

## BRAZIL

GREGORY JOHN RYAN  
IN COOPERATION WITH  
LUKAS LINGENTHAL &  
ANA HELENA CAVALCANTE

## VIII International Security Conference of Forte de Copacabana

NEW ISSUES ON THE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AGENDA

November 2011

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**On November 3rd and 4th the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS) hosted together with its partner, the Brazilian Centre for International Relations (CEBRI) and with the support of the European Union the VIII International Security Conference, Forte de Copacabana. The gathering took place in the Marriott Hotel, Copacabana, and united numerous speakers from both sides of the Atlantic discussing “New Issues on the International Security Agenda”. The event was open to the public and was covered by the media, local as well as national.**

The conference was opened by the Representative of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Thomas Knirsch, the Executive President of CEBRI, Ambassador Castro Neves and the Representative of the European Delegation, Ambassador Ana Paula Zacarias.

The three speakers shared their views on a changing world and the new security challenges that come with it. They agreed that power is moving away from its traditional centres towards a new set of actors, state as well as non-state. As a result, power will be more fragmented and dispersed around the globe. At the same time, globalization is still doing its work, internationalizing all of the big questions of our time, turning national security challenges into international ones. Examples that were mentioned ranged from crime - cyber-crime as well as traditional organized crime - , environmental problems, food- and energy security, financial and commercial stability and so forth. In such a new world order multilateralism and cooperation are keys to a successful and peaceful relation between states. Ms

Zacarias underlined the importance of regional organizations in such a world and gave a quick overview on the recently established European External Action Service (EEAS), which gives Europeans a new tool in pursuing their common interests and which enables them to act as one block in questions of global importance. Mr Neves provided the public a glimpse into the near future by speaking of the continuous rise of China and with it the Pacific region, underlying his argument with numbers and facts, such as that in a few years the Chinese middle class could reach close to a half a billion people. Mr Knirsch spoke of the importance of the cooperation of South America and Europe, bound through common history, language and culture, sharing a common interest in shaping the world of tomorrow together.

### Perspectives from Latin America and Europe

After this short introduction, the keynote speakers followed. First to speak was Francisco Carlos Modesto, General of the Brazilian Army and Director of the Department for Strategic Intelligence at the Brazilian Ministry of Defence. General Modesto was followed by Ulrich Schlie, the Director for Policy Planning at the German Ministry of Defence. Third speaker was Diego Pupato, Representative of the International Affairs Secretariat at the Argentinean Ministry of Defence. The debate was moderated by Ambassador Marcos Castrioto de Azambuja.

General Modesto's intention was to provide a security perspective from a Brazilian point of view as well as explaining Brazil's position in the context of its geopolitical position. He

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agreed with the general picture painted by the opening speeches and the mentioned threats, dividing them in several categories, i.e. military-, natural- or economy-related. He argued that the military of the 21st century must be aware of all these kinds of threats, and must prepare its personnel adequately. This implies, he said, that soldiers of the future must be trained in new ways, must acquire a broader general knowledge, must know how to use their traditional tools, such as the assault rifle, but they must also know for example what international law is, and how to act accordingly while facing the aforementioned new challenges. General Modesto went on to argue that many new challenges such as international crime, trafficking, drug trade and so on are linked to the ongoing proliferation of failed and semi failed states, and that it is thus in the interest of the world community to counter this trend, which can only be achieved through international cooperation.

Regarding Brazil's geopolitical position, he described the country as a giant in the south, further away than others from the most important markets and marked by an almost endlessly long land border with ten different countries. Together with many of these countries, Brazil shares the Amazonas rainforest which is still thinly populated and holds vast treasures. Many of these treasures are still hidden on the ground of rivers or underneath the earth. Others are there in form of plants and animals. These treasures attract many criminals and illegal poachers who in their pursuit of quick money leave a trail of death by poisoning rivers and destroying the flora and fauna. In order to prevent such from happening and to secure the well being of the ecosystem as well as the people living in it, the state should increase its presence and all countries in the region must work together in controlling the porous borders and sharing know how as well as in conducting training together. Closing his speech, General Modesto touched upon the question of the Southern Atlantic, saying that this subject will have to be further discussed in the future.

Mr Schlie started his presentation by describing how his ministry understands Brazil: as a driver of growth, enabler of international relations and as a country that will shape the out-

come of the 21st century. He stressed the importance of understanding one another and in order to achieve this, he underlined the importance of understanding oneself, what one wants, what the driving interests and goals are. Regarding Germany, he explained the ongoing process of realignment of the German armed forces Bundeswehr, in order to adapt it to current trends and to enhance the strategic role of itself and of Germany as a whole in the world. Identifying common goals, Mr Schlie pointed towards the desire of both countries to gain a permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), a goal in which both states could and should assist each other.

