# Brazil Emerging in the Global Security Order

Editor
*Felix Dane*

Editorial Coordination
*Gregory John Ryan*

Revision
*Isadora de Andrade*
*Dalton Caldas*
*Michael Nedden*

Translation
*Gareth van Didden*

Collaboration
*Reinaldo J. Themoteo*
*Alessanda Sassmannshauen*
*Mona Haueisen*

Design and Cover Design
*Charles Steiman*

Design Assistant
*Márcia Sasson*

Press
*J.Sholna*

---

ISSN 2176-297X

International Security: a European – South American Dialogue (2013)

Rio de Janeiro: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2013.

---


Konrad Adenauer Stiftung
Rua Guilhermina Guinle, 163
Botafogo – CEP: 22270-060
Rio de Janeiro – RJ
Tel: (0xx21) 2220-5441
Fax: (0xx21) 2220-5448
adenauer-brasil@kas.de
www.kas.de/brasil

## Table of Contents

Introduction ..... 5
*Felix Dane*
*Gregory John Ryan*

Rising Powers in the New International Security Order ..... 9
*Edmond Mulet*

The United Nations Security Council as a Centralising Agent of Normative Production .... 17
*Leonardo Nemer Caldeira Brant*
*Laura Cabral de Avelar Marques*

Accountability and Security in a Multipolar World: Notes on the Effects of Multipolarity in Multilateral Mechanisms ..... 27
*Gelson Fonseca Jr*

Defense White Paper and International Law ..... 43
*Torsten Stein*

Brazil in the Global Security Order: Principled Action and Immediate Responses to Long-Term Challenges ..... 49
*Antonio Jorge Ramalho*

European Common Security and Defence Policy ..... 59
*Ana Paula Zacarias*

The EU and Brazil: on Different Meanings of Multilateralism ..... 67
*Alessandro Scheffler*

General Comments on External Intervention in Countries in Crisis ..... 83
*Michel Foucher*

Brazil, India, and China: Emerging Powers and Warfare ..... 91
*Alfredo G. A. Valladão*

Brazil as an International Security Actor ..... 107
*Kai Michael Kenkel*

The Defense Acquisition Trilemma: The Case of Brazil ..... 121
*Patrice Franko*

German Security and Defence Policy and the Reorientation of the Bundeswehr in Light of the Challenges of our Time ..... 143
*Jürgen Menner*

NATO's Need for Partnership and Cooperation ..... 149
*Karl-Heinz Kamp*

Brazil and the NATO: is Cooperation Possible? ..... 159
*Williams Gonçalves*

Brazil's Maritime Strategy in the South Atlantic: The Nexus between Security and Resources ..... 173
*Adriana Erthal Abdenur*
*Danilo Marcondes de Souza Neto*

Rediscovering a Wider Atlantic: An American Perspective ..... 187
*Ian O. Lesser*

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) is a political foundation based in Sankt Augustin and Berlin, Germany. From our offices in Germany and in over 80 states around the globe, we manage over 200 programs in more than 120 countries.

At home as well as abroad, our civic education programs aim at promoting freedom and liberty, peace and justice, as well as dialogue and cooperation. As a think tank and consulting agency we focus on consolidating democracy, on the unification of Europe and the strengthening of transatlantic relations, as well as on international cooperation and dialogue. Our soundly-researched, scientific fundamental concepts and current analyses are meant to offer a basis for possible political action and cooperation.

In Brazil our activities concentrate on security dialogue, political education, the rule of law, the workings of public institutions and their agents, social market economy, environmental and energy policy, as well as the relations between Brazil, the European Union and Germany.

**www.kas.de/brasil**

Organizers

Konrad Adenauer Stiftung

Konrad Adenauer Foundation
adenauer-brasil@kas.de
www.kas.de/brasil

CEBRI

Brazilian Centre of International Relations
cebri@cebri.org.br
www.cebri.org.br

Supported by

União Europeia

Delegation of the European Commission in Brazil
www.delbra.ec.europa.eu

# Introduction

Felix Dane

Representative of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Brazil

Gregory John Ryan

Project Coordinator for Foreign and Defence Policy

In the domain of global affairs, two driving forces continue to work towards a potential far-reaching change of the world order we know: globalization and the redistribution of power among states. While the former affects the process of interstate relations, the latter reshapes the deeper structure underlying the international system. Both have gained pace recently, and as a consequence, our world is becoming ever more integrated; while also moving towards multipolarity.

To name and analyze the implications of these developments is the task of the writers in the following pages. Yet there can be no doubt that in the search for a general direction towards which the international community should set sail, the expansion of cooperation and dialogue must feature among the guiding principles. Only by jointly working on the protection and the provision of global public goods, the transforming forces of our times can be managed in harmony with the common aspirations of all mankind, which include peace, dignity, the conservation of nature as well as the wellbeing for all.

Consequently, the prosperity and progress of each nation is intertwined with that of all others. As such, all must work together so as to keep the global commons open and free, to address instability which dots some points of our common earth, to deny the spread of agents of destruction and calamity, as well as to keep climate change and environmental degradation from robbing us of the base of life itself.

However, the anarchical nature of the international system does not always make the imperative of cooperation easy. International institutions are important, but so is an exchange of views and ideas on matters of common interests. Only through mutual understanding there can be cooperation. Yet, time and again, we encounter individuals unwavering in their particular views, while lacking in understanding of the perspectives of their global interlocutors. To counter this trend is one of our key missions. And this then is the premise of this book: to further mutual understanding.

In our many years of work around the world, we at the Konrad Adenauer Foundation have ceaselessly strived for what seems natural yet is often neglected: the furthering of knowledge about the Other. To value such, of course, came also as a result of the pivotal lessons learned in the aftermath of the Second World War and during the course of European integration. In its process, a continent of warring nations was turned into a region of peace and prosperity, united in diversity.

In this present volume we have thus invited our many writers to think of the changing nature of the contemporary world, and to lay out their views on what that means for Brazil, for Europe, as well as for others. Liberty in the choice of narrative and substance went along with the invitation, as long as the premise was to be placed under the overall umbrella which constitutes the title of the publication. The result is a kaleidoscope of opinions, representing a diversity of institutions and individuals from both sides of the Atlantic. We very much hope that you enjoy reading this book, and that in the end you too will feel more enlightened about the matter at hand. Please feel free to contact us with your ideas and opinions.

**Edmont Mulet** has been Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations and Head of the Office of Operations since August 2007. From 14 January 2010, he took on the function of Acting Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of MINUSTAH.
He served from June 2006 to August 2007 as Special Representative and Head of MINUSTAH, prior to which he was a diplomat, having been posted as Ambassador to the European Union and the United States. Before that, he was a member of Guatemala's National Congress for some 12 years, including one term as its President. During his years in the legislature, he was intensely involved in the Central American peace process, the Esquipulas Accords and the Guatemalan peace negotiations.
Edmond Mulet was educated in Guatemala, Canada, the United States and Switzerland. In addition to his public service, he worked for many years as a journalist and as a legal counsellor in public institutions and the private sector.

# Rising Powers in the New International Security Order

Edmond Mulet

UN peacekeeping has become increasingly diverse and multidimensional, responding to a shifting and complex international context. Peacekeeping missions today operate in failing or failed states emerging from civil strife – where the challenge is to simultaneously help create the conditions to promote reconciliation while rebuilding institutions in charge of ensuring good governance, security, and the rule of law.

The last decade has been one of sustained, substantial growth in UN peacekeeping operations. With 111,512 peacekeepers on the field from 114 contributing Member States deployed in 16 operations across four continents, today, there is almost three times the number of blue helmets as there was in 2003, and nearly six times the number of peacekeepers as 15 years ago. This includes around 80,000 military personnel, almost 13,000 policemen, and approximately 20,000 civilians. The 2013 approved budget for peacekeeping operations is over 7, 33 billion USD. Therefore, the increasing demand for peacekeeping missions to deploy on the field has generated additional pressure on member states to provide resources for these operations, including troops, military equipment, technical expertise, and of course financial support.

With the growing demands for UN peacekeeping, we also see increasingly diverse models and mandates for missions. On the one hand, the UN still has relatively static border-monitoring roles, as in the United Nations Peacekeeping force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), and, on the other hand, it has large integrated or multidimensional missions, such as the

United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL). There are also cases in which unarmed military observers are deployed, as in Syria in 2012, or where the mandate is limited to border monitoring coupled with a protection of civilians role as is the case in Abyei (Sudan). Moreover, UN Missions are often deployed alongside parallel forces, such as the Somalia model of UN support to the African Union (AU) military personnel.

We witness today both a continued demand for peacekeeping and a wide diversification in models and configurations to implement the Security Council's mandates. This demonstrates that UN peacekeeping remains a flexible tool for collective security and burden sharing among Member States.

In this context, global partnerships are core to UN operations around the world, as the Missions work in close collaboration with regional organizations, coalitions of Member States, and other partners. Enhancing the effectiveness and dynamic nature of these partnerships is essential to achieve common goals of peace and stability.

Internal partnerships are just as important for the functioning of peacekeeping operations. Indeed, the UN does not have a standing army, or a police, or readily available equipment. Each new mission, and each authorized increase in troop levels or expansion of a Mission's mandate requires a major effort to generate troops and resources, which have to be provided by Member States. In this regard it is important to keep in mind that the four main actors to UN Peacekeeping have to stand in unison – the Security Council that sets the mandates, the General Assembly that helps define peacekeeping policy and resources for the missions, the Troop and Police-Contributor Countries (TCC's and PCC's) who provide military and civil personnel, and the UN Secretariat in charge of executing the aforementioned mandates – to enable operations on the ground to work efficiently.

This article will focus mainly on the evolving trends of uniformed contributions to peacekeeping, underscoring the outstanding support to this endeavour of emerging actors in the international scene. I will start by presenting broadly some of the current trends in contributions to UN peacekeeping operations, while highlighting the role of Asian, African and increasingly Latin American countries. I will then focus on three countries: Brazil, China and Ghana to illustrate the valuable participation of rising powers in peacekeeping operations. I will conclude by outlining some elements about the positive impact that these trends could have on strengthening peacekeeping operations to face new challenges that arise in the international scene.

## Evolving Trends in Troop Contributions to UN Peacekeeping

In spite of the changing nature of peacekeeping, the military component remains a defining factor for its success. Troop and police contributing countries (TCC's and PCC's) are vital to the partnership that enables UN peace operations to implement the Security Council mandates. They contribute to re-establishing and maintaining basic security, to extending the authority of the state and to the protection of civilians. In addition, TCC's provide resources, capabilities, equipment, as well as savoir-faire and technical expertise channelled through experienced and knowledgeable military commanders to peace operations.

As previously mentioned, the past decade has witnessed significant variations among the regions and sub-regions that prominently contribute with troops to peacekeeping operations. The International Peace Institute (IPI) published a paper on "Trends in Uniformed Contributions to UN Peacekeeping"[1], in which they analyze data related to troop contributing countries. In their report, they demonstrate that from 1991 to 2012 there were two separate waves of troop contributions to the UN. Each one of these significant increases was led by a different set of actors. The first one took place in 1992 and was mainly led by European contributors to the Balkans region. After a four year slow down, in 2000, a second, still ongoing wave, led mainly by Asian and African countries took place. As the IPI points out, "at the end of 2012, more than 85 percent of UN peacekeepers were Asian or African in origin." Moreover, South America and Europe currently provide approximately the same number of peacekeepers.

These trends are consistent at a regional level and have not been reversed since the beginning of the 21st century. African contributions have gone from being almost inexistent by the end of the 1990's to almost 40,000 troops in 2012. If we look closely at regional disaggregated statistics, Western and Eastern African countries are leading in terms of numbers of troops provided by Africa. However, these numbers should not conceal the fact that countries all across the continent have added, if in a smaller scale, to peace operations. The augmentation in Asian contributions to peacekeeping is also significant in terms of numbers and it operates within the framework of a long-term tradition of troop provision, especially stemming from South Asian countries. Most recently, China has played an essential role in strengthening the region's role in peacekeeping. Finally, South American countries contribution's follow the same rising trend as Africa or Asia, although in a less dramatic manner. In this case, Brazil is undeniably the leader in the region with a substantial contribution to the United Nations Stabilisation Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH).

This significant change in the geography of troop contributing countries should not go unnoticed as it reflects a number of meaningful changes in the world order and in the way emerging countries perceive their own role in global security. In my view, the first change is related to the wider recognition of peacekeeping operations as a useful, flexible and effective tool in building and maintaining peaceful environments, in spite of its limitations, from a larger geographical scope. Secondly, it reflects the increasing interest of rising powers in endowing the maintenance of a peaceful world and in many cases, in being a part of stabilization efforts in turbulent countries in their own regions. Indeed, emerging economies highly value the benefits obtained from thriving in a more peaceful and stable region. Thirdly, it reflects a positive evolution in the perception of the armed forces role, which is now oriented towards peacekeeping activities in addition to a more traditional national security role. Furthermore, and from a more pragmatic point of view, emerging countries are interested in having their troops training alongside other armed forces, as they can gain new skills and abilities. From a broader perspective, I believe that the greater involvement of emerging countries in peacekeeping operations is

[1] Perry C., and Smith A.C. (June 2013), Trends in Uniformed Contributions to UN Peacekeeping: A New dataset, 1991-2012. Providing for Peacekeeping No 1. New York: International Peace Institute

a positive evolution that unveils a tacit recognition of our global and collective responsibility in maintaining peace and stability in the world.

Motivations and means to participate in peacekeeping operations vary. Allow me to expose three different examples that illustrate well the role played by emerging countries in peacekeeping.

## Emerging Countries in Peacekeeping Operations, some Examples:

The first example I would like to mention is the case of Brazil. Its engagement in the United Nations Mission for the Stabilisation in Haiti (MINUSTAH) since 2004 marked a new era in its participation in peacekeeping as it became the main troop-contributor to the Mission. As such, it has played a central role in stabilizing Haiti, helping the response to the immediate post-earthquake recovery, and to longer term assistance requirements.

The increase of Brazil's commitment to UN peace operations was dramatic, as it made a leap from providing token contributions to providing over 1,300 troops to MINUSTAH in 2004. This number reached 2,200 troops to reinforce the Mission's capacities after the 2010 earthquake, only to be subsequently reduced as MINUSTAH's downsizing process began. As of June 30, 2013, Brazil was the 17th largest troop contributor to the UN with 1,713 troops mainly in MINUSTAH (1,403 troops) and UNIFIL (265 troops). Brazil also contributes with Military experts and police to UNMIT, MINURSO, UNFICYP, UNISFA, UNMIL, UNMISS and UNOCI. Furthermore, the leadership provided by Brazilian Force Commanders2 has been key to the success of peace operations.

On the political side, Brazil's involvement in MINUSTAH has provided a bridgehead for other Latin-American countries to contribute to this Mission. As a result, there is a strong sense of regional ownership of MINUSTAH based on the contributions of Member States who have strong links with Haiti not only because of geographical proximity but also because of cultural and historical bonds.

Beyond MINUSTAH, Brazil's engagement is also serving as an example for other countries from the region to seek greater participation in peacekeeping operations around the globe. Through its peacekeeping training centre, Brazil has put in place an institution dedicated not only to prepare the next generation of Brazilian peacekeepers but also to share Brazil's experience with other Member States.

The case of the People's Republic of China is also extremely interesting, because, as in the case of Brazil, its role in peacekeeping has shifted during the past ten years.

[2] There are currently three Brazilian General Officers serving in the UN. Brazil consistently holds the post of Force Commander MINUSTAH (Haiti) – currently Lieutenant General Edson Leal Pujol - and the UNIFIL Maritime Component is commanded by Rear Admiral, Jose de Andrade Bandeira Leandro. In addition, Lieutenant General Carlos Alberto dos Santos Cruz has recently been appointed as Force Commander for MONUSCO.

According to the IPI dataset, since the early 2000's, China's contribution in uniformed personnel, including engineers, military experts, transport and logistical support units, individual police, formed police units, and medical staff, has multiplied by 20. As of June 30 2013, China deployed 1,782 peacekeepers in nine UN missions, more than all of the remaining Permanent Members of the UN Security Council together. Moreover, most recently China has committed to contribute to Mali with almost 400 blue helmets, including a hospital unit and an engineering unit. Today, most of China's peacekeepers are deployed in Africa. Not only does China deploy troops, it also provides experienced commanders to fill in leadership position in the missions, as was the case in the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) and the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP).

Both through its contributions and through its role as a decision maker at the Security Council level, China has become an essential actor in peacekeeping. This increasingly important role reflects China's high-level profile in international politics and its increasing openness to the rest of the world. China has assumed a leadership role in Asia and as such, it has also assumed greater responsibilities in terms of peacekeeping. Moreover, China is keen in deploying its troops alongside other countries' as this allows the armed forces to improve their capabilities and coordination skills. Finally, some argue that China has also pragmatic interests in safeguarding the African continent and ensuring peace in order to create a more favourable environment for investments. In my view, this is in line with a more global trend in which emerging countries are increasingly aware of the active role they can play in creating a more peaceful, and therefore prosperous, global environment.

The last troop-contributor country I would like to briefly mention here is the Republic of Ghana. Unlike the two countries cited beforehand, Ghana has long been an important troop and police contributor to peacekeeping missions. Indeed, Ghana ranks 9th among troop contributing countries, ahead of both China and Brazil. Currently, Ghana contributes with 2,859 blue helmets to eight different missions. Throughout the past decade it has contributed not only with essential military personnel, but it has also provided experienced senior officials to fulfil leadership positions in various Missions, as Force Commanders, Police Commissioners and also as Special-Representatives of the Secretary-General. Ghana has also established the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center (KAIPTC). Furthermore, it is also an important contributor to African-led peacekeeping missions.

As it is the case for the two preceding examples, Ghana's commitment to peace operations demonstrates its willingness to participate in building a more peaceful world while highlighting its interest in projecting a positive image of the country. Ghana also seems to have a rationale of preventing a spill-over effect from conflicts in the region that might affect the country. In this regard, as is the case for Brazil, there is a sense of leadership and regional ownership to some of the Missions it contributes to.

## Conclusion

As UN peacekeeping works to respond to both the demands for flexibility and expansion, there are many challenges that lay ahead. Currently, the UN is facing different risks and threats in unstable environments. In certain contexts, as is the case of Mali, peacekeepers must be prepared to face asymmetric threats, which are similar in nature but not in scale, to those found in Afghanistan, Iraq and Somalia. The rebel groups active in the east of the Democratic Republic of Congo also require a special type of response adapted to the regional and local challenges that render that area unstable. The United Nations has taken measures to adapt to these risks, including the adoption of new technologies and more robust and flexible mandates.

Moreover, the UN is constantly struggling to improve its effectiveness and performance in order to deliver more potently on its mandates. This requires a clear political framework, adequate capabilities, and a solid political will on the troop contributors side. Therefore, efforts have been made to institutionalise a capability driven approach to peacekeeping that sets standards, assists in training, and measures performance with the creation of an Inspector General function for uniformed components, including for formed police units.

The important role played by emerging countries in peacekeeping is essential to face these challenges. Their participation as decision makers, troop contributors or external partners, reinforces the partnership needed to succeed in our endeavours. In particular, as analyzed in this article, their increasing efforts in peace operations through troop commitment reflects a sense of collective responsibility in a multipolar world, in which we are all responsible for building a more peaceful environment as we are all affected when this is not the case. Rising powers are also increasingly assuming a leadership role at a regional and international level, and to do so in a challenging, necessary and noble effort such as contributing to peacekeeping is commendable.

**Leonardo Nemer Caldeira Brant** is Ph.D. in International Law from Université Paris X , Nanterre. PhD thesis laureated with the "Prix du Ministère de la Recherche ", Paris, France. LL.M and LL.B; from Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (UFMG). Former Legal Adviser at the International Court of Justice (ICJ), the Hague. Member of the Advisory Committee of the International Criminal Court (ICC), the Hague. Visiting Professor at the "Institut des Hautes Études Internationales of the Université Panthéon-Assas Paris II" and at the Université Caen Basse-Normandie, France. Visiting Fellow at the Lauterpacht Centre, Cambridge University, UK. Professor of the XXXVII Course on International Law at the Organization of American States (OAS). Associate Professor of Public International Law at the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG) and at the Pontifical Catholic University of Minas Gerais (PUC Minas). Honorary President of the International Law Center (CEDIN-Brazil). Chairman of International Relations at the Brazilian Bar Association in Minas Gerais (OAB-MG). Director of the Brazilian branch of the International Law Association (ILA Brazil). Director of the Brazilian Yearbook of International Law (ABDI). Senior associate at Nemer Caldeira Brant Law Firm.

**Laura Cabral de Avelar Marques** is Researcher at the International Law Centre – CEDIN.

# The United Nations Security Council as a Centralising Agent of Normative Production

Leonardo Nemer Caldeira Brant
Laura Cabral de Avelar Marques

The Security Council's ability to produce binding rules, delegated by the United Nations Charter, is the international peacekeeping system's central feature. Such prevision finds its original legal ground in the Charter's 25th article construction, which establishes that the UN members agree to accept and apply the decisions made by the Security Council according to the above mentioned Charter. Even though this device is apparently clear, it does not reveal its nature's true dimension. After all, to whom is directed a decision from the Council? In other words, what is the real extension of its normative effects? On the other hand, what is the decision's authority founded on? What exactly is the range of the limitation regarding the expression "in accordance with the present Charter" from article 25? The answers to these questions have a two-sided nature, and even though not quite obvious, a deep impact in determining the tension level on international law, which oscillates between unity and decentralization regarding its normative process.

## The Scope of a Security Council Decision's Normative Effect

Formally, the decisions taken by the Security Council according to the article 25 from the United Nations Charter are undoubtedly directed to the Member States within the boundaries of each case. In thesis, the existence of a legislative power with general competence remains unknown to international law. Therefore, it is noticeable that the particularities of the normative production system at the United Nations, even though existing, should theoretically have a limited range regarding the States

which the formal consented link to the Organization's constituent treaty can be demonstrated. Such conclusion is notorious and it arises from the formal logic of necessary consent. In this case, on paper, establishing the authority potential of Security Council's decisions instead of its scope should be sufficient to determine its delegated role regarding the formation of international law. Such evidence, even though real at first, does not cover the issue entirely and new matters deriving from the redefinition of the role played by consent in international law formation can be observed.

### *The Scope of Security Council Decisions Vis à Vis Third States*

Given that the United Nations Charter is a treaty, it should be regulated by the 1969 Vienna Convention. Therefore, the article 2, paragraph 1, sub-paragraphs (g) and (h), in which third States are those that did not express the consent to be linked to the treaty, is applied. In this respect, the third States' real situation before a Security Council decision should be verified in advance. Such issue has an apparently limited scope due to the Charter's universal tendencies. Indeed, almost all of the international community States are currently members of the United Nations. Therefore, in 2005, the United Nations featured 191 members. In 1999, Kiribati, Nauru and Tonga were admitted. In the following year, so were Tuvalu, Serbia and Montenegro. In 2002, finally, East Timor and Switzerland acceded to the status of members of the United Nations. Such scenario implies that only rare examples remain outside the UN system, in which the State formula can be questioned, not only due to enduring conflicts such as the case of Taiwan, but also because of a specific private statute such as the Vatican[1] or the Palestinian Authority[2].

Nevertheless, such a universal scope is not obtained in a definite and final form. International society is not static in time. New states can emerge from the disruption of others or even have access to certain independency settled on the self-determination principle. Examples such as the Soviet Union or the former Yugoslavia collapse, or even the German or the Yemen unification are not discarded in the future. These examples can generate new States. The potential existence of third States regarding the United Nations Charter then evokes the problem of conciliating the argument in which the Security Council decisions are solely circumscribed to the States that have agreed to what comes from the Charter's article 2 (6), which determines that: "The Organization shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security." In other words, the question about the scope of the Security Council's decisions regarding the UN non-member States remains.

The answer is operated in a way to admit the Security Council's decisions binding strength regarding non-member States. Initially, such bond justifies itself in general International Law, which recognizes that the Security Council decisions' imperative nature does not necessarily arise from what is written in the Charter's 25th article. It is,

[1] Even though the Vatican is not considered a member State, it answers for a permanent mission at the Organization's center.

[2] Mathias Forteau, Le dépassement de l'effet relatif de la Charte, La Charte des Nations Unies, Constitution mondiale?, Regis Chemain, Alain Pellet, Cedin Paris X, Cahiers internationaux n. 20, Ed. Pedone, Paris, 2006, p. 130.

above all, the result of a customary law settled on the need of peacekeeping[3]. Such possibility is foreseen in article 38 from the Vienna Convention, which establishes that 'a rule set forth in a treaty from becoming binding upon a third State as a customary rule of international law, recognized as such.' Indeed, as supported by the ICJ in the Military and Paramilitary Activities in and against Nicaragua: certain rules from the Charter may enjoy consuetudinary status, which would make them binding to the international community's set[4]. In this case, it is not a problem concerning the Charter's extension to third States. It will impose itself not due to the conventional rules that come from the Charter and protect its relative nature. An artifice capable of ensuring the rule's binding nature while originated from another international law source can be hence observed.

Besides, the chapter VI from the Charter admits the possibility that a non-member State forward any controversy in which it takes part to the United Nations. Therefore, if it can benefit from such possibility, it is natural to consider that it should equally be linked to a specific Security Council decision due to a specific controversy[5]. Indeed, in 1960, when answering to a demand by the Republic of Congo – at the time not admitted to the United Nations yet – the Secretary General made a statement recognizing that the liabilities contained in articles 25 and 49 from the United Nations Charter were applied in analogy to the non-member States. Ergo, the practice consisted in demanding that these States resign the Security Council's resolutions due to the principles announced in article 2 from the Charter[6].

However, the problem is not extinguished, and it acquires a new framework in the 90's decade when, after the first Iraq war and the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, the Security Council adopts a new formula and decides that its sanctions deriving from chapter VII of the Charter must be extended to all States. At the same time, it demands that non-member States equally act according to its requirements[7]. It is noted that the decision's authority potential is decreased in this case. The integration of the non-member States as recipients of the mentioned resolution is accompanied by a demand, not by a formal decision. Thus, the rule is in fact extended to the non-member States, but with a differentiated normative authority level.

New queries can equally emerge from the application of article 24 from the Charter, which states that the Security Council must act on the member States behalf. Finally, can one understand that, before such delegated competence, the Security Council subsequently produces a decision concerning a third State without its consent? What is the reason to the existence of article 6 of the Charter if it is actually valid to member

[3] E. Suy e N. Angelet, Article 25, La Charter des Nations Unies constitution mondiale, J. P. Cot, A. Pellet, M. Forteau, La Charter des Nations Unies: commentaire article par article, Economica, Paris, 2005, p. 911.

[4] C.I.J. Rec. 1984, pp. 92 ss.

[5] Some authors refer to the boundaries contained in this argument before the quality of a certain State's permanent neutrality, as the Switzerland case before its admission at the United Nations was. In this case, the obligations that arose from a certain State's neutrality before general international law must prevail regarding the individual Security Council decisions. B. Simma, The Charter of the United Nations a Commentary, Oxford University Press, 2002, p. p. 460.

[6] E. Suy e N. Angelet, Article 25, La Charter des Nations Unies constitution mondiale, J. P. Cot, A. Pellet, M. Forteau, La Charter des Nations Unies : commentaire article par article, Economica, Paris, 2005, p. 909.

[7] Resolution 661 from 1990 and 757 from 1992.

States, as well as to the non-member ones? Lastly, before the exclusion of a specific State of the United Nations, would the Charter be applied to it? These are questions which answers are not yet clear, but they can demonstrate that the role of consent in forming International Law via a Security Council decision has a selective nature.

### *The Scope of the Security Council Decisions Vis à Vis International Organisations or Non-State Actors*

The Security Council may address the content of a specific resolution to international organizations or even to non-state actors. In the first case, the idea that the Charter can be indirectly applied to derived subjects of International Law is supported, since the members from any international organizations are equally members of the United Nations. Such argument is sustained by article 48 of the Charter, which states that: 'the action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the Members of the United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine'. Given this, 'such decisions shall be carried out by the Members of the United Nations directly and through their action in the appropriate international agencies of which they are members[8]'.

In the case of the non-state actors there is a tendency to request them to settle to the injunction contained in their resolutions, as the case of resolution 1333 in 2000, which imposes sanctions addressed to the Taliban regime in Afghanistan[9]. However, before non-state actors that are parties in a specific conflict, the Security Council tends to be more imposing and demands the end of hostilities. This is the case, for example, of resolution 1193 in 1998, which is directed to the various afghan factions, requiring the end of hostilities and violations of Human Rights[10].

### *The Security Council Decisions Affect Third States as They Serve as an Inspiration to the Normative Production Via Other Sources*

The Security Council certainly produces a derivative law that can eventually contribute to composing international law by other means and with a broader scope. This is the case, for example, of resolutions 827 in 1993 and 955 in 1994 concerning the institution of the International Criminal Courts to the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. These cases dealt with individual decisions regarding specific qualified situations as Peace threats and they were only valid to the two hence mentioned institutions. Nevertheless, when defining the concept of relevant crimes to this jurisdiction's competence, it is right to affirm that the Security Council decisions would considerably influence the international criminal law – still in construction – production process. Indeed, such resolutions exerted a decisive influence on articles 6, 7 and 8 of the Rome Statute, which establishes the International Criminal Court. It is right to affirm that, in this case, the Security Council legislates about internal matters characterizing a specific situation. There is no

[8] United Nations Charter, article 48.

[9] Resolution 1333 from 2000, paragraph 7.

[10] Resolution 1193 from 1998, paragraphs 2 to 15.

legislative perspective in general. Howsoever, the rule's scope may become broader by the international law production via other sources.

### *The Security Council Exceptional Role as a Legislative Actor*

Indeed, even though the General Assembly, as well as the Security Council, produces rules, they do not act theoretically as legislative actors. The reason is that none of these organs have the power to make general and impersonal mandatory decisions. Regarding the General Assembly, there is an obligatoriness gap, while in the Security Council's concern there is not a general feature. This means that, in general, the Security Council's decisions are made regarding a specific case, besides having a definite recipient. Therefore, this fact guarantees the necessary link between the Security Council rule's authority and the consent given at the moment of ratification or adherence to the United Nations Charter.

However, the Security Council's positioning takes a new and unexpected route since 2001's terrible events. Indeed, under the pretense of combating international terrorism, the Security Council modifies the interpretation given to its resolutions' scope. It is right to affirm that for a long time the Security Council has adopted a series of resolutions concerning international terrorism combat. As defined as a peace threat or an act of aggression, nothing would prevent the Security Council to take the necessary steps according to what is claimed in article 41 of the Charter or to endeavor the convenient actions set in article 42. In the meantime, while following its traditions, they were necessarily linked to specific events and with precise targets. The Security Council is not a legislative organ, and its normative production cannot be general or impersonal.

The perception of reality was modified in 2001, September the 28th, with the adoption of resolution 1373, completed on November the 22nd by resolution 1377. Initially, they were both entitled – "threat to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts". In this case, the use of the term "threat", importing the singular, can be observed, while a plurality of acts is actually considered. The resolution 1373 innovates in an extraordinary way because as it enjoys a mandatory nature, it has a place over a general and impersonal territory. In the first case, there is not a precise definition of what terrorist acts would be. In the second one, there is no exact target determination. After all, as being generated in chapter VII from the Charter's context, which allows the Council to make decisions that are mandatory for all States, it determines that "every international terrorist act" is considered a threat to peace. There were some precedents in every other sense, but never have both perspectives been found united in a single resolution. In this case, a true international legislation, in which certain future behavior is normatized in an impersonal way, is analyzed. The mutation is extraordinary.

Legislating to the future in an impersonal way, the Security Council makes the respect to decisions established in certain conventions mandatory to States, even if they have not necessarily ratified or have even expressed their suspicion about it. In this concern, the 1999 convention on repressing terrorism financing can be notably observed. Therefore, the treaty relativity principle can be delimited and a redefinition of the consent's role in creating rules becomes apparent. In this case, the Security Council enforces respect to the conventional

clauses it may find convenient. The situation is even more impactful as the Security Council itself may, as the case is, create a committee responsible for following the resolution's appliance, and consequently establish the material means of pressuring the recalcitrant States, threatening them with possible future sanctions. Therefore, it can be observed that, in this case, not only the consent logic is reprogrammed, but also the rules' potential effectiveness finds itself elevated when compared to the classic conventional procedure.

Such exception was apparently reused by the Security Council, which recurred to the same procedure in the dissemination of massive destruction weapons' concern. Therefore, through resolution 1540 from 2004, April the 28th, the Council affirmed that "proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, as well as their means of delivery, constitutes a threat to international peace and security". Actually, regarding chapter VII from the United Nations Charter, this means every State must abstain itself in any way from supporting non-state actors that try to obtain, produce, possess, transport, transfer or use nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, as well as their means of delivery. Yet, the Security Council establishes the control and prevention measures that must be taken for this purpose. In this sense, it can be noted that the Security Council action replaces the conventional procedure as it can act on States that have not yet adapted themselves to the requirements established in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons from 1968. The Council itself institutes a committee responsible for supervising its decision's practical and effective appliance.

## The Security Council Decision´s Binding Nature

It is clear that if on one hand the article 25 from the United Nations Charter, when determining that the organization members accept and apply the Council's decisions according to the Charter, recognizes its binding mandatory nature, on the other hand, it does not mean that all of the Council's decisions will necessarily be endowed with fully ruling force. The boundaries are theoretically both formal and substantial. The first one arises from the meaning given to the expression 'decision'. The Security Council uses various nomenclatures in which the normative authority can be distinct. On the second case, the issue regarding the amplitude of the expression 'in accordance with the present Charter' contained at the end of article 25 arises. Could the Council's decisions be submitted to a substantial validity control? In other words, what does saying that a Security Council decision has a mandatory nature and a binding effect mean?

Not all of the Security Council decisions are necessarily binding. The non-binding nature of the recommendations, as disposed by article 36 from the Charter, is nowadays pacific. The Court's position in the Straits of Corfu case is a good example. In this case, before the litigation that separated Albania from the United Kingdom, the Security Council, through resolution 22 from 1947, recommended the submission of the litigation to the ICJ based on article 36[11]. The United Kingdom, the plaintiff, attempted to establish the Court's competence based on the recommendation's binding nature. The Court rejected such argument determining prima facie the distinction between the decision's authority and the Council's recommendations.

[11] C.I.J. Res. 1948, pp. 3-32.

Therefore, determining the distinction between decisions and recommendations is not purely semantics. Nevertheless, such conclusion does not extinguish half of the recurring issues. May a recommendation, for example, become actually mandatory in the future due to exterior reasons to its creation process? In this case, can one agree with Kelsen when he claims that a recommendation's binding strength can be verified when evoking United Nations sanctions? It is highly unlikely. The sanction is not a rule's constitutive element, and it evokes a distinct type of Council intervention. There is no possible way of comparing a political solution's means of action to a specific controversy in which the Council must adhere to what is foreseen in chapter VI of the Charter and the coercive means founded on chapter VII.

Can we conclude that a Security Council decision's binding nature is solely verified when it is made under the auspices of the Charter's chapter VII? Such argument seems equally not true. First of all, it weakens the Council's role as a primary entity responsible for peacekeeping. Second of all, such argument would exclude from article 25's context the decisions founded on the Charter's chapter VIII, as well as those with an investigative nature that follows article 34 of the Charter, both admittedly binding. Finally, it seems obvious that such conception on the Council decision's binding nature violates the Charter itself, because if it was the initial intention, such determination would be discriminated and contained in chapter VII. This fact would make article 25 unnecessary, and recurring to articles 48 and 49 of the Charter would be enough to guarantee the Council decision's binding nature[12].

Another relevant matter arises from the fact that the term 'decision' used by the Charter in article 25 does not have a precise meaning. The used terminology can denote a variety of injunction or imposition forms, or, in other words, a specific imperative proposition. After all, when using terms as 'demands' or 'engage', do the Security Council's decisions remain binding? In other words, except for the recommendations, can the Security Council actually produce decisions on chapter VI's context in which the authority is variable? In thesis, such terminology does not exclude the decision's mandatory nature by itself. However, the Council may address its decision to non-state actors and require a future agreement. Such decision would be non-binding. The same can happen before injunctions that come from a presidential declaration claimed on the Council's behalf.

Therefore, the linking authority results from an evaluation of the Security Council's intention[13]. In this sense, the ICJ's position on its consulting opinion from 1971, June 21st, regarding the legal consequences to the South Africa's presence in Namibia is revealing. According to the Court, 'it is necessary to carefully analyze the content of a Security Council resolution before making conclusions concerning its mandatory effect'. Due to the features arisen from article 25 it is convenient to determine if its recurring powers were properly applied in each case. This means that it is necessary to verify the resolution's terms that must be interpreted, the debates that preceded its adoption, and the evoked rules from the Charter. In other words, all the elements that could help give precision

[12] B. Simma, The Charter of the United Nations a Commentary, Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 456.

[13] R. Higgins, The place of international law in the settlement of disputes by the security Council, AJIL, 64, 1970, pp. 1-18.

to the legal consequences of a Security Council resolution'[14]. Before such argument, the Court determined the mandatory nature of the Security Council resolution 276 in 1970[15].

As the ICJ claimed in its consulting opinion concerning Namibia16 or in its decision in 1992, April the 14th, on the Lockerbie case[17], the Council's decisions benefit from a prima facie legal appearance. Evidently, this effect arises from the consent given to the constitutive United Nations treaty, which establishes in its 25th article that 'The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council'. A preliminary matter then arises. Does the origin of the binding authority of Security Council decisions lie in the ad hoc acceptance of the United Nations members or is it represented as an indispensable pre-condition to peacekeeping, in accordance to the international community's interest? The question is not purely rhetorical and must be evaluated while enlightened by the foreseen requirement in article 25 that the Council's decisions be accepted and applied 'in accordance with the present Charter'.

After all, what do such requirements mean? Is it solely about the way in which States must apply the Council's decisions or does it establish that the States must only accept and apply the Council's decisions when they are conceived according to the Charter? The controversy lies in knowing if the States can control the Council's decisions and stop them from being effective by considering that they are not conceived in accordance to the Charter. The answer is unanimous. It is right to say that the Council's decisions do not depend on the posterior acceptance from its targets. Those are not the individual will's sum, but an act originated from a representative organ whose objectives are much broader than those of the authors and whose collective interest precedes the individual logic. Through the Security Council's actions, the United Nations must pursue its goal of peacekeeping and international security. Such obligation lies with its members and the article 2 (5) of the Charter demands that they support that goal's achievement. The posterior ad hoc control from States would certainly weaken such purpose and it would deprive article 25 from its utility.

Such understanding is accompanied by an extraordinary consequence. After all, if the United Nations system does not foresee a jurisdictional control mechanism in the manner of a constitutionality control, and if the expression 'in accordance with the present Charter' that accompanies the Council's decisions' binding recognition does not authorize the States to verify its implementation convenience, it is certain that this United Nations organ has the extent of its acting power, aiming to ensure the peace, elevated to an almost discretionary boundary. It interprets the scope of its own competence. Such understanding certainly contributes to the threat against peace interpretation's substantial amplitude. With certain freedom, the Security Council interprets such condition as it establishes the competence not only in conflicts between States and civil wars, but it also extends its scope to matters related to international terrorism, the transnational

[14] C.I.J. Rec. 1971, p. 54.

[15] E. Suy e N. Angelet, Article 25, **La Charter des Nations Unies, Constitutions Mondiale?**, Commentaire de la Charter des Nations Unies article par articles, Economica, 2005, p.914.

[16] C.I..J. Rec. 1971, p. 22.

[17] C.I..J, Rec. 1992, p. 15.

organized criminality, poverty, AIDS, etc. This perspective clearly demonstrates the changes in the Security Council role that, founded on cohesive interest, produces rules concentrated in nature with a broad substantial determination margin.

It is right to say that, in those cases, it is possible to consider that the States enjoy the capacity of verifying the procedure adopted when elaborating the resolution's regularity. However, even this limited control is subject to problems. First of all, the procedural control excludes the evaluation of the peacekeeping function's extension, which theoretically legalizes the Council's actions. Finally, the procedural control itself is limited, because in accordance to article 27 of the Charter, the adoption procedures of Council resolutions are deeply varied because of the powers exerted in a specific situation.

## Conclusion

The international peacekeeping system is based on the Security Council's capacity to produce binding rules, delegated by article 25 from the United Nations Charter. However, some issues may be pointed out as it is known that not all of the Security Council's decisions have the power to link all of the States, nor do they always produce binding regulations.

In spite of such matters, it can be claimed that Security Council decisions are addressed to the member States that take part in each specific case. In these States there is a formal explicit nexus that can easily be demonstrated, in accordance to the necessary formal consent logic. On the other hand, determining the scope of the Security Council decisions in third States' cases is not a simple task. Usually, such decisions can affect third States. Besides, as these third States are able to forward controversies to the United Nations, it is natural to say that they should corroborate the Council's decisions. But although almost all of the existing States are part of the United Nations, its universal range was not completely achieved: there is a different level of normative authority in both cases. The scope of the Security Council decisions can also be analyzed regarding international organizations and non-state actors. The international organizations are equally part of the United Nations, but not the non-state actors. Given that, it is right to say that the non-state actors are required to follow the Council's resolutions.

It is also important to consider the Security Council's decisions as an inspiration for other law sources. This influence can be exemplified by Resolutions 827 in 1993 and 955 in 1994, which establish the International Criminal Court to the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, respectively. It must be highlighted that the Security Council cannot be considered a normative agent, even though it produces binding rules and inspires other organs when creating laws.

Finally, as previously mentioned, not all of the Security Council decisions have a binding nature. Such a feature can be explained by the difference in the terminology applied by the Security Council itself, such as 'decision', 'regulation', etc., as they have different normative effects. Also, an evaluation of the Council's intentions is necessary to determine its decisions' scope.

**Gelson Fonseca Junior** is member of the Board of Trustees at BrazilianCenter for International Relations (CEBRI). He graduated in Law from the Universidade do Estado da Guanabara. He holds a Master's Degree in Latin American Issues from the Georgetown University and attended to the Rio Branco Institute's Course for Advanced Studies. Ambassador Gelson Fonseca started his diplomatic career in 1970, as Third Secretary. He was Alexandre de Gusmão Foundation's President and Chief Assessor at the Special Assessor of the Presidency of the Republic in 1995. He served as Ambassador in the Mission of Brazil to the United States, New York, and in Chile, to the Embassy in Santiago. In 2006 he was Consul General in Madrid, Spain and currently he is Consul General in Porto, Portugal. He was Brazil's Diplomatic History Professor at UnB and International Relations' Theory Professor at the Preparation for Diplomatic Career Course. He was a member of the Editorial Board at PolíticaExterna Magazine between 1999 and 2010, and of the Consultive Council for Disarmament Affairs and Human Rights from 2003 to 2007. He authored several publications, including "The study of International Relations in Brazil" and "The US and Latin America: multilateralism and legitimacy".

# Accountability and Security in a Multipolar World: Notes on the Effects of Multipolarity in Multilateral Mechanisms

Gelson Fonseca Jr

One of the essential features of the Westphalian international system is that states are primarily responsible for their own security, beginning with the preservation of territorial integrity. Accordingly, in thinking about international relations, one of the central problems is the study of how to ensure security conditions for each sovereign state. To simplify a lengthy debate, one can envisage two basic solutions: security relying on internal means, objective, such as the armed forces, and subjective, such as national cohesion; the second solution would be pursued within the interplay of relations between states and its most common manifestation would be in the alliances formed. Evidently, the internal and external guarantees are complementary and combine in a balanced and sufficient way, dependant on various factors, such as the degree of threat that a state suffers from and the distribution of power in the international system. It is evident that a small state, with a modest military and a hostile environment to endure, has requirements that differ to those of a superpower isolated by oceans. Another factor to consider when forming alliances in order to strengthen security is the system's distribution of poles of power. Recall two typical situations: in bipolar systems, such as in the Cold War, the superpowers offer security in exchange for ideological alignment to the block; in the multipolar systems, such as Europe in the nineteenth century, the situation is necessarily more complex and flexibility exists in the composition of alliances. Today, the international system has components of multipolarity, but with distinctive differences from traditional forms. One of the "new" features is precisely the fact that, since the Treaty of Versailles, traditional security mechanisms, supported by the use of power, coexist with multilateral institutions.

In fact, there exists with the United Nations, as having existed to a lesser degree with the League of Nations, an institutional alternative that provides security solutions to the state based on widely accepted legal provisions. Collective security models, neither in the case of the League, nor in the case of the UN, have intended to replace or eliminate the primary mechanisms of security, but rather increase the offer of security to individual states, indicating that in some cases, in the face of a threat to a state's territorial integrity, the international community is willing to act collectively to counter such threat. Another "advantage" of multilateral solutions is that, in theory, its legitimacy is assured beforehand, provided the procedure is followed that has been established by the institutions in order to mobilize in case of defence of one of its members. That is, in the case of the UN Charter, universally accepted standards for limiting the exercise of force constitute an additional factor in ensuring the sovereignty of states.

The collective security mechanisms, however, do not exist in a political vacuum. Multilateral norms are beacons for the behaviour of states, not impositions. The success or failure of the supply and provision of collective security is, in part, outside the logic of multilateral institutions. One of the factors that determine the success of the provision of multilateral security is precisely the distribution of power in the international system, which as prescribed by the realist school, is the base from which to explain the dynamics of the international system. Today, the international order is more complex, and other actors such as NGOs influence the international agenda and consequently, the behaviour of states. Yet, for the sake of argument, let's limit the analysis to the interaction between powers and thus, to the multipolar-multilateral relationship and its consequences for security. A natural question would be: Given the assumption that the contemporary international system consolidates the tendency towards multipolarity, what is the outlook for the multilateral provision for security? Would it be strengthened or weakened?

What does the theory state? The classical analysis of the multipolar dynamic takes as a reference the balance of power in international relations in Europe between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. For simplicity, there would be as a general rule, four or five countries, with equivalent capabilities for power, and the balance between them preventing hegemonic tendencies to crystallize. Aimed to preserve the territorial integrity, the movement triggers defensive alliances when it identifies hegemonic will in one of the actors, articulating mechanisms to block its advances. Like this, it has happened with Louis XIV, Napoleon, and Hitler, etc. There are two features worth highlighting: disputes typically involved gains in territories, and warfare was an alternative (either to assert or block hegemony). The classical formalization of the process is outlined by Morton Kaplan, who outlines, by using a few simple rules, the central theme of the classical balance of power. In his realist model multilateral institutions have no explicit place, since, in theory, the process of adjusting the balance occurs through the shifting of power.[1]

In the interwar period between 1918-1939, the international order has clearly been multipolar, with an important qualification: unlike the classical system, and to use the

[1] Morton Kaplan, "Variants on Six Models of the International System", in James Rosenau´s International Politics and Foreign Policy, The Free Press, Nova York, 1969, pag 291.

language of Kaplan, a "universal actor " is introduced with the League of Nations, whose precise objective is to ensure the resolution of disputes through formal rules.[2] With the formulas of the League for the peaceful settlement of disputes it is intended that the states resolve disputes by respecting the rules, which the political way of proceeding in the early years of the twentieth century would have been unable to achieve. However, this is not what has happened. The League of Nations becomes, over time, a waning component in international proceedings. Various elements undermine it, starting with the fragility of institutions, the absence of the United States, the inability to accommodate losers´ demands in a balanced manner, etc. The functionality of the League is subject to a particular political framework that assumes convergence between the European powers to contain Germany, and, simultaneously, maintains the territorial status quo on the continent and in the colonies. The framework falls apart, and as a consequence, the League becomes a super-structure of rules and resolutions without practical value, without influence over events that are going in the opposite direction to the ideals the League has set out. The failure of the security model leads to Germany´s hegemonic ambitions, thwarted by military means with the defeat of Nazi fascism. Between the wars, the collective responsibility for security is discarded, becoming an allusion on paper, without constraining or limiting the behaviour of states.

Looking back on what happened between World Wars; one possible conclusion is that the multipolar system can lead to opposing solutions: in the post-World War I period, it lead to the creation of the League; in the 1930s, it determined its collapse. What has been functional in 1920 ceased to be so a few years later. I.e. the fact that there is a multitude of poles as such does not pre-define the nature of the dynamics between them; whether it will be cooperation, competition or aggression. Multipolarity, reduced to its essence, opens up the possibility of international conduct that favours the containment of hegemonic vocations. But it does not say how or when this will happen, or if the multilateral apparatus will have a role in the process or not.

In the aftermath of World War II, multipolarity dissolves, and the United States and the Soviet Union, with their advantages of power and their capacity for ideological leadership, they begin to command the two blocks that are at the core of the international dynamics between 1945 and 1989. During the period, although the UN seeks to correct the institutional weaknesses of the League with the mandatory provisions of Chapter VII, the political support that should have ensured the functionality of the Organization empties itself with ideological confrontation and the Security Council's consequent paralysis. The paralysis has however been interrupted from time to time by episodes of convergence when the blocks have been interested to work together, such as during operations in Cyprus, in the Congo and during the Korean War. One striking example was the adoption of Resolution 242 by the Council in 1967, which stipulated the basis for peace in the Middle East; even though it has never fully achieved its objectives. With the end of the Cold War, having overcome the conflict between the blocks, the optimistic hypothesis was that the spirit of San Francisco would prevail, with a return to understanding amongst the powers, and consequently that the UN would fully carry out its functions.

[2] Morton Kaplan, **System and Process in International Politics**, Nova York, John Wiley&Sons,1957, p. 121.

This was not exactly what happened. From the early '90s until today, the trajectory of the United Nations has been, to say the least, uneven. There have been successes, such as the pacification of South Africa and national reconstruction in East Timor, yet on the other hand, there have been obvious failures, such as the genocide in Rwanda, the Srebrenica massacre, and more recently, the United States' disrespect for Security Council's decisions as illustrated by the invasion of Iraq. Today, with the crisis aggravating in Syria, and problems with North Korea and with Iran's nuclear program, the opinion prevails that the collective security mechanism has become fragile, incapable of dealing with the more evident and dramatic challenges - which may have far reaching global consequences. We are far from the scenario of the League's collapse; after all, the UN today has about a hundred thousand soldiers and police in approximately fifteen peacekeeping operations. Still, the diagnosis is that the UN has impaired its ability to justly act in tragic conflicts, especially when the interests of the permanent members in the Security Council clash.

One aspect of the political context where impediments to a substantial and prominent role of the Council persist is precisely the dispersion of power. Today, more than in the immediate post-Cold War period, poles of power have multiplied. Is it possible that there is a link between the collective security mechanism's paralysis and the nature of multipolarity itself?

