

BRAZIL

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9th International Security Conference of the Fort of Copacabana

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SECURITY AND RESPONSABILITY IN A MULTIPOLAR WORLD

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On the 19th of September 2012, the ninth edition of the International Security Conference of the Fort of Copacabana gathered in Rio de Janeiro politicians, academics, military officers, diplomats, intellectuals and representatives of the civil society of Europe, Latin America and the United States to debate relevant topics on International Security.

The opening board was composed of the chief of the European Union Delegation in Brazil, Ambassador Ana Paula Zacarias, the president of the Brazilian Center for International Relations (CEBRI), Ambassador Luiz Augusto de Castro Neves and the representative of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Brazil, Mr. Felix Dane.

The first to speak, Ambassador Ana Paula Zacarias stated that the European Union Delegation in Brazil has, for the past years, been a partner in the International Security Conference of the Fort of Copacabana, as it is one of the most important meetings in South America to discuss security issues with Europe. Security and responsibility, the ambassador stressed, are important topics which have been in the spotlight for a few years and that become more present when we consider the interdependent world in which threats are global and providing access to a dignified life is a challenge to every country. The European Union (EU) has invested efforts in making the world better, especially after understanding the need to change in the bloc's operating strategy. Previously, it acted only on its immediate neighbors, but it has since adapted to the new reality and started defending the principles of democracy and respect for human rights on a global scale.

The European Ambassador affirmed that the bloc has advantages in the attempts to implement its projects. These advantages come from the multiple tools they use (military, civil, financial, commercial) and can influence reality in a way that NATO and others cannot, due to their limited instruments. She also said that the bloc's diplomatic structure took a long time to be created, but it is currently functioning and capable of coordinating activities with other countries (even members of the EU), mainly as a way to avoid crises, such as the recent actions for Iran and Syria.

Mrs. Zacarias stated that the European Union has a long road ahead in its consolidation process, mainly regarding the strengthening of the fiscal, economic and political aspects, which are also ways of improving security. She highlighted the importance of partners for the external actions of the EU, and that Brazil is one of those partners since it shares with Europe several objectives, interests and values which are fundamental to the discussions on security and foreign policy. The cooperation between the two reinforces mutual trust and enables it to extend to other areas. After all, as the Ambassador said, there are still many possibilities of cooperation.

Ambassador Luiz Augusto de Castro Neves pointed out that a fruitful cooperation for both regions of the planet is sought. He notices that, since the end of the Cold War, the world is more complex in its issues and politics, but that the diplomatic bureaucracies still function on the parameters of the Cold War era. It is understood that these dynamics lasted many years, but it is astonishing that a world of cooperation and peace hasn't yet emerged, even after significant changes in the international political scenario, such as the rising of China. The new challenges that arise are enormous and have to be tackled multilaterally with global answers, in order to reduce asymmetry of power and rights, and thus carry the world to a fairer reality. The Ambassador ended his speech affirming that the lecturers can contribute to the dialogue and improve cooperation, at least regarding security issues.

The representative of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Brazil, Mr. Felix Dane, said it was an honor to be opening the 9th International Security Conference of the Fort of Copacabana two weeks after his arrival in Brazil from Ramallah. According to him, the security in the Middle East affects the security of the entire world, and issues that were previously seen as regional now have global consequences. We need to know how to deal with global security challenges that affect a multipolar world which must be increasingly multilateral. Mr. Dane highlighted the importance of the partnership between CEBRI and the UN Delegation, and expressed his wish that it lasts for many years as institutions that promote the debate about security issues in Brazil and Europe. And then he declared open the conference.

Opening Panel: Security and responsibility in a multipolar world**BRAZIL**

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The opening panel was composed of the director of the Crisis Management and Planning Directorate (CMPD) of the European Union, Walter Stevens; the Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations of the United Nations, Edmond Mulet; the Rear Admiral and Vice-Minister of Defense of the Republic of Peru, Mario César Sánchez Debernardi and by Lieutenant Colonel Jürgen Menner, who represented the Ministry of Defense of Germany. It was moderated by Ambassador José Botafogo Gonçalves, Vice President Emeritus of CEBRI.

Director Walter Stevens pointed that the dialogue with the other panelists would bring important contributions to the European Union policies, and that it came at a great moment in which the bloc seeks to respond to global threats and assure human rights. According to him, it is necessary to multilateralize multipolarity: sharing global security means facing violence in a global sense, which is why the bloc works closely with the UN, with regional organizations – especially with the African Union – and also with countries such as Turkey, Russia and Brazil, essential partners on that topic. On cooperating with Brazil, Mr. Stevens recalled the cooperation of the two regions in the Republic of the Congo and stated that the international community has learned that conflicts are complex and multifaceted, which means that no individual agent can effectively put an end to a problem of that magnitude. He also said that it is necessary to combine diplomatic tools with environmental and social ones to solve it: that would be the nature of a broad approach to solving conflicts.

About the EU's performance in conflicts, Walter Stevens stated that it is possible to improve the bloc's ability to deal with those challenges. The Balkan Crisis of the 1990s showed the need to improve and that effort was made very effectively. In 2012, though only a short time later, we can notice the difference in performance, mostly due to the activity of the CMPD. Currently, the EU has fifteen operating civil and military missions, which enforce the rule of law, train police officers, monitor peace plans, train armed forces and fight piracy, helping to improve world security. None of the missions was imposed, said the director, but implemented through invitations by the United Nations. The creation of the European External Action Service (EEAS) helped to consolidate the nature of the comprehensive performance of the bloc, mainly because prevention works better than crisis control, and the EEAS favors the preventive approach.

