

A comparative analysis of the membership of Brazil and South Africa to BRICS.

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PREFACE

This study was completed for a Master's degree in political studies at the North-West University, Potchefstroom campus. The focus of this thesis is on a comparative analysis of the membership of Brazil and South Africa to BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa). In this study, the contributions of both countries are analysed and projected as emerging states on the global South seeking global reformation and the role of BRICS in International Relations.

I (the student) am in possession of a BA degree in Peace Studies and International Relations (A four-year degree) from the North-West University (NWU), Mafikeng campus. This Master's dissertation would never have been possible without the contribution of several people academically and financially. I heartily thank God Almighty for the knowledge and guidance throughout this project. Special gratitude goes to my supervisor, Dr. J. C. M, Venter (Senior Lecturer at the NWU, Potchefstroom campus), and my mentor Prof, D.N. Kgwadi (Vice-Chancellor of the NWU) for their constant encouragement, guidance and valuable support. I sincerely thank my family and the NWU for their moral and financial support.

ABSTRACT

This study compares the contribution of Brazil and South Africa towards BRICS (Brazil, India, China, South Africa). Both Brazil and South Africa are countries from the global south and they are both among the leading economic developing powers on their respective continents. Both countries have been facing similar problems; in 2016 the former Brazilian president (Dilma Rousseff) was impeached for corruption at the same time political opposition in South Africa were calling for the removal of its previous president Jacob Zuma. Both countries have the same goal of decentralising global power and bringing about a new world order wherein international power in the United Nation's, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund is more fairly distributed between the developed and rich northern nations, and the poorer developing countries of the South. Brazil and South Africa also form part of IBSA (India, Brazil, South Africa), which is an established trilateral initiative comprised of India, Brazil and South Africa, which promotes South-South cooperation (SSC) and the transformation of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO). A comparison, using the theories of international relations would explain the political and economic contributions of South Africa and Brazil to BRICS and the importance thereof for the countries involved and the alliance.

Key terms: BRICS, Global South, North-South dichotomy. South-South cooperation, transformation.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie vergelyk die bydrae van Brasilië en Suid-Afrika tot BRICS (Brasilië, Indië, Sjina, Suid-Afrika). Beide Brasilië en Suid-Afrika is lande van die “globale Suide” en hulle is albei onder die voorste ekonomiese ontwikkelende magte op hul onderskeie kontinente. Albei lande het soortgelyke probleme ondervind; In 2016 is die voormalige Brasiliaanse president (Dilma Rousseff) vir korrupsie gearresteer. Terselfdertyd het politieke opposisie in Suid-Afrika geëis vir die verwydering van sy vorige president, Jacob Zuma. Beide lande het dieselfde doel, naamlik om die globale mag te desentraliseer en 'n nuwe wêreldorde te bewerkstellig waarin internasionale mag in die Verenigde Nasies, die Wêreldbank en die Internasionale Monetêre Fonds meer billik versprei word tussen die ontwikkelde en ryk noordelike lande en die armer ontwikkelende Suidelike lande. Brasilië en Suid-Afrika vorm ook deel van IBSA (Indië, Brasilië, Suid-Afrika) wat gesamentlik 'n gevestigde driededige inisiatief is wat Suid-Suid-samewerking en die transformasie van die Veiligheidsraad van die Verenigde Nasies, die Internasionale Monetêre Fonds, en die Wêreldhandelsorganisasie bevorder. 'n Vergelyking wat die teorieë van internasionale betrekkinge gebruik, sal die politieke en ekonomiese bydraes van Suid-Afrika en Brasilië aan BRICS, en die belangrikheid daarvan vir die betrokke lande en die alliansie verduidelik.

Sleutelwoorde: BRICS, Globale Suide, Noord-Suid-tweedeling, Suid-Suid-samewerking, transformasie

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

According to Stefánsson (2010:5), the acronym “BRIC” (Brazil, Russia, India and China) was coined by Jim O’Neil of the Goldman Sachs Bank whose intention was to define and project the significance of the world’s largest emerging markets. The acronym aimed to highlight the significance of the emerging economies in the emerging new Global economic order (Morazan *et al*, 2012:6).

The establishment of the BRIC alliance is among the most significant social, economic and political phenomena of the 21st century. O’Neil proposed the incorporation of the BRIC states into the global policy-making forums, thus, due to the 2007–2008 global economic recession, which discredited the Western development model, the BRIC was recognised as a new global political and economic bloc (Li & March, 2016:2).

Furthermore, O’Neil highlighted that the BRIC countries were fast developing and he predicted that their combined GDP could by 2050 eclipse the economies of the current richest countries combined (Stefánsson, 2010:5 & Mathur & Dasgupta, 2013:ix). The BRIC alliance was later, in April 2011 joined by South Africa as the fifth state to become BRICS (Lara & Slingby, 2014:1).

At the core of the objectives of the BRICS alliance are cooperation among member states for development, the provision of financial assistance, supporting various infrastructure projects and, additionally, the BRICS countries agreed to provide assistance to countries other than member states (Sidiropoulos *et al*, 2018: 1-2). The BRICS New Development Bank (NDB) is a financial wing established by the bloc to provide member states with loans during financial crisis (Cokayne, 2018:1).

The BRICS’ objectives seek to influence and put pressure on the international community to reform international institutions such as the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) to be more inclusive and accommodative of third world countries (HSRC, 2015:30).

Deve (2012:7) argues that the BRICS agenda includes the demand for a stronger political voice in the global governance structures, which corresponds to their economic status. BRICS also calls for a multi-polar and democratic world order based on the cooperation, coordinated action, and a collective decision-making of all states (Deve, 2012:7).

Moreover, BRICS represents the common goals of all the Low Income Countries (LIC) mainly on the global South and the Multiple Indicator Cluster¹ (MICS) and emphasises the need to fight poverty and the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), (Deve, 2012: 7-9).

The South-South Cooperation (SSC) is aimed at the decentralisation of power in the international system through collaboration of South American, Asian, and African states to bring about a new world order, thus, the BRICS emphasises that the South-South Cooperation has three important dimensions, that are: the political dimension, which entails the provision of a global platform for discussions on sovereignty, an economic dimension, which entails global trade, financing and the development assistance, and, finally, a technical dimension, which entails the international exchange of technological knowledge and expertise (Deve, 2012:11).

¹ The Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS) refers to household surveys used by states under a programme created by the United Nations Children's Fund, in order to provide internationally comparable, statistically rigorous data on the status of children and women.

The long-term vision for BRICS suggests the development of mechanisms to share information on poverty alleviation programmes, and the collaboration of BRICS states in discussing issues such as education and skills training aimed at developing competitive, productive and sustainable human capital (Saran *et al*, 2013:18-19).

The BRICS cooperation must strengthen their national healthcare systems and expand access to more effective and safe medical products, as well as the sharing of governance expertise and the creation of inclusive and participative systems to resolve political imbalances through greater representation (Saran *et al*, 2013:18-19).

Dhar (2012:10) maintains that in the area of trade and investment the BRICS economies are contributing largely by increasing their ties with the Low-Income Countries over the past decade, and in recent years their crucial support has been responsible for the growth momentum seen by Low-Income Countries.

1.1.1 South Africa's purpose for joining BRICS

There are three main objectives in South Africa's membership in BRICS, namely to boost and strengthen job creation and the domestic economy, supporting African infrastructure development and industrialisation, and to have a partnership with the other players of the global south on global governance and reform related issues (Landsberg, 2007:5). South Africa represents the interests of developing African states, interests related to trade, relief of debts, climate change and investments (Landsberg, 2007:5).

1.1.2 Africa and BRICS

The African Agenda and the African Union are set on the understanding that without political peace and stability, there cannot be any form of socio-economic development (Landsberg, no date:1-2). The goal for South Africa's African Agenda includes the strengthening of the African Union (AU)² and its structures, the contribution towards the Common Agenda of the Southern African Development community (SADC)³, contribution to post-conflict reconstruction and development (PCRD) in Africa, and a contribution towards peace, security and stability on the African continent (Landsberg, no date:1-2).

For South Africa, South-South cooperation derives its meaning from the Southern partnership, and from Southern solidarity in forming a rules-based multilateral international order (Moore, 2012:2). The promotion of development especially socio-economically and the non-violent means of conflict resolution in the African continent are some of the major focus of South Africa's engagement on the continent (Hughes, 2004:10 & International Relations and Corporation-Strategic Plan, 2010-12: 9 & Alden & Sokko 2005:369).

Due to South Africa's economic hegemonic status in the Southern hemisphere of Africa, it has become a crucial source of investment on the entire continent. The inclusion of South Africa in BRICS benefits Africa because the country is an intermediary between Africa and the BRICS countries and is a clear indication of South Africa prioritising Africa in its foreign policy.

² The African Union (AU) was launched on the 9th July 2002, and like its predecessor the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) it was established to address major African issues such as peace, security, governance, development challenges and also formulate effective strategies to achieve socio-economic development in Africa (Paterson, 2012:1).

³ The Southern African Development Community (SADC) was formed on the 17th August 1992, it is a group of different 15 nations, including least developed countries, land-locked states to small island, they are found on the African southern hemisphere and they represent a union with a determination of forging ahead a bright future mainly political and economic development in the SADC region.

South Africa acts as a guide for BRICS countries on how to approach and operate in the African continent as well as providing assistance in negotiating bilateral agreements (Kaplan & Vussonji, 2013:1; National Development Plan-2030, 2011:235). South Africa strongly champions the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the target is the elimination of poor governance, corruption and conflicts by African leaders in their respective countries and they will, in return, receive more aid, private investment, and a reduction of trade barriers by developed nations (Alden & Sokko 2005:369 & Melber, 2004:3-4). In 2011, South Africa was also the foremost trading partner of China on the African continent and it is due to these efforts and its pivotal role in articulating an African Agenda at the global stage that led to its membership of BRICS (Moore, 2012:1-2, Tjemolane, Neethling & Schoeman, 87:2012).

South Africa's economic cooperation with other Southern countries goes beyond the establishment of India, Brazil, and South Africa (IBSA) to advance trade with India and Brazil, South Africa went further to form part of this influential Dialogue Forum in 2006, under the leadership of the former-presidents Thabo Mbeki of South Africa and Lula da Silva of Brazil.

IBSA has a significant improvement in the relations among India, Brazil and South Africa, and serves as a platform for exchange and dialogue between the ministries and non-government entities and has played a pivotal role of creating a common culture of constructive co-operation (White, 2009:2). IBSA has emphasised its intentions on the development and integration in Africa, Asia and Latin America (White, 2009:3).

1.1.3 Reasons for the comparison of South Africa and Brazil

According to Sotero (2009:2), Brazil and South Africa are democratic states that exert a significant regional influence, yet they face internal social challenges typical of developing nations. South Africa still faces a problem of corruption by government officials, recession and poor service delivery, which is evident in recent incidents where opposition parties such as the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) demanded the immediate removal of the former South African President Jacob Zuma and other top-ranking officials.

According to (Ansell, 2018:7) Brazil had the same problems because the people were demanding for the removal of its president Dilma Rousseff, which happened in 2016. Sotero (2009:2) goes further by arguing that each state is a product of historical circumstances and that Brazil was perceived as an economic disaster ten years ago dealing with rampant inflation and the pain of a recent democratic transition, and that South Africa still has the legacy of apartheid prevalent in inequality, poverty and unemployment to deal with (ANC, 2015:17-19).

1.2 Problem statement.

In spite of the impressive financial figures the BRICS countries have already put in place thus far, the volume of trade within the alliance, which in 2013 was estimated at \$300 billion, accounts for a mere 6,5% of their total turnover of goods with the outside world. Reasons that exacerbates this are aspects such as the great distances separating the BRICS countries, different rates of economic growth, direct air service exists only between a few of their very largest cities, their different languages, their respective histories and cultures, and their different political systems.

The sustainability of BRICS depends on how well its member countries can rise to modern economic and political challenges. BRICS, as it exists today, was created in an era of different global economic and political challenges and was designed to pursue different objectives (Shapenco & Nureyev, 2015:1). It seems that BRICS is currently surrounded by a high degree of political and economic uncertainty in the world and that its development context is anything but predetermined. The question is whether BRICS

will be able to pursue, not only economic, but political integration in order to enable its members to achieve sufficient global competitiveness to address expected global problems (Shapenco & Nureyev, 2015:1)

The power of existing alliances, such as BRICS, and their regional, economic and political identities, and their different stances on global and regional issues proved to be their weakness. Member countries of BRICS are too entrenched in the challenges and experiences of the past and are proving inefficient in responding to today's challenges.

According to Russian economic and political experts, BRICS has been experiencing difficult times since 2015, the Russian and Brazilian economics have stalled, the GDP growth rate has fallen in China, and South Africa is on its way to become a junk-graded state. The initial GDP growth rate for BRICS was expected to be 6.7%, equal to that of growing national economies. The GDP growth rate of the BRICS countries were as follows in 2015: Brazil (-3.5%) Russia (-2.7%) India (7.6%) China (6.9%) and South Africa (1%). Once hailed as the building blocks of global growth, the BRICS nations' economic momentum is now seemingly slowing down, given the scope of China's economic slowdown. Therefore, the problem that this study will pursue given the background above is: what are the contributions of South Africa and Brazil toward BRICS?

This question devolves into the following research questions:

1.3 Research Questions

- (1) What can the most prominent international relations theories namely realism, institutionalism, liberalism and constructivism contribute to the formulation of a sound theoretical foundation for this study?
- (2) What is the history of BRICS and the role of South Africa and Brazil in the alliance?
- (3) What is the theoretical comparison of the political and economic policy of South Africa and Brazil in BRICS?

These questions can be reformulated as the following objectives of the study:

1.4 Objectives of the Study

- (1) To analyse and describe the international relational theories with a focus on its four most prominent theories namely realism, institutionalism, liberalism and constructivism to lay the foundation for this study.
- (2) To analyse the history of BRICS and the role of South Africa and Brazil in the alliance.
- (3) To analyse and provide a theoretical comparison of the political and economic policy of South Africa and Brazil in BRICS.

1.5 Central theoretical statement

According to Slaughter (2011:1), the study of international relations takes a wide range of theoretical approaches which emerged from within the discipline itself while others have been introduced wholly or partially from disciplines in the social sciences such as political science, economics or sociology. However, only a few social science theories have been applied to the study of relations among nations.

International relations (IR) can, among other things, focus on the field of political science, or other interdisciplinary academic fields, such as economics. In the context of political science, it refers to a

social discipline that deals with systems of government, the analysis of political activities, political behaviour and political economics (Slaughter, 2011:1).

Therefore, the study of international relations is relevant to this study because it focuses on BRICS with specific reference to South Africa and Brazil as two of its emerging countries in the international political system. In this light, this study analyses the systems of government, political activities, political behaviour and political economics of both countries with the aim to provide a framework that will aid in projecting a comparison of the membership of South Africa and Brazil to BRICS.

1.6 Research Methodology.

This study employs a qualitative method of research. According to Marriam (2009:13), the main interest of qualitative researchers is the understanding of the meaning people have constructed, which is, how people make sense of their world and their experiences in the world. A qualitative research method provides an understanding of the social world in which we live in and why things are as they are (Hancock *et al*, 2007:9).

Research focusing on human behaviour and how they are affected by the events taking place around them, and the reports on data or of experience, which cannot be adequately expressed in a numerical form, are the focuses of a qualitative method (Hancock *et al*, 2007:9). As such, this study is primarily comprised of a literature study, the specific literature that will be discussed in the next section.

The dissertation will also be deductive. According to Beiske (2002:10) a deductive research method involves the process of exploring a known theory or phenomenon and then test the validity of the theory in given circumstances. The comparative method will also be utilized in this study. Collier (1993:105) argues that comparison is a fundamental tool of analysis; he goes further by emphasising that comparison sharpens the power of description and plays a central role in concept-formation by bringing into focus suggestive similarities and contrasts among cases.

