

# BRICS, a possible cooperation in the area of Defence?

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# TOPICS

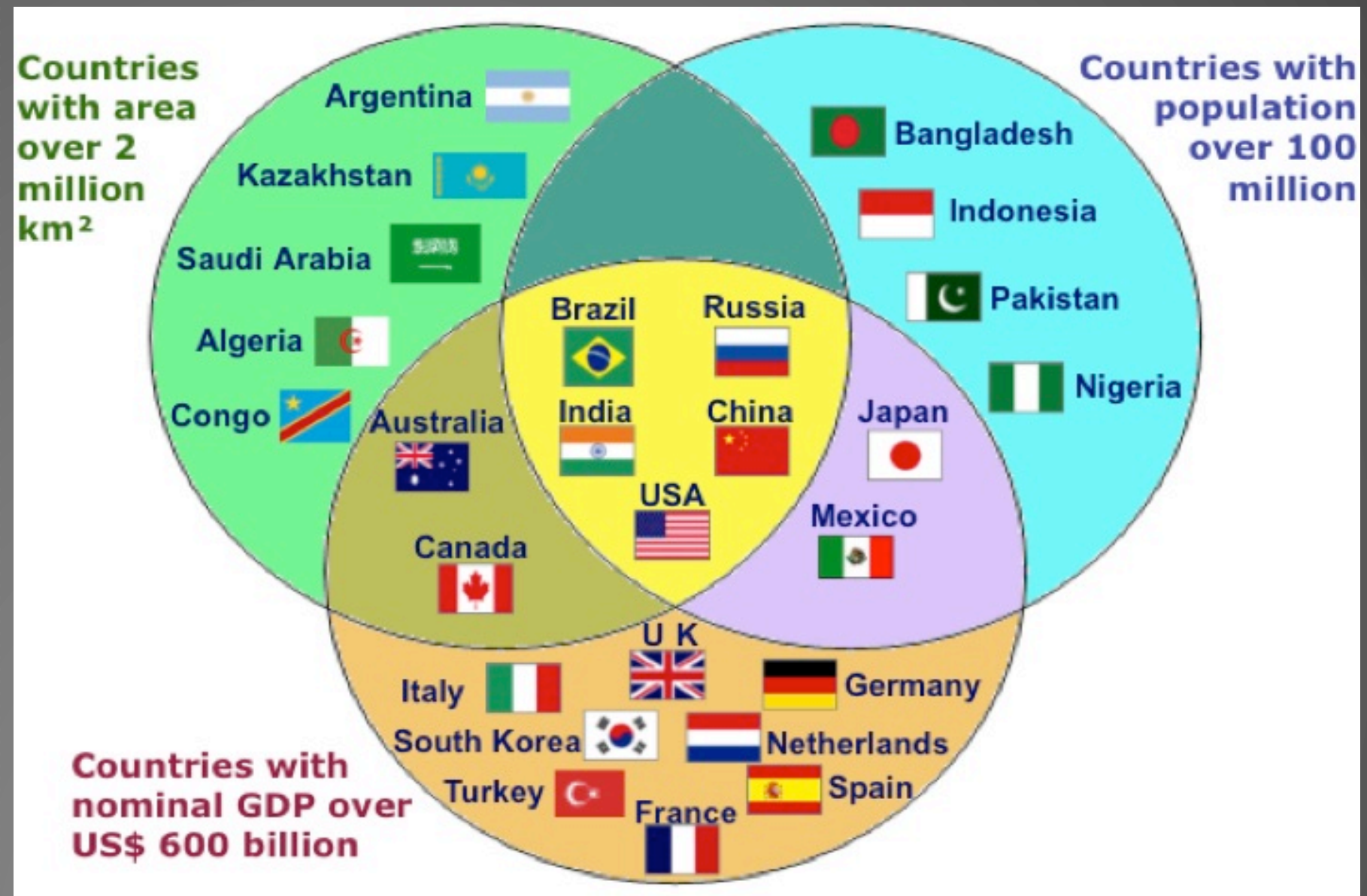
- ▶ Introduction
- ▶ From concept to BRIC (S) actions
- ▶ Tensions between BRICS in area defence?
- ▶ BRICS cooperation in security
- ▶ Possible BRICS cooperation in defence
- ▶ Conclusion

# INTRODUCTION

- ▶ World from bipolar to unipolar (US, by Charles Krauthammer in 1990) to multipolar
- ▶ 2 main competitors for USA:
- ▶ — European Union, taken as a whole, also seen as emerging global actor.
- ▶ — BRIC       => Brazil, India and China -- emerging global powers  
                 => Russia resurging great power
- ▶               => South Africa (BRICS) strategic country
- ▶ \* China closest to USA power, not only economically, very active militarily

# INTRODUCTION

- Concept BRIC [Brazil, Russia, India, China]
- 1<sup>st</sup> used in 2001
- (Jim O'Neill: “Building Better Global Economic BRICs”)





# INTRODUCTION

- ▶ 2006, 2009 BRIC transformed concept in action
- ▶ 2010 BRIC + South Africa
- ▶ 2014 New Development Bank
- ▶ => 1<sup>st</sup> new institution after establishment Bretton Woods institutions, IMF & World bank
- ▶ => change balance of powers



# INTRODUCTION

- ▶ => change balance of powers
  - ▶ More impressive
  - ▶ with cooperation in area of defence
- 
- ⇒ Big challenge
  - ⇒ But feasible in number of areas
  - ⇒ Would create alternative to US /NATO power
  - ⇒ West worrying about possibility



# FROM CONCEPT TO BRIC(S) ACTION

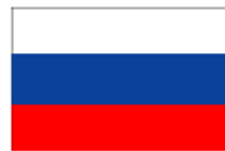
- \* 2006: 1<sup>st</sup> meeting ministers foreign affairs
- \* 2009: 1<sup>st</sup> summit meeting in Russia
- \* 2010: 2<sup>nd</sup> summit meeting in Brazil
- - reform of Bretton Wood institutions (IMF,WB)
- - parallel events: meeting of development banks
- - parallel events: meeting of commercial banks
- - Business meeting: BRIC /IBSA
- - Meeting Think Tanks
- - Forum of cooperatives
- - **Meeting of high civil servants in area of security and strategy**







