic institutions and the federal Constitution (Serra 2016b).

In fact, the first signs given by Serra demonstrated that the new foreign policy would have a mainly commercial character, directed to the traditional partners, Europe, the United States and Japan. A radical return to the "open regionalism" for MERCOSUR. Starting with the incorporation into the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Executive Secretariat of the Foreign Trade Chamber (CAMEX), which previously operated in the Ministry of Industry, Foreign Trade and Services. Serra had taken advantage of this decision to attack MERCOSUR. According to him, Brazil would need to conclude trade agreements with different countries and should not be stuck with the bloc that supposedly hindered Brazil's trade.

In line with his inaugural speech, the new chancellor made his first official visit to Argentina. In Buenos Aires he met with Argentine chancellor Suzana Malcorra, the Finance Minister Alfonso Prat-Gay and President Mauricio Macri. In the conversation, Serra presented the proposal of flexibilization of MERCOSUR's trade agreements (Dênis and Andreatta 2016), citing a resolution of the bloc, Decision 32 of 2000, which states that trade agreements cannot be made without the block's approval. In reality the proposal was yet another piece of rhetoric.

According to its 1st article. "To reaffirm the commitment of the MERCOSUR States Parties to negotiate jointly commercial agreements with third countries or blocks of countries outside the zone in which tariff preferences are granted". This means that trade agreements cannot be made with tariffs lower than the Common External Tariff (TEC)[15], but the article does not prevent trade agreements with other countries. In addition, there is a list of exceptions that are not imported with the same tariff, which means a differential treatment for a certain number of goods. This gives the member countries considerable autonomy. According to Guimarães and Oliveira (2011, 406): "This treatment has been constantly extended, making the Customs Union (current stage of integration in MERCOSUR) function as a Free Trade Area".

Another point that should be highlighted: the vacancy in the MERCOSUR pro-tempore presidency, after the end of the Uruguay period from December 2015, which was to be delivered to Caracas, put the block in its greatest crisis since its creation in 1991 (Amorim 2016). Article 5 of the Ouro Preto Protocol, signed in December 1994, states that: "The Presidency of the Common Market Council shall be exercised in rotation by the States Parties, in alphabetical order, for a period of six months".

Thus, in alphabetical order, Venezuela should assume the presidency for the next six months. Against this, the greatest resistance came from Paraguay and Brazil, who from the outset rejected the legitimacy of Caracas in assuming the presidency. The argument raised was that Venezuela did not sign the 1998 Ushuaia Protocol - and reaffirmed in 2011 - in which it refers to democracy and human rights. In addition, the Brazilian government has also stated that Venezuela is in default with some compromises agreed to their entry into MERCOSUR (Amorim 2016). However, it should be noted that the Protocol of Ouro Preto does not refer to the penalty of a member for being in default with some commitment; therefore, the claim did not find legal support.

With this understanding, Uruguay left the presidency of the block

15 TEC came into force with the Assunção Treaty in 1995. In order to unify tariffs on goods, services and trade rights in MERCOSUR, TEC seeks to protect the trade of member countries of import form third countries (Guimarães; Oliveira, 2011).

waiting for Caracas to take over. And since MERCOSUR does not have supranational institutions to solve such problems, as in the case of the European Union, the solution could only come out of a consensus among the States parties. This is where Serra's rhetoric became a strong impediment, in this case, encouraging conflicting positions such as that of Paraguay. On the Paraguayan government there was a resentment, since Venezuela's entry into the bloc occurred when, due to the June 22, 2012 parliamentary coup that ousted President Fernando Lugo, the country had its MERCOSUR participation suspended. On that occasion President Hugo Chávez ordered the ambassador to be withdrawn from Asunción and cut off the supply of oil to Paraguay.

Thus, Serra used this fact to affirm that Venezuela's entry into MERCOSUR happened through a coup led by Brazil and Argentina that jointly suspended Paraguay[16] (Cristaldo, 2016). In this regard, it is important to remember that the decision that suspended Paraguay was taken by all Member States of the bloc. Added to this, the Paraguayan parliament approved the protocol of Venezuela's accession in December 2013, and its relations with Caracas were fully standardized (MERCOSUR Parliament 2013).

Serra's assault on Caracas still generated considerable discomfort with Uruguay. According to Uruguayan chancellor Rodolfo Nin Novoa, Serra tried to buy Uruguay's vote in MERCOSUR against the entry of Venezuela. Novoa stated that:

> We did not like it very much that the chancellor (José) Serra came to Uruguay to tell us - he made it public, that's why I say it - that he was coming with the ambition of suspending the transfer and, moreover, that if we had suspended it that we were going to lead talks with other countries, as if wanting to buy the Uruguay vote (Gil 2016).

Despite Montevideo's public complaints against the Brazilian chancellor, the pressure came to an end: on September 13, the chancellors of Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay and Argentina announced that Venezuela would not take over the rotating presidency of MERCOSUR. In a note the minister Serra justified the change in the game rules:

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16 As Sloboda (2015) proved, by considering international law, the justification for the coup does not stand. Paraguay´s right to deliberate over the entry of new members according to article 5 of the Ushaia Protocol was suspended, since the democratic order in the country was violated. Curiously, the Ushaia Protocol approved in July 1998 by the four member states of MERCOSUR, and Chile and Bolivia, and that reaffirmed the democratic commitment of MERCOSUR, is the result of Paraguay´s coup in 1996.

> The Declaration was adopted due to Venezuela's failure to comply with the commitments made in the Protocol of Accession to MERCOSUR, signed in Caracas in 2006, specifically regarding the incorporation into the Venezuelan legal system of norms and agreements in force in MERCOSUR. The deadline for Venezuela to comply with this obligation was expired on August 12, 2016 and among the important agreements and norms that were not incorporated into the Venezuelan legal system are Economic Complementation Agreement No. 18 (1991), the Protocol of Asunción on Commitment to the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights of MERCOSUR (2005) and the Agreement on Residence for Nationals of MERCOSUR States Parties (2002) (Sierra 2016c).

Thus, for six months the presidency of the MERCOSUR was exerted jointly by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay. Still in a tone of intimidation, the note established that Venezuela was suspended from the block on December 1, if it did not fulfill its commitments, which, in fact, occurred. Likewise, negotiations for the incorporation of Bolivia into MERCOSUR as a full member have not advanced. Serra's ideological and partisan stance clearly aimed to further weaken the government of Nicolas Maduro, who is still embroiled in a serious economic and political crisis. It is worth remembering that before the imbroglio with Venezuela, on June 14, Serra met in Brasilia with the governor of Miranda, Henrique Capriles, one of the main opponents of the Venezuelan government.

Final Considerations

As we have seen, since 2003, with the beginning of the Lula administration, there has been a deepening of the process of economic and political integration with the promotion of several actions within this logic. Those focused on the social issue, especially, such as the creation of ISM and IPPDH. However, since the departure of President Dilma Rouseff there has been a return of the vision of foreign policy with a merely economic bias, perhaps even more radical than that which prevailed during the FHC governments.

However, it is not only a shift of agenda closer to the United States and Europe with the subsequent withdrawal from MERCOSUR and the return of open regionalism. The appointment of José Serra as chancellor marked a significant disruption with the possibility of integration, which puts at risk initiatives such as MERCOSUR Social and the Institute of Human Rights. In the short time that he remained in office, Serra created several animosities among his members. The current Minister Aloysio Nunes named after the departure of Serra has maintained this framework.

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to analyze the change in the orientation of Brazil's foreign policy after the beginning of the Temer government, highlighting the main measures related to MERCOSUR. With the appointment of José Serra as Minister of Foreign Affairs, a profound change of position took place in relation to the way in which Brazil has guided its foreign policy since 2003, especially in relation to MERCOSUR. Evidence shows that the focus of South-South integration is likely to give rise to a project of rapprochement with Western powers, notably the United States.

KEYWORDS

MERCOSUR; Integration; Foreign policy.

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THE INTERNATIONAL SELF-DEFENSE INSTITUTE IN THE ERA OF GLOBAL TERRORISM

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Introduction

This paper analyzes the legal argumentation of the American government on the issue of self-defense against international terrorism, both in areas of active hostility and in other regions that may not fit into this category. For that matter, the subject was divided into topics and subtopics that approach the traditional notion of international self-defense proposed by the United Nations, the interpretations on pre-emptive self-defense and preventive self-defense and the self-defense in non-international armed conflicts, such as indirect armed aggression. All these topics are essential for the purpose of understanding the actions of the American government regarding to the terrorist threats in a world risk society.

Considering the purpose of this article, the notion of self-defense developed by Daniel Bathelem and the Presidential Policy Guidance (PPG) are central. Regarding the self-defense principle, the first widens the scope of the use of lethal force against terrorist activities and the latter regulates the use of the force against terrorist threats even outside the zones of active conflict, attempting to equate the actions of the American army to the norms of war and

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the international human rights laws. This effort of the American government - contextualized by the recognition of a new scenario of the uncertainties of a globalized world, in which frontiers are less relevant and the national loyalties are exchanged for ideological purposes - is analyzed from a constructivist perspective, which focuses on an intersection between politics and law. By acting against terrorism through this new military approach, the White House seeks to support that the American operations play within the rules of humanitarian law; therefore, also pursuing to broaden the conceptual field that would allow the legitimation of its policies, illustrating the co-constitutive relation between the agent and the international structure.

Finally, such modification in the rules of international politics in relation to the use of lethal force against suspects of terrorism activities outside the areas of active conflict, through the use of missile-armed drones set precedents in the international sphere; consequently, other countries are already making use of the same argumentation in relation to the broadening of the self-defense, as the United Kingdom. Yet, this article clarifies that this conceptual opening ends up amplifying the scope of the Executive power and provides legitimacy to their countries beyond the Western democracies.

Self-defense in the International Level

Self-defense as an institute of the international law is provided by the 51th article of the Charter of the United Nations:

> Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense *if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations*, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by the Members in exercise of this right of self-defense shall immediately be reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore the international peace and security (Brazil 2017b, emphasis added, our translation).

From the reading of this article it is possible to understand that international self-defense is only possible if exercised after an armed attack against any member of the United Nations. In other words, in agreement with the international law, the cause that justifies the armed response can only be used when a State is effectively assaulted.

In this case, the time criteria of such principle in the external level is quite distinct than the principle in the internal context, which restricts the action of the State that was victim of the aggression. However, international self-defense is connected with the national self-defense[3], once the intention of both institutions is to prevent that the unfair predominate upon the ones that follow the rules responsible to stabilize the behavior expectations:

> The act of self-defense obeys to the established conditions in order to avoid a new unilateral aggression. Thus, such act meets, in the international context, the same foundations of the institute of self-defense that typically conducts the relations between individuals in the internal legal systems (Veloso 2008, 778, our translation).

The Warfare Handbook, edited by the United States Department of Defense, emphasizes that the general principles of the many national legal systems also constitute the international law[4] and, likewise, the principles of the self-defense are universal and are provided by both internal and external legal spheres.

In the theoretical frame of the International Relations, it is possible to observe the legitimation of the self-protection principle within the Realist perspective, which compares the international order to the state of nature described in Hobbes, that is to say, a situation based in anarchy in which the one who uses from the violence to obtain resources and survive is more successful. Although, in the internal sphere this condition would have already been surpassed in the face of the presence of an authority assigned the monopoly of the use of the force; in the external level, due to the lack of a concentration of power in an organization of universal jurisdiction above all States, the anarchy exists and manifests itself through conflicts[5]. Even though the Realist

3 The United States has long held that, consistent with Article 51 and customary international law, a state may use force in self-defense: 1. if it has been attacked, or 2. if an armed attack is legitimately deemed to be imminent. This interpretation is also consistent with our domestic notion of self-defense as applied in the criminal and tort law contexts (Taft 2002).

4 Legal Principles as Part of International Law: General principles of law common to the major legal systems of the world are a recognized part of international law. Law of war principles have been understood to be included in this category of international law. (Department of Defense 2015, 50).

5 Anarchy is the concept that characterizes Realism in International Relations. What is understood by anarchy is not properly chaos, yet the absence of a supreme authority, legitimate and unquestionable that is responsible for dictating the rules, interpreting and implementing them, and punishing the ones who do not obey them. [...] Thus, in the International Relations, it is replicated what Hobbes described as the state of nature: the concurrent existence of many

perception understands the international realm as an anarchy, other International Relations frameworks – as the constructivism – challenge this assumption. They claim that the individuals and the people of sovereign authority are different and the analogy between the internal and external spheres would be mistaken[6]. Regardless the theoretical frame adopted, there are procedimental similarities between the national and international self-defense that seek to guarantee the control of the situation and avoid the perpetuation of violence[7].

Furthermore, it is possible to challenge the literal understanding of the 51ffl article of the UN Charter which predicts the possibility of reaction only after the occurrence of an armed aggression. Specifically, this may be stated by the international customary norms[8], developed after the case *Caroline*:

> In 1841, the United State's Secretary of State Webster and Lord Ashburton agreed that the self-defense could be initiated when the *'necessity of that self-defense is instant, overwhelming, and leaving no choice of means, and no moment for deliberation'*. Some considered the writing of the 510 article of the UN Charter to be inspired by this doctrine. The justification would be that, when the Charter was developed, the authors had sought to incorporate the

actors responsible exclusively by their own survival. (Nogueira and Messari 2005, 25-26, our translation).

6 I suspect that it is our reliance on the unquestioned dichotomy between a "domestic order" and the international "anarchy" which is to blame for the continuing theoretical embarrassments. By making social order dependent upon law and law, in turn, upon the existence of certain institutions – be they the existence of a sovereign or central sanctioning mechanisms – we understand the international arena largely negatively, i.e., in terms of the "lack" of biding legal norms, of central institutions , of sovereign will, etc. [...] While even the strongest man has to sleep sometime, and, therefore, can be overpowered, communities can institute shifts in guarding the safety of their members. Consequently, the reality of international life is quite different from the state of "war of all against all" (Kratochwil 2008, 2-3).