The search for similarity and variance is the underlying goal of a comparative analysis (Mills *et al*, 2006:621). The process of comparing does not only uncover similarities and differences between social entities, but also reveals aspects that are unique and of a specific entity that would be virtually impossible to detect otherwise (Mills *et al*, 2006:621). Thus, this study tries to fill a gap through a comparative study of Brazil and South Africa that focuses specifically on the economic and political participation of the two countries. The next sections will discuss the categories of literature used in this dissertation.

1.7 Literature review

This study is primarily comprised of a literature study and for this purpose the following types of literature will be surveyed as core literature:

- Scholarly texts on international relations and on Brazil and South Africa, Russia, India, and China: Strong economic growth - Major challenges- Schrooten, 2011;
- Scholarly texts on comparative politics. What is comparative politics? Standpoints and debates in Germany and the United States - Jahn, 2013.
- Is the science of comparative politics possible? - Przeworski, 2009.
- Doing comparative politics: An introduction to approaches and issues- Lim, 2010.
- Comparative political systems - Sadanadan, Vinukumar and Simon, 2013.

- Determinants of foreign direct investment in BRICS economies: Analysis of economic, institutional and political factors - Jadhav, 2012
- „BRICS and a New World Order” Why Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa do not (yet) constitute a new power bloc in international relations - Sønnesyn, 2014.

The above literature provides valuable information on foreign direct investment in BRICS states and also the status and influence of BRICS in world politics such as transforming the international economic regime. A thesis by Jadhav (2012) focuses on foreign direct investment (FDI) of BRICS countries and he explores the role of economic, institutional and political factors in attracting FDI in BRICS countries.

A thesis by Sønnesyn focuses on BRICS’ interaction towards reforming international financial institutions (IFIs) and it, specifically, explores their aim at reforming the IMF and the World Bank Group (WBG). Both thesis are focussing on BRICS at large, which is not the case with this dissertation as it focuses only on Brazil and South Africa and, in addition, focuses on the role and contributions of the two countries to BRICS.

- Scholarly texts on BRICS. The BRICS and emerging economies in comparative perspective - Becker, 2014.
- BRICS in the contemporary world: Challenging identities, converging interests - Mielniczuk, 2013.
- BRICS trade policies, institutions and areas for deepening cooperation - Mathur and Dasgupta, 2013.

These texts were used because they focus on institutions, and economies and trade that are some of the important aspects of international relations.

- Government legislation and economic programmes. National Development Plan (NDP) 2030 - Republic of South Africa, 2008.
- National development plan strategy: The key economic growth institution - Pereira, 2006.

According to a thorough search of the relevant data bases, a study on a similar topic has not been attempted or undertaken by any other student at any other university in South Africa. The dissertations that are close to the topic of this research, are only based on BRICS and other countries and not on the comparison of the contribution of Brazil and South Africa to BRICS as members of BRICS.

The following are the theses by other authors.

- A pre-implementation analysis of the new South African withholding tax on interest - BS Govan. This study reviews and compares the taxes implemented globally specifically in relation to withholding taxes on interest in a selection of countries, namely the developing countries Brazil, Russia, India, China, Mozambique and Namibia and the developed countries, namely Germany and Denmark.
- A meta-theoretical analysis of commercial crime prevention strategies in the BRICS countries - RH Koch. This study focuses on commercial crime as a problem that has an adverse effect on the economies of BRICS.
- Comparison of South African occupational exposure limits for hazardous chemical substances with those of other countries - L Viljoen. The focus is on comparing the South African list of Occupational Exposure Limits (OELs) as contained in the Hazardous Chemical Substance Regulations (HCSR) to several developed and developing countries, which includes the other four BRIC countries.

The four theoretical perspectives that were the centre of the analytical framework in this study are the realist perspective, the liberal perspective, the constructivist theory, institutionalism and the international relations perspective.

International relations theory attempts to provide a conceptual framework upon which international relations can be analysed and its purpose is to discover and understand salient events relevant to the theory. The most prominent theories are realism, liberalism, constructivism and institutionalism (Slaughter, 2011:1).

1.8 Realism

Realism, the adherents of which are sometimes referred to as 'structural realists' or 'neo-realists' as opposed to the earlier 'classical realists', refers to the international system as defined by the term "anarchy" referring to the absence of a central authority (Slaughter, 2011:1). The theory of realism states that all states have essentially the same political and economic goals and behaviours (at least internationally) (Slaughter, 2011:2).

Realist theorists coined five assumptions in their approach. The first assumption places emphasis on the state being a selfish actor seeking to maximise its own interests, despite the cost involved of risking benefits that could possibly be divided among states. Secondly, realists assume that the distribution of power between the political actors in international relations has major effects on the international political activities. Thirdly, realist theorists dismiss the role of morality in international politics. The fourth assumption by realists is that the state is the major actor in international politics and, in the final assumption, realism places emphasis on the principle of basic continuity in international relations (Lipton, 2009:124).

1.9 Liberalism

Liberalism is a complex cohesive body of theory that states that the national characteristics of individual states matter for them when it comes to international relations, Liberalism theory contrast sharply with the theory of Realism in which all states have essentially the same goals (Slaughter, 2011:14).

Liberalism is seen in the context of a society that has characteristics of people that have freedom of thoughts, improvements in moral and material conditions, government power and religion with limitations, the rule of law, free process of exchanging ideas, a market economy that is free and supports private enterprise, and a transparent government system (Smartchi, 2006).

The contemporary liberal state is expected to value the individual, equality, and civil rights and liberties (Nicole, 2004). A liberal state must show impartiality towards all citizens (Nicole, 2004). A liberal state must possess a constitution that is designed and also implemented to signify a state that ensures equality, freedom, justice, democratic values, and a free and fair electoral system (Nicole, 2004).

1.10 Constructivism

Constructivism is important for studying phenomena such as military power, trade relations and international institutions because they give information on facts about the world and focus on social meanings. To understand the theory, scholars must understand a complex mix of history, ideas, and norms and beliefs to describe and explain state behaviour (Slaughter, 2011:4).

Palan (2000) argues that the genesis of constructivism is from a notion that there is a personal and reciprocal connection between the human subject and the social world. Analysts who seek to change or

critique the current system are more likely to use constructivist approaches (O'Brien and Williams, 2013:31).

Constructivist theory put more emphasis on the relational and social construction of what states are and want (Hurd, 2008:299). Hurd (2008:304) continues to say an approach by a constructivist to co-constitution, through comparison, suggests that the actions of states have an impact in the making of institutions and norms of international life, thus, these institutions and norms contribute to defining, socialising, and influencing states.

1.11 Institutionalism

Institutionalism denotes that institutions and states can greatly increase efficiency through close coordination, and that it is costly for states to negotiate with one another on an ad hoc basis. Institutions can reduce the transaction costs of coordination by providing a centralised forum in which states can meet (Slaughter, 2011:2). They also provide focal points, established rules and norms that allow a wide array of states to settle quickly on a certain course of action (Slaughter, 2011:8).

1.12 Chapter division

Chapter 1: Introduction

In this chapter, the problem that this study focused on, the goals of the study, the central theoretical statement, the research methodology, literature review and the delineation of the topic were described.

Chapter 2: A reconstruction of the main theoretical contributions of the most prominent international relations theories.

In this chapter, the different theoretical contributions within international relations were analysed with the goal of formulating a conceptual framework that could aid in the comparison of the two countries.

Chapter 3: The history of BRICS and the role of South Africa and Brazil in the alliance.

In this chapter, the conceptual framework developed in Chapter 2 was operationalised, and various elements were identified and explained that were eventually compared in Chapter 4.

This chapter also investigated the history further to provide a thorough historical background of BRICS and the roles of Brazil and South Africa in it.

Chapter 4: The theoretical comparison of the political and economic policy of South Africa and Brazil.

The goal of this chapter was to compare and analyse the political and economic policies of South Africa and Brazil in BRICS as well as to develop a view towards the future by employing the theories unpacked in Chapter 2.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and recommendations

This chapter provides a conclusion on the entire study and also provides recommendations.

1.13 Contribution of the study

This study will contribute towards a better understanding of international relations, the realist perspective, the liberal perspective, the constructivist theory, institutionalism, and the international relations perspective as applied to the two countries that were compared. The research provided an

understanding of the contribution of Brazil and South Africa towards BRICS within the international relations context and their contribution towards the development of poor states.

CHAPTER 2: A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE MAIN THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE MOST PROMINENT INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORIES

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the different theoretical contributions within the scope of international relations will be analysed with the goal of formulating a conceptual framework that could aid in the comparison of South Africa and Brazil. The four theories, which will be outlined in this chapter as the centre of the theoretical framework in this dissertation are: realism, liberalism, constructivism and institutionalism. The chapter provides a definition and historical background, and go about outlining the theoretical contributions to international relations. It must, however, at the outset of this chapter be noted that the whole theoretical tradition cannot be reconstructed in full because a complete reconstruction of each tradition will encompass several volumes and this will not serve the function of this script which is to form a working theoretical framework from which realism, liberalism, constructivism and institutionalism. The following section will provide a rudimentary conceptual framework, before the discussion of the most influential theories are analysed.

2.2 Defining international relations

International relations (IR) explores how power is exercised to conduct foreign relations between actors and how these relationships contribute to establishing, maintaining and transforming order in the international system (McGowan *et al*, 2006:13). International relations is a field of political science focusing mainly on the explanations of political outcomes in international political economy and international security affairs (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2008-2009: 3).

IR covers the relationships between the world's governments which cannot be learnt and understood in isolation as they are interconnected with other actors (such as international organisations, multinational corporations and individuals), social structures (which include domestic politics, culture and economics) and with historical and geographical influences (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2008-2009: 3)

2.3 History of international relations (IR) as an academic discipline

Whenever various territorially-based political orders share the same social world, there will be some form of international relations, even though the term came into existence only at the end of the eighteenth century (Ainley & Brown: 2005:19). Prior to the first World War, international relations as an academic discipline only existed in a rudimentary stage, but during the second half of the nineteenth century when there was a variety of social sciences, and political economy gave birth to economics as a scientific field of study, IR became a distinct focus of study (Ainley & Brown: 2005:19).

After 1920, IR as a focused field of study developed in Europe and the Americas drawing on a much older Western political philosophy tradition going back to the fifth century BC. Some of the influential writers who shaped the subject are Gabriel Garcia Marquez (1927-2014), Angela Carter (1940-1992) and Frederic Jameson (1934 to date) they have contributed to laying a foundation for important concepts and theories of IR (Cox, 2016:22)

2.4 Defining the concept of "theory"

In order to understand theory as a concept one has to understand what knowledge is. Epistemology into the nature of knowledge is found to be a philosophical inquiry, what or how is a belief justified and what is meant by stating a claim to be true (Alcoff, 1998:viii). Theory helps scholars to understand in a scientific manner.

2.4.1 Knowledge (epistemology)

Knowledge is a belief that is true and justifiable, and knowledge that is focused on the physical world and its phenomena is scientific knowledge (Hunt, 2003:1). The process of receiving and understanding of information on a specific subject is achieved either through studying or personal experience, which can be regarded as knowledge. Thus, knowing or being familiar with something can be considered to be a definition of knowledge (Hunt, 2003:1). Peacocke (2004:1) says, in relation between knowledge and theory, epistemology comes first in the sequence of philosophical explanations to the theory of concepts.

2.4.2 Theory

Theories help one to set out and scrutinise assumptions, to gain knowledge about events of the world, to help in appreciating the limits of knowledge. Theories, therefore, are potential sources of definitions or explanations for confusing and seemingly unexplainable events or trends (Nel, 2006:27-28). March and Stoker (1995:16) agree with Nel by emphasising that the underlying purpose of a theory is to explain, provide understanding and interpret reality in some way. Theory is, therefore, a set of interconnected concepts and the main role of theory is to provide interpretation for particular events of the world.

Theories review the process of theorising itself; they examine epistemological claims on the knowledge of humans about the world and ontological claims on what the world ultimately consists of, such as, whether it consists of sovereign states or individuals with rights and obligations to the entire humanity (Burchill *et al.*, 2005: 11-12).

Theory manifests in specific aspects of the world and provides a blueprint of what to investigate; it also allows one to have a better view of the world and focus on certain aspects of reality (March & Stoker, 1995:17). In political science the application of theorising appears in various forms and, initially, a distinction could be made between normative and empirical theories, where normative theories' central focus was on how the world was meant to be. Normative theorists propose a set of conditions and defends it on why it is preferable. The empirical approach, on the other hand, places emphasis on developing explanations based on facts, and its focus is to provide an understanding of reality (March & Stoker, 1995:17; Burchill *et al.*, 2005:11-12). The following section will provide a reconstruction of the most influential theories in international relations.

2.5 Theories in international Relations

In the field of international relations various groups of theories exist. These are conservative theories for example realism, idealism, liberalism, and critical theories for example constructivism and functionalism/neo-functionalism, and institutionalism.

Conservatism is understood mainly as an ideology, which has a pessimistic view of human nature by emphasising that people are inherently self-centred and imperfect, thus, in order for people to live civilly together they need authority, traditions and institutions that will constrain them (Graham *et al.*, 2009:1-2)

Idealism in international relations is a perpetual doctrine towards global affairs which is seen all over historical times where political communities persist in an anarchic state (the absence of a world government) and is geared towards transforming the international system by creating a peaceful world order (Wilson, 2011:1).

In response to changing world orders and the relation of social forces to production, critical theory focuses mainly on the advancements of different state structures and, in turn, these structures affect

modes of production, social forces and world orders (Lysens, 2008:3). Critical theory dismisses the realism assumption of the state as being the main actor in world affairs, which ignores the vital role of identities and norms (Lysens, 2008:3).

Functionalism/Neo-functionalism is a regional integration theory, which is primarily focused on the role of non-state actors in the international system; it does not dismiss the important roles of states in the international system, rather it champions the role of institutions in the international system (Schmitter, 2002:1-2).

2.5.1 Realist theory in international relations (IR)

Realism seeks to provide an explanation and a description of the world of international politics as it is, rather than how we desire it to be, realism gives priority to states as realists regard them to be the supreme political authority in the international system (Burchill, 2001:70). Dunne and Schmidt (2001:141) maintains that realist theory is dominant in IR because it makes provisions for powerful explanations of the state and war, which is inevitable in the international system (IS).

Realism is a school of thought that provides an explanation for IR in terms of power. Power politics refers to politics that addresses the international system as it is, and not in moral principles. In this context, power is the capability by one actor to influence the other to doing something that it would not otherwise have done (Goldstein, 2004; 71-72; Nye, 2011:46)). Mearshimer (2006:72) states that realists believe that the currency of international politics is power because the Great powers in the international arena and other key actors in realism pay much attention to how much military and economic power each has in relation to the other.

Nye (2011:46) emphasises that coercion (which is the act of manipulating someone by force), payments (the use of remittance) and attraction (alluring someone) are the three ways that can be used to exercise power. Hobbes' (1651:1-2) approach to the view of power politics in the international system, is that if two men compete for/or have interests for limited resources, they eventually become enemies and, thus, destroy or subdue one another in the struggle to attaining these recourses.

The Roman Empire became a dominant force in Europe and it acquired power through destroying neighbouring cities and expanding its territory (Machiavelli, 1531: 112). The Roman republics had three methods of increasing their power: the first being a method of forming a confederacy of a significant number of states where none was a hegemon over the others. Like the first method, the second was to establish alliances, however, one state had supremacy over the others, which was followed by the Romans and, finally, the method to have ultimate control over other states not only as its allies but as subjects (Machiavelli, 1531: 111-112).

Realists, when focussing on security dilemmas posit that the anarchic state of the international system, which is the absence of a central government in international relations, contributes to a state of vulnerability on the part of all states. Thus, a state must increase its military and economic capability such as cooperation or collaboration with other states in order to address security concerns (Viotti & Kauppi, 2009: 195).

