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China's rise in the international stage
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China's rise in the international stage and possible consequences for Brazil

Professor Antonio Marcelo Jackson (AMJ): We are now starting our International Forum of Ideas, and today we are gathering online all of the participant researchers of the project, namely:

- Professor Simone Maria Rocha (SMR), PhD in the area of education and Professor at the Federal Rural University of the Semi-Arid;
- Marina Zucker Marques (MZM), an economist graduated from Campinas' College (FACAMP), master in Economics and International Trade from Zhejiang University of Industry and Commerce and a Doctoral Candidate in Economics and Chinese Studies at the Free University of Berlin;
- Renato Henrique de Gaspi (RHG) – graduated in International Relations from Campinas' College (FACAMP), and Master in International Relations from Zhejiang University in Hangzhou;
- Professor José Medeiros da Silva (JMS) – PhD in Political Science from São Paulo University and Professor at the Zhejiang International Studies University in Hangzhou;
- Rafael Gonçalves Lima (RGL) – Holds a bachelor's degree in International Relations from Campinas' College (FACAMP) and aeijin master's in International Relations from Jilin University. Now works as a journalist in the Xinhua News Agency in Beijing;
- And me, Antonio Marcelo Jackson F. da Silva – PhD in Political Science from the Research University Institute of Rio de Janeiro (IUPERJ) and Professor at the Federal University of Ouro Preto (UFOP), in Brazil.

Our conversation today will revolve around the theme of “China's rise in the international stage and possible consequences for Brazil”. We have a marvellous meeting here today, gathering the cities of Beijing and Hangzhou in China, the city of Caraúbas, on the countryside of the State of Rio Grande do Norte, and Ouro Preto, here in Minas Gerais State.

I will now give the floor to Professor José Medeiros, who is with our whole Hangzhou team at the moment.

JMS – Firstly, I would like to highlight the importance of this second edition of the Forum, who today has this more informal shape of a roundtable. We are today discussing an important issue, but the main objective here is stimulate considerations about what is going on in the world. Brazil is a part of the world and needs to perceive what happens at this level. In this sense, the International Forum of Ideas, from this conversation, can stimulate these reflections. Today we have the pleasure and the luck to be here with three youngsters, all of them connected to International Affairs, who have the same Brazilian university (FACAMP) as their Alma Mater, and all of them came to China for their Master's degree. They also have a good immersion and understanding about China. I believe that their participation will be very important for



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the Forum and for Brazilian society, who will be able to better understand how this actor named China will act on the Global Governance stage and on the organization of the world. It is important to think about the design this world – which is now being ordered also by China – and how we may and should participate on it as Brazilians. As you have introduced already, Professor, Marina Zucker here recently finished her Master's and is now leaving China to pursue her PhD in Germany at the Free University of Berlin, which also shows that Brazil is forming a youth who is willing to understand the world and interact with it, contributing, thus, for Brazilian development. Here we have these three youngsters who, even though they are far away, remain connected to Brazil and trying to understand the world to help drive Brazil forward, in opposition to a fraction of our youth who remains dispersive, acting like nothing is happening and trying to flee from the world and from Brazil. We are here together, in four very different cities, in very particular regions and universities which are, usually, referred to as peripheral, as Professor Antonio already highlighted on the last Forum, but in truth, there are no peripheral areas. This is just a viewpoint from people who like to think of themselves as a part of a so-called Centre. In truth, there are only humans loose in this universe which we are all part of. Rafael, in this moment, is on the Chinese capital of Beijing, directly participating on the preparations for the coverage of a grand event, one of the biggest international events ever, which is going to happen in the next few days. He will be able to talk more about this project of the One Belt One Road, the great project for Chinese insertion in Globalization. Marina is certainly a person who can, together with the present and future economists, build answers as to how to organize Brazilian economy in the direction of a national project that we are also willing to think and build. So now, let us socialize the word so they can also participate.

AMJ – Marina, the floor is entirely yours.