7 In the face of the internal legal systems, self-defense is responsible to cover a temporary lack of public authority. In view of this, it has subsidiary disposition regarding the jurisdiction of the national power. As an exception to the rules of the policed society, the self-defense act is necessarily brief and must be subordinated, a posteriori, to public control once the lack of authority and the aggression that authorized it had been ended. If the internal legal orders demand that the individual who react to an aggression, actual or imminent, communicate immediately the situation to a national authority; in the international level the act of aggression suffered by the State victim who defends itself must be communicated to the Security Council, the United Nations structure responsible for the collective security (Veloso 2008, 779, our translation).

8 The customary law concerned was formed in the nineteenth century and, in particular, as a result of the correspondence exchanged by the United States and Britain in the period from 1838 to 1842. The cause of the exchange was the seizure and destruction (in 1837) in American territory by British armed forces of a vessel (the case Caroline) used by persons assisting an armed rebellion in Canada (Brownlie 2008, 733).

> meaning of self-defense established by the international customs. [...] Distinctly of the right to self-defense based in the 51o article of the UN Charter, the one from the customary law is founded by the incident acknowledged as the case Caroline, which does not demand that a first "armed attack" have had effectively occurred (Neto 2008, 459-460, our translation).

Considering this perspective, one notes the existence of two categories of international self-defense: the first provided by the customary norm that permits the agent to act in the face of an imminent attack, in agreement with the criteria established by the case Caroline, authorizing an attack against an imminent threat; the second one was recognized by the 51o article of the UN Charter, which consent the reaction only after an agression. This distinction produced the two different understandings of diverse forms of self-defense: the preventive and preemptive attacks[9]. As a matter of fact, self-defense is internationally limited once it represents a risk to be invoked by the different actors, each of them seeking their own security by attacking previously others that may give the impression to be a menace. In this context, the realist perspective of *bellum omnium contra omnes* would be executed.

Preemptive Self-defense and Preventive Self-defense

The preemptive attack "is founded by the notion that the other side is on the verge of starting a conflict, therefore, it is assumed that the part to be attacked has enough evidences to anticipate a counter-attack that, by definition, would be covered by the definition of self-defense"; on the other hand, the preventive attack "is based in the assumption that the war is going to be started in a near future; in opposition to the preemptive attack, the notion of menace is blurred by the time and, thus, the preemptive attack cannot be categorized as self-defense" (Sarfati 2005, 365, our translation).

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9 There are divergences regarding the exact moment in which the use of the force is authorized by the International Law. This disagreement opposes the supporters of the principle that justifies the self-defense attack only with an effective use of the armed forces and the ones who adopt the idea of the preventive defense against hostile intention. Some authors contrary to the broad interpretation of the 51o article, which would embrace the preventive self-defense, state that the 51o article of the UN Charter would have abandoned all previous regulations, denying the understanding provided by the customary law and recognizing only the limits established by the UN Charter. [...] the preventive thesis, particularly invoked with the emergence of the nuclear advances, has the argument that the 51o article would not have refuted the earlier legislation as legal basis, accepting, in this way, the preventive self-defense. Its supporters claim that the UN Charter would not have created the institute of the self-defense, but only would have confirmed the prior customary law (Veloso 2006, 782-783, our translation).

Broad interpretations of the UN Charter[10] seek to satisfy the gap of the States' rights regarding their protection in a world where the threats are more diffuse and lethal, pursuing to legitimize the actions that lead the execution of an armed attack. The UN – through a special group designed to debate these questions - acknowledged the possibility of the use of the preemptive self-defense due to an imminent attack; however, the organization denied the possibility to invoke the Charter to support the legitimate preventive self-defense; in this hypothesis it would be necessary the authorization of the UN Security Council[11]. An example of preemptive self-defense is the reaction of Israel in 1967, in the "Six Days War" in the face of the mobilization of the Arabic troops; on the other hand, an example of the preventive attack is the actions of Israel in 1981 in order to prevent Iraq to develop a nuclear program[12].

Self-defense and Non-international armed conflicts

In accordance with the traditional military thought "only the political relations between governments and nations produce war" (Clausewitz 2014, 870, our translation), in other words, "the war *jus publicum Europaerum* was

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10 On what would constitute self-defense, particularly in a world in which not only States can inflict devastating damage, the authors argue, especially, on the concepts that often accompany the expression 'self-defense': 'interceptive' self-defense, 'preemptive', 'preventive', 'anticipatory' and other adjectives are being used not only to interpret the ambiguities and omissions of the Charter but to justify all kinds of armed, legal or illegal actions (Neto 2008, 457, our translation).

11 Discussing the necessary innovations in Article 51, the High Level Group on Threats, Challenges and Change, nominated by the United Nations Secretary-General produced on December 1st, 2004 a report in which they distinguished two categories of military action with preventive purposes: the precaution principle, in the event of an imminent threat (preemptive self-defense) and the preventive military intervention stricto sensu (preventive self-defense) in case of non-imminent menace, such as that which occurs when of the acquisition by a State of the means of making nuclear weapons. It was therefore understood that this last hypothesis, the preventive military intervention stricto sensu, would not be authorized by the Charter, and any action aimed at neutralizing potential but not imminent or close risks would need to be approved by the Security Council (Veloso 2006, 787, our translation).

12 The better interpretation of Article 51 seems to be that self-defence is lawful when an armed attack by another state is imminent (pre-emptive self-defence, as in the case of Israel in 1967, when the international community did not object to Israel's attack to forestall the impending invasion by some Arab countries); instead, anticipatory self-defence is unlawful when the attack is launched to prevent a possible future aggression (preventive self-defence, as in the case of the Israeli 1981 attack on Iraq to destroy the Osirak nuclear reactor, an attack the Security Council condemned by res. 487/1981). The fact, however, remains that this interpretation is not upheld by all members of the international community (Cassese 2008, 154-155).

an interstate conflict, disputed between two regular national armies" (Schmitt 2008, 159, our translation). Through this perception, it is possible to understand that war is the continuation of politics by other means[13], once the conflicts would be regulated by guidelines which aim to regulate the actions of the agents involved, as well as produce means to establish peace at the end of the conflict. However, the terrorism in the globalization Era engages non-state actors as ISIS, al-Qaeda, al-Nusra, al-Shabab, Talibã, Boko Haram, who work towards the total destruction of their challengers. In this hypothesis, the correct designation is "non-international armed conflict" (NIAC)[14] and the international legal system that regulate this situation is present in the 30 article present in the four Geneva Convention of 1949 whose application always depends on the analysis of the concrete case[15]. This is the rule of the jus in bello which regulates the use of force between the parties involved in a non-international armed conflict. However, in the case of the War on Terror the nonstate actors have broken the international humanitarian law[16] - notic-

13 War is nothing more than the continuation of political relations, with the complement of other means. We say that new means are added to it, to assert at the same time that war itself does not cease these political relations, that it does not transform them into something entirely different, but that they continue to exist in their essence, whatever the means what are you serving (Clausewitz 2014, 870, our translation).

14 International humanitarian law (IHL), also known as the laws of war and the law of armed conflict, is the legal framework applicable to situations of armed conflict and occupation. As a set of rules and principles it aims, for humanitarian reasons, to limit the effects of armed conflict. [...] IHL classifies armed conflicts as international armed conflict (IAC) or non-international armed conflict (NIAC). Qualifying an armed conflict is an important threshold question necessary to determine which set of rules apply to the conflict: those for IAC (found mainly in the four Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocol I) or those for NIAC (found mainly in Article Three common to the four Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocol II) (International Humanitarian Law 2017).

15 In Article Three common to the four Geneva Conventions a NIAC is defined in the negative, as "an armed conflict not of an international character." Thus, if a non-state armed group is a party to the armed conflict, it will be categorized as a NIAC. This could be if a state is fighting an armed group, or if two armed groups are fighting each other. [...] The use of the phrase "global war on terror" resulted in some misunderstanding regarding the application of IHL to certain situations. The "global war on terror" is a political phrase, not a legal term of art. Thus, the "global war on terror" is not an armed conflict. The appropriate analysis is to look at the conflict locations – Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia, Yemen, etc. – and assess each one in terms of whether or not it is an IAC or NIAC, regulated by the relevant framework (International Humanitarian Law 2017).

16 There are the rules related to war. Here, ISIS claims to follow Islamic laws of armed conflict...ISIS has published guidelines, either as official fatwas or legal opinions authored by ISIS--affiliated clerics, specifying the conditions under which enemy combatants may be targeted, tortured, mutilated, or killed as well as rules governing the ransom of non-Muslim hostages. So ISIS can claim that its combatants are acting lawfully according to the group's own rules,

ing that only States are restrained by that.

In turn, the *jus ad bellum* allows the self-defense to be invoked in the context of the non-international armed conflicts. The 2o article, §4 of the UN Charter claim that "all member shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the Nation". This restriction in the use of the force in the international relations does not limit the right to self-defense, as guaranteed by the 51o article of the Charter; yet, it provides that this right may only be exercised after an attack. However, it is important to emphasize that the international self-defense is not restrained by attacks resultants from other States, as developed by the 3o article, g, from the resolution n. 3314, XXXIX, UNGA[17], which define the concept of "aggression". The customary law also established the possibility of a State to react against imminent attacks from nonstate actors who act from the territory of another State, as illustrated by the *Caroline Incident*[18].

Moreover, the members of the UN agree that the terrorism represents a menace for the international peace and that the self-defense against armed attacks executed by nonstate actors is allowed in accordance with the resolutions 1368 and 1373 from the United Nations' Security Council. A strategy used by these groups is what is called indirect armed aggression[19] in which the non-state actors use the territory of a sovereign State to attack another one. Examples of these types of aggression are the conflicts between the Colom-

even though the United Nations has reported that "ISIS is violating binding international humanitarian law" (March and Revkin 2015).

17 Article. 3ffl, g : "L'envoi par un Etat ou en son nom de bandes ou de groupes armés, des forces irrgulières ou de mercenaires qui se livrent à des acts de force armée contre un autre Etat d'une gravité telle qu'ils équivalent aux actes énuméres ci-dessus, ou le fait de s'engager d'une manière substantielle dans une telle action" (ONU 2017).

18 The inherent right of self-defense is not restricted to threats posed by States. Even before the September 11th attacks, it was clear that the right of self-defense applies to the use of force against non-state actors on the territory of another State. For centuries, States have invoked the right of self-defense to justify taking action on the territory of another State against non-state actors. As one example, the oft-cited Caroline incident involved the use of force by the United Kingdom in self-defense against a nonstate actor located in the United States. Nearly two hundred years later, this right remains widely accepted" (White House 2016, 9).

19 Indirect armed aggression was supported several times as a justification for the self-defense response. [States that were victims of this type of aggression] alleged that the attacked State tolerated or supported terrorist activities against the territory of the perpetrators of the attacks. It was also the American thesis that justified the Vietnam War: the progressive infiltration of troops from North Vietnam and the Vietcong in South Vietnam would be the basis for self-defense, individual by South Vietnam, collective by the United States (Veloso 2006, 789, our translation).

bian government and the RAFC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia), who were accused of using the Ecuadorian territory[20] to launch strikes against Colombia.

The problem in this type of conflict is how to determine the imminence of the attack to invoke the use of the force in accordance with the *jus ad bellum*. The USA, for example, analyze that there is a variety of factors defined by Daniel Bethelem[21] in order to justify the anticipated use of the force, that is to say, before a nonstate actor can accomplish a terrorist attack[22]. The difficulty of the question relies exactly in defining the imminence of the attack that would be executed by a group that does not follow the international laws adding a surprise element in an armed conflict. These nonstate actors make use of new technologies in order to organize fast and efficient strikes, confounding the actions of the State that seeks to prevent attacks against the civilian population[23]. For instance, the modern military discipline used with tactical schemes, based in conflicts between national armies of sovereign States, finds difficulties in adapting to an army which is fragmented and irregular, whose dispersion is a reality in the conflicts with terrorist groups which act as mobile cells without a direct order of the central command. This is clear when observing General Stanley McChrystal's testimony about the difficulty of the world's most powerful army facing al-Qaeda in Iraq, a decentralized network of militants who uses terrorist attacks against military and civilian targets. The figure on the left shows the traditional combat formation of a modern

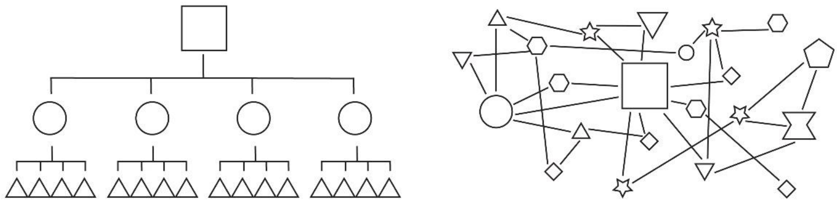
20 Disagreements and tensions between the two countries increased after March 1, 2008, when the Colombian government attacked a RAFC camp inside Ecuadorian territory (Angostura), without the knowledge and endorsement of the Ecuadorian government. This military operation killed Raúl Reyes, one of RAFC 's top commanders and 22 other people. The Colombian government claimed that it acted in accordance with the thesis of preventive security, self-defense and international co-responsibility against terrorist actors who used Ecuadorian territory to attack Colombia (Santos 2010, our translation).

21 Under the *jus ad bellum*, a State may use force in the exercise of its inherent right of self-defense not only in response to armed attacks that have already occurred, but also in response to *imminent* attacks before they occur. When considering whether an armed attack is imminent under the jus ad bellum for purposes of the initial use of force against another State or on its territory, the United States analyzes a variety of factors. [...] These factors include those identified in Daniel Bethlehem, *Self-Defense Against an Imminent or Actual Armed Attack by Nonstate Actors*, 106 AM. J. INT'L L. 769 (2012) (White House 2016, 10).