Brazil



Russia



India

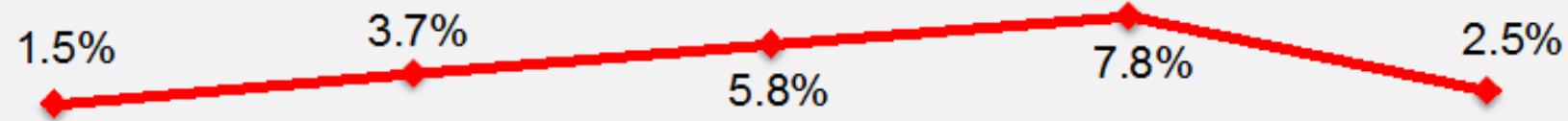


China



South Africa

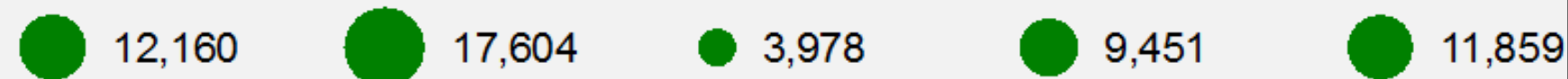
**GDP growth  
rate 2012**



**GDP**  
USD (billions)



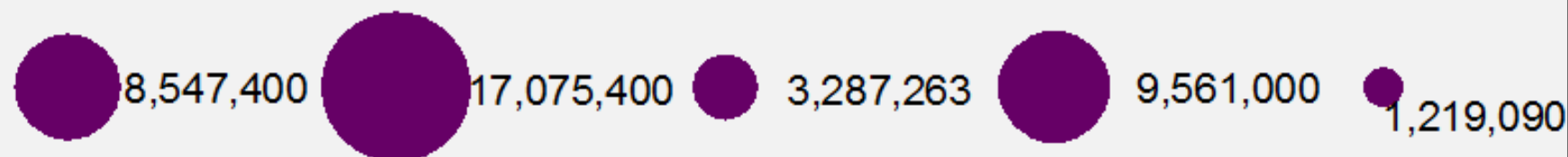
**GDP (PPP) per  
Capita**  
USD



**Population**  
Persons (millions)



**Land**  
km<sup>2</sup>



2010

BRIC  
+

South  
Africa

**BRICS**

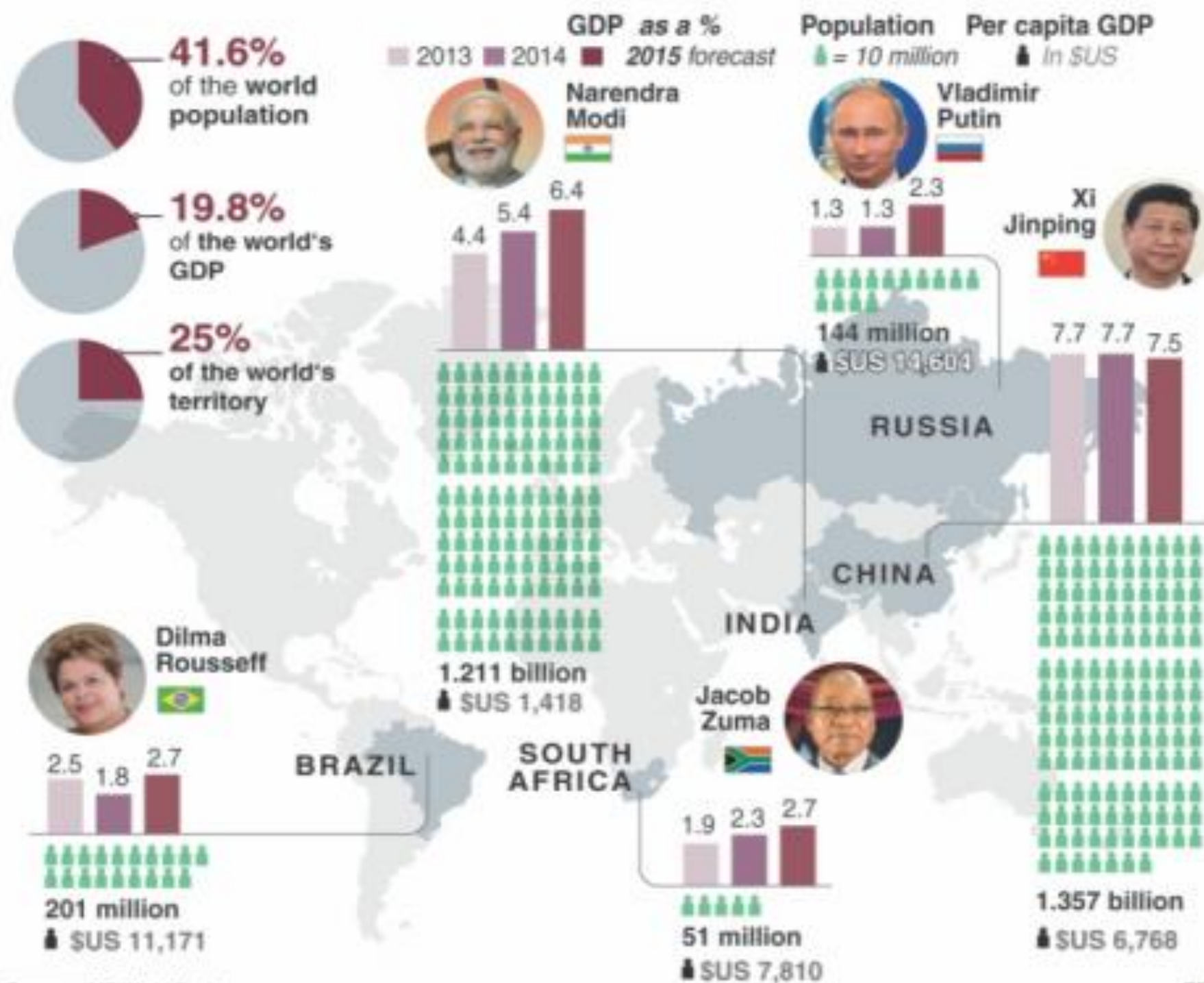
BRICS





# The BRICS nations

The BRICS group of emerging economic powers meeting in Fortaleza, Brasil



Sources: IMF, World Bank

AFP



**BRICS 2014**  
Fortaleza · Brasil



# From concept to BRIC(s) action

- 2014: 6<sup>th</sup> summit, Brazil