As we have seen, multipolarity does not necessarily engender the reinforcement of multilateral institutions. Thus, in order to examine what is happening today, one of the preliminary steps is to understand what multipolarity is and to examine its consequences for the international order. To do this, it would not be inappropriate to compare today's multipolarity with "classic" multipolarity. There are some notable differences which may help to explain the recurrent deadlock to solutions proposed by the "multilateral option". First, unlike the multipolarity of the classical period in Europe, today, there are not five equal powers. The United States holds a special status, as it holds instruments of power, especially military ones, which differentiate it from the other poles. The identities of the other poles are known, albeit the number of countries that have weight in shaping the international agenda continues to grow. Alongside those which form the traditional and obvious poles, such as China, Russia, France, and Great Britain, striking by virtue of the universal scope of their international actions and their institutional advantages (such as a veto power in the Security Council), others "emerge", such as Brazil, India, Indonesia, Turkey, South Africa, Mexico, South Korea, etc., which certainly have an influence on regional issues and some weight in certain global issues (it is hard to think of solutions to issues as environment or trade without taking into account the disposition of Brazil and India). Their capacity to participate significantly on the international stage is however more vague. [3]

In classic multipolarity, hegemonic vocation focussed on territorial control; therefore, it was essentially characterized by spatial movements. Today, territorial disputes have

[3] In the post-Cold War era, the issue of defining the poles and how they were related became the object , and still was in 1994, in the article I co-authored with Celso Lafer, "Questions for Diplomacy in the Context of Undefined Polarities", Gelson Fonseca and Sergio Castro Nabucco (organizers), Foreign Policy Issues II, São Paulo, Paz e Terra, 1994. I took up the subject again in an article, "Notes on the Question of Polarities and the Future of Multilateralism", in the book New Ways of Law in the XXI Century: a tribute to Celso Lafer, Luis O. Baptista and Tertius S. Ferraz (coordinators), Curitiba, Juruá Editores, 2012.

not disappeared, some are explicit (Malvinas/Falkland, Bolivia's aspirations to the sea, the Diaoyu or Senkaku Shoto islands between China and Japan, maritime borders in Southeast Asia, the conflict between North and South Korea, India and Pakistan, etc.), others are implicit (the invasion of Afghanistan to eliminate the Taliban, or the hegemonic objectives of Iraq in the Middle East.). Despite the imminent likelihood of escalation of territorial disputes in Asia, the fact remains that there are tendencies heading for the opposite direction, especially economical tendencies, due to the high degree of integration of production and trade in a globalized world. The conflicts in the Middle East are another area that poses a risk to global security and where predominantly political factors of contention prevail.[4] Moreover, we can see that today, territorial gains do not necessarily bring strategic advantages (they may even bring the contrary; territorial control imposes enormous difficulties and rarely "resolves" problems, as illustrated by the case of Afghanistan or Iraq) and that disputes over hegemony are scattered in an international agenda that is extremely diverse. The crux of the dispute is no longer one of space, but rather one that centres on regulatory processes.

In fact, the contemporary international system, since the League, and more clearly since the United Nations, has a feature that differentiates itself from the classical system, as for example the European system between the treaties of Westphalia (1648) and Versailles (1919): the high level of regulation, which essentially refers to the creation of standards of legitimacy for almost all issues on the international agenda, in addition to the establishment of mechanisms to prevent and clear conflicts. The success in complying with the rules varies according to the issue. And we know that the lack of predictability, when it comes to compliance with the rules, is one of the key factors that render the multilateral system fragile, especially on the subject of security. Given the ubiquity of normative spaces, disputes (and agreements) between poles almost always occur in the context of regulatory processes; sometimes to control them, sometimes to extend benefits, and sometimes to block opponents' claims. Indeed, questions of security, trade, environment, values, combating organized crime and terrorism, and so forth, are directly or indirectly part of the agenda of multilateral forums. Today, more power and more hegemony often mean multilateral gains as well as the possibility to control the agenda of institutions and by doing so, to extract advantages in multilateral negotiations.

As the agenda that refers to issues that matter to the powers is very broad one of the consequences is that the objectives – and consequently the adversaries – do not remain the same over the course of time (as in seventeenth-century Europe when France wanted the territories of what is now Germany to remain divided, or when Great Britain wanted to prevent a country from becoming hegemonic in Europe, etc.). Nowadays, international processes are necessarily more variable, in part because of the remote possibility that a country, even the most powerful, makes an attempt for a transverse and global hegemony; provided that the classic rules of the balance of powers would apply and as such other

[4] In contrast to the Cold War period, the conflicts are not ostensibly manipulated and stimulated by super powers. Today, the powers differ with regard to the ways of how to deal with them, as it is especially the case with Russia and the United States in the Syrian conflict. Nevertheless, until now, there is greater caution and as such, a tendency to "contain" the forms of intervention and consequently, to avoid the expansion of the conflict, which would have unforeseeable consequences.

powers would ally together against such an ambition.[5] What we have, in reality, are alliances that vary according to the issue at hand, following the formula of what is called "variable geometry". The U.S. and EU agree on many security issues (not all), but can diverge on matters of trade and environment. The U.S. has several areas of disagreement with China and Russia, now dramatically more so in view of the conflict in Syria. But on other issues, China may be closer to the U.S. (where it invests a good part of its reserves), and does not want to see terrorism spread, since it could potentially become stage for extremists' activities. Another is that, with globalization, the poles are constantly interacting in various ways. The tendency is that there are preferential alliances (USA, Great Britain), ongoing rivalries around specific issues (the U.S. and China on issues of the limits of multilateral intervention in internal conflicts), incidental confrontations (Russia and USA in the Snowden case) but there are no radical movements of confrontation between the poles; even in times of conflict, diplomatic relations and dialogue continue.[6] As a rule, the discourse between the poles is rarely one of confrontation.

Complexity in the forms of interaction does not eliminate aspirations. Thus, in more general terms, the issue is to discuss what the overall dynamics of multipolarity are. If the agenda is diverse, the overall aim of the poles would be to amass specific gains in order to ensure increasingly strong positioning and hegemony. But precisely because the agenda is diverse, the accumulation of monopolistic gains is a difficult task, almost impossible. For each item on the agenda there is a different rationale and different ways to play the game. As background and before examining the specific security issues, two words about the dispute for hegemony in economic matters and values, which may serve for a point of comparison to be debated on security issues.

Economic hegemony would be built around three pillars: weight of the country's share of world GDP and its effects on the dynamics of the international system; control of the rules governing commercial and financial flows; and finally, projection of organizational production models. Historically, the example of Great Britain in the 19th century demonstrates how these three dimensions came together, which combined global importance of its economic presence, cutting edge production methods with the industrial revolution, and dissemination of the ideology of free trade and of the gold standard. In the post World War II period, between 1945 and 1970, the United States repeated the pattern of British hegemony. Having come to represent 50% of world GDP, the U.S. spread a capitalist model with low regulation and, in the sphere of regulation, the dollar prevailed as

[5] The defense of the advantages of multipolarity was made in the well-known article by Deutsch and Singer, "Multipolar Power Systems and International Stability," World Politics XVI in April 1964. The argumentation by Rosecrance is simple: "multipolarity affords a greater number of interaction opportunities ... The number of possible dyadic relationships in a multipolar system is very great, and it rises in increasing proportion to the number of poles. This plenitude of interacting partners means that there is a greatly reduced danger of mutually reinforcing antagonism between two states. Individual states will have associations with a great variety of others; their cross cutting loyalties will tend to reduce hostility expressed toward one particular state or one particular cause". V. Richard Rosecrance, "Bipolarity, Multipolarity and the Future", James Rosenau, op. cit., page 328.

[6] Regarding relations between Japan and China, see Richard Katz, "Mutual Assured Destruction: why trade will limit conflict between China and Japan", **Foreign Affairs,** July/August, 2013, pages 18-24. On the same issue, it is worth reading the interview with the Chinese Ambassador to the U.S., "Beijing's New Brand Ambassador: a conversation with Cui Tiankai" in which the list on the agenda of relations between China and the U.S. is dissected, but with the concern that discrepancies - and there are many - are invariably balanced with the discourse on the possibility of reconciliation and accommodation.

a reserve currency, and in the GATT, the most-favoured-nation clause (the Soviet model, the hegemonic socialist bloc, evidently obeyed other standards). It seems to be clear that today, no country would be able to combine all three dimensions that make up economic hegemony. Even though the U.S. position is privileged (still the highest GDP, around 20% of the world and largest importer of goods in world trade), the prospect seems evident that other countries, such as China, or groups such as the Union European, gain increasing weight in propelling the world economy. On the other hand, even though the market economy is the dominant model, there is not one hegemonic model of capitalism. Certainly the U.S. is not; the social democratic Europe is in crisis; and China has its own peculiarities, and relies on a combination historically difficult to replicate (a socialist bent with traits of market economy). The preference for market solutions is predominant, but open questions remain such as what market arrangements should prevail, what role should the state play, what is the optimal degree of openness. Another aspect is the influence that other countries, such as the emerging ones, begin to exert on the economic level.

In this context, in terms of regulation, one of the consequences is negotiation deadlock when specific interests clash because hegemony is not exercised, for example such a practice that could lead to a certain vision of trade prevailing in the Doha Round. That is, given the differences in economic interests, in the short or medium term, given the lack of a hegemon, the establishment of global rules is difficult, since the dispersion of power consequently diffuses the capacity to influence the negotiation processes. Multipolarity makes room for competition, which translates into varied institutional models, but in today's conditions, makes it difficult to articulate solutions to global order without crossing that difficult process of accommodation. In contrast, intense relations between the poles (expressed in the high value of total global trade), the proliferation of partial arrangements (integration agreements that could serve allocated partners), and the current rules for trade (albeit unsatisfactory) make more regulation dispensable for the system to function satisfactorily, especially for those countries less affected by the distortions that currently exist, such as in the agricultural market. The idea that more rules are a good thing for trade is universally accepted, but there are shifts from global to local. The most recent example is a proposed free trade agreement between the U.S. and the European Union.[7]

It is symptomatic that the greatest gain in regulation has been the dispute settlement system, which has a high degree of success to the extent that virtually all of its decisions are respected. It is clear that dispute settlements serve the settlement of individual cases and, in itself, would not be an expression of gains of hegemony.

In short, in the economic sphere, the poles are easy to identify (GDP, participation in trade, weight in trade and financial negotiations etc., G 20 descriptors), and the degree of regulation is high, even though today the obstacles to progress are evident. Finally, it must be considered that the biggest deficiency of regulation is precisely the tapering off of discussions on how to mitigate income inequalities between nations.

[7] Não tratei do tema financeiro que ampliaria muito a exposição.De qualquer modo, a evolução recente do G20 mostra as dificuldades de estabelecer "regras" que estabilizem processos de cooperação e criem mecanismos consistentes de solução dos problemas comuns.

A second area of hegemonic dispute would be of a symbolic nature and it concerns the definition of values that would constitute the fundamentals of the international legitimacy of states. In this case, the first observation is that there are no ¨strong¨ ideological articulations, as there have been during the Cold War, driven by the blocks´ leadership, and proposing models for social or political organization. They have been replaced by values that should be accepted as universal. In fact, today, the ideals of democracy and human rights would be central to the dominant values of international legitimacy, but not in a distinctly hegemonic way. One reason for this lies in the fact that no power identifies entirely with these values. Or more precisely, the power can use the language of human rights in an attempt to justify its international actions. However, violations for political interests seem to be the rule and not the exception. Furthermore, interpretations on how to put those human rights into practice vary with geography: the Asian interpretation of the human rights doctrine is not congruent with the Western interpretation.

The balance of the multilateral framework that deals with values, however, differs from what is presented above in the economic dimension. At a symbolic level, there exists a global consensus, expressed primarily in human rights conventions and in the WTO rules, being the equivalent with regard to the economy. Yet, advances in the promotion of human rights are not continuous and the Doha Round is stalled because of a lack of solutions in crucial issues such as agriculture. On the other hand, in the area of human rights, binding instruments, such as the WTO dispute settlement system, have not been implemented. Another difference is that, in terms of values, the poles are not necessarily global leaders. This is partly because hegemonic values, such as human rights, no longer are «owned» by the states that have the political power. One reason is that the poles are vulnerable and soft power depends on constant renovation (the example of the U.S. in Guantanamo demonstrates how it can be weakened when a country violates its international legitimacy). Another difference is the fact that the agenda of values is driven by NGOs, social movements, etc. The dispute for hegemony is confined to the political use of the human rights platform and the issue of democracy ends up to be linked to a strategic regime change. In the Cold War years, especially in the Carter administration, the human rights platform could still identify with the American leadership and thus, was used politically. Likewise, the Soviets gained symbolical value with social transformation causes. That is, the ideology has been associated with an increase in soft power. Today, this identification does not exist and to use soft power has become an exercise in another complexity.

A brief reference to the symbolic and economic dimensions of the international process attempts to show that multipolarity has specific effects that vary depending on the agenda: economic power does not guarantee soft power or soft power does not stimulate economic growth. In this context, how does the logic of security operate in comparison with the preceding ones? As we have seen, the primary responsibility for security is national and is based on national instruments of power or on alliances. Nevertheless, for some countries and for the international system as a whole, the security guaranteed by multilateralism increases in relevance, starting with the fact that it relies on legal standards and its criteria would be valid universally to all states. Secondly, the purpose of the rule of law in the UN Charter is that an international order is created in which the rules of non-intervention, respect for sovereignty, peaceful settlement of disputes etc.,

guide the behavior of states. Ideally, those rules would have a systemic effect, i.e. a better order for all. Yet realistically, those who need a legal system the most are precisely the ones with less power. In what way does multipolarity shape the scope of this ideal?

We know that multipolarity and the subsequent dispersion of its agenda leads to a redefinition of the multilateral response to security issues. For the purpose of its characterization, we can start with a few remarks on the dimension of security and the dimensions that have been discussed before, namely the economic and symbolic dimensions. Essentially, the key players are the same. Yet, there are substantial differences. While the dispute settlement system of the WTO is more predictable, and deals with predefined interests, the mandatory decisions of the Security Council are not always respected, subject to strategic interests and political settings. Furthermore, in the Council, there is the instrument of the veto, which indeed, as its name indicates, gives the five members the right to block any proposal they oppose. In other words, the field of security is unique in the way that there exist institutional privileges.[8] On the other hand, at the symbolic level, the standards of legitimacy, despite being subject to variations in interpretation, have a solid legal expression in the various human rights treaties; in terms of security the factor that triggers the process of collective security, the threat to peace, is not fixed. Or rather, additional to its interpretation being subject to strategic interests, the expansion of scope, by means of actions in failed states that are affected by internal conflict, renders concerted action by states in the Security Council even more difficult. The response of the Council, given a common understanding of what constitutes a "threat to peace", is always easier in cases of territorial invasion, for which the concept of collective security has been conceived originally.[9]

The characterization of the multilateral responsibility for security, however, requires other elements. The first thing to note is that in the specific area of security, threats between the poles are not direct, as they have been in the inter-war or Cold War periods. Despite disputes, as previously noted, the territorial integrity of the poles is not directly threatened and the chances of war between them are remote. On the other hand, under certain circumstances, territorial control might be part of a strategic move, as in the case of the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan by the U.S., and in a different scenario, as a reaffirmation of historical influence and with a different degree of legitimacy, it is worth remembering France's military presence in Côte d'Ivoire (2002) and Mali (2012). The absence of territorial disputes between the powers does not mean that a lasting kind of stability has been reached which permanently (or in the near future) discards the possibility of violence between them, or that disputes over influence have been overcome. In the Middle East and on the Korean peninsula, although contained in the short term, chances of conflict are closer and it is difficult to predict the global implications they would have. That is, we are far from a global zero sum game, since the quest for strategic advantage or for imposition of world views continues to be a fundamental part of the international process.

[8] In theory, in the determination of voting power in the IMF and World Bank, there are privileges that are defined, in theory, by objective factors linked to participation in the global economy. This would therefore be changeable over time, although we know the difficulties to alter the distribution of voting power in these institutions.

[9] For the drafters of the Charter, the objective was to avoid a repeat of the invasions that were carried out by Nazi Germany. Containing and repelling territorial invasions was at the core of the concept of collective security.

In this sense, one of the features of the contemporary international system is the special status of the U.S., which has unique advantages of power, both militarily and economically, in comparison with other poles. The unique global presence of the U.S. means that, first, they have "ideas and intentions" for the entire universal agenda. Even though few ideas are accepted and many remarks are challenged, the United States have a universal strategy which can be confused with a movement of hegemonic assertion. It would appear that the movement is inherent in the position of power of the U.S.. It can carry out military operations unilaterally, as it did in Afghanistan and Iraq, unlike any other country. But military success (even if, in both cases, limited and controversial) does not necessarily mean strategic gain (the initial victory over the Taliban did not put an end to the Taliban and it is difficult to assess if its intervention has played a successful role in containing terrorism; there is an evident gap between what they intended with the invasion of Iraq and the moment when the troops have been withdrawn). Nevertheless, there are two universal attitudes of the U.S. foreign policy that stand out. The first is strategic in nature and involves preventive measures which are adopted when faced with the prospect of the rise of other powers, especially China. Recently, the pivotal shift in focus towards Asia would be typical. The second is to participate in all regional conflicts, be it spontaneous participation, or participation in response to a plea from a party involved in a conflict. There are, in this case, several scenarios: (i) - those in which the American interpretation is one of a direct and immediate threat, leading, ultimately, to unilateral interventions, some with legitimacy (the case of the expulsion of Saddam Hussein's army from Kuwait in 1991 and the invasion of Afghanistan following the terrorist attacks of 2001) and others without legitimacy (such as the invasion of Iraq in 2003, which the Security Council had objected) (ii) - those in which there is a threat but not of a direct or imminent nature, and whose overcoming is highly complex from a strategic perspective, as in the case of North Korea's acquisition of nuclear weapons, or Iran's acquisition of nuclear capacities; (iii) - those in which, unlike the previously mentioned, do not have, even on the strategic level, clear solutions, usually because they involve internal conflicts, in which conditions to participate are contentious and outcomes are far from foreseeable (such as the situation in Syria or, more recently, the internal conflicts in Egypt, due to the fall of Morsi). For partners of U.S. actions of universal scope, the compensation can be support or alignment; although more commonly it is wariness and mistrust (even, in some cases, for the allies, as in the case of electronic spying conducted by the NSA). In any arena, the gains of the U.S. would be "different" since they would confirm and expand the unique position it enjoys. You do not get a picture of steady and systematic confrontation with a hegemonic will, because this is not manifested as such, but resistance is not uncommon.

The most conspicuous manifestation of this trend reveals itself in the difficulty the U.S. faces in taking action.10 Examples are many: difficulties in deciding how and when to withdraw troops from Iraq and Afghanistan; hesitations due to problems related to human rights and the dismantling of the Guantanamo prison; the inability of a clear stance on the episodes of the Arab Spring; dubiousness in the handling of the coup

[10] On the difficulty of taking action in Egypt, it is worth reading the article by Steve Simon, whose title is symptomatically: "The U.S. Have no Leverage in Egypt", International Herald Tribune, August 21, 2013.

against Morsi in Egypt, and so on. Let's say the problems are inherently complex, which involves strategic and symbolic dilemmas. It is worth an example: from the point of view of values, defending democracy and reconciliation is natural, however, how should such values be applied in situations such as the coup in Egypt? Defending the fall is to go against democracy, criticizing it seems to go against democracy of the streets (which had been defended as a positive movement until very recently). This leads one analyst to conclude "The result of this vacillation? All sides in Egypt now hate the United States, which are convinced backs their enemies".[11]

Thus, the core of the contemporary multipolar process is marked by unilateral distortions as compared to the classical model. The privileged pole, although fulfilling the conditions for universal presence, lacks the capacity to be prevalent. It is not hegemonic in the Gramscian sense and the military capacity serves little to address issues of the international agenda. This is one of the factors that would explain the paralysis of the international agenda and the difficulty of advancing on security matters both on conceptual issues, as in the case of responsibility for protection, and in specific conflicts. In itself, the relative decline of the U.S. would not be negative and could even create conditions for a more balanced order. However, "advancement" on security issues demands various conditions to be met, starting with legitimacy provided by the Security Council (and therefore, uniformity of vision of the five permanent members of the Security Council), and also the provision of regional actors to act (it is impossible to imagine a solution to Middle East problems without the cooperation of regional actors, or North Korea without China and Russia, etc).

For strategic reasons or other interests, an agreement between the super power, members of the Security Council and other actors, who necessarily participate in the "problem solving", does not happen frequently. It therefore creates a new and curious situation: the actions of the most powerful can be blocked while at the same time, the other poles, given the range of positions on the agenda items, do not possess adequate capacity to create an alternative reality for the international order. For this reason, there is a void in legitimacy - or weakness in the arguments that would lead to strong legitimacy and thus concerted action from the international community - with obviously paralyzing effects. Multipolarity is often more competitive than cooperative, and consequently, effectively can block multilateral solutions. On the other hand, as it is not engineered for complex scenarios of multiple interactions between the poles, competition gets diluted in a fragmented agenda, and direct conflicts between the powers are contained by the dynamics of globalization, which revalidates the idea of Montesquieu, that "l'effet est naturel du commerce porter à la paix" (Peace is the natural effect of trade).

With the blockade of the Security Council to act in some dramatic conflicts and the inertia in the movement to reform it, the impression is that for the permanent members,

[11] Jonathan Tepperman, "Waffle, Vacillate, Fail", International Herald Tribune, 10-11/08/2013. The author, who examines the symbolic value of the operation and U.S., concludes: "What this suggests is that even more than having the right policy is having a policy, and sticking to it. By trying to play both sides, the Obama administration is winning over neither. It's left with the worst of all words, and both Americans and the people of Egypt, Turkey, Cambodia, Zimbabwe (you can go down the list) are paying the price".

it is more convenient to accept that the future shall be a repeat of the present, in which the powers are accommodated and unthreatened in the short term, rather than to imagine other possible future scenarios of increased cooperation. Security responsibilities become diluted, suggesting that the problems were greater than the willingness to solve them. The bleak picture does not change, but the assumption that there exist factors that could induce the transformation of multipolarity into a cooperative, and at the same time its non-occurrence, is a crucial issue in understanding the political dynamics of our times. One hypothesis is that there is still ongoing cohesion between the emerging powers (or cohesion is episodic, as in BRICS). As such, conditions for joint exercises for global projection have not yet been defined. We return to an earlier topic.

The dynamics of the poles are a necessary reference in order to understand the international process, but as they tend to block rather than create solutions, there are characterizations of the international system that tend to dismiss them as builders of order. While they serve to begin to explain how the system works, they do not complete the explanation. An exemplary article in this line, not only by its title, is that of Lllana Perez, "Depolarization", which presents the viewpoint that with the decline of the U.S. and the rise of the emerging countries, a new international structure would be defined. However, he says that "there is a complex network of interests where power is dematerialized in each subsystem that hierarchy is not defined [...] Therefore, it is more appropriate to refer to a depolarized world ".[12] Josef Joffe makes a similar reflection in analyzing the relationship between the U.S. and Germany, the two most powerful Western countries, concluding that, for various reasons (such as "self-containment" of the U.S.), "[i]n the West, the U.S. and Germany are the last two men standing, yet they would rather sit down in their respective corners. The price is high: the 'nonpolar' or an 'a-polar'world where nobody is in charge".[13] Disregarding any eventual excess rhetoric from analysts, the fact remains that what is missing are clear parameters to determine order, and more than that, predict in which way it will evolve to address security issues.

There is a deficit of order, but with results that are not uniform. It would seem that disorder is localized. It is evident that the minimum grounds for an "international society", as defined by Heddley Bull, are met. Planes arrive and leave international airports, letters reach their addressees, multilateral meetings occur frequently, norms that protect sovereignty from territorial invasions are respected (digital ones less so), treaties are fulfilled, trade and financial flows are not interrupted. Nevertheless, there are grave outbreaks of disorder that trigger humanitarian tragedies, and often multilateral institutions are incapable of concerted action in order to overcome them. As of today, multipolarity is competitive and the first victims are exactly the societies that most need the functioning of provisional multilateral security. Today, the most deplorable statistics are those of deaths in the Syrian conflict or in the refugee camps in Africa. The paralysis of the Security Council on certain issues can affect the prestige of the U.S. and Russia, but does not affect their populations directly.

[12] Carlos Perez Llana, "Depolarization of International Politics," Foreign Policy, Vol 21 No 4, 2013, p 65. In an article with Celso Lafer, attention is called to the fact that one of the consequences of the Cold War would be the articulation of a system with "undefined polarities."

[13] Josef Joffe, "Two Great Powers, No Real Leadership", **Wall Street Journal**, June 17, 2013.

Is it possible to reverse the process, to increase the supply of multilateral security, and to strengthen the fundamentals of international responsibility in the order? Of course the answer is very speculative. Today, as stated, it seems the future will for some time, be a repetition of the present. On the horizon, one cannot see noteworthy movement to strengthen the prestige of the multilateral institutions that deal with security. But, in the context of the analysis that has been made so far, the path would be to study the perspective of the dynamics of the poles, which is particularly difficult because as we know, foreign policy options, contrary to what the realists say, do not depend exclusively on the position in the hierarchy of power.

Thus, for purely illustrative purposes, it is worth considering, as a first hypothesis (indeed the one to be recognized most easily), the rise of the new poles - the emerging countries. A positive scenario would presume not only their ascension, but their international conduct would serve to diminish friction and stimulate the strengthening of multilateral institutions. One example of an attempt to mitigate crises was the effort of Brazil and Turkey to reach an agreement on the nuclearization of Iran. It did not have immediate success, but serves as a model of possible gains from actions in multipolarity. On a more general level, the behaviour of some emerging powers, such as Brazil, India and South Africa (IBSA), could be more aimed at strengthening multilateralism, not only because they traditionally are organized in multilateral forums that allow for the possibility to comment on global issues. Hence the importance of a Security Council reform, to expand the legitimacy of the body, but above all to signal a new understanding of the international order itself. In other words, the international community recognizes the need to renew the mode of articulating new ways for resolving international crises.

Another way would be to change the conduct of the powers, adopting a more open attitude in multilateral institutions that articulate solutions to security crises. Which forces could determine this new attitude? Consider the example of the USA. It is unlikely to be internal forces, similar to the popular pressure exerted to end the war in Vietnam. Thus, it is more likely, in the face of impasses such as humanitarian tragedies which plague public opinion, that the U.S. would approach by parliamentary majorities in multilateral forums, as occurred in the case of the removal of Gaddafi; failure of unilateral solutions would be another factor favouring the use of multilateralism. The positive scenario is that the "multilateral conversion" of the U.S. would be achieved by the sum of marginal gains and not in a sudden and drastic way. There is no shortage of historic bills that defend robust multilateralism, yet which are then followed by attitudes and policies that run counter. In the current and foreseeable framework, poles, both traditional and emerging, can block the legitimacy of unilateral U.S. actions. On the positive side, this can increase the possibility of creating room for negotiations that serve both the U.S. and multilateral institutions. One should therefore imagine the advantages a simultaneous conversion to multilateralism would bring to the permanent members of the Council (and other influential powers), and imagine that they accept, not just from a national strategic perspective, but a perspective that is articulated based on universal interests negotiated in multilateral institutions and which would bring more stable foundations for international order. Here we would be closer to utopian thinking than realist; however, without a dose of the former, the prospects for transformation disappear.

Finally, to illustrate the relationship between globalization and the poles, it is worth reviving an observation from Richard Rosecrance. Commenting on the initiative for a free trade agreement between Europe and the United States, he clarifies that one of the goals is to "revive the West", since such an agreement would have sound fundamentals in the political and strategic dimension and thus, would act as a counterweight to the growing power of China. Nevertheless, and here is where his observation becomes relevant to what we are discussing, "[t]he balance of power leads to conflict. But an overbalance attracts others to its economic core." 15 Rosecrance points out the multiple links between the U.S. and China and describes the paradox that globalization has created: more power at one pole may not mean more conflict but rather the opposite. "In the end, trade - not war - will attract others to the West's economic core." Alliances, ideological ones or the ones solely geared towards ensuring security, are characterized by the advantages of closer economic ties.

These summarizing observations are clearly insufficient to draw a more accurate picture of the future. They serve primarily to point to forces that may in some way enhance the "provisional multilateral offer" of security. In spite of paralysis in the face of specific crises, the discourse of the poles, both classic and traditional, is, not as a rule, a discourse that reveals structural antagonisms. The tribute to multilateral institutions continues to be provided and there is no proposal to diminish or weaken the UN. This is a modest signal, but in the present circumstances, still valuable.

The author acknowledges valuable commentary from Benoni Belli that has enhanced this paper. The text is written in a personal capacity and does not intend to present the official opinion of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the framework to which the author belongs.

**Torsten Stein** is Professor of International, European Union and Comparative Constitutional Law and Director of the Institute of European Studies (Law Department) since 1991. Before, he spent many years as Senior Research Fellow at the Max-Planck-Institute of Comparative Public and Public International Law, Heidelberg (Germany), and as Professor at the Heidelberg Law Faculty.

# Defense White Paper and International Law

Torsten Stein

Defense White Papers deal with the deployment of the Armed Forces of a State, either defending its borders or to restore security in the interior, if the Constitution so allows, and nowadays is thought more and more in the context of peacekeeping, peacemaking or peace enforcing in other parts of the world.

For a government to order such deployment beyond the borders of the State, it should be enough that the deployment is compatible with international law. The constitutional situation in Germany is a bit different, ever since the Constitutional Court decided in 1994 that any deployment of the Armed Forces beyond the country's borders and for purposes other than the defense of the country requires prior approval from the national parliament.[1] This approval is nowadays regulated by law2 and often carries a number of "caveats" (restrictions) regarding the size of the force, the weapons to be used and a time limit for the deployment. If that concerns a multinational peacekeeping effort, such "caveats" are not overly popular among Germany's allies.

But, to mention a few of the problems a State might face in that respect, what are the instruments from international law that have to be respected in such a case? First: Under Art.2 No.4 of the United Nations Charter, the use of (military) force is prohibited unless justified by individual or

[1] Federal Constitutional Court, 12 July 1994, Case 2 BvE 3/92, BVerfGE 90,286.

[2] Entsendegesetz (Deployment Act) of 18 March 2005, BGBl (Federal Gazette) I, 775.

collective self-defense, or by a mandate or the authorization of the Security Council of the United Nations under chapter VII of the Charter.

We all know that "true" United Nation's forces never became a reality and that in all of the rare cases in which the Security Council authorized the use of force, it had to appeal to a "coalition of the willing". International law experts debate until today, whether Resolution 678 of the Security Council regarding the Iraq-Kuwait War in 19903 was just reminding States of the right to collective self-defense on the side of Kuwait, or ordering a military sanction under Article 42 of the UN Charter.

Undoubtedly, no State is obliged under international law to be "willing". States are only prepared to engage in foreign conflicts with their armed forces if they see their own interests at stake. Articles 43 and 45 of the UN Charter never became effective.[4] Why did the Member States of NATO intervene in the Yugoslav crisis? Because they were afraid of massive refugee flow into their own countries. Why did the same States not intervene in the genocide in Rwanda? Because that was far away and a rare topic in the 8 o'clock TV news. One might condemn that attitude from a moral standpoint, but that is the reality.

Also a very controverted debate was during the Kosovo conflict, the question was whether a group of States or an international organization like NATO could take things into their or its own hands in the case that the Security Council was unable to decide due to an announced or expected veto.[5] "We could not simply look on further to ethnic cleansing" was the argument. But one should be careful in construing "Operation Allied Force", as the NATO air strikes were called at the time, as the beginning of customary international law. There is certainly a difference between one or two States intervening with military force into a conflict in their neighborhood, and an alliance of at the time 19 democratic States doing the same. But the customary rule that could develop would not be one only for democratic States, governed by the Rule of Law. And another question would be: who is responsible in the end, for the operation as a whole or for singular violations of the humanitarian law applicable in armed conflicts?[6]

And also the new concept of "Responsibility to Protect", discussed and adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 2005 and 2009[7], is not a "carte blanche" for unilateral interventions. The concept is composed of three principles:

1. The State carries the primary responsibility for protecting populations from genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing, and their incitement;
2. The international community has a responsibility to encourage and assist States in fulfilling this responsibility;
3. The international community has a responsibility to use appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other means to protect populations from these crimes. If a State is

[3] Resolution 678 (1990)

[4] Cf. B.Simma, The Charter of the United Nations, A Commentary, Vol I, Arts. 43 and 45 (Oxford 2002)

[5] Cf. Ch. Tomuschat (ed.), Kosovo and the International Community, A Legal Assessment (Kluwer 2002), passim.

[6] Cf. T. Stein, Kosovo and the International Community. The Attribution of Possible Internationally Wrongful Acts.Responsibility of NATO or of its Member States?, in: Ch.Tomuschat, Ibidem., p.181S

[7] A/Res/60/1 of 25 October 2005 and A/63/677 of 12 January 2009 (Report of the Secretary General).

manifestly failing to protect its populations, the international community must be prepared to take collective action to protect populations, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations

But it is for the international community to decide whether sovereignty no longer protects a State from foreign interference, if that State does not live up to its duty to protect. And the international community is first and foremost represented by the UN Security Council. The Security Council, by the way, sharpened the concept of responsibility to protect in its Resolution on Libya, concerning the protection of the civilian population and authorizing UN Member States willing to do so to "take all necessary measures" (which denotes the use of force).[8] But the Security Council might gamble away its primacy if it is constantly blocked by veto, as we see nowadays in the Syrian conflict, and should not be too surprised if other international organizations seize control. The fact that they hesitate to do so is mainly due to doubts as to which group of up risers one should support.

Speaking of sovereignty: The situation is different, when mere peacekeeping is at stake, or, as international lawyers say, "Chapter 6 ½" of the UN Charter. Peacekeeping presupposes the consent of the sovereign territorial State on whose territory foreign peacekeeping forces shall be deployed, and that State has a say also regarding the Rules of Engagement. It certainly helps, if the UN Security Council is involved, but that is not necessarily a precondition.

One does, however, need the Security Council, if it turns out that peacekeeping is not enough and that peace enforcement is necessary, probably against the will of the territorial State. That cannot be attained just through a "mission creep", but needs a robust mandate from the Security Council, as we have seen in Bosnia-Herzegovina, when IFOR became SFOR.[9]

One additional, but different, aspect, finally: It is not only general international law (UN law), that comes into play, but nowadays also the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC),[10] when States decide to engage their armed forces in conflicts abroad. The Statute of the International Criminal Court lists in Art.8 all grave breaches under the Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocols, as well as (albeit a bit imprecise) the violations of the prohibitions under the UN Weapons Convention and related Protocols, as "war crimes". The Statute becomes relevant when States have ratified it (as Brazil did in 2002), if troops are deployed to the territory of a State that has done so, or if the Security Council decides to report a situation to the ICC; in that case adherence to the Statute by the States involved would be irrelevant.[11]

If States decide to participate in peacekeeping or peacemaking operations abroad, that is mostly done within the framework of a multinational force. In Kosovo as well as in

[8] Resolution 1973 (2011) of 17 March 2011

[9] Resolutions 770 (1992), 787 (1992) and 816 (1993) and 836 (1993).

[10] UNTS Vol. 2187, p. 90; ILM 37 (1998), p. 1002.

[11] Cf. Arts. 12 and 13 of the Statute of the ICC.

Afghanistan we had at times way over 30 national contingents, different in size. And not all of them were bound by all the Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocols, and even less by the UN Weapons Convention and Protocols.

The provisions of the Geneva Conventions are mostly considered today as customary international law, but certainly not the Additional Protocols or those of the UN Weapons Convention. Are national contingents only bound by what their own State has accepted? Or bound by everything listed in Art.8 of the ICC Statute, if they operate on the territory of a contracting State? Can the Commander of a multinational force say, "Let the troops from State X do it, they are (nationally) not prohibited from using, e.g., Napalm, laser weapons, plastic ammunition or booby traps?" That commander could face personal criminal responsibility under Art. 28 of the ICC Statute, even if he has not ordered, but simply had not thought about it. Still an open question.[12]

[12] Cf. T. Stein, Zur international-strafrechtlichen Verantwortlichkeit des Befehlshabers einer multi-nationalen Streitmacht (The international criminal responsibility of the commander of a multi-national force) in: Frowein et.al. (ed.),Verhandeln für den Frieden (Springer Berlin 2003) p. 449

**Antonio Jorge Ramalho** is Professor of International Relations at the University of Brasilia and Director of the Pandiá Calógeras Institute of the Ministry of Defense. The author alone is responsible for the opinions that follow, which shall not be associated to the official positions of the Brazilian Government. The author is grateful to CNPq & CAPES (through Pro-Defesa) for their support to the researches that made this article possible.

# Brazil in the Global Security Order: Principled Action and Immediate Responses to Long-Term Challenges

Antonio Jorge Ramalho

In these pages, I discuss Brazil's foreign policy with the purpose of informing readers on traditional values and current attitudes that condition the country's decisions in the international realm. Before that, I single out some of the main trends in current international relations to contextualize Brazil's positions. I then portray Brazil's perceptions of these trends and its reactions to the faltering leadership that threatens the existent global order. I begin with a dilemma that involves sovereigns and their citizens, institutions and global governance.

We are trapped in a dilemma. Current global norms and institutions do not provide the levels of governance necessary to effectively manage the prevalent interdependence of economies and societies. Initiated at the end of World War II, only recently has this process become acute. And, depending on how the international community manages it, it may bring promises of peace and prosperity for humanity: Unaddressed, it will endanger the current world order, favoring realpolitik approaches to handle the installed multipolarity. Properly managed, in contrast, it may involve emerging powers in reducing instabilities, strengthening the role played by responsible nation-states.

It is in the interest of both emerging and established powers to pursue the latter, since among the stakeholders of the current order they are the ones that have benefited most. Non-state actors and small countries take less advantage from the current order, but even they will be better off with improvements in the level of stability currently observed in world affairs.

However, existing institutions are unable to reconcile the needs of states and individuals as they evolve nowadays. Two documents illustrate this central dilemma inherent in contemporary international relations: The Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. While the former focuses on the interests and preferences of political communities (organized as moral persons known as sovereign states), the latter asserts basic human needs, which ultimately may be at odds with the sovereigns' core preferences.

Brazil's foreign policy acknowledges this challenge. It advances both moral and pragmatic initiatives with the purpose of improving existing international institutions to produce a more functional framework for current international politics. On one hand, it stresses the need to reinforce a global political order based on rules, rather than power. On the other, it singles out processes that are particularly important to stabilize the international society, reducing pressures on governments and creating constructive dynamics that may engage governments in taking responsibility for the destinies of their societies. In brief, Brazil proposes new institutions and political processes to improve global governance, bridging the gap between expectations and possibilities worldwide.

## The Context and how Brazil perceives it

Individuals have become the main referent to political decisions regarding security, welfare, and fairness. Yet, the international order is set as a function of polities, particularly nation-states.

Better informed and empowered by new technologies, individuals compare their living condition not only to their own historic record, but also to those of other communities all over the world[1] The many indicators created by international organizations in the last several decades, topped by the Human Development Index, the Millennium Goals and initiatives such as the Social Progress Index, provide the parameters to measure the effectiveness of public policies at the global level[2]. At the end of the day, individuals, human security and their welfare anchor political processes and set the courses for governmental action.

This creates a gap between citizens and their governments. Individuals' expectations are plenty and complex, while governments lack the possibilities to fulfill their citizens' demands. As a matter of fact, governments are requested to act upon processesthat they cannot control. Kept under permanent pressure by citizens and firms alike, they have to deal with increasing demands while observing progressive reductions in their room for maneuver. This frustrates citizens, who tend to become agitated and manifest for their rights. These movements appeared clearly in the Arab Spring, but also at manifestations as different as the ones observed in Turkey, Brazil, and the United States.

[1] Freidman, B. The Moral Consequences of Economic Growth. Alfred Knopf, New York, 2005.

[2] Porter, M., Stern, S. & Loría, R. A. The Social Progress Index 2013. The Social Progress Imperative, Washington, D.C., 2013. Available at http://socialprogressimperative.org

As a result, sociopolitical dynamics create instabilities and challenges to security, both at the domestic and at the international level. The EU Scenario document focusing on 2030 has captured it from different angles.[3]

Put differently, individuals have become more conscious of their needs, actual or imagined, and push governments to their limits, which are shorter than in previous times. This process has increased the characteristic degree of complexity of the international system. New technologies have fundamentally changed social intercourses, as well as the nature of interactions between agents, including in the international realm, accelerating the pace of change.[4]

As it happens in non-linear systems, the international system suffers substantial transformations that result from unexpected or unpredictable interactions. It is clear that the current global governance architecture is ineffective to promote peace, stability and sustainable growth in the long run. Hence, acute crises emerge every now and then, occasionally motivating ad hoc emergency responses. In the US, scholars like to portray these dangerous turning points as cliffs that, if things go right, we avoid falling in. The problem with this ad hoc system of management is that it will only take us from one cliff to another – if we are lucky. The whole system requires structural adjustments, which are politically very difficult to achieve, as the enduring crisis in Syria illustrates.

In other terms, the international order needs reform. But it lacks leadership. Reforms need to be incremental to avoid confrontation and engage key players. They have to address the anxieties of dispersed individuals, because the political game has changed in their favor. Though the game has evolved in its essence, it happens within obsolete frameworks.5 Not surprisingly, SIPRI Yearbook 2013 focuses on four significant fields that exhibit knowledge gaps, two of which are related to institutional failure, poor governance, and the institutions for security and peace; one pertaining to the relation between violence and socio-economic and political outcomes; and only one with the root causes of specific conflicts. It also records increases in world military expenditures, either in absolute terms (1,742 US$ b. in 2012, up from 1,291 US$ b. in 2003, at constant 2011 prices and exchange rates), or in military spending per capita: current US$ 249 in 2012, up from current US$ 144 in 2003. Even the world military burden, i.e., world military spending as a percentage of world gross domestic product (both measured in current US$) increased from 2.4% in 2003 to 2.5% in 2013.[6]

These trends highlight one important fact: notwithstanding the significant increase in the costs of war that deep interdependence has produced, so far traditional wars remain

[3] ESPAS: Citizens in an Interconnected and Polycentric World. Global Trends 2030. ESPAS / EU Institute for Security Studies, Paris, 2012.

[4] Reasonable overviews of this process and its implications remain Held, D. et allii. Global Transformations. Politics, Economics, and Culture. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1999; Clark, G. A Farewell to Alms. A brief Economic History of the World. Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 2007; and Barnett, M. & Duvall, R. Power in Global Governance, Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005.

[5] See the ESPAS Report 'Global Trends 2030 - Citizens in an Interconnected and Polycentric World', available at http://www.iss.europa.eu/publications/detail/article/espas-report-global-trends-2030-citizens-in-an-interconnected-and-polycentric-world/; and National Intelligence Council, Global Trends 2030: Alternative Worlds, Washington DC, 2012.

[6] SIPRI 2013 Yearbook. Armaments, Disarmament and International Security. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013.

not only a possibility; they are a growing market in many parts of the world. Violent conflicts in Africa, raising tensions in the Middle East and in the South China Sea point to the fact that governments have to deal with traditional and new threats simultaneously. In this context, South America remains an isle of stability in terms of interstate conflicts.

Whatever the case is, bar a handful of peculiar political conundrums, such as the conflicts involving Israel & Palestine, Greece & Cyprus, North & South Korea, and more recently Syria, citizens no longer believe in traditional narratives that attribute to other peoples the responsibility for their social problems. Governments face greater, and increasing, difficulty to manipulate their citizens' opinions and to engage them in wars. This phenomenon is far from new: "Gone were the days of the treaties of Utrecht and Vienna, when aristocratic statesmen and diplomats, victor and vanquished alike, met in polite and courtly disputation, and, free from the clatter and babel of democracy, could reshape systems upon the fundamentals of which they were all agreed".[7]

Indeed, gone they are. Heads of state nowadays approach their mutual relations with one eye on their interest in the international realm and the other on domestic politics. In the Mid-20th Century, Polanyi captured this great transformation, clearly explained, for example in regard to the financial markets – which are among the most regulated areas of international affairs –, by Barry Eichengreen.[8]

In this context, a culture of tolerance is key to provide states with new arrangements to govern their common challenges.

It is a context in which Brazil, with a long history of respect for international laws and institutions, and an experience of peaceful settlement of disputes illustrated in almost 150 years of peaceful coexistence with its ten neighbors, has shown prudence and ability to arbitrate conflicting movements. Therefore it thinks it has much to offer to the improvement of world order. It claims for robust international regimes, articulated in more legitimate international organizations, to provide the nascent international community with the means to create the public goods necessary to promote inclusive and sustainable growth in the global sphere.

Since the early days of the multilateral system, at the Hague Peace Conference of 1907, Brazil has valued structured political networks based on the principle that forbids legal discrimination between sovereigns. As the global governance process has evolved towards establishing plenty of regimes that help states reach consensuses on joint actions towards common challenges in different areas of international relations, the UN has emerged as the potential organization to institutionalize global governance. But to become that it requires improvements to adequately represent its constituents.

[7] Churchill, W. S. Memoirs of the Second World War. Houghton Mifflin Co, Boston, 1959: 3.

[8] Polanyi, K. The Great Transformation. The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time. Boston, MA, Beacon Press, 1944; Eichengreen, B. Globalizing Capital. A History of the International Monetary System. Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1996.

The way to proceed, therefore, is for all governments to operate preferentially within these arrangements, particularly within the UN. After all, embodying the set of institutions built by the international community comes closest to what a global government would be, which is obviously more legitimate than any bilateral or plurilateral arrangements that could be imagined. In a world of deeper and growing interdependence, reforming this institution to stress its structural virtues may me more appropriate than relying on traditional agent-to-agent political dynamics, be they inspired by either neorealist or neoliberal approaches.

## Brazil's Positions and Initiatives

Brazil, thus, defends reforming institutions. Antonio Patriota's call for raising "awareness on the importance of associating development with the security strategies we conceive towards sustainable peace", as well as for increasing the cooperation between the UNSC and the Economic and Social Council, illustrates this commitment[9]. This cry has been reinforced by incumbent Minister Luiz Alberto Figueiredo in his inauguration, with a speech that concentrated on deepening the contributions Brazil may offer to enhance the current order:

"(…) our voice has been gathering strength in defense of our values and interests stated at the multilateral level and the great issues of the international agenda, ranging from sustainable development to human rights and social affairs, from international peace and security to the multilateral trade system. (…) Brazil is a player that cannot be sidestepped."[10]

Institutions are necessary to promote stable, roughly predictable political encounters, avoiding unstable environments, where agents fear the future, exaggerating their differences, engendering conflicts, reducing their capacity to negotiate the very rules and institutions they need. They are necessary to guide development efforts with a sense of community without which, collectively, populations often shift their responsibilities for their own failures to others. Reformed institutions may foster sustainable development, serving current and future generations. Hence, governments should reach a consensus on how to promote economic growth while materializing social inclusion and improving the environment. Rio+20 attempted to launch such a process, providing the world with a useful political agenda to guide its collective action after 2015, when the Millennium Goals process will be formally concluded.

In a nutshell, this is the narrative that has informed Brazil's foreign policy through the last decades. It combines common sense with proposals of conservative reforms in the

[9] Statement by H.E. Ambassador Antonio de Aguiar Patriota, Minister of External Relations of the Federative Republic of Brazil at the Open Debate of the Security Council on "Maintenance of international peace and security: the interdependence between security and development", 11 February 2011, available at http://www.un.int/brazil/speech/11d-AAP-Maintenance-international-peace-security.html (accessed on June 30 2012).

[10] Statement delivered by Ambassador Luiz Alberto Figueiredo Machado on the occasion of his inauguration as Minister of External Relations (Brasilia, 28 August 2013). Available at http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/sala-de-imprensa/notas-a-imprensa/discurso-do-embaixador-luiz-alberto-figueiredo-machado-na-cerimonia-de-transmissao-do-cargo-de-ministro-de-estado-das-relacoes-exteriores (accessed on September 01, 2013).

world order. Back in the 1960s, The Brazilian Ambassador to the UN, Araújo Castro, denounced the UN Charter as a document concerned with peace and power, rather than justice, and the Security Council, in tandem with the NPT, as a tool to freeze the distribution of power at the world stage[11]. He pointed out at the San Francisco Conference that the international community had mistakenly focused on military dynamics instead of privileging development, apparently ignoring the extent to which they are intertwined.

An attentive reader of Rui Barbosa, Araújo Castro deepened the arguments put forward by San Tiago Dantas, the Brazilian Foreign Minister who crafted the "Independent Foreign Policy" in the early 1960s. Its leitmotiv lies in the juridical equivalence of sovereigns which should, collectively and through legitimate institutions, take responsibility for managing world affairs: "(…) Il n'y a rien de plus éminemment politique, sous le ciel, que la souveraineté. Il n›y a rien de plus hardiment politique, Messieurs, que de vouloir lui tracer des bornes (...) Par in paren, non habet imperium".[12] These words could have been pronounced by Luiz Alberto Figueiredo, Antonio Patriota, Celso Amorim, Azeredo da Silveira, Araújo Castro, Afonso Arinos or San Tiago Dantas. But it was Ruy Barbosa, with Rio Branco's due encouragement, who delivered them back in 1907.

At the current levels of interdependence, in the long run only an international order that represents the actual distribution of power in the world stage can effectively regulate the allocation of values on a politically sustainable basis. Hence, Brazil pushes for a reform that helps multilateralize the multi-polarity observed in international relations. At this level of interdependence, the whole political process has to be perceived as legitimate, and this requires offering emerging powers reasonable levels of representativeness in the world institutions.

Evidences abound. We live in a global society structured to administrate an international system. Hence, the consensus on the need to reform institutions such as the United Nation Security Council (UNSC) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), as well as to end the Doha Round of the World Trade Organization (WTO), is strengthened on a daily basis. But no one appears to know how to proceed.

As the evolving socioeconomic processes unfold successive political crises that affect the whole world, multilateral institutions fail in managing the world order. If their improvement was an option when the idea of an international community was utopia, the need for a sound global governance infrastructure has become paramount. Interdependence requires appropriate institutions to manage global flows (of information, money, goods, services, persons, and others) and agents' expectations, cementing what effectively corresponds to a world society. And in this complex environment, different kinds of agents matter.[13]

[11] Araújo Castro, J.A. (1972). The United Nations and the Freezing of the International Power Structure. International Organization, Vol. 26, N. 1: 158-166.

[12] ACTES ET DISCOURS. DEUXIÈME CONFÉRENCE DE LA PAIX. Available at http://archive.org/stream/deuximeconfrenc00barbgoog/deuximeconfrenc00barbgoog_djvu.txt (accessed on September 27, 2013)

[13] So important is this perception that some analysts recall the European Middle-Ages, when sovereigns of different kinds interacted purposefully on a legitimate way. See for instance Pfaff, W. The Wrath of Nations: Civilizations and the Furies of Nationalism.