22 The challenge is to formulate principles, capable of attracting a broad measure of agreement, that apply, or ought to apply, to the use of force in self-defense against an imminent or actual armed attack by nonstate actors (Bethlehem 2012, 4).

23 While "imminence" continues to be a key element of the law relevant to anticipatory self-defense in response to a threat of attack, the concept needs to be further refined and developed to take into account the new circumstances and threats from non-state actors that states face today (Bethlehem 2012, 5).

army while the figure on the right illustrates how the terrorist tactics confuses the traditional military formations.



What we designed for What we were facing

The graphical scheme of the American general expresses how terrorism generated a level of complexity for which the traditional military model is not prepared, using new information technologies that allow a dynamic communication between small autonomous groups[24]. The current characteristic of terrorism is precisely in the combination of its insidious strategies and technological means that allow quick coordination between militants, who interact directly with each other, enhancing the success of the strikes.

Therefore, the American government during the War on Terror extended the criteria to determine when the attack can be considered imminent, seeking to reconcile the use of force against non-state actors with the *jus ad bellum* recognized by the international community without neglecting the *jus in bello* during the military operation[25]. The important principles, to define the extension of the right of the self-defense of a State against an imminent or current attack by a non-state agent defined by Daniel Bethelem are:

1. States have a right of self-defense against an imminent or actual

24 AQUI's adroit use of information technology had multiplied the effectiveness of tactics employed by guerrilla and terrorist groups for decades. That much was obvious, but there was a bigger change at play. The exponential growth of global interconnectedness meant we weren't just looking at the same roads with faster traffic; we were looking at an entirely different and constantly shifting landscape (McChrystal 2015).

25 The principles [...] address only the *jus ad bellum* (the law relevant to the resort to armed force) rather than the *jus in bello* (the law relevant to the conduct of military operations). As such, the principles address the threshold for the use of armed force in self-defense rather than the use of force in ongoing military operations. Any use of force in self-defense would be subject to applicable *jus in bello* principles governing the conduct of military operations (Bethlehem 2012, 5).

armed attack by nonstate actors.

2. Armed action in self-defense should be used only as a last resort in circumstances in which no other effective means are reasonably available to address an imminent or actual armed attack.

3. Armed action in self-defense must be limited to what is necessary to address an imminent or actual armed attack and must be proportionate to the threat that is faced.

4. The term "armed attack" includes both discrete attacks and a series of attacks that indicate a concerted pattern of continuing armed activity. The distinction between discrete attacks and a series of attacks may be relevant to considerations of the necessity to act in self-defense and the proportionality of such action.

5. An appreciation that a series of attacks, whether imminent or actual, constitutes a concerted pattern of continuing armed activity is warranted in circumstances in which there is a reasonable and objective basis for concluding that those threatening or perpetrating such attacks are acting in concert.

6. Those acting in concert include those planning, threatening, and perpetrating armed attacks and those providing material support essential to those attacks, such that they can be said to be taking a direct part in those attacks.

7. Armed action in self-defense may be directed against those actively planning, threatening, or perpetrating armed attacks. It may also be directed against those in respect of whom there is a strong and reasonable, and objective basis for concluding that they are taking a direct part in those attacks through the provision of material support essential to the attacks.

8. Whether an armed attack may be regarded as "imminent" will fall to be assessed by reference to all relevant circumstances, including (a) the nature and immediacy of the threat, (b) the probability of an attack, (c) whether the anticipated attack is part of a concerted pattern of continuing armed activity, (d) the likely scale of the attack and the injury, loss, or damage likely to result therefrom in the absence of mitigating action, and (e) the likelihood that there will be other opportunities to undertake effective action in self-defense that may be expected to cause less serious collateral injury, loss, or damage. The absence of specific evidence of where an attack will take place or of the precise nature.

9. States are required to take all reasonable steps to ensure that their territory is not used by nonstate actors for purposes of armed activities—including planning, threatening, perpetrating, or providing material support for armed attacks—against other states and their interests.

10. Subject to the following paragraphs, a state may not take armed action in self-defense against a nonstate actor in the territory or within the jurisdiction of another state ("the third state") without the consent of that state. The requirement for consent does not operate in circumstances in which there is an applicable resolution of the UN Security Council authorizing the use of armed force under Chapter VII of the Charter or other relevant and applicable legal provision of similar effect. Where consent is required, all efforts in reasonable good faith must be made to obtain consent.

11. The requirement for consent does not operate in circumstances in which there is a reasonable and objective basis for concluding that the third state is colluding with the non-state actor or is otherwise unwilling to effectively restrain the armed activities of the non-state actor such as to leave the state that has a necessity to act in self-defense with no other reasonably available effective means to address an imminent or actual armed attack. In the case of a colluding or a harboring state, the extent of the responsibility of that state for aiding or assisting the non-state actor in its armed activities may be relevant to considerations of the necessity to act in self-defense and the proportionality of such action, including against the colluding or harboring state.

12. The requirement for consent does not operate in circumstances in which there is a reasonable and objective basis for concluding that the third state is unable to effectively restrain the armed activities of the non-state actor such as to leave the state that has a necessity to act in self-defense with no other reasonably available effective means to address an imminent or actual armed attack. In such circumstances, in addition to the preceding requirements, there must also be a strong, reasonable, and objective basis for concluding that the seeking of consent would be likely to materially undermine the effectiveness of action in self-defense, whether for reasons of disclosure, delay, incapacity to act, or otherwise, or would increase the risk of armed attack, vulnerability to future attacks, or other development that would give rise to an independent imperative to act in self-defense. The seeking of consent must provide an opportunity for the reluctant host to agree to a reasonable and effective plan of action, and to take such action, to address the armed activities of the non-state actor operating in its territory or within its jurisdiction. The failure or refusal to agree to a reasonable and effective plan of action, and to take such action, may support a conclusion that the state in question is to be regarded as a colluding or a harboring state

13. Consent may be strategic or operational, generic or ad hoc, express or implied. The relevant consideration is that it must be reasonable to regard the representation(s) or conduct as authoritative of the consent of the state on whose territory or within whose jurisdiction the armed action in self-defense will be taken. There is a rebuttable presumption against the implication of consent simply on the basis of historic acquiescence. Whether, in any case, historic acquiescence is sufficient to convey consent will fall to be assessed by reference to all relevant circumstances, including whether acquiescence has operated in the past in circumstances in which it would have been reasonable to have expected that an objection would have been expressly declared and, as appropriate, acted upon, and there is no reason to consider that some other compelling ground operated to exclude objection.

14. These principles are without prejudice to the application of the UN Charter, including applicable resolutions of the UN Security Council relating to the use of force, or of customary international law relevant to the use of force and to the exercise of the right of self-defense by states, including as applicable to collective self-defense.

15. These principles are without prejudice to any right of self-defense that may operate in other circumstances in which a state or its imperative interests may be the target of imminent or actual attack.

16. These principles are without prejudice to the application of any circumstance precluding wrongfulness or any principle of mitigation that may be relevant.

Despite Bethelem defines the term "reasonable and objective basis" provided by the paragraphs 5, 7, 8, 11 and 12, claiming that this basis "requires that the conclusion is capable of being reliably supported by a high degree of confidence on the basis of credible and all reasonably available information" (Bethelem 2012, 6). He also describes the expression "threat" provided by the paragraphs 5, 6, 7 and 9, claiming that it "refers to conduct that, absent mitigating action, there is a reasonable and objective basis for concluding is capable of completion and that that there is an intention on the part of the putative perpetrators to complete it. Whether a threatened attack gives rise to a right of self-defense will fall to be assessed by reference to the factors set out inter alia in paragraph 8" (Bethlehem 2012, 6). Once the State has legally made use of the force in exercising of the self-defense against an armed group, due to an imminent or executed attack, it is not needed to appreciate again if any act following the first attack characterize or not the "imminence" if the hostilities are not finished yet.

The argumentation presented above seeks to support the concept of "imminence" in a world risk society[26], in other words, in a world where the

26 Modern collectivities are increasingly occupied with debating, preventing and managing risks. Unlike earlier manifestations of risk characterized by daring actions or predictability mo-

risks are not possible to be properly anticipated[27]. Bearing this in mind, that definition met the standard of the Presidential Policy Guidance (PPG) from the US government, which provides the preemptive counter-terrorism operations patterns – as the capture, outside the areas of active hostility, of targets suspects of engaging in terrorism activities or the use of lethal force against them. Such counter-terrorism operations do not exclude nor replace norms that regulate armed conflicts and their principles, as the proportionality and humanity. The term "areas of active hostility" is not internationally recognized as a legal expression, but refers to countries as Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria, due to the scope and intensity of the conflicts in these regions. Consequently, the PPG is employed only in lethal operations outside these zones, as Yemen and Somalia, where is possible to find active terrorist groups. The Obama administration asserted that the US follows the norms of armed conflicts[28] inside and outside areas of active hostility, yet, in areas that are not recognized as "hot-battlefield", the PPG is employed – as it encompasses stricter patterns for the use of lethal force than the laws of war. As an example, the PPG requires "quite conviction" that civilians are not going to be target and provides the possibility of detention of the suspects before the use of force. The law of war, on the other hand, anticipates that civilians lives are inevitably are going to be at risk during conflicts and soldier are only "protected" if they are out of conflict due to prison, surrender, sickness or injury.

The counter-terrorism actions executed outside the areas of active hostility are generally performed with the consent of the State in which the military force is going to be used in order to do not violate the principles of sovereignty and working as a collective self-defense. In order to launch these operations, two *jus ad bellum* principles must be satisfied: i) the State must consider the right to act against a nonstate actor (the against whom question); ii) the State must also consider where he is permitted to use the military force (the where question). In order to exercise the right of the self-defense outside

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dels, global risks cannot be calculated or predicted anymore (Beck and Levy 2013, 6).

27 Short of an actual armed attack, how long does a State have to wait before preemptive measures can be taken to prevent serious harm? In the era of weapons of mass destruction, definitions within the traditional framework of the use of force in self-defense and the concept of preemption must adapt to the nature and capabilities of today's threats (Taft 2002).

28 America's actions are legal. We were attacked on 9/11. Within a week, Congress overwhelmingly authorized the use of force. Under domestic law, and international law, the United States is at war with al Qaeda, the Taliban, and their associated forces. We are at war with an organization that right now would kill as many Americans as they could if we did not stop them first. So this is a just war -- a war waged proportionally, in last resort, and in self-defense. And yet, as our fight enters a new phase, America's legitimate claim of self-defense cannot be the end of the discussion (Obama 2013a).

an area of active hostility, the *jus ad bellum* demands that the assaulted State have the consent of the other State to operate in its territory or act in self-defense against another sovereign State if the latter is incapable or not willing to act against the non-state actor placed in its territory. Considering this last hypothesis, the International Law does not require the permit of the State in which the military force is going to be used against the non-state actor responsible for the threat. In the case of the inability (lack of military, human and economic resources) or the unwilling of opposing the non-state actor (once it is useful as proxy), the host State will have its sovereignty "violated" by the threatened State that exercises the right of the self-defense. The reflecting on the inability or the unwillingness is a mean to respect the other's sovereignty, ensuring that the military force is only used if a State cannot or do not want to act against the armed group that threaten another State placed in its territory[29]. The loss of territory may be an example of incapability of acting against a nonstate actor, as it happens in the situation of Syria that lost part of its territory to the Islamic State. An example of unwillingness to act against a nonstate actor is the refusal of Taliban in imprison and bringing bin Laden after the 9/11 attack.

The PPG attempted to define the patterns to a new armed conflict model between a sovereign State (USA) and countless armed groups whose soldiers are not identified and aim civilian and military targets. These combatants, also, are willing to use weapons of mass destruction[30], are funded by illegal means and are driven by a suicide ideology. All of this combined with new communication technologies in a globalized world, where the transit of people from a place to another is not subjected to a high control, which permits that terrorists groups spread out through numerous territories, as never seen before. Due to the diffuse nature of the international terrorism, the attacks outside the areas active hostility in self-defense[31] are regular – what resulted

29 With respect to the "unable" prong of the standard, inability perhaps can be demonstrated most plainly where, for example, a State has lost or abandoned effective control over the portion of its territory where the armed group is operating. With respect to the "unwilling" prong of the standard, unwillingness might be demonstrated where, for example, a State is colluding with or harboring a terrorist organization operating from within its territory and refuses to address the threat posed by the group (White House 2016, 10).

30 John Cantlie, the kidnapped British war correspondent, telegraphed a warning that [...] ISIS could request that its operatives in Pakistan purchase a nuclear weapon, take it to Nigeria, and then smuggle it into the United States through Mexico by using existing drug-and human-trafficking networks. That might sound implausible, but the article at least indicated that ISIS is thinking along these lines. And it wouldn't be the first group. Terrorists, and in particular jihadists, have long been interested in the acquisition and use of chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear weapons (Acharya 2016).

31 On September 28, in coordination with the Federal Government of Somalia, U.S. forces

in critics these actions. As a mean to respond to this criticism, the Obama administration published in 2016 a summary about the self-defense activities outside the areas of active hostility[32], stressing the number of the dead, combatants and non-combatants. The official numbers that comprehend the period from January 20th, 2009 and December 31th, 2015 are:

- Total attacks against terrorist targets outside areas of active hostility: 473
- Dead combatants: 2.372 to 2581
- Dead non-combatants: 64-116

If this numbers are correct, 2.5 to 5% of the victims of these attacks where civilians (side effects). However, the White House recognizes the divergence of its official data to the ones from the non-governmental organizations that indicate higher statistics; for instance, in the same period presented before, these organizations expose around 200 to 900 dead civilians by these operations[33]. Criticism regarding the data published by the US government was strengthened when considering that even the official information from the war zones in Iraq and Afghanistan seems to be mistaken, possibly, since the launch of the War on Terror in 2001[34]. Even so, Obama himself supported

conducted a self-defense strike against al-Shabaab, an al-Qaeda-associated terrorist group, in Galcayo, Somalia. During a Somali-led counterterrorism operation to disrupt an al-Shabaab Improvised Explosive Device (IED) making network, a group of armed al-Shabaab fighters attacked, threatening the safety and security of the Somali force. Somali forces returned fire in self-defense. The U.S. conducted a self-defense strike to neutralize the threat, killing nine (9) enemy fighters (U.S. Africa Command Public Affairs 2016).