MZM – Thank you professor, I am very happy to participate in this Forum. I will start by commenting about Globalization and especially talking about this particular process led by China. This gained in importance starting from Davos², after the speech and a greater participation from President Xi Jinping.

However, if we look more carefully at this China-led globalization, or even better, a globalization with Chinese participation, we can even go further back in time and realize that, in the 90s, this was already happening, even further back, and we see that in 1978, with the reform and opening up of the Chinese economy, this process was also ensuing. And already in the 1990s, Chinese companies started coming out, especially for Africa.

Currently, we have great Chinese conglomerate in Africa. If we look at the Forbes' List, 120 out of the 500 biggest companies in the world are Chinese, many of which are state-run, either led by provinces, or by the Central Government. So, we might very well look (towards the Chinese presence in the world) by the commerce side, by the action of companies as well as by its participation in International Forums. I believe these are three important pillars to think about (when looking at Chinese insertion).



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AMJ – I found these observations very interesting. So, Renato, it is your turn to keep this conversation going.

RHG – Well, I believe that China predicted that its own ascension would happen, but did not expect that it would be so soon. I say that because the election of Donald Trump in the United States was something quite unexpected.

We have to take into account that diplomacy is made of symbols and I believe that what Trump symbolizes is that he is such an unstable and complicated leader that it ensues that the United States lost international power with his election.

About Brazil, I believe we do not possess a relevant military power, but we keep on being a very relevant support power in the international system.

Coming back to China, in terms of technical leadership, the country has a bigger space than in the past, a very recent past of that, about 6 months ago to be more precise!

Another aspect that we need to reflect upon is Europe. Dealing with Europe at this particular moment is quite challenging, but it can also generate new opportunities. Engaging with Europe and dealing firstly with the European Union and then with the united Kingdom is one thing, dealing with everyone together is different. That said, I believe there is still the possibility of trading with both sides, especially if Brussels has a bigger rupture with the UK, with a ‘harder’ Brexit.

This brings a new opportunity for China and all that in a juncture which it has

only just brought up the plan for the One Belt One Road initiative, which puts China as a more important than ever actor in the Center-West and Southeast Asia.

Thus, China is living a moment in which everything is going right for its Foreign Policy, a moment of humungous opportunities. The One Belt One Road Forum for International Cooperation is an opportunity for China to show which shape its leadership is going to take and what will be the onus of this leadership. I do have some bets to make, but I will wait for the remainder of this meeting to make any other analyses.

AMJ – It is a pity, I was thinking that you would make your bets now and was writing everything. Simone, do you have any comments? Please be free to talk as you please.

SMR – I do have a question, I am such an apprentice in this conversation, Professor, that I only have two or three questions to make. I was thinking, while you spoke: facing all of these transformations, all these problems, it is also necessary to think about the question of immigration in Europe, which is now so intense. Also, there is the political and economical and a social form to perceive Europe in this context. If, for instance, we could think a little about this and how we could perceive Brazil, or how China perceives



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Brazil in all of this globalization. From the Chinese economic leadership, from the political viewpoint, where does Brazil stand... how do you all perceive the Sino-Brazilian relationship in this process.

AMJ – This is a question for Marina and Rafael and I have a question for Renato later. First Marina can speak, and then to Rafael as to how China is seeing Brazil from this more official viewpoint.

MZM – About the Sino-Brazilian economic relationship: nowadays China is Brazil's biggest economic partner. This, in matters of exports, is very important for Brazil. However, what we have been exporting comes down, basically, to raw products and that does not hold well for Brazil. It is a sector that employs very few people, very concentrated, which means that the incomes from these operations will benefit very few people, so there is no industrial development coming from this Sino-Brazilian commerce. In the other hand, we import several industrial goods that have been competing with our national industry, which is, from one side, good for the consumer because these are cheap products, but it is bad for the reason that it is not generating employment and income inside the Brazilian territory. So, it is a very uneven relationship, with Brazil not taking the position it should. There are myriad possibilities, various chances for Brazil, but we are not taking advantage from this relationship.

AMJ – Taking advantage of Simone's question and Marina's talk about that, Rafael, what is the official Chinese viewpoint with relation to Brazil, I mean, what does China think? What is this strange land named Brazil to China?