Mr. Stevens mentioned the broad perception of the crisis of the actions against piracy in North Africa. The situation was emblematic of a great crisis, since it occurred from the lack of solid political structures in the region, especially in Somalia. Operation Atalanta, performed closely with the UN and the USA, achieved great success in reducing piracy in that region. In this sense, the EU became an important provider of international security, capable of forming alliances with global, regional and local partners

to seek solutions for current crises and it hopes to act in partnership with Brazil.

Afterwards, the Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations of the UN, Mr. Edmond Mulet, affirmed that the collaboration of different countries and agencies is essential, as partnership is the central idea behind the peacekeeping operations which currently have 120,000 people in the field, 22,000 civilians and a budget of US\$ 7.5 billion for all operations. According to Mulet, operations of that sort have also evolved and started to conform to contemporary crises, which tend to be internal and not between States. Therefore, now they have also taken over monitoring political transitions and the reconstruction, the structure of the rule of law, the elections and governability. By means of this action it is possible to maintain sustainability of peace so that it lasts. The peacekeeping operations are only a part of the process which involves several organizations and international arrangements, a situation that poses a double challenge since this reality is not predicted in the United Nations Charter. However, without this type of cooperation it is not possible to meet the settling challenges. The East Timor case was a success and, after ten years, the UN activities start coming to an end.

Mr. Mulet stated that there is a future program in the DPKO, with planning in different stages for Sudan and South Sudan, called 3S: Somalia, Sahel and Syria, regions from which there are painful lessons to learn. The Assistant Secretary-General pointed that the available tools come from 1960 and 1970, but that the challenges are far greater. How to enhance the applicability and efficiency of those instruments? Is there, effectively, peace to be kept? Would the International Community be committed to solve the crises? These were some of the questions raised by Mr. Mulet during his speech. To him, the UN Security Council (SC) many times gives a mandate, but the same countries that approve it have a different project than the one approved. Thus, this creates a dilemma of great difficulty to be solved, which is similar to that of the Congo.

Mr. Mulet noted that there isn't any type of regulation over the arms trade. Differently from trading coffee and bananas, the countries that manufacture weapons are the same countries that ask the UN to repair the violent consequences of their trade. He asked that there be control over that trade, and that it be done responsibly. The UN alone can't avoid conflict. He highlighted that violent situations cause migration and refugees who seek shelter in all parts of the world. This would be only one dimension of the global consequences of local conflicts. It would be necessary to develop more consistent regional approaches to the conflicts, a reality to which USAN and Brazil give good examples of articulating ability.

The Vice Minister of Peru, Mario César Sánchez Debernardi, stated that Peru is committed to international peace and security and that it works cooperatively with the UN to keep them in the region, following the example of the peacekeeping mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH). Yet, he notices that there are regions that con-

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continue to show instability, such as the social crisis that affects the Middle East and the impact of the lack of democracy in some areas of the world. Mr. Sánchez Debernardi said that the current economic model doesn't help either, in the sense that it helps spread the economic crisis. To him, the whole world was living the reality that Latin Americans lived decades before.

The Vice Minister considers it necessary to understand the non-traditional threats to peace. In South America those threats are mostly related to violence derived from drug traffic, since there are virtually no interstate conflicts. And because this is a common threat to the countries of the region, they hope to find a collective solution through the USAN, especially because the association between drug cartels and terrorist groups threatens the foundations of society. The recent cycle of economic growth in the region comes with the preservation of democracy, which favored social development. However, economic expansion doesn't necessarily mean social stability and inclusive growth. Mr. Sánchez Debernardi analyzed the importance of partnerships between great world players, such as China, the European Union and the USA to help consolidate a common bloc that favors governance in South America. Yet, the region's diversities pose difficulties. In Peru's case, the country has managed to economically advance with social inclusion, which proves that President Ollanta Humala's strategies were efficient. Similarly, this efficiency is sought to avoid that the threat of terrorism, which surrounded Peru for so long, doesn't come around again. Another positive point is that the region is free of nuclear weapons and mines, a decision that depends on the consent of several countries.

The regional progress can't be an obstacle in perceiving the international context, in which there are still many challenges, such as the access to power sources, climatic changes and overpopulation. This way, it would be up to the international institutions to articulate the integration of issues of defense and security. The consolidation of USAN is a central point of this process, since it supports the dialogue within the region and with other regions which are interested in the global threats currently perceived.

Representing the Ministry of Defense of Germany, Lieutenant Colonel Jürgen Menner was the last participant to speak. He analyzed the reorientation of the German armed forces as a way to deal with changes in security challenges, issues that must be discussed collectively. To him, security policy and reorienting the armed forces are two sides of the same coin. Up to 1990, questions related to the Cold War prevailed – NATO versus the Warsaw Pact. With this polarity, a war would probably take place in Germany, which scared the population. After the end of that period, the world changed. The Germans weren't preparing for an interplanetary war anymore, but for ensuring their stability in the world, which would be unthinkable to German citizens twenty years before. Today Germany lives in a time of peace, surrounded by partners. The German armed forces must be prepared for its own defense – of the country's borders and of NATO –

but that can't be determined only geographically. Events in any part of the globe can quickly impact Europe. Issues related to Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan are examples of possible future threats. Because of this, there is a demand to reorganize the structure of the Armed Forces, which need to be prepared for different scenarios. According to Mr. Menner, it is important to take global responsibilities and think of capabilities one should have, because new challenges require new solutions. Do we seek only to specialize in international missions or something more? This is a strategic point which should be considered by all European countries. Holland, for instance, has recently waived battle tanks.