32 Office of The Director of National Intelligence. *Summary of Information Regarding U.S. Counterterrorism Strikes Outside Areas of Active Hostilities, 2016*.

33 Although these organizations' reports of non-combatant deaths resulting from U.S strikes against terrorist targets outside areas of active hostilities vary widely, such reporting generally estimates significantly higher figures for non-combatant deaths than is indicated by U.S. Government information. For instance, for the period between January 20, 2009 and December 31, 2015, non-governmental organizations' estimates range from more than 200 to slightly more than 900 possible non-combatant deaths outside areas of active hostilities (Office of The Director of National Intelligence 2016, 2).

34 The American military has failed to publicly disclose potentially thousands of lethal airstrikes conducted over several years in Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan [...] The enormous data gap raises serious doubts about transparency in reported progress against the Islamic State, al-Qaida and the Taliban, and calls into question the accuracy of other Defense Department disclosures documenting everything from costs to casualty counts. In 2016 alone, U.S. combat aircraft conducted at least 456 airstrikes in Afghanistan that were not recorded as part of an open-source database maintained by the U.S. Air Force [...] Most alarming is the prospect this data has been incomplete since the war on terrorism began in October 2001. If that is the case,

its actions, assuring that the number of civilians killed by drones is minor than the number of victims of terrorist attacks if the US have not been involved.[35] Another contentious issue is who the American government considers as "soldier" or "civilian". In agreement with the summary, the verification of a person as a genuine target of a strike is originated by a number of factors that are analyzed by the intelligence service, for instance, the participation in a terrorist organization and their role inside the group; in this context, the White House was seeking to oppose the accusation from human rights groups which claimed that all men in military age in these zones were being considered suspects and, thus, potential targets[36]; that is to say, that the attacks would be based in external characteristics (signature strikes).

Precedents set by the United State on the use of the lethal force in self-defense against terrorist threats outside zones of conflicts

The performance of the US in the War on Terror, specifically the operations outside the areas of active hostility, invoking the principle of self-defense against an imminent attack, set important precedents in the context of the International Law. This happens due to the fact that this argumentation can be claimed by any country and its practice may become a custom and "the international costume had and still has primordial importance in the emer-

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it would fundamentally undermine confidence in much of what the Pentagon has disclosed about its prosecution of these wars, prompt critics to call into question whether the military sought to mislead the American public, and cast doubt on the competency with which other vital data collection is being performed and publicized (Grandpre and Snow 2017).

35 To do nothing in the face of terrorist networks would invite far more civilian casualties -- not just in our cities at home and our facilities abroad, but also in the very places like Sana'a and Kabul and Mogadishu where terrorists seek a foothold. Remember that the terrorists we are after target civilians, and the death toll from their acts of terrorism against Muslims dwarfs any estimate of civilian casualties from drone strikes (Obama 2013a).

36 The term "non-combatant" does not include an individual who is part of a belligerent party to an armed conflict, an individual who is taking a direct part in hostilities, or an individual who is targetable in the exercise of U.S. national self-defense. Males of military age may be non--combatants; it is not the case that all military-aged males in the vicinity of a target are deemed to be combatants. [...] Further analysis of an individual's possible membership in an organized armed group may include, among other things: the extent to which an individual performs functions for the benefit of the group that are analogous to those traditionally performed by members of a country's armed forces; whether that person is carrying out or giving orders to others within the group; or whether that person has undertaken certain acts that reliably connote meaningful integration into the group (Office of The Director of National Intelligence 2016, 1).

gence and development of the new contents, which manifest themselves in the international context, especially as result of the simultaneous acceleration of the evolution, combined with the significant increase of the international actors numbers (Accioly, Silva and Casella 2013, 150, our translation). This statement finds basis in the behavior of the United Kingdom once it had already developed a program of counter-terrorism operations that refers to the same self-defense perspective as the one claimed by the US[37]. The idea that this practice may become a custom through the time can be supported in the face of the duration of the War on Terror that began in 2001 with the implementation of emergency measures and lasts until nowadays in the US[38]. The approach to eradicate the suspects of terrorism outside areas of active hostility establishes a new dynamic of the conflicts in the world risk society: an air war performed by drones controlled by official miles away from the target, seeking to "neutralize" persons identified by intelligence service, preventing the physical confrontation between soldiers and their opponents[39]. This was the military strategy chosen by president Obama who acknowledge his preference by the strikes with drones against suspects of terrorism, without the direct involvement of the American troops[40]. The drawback is that this air war tac-

37 Lord Macdonald, the former director of public prosecutions, has co-signed a letter to Theresa May calling for greater transparency on the UK's use of a "kill list" for drone strikes targeting British fighters in Syria and elsewhere. The letter calls for the release of a report by parliament's intelligence and security committee (ISC) into the British drone strike that killed Cardiff-born Reyaad Khan in Syria in August 2015, as well as the names of any further targets killed in the name of self-defence. [...] Khan had featured in a prominent Isis recruiting video in 2014. David Cameron went to parliament in September 2015 to defend the strike that killed him as "entirely lawful", even though MPs had not voted in favour of military action against Isis in Syria, and had voted against action against President Assad. Cameron and his officials argued that Khan posed an "imminent threat" to the UK that justified his killing outside a British war zone. The announcement was the first time the UK had acknowledged killing people using drones beyond the legal battlefield (Ross 2017).

38 Consistent with section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act, 50 U.S.C. 1622(d), I am continuing for 1 year the national emergency previously declared on September 14, 2001, in Proclamation 7463, with respect to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and the continuing and immediate threat of further attacks on the United States. Because the terrorist threat continues, the national emergency declared on September 14, 2001, and the powers and authorities adopted to deal with that emergency must continue in effect beyond September 14, 2015. Therefore, I am continuing in effect for an additional year the national emergency that was declared on September 14, 2001, with respect to the terrorist threat (Obama 2015b).

39 The Administration had an obligation to set a governing framework for operations in places like Yemen and Somalia, where the United States is engaged in a new paradigm of standoff warfare against terrorist targets with minimal or no U.S. forces on the ground (Hartig 2016, 2).

40 Drone strikes allow us to deny terrorists a safe haven without airstrikes, which are less precise, or invasions that are much more likely to kill innocent civilians as well as American service members (Obama 2016c).

tic, without boots on the ground (or, at least, with reduced numbers of troops which has a secondary role in supporting the local and unprepared armies), spread out the terrorist groups through numerous territories, expanding the extent of the War on Terror. That's why the need of anticipated action against suspects of terrorism outside the areas of active hostility and the resulting broadening of the concept of international self-defense. However, acknowledging this situation, it is made clear that the War on Terror entered in a vicious cycle, in which the higher the numbers of executed strikes invoking the self-defense outside the areas of active hostility, high the potential targets that spread to difficult the attacks, taking the terrorism to new territories. This dynamic also ease the recruitment of new militants due to the rise of the perception that the American government, considering him or her a terrorist, can execute any person anywhere. Likewise, this situation also results in resistance movements that bring more volunteers to fight against what is seen as an imperialist aggression and not self-defense[41]. The persistence in such strategy resulted in the opposite of what president Obama have promised[42].

Consequently, although the American government has elaborated an action guide which is apparently compatible with the international humanitarian law, it cannot be ignored that it will serve as a precedent to other countries involved in conflicts to fight the groups they categorized as terrorists[43]. In such context, there is the risk that the concept of "terrorism" may be decided and applied one-sidedly by each country against groups or individuals that are considered a threat to their national security, authorizing the use of drones

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41 Four former US air force service members, with more than 20 years of experience between them operating military drones, have written an open letter to Barack Obama warning that the program of targeted killings by unmanned aircraft has become a major driving force for Isis and other terrorist groups. The group of servicemen have issued an impassioned plea to the Obama administration, calling for a rethink of a military tactic that they say has "fueled the feelings of hatred that ignited terrorism and groups like Isis, while also serving as a fundamental recruitment tool similar to Guantánamo Bay" (Macaskill and Pilkington 2015).

42 *We have to fight terrorists in a way that does not create more terrorists*. For example, in a dangerous world, terrorists seek out places where it's often impossible to capture them, or to count on local governments to do so. And that means the best option for us to get those terrorists becomes a targeted strike (Obama 2016c, emphasis added)

43 For all the disagreements about drones, there are at least two factors on which both defenders and critics might agree: the accuracy of strikes is only as good as the intelligence that goes into them, and whatever precedent the United States sets with their use will be used as a template for other states that adopt the technology in the future. [...] Other countries interested in developing or acquiring armed drones will model their behavior on how the United States uses the technology. As Central Intelligence Agency Director John Brennan said in 2012, "we are establishing precedents that other nations may follow, and not all of them will be nations that share our interests or the premium we put on protecting human life, including innocent civilians" (Kreps 2015).

wherever the alleged terrorists are. Therefore, not only the diffuse global terrorism would be a great risk, but, also, the drone strikes against individuals that are condemned by each government – according with their own evaluations and judgments[44]. For the example, the Turkish government, after suppressing a military coup attempt, demanded that the United States to deport Fethullah Gulen, who lives in Pennsylvania and who was identified by the Turkish government as the responsible for the operation against the political order established[45]. In this situation, may the refusal of the US to turn the suspect in (what would characterize the unwillingness) permits Erdogan to execute a drone attack in American territory alleging that Gulen is an imminent menace to the Turkish State by presenting a reasonable and objective basis to support their accusations? This is only one example of how the precedents set by the United States during the War on Terror may be used as a foundation to the actions of other countries against their enemies in a global scale.

However, it is also possible to mitigate the proliferation of the drones through treaties, as the multilateral regime that seeks to prevent the nuclear arms race[46]. Nowadays, the Missile Technology Control Regime covers the export of drones, but specialists propose a new and more specific regime which would regulate the acquisition and the use of this arms more suitably[47].

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44 Dozens of countries now have fleets of unmanned aircraft, and at least nine governments have armed drones: China, France, Iran, Israel, Nigeria, Pakistan, South Africa, Britain, and the United States. The report said Washington's reliance on secretive drone strikes could lead other countries to cite the U.S. raids as justification for their own unilateral strikes, without a clear basis in international law (Luce 2016).

45 President Recep Tayyip Erdogan called on the United States to arrest or extradite Fethullah Gulen, a political rival and Muslim cleric living in self-exile in Pennsylvania. Mr. Erdogan has accused Mr. Gulen of being behind the coup attempt, a charge Mr. Gulen denies. "I call on the United States and President Barack Obama," Mr. Erdogan said, addressing hundreds of supporters in Istanbul late Saturday. "Dear Mr. President: I told you this before. Either arrest Fethullah Gulen or return him to Turkey. You didn't listen. I call on you again, after there was a coup attempt. Extradite this man in Pennsylvania to Turkey. If we are strategic partners or model partners, do what is necessary" (Yeginsun and Victor 2016).

46 Such an arrangement would not necessarily require new treaties or international laws; rather, it would necessitate a more broadly accepted understanding of which existing laws apply and when and a faithful and transparent adherence to them. It would also require updating the multilateral regime that was originally designed to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems. Taken together, these measures would help minimize the spread of the most capable and lethal drones to countries that are the most conflict-prone and increase the likelihood that emerging drone powers would adopt policies that reduce the prospects for violent confrontations (Kreps and Zenko 2014).

47 Some drone exports are currently covered by the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), created in 1987 to regulate nuclear-capable missiles and related technologies. The voluntary arrangement does cover armed drones but mentions them only as an afterthought. [...] A new and enhanced drone regime would be drone-specific, covering all exports and uses

Conclusion

The legal justification for the military performance of the US in the War on Terror fall on the concept of self-defense with revised content: it went from four topics to consider the "imminence" – provided by the customary law in the case Caroline – to sixteen principles to analyze the "imminence" of a threat. The best approach to understand this argumentation is the International Relations constructivist analysis, which claims that States are willing to act inside the limits of the international norms, but, at the same time, seek to alter them according to their interests. Hence, the international system would be co-constituted once the agents are influenced by the structure that they create themselves, and the norms would function as criteria for possible modifications. In the constructivist perspective, the international order must not be studied through an unchangeable view, in which the States are rational and self-interested, seeking their own protection and power in an anarchy environment which determinates their identity; on the opposite, the international reality is socially constructed by the agents, and their identities are not preconceived, but always open to changes and new interactions, creating new sets of rules that reflect this sociability. In the context of the terrorism, the countries are willing to claim that they act within the international law but, at the same time, they seek to remodel the concepts to legitimate their behavior, which highlights the notion that the international reality is co-constituted between agents and normative structure, where they both influence each other[48]. Therefore, "once recognized that the nature of the international politics game should not simply be taken for granted, the way for an analysis is open [...] from the rules of the game, an explanation of how the grammar of the world politics is constituted (BROWN, AINLEY, 2012, p. 94, our translation). Thus, the question is: how the new conception of self-defense and the

of armed-capable drones, including those that fall outside the purview of the MTCR. Moreover, its membership would go beyond that of the MTCR, which is largely limited to industrialized countries, and include all states that have or could soon acquire armed drones (Kreps and Zenko 2014).