- **New Development Bank**
- + **contingent reserve arrangement (CRA)**

=> **initial size US\$100 billion**

to prevent short-term liquidity pressures and further strengthen financial stability

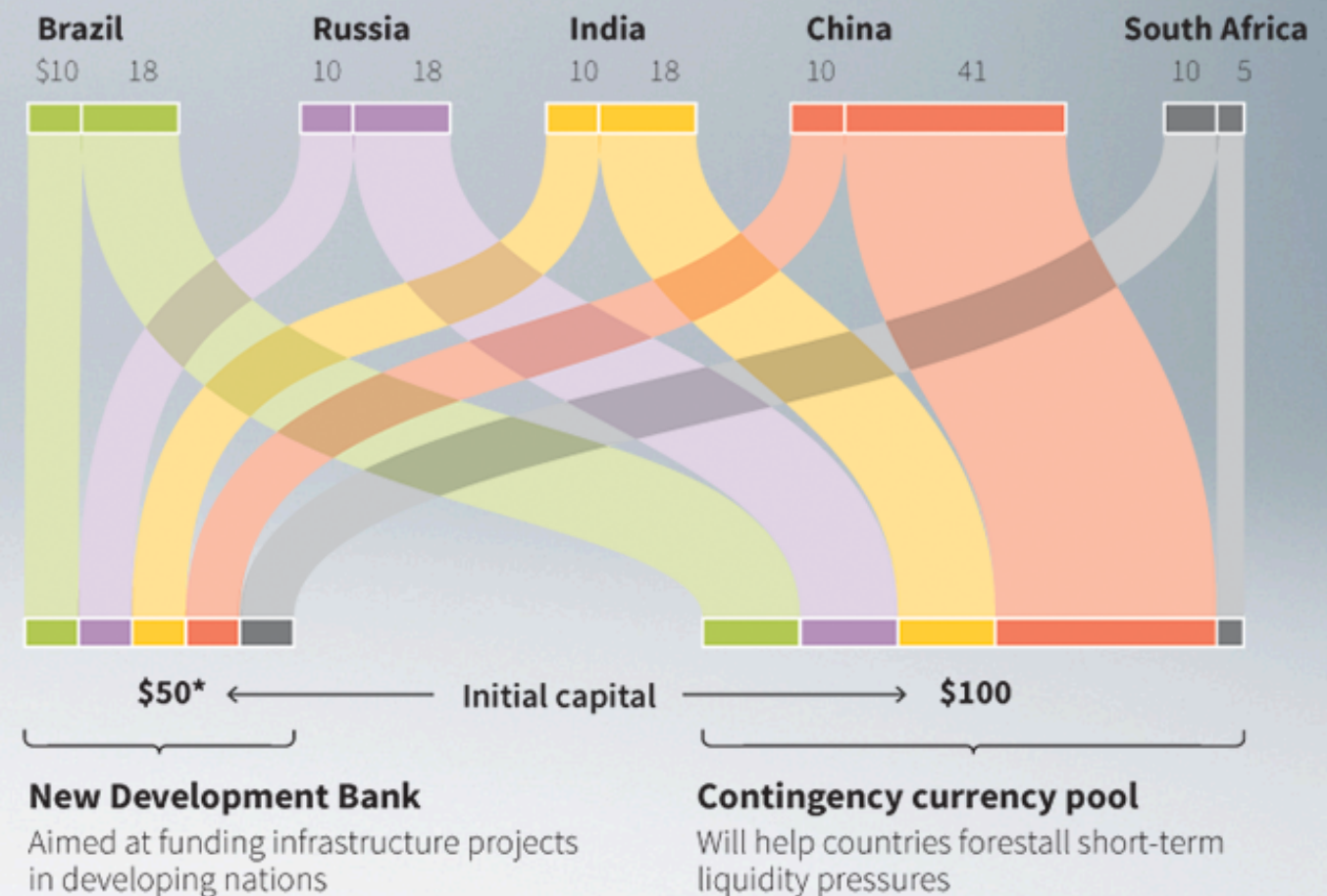
=> BRICS Think Tanks Council and BRICS Business Council

=> BRICS Multilateral Infrastructure Co-Financing Agreement for Africa  
=> BRICS Multilateral Cooperation and Co-Financing Agreement for Sustainable Development

## BRICS' development bank

Leaders of the BRICS emerging market nations launched a development bank and a currency reserve pool in their first concrete step toward reshaping the Western-dominated international financial system.