Wars erupt when there is no central authority that holds states accountable for their actions (Hobbes, 1651:2). Collective security can be applied as an act to address international aggressors and lawbreakers because collective security emphasises more on global law enforcement against illegal acts committed by states, where states respond collectively to international aggressors (Viotti & Kauppi, 2009:195).

There are several assumptions coined by realists that form the basis of realism in international relations (IR) and explains how IR works.

2.5.1.1 Assumption one: state behaviour and anarchy

States are selfish actors in the International system, always seeking to maximise their own interests, even at the cost of risking the benefits that more than one state can share. Realists defend their assumptions by emphasising that the international system (IS) is structured in a way that condemns states to being selfish and self-reliant (Nel, 2006:27; Machiavelli, 1531: 112).

Due to the anarchic state of the international system, states only rely on themselves (“anarchic” in this instance refers to the absence of a central authority to hold states accountable for their actions) (Antunes & CAMISÃO, 2017:15-16). State survival and national security are the most important aspects of realism, thus, the final arbiter that concludes on foreign policy is national interest by states pursuing their own interest towards self-reliance (Jackson & Sorenson, 2003:69).

Therefore, state selfishness is influenced by national interests as they force nation-states to being unitary actors in the international system mainly in times of war, which is why states during times of war commonly speak and act with one voice (Antunes & CAMISÃO, 2017:15-16)

2.5.1.2 Assumption two: the role of power in the international system

The distribution of power between political actors in the IS has major effects on international activities because all states, as important actors in IR, can claim sovereignty. Realists argue that power is the one factor that provides the best possible explanation for the dynamics of IR, characterised by change or stability (Nel, 2006:30). Due to the global hierarchy of power, and the great powers being the key players in global politics, realists explain international relations as predominantly a struggle for security and supremacy by great powers.

According to Slaughter (2011:1), due to the anarchic state of the international system, state power is the most significant of all national interests because nation-states can only acquire state security through power where realism refers to power in various ways such as military power, economic power and diplomatic power. Realism emphasises the distribution of coercive material capacity in shaping international politics.

2.5.1.3 Assumption three: the role of morality in the international system

Theorists of realism dismiss the role of morality in world politics, realists posit that the structure of the international system does not cater for states to behave in terms of moral principles. (Nel, 2006:30). Moreover, decision-makers of any state are rational actors because rational decision making in the case of states always lead to prioritising national interests, thus, making rational decisions, means making decisions that would make your state strong and not vulnerable (Antunes & CAMISÃO, 2017:15)

Hobbes (1651:2) emphasises that, in the nature of man, there exists three major root causes of conflict; the first being competition, which leads states to invade others in order to gain their interests, the second being mistrust, which leads states to invade others for security reasons (safety), and, lastly, states invade others for glory where the invaded state is defeated and usurped.

2.5.1.4 Assumption four: state as the key actor in the international system

Realists assume that the state is the major actor in International affairs, but they do not dismiss the importance of other actors such as, international organisations and transnational companies, which play a vital role in the international system (Nel, 2006:30-31 & Keohane, 1989:1).

Antunes and CAMISÃO, (2017:15-16) agree with the latter as they emphasise that nation-states are key actors in international relations, and they do not ignore the significance of other bodies such as

individuals and organisations, but they maintain that these bodies poses limited power or influence in international relations.

Realists posit, in defence of states being the major actors, that states are the only institutions that have the capability to wage war because they control the military and the police force and therefore have control over the employment and movement of people, and they are major actors in the management of the economy (Nel, 2006:31).

2.5.1.5 Assumption five: basic continuity and the role of power

Realists place emphasis on the assumption of the basic continuity in international relations and maintain that wars erupt presently for the same reasons they had been pursued centuries ago. For instance, a powerful state attempts to impose its will on a weaker state or a weaker state makes alliances with other states with attempts to attack the stronger state. Thus, realists maintain that the solution to this situation is the balance of power (eg. A bipolar system) because it will, at most, limit wars and/or secure peace (Nel, 2006:31; Machiavelli, 1531: 111-112). Slaughter (2011:2) is of the view that realists ensure survival through maximising their national power relative to other states and this is because if a rival state possesses greater power, then it threatens their security, thus, hegemony is the only and best strategy any country should pursue.

Neo-realism or structural realism emphasises that the structure or architecture of an international system is responsible for the behaviour of states by seeking to maximise their power due to the anarchic nature of the system. In such a system, weaker states have little authority over powerful states to hold them accountable for their actions to ensure the safety of the weaker states (Mearsheimer, 2006:72).

The BRICS alliance is an establishment consisting of states of the global South who seek power or the balance of power and influence in the international system through advocating globally for the equal representation of weaker states in a global institution, and also for the development of poor states.

Mearsheimer (2006:72) maintains that Neo-realism ignores the role of cultural differences among states as well as differences in the regime type and this is because the structure of the international system creates the same fundamental incentives for all great powers regardless of their system of government.

The BRICS alliance is composed of five different states from different regions with different cultural backgrounds and systems of governments who shares similar problems but have a common agenda, because states always seek maximum security to survive.

Neo-realists are of the view that states should seek the attainment of maximum power and, given the right circumstances, to pursue hegemony and this is because possessing a great amount of power is the best way to ensure survival and global influence, in other words, having ultimate power is the only way to survive (Mearsheimer, 2006:72).

2.5.2 Liberalism in IR

Liberalism theory of international relations presents a deeper understanding of state-society relations, which is the state's relations in local and foreign social contexts in which they are embedded. These relations have a fundamental influence on state behaviour in international politics, societal ideas, and interests where institutions have an impact on the actions of states by structuring state preferences because the arrangement of state preferences is vital in international politics (Moravcsik, 1997:1). In order to understand liberalism theory in international relations better, there is a need to highlight some of the international institutions that play a vital role in the international system.

The Bretton Woods Agreement established the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) which are international institutions that assist member states in dealing with monetary problems, facilitating world trade expansion, and are sources of financial aid to developing nations. These institutions are focused on international poverty alleviation, and promote and maintain real income and high levels of employment (Dammasch, 2006:5).

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was another international agreement, which focussed among others on trade and development, which is for improving the living standards and progressive development of economies of contracting parties and also to shorten the gap between the developing and developed countries (GATT, 1986:53). It was succeeded by the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 1995 and like its predecessor, is geared towards ensuring the smooth running and predictability of trade between states and the promotion of free trade in the IS (WTO, 2006:1).

Liberalism criticises the assumptions of realism about the international system, it argues that the assumption of international anarchy is nothing more than a partial truth because even if international interactions are shaped by power relations, which entails distribution of power in the international system, anarchy involves world order structured by power (Goldstein, 2004:116).

Liberals express criticism on a state being a selfish unitary actor in the international system in seeking to advance its own interests. They argue that state behaviour often do not reflect a single individual set of preferences, and that actions of states are structured by internal bargaining within and among interest groups, bureaucracies, and other actors with different goals and interests (Goldstein, 2004:116).

Rationality is also another problematic concept because, if states are unitary actors with coherent interests, they fail in most cases to implement a proper job in maximising those interests because the progress of rational bargaining depends on an actor's participation. Liberals posit that the use of military power as a form of leverage is not as vital as realism implies because it is a high-price way to influence other actors, rather than resorting to bargaining, conflict resolution, diplomacy, and peace keeping or other non-military ways (Goldstein, 2004:116). In the next sections the fundamental assumptions of liberalism will be dealt with.

2.5.2.1 Assumption one: state behaviour and anarchy in the international system.

Liberalism and realism share the same view on the basic anarchic nature of the international system, but they differ on the view that the absence of a central authority in the international system leads actors to a perpetual competition in which actors look only after themselves. Moreover, the fact that there is no central rule-enforcer in the international system, prompts states to cooperate on many more issues than they fight about (Nel, 2006:33). Slaughter (2011:3) is of the view that states are not simply seeking survival in an anarchic international system, but they are rather structures of individual and group interests who then present a particular set of interests into the international system through a particular kind of government. Even though survival remains a significant goal for states, ideological beliefs may be crucial.

2.5.2.2 Assumption two: the role of power in the international system.

Liberalists are against the assumption by realists that the main factor that determines the outcomes in international affairs is the distribution of power, liberalists maintain that power is only one factor among others that has an effect (Nel, 2006:33-34). Thus, liberalists argue that the existing balance of power cannot always be the explanation for the absence of war, but rather the peaceful relations between countries, looking among others at values shared by countries and the level of their economic and/or environmental inter-dependence (Nel, 2006:34).

Meiser (2017: 22) shares this view by emphasising that a political system characterised by unchecked power, specifically a monarchy or a dictatorship, does not have the capability to protect the life and liberty of its citizens. Thus, the core focus of liberalism is the establishment of international institutions that will protect individual freedom through the limitation and checking of political powers.

2.5.2.3 Assumption three: the role of morality in the international system

Liberalists assume that morality plays a more vital role in the international affairs than realists are willing to concede because many international moral principles and regimes were established by states through mutual co-operation (Nel, 2006:34). Kant (1795:2) maintains that the establishment of the universal law will lead to distant parts of the world having peaceful relations with each other.

In this view, Moravcsik (1991:523) maintains that the liberal conception of power is based on an assumption more consistent with the fundamental theories of bargaining and negotiation than those underlying realism such as the distribution of power.

2.5.2.4 Assumption four: state as the key actor in the international system

Liberalists agree with realists that the state is a very important actor in international affairs, but they do not regard it as the most important one because there is a significant number of actors (such as transnational and multinational institutions) in international affairs who all contribute significantly to the basic anarchic structure of the world (Nel, 2006:34).

According to Meiser (2017:25) various liberal scholars today focus more on how most international organisations foster cooperation through assisting countries overcome the incentive to escape from international agreements, and these scholars are often referred to as 'neoliberal institutionalism'.

2.5.2.5 Assumption five: basic continuity and interdependence.

Liberalists differ with realists that there is a basic continuity in international affairs and that states are subject to the same demands and pressures as they were centuries ago. Liberals, again, assume that change for the better and progress is possible in world affairs (Nel, 2006:34 & Kant, 1795:2).

Realists emphasise that interests leads states to a perpetual competition eventually leading to war, which they refer to as basic continuity in the international system. To the contrary, liberalists are of the view that the arrangement of interdependent state preferences determines state behaviour because liberals argue that the behaviour of states in the international system is a reflection of different patterns of state preferences (Moravcsik, 1991:520).

2.5.3 Constructivist theory in IR

Waltz (1979:1-6) maintains that theories are ingrained in ideas and theory continues to differ from the world. Constructivism is among the developed international relations theories; it does not undermine the dominant theory in international relations, but rather provides a broader insight or knowledge in the definition of the dynamics of world politics (Nugroho, 2008:85). Slaughter (2011:5) and Reus-Smit (1999:1) argue that constructivism champions the role of non-state actors due to their interest in beliefs and ideology.

Finnemore and Skikink (2001: 391) define constructivism as an approach to social analysis that deals with the importance of human consciousness in social life and further state that the most imperative factors relating to constructivism are largely intersubjective beliefs which are not reducible to individuals and that these common beliefs influence the interests of useful or important actors. The following section will outline the four basic assumptions of constructivism.

2.5.3.1 Assumption one: state identities and interests

Finnemore and Sikkink (2001: 398) maintain that constructivists share an idea that the identities of states were constructed within the social environment of domestic and international politics and that the identities of states fundamentally structure their actions and preferences.

Identities play a pivotal role of ensuring a minimal level of predictability and order in international politics and domestic society, thus, sound expectations between states necessitate intersubjective identities that are stable to ensure the predictability of behavioural patterns (Hopf, 1998: 174-175).

There are a number of important functions of identities in a society, such as informing others about who they are and about who others are, and even informing others about a society's set of interests and preferences; an identity of a society, therefore, refers to its preferences and consequential actions (Hopf, 1998: 175).

2.5.3.2 Assumption two: the role of actors in shaping state behaviour

Wendt (1999:216) emphasises that the actions of individuals within states are crucial to the actions of states in the international system because the existence of social structures depends on the practices that represent them and where the aggregate of individual governmental actions shape the actions of states. A state is an entity in which individuals attribute their identities and interests to, and constructivism argues that states and non-state actors are key to the promotion of the people's identities, interests, and norms and ideas (Wendt, 1999:224).

In light of the above, Theys (2017: 36) is of the view that through having much focus on the role of the state in the international system, traditional theories have not provided much opportunities to observe the role of individuals in reshaping the international system. Constructivism argues that the social world is of our making as actors collectively because community leaders continually shape and reconstruct the nature of international relations through their various actions and interactions.

2.5.3.3 Assumption three: ideas and beliefs

Constructivism views both the world, and what we can learn about it, as being socially constructed; a view that refers to the nature of reality and the origins of knowledge, also known as ontology and epistemology. Furthermore, constructivism goes beyond merely the material reality to the impact of ideas and beliefs on world politics; this means that reality changes over time depending on the ideas of actors (Theys, 2017: 36-37).

Hurd (2008: 312) emphasises that constructivists view international relations as social construction of actors, and institutions and events. This view of actions and actors in world politics emanates from actors' understanding of the world they live in, including beliefs, views of personal and other people's identities, and the mutual practices and understanding they take part in.

2.5.3.4 Assumption four: distribution of power

Constructivists do not reject the role of material power such as military capacity in international relations, but they put emphasis the fact that norms and ideas are vital in structuring the relations between actors in world politics (Hurd, 2008: 313). Constructivism relates the material world as having been shaped by the social world in the same way the social world is shaped by the material world (Nugroho, 2008: 91 & Onuf, 2013:2).

Constructivism among others focuses mainly on the definition of national interests by actors in the international system, and the explanation of threats to interests and how they interrelate (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2009:93). Constructivists in international relations agree on the fundamental premise that

human beings are actively involved in the creation of the world they live in, but they share the view that no single human being can make the world as he/she wishes (Devetak *et al*, 2007: 97 & Onuf, 2013:3).

According to constructivists, actors develop or structure their own social context, which in turn structures the behaviour, identity and interests of actors (Viotti & Kauppi, 2009:97). A critique of the prominent theories of international relations namely realism and liberalism will be discussed in the next section.

2.5.3.5 Constructivist criticism of realism and liberalism

Unlike neorealist belief that due to the anarchic structure of the international system, states must be self-reliant, constructivists argue that anarchy have different meanings for different actors because of their different communities, practices and understandings. There are, therefore, no constant implications of anarchy across all relationships and key items of international politics, but there is a possibility of a continuum of anarchies (Hopf, 1998: 174).

Hopf (1998:177) states that power is the focal point of constructivists and both mainstream approaches to international relations theory, namely Neo-realism and Neo-liberalism conceptualise power differently. The assumption by both neo-realism and neoliberal institutionalism emphasises that the most important source of influence and authority in world politics is power (militarily and economically), while constructivists view both discursive and material power as pivotal in any understanding of global affairs.

Walt (1998:4) posits that the factor that tends to be at the focal point of realism and liberalism is power, whereas constructivism emphasises the influence of ideas and norms. Rather than only focusing on the idea that states only seek to survive, they consider states' interests and identities as highly malleable products of historical processes. Constructivists focus more on existing discourses within societies because they reflect and structure beliefs and interests as well as initiating accepted norms of behaviour (Walt, 1998:4).

Constructivism differs from neorealism because it places military and economic power at the core of the international system whereas neo liberal institutionalism only recognises a relatively weak impact of non-material power. Constructivists regard discursive power, referring to ideas, culture, ideology, and knowledge as important the same way material power is, because discursive and material power interact towards constructing the world order (Nugroho, 2008:92).

Though constructivists differ from liberals and realists view on the issue regarding actors in the international system, they don't dismiss the importance of states in the international system, constructivists don't see any valid reason to why change in international relations should not emanate from and through non-state actors who can also transform international relations (Devetak *et al*, 2007: 98).