RGL – Look Professor, I cannot speak in the name of China, since I am not a representative of China, nor am I here in this capacity, however, in what I see as the official voice of China and what China has said via those who can speak for it, Brazil is, without a doubt, a partner and an important one, perhaps the most important one in Latin America.

Now, I also have no doubt that the model proposed by China at the moment is a common development model. The proposal has been put on the table, we are now in the phase in which all will evaluate to see if this is palatable or not.

By Marina's speech, it seems that something is very critical for Brazil, a little harder, for she referenced an uneven relationship. But look, I believe that, in this case, it is good to think (not defending China, for it needs not to be defended and I have not been paid for that), if this is an uneven relationship, it is necessary to ask why is that so.

This commodity-exporting model which is put to Brazil, is this being forced on Brazil by China? Is it China who is putting this model to Brazil, or is it Brazil who has not chosen a different model for itself? Is this an international question, or our own domestic question? It is necessary for us to know what we are, what we want to be and then and only then, put that to China.



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What is common development in our eyes? What is a win-win partnership for us? China obviously has its objectives which are very clear. China has clarity of its economic and commercial situation and its national defense in the world. It is obvious that, given that chance to set the pace, China will set the Chinese pace. Now, if this is a common development model, could it be that the channels of discussion are closed so as to discuss what this common development is? Brazil needs to stop and think about this so as to clarify what does Brazil want of China.

What is Brazilian development when related to China? What is China as a development partner? I believe these are the questions to be thought about. That China has as model a common benefit partnership, I have no doubt. Now, it is Brazil who is still immature, without the definition of a national strategy and the definition of a grand strategic goal. If Brazil does not know where it came from and where it is going, this is a hardly a Chinese problem, right?

To be blunt, it is our problem.

I believe that this is the reason why we are here today, also to address these issues and questions that Brazil has left unanswered. What do we want, for instance, from a Trump-led United States, as Renato has said. Time has past and it has altered the world not only in relation to China. China has been dealing with the US in the manner it thinks more adequate, what China considers a win-win model.

Therefore, this question is not only about Brazil's relationship with China, but also the relationship among all countries in the world with all blocs in the world. What is Mercosur for Brazil? What is Argentina for Brazil? What are its neighbours? How does this model happen? How do we interact and communicate with them? But above all, who are we? Where are we going and what do we want? I believe this discussion is proposed already and in such a politically complicated moment for Brazil. RHG – (About the question put by Professor Simone) It is obvious that there is a problem with immigration, but I believe there are profound socio-economical issues in this rise of populism in Europe, that is, populism is not only about immigration, it goes much beyond that. Is xenophobia fuelled by the presence of refugees? Yes, it is. However, the despair that leads to the seeking of these kinds of alternatives is the result of a socioeconomic crisis and a lack of more democratic alternatives and because of a hollowing-out of a more reconstructive proposal. This died in Europe given its economic constitution as a result of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, which constrained this kind of more distributive politics. About the second part of the question, I will briefly put it like this: Trump has changed the whole scene because he is in fact different than a traditional politician. This is undeniable. He does represent change, but changing for change sakes is not necessarily a good thing. Change comes and we have to deal with its good and bad consequences. Trump's election has bad consequences for US foreign policy and, as a whole I see very few good consequences that come from his coming to office. It might encourage a kind of seeking for something new, different from him, but I am not very optimistic. Now, there are consequences for international diplomacy which are, at least, interesting to someone who studies international relations. It also opens these possibilities for China, the ones I mentioned in my initial speech. China has become the paladin of globalization, which is something quite odd,