Initial contributions, in billion dollars



\* May increase up to \$100 bln

Sources: Brazilian government; Reuters

R. Carrera 16/07/2014

# FROM CONCEPT TO ACTION

- 9-7-2015, 7<sup>th</sup> Summit meeting in Ufa, Russia: Declaration
- Cooperation in many areas
- BRICS Ministers of **Science, Technology and Innovation**
- 7<sup>th</sup> Forum Academic cooperation
- **BRICS Think Tanks Council**
- => Ministers of **Labour and Employment**
- => meeting 2016
- => annual BRICS Export Credit Agencies (ECAs) meeting
- => MoU on Cooperation with New Development Bank
- => Strategy for BRICS Economic Partnership
- 



PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
BRICS Think Tanks  
Workshop  
**5th BRICS**  
Academic Forum



# FROM CONCEPT TO BRIC(S) ACTION

- 9-7-2015, 7<sup>th</sup> Summit Declaration
- Cooperation in many areas
- => **BRICS Ministerial migration meeting**



# FROM CONCEPT TO BRIC(S) ACTION

- 9-7-2015, 7<sup>th</sup> Summit Declaration
- Cooperation in many areas
- => BRICS Ministerial migration meeting
- => May 2015: intra-BRICS cooperation in field of energy
- - energy saving,
- - energy efficiency [ technologies }
- 





# FROM CONCEPT TO BRIC(S) ACTION

- 9-7-2015, 7<sup>th</sup> Summit Declaration
- Cooperation in area of core industries develop
  - => industrial production capabilities
  - => establishing industrial parks and clusters
  - => promoting core sector industries
- 2015: 1<sup>st</sup> => BRICS Foundry Association
- project of multilateral, interregional, industrial cooperation:
  - 30 – 50 % of mass of tools, machines, equipment, tools etc. consists of foundry products.
  - => vital technology chain in production cluster “Metallurgy– Foundry–Machine building”





# FROM CONCEPT TO BRIC(S) ACTION

- 9-7-2015, 7<sup>th</sup> Summit Declaration
- => Russian initiative
- 100 participants from
- 5 countries attending **Civil BRICS Forum**
  - - healthcare
  - - education
  - - sustainable development,
  - - “harmonization of inter-ethnic affairs”



• ***“The role of people’s diplomacy in building trust and understanding between countries and searching for peaceful solutions to conflicts and crises is especially important,” a Kremlin statement quoted Putin on Monday.***

# TENSIONS BETWEEN BRICS?

- ▶ **India-China border problems**
- ▶ Tensions since 1962
- ▶ => no border demarcation: Line of Actual Control
- ▶ => 2013: 5th agreement on “Border Defence Co-operation”
- ▶ since 1993





# TENSIONS BETWEEN BRICS?

- ▶ India-China tensions
- ▶ On other hand
- ▶ Increasing cooperation
- ▶ Greater access to each other's markets
- ▶ Energy security
- ▶ Environment
- ▶ 1<sup>st</sup> state visit President China
- ▶ => India (2013)

Bilateral trade	India-China
	US\$ billion
2000	3
2013	80
2015	100
China India's largest trading partner	





# TENSIONS BETWEEN BRICS?

- ▶ India-China tensions
- ▶ On other hand
- ▶ 5<sup>th</sup> joint counter-terrorism exercise, codenamed Hand-in-Hand 2015 (2007)
- ▶ at Kunming Military Academy
- ▶ in Yunnan province
- ▶ Wang Dehua, Chinese scholar:
  - ▶ => “**joint military exercise is barometer of bilateral relationships,**”
  - ▶ **deepening ties between China and India**



# TENSIONS BETWEEN BRICS?

- ▶ India-China tensions
- ▶ October 2015
- ▶ China not amused
- ▶ India, US (1992, with suspension between 1998-2002) and Japan hold joint naval exercises
- ▶ 2015 Japan joins permanently US-India Naval Exercises
- ▶ already joined in 2007, 2009, 2014
- ▶ On other hand: **maritime security cooperation between two Navies**
- ▶ **Bilateral visits ministers of defence,**



JS Fuyuzuki: Akizuki-class destroyer

Attempts  
divide and rule



# TENSIONS BETWEEN BRICS?

- ▶ **1996: Russia-China border problems + three Central Asian nations settled**
- ▶ - agreed not to attack one another
- ▶ - not focus military exercises against one another.
- ▶ - coordinate reduction and pullback of troops





# INTERNET SECURITY, ALTERNATIVE TO US



Alternative world internet system independent of US {NSA} and Britain fibre-optic link, 34,000 km\*, from Fortaleza through Africa and Asia, to Vladivostok,