Constructivism conflicts with realism on the assumption that states are selfish actors in the international system due to the structure of the international system, by arguing that states do not easily react to their surroundings or conditions, rather, they dynamically engage it, that is, actors usually change the environment the same way it influences state behaviour. Constructivists, therefore, posit that states successfully establishes norms and ideas that have an influence in international relations (Viotti & Kauppi, 2009:96). Waltz (1979:67) agrees with the above statement by maintaining that states change over time and these changes are within the system; they help in explaining changes in international political outcomes because states are building blocks, which form the structure of the international political system.

2.5.4 Institutional theory in IR

Western policy makers have sought to construct security arrangements in Europe and other regions in the world, which are based on international institutions since the Cold War ended, and they dismissed the balance of power politics as a notion of arrangement, and they championed international institutions as a tool for the promotion of international peace (Mearsheimer 1995: 1)

Keohane and Martin (1995:43-46) explain institutional theory as a theory which is important and applicable to security issues because it is centred on the role of institutions in the provision of information. Institutional theory, therefore, provides a coherent account of the creation of institutions and their impact on others because they were by states due to their foreseen effect on state behaviour.

2.5.4.1 Assumption one: anarchy in the international system and the role of institutions

Mearsheimer (1995: 8) defines an institution as a set of rules negotiated by states to provide specifications on the ways in which states should compete and cooperate with each other, thus, institutions play a role of prescribing acceptable and unacceptable kinds of state behaviour. Keohane (1989:383) attempts to define an institution as a specific informal or even formally organised human-constructed arrangement.

Jackson and Sorenson (2003:50) agree by arguing that international organisations can be less formal arrangements (regimes) than the formal international organisations such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO), European Union (EU), and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD); all dealing with common issues and activities. Jackson and Sorenson (2003:50) maintain that international institutions are focused on promoting cooperation across international boundaries through the provision of information and the reduction of costs.

2.5.4.2 Different institutional theories work on different assumptions

There are three institutional theories with different approaches to the role of institutions in shifting states away from wars and helping in fostering stability.

Liberal institutionalism does not outline measures of preventing war, rather, it is at the centre of explaining the likelihood of economic and environmental cooperation among states than realists recognise. Liberal institutionalism is grounded on the belief that the major obstacle of international cooperation is cheating, thus institutionalism offers a solution to overcome the problem. However, it does not dismiss the realist assumption that states are self-interested, but rather that it aims at establishing rules that constrain states. (Mearsheimer, 1995:14 & Stein, 2008:212))

The second institutional theory is collective security theory, which is geared towards addressing issues of how wars can be prevented and emphasises that states must increase their national security to avoid potential threats because power will continue to be important in world politics. Collective security assists in minimising wars when states avoid the use of force, and rather join forces in addressing the aggressor as a collective (Mearsheimer, 1995:14; Aleksovski, Bakreski, & Avramovska, 2014:274).

Critical theory is the third approach that is mainly aimed at the transformation of the nature of world politics by creating a world with genuine peace and increased cooperation between states. Critical theory dismisses the assumption by realists that states are self-centred by emphasising that state behaviour is influenced by ideas and discourse (views or opinions and discussions on international politics), and not by the structure of the international system (Mearsheimer, 1995:15).

2.5.5 Institutional critique on realist theory

Realists differ with institutionalists on the view that institutions are independent and have an impact on the behaviour of states in the international system.

Jackson and Sorenson (2003:50), and Mitrany (1948:351) emphasise that states often resort to establishing international institutions to resolve common problems. Krasner (2004:97) maintains that international institutions have provided considerable resources towards the global promotion of better governance and transnational administration, and in the case of failing or collapsed states, institutions have the capability to resort to some sort of protectorate responsibility to help a collapsed or failing state, thus, institutions play a pivotal role in the international system.

2.5.5.1 Assumption one: institutions and the behaviour of states

The disagreement between realists and institutionalists is mainly on whether institutions have an impact on the prospects for global stability because realists disagree while institutionalists agree. Institutions according to realists are basically reflecting the distribution of power in the world because they do not possess any independent effect on the behaviour of states (Mearsheimer, 1995:7; Mitrany, 1948:350; Amenta & Ramsey, 2010:16). Rather, they are grounded on the self-interested calculations of the main players (great powers) in the international system. Institutionalists differ by maintaining that institutions are independent and can shift states away from wars, that they possess the ability to alter the preferences of states, and that they can change the behaviour of states (Mearsheimer, 1995:7; & Mitrany, 1948:350 & Amenta & Ramsey, 2010:16).

2.5.5.2 Assumption two: institutions, distribution of power and global governance

Scharpf (2010:52) emphasises that institutions do matter in the international system and their transformation is entirely depended on the self-interests of states. Institutions, according to realists, are created and structured by the great powers in the international system, with the intention of maintaining and increasing their share of global power. Institutions, therefore, are arenas for acting out power relationships and in this view, realists argue that the balance of power in the international system is the independent variable that can explain war (Mearsheimer, 1995:13).

2.5.6 In summary: a construction of a possible theoretical framework.

Table 1 below provides a summary of the four theories in international relations namely: Realism, Liberalism, Constructivism and Institutionalism, which will form a theoretical framework for this study.

Table 1: A perspective of the main assumptions and focus points in the important theories in international relations.

The international system ⁴	Assumptions of realism	Assumptions of liberalism	Assumptions of constructivism	Assumptions of institutionalism
The character of the international system.	States are selfish actors in the international system due to the Anarchic nature of it.	The absence of a central authority (anarchy) in the international system does not lead actors to a	Anarchy has different meanings for different actors because of their different communities,	State behaviour is influenced by ideas and discourse (views or opinions and discussions on

⁴ The main assumptions of the various theories about the International System.

The international system⁴	Assumptions of realism	Assumptions of liberalism	Assumptions of constructivism	Assumptions of institutionalism
		perpetual competition.	practises and understandings.	international politics).
The nature of power in the international system	The distribution of power determines the outcomes of global activities.	Power is only one factor among others, which have an effect on global activities.	The distribution of military power among states in the international system does not systematically constitute a specific international social structure.	Institutions play a vital role of prescribing acceptable and unacceptable kinds of state behaviour.
The role of morality in the international system	Morality is not important in world politics.	Morality plays a vital role in the international system.	Ideas, norms and identities play a vital role in international affairs.	Institutions are geared towards promoting world order as they contribute to international humanitarian missions.
The role of states in the international system	States are major actors in the international system.	States are not the most important actors in the international system because there are a significant number of actors such as transnational and multinational co-operations.	States and non-state actors are key to the promotion of the people's identities, interests, norms and ideas.	Institutions play a pivotal role in the international system.
The role of change and continuity in the international system	There is a basic continuity in international relations.	Changes and progress is possible in world affairs.	States change over time, thus, these changes lead to changes in the international system.	Institutions have the capability to shift states from wars.

With regard to the character of the international system, all four theories agree that the nature of the system is anarchic; the only difference is that the realists posit that states are selfish actors due to anarchy in the structure of the system, liberals say anarchy can be overcome, while constructivists argue

that anarchy is what states makes of it, and institutionalists maintain that the behaviour of states is influenced by the ideas and discourse, and not the structure of the system.

On the nature of power in the international system, realists state that power determines the outcomes of global activities. Liberalism, constructivism, and institutionalist theories argue that power is among the most fundamental factors that impact on global activities such as international institutions.

The role of morality in the world of politics is deemed useless by realists, while liberals defend the role of morality. Constructivists argue that ideas, identity and norms are vital in international relations. Institutional theory champions the role of institutions in international relations, while realists maintain that states are the key actors in the international system. Liberalism, constructivism and institutionalism differ and argue that there are other pivotal actors such as non-state actors.

Realists maintain that states start wars today for the very same reasons they did centuries ago while liberals, constructivists and institutionalists argue that there is constant change in the international system as states change, ideas and norms change, and institutions change.

This basic conceptual framework above along with the contemporary theoretical perspectives summarised in the conclusion below, will be used in Chapter 3 to assist in the analysis in this dissertation.

2.6 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to provide a theoretical framework of the study at hand because theory guides as well as arranges the main ideas in research. From the above-provided argument, it is evident that theories are important because they provide an understanding of the most prominent frameworks in international relations. The role of theory is to interpret or explain the most important events of the world. BRICS is one of the most important international organisations and its formation was focused on transforming the world order.

Realism focuses on the power and security struggle among states in the international system because the structure of the international system is anarchic, meaning there is no central authority in the world system. In realism, the major actors in the international system are states and they are selfish because the structure of the international system forces them to behave in such a manner.

Liberalism theory differs from realism; it focuses mainly on enhancing global economic and political cooperation and champions the role of non-governmental organisations, international organisations, as well as multinational cooperation. States, therefore, are not the most important actors in the international system according to the liberal perspective.

Constructivism is a theory that is not materially focused like realism theory; it emphasises the role of ideas and identities in shaping state interests and behaviours in the international system. Institutional theory is a theory like liberalism, which emphasises the important role of institutions in international institutions in international relations by arguing that international institutions were established for the global promotion of peace, security and stability.

CHAPTER 3: THE HISTORY OF BRICS AND THE ROLE OF SOUTH AFRICA AND BRAZIL IN THE ALLIANCE

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the different theoretical contributions within the field of international relations were analysed with the aim of formulating a conceptual framework that could aid in the comparison of the contributions of South Africa and Brazil in the BRICS grouping. The BRICS grouping was formed to attempt to change the global order by countering the dominance of the United States of America and the Western dominated international system and to advance the influence of BRICS countries in the decision-making processes in this system. The inclusion of South Africa in the BRICS grouping was, among others, to balance and even minimise the influence of the Western powers on the African continent (Tella, 2018:1).

The balancing of power in the international system is key to the BRICS grouping, thus, the reconstruction of the global system is at the core of the BRICS establishment. Through this reconstruction, BRICS aims at changing the structure of the international system by including emerging states in global structures such as the United Nations Security Council and the World Bank to eliminate current imbalances in the system.

Waltz (1979:116) views the “balance of power” (referring to power that varies significantly between states in the international system) as the best guarantee for state security and global peace. The balance of power in the international system according to Waltz (1979:160), suggests that the national security improves when military capability is distributed, so that no state is strong enough to dominate all others.

If one state becomes more powerful than others, Waltz predicts that it will take advantage of its strength and attack weaker neighbours, thus, providing an incentive for those threatened to unite in a defensive coalition. Waltz(1979:105) argues that the bipolar system is the most stable structure in the long run because there is a clear difference in the amount of power held by the two poles as compared to that held by the rest of the state actors. Thus, the goal of this chapter is to provide a historical overview of BRICS and the role of South Africa and Brazil in the BRICS establishment.

3.2 Historical orientation

In their joint statement on 16 June 2009, the BRIC countries discussed main issues of global development, the current situation in the global economy, and arrived at a number of conclusions. The BRIC countries emphasised the important role of the G20 summits in addressing financial crises and, as a reflection of change in the global economy, they also put more effort in restructuring global financial institutions because poorer states are the most affected by financial crises. There was also a call on the global community to allocate liquid financial resources to such states. The BRIC states condemn terrorism, champion international cooperation, especially in the area of energy efficiency, and for a more democratic and just multipolar world order, which is based on the rule of international law (President of Russia: Official Web Portal, 2009:1-2).

Originally, the BRIC group was envisaged in 2006, when there were political discussions by the Brazilian, Russian, Indian, and Chinese (BRIC) foreign ministers resulting in the block being established on 16 June 2009, with its first annual summit. On 23 December 2010, China’s foreign affairs minister Yang Jiechi, invited South Africa to join the BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China) grouping. The former South African International Relations and Cooperation minister Maite Nkoana-Mshabane announced, after a period of

lobbying by Jacob Zuma (the former president of South Africa), that South Africa is a gateway to Africa (Besada, Tok & Winters, 2013:1).

Former president Zuma emphasised the importance of this grouping by maintaining the pivotal role of emerging economies in the reconstruction of global political, economic and financial institutions in becoming equitable and more balanced (Besada, Tok & Winters, 2013:1).

The following section provides an understanding of the South-South and North-South cooperation as platforms to put interests and ideas of the development of poor states at the core of the international agenda.

3.2.1 North-South dichotomy

The North-South dichotomy is a concept that emphasises the global elimination of power imbalances in the international system, whether politically, militarily or economically, by forcing super-power states of the global North, with military and economic capacity, to make space for the emerging states of the global South in the international system, for their interests and ideas (especially those concerning economic development and trade) to be represented and considered on the global stage (Hurrell & Sengupta, 2012:69-471).

However, the achievements of the North-South economic relations in resolving financing difficulties and disparities faced by developing states have thus far been limited (Jienjin, 2015:2). The countries in the Southern hemisphere remain poor and the gap between the rich countries of the North and the poor countries of the South seems to be increasing.

The power imbalances in the structure of the international system were created by European imperialist states who colonised Africa and most states in the global North. The current condition of Africa and the emergence of poor states can best be understood by the impact of colonisation and imperialism, which had a negative effect on the development of the colonised states (Khapoya, 2016:99).

Settles (1996:1) is in support of this view by emphasising that Africa's colonial imposition altered its history forever and this is evident in the African modes of thought, cultural development patterns, and ways of life, which were forever negatively affected by the change in the political and government structures brought about by colonialism.

The Atlantic slave trade had a significant impact on Africa, which changed the African economy because of the process of imperialism and the economic policies that came with colonisation. Furthermore, before African colonisation, which brought about partition of Africa, most African economies were advancing in various areas such as trade in particular (Settles, 1996:1).

3.2.2 South-South cooperation

The South-South cooperation is a framework that encompasses countries of the global South, which have emerging economies with a common agenda of reforming the global structure to be more inclusive and representative. The South-South cooperation plays a vital role in global affairs because it covers a wide range of global interactions between global agencies, the civil society, and governments that have continued to succeed in contributing to the development of developing states specifically in their economies (United Nations, 2014:2).

The South-South cooperation was established to rectify the negative impact of colonialism, particularly on countries on the global South because the main aim of colonialism was to exploit the physical, human, and economic resources of the colonised areas to benefit the colonising nation. Moreover, both the advancement of colonialism and the partition of Africa by the European colonial powers prevented

the natural development of the African economic system (Settles, 1996:1). Ocheni and Nwankwo (2012:1) define colonialism as the direct and overall dominance of a particular country by a foreign nation where the state power is in the hands of the colonising state. Moreover, the two main objectives of the colonisers are political dominance followed by exploitation of the colonised state.

Prior to colonialism, Africa was not in economic isolation from the rest of the world because African countries have always engaged in international trade particularly in Egypt and West Africa in the areas of Ghana, Mali, and Songhai because financing these empires' governments' expenditures heavily depended on the taxing of foreign trade (Settles, 1996:1).

Therefore, colonisation had a major impact on Africa as it brought about the present state of under-development of African states in various ways. Another important factor was the institutionalisation of classes and class struggles in the socio-economic and political life of African people (Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2012:52).

The following section will provide an overview of the contributions of South Africa towards BRICS and towards Africa through the BRICS establishment.

3.3 South Africa's historical contribution to BRICS

There are various reasons that led to the invitation to South Africa at the time to become a member of BRICS, mainly focusing on South Africa's status as an African economic giant with a Gross Domestic Product average of around 25 % of the entire African continent, and vast natural resources and outstanding infrastructure. South Africa was, therefore, the only attractive African country to be invited to become a member of BRICS (Besada *et al.* 2013:3).

The BRIC member states at the time of South Africa's admission viewed South Africa as a gateway to the African consumer base because it had influence on the entire continent, and it championed the entire continent as it shared similar concerns of most African states such as unemployment, poverty corruption, and inequality. BRICS members would also have access to Africa's natural resources such as oil, gold and platinum. China, in particular, is currently one of the biggest investors in Africa (Besada *et al.* 2013:3-5).

As an indication of South Africa opening doors for foreign direct investment, and pushing the African Agenda in its foreign policy, it issued a 10-year BRICS visa, which was effective from 23 December 2014, for business executives from all BRICS member states. As a result of this, South Africa became considered as an attractive country to investors and that it provided investment opportunities within its borders and to the rest of the African continent (BRICS Business Council, 2016:4).

