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Enduring NATO, Rising Brazil

Managing International Security in a Recalibrating Global Order

Foreword by

Stephen R. Covington

Strategic and International Affairs Advisor to
NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR)

Edited by

Brooke A. Smith-Windsor



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Enduring NATO, Rising Brazil

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List of Acronyms

ABACC	Agency for Accounting and Control of Nuclear Materials
ACT	Allied Command Transformation
AFRICOM	United States Africa Command
AIM Strategy 2050	Africa's Maritime Integrated Strategy 2050
AIRCOM	Allied Air Command (Ramstein, Germany)
AMISON	African Union Mission in Somalia
AU	African Union
AWACS	Airborne Warning and Control System
BNDES	Banco Nacional do Desenvolvimento (Brazilian Development Bank)
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
C34	Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations
CAOC	Combined Air Operations Center (Torrejon, Spain)
CBRN	Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear
CCDCOE	NATO Cooperative Cyber Defense Centre of Excellence
CERT	Grupo de Resposta a Incidentes de Segurança para a Internet (Brazilian National Computer Emergency Response Team)
CFI	Connected Forces Initiative
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CJTF	Combined Joint Task Forces
CNEN	Brazilian Nuclear Energy Commission
COE	Council of Elders
COMISAF	Commander of the International Security Assistance Force
CONUS	Contiguous United States
CPLP	Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries
CSD	South-American Defense Council
CSDP	Common Security and Defense Policy
CSI	Container Security Initiative
CTF	Combined Task Force
DACCC	Deployable Air Command and Control Centre (Poggio Renatico)
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
DSC	Defence and Security Commission
EADRCC	Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Center
EAPC	Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council
ECOMICI	ECOWAS Mission in Cote d'Ivoire
ECOMIL	ECOWAS Mission in Liberia
ECOMOG	ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States

ECPF	ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework
EMBRAPA	Empresa Brasileira de Pesquisa Agropecuária (Brazilian Corporation of Agricultural Research)
ENDC	Eighteen Nations Disarmament Committee
EPDGG	ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance
ES	Executive Secretariat
ESG	Escola Superior de Guerra (Brazilian Superior War College)
EU	European Union
EWS	Early Warning System
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FGV CPDOC	Getúlio Vargas Foundation - Center of International Relations
FYROM ¹	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
G20	Group of Twenty
G8	Group of Eight
GCR2P	Global Center for the Responsibility to Protect
HA/DR	Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IBSA	India, Brazil, South-Africa Dialogue Forum
IBSAMAR	India, Brazil, South-Africa Maritime
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICI	Istanbul Cooperation Initiative
ICISS	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
ICNND	International Commission on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament
ICRtoP	International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect
IFOR	NATO-led Implementation Force
IISS	International Institute for Strategic Studies
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMO	International Maritime Organization
INB	Indústrias Nucleares do Brasil (Nuclear Industries of Brazil)
INFCE	International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation
IOs	International Organizations
IPCP	Individual Partnership and Cooperation Programme
IPEA	Institute for Applied Economic Research
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
JFC	Joint Force Command
KAS	Konrad Adenauer Foundation
KFOR	Kosovo Force

¹ Turkey recognizes the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia with its constitutional name.

LANDCOM	Allied Land Command (Izmir, Turkey)
LTBT	Limited Test Ban Treaty
MAC	Mass Atrocity Crimes
MAD	Mutually Assured Destruction
MAP	Membership Action Plan
MARCOM	Allied Maritime Command (Northwood, UK)
MARCOMET	Maritime Commanders Meeting
MD	Mediterranean Dialogue
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MINUSTAH	United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti
MRE	Ministério das Relações Exteriores (Ministry of Foreign Relations - Brazil)
MSC	Mediation and Security Council
MSU	Multinational Specialized Unit
MTCR	Missile Technology Control Regime
NAC+N	North Atlantic Council of NATO member states plus various partners
NACC	North Atlantic Cooperation Council
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCS	NATO Codification Scheme
NDC	NATO Defense College
NDP	National Defense Policy
NGC	NATO-Georgia Commission
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NNWS	Non-nuclear Weapons States
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty
NRC	NATO-Russia Council
NRF	NATO Response Force
NSD	National Strategy of Defence
NSG	Nuclear Suppliers Group
NUC	NATO-Ukraine Commission
NWS	Nuclear Weapons States
OAS	Organization of American States
OEI	Organization of Ibero-American States
OPCW	Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
P5+1	The five permanent members of the UN Security Council + Germany
PEI	Política Externa Independente (Independent Foreign Policy)
PfP	Partnership for Peace
PKO	Peacekeeping Operations
PNEs	Peaceful Nuclear Explosions

PROSUB	Submarine Development Program
PSI	Proliferation Security Initiative
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
RECs/RMs	Regional Economic Communities/Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution
RwP	Responsibility while Protecting
SACEUR	Supreme Allied Commander Europe
SD	Smart Defense
SFOR	NATO-led Stabilization Force
SHADE	Shared Awareness and Deconfliction
SHAPE	Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SLoC	Sea Lines of Communication
SMERWG	Submarine Escape and Rescue Working Group
SNMG	Standing Naval Maritime Group
SOUTHCOM	United States Southern Command
START	Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty
TCCs	Troop Contributing Countries
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNASUR	Union of South American Nations
UNAVEM	United Nations Angola Verification Mission
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNEF	United Nations Emergency Force
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNOMIG	United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia
UNOMOZ	United Nations Operation in Mozambique
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
US	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WSO	World Summit Outcome
WSOD	World Summit Outcome Document
WTO	World Trade Organization
ZPCAS or ZOPACAS	Zona de Paz y Cooperación del Atlántico Sur (South Atlantic Peace and Cooperation Zone)

Foreword

In May 2013, the NATO Defense College in cooperation with the Getulio Vargas Foundation - Center of International Relations (FGV CPDOC) and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS) - Brasil, conducted strategic discussions on security challenges, mutual perceptions, and possible paths to deepening Brazil-NATO relations. These discussions marked the beginning of an intellectual partnership between Brazil and NATO to pursue open conversations and debates on broad security issues affecting both actors in the 21st century.

This relationship does not have the formalized arrangements of NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP), the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, or the NATO-Georgia and NATO-Ukraine Commissions. Nor does this early Brazil-NATO intellectual enterprise have concrete agreements on how NATO and Brazil will work together to build security. However, we would be mistaken to not understand that these discussions – and the chapters in this book – represent the initiation of a dialogue that will benefit Brazil and NATO in many ways in this era. Ultimately, these discussions represent the starting point in a process that could lead to a more formalized partnership between Brazil and NATO.

The Brazil-NATO partnership journey that has been inaugurated here is an exciting development reminiscent of the engagements conducted between NATO and East European nations after the end of the Cold War. With the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, NATO and East European nations initiated discussions and debates on security, legacy, goals, and challenges. The richly complex, deeply structured partnership programs we know today are in no way similar to the initial outreach activities with these countries. The early discussions and exchanges with East European nations were exploratory in nature, creating initial impressions, better understandings, and momentum to continue and develop more seminars,

more debates, more exchanges. These nations could not have imagined formally partnering with NATO in any way for many decades and there was little, if any, real institutional knowledge of NATO, how it worked, and what benefit for them could be attained through partnership.

For NATO, the word partnership really did not exist in either theory or practice before the fall of the Berlin Wall. The categories of allies, adversaries, and neutral states dominated the concepts of security for the Alliance. Therefore, the changing security environment necessitated changes in how NATO built security at the end of the 20th century and how the Alliance adapted its focus, priorities, and structures to address the new security environment.

There was much experimentation with NATO's initial efforts, as it attempted to align a politico-military structure that did not include formalized partnerships, expand its understanding of the security challenges of a reform-driven Eastern Europe, and then adapt its own structure to support the reform goals of the nations there. The intellectual foundation was built on two-way conversations, NATO listening and better understanding the requirements of these nations and the nations better understanding how NATO works, what its principles are, and how NATO could evolve to contribute positively to their security. It was not until 1994 – five years after the fall of the Berlin Wall – that the PfP was established. The initial discussions in the early 1990s laid the intellectual foundation for what we know as the NATO partnership efforts and programs of today. In subsequent years, NATO has evolved and adapted to Partners' priorities, creating tailored programs that meet their requirements. At the outset, NATO was an exporter of security in its partnership efforts, and as the last years indicate, NATO is also an importer of security ideas and concepts. The fact is that NATO's partners have had, and will continue to have, a significant impact on the Alliance contributing directly to its evolution. At the same time, it is abundantly clear that NATO's approach to partnership is open, transparent, and one where the Partner actually

shapes the relationship with NATO – selecting from the menu of possible areas of cooperation that the Partner wishes to pursue, not what NATO wishes for the Partner. The strength of NATO’s partnership programs is their governing principle – the same principle that governs the Alliance itself – that the sovereignty of the nation is primary, and the partnership and cooperation strengthens and reflects the primacy of the nation in the relationship.