Germany needs armed forces which are capable of meeting the requirements of the EU and NATO. Therefore, it needs a wide scope of action: assistance in catastrophes, support to civilians, humanitarian intervention, fighting against terrorism, stabilization operations, support to partner forces and the defense of its own borders. This means it should have professional units equipped with modern technology, adaptable to different circumstances and capable of functioning in conjunction with the allies. To him, this would require significant change in military mentality. This transformation in the reality of the German armed forces would have attracted the attention of the country's partners, who would implement similar measures, since a simple adaptation of the old infrastructure wouldn't be enough. It is necessary to redirect the policies and the role of the armed forces. They should no longer seek rapid growth, a situation which would call for mandatory recruitment and would be a step back. Instead, they should strive to have highly professional forces, a case where the security forces will soon have to compete with the industry to attract the young.

On the relationship with partners, Lieutenant Colonel Menner mentioned the need to improve efficiency and cooperation. He stated that, with the reorientation of the armed forces, it will be possible to meet different challenges than those presented by the previous speakers. The impact on the military would be great, but there is no alternative to the transformation of the structure and the role of the armed forces.

After lunch, the event had simultaneous activities: Conference 1 on Strategies and Tools to Achieve Responsible Security, and Workshop 3 on Potential Future Risks for the Security of the Atlantic.

Conference 1: Strategies and tools to Achieve Responsible Security

The Conference was composed of the Ambassador and Special Advisor of Foreign Policy of Brazil, Guilherme de Aguiar Patriota, the Vice-President of Foreign and Defense Policy Studies of the American Enterprise Institute, Danielle Pletka; the Lieutenant Colonel Jürgen Menner, representing the Ministry of Defense of Germany; and the coordinator of the School of Social Sciences and History of the Getúlio Vargas Foundation in São Paulo, Oliver Stuenkel. It was moderated by the representative of the

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Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Brazil, Felix Dane.

Ambassador Patriota stated that Brazil's role in the international scenario is to act coherently with its internal policy of fighting poverty and reducing inequalities. To him, the maintenance of South America as a region free of nuclear and mass-destruction weapons is another central aspect of the project of foreign policy pursued by Brazil. He also highlighted the UN's importance, although the institution represents a format which reflects the reality of power of an old and outdated world. In regard to challenges, Guilherme Patriota notices that it is necessary to build a world with a more inclusive capitalist model which can efficiently include two billion people as consumers in the global economy.

Mrs. Danielle Pletka defended the USA's foreign action in the contemporary world, and stated that the world today is better than it was in the past, since there are more democracies. To her, the USA has a leadership position in the international political scenario, despite being incompetent in the use of soft power. On the country's hard power capacity, the researcher affirmed that the country is weak (the military equipment models were old and no longer able to meet current demands). The planned budget cuts in the American military tend to worsen the situation and weaken the country even more. About the NATO situation, Pletka recalled there is an agreement among members of the alliance to contribute 2% of the country's budget to Defense and, according to her, only the USA and Greece comply with that agreement. And in the case of Greece, the amount is not significant in real terms, given the impact of the Euro crisis on the country's budget. This lack of commitment would be a reason for the institution's weakness, since it can't count on a solid military structure in the member countries.

Lieutenant Colonel Jürgen Menner stressed the necessity of European countries to increase accountability over the continental borders, reducing the dependency on the USA as the largest military power of the UN. The capillarity of the borders facilitates arms trafficking among the countries. This is an alarming situation, and it is inconceivable that there are control regimes over exporting goods such as banana and coffee, but no control whatsoever of the arms trade.

Professor Oliver Stuenkel spoke of the Responsibility to Protect and the challenges such concept brings regarding the relation among the sovereign States. To him, Germany is a special case among EU members when it comes to their stance on interventions, because it is more hesitant than the others towards humanitarian intervention elsewhere. The Security Council vote on Libya, in that sense, would be emblematic.

During the debate, Ambassador Patriota stated that Brazil has contributions for a reformed UN Security Council, but those would respect the different military capabilities of the member States. To him, it wouldn't be coherent to expect that Brazil's contributions would be the

same as those of countries with a greater military capability. The Ambassador highlighted that the political timing can take longer than what may be desired, but stressed that rushed decisions do not favor the stability of international policy nor contribute to the structure of a more peaceful scenario. According to Ambassador Patriota, the use of force is by definition an instigator of the arms race and therefore of a more unstable scenario, instead of contributing to consolidate a perspective of understanding.

Oliver Stuenkel, on the other hand, stated that Brazil's stance on the situation of Libya, despite seemingly confirming the position of Russia and China, is different from them because it is made on other bases. For example, the controversy over the Responsibility to Protect shows Brazil's position in trying to argue new bases for international action. This is essential to foreign policy, because refusing for the sake of refusing could make the situation recede to that of the mid-90s, when the Responsibility to Protect didn't exist. It was the immobilism of the international society which enabled situations like that of Rwanda and Kosovo.