Mr Schlie went on to affirm that the world is changing continuously and fast. The Arab Spring has brought the ouster of Ben Ali, Mubarak and Gadhafi, while at the same time Bin Laden has been killed. But, he went on, the disappearance of long standing despots and tyrants does not necessarily make the world safer; power fragments as states are becoming less important in relative terms and non-state actors move into the spotlight, hence increasing the complexity of the international system. And while globalization is turning states more interdependent, the already mentioned set of threats are also turning ever more international in their scope and reach. Thus, alliance systems and collective security are keys to counter the negative trends of globalization. The defence and protection of any given country's citizen, argued Schlie, does not end at the own borders. Through international alliance systems, states can and must rely in the future on their partners to act in the interest of all, to secure the position of all and to provide security to all.

On the United Nations, Mr Schlie said that it remains one of the most important organisations, as it is the only organisation that truly brings all states together. As such, the role of the UN must be strengthened, but it must also be reformed to adapt to the new realities. In closing, Mr Schlie once more reiterated that Brazil and Germany must be included in permanent consultations on the highest levels, and that both countries have an interest in aiding each other in achieving this goal.

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Mr Pupato then presented a view from Argentina. He stated that the overarching mission of the Argentinean armed forces is the preservation of Argentina's independence and sovereignty. Referring to South America as Argentina's home region, Mr Paputo said that the subcontinent is blessed with unspeakable riches: Water in abundance, fertile soils, minerals and other raw materials and so on. But, he went on, no country on its own can secure these, and as such the countries must come together in regional organisations in order to protect themselves and the natural riches against external threats. Among the existing regional organisations Argentina would like to see the strengthening of the Union of South American Nations (USAN). He added that in the process of further integration in Latin America, all elements of the many societies must be included, that it cannot be a project only for the ones representing business or security interests.

In the following debate, the speakers deepened some of their arguments. On the implications of the ongoing drug trade, General Modesto affirmed the importance of further collaboration, which includes the sharing of satellite imagery and intelligence in general. The drug trade, according to General Modesto, is creating an entire set of challenges, turning states on the African coast into narco states and then failed states, as a result of the drugs which pass through them into Europe. On another issue, Mr Pupato's affirmation, that for his country sovereignty is the highest goal while at the same time expressing the desire for further integration and strengthening of regional organizations, was cause for many questions emanating from Mr Schlie. Drawing on the experience of the European project, Mr Schlie wanted to know how Mr Pupato thinks these two positions can be combined. Mr Pupato answered that in his view cooperation does not imply the weakening of sovereignty.

After this first round of official speeches, the first day of the conference ended with ongoing discussions amongst the participants in a more informal ambience during an evening cocktail.

**Climate change and energy as security issues**

The second day started with two workshops which were held simultaneously.

The first workshop was concerned with climate change and energy as security issues. To talk about these subjects, three specialists were invited: Francine Jácome, Executive Director and Researcher of the Venezuelan Institute for Social and Political Studies, Jeffrey Mazo, Research Fellow for Environmental Security and Science Policy at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) in the United Kingdom, and Odilon Marcuzzo, Secretary of the Brazilian-Argentine Agency for Accounting and Control of Nuclear Materials (ABACC). The opening statements of the speakers were followed by an audience including debate, moderated by Leonardo Paz, from the Brazilian Center for International Relations (CEBRI).

Ms Jácome opened by presenting the topics of her presentation which were the change in the security situation in Latin America and the role of the climate change, energy security, USAN and ALBA (Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America) in the region. In her view, the Latin American security agenda has suffered a change in its main themes, which means that non traditional threats such as drug dealing, organized crime and natural disasters are being prioritized, instead of traditional threats. In this context, the USAN surged with the proposal of an alternative arena for conflict resolution and dialogue between its members. She highlighted the function in this arena of the South American Defense Council that has defence technology and industry as main concerns. There is a tendency, she said, to deal with sovereignty in a new way, based in the growing significance of the protection of natural resources and of democracy. The mission of the Council would be the assistance in case of emergencies in such issues.