We do not know where the Brazil-NATO discussions will lead us. The ultimate outcome of a Brazil-NATO formalized partnership will be set by the sovereign decisions and priorities of Brazil, how the North Atlantic and South Atlantic security challenges converge over the years ahead, and how global security challenges continue to push nations together to forge links, relationships, and partnerships to address them together. NATO’s fundamental purpose, as stated in the preamble of the Washington Treaty, is to ensure the well-being of the North Atlantic area. Producing well-being and stability are universally welcomed goals, particularly in the complex 21st century where the world is smaller, more interconnected, and the problems larger requiring enormous resources to be addressed.

In the end, connecting and partnering intellectually is a strategic imperative and it will lead to a deeper understanding and confidence that might produce a lasting Brazil-NATO partnership in years to come. We should not judge prematurely the long-term prospects by the outcome of today’s events – that would be a mistake. However, any concrete long-term outcome will be proportional to the intellectual investment Brazil and NATO make in one another today and in the years ahead. This book represents that initial investment, that first step toward the future.

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Introduction

Brooke A. Smith-Windsor

As this volume went to print, the Heads of State and Government of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) 28 members had gathered not long before in Wales, United Kingdom, for their 26th Summit since the Alliance's founding in 1949. In the previous months, Brazil had for the first time in its history successfully hosted the World Cup and its second BRICS Summit, all the while as it prepared for its recently held eighth democratic election since the end of military rule in 1985. The title of this volume is, therefore, by no means coincidental. As these illustrative historic milestones for both parties suggest, neither the Alliance nor Brazil are going away any time soon. NATO endures, particularly so in light of Russia's recent illegal territorial seizures in Europe. And Brazil continues to rise.

With Brazil already leading UN missions in Haiti and Lebanon, and NATO operating under UN mandates in places like Afghanistan and the Gulf of Aden, this means that when it comes to the management of international security they will inevitably, and increasingly, encounter one another. It could not be otherwise for two actors which, combined, represent over one billion of the world's population and count among them six of the top ten largest economies on earth (including Brazil's which now exceeds that of the United Kingdom). It should thus come as no surprise that, as early as 2012, senior leaders in NATO were suggesting the time was ripe to explore the nature of future engagement with Brazil.¹ Such calls proved the inspiration for this book and the related May 2013 roundtable discussions which preceded it, when many of the same Brazilian, European and North American scholars represented in these pages gathered in Rio de Janeiro.

¹ "NATO partnership with India, Brazil is worth exploring," 2 March 2012, available at: http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2012-03-02/news/31116815_1_nato-partnership-nato-summit-admiral-james-stavridis (accessed 17 August 2014).

The roundtable and this book emanated from the perspective that cooperation in support of international peace and security is rarely accidental. More often than not, it begins with a deliberate effort by states and international organizations to better understand who is doing what and where, why and how, in order to identify opportunities for engagement. Recognizing respective mandates and capabilities, as well as mutual perceptions and aspirations, is a central element of this process. Brazil and NATO are no exception. Both have indicated in various ways their intention to take on international responsibilities when it comes to questions of peace and security. Reference in Brazil's case to the 2011 *Defence White Paper*, and in NATO's case to the 2010 *Strategic Concept*, are notable examples in this regard. In Wales, NATO members affirmed partnerships as a core element of their international engagement:

NATO Allies form a unique community of values, committed to the principles of individual liberty, democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. The Alliance is convinced that these shared values and our security are strengthened when we work with our wide network of partners around the globe. We will continue to engage actively to enhance international security through partnership with relevant countries and other international organisations.²

But what the Alliance's particular interaction with Brazil might look like in practice on the global stage has yet to be clearly defined. Although the Alliance has in the past interacted with countries of South America (most recently Colombia), relations with the continent's regional power, Brazil, have yet to be clarified. To begin to understand and delineate them is the central purpose of the manuscripts contained in this first-ever volume dedicated to Brazil-NATO relations.

To explain the volume's point of departure, it is useful to refer to the

² NATO, *Wales Summit Declaration*, 4-5 September 2014, available at: http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_112964.htm (accessed 6 September 2014).

spectrum of interaction possibilities as outlined in **Figure 1**. At the lower end of the scale, competition with violence between Brazil and NATO can certainly be ruled out from the outset (not that either would wish it in any case). Why? – Because, as the eminent Dutch scholar, Rob de Wijk, explains in his contribution to this volume, democratic peace theory tells us so. The liberal democracies of Europe and North America and a now firmly entrenched democratic Brazil will see no armed conflict among them. The second option (which is to ignore or avoid one another) will, as the opening paragraphs to this Introduction point out, become increasingly difficult if not impossible. So it too can safely be ruled out as a viable option. So what of the next possibility: dialogue and discussion? To recall the words of the German Nobel laureate, Thomas Mann: “Speech is civilization itself; it is silence which isolates.” For this reason, it is here on the interaction spectrum that relations between Brazil and the 28 NATO nations must begin.

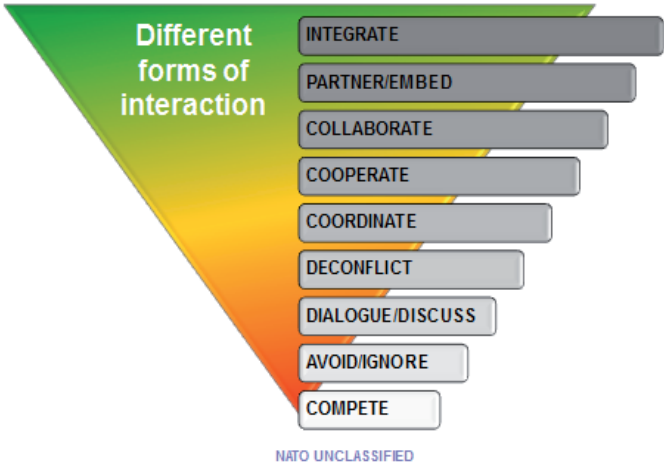


Figure 1: Spectrum of Interaction

The manuscripts that follow discuss the opportunities for, and acknowledge the obstacles to, movement along the interaction spectrum by NATO and Brazil. While integration is clearly off the table (future Alliance membership being limited to European countries), the range of

possibilities from dialogue to partnership is variously explored. The first part – *Understanding NATO and Brazil* – by European and Brazilian scholars is dedicated to explaining the nature of the two parties, both in terms of purpose and policy preferences, as international security actors. This includes where points of convergence and divergence may lie, and why. The second part – *Approaches to Intervention* – by Canadian and Brazilian analysts focusses more narrowly on the issue of armed intervention. The discussion surrounds the emergent international norm of Responsibility to Protect (R2P), and Brasilia's more recent introduction of the notion of Responsibility while Protecting (RwP) following NATO's 2011 intervention in Libya. The third part contains contributions by one German and one Brazilian scholar; as the title – *Viewpoints on Proliferation* – suggests, this part explains the respective NATO and Brazilian approaches to Weapon of Mass Destruction (WMD) proliferation. In a theme that emerges elsewhere in this volume, Brazil's interest in reforming – rather than replacing – the established international order of which the Alliance has long been a part is observed. Part 4 – *Securing the South Atlantic* – returns to the controversial debate, first launched in 2010, about a potential role for the Alliance in South Atlantic security provision. A Portuguese analyst clarifies the historical as well as politico-economic background to Brasilia's concerns, but does not exclude some form of joint interaction there. By the same token, a Brazilian colleague calls for a revised Brazilian naval policy in the region, as well as the positioning of Brazil alongside Europe as a bridge between the two main transatlantic security regimes: NATO and the South Atlantic Peace and Cooperation Zone (ZOPACAS, or ZPCAS). The last part charts *The Way Ahead*. One Portuguese and one German scholar provide a realistic assessment of the mutual interest of both parties in forging relations across a range of shared security concerns mentioned in previous chapters. Practical advice on the way to proceed is equally provided. Each part of this volume should be read, just as they were compiled, with an open mind and in the spirit of academic freedom. Herein, a Brazil-NATO dialogue begins.