Simply put, this is the narrative. Brazil proposes using cooperation to improve the order. This needs to take place at several instances: at the UNSC, to face security challenges; at the WTO, to unleash the energies of free trade on behalf of economic growth; at the FAO, to provide for food security; at the broader sustainable development agenda, especially through the Sustainable Development Goals, to build "the future we want"[14]. And all this is based on the country's foreign policy traditions.

## From Words to Deeds

These positions also imply moving from words to deeds. After solving its most serious socioeconomic problems, Brazil gradually becomes a model to other developing countries. The focus on its own development, as well as on maintaining peaceful and cooperative relations with its neighbors, emerges as a priority.

Having ranked 7th among the world's largest economies in 2012, it improves its infrastructures, which operate above their capacity. Having included over 40 million people in its middle class, being the sole BRICS to reduce inequalities in the last 20 years, it defends social policies. Housing circa 12% of the world's fresh water reserves, Brazil ranks 7th among the greatest consumers, with less than 3%, behind India (13%), China (11%), USA (9%), Russia and Indonesia (4% each), and Nigeria (3%).[15] Having championed clean-energy production and pushed for the Rio+20, its power generation comes mostly from hydro-electric (76%) and Bio/wind (8%) sources, which are expected to remain the most important by 2035 (67% & 16%, respectively).[16]

In 2010, The Brazilian Cooperation Agency published a report that summarizes its initiatives in the previous five years. Only in humanitarian aid, scholarships to citizens from poor countries, Technical and R&D cooperation, and contributions to international organizations it invested almost R$ 2,9 billion (roughly US$ 1,25 billion at current exchange rates).[17] According to the same Agency, through 2013 to 2015, Brazil has budgeted US$ 40 million to invest in Development cooperation in the Americas and the Caribbean and US$ 36 million in Africa, mainly in the fields of food security, agricultural development, Health, and professional formation.[18] The country is also implementing a debt relief program that will benefit 12 African countries with a pardon that will reach US$ 900 million when completed. Its rationale is to avoid turning the debt burden

New York: Touchstone, 1994, Gellner, E., "Culture Identity and Politics, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, and Cooper, R, "The Breaking of Nations - Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century", London: Atlantic Books, 2004.

[14] It is not a coincidence that the Outcome document of the Rio +20 Conference considers the eradication of poverty as "the greatest global challenge facing the world today and an indispensable requirement for sustainable development". (See A/RES/66/288 ,Par 2, adopted by the UN General Assembly in its Sixty-sixth session, in September 12, 2012 Available at http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N11/476/10/PDF/N1147610.pdf, Accessed on February 4, 2013.)

[15] Boletim da Associação dos diplomatas Brasileiros, Year XIX, Number 78, Winter 2012: 5-10.

[16] Brasil, MME/EPE, 2011(op cit.): 30. The other sources are nuclear (2% in 2010) and Thermal (14%). By 2035, they are expected to remain stable, with an increase of 1% in thermal generation.

[17] IPEA / ABC. Cooperação brasileira para o desenvolvimento internacional: 2005-2009. Brasilia, Ipea, 2010.

[18] Abreu, Fernando, speech at "Os desafios da política externa brasileira em um mundo em transição" seminário na Câmara dos Deputados, Available at http://www.camara.gov.br/internet/jornalcamara/default.asp?selecao=materia&codMat=75254&codjor= (accessed on September 26, 2013).

an impediment to economic growth and to overcoming poverty.[19] Investments have also grown in South America. In 2010, the BNDES alone was responsible for projects related to the Initiative for Integrating South-American Infrastructure of over US$ 300 million. In 2011, it had a portfolio of over US$ 17 billion for investments in Latin America, an increase of over 1,000% in relation to 2001.[20]

Summing up, Brazil's message is clear, though seldom explicitly spelled out: We live in a world of deep interdependence, threatened by traditional patterns of conflicts as well as by unrests related to revolts against unbearable socioeconomic inequalities and a widespread sense of injustice. Therefore, promoting international security depends on reliable, legitimate institutions that help solve conflicts through peaceful means as much as on efforts to reduce inequalities both domestically and at the international level. If governments do not manage to negotiate their conflicts of interests among themselves, redistributing power to emerging nation-states to render more representative, legitimate, and effective multilateral institutions, the whole system will partially lose its capacity to shape political processes, as other political groups will become relatively more relevant in world affairs.

Because it thinks it benefits from the current order – as much as other developing countries –, Brazil wants to reform and improve institutions. It also contributes to reducing inequalities and to coping with key challenges to address basic human needs: food security, public health, social development, and economic growth. Hence its cooperation focuses on less developed countries and on the issues prioritized by them, on a horizontal basis. And its participation in international organizations aims at providing global public services, be it through technology transfers at FAO, through using trade as a machine to stimulate the global economy at the WTO, or through defining a balanced long term political agenda to harmonize efforts in promoting social inclusion, economic growth and environmental responsibility at the Rio + 20 Conference. Brazil accepts that established powers may benefit even more from this order than itself, and hopes to persuade them that it is also in their interest to make the world less unfair – and possibly more secure. Pragmatically, it proposes to air the global governance system as a way of strengthening it, enhancing its capacity to influence the flows of history. And, by doing so, it adds deeds to its traditional words.

## The Way ahead

This is not an uncontroversial agenda. It may engender conflicts of different kinds: conflicts over rules, particularly those pertaining to the access to key technologies; conflicts over principles, mainly those that oppose the basic values of fairness and freedom; and conflicts of power, related to the possibilities of influencing the evolution of

[19] See Brasil perdoa quase US$ 900 milhões em dívidas de países Africanos. Em BBC Brasil, 25 de maio de 2013. Available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/portuguese/noticias/2013/05/130520_perdao_africa_mdb.shtml (accessed on September 25, 2013). The countries are Congo Brazzaville, Tanzania, Zambia, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Democratic Republic of Congo, Gabon, Republic of Guinea, Mauritania, São Tomé e Príncipe, Sudan and Guinea Bissau.

[20] BNDES impulsiona maior presença brasileira na América Latina. In BBC Brasil, 11 de novembro de 2011. Available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/portuguese/noticias/2011/11/111109_mundo_bndes_mdb.shtml (accessed on September 28, 2013).

international events. But where you stand informs what you can do. Brazil considers that emerging powers should have their opinion taken into consideration in key decisions for world affairs. It has shown in the last years that it is ready to take responsibility in important circumstances. With its example, it hopes to lead, offering other developing countries its expertise in international negotiations, its tradition of respecting laws and institutions, its tolerance and temperance in implementing its foreign policy. Inspired by these values, the global governance architecture may gain legitimacy – presumably becoming more effective.

This is not an easy path to take either, but the alternative would be to discredit the existent order in its entirety, reducing the states' capacity to manage the evolution of world affairs on behalf of other political entities. After all, not long ago, leading scholars conceived even war as a phenomenon related not exclusively to nation-states.[21] This may become the case again, bearing in mind the current relevance of individuals and firms in international economics and of private entities, mercenaries, and terrorist groups, in the security domain.

Yet, this is easily proposed than achieved. The international system is complex, and the imaginary boundaries we use to make sense of it do not help to understand its recent adaptations to the most important shocks it has suffered. Cautiously, Brazil does not fundamentally threaten the system and its defining interactions. But it innovates in applying the political savvy and creativity acquired regionally at the global level, consolidating its condition of a global diplomatic hub. Indeed, despite being relatively richer and more powerful, the country lives in peace with its neighbors and manages to solve almost all conflicts in South America without resorting to force.

The stability observed in the region is seen as a consequence of this general approach to conflicts. Taken to world affairs, particularly in key sectors such as food, water, and energy, it may help avoid conflicts and promote cooperation. Inspired by these principles and focused on the long run, the Brazilian foreign policy perseveres in this strategy to help build a more secure world in the 21st century.

[21] Quincy Wright, for instance, conceptualized war as "a social recognized form of intergroup conflict involving violence" (See Wright, Q: A Study of War. Chicago, Ill., University of Chicago Press, 1942:6).

**Ana Paula Zacarias** is a career diplomat of the Portuguese Foreign Service since 1984. She started her career in Lisbon as Secretary of Embassy at the Protocol Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs then as a Counsellor for International Relations at the Office of the President of the Republic. In July 1988, Mrs Zacarias joined the Embassy of Portugal to the USA in Washington as First Secretary. Then moved to Brazil to become Consul of Portugal to Paraná and Santa Catarina. In 1996, Mrs Zacarias went back to her home land for four years to first take over the post of Director of Press and Information Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs then, two years later in 1998 and still in Lisbon, she became Vice-President of the Camões Institute (the Institute for External Cultural Relations). In Paris, France, as of November 2000, Mrs Zacarias became Deputy Permanent Representative of Portugal to Unesco and Permanent Representative to União Latina. Five years later in 2005, she was posted in Talinn becoming the First Resident Ambassador of Portugal to Estonia. In 2009, she was designated Deputy Permanent Representative of Portugal to the European Union, serving her country in Brussels for the next two years. After joining the European Union External Action Service, Mrs Zacarias was nominated Head of the EU Delegation to Brazil arriving in Brasilia in May 2011.

# European Common Security and Defence Policy

Ana Paula Zacarias

The idea of a common Security Strategy for Europe has evolved incrementally since the early days of the European Community. What were initially a shared set of ideas and values regarding foreign policy materialized in the now called Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) with the Maastricht Treaty in 1993.[1] The treaty identified ambitious objectives in the area of external security, allowing Member States to take joint action in the field of foreign policy and involving an intergovernmental decision-making process which largely relies on unanimity. Actual provisions to give the EU concrete crisis management capabilities were introduced in the late 1990s in the aftermath of the Balkan wars. In 1999 the foundations for European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) were laid out, notably materializing in 2003 with the initiation of the first EU crisis management operations and missions as well as with the drafting of a European Security Strategy, outlining key threats and challenges, objectives and their policy implications for European security. European defence has since continued to evolve, drawing towards the ultimate goal of a truly common defence for the Union – a goal which remains contingent on the will of Member States. 2003 witnessed the first EU military operation without the use of NATO assets and outside Europe with the operation ARTEMIS in the Democratic Republic of Congo as well as the launching of the Union's first crisis management mission with the European Union Police Mission (EUPM) in Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUPM BiH). Since then, the EU has deployed over 30 civilian and military missions and operations on three continents.

One of the incentives for the elaboration of such a security strategy lies in the belief that the European Union is well positioned to take effective action regarding global security challenges as per its unique history as a peacebuilding institution as well as its growing role as a global player. The story of the EU is one of working how to peacefully overcome differences and disputes based on such crucial values as democracy, dialogue and respect for human rights. It is from this precedent that the Union's foreign policy strategy has taken shape, driven by the conviction that cooperation as well as an effective and rule-based international order are key to a more secure and prosperous world. In recent years, Europe has prided itself in its successful role as a "soft power", as shown by the its successive enlargements as well as globally with the EU increasingly becoming an active player thanks to its wide-ranging and comprehensive set of "soft-power" tools such as trade, cooperation and public diplomacy. Beyond such a dimension, however, the EU has acknowledged the importance of developing its defence and security capabilities per se, especially following the end of the Cold War and the subsequent conflicts in the Balkans, when it progressively became clear that the EU needed to assume its responsibilities in the field of conflict prevention and crisis management.

## Foundations of the European Security Strategy

The 2003 EU Security Strategy (ESS) builds on these considerations and on a set of guiding principles on which to base its external action. The latter most notably includes an emphasis on prevention. This involves taking action before a crisis occurs by addressing the root causes of threats and challenges in order to prevent conflict and avoid the use of force. The changing nature of threats, which are increasingly dynamic, complex and interconnected, renders this all the more important. Preventing threats from becoming sources of conflict implies working on peace-building and poverty reduction, as well as taking an active stance in identifying potential sources of instability and gathering the right combination of instruments to address them. Such capacity-building actions are the cornerstone of long-term EU External Action.

Based on a broad vision of security that goes beyond traditional state-centred military concepts, the EU has developed a Comprehensive Approach to security. This approach presupposes that security has to encompass economic development, social justice, environmental protections, democratization, disarmament, respect for human rights and the rule of law. Its conceptual basis lies in the 2003 European Security Strategy, which asserts that there is a security and development nexus, as sustainable peace only comes with development and poverty eradication and as most if not all causes of instability are intrinsically connected to development issues. The validity of such a perspective has been reconfirmed in 2008 with the Report on the Implementation of the ESS, which insists on the importance of the EU's work on building human security by addressing the root causes of conflict and insecurity through a reduction of poverty and inequality, the promotion of human rights and good governance, as well as development assistance. Recently, the Comprehensive Approach has gained momentum as a defining characteristic of EU external action, notably through its implementation in the Horn of Africa and in the Sahel region.[2]

An implication of this approach consists in having the right toolbox at hand in order to be able to adequately respond to multidimensional threats and challenges. Herein lays one of the main strengths of the EU, its added value – the capacity to readily deploy a wide range of instruments, be they military, civilian, development or humanitarian. This implies that all instruments are synchronized and work towards broader EU political goals in a more effective way.

## The ESS in Practice

Based on these principles, the European Security Strategy has identified as one of its strategic objectives the tackling of five key threats; terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, state failure and organized crime. As these threats are never uniquely military, according to the strategy, they require a mixture of instruments – proliferation, for instance, may be contained through effective political, economic and other pressures.

The new strategic environment therefore calls for the development of civilian and military capabilities jointly. The first ESDP mission was launched in 2003, and experiences with crises in the recent past has shown that an operation requires such a combination of tools from the outset, with each situation requiring a specific policy mix and the proper sequencing of instruments for effective tackling of threats and challenges. Under the framework of the ESDP, following the St. Malo Declaration in 1998, various European Council summits outlined the military and civilian capabilities needed to fulfil three sorts of missions known as the''Petersberg tasks":

- Humanitarian and rescue tasks,
- Conflict prevention and peacekeeping tasks,
- Tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peace-making.

The ability to carry out these tasks through a deployment of both civilian and military instruments has often been presented as the EU's strength. Work continues to be done on how to build on this comparative advantage and bring together these different tools and capabilities together under a common agenda. On this basis, permanent military and political structures have been put in place (political and security committee, EU military committee and military staff) as well as civilian and military crisis management capabilities. Since January 2007, moreover, the EU has an Operations Center that aids in the planning and conducting operations, as well as quick reaction forces, "EU Battlegroups". The Battlegroups are a rapidly deployable force package capable of stand-alone operations or for the initial phase of larger operations. Based on the principle of multinationality and either formed by a framework nation or by a multinational coalition of Member States, Battlegroups are about 1 500 personnel strong depending on the mission.

## The Lisbon Treaty: More Capabilities for European Defence

The Lisbon Treaty provided important changes regarding EU's foreign and security frameworks. Not only was the post of High Representative of the Union for Foreign

Affairs and Security Policy, currently held by Catherine Ashton, established, but the Treaty also endorsed the extension of the aforementioned Petersberg tasks by introducing:

- Joint disarmament operations;
- Military advice and assistance tasks;
- Tasks in post-conflict stabilisation.

Moreover, the Treaty provided political and military solidarity among EU Member states via the insertion of a mutual defence clause, following the EU principle of solidarity and using the NATO treaty as a main inspiration. This clause binds EU Member states to aid and bring assistance to any member state victim of an armed attack on its territory.[3]

The Lisbon Treaty also widens the competences of the European Defence Agency whose main objective is to improve Member States' military capacities.

To bypass the unanimity obligation in some sensitive domains such as Defence and Security, some EU Member states can decide to gather in small groups to establish what is called an ''enhanced cooperation''. Since the Lisbon Treaty, this type of cooperation can be used in the defence sector thanks to the new Permanent Structured Cooperation where participating Member states engage in developing their defence capacities more intensively and in supplying combat units for planned missions.

Voting by unanimity, the Council can also entrust the implementation of a mission to a group of willing Member States which have the necessary civil and military capabilities to fulfil such a task under certain conditions, in order to protect EU values and uphold its interests. The High Representative is also involved in the management of such a mission.

In parallel, the possible intervention of existing multinational forces in the implementation of the CSDP is formally recognized by the Lisbon Treaty. These ''Euroforces'' stem from the military alliance between certain European capitals which have decided to bring together their capacities, equipment and personnel strength.[4]

The financing of CDSP missions, both for civilian missions and military operations, is charged to the budget of the Union. In case the expenditure is not charged to the budget, it will be usually charged to the Member states in accordance with the GNP, unless the Council unanimously decides otherwise. The Lisbon Treaty introduced a so-called start-up fund made up of Member States' contributions that the High Representative can use after the Council's green light.

## CSDP Missions

Deployed on three continents, ground missions are the most visible output of the CSDP with 33 operations initiated since 2003. Some of these complex missions take place in challenging and high-profile environments. The CSDP has thus gained increasing

recognition as a tangible dimension of the Union's foreign policy. It should be noted that EU missions are generally undertaken on the basis of a UN mandate or with the agreement of the host country.

Some on-going CSDP missions (military and civilian):

*Europe*

EULEX Kosovo is the largest civilian mission ever launched under the CSDP, whose main objective is to assist and support the Kosovo authorities in the rule of law area with a specific focus on the judiciary.

EUFOR (EU Force) Althea BiH is a CDSP operation which aims at contributing to the maintenance of a safe and secure environment in Bosnia Herzegovina. It resorts to NATO common asset capabilities.

*Asa*

In the framework of EU comprehensive approach, EUPOL (EU Police) Afghanistan is an EU police mission which contributes to the establishment of sustainable and effective civil policing arrangements that will ensure appropriate interaction with the wider criminal justice system under Afghan ownership.

*Africa*

Launched in January 2013, EU Training Mission (EUTM) Mali is a military training mission in the South of Mali which provides military and training advice to the Malian Armed Force (MAF). The objective is to contribute to the restoration of the military capacity of the Malian Armed Force (MAF) with a view to enabling them to conduct military operations aiming, firstly at restoring the territorial integrity of the country, and secondly, at reducing the threat posed by terrorist groups.

Part of EU comprehensive approach, the European Naval Force (EUNAVFOR) Somalia-Atalanta is an EU military operation which aims at contributing to the deterrence, prevention and repression of acts of piracy and armed robbery of the Horn of Africa.

## Multilateralism and Cooperation: Key EU Objectives

Another strategic objective of the European Security Strategy is to establish a stronger international society, well-functioning and a rule-based international order based on effective multilateralism. The EU believes it is fundamental, in a world of global threats and global markets, to work to increase the effectiveness of international organisations, regimes and treaties in order to uphold international peace and security. This includes commitment to upholding and developing international law, extending the membership of international institutions, strengthening and equipping the United Nations to fulfil its responsibilities effectively. Regional organizations are also seen as primordial to

strengthen global governance. The transatlantic relationship, notably through cooperation with NATO, is an important aspect of such an objective. However, it is worth noting that EU external action is distinct from that of NATO and fully autonomous. The EU believes that broader cooperation and participation, not only via multilateralism but also through partnerships with key actors, is necessary to tackle today's complex problems. The European External Action Service has thus worked towards strengthening bilateral dialogue on security with its strategic partners.

Concretely, then, great importance is given by the EU to cooperation with third states and international organisations in crisis management. The EU has developed since 2007 a partnership in crisis management with Washington. The US has been participating in a CSDP mission (EULEX Kosovo) for the first time. Special arrangements exist for the involvement of non-EU European allies such as Norway and Turkey in EU military operations. The EU also maintains special relations with Canada and Russia in the field of CSDP. In November 2008, for instance, Russia formalised an agreement for its contribution to EUFOR Chad which represented Moscow's first participation in an EU military operation. Regular dialogue takes place between the EU and NATO at various levels. The two organisations also meet in the EU-NATO Capability Group to exchange information on capability development procedures to ensure overall coherence and to prevent unnecessary duplication. Moreover, the Union closely cooperates in the field of crisis management with the United Nations as well as the African Union. The EU also maintains an important dialogue on crisis management with the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the Association of South East Asia Nations (ASEAN).

## The EU and Brazil: Room for an ever-greater Cooperation in the Field of Defence and Security

In this context, Brazil is an important actor for the EU, and this interest in increased cooperation has materialized in the 2007 Strategic Partnership, part of which regards international and multilateral security. Brazil is now a large, vocal power with an ever-growing global projection. With increasing military capacities, as well as a more active participation in the global security arena, Brazil is becoming an important security player, notably through its actions within the framework of the UN and in the Latin American region.

Relations between the EU and Brazil in international peace and security are based on common values and perceptions on security - democratic governance, human rights, commitment to multilateralism. Both are applying a broader security approach that also focuses not only on the state but also on the people and elements that affect individual security. Strengthening multilateralism is an important part of the agenda of the bilateral relationship, and both give priority to strengthening the UN Rights system, peaceful crisis settlement and conflict prevention. Brazil and the EU Member States are parties to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC). Since January 2013, Brazil and the EU set up a high-level dialogue on peace and security issues, including peacekeeping and peace-building. The first Dialogue on International Peace and Security

took place in Brussels on 25 July 2013. The Dialogue, formally established during the VI EU-Brazil Summit (Brasilia, 23 January 2013) illustrates the common determination of the EU and Brazil to further deepen their political dialogue, and forms a welcome addition to the over 30 on-going bilateral sectoral dialogues. It explored elements of convergence and options to strengthen EU-Brazil coordination and cooperation in the field of international peace and security, more particularly CSDP missions and operations, UN peace keeping and training. They also laid emphasis on conflict prevention and peace building efforts. Both Brazil and EU have decided to reinforce their partnership building on existing commonalities and by drawing on each other's vast experiences and best-practices in peace keeping and crisis management.

There is considerable potential for enhanced cooperation: the effectiveness of upholding peace and security throughout the world relies in part on the participation of key actors. Engagement between the EU and Brazil on a progressive security agenda, centred on good governance and human rights as preconditions for lasting security can certainly be more far-reaching. Both actors share somehow the same approach on security. According to former Brazilian Foreign Minister, Antonio Patriota, the four concepts of democracy, security, development and human rights must be considered as a whole. This Brazilian integrated approach is thus compatible with that of the EU, which also promotes a comprehensive human development and security agenda. The focus on the interdependence among development, security and human rights calls for an even greater scope for cooperation in this field between Brussels and Brasilia.

*Endnotes*

1 Initially called the European Foreign Security Policy, the CFSP was renamed as such in 2009 in the Lisbon Treaty. Similarly, the European Security and Defence Policy was renamed Common Security and Defence policy in 2009.

2 See below for a further description of these two missions.

3 Two restrictions moderate this clause: Neither does it affect the defence and security of certain MS, specifically those which are traditionally neutral (i.e. Denmark) nor does not affect the commitments made under the framework of NATO.

4 The main ones are Eurofor (regrouping French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese land forces), Eurocorps (regrouping Belgian, French, German, Luxembourger and Spanish land forces), Euromarfor (regrouping French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese maritime forces) and the European Air Group (regrouping Belgian, British, Dutch French, German, Italian and Spanish air forces).

**Alessandro Scheffler** is a Research Associate and Academic Coordinator of the joint M.A. International Security Studies - Program at Bundeswehr University Munich and the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies. He received his MLitt in International Security Studies from the University of St Andrews and has previously worked at the NATO Defense College and the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). He is a member of the Konrad-Adenauer-Foundation's Working Group of Young Foreign Policy Experts.

# The EU and Brazil: on Different Meanings of Multilateralism

Alessandro Scheffler

While reports on civil unrest and sluggish economic growth have dominated the news this summer, as of 2013 Brazil can actually look back at a decade of steady economic development, which is likely to turn it into the world's 6th largest economy by the end of this year.[1] At the same time, the country has developed a solid middle class, and social programs such as "Bolsa Familia" have aided in getting almost 40 million people out of poverty.

This economic success story has been accompanied by an ever-more prominent role in international affairs, as demonstrated recently by the election of Brazilian Robert Azevêdo to director-general of the World Trade Organisation, a bid Brazil had still failed with some years ago. Rather than by flexing its hard-power muscles like other BRICS countries, Brasilia has increased its international status primarily by diplomatic measures, establishing itself as a leader of emerging and developing countries in inter- and multinational institutions and fora. Stefan Zweig's famous vision of Brazil as a country of the future, which echoes a claim to great power status inherent in its political belief system, seems to be finally coming true.

The European Union has recognized the rise of Brazil with the establishment of a Strategic Partnership in 2007, a status reserved for global big

[1] Gross Domestic Product (Current Prices). International Monetary Fund, World Economic Outlook Database, April 2013.

shots such as the USA, Russia and China. It did so in public recognition that Brazil "has become an increasingly significant global player and emerged as a key interlocutor for the EU."[2] More than just an acknowledgment of its increasing importance – or even simple use as a regional Strategic Partner representative – the recognition of Brazil was also based on a feeling of like-mindedness in terms of culture, values and interests. The EU has explicitly praised that both "share core values and interests, including respect for the rule of law and human rights, concern about climate change and the pursuit of economic growth and social justice at home and abroad."[3] This like-mindedness is believed to shape similar preferences not only in the matter, but also in the form of foreign policy: "Brazil and the EU share a common understanding that today's global challenges can only be addressed through a strong multilateral framework."[4]

Yet six years after the founding of this partnership, results have been meager. While many have argued for the EU and Brazil to be "natural partners" on the global stage, their foreign policies have seldom aligned and clear differences in style and substance have emerged. Under these circumstances, what does the future hold for the EU-Brazilian relationship? Given high expectations when the partnership was started, what are European perceptions of Brazil in 2013? How at ease is the EU with the idea of a rising Brazil and what role does it envisage for the South American giant?

This chapter will try to outline the EU's perception of the coming or already present multipolarity and how it perceives Brazil's emerging international posture. To this purpose, the chapter will first look at the EU's vision of the future international system, its own role in it and the way it wants to use its Strategic Partnerships. With this concept in mind, the chapter then turns to Brazilian foreign policy in the last decade and looks at how it fits in with the EU's vision, and which consequences their differences will have on the future relationship.

## The European Vision of Multipolarity

### *The EU's multilateral vision of a multipolar global order*

Politicians and scholars alike agree that the international system finds itself in a period of transition, marked by a process of decentralization and diffusion of power. While many have shied away from the term "multipolarity", common agreement exists that the rise of new centers of power will be a defining characteristic of the new system.

The EU's reaction to the arrival of a multipolar (or at least a "more" multipolar) order has been cautious: It has welcomed this development as a hedge against Washington, whose absolute preponderance it had – even while maintaining close ties – only accepted with considerable unease. But on the other hand, the EU has also worried much that multipolarity may simply mean a return to an old logic of balance-of-power, in which countries simply contain mutual unilateralisms. Such a traditionalist conception

[2] European Commission, Towards an EU-Brazil Strategic Partnership, p. 2

[3] Ibidem.

[4] Ibidem., p. 4

of multipolarity overlooks three aspects which have been core tenants of the EU's perception of the post-cold war environment: The rise of non-state actors, networks and institutions, the growing interdependence between states and regions which transcends classical conceptions of sovereignty, and the globalized nature of modern threats.

To counter this tendency, the EU has developed the concept of effective multilateralism, which features prominently in both the 2003 European Security Strategy (ESS) and its 2008 addendum, the Implementation Report. This concept is based on the two pillars - multilateralism and global governance, which are also enshrined in § 21.2 h of the Treaty of the European Union when speaking about a "system based on stronger multilateral cooperation and good global governance."

For the Union, multilateralism ideally refers to cooperation by all important global players to counter globalized threats, which is based on the Implementation Report's acknowledgement that "faced with common problems, there is no substitute for common solutions."[5] Rather than in just checking the power of others, as Giovanni Grevi puts it, in the EU's conception "the power of major actors rests not just on relative gains but on the coordination and cooperation required to preserve stability, enable growth, fight illicit traffic and avoid the worst effects of climate change."[6] The EU is hereby aware that shifting power relations must be echoed in this system and that there is a necessity for "sharing decisions more, and creating a greater stake for others."[7] The Implementation Report even asks for an active promotion of this change and that "Europe must lead a renewal of the multilateral order."[8]

The second dimension of this concept is effectiveness, which is closely connected to the idea of global governance. The EU is convinced that to make multilateralism truly effective in managing multipolarity, it must be rule- and institution-based.[9] The ESS indeed affirms that its objective is "the development of a stronger international society, well-functioning international institutions and a rule-based international order."[10]

### *Multilateralism as an EU tool to gain and maintain influence in the global system*

The strive for multilateralism and institutionalization of the international system are a firm part of the EU's normative compass and derive to a great deal from the fact that the EU is itself built on these principles. Some experts argue therefore that its vision is a mere externalization of the Union's own order, and its setting "great store by the refinement of international norms and institutional forms" is part of an "attempt to frame international negotiation processes as a reflection of its own internal logics".[11]

---

5 Council of the European Union, "Providing Security in a changing world," Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy, p. 12

6 Grevi, Giovanni, "The EU and Brazil: Partners in an uncertain world," p.7

7 Council of the European Union, "Providing Security in a changing world," Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy, p. 2

8 Ibidem., p. 12

9 Gratius, Susanne, "Can EU Strategic Partnerships deepen multilateralism?", p. 2

10 Council of the European Union, "A secure Europe in a better world," European Security Strategy, p. 9

11 Smith, Michael, "Beyond the comfort zone: internal crisis and external challenge in the European Union's response to rising

To limit its motivation to this aspect would though overlook an essential dimension of this policy, namely that the EU as an institution is itself "externally a form of emerging 'power'"[12]. For the European Union, multilateralism and global governance are therefore an essential part of the EU's own strategy for establishing itself as an important global actor in the system. While its member states are an established part of the old and new international order, the EU is a new player on the field. With most of its resources bound to its member states, it faces the challenge of creating a role for itself in international affairs without much hard power, a fact exacerbated by a lack of diplomatic capacity and its struggle to maintain a coherent strand in its individual member states' policies. As a consequence, the EU has so far only really become a global player in its fields of exclusive competence, as for instance trade.

As an entity which lacks other classical great power capabilities, establishing itself as a kind of hub between great powers would give the Union an important opportunity to emerge as an important player itself. Becoming a builder of great power coalitions in an institutionalized multilateral framework and a "progenitor of a certain style of diplomacy and negotiation, building on its internal deliberative and coalition-building processes"[13] would create formats that are able to tackle globalized challenges and at the same time serve as "validation of its status in the world arena".[14]

When one author describes that "a great deal of the EU's international role and identity is predicated on replacing the rule of power with the power of rules",[15] this is closely related to the EU's understanding that the power of rules opens opportunities to those who under a mere rule of power would have very little to say. It is no wonder that the drive for such a policy has been particularly supported by its smaller member countries.

### *The EU's Perception of other Great Powers*

In its European Security Strategy, the EU commits itself to pursue its foreign policy through "multilateral cooperation in international organisations and through partnerships with key actors". The EU knows that if it wants its multilateralism to be effective, it cannot be achieved without the active participation of the system's major powers. This approach differs sharply from the 1990s, when the EU approach to partnerships used to be centered on regions, as e.g. the EU-Latin American Strategic Partnership. So while the ultimate goal remains institution- and rule-based global governance through multilateral organisations, bilateral Strategic Partnerships have become its main means for achieving its "effective multilateralism".[16]

powers", p. 653.

12 Smith, Michael, "Beyond the comfort zone: internal crisis and external challenge in the European Union's response to rising powers", p. 653.

13 Ibidem.

14 Ibidem., p. 653

15 Grevi, Giovanni, "The EU and Brazil: Partners in an uncertain world," p. 6

16 Gratius, Susanne, "Can EU Strategic Partnerships deepen multilateralism?", p.1

As a consequence, its Strategic Partnerships have a more than just purely bilateral character and are designed with a view towards a comprehensive partnership in multilateralism, with the overall task of containing and positively managing partners. As described by Grevi, the EU's strategic partnerships attempt to reach this goal by three means: Positioning the parties as pivotal mutual interlocutors, establishing structured bilateral relations providing an opportunity for tradeoffs on important issues and, finally, addressing the big global issues together. One of the major hopes of this endeavor is to gain enough influence over partners to function as a hub and interlocutor between them, gaining the autonomous important role in global affairs to which it is aspiring.

Especially in the case of the 'emerging' partners South Africa and Brazil - with China and Russia being more 'emerged' in terms of hierarchy and power - this initiative is closely connected to the hope to make these countries "effective partners". The "reward" of a Strategic Partnership and the associated increase in status is accordingly, apart from its bilateral dimension, intended as an incentive for those countries to become "responsible powers" that share in the maintenance and further solidification of global order.

When speaking about the EU's Strategic Partnerships, commentators often rightfully question the effectiveness of these frameworks in both bilateral and global dimensions. In bilateral dimensions, emerging powers have often applied divide et impera strategies and prioritized relations with member states. And even where engagements on bilateral matters have yielded some results, the EU has not been able to establish itself as the intended hub, able to bring together its strategic partners for common goals. Rather, where interests by these partners converged, as most visibly in Climate Negotiations, they have on occasion actually actively sidelined it.

The next part of this chapter will therefore now turn to Brazil's policy for navigating multipolarity and seeing how it relates to the previously explained European approach.

## Brazil's Strategy for a Multipolar World

### *Brasilia's multi-vectoral Strategy to Greatness*

Previous sections have described how the EU is attempting to carve out a greater international role for itself by becoming a hub between the great powers. Brazil is actually a great example of how such an interlocutor policy can yield great improvement in status on the global stage.

As described by Grevi, over the last decade Brazil has been pursuing "a multi-vectoral strategy of 'insertion' into global markets and leading governance clubs."[17] The objective of this strategy has been clear: The establishment of Brazil as a global player and as the leading nation in South America, both with the underlying intent of strengthening its

[17] Grevi, Giovanni and Gratius, Susanne, "Brazil and the EU: Partnering on Security and Human Rights," p.1

national development.[18] This aim has been pursued along three not completely separate but rather mutually reinforcing lines of action: In the global South, through its region, and on a global level. In this way, Brazil was able to leverage its multiple identities as a traditional developing country of the South and the G-77, as a Latin American country promoting regional integration, as an emerging global power – politically as member of BRICS and IBSA and economically as member and leader of the G-20 – and finally as a country with Western identity and values.

### *Brazil's Leadership in South America*

Brazil has recognized the need to underline its global aspiration by some "regional clout", and that it needs to unite South American countries to more of a bloc under its leadership.[19] At the same time, its strong traditional drive for autonomy made it weary of attempts at regional institutionalism that might constrain it and limit this autonomy. During the Lula da Silva presidency, Brazil has therefore on the one hand slowly started to "assume the financial burden of cooperation, governance and integration in South America."[20] Through its leading role in the UN peacekeeping mission in Haiti, it has also shown that it can serve as the regional leader and bring the region together to tackle challenges in its neighborhood. But it has at the same time combined this approach with an attempt to sideline traditional supranational frameworks in which it could be balanced or contained by local and global rivals: The creation of UNASUR and CELAC as opposed to traditional organizations as the Organisation of American States (OAS) are attempts to establish sub-continental Brazilian leadership, that clearly reduce US and other external influence and do not come with any costs in terms of restrictive frameworks.

### *Brazil's Policy as a Leader of the Global South*

In addition to its regional policy, Brazil has built on its traditional ties to the global South and positioned itself as a role-model and leader for the developing world. [21] Its political consolidation as a democracy, strong economic development and successful management of domestic social challenges have resonated strongly in the South and some are already referring to a 'Brasilia-Consensus' consisting of a strong macroeconomic framework and public spending with a strong social focus. This position gave Brasilia an opportunity to build on its traditional G-77 relations with the South, and particularly Africa, by stepping up South-South engagement activities and establishing itself as a new partner with political, development and commercial opportunities for those countries. As opposed to "traditional donor" behavior, Brazil focuses on technical and financial cooperation and strengthening bilateral relations. The benefit Brazil hopes to extract from these activities is diplomatic support for its own initiatives: By establishing

[18] Gomez Saraiva, "Brazil's Strategies and Partnerships: The Place of the European Union," p. 45

[19] Gratius, Susanne and Gomes Saraiva, Miriam, "Continental Regionalism: Brazil's prominent role in the Americas," p. 2

[20] Ibidem., p. 1

[21] It is important to note that many countries in South America are also part of the global South and that Brazil's engagement at this level also affects its claim to regional leadership.

itself as a leader of the global South, Brazil could use the latter's sheer voting power to counterbalance the North in international fora and institutions.

### *Brazil's Global Engagement in BRICS and as a Key Interlocutor*

International and multilateral institutions can benefit emerging powers: By following established rules and procedures, they give these powers an opportunity to reassure smaller states. At the same time, they offer a space to build coalitions that affect emerging norms according to one's own interests. Brazil is a master in this art of diplomacy and has used it actively in its interest: Rather than challenging or trying to replace the existing global governance structure, the Brazilian strategy has been to maintain these settings while attempting to get a better seat at the decision-making tables and influence developments from this enhanced position. Instead of using classical hard-power resources, it uses the very cost-effective instrument of "reframing debates and influencing others with ideas and allusions to future prospects."[22]

Brazil has pursued this strategy through two vehicles: Minilateral fora such as BRICS and IBSA, through which it attempts to strengthen its own particular role as an emerging power, and multilateral fora, where it tries to establish itself as a potential leader of the South by using classical anti-North rhetoric and demanding greater representation of developing countries in global institutions. Brazil has been particularly successful in the multilateral fora, extracting political support from global South countries for Brazilian initiatives such as the G-20 and its UN Security Council bid, fulfilling key Brazilian interests.

Simultaneously, it has used constructive approaches in these settings to establish itself as an interlocutor both between the West and BRICS and between the traditional North and South. Accordingly, Brazil has attempted to portray itself as a "bridge builder, working diligently to ensure stability and predictability in the face of rising tensions between major powers as well as the North and the global South."[23] This strategy has been highly successful while low in cost, a fact which is particularly important as Brazil's economic, military and political power projection capabilities are actually quite limited, at least if compared to other BRICS countries.

Burges gives a nice example of this Brazilian diplomacy in the Doha round: When the North arrived with an unacceptable proposal, Brazil stayed committed to the negotiations and assumed an expressively constructive role, thus forcing a recomposition of the Quad, putting Brazil in the room along with India, the EU and US. It thus made itself a key bridge to the South for the US and EU. At the same time, Brazil was able to block unwanted initiatives from both sides by occupying the middle ground as interlocutor between the two. Almost more importantly, it was included in a prominent role at global decision-making tables as the main interlocutor with the South. So while not included in its own right, it has still won the ability to influence key elements of the emerging global governance framework.

---

[22] Burges, Sean, "Brazil as a bridge between old and new powers," p. 579

[23] Burges, Sean, "Brazil as a bridge between old and new powers," p. 577

## How Compatible is Brazilian Policy with the EU's Multipolar Vision?

The previous two sections have outlined the EU's vision of multipolarity and Brazil's grand strategy in the last decade. As outlined in the beginning of this chapter, at first glance Brazil appears to be a perfect partner for the European Union and its vision of the international system: A civilian power that commits to a multilateral system based on rules and institutions. Yet when having a closer look at Brazil's policy, the previous section has shown that Brazilian policy is much more interest-driven and marked by a strong aversion against any kind of institution-based framework. Additionally, it is also explicitly anti-Western in many cases. This section will therefore look at the compatibility of Brazilian policy with the EU's vision of effective multilateralism. As Brazil's two main aims are the achievement of great power status on the global and leadership status on the regional level, the section will use these categories as a basis for its assessment.

### *Brazil's Regional Approach*

As explained above, the establishment of Strategic Partnerships is partly a result of the EU's acknowledgment of the limits of interregional integration. In principle, the EU would therefore welcome a strong regional role for Brazil and particularly also regional integration in South America under Brazilian leadership. Yet Brazil and the EU have very different ideas about what integration should look like, and not everything Brazil promotes as an integration initiative truly deserves that name, with many not being more than mere inter-governmental ventures for presidential summit-diplomacy.

It has been mentioned that Brazil tends to view South America as a "strategic anchor" for its global foreign policy and that it has accordingly pursued integration primarily with a view towards the global stage. While such a "pragmatic and interest-driven"[24] approach to integration is not problematic per se, it has led to a high degree of alignment with the anti-liberal countries of the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of our America (ALBA), a tendency that was also supported on ideological grounds by foreign policy advisors from the ruling Workers' Party. This runs contrary to the EU's intention of using the award of a Strategic Partnership to bolster Brasilia's regional role, particularly vis-à-vis Caracas and its allies.

Even more concerning for the EU is the prioritization of these relations over human rights concerns, a development last seen in the acquiescence to a Bolivian–Ecuadorian initiative to censure the OAS's democracy and human rights monitoring mechanisms: While Brazil is officially a strong proponent of human rights, it decided to concentrate on relations with ALBA countries and marginalize external influence in the region. Despite its public advocacy for non-interference in other countries' affairs, Brazil has also reserved itself the right to massively intervene and lobby for preferred left-wing candidates during elections in South America, a process aided by massive investments and market penetration in the region.

[24] Gratius, Susanne and Gomes Saraiva, Miriam, "Continental Regionalism: Brazil's prominent role in the Americas," p. 11

This stands in opposition to the EU's vision of the emergence of a South American regional complex along the lines of the EU, that is an institution- and rule-based framework that benefits the entire region. The Brazilian interest instead is the exact opposite: It strives for more of a bloc of influence and a (political) alliance system, in which Brazil would, due to its mere size and global status, assume a natural leadership position. This is in fact what it has achieved with Unasur, which is an almost solely intergovernmental organization.

So while it might even have welcomed a South American regional complex under Brazilian leadership, it is clear that the Union does not share Brasilia's vision of largely intergovernmental regional relations under its leadership.

### *Brazil's Global Policy as a BRICS Member and Leader of the Global South*

As mentioned above, Brazil's claim for global status is not only based on its regional role but also on its role as an emerging BRICS power and as leader of the developing countries of the South.

On the global stage, given their common values and strong commitment to an "effective multilateral system centered on the UN", the EU should in principle not mind Brazil's ascendancy and welcome another democratic state among the great powers. After all, the EU's vision of "effective multilateralism" and Brazil's "efficient multilateralism" seem not too far apart. Yet, as Susanne Gratius describes it, both stand for a different vision of the future: "Brazil seeks a 'multilateral multipolarity' and the EU a 'multipolar multilateralism'".[25]

In practice, this means that when both speak about the need to reform the United Nations, the EU's intent is a UN more efficient in dealing with global issues, while Brazil's main goal is a better seat at the table for Brazil. Moreover, it intends to use this better seat to check other, and particularly Western, states and prevent them from using the UN as a means of interfering in the internal affairs of other countries. Thus it could be said that its main aim is the exact contrary of the EU's vision. Even more problematic in this regard is its membership in clubs such as BRICS, a political alliance which explicitly challenges the West. While Brazil's use of BRICS and IBSA may have been useful as a strategic tool, it poses a significant hurdle for the EU-Brazilian partnership.

Also, Brazil's posture as a leader of the South is challenging for the EU due to its explicitly anti-Western stance. Given that the United States is unlikely to give up shares of its representation in international and multilateral institutions, such shares must inevitably come primarily from EU countries, which will be hesitant to cede influence. The struggle on IMF quotas, which the EU finally lost, will only have been the first of a couple of similar conflicts which will see Brazil and the EU on opposing ends. The identity of an underprivileged underdog, which yields Brazil its Southern leadership position, is also hard to combine with the image of a responsible strategic partner.

[25] Gratius, Susanne, "Brazil and the European Union: between balancing and bandwagoning," p.14

## Future EU – Brazilian Relations

### *Prospects for EU-Brazilian Convergence and Cooperation*

It was mentioned in the first section that the aim of the EU's Strategic Partnerships is, apart from bilateral issues, to address the big global issues together. This is clearly echoed in the EU commission's statement that "The [...] strategic partnership between Brazil and the EU should help Brazil to exercise a positive leadership globally and regionally, and to engage with the EU in a global, strategic, substantial and open dialogue both bilaterally and in multilateral and regional fora."[26]

The last section has shown that Brazil and the EU often diverge on many matters. While Brazil commits itself to a multilateral system, as put by Oreto, it "is clear that it does not favor a rigid, rules-based international regime, which could me more to the EU's liking." The central point of divergence here is the Brazilian belief that "preservation of full autonomy and sovereignty is compatible with multilateralism."[27]

Brazil's version of multilateralism, as described by Gratius, is "less value-oriented and more pragmatic, with a clear development focus" and "instrumental to the country's national interest and its candidacy for a permanent seat at the UNSC."[28] While this might disappoint those who have argued that the EU and Brazil are natural partners in addressing global issues, on the positive side this means that besides its often ideological rhetoric, Brazil is very much a pragmatic, interest-maximizing player on the global stage.

This opens a range of issues for the EU where cooperation with Brazil is feasible and in mutual interest. Four sectors will hereby be particularly important for EU-Brazilian relations, with two representing an upward risk and two representing downward risks for the relationship.

### *Trilateral Cooperation on Development*

"Trilateral" development activities in which the EU and Brazil could team up are amongst the most heralded opportunities for cooperation and could compensate for shrinking European donor contributions. Especially given the EU's current economic state, it should welcome an increase in development activities by a democratic country. On the other hand, the Brazilian approach to development has so far actively distanced itself from 'traditional' donor behavior and always underlined its business character. It has not joined the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC) and avoids attaching conditions to its investments. On the positive side, its assistance has been based on technical cooperation and avoided the Chinese model, by using local forces as much as possible.

[26] EU Commission, Towards an EU-Brazil Strategic Partnership, p. 2

[27] Otero-Iglesias, Miguel, "The EU and Brazil: What crisis? What partner? What strategy?", p. 14

[28] Gratius, Susanne, "Can EU Strategic Partnerships deepen multilateralism?", pp. 3-4.

Trilateral Cooperation on development has been included in the EU-Brazil "Joint Action Plan 2012-2014" and defined as "one of the major areas of the strategic partnership". Particularly lusophone Africa has been mentioned in this regard. So far, this concept however neglects the purpose and nature of Brazilian engagement in Africa: Working with the North, possibly even conditions-based, would undermine Brazilian political narrative and not further Brazilian economic interest as much as bilateral relations. But if Brazil can manage to overcome these hesitations, trilateral cooperation could in fact provide a great field of common engagement.

### *Human Rights*

On a domestic level, Brazil is a fervent implementer of UN regulations on human rights. At the UN, Brazil has instead interpreted these rights mainly as economic and social, echoing its G-77 foreign policy agenda. On other issues, such as Iran, Syria and North Korea, Brazil has been between sluggish, unhelpful and problematic. While many expected that Dilma Rousseff would bring a more Human Rights-centered approach to Brazilian policy and dampen camaraderie with populists in South America and the Caribbean, this has not happened and relations with these regimes have been prioritized. As mentioned, Brazil acquiesced to an ALBA-backed initiative in 2012 to suspend OAS democracy and human rights monitoring mechanisms. Even when this initiative was finally discarded in March of this year, Brazil found itself again on the wrong side of the aisle.[29] While the EU might accept a weakening of the OAS and diminishing of United States influence, it is very critical of moving human rights protection mechanisms to organizations dominated by countries such as the ALBA states or Cuba. On the global level instead, the transition from Lula to Rousseff has led to a greater distancing from problematic countries such as Iran.

As described by Gratius and Grevi, Brazil's engagement with democracy and human rights is likely to increase in the future. But the EU should recognize the limits of cooperation with Brazil on this issue, as it will "be filtered by the country's distinctive domestic experience, its reluctance to contemplate limitations to sovereignty and by sheer interest calculations."[30] Both countries already share and implement the same values at home. Overloading the Strategic Partnership could therefore result in disappointment from both sides.

### *Peace and Security*

Both Brazil and the EU share a focus on conflict prevention and often underline the interdependence between security and development. Yet Brazil has, along with other BRICS countries, taken a very negative stance towards military intervention and peace enforcement and has been an outspoken critic of NATO's Libya intervention and the UN concept of "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P). Brazil's obsession with observance of national sovereignty and non-interference clearly puts it at odds with the R2P concept advanced particularly by EU member states at the United Nations.

---

[29] Oppenheimer, Andres. "Surpise! Mexico backs human rights cause." In my opinion, Miami Herald, 24.03.2013.

[30] Gratius, Susanne and Grevi, Giovanni, "Brazil and the EU: Partnering on Security and Human Rights", pp. 5-6.

Rather than simply voting against R2P resolutions along with other BRICS countries, Brazil has supported the analogous concept of "Responsibility while Protecting" in 2011. While defending a moral purpose and a focus on the protection of civilians, the concept is actually an attempt to weaken R2P by delaying military intervention and attaching enough conditions and risks to make the concept impracticable. Its seemingly constructive attitude and mastery of procedural diplomacy has made Brazil in this case even more dangerous to the EU's interests than other BRICS countries.

The different stances on sovereignty and R2P are likely to remain. But at the same time a window of opportunity for common engagement has opened: The financial and economic crisis, which has significantly decreased European defense budget levels, drastically lowered European member states' willingness to engage in local conflicts. Brazil and the EU should use this opportunity and concentrate on those parts of peace and security where they agree: developing effective conflict prevention mechanisms.

## Free Market Policies

Brazil recently announced that it will pursue negotiations with the EU on a bilateral free trade agreement, as a result of the ongoing inability to come to terms on an EU-Mercosur agreement.[31] Brazil has actively contributed to creating this problem by trying to convert Mercosur into a political alliance and neglecting its economic coherence, now being faced by an Argentina promoting protectionist policies (a role previously often played by itself). Its siding with ALBA states in suspending Paraguay's membership in Mercosur and accepting Venezuela into the organisation, which it currently even chairs, will all but further the possibility of an agreement.

The Brazilian initiative is mainly based on its reclassification as a middle-income country by the EU, which will suspend trading preferences enjoyed by Brazil. Despite the Brazilian role in preventing an agreement with Mercosur in the past, the EU should welcome the Brazilian initiative. It is a sign that Brazil is moving towards pragmatic policies and offers opportunities to expand the agreement to other Mercosur countries at a later stage.

Moreover, an agreement would counter the entrenchment of an anti-free trade ideology in the region and ultimately distance Brazil from ALBA countries.



[31] Rathbone, John Paul and Leahy, Joe, "Brazil reaches out to EU for free trade deal,"Financial Times, 13.08.2013.

## Conclusion

This Chapter has provided a more critical look at the conventional wisdom that the EU and Brazil share several important world views and that in principle the EU should welcome the arrival of another like-minded power on a global scale. As the previous pages have shown, the EU and Brazil are currently divided by two major, interconnected differences: Different conceptions of multilateralism and Brazil's strong anti-Western/North rhetoric and action.

While the EU strives for an international order based on binding rules and institutions, the Brazilian view is more in favor of a traditional multipolarity, with multilateral frameworks mainly used to prevent predominance of power. Susanne Gratius' comparison of European "multipolar multilateralism" and Brazilian "multilateral multipolarity" is a particularly apt description in this regard.

One might argue that differences in Brazilian and EU visions of multilateralism stem from the fact that both find themselves on opposing courses: The EU is in decline and attempts to maintain its traditional role in world affairs by trying to replace the rule of power with the power of rules. Brazil on the other hand is rising and does not see a need for the establishment of a rule-based world at the exact moment in which it would finally be strong enough to succeed in a power-based one.