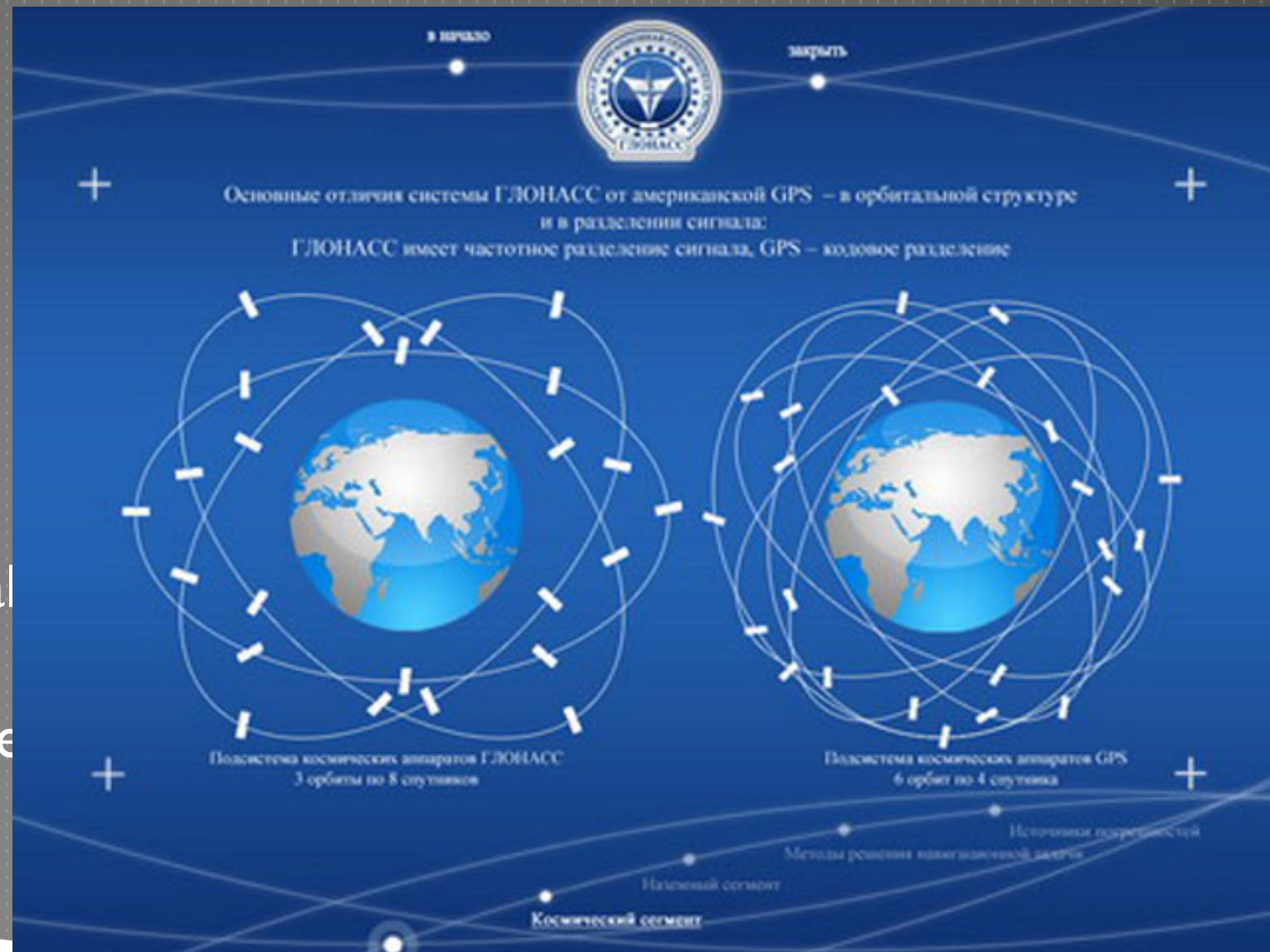
**=> cyber sovereignty**

3<sup>rd</sup> longest undersea telecommunications cable in world; 12.8 terabit capacity network

# BRICS COOPERATION IN SECURITY



- 9-7-2015, 7<sup>th</sup> Summit meeting Declaration
- 32. **outer space cooperation**
- to promote application of
- relevant technologies
- for peaceful purposes.
- => intensify cooperation in areas of joint application
- space technologies,
- satellite navigation, including Global Navigation Satellite Systems [GLONASS] and BeiDou (Chinese navigation system), and
- space sciences.



GLONASS vs. GPS



# BRICS COOPERATION IN SECURITY

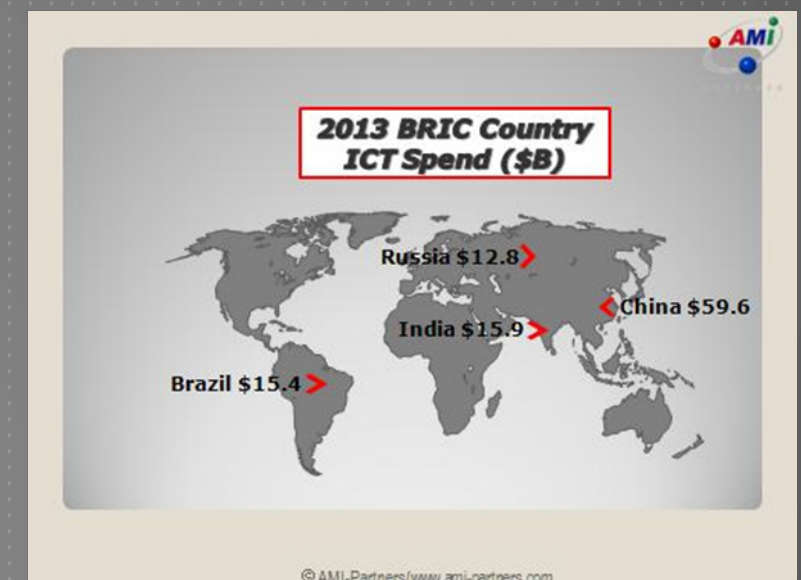


- 9-7-2015, 7<sup>th</sup> Summit meeting in Ufa, Russia: Declaration
- 27. **BRICS commitment** to Financial Action Task Force (FATF) International Standards on **Combating Money Laundering and Financing of Terrorism & Proliferation [1989]**.



# BRICS COOPERATION IN SECURITY

- 9-7-2015, 7<sup>th</sup> Summit Declaration
- 34. Working Group of Experts of **BRICS** on security in use of ICTs cooperation in following areas:
  - - sharing of information and best practices relating to security
  - In use of ICTs;
  - - effective coordination against cyber-crime
  - - intra-BRICS cooperation using existing Computer Security Incident Response Teams (CSIRT);





# POSSIBLE BRICS COOPERATION IN DEFENCE

- ▶ **BRICS and challenge of maritime security...**
- ▶ BRICS coastal states
- ▶ EEZ provide BRICS with enormous quantities of living and non-living resources
- ▶ BRICS countries highly dependent on seas and connected with each other through Atlantic, Pacific, Indian and Arctic Oceans
- ▶ common interests in Polar Regions i.e. Arctic and Antarctic
- ▶ Maritime security high on agenda of BRICS nations
- ▶ Maritime lanes
- ▶ Piracy
- ▶ Drugs trafficking