PART 1

UNDERSTANDING NATO AND BRAZIL

NATO, Democratic Peace and Partnership with Brazil

Rob de Wijk

In the early days of the Atlantic Alliance, Lord Ismay, NATO's first Secretary General, described the organization's role as "to keep the Russians out, the Germans down and the Americans in." Keeping the "Russians out" referred to the Alliance's collective defence role, while keeping the "Germans down" and "Americans in" referred to its pacifying role in Europe, grounded in a shared commitment to liberal democratic values. With the end of the Cold War in 1989, many predicted the demise of NATO. It was argued that there was no need for a collective defence alliance because its original *raison d'être* – as a bulwark against the Soviet threat – had vanished. But NATO is still relevant to this day. Notwithstanding NATO's transformation into a globalized crisis manager, from Afghanistan to counter-piracy in the Gulf of Aden, and its more recent refocus on collective defence in view of Russian actions in Crimea, this chapter focuses on the no less important (albeit sometimes taken for granted) extant pacifying role of the Atlantic Alliance. Indeed, NATO's contribution to global peace and stability as a manifestation of the "democratic peace theory" in the European space must not be overlooked. By extension, partnership with states sharing the same values as the Alliance should be a natural – indeed primary – characteristic of NATO's global partnership or "cooperative security" policy. Brazil is no exception.

NATO as a Pacifier: Outreach to the former Warsaw Pact

NATO's extant pacifying role is closely linked to the enlargement debate of the 1990s. Cooperation with non-NATO partners started soon af-

ter the end of the Cold War and, in retrospect, the process of enlargement was facilitated by the negotiations on the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe which began in March 1989. The unparalleled military reductions demanded by the treaty enhanced mutual trust and paved the way for German reunification on 3 October 1990.

This signalled the start of a much broader process of enlargement. The London Summit of 1990 was an important starting point for international cooperation. Without its decision on the multi-nationalisation of military formations, there was the risk of the counterproductive renationalisation of European defence policies. During the 1991 Rome Summit, Alliance members agreed to a new NATO strategy.¹ In the Summit declarations, NATO was acknowledged as one of the “indispensable foundations” for the stable security environment in Europe, together with the European Union (UE) and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Furthermore, Article 4 of the Washington Treaty was emphasised: this article refers to NATO as a transatlantic forum for consultation on any issue that might affect a member state’s vital interests.

In 1991, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) was founded. It brought together NATO and nine central and eastern European nations. Cooperation between Russia and NATO also began that same year.

The Brussels Summit of 1994 has probably had the greatest impact of all in the immediate post-Cold War context. This summit marked a turn in NATO thinking, formalising the decision to adapt both internally and externally. The resulting creation of the Combined Joint Task Forces (CJTF) and the Partnership for Peace (PfP), in combination with the Alliance’s participation in crisis-management operations beyond its territory, has altered the politico-military landscape. The CJTF enabled the generation of rapidly deployable, *multi-national*, multiservice task forces available at short

¹ NATO, *The Alliance’s New Strategic Concept*, agreed to by the Heads of State and Government participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council, 8 November 1991.

notice, accompanied by appropriate command and control arrangements.

For many of the former Warsaw Pact member states in Central and Eastern Europe, now committed to liberal democratic values, the PfP was the antechamber to full membership of NATO.

The NATO Summit meeting in Madrid (1997) took decisions of unparalleled historic significance regarding the accession of new members. As the Summit Press Release underscored:

The Study on NATO Enlargement further outlined that NATO enlargement will contribute to enhanced stability and security for all countries in the Euro-Atlantic area by encouraging and supporting democratic reforms, including civilian and democratic control over the military; fostering patterns and habits of co-operation, consultation and consensus building which characterise relations among present members of the Alliance; promoting good-neighbourly relations in the whole Euro-Atlantic area; increasing transparency in defence planning and military budgets and thus confidence among states; reinforcing the tendency toward integration and cooperation in Europe; strengthening the Alliance's ability to contribute to European and international security and to support peacekeeping activities under the UN or OSCE; and by strengthening and broadening the transatlantic partnership.²

In 1997, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland were invited to join the Alliance, with membership duly achieved in 1999. During the Washington Summit of 1999, the Membership Action Plan (MAP), an important part of NATO's Open Door Policy, was also adopted, while the PfP and the successor to the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC), were strengthened. Last but not least, a new edition of the Alliance's *Strategic Concept* was adopted, signifying that

² <http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/1997/970708/infopres/e-enl.htm>.

NATO had adapted to a new era.³ Further enlargement of NATO came with the accession of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovenia, Slovakia, Bulgaria and Romania. These nations started accession talks after the 2002 Prague Summit and joined NATO on 29 March 2004. Albania and Croatia joined on 1 April 2009. At the time of writing, participants in the MAP are the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia⁴, which has been participating in the MAP since 1999, and Montenegro, which was invited to join in December 2009.⁵ In 2010, NATO member states formally invited Bosnia and Herzegovina to join the MAP subject to specific conditions. Countries participating in the MAP submit annual national programmes on their preparations for possible future membership, covering political, economic, defence, resource, security and legal aspects.

Pacific union

NATO's enlargement dramatically changed the political landscape. It has contributed to the transformation of Europe in a Kantian way. Over the course of half a century, European states created a kind of Kantian post-modern pacific union grounded in the idea that democratic states do not fight wars against each other (democratic peace theory).⁶ Immanuel Kant's (1724-1804) essay *Zum ewigen Frieden (Perpetual Peace)*, written in 1795, is considered to be the most important contribution to this way of thinking.⁷ He understood democracy to include representative government, the legal equality of citizens before the law, and the absence of arbitrary authority. The importance of international law in regulating the interac-

³ NATO, *The Alliance's Strategic Concept*, approved by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Washington DC on 24 April 1999.

⁴ Turkey recognizes the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia with its constitutional name.

⁵ <http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/1997/970708/infopres/e-enl.htm>.

⁶ Michael Doyle, "Liberalism and World Politics" in: *American Political Science Review* 80 (1986), p. 1156. Even with differing definitions, it is found time and again that democracies do not wage war against each other. See for example: Bruce Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World*, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1993, p. 10; and Rudolph J. Rummel, *Power Kills: Democracy as a Method of Nonviolence*, New Brunswick, N.J., Transaction, 1997, p. 44.

⁷ James Bohman and Matthias Lutz-Bachmann, *Perpetual Peace; Essays on Kant's Cosmopolitan Ideal*, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1997.

tion among states was central to this idea. In such an environment, liberal democratic states would establish a “zone of peace” between each other. Kant wrote that the spread of democracy would lead to an ever-expanding “pacific union.”

US President Bill Clinton reflected this thinking by arguing that “democracies don’t attack each other” in his 1994 State of the Union Address to Congress. The President also talked about a free and undivided Europe, which should be created through a strategy of “engagement and enlargement.” The concept was codified in the US National Security Strategy of February 1996.⁸ NATO’s enlargement was explicitly mentioned as a method for peace and stability in Europe.

Indeed the present incarnation of this system, as embodied in the EU and the pacifying role of NATO, has some fundamental characteristics, including influence on domestic affairs; the obsolescence of force as an instrument for resolving disputes in Europe, and acceptance of jointly imposed rules of behaviour. Security has become based on transparency, openness, interdependency and mutual vulnerability.⁹ It is clear that, through enlargement, NATO has contributed significantly to peace and security in Europe: only countries that promoted “integration and cooperation in Europe based on shared democratic values and thereby curbing the countervailing tendency towards disintegration along ethnic and territorial lines” could join the club.¹⁰

Global partnerships

In 2006, Ivo Daalder, who would later become America’s Ambassador to NATO, and James M. Goldgeier argued that, since NATO had enlarged

⁸ The White House, *A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement*, Washington DC February 1996.

⁹ R. Cooper, “The new liberal imperialism,” *The Observer*, 7 April 2002.

¹⁰ *Study on NATO Enlargement*, 3 September 1995, paragraph 3.

its geographic reach and the range of its operations, it must therefore extend its membership to any democratic state that can help it fulfil its new responsibilities. The authors believed that only a truly global alliance could address the global challenges of the day.¹¹ While the proposition was perhaps a bridge too far for many (NATO's founding Washington Treaty, after all, limits membership to European states), the idea of global partnerships with states sharing the same values as the Alliance has grown in importance over the years.