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especially if we would have said that ten years ago. Not very long ago, China was attacked for violations of World Trade Organization's regulations. China was accused of attacking globalization, which, back then, appeared as a wonderful thing, who everybody loved and nobody opposed. Nowadays China is the great defender of globalization. A huge change in 10 years, which is now catalysed by Trump's election. Brazil, faced with all this, is lost, floating. After Michel Temer got into the presidency of the country we have had two Foreign Ministers. Firstly José Serra and currently Aloysio Nunes³. I believe they do not have a single idea about what they are doing. I am sorry, but they do not know the first thing about China, for example, something very important today. They do not have much of a clue of what is foreign policy and are clinging to an old idea of partnership. They talk about bringing back the Baron of Rio Branco's⁴ tradition and align us to the United States. Things have changed greatly in the international arena and it is time for Brazil to understand China not only as partner, but also understand China to be able to negotiate. The Chinese do things very differently than we are used to. Things work differently when dealing with Chinese diplomacy and we have to get accustomed to that. It is necessary to form Brazilian diplomatic cadres who will deal with China in a more informed and competent manner. I believe Brazil has a knowledge deficit as to how to deal with China and we have to address that. There are many competent people in Brazil, that is a fact, but it is not general when it comes to understanding China.

AMJ – I would only like to make an observation about Renato's speech and after that I will give the floor to Professor Medeiros. You apologized for your criticism to our ministers Serra and Aloysio, but I believe they are the ones who should apologize to all of us, this is my modest opinion about it. Now taking advantage of these last comments by Rafael and Renato, I remember, professor Medeiros, of a paper that you and Rafael published right after the G20 meeting in Hangzhou⁵, where you criticize Brazil's position. I would like, then, Professor, that you could make some comments and put something on the discussion, taking advantage of the speeches by Rafael and Renato, imbued by the speeches of Marina and also thinking about Simone's questions. We could say then, that, in these past months, Brazil has kept on the same mistakes criticized by José and Rafael? Things have not changed then? Did we get worse?

JMS – Professor Antonio, it really is a privilege to participate in a Forum like this, where youngsters are bringing suggestions for such special considerations. Synthesizing all these pieces that you have mentioned, then. Marina has posited, taking into account China's interests in Brazil, that Brazil does not have a cohesive national project that brings myriad social sectors together in accordance. So, as of right now, the country is headless. I mean, all these interest groups tend to get lost and are searching, on this metaphorical battlefield, only look for war spoils. Thus, in this historical moment of international reordering and with the emergence of China, there is a historical opportunity for Brazil to participate as a protagonist. We were, as a matter of fact, doing just that, and, all of a sudden, this political crisis comes, which now quite literally distances us from the centre of this process. So, even so that we have the initiative of



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intellectuals, from Brazil's foreign ministry, businessman and other segments of society, Brazil, as a country, as a state, as a nation, does not have a unified strategy to deal with other actors, because it has not managed to solve its own internal problems. This is the current moment, which is a pity. But I believe we will, with determination, have to alter that. Of course, we will have to be aware of the existence of certain businesspeople, sellers of the Homeland, of the strategic interests of our people, who are looking to sell everything that brings profit for themselves and their posse. Thus, they look to sell our national interests to any other merchant, be they Arabic, Chinese, North American and so on... many times they are Brazilians who seek not to have a conscience of Brazil, who do not think of our country and our people as a whole. About what Marina has said, of us having this unfavourable commercial relationship with China, the main cause may be this one (internal groups attempting to maximize their gains regardless of the population). But, as Rafael has wonderfully put, we are the ones who have to establish what we want and how our relationship will be with our partners. We know that Brazil has a tradition as a commodity-exporting nation. This comes from the cycles of wood, sugar, coffee... Professor Antonio, as a historian knows that very well. Nowadays we are sending soybeans, iron ore and meat. As Marina has said, these products benefit very few Brazilians. Worse than that, these activities require a vast quantity of land and are compromising the future of Brazil and destroying important biomes as the Cerrado, for example. The advancement of cattle breeding for meat or mining in the Amazon is compromising a heritage that may prove fundamental for our descendants, for Brazilians of the future, who will live in a knowledge-based economy. I believe both of Simone's question are directing our discussion. First, about immigration altering the conscience and vision that predominated in some national spaces once reserved for a specific population... up to what point did this immigration after the bombings of Iraq and Syria did not influence the process of Brexit. So, it is a factor that may be decisive and this weakens a project that they had of transnational unity in the European Union. The European Union (I am not talking about European countries individually), loses some of its relevance as a pivotal institution in this process of reordering the world. Of course we have Germany and France, for instance, but they have become smaller, now focusing their strengths on the resolution of their own problems and in the great challenge that is maintaining a minimum cohesion among such diverse national actors. In this scenario, the US are still The Great Actor, however, as Renato has pointed out so well, it is an actor that is ceasing to be absolute. Let us say that you are elected and one of your proposals is to build a wall to close the border with your brother nations, a friendly country who has supported you in process like North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA), for example. Very well, the US, a great friend of Mexico, all of a sudden, turns and says: Mexico, I will build a wall here. So, if I am Mexican, I start weeping and China will come to wipe my tears. China, in turn, sees this as opportunities, and proposes not the building of walls, but of bridges. About Renato's speech, historical circumstances made China a protagonist of this economic globalization process. There is an important detail to consider in this discussion, which is the strategy of China for the internationalization of its currency, the Renminbi. As a matter of fact, this will be Marina's research theme in Germany during her PhD. The Chinese currency does not yet wield international power (as the Dollar, the Euro, the Pound Sterling and the Yen do). It is worth observing that one of the most important