# BRICS COOPERATION IN SECURITY

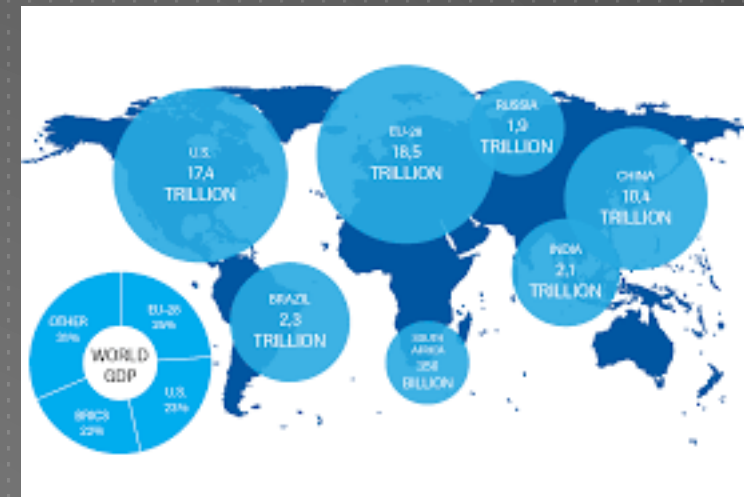
- 9-7-2015, 7<sup>th</sup> Summit meeting in Ufa, Russia: Declaration
- 31. **Piracy and armed robbery** at sea represent significant threat to security of international navigation
- => “we intend to reinforce our cooperation towards this goal” [counteracting these types of criminal offences]
- 2008: Russia, India active in Gulf of Aden with others,
- End 2008: China PLAN joined anti-piracy activities





# BRICS COOPERATION IN SECURITY

- ▶ BRICS countries **prominent regional players in maintaining regional security**
- ▶ All BRICS countries key UN members in maintaining international peace and security.
- ▶ BRICS: valuable contributions to UN **peacekeeping operations** by providing troops, training, and by voting **for** supportive mandates
- ▶ => support UN role in peacekeeping



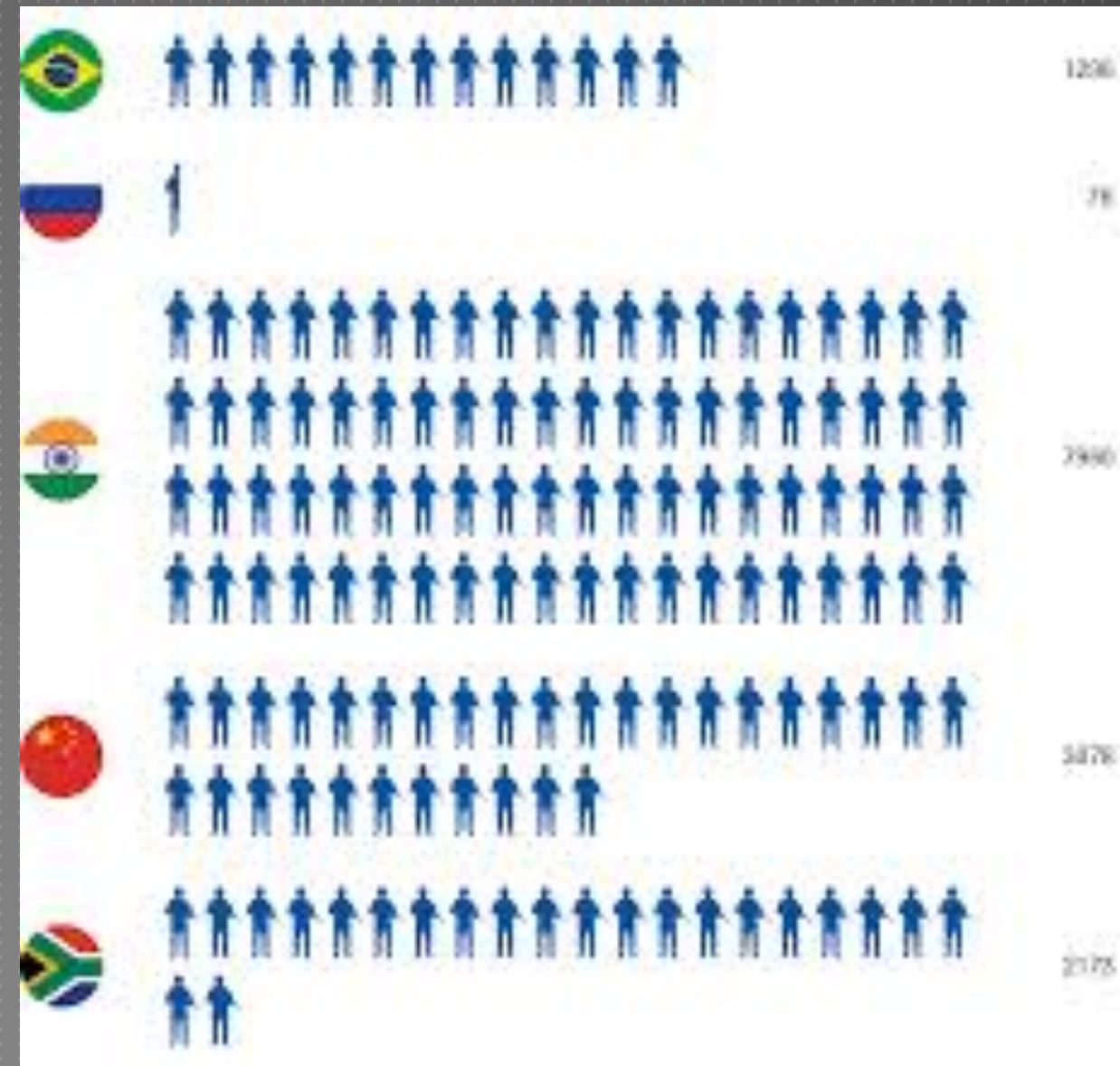
*Peacekeeping operations  
in a changing world*

The BRICS and the future of  
peacekeeping operations  
Clingendael Institute (2015)

Ufá 2015  
BRICS Dialogue on Peacekeeping.