Mrs. Pletka challenged Professor Stuenkel's position. To her, the gray area where Brazil stands is difficult to define, even because in the voting results the justification wouldn't matter, once the outcome would be the same. Still, even if the difference in justification were considered, how could we prevent Brazil's position from being influenced by that of Russia and China? What is more important to the analyst is the prerogative that there is no benevolence in international political positioning, and so Brazil would have interests in being against the intervention in Libya, although it is not known what they might be. She doesn't dare identify them because she doesn't know enough about the country's reality to make that analysis. In her opinion, it is inconceivable to expect that the situation in Syria, like what happened with Libya in the past, solves itself on its own. Citing an analyst from the institution to which she is affiliated, Pletka stated that it is not possible to hit something when you have nothing. In this sense, intervention in both Mediterranean countries would be imperative. One was achieved (Libya) and another faces many obstacles (Syria).

Lieutenant Colonel Menner, citing military analyst Karl von Clausewitz, recalled that the military means are the least likely to be used in political crises, and because of that their use needs to be debated. In his analysis, the intervention in Libya was a success, and that proved a problem for the position adopted by Germany, which was left with the political burden of being left out of a transformation process as successful as that.

To Professor Stuenkel it wasn't so clear whether the intervention in Libya had been a success or a failure, but that this would be an important definition to reach, so as not to be stuck in a clash of narratives about what took place in the Mediterranean country. In his view, the possibility of the international society to get caught in such debate would be clearer if the world's political reality returned to the

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BRAZIL

DANIEL EDLER
GUSTAVO BEZERRA

TRANSLATED BY

DALTON CALDAS

September 2012

immobilism of the first half of the 19th century.

To Ambassador Patriota, looking in retrospect indicates that Brazil's performance in the UN Security Council was correct, since the civil war in Libya is fueled by external agents, not really an endogenous process exclusively motivated by domestic policy. He believes that the democratic restoration that happened in Latin America in the 1980s and 1990s can serve as a good example for the current situation of the Middle-Eastern countries. Commenting on international responsibility, the Ambassador stated that our process of international inclusion is a project of integration, and that in itself shows the importance of international responsibility to Brazil.

Danielle Pletka pointed that the USA benefits from the liberal order as it exists nowadays, and that is why Americans are interested in bearing the costs that arise from it. Regardless of the outcome of the presidential election in the USA, the country will continue to be a part of NATO and its projects. To the analyst, this is essential to the American position in today's world, because abdicating NATO would mean abdicating an important portion of power. The USA refrained from participating in the Libyan intervention due to the way it was carried out by the French President then, Nicolas Sarkozy. The position of the current French President, Françoise Hollande, still shows divergences between the French government and the US projects. The abdication of the USA from the military alliance would leave the French with the responsibility of becoming the conscience of the world. Sarcastically, she added: "the French? Really?"

When asked about the difficulties a possible reform of the UN Security Council could create from the freezing of the agency, similarly to what happened to the League of Nations, Ambassador Patriota replied that the world is different, and it is not possible to compare it to the contemporary reality nor to the world at the end of the Second World War, much less to that of the League of Nations. A Council reform is necessary, as well as moderation in political discourse, especially the moderation of "hawks", whether in the western world, whether in the Islamic world. This political moderation involves the need to respect the Security Council as a decision locus and not ignoring it as a legitimate forum for decision-making in international security. The possibility of the Council not being respected for its political decisions sets serious precedents which could be used by other countries with their own agenda which don't have their interests sanctioned by the Council's decisions.

Mrs. Pletka talked about how the Afghanistan and Iraq wars created the need to replace the equipment and restock the inventory. To her, the election campaign for the presidency of the USA had been neglecting debates on foreign policy. That situation changed after the recent attacks to diplomatic representations of the USA. According to the analyst, there was great expectation about the candidates' debate, which would address issues of foreign and international policy.

Analyzing the future of international security, Lieutenant Colonel Menner said that in the near future Iran will have nuclear weapons and there is not much to do about it. To him, the possibility of Israel intervening through preventive attacks wouldn't strategically affect that process. It would set back a few years the development of the artifact, instead of deterring Iranian access to the bomb. Therefore, an attack from Israel would only be detrimental in conquering peace in the region. In this sense, he believes that the relationship between the USA and Israel will change, because maintaining the virtual abduction of the American foreign policy agenda to the Middle East through the interests of Israel is untenable.

In his analysis of the current situation of international politics, Ambassador Patriota stated that one of the most serious problems would be the selective action in similar situations. Questioned about the current incentives by the Brazilian government possibly causing an arms race with Argentina, similar to that of the 1970s, he affirmed that it is not a possibility, given that the project of reestablishing the military industrial policy aims to establish cooperation among the neighboring countries, mainly through building a production chain that includes several countries. This strategy is designed to aim at airplane purchase, since a single country of the area would not have enough demand to cover the costs of developing that technology. An example of this is the cargo plane which is being developed through partnership between Brazil and Argentina.

Danielle Pletka, questioned about her presentation in which she said that the USA are weaker than they once were, didn't take into account the importance of the recent inclusion of new instruments such as drones. She stated that they are not capable of serving all the missions in a war, because they are excellent for selective assassinations, but you can't just kill all the enemies. She thinks it is necessary to have a good number of people and instruments so that the troops can accomplish their missions.

Workshop 3: Future potential risks for the security of the Atlantic

The board was composed of the head of the Conflict Management and Peacebuilding Division of the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) of South Africa, colonel Annette Leijenaar; the professor of the Sciences Po University in Paris, Alfredo Valladao; the rear admiral and director of the School of Naval War of the Brazilian Navy, Cláudio Portugal de Viveiros; and by the director of Studies and Research at the Institute for Higher National Defense of France, Michel Foucher. It was moderated by the professor of the Institute for International Relations at PUC in Rio de Janeiro, Kai Kenkel.