By 1999 there already was talk about so-called "Contact Countries," which were invited from across the globe to participate in workshops, exercises and conferences. But the need to bring in trusted partners became evident when the common interest in bringing peace to Afghanistan led to more far-reaching initiatives.

New partnerships were aimed at promoting democratic values and reforms, enhancing international security, peace and stability, meeting emerging security challenges, strengthening support for NATO-led operations and missions, building confidence and achieving better mutual understanding, including about NATO's role and activities, in particular through enhanced public diplomacy.¹²

Today, Australia, Japan, the Republic of Korea, New Zealand, Pakistan, Iraq, Afghanistan and Mongolia are referred to as "Partners across the Globe" or "Global Partners." Japan and Australia are illustrative examples of the importance of NATO's relations with these partners.

Japan, NATO's longest-standing Global Partner, worked with ISAF but was not involved in combat operations. It funded numerous development projects and dispatched liaison officers to ISAF.

¹¹ Ivo H. Daalder, and James M. Goldgeier, "Global NATO," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2006.

¹² http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_84336.htm

In April 2011, NATO and Japan agreed on practical cooperation and the need for political dialogue. “Japan and NATO are partners,” Prime Minister Shinzo Abe told the North Atlantic Council in January 2007. “We have in common such fundamental values as freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law. It is only natural that we cooperate in protecting and promoting those values.”¹³ Japan has much to offer to NATO. It is a democratic nation in the heart of Asia that embraces the free market, and is one of the largest economies in the world. In May 2014, Japan signed an Individual Partnership and Cooperation Programme (IPCP) with NATO. As the Alliance’s Secretary General stated on the occasion:

*Today we signed an agreement that will take this relationship a step further. It will bring our practical cooperation to a new level including in the areas of counter piracy, disaster relief and humanitarian assistance. ... Our partnership is based up on shared values, a shared commitment to international peace and security and to the principles of the United Nations and international law.*¹⁴

Australia was NATO’s most active Global Partner within ISAF. NATO and Australia formalized their commitment to strengthen cooperation in a joint political declaration in June 2012. This was followed up with an IPCP in February 2013. Earlier, then Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard had stated that Australia wants a long-term partnership with NATO: “We share a common vision for global security and a common belief in the value of international cooperation to achieve security. Security threats are increasingly global and so it makes sense to have global partnerships as we look to combat those threats.”¹⁵

The partnerships with Japan and Australia signify outreach in regions where NATO as a whole lacks sufficient presence and engagement. As the

¹³ <http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2007/s070112b.html>

¹⁴ http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_109508.htm

¹⁵ http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_88351.htm

economic, political and military centre of gravity is moving from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, this lack of presence is peculiar. While America's policy of rebalancing recognizes the importance of Asia, European elites still view Asia primarily as a source of commercial enterprise and are reluctant to consider the rise of emerging powers in Asia and South America in geopolitical terms which would require a revision of European foreign and defence policies. But, due to the new geopolitical realities, European NATO member states have no other choice but to identify interests and security partners in parts of the world that lie traditionally beyond their scope.

The South Atlantic

Partnerships with democratic countries of the South Atlantic region seem to be the logical next step. In 2009, the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs Luis Amado pleaded in favour of a "refocus of NATO strategy in the Atlantic geographic space."¹⁶ The argument was that the nations that compose NATO, Africa, and South America all share a common interest in countering security risks, such as terrorism and human, drugs and arms trafficking. Nevertheless, Brazil's former Defence Minister Nelson Jobim reacted negatively, stating that "neither Brazil nor South Africa should accept that the Americans or NATO claimed any rights to intervene in any theater of operations, under the most variable pretext." Statements like this indicate that there is a real need for political consultation to lift misperceptions and lay the foundations for fruitful cooperation. It is important to remember, for instance, that NATO remains an overwhelmingly *European* organization in its membership, with decisions taken by consensus. Encouragingly, precedents for Brazil's cooperation with European democracies can be found. In 2010, for instance, Brazil and the United Kingdom agreed on cooperation on defence-related matters, including staff talks, training courses, the exchange of personnel, and programmes and projects

¹⁶ P. Seabra, "South Atlantic crossfire: Portugal in-between Brazil and NATO," *IPRIS Viewpoints*, November 2010, pp. 2- 3.

on defence technology applications.¹⁷ The then British Defence Minister Liam Fox welcomed Brazil's "increasing role in maintaining international stability and security" and considered Brazil-UK friendship as part of an important building block of security in the Atlantic and beyond. Such an agreement could serve as a model for a future global partnership with NATO.

The words of Minister Fox confirmed that partnerships are not only based on common values and interest, but can also shape international relations and increase peace and stability across the globe. This should be done by consolidating democracy, by strengthening the rules-based international order and by allowing for joint action if common interests and shared values are threatened. Indeed, in *After Hegemony*, Robert O. Keohane explained that cooperation can, under certain conditions, develop the basis of complementary interests, and that institutions, broadly defined, affect the ensuing patterns of cooperation.¹⁸ This is what has happened since the end of the Cold War in Europe. This is what is happening today, through NATO's global partnerships, and there is no reason why it should not happen with Brazil as well.

¹⁷ Agreement between the United Kingdom and Brazil regarding Defence Cooperation, Rio de Janeiro, 14 September 2010, available at: <http://www.gov.uk/government/publications/agreement-between-the-uk-and-brazil-regarding-defence-cooperation> (accessed July 2013).

¹⁸ R.O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1984.

Promoting International Peace and Security through NATO's Partnerships: Identifying Cooperation Opportunities beyond Existing Frameworks

Carlos Branco

With the collapse of the Berlin Wall, NATO embarked on a determined outreach programme with its former foes of the Warsaw Pact. The major objective was to enhance Euro-Atlantic security through political dialogue and sustained cooperation programmes. Initially, partnership was limited to the former Warsaw Pact countries and those that emerged from the dissolution of the Soviet Union; but in 1994, at the Istanbul Summit, the partnership community was extended to the North Africa and Middle East regions. Following the Riga Summit in 2006, an additional group of countries located in the South East of Asia joined the community of partners.

NATO's engagement with the wider world is based upon the understanding that today security challenges are global and, as such, cannot be dealt with by one state or organization alone; they require coordinated multilateral action by a large community of players. It also assumes that political dialogue will foster a deeper understanding of security policy challenges, and will help to forge common approaches to common problems. Consultations with partners on security issues of mutual concern will promote understanding and contribute to dissipating any misgivings.

The partner community has developed on a voluntary basis, according to partners' willingness, under positive sum logic and based on reciprocity and mutual benefit. No patronizing or *primus inter pares* aspirations exist amongst its members. Relations between NATO and partners vary in degree of complexity, according to the level of ambition each seeks with

NATO – partners set the terms of the association. There are four basic forms of cooperation that might be combined: political dialogue and cooperation; defence sector reform and modernization of armed forces; preparation of partners' contingents to contribute to NATO-led operations, which in practical terms means interoperability; and preparation of interested and eligible partners for NATO membership, consistent with their own free democratic will. Becoming a member of NATO is a top foreign policy priority of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM¹), Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Georgia. FYROM and Montenegro have been participating in the Membership Action Plan (MAP), a programme developed to help prepare countries aspiring to NATO membership. Allies formally invited Bosnia-Herzegovina to join the MAP in April 2010, pending the resolution of a key issue concerning immovable defence property.

Building interoperability between NATO and its partners, so that they can operate together in NATO-led operations, is definitely the most important objective from a military point of view. However, interoperability must be understood in its widest sense: it applies to the technical military domain – doctrine, equipment, procedures, etc. – but also includes the no-less important human and cultural realms. Despite being less visible than NATO operations, the partnership process proved to be a powerful tool in NATO's transformation and has shaped, behind the headlines, the visible part of post-Warsaw Pact NATO. It became instrumental in the preparation of the Alliance's enlargement from 16 to 28 members.

The Frameworks

Partnerships were conceived and structured into frameworks following geographical criteria. The Partnership for Peace (PfP) – composed today of twenty-two partner nations from Central and Eastern Europe, the South

¹ Turkey recognizes the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia with its constitutional name.

Caucasus and Central Asia, all members of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) – was launched in 1994 and was the first framework. It has played a crucial role in achieving partnership goals.² The main focus of this initiative was to increase stability, diminish threats to peace and strengthen security relations between individual partner countries and NATO. PfP membership enables the sharing of expertise and has supported partners interested in defence reform by promoting transparency, accountability and integrity in the defence sector. As the longest-standing framework, the PfP has been a testing ground for cooperative security over the years and the European Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) remains a relevant forum to discuss the security challenges in the Euro-Atlantic region.