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vectors in the Chinese strategy for international insertion is the construction and/or expansion of infrastructure networks, as opposed of a financial insertion. The credibility of China will be enhanced by the offer of infrastructure. It will not be made by loans, where other countries can receive the money to invest, by themselves, in white, blue or other-coloured elephants as we have seen in the past. So much that the infrastructure bank (AIIB) was created, but this can be more explored by Marina, since it is her area of expertise. This will alter the physical and social structure of these countries where China gives priority (such as the countries on the New Silk Road initiative). This from of Chinese insertion, concentrated in infrastructure expansion, will alter the world. I would like to make reference to Carlos Frescata, a Portuguese researcher who wrote, some years ago, a very suggestive book⁶ expounding about China's emergence in the international order, and connecting it with the situation of Lusophone countries or regions. An engineer, Dr. Frescata perceived, with some foresight, that China's emergency would bring an entirely new transformation to the world. Renato also made some instigating ponderations. For example, we do not have, in Brazil (or have very few) prepared people to deal with the Chinese phenomenon. On this point, I see that it is not only a matter of formation, but putting to use a knowledge that already exists. Using a Brazilian knowledge about China that it is already there, or it is already being formed⁷. For example, we are now faced with a new phase where young Brazilians are coming to China to pursue their master's degrees or PhDs, as it is the case of Rafael, Renato and Marina, now present in this Forum. Or even Diego Amorim, who was here in Hangzhou and so many others. Brazil is not taking care of this knowledge of China to structure something, to systematize this knowledge so that it can help on the decision-making process, or the formation off our diplomats, for example. Now about the questions put by Simone, the answers will not be definitive. We have always to pose this question: what does Brazil represent for the Chinese national project? And, inversely, what does China represent for a Brazilian national project? From the Brazilian side, there is a bigger difficulty in getting a definitive answer since this national project does not exist, at least not in a clear and cohesive form. These are the comments I would like to make to contribute to the Forum. And I would like Marina to talk about this theme of infrastructure, these initiatives and about the BRICS. Also, as this event in China about the One Belt One Road is also going on – the Belt connects China to Europe via Central Asia and the Road is the maritime road that connects the Pacific Ocean to the Indigo Ocean to Africa – it is important, in this juncture, to also think on the role reserved by China to Macau⁸.

SMR – If you allow me to make a quick observation on your speech, because I think that we have a structural problem in Brazil with relation to the usage of produced knowledge. So, I believe that be it in the international stage and internally, universities have produced knowledge and, not always this has been used by our government, the opposite even, many times we have suffered much to get recognition, so I believe this is a structural problem. It is a pity, even.



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JMS: I believe that this Forum of Ideas like this one is exactly for us to perceive that. The more people perceive this, the more we can, perhaps, unite to join this knowledge together and demand its application. Maybe we need to be protagonist Brazilian citizens in this process, since the ones in government do not govern, disregarding even what is one of the people's great patrimony, that is, the knowledge generated by our universities.