Annette Leijenaar pointed that looking at the South Atlantic reflects two sides: Africa and South America. Therefore, it is necessary to look both ways to understand the strategic issue of this region. According to the researcher, over 90% of African trade is done by sea, and the illegal fishing has enormous economic costs for the continent, since it poses a large-

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BRAZIL

DANIEL EDLER

GUSTAVO BEZERRA

TRANSLATED BY

DALTON CALDAS

September 2012

scale threat. The regional organizations have strategies to fight this challenge, especially the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), but the individual action of the States against these practices is not clear.

According to Leijenaar, the African Union adopted a collective maritime strategy that covers a list of threats, including illicit ones such as trafficking, environmental violations and money laundering. The solution she proposes is sharing the marine area, cooperation for monitoring tools, common policies for fishing, and integrated technology for human resources, among others. Africa would need a stronger Navy for coast guarding than a Navy capacitated for wars.

On Brazil's performance on projects in Africa, the researcher affirmed that there is the cooperation for exercises on multilateral security of 1993, Atlasur. Besides, maritime security is important for the debates among the BRICS. About the specific case of South Africa, the constraints on the defense budget and the lack of domestic political interest don't allow for a budget raise.

Following that, Mr. Alfredo Valladão talked about the increasing density in the South Atlantic relations, which would require more governance mechanisms capable of avoiding conflict and improving cooperation. He listed the most important issues for the Ocean.

First: energy. The South Atlantic is about to become one of the main areas for the production of hydrocarbons of the world, arousing even the interest of the USA. The professor also mentioned the possible existence of a large quantity of ores on the seabed;

Second: agricultural production. According to him, it will be Africa and South America to feed the world in the next years;

Third: trade routes. Africa is probably the next frontier of economic growth. There would be bets on the African Market, which would make the Atlantic routes through the cape one of the most important in the world, since the biggest transport ships wouldn't go through the Suez Canal and the piracy in the Horn of Africa also helps to decrease the flow on that route;

Fourth: transnational criminality. The drug traffic from South America to the Gulf of Guinea would have a huge political impact in Africa. Narco-states would be created with severe political consequences. For this reason, governments of African countries demand that Brazil takes a stronger stand in fighting this route;

Fifth: refugee influx. Professor Valladão wondered what position Brazil would take if that influx increased substantially;

Sixth: the Antarctic issue. The debate on its exploitation would increase and climatic changes would be a central point to be considered, especially the question of whether the countries of the region would be able to man-

age that space. The very issue of the Malvinas (Falklands) shows that the area isn't free of armed conflict;

Seventh: enlargement of the Panama Canal. This is a topic that should regain a central role, which would result in challenges for the governability of the Caribbean. Some countries of the region have the canal as a central route for commerce. USAN and Brazil must have very well developed policies on this, especially considering that only the USA have the ability to militarily control the region, although they still see it as marginal.

Europe would have specific interests in the South Atlantic, especially the coastal countries, because drug traffic is an important subject to them, as well as the trade route which will increase with the expansion of the Panama Canal. The professor included the issue of the Malvinas in the same scope of analysis of the failed states as two problematic issues for Europe. However, that continent would have little capability of acting in the region, just like Brazil has great interest but little capability of acting as far as the African shores. To Valladão, it is the Africans who should take an interest in looking at the ocean more seriously, but their capability would depend on agreements. It would be necessary to improve cooperation so that the South Atlantic countries could govern it together. Alliances among States and among regional integration projects would be very important in that process. So, it would be interesting for Brazil to strengthen military capabilities in Africa. It would be essential to also extend the naval exercises done with the USA. Africans and Europeans should be included to facilitate more agreements among the Southern countries. Brazil should encourage exercises in the Caribbean, acting in partnership with the USA and Europe.

The Indic Ocean and China, according to Valladão, could also have an impact on the Atlantic. Brazil and South Africa would envision the partnership focused on security in the region, but India would have the advantage of increasing their competition with China. For the two great countries of the South Atlantic this would be a problem because it would bring a non-Atlantic agent to participate in the ocean's dynamics. We would influence the competition between external powers in a strategic area of interest for the country. We should reflect more on the impact of that.

Rear admiral Cláudio Portugal de Viveiros began his speech stating that the National Defense Policy (PDN) establishes the projection of the South Atlantic as pivotal to the country and Brazil is interested in making that projection peacefully. According to him, the South Atlantic had been far from dispute for years, but the world started casting eyes over the region. The existence of polymetallic deposits and of the pre-salt reordered the production of energy and ore in the world. As an example, 82% of the oil production in Brazil comes from the sea.

The Atlantic must be an element of aggregation among countries in South America, and of these with Africa. In this case, fishing is a fundamental activity for Brazil and is directly con-

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nected to the South Atlantic. The demand for fish should increase and the supply will not be able to meet it. Oceans are not inexhaustible. Stock is already low and protection of marine life hasn't yet been incorporated as a central point for the country. Brazil should take its role of protagonist in the debate about balancing production and sustainable limits for fishing in the Atlantic.

Regarding the threats that could hover over our patrimony, the rear admiral said that they wouldn't come from enemy countries, but rather they would be pervasive threats, among which are the main ones:

1) Armed conflict: could the National Defense Strategy (END) be used as expected?