3.4 South Africa's International trade and investment opportunities

The South-South trade contributes to the increasing share of global trade and the inclusion of South Africa in the grouping, works in favour of the African continent as it provides new trade and investment opportunities because the other BRICS states have the capability to further develop the African infrastructure through foreign expertise and technologies (Besada, Tok & Winters, 2013:4).

As a member of BRICS, South Africa will have an increase in international trade, which is advantageous to it because it will gain access to improved recent technology, global markets, economies of scale in production, and be able to consolidate its position and profile as an international player. This will lead to a rise in the level of exports, and an increase in local infrastructural projects due to elevated levels of investment, poverty reduction and employment (Economic development and Growth in Ethekeini, 2012:7).

South Africa, along with other members of the grouping, acknowledged the developments in implementing the Strategy for BRICS Economic Partnership and also put more emphasis on the significance of the BRICS Roadmap for Trade, Economic and Investment Cooperation until 2020 (Ray, 2016:3). India's initiative to host the first BRICS Trade Fair on 12-14 October, 2016 in New Delhi was welcomed by South Africa because it was considered to be a crucial step towards implementing the Strategy for the BRICS Economic Partnership (Ray, 2016:3).

Durban is among South Africa's tourist capitals, thus, arrival from BRICS states would increase, which would lead to infrastructural development and job creation. With the increase in trade between the BRICS countries and South Africa, the Durban Harbour, which is the biggest and busiest harbour in Sub-Saharan Africa, was expected to experience a rise in the volume of commodities and port traffic. Growth in Durban's transport sector and the tourism sector is, therefore, likely due to South Africa joining BRICS (Economic development and Growth in Ethekeini, 2012:8).

Additionally, in 2018, the board of governors of the New Development Bank (NDB) chaired by the former South African finance minister Nhlamhla Nene approved a \$200million (R2.5bn) loan for the Durban container terminal berth reconstruction project aimed at helping its transport parastatal Transnet to upgrade the capacity of its port in Durban. (Cokayne, 2018:1).

In light of the above, all could be achieved through rehabilitating its container terminal berths and also the upgrading of port infrastructure to allow for the provision of additional berths for larger vessels. This was among the six projects from the five BRICS member countries worth a total of \$1.6bn approved by the New Development Bank (NDB), which is a BRICS multilateral development bank established in 2014. Furthermore, the approved six projects expanded the total value of the NDBs' portfolio to more than \$5.1bn (Cokayne, 2018:1).

In 2019, under the chairpersonship of the current South African finance minister Tito Mboweni, the NDBs' board of governors approved a R6.8bn project loan to Eskom to fund retrofitting flue-gas desulphurisation equipment located at the 4 800MW Medupi power station in upgrading it to be more compliant with the environmental standards coming into force (West, 2019:1).

3.5 South Africa representing Africa in BRICS

The inclusion of South Africa in BRICS came as an opportunity to take part in the global reconstruction of political and economic structures in order to have an inclusive and equitable global system, thus, with the support of other African states, South Africa represented the interests of the African continent (Besada, Tok & Winters, 2013:3).

South Africa is a leading force in the promotion of peace, security and development on the African continent where it plays a vital role in peacekeeping, conflict resolution, and post conflict reconstruction of the continent. South Africa also champions the South-South cooperation and this is evident in its New Partnership for Africa's Development Programme (NEPAD), which emphasises further developing the African markets, attracting global investors, and lifting Africa's status in the global economy (Yong, 2012: 7-8).

In 2019, the BRICS New Development Bank has committed itself to providing a project loan of R3.2bn to the Trans-Caledon Tunnel Authority aimed at the implementation of Phase II of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project. It also committed funding for the infrastructural construction of water transfer, intended to boost the water supply in the South African Vaal River Basin (West, 2019:1).

3.5.1 South Africa's global political representation of Africa through BRICS

South Africa's inclusion in BRICS puts it in a good position to place the African Agenda at the heart of the BRICS agenda and through South Africa's leading role, the member states can better listen and make efforts to addressing African issues such as reconstructing the United Nations, world financial and development institutions to be more inclusive (Yong, 2012: 12).

South Africa's membership in multilateral organisations dates back from its two terms as non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, the current India, Brazil, South Africa dialogue (IBSA), the membership of BRICS and of the G20, are examples of South Africa playing a pivotal role in representing Africa in global affairs. They are also examples that indicate South Africa exercising a strong hand in African affairs; it contributed to state building in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Zimbabwe and South Sudan. (Alden & Schoeman, 2013:111).

The India, Brazil and South Africa (IBSA) dialogue is a trilateral initiative which aims at the promotion and development of the South-South cooperation and exchange of initiatives; all three countries share an ambition of playing a key role in their regions and international affairs. The IBSA Forum was founded after the negotiations among India (Atal Bihari Vajpayee), Brazil (Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva) and South Africa (Thabo Mbeki) during the group of 8 (G8) Summit in France in 2003 (Alexandra, 2010:1).

The Group of 20 (G20) is a form of globalisation in action and it aims to respond to global risks, global financial crises and also brings together leading industrialised and emerging market economies; it is an international forum for member states and central bank governors from 20 major economies (G20, 2016:4).

During the fifth BRICS summit in South Africa in 2013, a number of agreements were entered into, including, among others, the BRICS Multilateral Infrastructure Co-Financing Agreement for Africa and the BRICS Multilateral Cooperation and Co-Financing Agreement for Sustainable Development, which is a clear indication of South Africa representing Africa (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 2014:10).

The South African government, together with the BRICS member states accepted the adoption of Agenda 2030 of the United Nations for Sustainable Development along with its Sustainable Development Goals, particularly on equality, quality of life for all, and equity. South Africa urged the developed states to honour their commitment to earmark 0.7 % of Gross National Income (GNI) officially assist developing states as that will play a vital role in implementing the Sustainable Development Goals (Nivedia, 2016:3).

3.5.2 South Africa's economic contribution in Africa through BRICS

The South African former president, Jacob Zuma, in his speech addressing the BRICS Business Council spoke of different projects for cooperation with BRICS partners, specifically focusing on areas such as Insurance and Re-insurance Cooperation, the BRICS Seed Bank, Infrastructure, which includes Electricity Generation and Transmission, the BRICS Cable Project, the African Union (AU) North-South Development Corridor, the Ocean's Economy, as well as Cooperation in Aviation and Manufacturing. He also mentioned the New Development Bank (NDB) African Regional Centre, which is housed in South Africa and will put project preparation, funding and implementing continental projects at the core of its agenda (Ray, 2016:3).

Each of the BRICS countries nominated four projects to be funded by the bank in 2016, and South Africa's list included the Grand Inga Hydroelectric Dam, the Highlands water project of Lesotho, transmission projects related to Eskom's Renewable Energy Independent Power Producer Programme

and the Mokolo Phase 2 water pipeline project. South Africa also suggested that big, traditional infrastructural projects are more likely to attract immediate attention from the New Development Bank (Scott *et al*, 2016:19).

The BRICS is contributing towards developing Africa especially through trade relations and this is evident in the involvement of the Russian companies in the Zimbabwean major platinum mining deals and the envisaged nuclear power plants in South Africa. China leads other BRICS countries in trading with African states especially on Southern Africa because China took over 28 % of Zimbabwe's and Mozambique's exports in 2014 and is South Africa's largest export market which accounted for its total exports of 14 % in 2014 (Carmody, 2017:864-5).

At the fifth BRICS summit held in South Africa in 2013, Africa was seen as a continent with a potential in terms of economic development prospects; rich in natural resources, increasing consumers' power and advantageous demographics and, as a result, the BRICS states are Africa's biggest trading partners with a share in Foreign Direct Investment and inflows to Africa reaching 14% and 25% and, in 2012, trade between Africa and BRICS increased to US\$ 340m (AFRODAD, 2013:3).

South African membership in multilateral organisations such as the BRICS, and its participation in global platforms has the ability to champion the African Agenda, as well as to put more emphasis on continental concerns. Through the BRICS New Development Bank, South Africa could push towards securing alternative funds to help the African infrastructure programmes (Southern African Liaison Office (SALO), 2017:2).

The establishment of the BRICS New Development Bank (NDB), indicated a turning point for BRICS cooperation, and signified progress in reforming and improving the global financial governance by the BRICS; the bank puts more emphasis on the promotion of financing infrastructure among developing states where they face challenges in infrastructural investment and financing for development. The establishment of the new development bank was, therefore, an indication of consolidating the South-South cooperation among developing states (Scott *et al*, 2016:3).

3.6 A critique on South Africa's membership of BRICS.

South Africa's membership in the BRICS grouping generated heated debate with many observers and scholars arguing that it is the smallest state BRICS in terms of economy and population and, therefore, would not have any real influence in the grouping and, as a consequence, it would not be able to limit the United States' influence in Africa and that its inclusion was merely a geographical representation (Tella, 2018:1-2).

Besada and Tok (2013:76) state that South Africa's membership of BRICS consolidates neoliberalism in Africa, where the whole continent liberalises markets, with trade and investment being the main focus while less attention is given to social and environmental protection, thus, the BRICS forum is used by member states such as China and Russia in particular, to achieve their own interests in African states without formalising the BRICS policies and thereby influencing change in international institutions such as the United Nations Security Council.

South Africa's membership of BRICS is connected to the economic assessment of power, but it is facing difficulties in maintaining this status and sustaining economic growth, mainly looking at its position as an African economic giant, because Nigeria's rising middle class and oil revenues are likely to push it above South Africa in total GDP terms by 2023 (Alden & Schoeman, 2013:120). Regionally, South Africa, due to its BRICS membership, may face complications with its ties because its neighbours may feel neglected as it may give priority to its role on the global stage such as the G20 and BRICS (Stuenkel, 2013:317).

The following section will outline a critique of Brazil's contemporary role in the BRICS alliance.

3.7 A critique of Brazil's membership of BRICS

The BRICS member states have improved their activism on the global arena with a common goal of restructuring the international order to be more inclusive and towards greater multipolarity. In 2009, the BRICS GDP accounted for 15% of global GDP and Brazil was responsible for 65% of the growth of that GDP. Brazil also played a prominent role in resolving the crisis in its own region (Call & Abdenur, 2017:1). Unlike South Africa, which was included in the BRICs in September 2010 at the BRIC Foreign Ministers' meeting in New York, Brazil is one of the countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China) which founded the BRICs block (Arif, 2017: 2).

3.7.1 Brazil's regional and international agenda

There is a need to highlight the role of Brazil in its region to fully understand its active role in transforming the international system. Over the past decade, Brazil has stood out to play a pivotal role in international politics by advocating for anti-hegemonic, multi-polarity positions and maintaining its stronghold as a leader in its own region (Gratius & Saraiva, 2013:3)

Brazil does not view regionalism as a goal in itself, but as a tool to exercise global influence, and to soft-balance the US. By soft-balancing, scholars refer to the recent addition to the balance of power theory, which describes the non-military forms of balancing such as diplomacy or diplomatic relations in the international system (Gratius & Saraiva, 2013:3). Its inclusion in international forums such as the G20 and BRICS has substantially altered its role in global affairs (Stuenkel, 2012:6).

Brazil's development, features its oil discoveries, making it one of the largest oil reserves countries with financial stability, expanded exports, low inflation, a constant growing domestic and foreign investment, a democratic political cohesion, social assistance, and a booming consumer demand (Cahya, 2017:3).

Brazil has always played a prominent role in its region by utilising its regional power in promoting regionalism in South America, MERCOSUR and the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) have pushed their interests to limit the influence of the United States of America and the Organization of American States (OAS) because it is perceived to be dominated by the USA and provide assistance to Brazil in promoting its international ambition of reconstructing the global institutions to give the Global South a greater voice (Börzel & Risse, 2017:4).

In the global arena, Brazil played a pivotal role in transforming the multilateral system by playing a vital role in the creation of forums such as the BRICS group, IBSA (India, Brazil, and South Africa) Dialogue Forum, the G20 and strengthening its role in the Union of South American States (UNASUR), and the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP) (Call & Abdenur, 2017:2).

Brazil, along with post-conflict countries such as Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and East Timor expanded its official technical cooperation in the post-conflict era as part of its South-South development cooperation efforts. Brazil has been actively involved in the establishment and expansion of the Africa-South America Summit and the Summit of South American-Arab Countries, and its involvement in these coalitions of states gave Brazil an opportunity to enhance its influence across the global South (Call & Abdenur, 2017:2).

Due to Africa's rapid development, Brazil has put itself at the core of its global agenda and expressed its interest to support and participate in the development of Africa. Due to its growth in economy, its growing role in the international arena and successfully narrowing social inequality, African states seek its cooperation, investment and technical assistance, which is why Brazilian global enterprises,

nongovernmental organisations, and social groups include Africa in their future plans (World Bank, 2012:3).

3.7.2 South-South cooperation and Brazil.

As a developing country on the global South excluded from the world's great powers, Brazil has over the recent years took an active role on the international stage as it attaches significant importance to multilateral institutions as a form of minimising or balancing power in the international system to prevent a unilateral approach by the great powers (Santos & Cerqueira, 2015:2).

Additionally, Brazil is a member of the BRICS initiative comprised of different countries and together they possess a considerable capacity to make a significant impact on the global economy where the BRICS' main objective is to consolidate its global position as a bloc with the capacity to balance and democratise the international order in the twenty-first century (Santos & Cerqueira, 2015:2).

In this light, Li (2018:14) contributes to the latter by emphasising that modalities of the South-South cooperation encompasses a range of economic, social, political and other engagements. Furthermore, the BRICS member states explain the South-South cooperation into three categories which are economic cooperation, people-to-people exchange, and political and security cooperation.

The Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries (CPLP) is also another establishment composed of eight member states, including Brazil, and it also possesses the status of an international body with the objectives focused on the CPLP Strategic Plan in Health Cooperation, which supports the local healthcare systems with the aim to influence the social determinants of health in order to achieving the Millennium Development Goals (Santos & Cerqueira, 2015:2).

3.7.3 Brazil's relationship with South Africa

Brazil and South Africa view each other as strategic partners on the global South; they both share values and principals in international relations which are grounded in similar history, culture, socioeconomic conditions, and challenges at home. This is evident in their approach to the international community because they advocate for a multipolar world order and multilateralism and their impact on the global agenda setting. Brazil and South Africa have jointly partnered as leading states in the developing South on global issues and played leading roles in important multilateral coalitions such as in the World Trade Organisation in the 2003 Cancun round of negotiations, where they jointly led the G20 coalition of developing states and ultimately succeeded in altering the World Trade Organisation to be more inclusive and accommodate interests of developing countries (White, 2010:235).

It was again in 2003, in the political domain that the IBSA (India, Brazil, South Africa) dialogue forum was formed by the three states on the global South in mid-2003 in Brazil in an effort to exchange knowledge and reinforcement of shared interests, which is one of the forums that indicates Brazil's efforts in promoting South-South cooperation (World bank, 2012:2).

The IBSA dialogue forum lobbies for the reconstruction of the United Nations into an international institution that will provide developing states, who make up the majority of the United Nations member states, with a more influential role. This initiative advances the shared interests of developing states and a platform for bilateral, trilateral and interregional South-South cooperation (Flemes & Vaz, 2011:6-7)

The first IBSA meeting was held in New Delhi in March 2004, where all progress made on the trilateral partnership was discussed by ministers. During the discussions, other issues relating to multilateralism and the proposed reconstruction of the United Nations, terrorism, peace and security, globalisation, and sustainable and social development were at the centre of the discussions (Alden & Vieira, 2006:4).

Furthermore, they jointly released a statement emphasising the aspiration of IBSA to commit and significantly contribute to the framework of South-South cooperation, and during their second meeting in Cape Town, the Ministerial Communiqué of IBSA made a commitment to, among others, seek feasible ways to help implement the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) (Alden & Vieira, 2006:4).