# POSSIBLE BRICS COOPERATION IN DEFENCE

- ▶ 2010 BRICs stated that
- ▶ “\*they share perception that world undergoing major and swift changes that highlight need for corresponding transformations in global governance in **all relevant areas**”
- ▶ BRIC nations intend to **reshape world order** by addressing dissatisfactions with current world order in economics, politics, and **military security** realms



**The BRICS as a EU security challenge , 2015 Clingendael report:**

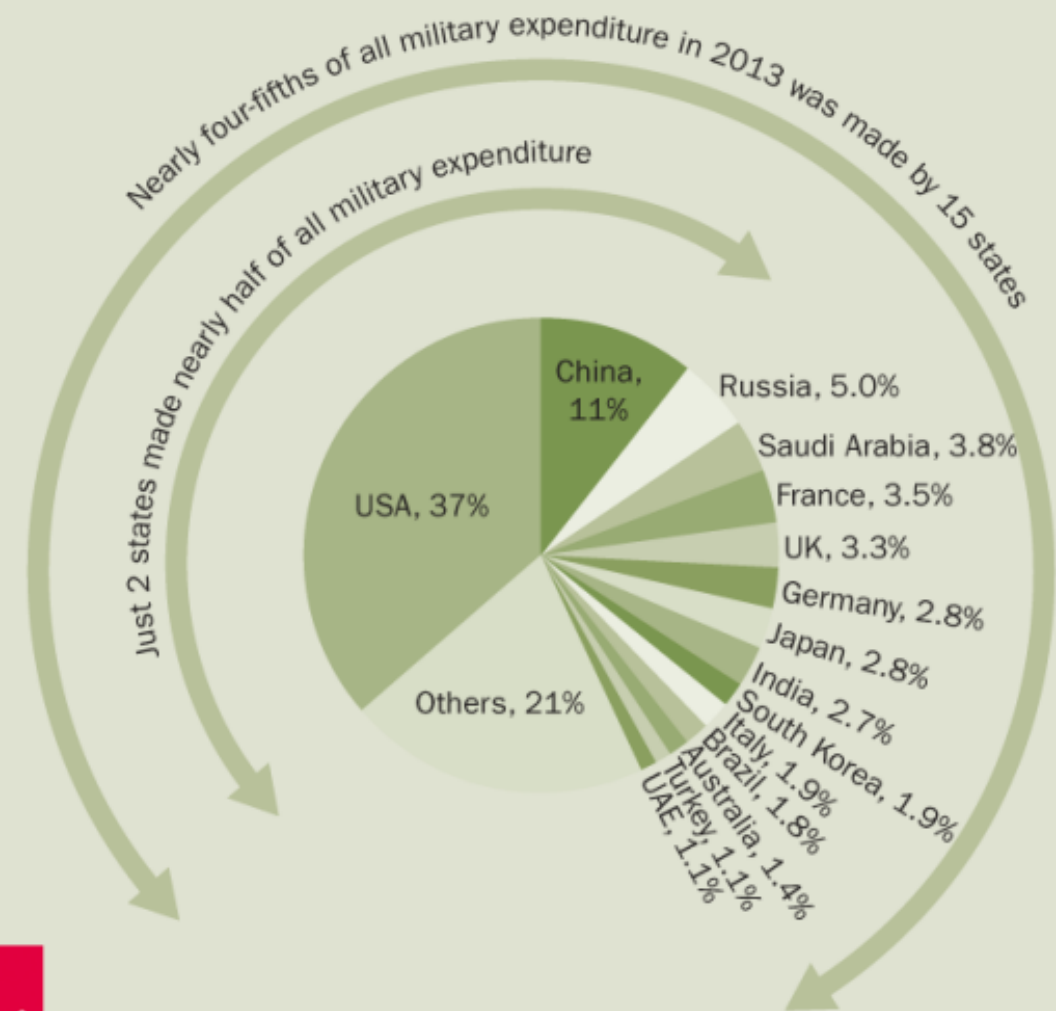
**BRICS troops**



# POSSIBLE BRICS COOPERATION IN DEFENCE

- ▶ Besides size, territory, population, economy
- ▶ => investment in military modernisation
- ▶ EU cutting defence costs
- ▶ [although because of Ukraine]
- ▶ US flat line in defence expenses
- ▶ Population another difference
- ▶ EU decreasing
- ▶ BRICS, increasing
- ▶ => deployment personnel

The share of world military expenditure of the 15 states with the highest expenditure in 2013



[www.sipri.org](http://www.sipri.org)

# POSSIBLE BRICS COOPERATION IN DEFENCE

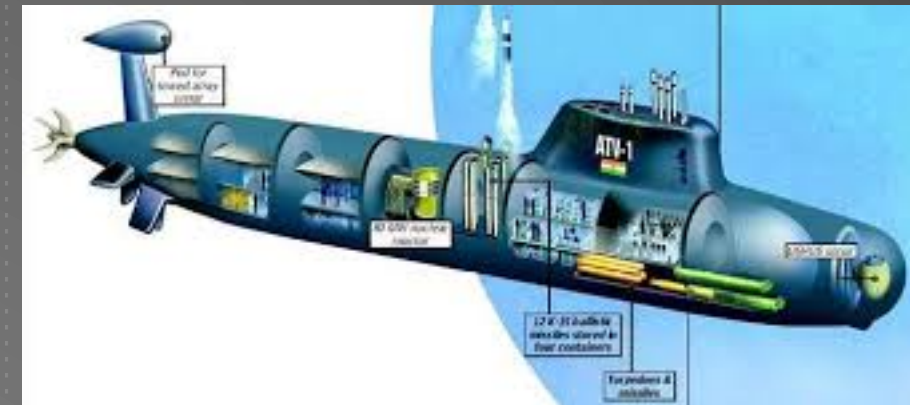
	BRICS		NATO	
number members	5		28	5 security providers
				7 security seekers
				1 big country: US
				big imbalance in defence spending
population	3 billion	still increasing	0.9 billion	decreasing
military personnel	4,7 million		3,5 million	future: huge shortfalls
reservists	8 million			
nuclear warheads	4840	Russian: majority 550 Kt	5329	USA: average 250 Kt [Nagasaki 21 Kt]
				no protection against Russian ICBMs.
China	3000	range: 14.000 km		
Russian submarine	Black Hole	nuclear-powered		1 month patrolling US coast undetected
	defence threat		reaction	probably: attempt divide and rule
	defence alliance			do utmost to stop such alliance