AMJ – I do not know if you remember, but when we talk about an aggregated intellectual elite, one that is capable to influence and maintain dialogue with the political power, many years ago it was in vogue to utilize an Italian expression, namely *intelligenza*. Millôr Fernandes⁹ said that in Brazil we did not have an *intelligenza*, but rather an *ignoranza*, so I believe that this could be our great problem.

MZM: Professor José commented first about the issue of Chinese currency internationalization. I believe that, nowadays, there is a Chinese government plan (one that comes from some time ago) to internationalize the usage of its currency. Since the 2008 Crisis, the Dollar has shown more instability, and this created uneasiness in several countries on the globe, not only in China, but also in Brazil. Therefore, China nowadays has a “smaller” currency than its peers, which brings some advantages.

One of the pillars of this internationalization is, certainly, the One Belt One Road Initiative. But we cannot look towards this initiative as the only one out there, since it is accompanied by other institutions such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and also the BRICS' bank. This Chinese initiative is very broad in scope. We can today estimate that this whole initiative amounts from 1 to 4 trillion Dollars. So when you have this size of an investment, you need a bank behind it, you need financing to make this viable.

Thus I believe that these two aforementioned banks will participate, since they have a mandate based on infrastructure. These banks are filling a vacuum, an opening that arose in the world with this current unaddressed need for investment.

I believe that, as these institutions function and become more consolidated, and as Chinese companies invest abroad and bring their banks with them, maybe this is going to create more liquidity for this currency. Of course, the internationalization of any currency depends on several factors. Nowadays, the Chinese financial system is very closed, and the Yuan is currency that cannot be used by all as a financial asset. So, this initiative will not singlehandedly create success in this process, there are still ways to go, ideals, changes in the Chinese banking system that are still necessary, but for sure it helps. In fact, Chinese economy, in the past years, has grown incredibly, more so on terms of investment and commerce, but its currency lagged behind. That is, there is a bigger part for commerce, but you do not have the currency to accompany that. I believe this is going to be the next step of Chinese internationalization.



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AMJ – Professor Simone, your final considerations please.

SMR – I want to say that I am very happy with this conversation, I have learned a lot and I believe I will leave our conversation with an unanswered question: the world is reordering itself, and, in Brazil, are we moving backwards, stagnated or just in a slower pace in this process: Maybe we do not have time for this discussion, but I am very happy for our conversation.

AMJ – You mustn't lose hope, Professor, we still have Rafael to talk and, speaking of which, Rafael Lima, please, the ball is on your court, please save Professor Simone if you could be so kind.

RGL – I believe Simone is posing a great question for our generation. This great question is today put in Brazil for us. We would probably face this deeming it as a problem. If we are late or slower, we are facing a challenge of our own, and, I these are our problems, we have to think about how to solve them. To end it, I want to talk about our diplomacy. Not to defend it, because it also does not have to be defended, but I would like to remind us that we talked about ministers and the actions of Brazil's Foreign Ministry. I am graduated in International Relations and have a Master's in Public Diplomacy. I would like to highlight the fact that diplomacy does not have an active function, it is not the object of diplomacy to be active, in the sense of political formulation. Its role is to defend certain interests that are put to the diplomatic corps by a policy of national development, it does not participate in the formulation of what this interest is. So, you have a country that chooses its path, and establishes its objectives. Some of those necessarily go through the international context, i.e., the search for partnerships, external investments and so on... you have a diplomatic corps that will seek for these objectives in the international arena following the conception of something bigger that was developed internally. I believe it is interesting for us to remember that the current Brazilian Ambassador to China has been in the country for nine years and speaks fluent Chinese, so he is a person who is representing the Brazilian state and who can dialogue with China as an equal¹⁰. We have a diplomatic corps in the embassy and, not all of them speak Chinese, but some do. It is nice for us to remember that, who is today as chief of the Agency for Promotion and Exports of Brazil (APEX) is the former Ambassador to China Roberto Jaguaribe. So, we can see that Brazil has some good cadres, but the question is the proper utilization of these. Maybe we are not using them right for a lack of internal organization. I believe Brazil is still lacking organization. This is a hurdle that China has overcome for many years, but it was not easy. Some people may question Chinese internal organization, but the fact of the matter is that China does have a pattern of organization, and it is passible of criticism, but it is there, and it is put. From that pattern China is dealing with Trump in the way he is, with Brazil as Brazil is and so on... so I believe it is a matter of organization. This is the great question then, posed by Simone: where are we? And from where we are, where do we go to? This is the question that we are going to solve and it is not a simple