2) Piracy: this issue has been growing and wouldn't go unnoticed, but would have its own international jurisdiction to define it and fight it (the Jamaica Treaty). The trend is for piracy to advance towards the west coast of Africa and possibly the Brazilian coast. The Navy should look out to prevent this type of action;

3) New threats. Events that will take place in Brazil increase the threat of terrorism in our territory. In the sea, the concern would be about the oil platforms. There are also the transnational conflicts, which should keep Brazil in a state of alert to monitor the entry and exit of illicit material from our coast.

Following that, he talked about the SISGARAZ – monitoring system of the Blue Amazon – which is run by civilians and military officers, acting as security, rescue, scientific research control and meteorology. About the issue of nuclear energy, the director of the Naval School affirmed that Brazil sees it as crucial and seeks to develop the nuclear submarine. After all, building the capacity of the defense industry has positive effects on other segments of the national economy.

Michel Foucher started his presentation commenting on the perimeter of the Atlantic. To Europe, the Atlantic would mean the North and the NATO treaty, collective security with the USA and Canada. But there wouldn't be a central issue among the countries of the region. The cooperation would have been very effective, and because of this it would be necessary to look to the South. The French analyst identified an increasing importance of the issues related to the seas and the South Atlantic. Two weeks after the conference, endorsing the importance that the maritime issues have to the European continent, the European Commission released the Green Paper on sea matters. When addressing the trade routes, the analyst commended Brazil's integration with the main routes. The country has routes to Panama, Europe, Asia and Africa. Because of this, he considers that Brazil needs to think more broadly and not be restricted only to the southern part of the Atlantic.

When analyzing the impact on Europe, Mr. Foucher stated that the news of cooperation in the South Atlantic is welcome in the continent, since it is seen as a way to fight threats to se-

curity. This situation makes it clear that Europe shares interests with Brazil and Africa, which are not restricted to exploitation of resources, but also to building mutual trust. Europe would seek political and operational cooperation with both sides of the South Atlantic.

Someone in the audience asked: "Brazil's Ministry of Defense, in this same conference, was very resistant to any dialogue with Europe and NATO to cooperate in the area. In security issues, is there room for a dialogue between Brazil and Europe?" Professor Valladão affirmed that Brazil wants to operate in the South Atlantic and needs capability for such. So far there is no room for this cooperation, but blocking the region is unsustainable and not interesting to the country. If we can't take governance capacity, others will do it.

Rear admiral Viveiros said that Brazil doesn't want to prohibit others from acting, but to guarantee that this action is multilateral through cooperation with Brazil, South America and Africa. On their own, Europe and the USA won't be able to occupy the space or fight the threats they identified for themselves. On the other hand, Brazil has already realized the need for capacitation and has acted to that effect, especially by means of improving the Navy. We have bold programs, like the submarine. With our increased capacity, no country will be able to act ignoring the Brazilian interests.

Professor Kai Kenkel asked: "How does the reactivation of the fourth fleet change the strategic game in the region?" The rear admiral stated that it's not a question of intimidation or threat. It wasn't a new invention, it had already existed in the past and it carried out actions directed towards the west coast of Africa. It is a response to the threats of non-government agents, and it provides humanitarian assistance. For more than 50 years the Brazilian Navy shared experiences with the American Navy. The USA transferred the Panama operation and the Caribbean exercises to a Brazilian admiral. All the activities of the Brazilian Navy are observed by the USA and Europe. There is a great exchange of information and development of data systems and shared monitoring of the region.

Michel Foucher stated that there is a more assertive American foreign policy for Africa. The fourth fleet follows that logic, increasing the American presence in the area. But the global reality is different. The US has reorganized their fleets to increase their presence in the Pacific, totaling 60% in the Atlantic and 40% in the Pacific.

Annette Leijenaar said that Brazil is seen positively on the coast of Africa, especially in South Africa, in a way that they wouldn't see an agent who would bring a western answer – in the pejorative sense of the term. African partners view a partnership with Brazil much more positively, with less bulky results in development.

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e.V.

BRAZIL

DANIEL EDLER
GUSTAVO BEZERRA

TRANSLATED BY

DALTON CALDAS

September 2012

An employee of Petrobrás asked: "Piracy in the Gulf of Guinea has increased and it is detrimental to the Brazilian expansion in the region, especially in oil exploration. The pirates of Nigeria and Benin are also harmful for focusing mainly on fuel vessels. What does the Navy do about that?" Rear admiral Viveiros stated that the Navy is aware of that, because there is constant exchange of information with African States and our increased capacity to preserve the Brazilian interests. Studies and doctrines to increase Brazil's participation in fighting piracy are being developed to help solve that problem.

Michel Foucher stated that France is also greatly interested in the region, which is why there is a permanent operation of European fleets in the Guinea bay and near Nigeria to deal with that challenge.

Conference 2: Challenges and opportunities for strategic cooperation between South and North

The board was composed of the Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations of the United Nations, Mr. Edmond Mulet; the head of the research department of the NATO Defense College, Karl Heinz Kamp; and the Professor of International Relations of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Williams da Silva Gonçalves. It was moderated by the professor of International Relations of the University of Brasilia, Antonio Jorge Ramalho da Rocha.

Antonio Jorge started the activities asking the lecturers: "What is the validity of the division between North and South in the current world, marked by inequalities in both parts? Wouldn't it be better to think in terms of more or less developed countries? Even in the latter there are comparative advantages of great strategic value."