3.7.4 Political and economic advantages for Brazil through BRICS

Most importantly, Brazil always had geopolitical ambitions, which could not be developed due to its weak economy and disorganised domestic politics, but over the past years it managed to recuperate its global profile. Brazil saw the BRICS forum as an advantage to attain its long-term goal of being independent from the US and preventing direct confrontation with it (Vasiliev, 2015:1). Brazil's bilateral, trilateral and multilateral relations with the BRICS states had, and still benefits it politically and economically.

Brazil and India have comprehensive and extensive relations, which encompass important aspects of interaction, be it bilateral or plurilateral, as seen in forums such as the IBSA, BRICS, BASIC, G-20, G-4, and even in multilateral arenas such as the UN, WTO, UNESCO, and WIPO (Brazil, 2015:1).

India-Brazil bilateral relations continued to strengthen in 2014 when India's Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi and the then President Dilma Vana Rousseff of Brazil met during the sixth BRICS Summit on 15 July 2014, and approved the BRICS New Development Bank for infrastructural investment and sustainable development (Brazil, 2015:1).

Prime minister Modi and President Dilma met again the following day on 16 July, 2014 in Brazil and three bilateral agreements were signed; they were a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on Cooperation in the Field of Environment, an Agreement on Space for implementing arrangements establishing cooperation in augmentation of a Brazilian earth station for receiving and processing data from Indian Remote Sensing (IRS) Satellites, and an MoU on Cooperation in the establishment of a consultation mechanism on mobility and consular issues (Brazil, 2015:1).

Brazil is already one of China's most important trading partners, and through the BRICS Development Bank, Brazilian economists will have an opportunity to engage directly with Chinese specialists, providing them with valuable knowledge on development. This creates the opportunity, when the World Bank maintains its refusal to grant emerging powers substantial voting rights, for Brazil to invest in the Bricks Development Bank or even be active in both institutions (Stuenkel, 2014:1).

Brazil's participation in the BRICS forum presents a number of economic benefits for it. China is its largest trading partner and it is Russia's biggest trading partner in South America. Brazil also has large economic interests in South Africa because they also have relations via the IBSA dialogue (Vasiliev, 2015:1).

Since the beginning of the 21st century, Africa experienced sufficient growth in Foreign Direct Investment from the BRICS countries; there was a significant growth in Brazil's investments on the African continent, which amounted to US \$10 billion from 2003-2009, which included 25 projects with an average of US \$400 million each, focussing mainly on countries such as Angola, Mozambique, Equatorial Guinea, Nigeria, Zambia, and South Africa, investing mainly in agriculture, oil, mining, infrastructure and bio-energy production (Guimei, n.d.:2). Brazil experienced a significant increase in exports of 23.2%, and 43.6% in imports in 2007-2008 and in 2009-2010 respectively, and there was a respective growth of -0.1% and 7.5% in the Gross Domestic Product (Vieira & Ouriques, 2016:418).

Brazil is one of the biggest trading partners of India and the entire LAC (Latin America and Caribbean) region. There has been a significant growth in the bilateral trade between India and Brazil in the last two decades when, in 2014, exports from India to Brazil stood at US\$ 6.635 billion higher than that of 2012 and 2013. and There was also a significant growth in exports from Brazil to India which stood at US\$ 4.789 billion in 2014 from US\$ 3.13 billion in 2013, and in 2014, India became the 7th most-important exporter to Brazil and the 8th most-important importer from Brazil (Brazil, 2015:1).

Given the information presented thus far, the following section provides an indication of the future policy direction of BRICS.

3.7.5 Future policy direction of BRICS

The future policy direction of the BRICS alliance was also among the core discussions at the 10th BRICS Summit in Johannesburg, South Africa in July, 2018. The focus of the summit was on the Partnership on the New Industrial Revolution (PartNIR) where the BRICS member states will work together in enhancing opportunities that emerge from the fourth industrial revolution.

3.7.5.1 The 10th BRICS summit and the Johannesburg declaration.

All the BRICS heads of state and government signed a declaration at the 2018, 10th BRICS summit held in Johannesburg where they voiced their continued commitment to issues such as peace and cooperation. They also expressed their contentment on the successes of the alliance as a sign of a continuing cooperation towards achieving peace, harmony and shared development and prosperity (BRICS, 2018:1).

They reaffirmed their commitment to their shared principles on mutual respect, sovereign equality, democracy, inclusiveness, and strengthened collaboration (BRICS, 2018:2). Furthermore, they emphasised their dedication towards strengthening their strategic partnership for the benefit of their citizens through advancing global peace, equal global order, sustainable development and inclusive growth, and to strengthen the three-pillar-driven cooperation in economy, peace and security, and people-to-people exchange programmes (BRICS, 2018:2).

The BRICS heads of state and governments also expressed their devotion to the UN's Charter and respect for international law, the promotion of democracy and the rule of law. In addition, they emphasised to sustaining and strengthening multilateralism and shared efforts in executing the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals, and promoting an equal, inclusive and just international political and economic order (BRICS, 2018:2).

The BRICS alliance is committed to reconstructing the current unilateral world order with the US as a leading state, which is why it sought to contrast it with the US policies on global rules and norms; the BRICS also welcomed globalisation and emphasised the significance to address climate change because they urged all states to implement the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) (Stuenkel, 2018:2).

The BRICS is focused on addressing the need to reform the United Nation and its Security Council by including more developing states towards addressing the global challenges in an adequate manner (BRICS, 2018:3). China and Russia emphasised the significance of Brazil, India and South Africa in international affairs and continue to support their ambition to be actively involved in the UN through the provision of an opportunity to play a greater role in the United Nations (BRICS, 2018:3).

Focusing on the areas relating to the 4th Industrial Revolution, the BRICS formed a Partnership on New Industrial Revolution (PartNIR) which aims to strengthen BRICS' cooperation specifically in digitalisation,

industrialisation, innovation, inclusiveness investment, to enhance the opportunities, and to address the challenges that are associated with the 4th Industrial Revolution (Stuenkel, 2018:2).

The PartNIR is also expected to maximise comparative advantages, boost economic growth, champion economic transformation of all the BRICS member states, strengthen sustainable industrial production capacity, create networks of science parks and technology business incubators, and support small and medium-sized enterprises in technology-intensive areas, thus, initiating the establishment of the BRICS Networks of Science Parks, Technology Business, Incubators and Small and Medium-sized Enterprises is an indication of progress (Stuenkel, 2018:2).

As an indication of growth, the BRICS New Development Bank (NDB) will be opening an Americas Regional Office in São Paulo, Brazil, which will work with the Africa Regional Centre in aiding the BRICS New Development Bank to strengthen its presence in the two continents (BRICS, 2018:13). The BRICS also formed the BRICS Working Group on Tourism, which is another indication of progress towards development. This group focuses on intra-BRICS tourism, which will attempt to increase economic development and people-to-people relations (Stuenkel, 2018:3).

3.7.5.2 An analysis of the 2018 Johannesburg Declaration

The declaration signed by the BRICS alliance covers important aspects, which will attempt to contribute towards future developments of BRICS, such as strengthening the three-pillar-driven cooperation in economy, peace and security and people-to-people exchange programmes. The BRICS states are committed to the maintenance and support of multilateralism in the international system, which is why the alliance supports the motion to reform the United Nations and its Security Council to add developing states as permanent members. Furthermore, this commitment can be noticed by the support from China and Russia by voicing the importance of Brazil's, India's and South Africa's role in international affairs.

The BRICS alliance is focused on further strengthening its relations in order to prevent the United States' unilateral system-approach to global economy, thus, the BRICS emphasised the importance of creating the African Continental Free Trade Area. The establishment of the Americas Regional Office, which will be located in São Paulo, Brazil together with the Africa Regional Centre are some of the new significant developments made by the BRICS after the New Development Bank, which will consolidate the BRICS' position in these continents.

The institutionalisation of the New Development Bank (NDB) and the Contingency Reserve Arrangement are the developments that signify the efforts and achievements of BRICS in shaping the global governance as they offer credible alternatives from the IMF and/or the World Bank. Furthermore, they provide equal voting rights to the funding members regardless of their statuses in the world, and improve reliance on local currencies (Saran, 2017:1). Additionally, the BRICS countries are making efforts to establish a non-Bretton Woods template, which will allow the developing world to emulate (Saran, 2017:1).

During the annual meeting of the BRICS Foreign Affairs/International Relations held on 27 September 2018, chaired by Brazil, the ministers voiced their satisfaction on the achievements of the intra-BRICS cooperation on various aspects such as economy, finance, peace, stability, and people-to-people exchanges. The establishment of the NDB, the Africa Regional Centre, the Contingent Reserve Arrangement, the Strategy for BRICS Economic Partnership, BRICS Action Agenda on Economic and Trade Cooperation, and the BRICS Agricultural Research Platform were also recognised (BRICS, 2018:1).

The ministers also accepted and welcomed the constitution of the BRICS Energy Research Cooperation Platform, the upcoming formation of the Americas Regional Office of the NDB, which will be located in

São Paulo, the BRICS Partnership on New Industrial Revolution (PartNIR), and the BRICS Vaccine Research and Development Centre (BRICS, 2018:1).

3.8 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to provide a historical overview of BRICS and the role of South Africa and Brazil in the BRICS establishment.

There is a need for South Africa to use its BRICS membership and its relations with the BRICS countries to strengthen its position as a leader on the African continent by involving other African states when hosting important events such as the 2018 BRICS Summit. The South African foreign policy should focus on developing domestic, global economic and political goals such as advancing and providing support for the African Agenda, which entails reshaping the international institutions.

South Africa should regard the BRICS as an opportunity to consolidate its position in global affairs, thus, the BRICS summits are opportunities because they provide a platform for countries such as South Africa and other developing states to learn from countries such as China and Russia on mechanisms that will have a positive effect on foreign economic policy development.

The theme of the 10th BRICS Summit was “BRICS in Africa: Collaboration for Inclusive Growth and Shared Prosperity in the 4th Industrial Revolution, thus, in preparation for this industrial revolution the summit’s focal point was on intra-BRICS cooperation, trade imbalances and the dissolution of non-tariff trade barriers (Thorne, 2018:2). All the BRICS member states have jointly agreed to stand together against trade protectionism in the face of American tariffs, thus, they plan to assist developing states to grow for them to be able to withstand economic downturns and a development head winds (Thorne, 2018:3).

In future, the BRICS aim to form a working group, which will focus on peacekeeping, a vaccine research centre, a gender and women’s forum, and a tourism cooperation track, and all these aspects will advance the goals of the developing world on the global stage (Thorne, 2018:2).

CHAPTER 4: THEORETICAL COMPARISON OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICY OF SOUTH AFRICA AND BRAZIL

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 2, the different theoretical contributions within International relations were analysed with the aim of formulating a conceptual framework that could aid in the comparison of South Africa and Brazil in the BRICS alliance. It was shown that the BRICS alliance was formed to try and change the global order by countering the dominance of the United States of America and the Western dominated international system, and to advance the influence of BRICS countries in the decision-making processes in this system (see Chapter 3, section 3.2).

The aim of Chapter 3 was to provide a historical overview of BRICS and the role of South Africa and Brazil in the BRICS establishment. The bilateral relations of South Africa and Brazil have always been centred on the idea of the reconstruction of the international system to be more inclusive and accommodative, and the promotion of the South-South cooperation (see Chapter 3, section 3.7.2). Furthermore, the two countries are both members of the BRICS and the IBSA (India, Brazil, South Africa Alliance) dialogue which are alliances of emerging economies, and they are both soft powers. According to Abedian (2017:15), Brazil and South Africa are leaders in their respective regions, and they are countries of the Global South facing similar problems such as poverty and corruption in government (see Chapter 1, section 1).

The goal of this chapter is to compare and analyse the political and economic policies of South Africa and Brazil in BRICS, as well as to develop a view towards the future through the utilisation of the theories unpacked in Chapter 2. This will be done with the agendas of the two countries in mind, and in so doing, generating a possible future perspective regarding the two Soft Powers and their future in BRICS. In this chapter the researcher will integrate the theoretical perspectives of Chapter 2 with the more historical perspectives of Chapter 3, thus, building a possible future perspective for BRICS.

Realism will be the first theory to be discussed in the following section that will consist of liberalism theory, constructivism and institutionalism theory.

4.2 Realism

Realist theorists present five fundamental assumptions in their approach (see Chapter 2, section 2.5.1).

4.2.1 Assumption one: state behaviour and anarchy

The first assumption places emphasis on the state being a selfish actor in the international system due to the anarchic nature of the international system (Nel, 2006:27 & Machiavelli, 1531: 112). As an example of states being selfish actors in the international system, China's export to Africa increased 12-fold since 2001, while each of the BRICS member states increased only four and a half times. Furthermore, trade between Africa and other states only doubled in the same period, thus, it seems that China is a selfish actor which seeks to maximise only its own interests because Africa is still reliant on imports, and poor infrastructure still constrains intra-Africa trade (Ray, 2017:11).

Due to their compatible interests, the BRICS alliance is structured to reform the International Financial Institutions (IFIs), specifically the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank Group (WBG), and this is evident in them establishing their own IFS structures such as the BRICS Development Bank (Sønnesyn, 2014:31).

In 2018, the BRICS alliance aims to set up its own credit-rating company which is an effort to challenge the dominance of the three developed nations' firms, which are S&P Global Ratings, Fitch Ratings, and

Moody's Investors Service because the alliance seeks to decrease the high borrowing costs as a result of the assessments of the three firms (BRICS Business Report, 2018:1).

4.2.2 Assumption two: the role of power in the international system

Realists assume that the distribution of power between the political actors in their international relations has major effects on international political activities (Lipton, 2009:124) (see Chapter 2, section 2.5.1).

The BRICS alliance adopted a multilateral framework, which is relevant to the distribution of power in the international system because multilateralism refers to an affiliation in global organisations where less-powerful or weak states are provided with an opportunity to influence decision-making in the international system without any external influence or dominance of powerful states (Sønnesyn, 2014:31).

Furthermore, Jash (2017:3) emphasises that this multilateral framework of BRICS can uplift its institutional stature to that of a key player in the global order, and that, additionally, the structure reflects both the ability of BRICS to influence international outcomes and the aim of the member states in doing so.

Rasethaba (2017:12) provides an example of the distribution of power in the international system by maintaining that a stable relationship between exporting and importing BRICS member states will allow for a balanced development within the BRICS alliance. Furthermore, when South Africa participates in the global distribution of labour, poor African countries will be independent of developed states.

The 7th meeting of the BRICS Trade Ministers in Shanghai concluded that the BRICS alliance will work towards resolving the challenges of economic globalisation, the global promotion of an open and equitable world economy, and championing developing nations to achieve sustainable, balanced and inclusive growth (Rasethaba, 2017:13).

4.2.3 Assumption three: the role of morality in the international system

Realist theorists dismiss the role of morality in international politics (see Chapter 2, section 2.5.1). On the role of morality in international politics, fellow BRICS states accused counterparts of protectionism, such as when India took measures of launching an anti-dumping investigation into Chinese solar-equipment manufacturers, where they claimed that China sells cheap, heavily subsidised products in India. Furthermore, Brazil took the same approach to investigate China's dumping of steel at very low prices; there were also anti-dumping protests of Chinese cheap steel in South Africa, and the South African government also took actions of suspending imports of meat from Brazil due to the contaminated meat export scandal in Brazil (Gumede, 2017:24).

South Africa's main aim for joining BRICS is to achieving its national interests in BRICS before those of the continent. Besada *et al.*, (2013:8) is of the view that a partnership with the BRICS states can be unfavourable to African countries because it facilitates further capital encroachment by the South African corporations in the region.

South Africa's decision to become a member of the alliance can lead to threats of neo-colonialism in Africa, and increased access to African markets by the BRICS states can lead to more damaging consequences for the continent as it can maintain the level of dependency by African economies on commodity exports (Besada *et al.*, 2013:8).

4.2.4 Assumption four: state as the key actor in the international system

The fourth assumption by realists is that the state is the major actor in international politics (see Chapter 2, section 2.5.1).