The future may hold better times for EU-Brazilian alignment once the Brazilian strategy becomes less viable. Both on the regional and global levels many countries have already started to notice that their Brazilian leaders – just as anyone else – care first of all for themselves and are often big in promises yet slow in delivery. And more importantly, the simultaneous identity as a global South and BRICS country is a problem in the long run: As a BRICS member it ultimately supports the idea of hierarchy in the international system, a concept that is highly contested by the global South. Once Brazil establishes itself as a more developed country that sits at most of the important decision-making tables and promotes its own interests, it will less likely be able to count on the support by this movement of the powerless.

Finally, if Brazil wants to achieve its final aim of a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council, it will need to define itself as a more 'responsible' country and effective partner. In the end, what distinguishes it from other major BRICS powers such as Russia and China is that it is not a global political big shot yet, and that it will require Western acceptance into this club.

## Sources

Burges, Sean. "Brazil as a bridge between old and new powers." International Affairs 89, 3 (2013). 577 – 594.

Council of the European Union. "Providing Security in a changing world." Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy. Brussels, 11 December 2008. Available at: http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/reports/104630.pdf

Council of the European Union. "A secure Europe in a better world." European Security Strategy. Brussels, 12 December 2003. Available at: http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf

EU Commission. Towards an EU-Brazil Strategic Partnership. Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament. Available at: http://www.access4.eu/_media/Communication_on_EU_Brazilian_partnership.pdf

Gomez Saraiva, Miriam. "Brazil's Strategies and Partnerships: The Place of the European Union." Perspectives 60, 2 (2012). 45 – 62.

Gratius, Susanne. "Brazil and the European Union: between balancing and bandwagoning.", ESPO Working Paper 2, (July 2012).

Gratius, Susanne. "Can EU Strategic Partnerships deepen multilateralism?" FRIDE Working Paper 109, (2011).

Gratius, Susanne and Gomes Saraiva, Miriam. "Continental Regionalism: Brazil's prominent role in the Americas."

Grevi, Giovanni, The EU and Brazil: Partners in an uncertain world.

Gratius, Susanne and Grevi, Giovanni. "Brazil and the EU: Partnering on Security and Human Rights." FRIDE Policy Brief No 153, (April 2013).

International Monetary Fund, World Economic Outlook Database, April 2013.

Oppenheimer, Andres. "Surpise! Mexico backs human rights cause." In my opinion, Miami Herald, 24.03.2013. Available at: http://www.miamiherald.com/2013/03/23/3302649/surprise-mexico-backs--human-rights.html

Otero-Iglesias, Miguel. "The EU and Brazil: What crisis? What partner? What strategy?" In: Grevi, Giovanni and Renard, Thomas, (eds.). Partners in Crisis: EU Strategic Partnerships and the Global Economic Downturn. European Strategic Partnerships Observatory (ESPO) Report 1 (November 2012). Madrid, FRIDE: 2012. Available at: http://www.egmontinstitute.be/papers/12/sec-gov/ESPO-report1-ECON-FINAL-II.pdf

Rathbone, John Paul and Leahy, Joe. "Brazil reaches out to EU for free trade deal." Financial Times. 13.08.2013. Available at: http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/ca912164-0291-11e3-a9e2-00144feab7de.html

Smith, Michael. "Beyond the comfort zone: internal crisis and external challenge in the European Union's response to rising powers." International Affairs 89, 3 (2013). 653 – 671

**Ambassador Michel Foucher** is Geographer and diplomat, former adviser to the French Foreign Minister, Ambassador and Director of the French Foreign Ministry's Center for Analysis and Projections, Research Director at the Institut des hautes études de défense nationale, adviser to the Peace and Security division of the African Union (Addis Ababa).

# General Comments on External Intervention in Countries in Crisis

Michel Foucher

## Theories and Realities of Intervention: a Variety of Configurations

The history of recent interventions (September 2001 being a convenient starting point from a Western perspective) led by some States in other countries shows that each situation has called for a very different approach.

The range of positions adopted by states involved during this period is remarkable, and confirms that there seems to be no fixed configuration of intervening states or opposing states. There was unanimity in 2001 in Afghanistan, deep divisions between the Western allies in 2003 in Iraq, abstention from the emerging powers (including Brazil) and Germany at the Security Council in 2011 over Libya, and an isolated French intervention in 2013 in Mali with logistical support from a few allies.

There is similar variety when it comes to theories. The 2012 version of the Brazilian National Defence White Paper is mainly devoted to the strategic context of the 21st century. It advocates a co-operative multipolarity: bringing together co-operation and defence capabilities and spelling out positions regarding the system of international relations. Seen from Brasilia, the only legitimate interventions are peacekeeping missions under the auspices of the United Nations, and set within strict limits of impartiality and non-substitution of the parties in conflict. The most recent strategic reviews and European white papers recommend a state acting alone should

only intervene under an explicit UN mandate, and only in the case of an emergency. They consider it preferable to act within a coalition, and insist that military action should be only one element used to neutralize a crisis situation and lay the foundations for political compromise. The African crises were the topic discussed during 62% of time dedicated to debate at the UN Security Council in 2012, and from a French perspective there is a need to involve African regional peacekeeping forces as well as mediation by regional institutions. In 2013 in the Middle East, it is easier to proclaim the goal of a political solution then to actually obtain one when the conflicting parties believe, as they do in Syria, that all discussions belong to the battlefield. In such circumstances a realistic approach has to prevail, which in practice means taking the most cautious path.

Opinions differ regarding the principle of "responsibility to protect" (UN, 2005). Brazilian diplomats put forward the concept of responsibility while protecting. However, consensus remains on the concept of respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states. This idea was formulated in the 18th century by Alexandre Gusmão, under the legal term uti possidetis. The notion was also adopted by the African Union (Cairo Declaration of 1964) and is a basic concept for the majority of European states (namely with regard to the dangers of partition or reshaping of the Middle East into new "emirates"). In my opinion, the real divide is between states which use their diplomacy and defence policy in the frame of their international responsibilities, and states which do not: those remaining in the majority.

Yet, history and geography cannot be ignored in this context. Half of the serious crises that started in the world in 2013 are located between three and six hours flight from Brussels. Remaining indifferent is possible. But this stance is neither reasonable, nor sustainable in the long term in Europe. Indeed, one has to take into account the proximity, the historic and human relationships between people from both sides of the Mediterranean Sea and of the Sahara desert, which is no longer a border.

The dangers and assessment of risks for the crises discussed in this paper (Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Syria, Mali,...) show, on the contrary, the importance of the connections established between the different locations. The countries which intervened in those operations have learned lessons, and this may explain their cautious policies in 2013 in Syria and the widespread decision to retreat from Afghanistan in 2014.

It is also important to assess the risks of interventions in relation to their political results in the current context. This assessment takes into account the role of national and regional stakeholders that are often forgotten in the general debate on legitimacy and sovereignty. The key stakeholders are those who have perennial interests (such as Pakistan's involvement in Afghanistan, Syria in Lebanon, and Algeria in the Sahara-Sahel zone). The importance of regional powers is often underestimated, probably as a consequence of Western narcissism.

## Imperatives for Intervention: a Critical Analysis

The imperatives to act include the external stakeholders' motivations and arguments, in particular when they are invoking the United Nations Charter (or NATO's Article 5 on Allies solidarity), collective moral principles (responsibility to protect from 2005), strategic goals (against enemies that identify some states and their citizens as targets), or, in more rare cases, economic interests (energy, communication routes).

In the case of Afghanistan, which has been through a series of external interventions since 1978, the events of 9/11 led the allies of the United States to demonstrate solidarity after the attack, invoking article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty and based on the unanimously adopted UN resolution 1386. The United States launched Operation Enduring Freedom, with the objective of eliminating the bases of Al-Qaida Central, defeating the Taliban regime and the "rebuilding" of a state which was deemed to have "failed" according to the Bonn Agreement.

With regards to Iraq, it was proven quite early that the Republican administration's arguments were both false (to destroy rumoured weapons of mass destruction that Saddam Hussein could not admit didn't exist because of tensions with Iran) and excessive (to reshape the Middle East). France and Germany refused to take part in a military raid (considered "disastrous" by Senator Obama), and NATO's new European allies ("the New Europe") were not able to cope with the demands of their new protector of last resort. Paris and Berlin were later on proven right to oppose the operation, but they paid a high price for their decision ("Punish France, ignore Germany and forgive Russia", as expressed by Condoleeza Rice). The France-bashing lasted for several years with serious economic consequences and reputational damage. Berlin was forced to accept deep intelligence co-operation, as was discovered in 2013. Moscow was marginalised.

In Libya, Paris and London took the initiative on their own, arguing that they were implementing the new principle of "responsibility to protect". It was clear that the Khadafi regime would massacre the rebels in Benghazi and Cyrenaica, as declared by the Libyan government. It was seen that the Europeans, who had previously suffered massacres in Bosnia, were not ready to morally accept another mass killing, this time perpetrated in Libya. Still, it is also clear that the interpretation of resolution 1973 led to the introduction of a regime change objective, in a civil war context. Germany, Brazil, China, India and Russia all abstained from the Security Council vote. It's worth noting that the Arab League supported France and Britain's move, and forces from Qatar and United Arab Emirates led military and support operations.

Finally in Mali, the January 2013 military intervention initiative lay entirely with France. The operation was intended to counter the advance of armed jihadist groups towards the capital Bamako initiated by AQIM, MUJWA and Ansar Dine. The jihadists were responding to the firm and detailed UN Security Council resolution 2085 (dated 20/12/2012) that intended among other things to deploy the AFISMA with the support of regional and international forces. The French-initiated military action was

requested by the interim Malian president. The operation's objective was to stop, drive back and finally destroy AQIM's central base in the Saharan mountain region - an area that the previous government admitted it had lost control of. It should be remembered that France doesn't have economic interests in Mali, unlike China or Algeria. Mali is the African country that receives the largest amount of French aid. However, France has an extensive expertise in Mali (the rescue of hostages) and there is a large Malian population living in France. This community has approved the intervention as "a life-line".

In the case of Syria, the aforementioned stakeholders' positions have evolved, with the exception of Russia who has decided to support the regime and obtain an unlikely negotiated solution. After originally being quite proactive, London and Paris have progressively judged that it was not appropriate to intervene in a civil war between Syrian Muslims, nor was it wise to risk supplying equipment that could be used by internationalist jihadist groups. Europeans are trying to give political support to a credible political opposition, respectable and representative, without considering either a no-fly zone or direct military action. The Libyan and especially Iraqi precedents call for a cautious approach. The European position does not favour a regional redefinition, they aim to contribute to a balancing of the current power struggle. The intervention of the Iraqi and Iranian-Shia regimes on one side, Sunni-Saudi and Qatari on the other gives a concerning regional dimension to the Syrian civil war.

These examples show the different configurations in external interventions according to the different crises. Of course, it is important to take into account the role played by leading figures during the decision process, in democratic countries in particular, and the desire of some to distance themselves from their predecessor. It can also be observed that the initial objectives tend to divert over time, except in the case of Mali where the original goal of territorial integrity has been reached. The fact that this operation was not led by a coalition has made it simpler to keep the objectives in sight.

## Dangers and Results of External Interventions, Considered as Assessment Criteria

The concept of a "Crescent of Crisis" was highlighted in several defence and national security white papers published in Europe at the end of the last decade. The "crescent" refers to an area extending from Sahara to Pakistan, where jihadist groups with international objectives could try to spread and co-ordinate their actions. Al Qaida has indeed franchised affiliates acting more or less autonomously, the more proactive organisations being AQAP, AQIM, the Iraqi branch of Al Qaida, and the Al-Nusra Front that fights Kurds, Alawis and Christians in Iraq and Syria. At the same time, the surviving AQIM katibas that were driven out of Mali are trying to settle in Southwest Libya, out of reach from Tripoli's control. Weapons stolen from Libyan arsenals have been found in Mali. Shabab groups in Somalia have received financial support from AQIM. All crises have a regional dimension and regions in neighbouring countries become sanctuaries for rival groups.

The consolidation of this type of critical regional situation, including a shifting of the centre of the crises, is probably the main hazard for regional stability.

Another danger is political failure of the intervention. What happens when foreign forces leave the scene of an intervention?

Let us look back on the Afghan case. 12 years later, the main stakeholders are in a process of military retreat; elections are planned for 2014; meetings have started in Qatar between the United States and Taliban representatives, in Tokyo, London and then Paris, but there no negotiations have started. Al Qaida Central is weakened but its affiliates in Yemen, Iraq, Syria and Maghreb continue to be active.

It is probable that if the United States (and their allies) had focused lastingly on their principle objective of destroying Al Qaida Central, the political and economic results could have been more positive. Today experts, at least in Europe, are wondering if the operation has been a "useless war". And unless there is radical political change in the civilian and military authorities of Pakistan, no-one predicts stability for Afghanistan after 2014. Pakistan has permanent national interest in Afghanistan unlike the countries who took part in the intervention. China continues to advance its influence in the region with copper mines and infrastructure projects via Tajikistan.

In the case of Iraq, those who reaped the benefits of the American intervention are the Kurds who have gained a quasi-independence and are now able to bypass Baghdad when they negotiate oil contracts, the Shia who are now the majority in government, the Iranian regime which has had its revenge for the Saddam Hussein period, and finally the Chinese oil companies which have won the main exploration contracts and are buying half of the oil produced in Iraq (in 2020, 80% of Iraqi oil will be exported to Asia, mainly to China according to the International Energy Agency). Those who were defeated include the Sunni minority in the central provinces and the Ba'ath Party members who have not admitted the loss of power, the Saudis and the Gulf countries. This situation led to an unprecedented levels of violence in the Iraq in 2013. This failure of America's administration of Iraq explains the will of the new leadership to find ways to engage in a dialogue with the Iranian regime of President Rouhani.

In Libya, the government in Tripoli has not yet succeeded in imposing its authority on the regional groups and tribes that refused to disarm (about 200 katibas are evading the central power's control). Several debates are affecting a society divided between a western part which is urbanised and attached to the Maghreb region, and an oriental part which is more sensitive to the ideas of the Muslim Brotherhood from Egypt that is losing influence despite Qatar's support.

In Mali, as we saw, territorial integrity was restored, a UN force (MINUSMA) has been deployed and the second round of presidential elections was held without dispute. On 12thAugust, the former Prime Minister Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta was elected with the message of "return its pride to Mali" and change in political practices. As outlined by experts, the main problem in Mali was not located in the north of the country but rather in the south, due to the drift in political governance. France insisted on holding elections as soon as possible. Forces will remain in the country in support of the MINUSMA

from 1st July, under the command of a Rwandan general and including 6300 African soldiers, and under a solid mandate (Resolution 2100 from 25 April 2013 which places the mission under Chapter VII of the UN Charter and was adopted unanimously). This external intervention justified by the regime's inability to provide security gave a jolt to the African Union and other countries. It led to a commitment to reinforce the capacity of the African regional military to intervene to bring states in conflict to the negotiating table (North/South Agreement negotiated in Burkina Faso before the elections in July). As in other places in Africa, the "security, democracy and development" triangle needs to be implemented. The Malian army is being rebuilt and is trained by the European EUTM mission. The last side of the virtuous triangle is economic development. On 15 May 2013, 80 countries met in Brussels and promised 3.2 billion euros in aid to Mali over a two year period (France committed to 280 million euro). This aid amounts to a third of the Sahelian State's gross domestic product.

Here again, we can see a large range of results obtained after external interventions. There is also a need to insist on the importance of involving regional stakeholders in the process of finding sustainable diplomatic and political solutions.

Early November 2013, it seems that the UN is still facing difficulties to deploy all the troops and the international money for assistance is not yet available.

The Serval military operation is still going on to cope with a new campaign of asymmetric actions by jihadist groups which are using a grey area in Southern Libya. In that situation, the French and Chadian forces will act as rapid reaction unit to support MINUSMA. They will remain on the ground with a regional range of intervention.

As for the political relations between Tuareg fractions and central government, which is key to stabilizing the large Northern half of this vast country, a new agreement is required.

## Conclusion: the Role of Major Diplomacies

The crises and their following interventions discussed in this paper have several characteristics to consider.

First, those crises are located between three and six hours flight from Europe. Half of the serious crises in the world are located in this radius. It is therefore rather difficult to justify an indifferent position due to the proximity of the conflicts and the fact that European interests and citizens are explicitly being threatened in several crises.

The Crescent of Crises concept is limited, as it describes a territorial connection in crises that should be avoided. The most difficult situation is in the Middle East, where the track record of Western interventions needs a rather rigorous appraisal. So does the direct intervention of Russia in Syria, alongside Iran and Hezbollah. Moscow grabbed the opportunity to get involved and take a detrimental role (like in the good old days) in its anti-Sunni approach.

Critical transitions in the Arab World are game-changers and explain the United States wait-and-see attitude (preferable to the neo conservatives' transformational activism) and the Chinese gamble which is winning the economic stakes.

The powers that be and their great diplomacies must give up on trying to shape the world, and should instead commit to guiding transitions and supporting states as their crises wind down. They ought to conform with United Nations mandates. But there is more to it. As the African continent situation demonstrates, there is awareness that the African Union member states have to get more involved in the resolution of crises. France, Germany, United Kingdom, Brazil, United States…have to encourage and support those member states in this direction.

Besides, "external" stakeholders do not only include Western countries. In my opinion, there is a need to expand the notion of intervention to players who have permanent interests in the concerned states (Pakistan and Iran in Afghanistan, but also Russia, China and Uzbekistan; Iran, Turkey and Saudi Arabia in Iraq; Turkey, Lebanon, Israel, Saudi Arabia and Gulf countries in Syria; Egypt, Algeria and Qatar in Libya; Saudi Arabia and Oman in Yemen; Saudi Arabia and Algeria in Mali). These states have the power to continue to stir up instability or alternatively they could encourage compromise.

On that topic, it is worth noting that other states have themselves led external interventions: Uganda and Burundi in Somalia (AMISOM), as well as Ethiopia that has important forces at the Sudan-South Sudan border, and South Africa in Central African Republic. It is no longer true to say that external intervention is a Western monopoly. And that is good news.

**Alfredo G. A. Valladão** is a Professor at the Paris School of International Affairs (Sciences Po-Paris) where he teaches Latin American geopolitics. He is a Member of the Board of Trustees of UNITAR and President of the Advisory Board of the EUBrasil, a Brussels-based association dedicated to encouraging dialogue between Brazil and the institutions of the European Union. From 1999-2010 he was the Director of the Mercosur Chair at Sciences Po, focused on European Union-South America relations, and was the Editor of twenty collective books on regional integration and bilateral trade negotiations, as well as eight books and reports on bilateral defense and security issues. He was the Coordinator of the Working Group on EU-Mercosur Negotiations, and he launched and coordinated – in partnership with the Brazilian representation of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung – the Annual International Conference of Fort Copacabana on "Defense and Security European-South American Dialogue".
Since 1995, Dr. Valladão has a weekly radio op-ed column at Radio France International (RFI – Brazilian Service) and from 1981-1993 he was Columnist and Diplomatic Correspondent for the daily newspaper Libération (Paris).

# Brazil, India, and China: Emerging Powers and Warfare

Alfredo G. A. Valladão

A twenty-first-century 'Emerging Power'(EmPo) faces an unprecedented challenge: how to pursue a traditional Westphalian sovereign power rise in an increasingly interdependent, post- Westphalian world. Most of the new century's challenges have a universal character that threatens an emerging 'international community interest' – or 'interest of mankind' (Pardo A., 1967; Baslar K., 1998) – and have to be tackled by collective action. Traditional rivalries between national interests do not disappear, but they are strongly limited by this new political environment.

The rise of the new EmPos – and of their military capabilities – is a direct consequence of their brisk economic successes, boosted by the global marketplace and growing interdependence. Paradoxically, globalization has also undermined a country's capacity to master its own economy, the most important ingredient of traditional national power. 'Money is the sinews of war and the grease of peace,' wrote Richelieu in the 17th century (Cardinal de Richelieu, 1740: 123). Obviously, some states are more sovereign than others, but this slow dilution of power also applies to the last 'omnipower' (Legro, J. W., 2008: 2)[1]. The US is the main promoter and defender of last resort of this globalization process, which at the same time is restricting its own margins for sovereign action (Valladão A., 2006: 243-260).

Nowadays, any emerging country that seeks to enhance its own influence in world politics cannot but develop a strategy of further integration into the global economy. The bigger the power ambition, the larger the part

one will have to play in strengthening the present liberal order which, in turn, is watering down the 'national' state power. This does not make it impossible to break collective rules, to ignore international institutions, to adopt different degrees of mercantilist self-centered policies, or even to indulge in military adventures. It simply means that the price to be paid for such conduct is getting higher and higher.

## Status-Seeking versus Accountancy

Emerging Powers are trapped in a dilemma. On one hand, they are struggling for important changes in the post-World War II power system in order to be admitted as peer players in the exclusive Big Power club. But on the other hand, they are also compelled by the need to maintain the status quo from which they derive their growing international protagonism. EmPos are, essentially, status-seeking – but not necessarily accountable – powers. They want to make sure that the present system keeps favoring their national 'emergence' and they try to ramp-up enough political clout to secure that global strategic decision-making outcomes will not hamper their 'rise' to power. For the moment, they are pushing for seats at the decisionmakers' table, but are still very reluctant to assume their part of responsibility for building and implementing a new international collective order that could constrain their own sovereign margins for maneuver. 'If your not at the table, you are on the menu', says the popular dictum. But that doesn't necessarily mean that you have to do the cooking.

No EmPo is envisioning its future as a world hegemon. Their ultimate goal, for the time being, is to become strong enough to be able to play balance of power games without rocking the boat. But they are confronted with a delicate balancing act: pursuing their ambition of building national strategic military capabilities in order to be taken seriously by the established powers and, at the same, being compelled to answer the call to become ever more engaged in the collective defense against global threats. Now, an ever-deeper security and defense cooperation with the established powers may jeopardize their chief priorities: a self-defined military doctrine and force organization with a power-balancing bias, as well as independent defense and procurement policies.

## BICs – Brazil, India, China: The Three Big "Emerging Powers"

One should beware of 'Eurocentric' parti pris. Each state has its own strategic culture rooted in its historical military experience and in the role that the armed forces played in its statebuilding process. EmPos have very diverse historical paths. The standard tools developed for studying the Western way of war (e.g. Jones A., 1987; Fuller J.F.C., 1957; Howard M., 1976) are definitely not enough to understand the actual foundations of the military strategies and security perceptions of the new powers (Black J., 2004).

Another difficulty is defining who is an 'Emerging Power' in geostrategic terms. Jim O'Neill's 2003 'BRICs' economic metaphor (Wilson D. and Purushothaman R., 2003) lumping together Brazil, Russia India and China, cannot answer that question. If Brazil can certainly be labeled an EmPo, India and China could be better defined as 're-emerging' powers, while Russia can be seen as a 'submerging' ex-superpower. Sometimes, for

reasons of regional representation or intra-regional sensitivities, South Africa, Mexico, Argentina, South Korea or Indonesia are placed in the EmPo category. But none of these states, not even Indonesia, has the resources and clout to play a meaningful role in global affairs in the foreseeable future[2]. Actually, Brazil, India and China (or 'BICs') are the most serious candidates: they are 'monster countries' (Kennan G., 1994: 143) with enormous territorial, natural and human resources, they are already exerting a fair degree of influence outside their own regions, and they have been showing a strong will to make use of this newfound influence.

Differently from Western experiences (European, North American and, in part, post-Meiji era Japan), BICs don't have a history of imperial expansionism and force projection in far away places[3]. Their armed forces served more as guarantors of internal stability and defense against foreign threats and incursions. Before their modern 'nation-state' status, they were all self-contained 'empires' (or, sometimes, part of foreign controlled empires) much more concerned about holding their many parts together, under a single authority, than conquering new territories. Most of the time, military confrontations were the result of internal political fragmentation, with local power centers competing for pre-eminence or trying to secede. As for defense against foreign enemies, battles were more local border wars and skirmishes or, as in the case of India and China, huge defeats against a much stronger invader.

## Old Defensive Strategic Cultures

Traditionally, the possession of a vast and diverse landmass has its strengths and weaknesses. Strength, because a hostile power had to think twice before planning to conquer and administer such huge spaces and masses of human beings. Weakness, because of the difficulties of maintaining centralized control and political stability in view of ever-resurgent centrifugal local political ambitions and the sheer size of forces needed to cover a geographical behemoth. These particularities have nurtured a specific strategic culture. War is seen through defensive lenses: holding a neighbor's hostile forces at the borders and suppressing domestic insurgencies. Therefore, the objective of inter-state warfare is not allout 'victory', but the best possible political settlement allowing a return to the status quo ante – though this prudent approach did not often applied to the power rivalries of intra-state conflicts. This is a long way from the European or American focus on expeditionary campaigns or some hardcore expressions of the 'Western way of war' – particularly in the US military tradition – with its 'Jomini bent' on mobilizing every resource available in order to secure the enemy's unconditional capitulation (Colson B., 1993)[4].

In this defensive strategic culture, priority was given to building up very large land forces, leaving the naval and aerial components in a weak and subordinate role. Part of the Army was assigned to man the most problematic borders in peacetime, but its primary mission was domestic: population and territorial control. The military played (and still play) a large number of domestic functions: constabulary force, civil engineering, social assistance, relief operations and repression against domestic opposition or insurgencies (sometimes akin to actual war operations). Procurement and deployment of the

two other forces were directly linked to the Army's specific missions. Air Forces, developed in the 1950-1980s, were made mainly of helicopters and tactical aircraft adapted for the defense of mainland and possible counter-insurgency roles. Surface-to-air missiles and anti-aircraft guns against foreign aerial threats complemented these missions. Obviously, each BIC country had to adjust its Air Force assignments to a more or less conflictive environment. For China, defense of the mainland against aerial and tank offensives was the top priority, while India had to give more weight to close air support, tactical bombing and air superiority for border war operations[5]. Brazil, on the other hand, benefiting from its significantly safe neighborhood, could prioritize domestic aerial missions (civilian airlift and interception of crime-related civilian aircraft) alongside the classical mainland defense. Absent from this picture, was any serious aerial power projection capabilities. As for the BIC's Navies, they were clearly underdeveloped and their missions were limited to a coastal role – and even this circumscribed task could hardly be met most of the time. But it is also true that they could rely for their security, sometimes reluctantly, on the Pax Americana guaranteed by the US blue-water fleets.

During the 1960-1970s, a last and new element was added to these essentially defensive grand strategies: the nuclear dimension. Nuclear (small) arsenals were not seen as tools to play balance of power games with the two great Cold War superpowers, but as a way to 'sanctuarize' the national territory against neighboring powers and foreign aggression in general. China, in the 1960s, was first in acquiring an atomic weapons capability. Its main goal was status seeking – to enhance its position as a permanent member of the UN Security Council by becoming a member of the exclusive nuclear powers' club – but it was also to buy an insurance policy against possible future threats to its territory coming from the USSR, the US or even Japan. In the 1970s and 1980s, development of a nuclear deterrent was pursued by all three BICs, basically in the framework of regional arms races: India versus China and Pakistan, Brazil versus Argentina, China versus the USSR and India[6].

## Accumulating Power Without Sparking Hostile Reactions

The novelty, in the last ten to fifteen years, is the 'emergence' of the BIC countries as putative global players. Now they have to pay attention to the impact of their rise to power not only on their neighborhood, but also on the world at large. They are also confronted with the necessity to protect a set of national interests situated very far away from home (trade flows, lines of communication, access to raw materials, space…). In addition, they now have to manage actively the consequences of a more open relationship with the outside world on their own political systems and on their political elites' hold on power (flows of global information, cultural and population control). For the first time, they are forced to become committed players in the international arena.

In today's interdependent world system, newcomers are deeply dependent on reliable and beneficial working relationships with the traditional powers. The BICs have to square the circle on how to keep accumulating power and asserting it in the world scene, without triggering a hostile reaction from those they are displacing and that could destroy their ambitions. The most explicit political theorization of this delicate balancing

act was China's 'peaceful rise' concept introduced in its official foreign policy, in 2003, at the beginning of the Hu Jintao administration – before being abandoned, one year later, in favor of 'peaceful development,' a less benevolent and less constraining concept (Glaser B. & Medeiros E., 2007: 291-310).

In this context, military power is being perceived as a way to pursue a two-track policy. First, as a means to consolidate the country's 'rise', above all in its own region – considered as an indispensable step in the road to become a global player. Second, in order to be recognized as a cooperative non-threatening partner by the established powers – EmPos have to show their willingness to take responsibility for the maintenance of global security. Trying to put together a military apparatus that can combine these two broad missions is a tall order and can only be an incremental and lengthy process.

## Military Modernization: The Capacity to Say "NO"

BICs have many differences, but there is a common pattern concerning their military strategies' priorities. Regarding the 'first track' – to become the most important regional military power – all of them are trying to build modern war fighting capabilities to ensure their traditional missions (border and domestic security) but, also – and mainly – to achieve two new strategic goals. First: the capability to 'say no', which means a credible deterrence against established powers' pressures. Today, nuclear 'mutual assured destruction' has limited use when faced with the overwhelming power of modern conventional high-tech weapons. One does not counter a circumscribed conventional aggression with a suicidal nuclear strike. This is leading the EmPos to enhance their nuclear capabilities (for those who do have one, which is not the case of Brazil) but also to search for conventional military solutions. All of them are prioritizing, one-way or another, the idea of 'asymmetric warfare', which, in this context, means acquiring and mastering high-end civilian and military technology[7], not primarily for long-range force projection (at least for the time being), but in order to deter big power or rival regional power interventions in their near-abroad. In the last decade, all EmPos have been reformulating their military missions and acquiring high-tech capabilities, particularly in the field of information and network centric warfare.

The second strategic goal is to build an overwhelming 'regional' military power, not only as deterrence against neighbors but also as a way to affirm one's leadership. This entails growing military capabilities to project power in the near abroad. This evolution from a 'passive' to a more 'pro-active' defense posture is also linked to the new security challenges arising from the BICs' dependence on the global economy. Reliable export and imports transport routes for goods, energy, mineral and agriculture commodities, parts and components, are at the core the EmPos' economic performance. To provide security for their strategic trade flows – Sea Lines of Communications (SLOCs) in particular – and to uphold their sovereignties over their Exclusive Economic Zones or other large resources-rich national territories (e.g. the Amazon) are fast becoming primary missions of their armed forces. That means enhancing strategic reach and out-of-area capabilities as well as building and strengthening the capacity for joint operations between the three forces.

Asserting dominance over a wider area beyond traditional defense perimeters has been translated into anti-access/area denial strategies, clearly pursued by the Chinese military (US Department of Defense, 2009: 10-19), but also present in India and, with less emphasis, in Brazil. The mainly outmoded territorial defense forces are being converted into modern flexible forces able to operate and to project power, at least in their enlarged neighborhood, in both offensive and defensive mode. Ground forces, while still remaining the backbone of domestic security, are shedding their static defense traditions and adopting a more offensive maneuver-oriented posture. Modern conventionally armed short and medium range missiles, land-, air- and sea-launched, as well as cruise missiles, are being added to the force structures. Air defense is being tailored for local air dominance. Air forces are procuring modern strike aircraft for extended regional air operations beyond their national borders – including, in the case of China and India, maritime strike planes equipped with anti-ship missiles –, and aerialrefueling and early warning and control capabilities (AEW&C). Yet, the real novel development is certainly the new priority given to build relevant green- and even blue-water navies: conventional and nuclear-powered submarines, advanced destroyers and frigates equipped with anti-ship cruise missiles (ASCM), and aircraft carriers that are slowly and gradually showing the flag in maneuvers or missions sometimes far away from their littoral environments. Finally, the EmPos have wakened up to the crucial importance of space for the modern battlefield.

## "Asymmetric Warfare" Doctrine

Each EmPos have to cope with very specific geopolitical situations. First, there is a clear distinction between those who live in dangerous Westphalian environments (regional power military competition, border tensions, 'vital' strategic threats to their sovereignty) and those who benefit from a more pacified milieu: China and India on one hand, Brazil in the other. Second, these countries are differentiated by the degree of vulnerability of their political regimes. Legitimacy of the national political system and institutions, and the presence – or not – of radical anti-systemic opposition movements are two key elements that determine the military vision and planning. If regime survival is perceived as the top priority of the power elite, the control of the domestic population will be placed high in the agenda of the security forces, and the armed forces' 'police' function will be important. Even civilian information flows and technologies are seen as lethal weapons. China, as well as other authoritarian non- EmPo regimes, like Iran, Venezuela, Cuba or North Korea, have been trumpeting that they are engaged in 'information wars'. Democracy represents the great divide. The power elites of democratic Brazil or India feel safer than China's Communist Party (CCP) leadership, and this has a deep impact on their conceptions about the role of the armed forces and about war itself.

## China: Near-Abroad Dominance

China's ruling elites are confronted with perceived threats arising from a regional nuclear balance of power, border disputes with India, Japan and some of the South China Sea coastal states, possible spillover effects of the Afghanistan-Pakistan-India tensions,

North Korean uncertainties, old anxieties about the Sino-Russian border, and the overwhelming presence of the US Navy in the region. But they also have to deal with domestic instability: the Taiwan conundrum, the Tibetan and Uyghur revolts, growing regional imbalances between coastal and interior provinces, worsening of social inequalities, and the fear of a gradual loss of legitimacy of the CCP rule. How to deal with the linkage between these external and internal dimensions is at the core of what China's strategists call the 'comprehensive national power'. In their latest Defense White Papers, military authorities have clearly stated that security issues are related to upholding national security and unity, as well as to the struggles for strategic resources and strategic locations and dominance, like energy, commodities, finance, information or shipping routes. This broad combination of tasks is expressed in the doctrine of 'asymmetric warfare' that stresses a multidimensional concept of warfare: 'war is not only a military struggle, but also a comprehensive contest on fronts of politics, economy, diplomacy, and law' (Guangqian P. & Youzhi Y., 2005)

China's nuclear deterrence forces, and their permanent upgrading (specially of its nuclear-armed submarine fleet), are still seen as the ultimate guarantee of regime survival against a foreign foe. But at the conventional operational level, the new doctrine is embodied in the concept of 'active defense': China will not initiate wars of aggression but, in order to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity, its armed forces would have to fight and win 'local wars' by taking the initiative and placing the emphasis on 'active offense'. Part of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) is being transformed from a static border defense and internal security force to a more offensive force with emphasis on integrated operations with the air force. A real capacity of long-distance maneuvers and to project power in the 'near-abroad' is being added to the PLA's domestic tasks which are still viewed as it's core function.

Concerning the Air Force, integration with ground forces operations is complemented by the concept of 'Joint Anti-Air Raid' for anti-access and area-denial that calls for attacks against an enemy's bases and naval forces. As for Navy operations, they are conducted under the 'Offshore Active Defense' concept with a focus on Taiwan and the first island chains. But a new dimension being discussed by Chinese military strategists – 'Far Sea Defense' – envisages the fleet's presence much farther away, outside China's claimed 200 nautical miles Exclusive Economic Zone, well into the Pacific Ocean, the South China Sea or even the Indian Ocean. Construction of aircraft carriers task forces – linked to the actual expansion of a sustainable long-range attack submarine fleet (Eaglen M. & Rodeback J., 2010) – is being considered as a possible step in order to be able to defend the country's maritime interests in a broader definition (US Department of Defense, 2009). In any case, China is already expanding its naval footprint to the West based on its 'string of pearls' concept of building bases along the Indian Ocean rim: Gwadar port in Pakistan's Baluchistan province, listening posts in the Burmese Coco Islands, container ports in Bangladesh and Sri Lanka and a naval base in the Maldives (Pant H. V., 2010).

The crucial role that C4ISR (Computerized Command, Control, Communications, Intelligence, Surveillance, Reconnaissance) plays in modern conflicts has led Chinese thinkers to develop the idea of 'integrated network electronic warfare'. All 'active defense' operations are being planned 'under conditions of informatization'. The goal is to disrupt an adversary's battlefield network information systems and to achieve dominance of the electromagnetic spectrum. The testing of an anti-satellite weapon (ASAT), in January 2007, was clearly a demonstration of China's will to acquire significant counterspace capabilities (Covault C., 2007). Another aspect is cyberspace warfare that includes the civilian networks. The controversy between Google and the Chinese government, in January 2010, over censorship and cyber-attacks against the Silicon Valley firm (Markoff J. & Barboza D., 2010), as well as suspicions of widespread 'hacker' intrusions into US private and governmental networks is an indication of how Chinese authorities look upon the Internet and the transnational flows of information as one of the main modern battlefields[8].

## India: The 'Cold Start' Doctrine

India's strategy is driven by the perception of more immediate threats: persistent tensions on the borders with Pakistan and China, proxy terrorist attacks coming from its western neighbor and an entrenched domestic Naxalite-Maoist insurgency affecting significant parts of its western states. In 2004, the Indian Army High Command unveiled a new war doctrine dubbed 'Cold Start' (Kapila S., 2004). The main goal is to acknowledge the importance of using advanced technology, particularly electronic networks, to fight a short-duration limited conflict in a nuclear environment. The ' Cold Start Strategy' is aimed at Pakistan and has a declared offensive bias. The Indian army would no more stand at the border waiting for an aggression in order to counterattack, but would launch 'blitzkrieg' type operations at the onset of a conflict. The military goal is not to capture small parts of Pakistani border territory – to be used as trump cards in the negotiations following a cease-fire – but to destroy the Pakistani military without too much damage to civilians. 'Cold Start' is a 'pro-active' war strategy based on quick mobilization and overwhelming use of firepower to annihilate the enemy's forces.

This doctrine is a stark choice in favor of mobile warfare based on 'integrated battle groups' combining armor, infantry, artillery and combat air support. A modern and technologically upgraded Indian Air Force is paramount for assuring overwhelming air superiority and close air support. For the first time, even the Navy aviation is supposed to support the ground troops' offensive, and conventional ballistic and cruise missiles have a central role as the main firepower against the adversary's military forces and installations. However, this weakening of the distinction between strike corps and defensive corps does not mean a conversion to expeditionary operations, long-range strikes or the occupation of large parts of the enemy's territory. 'Cold Start' military goal is to fight a violent but limited war, inflicting heavy damages to the enemy forces in order to force a cease-fire without triggering a nuclear exchange.

Since 2004, India's military establishment has integrated two more variables to its new strategy: border tensions with China and containing the Chinese rising naval presence in

the Indian Ocean. In 2009, the Indian Army Chief, General Deepak Kapoor announced a new 'two-front war' doctrine: 'there is now a proportionate focus towards the western and northeastern fronts' (Pandit R., 2009). The missions of the Indian Air Force, besides acquiring a leading role for nuclear deterrence, have also been widened to cover an extension of the strategic reach from the Persian Gulf to the Strait of Malacca. But the most important novelty is certainly the development of the first-ever Indian maritime doctrine contemplating a 'bluewater' role for the fleet and nuclear-armed submarines for strategic deterrence. India, which has already Asia's most powerful fleet, is planning to add about 100 warships to its navy within 2020 (Lamont J.& Sood V., 2009) and to enlarge its naval footprint. New Delhi has already signed maritime defense cooperation agreements with Oman and Qatar, has established an electronic monitoring station on Madagascar and has shown a clear interest in developing a naval base and trading entrepôt at Iran's Chah Bahar port as an answer to China's presence in the Pakistani port of Gwadar (Blanche Ed., 2009; Kaplan R., 2009). India is also leading and upgrading the Milan biennial Indian Ocean-Asia-Pacific naval exercises, where China is conspicuously absent[9] (newKerala.com Online News, 2009).

Considering India's strategic position between potential nuclear foes with significant modern conventional capabilities, these more offensive military doctrines rest on a credible nuclear deterrent and the capacity to master the most modern conventional warfare technologies. Hence, India is following China's path in enhancing its nuclear arsenals, by developing longer-range ballistic missiles as well as nuclear submarines, and prioritizing the inclusion of top of the line information and electronic warfare technologies into its operational plans. India's armed forces do have important missions of domestic security, but their main function is clearly to build enough endogenous military strength to avoid being constrained to seek outside help from the US or other big powers.

## Brazil: Mastering Technology and Naval Projection

Brazil is in a very peculiar strategic situation: the lack of military threats, either from its neighbors or a Big Power. Historically, South America, although plagued by civil wars and domestic insurgencies, has been one of the most peaceful regions on the planet regarding inter-state conflicts, and could indeed be defined as an 'intriguing anomaly' (Holsti K. J., 1996). The region is also located far away from the world's historically important battlefields and has benefited, since its independence in 1822, from the implicit strategic protection of the British Royal Navy first, and then the US Navy. A small Brazilian expeditionary force did fight with Allied troops in Italy during World War II, but the country has not taken part in an armed conflict since the Triple Alliance War against Paraguay (1864-1870). Its huge and sometimes inhospitable landmass is one of its best deterrents. Thus the primary mission of the Brazilian armed forces, confronted with the challenge of controlling a relatively unpopulated continental-size territory, has always been to guarantee the internal security. Debates about national defense were traditionally unknown among the country's civilian elites. Pacifism, the promotion of international law, and the idea that conflicts between states should be solved by diplomacy and arbitration are part of the national identity.

This benign neglect has been changing since the 1990s. For the first time in its history, Brazil is having a significant economic and diplomatic impact outside its own region and its economic success is linked to deep interdependencies with the rest of the world. Brazilian leaders are now aware that the country has many interests that need to be defended outside national borders. Brazil wants to be part of the world's decision-making process at the highest level, participating in the G-20, laying claim for more 'voice' in international fora like de International Monetary Fund (IMF) and seeking a permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council. Contemporarily, Brasilia has vigorously pursued South American integration and a Brazilian leadership in the region as a power base for its global ambitions. In that context, military power is becoming an important element of the country's international projection. The first ever Ministry of Defense, headed by a civilian, was created in 1999, replacing the old structure of three military ministries (one for each force). The first official 'National Strategy of Defense' (NDS), was published at the end of 2008 (Brazilian Ministry of Defense, 2008). The country's defense budget is traditionally low but has nearly doubled in the last decade. In March 2010, the Brazilian Congress approved the establishment of a Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces, directly subordinated to the minister of Defense, and the creation of a quadrennial National Defense White Book.

The 2008 NDS states emphatically that the country is not willing to exercise power on other nations – 'Brazil does not have enemies' (Brazilian Ministry of Defense, 2008: 16). Hence, the Armed Forces should be organized in terms of capacities and not specific threats. The second important guideline is achieving national independence by building an autonomous technological capacity and a strong defense industry, particularly in the spatial, cybernetic and nuclear strategic sectors. Concerning the armed forces missions, the priority is still to monitor and control the vast Brazilian air space, territory and jurisdictional waters, and to respond to any aggression. The new strategy envisages a more pro-active posture, specifically in two huge resource-rich areas: the Amazon and the sea zone surrounding the extensive pre-salt oil and gas reserves discovered in 2007 (Durham L., 2009). For the Army, it means mastering joint operations and all the tools of electronic and information warfare, in order to transform static ground forces concentrated in the main southern urban areas into flexible and mobile units capable of power projection inside the national territory and organized in Rapid Reaction Strategic Force brigades. Like China or India, Brazil stresses the importance of an 'asymmetrical war' (identified as a 'national-resistance war'), as the best way to fight a military enemy 'with far superior power' that would 'disregard the unconditional Brazilian sovereignty on its Amazon region, assuming alleged interests on behalf of mankind' (Brazilian Ministry of Defense, 2008: 16). Despite this hypothetical scenario, the new ground forces' missions are still to contribute, alongside the police forces, to guarantee internal security. This is also the main mission of the Air Force, which prioritizes territorial air surveillance and the capacity to fight and ensure local air superiority at any one point of Brazil's immense landmass. The Army will also take growing responsibilities in UN peacekeeping operations, deemed essential for Brazil's status as a global protagonist.

The real novelty concerns naval power. Without naming any adversary, the stated principle of the nation's fleet reorganization is clearly 'sea denial' – so much so that 'power projection' is hierarchically subordinated to this principle. The defense of oil platforms, sealanes of trade, islands in national waters and the capacity to join international peacekeeping operations are the Navy's main tasks. At the operational level, priority should be given to a powerful underwater force – conventional and nuclear-powered submarines – as well as to conventional aircraft carriers. The concept of asymmetrical war is also applied to sea combat: the surface forces are considered as tactical or strategic reserves for the forward engagement of the underwater forces. A submarine equipped with a nationally designed and produced nuclear engine has become the icon of the new national defense policy. But in any case, Brazil will have to deal with the same ambiguity that characterize the other BICs' strategies: a defensive area denial posture but with offensive out-of-area capabilities and the possibility of a doctrinal geographical expansion of its perceived security perimeter.

Doubts could also arise concerning nuclear technology. Brazil has developed a uranium enrichment plant with its own centrifuge technology, but the country is also strongly committed to nuclear nonproliferation. Its Constitution forbids any military use of nuclear technologies (Art. 21, § XXIII-a) and it has signed all the relevant agreements (Non Proliferation Treaty, Tlatelolco Treaty and the Nuclear Suppliers Group), plus a bilateral intrusive safeguards regime with Argentina (ABACC – Brazilian-Argentine Agency for Accounting and Control of Nuclear Materials) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Yet, because of the nuclear submarine program, the NDS states clearly that Brasilia will not subscribe to the IAEA Additional Protocol (Brazilian Ministry of Defense, 2008: 36). Since the beginning of the 2000s, Brazil has decided to upgrade its nuclear programs for peaceful use and has hinted that it is interested in becoming a nuclear fuel exporter by tapping its uranium ore deposits. Mastering the whole nuclear cycle is seen as an essential element of the country's regional and international leadership role – something that, in the future, could introduce some degree of uncertainty about Brazil's nuclear doctrine.

## From Active Defense to Active Offense

Like it or not, the emergence of local military powers with significant area denial capabilities, particularly at sea, is a matter of concern not only for neighboring countries, but also to the big established powers. In it's 2010 QDR Report, the US Department of Defense has clearly stated that America should maintain 'unmatched capabilities' so that it can 'deter and defeat aggression in anti-access environments' (US Department of Defense, February 2010). Strategic concepts like India's 'Cold Start' or China's 'active defense', rest on the ambiguities surrounding the connection between 'strategic active defense' and the primacy of seizing the initiative in active offense, and between defense of the national territory and dominance of the near-abroad.

If Brazil's modernization programs are still embryonic and the country benefits from a peaceful neighborhood, this is not the case with the two Asian BICs. The prospect of China becoming a dominant regional naval power has already pushed India, Japan,

Australia and the US to strengthen their naval cooperation (Chellaney B., 2007), even if this 'Quadrilateral Initiative' was somewhat toned down. Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia and other ASEAN countries, which do have maritime territorial disputes with Beijing, are hedging their bets by facilitating the US naval presence in the region's waters and ports. India, in 2009, has made public its plans to greatly expand its 'blue-water' fleet. On the other hand, New Delhi's announcement of its new 'two-front' war doctrine is steering concerns in China and Pakistan (Pant H. V., 2010), strengthening their already close military cooperation. Competition for military dominance between these three regional nuclear powers, plus the US and (as yet) non-nuclear Japan, is not the best recipe for regional stability.

## Sharing the Burdens Of Global Security: Pick and Choose

In order to preempt aggressive balance of power developments and to convince the established powers that they are responsible global players, EmPos have been showing a willingness to share at least a small part of the burden of guaranteeing global security. BIC countries are starting, cautiously, to subscribe to some operations designed to secure what can be called an enlarged definition of 'global commons'[10]: protection of maritime trade and seabed infrastructure for communication and information networks, cyberspace security, confronting threats posed by transnational crime, terrorism and piracy or contributing to peace-keeping missions. These limited shows of military support for the public good has many advantages. First, it is a legitimate and consensual manner to begin exercising power projection. Second, it is a way to preempt accusations of 'free-riding' on the big powers' global security guarantees. Last but not least, securing access to resources critical for the smooth functioning of the transnational production chains and protecting economic lifelines is absolutely vital for sustaining the EmPos economic growth.

In 2009, China sent a small group of warships to the Gulf of Aden (Task Force 529) on a counter piracy mission, in parallel with the European naval forces (EU NAVFOR Atalanta), other Western and US ships – even India and Russia have contributed with a destroyer each. But the Chinese Task Force has been very reluctant to accept more than a basic informal level of coordination with its counterparts, and its main objective is to protect only Chinese merchant ships. Actually, China has used this mission as a peaceful way to test the enlargement of its naval footprint into the Indian Ocean. India and Brazil have also shown that they are concerned by any increase in coordination with Western navies that could limit their doctrinal and operational elbowroom. India does participate in the Quad Initiative with the US, and the Brazilian Navy is the main partner, along with the US Navy, in the annual South Atlantic UNITAS maneuvers, but both countries have been strengthening their naval links with bi-oceanic trilateral naval exercises with South Africa, and have been averse to grant any legitimacy to big powers naval presence in their maritime regions.

Peace missions suffer from the same tensions. Since 2000, there has been a twenty-fold increase in Chinese peacekeepers that are now deployed in ten different theatres, particularly in Sudan, Liberia, Lebanon and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Gill B.

& Huang C-H., 2009). India has a long history of peacekeeping missions, while Brazil is leading the MINUSTAH (United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti) and has fielded more than 1.500 troops to Caribbean island. But the three EmPos insist on a strict application of the principles of non-interference and absolute respect for national sovereignty, which make them extremely reluctant to take part in international sanctions or armed forces 'police' interventions, even sanctioned by the United Nations, and even in case of extreme human rights abuse[11]. In general terms, they shun the ideas of 'stakeholdership' for global stability and refuse entering into formal military alliances, even at a regional level. They consider that to cooperate with the established powers in specific issues is in their self-interest provided it is not a long-term commitment, that they can pick and choose how and when to do it, and that their armed forces do not have to be submitted to a collective discipline or command.

## Conclusion

War for Brazil, is still a theoretical proposition far away into the future. For India, living with permanent tensions at its borders, it is perceived as an actual possibility. For China, it is an uncertain contingency that must be prepared for in its quest for regional military clout, even if that means some kind of local confrontation with the US superpower. But the BICs share the same vision: military power is an essential ingredient in their 'rise' to world player status and they are ready to commit a greater percentage of their national budgets to upgrade their Armed Forces' doctrines, organization and equipment. Their strategic goal is to be respected by neighboring states and to be able to withstand eventual pressures from the big established powers. No BIC country is projecting itself as a world 'hegemon'. They are not interested in exporting their 'values' or 'way of life'. In fact these countries seek to be recognized as peers by the established big powers and to participate in the most important international decisionmaking fora, but reject any comprehensive and formal collective responsibility to care for global security and global governance. China and India more, Brazil less, act as if 'the only effective multilateralism is lucrative multilateralism' (Holslag J., 2006: 11).