Ms Jacóme also discussed the differences between USAN and ALBA, showing the particularities of each organization. Concerning energy questions, Ms Jacóme compared USAN and ALBA, showing that the first has a special program called Initiative for the Integration of the Regional Infrastructure of South America (IIRSA), that manage projects related to energy, natural resources and communication. In the second organization, energy is not just an

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important topic amongst others, but a central issue, that motivated its creation. Its emphasis lays in the production of oil, a very important export commodity for its members. Concerning the defence strategy, the focus of ALBA is in the prevention against possible US American interventions in the region. To summarize, in Jácome's view, energy has definitely become a regional and geopolitical theme in Latin America.

Mr Mazo then touched upon challenges related to climate change. He explained that there are many diverse difficulties ahead which are a direct result of climate change, such as the spread of diseases and social instability in communities affected by environmental degradation. Global warming has the potential to provoke and aggravate conflicts, fuel terrorism, lead to dangerous food shortages and wide spread famines as well as lead to civil wars. He underlined his argument by emphasizing that "Climate change simply multiplies the threats".

Mr Mazo gave some examples of conflicts which he believes were at least partly caused by changes in the climate system. One such conflict which he pointed out is the still ongoing low intensity civil war in the Dafur region of the Sudan. He further affirmed that climate change is a long-term problem and its consequences, like the rise of the sea level, have to be solved through cooperation. The constitution of a consensus concerning the way how to deal with global warming and how to avoid or diminish it is an important condition to solve this problem the best way possible. For him, catastrophic scenarios are likely and cooperation is the best way to prevent them.

Mr Marcuzzo used his time to focus on energy again. He discussed the energy question relating it to power and security. At the beginning of his speech, he remembered that the world's population is growing fast and reached the number of 7 billion habitants this year. So the population question gains in importance in the present situation. One of the main questions is: "How do we feed in a fair way the growing population without destroying the planet?"

The key point to answer this question, according to Mr Marcuzzo's view, is energy. He poin-

ted that if the question of energy sources is solved, then the problems of humanity are also solved. There are many kinds of energy sources, like the sun, winds, fossils, nuclear fusion and water. All of them present pros and cons, but the nuclear energy is in his opinion the best choice, because of its high energy density, that is its capacity to produce much energy with a small amount of resource.

A polemic theme also discussed by Mr Marcuzzo was the nuclear accident in Fukushima, in Japan, which he sees as a proof of the quality of nuclear energy. That is because the plant was actually prepared for a tsunami. The problem was that the tsunami's size was bigger than any system could predict.

During the debate some interesting ideas were exposed. Ms Jácome remembered that the ALBA is a fundamental tool of the Venezuelan policy, playing an important role on its foreign relations with other ALBA countries. Mr Mazo called for the need of a global agreement concerning climate change, which should be accepted by every country in the world. And Mr Marcuzzo ended the debate, highlighting the need of a redistribution of power within the United Nations, so that it represents the world like it looks today and not 60 years ago.

**Maritime security**

The second workshop was about common threats to maritime security. Speakers were the Chilean Rear Admiral, Ivan Valenzuela Bosne, Director of Security and Maritime Operations of the Chilean Navy. Second, there was Markus Kaim, Head of the International Security Division from the Science and Politics Foundation (SWP) in Germany, and last but not least, Alfredo Valladão, Professor at Science Po in Paris, France. The debate was moderated by Aline Soares from the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

Admiral Bosne opened by affirming the importance of control of the seas. The control of the seas is directly correlated to trafficking of narcotics and the smuggling of other illegal contraband, to global trade, to the spread of piracy, and to crime in general. Admiral Bosne went on to argue that while this has always been true, after 9/11 the international com-

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munity came together and increased cooperation on the seas, recognising the additional threat emanating from international terrorism. As a result maritime awareness programs were implemented which would monitor the seas by coordinating assets and by sharing satellite imagery. Furthermore, Admiral Bosne stressed the importance of international organizations and their role in patrolling the international waters, and that they should be equipped with the most recent technology and should be supported by the international community with funds and manpower: everyone must pool its resources and work together. As such, Admiral Bosne argued, the idea of complete and total sovereignty to which some states still cling, must be reconsidered, technological advances having made this concept obsolete in many ways anyway, i.e. through satellite imagery.