48 A constructivist approach to co-constitution suggests that the actions of states contribute to making the institutions and norms of international life, and these institutions an norms contribute to defining, socializing, and influencing states. Both the institutions and the actors can be redefined in the process. [...] In studying international norms, it quickly becomes clear that states are concerned simultaneously with shifting their behavior to match the rules to condone their behavior. For instance, when states claim they are using force only in self-defense, they cannot avoid reinforcing articles 2(4) and 51 of the UN Charter (which forbid aggressive war) and at the same time are redefining the rules by specifying how they wish the concepts of "sovereignty", "self-defense" and "aggression" to be understood. International norms are simultaneously the products of state actions and influences upon state action (Hurd 2010, 304).

patterns for the action outside the areas of active hostility are going be used by the governments on the War on Terror ?

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ABSTRACT
The White House legal approach to the War on Terror has been one of the most discussed and least understood topics of international law according to legal counselors of the American government themselves. Despite several speeches and official notes on the subject, the issue remains complex because it involves constitutional rights, human rights and national security. This paper analyzes the War on Terror focusing specifically on the self-defense institute in the world risk society. This means that in order to understand how terrorism is threatening the international order, it is necessary to verify the conceptual changes that determine the self-defense institute and the results of this mutation.

KEY WORDS
Terrorism; International Self-Defense; International Relations; Human Rights.

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TARIFF AND TECHNICAL INTERNATIONAL TRADE MEASURES: A LOOK AT ADVANCED AND EMERGING COUNTRIES

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Initial considerations

One of the most frequent questions in economic science debates is how developed countries have reached the threshold experienced by them and what the emerging ones would need to do to achieve this high level of economic development. The analysis of this question can be done from several perspectives, but many discussions rest under the field of macroeconomic policies, especially those that have been adopted by the current advanced ones and those that should be used by the emerging[3] ones.

Chang (2004) points out an important tripod for this analysis: industrial, commercial and technological (ICT) policies. The author states that it is the differences in these policies that separate the successful countries, in terms of economic development, from the other countries. Other factors, such as economic and political stability, high investment rate, adequate monetary and fiscal policy, are also important and linked to these policies, but this author indicates that special attention should be given to the issues associated with the ICT tripod, which is the focus of his work.

Among these aspects, this paper seeks to give special attention to the role of trade policy. This covers the position of the country in relation to international trade. This is very important for all countries, because it serves not

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3 The terms advanced (developed) and emerging (developing) refer to the classification of countries based on economic development, according to the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The list of advanced countries can be found in Appendix A.

only to bring the most diverse goods available to consumers from different places, but also serves as a source of resources, an instrument of political agreements, technology transfer between nations, among other benefits.

Notably, in the context of the trade policy study, the emphasis is on tariff and non-tariff barriers[4] (for example, technical barriers, health barriers, import quotas, safeguards) that the country applies, or not to its imports, and also to the stimulus it gives to exports (for example, export subsidies).

International trade is constantly used as an instrument to promote economic development. This can be done by protecting infant sectors, monopolizing key sectors with large downstream and upstream linkages, generating income through tariffs, promoting exports through subsidies, among others. For instance, many countries have used the import-substitution model for economic development, for example, Latin American countries. In this model, in short, the country heavily protects key sectors with high import tariffs and import quotas, enabling the industry to grow and thrive before facing external competitiveness, as well as encouraging the domestic production of goods with greater technological content.

There is strong evidence that international trade is a good business for all countries, a fact that is explicit in trade theories such as Ricardo's comparative advantage theory, Heckscher and Ohlin's factor endowment (and Stolper and Samuelson) among others, as shown by Krugman and Obstfeld (2010). The authors also point out that one of the most important perceptions of the international economy is that there are trade gains, that is, that the exchange of goods and services between countries may provide mutual benefit.

Rodríguez and Rodrik (2001) argue that the prevailing view in political circles in Europe and North America is that countries with lower barriers to international trade achieve faster economic progress. According to the authors, multilateral institutions such as the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) strongly advocate that trade liberalization generates predictable and positive consequences for economic development.

International trade enables the consumption of all goods in greater abundance for all countries, serves as a source of income, enhances technological transfer, allows certain sectors to achieve economies of scale and contributes to economic development. However, such a statement does not mean that international trade must necessarily be totally free of barriers, and that

4 The term non-tariff measures fits better than barriers, since they do not always have a negative effect on trade. However, the nomenclature used by the World Trade Organization (WTO) still contains the term barriers.

this is also good for all actors. Commercial protection may still be necessary, for example, for the protection of the infant industry or quality assurance for consumer products. Each country, given its current level of development, lives in a different economic environment, which is affected by the external environment, which may demand freer or more protected trade.

In fact, economic history shows that, although (some) strongly preach free trade, developed countries had not always followed (or are currently following) this recommendation. This is precisely the argument in Chang's book (2004). According to the author, the advanced countries would be "kicking away the ladder", that is, they suggest a growth formula for developing countries that they themselves did not follow when they were in this situation. Specifically under trade policy, countries like the United States and the United Kingdom say that their growth is due, in part, to the policy of laissez-faire, liberalism, and the invisible hand. However, throughout their development trajectory, they have often used protectionist trade and industrial policies, currently considered "bad" policies, such as high tariffs and quotas. And what we see now is that the advanced countries continue to use several types of trade barriers.

Regarding tariffs, since the first round of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), these have been declining in most countries. Initially, according to Batista (1992), the negotiations were essentially confined to a liberalization of trade in manufactures and were put into effect through tariff reductions. Since then, there has been a great wave of tariff cuts, which has been spreading among nations to this day.

However, what has been observed since then is a proliferation of non-tariff measures (NTM's) mainly by the developed countries. Regarding Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures (SPS), in the period 1995 to 2014, the United States, Brazil and Canada were the ones that adopted the most measures. In the case of Technical Barriers to Trade (TBT), the United States, China and the European Union lead the ranking. Finally, with regard to quantitative restrictions (quotas) we have Australia, Hong Kong and New Zealand with the largest number, despite the restriction of the imposition of such barriers by the World Trade Organization (WTO 2015).

Hoekman and Nicita (2011) show that, in general, the use of NTM's increases according to the degree of development of the country. That is, more developed countries tend to use more NTM's. In addition, the results indicate that while traditional trade policies (tariffs) continue to be important for developing countries, as well as for some sectors in developed countries, NTM's and domestic trade costs are also of great importance in trade dynamics.

Therefore, it can be inferred that the reasons for using commercial instruments are strong for both advanced and emerging countries. All countries use these instruments, some more intensely than others.

Despite the importance of international trade in the relevance of trade protection for the development of certain countries, there are no studies to analyze their behavior regarding the adoption of tariff barriers and NTM's. There are also few studies that seek to understand the effects of these different policies on commercial transactions, more specifically on imports from countries.

The effects of tariffs on trade are very clear, since they increase the transaction cost and therefore discourage imports. However, the effects of certain NTM's are varied. TBT and SPS measures can have ambiguous effects, that is bringing benefits to trade due to product standardization, facilitating commercial transactions or, if too restrictive, possibly creating obstacles.

Lee and Swagel (1994) have shown that the differentiated structure of NTB's between countries could be explained by sectorial conditions (such as labor productivity and wages per worker). It is to be hoped that these conditions will be different not only between sectors of different technological contents, but also between countries, and even more between developed and emerging countries. Thus, what is observed is that the imposition and effect of NTM's may differ not only between countries but also between sectors of the economy.

To ascertain whether these differences really exist and what the effects of this on different levels of economic development is of great importance to understand the functioning of today's globalized trade, as well as to serve as a reflection for policy makers regarding the use of trade protection mechanisms and their effects.

Theoretical aspects

Trade Policies

There are a number of theories to explain trade between countries, but most have one thing in common: countries will export what they produce more efficiently and more abundantly, and import what they are less efficient. In this way, everyone would gain and afford abundance of all goods to their consumers. But, in practice, it is not so simple. Despite the benefits of international trade, many countries adopt policies, called trade policies, aimed at protecting the internal market from competition for foreign products.

There are several types of commercial protection, and these can be divided into tariff and non-tariff measures - NTM's. Among the latter, the TBT measures, which are the focus of the analysis together with the tariffs, stand out among the latter.

First, according to Krugman and Obstfeld (2010), the effect of adopting a tariff is different for economies large and small (from an economic point of view). In the absence of tariff, the price of a product *i* is equal to a value P*i* in each country. With the adoption of the tariff, the price in the domestic market (of a large economy) increases with respect to the external market, benefiting domestic producers, because the price becomes higher internally, however, as a consequence, consumers due to high prices are harmed. Such behavior reduces the demand for imports, causing that there is abundance of goods in the foreign market, reducing the price in the same. The prices are modified in a proportional amount to the rate. Thus, the volume traded falls and both countries are affected, as well as the world trade of such good. In the case of a small country whose imported share of goods is generally relatively low, the effect on external prices is insignificant.

The effect of regulatory measures (TBT), when configured as barriers to trade, is to reduce imports, but this behavior occurs differently. These effects are described below, and the work of Roberts, Josling and Orden (1999) is based. Figure 1 shows the effects of a regulatory measure on the trade of a good, from the perspective of an importing country.

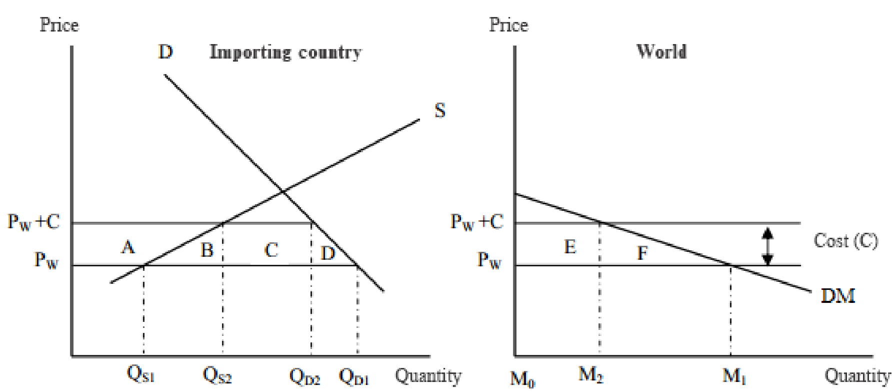

Figure 1: Effects of the imposition of a regulatory measure on imports
Source: Based on Roberts, Josling and Orden (1999).

The left side of Figure 1 shows the interaction between demand and domestic supply versus the world price P_W, for which the quantities demanded and offered of the product are Q_{D1} and Q_{S1}, respectively. The difference between these quantities is solved by imports into the international market (M_I).

If the importer adopts a new regulatory measure, this brings a cost to producers, which may or may not be absorbed. If not, the world price changes from P_W to $P_W + C$. Such behavior affects demand and domestic supply, resulting in a lower excess of domestic demand. Thus, the imported quantity reduces to M2, benefiting the domestic producer and harming the consumer, since the producer surplus increases in A and the consumer decreases in B + C + D.

However, as mentioned earlier, a TBT measure may have ambiguous effects on trade. If it acts to reduce imports, this characterizes a barrier. However, the standardization provoked by a technical measure can generate a stimulus to trade, increasing imports, which can be observed in Figure 2. Roberts, Josling and Orden (1999) affirm that this occurs when the regulatory measure is informative, that is, brings relevant information to the consumer.

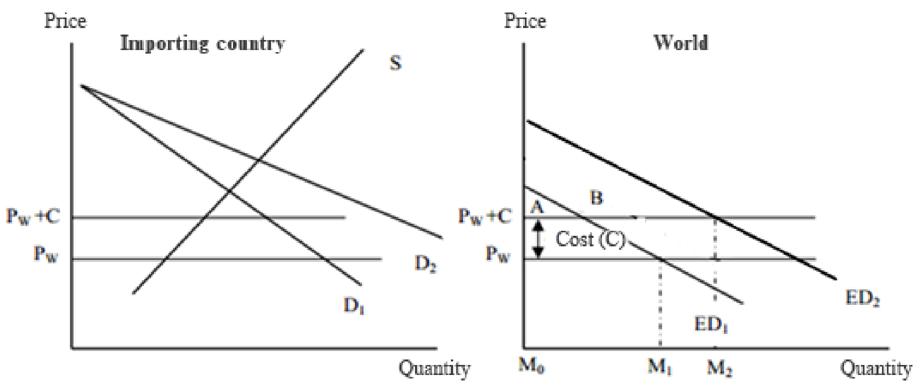

Figure 2: Effects of imposing an information measure
Source: Based on Roberts, Josling and Orden (1999).

M1 is the total imported before the imposition of the new measure, whose initial domestic supply and demand are S and D1. In the face of higher levels of consumer demands, the government imposes a new information regulation (TBT) that changes domestic demand, in which it moves to D2 (more elastic). This new requirement also raises production costs, as in the previous case, and the new price is P_W+C. However, as demand is steeper, the demand curve for imports goes from ED1 to ED2, which means that total imports increase from M1 to M2 due to the adoption of the measure.

The problem with the theory of regulatory measures is that they do not take into account an important point that is associated with the TBT agreement (WTO 2015), since the country, when adopting a new TBT measure, causes domestic producers also be required to follow it. Thus, if the country has not made a period of adaptation to the domestic producer before imposing the measure, they may also suffer a possible increase in costs, which may or may not be offset by the increase in the price C. Thus, the effect of depends on the efficiency of the domestic producer.

The gravity model

Several factors influence trade flows between countries, such as transport costs, tariffs and non-tariff barriers. Other factors such as the size of the countries (Gross Domestic Product - GDP) and the distance between them are gaining great importance with the use of gravitational models, based on Newton's theory of gravity.

According to Baldwin and Taglioli (2006), the gravitational model is a widely used tool in various empirical fields and has a number of applications in the study of international trade. Its popularity is based on three pillars: First, international trade flows are a key element in all types of economic relations; Second, the data needed to estimate it are easily accessible to everyone today; Third, a large number of high-standard jobs brought greater respectability to the gravity model.