Yet, the three new players know that, in their own interest, they have to accept some responsibility for maintaining the world order, and they have to show that their 'emergence' does not constitute a strategic threat, either to the neighboring countries or to the established powers. But the Emerging Powers have to live with a paradox: a rising defensive military power that is based on operational offensive capabilities and doctrines. This ambiguity breads mistrust on their real intentions and could generate countervailing military responses from neighbors and big powers alike. In that case, having to cope with a belligerent environment, the EmPos would have killed the goose that laid the golden eggs.

## Endnotes

1 Cf. Legro's definition of 'omnipower': 'The United States has a unique position in the world today because it is a regional power in all the world's regions.'

2 The same can be said concerning some over-ambitious governments, such as Venezuela and Iran, that dream of acquiring this kind of status.

3 Some consider that China was an expansionary power during the XIII-XVI centuries. As a matter of fact, China was conquered by Genghis and Kublai Khan's armies. The Mongol Yuan dynasty's unsuccessful campaigns against Japan, Champa, Vietnam or Java, at the end of the XIII century can be seen as the last spurts of Mongol expansionism. The succeeding 'Han' Ming dynasty, founded in 1368, spent most of its resources in pushing back the Mongols and, then, defending China against recurrent Mongol and Japanese threats, until its demise in the XVII century. The Chinese maritime expeditions of 1405-33 had to face the Mandarin's hostility and remain a weak-willed interlude in China's foreign policy history.

4 E.g. Douglas MacArthur famous quotations : 'The American tradition has always been that once our troops are committed to battle, the full power and means of the nation would be mobilized and dedicated to fight for victory' (MacArthur D., 1964, 27-30) and 'war's very object is victory, not prolonged indecision. In war there is no substitute for victory.' (MacArthur D., 1951, 334-335)

5 Since 1947, India fought five major border wars, four against Pakistan and one two-front war against China.

6 China's first nuclear test occurred on October 16, 1964. India's first explosion took place on May 18, 1974, but its reprocessing facilities were launched at Trombay, in 1964. Brazil started its military nuclear program in the 1970s, under a military government, but abandoned it officially in the 1980s, after the reestablishment of a democratic government and a bilateral agreement with Argentina, in 1985, to put a definite end to their nuclear arms race.

7 Asymmetric low-tech solutions stressing the role of irregular forces and/or terrorist outfits as state weapons are not a priority for the three EmPos. These strategies are being conceived either by nonstate combatant forces or by confrontational local regional middle-powers, such as Iran, Pakistan or Venezuela. Most of the time, those kinds of solutions have only a very limited strategic deterrence function, but are pursued as one possible instrument of tactical war fighting capacities.

8 In March 2010, on what can be seen as a self-fulfilling prophecy, the Pentagon has announced the formal establishment of a Cyber Command (USCYBERCOM), a unified sub-command of the US Strategic Command responsible for the nuclear arsenal and global deterrence, as well as space and information operations. A full general will command the USCYBERCOM.

9 The Milan biennial naval exercises were established in 1995. Thirteen nations participated in the Milan 2010 naval meeting: Australia, Bangladesh, Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, New Zealand, Philippines, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Vietnam.

10 The OECD Glossary of Statistical Terms still defines 'global commons' as 'natural assets outside national jurisdiction such as the oceans, outer space and the Antarctic'.

11 The EPs have been very critical of the 'Responsibility to Protect' (R2P) concept, promoted by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan and adopted explicitly in the 2005 UN World Summit Outcome Document (United Nations, 2005).

## References

Baslar K. 1998. The Concept of the Common Heritage of Mankind in International Law: 117-158, The Hage: Kluver Law International.

Black J. 2004. Rethinking Military History, London & New York: Routledge.

Blanche Ed. 2009. 'Enter the Tiger and the Dragon: India and China move into the Arabian Sea to protect their energy lifelines to the Middle East,' The Middle East Magazine, Apr. 6-11

Brazilian Ministry of Defense. 2008. National Strategy of Defense, Brazil: Ministério da Defesa.

Chellaney B. 2007. 'The U.S.-India-Japan-Australia Quadrilateral Initiative: New Great Game,' Asian Age, 2 June.

Colson B. 1993. La culture stratégique américaine – L'influence de Jomini, Paris: Economica-FEDN.

Covault C. 2007. 'Chinese Test Anti-Satellite Weapon,' AVIATIONWEEK.COM, 17 January.

Durham L. 2009. 'Brazil Dancing the Pre-Salt Salsa,' Explorer, AAPG, November 2009. www.aapg.org/explorer/2009/11nov/brazil1109.cfm. 11th November 2010

Eaglen M. & Rodeback J. 2010. 'Submarine Arms Race in the Pacific: The Chinese Challenge to U.S. Undersea Supremacy,' Backgrounder n° 2367, The Heritage Foundation, February 2, 2010.

Fuller J.F.C. 1957. Military History of the Western World, New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Gill B. & Huang C-H. 2009. 'China's Expanding Peacekeeping Role: Its Significance and the Policy Implications,' SIPRI Policy Brief, Feb., 8 pp. SIPRI Policy Paper No. 25, Saona, SIPRI, Nov. 4-6.

Glaser B. S. & Medeiros E. S. 2007. 'The Changing Ecology of Foreign Policy-Making in China: The Ascension and Demise of the Theory of 'Peaceful Rise', The China Quarterly, 190 (June): 291- 310.

Guangqian P. & Youzhi Y. (eds.) 2005. The Science of Military Strategy. Beijing: Military Science Publishing House, 2005. [Quoted by US Department of Defense, 2009: 14].

Holslag J. 2006. 'The EU and China: the Great Disillusion,' BICCS Asia Paper, 1 (3) (5 Nov): 1-15. (Also published in European Foreign Affairs Review, 11 (4): 555-8).

Holsti K. J. 1996, The State, War, and the State of War. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Howard M. 1976. War in European History. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jones A. 1987. The Art of War in the Western World. Urbana, Ill. University of Illinois Press.

Kapila S. 2004. 'India's New "Cold Start" War Doctrine Strategically Reviewed,' South Asia Analysis Group, paper n° 991, 4 May. www.southasiaanalysis.org/%5Cpapers10%5Cpaper991.html (accessed Nov. 2010).

Kaplan R. 2009. 'Center Stage for the 21st Century: Rivalry in the Indian Ocean', Foreign Affairs 8(2) (March/April): 16-32.

Kennan G. 1994. Around the Cragged Hill: A Personal and Political Philosophy, New York & London : W. W. Norton.

Lamont J. & Sood V. 2009. 'India plans to build 100 warships,' Financial Times UK, 31 July.

Legro, J. W. 2008. The Omnipower: the United States and Regional Orders, Draft Paper for GIGAOxford- Sciences Po Conference, Paris, 8-9 October.

MacArthur D. 1951. General of the Army Douglas MacArthur's Address to Congress, April 19, 1951, Washington, D.C., With Highlights of His Career, Chicago: Rand McNally: 27-30. — 1964. Reminiscences, London: Heinemann.

Markoff J. & Barboza D. 2010. 'China Schools Said to Be Tied to Online Attacks,' The New York Times, 18 Feb., A1.

newKerala.com Online News. 2009. 'Navy of 13 countries to participate in Milan 2010 at Andaman,' 7 Dec. http://www.newkerala.com/news/fullnews-6271.html (accessed 11 Nov. 2010)

Pandit R. 2009. 'Army Reworks War Doctrine for Pakistan, China,' The Times of India, 30 Dec.

Pant H. V. 2010. 'India's Quick-Strike Doctrine Causes Flutter,' Japan Times, February 2, 2010. — 'Many in denial over China's quest for bases,' Japan Times, February 12, 2010.

Pardo A. 1967. Note verbale to the UN's 22nd Session of the General Assembly, U.N. Doc A/6695.

Richelieu Cardinal de. 1740. Testament politique, Vol. 2, La Haye: Jean Van Duren.

United Nations, 2005. Resolution adopted by the General Assembly, 60 Session, Agenda items 46 and 120, 24 Oct., §§ 138-139.

US Department of Defense, 2009. 'Military Power of the People's Republic of China 2009,' Annual Report to Congress. Washington, D.C.: Department of Defense. — February 2010. Quadrennial Defense Review Report, pp. IV, VIII. Washington DC.

Valladão A. 2006. 'Democratic Hegemony and American Hegemony,' Cambridge Review of International Affairs, 19 (2) (June): 243-60.

Wilson D. and Purushothaman R., 2003. Global Economics Paper n°99, New York: Goldman Sachs Group Inc.

This text was originally published in "The Oxford Handbook of War", Oxford (UK) :
Oxford University Press, 2012. p. 80-96.

**Kai Michael** is a tenured Assistant Professor at the Institute of International Relations (IRI) at the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro. He holds degrees from The Johns Hopkins University and the Graduate Institute, Geneva (then IUHEI). He has published widely on Brazil and other emerging powers' participation in peace operations, and on intervention norms and the responsibility to protect. He is the co-editor of a Routledge volume on small arms as well. Kenkel is the editor of one of Brazil's most respected journals in International Relations, Contexto Internacional.

This text was originally published by Erich G. Fritz as part of the Occasional Publication series Forum Internationale Politik/Brückenschlag – Die Harald-Koch-Buchreihe der Auslandsgesellschaft NRW.

# Brazil as an International Security Actor

Kai Michael Kenkel

Brazil has experienced an unprecedented rise in economic output and politica[1] influence over the past decade. Over this period, its rise has spanned nearly all of the facets of state presence in the modern world, and Brazilian representatives have enthusiastically striven to inscribe their country's ascent on the makeup of global decision-making arrangements. Alongside establishing itself as the world's sixth-largest economy, Brazil has hosted a crucial international meeting on developmental issues (Rio+20); become a key player in environmental negotiations; gained the nod to host the world's two largest sporting events (the Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup); seen its diplomats elected to head the World Trade Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization; and joined with other emerging and established powers to form the increasingly influential BRICS and IBSA conglomerations.

The iconic symbol of Brazil's rise has been its drive for permanent, veto-endowed membership in an eventual reformed United Nations Security Council. However, it is precisely in bringing this newfound influence to bear in the security arena that Brazil faces one of its greatest present challenges.[1] While it has accumulated extensive soft power[2] through both

[1] For a brief treatment of the hurdles in the move from economic to strategic power, see Kai Michael Kenkel, "Brasiliens sicherheitspolitische Wachstumsschmerzen: immer noch ein 'vegetarischer Tiger'? Tópicos (Bonn), No. 2012/2, p. 32-33.

[2] See Joseph S. Nye, "Soft Power", Foreign Policy 80, 1990, 153-171; Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics, New York: PublicAffairs, 2004; Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power, New York: Basic Books, 1990. On the concept's application to Brazil, see inter alia Robin Lustig, "Brazil emerges as a leading exponent of 'soft power'", British Broadcasting Corporation, 23 March

increased international profile and the attractiveness of socioeconomic policies at home that have lifted millions out of misery, several factors continue to inhibit its development of traditional measures of hard power-based strategic influence. These include its own historical normative traditions, grounded in a South American security subculture; both voluntary limits and involuntary constraints on its strategic capabilities; and the coupling of the near absence of external threats with significant internal challenges.

In this sense, to understand Brazil's role as an actor on the international security stage it is paramount that analysis be based on a broadened conception of security.[3] Though they continue to drive strategic analysis in much of the developed world, traditional, hard power-only analytical approaches to security often fail to account for the real challenges to both state and human security faced by states outside the North Atlantic core. Consequently, the present analysis addresses both the traditional strategic paradigm and the enlarged vision adopted by Brazil itself.

The text begins with a presentation of the main determinants of the context in which thinking on security issues in Brazil takes place, including the problematic analytical distinction between international and domestic security threats. It then briefly turns to declaratory security policy documents before providing an overview of the country's military capabilities. The subsequent sections address specific elements of Brazil's presence as a international security actor, covering its defence industry; its presence in the South Atlantic and Africa; its stance on military intervention and participation in United Nations peace operations; and its position on issues of nuclear proliferation and disarmament;. A brief conclusion addresses how these factors come to together to determine the country's future potential to exercise responsibility and contribute to global governance in the security arena. In doing so, an effort has been made to base the analysis, to the greatest extent possible, on sources with Brazilian content.

## The Brazilian Security Context

Fundamental to understanding Brazil's positioning as a global security actor is an adequate contextualization of how security is defined and practiced in the country today. The Brazilian and South America security scenarios are profoundly different from those that predominate, for example, in the North Atlantic space. Whereas the traditional Realist notions of security favoured in developing countries' strategic analyses focus on assessments of external, mostly physical, threats to states with both substantial capacity to respond and a consolidated internal state presence, more recently developed analytical approaches such as human security more adequately address the (predominantly internal) realities faced by states at the global periphery.[4]

2010. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/8580560.stm. Accessed 6 June 2013.

[3] Michael J. Sheehan. International security: an analytical survey. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005; pp. 43-63.

[4] Brian L. Job, ed. The Insecurity Dilemma: National Security of Third World States Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1992; Tarak Barkawi and Mark Laffey, "The Postcolonial moment in security studies". Review of International Studies, Vol. 32, No. 2 (2006); pp. 329-352; Mark T. Berger and Heloise Weber, "War, Peace and Progress: conflict, development, (in)security and violence in the 21st century". Third World Quarterly, Vol. 30, No. 1 (2009); pp 1–16.

Brazil has not been involved in a territorial conflict for a century and a half[5] and does not face any significant threats to even to a broad definition of its national security. Conversely, it lost over a million of its citizens to armed violence between 1980-2010, victims of one of the world's highest homicide rates.[6] The country struggles instead with problems related to underdevelopment, inequality and incomplete state provision of political goods across its territory and populace. The country is typical of its region, and indeed much of the developing world, in that while its external environment is largely peaceful, its energies are directed towards significant internal challenges that fall outside the realm of international security. In Brazil's case these further include areas of incomplete state presence, such as in favelas held by organized crime and drug dealers; an extensive drug trade; border controls, including smuggling of arms, merchandise and persons; deforestation and other environmental violations; illegal mining; and the protection of indigenous populations.

### *External Security Parameters*

At roughly 8.5 million square kilometres, Brazil's territory is 24 times that of Germany, and takes up half of the South American continent. Half of the continent's population, just over 190 million people, inhabit that territory, sharing land borders of 16,885 kilometres, five times those of Germany, with ten neighbours. Beyond its 7,367-kilometre coastline, it claims a maritime area of control of another 4.5 million km2 in the South Atlantic. Brazil enjoys peaceful relations with its neighbours and has no open territorial disputes. Strategic tensions with Southern Cone have been transformed through diplomatic means and confidence-building measures, particularly in the nuclear arena.

However, in geostrategic terms, much of Brazil's land border spans practically indefensible jungle territory, and the bulk of the country's vast resources lie in the sparsely settled and controlled interior while the great majority of the population reside along the coastline. This unique situation of geostrategic exposure forms the foundational dilemma of what has been recognized as a distinct Brazilian tradition in geopolitical thought.[7] This school has historically attached paramount importance to extending state control—and limiting that of external forces—in the vulnerable Amazon region, which is iconic to visions of Brazilian territoriality.

Brazil's armed forces are the largest in the region, with approximately 318,000 active-duty personnel. As such they are 70% larger than the Bundeswehr and make up 29% of all personnel under arms in South America[8]. Though Brazil's defence spending is relatively small as a percentage of GDP at 1.62%, at BRL63.7bn (US$32.67bn) it stands

[5] The last conflict in which the country was involved was the Triple Alliance War, 1860-1864; the country sent an Expeditionary Force of 27,500 to participate in World War Two, which saw heavy fighting against German forces in Italy.

[6] Julio Jacobo Waiselfisz, Mapa da Violência 2012: Os novos padrões da violência homicida no Brasil. São Paulo: Instituto Sangari, 2012; p. 18. http://mapadaviolencia.org.br/pdf2012/mapa2012web.pdf. Accessed 6 June 2013.

[7] Golbery do Couto e Silva, Geopolítica do Brasil. Rio de Janeiro: J. Olympio, 1967; Jorge Manuel da Costa Freitas, A escola geopolítica brasileira : Golbery do Couto e Silva, Carlos de Meira Mattos e Therezinha de Castro. Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca do Exército, 2004.

[8] Data are from International Institute for Strategic Studies, The Military Balance 2012. London: Brassey's (IISS); various pages.

as the world's tenth-largest.[9] Though in GDP terms this is average for the region, Brazil accounts for 43% of spending on the continent, which has one of the world's lowest relative rates of military expenditure.[10] Defence spending grew 35% from 2008 until significant (25-30%) across-the board budget cuts took hold in 2011.[11] Funding for equipment purchases doubled over this time, though personnel costs, notably pensions, still consume over 70% of Brazil's defence budget.[12]

The country's armed forces have not historically been considered an integral part of the country's foreign policy toolbox,[13] focussing instead on territorial deterrence and an extensive array of internal tasks ranging from the provision of basic infrastructure in rural areas to delivery of government programmes (such as vaccinations) to the forceful pacification of slums (favelas) in urban areas in preparation for upcoming megaevents. As discussed below in more detail, the country has over the past decade invested significantly in peace operations as a means of cementing its international profile.

### *Regional Security Culture*

The bulk of these patterns are typical of the region and its security subculture.[14] Shaped by the predominance of internal over external challenges, peripheral status in global geopolitics, developmental inequalities and the legacies of interventionism, South American security culture counts as common elements of its "region of peace": the recognition of colonial borders, manifested in the prevalence of the legal precept of uti possidetis; peaceful settlement of international disputes; sovereignty interpreted as border inviolability and territorial integrity; strict adherence to the principle of non-intervention; popular self-determination; convivencia (peaceful coexistence); concertación (decision by consensus); confidence-building measures, especially regarding disarmament and non-proliferation; and democracy and human rights.[15] These values are

[9] Ibidem. On defence spending see also Rafael Duarte Villa and Juliana Viggiano, "Trends in South American weapons purchases at the beginning of the new millennium". Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional. Vol. 55, No. 2 (2012); pp. 28-47. Villa and Viggiano use data from the well-known yearbooks produced by the Stockholm International Peace Institute (SIPRI).

[10] "Unasur defence spending one of the lowest in the world: average 0.91% of GDP". Mercopress. 14 May 2012. http://en.mercopress.com/2012/05/14/unasur-defence-spending-one-of-the-lowest-in-the-world-average-0.91-of-gdp. Access 9 June 2013.

[11] Military Balance 2012, p. 367.

[12] Ibidem., p. 368.

[13] João Paulo Soares Alsina Júnior, Política Externa e Poder Militar no Brasil [Foreign Policy and Military Power in Brazil], Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2009. See also Fernando José Sant'Ana Soares e Silva, "O poder militar brasileiro como instrumento de política externa". In Edison Benedito da Silva Filho and Rodrigo Fracalossi de Moraes, eds., Defesa Nacional para o Século XXI: Política Internacional, Estratégia e Tecnologia Militar. Brasília: Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada, 2012; pp. 149-183.

[14] For an analysis of Brazilian strategic culture, using that concept as developed in the analytical literature, see Luís Bitencourt Alcides Costa Vaz, "Brazilian Strategic Culture," Miami: Applied Research Center, Florida International University, 2009. http://strategicculture.fiu.edu/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=MPrnYgaOCXU%3d&tabid=76. Accessed 6 June 2013.

[15] The characterization is from Arie M. Kacowicz, The Impact of Norms in International Society: The Latin American Experience, 1881–2001, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005. See also the following contributions to Kai Michael Kenkel, ed., Coming of Age: South America and Peace Operations: Monica Herz, "Assumptions on intervention and security in South America", pp. 25-44; Kai Michael Kenkel, "Introduction—Diversity within a common culture: South America and peace operations", pp. 1-22; Kenkel, "Conclusions: Securing South America's Peace Operations Acquis Post-MINUSTAH", pp. 188-202; as well as Kai M. Kenkel, "Brazil and R2P: Does Responsibility Mean Using Force?," Global Responsibility to Protect Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012); pp. 5–32.

coupled with a predilection for the multilateral form as a means of protection against the inequalities of military power present in the international system. Within a context of global inequalities of military power, security is often seen as more likely to be attained by means of diplomatic negotiation. As a result, there is a propensity for legal-normativist solutions to international security challenges and, overall, both an inward domestic focus and a continental horizon to security thinking in the region.

### *Links to Foreign Policy Priorities*

That continental horizon, however, shifted decisively under President Lula da Silva (2003-2010). Though it has indubitably remained anchored in the region, the country's foreign policy over the past decade has begun to take on classic traits of emerging-power behaviour.[16] In its Brazilian manifestation, this has meant a revisionist stance with regard to polarity in the international system; ambivalence towards major multilateral institutions (both supporting, for example, the UNSC as the only legitimate forum for decisionmaking on intervention and questioning its legitimacy in the absence of increased Southern permanent members from the global South, notably Brazil itself); increasing mistrust of Western intentions, particularly with regard to intervention; and a turn to variable-geometry groupings such as the BRICS and IBSA[17].

The former is hampered in becoming a security actor by a lack of policy overlap between members; the latter is more promising as particularly a forum for naval cooperation. Internally, the government's successful socioeconomic policies have over the past decade lifted tens of millions of Brazilians out of abject poverty, increased school attendance rates, and boosted consumption by means of extensive transfer payments. This, together with a positive international image and an habile diplomatic narrative, has endowed the country with an enviable reserve of soft power in the global South.

## Defence Policy Documents

The discussion of Brazil's formal defence policy documents here must, of necessity, be brief; key documents include the second iteration of the National Defence Policy in 2005; the National Strategy of Defence—whose reach is internal to the military establishment—and the landmark 2001 White Paper on National Defence.[18] Broadly put,

[16] See, by Andrew Hurrell, "An Emerging Security Community in South America?," in Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett, eds., Security Communities, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 228–264; "Security in Latin America," International Affairs 74, 1998, 529–546; "Hegemony, Liberalism and Global Order: What Space for Would-be Great Powers?," International Affairs 82, 2006, 1–19. See also Kai Michael Kenkel, "South America´s emerging power: Brazil as peacekeeper". International Peacekeeping. Vol. 17, No. 5 (2010); pp. 644-661; Kenkel, "Out of South America to the globe: Brazil's growing stake in peace operations", in Coming of Age, pp. 85-110; Sean W. Burges, "Consensual Hegemony: Theorizing Brazilian Foreign Policy after the Cold War", International Relations, Vol. 22, No. 1 (2008); pp. 63-84; Daniel Flemes, "O Brasil na iniciativa BRIC: soft balancing numa ordem global em mudança?" Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional. Vol. 53, No. 1 (2010); pp. 141-156.

[17] For an illustrative example among many, see (former Foreign, now Defence Minister) Celso Amorim, "Defesa Nacional e Pensamento Estratégico Brasileiro". Política Hoje, Vol. 21, No. 2 (2012); pp. 33-349.

[18] The full texts of the documents are available online (all authored and published by the Brazilian Ministry of Defence in Brasília): Política de Defesa Nacional [National Defence Policy] (2005). http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2004-2006/2005/Decreto/D5484.htm; Estratégia Nacional de Defesa [National Strategy of Defence] (2008). http://www.defesa.gov.br/projetosweb/estrategia/arquivos/estrategia_defesa_nacional_ingles.pdf; Livro Branco de Defesa Nacional

current Brazilian defence planning consciously does not operate on the basis of the generation of traditional threat scenarios. There is a preference instead to base thinking on missions attributed to the armed forces and broader objectives increasingly derived from foreign policy goals.[19]

It is important to recall that following the end of twenty years of military rule in 1985, in Brazil the advancement of civilian control at the normative level, though satisfactory, has advanced relatively slowly. Both the Armed Forces and the Foreign Ministry have traditionally enjoyed considerable autonomy, even isolation, in policy formulation, with a civilian Defence Ministry indeed only being created in 1999. The progression through the documents reveals increasing integration of foreign and defence policy, and the requisite subordination of the latter to the former. As a result the documents' usefulness as bases for the operationalization of policy guidelines has steadily increased. The armed forces retain a number of important internal missions, including assistance to the police in combatting drug trafficking, security for upcoming megaevents, the provision of infrastructure such as roads and telecommunications in rural areas, disaster relief and the delivery of some state programmes such as vaccinations and field hospitals.

In defence policy documents, Brazil is invariably described as a nation at peace with its neighbours, guided by pacifist, multilateralist traditions and ensconced in a region whose strategic scenarios are relatively tranquil; one notable exception is the increasing preoccupation with the southern Atlantic Ocean, discussed below. Cooperation and deterrence are given equal weight as means to guarantee the country's security,[20] and the tight association of national security with economic development has long standing.[21]

Given this vision of satisfied territorial concerns, the country employs a concept of security that is broadened well beyond traditional realist geostrategic analysis, and is designed not to stir controversy through the identification of neighbours as potential threats. Indeed, the focus is increasingly global: as defence thinking is meant to accompany the country's rise as an economic and diplomatic power and to reflect its specific profile as an international actor, the White Paper's introduction, for example, highlights the country's key role in global food security and energy production and its massive aquifers. Increasing participation in United Nations peace operations is a combination typical of Southern Cones states that combines the search for international presence with the political advantages of a turn towards external rather internal military missions.[22]

[White Paper on National Defence] (2011). https://www.defesa.gov.br/arquivos/2012/mes07/lbdn.pdf. For a history of Brazilian security policy and its interplay with the oscillations of international engagement in foreign policy, see Francisco Carlos Teixeira da Silva, "Política de defesa e segurança do Brasil no século XXI: um esboço histórico". In Silva Filho and Moraes (fn 13 above), pp. 49-82.

19 National Strategy of Defence, p. 47.

20 White Paper, p. 29.

21 National Strategy of Defence, p. 8. This link is associated with the controversial National Security Doctrines implanted during the Cold War with assistance from the United States.

22 See Arturo C. Sotomayor Velázquez, "Democratization and commitment to peace: South America's motivations to contribute to peace operations". In Kai Michael Kenkel, ed., Coming of Age: South America and peace operations. London: Routledge, 2013; pp. 45-63.

The 2005 National Defence Policy provides an overview of guidelines and objectives, which is taken up in later documents. These are largely derived from foreign policy objectives and go far beyond the area of responsibility exclusively of the military apparatus. Traditionally, beyond the Amazon region, the predominant preoccupations have included spillover from the Colombian internal conflict and border control against smuggling and drug trafficking.[23] In the run-up to the large international events to be held in the country in 2014 and 2016, terrorism, particularly in the Triple Border area with Paraguay and Argentina, has been given increasing attention.

Despite the significant advances they represent in terms both of consolidating the country's priorities and profile as well as, critically, engaging transparently with civil society, some analysts have branded the documents as decoupled from the country's traditions and financial realities.[24] Finally, defence policy documents, particularly the National Strategy of Defence, call for far-reaching restructuring and equipment modernization programmes, including large-tag items such as nuclear-powered submarines, a major surface vessel purchasing programme for the Navy which includes a second aircraft carrier of French design, and a major order of fighter planes for the Air Force.

## Defence Industry

The main beneficiary of the Brazilian armed forces' upcoming spending, which is set to surpass US$240 billion over the period from 2012-2017,[25] is the country's burgeoning defence industry. Once the world's eighth-largest during military rule, it hovers around 30th place globally today. Total production stands at about US$2.7 billion, of which approximately US$1 billion is for export.[26] As in many other developing economies and in China and Russia, policy regarding the arms industry is often tightly interwoven with broader policy aims, and is shrouded in intransparent practices. Military technology is seen as a key driver of technological progress and eventually production with a higher average value-added for a currently commodity-based economy.

Additionally, military technology is connected to the country's quest for greater profile both globally and in its region. One of the most important criteria in recent purchases of major systems has been the transfer of key technologies and the relocation of the production and logistics chains to Brazil.[27] In this manner, Brazil hopes to gain ground on European and US manufacturers and itself become a key exporter of ever larger

[23] The government in 2012 committed BRL 12 billion (ca. US$6 billion) to a new Border Monitoring System (SISFRON). See Brazil. Presidency, "Michel Temer aprova Sistema de Monitoramento de Fronteiras". 2 October 2012. http://www2.planalto.gov.br/vice-presidente/noticias/2012/10/2012-10-02-sisfron ; and Guilherme Queiroz, "Defesa bilhonária". Istoé Dinheiro. 13 January 2012. http://www.istoedinheiro.com.br/noticias/76604_DEFESA+BILIONARIA (both accessed 13 June 2013). This project also provides a major stimulus to the Brazilian defence industry (see below).

[24] Paulo Roberto de Almeida, "Estratégia Nacional de Defesa: comentários dissidentes". Meridiano 47, No. 104 (2009); pp. 5-9.

[25] Defense Update. "Brazil's Defense Industry – Market Report 2012-2017. 7 April 2013. "http://defense-update.com/20130407_brazils-defense-industry-market-report-2012-2017.html. Accessed 13 June 2013.

[26] Brazil-Arab News Agency. "Arms industry expects to double in size". 4 October 2011. "http://www2.anba.com.br/noticia/12494151/special-reports/arms-industry-expects-to-double-in-size/. Access 13 June 2013.

[27] See, for example, Yana Marull. "Brazil's defense industry booms". Agence France Presse. 22 August 2012. http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5geR560TRmRWxL2l7q5M5QkD76Hgg?docId=CNG.cfd6db87af5b4a9cf141593a81c8c958.171. 22. Access 13 June 2013.

weapons systems in its region.[28] It is already a supplier of light attack helicopters and light attach and transport aircraft. As a result of its willingness to engage in the transfer of production technology, recently France has emerged as a preferred arms trade partner, as purchases of Scorpène ships and on-going negotiations over a major purchase of fighter planes has shown. Whereas the Air Force indicated its operational preference for the Swedish Gripen fighter, government officials prefer the French Rafale, due to the prospect of important elements of the production chain being moved to Brazil.

Further, the country is one of the world's top ten producers of small arms and munitions, with a concentration on pistols (Taurus) and small arms ammunition (CBC). Nonlethal weapons and non-weapon military equipment further constitute a growing element of Brazilian defence exports. As a result of what is viewed as the strategic importance of the arms industry, the country has on occasion not been receptive to efforts to limit the production and export of certain categories of arms on normative grounds. For example, though it acceded rapidly to the Ottawa Convention on landmines, despite recognition by the current Defence Minister of cluster bombs' inhumane nature, Brazil continues to manufacture and export—though not itself deploy—cluster-based munitions, and did not participate in the elaboration of the Convention on Cluster Munitions.[29] Defence sales have recently begun to constitute a more significant factor in Brazil's growing engagement with Africa, as defence accords with Nigeria, Namibia and major purchases by oil-rich Angola—within the framework of a larger defence cooperation agreement-attest.[30]

### *South Atlantic*

With the discovery of the extensive pré-sal oilfields of the coast of Brazil's south-eastern coast—thought to hold up to 100 billion barrels, catapulting the country to status as one of the world's largest producers-the South Atlantic Ocean has rapidly become a primary focus of Brazil's security policy and strategic planning. The country's area of control, up to the continental shelf, has been designated "Blue Amazonia" (Amazonia Azul) in allusion to the parallels with the all-important and resource-rich centre of the country's interior. As further oil reserves are uncovered in other parts of the region—as in the Falkland Islands—the South Atlantic ambit has rapidly gained in strategic importance and in potential for conflict.[31] Though first included in considerations of the country's strategic environment in the 2005 National Defence Policy, it has now taken on an entirely different level of geopolitical emphasis.

For Brazil, its interest in the region is threefold. First, the country is actively seeking to increase its maritime patrolling capacity in defence of the very extensive upcoming

[28] See, inter alia, Suzeley Kalil Mathias and Eduardo de Lucas Vasconcelos Cruz, "Defence and Regional Integration: The case of the Brazilian Weapons Industry". Brazilian Political Science Review. Vol. 3, No. 1 (2009); pp. 40-57.

[29] Landmine & Cluster Munition Monitor. "Brazil". 4 August 2011. http://www.the-monitor.org/custom/index.php/region_profiles/print_theme/841. Access 13 June 2013.

[30] Agência Brasil. "Brasil ajudará indústria de defesa de Angola". 12 April 2013. http://info.abril.com.br/noticias/mercado/brasil-ajudara-industria-de-defesa-de-angola-12042013-43.shl. Access 13 June 2013.

[31] Alcides Costa Vaz, "O Atlântico Sul nas perspectivas estratégicas de Brasil, Argentina e África do Sul". Boletim de Economia e Política Internacional. No. 6 (2011); pp. 63-68.

investments to be made in offshore drilling installations. Second, fully 90 per cent of Brazil's trade enters and leaves the country by way of seaborne transportation.[32] Third, the area has gained in importance as an ambit shared with the states of Western Africa, which have under President Lula saw a significant increase in diplomatic attention, technical cooperation and private-sector investment[33]. Similarly, cooperation with the states of the Gulf of Guinea, as well as the Community of Portuguese-Speaking States, has risen since 2012, particularly given the challenges posed by piracy and instability in Guinea-Bissau, a Lusophone state subverted by (largely Brazilian) drug traffickers.[34]

It is interesting to note recent trends in armed forces thinking which give Brazil's global ambitions a maritime component, viewing the entire South Atlantic, from the Equator to Antarctica (where the country maintains a research base), as Brazil's natural sphere of influence as opposed to a focus solely on its territorial waters and economic zone. This has led to calls for the area to be free of extra-regional (read: NATO) powers, a potential source of tensions given the reactivation of the US Navy's Fourth Fleet and the British dependencies in the area. Joint exercises have been held with India and South Africa, and naval cooperation between IBSA members has steadily increased.[35] Much of the extensive new purchasing programme for the Brazilian Navy has been justified in terms of the need for patrolling capacity in this vast area.

### *Brazil in Africa*

Brazil's rise as an emerging economic and strategic actors is inextricably tied to the African continent, by both rhetoric and history. President Lula da Silva (2003-2010) invested heavily in Africa, linking Brazil's rise a global player to its status as a voice for the developing world, based on South-South cooperation and revisionism of global institutional structures of power. Lula's affinity for the African continent is perhaps best symbolized by the opening of twenty new embassies there over his tenure; Brazil now possesses more embassies there than Germany or the United Kingdom.[36]

Beyond normative underscoring foreign policy aspirations, this presence is a reflection of a boom in economic ties with Africa: Brazilian exports to Africa rose almost sixfold,

---

[32] Wanderley Messias da Costa, "Projeção do Brasil no Atlântico Sul: geopolítica e estratégia". Revista USP. No. 95 (2012); pp. 9-22. Here, p. 11. Data are taken from online database provided by the Brazilian Ministry of Development, Industry and Foreign Trade.

[33] See Analúcia Danilevicz Pereira and Luísa Calvete Portela Barbosa, "The South Atlantic in the Context of the Relations Brazil-Africa [sic]". Século XXI. Vol. 3, No. 1 (2012); pp. 59-77; and Kai Michael Kenkel, "Brazil's peacebuilding in Africa and Haiti", forthcoming in Journal of International Peacekeeping.

[34] Nancy Brune, "The Brazil-Africa Narco Nexus". Americas Quarterly. Vol. 5, No. 4 (2011). http://www.americasquarterly.org/brune. Access 13 June 2013.

[35] Adriana Erthal Abdenur and Danilo Marcondes de Souza Neto, "Brazil in the South Atlantic: growing protagonism and unintended consequences". Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre Policy Brief. May 2013. http://www.peacebuilding.no/var/ezflow_site/storage/original/application/7f8201c01207875357d3052f3dbe3965.pdf. Access 13 June 2013.

[36] For the definitive Brazilian analysis of the country's interaction with the African continent, see José Flávio Sombra Saraiva, África parceira do Brasil atlântico : relações internacionais do Brasil e da África no início do século XXI. Belo Horizonte: Fino Traço, 2012. In English, see, by the same author, "The new Africa and Brazil in the Lula era: the rebirth of Brazilian Atlantic Policy". Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional. Vol. 53 (special edition) (2010); pp. 169-182. See also Paulo Fagundes Visentini, "Cooperação Sul-Sul, diplomacia de prestígio ou imperialism 'soft'? As relações Brasil-África do governo Lula". Século XXI. Vol. 1, No. 1 (2010); pp. 65-84.

and trade as a whole threefold, from 1996 to 2006.[37] In 2011 15.43% of Brazilian imports and 12.12% of exports involved African partners; typically, imports consisted largely of oil, and exports of a higher-than-average percentage of manufactured goods.[38] Given its own vast access to natural resources, Brazil is not involved to the same extent as established powers and its BRIC counterparts in a competition for natural resources in Africa. It is, however, desirous of expanding the access of its multinational corporations in the energy and constructions sectors to African markets.

As noted elsewhere in this volume, Brazil seeks to differentiate its approach to technical cooperation from that of OECD donors, highlighting its "horizontal nature, viewed as less paternalistic than previous patterns of interaction; its demand-driven nature, allowing Africans to determine the most pressing problems rather than have them externally dictated; the fact that it is not conceived of as unidirectional but as an exchange of expertise; further it is viewed as not based on national or commercial interests, does not impose conditionalities, and is based on the identification of common interests." [39] As a result, Brazilian interaction with Africa typically does not involve a substantial military presence within the framework of peace operations, other interventions, or cooperation and training programmes.

Given the rising strategic importance of the South Atlantic, it is likely that military cooperation will be predominantly maritime in nature. Recently, the Brazilian Navy has ramped up its cooperation with both South Africa, as a BRICS partner, and a number of both Lusophone (a traditional preferred partner) and non-Lusophone littoral states. One example of particular impact is the role of the Brazilian Marine Corps in the founding and training of its counterpart in Namibia.

## Intervention and Peace Operations[40]

Participation in peace operations has emerged as a key element in Brazil's drive for increased global influence; peacebuilding in particular is viewed as a key way to bring successful policies for socioeconomic development to bear in the security arena. However, the regional security culture mentioned above, with its emphasis on state sovereignty and rejection of the use of force, is increasingly at odds with a peacekeeping practice which it turning increasingly to robust peace enforcement and missions mandated under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

[37] C. O. Ribeiro, 'Brazil's New African Policy: The Experience of the Lula Government (2003-6), World Affairs. Vol. 13, No. 1 (2009); pp. 84-93. Here, p. 88.

[38] Christina Stolte, "Brazil in Africa: Just Another BRICS Country Seeking Resources?", Briefing Paper, Chatham House Americas Programme/Africas Programme, 2012/1, p. 4.

[39] See Kenkel, "Brazil's peacebuilding". For a detailed analysis see Robert Muggah and Ilona Szábo de Carvalho, "O Efeito Sul: reflexões críticas sobre o engajamento do Brasil com Estados frágeis". Revista Brasileira de Segurança Pública, Vol. 5, No. 9 (2011); pp. 166-176.

[40] For detailed analysis of the Brazilian position on intervention and peace operations, see the work of the present author (fn 15, 16 above) and "Brazil". In Alex J. Bellamy and Paul Williams, "Providing Peacekeepers: The Politics, Challenges, and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Contributions". Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013; pp. 335-354. For a policy-centred resumé, see the brief prepared for the Providing for Peacekeeping project at the International Peace Institute at http://www.ipinst.org/images/pdfs/brazil_kenkel-130315.pdf.

Brazil was an early participant in international interventions, frequently contributing individual or small teams of unarmed officers to a number of missions during the Cold War period. Prior to significant shifts in peacekeeping participation in 2004, the country participated in four missions with larger contingents: a 600-man battalion to UNEF I in the Suez (1956-1967); 800 troops in non-combat roles to the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM) III from 1995 to 1997; and a substantial police contribution to the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET—1999-2002).

The advent of the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) in 2004 would bring a significant shift in Brazil's engagement in peace operations, both quantitatively and normatively. Seeing an opportunity to cement its role as a security player at the global level, Brazil has since the inception provided its largest contingent and a string of generals to serve as its military Force Commander. Originally set at 1,300 troops, the joint Army-Marine Corps-Army Engineering Corps contingent was increased to 2,200 after the devastating January 2010 earthquake. Brazilian troops' area of responsibility in the Haitian capital of Port-au-Prince encompasses 1.5 million people, many of them still living in tent cities more than three years after the catastrophe.

Over half of MINUSTAH's troops come from South and Central America, and coordinating these efforts has become a major source of military-military cooperation in the region, as well as of incipient steps in defence policy cooperation of a multilateral nature. Brazil has sought to develop in Haiti its own paradigm for peacebuilding that might eventually serve, in keeping with broader foreign policy orientations, as a counterweight to the liberal paradigm favoured by industrialized states and reflected in UN practice.

In recent years Brazil has further extended its participation in United Nations peace operations to include a 230-man contribution, aboard a Navy frigate, to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). The country has further provided the maritime force's first non-NATO Force Commander. Further, a former MINUSTAH Force Commander in June 2012 assumed command of MONUSCO, the UN operation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which is the UN's most robust. His assumption of this command highlights on-going tensions in Brazil's position with respect to intervention, sovereignty and the us of force.

Though Brazilian diplomats have taken pains to minimize the appearance of a rupture with previous practice, MINUSTAH is a mission that involves the robust use of force and is authorized under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. MONUSCO's Intervention Brigade, now under the command of a Brazilian officer, is the first to have an explicitly offensive military mandate. Some analysts argue that the prospect of prestige associated with increased contributions to peacekeeping have softened Brazilian rejection of the use of force to resolve conflict and protect civilian populations. Indeed the country has become increasingly involved in normative debates over the subject at the UN, floating in November 2011 the successful "responsibility while protecting" concept, a necessary first step in reconciling Northern impulses to protect individual rights with Southern qualms about perceived violations of state sovereignty. Though Brazilian

diplomacy has not pursued the initiative further, it stands as a hopeful indicator that the country will continue to contribute proactively to intervention debates assuming its natural mediating function.

## The Nuclear Issue

Brazil has possessed civilian nuclear technology well before the opening of its first reactor, Angra I, in 1986. During military rule in the 1970s and 1980s, a parallel military nuclear programme was pursued by the Navy, in contravention of the 1968 Tlatelolco Treaty—a Brazilian initiative—which had declared the region a nuclear weapons-free zone. The civilian 1988 Constitution forbids the country from pursuing the acquisition of nuclear weapons technology; the Navy programme has been abandoned. Similarly, a nuclear development race with Argentina was put to an end in 1994 with the creation of the Brazilian–Argentine Agency for Accounting and Control of Nuclear Materials (ABACC), a pioneering regional confidence-building initiative involving mutual inspections and transparency.

Brazil's nuclear energy sector continues to grow, with the country now possessing the ability to refine uranium domestically, and a number of new reactors in construction.[41] The construction of a number of nuclear-powered (though not-armed) submarines is a major component of the Brazilian Navy's plans for increasing its ability to patrol the South Atlantic.[42] Its major partner in this endeavour is France, which has supplied the wherewithal to produce the vessels' hulls; the nuclear propulsion technology remains Brazilian in origin.

Though not considered to be actively pursuing nuclear weapons technology, Brazil's relationship with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty is ambiguous. The country signed the Treaty in 1994, a move a significant number of analysts in Brazil consider a mistake. Whereas Brazil renounced nuclear technology and received little recompense, there is a perception that non-signatory India, for example, has effectively been rewarded with greater influence for its own flaunting of the Treaty's precepts.

Briefly put, Brazilian representatives object to what they see as the unequal treatment accorded different categories of signatory. While nuclear "haves" are free to develop their nuclear programmes largely as they see fit, mostly developing "have-nots" are limited not only with regard to potential weaponized aspects of their programmes, but also in exploiting their potential developmental benefits on the civilian side. The country has advocated more consistent standards in establishing disarmament initiatives involving the "haves" and non-proliferation efforts directed at non-nuclear powers. Indeed, Brazil sees itself as a natural broker between these two groups.[43]

[41] Joaquim Francisco de Carvalho, "O espaço da energia nuclear do Brasil". Estudos Avançados. Vol. 26, No. 74 (2012); pp. 293-307.

[42] João Roberto Martins Filho, "O Projeto do Submarino Nuclear Brasileiro". Contexto Internacional. Vol. 33, No. 2 (2011); pp. 277-314.

[43] Diego Santos Vieira de Jesus, "Noites tropicais: O Brasil e a nova era da não proliferação e do desarmamento nucleares (2003-2010). Revista de Sociologia e Política. Vol. 20, No. 43 (2012); pp. 43-57.

## Conclusion

As the brief analysis above has shown, Brazil is likely to continue to gain status as an international security actor for the foreseeable future. Though its strong economic growth has begun to stumble somewhat, the country has consolidated its presence in an ever-increasing number of global decisionmaking bodies in a wide range of policy areas. However, the hard core of security issues—where the currency is military and geostrategic power—continues to present difficulties to entry for Brazil. This is due to three main factors: the gap between a lack of external threats and demanding internal challenges; a gap in technology and spending capacity; and national and regional traditions that value either other policy areas—such as development—or other, pacific, forms of dispute resolution.

Rather, Brazil's role as a security actor comes to the fore with the adoption of a broadened security lens: it is a major actor in food security, energy security and natural resource supply. Coupled with an increasingly global horizon, the country is here to stay as a player on the global stage; as global power shifts southward, it is sure to play a recurring role at the core of security issues as well. As it does so, Brazil is in the process of developing the means, and will, to exercise the global responsibility inherent in its newfound status in ways that circumvent and augment the traditional recourse to the use of force. The emergence of a new security player, and perhaps a new, broader, way of approaching issues such as intervention is to be welcomed.

**Patrice M. Franko** is the Grossman Professor of Economics and Professor of Global Studies at Colby College in Waterville, Maine, where she teaches international economics, Latin American economic policy, and microeconomics. In 2012 she was a Fulbright Fellow in Brazil. She has been a Pew Faculty Fellow in International Affairs, an American Association for the Advancement of Science Fellow in International Security Affairs and lectures for EMIL, the executive masters program in logistics at Georgia Tech. She has been a consultant for the Office of Inter-American Affairs in the Department of Defense, for the Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies and for the Office of International Affairs at the National Academy of Sciences. She holds a PhD from the University of Notre Dame, and her many publications include The Puzzle of Latin American Economic Development 3rd edition, (Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), Toward a New Security Architecture in the Americas: The Strategic Implications of the FTAA (CSIS Press, 2000), and The Brazilian Defense Industry (Westview, 1992). She is currently working on a project on defense industrial transformation in Brazil, a book for Rowman & Littlefield The Puzzle of 21st Century Economic Globalization as well as the 4th edition of her Latin American text. She lives on Great Pond in Rome, Maine.

# The Defense Acquisition Trilemma: The Case of Brazil

Patrice Franko

Brazil is a puzzling new player in the global system. Emerging as a complex international actor, it has come to be seen as significant economic competitor and a dynamic force in world politics.[1] But transformational changes in the economic and political realms have not been accompanied by national advances in military power. While it has entered the world stage as an agile soft power exercising influence in setting global agendas and it has earned a seat at the economic table of policymakers, its military capacity lags. The national security strategy announced under President Lula in 2008 intended to redress this power gap. President Dilma Rousseff's 2011 White Paper—so detailed that it is called a White Book—provides the conceptual roadmap to achieve a new military balance. But military modernization is still a work in progress.

Brazil has developed a framework to deepen its strategic reach. Brazil remains committed to defending the territorial sovereignty of its 26 states and its nearly 17 thousand kilometers of borders with ten neighbors.[2] In table 1 we observe a multidimensional view of security that is rooted in economic, political and environmental dimensions; concerns that fall into a more traditional security category are highlighted. Brazil aspires to an institutional deepening that will continue to strengthen domestic institutions and enhance its global profile across political, economic and military domains.

[1] Julia E. Sweig, "Global Brazil and U.S.-Brazil Relations," Council on Foreign Relations Press July 2011. http://www.cfr.org/brazil/global-brazil-us-brazil-relations/p25407 .

[2] This makes Brazil the country with the 3rd longest land border, after China and Russia. Brazil". CIA - The World Factbook online at https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/Đ.

*Table 1:* ***Fifty Strategic Priorities in Brazil***

| **Institutional Deepening** |
|---|
| Enhance judicial efficiency and flexibility. |
| Improve federal, state and municipal fiscal policies to enhance the quality and reduce the volume of public expenditures. |
| Congressional and political party reform to enhance accountability of parties to voters and improve parliamentary responsibility. |
| Constitutionally reorder political and administrative units in Brazil to contribute to a more balanced social, political and economic federation. |
| Constitutionally strengthen links between the federal and state entities to foster shared responsibilities to achieve common interests. |
| Simplify the tax structure. |
| Build on its recent democratic experience to deepen democratic framework in the law. |
| **Equality & the Social Sector** |
| Promote affirmative action for social inclusion through racial quotas to ensure unsegregated social mobility. |
| Improve pension rules to promote a financial sustainable social security system. |
| Improve access to and quality of services in the Unified Health System (SUS). |
| Strengthen and modernize the police and judiciary to reduce the rate of violence and crime. |
| Improve labor relations to strengthen the bargaining process between employers and workers to complement relationships governed by law. |
| Pro job macro and social policies to increase formal sector employment among the labor force participants. |
| Enhance the quality of urban life by reducing irregular slum settlements through incentives for legal urban growth. |
| Implement progressive education policies especially at the primary level to position Brazil competitively in the global labor market. |
| Reduce social inequality to developed country levels. |
| Rebalance regional inequalities by promoting the potential of each region to reduce geographic dispersion. |
| Leverage Brazilian cultural diversity in its global trade profile. |
| Reinforce policies for basic education to achieve MDG and national goals of early childhood, basic and middle level education. |
| Strengthen access to higher education for those between 18 and 24 to reach levels comparable with developed countries. |
| Implement new telecommunications policies to promote digital Inclusion elevating access to computers, networks and services. |
| Address demographic shifts to enhance the ability to meet the needs of dependents (both the aged and the young) in the future. |
| **Environment** |
| Implement new policies for sustainable development in the Amazon, based on national knowledge of biodiversity, establishing international cooperation and reducing external pressures on the region. |
| Improve environmental policies to permit Brazil to research and explore, in a sovereign manner, its biodiversity resources, preventing international bio-piracy and establishing sustainable management of its ecosystems. |
| Use and conservation of freshwater resources to avoid water conflicts |

| |
|---|
| Sustainable management of resources in the Brazilian exclusive economic zone, continental shelf and in the coastal zone. |
| Become a strong actor in the international marketing of carbon credits through the Clean Development Mechanism of the Kyoto Protocol. |
| **Economy** |
| Implement effective industrial, technological and foreign trade policies to increase the share of processed products in Brazilian exports. |
| Improve agricultural policies to encourage Brazil's growth as major global food producer. |
| Invest in biotechnology to promote global competitiveness. |
| Reduce the tax burden to emerging economy levels while stimulating growth. |
| Reduce the level of debt to GDP to make the net public sector debt consistent with the average of developed countries. |
| Maintain control of inflation to rates compatible with the international average of developed countries. |
| Design macro policies to favor investment rates compatible with desired levels of growth. |
| Implement Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) policies to place Brazil among the major producers and consumers of ICT goods and services. |
| Improve Brazilian exports as a percentage of global trade. |
| Raise infrastructure investment to support the process of social and economic development. |
| Augment investments in Science, Technology and Innovation to reach level in developed countries. |
| Enhance biofuels and natural gas in Brazil's energy matrix to meet growing domestic fuel consumption. |
| Make Brazil an important international actor in Nano science and nanotechnology. |
| Improve defense as well as science and technology policies to make Brazil an important actor in the development and trade of sensitive technologies. |
| **Balance of Power in an Asymmetric World** |
| Strengthen defense capability, alone or as part of a collective defense system with neighboring countries, to face new threats and challenges, ensuring protection of its territory and support for international accords. |
| Provide Brazilian leadership to enhance the "integrated economic space" in South America to strengthen economic, social, cultural, political and security policies. |
| Contribute to deeper integration of Mercosur, establishing a unified market based on free movement of goods and services. |
| Introduce new foreign policies that, within Brazilian interests, contribute to an equilibrium of interests shared by all nations in the Americas through a free trade accord of the Americas. |
| Promote new foreign policies encouraging the constitution of a new pole of world power comprised of Brazil, Russia, India and China due to large territories, populations and resource wealth. |
| Pursue a seat as a permanent member of the UN Security Council. |
| Facilitate a free trade agreement between Mercosur and the European Union, significantly increasing trade and cultural exchange between the regions. |
| Improve international relations in light of newly emerging powers on the world stage and the changing global geopolitical scenario. |
| Work toward UN reform to allocate greater representation to member countries and greater efficiency to their actions. |

50 Strategic Themes Developed by the Brazilian Government, Nucleus of Strategic Studies[3]

But Brazil's aspirations to transform hard power relations to match its soft power status involve significant tradeoffs. The current re-equipment program in Brazil may underplay

[3] Presidência Da República, Núcleo De Assuntos Estratégicos, Projeto Brasil 3 Tempos 50 Temas E Metas Estratégicas;; The document presented the objectives in the chronological order in which the group estimates it could be achieved; I reorganized by category. http://www.resdal.org/ultimos-documentos/brasil-estrategia-def-06.pdf.

attention to balancing the costs and benefits to society.[4] This paper explores the choices in the Brazilian quest for greater global balance in military affairs by introducing the concept of the defense trilemma to highlight the tough options facing Brazilian policy makers as they attempt a military modernization commensurate with its soft power status. A trilemma suggests that when a country has three objectives, it must sacrifice one to achieve the remaining two. The defense trilemma introduced here posits that in its quest for defense re-equipment, if Brazil wants to continue on its path of stable economic growth, it must choose between its deep rooted commitment to autonomy and deeper integration in the global defense value chain.