# POSSIBLE BRICS COOPERATION IN DEFENCE

## MODERNISATION MILITARY EQUIPMENT, HUMAN RESOURCES

- ▶ **Brazil**: since 2005 investing heavily in modernisation military equipment
- ▶ Substantial increase in defence budget, **technology transfer**, develop **national** nuclear, cyber and space technologies, defence industry
- ▶ **Russia** aims to retain and improve its defence capabilities:
- ▶ greater investment, foreign technology transfer and the creation of a Russian version of the U.S. Defense Advanced Research Products Agency (DARPA)
- ▶ 2015: France suspends delivering 2 **Mistral** to Russia and weapons to Ukraine



Nuclear submarine



amphibious assault ship

# POSSIBLE BRICS COOPERATION IN DEFENCE

## MODERNISATION MILITARY EQUIPMENT, HUMAN RESOURCES

- ▶ 2015 [India](#)'s Military modernisation picks up pace
- ▶ 36 Rafale fighters,....
- ▶ +reforms considered crucial: equipment + HR
- ▶ 2015 [China](#)'s White Paper
- ▶ Ambitious all-encompassing plans
- ▶ [South Africa](#), most modest programme
- ▶ Strong accent on developing national industry





# POSSIBLE BRICS COOPERATION IN DEFENCE

- ▶ **BRICS: joint acquisition, development military equipment**
- ▶ Mostly Russian project
- ▶ China, India buy Russian military equipment
- ▶ South Africa, Brazil interested
- ▶ development of **production cooperation**
- ▶ carrying out **joint research and development projects (R&D)**
- ▶ creation **effective system of after-sale servicing**
- ▶ **joint entry into markets of third countries,**
- ▶ products released **jointly** in framework of agreements on **licensed arms production**



South Africa is  
interested in  
Russian  
helicopters

**idea joint  
production +  
marketing  
RU, BR, SA**

# POSSIBLE BRICS COOPERATION IN DEFENCE

- ▶ 26-12-2014
- ▶ President Putin signed new military doctrine for Russian armed forces
- ▶ => document advocates development of military cooperation with other BRICS members.
- ▶ Why?
- ▶ Russia encircled by NATO
- ▶ China also encircled by Washington
- ▶ => more US naval activity in Pacific + US forces in Australia facing Beijing
- ▶ India targeted by NGO's funded by US and northern EU countries
- ▶ South Africa also targeted, by UK: incapable of maintaining law and order,...
- ▶ Brazil?



# POSSIBLE BRICS COOPERATION IN DEFENCE

- ▶ Russia-China joint
- ▶ military exercises
- ▶ And within framework
- ▶ Shanghai Cooperation Organization
- ▶ Anti-terror, joint naval exercises
- ▶ Joint Sea-2015 (II)
- ▶ Largest Chinese, Russian Joint Pacific Naval Exercise



Over 20 Russian &  
PLAN ships  
+ joint amphibious  
assault drill.



# POSSIBLE BRICS COOPERATION IN DEFENCE

- ▶ Russia-China joint military / **naval exercises**
- ▶ worked closer together through naval exercises
- ▶ => grown in size and complexity
- ▶ U.S. factor
- ▶ => China and Russia conducting more military-to-military exercises in Pacific



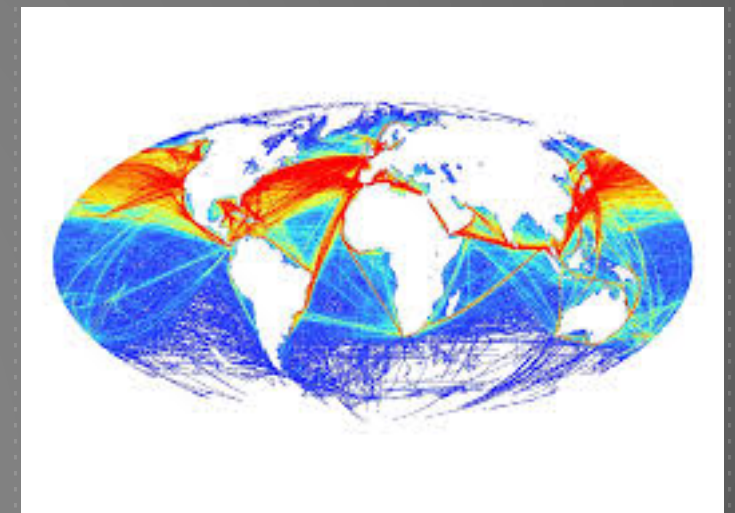
**Joint Sea-2015 (I)**  
**in Mediterranean Sea in April**



# POSSIBLE BRICS COOPERATION IN DEFENCE

## BRICS and challenge

- ▶ of maritime security...
- ▶ **IBSAMAR**, biannually since 2008
- ▶ IBSAMAR IV (end of October 2014).
- ▶ Raise profile of Global South in maritime affairs
- ▶ significant geopolitical implications
- ▶ represents shifting balance of power on high seas
- ▶ undermines interest in partnership with NATO
- ▶ China & Russia joint naval exercises
- ▶ **BRICS joint naval exercises?**



# CONCLUSION

- BRICS became much more than concept
- only group capable of offsetting traditional powers, reshaping world
- traditional powers => losing space
- new ones => emerging, specially BRICS
- Putin: BRICS “whole set of coinciding strategic interests”
  - United command several stages away
- Joint action to enforce security
- Joint Peacekeeping operations
- => BRICS Dialogue on Peacekeeping [Ufá, 2015]
- Joint development of military equipment
- Joint development of joint naval exercises
- Joint action in various areas defence feasible
- West [advanced countries] not amused



PERFORMANCE BASED LOGISTICS:  
CEMENTING BRICS ON PATH TO  
COMPETITIVE GROWTH