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one, it is not going to get solved overnight, but it needs to be thought about. I will end with the matter of immigration. This is maybe a good start for what we have to discuss. I would like to highlight that the biggest human flux in the globe happens every year and it is in China, and it does not necessarily reflect of a crisis. The issue is how this migratory flux is dealt with. Ok, you can say that it is a yearly flux happening inside a country. But my point is how to organize these fluxes. When Renato was talking about the migration crisis in Europe, which is a very relevant phenomenon, I was remembering about the biggest migratory flow in the world that happens in China, something I was able to observe here for at least 5 times. These are all the points I would like to talk about, and I would like to thank the opportunity to participate in this roundtable, which I think is very productive and can help us think, deal with these posed questions. I believe that, more than criticizing, more than trying to point fingers, we have to really think about how to collaborate, what can we do to get out of these situations. Since we already have this given problem, so how are we going to work to change what we think must be changed.

AMJ – Renato, please, your final considerations

RHG – I will just make two considerations focusing on Rafael's speech. Firstly, about Brazilian diplomacy, I do agree with him, the problem is not the formation of our diplomats, but the policy-making. I believe this was what I was trying to say, but did not express myself clearly. I wanted to talk about, specifically, about the ones who are on the commanding posts of our Foreign Ministry, who, in this case, are career politicians who do not have the necessary education to deal with these themes, which need a very profound knowledge of certain issues. That is, it is not something to be dealt as a political position (without diplomatic formation), for a party in exchange of favours or support, in this case, PSDB. This type of ministry is not a trading asset. We have had a tradition, over the past few years, to put career diplomats in charge. This is what I was talking about more generally. The second issue is when I talked about the socioeconomic issues on Europe's migrant crisis. What I was saying is that there is a narrative about these migration flows that put it as the cause of the crisis in Europe, and I am saying this is false. These flows might very well happen, but this is not the biggest issue in the European Crisis. The biggest problem is a lot more profound and has to do with socioeconomic issues. I would also like to talk about the matter of Brazilian universities and the usage of knowledge. I believe this called my attention the most. We produce quality social science in Brazil, I believe everybody here is in accordance with that. However, there was a particular point in time in which we did not give voice to these home-grown intellectuals, preferring an intellectual elite that was formed, largely, in the United States. We used this elite for the advancement of a project that was imposed on Brazil from the outside during the 90s, to implement a programme coming from the IMF and the World Bank. We used this intellectual elite, who were, in fact very smart people with whom I disagree with, but we are now turning back to them. I would like to see us using our intellectuals as critics. Many times people say that they are not pointing a way out, but they are at least pointing the way that was wrong. That, for me, is one of



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the great functions of the social sciences, and we do produce that with great quality in Brazil. I say that because we did give voice to intellectuals in Brazil during a time, but it was not in the way I believe is right, something that is good and contributes for the forging of a nation. We have social scientists in Brazil thinking about solutions, and we have to give them voice instead of people who are looking to implement projects in Brazil that are not our own. I thank you for the opportunity to be here.

AMJ – We thank you, Renato. Also because, as said before, you and Marina are now Associated Researchers of the Forum, so now you guys cannot escape, you are already working with us. Professor Medeiros, please, your closing remarks.