We begin by detailing the concept of the trilemma in the first section. With the framework for choice among competing ends established, we delve into the Brazil's distinct notion of autonomy. Presented as a principle that has historically guided strategic thinking but has adapted to new forces in the global system, we note the distinctions between traditional desires for sovereignty and autonomy and how these have been shaped by globalization and a rebalancing of political and economic power. Even if autonomy is understood in its most recent manifestation as engaging a diverse set of partners, we will see that some autonomy must be sacrificed to achieve the competing goal of modernization in defense equipment. The Brazilian military has long prioritized acquiring technology and productive know-how for sustained military production. But the national defense industrialization strategy of Brazilian pursued in the 1970s and 1980s now confronts global value chains in defense production. If Brazil chooses to deepen its integration in the global value chain, it will need to sacrifice autonomy. Of course there remains one option—undermining economic sustainability to gain autonomy. Brazil's commitment to macroeconomic stability is therefore introduced. We will suggest that wavering from this economic commitment would be a self-defeating choice, in that it would undermine the very important soft power it earned as an emerging global market. Appreciating fiscal constraints, we will conclude by showing that Brazil's balanced autonomy exercised through participation in the global value chain is fundamentally different from the strategy Brazil pursued in the past to promote defense modernization.

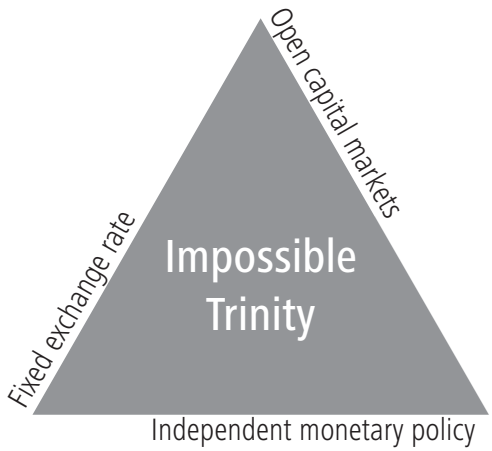
## The Impossible Defense Trinity

Although new to strategic thinking, the concept of the trilemma to illustrate tradeoffs is well known to the student of international economics. This monetary trilemma is often dubbed the impossibly trinity. As shown in figure 1, the triangular shape illustrates that if exchange rate stability is a key objective, it cannot be achieved if the economy is open to inflows from global capital while also pursuing an independent monetary policy. The trilemma focuses on the tradeoffs between open capital markets and the desire for monetary autonomy under a fixed exchange rate regime. Prior to the mid-1990s, countries pursuing policy goals of price stability were counseled to choose a fixed exchange rate regime. The prescription, preferenced by the IMF, linked a nation's currency to a globally traded store of value such as the dollar, pound or gold, to promote accountability

[4] Paulo Roberto De Almeida, "Estratégia Nacional de Defesa: comentários dissidents," Meridiano 47 n. 104, mar. 2009 [p. 5 a 9]. (pralmeida@mac.com).

to a stable monetary policy. But it also meant that it would be difficult to pursue an autonomous monetary policy. If the policy goal was exchange rate stability, increasing the money supply would put downward pressure on the currency. National investors would perceive this, and put their money elsewhere as they anticipated a future devaluation. Conversely, a tighter monetary policy would involve an increase in the domestic interest rate, attracting capital to the country. As foreign currency flowed in, the central bank would be forced to increase the supply of local money to maintain the fixed exchange rate—an increase that was the opposite of the contractionary policy move. The lesson is that freely mobile capital impedes the discretion of central bankers to set autonomous monetary policy under a fixed exchange rate regime. Any attempt to ease pressure on the economy is thwarted by the need to defend the exchange rate.

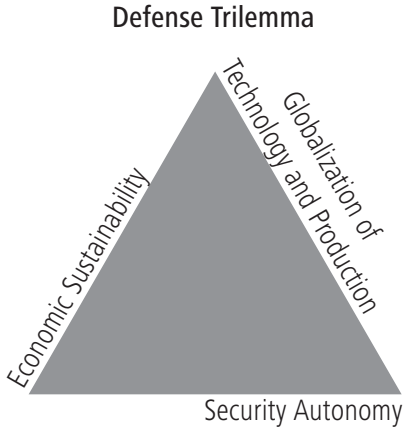
*Figure 1:* ***The Macroeconomic Trilemma***




The trilemma therefore focuses our attention on choice sets. One can have a fixed exchange rate and an autonomous monetary policy if one does not allow the free flow of capital.[5] For each case, two of the three objectives is achieved; all three cannot exist simultaneously. We can parallel this logic in defense acquisitions by adapting the monetary case to the defense trilemma in figure 2. Like independence in monetary policymaking, autonomy to pursue sovereign goals is a coveted aim. Nations have long held autonomy as central to their national security objectives. A primary goal of most security policies is the ability to defend national interests and objectives against aggression—and without debilitating dependence on the consent of others. The ability to procure defense material is therefore seen as central to military sovereignty. If a nation does not have the capability to produce equipment internally, it is always subject to the restrictions others may place on purchases.

[5] We can see in Europe that its policy goal of exchange rate stability (fixed in the form of the euro) is won at the expense of each country having an independent monetary policy because it very much welcomes open capital flows. China also prioritizes a steady exchange rate and monetary independence; it has therefore restricted the free mobility of capital. In the United States, very open capital markets and a desire for national monetary levers to fight inflation and unemployment mean that the exchange rate has been left to float in practice.

*Figure 2:* ***The Trilemma in Defense Modernization***




To operationalize such autonomy, however, countries need access to the technology embedded in the global value chains characterizing defense production. Of course pure autonomy is an illusion when confronted with economies of scale in defense production. Defense production is peculiar in that it normally involves a technological edge procured at high cost. But these investments in advanced systems cannot be amortized over a large production scale. Ordinarily facing a limited number of clients—one's national armed forces and perhaps a few friendly military forces—the opportunity to push down the cost curve to take advantage of scale is limited. This begins to explain the difference between producing a truck and a sophisticated armored tank. The design and production costs involved in truck manufacturing can be spread across the millions of units sold. Sophisticated tanks are another story; costs remain high as the demanding technologies are spread over barely a thousand vehicles in a comparable period. Even in the United States, the country with the largest defense production capability in the world, autonomy is limited by its integration in the global supply chain for defense. It partners with allies to allow for the expansion of scale to drive down the costs of high technology items. The global economic crisis has created pressure for greater cooperation in Europe and the US to share development costs.[6]

Constraints on autonomous procurement in the global supply chain can be overcome by pouring resources into defense acquisition. With ample budgets, a country can purchase the systems and the science to meet national security objectives. Nonetheless, forfeiting economic stability can paradoxically undermine aspirations for global power. We witnessed the destructive results of unbridled Cold War spending; one also wonders about the capability of China to continue to underwrite uneconomical military expansion. As we will see in the case of Brazil, a broadly democratic commitment to a responsible

[6] "The impact of austerity on military expenditure in Europe," SIPRI Yearbook 2012. An example of cooperative development is unmanned aerial systems (UASs). Stockholm International Peace Institute www.sipri.org.

defense acquisition strategy constrains the country to sacrificing autonomy or further integrating in the global value chain to meet its national security goals. Let's turn to the details of the Brazilian defense trilemma to illustrate these tradeoffs.

## The Profane Trinity in Brazil: The Costs of Preserving Autonomy

When one dumps the English term "unholy trinity" into Google Translate, "profane trinity" pops up in Portuguese. Perhaps this profanity is indicative of the frustrations of defense policymakers in navigating the tough tradeoffs between defense modernization and autonomy with a relatively fixed pool of budgetary resources. Sovereignty, or the ability to implement self-rule without being constrained by others, has long been a unsatisfied objective of Brazilian policy.[7] Autonomy can be understood as the means to implement sovereign decision-making in a global system. Powerful nations are those able to exercise autonomy in the pursuit of sovereign goals. Although a country may be seen as sovereign in a legal sense, in practice less powerful countries have been unable to control territorial incursions or exclude external actives from domestic interference.

Brazil has been characterized as a nation whose strategy has been grounded by nationalism in the service of sovereignty.[8] As the celebrated Brazilian strategist General Carlos Meira Mattos opined, "We possess all the conditions that enable us to aspire to a place among the world's great powers." Its search for autonomy is a guiding concept in its foreign policy.[9] The doctrine was articulated in the Superior War College, ESG, which defines national power as the capacity to act independently supported by an array of men and means to reach and maintain national objectives. Such national power is expressed through five elements: politics, economics, psycho-social, military, and the scientific and technological base.[10] The long held objective of autonomy in pursuit of national goals was laid clear by Brazilian Foreign Minister Antonio Azeredo da Silveira in 1975 when he stated that Brazil must achieve "an outstanding position in the world," free from the "paths of hegemonic construction of the past."[11] The power to influence others in the global system is intricately tied to Brazil's foreign policy. As noted by Ambassador Samuel Pinheiro Guimarães, sovereign control over the means of power is the only way for a country to achieve national goals; for Guimarães, these strategies of national defense are clearly tied to foreign policy.

Yet for Brazil, autonomy has been an elusive quest. Brazilian political and economic power has quickly advanced in the 21st century. As a US Council of Foreign Relations report concluded, Brazil now makes the short list of countries shaping the world.[12] For Brazil, this

[7] Tullo Vigevani and Gabriel Cepaluni. Brazilian Foreign Policy in Changing Times: The Quest for Autonomy From Sarney to Lula Translated by Leandro Moura Lexington Books 2009.

[8] Almeida, 2009.

[9] Vigevani and Cepaluni, 2009.

[10] Paulo Roberto Laraburu Nascimento, (Colonel and member of the Center of Strategic Studies of the Brazilian Army), in "A Inserção Internacional do Brasil e os Novos Desafios à Política de Defesa Nacional," www.eme.eb.mil.br/ceeex/artigos 2008.

[11] Lecture Delivered by Antonio F. Azeredo da Silveira, March 4, 1975 quoted by Hal Brands, Dilemmas of Brazilian Grand Strategy. Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, September, 2010, 6.

[12] Peter Dauvergne & Déborah BL Farias, "The Rise of Brazil as a Global Development Power," Third World Quarterly, 2012: 33:5, 903-917.

enhanced global position is largely a function of agile international politicking, a top ten economy and a new national confidence that the nation has arrived. Yet there remains a good deal of uncertainty as to Brazil's sovereign capabilities in the security arena.

Affirming Brazilian national interests involves contesting the asymmetries of power in the global system.[13] Brazil has taken on asymmetries of power through three different expressions of autonomy: through distance, participation and diversification.[14] Paralleling the economic approach of import substitution industrialization, in the first stage Brazil turned inward and engaged in a foreign policy that imposed distance between itself and hegemonic powers. It diversified its diplomatic and trade relations and formalized its identity as a representative of the Third World in North South relations. 15 During this period, which largely dates from the beginning of the military regime in 1964 through the transition to democracy in the early 1980s, the country condemned the control of international trade, finance and nuclear regimes by the hegemonic North while forging alternative relationships among Southern partners.[16] Autonomy through distance largely opposed the international order of the time, preferring greater autarky from the great powers to preserve sovereignty.[17]

The expression of Brazilian autonomy was transformed by changes in the global economy. As the import substitution model was thwarted by the global debt crises of the 1980s, a change in approach became necessary.[18] Reluctantly at first, Brazilian policymakers slowly became convinced of the need to participate in global political and economic institutions in order to acquire power. First led by Fernando Collor de Melo and then Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Brazil edged toward greater participation in multilateral forums as a means of achieving its goal of autonomy. Autonomy came to be seen as the ability to influence world affairs.[19] To become an international force it was perceived that Brazil needed to be a player within global regimes. Although suspicious of a close embrace of the United States, Brazil began a systematic insertion in global institutions. Rather than rejecting the neoliberal order, it began to use institutions such as the WTO to gain leverage and policy space. Pragmatism prevailed. To be seen as a cooperative player in economic and environmental spheres, Brazil accepted international norms in the security sector. It renounced the right to conduct nuclear tests, even for peaceful purposes and introduced nuclear safeguards and protection of sensitive military technologies.[20] Competitive insertion in the international economy and leadership in the environmental arena were traded for strategic autonomy.

As the US unilateralism became more dominant in the new millennium, Brazil practiced greater assertiveness in international institutions as a counterweight to American power.

[13] Nascimento 2008.

[14] Vigevani and Cepaluni, 2009.

[15] Rafael Antonio Duarte Villa and Manuela Trindade Viana . Questões de segurança no governo Lula: da perspectiva reativa para a afirmativa Rev. Bras. Polít. Int. 53 2010 special edition: 91-114.

[16] Villa and Viana, 2010.

[17] Vigevani and Cepaluni, 2009.

[18] Brands, Dilemmas of Brazilian Grand Strategy, pp 604-606, 616-618.

[19] Vigevani and Cepaluni, 2009. Vigevani and Cepaluni quote Russell and Tokatlan to make this argument.

[20] Vigevani and Cepaluni, 2009.

But rather than retreating into autarky to preserve autonomy, Brazil built strength within global institutions by widening its cooperative base. With the goal of redressing asymmetries in the international arena, Brazil pursued its new foreign policy agenda of human and social rights, environmentalism, technology and managed financial flows in concert with other developing country partners. Autonomy through diversification therefore embraced South American neighbors through Mercosur, amplified South Atlantic ties with Africa, and build frameworks for cooperation with other big emerging markets in the BRICS club. Autonomy through diversification doesn't reject the institution building and rule setting agenda of participation; rather, it shifts the locus of engagement from a broader multilateral stage to a South-South approach. In the service of creating a greater equilibrium in global affairs, it intensified relations with emerging market partners to propel a Southern momentum in foreign policy. Attempting to leverage the global economic rebalancing toward the South, Brazil has been pushing for more policy space at the strategic level for developing country partners, enhancing its autonomy at home. Such partnerships with developing countries have been characterized as "consensual hegemony" that rests on shared interests of participating states.[21] Celso Amorim, Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs (and later Defense Minister), situates this as the nation's comparative strategic advantage: "Brazil's great skill is to be friends with everyone."[22] President Lula elevated the strategic focus on cooperation even further. His goal was to increase Brazil's 'weight' in international affairs through coalition building in order to 'soft balance' against powerful Northern structures that he saw as detrimental.

It should be noted that these alliances are more ad hoc and fluid than institutionalized and rigid. They fit a stylized Brazilian characteristic of "finding a way" or "jeitinho" that creatively adapts to the circumstances. As can be illustrated in the case of Mercosur, the South American Integration scheme, Brazil is interested in levers to adjust asymmetries of power but not in creating binding constraints of new alliances.[23] Unasur represents a wider yet shallower integration effort. Its South American Defense Council (CDS) formed in 2009 promotes confidence building without firm strategic commitments.[24] Instead, Brazil sees itself as a "global trader" with multiple organic links to Asia, Africa and Europe. To use a soccer analogy, one could think of Brazil as a premier league player. It is happy to practice and play in the local league, but fields a traveling team in foreign policy that extends beyond its natural neighborhood.

Lula, and later Dilma, pursued a soft balancing against the United States to shape a world more favorable to Brazil's interests. The administrations have presented a dissuasive defense, designed to guarantee sovereignty, national patrimony and territorial integrity through the dual strategies of dissuasion and diversified cooperation. Its approach is inherently non-confrontational, placing primacy on the ability of other

[21] Sean W. Burges, "Consensual Hegemony: Theorizing Brazilian Foreign Policy after the Cold War," International Relations 2008; 22; 65.

[22] Dauvergne & Farias 2012.

[23] Vigevani and Cepaluni, 2009. Vigevani and Cepaluni discuss Mercosur in depth, suggesting the institutionalizing Brazilian regional integration would detract from its ability to be a global trader.

[24] Juliana Bertazzo. "Brazilian Security and Defence Policy under President Dilma Rousseff: Transition and Initial Challenges," Critical Sociology, November 2012 vol. 38 no. 6 809-821.

countries to exercise sovereignty within their borders. This new Brazilian notion of autonomy has adapted to a multipolar globalized system. But the ability to exercise influence in foreign relations and the global economy is limited by Brazil's weakness on the technological and military front.[25] Without appropriate instruments of power, Brazil cannot be seen as a credible global player acting in its sovereign interests.[26] Redressing asymmetries of hard power is most problematic in the control of technology and production processes in the military sector. In September 2007, President Lula announced a new working group to structure a modernization plan for the Armed Forces called The Strategic Plan of National Defense. It fell within a broader plan of economic modernization called the Plan to Accelerate Growth (PAC) and so became known at PAC-defense. In light of strategic objectives, it was charged with reactivating the national armaments industry to promote autonomy in defense, realigning defense personnel to new threats and identifying internal roles for the Armed Forces in maintaining law and order.27 Table 2 provides a glimpse of some of the modernization programs. But these programs demand defense industrial partners. It is to this domination of the global value chain by traditional hegemons, and Brazil's aspiring place in that chain, that we now turn.

*Table 2:* ***Brazilian Military Modernization Priorities***

| **Modernization Priorities** | | |
|---|---|---|
| Army | Navy | Air Force |
| New fleet of wheeled armored vehicles (Guarani)<br>Operation of the new Special Forces brigades<br>Antiaircraft and communication capacity<br>Astros 2020 (missiles)<br>Critical infrastructure protection through PROTEGER<br>Bridges and boats for Amazon<br>Via SISFRON maintain control of Brazil's borders with ten neighbors via radars, communications networks, UAVs and armored vehicles<br>First Brazilian Geostationary Satellite | Surveillance System for the Blue Amazon, SISGAAZ<br>Ocean patrol boats through Programa de Obtençâo de Meios de Superficie, PROSUPER<br>Prosub Construction of nuclear-propelled submarine and modernization of conventional submarines<br>New torpedoes, helicopters and command and control systems<br>Deployment of the shipyard and naval base<br>Logistical support ship | New fighter jets<br>Modernize the AMX and expand fleet of Super Tucanos for training and counter insurgency operations.<br>KC-390 tactical transport and humanitarian missions<br>Improving management of resources, operational capacity and human resource investments<br>Monitoring and surveillance via UAVs.<br>Air Traffic Control |

Sources: Aggregated by the author from: João Fábio Bertonha, "Brazil: an emerging military power? The problem of the use of force in Brazilian international relations," Rev. Bras. Polít. Int. 53 (2): 107-124 [2010]; SIPRI "Transparency in milex ,"; Projetos prioritários da Força Aérea Brasileira http://aerospacedefensebr.blogspot.com/2012/09/projetos-prioritarios-da-forca-aerea.html; Colloquium Brief U.S. Army War College and Presentation by Luis Aguiar, president EDS, Brazil-American Chamber of Commerce New York, April 23, 2013.

[25] Marco César de Moraes, "A Estratégia Nacional De Defesa E O Orçamento Da União," O autor é o Coronel de Intendência do Exército Brasileiro, Doutor em Ciências Militares pela Escola de Comando e Estado-Maior do Exército. Atualmente é o Instrutor-chefe do Curso de Gestão e Assessoramento de Estado-Maior da ECEME (CGAEM). Online posting.

[26] João Fábio Bertonha, "Brazil: an emerging military power? The problem of the use of force in Brazilian international relations." Rev. Bras. Polít. Int. 53 (2): 107-124 [2010] < Professor of History at Maringá State University – UEM, Brazil (fabiobertonha@hotmail.com). >

[27] Rafael Antonio Duarte Villa and Manuela Trindade Viana . "Questões de segurança no governo Lula: da perspectiva reativa para a afirmativa," Rev. Bras. Polít. Int. 53 (special edition): 91-114 [2010].

## The Global Value Chain and Defense Modernization: Constraints in Technology for Modernization

Technology is central to the equation for global power; as the Brazilian PND notes, technology is fundamental to national defense.28 But technology has increasingly become embedded in complex global value chains.[29] Production no longer takes place by country and product. Rather, firms have evolved a new geography of production that is driven by the management of information and processes over geographical space. Although in the general case this new geography of growth has favored the relocation of power from the former industrial centers to emerging markets such as Brazil,[30] in defense production control exercised over sensitive or dual technologies limits integration of Southern partners. Legal constraints by the United States and Europe imposed for security reasons have limited the transfer of knowledge to the periphery.[31] Defense technologies are tightly controlled within production networks. A central challenge for Brazilian defense modernization is how to capture spillovers from global innovation networks in security products. Given the high degree of knowledge asymmetry in the defense sector, the participation is crucial to meet modernization goals. Yet such participation will also create tradeoffs in achieving the goal of autonomy. To meet the conditions set by the Pentagon or European Defense ministries, Brazil's firms and its foreign policies must become more closely aligned with Western interests—a compromise of autonomy.

This is not an all or nothing proposition. Across its nationally produced defense systems, Brazilian firms already participate in the global value chain. But according to the OECD, it also has one of the lowest rates of participation by large firms in collaboration on innovation activities with under 20% as opposed to nearly 60% in the UK or over 40% in France.[32] Brazilian participation in defense industrial systems is even further limited. Yet as retired Brazilian General Jose Carlos Amarante notes, no country can meet its defense needs in isolation.[33] The conundrum is that military technology is expensive to develop. To understand technology acquisition in defense production, consider an adaptation of Innovation's Holy Grail by C.K. Prahalad and R.A. Mashelkar on civilian technology in developing countries presented in figure 3.[34] To ensure complete autonomy in operations, a country might choose to develop technology embedded in systems. At the opposite end of the spectrum, it could attempt to purchase the know-how. In between the two poles of this classic make-buy dichotomy in defense system,

---

28 João Fábio Bertonha, "Uma política de defesa nacional," Meridiano 47 n. 103, Fev. 2009 [p. 24 a 28].

29 OECD (2011) Executive summary, Science Technology and Industry Scoreboard 2011.

30 Vandana Chandra, Deniz Erocal, Pier Carlo Padoan and Carlos Primo Braga (ed) Innovation and Growth: Chasing a Moving Frontier OECD and World Bank 2009.

31 I'd like to thank Professor Eduardo Siqueira Brick, researcher in the Nucleus of Strategic Studies at Universidade Federal Fluminense, (UFF) for emphasizing this point in a workshop of my paper at UFF in November 2012.

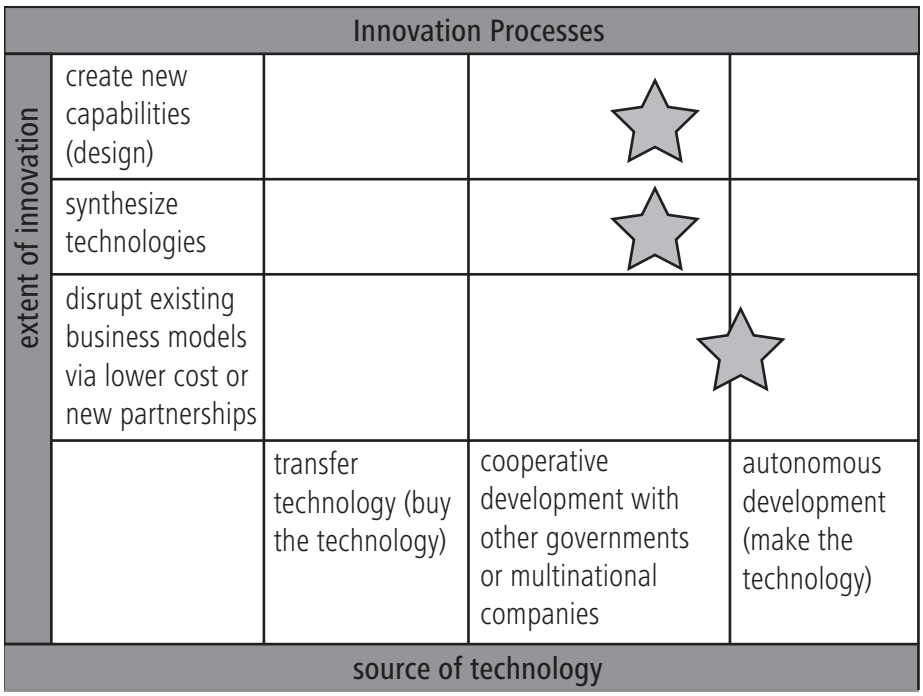
32 Collaboration in business value chains - OECD iLibrary, Chart "Firms collaborating on innovation activities with suppliers and clients, by firm size, 2006-08 as a percentage of innovative firms" http://www.oecdilibrary.org/docserver/download/9211041ec029.pdf?expires=1361906510&id=id&accname=guest&checksum=7087540C0C908779C57767150FB507EE. Also see OECD 2011, Collaboration in Business Value Chains in OECD Science, Technology and Industry Scoreboard 2011 OECD Publishing.

33 José Carlos Albano do Amarante, "A base industrial de defesa brasileira,". Ipea, Texto para discussão 1758, 2012.

34 Prahalad, C. K., & Mashelkar, R. A. "Innovation's Holy Grail," Harvard Business Review, (2010). 88 (7).

a country might elect to cooperate with other either the government or firms in other nations to develop systems.[35] These options are represented on the horizontal plane of the matrix below. To innovate and gain an advantage in the production of a technological system, Prahalad and Mashelkar suggest that firms pursue three strategies; they are represented on the vertical axis. They might implement new business models, taking advantage of lower labor or input costs or original delivery mechanisms. That is, the innovation takes place in the process, not the product. Alternatively, the firm might synthesize existing technologies, offering a variation on an existing product that better meets requirements—especially if it is also able to do so at lower cost. Finally, innovation may take place through creating genuinely new capabilities through ground-breaking design, the top row in the grid.

*Figure 3:* ***Innovation: Sources of Technology and Extent of Innovation***




Adapted from Prahalad and Mashelkar, Innovation's Holy Grail, HBR's Must Reads on Innovation 2011 and Jose Carlos Albano do Amarante, A Base Industrial de Defesa Brasileira, IPEA Texto para Discussao 1758

We can place Brazilian strategic projects on this grid to characterize their innovation approaches. First consider the case of Iveco. Part of the Italian Fiat Group, its Brazilian division has developed an armored car in conjunction with the Brazilian army. It received approximately R$1.527 B (US$.75 b) as part of the government's broad investment program PAC; the line is expected to engage 110 direct and 600 indirect suppliers

[35] I'd like to thank General José Carlos Amarante for pointing out this distinction.

with a national content of 60%.[36] Iveco is banking on offering a lower price armored car to its UNASUR neighbors (including Argentina, Chile, Colombia and Ecuador) where the product innovation is a modular design that will permit the incorporation of different turrets, sensors and ammunition systems.[37]

Iveco might be represented by the middle star in the grid. The Guarani was designed in cooperation with the needs of the Brazilian army, adapting systems to the tough tropical conditions in Brazil. The Italian parent company passed know-how largely through investment in Brazilian engineers training in Europe. Key adaptations were made in terms of weight, amphibious capabilities, and electronic information systems.

Below and to the right we might place the submarine project, Prosub, that aims to build 4 conventional and one nuclear submarine. Brazilian collaboration with the French DCNS and the Brazilian subsidiary of Odebrecht provided the foundation for the development of a national submarine. The navy has committed to developing the capacity for domestic production of four Scorpene conventional-propulsion submarines and one nuclear sub to protect the country's 8,500 m of coastline and its undersea oil reserves.[39] Rather than a turnkey approach, Brazilian engineers spent several years in France to gain the expertise necessary for technological development at home. Odebrecht operates as an integrator; drawing upon its extensive experience in long term construction projects, its advantage is in project management and the ability to assimilate technology.[40] Overseen by the Brazilian navy, the potential for spillovers into dual use technologies dominated only by global powers has warranted a slower but autonomous process of national production. In addition to dominating the technology, the Brazilian navy hopes to decrease the cost on an order of 50% by the choice of less expensive materials in construction.[41] Prosub is placed between cooperative development and autonomy; the goal of the navy is to dominate the technology nationally, but it has been drawing upon cooperation to achieve autonomy.

At the top-center of the grid we might place Embraer's KC -390. This medium-lift military transport aircraft specifically designed to conduct troop and cargo transport in Antarctica and Amazon regions is expected to set new standards for performance, cargo capacity, flexibility and life cycle costs.[38] It will allow aerial delivery and in-flight refueling and support search and rescue (SAR) and medical evacuation missions. Its adaptability to tropical conditions provides value added to customers operating in difficult environments. Some call the redesign to operate in high heat and humidity the "tropicalization" of technology.[39] The $1.6 billion Brazilian air force contract intended to replace the Lockheed Martin C-130 may also find roles in Argentina, Chile, Colombia, the Czech Republic and Portugal. The KC-390 will not fly until late 2014 and is five years from service entry, but already accounts for the largest share of EDS annual revenues, bringing in about $400 million in 2012.[40]

---

[36] Brazilian Army orders Guarani APCs from Iveco 13 August 2012 http://www.army-technology.com/news/newsbrazilian-army-orders-guarani-apcs-from-iveco as well as interview with Iveco, LAAD 2013, Rio Centro, Brasil April 10, 2013.

[37] Defesanet.com

[38] "Embraer taps Northrop Grumman for KC-390 nav system," Airline Industry Information September 12, 2012.

[39] LAAD interview with Iveco, April 9, 2013.

[40] "Embraer goes on defensive; Brazil's aerospace champion has global ambition in the military, security and space arena,"

The KC 390 is placed in the center of the source of technology axis to reflect the new role of Embraer as a systems integrator.[41] As Luiz Carlos Aguiar, President of Embraer Defense & Security (EDS) notes, Embraer is squarely positioned in the global value chain to deliver products designed to meet the needs of its customers by drawing together top suppliers of aeronautical subsystems.[42] Aguiar sees Embraer as a manager of complex systems, acknowledging that it is impossible in today's market to develop aircraft alone.[43] EDS adds value in marrying high technology subsystems such that the pilot in the cockpit operates a seamlessly integrated piece of equipment. A modification of one part of the aircraft will require modifications in others for the pilot to experience an integrated interface.[44] The KC390 is place in the uppermost vertical segment in that it appears to offer new capacities in large scale lift with abilities to operate in challenging environments.

In each of these three cases we can see Brazil's engagement in the global value chain—but with varying levels of innovation in the product development. Brazilian defense modernization strategies evidence an appreciation for the role of defense value chains. In 2010 Defense Minister Jobim emphasized the need for joint ventures with shared production responsibilities and technology transfer to promote the domestic defense industry so that in the future it may independently produce its own military equipment.[45] His successor in defense, Minister Amorim—who has also served as foreign affairs minister—has highlighted the need for investments in the defense industry to promote a "reasonable degree of technological autonomy" and stimulate overall industrial growth.[46]

As a means to preserve autonomy while procuring technology, Brazil has followed its foreign policy of diversification in the defense sector. Brazil entertains diverse develop production partnership. As represented in figure 4, we can trace agreements with European, North American, South American, Middle Eastern and BRICs partners in defense modernization. Paralleling changes from autonomy through distance to autonomy through participation, this re-equipment is squarely different from that pursued in the 1970 through 1990 period. Promotion of the defense sector in its earlier incarnation was inwardly oriented, utilizing international technology transfer when necessary but focused on the promotion of a national defense industry in Brazil. Ownership was both public and private; at the time aircraft producer EMBRAER was state owned and armored vehicle firm ENGESA and the missile entity AVIBRAS were privately financed. Each was strongly connected to national military programs to promote defense

Flight International September 4, 2012.

41 Conversation with Patrizia Xavier, Senior Manger, Institutional Relations, Embraer at LAAD 2013 Rio de Janeiro. April 10, 2013.

42 Luiz Carlos Aguiar, President of Embraer Defense & Security Brazil Summit, Brazilian-American Chamber of Commerce, NYC April 21, 2013.

43 Aguiar, Brazil Summit

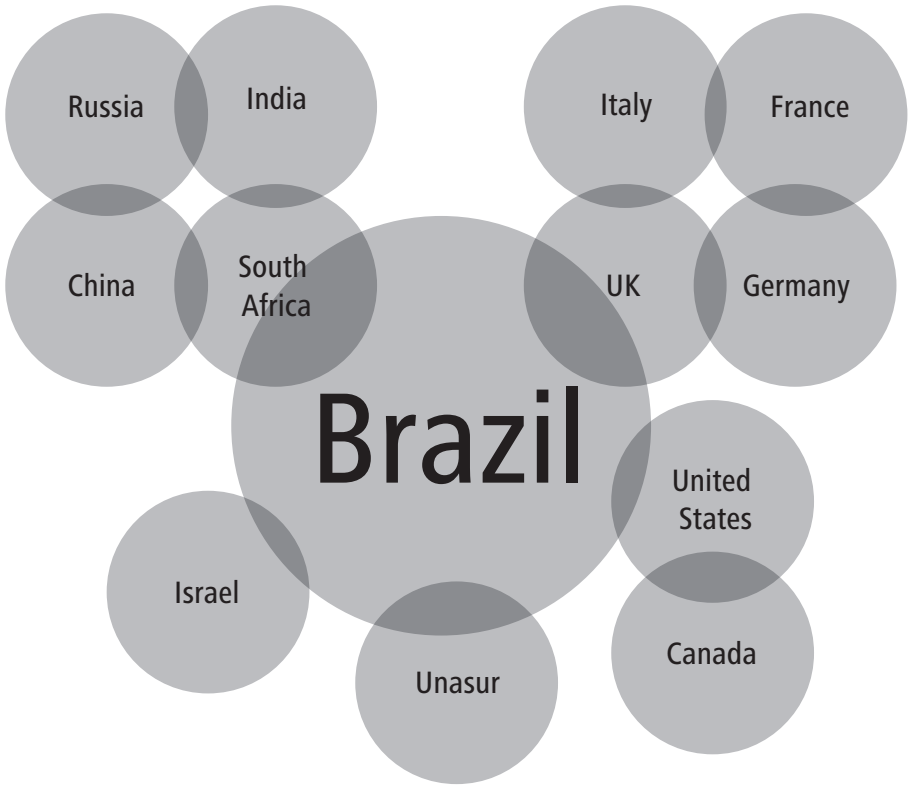
44 Conversation with Patrizia Xavier, Senior Manger, Institutional Relations, Embraer at LAAD 2013 Rio de Janeiro. April 10, 2013.

45 Max Manwaring and Andrew Fishman , "Brazil's Security Strategy And Defense Doctrine" Colloquium Brief U.S. Army War College, The George Washington University Compiled and The Center for Latin American Issues 2010.

46 "Essas medidas legislativas são importantes, não só porque a defesa é um estímulo importante para a indústria em qualquer país do mundo, mas também porque é preciso ter um grau razoável de autonomia tecnológica e industrial para garantirmos a defesa. Interessa ao governo promover os dois lados — disse o ministro" Eliane Oliveira and Danilo Fariello O Globo 17 February 2013 accessed via Defesanet.com.br.

production at home.[47] In contrast, the 21st century Brazilian defense industrial base is squarely integrated into global value chains, paradoxically promoting autonomy in re-equipment.

*Figure 4:* ***Linkages between Brazil and partners in its defense value chain***



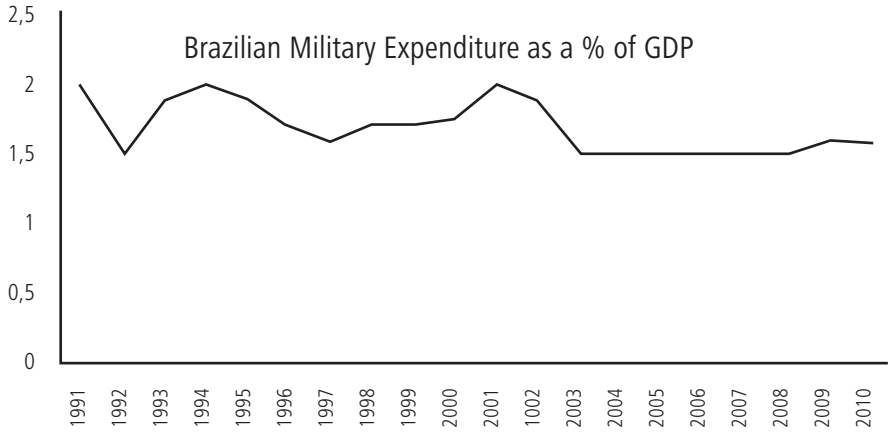

## The Spending Constraint: Brazil's Commitment to Budgetary Stability

Brazil could escape the tension of choosing between autonomy and national technological development if budgets weren't an issue. In the abstract it is conceivable that Brazil could spend its way out of the defense modernization trilemma—but this would come at an enormous cost and ultimately undermine its source of soft power. Brazilian economic stabilization in the mid-1990s was hard-won. Following two decades of inflation fueled growth and stagnation, administrations as different as Cardoso and Lula held to fiscal restraint and goals of monetary stability. In policy circles there is a deep acceptance of the need to reduce the so-called "Brazil cost" in order to grow. In addition to needed changes in the unwieldy business environment and deficits in infrastructure, this elevated Brazil cost is a legacy of years of spiraling inflation and default risk. Although Brazil no longer faces uncontrollable

[47] See Patrice Franko (Jones), The Brazilian Defense Industry Boulder, CO:Westview Press, 1992.

prices or unstable debt, the price it must pay in global capital markets remains high. Its penance for decades of profligacy is the need to constantly assure markets of its current good behavior. This has involved meeting primary budgetary surpluses of between 2 and 3%of GDP. Since a primary surplus measures the current fiscal stance of a government (it doesn't include past debt due), it indicates the future sustainability of public finances. By keeping these within a target of 2 to 3%--a range more constricting than economies the size and depth of Brazil might ordinarily need—Brazil is able to maintain investment grade credit, lowering the costs of borrowing for both firms and the state.[48] A big burst of defense spending that upset this capital markets balance would ripple throughout the economy, raising capital costs and lowering Brazil's global growth potential. When one overlays pressing needs of infrastructure investments in advance of the World Cup and the Olympics as well as a firm commitment to social spending to eradicate the worst pockets of poverty, defense spending in Brazil is hardly poised for a grand take off.

*Figure 5:* ***Brazilian Military Expenditures as a percent of GDP***




This is not to say, however, that defense spending won't increase at significant but incremental rates. Defense budgets in Brazil have been noticeably flat as a percentage of GDP. Figure 5 indicates that the commitment to military spending has narrowly ranged between 1.5 and 2% of GDP for the last two decades. Relative to its size, Brazil underspends on its defense. As Thomas Sheetz has documents, gross dollars spent even overstate its re-equipment potential as 75% of the budget is driven by personnel costs, with pensions along eating up 40% of spending in the country.[49] Increasing defense spending must be done carefully so as not to undermine its economic foundation.

Not only is the level lower that other BRICs or many OECD nations, the rate of increase in the past decade has not kept up with expansion in other big emerging markets. 50 While military

[48] For a discussion of Brazilian interest rates please see Alex Segura-Ubiergo "The Puzzle of Brazil's High Interest Rates," IMF Working Paper February 2012 www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2012/wp1262.pdf.

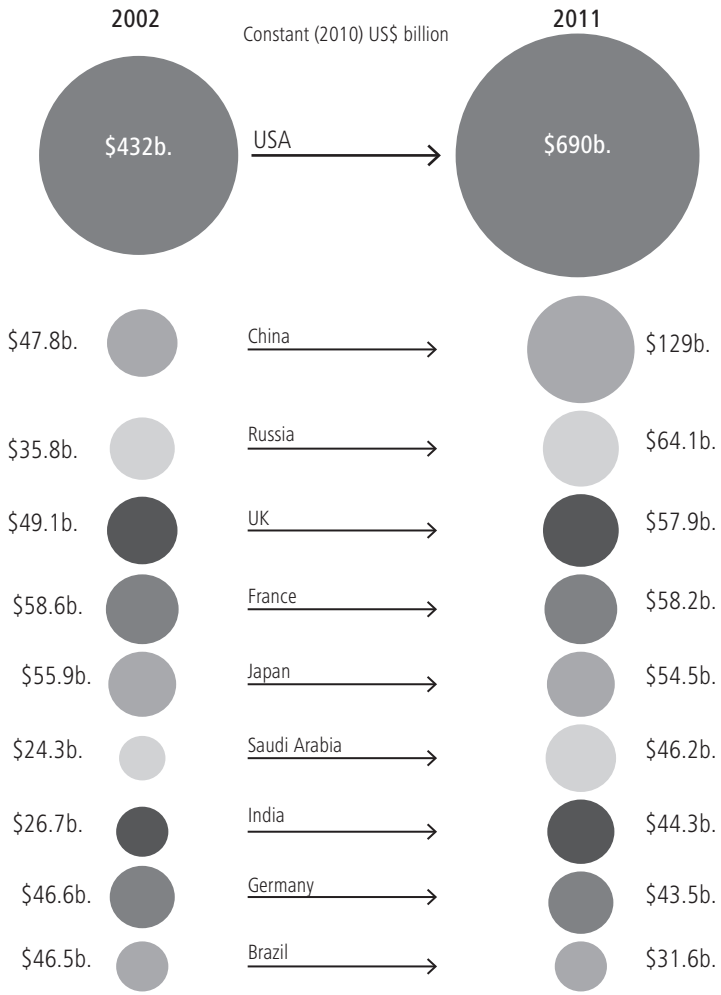
[49] Thomas Scheetz "El impacto de la crisis financiera en el gasto militar sudamericano,"Tecnología militar, Año 34, Nº. Extra 5, 2012 (Ejemplar dedicado a: LADA: Latin American Defence Almanac 2012/2013): 8-10.

[50] http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/resultoutput/trendgraphs/Top10bubble/top10bubble2010/

spending in China, Russia, and India increased from 2002 to 2011 by 170%, 79% and 66% respectively, as shown in Figure 6 Brazilian spending only grew by 22% in this period.[51] This gap has not gone unnoticed by Brazilian strategists. Minister of Defense Celso Amorim argued before Congress that if Brazil is to assume its role as a world power, it must invest in defense at the BRIC level.[52] Amorim has signaled a doubling of the acquisition budget, but achieving this is most likely to come by introducing efficiencies in personnel costs.

*Figure 6:* ***Changes by the Top Military Spenders***

**The change in military expenditure from 2002 to 2011 for the top 10 military spenders in constant (2010) US$ billion.** (The area of each circle is proportional to the level of spending.)




image_view_fullscreen. If using this graphic need to get permission from SIPRI—just involves writing them.

[51] Measured in constant dollars by SIPRI. See footnote 31.

[52] Orçamento da Defesa no Brasil deveria ser igual ao dos Brics, diz ministro 26/04/2012 20:23 - Portal Brasil http://www.brasil.gov.br/noticias/arquivos/2012/04/26/orcamento-da-defesa-no-brasil-deveria-ser-igual-ao-dos-brics-diz-ministro

## The Defense Trilemma: Ameliorating Acute Tradeoffs

To promote sustainability, relieving tension on the economic lever pushes the country toward the global value chain. With responsible defense spending, tradeoffs in defense modernization have been made less painful through the reconceptualization of Brazilian autonomy as a globally diversified endeavor as well as expanding production in a newly defined geo-economic landscape. The overarching Brazilian foreign policy of achieving autonomy through divergent participation has been reinforced by a set of agreements between Brazil and technological partners in defense production.

To borrow a phrase from the American advertising media campaign for the Oldsmobile, "this is not your father's defense industry." Although promotion of the defense industry is part of Brazil's strategic focus, its implementation is far more nuanced in its integration into the broader Brazilian industrial landscape as well as its appreciation for the global defense value chain. New Brazilian missions are grounded on the precept that national defense and security activities are highly interrelated, and involve the economy, politics, environment, national productive potential, science, and technology. Brazilian policymakers anticipate that the investments made with global partners in support of military autonomy may have positive spinoffs for the domestic economy.

Acquisition programs are more thoroughly integrated into a redeployment of defense assets to enhance homeland security and protect Brazil's exclusive economic zone and petroleum assets. This requires investment in systems of surveillance and control with stronger connections to civilian technologies. The needs of Brazilian defense may drive greater expression for innovation in both defense and civilian systems.

We also see an institutional deepening in the design of the defense policy. As shown in table 3, we can see that programs are far more articulated in concert with civil society, putting the armed forces in dialogue with congress, the executive branch, industry and the university system. President Rousseff's approach very much links the promotion of the defense sector to a broader strategy of incentives toward the technology sector. Expanding links into university programs is investing in future capacity to manage defense systems.[53]



[53] David C. Mowery, "The need for a new generation of policy instruments to respond to the Grand Challenge," Research Policy Vol 41, Issue 10, December 2012, 1703–1715.

*Table 3:* ***Civil Society and Defense Policy***

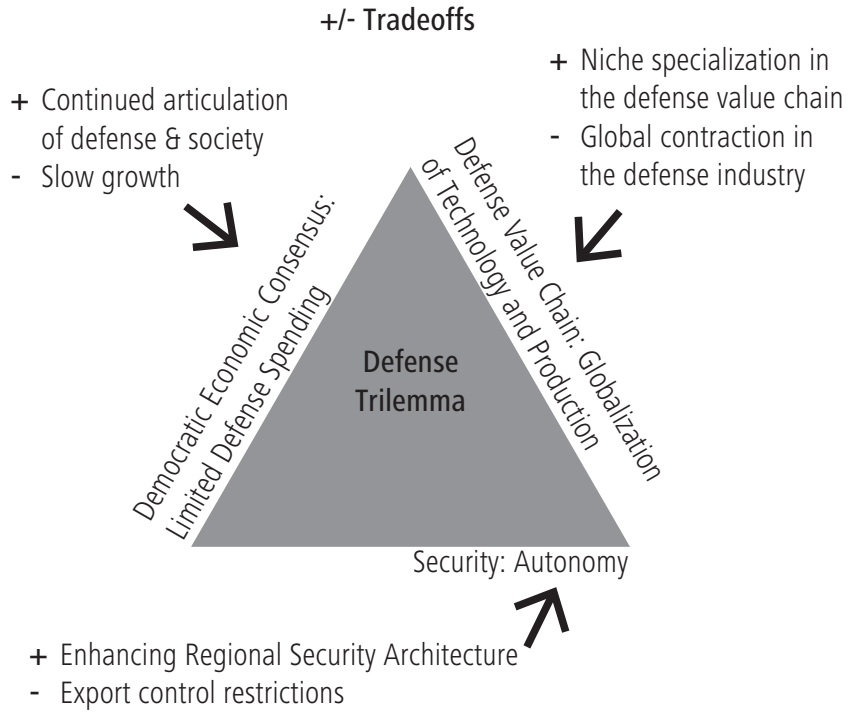
| **Institutional Deepening in Defense Production** | |
|---|---|
| 2005 | MOD (Ministry of Defense) created the military commission defense industry (CMID), permanent space of dialogue between the government and the defense industry. |
| 2005 | National Defense Industry Policy (PNID) addressed the importance of industry revitalization. |
| 2005 | National Policy for Defense Industry (pnid) established guidelines to encourage the industry |
| 2008 | Production Development Policy (PDP) considered the defense industrial complex as one of Mobilization Programs in Strategic Areas. |
| 2008 | National Defense Strategy (END) established a revitalized military industry as one of three structural axes for the defense of the country (other 2 are restructuring armed forces & policy of effective composition). |
| 2011 | Integrated the defense industry into "Brazil Maior," the plan for national investment and growth; Provisional Measure 544 gave incentives to companies for national defense production. |
| 2012 | Provisional measure converted into Law 12 598 Act of industrial incentives and protection for national defense production. This establishes norms for purchasing, contracting and developing defense systems. It created the category EED, strategic defense firm, that will permit special tax status. |

Source: Flávia de Holanda Schmidt, Rodrigo Fracalossi de Moraes, Lucas Rocha Soares de Assis "A Dinâmica Recente Do Setor De Defesa No Brasil," IPEA RADAR: Tecnologia, produção e comércio exterior, No. 19, 4/2012.

Although the policy mix to deepen defense production in Brazil is significantly different from attempts 30 years ago, tradeoffs must still be considered. Figure 7 summarizes the opportunities and constraints in minimizing the costs of tradeoffs. Integration into the global value chain comes at a cost to a nationalist's view of maximizing autonomy. The ability to integrate deeply into the value chain is itself compromised by decisions made in Western Europe and North America to limit the acquisition of sophisticated systems by the Global South. Such export control restrictions act as a barrier to partnerships within the defense value chain.[54] Nonetheless, as Brazil builds confidence among central players that it is a responsible participant in the international system, these barriers may erodeRegional alliances such as UNASUR that encourage transparency and cooperation may be useful in offsetting mistrust with NATO countries worried about secret deals between Brazil and countries such as Iraq or Libya. There will also likely be a greater demand on the part of North America and Western Europe to offset their own defense contractions through partnerships with the global south. Recent activity between Boeing and Embraer may be indicative of future trends in this direction.