The BRICS alliance was formed with a common agenda and a long-term economic interest of all concerned states and its aim is mainly focused on three key areas, which are restructuring the global financial and economic architecture, solidifying the principles and standards of international law and, finally, to support the complementarities in various segments of their economies (Kundu, 2014: 1).

Gumede (2017:23), provides an example of the assumption of realism that a state is the main actor in the international system, by saying that in 2017 US president Donald Trump made threats of protecting US companies. President Trump restricted foreign competitors and tightened tariff barriers and added that he would adopt an “America First” trade policy and after renegotiating all foreign trade deals; Trump pledged to launch a defensive 45% tariff on Chinese imports. Furthermore, the United States of America is likely to reconstruct the global power alliance and trade as it has in the post-Cold War era by being at the head of a Western alliance of industrial states, including the EU, which has dominated the global trade, international institutions and power for a long time (Gumede, 2017:23).

4.2.5 Assumption five: basic continuity and the role of power

Finally, realism places emphasis on the principle of basic continuity in international relations (Lipton, 2009:124) (see Chapter 2, section 2.5.1).

States still go to war for the same reason they did centuries ago which is the struggle for power; there is a significant change in world politics and economies, such as the BRICS countries attaining relative strength and becoming global actors (Kappel, 2015:2). The BRICS states are influential in global energy, climate, security, trade, development policies, and they aim to restructure the global order to influence decision-making in all key international institutions such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the United Nations (Kappel, 2015:2).

According to Gumede (2017:23), there has always been a cry by the African developing states and BRICS states that the US-led global alliance of the Western powers had for decades held control over global trade rules, institutions and decision-making which does not favour disadvantaged developing countries. In addition, he emphasised that the BRICS alliance has the opportunity to reconstruct the global political and economic trade and trade rulers (Gumede, 2017:23).

South Africa's inclusion into the BRICS alliance is seen by many as a strategy by the then BRIC states to enter Africa through South Africa. Since its BRICS membership in 2010, South Africa provided a gateway for China into the Southern African Development Community (SADC), which stands to benefit China as it now has access to natural resources to boost China's growth and consolidates its political influence in the region. China is also South Africa's biggest trading partner; in 2015, both countries have signed commercial deals worth \$6.5 billion (Ray, 2017:9).

The assumption of realism that there is a basic continuity in the international system is supported by Vale (2017:19) who emphasises that the wealth gap between the rich and the poor countries continues to widen, which was once considered as essential for achieving and maintaining peace. This is one of the main objectives, which the BRICS aim to achieve. African states continue to be exploited especially their minerals by Western developing states such as the United States of America (USA), therefore, they continue to be in debt while the powerful states become richer (Vale, 2017:19).

Liberalism will be the second theory to be discussed in the following section along with its assumptions on the international system.

4.3 Liberalism

Liberalism is a complex body of theories that states that the national characteristics of individual states matters for them when it comes to international relations. Liberalist theory contrasts sharply with the theory of Realism in which all states have essentially the same goals (Slaughter, 2011:14) (see Chapter 2, section 2.5.2). Liberalism is seen in the context of a society that has characteristics of people that have freedom of action and of thought, improvements in moral and material conditions, where government power is limited and freedom of religion exists as long as it does not impact on other freedoms; where the rule of law is important, free processes of exchanging ideas exist, a market economy is present that is free and supports private enterprise, and a transparent government system is necessary (Smartchi, 2006) (see Chapter 2, section 2.5.2) .

4.3.1 Assumption one: state behaviour and anarchy in the international system.

Liberalism maintains that even though states seek survival and prosperity in an anarchic international system, ideological beliefs or commercial interests are also vital aspects that influence state behaviour (Slaughter, 2011: 3) (see Chapter 2, section 2.5.2).

In the 2018 10th BRICS summit, the main focus was on investment and inclusive economic growth because the nine BRICS Business Council Working Groups facilitated interaction among powerful heads of state, leaders of business, and innovators (Malik, 2018:1).

The Working Groups of the BRICS Business Council facilitated the interaction among businesses with the aim of gaining a better understanding of the market opportunities and to collaborate on their respective competitive strengths and the promotion of manufacturing and job creation (Malik, 2018:1).

4.3.2 Assumption two: the role of power in the international system.

The Liberalist theory of international relations presents a deeper understanding that relations between the state and the society shape state behaviour in international politics, thus, societal ideas, interests, and institutions have an impact on the actions of states by structuring state preferences, where the arrangement of state preferences is vital in international politics (Moravcsik, 1997:1) (see Chapter 2, section 2.5.2).

The destiny of a democratic South Africa is intrinsically linked to that of the BRICS, entailing strengthened cooperation within the alliance and also to have leverage on each other's competitive capability to build momentum needed to reduce and eliminate rising unemployment and prevent social risks (Rasethaba, 2017:12). The BRICS economies share a common goal of transforming and developing their economies in order to usher in a better future in which poverty is alleviated and every citizen lives in peace (Rasethaba, 2017:12).

Rasethaba (2017:12) believes that China's businesses must carry out capacity building and further cooperation with the other BRICS member states in creating local jobs and increasing the added value of raw materials. Furthermore, there can be an established industrial chain in BRICS and with an intra-BRICS distribution of labour through an industrial chain, poor countries will not rely on developed countries and will increase their economic security (Rasethaba, 2017:12).

4.3.3 Assumption three: the role of morality in the international system

According to Nel (2006:34), liberalism maintains that morality plays a significant role, which leads to mutual co-operation in the international system Furthermore, Kant (1795:2) is of the same view and emphasises that establishing a universal law will lead to peaceful relations between states (see Chapter 2, section 2.5.2).

The government ministries of all the BRICS member states have had joint discussions on the situation in the Middle East and North Africa, including plans for developments in Syria, Yemen, Iraq, Libya and the Middle East peace process (Frykberg, 2018:1).

4.3.4 Assumption four: state as the key actor in the international system

Liberalism argues that private groups and individuals, which are both non-state actors are the key actors in the international system and not only states (Slaughter, 2011:3) (see Chapter 2, section 2.5.2).

Jim O'Neill of Goldman Sachs Bank, who coined the term BRIC before South Africa's inclusion in the alliance in 2001, did so with the intention of defining the world's largest emerging markets which is an indication of the central role of individuals and non-state actors in structuring the international system (Stefánsson, 2010:5).

4.3.5 Assumption five: basic continuity and interdependence.

Slaughter (2011:3) is of the view that the behaviour of states in the international system is structured by the dominant subset of domestic society and that states only serve the interests of their societies (see Chapter 2, section 2.5.2).

With regard to the BRICS-Africa dialogue, Msimang (2018:19) emphasises that South Africa intended to invite the leaders of the following countries to the tenth BRICS Summit in 2018 in Johannesburg: Rwanda, Senegal, Gabon, Uganda, Ethiopia, Togo, Burundi, Namibia and Angola, as well as the incumbent chair of the African Union Commission.

The BRICS ministries acknowledged and commended the African Union and African countries on agreeing on the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), which is an important step towards economic integration on the continent that will unlock potential of intra-African trade and resolve the socio-economic challenges in the continent (Bulunga, 2018:1).

Constructivism is the centre of discussion in the next section, along with its assumptions of the international system.

4.4 Constructivism

According to Jackson and Sorensen (2003: 341), Constructivism consists of four common assumptions in international relations, which are ideas and beliefs, the role of actors in shaping state behaviour, the distribution of power, and state identities and interests.

International relations focuses on thoughts and ideas, material power and conditions, shared intersubjective principles between people establishes the core ideological elements of theory shared principles compose and express people's interests and identities; and lastly, the theory must be able to determine means which create and express these relations (Jackson & Sorensen, 2003:341)

4.4.1 Assumption one: ideas and beliefs

Constructivism views the material world as structured by the social world and also structures the social world itself, thus, the military power of any state and the distribution of power among states in the international system do not automatically constitute a specific international social structure (Nugroho, 2008: 85) (see Chapter 2, section 2.5.4).

China is a key player in the BRICS alliance and it has confirmed its intentions to move quickly and directly to achieve the South-South cooperation and mutual economic development. Furthermore, South

Africa's BRICS membership provides South Africa leverage of advancing global economic and political cooperation to the benefit of the African continent (Shelton, 2018:23).

China is playing a leading role in promoting African development in the BRICS-Africa cooperation such as synergising BRICS with other cooperation platforms, which includes Africa, such as the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) established in 2000 and has since its inception played a pivotal role in promoting China-Africa cooperation (Wenping, 2018:20).

4.4.2 Assumption two: the role of actors in shaping state behaviour

Constructivists differ with realists on the competitive nature of the international system by stating that the absence of a central authority in the international system does not lead to a competitive security-centred system, but rather a cooperative security system (Nugroho, 2008: 91) (see Chapter 2, section 2.5.3). The BRICS alliance can be seen as an example of such a cooperative system because the alliance seeks to alter the structure of the international system to be more accommodative and inclusive.

Luckhurst (2013:264) maintains that the increasing inclusion of the BRICS in key institutions and forums such as the WTO, IMF, G20, and FSB (Financial Services Board) shows their aim of becoming influential through dialogue and cooperation.

The significance of the BRICS alliance became more evident following a critical period in the establishment of the leader-level forum in 2009. This was because leading states saw it as a potential challenge to international institutions and practices that have predominated since 1945 (Luckhurst, 2013:264).

4.4.3 Assumption three: distribution of power

According to Slaughter (2011:4), Constructivism emphasises that friends and enemies, in-groups and out-groups, fairness and justice are the key players that influence state behaviour in the international system (see Chapter 2, section 2.5.4).

Shelton (2018:23) maintains that the BRICS policy is based on friendship and historical solidarity and pursues a win-win relationship with Africa. Additionally, globally the BRICS-Africa joint effort to reconstruct globalisation and the international economic institutions have the capacity to advance the interests of Africa and BRICS.

China has always played a significant role of facilitating cooperation rather than conflict between the BRICS and other states in the international system, specifically the Western powerful states (Luckhurst, 2013:264).

4.4.4 Assumption four: state identities and interests

Constructivism according to Slaughter (2011:5), maintains that due to interest in beliefs and ideology, constructivists put more emphasis on the critical role of non-state actors in the international system such as NGOs and international institutions, and that they can also alter state beliefs (see Chapter 2, section 2.5.4)

The BRICS New Development Bank is a recent financial institution with a different design from other financial institutions; the NDB is committed to the principle of equality throughout its core membership and it provides affordable development loans to member states (Cooper, 2017:1).

Weili (2018:24) states that the NDB takes a different and effective approach of facilitating integration, industrialisation and infrastructure construction in the African continent through the provision of loans to development projects. The African Regional Centre (ARC) launched by the NDB was established for

the purposes of project identification and preparation, and it serves as the New Development Bank's interface for governments, private sector's entities, financial institutions, and agencies for project preparation (Weili, 2018:24).

Institutionalism will be the fourth and final theory to be discussed in the following section.

4.5 Institutionalism

Institutionalism notes that global and local institutions, together with states, can greatly increase efficiency through close coordination. It is costly for states to negotiate with each other on an ad-hoc basis (Slaughter, 2011:8). Institutions can reduce the transaction costs of coordination by providing a centralised forum in which states can meet; they also provide focal points and establish rules and norms that allow a wide array of states to quickly settle on a certain course of action (Slaughter, 2011:8) (see Chapter 2, section 2.5.3).

4.5.1 Assumption one: the role of institutions

Keohane and Martin (1995:43-46) describe institutionalism theory as a theory which is vital and relevant to security issues because it focuses on the role of institutions in the provision of information. Institutional theory has a coherent account of the creation of institutions and their impact as they are created by states because of their impact in shaping state behaviour in the international system (see Chapter 2, section 2.5.3).

The BRICS emerged as an institution that promotes a win-win cooperation for common development rather than a zero-sum game which is practised in the international system. BRICS has, therefore, evolved to become one of the major forces driving world economic growth (Ebrahim, 2018:26).

4.5.2 Assumption two: institutions and the behaviour of states

On state behaviour, institutionalism argues that institutions can provide information on the behaviour of a state, which informs states about particular rules and the consequences that follows if states are non-compliant (Slaughter, 2011:3) (see Chapter 2, section 2.5.3).

Niyanshuo (2018:15) supports the first assumption by positing that the BRICS alliance focuses on collaboration and inclusive growth and shared prosperity in the Fourth Industrial Revolution, which indicates shared interests and common values by these five emerging states on the global South.

President Putin emphasised in an open letter in September, 2017 that the BRICS alliance will collectively work together towards abolishing the US trade protectionism, trade barriers and unfair trade rules, and maintained that the BRICS champions an open, equal and mutually beneficial trade system. Additionally, Putin said the alliance will promote international financial regulations and fight the global dominance of the US dollar (Gumede 2017:24).

4.5.3 Assumption three: institutions, distribution of power and global governance

In the case of the absence of a central authority in the international system, institutionalism argues that institutions that are defined by a set of rules, norms, practices and decision-making procedures have the ability to overcome the uncertainty that undermines cooperation (Slaughter, 2011: 2) (see Chapter 2, section 2.5.3).

Abedian (2017:15) states that the BRICS emerged as a counter-institution with the aim of reconstructing the long existing international institutions such as the IMF, WB and the UN, which are associated with the Western-centric global order. Thus, against this backdrop, the BRICS alliance was the beginning of a

new dispensation in world affairs, which will produce tangible socio-economic benefits for developing states through new avenues of cooperation.

The BRICS aim of reconstructing the international system could be a success and this is clear looking at its political driven measures and agencies, for example, the New Development Bank was established to provide an alternative to the World Bank or the capital market's expensive funding for development project finance. (Abedian 2017:15).

According to Gumede (2017:23) the world dominant states such as the United States (US), other industrialised countries and the European Union (EU) have always held dominion over the global political, economic and trade unions.

President Putin has been championing the promotion of a global financial institution by the BRICS alliance and urging BRICS to go against the global dominance of the US dollar to achieve decision-making powers for developing states in the IMF and the WB (Gumede, 2017:24).

Furthermore, the establishment of the New Development Bank is an indication that developing states such as BRICS are vigorously promoting the reconstruction of the international finance, investment and development aid platforms (Gumede, 2017:24).

4.5.4 Assumption four: anarchy in the international system

Institutionalists are of the same view as Realists about the anarchic nature of the international system, which forces states to be self-centred and rational actors who seek only to increase their material conditions, however, institutionalism maintains that cooperation between nations is possible (Slaughter, 2011:2) (see Chapter 2, section 2.5.3).

Malik (2018:2) posits that in recent years the BRICS alliance has received recognition in global governance as a new institution consisting of five developing states. The BRICS institutionalised a multi-lateral platform of global governance providing assistance to achieve both their internal/domestic developmental objectives and common objectives in terms of international relations (Malik, 2018:2).

In summary, Table 2 can be added to the text. This Table can be used as an analytical tool; in other words, the policies of South Africa and Brazil can be plotted vis-a-vis the various theoretical perspectives. The various elements of the Table can also be of use in a comparison of the policy positions of South Africa and Brazil. It is also possible to use this Table to provide a base for the development of a future perspective regarding the two "Soft Powers" and their future in BRICS.