Mr Kaim then took on piracy. He argued that it is no new phenomenon, indeed already the ancient Romans had to cope with this problem. But while piracy was long thought gone, it has come back in recent years. The European Union defines piracy as organized crime, and as such it constitutes one of the five major threats as defined by the Union. The way in which this threat plays out is by interrupting the free flow of commerce and raw materials, vital for the European economies. Mr Kaim named four main geographical areas where piracy constitutes a threat against freedom of trade and shipping: the Gulf of Aden, the Gulf of Guinea, the Straights of Malacca and the seas around the southern tip of the Indian subcontinent. Providing some statistics, Mr Kaim said that out of the 20.000 ships which passed the Gulf of Aden in 2008, 49 got hijacked which in turn constitutes less than a third of a percent. On Germany Mr Kaim said, that the country exports around 20% of its goods through the seas, and that 42% of all ships that were attacked in the Gulf of Aden were in some way or another connected to Germany. While those attacks did not in any way threaten the functioning of Asian or European economies, it did have an impact on food security where ships were hijacked destined for refugees. Another consequence of piracy is the rise of shipping costs, as the risk is passed on from the insurance companies to the shipping companies and then to the consumers and producers.

Mr Kaim went on to talk about the response of the International Community which takes place in form of several armed missions, in which a wide range of otherwise little connected partners work together in sending ships and in patrolling the high seas together. About the outcome, Mr Kaim said that for now there are good results, that many important shipments get protection (for example the aforementioned food shipments) and in general shipping lanes are better protected. But, Mr Kaim argued, piracy was not a "sea problem", but a land based problem. Failed states who aren't able to patrol their own coasts and police their territories encourage rogue elements of its societies as well as organized gangs to pursue piracy in the open seas. Furthermore, there are legal problems facing the international community, what to do with pirates which are caught, what country or organization should prosecute and sentence them? A real solution would thus include the stabilizing of states from which the pirates operate.

Mr Valladão opened his presentation by pointing towards the re-emergence of the South Atlantic as a strategically important region. Several key factors play a role in this process, for example, the many new discoveries of (fossil) energy sources in deep water areas. These more traditional energy carriers, Mr Valladão argues, will continue to dominate the international markets while renewable and green energies will still take many years to be available in sufficient quantities to guarantee the working of modern societies. Then there were the increasingly accessible amalgam fields, which harbour a great potential source for all kinds of minerals, vital for all industries around the world. Next, there are the fishing grounds, so important in feeding the growing world population and providing it vital proteins, as well as an important source of income for thousands of people. Finally, the growing importance of shipping lanes which cross the South Atlantic, be it in form of new huge ships that cannot navigate through the more traditional routes of Suez or Panama and thus choose the Cape and the southern tip of South America; or the increasing commercial fleet of Brazil which fulfils the needs of the growing Brazilian economy.

Mr Valladão then went on in arguing that new needs of the South Atlantic should include all

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Atlantic countries, north and south, because only together all the challenges can be addressed and a situation similar to the one in the South China Sea can be avoided. Further challenges named by Mr Valladão included the rise of the narco and failed states in West Africa. These are being increasingly used by international drug traffickers as transit states for drugs destined to Europe. Furthermore, Mr Valladão pointed towards the dangers that the Russians have initiated by pushing for discussions on the resource explorations of Antarctica, which could bring with it geopolitical competition, involving a wide range of actors, from inside the region as well from outside. Thus, the prosperity of the South Atlantic is a question of collective security, and if well coordinated between all partners, the region could become a source for great riches for all.

**Illicit traffic, border control and national security**

After a lunch break, the conference continued with a debate on illicit traffic, border control and national security. Present were Rebeca Steiman, a Researcher at RETIS group and Professor for Geography at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Fernando Destito Francischini, member of the Brazilian Parliament and a federal police officer, and Javier Fernando García Duchini member of the Uruguayan Parliament and president of the defence committee. The panel was moderated by Miriam Saraiva.

Ms Steiman spoke about indigenous administered and controlled territories in the Amazonas areas. She argued that the impact of this arrangement was of great advantage for the whole of Brazil, since the indigenous people made sure that the areas controlled by them were well protected and preserved. To contrast this picture, she pointed towards federal administrated areas, where there are many problems with illegal poaching, logging and trafficking.