The theoretical basis for the gravity model was developed by Anderson (1979), who formulated the equation based on preferences with constant elasticity of substitution (CES) and differentiation of goods by region of origin.

In general terms, bilateral international trade flows would be directly related to the economic masses of the countries (PIBs) and inversely related to the geographical distance between them, and can be represented by the following equation:

$$(1)\ \ln X_{ij} = \alpha + \delta_1 \ln M_i + \delta_2 \ln M_j + \eta \ln Dij + \mu_{ij}$$

where X_{ij} is the exports from country i to country j; α is a constant of proportionality; M_i and M_j are the economic masses (GDPs) of countries, which directly affect trade; and D_{ij} represent all trade-related costs, commonly represented by the distance between countries.

In addition to these variables, other variables were already being inserted in the gravity models to better specify the costs of trade, and thus it became possible to explain the effects of tariff and non-tariff barriers on trade flows. This new model, which includes trade barriers, can be found in several papers such as Anderson and van Wincoop (2004). Thus, the equation can be expressed as follows:

$$(2)\quad \ln X_{ij} = \alpha + \delta_1 \ln GDP_i + \delta_2 \ln GDP_j + \delta_3 \ln dij + \sum_{m=1}^{M} \gamma_m \ln Z_{mij} + \mu_{ij}$$

where X_{ij} is exports (which could be imports as quantification of trade flows) from country i to country j; PIB_i and PIB_j are the GDP of the exporting country and the importer, respectively; d_{ij} is the distance between countries i and j; Z_{mij} is a set of variables that represent trade barriers ranging from the variable $m=1$ to M; and μ_{ij} is the error term.

The gravity model is used in the present work to verify the effects of the TBT measures on the imports of the selected sectors. Different studies, such as Almeida et al (2011), Fassarella et al (2011), Li and Beghin (2012), Fontagné et al (2013) and Corrêa et al (2015) show the different effects of these policies.

Almeida et al (2011) analyzed Brazilian exports of green coffee in the period from 2000 to 2006 and found evidence that TBT and SPS measures adopted by the trading partners negatively affected Brazilian exports of this product, that is, reduced imports of the product by its business partners.

The work of Fassarella et al (2011) shows that for Brazilian poultry meat exports from 1996 to 2009, the TBT and SPS measures adopted by the importing countries related to labeling expanded trade, while measures on the conformity assessment procedure reduced.

Li and Beghin (2012) concluded that the agricultural sector and the food industry tend to be more negatively affected by SPS measures than other sectors. These are also more likely to be hindering imports from developed countries from developing countries than similar barriers in trade between developed countries.

Fontagné et al (2013) analyzed the effects of SPS measures (specific trade concerns[5]) on exports of French firms between 1995 and 2005. The results show that the imposition of these measures reduces the participation of firms in the export market, but the negative effect is attenuated for large firms.

Corrêa et al (2015) measured the effects of TBT measures, adopted by Brazil, on imports from various sectors of the economy (fuels, machines and industrial equipment, electronics, vehicles, organic chemicals and fertilizers)

5 These are the measures that trigger complaints from other WTO member countries, that somehow may have violated the rules of the SPS agreement. The WTO promotes a dialogue among countries to address such issues.

and found that, for them, TBT measures were not barriers and that they were trade facilitators. That is, the TBT measures adopted in the period from 2000 to 2012 had a positive effect on Brazilian imports from the selected sectors.

Thus, it can be seen that the effect of TBT measures is ambiguous. Thus, if the effect is negative, it will be concluded that TBT constitutes a barrier. Otherwise, it will be considered trade facilitator.

Methodology

The first step to verify differences in adoption and effects of protective measures by countries was to select the study sectors. To that end, it was decided to select the most imported HS chapters worldwide in the year 2014. Table 1 shows the sectors (chapters[6]) that were most imported in the world in 2014, in addition to their percentage of value of total world imports in that year.

Table 1: Description of the most imported sectors (chapters) in the world in 2014

Chapters	Short Description	US$ millions	% of total
27	Mineral fuels and oils	2840371684,16	16,77
85	Electronics	2226635611,14	13,14
84	Nuclear reactors, boilers, etc.	1937374887,56	11,44
87	Vehicles	1269500006,37	7,49
39	Plastics and articles thereof	562250721,05	3,32
71	Pearls and precious stones	548810714,70	3,24
90	Medical and Optical Equipment	510259877,99	3,01
30	Pharmaceutical Products	490919710,96	2,90
29	Organic Chemicals	432202467,57	2,55
99	Special Code	394640885,05	2,33
72	Iron and Steel	363430539,40	2,15
73	Works of iron and steel	274063621,46	1,62
26	Ores, slag and ash	250302998,42	1,48
88	Aircraft and space devices	217987676,31	1,29
94	Furniture	200375967,45	1,18

Source: Own elaboration with data from WITS (2015).

6 Chapters of the Harmonized System (HS), which is an international method of classification of goods, based on a code structure. It was created to facilitate and promote the development of international trade (MDIC 2014). Chapters are aggregations of similar products, with 2-digit code. More information at: http://www.mdic.gov.br/ sitio / interna / interna.php? Area = 5 & menu = 411 & refr = 374.

It is observed that the great majority of the reported chapters are industrial sectors, which shows the strength of the industry in world international trade, besides the importance of it in the imports of the countries. Kaldor (1967, 1975) argues that economic growth and productivity growth must be supported by the expansion of aggregate demand, so that they can be continuous. The expansion of markets allows the incorporation of technical progress, as this is endogenous in sectors where economies of scale occur. Industry plays a key role in this process as it is the most dynamic and innovative sector. Thus, the industrial sector was the focus of the present work.

It is also important to note that most chapters contain goods with high added value. Of particular note are the electronics, vehicles, medical equipment, pharmaceuticals and chemicals and aircraft, which are advanced industrial sectors with high added value in their products. Therefore, they are very important assets in the process of technological diffusion, besides having high power of chainings and overflows to other sectors.

Therefore, one sector of each technological intensity was selected according to the OECD classification (2015). The most imported sectors in the world were selected, taking into account the number of TBT notifications in force for them. With data from WITS (2015), based on total world imports for 2014, the selected sectors were: (i) High intensity: chapter 90; Optical, photographic, cinematographic, measuring, checking, precision, medical or surgical instruments and apparatus; surgical, dental or veterinary sciences, including scintigraphic apparatus; parts and accessories thereof; (ii) Medium-high: Chapter 85; Electrical machinery and equipment and parts thereof; sound recorders and reproducers, television image and sound recorders and reproducers, and parts and accessories of such articles; (iii) Medium-low: Chapter 73; Articles of iron or steel; (iv) Low intensity: Chapter 94; Furniture; medical and surgical furniture; mattresses, mattress supports, cushions and similar stuffed furnishings; lamps and lighting fittings, not elsewhere specified or included; illuminated signs, illuminated nameplates and the like; prefabricated constructions.

The period of analysis of the study comprised the years 2010 to 2014. The reason for the choice of this time interval occurred because, firstly, it is desired to verify the pattern of adoption of protective measures and their most recent effects, since the degree of development of the countries is given. If a broader time frame was considered, it would be possible to have a variation in the classification of emergent/advanced; Secondly, due to the global economic crisis in 2008, a sharp decline in world imports occurred in 2009 and this could lead to a bias in the estimates; Thirdly, the fact that variables such as GDP only present complete data available until 2014 and; Fourthly, data collection, tabulation and classification of the data used here (mainly TBT measures) is time-consuming and would therefore require a long period of time to use the entire duration of the agreement (since 1995).

The 40 countries[7] that most imported products from each of these chapters in 2014 were selected, 20 of which were advanced and 20 were emerging, since they accounted for more than 80% of imports of these sectors in 2014. The option of not using all countries was because poorer countries (which import less goods) often do not use the TBT agreement fully, in most cases due to technical issues. Thus, since they issue few (or even none) notifications, it was decided not to include them in the sample. In addition, their weight in world trade in these chapters is negligible[8].

Finally, we selected the 20 largest trading partners from each of the countries previously selected for each chapter. Exports from these partners represent more than 80% of the imports from each selected country (of the assets of the chapters in question). After this, the average bilateral tariffs adopted by each importing country for each chapter were collected in relation to each trading partner. The TBT[9] measures adopted by the importing countries for the chapters in question were also collected. A relevant descriptive analysis of these data was held.

TBT notifications (information documents) issued between 2010 and 2014 were then separated in accordance with the different requirements for importing the products, as described in the notification itself.

In this study, the classification of requirements was based on the criteria adopted by a group of experts appointed by UNCTAD, the United Nations agency for trade and development, known as MAST (*Multi Agency Support Team*), presented in Table 2.

Type 1 - Product changes
- Standards that define the characteristics of products (for example, size, color, components and quality) nd which contribute to the safety and suitability of products. Also included are those related to product performance. - Labeling, packaging and marking requirements (for transport and customs information). - Tolerance limits (residues, toxic substances, maximum concentration of certain components) and prohibitions on the use of certain substances. - Restrictions on genetically modified organisms. - Requirements to prevent environmental damage, or to ensure environmental protection.

7 Strictly, adaptations had been made and some countries had to be changed for the next largest importer because they did not provide all the necessary data for the survey.

8 The importing countries used in the sample are listed in Appendix B.

9 Because they are industrial sectors not linked to the food industry, the number of SPS notifications is very small. Thus, they were not part of the analysis.

Type 2 - Process changes
- Definition of standards for process and/or the production chain that contribute to the safety and suitability of products. - Requirements for good management practices that establish a form of production (for example, the quality system may include a more efficient look at production processes or to speed up distribution). - Product transport and traceability requirements.
Type 3 - Conformity assessment procedures
- Control, inspection and approval, including procedures for sampling, testing and inspection, assessment, verification and assurance of conformity and approval. - Export certification requirements or importing country. - Further requirements for conformity assessment.

Source: Own elaboration based on the classification of MAST, contained in the article by Tongeren et al (2009).

Such separation is necessary because of the great diversity of demands in technical measures. It was hoped, therefore, to group notifications in order to verify a pattern in the effects of the same given the type of requirement contained.

Operation of the gravitational model

First, an equation was estimated for each technological intensity (one for high/medium high, another for low/medium low), with a *dummy* to capture the difference between the groups (advanced and emerging). Interaction *dummies* were also included to measure whether there is a difference between tariffs and TBTs adopted by the groups. The estimated equations follow the following format:

(3) $$\ln Y_{ijt} = \delta_1 \ln GDP_{it} + \delta_2 \ln GDP_{jt} + \delta_3 \ln D_{ij} + \delta_4 \ln(1+T^{K}{}_{ijt}) + \\ + \sum_{m=5}^{7} \delta_m TBT^{k}_{nijt} + \delta_8 F_i + \delta_9 G_K + \delta_{10}(F \times \ln(1+T_{ijt})) + \delta_{11}(F \times TBT^{K}_{nijt}) + H_t + I_i + J_j + \mu_{ijt}$$

where Y_{ijt} = imports (of products of the chapter in question) of country i, originating in country j, in period t; GDP_{it}= GDP of country i in period t; GDP_{jt} = GDP of country j in period t; D_{ij} = distance between country i and country j; (T_{ijt}) = average tariff imposed by country i to country j, for chapter K, in period t; K = 1 if the trade flow refers to goods from chapter K, 0 otherwise; TBT*mijt* = 1, if there is notification of type n (1, 2 or 3) imposed by country i, for goods of chapter K, in period t; 0, otherwise; F = 1, if country i belongs to group 1, from advanced countries; 0, otherwise (controls fixed effects of groups of countries); G = 1, if data belongs to the chapter K, 0 otherwise (controls fixed effects of the chapters); Fx (1 + T) = dummy of interaction between group and tariff. It shows if there is a difference in the effect of the tariffs applied by the groups; Fx (TBT) = group and TBT interaction dummies. Shows if there is a difference in the effect of the TBTs adopted by the groups; Ht = dummy variables to control the specific effects of years; I_i and J_j = dummy variables to control the specific effects of importing and exporting countries; μ_{ijt} = error term.

Subsequently, a second equation was estimated in order to verify if there are differences between the policies adopted between groups in different technological intensities, as well as to verify if there are differences in policies between technological intensities. Thus, the chapters of both intensities were included as well as a dummy to capture differences between the sectors of high/medium high and low/medium low technologies.

$$\begin{aligned} \ln Y_{ijt} &= \delta_1 \ln GDP_{it} + \delta_2 \ln GDP_{jt} + \delta_3 \ln D_{ij} + \delta_4 \ln(1 + T^K{}_{ijt}) + \\ &+ \sum_{m=5}^{7} \delta_m TBT^k_{nijt} + \delta_8 F_i + \delta_9 (F_i \times \ln(1 + T_{ijt})) + \delta_{10} (F_i \times TBT^K_{nijt}) + \delta_{11} G_k + \\ &+ \delta_{12} (G_k \times \ln(1 + T_{ijt})) + \delta_{13} (G_k \times TBT^K_{nijt}) + H_i + I_j + J_t + \mu_{ijt} \end{aligned} \tag{4}$$

where Y_{ijt}, PIB_{it}, PIB_{jt}, Dij, (T_{ijt}), K and TBT_{mijt} are the same variables of equation (3); F = 1, if country i belongs to group 1; 0, otherwise (controls fixed effects of groups); Fxln (1 + T) = dummy of interaction between group and tariff. It shows if there is a difference in the effect of the tariffs applied by the groups; Fx (TBT) = group and TBT interaction dummies. Shows if there is a difference in the effect of the TBTs adopted by the groups; G = 1 if the good is high / medium high technology; 0 otherwise; Gxln (1 + T) = dummy of interaction between technological intensity and tariff. It shows if there is a difference in the effect of tariffs applied to goods of different technological intensities; Gx (TBT) = interaction dummies between technological intensity and TBTs; H_i e I_j = dummy variables to control the specific effects of importing and exporting countries; J_t = dummy variables to control the specific effects of years; μ_{ijt} = error term.