Recognizing that Alliance security is affected by developments beyond its borders, NATO has also established other frameworks to engage with countries in other parts of the globe, as mentioned above. These include: the Mediterranean Dialogue (MD), grouping seven Northern African countries;³ the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative (ICI), comprising four Middle East countries;⁴ and the so-called “Partners Across the Globe” community, which includes eight countries.⁵

The MD was also created in 1994, but it was at the Summit meeting in Istanbul, in June 2004, that it was upgraded to a true partnership framework, establishing a more ambitious and expanded cooperation agenda. After ten years of intensified cooperation, we can notice that this partnership

² Countries belonging to the Partnership for Peace: Armenia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia & Herzegovina, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Finland, Georgia, Ireland, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Malta, Moldova, Montenegro, Russia, Serbia, Sweden, Switzerland, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan.

³ Countries belonging to the Mediterranean Dialogue: Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia.

⁴ Countries belonging to the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative: Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates. Two countries in the Gulf Cooperation Council – Saudi Arabia and Oman – have not yet joined the ICI. In the long term, a third candidate might be Iraq.

⁵ Countries belonging to the “Partners Across the Globe” framework: Afghanistan, Australia, Iraq, Japan, Mongolia, New Zealand, Pakistan and the Republic of Korea.

is maturing and gaining momentum. NATO's cooperation has contributed to increasing trust and confidence with the countries of the region. The ICI was introduced in 2004 at the Istanbul Summit and aimed at enhancing security and regional stability through a new transatlantic engagement with countries from the strategic Gulf region.

NATO's most recent cooperation framework is known as "Partners Across the Globe." This was originally established at the Riga Summit in 2006 as the "Contact Countries" community which included Australia, Japan, New Zealand and South Korea. But since the Bucharest Summit, in 2008, these countries are referred to as "Partners Across the Globe," to better brand this kind of cooperation. It is the most heterogeneous and dynamic group, which as referenced earlier now also includes Afghanistan, Mongolia, Iraq and Pakistan, growing from four to eight members over a seven year time period. NATO shares common interests with these valued partners, particularly in operations and in countering the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. These countries also provide important contributions to NATO-led operations with civilian personnel, troops and financial support.

NATO has also developed special relations with Ukraine, Georgia and (until recently) Russia, in addition to their PfP participation. These special relations took shape through the NATO-Ukraine Commission (NUC), the NATO-Georgia Commission (NGC) and the NATO-Russia Council (NRC).

NATO's 2010 Strategic Concept

The *Strategic Concept*, agreed to at the 2010 Lisbon Summit, brought a new conceptual approach to partnerships. The partnership construct underwent a considerable upgrade. Three core tasks in NATO's mission were established: collective defence, crisis management and cooperative security.

Most of the activities considered in the partnership concept fit into the cooperative security core task, but a significant number of them also contribute to crisis management. Partners have been playing a crucial role in NATO-led operations contributing with troops, transit permits, financial support and political backing.

The nature of today's security challenges makes NATO's success more dependent on how it is able to cooperate with other organizations. Recognizing this, the *Strategic Concept* frames cooperative security as the Alliance's ability to enhance international security through partnership, not only with relevant countries but also with other international organizations (IOs). To a large degree, NATO's operational success depends on the engagement of others, in particular civilian actors, who are better suited to deal with certain aspects of these complex conflicts where NATO does not have relevant expertise.

NATO does not aim at being the "global policeman." Its cooperation with other IOs needs to be seen in a mutually reinforcing perspective, by maximizing the coherence and effectiveness of the overall international effort on the ground. Therefore, NATO is working with other stakeholders to build close and trusting relations, supporting the United Nations (UN), the European Union (EU), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the African Union (AU), and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), among others, in accordance with a comprehensive approach response to conflicts.

NATO does not aim at replacing or competing with them. On the contrary, the need to leverage the best that each organization can bring to the collective effort has turned into a fundamental planning assumption. Cooperation with the UN and the EU is paramount. The Alliance is fully committed to deepening political dialogue and practical cooperation with the UN, as set out in the Joint Declaration on UN-NATO Secretariat Cooperation signed by both Secretaries-General in 2008. The document

underlines that cooperation between both the organizations will be guided by the UN Charter, by internationally recognized humanitarian principles and guidelines, and in consultation with national authorities. The Secretaries General also declared their intention to establish a framework for consultation and cooperation, including regular exchanges at senior and working levels, which has already been put into practice. The Declaration lists areas of common interest in which cooperation should be further developed: communication and information-sharing, including issues pertaining to the protection of civilians, capacity-building, training and exercises, lessons learned, planning and support for contingencies, operational coordination and support.

In line with the decisions taken in Lisbon, Allies agreed on a new partnership policy at the April 2011 Berlin Foreign Ministerial. Two aspects of this policy deserve special attention. Firstly, the possibility to widen and deepen NATO's partnerships, across and beyond the existing frameworks. All the cooperation tools, instruments and activities that were available, before Berlin, only for PfP members were opened to all partners, irrespective of the framework they had joined. The distinctions among frameworks disappeared. Any partner, regardless of the framework it belongs to, can now engage with NATO on a defence reform programme, if they so wish. For instance, Jordan has started a defence reform programme with NATO and negotiations with Morocco are under way. These programmes have been developed to provide assistance to partner countries in their own efforts to transform defence and security-related structures and policies, and to manage the economic and social consequences of reforms. An important objective of these programmes is to promote the development of effective defence institutions that are under civilian and democratic control.

Secondly, this new partnership policy gave birth to the so-called "flexible formats," which were conceived to facilitate *ad hoc* dialogue with groups of partners interested in a specific topic. They were regarded as fora to discuss mainly, but not exclusively, "emerging security challenges" such as counter-

terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, maritime, energy and cyber security. The “flexible format” concept at “NAC+N” (North Atlantic Council of NATO member states plus various partners) follows a topic-driven approach and does not intend to replace or undermine existing established formats. It enhances NATO’s partnerships and facilitates outreach to emerging powers. It worked well in the NAC+19 partners format meeting of September 2011 to discuss counter-piracy, which brought together the 28 NATO member states with China, India, Brazil and others. This formula can easily be replicated for other topics.

The Chicago Summit

At the 2012 Chicago Summit, partnerships again became a major topic on the agenda. NATO reaffirmed its commitment to deepening and widening relationships with partners: on the one hand, laying down a vision of future multilateral and bilateral engagement in the Middle East and North African (MENA) Region, with Arab Spring outcomes in mind, as well as the future of Libya; and, on the other hand, looking ahead to future cooperation with its partners after 2014.

At a time of unprecedented change in the MENA region, NATO voiced its commitment to strengthening and developing cooperation with countries in the region which share common security concerns. The need to be prepared for a period of reduced NATO engagement in operations, and to maintain the level of interoperability achieved by Allies and partners through real-world operations was also underlined. NATO is basically exploring four ways to respond to that need by: (1) giving more emphasis on education and training; (2) making greater use of NATO exercises; (3) enhancing specific interoperability programmes that will provide the opportunity to improve the ability of Alliance and partner forces to operate together in future NATO-led operations; (4) increasing the use of NATO Response Force (NRF) training. Ukraine and Finland are active partici-

pants in this programme. Georgia will start its participation in the NRF in 2015.

Nations were also encouraged to develop innovative ways to work on improving the interoperability of NATO forces in the future, in a concept labelled the “Connected Forces Initiative” (CFI). At the same time, NATO committed itself to finding modalities to promote greater involvement of partners in Smart Defence (SD) and in countering “emerging security challenges.” SD is a cooperative way of thinking about generating the defence capabilities the Alliance needs for the future. In other words, it is a renewed culture of cooperation that encourages Allies to work together to develop, acquire, operate and maintain military capabilities to undertake the Alliance’s core tasks as agreed upon in NATO’s *Strategic Concept*. That means pooling and sharing capabilities, setting priorities and coordinating efforts better.⁶

Because partnership continues today, as in the past, to play a crucial role in the enhancement of Euro-Atlantic security, it is an imperative for NATO to find more flexible and efficient ways for discussing with partners the issues that affect their common security. Both NATO and partners must identify subjects of mutual interest. The financial austerity that affects NATO nations reinforces that necessity.