Mr Francischini opened his presentation by talking about the problem that seemingly every time when the police agencies around Brazil successfully imprison leading members of the criminal underworld, the vacant positions are usually quickly replaced with other individuals

and things go back to where they were in the beginning. As a result, the state must ask itself if repression is enough, and the answer could only be "no". The state must adopt a more comprehensive approach which takes underlying factors into consideration. One important part of this equation, so Mr Francischini, is the international dimension. Decisions of foreign leaders have a direct impact on criminal activities in any given nation. As an example, Mr Francischini named the policy of relaxing laws which restrict the plantation of coca plants in Bolivia. Bolivia's president Morales may have good intentions towards his constituencies, respecting their ancient culture and customs, but the effect for Brazil is an increase in cocaine influx from the region which in turn fuels crime. Staying on the topic of drugs, Mr Francischini argued that, while Brazil is no important drug producing country, it nevertheless is an important drug exporting country because international drug traffickers want to use its positive prestige around the world. Rather than exporting cocaine through Barranquilla, they prefer doing it through Rio de Janeiro which will less alert the customs agents in the destination port.

Going back to the question of other priorities the state should have besides repression, Mr Francischini presented a three part strategy: Prevention, Repression and the taking back of areas that had been abandoned by the state, in order to deny criminals safe havens.

Next, Mr Duchini talked about the challenges which are posed through international arms trafficking. He affirmed that this problem has a huge impact on South American societies and direct effects on the human rights of all citizens as well as their quality of life. He described two dimensions – external and internal – and said that there were two reasons why arms came to South America: political and economic. Any solution would thus mean for the countries in the region to come together and to coordinate their actions.

**Armed forces and urban peacemaking**

The last panel of the VIII International Security Conference carried the title "Armed forces and urban peacemaking". The speakers were Lieutenant-Colonel Paulo Augusto Texeira from the

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public security secretariat of the State of Rio de Janeiro, Jesus Ramirez Cano, director of the urban security company from Colombia, Paolo Tripodi, head of the ethics branch at the Lejeune Leadership Institute, US Marine Corps University and Kai Michael Kenkel, professor of international relations at the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro. The debate was moderated by Antonio Jorge Ramalho da Rocha.

Lt-Colonel Teixeira started off by giving the audience an overview on how the State of Rio de Janeiro confronts the many bandit-controlled shanty towns and the history that lead up to the current state of affairs. He reiterated the importance for the state of controlling all of its territories. This involves in some cases armed confrontation and repression, but, Lt-Colonel Teixeira stressed, this is just one aspect of an overall plan and not the solution in itself. There is also a danger that if the state smashes one criminal group, another will fill the power vacuum that is left. Thus, once the state has entered a henceforth lawless area, it must occupy it and stay there. This is the underlying idea of "Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora" (UPP), the program that was first formulated in 2008 in cooperation between the security apparatus and the universities. The challenge included questions concerning logistics, building up a permanent presence and so on. But the idea was that once the police went in, they were there to stay. Once established, the state would follow and provide the citizens with services, such as healthcare and schooling etc. Until the end of 2010, many such UPPs units were established but a new challenge arose when several criminal factions chose to provoke a standoff. In response to this development, the Brazilian Marine Forces were called in who themselves could draw on their own experiences from peace keeping missions around the world, for example in Haiti.

Mr Cano then talked about the Colombian experience in the city of Medellín. The city was for a long time one of the deadliest in the world, controlled by many armed factions. President Uribe initiated a long term program which after eight years yielded total victory to the state. In its course, the Colombian security forces confronted the gangs, arrested their leaders and 35.000 arms were either confiscated

or were handed in. In the wake of the operation, shootings and kidnappings and other crimes collapsed. But this did not mean that the state could declare victory and move in. A multidimensional approach had to be undertaken. For one, Mr Cano said, the state would integrate certain elements on the illegal paramilitary forces which were in part responsible for the violence, into their own ranks, thus removing them from the streets. Then, the state created rehabilitation centres where other ex irregular fighters could turn themselves in and receive support from the state.

However, this was not the "happy end", Mr Cano continued. The criminals who were before organized in right wing paramilitary organizations, adapted and changed their strategy, many of them aiming for political offices and getting elected "parapoliticians", as he called them. In 2009, there was a recurrence of violence and many parts of the city turned again into no-go areas, controlled by armed gangs. But President Uribe was committed to not back down, and the military was to be called in which swiftly returned control back into the hands of the state. Many of the captured underground bosses were then extradited to the USA, Uribe wanting them out of Colombia, as Mr Cano explained. This move however backfired when the USA made deals with many of them. In return for parts of their fortunes or for important information, many were released and returned to Colombia which in turn brought violence once again back to the streets. Even with those many setbacks, the state however was not about to give up, Mr Cano urged. Nowadays, it is widely recognized that a solution would have to be supported by the whole of the Colombian society, thus the state has started preventive programs by informing the youth about the problems of militias, gangs and paramilitary forces. Programs were started to mobilize the general population and programs for rehabilitating criminals were launched.