"The Rio+20 Summit took note of the goals of the millennium and reinforced the logic of sustainable development. It has left us a possible institutional framework that allows us to promote economic growth with social inclusion and respect to the environment. This is the challenge of the century. How can we look after billions of human beings and also the environment? The fulfillment of this agenda is threatened by the economic crisis, but the Rio+20 points to a future which cannot ignore the confluence of these issues."

The Assistant Secretary-General Edmond Mulet said there was a consensus that no one can individually deal with global security issues. It is fundamental that the UN work with regional organizations which have more knowledge of the local reality and would confer more participation and legitimacy to the actions. This strategy was utilized, for example, in Darfur, with the UN acting jointly with the African Union. Even in Haiti there was wide cooperation from countries of the region, since that seventy percent of the troops comes from Latin American countries. In Liberia and the Ivory Coast there is cooperation from the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

The relationship with NATO works the same way, increasing the UN's action capability. Similarly, it is fundamental to have the collaboration of the local governments to help in their countries.

The countries of the north have already noticed the importance of participating in those actions, but the countries of the South need to be more motivated. The South doesn't only want to be an instrument of the actions, but to participate in the elaborating debates for the concept of intervention and the political decisions on specific concepts.

For director Kamp, globalization also occurs in the security policies and one of NATO's main activities today would be the establishment of partnerships in the Gulf, Asia and Eastern Europe. Those partnerships would be mainly operational, with specifying treaties, but which would focus not only on military issues, but also on cyber-attacks, energy security, the spread of nuclear weapons and terrorism. Mr. Kamp pointed that not all partners would be democratic, and that NATO would rather not establish partnership with them, but there are crucial countries with which those partnerships would be unavoidable. He states that NATO wouldn't treat their partners equally, because it differentiates them between partners by necessity (Uzbekistan, China) and partners by choice (those who share values).

Director Kamp drew attention to the fact that there wouldn't be many connections between NATO and South America. The most evident relations would be with Argentina, even though there is potential for more partnerships. Kamp wasn't defending them, but simply pointing them out. It would be necessary that there be a dialogue so that both sides discovered the perspectives of a partnership. Upon discovering room for dialogue, Brazil will certainly have a fundamental role in the response to be given.

Mr. Kamp defends that there be no wrong perceptions of NATO, because there would be a notion that NATO would be the armed wing of the USA, and it would affect the sovereignty of South America. But it isn't so. NATO would be a political and military defense alliance composed of States committed to help each other mutually in case of an external attack. The alliance has acted on other fronts, like in Libya, but that would not be its *raison d'être*. As a defense alliance, it defends the territory, the people within this territory (terrorists, recalled Kamp, attack people and not the territories) and defends the vital interests of the member States (its most controversial aspect).

NATO's defense missions wouldn't exclude a partnership with Russia, but the latter couldn't go against the defense interests of any of NATO's member States. The institution acts on a global scale (Africa, Europe and Asia), but it needs to work with a consensus. There is great internal debate over many security issues. NATO is not in the hands of any specific State, because it is regional with a global horizon. It would be a group of independent and sovereign States, led by the USA, but not dominated by them.

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Williams Gonçalves highlighted the difficulties of cooperating with the North on security issues. There is a real sensation of change in international policy. China's fast rise is behind a great part of those changes, because it involves the loss of a hegemonic position by the USA (which was very affected by the economic crisis, but also going through a political crisis and an intense anti-American sentiment around the world). To him, the European economic crisis would divide Europe into two groups: some countries, like Germany, would be fortified by its own crisis, and others would face the harsher social effects it would bring. The formation of the BRICS is also a symptom of these changes. It is a group with the objective of remodeling international order to make it more balanced and fair. Because of this, Brazil would be in a very different position than that of NATO. With the end of the Cold War, instead of being extinguished, NATO stopped looking after the security of its member States and started interfering in several regions of the world, acting as a kind of international police. It is a very different stance from Brazil's.

Brazil's activity with the BRICS, seeking to change international order, hampers the relation with NATO. Brazil defends the principle of self-determination of the people, viewed as fundamental in order to promote democracy among States – democracy is not important just within the States. The armed power, states professor Gonçalves, should be used to dissuade the use of armed forces, not to intensify the conflicts. The intervention in Libya, carried out by NATO, was exactly the opposite of that. In the name of defending Human Rights, a chief of State was clubbed to death in the middle of the street. While they defend the Human Rights of some, the same agents refuse to open the patents of AIDS medications, a disease that kills thousands in Africa. The position of Brazil, therefore, will hardly come close to that defended by the Europeans.

Professor Jorge Ramalho insisted on the question: "How do you view the possibility of cooperation? Is there any?"

Director Kamp stated that there is a link between security and development, but that to NATO it would be hard to deal with those dimensions together. NATO would be a defense organization, so it would be necessary to work with partners and recognize the UN's broader approach. However, NATO would be capable of promoting military security in situations where development, due to violence, could not occur. In Afghanistan and Syria the argument would be the same.

Professor Williams, however, insisted that there is, effectively, a link between security and development. It would be acknowledged by the UN since the 1960s. In 1967, when the Group of 77 obtained the creation of UNCTAD, the proposition was exactly that: avoiding that poorer countries, which were defenseless against the market's brute force, collapsed.

Workshop 4: the White Paper of Defense and international legislation

This board was attended by the chief of the Institutional Planning Advisory of Brazil's Ministry of Defense, Division General Julio de Amo Júnior; the director of Center for International Law (CEDIN), Leonardo Nemer Caldeira Brant; the head of the Institute for European Studies and member of the Law Department at the University of Saarland, in Germany, Torsen Stein; and the professor of the Global Studies Department and the Economics Department of Colby College (USA), Patrice Franko. It was moderated by the coordinator of the Sérgio Vieira de Mello School and the Conflict Prevention Analysis Group (GAPCon) of the University Cândido Mendes, Clóvis Brigagão.