NATO’s Cooperation beyond Existing Partnership Frameworks

NATO’s cooperation has not been confined to countries participating in the different partnership frameworks and with whom NATO has developed individual cooperation programmes. It goes much beyond that

⁶ In line with the spirit of NATO-EU cooperation, it is essential to ensure that NATO’s SD and the EU’s “Pooling and Sharing” initiatives are complementary and mutually reinforcing.

and touches upon many domains. Practical cooperation with non-partner countries dates back to 1996, when NATO replaced the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia, after the signature of the Dayton agreement. A total of thirty-six allied and partner countries contributed troops to The NATO-led Implementation Force/NATO-led Stabilization Force (IFOR/SFOR). In addition, soldiers from five countries that were neither NATO members nor partner countries participated in the operation at different times, namely Australia, Malaysia, New Zealand, Chile and Argentina⁷. A similar situation happened with ISAF, the NATO-led operation in Afghanistan. Soldiers from five of the fifty-two countries participating in ISAF, that were neither NATO members nor partners, contributed to the operation at different times, namely Malaysia, Singapore, Tonga, Colombia and El Salvador. Colombian troops' technical expertise in counter-narcotics and anti-terrorism brought considerable added value to ISAF's insight in those domains and marked the beginning of a successful cooperation with NATO. On 25 June 2013, NATO and Colombia signed an agreement on the security of information, the first of this kind between the Alliance and a South American country.

As aforementioned, the 2010 *Strategic Concept* underlined the possibility of widening and deepening NATO's partnerships across and beyond existing frameworks. This statement was both a guide for action and a formal recognition of NATO's recent cooperation initiatives. Many within the Alliance emphasize the importance of closer links with African and Latin American countries and as well as emerging powers: Brazil, China and India.

Cooperation with African countries also dates back to 2006, when NATO held the two-week military exercise "Steadfast Jaguar" in Cape Verde, involving almost 8,000 troops from 25 members of the Alliance, a

⁷ Contacts between Argentina and NATO were initiated when the Foreign Minister of Argentina visited Brussels in 1992 and discussed with the NAC different aspects of international security policy. The first concrete opportunity for closer cooperation with NATO came with participation in SFOR through the Multinational Specialized Unit (MSU).

final test for the NATO Reaction Force before it became fully operational in October of that year. The following year, the Standing NATO Maritime Group (SNMG) 1 circumnavigated the African continent. During its visit to Cape Town, the NATO force held a series of joint exercises involving both South African Navy and Air Force assets. In September, when the force was in the Red Sea and bound for Suez to complete the circumnavigation of Africa, the Jabal al-Tair volcano erupted. SNMG1 ships assisted the Yemeni coast guard in the recovery of their military personnel stationed on the island.

Still in the field of NATO's cooperation with African countries, it is interesting to emphasize the outreach and cooperation initiatives undertaken with South Africa. In May 2009, South Africa hosted a very successful NATO Submarine Escape and Rescue Work Group (SMERWG) meeting in Cape Town, the first ever held outside Germany. It is worth noting that South Africa, as a submarine-operating nation, has been a member of the SMERWG with permanent status for a number of years. The South African Armed Forces' first direct contact with NATO started in 2005, with the Alliance flying African Union troops into the Darfur region of Western Sudan.

NATO's outreach and cooperation initiatives with Latin American countries date back to 2007, when Alliance ships deployed for the first time in the Caribbean Sea to conduct presence operations, designed to build maritime situational awareness and demonstrate NATO's capability to deploy and sustain forces at strategic distances. Three years later, in the aftermath of the January 2010 earthquake that devastated Haiti and its capital, NATO conducted a humanitarian relief mission delivering first-aid kits and supplies to help those most in need. At the same time, Allied Command Transformation (ACT) supported the international aid effort in Haiti by updating its Civil-Military Overview website portal with information on the Haiti earthquake response, from its contacts within humanitarian and military organizations, in order to raise the situational awareness of

all civilian and military actors.

Cooperation with South American countries also took place in other domains. The annual Maritime Commanders Meeting (MARCOMET) has progressively grown in terms of non-NATO partners' participation. Since 2010, it has extended invitations to Argentina, Brazil and Chile, the major maritime players in the South Atlantic region. All these countries also participate in the NATO Codification Scheme International Sponsorship Programme, led by the NATO Support Agency and hosted by the Group of National Directors on Codification.

Still in line with the terms of the *Strategic Concept*, NATO pays close attention to cooperation activities with the so called emerging powers: Brazil, China and India. Irrespective of the formula used to start and develop a process of cooperation with these countries, the aim is, first and foremost, to build confidence, a mandatory condition for success. These processes usually start with a slow and cautious step-by-step approach via collaborative academic programmes set up jointly with think tanks, NATO and the countries concerned. Eventually, regular high-level talks on security issues of common concern take place aimed at forging mutual understanding, as a key step to a potential deeper relationship, and as a means to agree on concrete joint activities and programmes.

NATO relations with Brazil are still at a very preliminary stage, involving think tanks from both sides. Despite this timid interaction, there is an enormous potential for growth. We can identify several areas that threaten global stability and prosperity where a positive sum logic can prevail. The aim of any possible future cooperation initiative should not be perceived as a disguised attempt of NATO's interference in the South Atlantic region, or as a means to expand its area for action; NATO is not a Trojan horse sent forward by Western powers to meddle in the business of the Southern Hemisphere.

For example, cyber security offers considerable potential for cooperation. Both NATO and Brazil have placed it very high on their security agenda. The NATO *Strategic Concept* states the need to further develop the ability to prevent, detect, defend against and recover from cyber-attacks. Similarly, Brazil's 2008 *White Book* refers to cyber security as a key component of its defence strategy. In view of that, in 2011 the Brazilian army inaugurated a Centre for Cyber Defence. Other issues of common concern, such as transnational terrorism, organized crime, and the trafficking in arms, narcotics and people are possible fields of cooperation. There is valuable expertise to be shared on both sides. The "flexible formats" presented above to discuss the so-called emerging challenges is the best formula to involve Brazil in those discussions.

Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HA/DR) is another field where we can find fruitful ground for cooperation. Since their inception in 1998, NATO's advanced capabilities in these domains has provided assistance in response to flooding, earthquakes, forest fires, hurricanes, mudflows and pandemics. The coordination of these capabilities is done through the Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Center (EAD-RCC), the most relevant body with the potential to assist Brazil in enhancing national and regional HA/DR capabilities.

NATO has accumulated significant expertise on training and standardization procedures, tools that provide an important interface for armed forces to work together effectively. Simulation is a subject very dear to the Brazilian Armed forces. This constitutes another domain where we can find fertile ground for prolific cooperation. ACT has, over the years, developed considerable expertise in this field that could be shared.

As in the past, at major events, such as the 2004 Summer Olympic Games, in Greece, or the 2012 UEFA Championship, in Poland and Ukraine, NATO Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) aircraft have helped to coordinate air traffic and to monitor airspace. Brazil is going

to host the Olympics in 2016, but is lacking sufficient AWACS capabilities. NATO could provide assistance, if Brazil is willing.

In 2002, NATO started an interesting exchange with China when the Chinese Ambassador paid a surprise visit to the NATO Secretary-General. Since then, regular high-level talks aimed at improving mutual understanding have been held. Cooperation is taking place through academic programmes, think tanks in NATO countries and China, and regular high-level talks on security issues of common concern. In February 2012, the first-ever military staff talks between a NATO International Military Staff delegation and the Chinese military authorities took place in Beijing. As a consequence of those meetings, Chinese officers have attended courses at the NATO Defence College.

Counter-piracy operations off the Horn of Africa have been another domain of cooperation between NATO and China. This collaboration has taken place under the auspices of the so-called Shared Awareness and De-confliction (SHADE) initiative, a forum to coordinate and de-conflict activities between the countries and coalitions involved in counter-piracy operations in the Gulf of Aden and in the Western Indian Ocean.

NATO's cooperation with India takes place through political dialogue and counter-piracy operations. Political dialogue with India started following an agreement between the NATO Secretary General and the Indian National Security Advisor made on the margins of the Munich Security Conference. In February 2013, a NATO high-level delegation visited India to discuss issues of common concern. Like China, India also participates in counter-piracy operations off the Horn of Africa and in the Indian Ocean through SHADE.

An immense ground of common security interests with China and India can be identified, beyond counter piracy, where mutually beneficial cooperation has an undoubtedly potential to consider a more ambitious,

more formal and more active engagement with NATO. Although there are real constraints and barriers to achieving that greater potential, it is the decision makers' responsibility to overcome those difficulties and tackle together the challenges of the new century in a cooperative manner.