Table 2: An analytical framework of South Africa and Brazil and their relationship towards BRICS

The International System	Realism	Liberalism	Constructivism	Institutionalism	South Africa	Brazil
The Character of the International System	States are selfish actors in the international system due to its anarchic nature.	The absence of a central authority (anarchy) in the international system does not lead actors to a perpetual competition, and the fact that there is no central rule-enforcer in the international system, states cooperate on many more issues than they fight over.	Anarchy in the international system has different meanings for different actors because of their different communities, practices and understandings, thus, there are no constant implications of anarchy across all relationships and key items of international politics; there is a possibility of a continuum of anarchies	State behaviour is not influenced by anarchy, but by ideas and discourse (views or opinions and discussions on international politics).	The South African foreign policy tries to mitigate the anarchic environment of a western (northern-dominated) international environment through the BRICS and IBSA (NDP 2030, 2018:235).	BRICS provides a platform for Brazil to participate in the restructuring process of the Asian century; despite its geographical location, Brazil's foreign policy is also anti-Western domination (Saran, 2017:1).
The nature of Power in the International system	The distribution of power determines the outcomes of global activities.	Power is only one factor, among others, which have an effect on global activities, but also the peaceful	The distribution of military power among states in the IS does not systematically constitute a specific	Institutions play a vital role of prescribing acceptable and unacceptable kinds of state behaviour	South African foreign policy is informed by the changes in the global shifts in hard, soft and smart	Brazil took measures of consolidating its position as a regional power in South America to

The International System	Realism	Liberalism	Constructivism	Institutionalism	South Africa	Brazil
		relationships between countries, focusing among others on values shared by countries and the level of their economic and/or environmental inter-dependence	international social structure, because even in the absence of a central authority (anarchy) in the international system, it becomes a competitive security system in which	and not the distribution of power. International institutions have provided considerable resources towards the global promotion of better governance and transnational administration	powers from West to East (NDP 2030, 2018:235).	expand its presence in Africa, and to strengthen its relations with the Arab world (Zilla, 2017:2).
The role of Morality in the International System	Morality is not important in world politics because the structure of the international system does not cater for states to behave in terms of moral principles	Morality plays a vital role in the international system. Many international moral principles and regimes were founded by states through mutual co-operation	Ideas and norms play an important role in the system, rather than only focusing on the idea that states only seek to survive; states interests and identities are highly malleable products of historical processes	Institutions are geared towards promoting order in world politics because they contribute to international humanitarian missions that brings about peace and security in the world.	The South African foreign policy is informed by the spread of threats to human and state security, to internal and external sovereignty, and to natural resources (NDP 2030, 2018:235).	Brazil claims to be championing the South-South cooperation, but it only seeks to secure strategic natural resources in Africa. Therefore, its main aim is to push for its own economic interests in Africa (Louw, 2016: ii & White, 2013:112).
	States are major actors in the	States are not the most important	States and non-state actors are key	Institutions play a pivotal role in the	The South African National	Brazil's relations with the world and,

The International System	Realism	Liberalism	Constructivism	Institutionalism	South Africa	Brazil
The role of states in the international system	international system. States are the only institutions that have the capability to wage war because they control the military and the police force; they have control over the employment and movement of people, and the state is the major actor in the management of the economy	actors in the international system because there is a significant number of actors such as transnational and multinational cooperation through, for example, the World Bank, which provides funds to countries for economic development projects.	to the promotion of identities, interests, norms and ideas. There is no valid reason as to why change in international relations should not emanate from and through non-state actors like the IMF and the WB who can also transform international relations	international system. This is seen in the United Nations peace missions in war zones such as their role of mediating and resolving violent conflict in the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) Resolution 872 on 5 October, 1993.	Development Plan (NDP 2030, 2018:235) emphasises that its foreign policy is structured by the interaction between diplomatic, political, security, environmental, economic and regional co-operative dynamics, which provide a definition of the early 21st century international relations.	particularly, with Africa is motivated by its need to grow its international status, thus, it uses Africa as a platform to demonstrate its capabilities, while achieving its ambition of recognition on the global stage (Louw, 2016: ii).
The role of change and continuity in the International System	There is a basic continuity in international relations because states still go to war because they seek to achieve more political, military and economic power. The current international	Changes and progress are possible in world affairs, and this can be achieved through joint efforts to achieve global peace and development. This is evident in the BRICS alliance	States and international institutions change over time, thus, these changes lead to changes in the international system.	Institutions have the capability to shift states from wars. International institutions such as the UN have humanitarian missions to achieve global peace.	South African foreign policy emphasises improving its relations and cooperation with African states and the global South through deeper integration and increased trade,	Brazil continues to show its efforts as a regional-emerging power and regional and global player, which is also evident in its relations and membership in IBSA, BRICS or BASIC, which refers

The International System	Realism	Liberalism	Constructivism	Institutionalism	South Africa	Brazil
	system is based on a zero-sum game where the winner takes all such as the influence of the USA on the UNSC.	where they promote a Win-win option through cooperation.			and its vital role of mediation and influence of the BRICS group and African countries (NDP 2030, 2018:235).	to supra-regional groups of states with Brazilian participation (Zilla, (2017:5).

Table 2 above, provides an analysis of some of the main theories of international relations and provides descriptions of the international system. The assumptions from the theories provided in Table 2 present an overview of their different views of the international system, thus, they can be used to compare the foreign policies of both South Africa and Brazil. Both countries are members of the BRICS alliance and they share goals of transforming the international system to be more accommodative and inclusive. The Table enables one to compare the different approaches of the countries towards a global order, and how the policies of the two countries are similar and different from each other.

Realism is a predominant theory because it relates to the foreign policies of Brazil and South Africa. Mearshimer (2006:72) maintains that realists believe that the currency of international politics is power because the Great powers in the international arena and also key actors in realism, pay much attention to how much military and economic power each has in relation to the other. Thus, realism is the predominant theory because all the assumptions of realism about the international system are seen in the behaviours of states and non-state actors.

Furthermore, both Brazil and South Africa seek to influence and reconstruct the international system to be more inclusive and accommodative of the Third World countries; the policies of both the countries are against the world dominance of the Western states, therefore, they both seek power as realism emphasises the importance of power (military and economically) in the international system. Both Brazil and South Africa are leaders in their respective regions with international ambitions of becoming important players on the global stage.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter provided an analysis of the political and economic policies of South Africa and Brazil in BRICS as well as a view on the future of BRICS through the use of the theories, which were unpacked in Chapter 2. This was done with the agendas of the two BRICS countries in mind and in so doing, generating a possible future perspective regarding the two Soft Powers and their future in the BRICS alliance. Chapter 4 incorporated the theoretical perspectives of Chapter 2 with the historical perspectives of Chapter 3, thus, building a possible future perspective for BRICS.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This study compared South Africa and Brazil because they are both developing states and leaders in their respective regions seeking global recognition on the global South facing similar problems such as corruption by government officials, riots, poor service delivery, poverty, inequality, crime, and unemployment.

This dissertation aimed to analyse the contributions of South Africa and Brazil towards BRICS and this was done through the following chapters:

Chapter 1

The focus of Chapter 1 was on the objectives of the study, the central theoretical statement, the research methodology, a literature review, and the delineation of the topic.

Chapter 2

This chapter provided an analysis of the different theoretical contributions within international relations with the aim of formulating a conceptual framework that could aid in the comparison of South Africa and Brazil as members of BRICS.

Chapter 3

This chapter provided a historical overview of BRICS and the roles of both South Africa and Brazil in the BRICS establishment, and their shared ambition of reconstructing the international system to be more inclusive and accommodative while promoting the South-South cooperation.

Chapter 4

This chapter analysed and provided a comparison of the political and economic policies of South Africa and Brazil in BRICS. Chapter 4 also developed a view towards the future through the use of the prominent International relations theories unpacked in Chapter 2.

In this light, the researcher incorporated the theoretical perspectives of Chapter 2 with the historical perspectives of Chapter 3, thus, constructing a possible future perspective for the BRICS establishment.

The BRICS alliance is among the most significant social, economic, and political phenomena of the 21st century. It seeks to put pressure on the international community such as the United Nations, World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund to reconstruct the structure of the international system by including developing states in such international institutions to also actively contribute towards the establishment of a more representative, inclusive and just multipolar world order (see Chapter 1, section 1.1, and Chapter 3, section 3.2).

This dissertation established a working theoretical framework from which the most influential international relations theories, namely Realism, Liberalism, Constructivism, and Institutionalism were analysed. The study also delivered a rudimentary conceptual framework for the analysis of the most influential theories in international relations (see Chapter 2, Table1).

The following section provides an analysis of the role of South Africa and Brazil in international relations through BRICS, and this is done by using Table 2 (see Chapter 4).

5.2 Analysis: A framework of South Africa and Brazil and their relationship towards BRICS (Table 2)

The character of the international system

South Africa makes efforts of re-shaping the international system and this is done through the membership of establishments such as the BRICS who are constantly trying to re-structure the character of the international system to be more accommodative and inclusive especially of African countries. Brazil also, through the BRICS alliance tries to mitigate the character of the international system which is western-dominated and advocate for the inclusion of developing states in international structures like the United Nations Security Council.

The nature of power in the international system

One of the main goals of the South African foreign policy is to be granted a permanent position in the United Nations Security Council, and thereby distributing power from West to the global South.

With regard to the nature of power in the international system, both South Africa and Brazil took active measures to further consolidate their positions as regional leaders in their respective regions, which is evident in their memberships of the IBSA dialogue forum and the BRICS alliance, informed by the continuing global shifts in hard, soft and smart power from West to East.

The role of morality in the international system

South Africa and Brazil have different normative perspectives regarding international politics. This is because the South African foreign policy is influenced by the spread of threats to human and state security, sovereignty, and to natural resources. Brazil's foreign policy focuses on its economic interests.

The goals for South Africa's African Agenda include, among others, the strengthening of the African Union and its structures, the contribution towards the Common Agenda of the Southern African Development Community, contributing towards post-conflict reconstruction and development in Africa, and contributing towards peace, security and stability on the African continent (see Chapter 1, section 1.1.3).

With regard to Brazil, the focus is more on its own economic interests in Africa by securing strategic natural resources in Africa through South-South cooperation, thus, it takes a more realist perspective in its foreign policy (see Chapter 2, section 2.5).

The role of states in the international system

Both South Africa and Brazil are leading countries in their respective regions and also members of the BRICS alliance and this is a clear indication of emerging countries who try to re-structure the international system while carrying out their domestic and global duties. Both countries seek recognition on the global stage by structuring their foreign policies on the interaction between diplomatic, political, security, environmental, and economic and regional co-operative dynamics.

The role of change and continuity in the international system

As a result of change and continuity in the international system, South Africa and Brazil continue to improve their varying relations and cooperation with countries on their continents and the global South through deeper integration and increased trade, and their significant role of mediation and influence of the BRICS group on their continents.

The policies of South Africa and Brazil are structured to counter and mitigate the Western domination of the world, and BRICS and IBSA provide them with platforms to actively participate in the reconstruction of the Western-dominated world system despite their geographical location.

The following section provides recommendations and the future perspective of both South Africa and Brazil, derived from the study.

5.3 Recommendations and future perspective

South Africa and Brazil should continue to perform and prioritise their domestic responsibilities and not focus only on the BRICS and global affairs.

South Africa has the responsibility to attend to its current and urgent domestic problems such as domestic inequality, poverty, high rate of unemployment, crime, poor service delivery, corruption in government, state capture, and immigration from neighbouring countries.

Brazil has similar domestic challenges as South Africa, which cannot be neglected, such as crime, poverty, corruption by government officials, nepotism (which is currently seen in the nomination of the president's son as an ambassador to the USA), poor service delivery, and police brutality. Both South Africa and Brazil experience civil unrest due to mainly service delivery issues and corruption.

The BRICS should influence the international community to include South Africa and Brazil as permanent members of the United Nations and to recognising the BRICS New Development Bank as an international financial institution.

5.3.1 The future of BRICS and South Africa

One of the main aims of South African foreign policy objectives in BRICS is to champion the African Agenda and put African development as a priority in its foreign policy, thus, emphasising that South Africa should push for the establishment of a dedicated BRICS–Africa strategy, which includes integrating the African developing countries' concerns into the different BRICS strategies. Furthermore, South Africa hosted a series of BRICS Outreach Dialogue since 2013, where representatives from different African countries, institutions and the African Union participated in discussions with BRICS leaders.

The significance of the BRICS alliance is recognised both globally and on the African continent where it will continue to provide opportunities for the advancement of development and industrialisation, which is at the core of the BRICS agenda. The 2018 BRICS Summit held in South Africa with the theme: BRICS in Africa: Collaboration for Inclusive Growth and Shared Prosperity in the Fourth Industrial Revolution, is a reflection of the alliance's commitment towards a more equitable and inclusive environment.

The African Union's Agenda 2063, which was adopted in 2013 has strong connections with the BRICS New Development Bank, and the bank has established an African Regional Centre in South Africa, which will make provisions for helping developing countries (mainly those in Africa) with funds for development on their own terms. South Africa has great intentions of further creating employment opportunities on the continent, further encouraging competitiveness of the continent, and advancing integrated development of Africa. The BRICS alliance is committed to assisting Africa in resolving various issues such as illegal wildlife trade, the promotion of employment, food security, and infrastructure development and industrialisation.

The China-Africa knowledge-sharing cooperation will aid in the establishment of a workforce that will aim at competing in the global knowledge-based economy through industrial capacity cooperation. China will accelerate Africa's industrialisation and boost its independent development capacity by sending its technology, equipment and products to the African states.

South Africa is committed to the promotion and support of inclusivity and it is determined to facilitate an outreach with other African states such as Rwanda, Namibia and Togo. Additionally, South Africa had

intentions of hosting the BRICS Plus Outreach on the borders of the 2018 Summit, which was expected to bring about the active involvement of countries such as Argentina, Indonesia, Egypt and Turkey. The BRICS will continue to promote and contribute towards establishing a different form of international relations, which features a win-win cooperation and a community with a shared future for humanity, thus, the alliance will further champion reshaping the global structure to a more balanced international system between the North and South.

5.3.2 The future of BRICS and Brazil

One of the major BRICS developments and achievements will be the establishment of the Americas Regional Office of the BRICS New Development Bank, which will be located in São Paulo. Furthermore, it will work together with the Africa Regional Centre and increase the operational capacity of the New Development Bank located in Shanghai, and manage the preparation of bankable projects in Brazil.

Africa is an important partner to the Latin American countries, which have ambitions of advancing and diversifying their industrial development while in the process pursue new markets and production opportunities that will aid in their growing demand for energy and other scarce resources in global markets. Furthermore, the importance of BRICS to Brazil's future was highlighted by Brazil having ventured into many sectors of the economy in Africa, ranging from mining, construction and infrastructure, to oil, gas and telecommunications.

Brazil has over the years experienced economic instability, and after the 2018 national election, it took over the BRICS 2019 chairpersonship, but the previous president, Michel Temer, had limited ground to shape debate at the 2018 BRICS Summit in South Africa because his term was coming to an end. However, the current president, Jair Bolsonaro, took over as both Brazil's president and as the 2019 BRICS chairperson.

Brazil's foreign policy focuses on the importance of diplomacy as an instrument that will aid its economic and social development projects and the significance of South America's integration, which will strengthen cooperation with other states and group of states, such as the BRICS alliance. Regional integration can enhance and strengthen its voice in commercial multilateral negotiations and in shaping the international order. The African continent is one of the main priorities of its foreign policy as well as international poverty alleviation as a priority in international movements and the strengthening of multilateral institutions.

5.4 Conclusion

South Africa continues to represent the interests of the African continent in the BRICS alliance and this is evident in their foreign policy objectives that put the African Agenda at the centre of its policy priorities, thus, South Africa will always have support from other African countries due to its prioritisation of its domestic responsibilities.

South Africa uses BRICS as a platform to improve relations and cooperation with countries on the global South while expanding trade, integration and mediating between the BRICS and African countries, Brazil, on the other hand, advances its interests by projecting its efforts as a regional power and a global player.

Brazil focuses more on the reconstruction of the Asian century through BRICS to counter Western domination and to strengthen its position and presence on the African continent, thus, Brazil advances its national interests more than the interests of its neighbouring states and this may have a negative impact on its relations with other Latin American countries.

Even though Brazil remains home to one of the biggest African Diasporas, it has always historically aimed at the Portuguese-speaking African countries and it is through these specific cultural and subsequently political connections that Brazil was able to invest more in resource extraction after independence. Brazil had long before identified countries such as Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, even before their formal independence, thus, Brazil's foreign policy towards Africa was never aimed at developing the African states through cooperation.

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