Thus, it became possible to measure the effect of trade barriers and measures on imports, as well as the effect of other variables equally relevant to the understanding of international trade, through the analysis of regressions with stacked data.

In general, the gravity model is estimated for all pairs of countries and not only for certain importers. However, since the objective is to measure the effects of the obstacles imposed by specific groups, an adaptation of the model is made and only the largest importers are used on the left side of the equation. This approach, with only one country on one side of the flow, has been successfully executed in other works, such as Karass et al (2009), Mata and Freitas (2008), Fassarella et al (2011).

The importance of controlling country-specific effects is highlighted by Baldwin and Taglioli (2006). According to the authors, estimation in this way allows the inclusion of multilateral resistance terms (different for each country) as factors not observed in the equation, preventing the occurrence of bias caused by their omission, which would be expressed in the error term of the equations. This can be done by creating a dummy that assumes value 1 for the trade flows of a given country, and 0 otherwise. The authors also argue that recent estimations with gravity models preferentially use panel data, and in this case controlling the country-specific effects is not enough, as it does not remove the time series bias, so dummies are used for years.

Regarding the estimation, it was performed using the Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) method with correction for heteroskedasticity and for Poisson Pseudo Maximum Likelihood (PPML), since it generates consistent results in the presence of unobservable heteroscedasticity[10], according to Santos Silva and Tenreyro (2006), thus making a counterpoint between a linear and a non-linear estimator.

Both methods had their error terms set in predefined groups, in this case by country pairs. According to Shepherd (2013), this procedure is constantly used by researchers and avoids underestimated standard errors.

The data used in this study were taken from several sources. Imports by country, free on boarding (FOB) dollar values were collected in WITS, as well as the bilateral average tariff rates. The GDP of each country in each year, also in dollars, was withdrawn from the World Bank. The distances between the capitals of the countries (in kilometers) come from CEPII. Finally, the regular TBT measures adopted by the countries were collected in the WTO database.

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10 This type of problem, if it happens, violates the premises of the OLS and cannot be corrected by a robust correlation matrix. PPML serves precisely to solve this problem.

Results and Discussion

With regard to TBT tariffs and measures, a different behavior was expected in relation to adoption by advanced and emerging countries. Table 3 below shows the descriptive statistics of tariffs and TBT measures confirming this hypothesis.

Table 3: Descriptive statistics of selected trade measures

	Technology	Chapter	Measure	Average	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Advanced	High	85	Tariff	1,20	1,10	0,00	5,10
			TBT	6,75	14,34	0	47
		90	Tariff	0,75	0,53	0,00	2,38
			TBT	2,20	6,12	0	20
	Low	73	Tariff	0,99	0,76	0,00	3,63
			TBT	0,75	2,51	0	11
		94	Tariff	1,04	0,91	0,00	3,46
			TBT	2,30	7,63	0	34
Emerging	High	85	Tariff	4,42	3,52	0,50	13,23
			TBT	12,40*	26,83	0	116
		90	Tariff	3,39	3,52	0,16	11,96
			TBT	4,35	8,74	0	34
	Low	73	Tariff	5,34	4,01	0,38	13,90
			TBT	2,95	4,64	0	19
		94	Tariff	6,32	4,45	0,29	16,52
			TBT	3,45	8,11	0	35

Values in percentages (*ad valorem rates*).

* In this case Israel presented a disproportionate number of notifications, 116. Withdrawing Israel from the sample the average TBT would be 6.94 and tariffs 4.60[11].

Source: Own elaboration with data from the WTO and WITS, 2015.

Firstly, it is observed that emerging countries present average tariffs much higher than advanced countries for all the chapters. In the case of TBT measures, the mean was also higher for the emerging ones, but the difference between the two groups is lower. As expected, emerging countries tend to use higher fares. With regard to TBT measures, it was expected that they would be used more by advanced countries. However, it is important to note that the emerging countries in the sample are not very backward countries and are not among the poorest countries. In short, they are countries that have the technical and financial capacity to actively participate in the TBT agreement, whether for legitimate or protectionist objectives.

11 This type of problem, if it happens, violates the premises of the OLS and cannot be corrected by a robust correlation matrix. PPML serves precisely to solve this problem.

Another interesting fact is that in emerging countries the average tariff is higher in the low-tech sectors than in the high-technology ones. There may be several reasons why a country may adopt a relatively lower tariff in high-tech sectors: encourage technology transfer, need to import high-tech goods due to low domestic production, stimulate physical capital formation, etc.

However, it should be noted that a higher average TBT was observed in the high technology sector, which may indicate an attempt to adapt the domestic sector itself to high standards, since when a country adopts a TBT measure domestic producers are also obliged to follow -over there. In addition, it may be a sign of consumer protection given the complexity of the sectors.

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Undeniably, for the sectors analyzed here, the levels of protection currently practiced by the advanced countries are really low. This is due in large part to the European Union countries, since they practice zero tariffs for almost all trading partners and have not adopted TBT measures in the period under review (except Czech Republic for Chapter 90).

Table 4 shows the results of the econometric model (3) proposed in the methodology. The control variables, because they were not relevant to the discussion, were omitted from the table.

Table 4: Results of gravity models, for high and low technology, estimated by the methods OLS and PPML

High/medium high technology - OLS			High/medium high technology - PPML		
Variable	**Coefficient**	**Robust standard error**	**Variable**	**Coefficient**	**Robust standard error**
Country GDP	-0,00938ns	0,039347	**Country GDP**	-0,11911ns	0,104929
Partner GDP	-0,04052ns	0,054331	**Partner GDP**	0,079269ns	0,113745
Distance	-0,36209***	0,0307	**Distance**	-0,54908***	0,029761
Tariff	-0,12256**	0,051792	**Tariff**	-0,0335ns	0,078734
TBT type 1	0,0924**	0,044408	**TBT type 1**	0,033286ns	0,070281
TBT type 2	-0,07385**	0,03756	**TBT type 2**	-0,03717ns	0,053669
TBT type 3	-0,00808ns	0,038058	**TBT type 3**	-0,05258ns	0,051355
group*tariff	-0,22938**	0,086798	**group*tariff**	-0,22052**	0,098791
group*type1	0,03676ns	0,073867	**group*type1**	0,010395ns	0,076213
group*type2	0,049104ns	0,076651	**group*type2**	0,015725ns	0,052394
group*type3	-0,4039***	0,100756	**group*type3**	-0,0028ns	0,119612
Constant	25,6631***	1,766243	**Constant**	27,58388***	4,219236
R²	0,77		**Pseudo R²**	0,78	
Low/medium low technology - OLS			**Low/medium low technology- PPML**		
Country GDP	0,643767***	0,15025	**Country GDP**	0,748411***	0,13419
Partner GDP	0,412151***	0,082392	**Partner GDP**	0,277512**	0,091995
Distance	-0,65251***	0,042253	**Distance**	-0,79341***	0,0554
Tariff	-0,16323**	0,048616	**Tariff**	0,011546ns	0,058488
TBT type 1	0,143755**	0,065113	**TBT type 1**	0,464741**	0,121032
TBT type 2	0,372318***	0,058851	**TBT type 2**	0,101402*	0,063031
TBT type 3	0,001245ns	0,053326	**TBT type 3**	-0,10146ns	0,064269
group*tariff	-0,13207ns	0,087962	**group*tariff**	-0,19387ns	0,125558
group*type1	-0,04231ns	0,085003	**group*type1**	-0,22871ns	0,156375
group*type2	0,065529ns	0,118767	**group*type2**	0,265174**	0,114703
group*type3	-0,18465**	0,082559	**group*type3**	-0,12817ns	0,085365
Constant	-6,7808ns	4,908056	**Constant**	-5,19159ns	4,670805
R²	0,74		**Pseudo R²**	0,76	

Group = 1 if advanced countries, 0 if emerging countries.
In high technology, chapter = 1 if 90, 0 if 85. Low, chapter 1 = if 73, 0 if 94.
*, **, *** denote significance levels at 10%, 5% and 1% respectively and ns denotes not significant.
Source: Own elaboration.

For the high tech model the GDPs were not significant for both estimates. This can be explained by the fact that the relationship between GDP and international trade is positive, but this does not necessarily mean that trade in all goods increases with an increase in GDP. Another reason for this may be the analyzed period, which is still bitter after the post-crisis effects of 2008/2009.

The distance variable was significant and with expected signal for both estimates. The greater the distance the smaller the trade between the countries, which is mainly due to the transport costs. Distance is an important source of commercial resistance, along with trade barriers and political issues. In addition to transport costs, closer countries are more likely to be in an economic bloc (for example, MERCOSUR or European Union) or bilateral agreement, which further facilitates transactions.

The variable Tariff was significant and with negative signal as expected by the estimation by OLS (by PPML was not significant). It occurs because the tariff increases the cost of the good in the domestic market, consequently, has the effect of reducing imports. In addition, it was found that the interaction dummy (group*tariff) shows in both estimates that the effect of the tariff is different between advanced and emerging countries. The negative effect of the tariff for advanced countries is higher, since the group*tariff coeficient is added to that of the tariff for advanced countries. Thus, tariffs reduce imports to both groups, but reduce more to advanced countries[12]. This may signal a greater reliance on external markets for emerging countries (in this case, import dependency).

The variable TBT type 1 was significant and positive by the estimation by OLS. This shows that TBT measures that require changes in the product (for the chapters in question) are not trade barriers but trade facilitators. This fact occurs by bringing standardization and greater reliability to the goods. For example, standard labeling makes imported products bring all the necessary information to government and consumers in the country, thus reducing the time and cost of collecting additional information and testing.

The variable TBT type 2 was significant and negative in the estimation by OLS, which indicates that changes in the productive process incur barriers to trade, at least in the short term. It is worth noting that there are relatively few such measures in the period under review. It is uncommon for countries to make demands that exclusively affect the productive process. By the PPML model, none of the measures had a significant coefficient.

Also, by the MQO model, the dummy of interaction between groups of countries and TBT shows that there is no difference in the effect between groups for TBTs type 1 (changes in the product) and 2 (changes in the production process), but for type 3 of conformity). It can be inferred that there is a

12 Although the tariff was not significant in the PPML, it is admitted that the effect of the tariff is negative following the economic theory and the empirical findings.

difference between the effects of TBT type 3 measures adopted by advanced and emerging countries, but it cannot be inferred for which the same would be greater or less since it is unknown if the effect of TBT type 3 is positive or negative (for its non-significance).

For low technology the GDPs were significant and showed positive signal as expected in both estimation methods. That is, positive changes in the economic size of importing and partner countries positively affected the value of imports of all products. The larger the GDP of the countries, the more they tend to trade in international trade.

Again distance was significant and negative as expected, corroborating the relevance of transport costs (among others) as a cost of trade.

The variable Tariff was also significant and negative, by OLS, as expected. It was not significant by PPML. On the other hand, the dummy of the interaction group*tariff was not significant in any of the methods, indicating that for low technology goods there is no difference between the effects of tariffs between groups.

The TBTs type 1 and type 2 were significant and had a positive effect in both methods. This means that measures that require product and production process changes for the chapters in question are trade facilitators. Again, the idea that technical measures generate standardization and reliability, which is important to facilitate international trade, is reinforced.

Regarding the interaction dummies, by OLS, there is a difference between the effect of TBT type 3 between groups. However, the direction of the effect cannot be inferred since TBT type 3 was non-significant. By PPML, there is a difference between the effect of TBT type 2 between groups. The positive effect is higher for developed countries, since the variable group*type 2 has a positive coefficient, which is added to the TBT coefficient type 2 for group 1. It is the standardization generating more confidence to the consumers of advanced countries.

Table 5 shows the results of the model (4) proposed in the methodology. The control dummies were omitted because they were not of interest for the present analysis.

Table 5: Gravity model results, for both technological intensities, estimated by the MQO and PPML methods

OLS			PPML		
Variable	**Coefficient**	**Robust EP**	**Variable**	**Coefficient**	**Robust EP**
Country GDP	0,13457**	0,046731	**Country GDP**	0,339523***	0,088239
Partner GDP	-0,0998137ns	0,1245292	**Partner GDP**	0,153003**	0,08134
Distance	-0,5710771***	0,0295611	**Distance**	-0,60959***	0,030211
Tariff	-0,0790365*	0,0429804	**Tariff**	-0,04238ns	0,070527
TBT type 1	0,3872745***	0,0699416	**TBT type 1**	0,632284*	0,192919
TBT type 2	0,3365517***	0,0689675	**TBT type 2**	-0,18221ns	0,134929
TBT type 3	-0,1813273**	0,063506	**TBT type 3**	-0,13464ns	0,143029
group*tariff	-0,18641**	0,072627	**group*tariff**	-0,34822**	0,111724
group*type1	-0,63983***	0,083207	**group*type1**	-0,4543**	0,170072
group*type2	0,134869ns	0,089623	**group*type2**	0,137475*	0,081603
group*type3	-0,13044ns	0,106857	**group*type3**	0,334072**	0,134103
technology*tariff	0,241206***	0,040337	**technology*tariff**	0,253233***	0,068542
technology *type1	0,189542**	0,086935	**technology *type1**	-0,08625ns	0,238668
technology *type2	-0,38353***	0,094414	**technology *type2**	0,104034ns	0,143422
technology *type3	0,290036***	0,078052	**technology *type3**	0,195391ns	0,176302
Constant	22,21433***	3,157315	**Constant**	9,762356***	3,278164
R^2	0,67		**Pseudo R^2**	0,59	

Grupo = 1 if advanced countries, 0 if emerging countries.
Technology = 1 if high / medium high (chapters 85 and 90); Low / medium low (chapters 73 and 94).
*, **, *** denote significance levels at 10%, 5% and 1% respectively and ns denotes not significant.
Source: Own elaboration.