The Silent Function of the Alliance: NATO's Role as a Multilateral Repository of Military Expertise

Alexander Mattelaer

Throughout the course of history, NATO has been a multi-purpose organisation. In the famously blunt phrase of the first Secretary General, Lord Ismay, the Alliance's initial purpose was to "keep the Russians out, the Americans in and the Germans down." As the Cold War unfolded, territorial defence through conventional as well as nuclear means gradually became the most prominent core task of the Alliance. At the same time, however, the protective shell it provided to Western European nations allowed the process of European integration to sprout and bloom. In that sense, Alliance cohesion and the construction of what has become the European Union (EU) are two sides of the same coin.¹ After the Berlin Wall came down, NATO embarked on a process of transformation that continues to the present day. As the former Yugoslavia violently disintegrated, the Alliance was forced to assume the role of a military crisis management organisation. This "operational role" has geographically and functionally expanded ever since. When the Allies collectively revised the *Strategic Concept* in 2010, they established a consensus on three core tasks: collective defence, crisis management and cooperative security. This chapter focuses on the legacy imprint past crisis management operations have left on the Alliance's evolving identity.

Through the rapid succession of military operations in the past two decades, NATO has *ipso facto* become the principal multilateral repository of military expertise. This is not to say these endeavours were devoid of

¹ For discussion, see L. Simon, *Geopolitical Change, Grand Strategy and European Security: The EU-NATO Conundrum*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

problems – quite the contrary. Through all the intergovernmental disagreements about issues as diverse as strategy, finances and targeting, the Alliance has learned the hard way about how military affairs must unfold in a multilateral environment. In doing so, it was able to draw and improve upon both the “command hardware” and the “doctrinal software” that had been developed as containers for military know-how. These assets have stood as models for developments in other international organisations engaged in crisis management, offering a vehicle for the much-vaunted “Comprehensive Approach” in international security. At the same time, they remain at the service of NATO for a wider range of tasks, most notably that of co-operative security with international partners which could include Brazil. NATO can flexibly accommodate different political views and priorities precisely because it offers a unique platform built on military professionalism.

The school of operational experience

Driven by events, NATO embarked on a long and winding operational trajectory as soon as the Cold War drew to a close.² As the Gulf War unfolded and the Soviet Union’s economic system collapsed, the earliest operations pursued defensive and humanitarian missions. It was in the context of the Balkan wars, however, that NATO acquired its new identity as a crisis management organisation. First providing a no-fly zone and close air support to United Nations (UN) peacekeepers (Operation Deny Flight), then engaging in coercive bombardments (Operations Deadeye and Deliberate Force) and eventually intervening massively on land in order to implement the Dayton Agreement (the NATO-led Implementation Force [IFOR] and subsequent Stabilisation Force [SFOR]), NATO became ever

² For a historical overview, see *NATO’s Operations 1949–Present*, Mons, Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe, 2009, www.aco.nato.int/resources/21/NATO%20Operations,%201949-Present.pdf (accessed 6 June 2013). For a more extensive discussion, see D.S. Yost, *NATO’s Balancing Act*, Washington DC, US Institute of Peace, 2014.

more deeply involved in the containment of the conflict in Bosnia. The template of coercive airpower and stabilisation on land was repeated in a condensed form only a few years later in Kosovo (Operation Allied Force and the NATO-led Kosovo Force).³

In response to the 11 September 2001 attacks, the United States toppled the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. As the international community set out to reconstruct this war-torn country, leadership over the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) was from 2003 onwards delegated to NATO.⁴ In the years that followed, an insurgency developed and the Alliance had to cope with ever more difficult circumstances in which to stand up Afghan National Security Forces capable of providing self-sustaining territorial control.⁵ Responsibility for security was gradually returned to Afghan hands in the 2011-2014 timeframe. At the time of writing, planning for a follow-on training mission (Resolute Support) was ongoing.⁶

Apart from its major engagement in the Balkans and Afghanistan, NATO also undertook a number of smaller missions. These ranged from training Iraqi security personnel (NATO Training Mission-Iraq) and providing training and airlift support for the African Union, to the conduct of maritime security operations in the Mediterranean and off the Horn of Africa (Operations Active Endeavour, Allied Provider, Allied Protector and Ocean Shield). The most notable of these other engagements, however, was the air campaign designed to stop the Libyan regime of Muammar Gaddafi from violently suppressing popular domestic protests that broke out in the spring of 2011. Although this engagement started as a coalition operation,

³ For an autobiographical account of NATO's engagement in the Balkans, see: W. Clark, *Waging Modern War: Bosnia, Kosovo and the Future of Combat*, New York, Public Affairs, 2002.

⁴ For an account of the early NATO engagement in Afghanistan, see: S. Beckmann, *From Assumption to Expansion: Planning and Executing NATO's First Year in Afghanistan at the Strategic Level*, Carlisle, US Army War College, 2005.

⁵ This adaptive coping process is described at length in: A. Mattelaer, "How Afghanistan has Strengthened NATO," *Survival*, 53 (6), 2011, pp. 127-140.

⁶ See: *NATO Defence Ministers endorse concept for new post-2014 mission in Afghanistan*, Brussels, NATO, 5 June 2013, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_101248.htm (accessed 9 July 2013).

NATO went on to enforce an arms embargo as well as a no-fly zone. Operation Unified Protector effectively sought to protect civilians by targeting the offensive capabilities of Gaddafi's forces from the air.

Several of these operations triggered major differences of opinion within the Alliance as well as within the broader international community, both before and after the actual campaign. Such disagreements bear witness to the fact that NATO operations are not unilateral actions, but must be consensually supported by a community of nations. The Alliance framework allows both Allies and partner nations to preserve their own political priorities and identity, yet still benefit from professional support structures whenever joint actions are envisaged. In fact, it can be argued that European nations frequently found themselves at the forefront of initiating these operational endeavours. To a large extent this related to a very practical need for (multinational) command and control facilities.

In the former Yugoslavia, several European nations and Canada first attempted to address these conflicts through the framework of UN peacekeeping.⁷ It was only after the horrors of Srebrenica and many casualties among the Blue Helmets that a more robust approach was chosen. (European wariness about UN command arrangements has, for that matter, never entirely disappeared.⁸) In Afghanistan, ISAF started as a small, UN-mandated stabilisation force driven by European troop contributors. NATO became involved in ISAF as a result of a German-Dutch request for planning and force generation support when commanding the third rotation. This planning and command role has significantly expanded ever since, but with every new operation plan being signed off by all Allies. In Libya, it was again some of the European Allies that were the most vocal about the need for action. The US decision to "lead from behind" was arguably the primary reason why NATO subsequently assumed command

⁷ See for example: M. Rose, *Fighting for Peace: Lessons from Bosnia*, London, Warner Books, 1998.

⁸ Cf. R. Hatto, "UN Command and Control Capabilities: Lessons from UNIFIL's Strategic Military Cell," *International Peacekeeping*, 16 (2), 2009, 186-198.

of the Libya campaign.⁹ In the absence of US air command assets, European nations had no feasible alternative but to resort to the NATO Command Structure. In many ways, the conduct of military operations under the NATO flag therefore qualifies as the last resort, only pursued when all other options have been exhausted. Yet, as these missions were undertaken as a matter of agreed policy, NATO as an organisation could not help but internalise the lessons these military campaigns generated.

Institutionalising expertise: the role of command structures and joint doctrine

NATO was not designed for conducting the operations it was eventually asked to undertake. Quite the contrary: it carried the historical legacy and structure of the Cold War for confronting an altogether different set of missions. Successive post-Cold War strategic concepts and Alliance statements recognised that the strategic environment was rapidly changing and that NATO had to adapt correspondingly.¹⁰ This was more than a theoretical exercise. As new operational requirements imposed themselves, the Alliance was forced to change along with, and get better at, the job it was given. This process of constant evolution played out in the “NATO hardware” component – the NATO Command Structure – as well as in the “doctrinal software” (i.e. the body of Allied doctrine and Standardisation Agreements). These twin pillars served, and continue to serve, as the institutional containers of military expertise.

The NATO Command Structure in many ways qualifies as the organisational backbone of the Alliance. It constitutes a nervous system of multinational headquarters that connects and directs the NATO Force Structure

⁹ On the changing role of the US within the Alliance, see e.g. E. Hallams and B. Schreer, “Towards a ‘post-American’ alliance? NATO burden-sharing after Libya,” *International Affairs*, 88 (2), 2012, pp. 313–327.