Professor Clóvis Brigagão saluted the attendants, welcoming them, and questioned why he wasn't invited to help write the White Paper, since he was the founder of the International Security area in Brazil. Then, he gave the floor to General Julio Amo.

The General introduced the concept of a White Paper, which, to him, can be very useful in peacekeeping, since it informs the capabilities the State has, and that its objective is not to attack other countries. According to the General, the term White Paper has been used since the 15th and 16th centuries, but its format and information were gradually altered throughout the years. In 1996, Brazil published the Brazilian Defense Strategy paper. In the 2000s that strategy was reviewed and now, in 2012, the first Brazilian defense White Paper will be published. According to the General, although Brazil is one of the last countries to publish a White Paper due to our history, we are pioneers in legislation introducing our concept of Defense. He also highlighted that the White Paper initiative originated in the Legislative Power, not the Ministry Of Defense.

Professor Leonardo Nemer stated that the White Paper is a contribution which falls within Article 4 of the Brazilian Constitution, the one that defines the guiding principles of the country's foreign policy. According to him, the White Paper is not suited to guide Brazil's relations with other States because, according to the Vienna Convention of 1969 on the Law of Treaties, recently ratified by Brazil, the country cannot refrain from international duties based on domestic legislation. On the contrary, they should be consonant with each other. After that explanation, the professor presented the differences between monistic and dualistic concepts of the Law. The former poses difficulties inasmuch as it sees that both Domestic Law and International Law have the same common origin and from that homogeneous source comes both branches of the law. The difficulties posed refer to a way of explaining a possible conflict between both types of law. The Dualistic concept, on the other hand, identifies Foreign and Domestic Law as derived from different sources, which enables us to incorporate principles and rules from one source of law to the other.

Professor Stein stated that the concept of Responsibility to Protect is not and cannot be seen as a *carte blanche* for agents to act and intervene in the political realities of States, which would completely break the notion of

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state sovereignty. To him, the importance of the White Paper lies in defining the rules of engagement of the State that publishes it. This situation would, in theory, undermine the importance of the Security Council in defining the guidelines for peacekeeping operations, since each State would have already published their own set of rules. At the same time, it makes it easier to hold accountable the States that fail to comply with them.

Professor Franko, in turn, pointed out the differences among current International Security issues. According to her, it is necessary to analyze reality through the interaction of three points: sovereignty, globalization and internationalized economic output. This is what she defined as the impossible trinity of the defense economics, in comparison with the impossible trinity of macroeconomics. The determination of which of the three aspects will be overlooked is crucial to defining the security strategy of the State and to the stance it will take internationally. This reality implies that there will always be a trade-off among those three aspects of Defense economics.

To Patrice Franko, Brazil already has power and takes part in the most important international forums. Our Defense industry is part of a production chain and therefore it is very difficult to maintain autonomy, especially because Brazil doesn't have enough demand to increase scale in the production of military equipment.

After the presentations, Antônio Carlos Pereira, editor-in-chief of newspaper Estado de São Paulo, asked about the need to increase the budget of the Ministry of Defense, currently the second-largest of the country, to suit the projects of the nation's armed forces. Mr. Pereira suggested that the career plan of military officers should be thought over, including the costs of active officers, reservists and the retired ones as a way of releasing more funds for the modernization projects.

General Amo replied with specific details of the military budget, which has a different periodicity from the budgets of other ministries, and stated that having the payment of inactive officers included in the ministry's budget is a unique situation in all the ministries, and it makes the Defense budget turn out to be one of the largest in the country.

Another question that was raised before the closing of the meeting was asked by a law student of the Rural University of Rio de Janeiro. She contrasted Brazil's military criminal law with the existing provisions of the Treaty of Rome which founded the International Criminal Court and asked about updating the former in order to conform to the later, especially in regards to a possible criminal liability of commanding officers over the actions of their subordinates. General Amo pointed that this was an issue in the competence of the Ministry of Justice, but disputed the notion that there is impunity for officers whose subordinates act illegally.

Closing

The closing panel was composed of the head of the European Union Delegation in Brazil, Ambassador Ana Paula Zacarias; the Executive Director of the Brazilian Center for International Relations (CEBRI), Fátima Berardinelli; and the Representative of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Brazil, Felix Dane.

Ambassador Zacarias stated that there was enormous interest in keeping the strategic partnership between the European Union and Brazil in all of its dimensions. There would not be a single answer to the challenges, due to the complexities of an ever-changing world. The challenge posed by the conference was to establish a space for dialogue. In spite of its problems, the world would be better because there is more cooperation. In this context, Brazil would be an increasingly interesting partner to the European Union, because it demonstrates a continuous ability to evolve.

Fátima Berardinelli stated that the CEBRI was very pleased with the outcome of the conference. The lecturers were able to raise very interesting questions regarding the international security issue. Encouraging debates is exactly the CEBRI's mission, and that is why it aimed to continue the partnership with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation to carry out the Conference of the Fort of Copacabana.

Felix Dane said that it a long and intense day, with parallel discussions which brought forward the many dimensions the global security challenges. He thanked all participants, crew and lecturers and closed the event by saying he hoped this experience would happen again in the next years.