[54] Discussed by Waldimir Pirró e Longo, "Indústria de Defesa: Pesquisa, Desenvolvimento Experimental e Engenharia," Revista da Escola Superior de Guerra,Vol.25, n.52, p. 7-37, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, (2011).

*Figure 7:* ***Minimizing Tradeoffs in the Brazilian Defense Trilemma***




Brazil may also decrease tensions in integrating in the global value chain by defining a clear specialization in defense production. The unique characteristics of defense production of high R&D requirements paired with a small number of potential buys help those with niche markets to succeed. Replicating what NATO countries already offer is a risky strategy. As demonstrated above, firms need to innovate in either production costs or by products, moving higher on our grid of innovation. This premium on specialization will increase as North American and European defense producers feel the pinch of further budget cuts. One should expect a scramble to protect jobs in each country. Unless a country is willing to pour more resources into the defense sector, the survivors of the global contraction in military production will be those best able to offer premium products at low costs.

Brazil enjoys a certain advantage in such frugal innovation. Indeed, the success of EMBRAER has been predicated on identifying lucrative market niches in aviation. The risk at this stage is that promotion of incentives in the defense sector in Brazil will not adequately address the global marketability of systems. Brazilian growth is slowing. As the allocation of national resources has become deeply democratized, the armed forces modernization funds compete with needs across a wide range of sectors. Institutional ties to civil society may be used to articulate the case for stronger investments in national security, but these must contend with infrastructure and social sector priorities. Defense modernization may become a slower or less ambitious process than envisioned by policymakers. Overreaching could undermine the economic viability of the

defense industrial base in Brazil. This was the ill-fated result of expansion in the 1980s. Integration into the global value chain supported by a new articulation of sovereignty through partnerships bode well if the open political system can efficiently manage defense resources. It remains to be seen if indeed this is not your father's defense industry in Brazil or it policymakers have better learned to balance the constraints of the defense trilemma.

*Endnotes*

[1] 01 de Fevereiro, 2013 - 01:00 ( Brasília ) ABIMDE - Nova Diretoria Velhos Desafios .A posse das novas Diretoria da ABIMDE e SIMDE mostram luta do setor industrial de defesa e segurança pela manutenção de suas atividades

Another version of this paper is being published by National Defense University, Institute for National Security Studies, INSS, Washington DC forthcoming fall 2013. This paper owes a debt to my students at IUPERJ at the Candido Mendes University in Rio as its formulation came in teaching this material in a graduate course in economic globalization during my Fulbright Fellowship in Rio de Janeiro in 2012. Thanks also go to Dr. Clóvis Brigagão, who in working with the Konrad Adenauer Stifling Foundation invited me to present at the Forte de Copacabana Conference September 18, 2012 where I first introduced this framework of the defense trilemma.

**Jürgen Menner** is University education in Mathematics (MSc) and Electrical Engineering (MSc). Officer of the Army Maintenance Corps. German and Brazilian general staff officer's training. Assistant to the Director of Security Policy in the Federal Ministry of Defence until 2012. German Defence Attaché in Peru as of October 2013.

# German Security and Defence Policy and the Reorientation of the Bundeswehr in Light of the Challenges of our Time

Jürgen Menner

In Germany the public debate about security policy is dominated by two main issues: firstly the question of how to handle the profound change in the security challenges and secondly the decisions made as part of the reorientation of the German armed forces. Examined more closely, however, these issues are two sides of the same coin, because the adjustment of the Bundeswehr, from the viewpoint of security policy, is a necessary response to a changing world.

## The Road to Today's Bundeswehr

Before 1990, security policy in Germany focused mainly on the Cold War and the bloc confrontation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. A war between the two alliances would have inevitably had disastrous consequences for Germany. The most likely scenario would have been Germany as a battlefield and perhaps complete devastation in the event of a nuclear escalation. This knowledge was not limited only to politicians and military personnel, but for several decades also weighed down on the population and society as a collective fear.

Since 1990, since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the end of the Cold War and the regaining of full sovereignty, Germany has rapidly covered a considerable distance. The preparations for an armed conflict on the border between the two Germanies, which no longer exists, are a thing of the past.

This also implies a fundamental change in the challenges facing the Bundeswehr. The Bundeswehr has become an army of unity. The integration of personnel and the decommissioning of substantial quantities of materiel belonging to the former National People's Army of the GDR as well as the simultaneous downsizing of the Bundeswehr have become a success story.

Today Germany must no longer expect a direct threat to its borders, and this had a direct effect on the orientation of the Bundeswehr. Instead, the German armed forces have increasingly taken on international responsibility during the past two decades.

This has not always gained public attention on an international scale. For many years, up to 7,000 German soldiers have been continuously performing their duties on three continents. More than 300,000 military personnel have been on deployment abroad since 1991. In Afghanistan, Germany is in command of the entire northern part of the country and therefore one of the largest troop-contributors. The German soldiers on deployment are, on a daily basis, demonstrating that they can accomplish their mission.

## Today's Security Environment

The two decades following Germany's reunification and the end of the Cold War also saw significant changes in the global risks and threats. They exist in different regions and for various periods of time, and they can occur in different intensities or combinations. Besides the classic symmetric conflict, the most prevalent type today is the asymmetric conflict. Developments far away can rapidly have a direct impact on Europe and Germany and may also make common security policy measures within the alliances of NATO and the EU necessary. Security policy today can no longer be primarily defined on a geographical basis.

Therefore, rather than national defence and alliance defence, the more likely tasks for Germany's armed forces today are crisis management and crisis prevention operations, potentially anywhere in the world. And these potential operations in particular must determine the capabilities, equipment and structures of the German armed forces.

## Challenges for the Bundeswehr

The objective is clear: in a security environment with little certainty, the primary aim must be to have available as many courses of political action as possible. The German armed forces must prepare for a variety of different scenarios. This also means that, although they cannot be equally prepared for all situations, there should be nothing they are completely unprepared for. This raises the question as to which capabilities the German armed forces should have. Is it sufficient to have a profile limited to specific capabilities, or is it necessary to have a broad and comprehensive capability profile?

The wide diversity of potential conflicts and operations requires Germany to maintain armed forces which are operationally ready and capable of meeting its alliance commitments. And this can only mean the capability for flexible operations across the

entire task spectrum. Flexibility means a broad spectrum. The German armed forces need a broad capability spectrum that encompasses disaster relief support, evacuation of German citizens, stability operations, support measures for the military of partner nations and, of course, alliance defence.

That is why the Bundeswehr needs a sufficient number of available, highly professional and sustainable units equipped with modern technology that allows mobility and rapid deployments. It must be possible to tailor these units to the mission based on a modular system and to adapt them to the respective local conditions. They should be able to respond to changing situations in a rapid and flexible manner and also be interoperable with the armed forces of our allies. This is also necessary in order to take on leadership responsibilities on operations as a framework nation. Germany's partners can then use their capabilities to provide modular supplements. This makes it easier to ensure the required depth for longer operations.

## The Reorientation of the Bundeswehr

It becomes clear against this background that a mere adjustment of the Bundeswehr's old structure would not have been sufficient. A reorientation of the German armed forces as a whole was necessary in order to effectively deal with the challenges of today.

Up to 10,000 military personnel will in future be available in a flexible composition for simultaneous and sustainable deployment on operations across the entire task and capability spectrum of the Bundeswehr. The Bundeswehr will thus have a capability profile with which Germany can assume responsibility as a framework nation for land-based operations in up to two theatres of operation and one maritime operation. Further contributions for smaller operations of land, air, and maritime forces should be possible depending on the availability of national capabilities and third-party support services. To enable high-intensity combat as part of territorial and collective defence, it must be possible to provide a joint set of forces for a duration of up to one year, also at the expense of ongoing operations. In addition, rapid response forces for evacuation and hostage rescue operations will be kept ready as a standing commitment. Commitments entered into within the framework of the NATO Response Forces, the EU Battle Groups or the UN Standby Arrangement Systems will continue to be fulfilled.

The overall strength of the Bundeswehr has therefore been set at up to 185,000 troops. Following the now completed suspension of compulsory military service, the proportion of temporary-career volunteers and regulars will be 170,000. There will additionally be up to 15,000 military service volunteers. Moreover, the Bundeswehr will be supported by a total of 55,000 civilian employees.

During the next few years, there will be substantial adjustments within the individual services in response to the new requirements. The following examples are taken from a comprehensive catalogue of measures.

› In the Army, the brigade will be the formation that integrates the different capabilities into an effective overall system. With its broad range of combat troops and its

reconnaissance, engineer and logistic support elements, the brigade in itself represents a flexible and most suitable formation. If necessary, it can be combined and trained as needed with additional support from the assets of other major organisational elements.

- In the Navy, the flotillas will combine maritime expertise and weapon systems in a way that allows operational modules to be assembled from fixed structures. It will in future be possible for ships to have several crews in order to achieve better sustainability. This requires a fundamental change in mindset.
- The new Air Force will no longer have the emphasis of its capability profile on counter air operations. Instead, the objective today is a balanced profile with capabilities to conduct supporting air operations as well as surveillance, reconnaissance and close air support.
- The newly established Joint Support Service has already featured personnel from all the services working for the entire armed forces for more than ten years. It is unique by international standards and has already attracted the attention of allies who are currently implementing similar measures within their structures.

Another essential guiding principle of the reorientation of the Bundeswehr is the strengthening of international cooperation. In the area of planning, armed forces within NATO and the EU are already cooperating closely in order to jointly identify and bridge capability gaps. However, we are not breaking new ground in this respect, because the many years as members of NATO and the EU have also led to the creation of combined capabilities among the states. Recent decisions taken by the EU and NATO show the willingness and readiness of the states to cooperate, besides an increased understanding of the advantages, and this has already resulted in new projects being launched.

These key ideas have been rapidly transformed into concrete projects: one example is the establishment of a pool of maritime surveillance aircraft and a multinational headquarters in Ulm to enable operational command and control within the framework of NATO and the EU.

## Bundeswehr well-equipped for the Future

The decisions for the reorientation of the Bundeswehr were extensive and affected all areas of the armed forces. On closer examination, however, they were inevitable, because they are a consistent reaction to the security challenges of today and tomorrow. The adjustments, also due to their extent, are a highly complex task, because the Bundeswehr is an army with ongoing operations.

As a responsible member of the international community, Germany will continue to be asked for an appropriate contribution towards security and stability. In the future, in many crisis situations around the world, it will be necessary for armed forces to continue their cooperation with civilian organisations so as to achieve a significant contribution towards their resolution. The reorientation of the Bundeswehr will allow Germany to continue its contributions towards peace and freedom in the world in an effective and credible way by providing military support based on Bundestag decisions.

**Karl-Heinz Kamp** is Research Director at the NATO Defense College in Rome. The views expressed in this paper are the responsibility of the author alone.

# NATO's Need for Partnership and Cooperation

Karl-Heinz Kamp

Politicians in Asia, Africa or Latin America frequently tend to perceive the Atlantic Alliance with a note of skepticism. Once founded to counter the threat posed by the Communist Warsaw Pact, the Alliance is still around even though the Soviet menace has been long gone. Instead of dissolving itself as well, NATO has evolved over the years to cope with the post-Cold War security environment. It has taken up new members and the number of further applicants is still growing. It has adopted a global horizon and is currently militarily active on three continents (Europe, Africa, and Asia). It has expanded its portfolio and is today addressing a number of security challenges beyond pure military self-defense. Finally, NATO has progressed from an institution in a readiness mode to deter a threat from the East to a military active body that has fought wars from the Balkans to Afghanistan and elsewhere.

Some critics therefore suspect that NATO might be nothing less than the United States' string puppet to support Washington's global (or even imperialistic) strategies. Others regard the Alliance as the means to defend the interests of its members with military means in an offensive or even aggressive manner. Or worse – NATO appears to be the tool of "The West" to guarantee its supremacy on the international stage.

Even benevolent observers wonder why NATO still exists and even became the most successful political-military alliance in modern history. The Alliance interacts with a large number of partner countries all

around the globe and has adopted a global horizon. This mystery raises three intertwined questions:

- First, why does NATO still exist?
- Second, what are future challenges for the Alliance?
- Third, why are partnerships particularly important for NATO to preserve its role in an international environment with rising powers and rapidly changing gravity fields?

## Why Does the Transatlantic Alliance Exist Today?

A simplistic answer to the question of why NATO still exists would be that its 28 members want it to exist. NATO nations perceive the option of organizing their security policy in a cooperative way and incorporating their forces in an integrated military structure as more profitable and advantageous than providing their security on a purely national basis. For this advantage they are prepared to cede national sovereignty and to bow to Alliance consensus – in this context, large nations like the United States, France or the United Kingdom accept a veto by Belgium or Estonia.

A more sophisticated answer, though, would have to embrace the special character of NATO as a Euro-Atlantic alliance where the leading power, United States, is – together with Canada - separated by 6000 kilometers of Atlantic Ocean from their 26 European allies. What are the common interests in Europe and North America to keep the transatlantic link stable even without a unifying threat as the Soviet Union once was?

Surprising to many, this transatlantic nexus is still valid and persuasive even six decades after NATO had been founded and more than two decades after the Eastern Block crumbled. Skeptics tend to point out that, with the generational changes on both sides of the Atlantic, the positive connotations of European-American friendship and the support for a transatlantic security alliance might fade away. In addition, it is sometimes claimed that NATO is being eroded by dwindling financial resources and increasing transatlantic debates over military spending, commitments and burden sharing. According to such a view, the US is becoming increasingly unwilling - and unable - to pay for the military shortcomings of their European allies.

Yet, the almost too frequent NATO quarrel about burden sharing misses one crucial point: nations join and keep up an alliance not for altruistic reasons or because of nostalgia, but to serve their interests. Europe and North America don't invest in NATO to please each other, but because the mutual benefits outweigh the investments. NATO was founded and kept up during the Cold War because it was advantageous for both sides of the Atlantic. The US provided protection for Europe, whereas the European allies in turn guaranteed Washington's influence in Europe. Such a transatlantic bargain still exists, in a slightly different perspective. Through NATO, the US guarantees its influence in today's Europe – a continent which is stable, prosperous (despite the Euro crisis), benign and, above all, politically likeminded. No other region in the world combines these attributes in a similar manner, and no other continent is open to such a strong US voice in its own affairs. Moreover, the European NATO members, all committed to transatlantic values and all solid democracies (even if some South Eastern European allies have

to further mature in that respect), can provide political legitimacy for military actions conducted by the US beyond its own borders. Lastly, Europe remains a logistical hub for global US military operations.

Europe, in turn, benefits from the transatlantic security partnership in at least three respects. The US still provides military protection (with conventional as well as nuclear forces) – a benefit which is of tremendous importance for many Eastern European NATO members as they still harbor concerns in regard to Russia. In addition, the US protects the global commons, for instance sea lines of communication or unlimited access to air and space. Finally, the US is a decisive power of the global order and stabilizes regions which are important for the European allies. Thus, for both sides of the Atlantic, membership in NATO means benefit sharing rather than burden sharing.

## Challenges for NATO

Despite the fundamental agreement on the core value of NATO, there is a number of political trends around which are likely to strain NATO's cohesion and might even turn into concrete security challenges. Eight of these developments are particularly noteworthy, since they entail considerable potential for transatlantic friction and/or are largely underrepresented in the debates on NATO's future: the withdrawal from Afghanistan, the financial crisis, instability in Europe, rebellion in the Arab world, the spread of nuclear weapons, Washington's reorientation to the Asian-Pacific region, the worsening relationship with Russia and the shale gas revolution.

The first trend or development that will significantly affect NATO in the coming years is the withdrawal from Afghanistan. Alliance members have been fighting on the Hindu Kush for more than twice the duration of the Second World War. Their national defense planning, a major part of their threat perceptions and many decisions on the procurement of military equipment have been strongly geared towards Afghanistan. NATO's partnership policy, meaning its construction of a network of countries which cannot (or do not want to) become members but support NATO's activities, has also been determined to a considerable extent by the requirements in Afghanistan. Ending its largest ever combat mission is therefore bound to have a profound impact on the Alliance's strategic direction: NATO after 2014 will look different from the Alliance as it has evolved since the 9/11 attacks – probably not fundamentally, but significantly.

The second key development is the fact that the transatlantic community is experiencing a financial crisis which, particularly with respect to Europe, differs in at least three ways from economic recessions of the past. First, it is unique in its order of magnitude. Second, this crisis is different in that it has managed to hit NATO's "big spenders", those members who in the past were able to continue investing significantly in their armed forces even during periods of economic downturn. Third, the current crisis is not predictable in its duration. Indeed, for the "problem-countries" in the south of Europe it might take decades until balanced national budgets can be achieved. Some are already speaking about the need to face a new "Thirty Years' War".

For the United States too, the financial problems are severe. However, favorable demographic conditions (higher birth rate, lower average age, immigration) should enable the US to bottom out more rapidly. In many European countries, though, ageing societies, neglected structural reform of the welfare state and accumulated debts add up to a severe obstruction to economic growth. As a result, despite political rhetoric, there is not the slightest chance for higher defense expenditures in any major NATO member state. Deep cuts in NATO's military capabilities will be inevitable.

A third, particularly worrisome tendency stemming from the financial crisis is the danger of regional instability within NATO itself. Drastic austerity measures in those countries which have so far lived beyond their means might destabilize entire societies and render states ungovernable. The current outburst of violence and chaos in Greece could merely prove the harbinger for other countries in the south of Europe. Irrespective of whether mass unemployment and lack of prospects (particularly among the young) are self-inflicted or not, they will determine daily life in these regions. It is highly unlikely that electors will consistently vote as reason dictates and accept that policies must focus on the objective needs of economic recovery. Instead, nationalist or xenophobic movements will probably gain ground and, again, Greece can be seen as a precursor. Ideologists with simple answers for complex questions will come to the fore, looking for scapegoats outside their own countries on whom they can conveniently blame self-inflicted problems. As a result, domestic violence could spread over national borders, leading to regional crises and tensions among neighbors. The danger of a "Balkanization" of southern Europe might not be an overstatement, given that for the time being many austerity measures have merely been announced or approved but their full implementation is still to come.

Fourth, a looming challenge for transatlantic relations is posed by developments in the Arab world. Notwithstanding NATO's successful Libya operation, the entire MENA region (Middle East and Northern Africa) remains highly volatile. Even if what has been called the "Arab Spring" increasingly seems to be turning into an "Islamic Winter" in which religious dogmatism and societal deadlock prevail, developments have far from run their course. Further uprisings or violent protests will surely occur. Despite the already mentioned risk-consciousness of military decision-makers, Libya has set a precedent. Thus, the public in many NATO countries might cause political pressure by demanding military action in response to media exposure of unrestrained cruelty against civilians – Syria is an example. In such cases the Alliance will always be confronted with the painful debate about whether and when an intervention would be prudent, and who is going to contribute to such a mission.

Geographically linked to events in the Arab world is a fifth problematic development for the transatlantic community, namely Iran's effort to develop nuclear weapons. A nuclear Iran could strain transatlantic cohesion in four ways. First, it would revitalize the debate in NATO on the future role of nuclear weapons and the credibility of US deterrence commitments for European members of the Alliance. Ideas of nuclear reductions championed in some NATO capitals might come to a halt. Second, should Washington take, support or endorse military action to prevent Iran from going nuclear, a fierce and

divisive debate within NATO on the legitimacy of such a step is likely to follow. Third, given that Iran shares a border with Turkey, any severe crisis could escalate to an Article 5 case1, challenging the Alliance with sharp controversy about commitments and contributions. Fourth, even a non-Article 5 escalation, for instance in the event of Iran blocking the Strait of Hormuz, would confront NATO with painful decisions on how to react collectively to such a vital threat.

The sixth major trend to highlight is Washington's frequently mentioned "pivot" or "rebalancing" towards the Asia-Pacific region. Despite its prominence, this trend seems less worrisome for the Euro-Atlantic community. The shift of US attention away from Europe does not devalue the American engagement in NATO, but is a logical consequence of the geostrategic changes of recent years. The list of unfinished business in Europe is becoming constantly smaller, whereas the rise of China and India requires a stronger US presence in the Asia-Pacific region. Most NATO members understand this need and appreciate that Europe remains the largest stationing ground for US forces abroad. Still, the American shift will be accompanied by less US enthusiasm for European affairs and a stronger concentration on domestic issues – something the Alliance will have to cope with.Despite a number of symbolic resets, a seventh trend confronting the Alliance is a constant worsening of the NATO-Russia relationship. Missile defense cooperation remains controversial because of irreconcilable positions on both sides. NATO's Eastern member states still harbor concerns about Russia. In turn, Moscow's often harsh words and behavior vis-à-vis its neighbors or former allies are hardly likely to alleviate historical worries. On the international scene, particularly in the MENA region, Russia has lost much of its former influence and seems to be limiting its policy to sheer obstructionism. Most importantly, with regard to its economic, military and societal modernization, Russia has lost ground and is currently occupying an international position lagging well behind its pretensions of being at eye level with NATO. As the gap between aspirations and realities in Russia is likely to widen, the leadership in Moscow might feel tempted to compensate what seems to be a hidden inferiority complex by showing even more confrontational behavior vis-à-vis NATO. This would spark recurrent debates in NATO about who is to blame for having lost constructive contact with Russia, and how to bring Moscow back towards a more cooperative attitude.

Eighth, there seem to be almost radical developments in the energy sector. Even if the so-called "shale gas revolution" proves to be at least partly based on hype, the impact of the availability of unconventional sources of energy (shale gas, oil sands) will have a profound impact on international politics. North America is on its way to self-sufficiency with regard to oil and gas – US companies have to pay only a third as much for electricity as their European competitors. Israel will move from 100 percent dependency on energy imports to 70 percent self-supply. China, India and Ukraine will exploit their shale gas resources, even if the ecological consequences are still not fully predictable. Western European countries will follow as soon as ecologically acceptable technologies are available. These developments will have grave consequences for current gas suppliers

[1] Article 5 of the Washington Treaty (the NATO Treaty) obliges all NATO states to regard an attack on one member as an attack on all.

like Russia or the Gulf countries. They will certainly remain capable of selling their oil and gas for acceptable prices on the international energy markets – not least because of the rising energy demand in Asia. However, the international influence they command as a result of being able to use energy as a means for intimidation or even blackmail will be significantly reduced.

## NATO's Way Ahead and the Future of Partnerships

These eight trends will influence NATO in various ways and are likely to lead to four consequences for the Alliance – not all of them negative.

One outcome will be that NATO will gradually lose relevance as its military forces will be shrinking significantly. Given the budget cuts in all NATO countries and associated trends like the so called sequestration in the United States (the quasi-automatic budget cuts), there is no alternative to severe military downsizing. NATO a decade from now will have significantly fewer standing military forces and far more reserves. More cooperation and rationalization among Alliance members might help to alleviate the consequences of shrinking defense budgets – NATO's efforts in this direction are known as "Smart Defense". However, initiatives towards pooling and sharing of scarce resources or common procurement of costly military goods will not make up the shortfall in funds as a result of cuts.

A second consequence of some of the trends mentioned above will be that NATO's military leaders are likely to become even more risk-conscious when it comes to military operations going beyond self-defense or the preservation of vital interests. In the light of shrinking budgets and the experience in recent operations from Afghanistan to Libya, they might advise against military interventions to protect civilians or to stabilize regions outside of Europe when asked by their political masters to assess future actions. The situation in Syria, where today's civilian death toll is already significantly higher than on the eve of the intervention in Libya, is a case in point. Individual nations might act against the Assad regime – NATO as an institution will not. Instead, if there is to be any likelihood of NATO acting militarily in response to humanitarian requirements, key interests of Alliance members must be at stake. NATO cannot simply be the default option in international crises or civil war situations, automatically responding to popular demand that "something" be done. In addition, as past experience has shown, those who are quickest to demand the intervention of the "international community" (and, in particular, NATO) in crisis regions are also likely to complain about military operations taking their toll in civilian casualties.

Thirdly, the overall tendency towards shrinking defense budgets might even have a positive impact on the Alliance in the sense that NATO's classic function – executing swift and decisive military action together with others – is likely to increase in importance. Since the impact of austerity extends for the first time to the "big spenders" in NATO, a key consequence will be that no NATO ally – with the sole exception of the United States – will any longer be able to execute significant military operations on its own.

Should there be a need to use military force, France, the UK and others will face the alternative of either acting in the framework of NATO or not acting militarily at all. Even a coalition of the willing, composed of NATO and non-NATO countries, will hardly be able to execute a major military intervention without recourse to NATO, and thus ultimately to US military capabilities. This will mean that NATO will increasingly assume the function of the "enabler" or "facilitator" for common military action outside the Alliance's geographical borders and beyond Article 5 missions, even if the general appetite for military crisis management is on the decline. Playing an enabler role of this sort will certainly increase cohesion of NATO in the years to come.

Fourth – and this is crucial – NATO will increase its partnership efforts, which means cooperation with non-member countries in Europe and beyond. NATO's partnership policy is a true success story, as close cooperation with other countries and institutions is beneficial for partners as well as for NATO members. Partners profit from NATO's expertise in common military planning, procurement, training and operations. Thus, many partners are particularly interested in military cooperation with NATO, in order to familiarize themselves with the procedures, standards and norms of an integrated military structure which is widely regarded as the international "gold standard". NATO in turn profits from partnerships at least in three respects: First, NATO can receive military and financial support from partners for its crisis management operations. For instance, 22 countries contribute to NATO's mission in Afghanistan. Second, through partnerships, NATO can have a say in certain regions and at least try to affect political developments with a view to defusing crisis situations or easing tensions. Even if this influence depends on the situation and cannot be guaranteed, it can be an important element of preventive security policy. Third, through training and military assistance, NATO as a multinational enabler can empower partner countries to take care of their own regional security and to intervene, if needed, in crisis situations on their doorstep. Empowerment of this kind can reduce the pressure on NATO to use its own forces for out-of-area crises.

However, in a globalized world with new power centers, new players and volatile threat environment, the partnership idea has to be evolved along the lines of key insights which emerged from the experiences of the recent years.

- Geography is no longer a guiding principle for NATO partnerships. Partners in Europe are not per se more relevant than those outside the Euro-Atlantic area. Thus, the fact that NATO cultivates global partnerships does not imply any NATO ambition to have a global role or to function as world police. Rather, it pays tribute to the fact that geographic distance gets ever less relevant in any risk analysis. Instead, different countries in different regions could face an identical challenge (like cyber attacks or terrorism) and could partner with NATO accordingly.
- The political system of partner countries counts. NATO is a community of values. Its members all abide by the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law. This means that other countries sharing these principles should be given priority for partnership, not merely in relation to questions of values but also in terms of practical cooperation. Sharing sensitive information is easier, in actual practice, among

politically like-minded partners. The same holds true for military cooperation among countries with firm civilian control of their armed forces. While this does not preclude fruitful cooperation with non-democratic countries, politically like-minded partners should nevertheless be given special consideration.

- Therefore, partnership cannot be free of hierarchies. Not all partners are equal and not all partners are equally important from NATO's point of view. Countries which contribute extensively to Alliance missions (referred to, in NATO parlance, as "heavy partners") deserve and demand particular attention. The same holds true for politically like-minded countries. However, neither of these criteria is sufficient in itself to justify special importance as a partner. What constitutes privileged partnership status is the combination of fully sharing NATO's values and contributing to its missions. This is consistent with the expectations of close partners, and places a premium on a political – as opposed to a technical approach to partnership.
- Privileged partners need to have a voice in NATO. In exchange for their support for NATO, politically like-minded partners should not merely have a say regarding the specific operation they are contributing to. They should also be put in a position where they can contribute to NATO deliberations on a broad range of security issues. With security challenges no longer limited to certain regions, the interests of democracies everywhere overlap considerably. This needs to be reflected in discussions between NATO members and partners.
- There has to be a level below formal partnerships. There are countries which have an interest in cooperating with NATO but hesitate to join any formal partnership agreement, let alone contribute to NATO operations. The Alliance needs to leave itself scope for informal dialogue with these countries (as already happens on an occasional basis). One example would be China, a country that has approached NATO about establishing contacts. In the meantime, staff talks between high-level Chinese and NATO military have taken place in Beijing: it remains to be seen how these relations will continue to develop.[2] India is another important country with which dialogue has started; however, New Delhi still seems very hesitant to engage. Nevertheless, both countries are too important for the Alliance (and vice versa) to be left without the prospect of closer cooperation.

In the light of the above considerations, a new partnership model should be developed which consists of three categories: Advanced Partners, Cooperation Partners and Dialogue Countries.

The Advanced Partners – NATO's partners of choice – would constitute the politically closest circle around the Alliance. It would include the countries which want to engage in partnership with NATO, are politically like-minded (i.e. fully developed Western-style democracies), and are willing and able to contribute to operations. A group of countries fulfilling these three requirements should be included in NATO's debates and consultations on a regular basis, covering a wide range of security issues of common interest. For this purpose, a special forum should be created and convene with the North Atlantic Council (NAC) – NATO's main decision making body - on a regular basis. Of

[2] China provides a ship for the anti-piracy mission off the Horn of Africa. Even if this is strictly national support with no subordination to a NATO or EU command, China takes part in the so called "de-confliction meetings" with all other contributors.

course, these privileged or Advanced Partners could only affect the Alliance's decision-shaping, while the classical decision-making would be the preserve of NATO members in NAC meetings. Invitations to join the APC would be subject to the unanimous consent of all NATO member states, and geography would not be taken into account: Austria and Australia, for example, would be considered equally eligible.

The second group would be Cooperation Partners countries actively interested in partnership and in cooperating with NATO, to the mutual benefit of both sides, in certain areas of common concern. Contributions to NATO operations would be desirable but not indispensable. For instance, NATO might agree to provide military education for a partner's armed forces, irrespective of whether the country concerned would be willing or able to involve them in a NATO mission.

The essential difference between these two innermost circles of partners is that the first, the advanced group would be limited to politically like-minded countries and benefit from regular consultations beyond the area of immediate cooperation. In addition, membership of this group would not be limited to the time frame of a certain project or activities – it would continue, unless specifically revoked by NATO and the partner countries.

Finally, the third circle would be made up of the Dialogue Countries: while interested in an exchange with NATO, these would essentially be an unknown quantity with regard to any subsequent scope for cooperation. China and India have been mentioned, South American countries like Brazil could be candidates as well, provided they show an interest. A dialogue with these countries would be intended first and foremost to correct mutual misperceptions and build trust. This could help to alleviate the initially mentioned skepticism NATO is still facing in parts of the world.

With such a setup which takes note of the various levels of interest and readiness in other countries to partner with NATO, the Alliance will be prepared not only to preserve the security and the vital interests of its members but also to function as one element in the institutional toolbox for international stability.

**Williams Gonçalves** is PhD in Sociology (USP), Associate Professor of UERJ - Professor of the Graduate Program for International Relations; Permanent Contributor of the Centre for Political and Strategic Studies of the Naval War College; Special Lecturer of the War College; Professor and Lecturer of the Brazilian Army Command and Staff School.

# Brazil and the NATO: is Cooperation Possible?

Williams Gonçalves

The theme of this paper is the possibility of cooperation between Brazil and the NATO. What motivates it is the bewilderment encountered among numerous scholars and diplomats from Europe and the United States in the face of Brazilian diplomacy´s unwillingness to take part in such cooperation. They find the fact odd and unnatural that Brazil should take a stand similar to that of Russia and China in regards to NATO military actions that fall outside the perimeters for which it was originally conceived. The aim of this text is to examine the issue, and by doing so, in some way contribute to its clarification.

## The Evolution of the NATO

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is an entity created in April 1949, in Washington. Twelve countries initially signed the Treaty. In the course of time, new member countries joined. With the breakup of the Soviet bloc, Eastern European countries that were once part of the now defunct Warsaw Pact also joined the Organization. Today, the NATO brings together 28 member countries, as well as 22 partner countries, with which it maintains cooperative relations at the bilateral level.

Article 5 of the Treaty (usually termed musketeer clause), forms the backbone of the military alliance:

*The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all*

*and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognised by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.*

Since the Treaty was signed, Article 5 has been interpreted in light of new international political and strategic circumstances. From then on, member Parties define NATO's Strategic Concept. The Strategic Concept identifies trends in the international system of power and threats facing member States, and establishes lines of action that will govern the behaviour of the organization to ensure compliance with the security objectives of all signatories to the treaty. Defining the Strategic Concept always implies intense political negotiations, because what is in play is not just the outlining of challenges and threats facing the Alliance countries, but also the extent to which these outlines can affect the interests of each individual member and of course the increased costs that a new concept inevitably leads to.

The NATO presents a response to the crisis caused by the Soviet´s blockage of access to Berlin in 1948. The rise to power of the Chinese Communists in 1949 together with North Korea´s military invasion of South Korea in early 1950 served to curb any resistance that still existed in Europe (in relation to an overt political and military United States presence) and to strengthen the argument of the necessity of a military structure to defend the western part of the continent. Thus, the Strategic Concept formulated in 1949 (DC 6/1) was invigorated in 1952 at the Lisbon Summit with a new concept (MC 3/5) indicating that the biggest threat was the Soviet power´s desire for expansion. The NATO, at the same time, proceeded with its first expansion of the organization´s perimeter with the integration of Greece and Turkey.

From 1949 until today, the Strategic Concept underwent six reformulations - MC 3/5 (1952), MC 14/2 (1957), MC 14/3 (1968), the New Strategic Concept of the Alliance (1991), the Strategic Concept Alliance (1999) and, finally, the Strategic Concept (2010). According to the organization, these different Strategic Concepts should be included into three distinct periods: Cold War period; immediate post-Cold War period; and secure environment period since September 11, 2001[1].

The New Strategic Concept drafted in 1991 meant the most profound change the NATO yet faced. Irrespective of the fact of the Soviet Union harbouring or not plans of expanding communism into Western Europe by means of Warsaw Pact troops, the mere existence of the Soviet state and its military alliance with the countries of Eastern Europe under its influence were already reasons considered more than enough to justify the NATO´s nuclear military apparatus. Therefore, the dissolution of the Soviet bloc and the Soviet state itself threw the NATO into an existential crisis. Finally, hereafter, what should be the mission of the military alliance? Should it continue financing this costly military machine of the alliance without the existence of the enemy which led to its creation?

[1] http: www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_56626.htm

The Americans proved to be the most concerned about the future of the organization. The question however was resolved much more easily than they had envisioned. The feared hypothesis being that the Europeans would take the opportunity to rid themselves from the protection of the United States to pursue purely national objectives proved unfounded. On the contrary—precisely because of concern about the possibility of rekindling the flame of nationalism— Europeans were the first to defend maintaining the military organization, to ensure the permanence of the United States in leading the continent´s defence system. In the London Declaration of June 1990, the NATO announced to realize changes necessary to maintain the alliance.

This decision naturally meant an important reformulation of the Strategic Concept. The document approved at the Rome Summit in November 1991, dismissed the confrontational feature that until then had been characteristic, and instead sought to honour the commitment of collective defence by establishing partnerships and cooperation with former adversaries, while at the same time they "pledged to reduce the use of nuclear power to a minimum, just enough to preserve peace and stability"[2]. The idea of expanding the alliance to include former adversaries revealed that the focus had changed, and that its maintenance no longer served threats of a military nature, but rather indistinct threats.

At the time of the Washington Summit in April 1999 when the organization´s fiftieth anniversary was celebrated, the Strategic Concept underwent further change. To a large extent it took place in the light of the experience gained in the Balkan conflicts. The change resulted in strengthening the guidelines that had been introduced in 1991. Under the subheading "Risks and Challenges to Security", in paragraph 20, the document specifies the risks that were provided for at this time:

*The security of the Alliance remains subject to a wide variety of military and non-military risks which are multi-directional and often difficult to predict. These risks include uncertainty and instability in and around the Euro-Atlantic area and the possibility of regional crises at the periphery of the Alliance, which could evolve rapidly. Some countries in and around the Euro-Atlantic area face serious economic, social and political difficulties. Ethnic and religious rivalries, territorial disputes, inadequate or failed efforts at reform, the abuse of human rights, and the dissolution of states can lead to local and even regional instability. The resulting tensions could lead to crises affecting Euro-Atlantic stability, to human suffering, and to armed conflicts. Such conflicts could affect the security of the Alliance by spilling over into neighbouring countries, including NATO countries, or in other ways, and could also affect the security of other states*[3].

In addition to these security risks, the Strategic Concept also mentions problems related to the existence of nuclear stockpiles, global proliferation of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, and broad circulation of high-tech weaponry.

---

[2] Ibidem

[3] http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/1999/p99-065e.htm

The fact that the document no longer refers to the security of NATO territory should be considered as very significant. Through this Strategic Concept, the area covered by the NATO becomes an imprecise region "in and around the Euro-Atlantic area." With the integration of several new members, the Alliance considers itself free to act in an indeterminate area, which it considers to be its responsibility. To act, it should be emphasized, is not to defend itself, but, "to manage crises," as is explained in other parts of the document.

The new NATO Strategic Concept "NATO'S Strategic Concept - Active Engagement, Modern Defence" was presented at the Summit of Heads of State and Government on 19-20 November 2010 in Lisbon. The document consists of 11 pages and 38 articles, the result of negotiations initiated in 2004 in response to the terrorist attacks of September 11 and the increasing NATO involvement in Afghanistan[4]. As set out in its Article 21, the Concept was developed in light the of experience gained by the organization in Afghanistan and the Balkans.

The new Concept not only broadens the organization's participation, but also its objectives. In this sense, it consolidates the direction described in the two previous papers of 1991 and 1999, both impacted by the end of the Cold War. In it, beyond the original goal of ensuring the "collective defence", are presented two more goals, practically placed on equal footing with the former: "crisis management" and "cooperative security". The "collective defence" represents a commitment to Article 5 of the Washington Treaty. By "crisis management", it refers to the intervention of NATO armed forces where there are crises which may threaten the safety of members of the Organization. With "cooperative security", it is referring to cooperation with countries outside the Organization, to increase or ensure their safety, establishing bilateral agreements with the NATO.

The Concept of Lisbon establishes that a conventional military attack on NATO members is a long shot. However, it justifies the increase in the number of its members and expansion of the scope of its actions due to the existence of other threats to security. The most significant threats include: proliferation of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction; terrorist groups; trafficking of arms, narcotics and humans; cyber attacks; threats to channels of communication and transportation; development of sensitive technologies such as laser weaponry; electronic warfare and technologies that impede access to space; denial of the environment and resources, including health risks, climate change, water scarcity and increased demand for energy resources.

It is interesting to note that the NATO reserves nuclear primacy for itself. Although stipulating nuclear non-proliferation as one of its main objectives, the Alliance considers that it should be able to undertake such a task by virtue of its own nuclear capability. As far as the NATO is concerned, as long as there are nuclear arsenals outside the Alliance and the possibility of other countries and organizations acquiring them, it is of fundamental importance for the security of all that the NATO retains its arsenal.

[4] NATO'S Strategic Concept – Active Engagement, Modern Defence. In: RINGSMOSE, Jens, RYNNING, Sten. Nato's New Strategic Concept: A Compreensive Assessment. Copenhagen, DIIS – Danish Institute for International Studies, 2011. Pg. 175-186.

This discussion about nuclear arsenal directly concerns the relationship between the NATO and Russia. Russia is, so to speak, a separate chapter of the NATO´s external relations. In 1997, through the NATO-Russia Founding Act, the NATO and Russia opened a forum for consultation and cooperation called Permanent Joint Council (PJC). During the Kosovo crisis in 1999, when the NATO bombed Serbia, Russia decided to break off relations with the PJC. Relations were, however, restored in 2002, at the Rome Summit; Russian President Putin participated in the meeting and the NATO-Russia Council (NRC) was formed. In August 2008, due to war between Russia and Georgia, the NATO this time decided to suspend meetings and cooperation in some areas of mutual interest. In 2009, dialogue finally resumed.

Despite the end of the Cold War, NATO-Russia relations are marked by ongoing mutual mistrust. The United States and the most important West European countries stick to the idea of establishing good relations with Russia, but the NATO countries from the former Soviet bloc, such as the Baltic republics, Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic believe that this is not possible. The very fact that the NATO has already expanded eastward to include these countries puts Russia on guard. So far, the idea of having relations based on dialogue and cooperation with Russia does not appear compatible with the idea of the NATO´s expansion to Russia´s borders. This is evident in the attempt carried out by the NATO in 2008 to integrate Georgia, which was immediately met by Russia with war and the recognition of the independence of South Ossetia. Even among sectors in Russia that oppose President Vladimir Putin, the NATO´s integration of Georgia and Ukraine "could make [Russia] inadmissibly vulnerable from the standpoint of military security and could spark a split and conflict inside Ukraine"[5].

## The Evolution of International Politics

The Bush administration's foreign policy following the terrorist attacks of 09/11 almost ended the period known as post-Cold War. The prospects raised by Bill Clinton's Democrat administration of a form of globalization lead by the United States, on the basis of free trade and liberal democratic regimes, and long-term NGO activity in the area of new international issues, forming a so-called global governance, was thwarted. Predisposed from the beginning of his mandate to steer foreign policy in a different direction, Bush took the terrorist attacks as a pretext to manoeuvre a turning point in U.S. foreign policy. His neoconservative aides, who long awaited the opportunity to put their ideas into practice, used the shock from the attacks to initiate a formidable change in direction in foreign policy—replacing multilateralism and diplomatic negotiation with unilateralism and brute force. Within only a short time in government, of the type of globalization previously conceived by liberals from the Clinton era, only economic and financial globalization survived, which has worked against, rather than benefited the United States.

The result of this policy has been largely negative for the United States. The privileged position it had acquired in the immediate post-Cold War period was now squandered.

[5] KARAGANOV, Sergey. Security Strategy: Why Arms? In: http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/pubcol/Security-Atrategy-Why-Arms-15716 (26/10/2012)

The leaders who supported Bush in the military adventure in Iraq lost prestige and offices because the war which began under false premises was unjustifiably prolonged and the objective of reshaping the Middle East policy was not achieved. Bush ended his mandate, discredited internally without getting his Republican Party successor elected. In addition, he left a legacy of enormous public debt and a very grave economic crisis for Barack Obama.

Even with all the raised expectations that surrounded his new government, Barack Obama has not broken any new ground in foreign policy, despite announcing efforts to maintain the United States as the "the one indispensable nation" for the world. Cornered on the home front by the difficulty of reversing the country's economic crisis, Obama has sought to manage the deadlock of a military presence in Afghanistan and Iraq, while at the same time he was virtually delegating the task of supporting and directly intervening militarily in areas of strategic interest to the United States to the NATO and faithful allies in the region. So it happened in Libya and so it has been in Syria. Perhaps for fear of negative repercussions in his campaign for re-election, perhaps for concern for the state budget deficit, perhaps also for concern for the reaction of China and Russia, Obama, despite the solid domestic political consensus, has resisted pressure from Israel to unleash a military strike on Iran, whose purpose would be to destroy its nuclear energy development program.

On the other hand, due to the U.S. economic crisis and its own internal imbalances, the European Union plunged into deep crisis. Sometimes governed by centre-right parties, sometimes by centre-left parties; always maintaining the basic principles of liberal economic policy, following the frame of reference set by the OECD countries—Europe now faced the same economic fate as the U.S. In this sense, the adoption of orthodox liberal economic measures has exposed the great inequalities between countries in the bloc. On one hand, Germany, which by managing to remain economically stable, took the lead in the bloc and has been determining monetary policy to sustain the euro. On other hand, the weaker countries which fail to get their economies to hum to the same tune (fiscally-speaking) as the most developed, or simply due to poor management, have found themselves in a critical spiral that is testing their respective political skills to guarantee the continuation of the social standards, as is the case of Greece, Spain, Portugal and Italy.

Concurrent to this picture of difficulty and crisis in the United States and Europe is the formidable economic growth in China, which has stimulated development in peripheral countries, especially in large exporting countries of strategically important commodities, such as food, minerals and oil. Executing an extensive program of installation of physical infrastructure, involving colossal sales and purchases, China has come to occupy a central position in the international economy, becoming the most influential country in the world. Due to price rises in commodities—determined by strong demand—many countries have been able to overcome chronic debt problems and thus better tackle persistent economic and social problems. Having joined the WTO and transforming itself into the great triumph of the globalization process, China has attracted companies from around the world to its large market that undertake investments to seek tax, foreign exchange, and wage concessions, in most cases, in exchange for technology.

Decisions to promote economic openness to private investment, from 1978, and participate fully in the process of globalization, starting from 1994[6], resulted in the current inclusion of China in the international system. New economic needs led Chinese leaders to engage in dialogue more intensely with the major powers leaders, as well as to strengthen ties with peripheral countries. Anchored in the idea of a peaceful rise, and subsequently, peaceful development[7], the Chinese have endeavoured to resign from the idea that the country's economic growth is tied to the politics of challenging the international standing of the United States, on taking the place of the hegemonic power. This new turn, however, would not leave China indifferent to international order. Besides occupying a central position in the international political order as a permanent member of the UN Security Council, China now has direct interests in relations with countries on all continents as well as in global issues. Reinstating the role of the Confucian philosophy as a cornerstone of the country's culture, reclaiming and reworking the concept of "the harmonious world"[8], the Chinese have introduced a new way in relations between major economic powers and countries with developing or even incipient economies, that is: non-interference in internal affairs of those countries in which investments or voluminous purchases of raw materials are made. Please note that such conduct differs to that of what all other powers have done traditionally, i.e. imposing political conditions on weaker countries according to their specific interests.

The new status of China in the international system not only has strengthened old political ties, but also created new ones. However, the political alliance with Brazil, Russia, India and South Africa is one that has had the greatest impact in the international system, given that these states together have worked together to amend the international order.

## The BRICS Effect

In the 1990s, the idea that the end of the Cold War would open up space for the emergence of so called países baleia[9] began to take shape. In view of the homogeneity of the international economic system, it was envisaged that countries with major territorial areas, large populations and extensive and diverse natural resources—Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa and Indonesia—would be the main factors of mobility in the international system[10]. In 2001 this idea shifted from the centres of strategic studies into the offices of international economic and financial agents. Responsible for the transmission was chief economist for the global economy of the financial group Goldman Sachs, Jim O'Neil, writing the paper titled "Building Better Global Economic BRICs". In his thesis, O'Neil states that due to market size and growth rate, Brazil, Russia, India

6 Ver: MARTI, Michael E. A China de Deng Xiaoping – O homem que pôs a China na cena do século XXI. Rio de Janeiro, Nova Froneira, 2007; LAMPTON, David M. The Three Faces of Chinese Power – Might, Money, and Minds. Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2008.

7 BERGSTEIN, C. Fred et alii. China's Rise – Challenges and opportunities. Washington, Peter G. Peterson Institute for International Economics/Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2006

8 Ibidem

9 "Países baleia" can be translated as "whale countries" and means countries of vast territorial areas and populations.

10 SARDENBERG, Ronaldo M. Panorama Estratégico Brasileiro. In: Parcerias Estratégicas, Secretaria de Assuntos Estratégicos/ Centro de Estudos Estratégicos. Vol. 1, nº 1 (May 1996). Brasília: SAE/CEE, 1996. Pg. 216-234.

and China, by 2050, would become the dominant world economies. Validating predictions of the 1990s, and incorporating the acronym created by O'Neil, heads of state and government from Brazil, Russia, India and China gathered in the Russian city of Yekaterinburg in May 2008 and formalized the existence of the BRICs. In February 2011, South Africa also joined the group, which has since become BRICS.

The BRICS have held five summits. The fifth summit was held in March 2013 in the city of Durban, South Africa. BRICS is not and is not intended as an economic bloc. At the bilateral level, the countries that comprise it interact and cooperate with each other in all economic, political, social and cultural fields. BRICS rather is a political group that was established by virtue of similarities and shared visions about the evolution of the international system. The summit serves for the leaders of the five states to assess the international situation and to adjust their collective political action, with a view to improving mechanisms of global governance. Even though they are not forming an economic bloc, the collective political action has led the five to build closer relations and cooperate more intensively with each other in order to intervene more effectively at the global level. Dialogue between business people, academics, legal experts and social groups interested in effective action from BRICS countries has multiplied, which leads to greater internal legitimacy for each country and an even greater policy density for the group.

The political actions of BRICS countries have been felt widely. But it is its interventions in the fields of finance, commerce and health which raise and generate the most expectations and repercussions, especially at the G-20 and the IMF. That is, this comprehensive range of interventions fosters the deconcentration of world power. This culminates in a move towards democratization of international relations, because for the first time developing countries find themselves in a position capable of changing the international order[11].

## Brazil – BRICS – The International Order

During the presidency of Lula da Silva, Brazilian foreign policy underwent a shift. Throughout the decade preceding his presidency, corresponding to neoliberal economic policy committed to privatizing, opening markets and deregulating the economy, the Brazilian foreign policy had been guided by entire submission to the international order. Even without any concessions granted in return—just mere obedience to the interests of the hegemonic power—diplomacy adheres to various international regimes. With the advent of the Lula government, foreign policy returned to its tradition of serving the economic and social development of the country. Without the limitations imposed from the Cold War, diplomacy sought not only to broaden and diversify economic and trade partnerships, but also to take a more active role in efforts to promote change in the standards governing international institutions.

In line with this new orientation several initiatives were taken. The first was to end negotiations initiated by the previous government to create the Free Trade Area of the

[11] www.itamaraty.gov.br - BRICS

Americas (FTAA). Realizing that this project would serve only to ensure complete U.S. hegemony in the Americas, negotiations were finally terminated. From then on, diplomacy went to work with a view to revitalizing Mercosur. Previously, Mercosur had been treated as a mere instrument for the promotion of trade among its members. Under the new perspective, Mercosur returned to its origins, presenting itself as a political tool for integration in all areas and for enhancing development. Besides advancing Mercosur, diplomacy worked to push forward the integration of the entire South American continent. Continuing the previous government's initiative to bring together all the continent's heads of states, the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) was created.

Relations with countries in Africa, which had been neglected by the previous government, were also revived. New embassies were opened, while at the same time an intensive program of technical, scientific and cultural cooperation has been initiated. Brazil also sought to reengage with the Portuguese-speaking African countries, which are members of the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP). In South Africa, there has also been a more intensive dialogue, promoting a link to India in the East. Together, India, Brazil and South Africa formed IBSA, which has emerged as a dynamic element of international cooperation with the Least Developed Countries (LDCs).