Next to speak was Mr Tripodi. He opened by stating that the US Marine Corps have a lot of experience in confronting urban guerrillas and insurgencies around the world, and that such missions might more adequately be called "small wars", as they are called within the US military and referred to in the manual destined

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to this subject. Mr Tripodi then started off with a brief excursion into history, talking about the British General Mike Jackson. General Jackson was part of the Western Force in Bosnia, and when Russia unexpectedly occupied the Pristina airport in 1999, he was ordered to take it back. He however refused to apply force, arguing that there would be better ways than direct confrontation. He has since become an expert on pacification, peacekeeping and nation building. Mr Tripodi drawing on General Jackson's experience went on to explain that the application is just one component in the quest for urban pacification. Other factors include the creation of economic opportunities, respecting the needs and desires of the people living in the area. Thus, force must be applied in a wise way, not too much but also not too little and at the right time.

Generally, there were three stages that a commander must take into consideration when moving into an area: First he should go in with force and overwhelm the enemy. This is important because it will open a window of opportunity. Second, once the area is occupied, force must be applied in a wise way to keep that window of opportunity open. Furthermore, the commander must act decisively; there is no space of dithering and confusion which would close the window of opportunity. Third and last, there must be an exit strategy about when and how to leave. As an example, Mr Tripodi pointed towards Rwanda, arguing that if the UN Contingent would have used decisive force in the early moments of the genocide, the perpetrators would have been probably dispersed and the genocide would have never had taken place.

Mr Tripodi then presented four components that create good peacekeepers: First, the soldiers must have the right mindset being committed to help humanity and not simply to earn money. Second, the level of training is of greatest importance which means not only the art of war, but also language, education and cultural understanding. Third would be the right set of equipment and fourth is leadership which must be committed and knowing what to do.

Mr Kenkel held the closing presentation which was concerned with the European approach

towards the use of its armed forces in domestic scenarios. Mr Kenkel started off by arguing that there is a huge difference in the way European thinkers handle this question, compared to the way it is done in Latin America. Referring to the Northern Theory, Mr Kenkel explained that there is an underlying cultural component to the approach that in northern thinking the involvement of the armed forces in domestic affairs could potentially result in the weakening of civilian power and result in an eventual coup d'état, and should thus always be shunned.

Mr Kenkel then went over to present a view that could explain why Latin America struggles more with violence within its societies than Europe. According to this theory, almost all questions concerning borders between the several states had been resolved by peaceful diplomatic means while in Europe they were established over the years at the price of blood. As such, in Europe anger was often directed towards the outside while in South America it was directed inwards. Mr Kenkel admitted that there are certainly many doubts regarding this view, but that it can help in understanding why the southern armed forces have often focused their attention inwards. Another important difference is, that in Europe the police was always meant to fight internal agents of violence, including terrorism, over the years sufficiently equipped and trained for such so that there was never the necessity for any European society to call the army for help. An exception would be Switzerland where the military has a limited role in a domestic context, for example in protecting foreign embassies or in possible deployments for crowd controlling purposes.

**Retrospective and upcoming topics**

Before the official closure by Ambassadors Zaccarias and Neves and Mr Knirsch, Matias Spektor from the Getúlio Vargas Foundation and Patrick Keller from the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Berlin gave a short round-up on the conference and pointed out untouched topics which might be of relevance in the upcoming year.

Mr Spektor pointed out that, despite the huge variety of topics of regional importance for La-



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tin America covered by this year's Forte de Copacabana, Mercosur was not mentioned in one panel. Especially in the debates about drug trafficking and internal security, the link between an integrated market and a cooperation in security issues was obvious, but also challenges such as climate change and energy security could only be effectively dealt with in a higher integrated region. As a very important development in the security policy of Brazil, Mr Spektor underlined the release of the first White Book on defence and security policy in the history of the country, next year. This issue could be of highly interest for the discussion during next year's Forte de Copacabana, he said.

Mr Keller raised the discussion about the topic of this year's security conference on a more theoretical level and asked if it were really new issues on the security agenda discussed during the conference or if it rather were traditional security topics discussed in a new context, thus, the context of an ever more globalized and interconnected world. He then came to speak on the future role of Brazil in areas such as the relations to NATO and the involvement in UN peacekeeping missions, especially as part of the policy in reach of a permanent seat in the UN Security Council. He closed in saying that the Forte de Copacabana had the potential of implementing and establishing a deeper dialogue between Europe and Brazil in issues of security policy.