In this model important differences emerge between the estimates by OLS and PPML, mainly regarding the technical measures and their effects, as can be appreciated in the following explanation.

In the OLS model only the importer's GDP was significant and positive as expected, while in the PPML model both were. Again, what the theory asserts is confirmed, the higher the income (GDP) of the countries, the greater the trade between them.

The distance showed to be significant and expected signal in both estimations, evidencing that a greater distance tends to reduce the trade between countries.

The rate was also significant and with negative signal, according to the theory, by OLS. By PPML the same was not significant. In addition, it was possible to verify that the effect of the same differs between groups (the negative effect is greater for advanced countries, which can be verified by the coefficient of group*tariff) and also between sectors (technology*tariff), its effect being lower for sectors of high/medium high technologies (since this had a positive coefficient). This indicates that the demand for high-tech goods is relatively more inelastic. Again, one can cite as an incentive for the transfer of technology, even in advanced countries. When they import goods of high technological content from other advanced countries, they participate in the process of technological diffusion.

As a matter of fact, when analyzing the effect of interaction between sectors and tariff by the model estimated by OLS, adding the coefficients of Rate and technology * tariff it is observed that the rate coefficient becomes positive, which is a contrast with theory and with the empirical observation. The simple correlation between tariff and imports is small but negative for high technology goods (-0.0157), so the positive value is not consistent. This may have occurred due to several factors, but the great heterogeneity of products stands out, generating very different tariffs aggregated in an industry average. Additionally, a possible limitation of the OLS estimator due to unobservable heteroskedasticity is highlighted. By the PPML estimator, the bias of the coefficient with a different sign than expected was not observed (not significant).

Regarding the technical measures, TBTs type 1 and 2 are facilitators of trade, by OLS, being only type 1 significant by PPML. Also by OLS it is verified that TBT type 3 measures have negative effect, indicating that requirements of conformity assessment procedures would have negative effects on imports.

The estimation by OLS shows that the effect of TBT type 1 varies between groups, becoming negative for imports from advanced countries. In the estimation by the PPML method the effect also varies between groups, and is smaller for the advanced ones, but remains positive. This result is more in agreement with the one obtained in model (3). By PPML the effects of TBT types 2 and 3 also vary between groups.

Regarding the difference of the effects of the measurements by technological intensities, it is verified that the three types of TBTs differ between the technologies according to the estimation by OLS. By adding the coefficients of type*technology to those of TBT type, the effect becomes positive and greater for TBT type 1, negative for TBT type 2 and positive for TBT type 3 when it comes to high technology chapters. For the PPML the estimates were not significant.

Thus, the theoretical ambiguity of the effect of the imposition of non-tariff measures is also evident in the empirical context. This is because the effect of each TBT measure, in each period of time, for each country and for each product tends to be different. There are innumerable questions that permeate the final result of this action, such as the country's productive efficiency in that good, the support of the government for the understanding and implementation of technical regulations, the internal and external market, price elasticity of demand for good, among others.

With regard to the question initially raised, are the advanced countries currently recommending reduction of trade barriers, but practicing the opposite of what they preach? It can be said that for the sectors and period of time studied here, no. By analyzing the descriptive statistics, it was possible to observe that the protection (with the instruments analyzed here) is lower in both technological intensities for advanced countries, since, on average, the tariffs adopted by emerging countries are higher in all the chapters.

As expected the adoption and effects of the measures differ between countries. Tariff levels applied by advanced countries are much lower than those of emerging ones. This is largely due to the fact that the tariff is a source of income, an instrument of protection of the domestic producer and easy to adopt. In addition, the effect of tariffs is greater for the advanced ones, showing a greater elasticity in the demand of the same ones.

Different than expected, the adoption of TBT measures was not greater on the part of the advanced ones. However, it should be noted that the sampled emerging countries are not extremely backward countries with full capacity to use the TBT agreement. In any case, even if the advanced ones adopt more TBTs, this would not mean that they are raising their trade barriers, since the evidences of the most recent works and the results found here suggest that such measures are, in many cases, facilitating trade.

But that does not mean that the advanced countries are not "kicking the ladder." The data analyzed here comprise the period from 2010 to 2014, a period in which these countries are already at a high level of economic development. In fact, commercial freedom is the goal, the trend most countries seem to be moving towards. But each one is in a different place on this long road.

Conclusions

The present work proved that the adoption and effects of tariff and technical measures differ between advanced and emerging countries. It has been noted that emerging countries have higher tariffs. Regarding to technical measures, it was possible to observe that they can be trade facilitators.

It is undeniable that meeting the requirements of a TBT measure incurs costs to the producer. If these costs are too high, some may even be expelled from the market. Another negative aspect of TBT measures is that they can be used with purely protectionist intent, and it is much more difficult to identify than in the case of a tariff or quota.

However, in many cases, the benefits outweigh these ills. An important trade policy recommendation is therefore to be found here: the TBT agreement can be useful for a number of purposes and, once it brings a wide range of beneficial effects to consumers and the environment, should be given greater attention by the countries. This can be corroborated by the following facts:

First, it acts in the standardization of the products, bringing greater security for the consumer, for the environment and greater reliability in the products. It is a benefit to consumers around the world;

Secondly, given the rules of the agreement (national treatment principle), domestic producers are also obliged to follow what is determined in a technical measure established by their country, that is the rule for the external product cannot be more rigid than for the national product. Therefore, this is a way of ensuring that national productive assets and processes reach an international standard of quality, in addition to signaling this to the whole world, which may facilitate the exports of the country that imposed the measure;

Third, it provides information exchange and learning between countries. That is because when a country issues a notification, everyone has access to it. Assuming it has legitimate objectives, it presents the world with a more reliable and efficient product, process or conformity assessment procedure. The other countries can copy such a measure, if it suits them, incorporating the improvement for their imports and domestic production;

Fourth, there may be an international spillover effect when a country adopts a measure. If a country adopts a new requirement, all those countries (even without imposing TBT measures) importing that affected good, from the same partners in the country that imposed TBT, will benefit from their higher quality or reliability. That is, when partners in that country need to adapt to the new requirement, to export to it, they end up making their products better for all their partners, indirectly, if they incorporate the change into all goods produced for export. If the domestic industry also follows this trend, the overflow will reach even the domestic consumers of the exporting countries in question.

Despite many benefits, many countries use the agreement[13] sparingly. This may be due to the fear that internal producers may not adapt to the requirements or because of a technical inability to understand and use them. In

13 For example, according to WTO data (2015), Burundi, Gabon, Guinea, Fiji, Nigeria, Haiti, Suriname, Mali and Lao have only one TBT notification.

the first case the solution is more complex: it requires a series of pro-industry and pro-development policies. In the second case, however, the solution already envisaged in the agreement: more developed countries should provide technical assistance to less favored nations so that they can adopt the necessary TBT measures to protect the consumer, the nation or the environment, or even to encourage adoption , internal and external, of standards of excellence. It is therefore necessary to encourage greater integration and international dialogue so that such aid can take place in a more extensive and effective way and thus encourage universal harmonization and excellence of standards and regulations.

The world is getting smaller, more connected and therefore countries, governments, companies and even people need to adapt to this new situation. Globalization has provided opportunities for all countries to expand their markets, move into previously unexplored areas, and acquire all kinds of knowledge and technology. However, those who do not conform to this new reality will be doomed to stagnation.

Appendix

Appendix A - Classification of countries according to the degree of economic development

According to the IMF classification, countries can be divided into advanced and emerging. This classification occurs under a very economical, but includes several variables. This methodology may vary according to the country analyzed, but, in summary, the analysis includes: 1) per capita income level; 2) diversification of exports; and 3) degree of integration in the global financial system. Table 1A shows the countries considered advanced by these criteria.

Table 1A: Advanced Economies according to the IMF in 2015

Germany	Estonia	Luxembourg
Australia	Finland	Malta
Austria	France	Norway
Belgium	Greece	New Zealand
Canada	Netherlands	Portugal
Cyprus	Hong Kong	United Kingdom
Singapore	Ireland	Czech Republic
South Korea	Iceland	Slovakia
Denmark	Israel	San Marino
Slovenia	Italy	Sweden
Spain	Japan	Switzerland
United States	Latvia	Taiwan

Source: IMF, 2015.

The remaining countries, except those that are not members of the IMF[14] and do not enter the analysis, are classified as emerging economies.

Appendix B - Importing countries by chapter of the HS

Table 1B: 40 largest importers of the chapters currently selected[15]

Cap. 73	Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Kuwait, Malaysia, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Russia, Singapore, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, The Czech Republic, Turkey, United States
Cap. 94	Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Croatia, Denmark, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kuwait, Malaysia, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Oman, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Spain, South Africa, South Korea, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, The Czech Republic, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States.
Cap. 85	Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Denmark, egypt, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kuwait, Malaysia, Mexico, Netherlands, Peru, Poland, Russia, Singapore, Slovakia, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, The Czech Republic, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States
Cap. 90	Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kuwait, Malaysia, Mexico, Netherlands, Peru, Poland, Russia, Singapore, Slovakia, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, The Czech Republic, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States

Source: Own elaboration with data from WITS, 2015.

14 Anguilla, Cuba, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and Montserrat are examples of countries that are not members of the IMF

15 Since the complete data is very extensive (there are 160 countries as importers, each with its 20 partners), the partners of each of the countries listed here, as well as percentage values of trade of these are found in http: // technical measures. blogspot.com.br/.

Appendix C - Number of TBT notifications issued by the sample importing countries between 2010 and 2014

Table 1C: TBT notifications, by chapter, issued by selected countries 2010-2014

	73		85		90		94	
	Country	TBT	Country	TBT	Country	TBT	Country	TBT
Advanced	Canada	3	Australia	9	Canada	3	Australia	1
	Japan	1	Canada	30	The Czech Republic	20	Canada	7
	US	11	Hong Kong	1	South Korea	1	Japan	2
			Japan	1	US	20	Korea	2
			Korea	5			US	34
			Singapore	1				
			Switzerland	1				
			US	47				
Emerging	Brazil	8	Brazil	21	Brazil	8	Brazil	13
	China	19	Chile	2	China	34	Chile	2
	Colombia	6	China	40	Colombia	1	China	8
	Indonesia	7	Colombia	3	Indonesia	1	Indonesia	1
	Kuwait	1	Indonesia	3	Israel	22	Israel	35
	Malaysia	2	Israel	116	Malaysia	1	Malaysia	3
	Mexico	5	Kuwait	5	Mexico	3	Mexico	3
	Peru	2	Malaysia	6	Peru	9	South Africa	2
	South Africa	1	Mexico	5	South Africa	4	Thailand	2
	Thailand	6	Peru	3	Thailand	4		
	Peru	1	South Africa	7				
			Thailand	33				
			Peru	1				
			Ukraine	3				

Source: Author's elaboration with data from the WTO, 2015.

* This table also includes notifications made to products belonging to the selected chapters, but indexed in the ICS merchandise classification. These were those used in the econometric model.

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ABSTRACT
This study evaluates the adoption and impact of tariffs and technical measures for emerging and advanced countries. The results showed that tariffs are considerably higher in emerging countries, but the negative effect of these tariffs is more intense for advanced countries. With regard to technical measures, the ones that requires changes in the product tend to be facilitating trade, while that demanding changes in the production process have shown mixed results. Thus, despite the elevation of production costs, technical measures can facilitate trade due standardization, which makes universal harmonization of standards and regulations a benefit possible with broad international dialogue.

KEYWORDS
International Trade; Trade Barriers; Gravitational Model.

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PARTNERS

NERINT

The Brazilian Centre for Strategy and International Relations (NERINT) was the first Centre in Southern Brazil to focus its study and research, exclusively, on international relations. It was established in 1999 at the Latin American Advanced Studies Institute (ILEA) of the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS), and, since 2014, it is part of the Faculty of Economics of the same institution in Porto Alegre, Brazil.

Its objective has always been the critical and innovative study of the international system's transformations after the end of the Cold War. In parallel, NERINT has also sought to contribute to the debate on a national project for Brazil through the understanding of the available strategic options for the autonomous international insertion of the country, from the perspective of the developing world. Brazil's choice for an "active, affirmative and propositive" foreign policy in the beginning of the 21st century converged with the analyses and projections put forward by NERINT through its numerous seminars and publications.

An outcome of its activity was the creation of an undergraduate course in International Relations (2004), ranked the best in Brazil according to the Ministry of Education (2012), and a Doctoral Program in International Strategic Studies (2010), as well as the bimonthly journal Conjuntura Austral and the bilingual and biannual Austral: Brazilian Journal of Strategy & International Relations. In addition, since 2016, NERINT offers a bilingual Research Bulletin, published every two months by graduate and undergraduate students and researchers of the Centre. Thus, besides the advanced research, prioritarily focused on emerging countries, NERINT is also the birthplace of undergraduate and graduate programs, not to mention its intense editorial activities.

PPGEEI

The Doctoral Program in International Strategic Studies (PPGEEI) started in 2010, offering Master's and Doctorate degrees, both supported by qualified professors and researchers with international experience. It is the result of several developments on research and education at the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS).

Its roots can be traced to the Brazilian Centre for Strategy and International Relations (NERINT), established in 1999. Other main partners are the Centre for Studies on Technology, Industry, and Labor (NETIT/FCE) and the Center for International Studies on Government (CEGOV). In 2004, an undergraduate degree in International Relations was created at the Faculty of Economics/UFRGS; in 2005 the Center for Studies on Brazil-South Africa (CESUL), recently renamed as Brazilian Centre for African Studies (CEBRAFRICA), was created. All these actions enabled the rise of an independent line of thinking propped by specialized bibliography.

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