Under the program of foreign policy expansion, Brazil also sought closer ties with Middle Eastern countries. In 2005, the Summit of South American-Arab Countries (ASPA) was held, bringing together eleven South American and twenty-two Arab countries. Through the creation of ASPA, it has been possible to improve considerably economic ties with those countries in the Middle East, to enhance technical cooperation and also to become a political interlocutor, sensitive to issues relevant to the developing world. This sensitivity to regional problems derives largely from ethnic bonds, given that a significant number of Brazilians is of Arab descent.

Participation in the BRICS group is undoubtedly the most important policy initiative of Brazilian diplomacy in the context of new foreign policy. The alliance with Russia, India, China and South Africa relates to central issues of international order, on which Brazilian diplomacy has historically positioned itself with a critical attitude.

With regard to this group, one can say that the relationship between Brazil and China stands out for its truly structural character, because Brazil has shared with China a similar vision on international relations for a much longer time than with the others. The ceremony of the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1974 was an authentic political manifestation in favour of a new international order free of hegemonic powers. Since these relations were established, cooperation between the two countries has suffered from oscillations, passing through one period of discretion, during which liberal ideas were predominant in Brazil. During this period the prevailing idea was that attempts to try to change the international order would be counterproductive and that it was more sensible and productive to prioritize good relations with the United States. However, since 2003 Brazil and China have cultivated closer ties, hailed as strategic by the authorities of both countries. Thanks to strong economic ties, Brazil has experienced economic growth, benefitting from China's fantastic development.

Central among these issues relating to international order faced by the BRICS countries is that of state sovereignty. The principle of respect for state sovereignty is the cornerstone of the modern international system. At the same time, it is enshrined in Article 2, paragraph 1 of the UN Charter, which states: "the principle of sovereign equality for all its members." Nevertheless, this principle is respected by the major powers only in their relations among themselves. In the relationships with small nations, it is systematically disregarded by the major powers. This is a situation that repeats itself historically, ever since the concept was formulated and accepted by large states. For that reason, respect for the right to claim sovereignty has been more insistent and dramatic from small states. The most important Brazilian manifestation at the League of Nations, in 1907—as advised by Chancellor Baron of Rio Branco and executed by the jurist Ruy Barbosa—was the defence of the legal equality of states. The first political manifestation from peripheral countries happened at the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung in 1955, which was also intended to call for respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, and the right of non-intervention and non-interference in internal affairs from other countries.

The multi-polar international system of power is a shift considered irreversible. And this new structure consequently leads to inevitable changes in the international order. Some of these changes are already taking place. Nevertheless, there is a debate about the content of this new order. Is there, in fact, a new order being created? Or is this change that we are witnessing merely for the purpose of accommodating the interests of emerging powers? The question is undeniably complex. But it is also a futile one, if we consider that the goal of the action of BRICS has been to ensure respect for the pillar of international order, which is respect for the sovereignty of States. That is, in order to create a new international order it is not necessary to design a completely new one. It is enough to start with all states - large and small ones - respecting those principles that, nominally, are seen as basic in the current international order, yet which in fact, to date, have only been valid for the major powers, such as the principle of respect for sovereignty and non-interference.

Such reflection about respect for sovereignty and non-interference may seem somewhat outdated. After all, legal experts and diplomats have long debated the relativity of the concept of sovereignty, just as they have considered interference to be a duty. The decisive step taken in this direction was to affix human rights to respect for sovereignty. Although the world is divided into states, the interests of the individual are generally considered to be superior to those of the states. The basic argument used to defend this position is that states cannot passively watch other states collapse, for reasons both preventative — to avoid the effects of crises spilling over to other states — and humanitarian. This includes opening the door to the right for humanitarian interventions by NGOs, arguing that they are politically neutral, as opposed to states that don't select their interventions for reasons of urgency of humanitarian assistance, but rather for reasons of economic interest and specific policy. In Brazil, in order to deal with crisis situations in neighbouring countries, Foreign Minister Celso Amorim formulated the idea of non-indifference.

Consensus on interference in a broad sense is already formed, thus, leaving diplomats and legal experts in an eternal discussion concerning the conditions in which this should happen. Therefore, it would not be realistic to think that we can return to the former

position of strict adherence to the principle of sovereignty. In fact, it would be considered a setback, since such a consensus has been formed given the need of states, and even NGOs, to no longer passively watch the unfolding of flagrant acts of disrespect for human rights that arise from a state's loss of control over its population in deep crisis.

The crucial question that arises, in short, is how one should realize interference. The peoples of the periphery in general, and the BRICS in particular argue that it is no longer bearable to witness the NATO using overwhelming military power to amplify conflicts and impose solutions based on its exclusive interests. Instead of using all diplomatic and military apparatus to reduce and avoid conflicts swiftly, calling on parties to negotiate and resolve the issues diplomatically, the NATO, supposedly defending human rights, imposes outcomes by the use of strength. That is how it was recently in Libya, and is currently in Syria.

## Conclusion

When we consider the evolution of the NATO and the new Strategic Concept adopted in Lisbon, which incorporated the original objective of "collective defence" with the new objectives of "crisis management" and "cooperative security", we can see the impossibility of a reconciliatory policy position with BRICS countries. The roles that the NATO assigns to itself and the scope of its interventions lead the NATO to collide head-on with the idea of a democratic international order as envisaged by BRICS. The NATO defends the thesis that the world will be safer and will have more favourable conditions for establishing peace when all states convert into liberal democracies, based on the Anglo-Saxon model. Meanwhile, with regard to the relations between the states, the NATO maintains an international order that is both oligarchic and authoritarian.

The strain of this contradiction between the NATO's desire to keep world power concentrated in its hands, and BRICS's desire to democratize international relations, forms the backdrop of current international politics; while the NATO resorts to forcing solutions, BRICS recommends dialogue for overcoming international conflicts.

Obviously, this is an uneven battle. The strength of BRICS lies in its member's ability to act together in international institutions, using only the instrument of political persuasion. BRICS does not possess a military force, nor does it contemplate creating one. In addition, in terms of security and defence, the countries that compose it are rather different: Russia and China are nuclear powers and have permanent seats on the UN Security Council; India has nuclear capability; Brazil and South Africa are not militarily significant states, and have even renounced the possession of nuclear weapons. The dual status of Russia and China—each being members of the UN Security Council and nuclear powers—demands respect. As both hold a veto power in the Security Council, the NATO exercises great caution when it comes to proposing military intervention in areas which Russia and China consider vital to their own national security.

Besides this remarkable difference that distinguishes the BRICS members in the face of NATO military solutions to international issues, we must also consider the political situation of each. Russia and China possess an internal political unity when it comes to

national goals. As much as the NATO seeks to awaken and feed political dissent and encourage separatism through pressure from academia and the media, repeatedly denouncing the political system of the two countries as authoritarian and violating human rights, it fails to break their national unity. The same is not the same in India, South Africa and Brazil. These three BRICKS nations lack the same political unity. All of them are vulnerable, through diplomacy, academia and the media, to NATO actions. A significant portion of the political elite, intellectuals, media and military in these countries welcomes the Western hegemonic view of international relations, accepting the interventionist practice of the NATO, which it considers "normal", and even showing willingness to agreements.

In the specific case of Brazil, the NATO has applied pressure in an attempt to lure Brazil into cooperation in the South Atlantic. As the process of regional integration advances through the strengthening of UNASUR and consolidating of its Defence Council, composed of all South American countries, it leads to the substitution of the North American conceived concept of hemispheric defence for the South American concept of defence. Attention now is turning to the sea. The main factors for this pressure are: The sovereignty of Britain over the Falkland Islands and St Helena, Ascension and Tristan da Cunha; coordinated action by the Portuguese, always concerned not to lose influence over the former African colonies, so as not to diminish its status further in the European Union; and the permanent interest of the United States for oil.

In conclusion, and returning to the question that introduces this text, I suppose that we have presented the reasons that impede Brazil's cooperation with the NATO. We can see that the reasons are profound. In the case of Brazil, even if we admit that there are sectors of society willing to cooperate, we also note that such a provision totally ignores the will to defend the sovereignty and decision-making autonomy of the state within the international system of power.

**Adriana Erthal Abdenur** is (PhD Princeton University, BA Harvard University) is a professor of International Relations at the Pontifical Catholic University in Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio) and General Coordinator of the BRICS Policy Center.

**Danilo Marcondes de Souza Neto** is a PhD candidate at the Department of Politics and International Studies (POLIS) at the University of Cambridge, UK. He was formerly a lecturer at PUC-Rio and an educational adviser at the Fulbright Commission's office in Rio de Janeiro.

# Brazil's Maritime Strategy in the South Atlantic: The Nexus between Security and Resources

Adriana Erthal Abdenur
Danilo Marcondes de Souza Neto

Although the South Atlantic has long been of strategic importance to states within and outside its perimeter, including Brazil, over the past half decade this geopolitical space has gained importance in Brazilian defense thinking. For Brazil, the state with the longest coastline along the South Atlantic, the discovery of significant deposits of oil and gas in the continental shelf's pre-salt layers has generated new interests and triggered new concerns. The prospect of tapping into these and other marine resources at a commercial scale, combined with the rapidly changing ecology of players in the area (including a growing presence by other emerging powers from outside the immediate vicinity), has prompted a reframing of the South Atlantic within Brazil's new national defense strategy. The growing assertiveness towards the South Atlantic is reflected not only in recently issued military doctrine documents, such as the 2008 National Defense Strategy and the Defense White Paper (made public in 2012), but also in the concrete initiatives launched by the Brazilian government both at home and abroad.

First, Brazil has begun modernizing and expanding its military capacity with special attention to naval power in the South Atlantic, where priority is placed on enhancing patrolling capacity as part of the country's power of dissuasion. This strategy has entailed a significant upsurge in arms acquisition and development, including not just vessel acquisitions but also ongoing cooperation with France for the development of a nuclear-powered attack submarine. Domestically, this modernization project has been accompanied by a campaign entitled the "Blue Amazon," aimed at mobilizing popular support to the idea that Brazil has both vital resources and

new security responsibilities in the South Atlantic. The new threats to national interests exploited in this campaign, which center on the notion that these resources give rise to greed by others, also help to structure key military exercises organized over the past few years. These include joint exercises such as IBSAMAR, the last one held with South Africa and India off the South African coast, as well as initiatives that include South American partners (e.g. ATLASUR, UNITAS). A number of the naval exercises simulate attacks targeting Brazilian offshore oil platforms in the South Atlantic.

Second, Brazil has filed a proposal with the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) regime to expand its national waters based on the redefinition of its continental shelf. While at the time of this writing UNCLOS had not issued a final decision on the proposal, in the meantime Brazil has been investing heavily in scientific research programs, which allow it not only to plot its continental shelf with greater precision, but also to plot marine resources and maintain teams of researchers on its Atlantic islands—thereby boosting Brazil's presence in and its claim to this part of the South Atlantic.

Finally, Brazil has been investing heavily in international cooperation aimed at creating a common South Atlantic identity—one that allows Brazil to actively pursue its own interests within the region. On the one hand, Brazil has diversified its bilateral defense cooperation with countries along the west coast of Africa. Most of these programs involve training of military staff, cooperation in continental shelf surveys, and—in a growing number of cases—provision of defense equipment and increased exports of Brazilian-made weapons. At the same time, Brazil works to boost multilateral organizations, for instance helping to revive the South Atlantic Peace and Cooperation Zone (ZOPACAS). Through these platforms, Brazil emphasizes the need to create a zone of peace and prosperity, while also stressing that the responsibility over the area belongs to the coastal countries along the South Atlantic.

Brazil's growing attention to the South Atlantic represents an opportunity for it to assume a role of trans-regional leadership on matters of defense and security, precisely at a time when NATO's role in the South Atlantic is increasingly questioned by the Brazilian government. In a recent speech at the UN Security Council, for instance, Foreign Minister Antonio Patriota stated that

*"We are still concerned that NATO may be seeking to establish partnerships outside of its defensive zone, far beyond the North Atlantic, including in regions of peace, democracy, and social inclusion that do not accept the existence within that space of weapons of mass destruction*[1]*"*

At the same time, Brazil's naval buildup and South Atlantic strategy is sometimes perceived as being at odds with the country's historic discourse of peace and stability. If Brazil's approach comes to be viewed as excessively assertive, these strategies may also eventually trigger new competitive dynamics in the South Atlantic.

[1] Translated by the authors. Speech by Brazilian Foreign Minister Antonio de Aguiar Patriota at the UN Security Council on August 6, 2013. Available (in Portuguese) online at: http://diplomaciapublica.itamaraty.gov.br/11-onu/35-organizacoes-regionais-e-a-onu-trabalhando-pela-paz-e-pela-seguranca-internacionais Date of last access: August 16, 2013.

## Brazil and the South Atlantic

The South Atlantic has been important to Brazil during different historical periods, not only contributing to defense thinking but also helping to shape Brazilian cultures. Prior to colonization, the Tupi and Tapuia indigenous groups fought for control of the coastal areas. The South Atlantic served not only as the route for Portuguese colonization and slave trade from Africa, but also for French and Dutch incursions. During World War II, Brazil suffered more casualties in the South Atlantic than in any other war theater, as a result of German U-boats torpedoeing Brazilian merchant ships operating from Brazil to Europe (McCann 1995). The Cold War converted the South Atlantic into a space where NATO and the Soviet Union vied for influence, and the 1980s brought renewed tensions with the Malvinas/Falklands War of 1982. Towards the end of the Cold War, the South Atlantic was also the focus of regional efforts. These multilateral platforms include the ZOPACAS, launched at Brazil's initiative and approved by the UNO in 1986. ZOPACAS, which brought together South American and African states along the South Atlantic, aimed to keep the area free of nuclear weapons and to minimize (and eventually eliminate) the military presence of countries from outside the region.

However, for the Brazilian government and Armed Forces, the South Atlantic was not among defense priorities. Rather, the major perceived threats to Brazilian sovereignty lay elsewhere: namely, in the Amazon, whose densely forested terrain makes its borders porous and difficult to patrol, and the river Plate region, where historic rivalry with Argentina included a brief nuclear arms race during the 1970s and 80s. During the Malvinas/Falklands War, Brazil voiced support for Argentina but largely kept out of the dispute. In the early 1990s, with the transition from military back to civilian government, Brazil became one of the countries with lowest levels of military expenditure (in relation to GDP). By the 1990s, Brazilian Navy officers complained of the deteriorating condition of Brazil's warships and other equipment, the low capacity of the country's fleet, and the inadequate lack of funding for training and exercises (Martins Filho and Zirker 2000). This took place against the backdrop of the debate on the role the Armed Forces should play within a democratized Brazil (Hunter 1994). Although the Armed Forces had assumed a greater role in civilian tasks since the political transition, including tasks related to disaster relief and infrastructure construction, it had not yet reinvented itself within the post-Cold War context.

Brazilian defense thinking on the South Atlantic began to change under the administration of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. The government worked to diversify Brazil~~s~~ political partnerships with African countries, not only to boost transatlantic trade but also to garner support for Brazil's bid for a permanent seat in the UN's Security Council. The South Atlantic also gained economic importance for two key reasons. First, with the commodities boom of the 2000s, Brazil's foreign trade became a more important driver of its economic growth, and these exchanges are overwhelmingly marine: nearly 95% of Brazil's foreign trade uses through South Atlantic sea routes. Second, the country's oil reserves are located offshore in the South Atlantic. In 2007, the discovery of large oil reserves in the pre-salt layers of the South Atlantic were announced, with Petrobras estimating reserves at over 50 billion barrels of oil-- a volume four times

greater than the current national reserves (approximately 14 billion barrels). In addition to vastly expanding the country's resources, the discovery has the potential of raising Brazil's profile within the international community.

From the defense outlook, the government considered these reserves as warranting greater dissuasion capacity. In addition, the Brazilian government also began paying greater attention to the so-called non-traditional security threats emerging in the South Atlantic. The transatlantic drug trade had grown dramatically, with some west African countries having become key transshipment points for distribution of drugs from Latin America to Europe and beyond. Finally, cases of piracy, once confined to the Somalian coast, have occurred in the Gulf of Guinea, which has become of global strategic importance due to oil exploration and shipping lanes (Anyimadu 2013, Barrios 2013). The Brazilian government began to express concern that instability in the region could jeopardize Brazilian interests in the South Atlantic[2], and that piracy could eventually spread across the South Atlantic.

The Brazilian government's growing interests in the South Atlantic also broadened within a stage featured by a rapidly changing cast of actors. Besides the coastal states, many of which have announced plans for, or are currently undertaking their own seabed surveys in search of marine resources, some countries from outside the area have a noticeable presence in (or quick access to) the South Atlantic. The United Kingdom has a string of island territories stretching from the English Channel almost down to Antarctica, including not only the Malvinas/Falklands but also Mid-Atlantic Ridge islands such as Ascencion and Saint Helena, which provide it with a military presence in the region. In 2008, the United States—which has access to the British string of islands through NATO-- announced that it was reactivating its Fourth Fleet (which had been demobilized in 1950). Brazil's then Minister of Defense called the expansion of NATO forces in the South Atlantic "inappropriate," and the Rousseff administration continues to reject a broader role within the region by the alliance. The United States' ongoing "pivot" toward Asia and growing concern with China's rise and North Korean instability, however, suggest that its naval attention will be more focused on the Pacific).

In addition, there are growing commercial investment interests in the South Atlantic by other players, some focusing on oil and involving a complex mix of state and non-state actors. Russia has been expanding its ties with Latin America (with dozens of billions of dollars in investments in Venezuela alone), and China has extensive ties throughout the region that combine economic, political and military cooperation. These countries (and others) have also been carrying out seabed research within the South Atlantic in search of minerals and other marine resources (Moraes, 2013). While these players are not viewed by the Brazilian government as direct threats in the South Atlantic space—it is worth noting that, in addition to China being Brazil's top trading partner, Sinopec has invested in pre-salt exploration off the Brazilian coast-- Brazil's defense strategy centers on the assumption that players from outside the region will covet Brazilian marine resources (Alves 2012).

[2] Interview with Brazilian Defense Minister Celso Amorim in Brasília, August 6, 2013.

Over the past decade, all of these factors have contributed to significant changes-- both quantitative and qualitative-- in Brazil's defense strategy and its relationship with the South Atlantic in particular. These changes can be summed up along three key elements: security buildup, international legal strategies, and South-South military cooperation.

### *Security Buildup*

Until recently, Brazil spent relatively little with its Armed Forces as compared to its GDP[3], which—within the Navy—translated into limitations on equipment and maintenance. Brazil's current fleet (encompassing around 100 commissioned ships) includes a mix of British-built frigates, Brazilian-built corvettes, diesel-electric submarines and a number of smaller vessels responsible for patrolling an extensive coastline (7,491 km) and a vast marine territory (3,660,955 km², including waters surrounding Brazilian archipelagos). Despite the 2000 acquisition of an aircraft carrier (the São Paulo, first commissioned in 1963 by the French Navy and bought by Brazil to replace the World War II-era Minas Gerais) and a group of fixed wing aircraft, the Navy sustained that the Brazilian fleet otherwise remained rather limited in proportion to Brazil's growing interests in the South Atlantic. Moreover, despite the long Brazilian coastline, the fleet has been historically geographically concentrated in Rio de Janeiro, posing a strategic vulnerability that the new defense strategy aims to reduce.

The Navy's ability to secure resources and equipment began to change as Brazil experienced economic growth and as the South Atlantic assumed greater importance within Brazilian strategic thinking. According to the Brazilian government, the discovery of large oil and gas reserves demands renewed capacity to patrol the South Atlantic and dissuade potential enemies. Internally, the pre-salt oil findings also provided a political justification for increased spending even beyond simply upgrading or improving maintenance. This shift is reflected in the two key Brazilian defense documents. The National Defense Strategy, published in 2008, establishes (among other priorities) increases in military spending, with a renewed focus on protecting natural resources within the South Atlantic. The Defense White Paper, made public in 2012, lays out these plans in more specific detail, also stressing the need to geographically diversify Brazil's naval capacity—a task that may be accomplished by establishing a Second Fleet, probably in the state of Pará, on the mouth of the Amazon river (thus allowing Brazil to relate protection of the South Atlantic with that of the Amazon region).

As a result of these enhanced resources and changing defense priorities, over the past few years the Navy has embarked on a significant modernization, development, and acquisition program (with both nationally built and foreign-made vessels). For instance, Brazil has been acquiring several classes of vessels and expanding its submarine program, including a recent purchase of Scorpène submarines from France. Indeed, military spending, although beginning from a low base, has until recently

[3] According to SIPRI, in 2012, Brazil's military expenditure was only 1.5% of its GDP; however, Brazil remains Latin America's top military spender and one of the top 15 military spenders in 2011-2012, in spite of budget reductions, occupying 11th position in 2011 and 10th in 2012. See: SIPRI Fact Sheet 2013 "Trends in world military expenditure 2012" Available at: http://books.sipri.org/files/FS/SIPRIFS1304.pdf Date of last access: August 16, 2013.

risen significantly (among the armed forces, the Navy has increased spending the most)[4]. As the Minister of Defense recently wrote regarding militarization efforts, "Brazil's soft power needs to be hardened.[5]"

The centerpiece of this expansion program is the development of a nuclear-energy attack submarine. The Brazilian government had considered the possibility of acquiring or developing a fleet of nuclear-powered submarines since the late 1970s, yet the project's high costs made it economically unfeasible (Martins Filho, 2011).With the transition back to civilian rule, and especially during the Fernando Collor de Mello administration (1900-1992), the federal government reduced the nuclear submarine program's budget (Martins Filho 2011). In March 2008, however, Brazil acquired the hull for a nuclear-energy attack submarine, which it is currently developing in cooperation with France. The Brazilian company Odebrecht is the leading local partner in a joint venture with French shipbuilder DCNS, and President Dilma Rousseff recently inaugurated a new shipbuilding facility in Itaguaí, Rio de Janeiro, intended to expedite the project (the first submarine is due to be commissioned in 2023).

In justifying the expenditures, the government points to the nuclear submarine's speed and ability to patrol long distances without having to surface frequently, as well as the potential for technology and knowledge transfer. Some critics, including military officers, have questioned the wisdom of investing so heavily in this particular component for the dissuasion strategy, potentially at the expense of other needs (Vidigal cited in Martins Filho 2011). Some have also suggested that by joining the select member of countries that possess nuclear submarines (currently five states), Brazil could generate discomfort among neighbors and create a troublesome power imbalance within the South Atlantic[6]. Brazil's commitment to the project is reflected in the fact that, even as the defense budget for 2013 is undergoing cuts due to the recent economic slowdown, the government has guaranteed continued financing for the nuclear submarine project and other strategic projects developed by the Defense Ministry[7].

In addition, Brazil has been working to develop a new satellite and radar-based surveillance system, the Blue Amazon Management System (Sistema de Gerenciamento da Amazônia Azul, or SisGAAz). In addition to helping in sea rescues, the system is meant to enhance surveillance capability for the pre-salt oil area in the South Atlantic. The system will integrate several different technologies and platforms, including software-defined radios, satellite communications, and long-range radar, as well as a submarine

[4] According to Nascimento, the sum allocated to the program responsible for reequipping the Brazilian Navy has grown from 0.9% of the Defense Ministry's budget in 2007 to 6% of the budget in 2010 (Nascimento 2011, p. 48-52).

[5] Amorim, Celso (2013) "Brazil's soft power needs to be hardened" Project Syndicate, July 16, 2013. Available online at: http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/a-more-robust-defense-policy-for-brazil-by-celso-amorim Date of last access: August 16, 2013.

[6] BBC (2011) "Submarino nuclear pode desequilibrar região e gerar sentimento anti-Brasil" Maurício Moraes, July 19, 2011 http://www.bbc.co.uk/portuguese/noticias/2011/07/110718_submarino_brasil_america_do_sul_mm.shtml Date of last access: August 16, 2013.

[7] Marta Beck and Cristiane Jungblut "Passam de R$ 4 bi cortes no orçamento da Defesa" O Globo, July 30, 2013. Available at: http://oglobo.globo.com/pais/passam-de-4-bi-cortes-no-orcamento-da-defesa-9278334 Date of last access: August 16, 2013.

acoustic sensing system. The new vessels and other equipment are being used in military exercises that reflect the rise of new threats related to marine natural resources, for instance through simulations that involve a foreign-flag merchant ship hijacked by terrorists intent on attacking Brazilian oil platforms in the Campos basin, which contains major oil fields off the coast of Rio de Janeiro state.

One of the top defense priorities outlined in the New Security Strategy is the promotion of Brazil's defense industry, including through subsidies for arms production and incentives for exports, with the goal of achieving greater military technological independence. Moreover, key projects, including a nuclear submarine fleet, are due for completion only within a decade at best; others, including plans to substitute the São Paulo for one or two aircraft carriers, may not be implemented any time soon, especially in the light of recent budgetary pressures. Some of the main efforts to acquire and develop military technology (including the nuclear submarine) include a significant component of technological transfer. Despite its anti-NATO discourse, the Brazilian government still depends on partnerships with the United States and European countries for key cutting-edge military technologies. The agreements signed over the past few years, including that with Great Britain, illustrate the combination of cooperation and distancing that have come to characterize Brazil's relations with NATO countries as regards the South Atlantic.

### *Legal and Institutional Strategies*

In addition to increased naval spending, Brazil has either launched new or stepped up older institutional strategies aimed at reinforcing its claims in the South Atlantic. Domestically, the Navy launched in the mid-2000s the "Blue Amazon" campaign. The effort, which draws its name from an analogy with the resource-rich Amazon region, is geared at fostering a "marine mentality": promoting the idea that South Atlantic resources are of vital interest to all Brazilians, and hence demanding new defense investments. Parts of the initiative target specifically Brazilian youth, with didactic and public information materials such as textbooks, comic strips and exhibits highlighting the strategic importance of the sea (Martins 2010). These materials-- produced by an inter-ministerial committee and disseminated through the Ministry of Education-- stress that Brazil's South Atlantic natural resources, particularly the oil reserves, demand a stronger defense force.

The Blue Amazon project also seeks to explain, and mobilize support for, Brazil's ongoing attempt to extend its national waters by 900 thousand km². The initial proposal was filed in June 2004 with the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), which allows coastal states to claim sovereign rights over living and non-living resources of the sea and seabed in an exclusive economic zone (EEZ) extending up to 200 nautical miles from their coastal baselines, or from their continental shelves. Where the physical continental margin extends beyond 200 nautical miles, states have rights over seabed resources to the continental shelf's outer limit (subject to certain constraints defined in Article 76 of UNCLOS). Although the Brazilian government has scaled back its original proposal by roughly 20%, it has continued efforts to refine the

definition of the continental shelf. In this endeavor, Brazil has the advantage of having clearly defined maritime boundaries with its neighbors (in contrast for instance to Argentina, which has overlapping claims with the United Kingdom in the vicinity of the Malvinas/Falklands).

In the meantime, Brazil continues a broad gamut of research programs for the South Atlantic. Some of these, conducted through the Navy's Brazilian Continental Shelf Survey Plan (Plano de Levantamento da Plataforma Continental Brasileira - LEPLAC), are high-tech surveys of the continental shelf, whose geographic definition serves as the basis for the extension proposal. Other efforts aim to foster knowledge of biodiversity within the maritime territory and coastal areas. Some of these programs require researchers to continually occupy (albeit in rotation) Brazilian islands within the South Atlantic, such as the São Pedro and São Paulo archipelago, which otherwise would be uninhabited-- another way to strengthen Brazilian presence in the South Atlantic. A similar approach is seen in the drive to make some of these islands, such as Trindade, into World Heritage Sites (Zanirato 2012). In addition to boosting environmental conservation in those areas, the move uses international law and norms to further consolidate Brazilian sovereignty claims, as well as its de facto presence, in the South Atlantic.

The Brazilian government has also worked to maintain its Antarctic research program, which is run by the Navy and which the government deems vital for Brazil's participation in the Antarctic Treaty (to which Brazil acceded in 1975), especially through the meetings of the Scientific Committee on Antarctic Research (SCAR). After a fire in 2012 destroyed most of the Brazilian Antarctic base, the Estação Comandante Almirante Ferraz, the government immediately launched an effort to build a new improved base, reflecting the importance being accorded to Antarctica[8]. These efforts are relevant to Brazil's maritime strategy because recent defense documents, and particularly the Defense White Paper of 2008, place the continent within the South Atlantic zone of strategic importance to Brazil[9].

### *Defense Cooperation*

The third element in Brazilian strategy for the South Atlantic involves stepped up defense cooperation, not only with South American neighbors (particularly those along the South Atlantic, from the Guyana Shield states to the Patagonian countries) but also with the countries along the west coast of Africa—many of which are concerned that mining countries will lay exclusive claims to South Atlantic resources, perhaps forcing merchant ships to sail through costly roundabout routes. This diversification of ties entails redoubled efforts in bilateral as well as multilateral cooperation, both accompanied by a strong stress on South-South ties.

[8] Interview with Brazilian Defense Minister Celso Amorim in Brasília, August 6, 2013.

[9] Brazil's interests in Antarctica appear within a context of both cooperation and competition. Argentina and Chile helped Brazil to continue its Antarctic research program after the fire in 2012 at the Brazilian base. At the same time, several emerging powers have recently taken significant steps in strengthening their Antarctic programs, including China and India, and Brazil is interested in supporting a common South American position on the region.

Through bilateral cooperation, the Brazilian government has worked to construct a "Goodwill Belt"[10] stretching all around the South Atlantic. The diversification of such ties reaches far beyond the countries prioritized by Brazil's South-South cooperation for development, which tends to focus on CPLP countries. In contrast, military cooperation agreements undersigned by Brazil over the past ten years with states within the region encompass a far wider variety of countries, including many states without Portuguese as one of their official languages. One of Brazil's key defense partners, for instance, is Namibia. Brazil first undersigned an agreement with Namibia in 1994, but over the past decade it has greatly expanded cooperation efforts aimed at building the Namibian Navy through officer and cadet training, vessel provision, and logistics support. The agreements signed with Namibia have served as a model of sorts for more recent ties with other African countries along the South Atlantic. Brazil has also intensified military cooperation with strategic partners such as South Africa, with which it is developing (through IBSA) the A-DARTER, an infrared-guided short range air-to-air missile. More recently, the two countries have also discussed cooperating in a surveillance system for the South Atlantic[11].

Brazil has also deepened defense cooperation with Angola and Nigeria. Both countries are increasingly important economic and political partners for Brazil and are also important purchasers of Brazilian defense equipment. EMBRAER, the domestic aviation company, recently sold SuperTucano jets to Angola, in addition to Burkina Faso and Mauritania. Nigeria recently undersigned new military cooperation agreements with Brazil, expressing interest in acquiring vessels produced by Brazilian Navy contractor Engepron. Deepening ties with the Nigerian Navy will also include cooperation in prospecting minerals in the South Atlantic. In addition to these large coastal states, Brazil has started or intensified defense cooperation with nearly all countries along the west coast of Africa. These programs focus heavily on naval issues and typically cover officer training, which is often carried out in Portuguese even in non-CPLP countries. Training can take place either in the partner country or in Brazil, and many South Atlantic countries on both the South American and African coasts, including Suriname, Senegal, and Angola have begun sending soldiers to the Jungle Warfare Instruction Center, commonly called CIGS, in the Brazilian Amazon. Other cooperation components include equipment donations, including patrol vessels, and logistical support. Finally, Brazil helps many of these countries to conduct surveys of the African side of the Atlantic continental shelf, disseminating its model of research as well as its discourse of national sovereignty over marine resources.

On the multilateral side, Brazil has stepped up efforts to revive ZOPACAS, as part of its broader effort to construct a South Atlantic identity. Although the initiative dates to the late 1980s, when coastal countries in the region were concerned with proliferation, in the post-Cold War context there is more of a focus on joint responsibility regarding

[10] This is a translation of the expression "Cinturão de Boa Vontade" mentioned by Brazilian Defense Minister Celso Amorim in a speech at the Brazilian War College (ESG) in March 2012. The speech is available at: http://www.defesa.gov.br/arquivos/2012/mes03/esg_marco_2012.pdf Date of last access: August 16, 2013.

[11] Brazil is holding talks with South Africa to develop an oceanographic satellite with an exclusive focus on the South Atlantic. For further information see: http://thebricspost.com/brazil-sa-to-jointly-develop-satellite-for-south-atlantic/#.UhLH59L2_ZV Date of last access: August 16, 2013.

problems within the common maritime area so as to avoid interventions by outside powers. The ZOPACAS meeting held in Montevideo in January 2013, which included the presence of defense ministers, placed strong emphasis on sharing Brazil's knowledge in search and rescue operations, maritime surveillance, and continental shelf surveys (a separate statement mentioning the situations of instability in Guinea-Bissau and the Democratic Republic of the Congo was also issued during the meeting).

Aside from ZOPACAS, Brazil is part of other multilateral initiatives relevant to the South Atlantic, including the South America-Africa Summit and IBSA. Through the latter, Brazil has been participating in the IBSAMAR trilateral naval military exercises, so far held off the South African coast. Within the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP), an organization developed in the mid-1990s to initially promote cultural ties, Brazil has also supported defense cooperation and military exercises as well as strengthening state institutions in Guinea-Bissau. Although the BRICS grouping does not yet have a concrete cooperation program in the area of defense and security, there are security discussions underway that might hold relevance to the South Atlantic. For example, in a January 2013 meeting of high-level security representatives from the BRICS, discussions covered topics in non-traditional security, such as terrorism, piracy, and cybersecurity[12]. All of these efforts may signal the growing geostrategic importance of the South Atlantic within regional, trans-regional, and other multilateral platforms.

## Conclusion

Brazil's growing interest in the South Atlantic is reflected not only in the government's official discourse, which highlights the need to protect Brazilian marine resources, but also in its practices, particularly when it comes to domestic efforts to promote a "maritime mentality," its international legal and institutional strategies, and its rapidly expanding defense cooperation along the South Atlantic's perimeter. In all these initiatives, there is a concerted effort not only to ascertain Brazilian sovereignty over a portion of the South Atlantic and disseminate the idea that its marine resources are a new locus of potential threats, but also to promote this perspective throughout the region in a bid to keep out those states considered to be from outside the region.

These efforts are novel in at least three respects. First, they are trans-regional, involving a clear focus not only on South America, where Brazil has a long history of military ties, but also western Africa, where its involvement was until recently far more episodic. Second, Brazil's initiatives in the South Atlantic highlight not only currently exploited and known natural resources, but also (perhaps, even more so) the area's potential resources, particularly those of the marine subsoil. More specifically, the perception of an imminent technological turn that will permit exploration of the pre-salt oil in a commercial scale, and the assumption that this exploration will generate substantial revenues for the Brazilian government, have prompted Brazil to adopt a more precautionary stance. And third, although those efforts reflect a new degree of intensity in Brazil's

[12] Ministry of External Affairs of India (2013) "BRICS". New Delhi, April 2013. Available online at: http://mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/BRICS_for_XP_April_2013.pdf Date of last access: August 16, 2013.

defense relations in the South Atlantic, those ties are not entirely new, in that they include reviving the historic links between South America and Africa, as well as the South Atlantic and Antarctica (which, until its emergence within Brazilian maritime strategy, was never cited among Brazil's security priorities).

These multiple strategies have so far allowed Brazil to proceed with its naval modernization program and to greatly expand its defense cooperation programs with partners along the South Atlantic perimeter. At some point though, a renewed nationalism suggested by its approach in the South Atlantic might generate tensions, particularly if states that have previously contested Brazilian leadership in Latin America come to view Brazil's approach with suspicion. Even with recent budget cuts imposed on the Armed Forces, key components of Brazil's South Atlantic strategy are likely to move forward, and they will no doubt alter, if not radically transform, power dynamics within the region.

## Sources

Alves, Ana (2012) "China's Resource Quest in Brazil: The Changing Role of Economic Statecraft" Portuguese Journal of International Affairs, n 6, pp 28-39.

Anyimadu, Adjoa (2013) "Maritime Security in the Gulf of Guinea: Lessons Learned from the Indian Ocean" Chatham House, London, July 2013.

Barrios, Cristina (2013) "Fighting Piracy in the Gulf of Guinea: Onshore and Offshore" European Union Institute of Security Studies 20.

Bertazzo, Juliana (2012) "Brazilian security and defense policy under President Dilma Rousseff: transition and initial challenges" Critical Sociology, Special Issue, 2012, pp 1-13.

Hunter, Wendy (1994) "The Brazilian military after the Cold War: In search of a mission" Studies In Comparative International Development Volume 28, Issue 4, pp 31-49.

Martins, Eliane Octaviano. 2010. "Amazônia Azul, Pré-sal, soberania e jurisdição marítima." Revista CEI XIV(50), 88.

Martins Filho, João Roberto (2011) "O projeto do nuclear submarine brasileiro" Contexto Internacional vol. 33, n. 33.

Martins Filho, João Roberto and Daniel Zirker (2000) "The Brazilian Military under Cardoso: overcoming the Identity Crisis."Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, v. 42, n.3, p. 143-170.

McCann, Frank D. (1995) "Brazil and World War II: The Forgotten Ally. What did you do in the war, Zé Carioca?Ð Estudios interdisciplinarios de America Latina y el Caribe, vol. 6, n. 2, 1995.

Ministério da Defesa (2012) Livro Branco da Defesa. Brasília, DF.

---------- (2008) Estratégia Nacional de Defesa. Brasília, DF.

Ministério das Relações Exteriores (2010) Balanço da Política Externa, 2003-2010: Relações com a África: Defesa" Brasília, DF.

Moraes, Rodrigo F. de (2013) "Do mare liberum ao mare clausum: evolução jurídica, importância jurídica, importância geopolítica e exploração econômica das águas jurisdicionaisÐ NASSER, Reginaldo Mattar; MORAES, Rodrigo Fracalossi de (Org.) O Brasil e a Segurança no seu Entorno Estratégico: América do Sul e Atlântico Sul. Brasília: Ipea.

Nascimento, M. C. N. do (2011) "Uma década de gastos orçamentários na área de defesa nacional - 2000 a 2010: análises e tendências" Revista Brasileira de Planejamento e Orçamento. v 1, n 1, pp 43-57.

United Nations (1986) "Declaration of a zone of peace and cooperation of the South Atlantic: resolution / adopted by the General Assembly"

Penha, Eli Alves (2011) Relações Brasil - África e Geopolítica do Atlântico Sul. Salvador: Edufba.

Reis, Reginaldo Gomes Garcia dos (2011) ÐAtlântico Sul: um deságio para o século XXI- as velhas ameaças se perpetuam nas novas?Ð In Perspectiva, estratégias e cenários globais: visões do Atlântico Sul, África Lusófona, América do Sul e Amazônia. Brasília: Ipea, 2011.

Saraiva, José Flávio (2002) ÐPolítica exterior do governo Lula: o desafio africanoÐ Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional. vol 45, n 2, pp 5-25.

Vaz, Alcides Costa (2011) ÐO Atlântico Sul e as perspectivas estratégicas de Brasil, Argentina e África do SulÐ In Perspectiva, estratégias e cenários globais: visões do Atlântico Sul, África Lusófona, América do Sul e Amazônia. Brasília : Ipea.

Zanirato, Silvia Helena. Estratégias brasileiras de poder e territorialização para o controle das ilhas do Atlântico Sul. Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales. [En línea]. Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 1 de noviembre de 2012, vol. XVI, nº 418 (27). <http://www.ub.es/geocrit/sn/sn-418/sn-418-27.htm>.

**Dr. Ian O. Lesser** is Executive Director of the Transatlantic Center, the Brussels Office of the German Marshall Fund of the United States, and GMF's Senior Director for Foreign and Security Policy. This paper is based on an essay originally published in Aspenia.

# Rediscovering a Wider Atlantic: An American Perspective

Ian O. Lesser

Many observers are convinced that the so-called "pivot to Asia" spells less US attention to the Atlantic. To be sure, younger Americans indeed looking to Asia as a region increasingly important to their perceived interests, and in narrow strategic terms, the shift to Asia may be real enough. In geopolitical terms, the US is obviously a bi-oceanic power, and perhaps Washington is coming to the end of a century long pivot to Europe? Yet, leaving aside looming strategic challenges in Asia, transatlantic relations are very much back on the American agenda. From debates over social policy to new trade initiatives, from energy exports to Middle East diplomacy, transatlantic relations – and the Atlantic itself -- are surprisingly visible. Indeed, the strategic significance of the Atlantic could acquire important new meaning to the extent that it is defined more broadly, to include the Atlantic basin as a whole, north and south. The north-south and south-south dimensions of transatlantic relations are poised to take center stage.

## A Global Atlantic

Few would argue with the idea that transatlantic relations have gone global. From an American perspective, the quality of cooperation on issues outside the Atlantic space has become a key measure of partnership with European allies. The era of transatlantic relations, narrowly defined, is past. In security terms, cooperation in the first Gulf War marked a clear turning point, formalized in the years after September 2001. Demands in Afghanistan, the Horn of Africa, and Iran have all contributed to the

globalization of transatlantic strategy. In economic terms, the transformation has been even more pronounced. Very few issues of concern in trade and finance can be addressed effectively without reference to the role of Asia, and increasingly, emerging actors across the global South. The notion of transatlantic cooperation confined to the Washington-London-Paris-Brussels-Berlin axis, divorced from global partnerships, is fast becoming an anachronism, even for the most traditional Euro-Atlantic institutions.

But the globalization of the transatlantic agenda has, oddly, bypassed a large and increasingly consequential part of the Atlantic space. What about the Atlantic basin south of the traditional north Atlantic axis? The southern Atlantic has hardly figured in transatlantic relations, and this means that these relations have "not been firing on all cylinders." A decade ago, before the economic crises in the US and Europe, before Brazil became trendy, and before the emergence of dynamic economies elsewhere in Atlantic Latin America and Africa, the notion of Southern or "wider" Atlanticism would have been considered eccentric. Today, a more comprehensive approach to Atlantic identity and cooperation seems natural, even inevitable.

In the longer sweep of history, none of this is new. From the 15th to the early 20thth centuries, Atlantic geopolitics had a much more southerly orientation. The long decline of the colonial presence in the south, the rapid industrialization of northern Atlantic economies, the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914, and other factors all conspired to focus European and American attention northward. So, too, did the relative decline of once prosperous economies in Latin America, Argentina being the most notable case. Through two world wars, and the Cold War, the strategic center of gravity has been focused firmly on the Atlantic north of the Tropic of Cancer, a notion of strategic geography enshrined in the original NATO treaty. It is a notion increasingly out of step with contemporary realities.

Several elements are now coming together to underscore the importance of a wider approach to transatlantic relations, with greater balance between north and south. Some of these drivers of wider Atlanticism are rooted in American and European unease about their future influence in the face of rising powers elsewhere. Others are based in southern Atlantic societies – those south of the traditional Atlantic axis, and roughly in the Americas and Atlantic Africa south of the Tropic of Cancer. Still others are the result of new developments in the global resource economy, human mobility and transregional security. Taken together, they suggest the emergence of a very different kind of Atlantic, with a different place in world affairs.

## Looking East, Looking South

The difficult debate over the Syrian crisis clearly underscores public fatigue with military intervention, and ultimately, a wider tendency toward a more careful use of American power and a foreign policy more closely tied to economic security. Much has been made of the "pivot" or "rebalancing" vis-à-vis Asia. This is a shift that has been underway for decades, at least in defense planning. Eurasia and the North Atlantic space simply do not present the kind of large-scale strategic risks that would justify an unchanging approach to American

security priorities. This debate has been the source of considerable unease in Europe, where it is often presented as a harbinger of American disengagement and a declining affinity for Europe as a partner. In reality, the strategic pivot, if there is one, is a pivot toward new and more pressing risks, and not a shift from transatlantic partnership per se. In most imaginable contingencies, from Mali to Iran, Europe is likely to be the partner of choice for crisis management. In terms of financial flows, the northerly axis across the Atlantic remains predominant for both partners. The prospect of a serious attempt to create a transatlantic free trade area will only reinforce this reality. But it is unreasonable to believe transatlantic relations can remain unaffected by longer term, generational shifts in American perceptions of Europe versus Asia in the context of national interest (shifts clearly indicated by survey results, including the Transatlantic Trends findings).[1] Younger Americans are looking Eastward. Over time, they may also look South, an attraction driven by the burgeoning people-to-people links with Latin America, especially Brazil, and the growing significance of transnational communities spanning the US and societies to the south. These connections, and changing demographics inside the US, are also giving rise to a set of specifically regional international ties and policies -- almost a parallel set of foreign policies -- pursued from places like Miami and New Orleans. Many of these connections are with the Southern Atlantic. There are now roughly a dozen flights each day to from Brazil to Miami alone. As Brazil prepares to step even more visibly on the world stage with the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics, American popular interest in Brazil is bound to expand.

The already strong links between North America, Latin America and the Caribbean will be reinforced by expanding educational ties. Brazil plans to send 100,000 science and technology students abroad for graduate study in the coming years, and roughly half will go to American universities. At the same time, the Obama Administration has its own plan to bring a similar number of students from elsewhere in Latin America and the Caribbean to the US.

To the extent that American foreign policy elites worry about the future of the country's power in the context of a rising Asia, they too may see virtue in a wider approach to transatlantic relations in which many of the key partners are in the South. If Americans worry about China as an economic competitor, many Brazilians, and certainly many Mexicans worry as much, and perhaps more. Nor is the concern confined to economics. Observers in Latin America, and Atlantic Africa are beginning to think through the consequences of a future in which China and India are more important actors in the Atlantic, bringing their own set of strategic interests. The economic dimension will acquire greater urgency to the extent that the North Atlantic manages to achieve a comprehensive trade deal over the next few years. Where will Mexico, already part of NAFTA, fit in the TTIP (Transatlantic Trade and Investment Paertnership) equation? Where, indeed, would Brazil and other Southern Atlantic partners fit? Given the immense weight of trade issues in the international policy outlook of major states around the Southern Atlantic – in Brazil it often seems the equivalent of nuclear strategy for Americans in the Cold War years – these are critical open questions.

[1] See Transatlantic Trends: Key Findings (Washington: German Marshall Fund of the United States, the Compagnia di San Paolo, et al., 2013). www.transatlantictrends.org

Energy commerce, and energy security is another key factor. Oil and gas production around the Atlantic already accounts for some 30 percent of global output. The weight of Atlantic energy resources in global trade has grown steadily, driven by the expansion of exports from West Africa, Brazil's emergence as a leading producer – set to grow much further as the country's immense pre-salt reserves are exploited – and North America's own contribution through shale gas and offshore energy production. The extent of this Atlantic energy revolution is just beginning to be felt in the energy security debate. But over time, its effects could be far-reaching, and could combine with voices elsewhere in the American debate to cast doubt on the durability of regional interests long considered immutable, including the role of Middle Eastern energy as a driver of US strategy. As the Syria and Iran debates illustrate, the Middle East is not disappearing from the US radar screen anytime soon, but the lure of the wider Atlantic as a producer of energy security is set to grow, just as disenchantment persists with costly defense responsibilities in the Gulf and elsewhere.

## Southern Exposure

Emerging economies on both sides of the Atlantic South, from Brazil and Colombia, to the increasingly dynamic countries of West Africa – likely leaders in what many are describing as "Africa's turn" -- have already captured the attention of policymakers and investors. In Africa, in particular, not all the key partners for economic development will be Western or "Northern." Brazil is becoming a leading actor in African trade, investment and development assistance, with special expertise in agro-technology and food security policies.

Maritime geopolitics is evolving in ways that will reinforce the place of the Atlantic south in global shipping. Much attention has been devoted to the effect of climate change on shipping routes, with increasingly ice-free passage in the high latitudes opening up previously inaccessible routes such as the Northwest Passage, and even more dramatically, the so-called Northern Route across the Arctic.[2] But shipping routes to the south are also acquiring new significance, driven by new maritime infrastructure. The expansion of the Panama Canal, to be completed in 2015, will permit the passage of much larger post-Panamax vessels, and the development of new container ports oriented toward transshipment from Asia to North American and European markets. All of this will pull trade routes southward. Countries as diverse as the Bahamas and Morocco are anticipating this trend with the construction of new port facilities. Growth in West Africa could drive further development along these lines over the next decade.

These positive facets of the expansion of maritime commerce southward are, unfortunately, accompanied by a parallel of illegal trafficking across the Atlantic south of the Tropic of Cancer. A growing percentage of the Latin American drugs entering the European market, are now shipped via West Africa and the Sahel. This pattern of

[2] Even with expanded access to sea routes in the high North, and growing traffic into and out of the Arctic, it is worth noting that some leading industry observers remains skeptical about the viability of these routes for high-volume transit between Asia and the Atlantic. Formidable navigational obstacles remain, especially for container transport where volume and predictability are essential.

trafficking is, in turn, encouraging a parallel trade in light arms, fueling criminality, political violence and terrorism from the Gulf of Guinea to Mauritania. There may also be a connection between these trends and the crisis in Mali, with all its regional ramifications. The connections between security in the wider Atlantic and stability in other settings are growing, and will compel increasing attention on a global basis.

## The Atlantic is a Moveable Feast

As wider Atlantic challenges and opportunities expand, new patterns of cooperation are likely to emerge. Despite a few enduring political and territorial disputes (e.g., US-Venezuela, US-Cuba, the Falklands), the southern Atlantic benefits from the absence of large-scale, existential conflicts. Major geopolitical rivalries in South America have essentially disappeared. The security issues affecting the Atlantic south are largely non-traditional problems affecting economic and human security, and the environment. Only in the area of maritime security is there something like a conventional set of security challenges requiring traditional naval and coast guard assets, and cooperation.

This is not a geopolitical space that lends itself to the simple enlargement of existing collective security institutions. Certainly, NATO will have a hard time engaging major southern Atlantic partners, above all, Brazil. There is simply too much Cold War era baggage to be overcome, even as the Alliance revamps it image and purpose, and Brasilia explores a larger international role. Moreover, the grand strategic questions in the southern Atlantic have more to do with the future of global trade and competitiveness, technology transfer, and human mobility. This suggests that future patterns of cooperation in the Atlantic basin as a whole could be led to a notable extent by non-governmental actors, in the private sector and civil society. Existing transnational communities offer a strong starting point. In the security realm, on maritime issues in particular, there will be a need for new forms of cooperation that cut across traditional regional lines. The American (and European) contribution to this is likely to be especially important in surveillance – making the maritime space transparent for policymakers. Given this, it is particularly unfortunate that recent frictions over American surveillance and spying hold the potential to impede cooperation on many fronts around the wider Atlantic, from TTIP negotiations to bilateral security cooperation.

Finally, to the extent that American and other leaders look southward, with an Atlantic vision, there may be opportunities to develop more effective partnerships with countries of obvious importance, but where a more comprehensive approach to relation has proven difficult. Brazil is one example. Mexico is another. An American Administration that takes up comprehensive immigration reform will also need a more comprehensive strategy for relations with this vital southern neighbor. Mexico and the US share Atlantic interests, and this could prove a useful new geometry for both countries in building a dialogue beyond borders. In policy terms, at least, the Atlantic is a moveable feast.