JMS – Professor Antonio, Professor Simone, Rafael, Marina, Renato and our dear netizens: I believe that, in a little more than one hour, we have a very concrete demonstration of the usage of platforms to unite people, which I believe will partly solve the problem posited by Simone, which is the construction of conjoint knowledge. The second step will be to use this knowledge to transform undesirable realities or to create that reality that does not exist and we need it to exist. So I believe that here is already an excellent demonstration. We realize, for example, when Rafael highlights the existence of competent cadres, that is highly relevant information in the specific case of the Sino-Brazilian relationship. However, one swallow does not a summer make. There is knowledge out there, but the Brazilian state is not creating efficient mechanisms to capture this knowledge. Perhaps because there is a dominance of particular projects that only serve for the strengthening of particular groups inside Brazil. We are lacking a project that thinks Brazil as a whole, that looks to our people as a whole. It is clear to me that several of these operators inside the Brazilian state possess a great knowledge, but they act only for the betterment of a business transaction, be that the selling of soybeans, ores, in capturing Chinese resources for building projects. This is very limited for what Brazil really needs. I will cite a Professor, our friend, César Augusto Lambert de Azevedo, a man with a great knowledge of China. He was military attaché in the PRC in the 90s. He is one of our teachers who have given us a basis for the understanding of China and is dedicating his life to form new researchers of China. And how has the Brazilian government, or Brazilian intelligence, used his knowledge and capacity which are available to Brazil? The advancements and the usage of this knowledge are being done by individualized efforts. There is no state policy or government policy for that, as opposed to China. So this is a reality that, as Rafael put it so well, needs to be faced. I believe that theme brought by Simone (where we are in this global reordering) could be a theme for a coming Forum. Bringing other people to try and see where we are at. This is even a Physics problem, to know whether the Universe is expanding or retracting. Finally, I would like to say that I am very glad with this Forum of ours. I would like to thank the Federal Rural University of the Semi-Arid via Professor Simone, also thanking the Federal University of Ouro Preto via Professor Antonio. I believe that you guys set a laudable example. The effort for institutionalizing this Forum, with the project's registry and the hiring of four studentships is an example of how Brazilian universities may resist to the attacks of some economical agents who



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accuse it of being unimportant and expensive. Our universities need to be seen as central in the edification of Brazil. You two here, are representing two of those universities and this project, demonstrating that this is all possible. I believe that more universities and professors can join in and bring their vision, because that is what we need, to share viewpoints and ideas. In the present moment, we are not in need of project impositions, but of project demonstrations, we are creating projects, joining people together to diagnose where we are today and what we are doing. We have to build this answer, something that will take the effort of generations. Also I would like to thank my Brazilian colleagues who are here in China, Rafael, Renato and Marina. Also, once again, to Simone and Professor Antonio. This Forum today made me very happy. I think Brazil today is in chaos, and we know that China lived through several situations of chaos, but they are now standing and following their objectives. Brazil has not lived through half of the tragic experiences that China has gone through, so we can have faith and join forces so we can make the transformation we need.

AMJ – Well, I will not synthesize everything because I believe Professors Medeiros and Simone Rocha already did so with very precise comments. Now, Marina, Renato and Rafael, you all delivered a lecture today! You were really brilliant, and I am saying this as a Professor who has been teaching in the university level for 17 years, and 20 years in total. You have the gift of the word, and I can sleep peacefully trusting in this generation. I would like to end by saying that I am profoundly moved because we are here in this roundtable, in a conversation, uniting four cities in two countries, with a distance of thousands of kilometres, even among cities in the same country, not even mentioning that we are joining together two opposite parts of the globe. This is unbelievable, and I believe today will be reminded by all of us forever. I talked to José the other day, only the two of us, in the first Forum, but now this is taking a fantastic proportion. So I will end thanking all of you, I am proud of having you all as companions in this project because, all of us here are members of a project. The professors, Rafael who is a journalist, Marina and Renato who are associate researchers, and I hope others will come as other Forums take place. I can only hope that all of these discussions will bear fruit. I now end this Second Forum, which I think was spectacular. I believe it is the first time in any University that something in this sense was done, in this joining of four cities in two countries. Thank you all!