¹⁰ A good illustration is the “Strategic Vision” statement prepared by NATO’s Strategic Commanders: J.L. Jones and E.P. Giambastiani, *Strategic Vision: The Military Challenge*, Norfolk and Mons, ACT and ACO Public Information Offices, 2004.

(i.e. the pool of in-place and deployable forces that are available to the Alliance under pre-specified readiness criteria). Currently capped at 8,800 staff posts spread across two Allied Commands (Transformation and Operations), it provides the organisational and procedural means to plan and conduct operations at short notice and to prepare the Alliance for future challenges. Given that the NATO Command Structure represents the venue where most staff work takes place, it provides the Alliance with an institutional memory. Perhaps most importantly, the existence of a permanent and multinational command chain represents the most tangible manifestation of Alliance cohesion and solidarity.

NATO forces can only operate together effectively on the basis of a common understanding of how to do business. This is where Allied doctrine and standardisation efforts come into view. This body of documents meets the Alliance's need for a shared vocabulary and commonly agreed processes. Throughout all member nations, NATO doctrine streamlines military thinking about how to deal with complex problems in conceptual terms. It stresses essential principles, fosters specific operational approaches and enables an agreed command philosophy inspired by the canon of Western military thought.¹¹ All of this is particularly relevant for military education and exercises. Throughout the Alliance, junior as well as senior officers are educated and trained – at least in part – on the basis of the same capstone documents. This is where the NATO School in Oberammergau and the NATO Defense College in Rome play their part. Ultimately these educational efforts enable live military exercises on a large scale. Some of these serve, *inter alia*, to provide a rigorous certification mechanism for successive rotations of the NATO Response Force and thus to improve interoperability. Exercise Steadfast Jazz, which took place in November 2013, constitutes a recent example in this regard.

Both the NATO Command Structure and NATO doctrine are in con-

¹¹ For an introductory overview, see: Allied Joint Publication 01 (D), *Allied Joint Doctrine*, Brussels, NATO Standardization Agency, 2010.

stant evolution under the influence of newly assigned tasks and past operational experience. Doctrinal developments illustrate this most clearly. The experience of the Balkan operations endowed the Alliance with what is now known as the Operations Planning Process, the accompanying Guidelines for Operational Planning and the NATO Crisis Response System. Similarly, thinking about the “Comprehensive Approach” is also a product of operational experience. Loosely defined as a means to enhance a complementary and coherent response to crises by all relevant actors, both civilian and military, this concept embodies NATO’s search to embed itself in the broader international architecture. The approved NATO Comprehensive Operations Planning Directive reflects the Afghanistan experience – in particular, the fact that the Alliance was called upon to execute ever more tasks and interact with civilian agencies.¹² This process of codifying past experience into lessons learned and doctrine takes place at all levels. It is not by chance that the Alliance adopted a doctrine for peace support operations in 2001 and a doctrine for counterinsurgency in 2011.¹³ Like all software, doctrine requires regular updating to get the bugs out and to allow for new functionalities.

In a similar vein, albeit less visible, the NATO Command Structure (**Figure 2**) is subject to continuous change.¹⁴ The round of reforms initiated in 2010 and to be completed by 2015, reflects some of the signature elements of recent operational experience at all levels. One can observe, for example, that a gradual inversion of command hierarchy is taking place. The NATO strategic commands are increasingly cast in a supporting role instead of a directive one. This reflects the fact that mission commanders such as COMISAF are not fulfilling a tactical function (as older NATO

¹² Cf. A. King, *The Transformation of Europe’s Armed Forces: From the Rhine to Afghanistan*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011.

¹³ Allied Joint Publication 3.4.1, *Peace Support Operations*, NATO Standardization Agency, 2001, and Allied Joint Publication 3.4.4, *Allied Doctrine for Counterinsurgency (COIN)*, NATO Standardization Agency, 2011.

¹⁴ See: G.W. Pedlow, *The Evolution of NATO’s Command Structure, 1951-2009*, Mons, SHAPE, <http://www.aco.nato.int/resources/21/Evolution%20of%20NATO%20Cmd%20Structure%201951-2009.pdf> (accessed 3 November 2013).

doctrine would have it) but are *de facto* executing a strategic function in its own right. At the same time, the (operational-level) Joint Force Commands located in Brunssum and Naples are being subjected to a relentless drive towards greater deployability so as to be able to feed the staff requirements of expeditionary operations. Finally, great attention is paid to safeguarding critical expertise in the tactical, component-level headquarters. Operation Unified Protector provided a sharp wake-up call to preserve and reinvest in adequate air command and control assets. Similarly, it underlined the value of NATO's Standing Maritime Groups, which have dwindled in size but remain critical for seamlessly transitioning between exercises and operations.¹⁵ Maritime expertise has now been fused together into a single centre of excellence, Maritime Command Northwood. At the same time, the know-how required to conduct multi-corps-sized operations is retained at the Land Command Headquarters in Izmir.

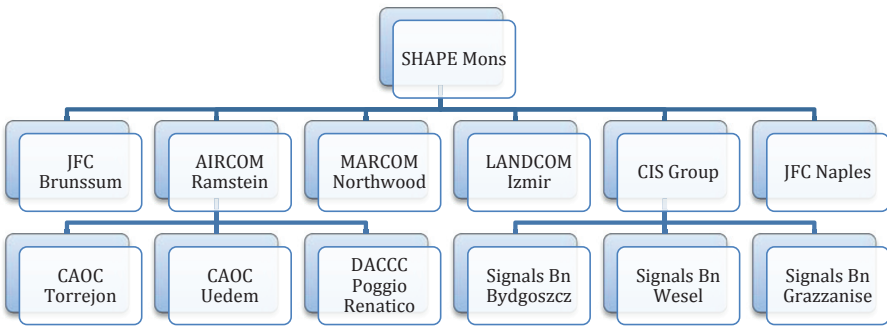


Figure 2: NATO Allied Command Operations

All of this is not meant to say that Allied doctrine and the Command Structure reform are driven by operational requirements alone. These discussions feature major political and financial considerations as well. Ar-

¹⁵ See: B.A. Smith-Windsor, "NATO's Maritime Strategy and the Libya Crisis as Seen from the Sea," *Research Paper* No. 90, NATO Defense College, March 2013, p. 6.

guably, the primary function of the recent Command Structure reforms was to save up to €20 million annually on the common-funded NATO military budget. As anyone familiar with the “flags to post” plot discussions can testify, the Command Structure constitutes not only a vehicle for commanding operations but also an arena in which different Allies compete for influence inside the Alliance.¹⁶ Yet, despite these broader political considerations, it is important to underline the function NATO doctrine and the Command Structure serve as storage rooms for military expertise. More than anything else, this is what makes NATO a unique organisation.

An imperfect model with a unique edge

In a historical sense, the process just described has become so successful that it has prompted other international organisations that can serve as platforms to mount military operations to follow suit. With a view to realising the full potential of the wider international community, this is a welcome development. Yet, when adopting a comparative perspective, it becomes clear that NATO retains a leading edge in this regard.¹⁷ The functional specialisation in military affairs and the institutional architecture geared towards rapid response ensure that the Alliance for the foreseeable future, in spite of other shortcomings, offers a qualitative advantage over other organisations and sets the proverbial gold standard for international military cooperation.

Within the UN system, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations has undergone significant reorganisation and professionalisation. As successive reports of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (the “C34” in peacekeeping jargon) make clear, the UN struggles with similar

¹⁶ The “flags to post” plot refers to the allocation of available staff posts in the command structure to different Allies on the basis of their relative weight in the Alliance.

¹⁷ For an elaborate comparison as far as operation planning processes are concerned, see: A. Mattelaer, *The Politico-Military Dynamics of European Crisis Response Operations: Planning, Friction, Strategy*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

issues when drawing lessons from recent operations (for example, with regard to command architecture and operational concepts). But the UN cannot acquire the institutions and procedures required to manage complex military operations without simultaneously abandoning its promise to be “the world’s most accepted honest broker.”¹⁸ Impartiality and military effectiveness are essentially mutually exclusive concepts. In the past decade, the European Union (EU) has also built up the institutional machinery for launching crisis management missions under the flag of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). In terms of both organisational structures and operating processes, the CSDP displays striking similarities to NATO. The Military Committees of both organisations are largely composed of the same general officers and the EU freely copies from NATO doctrine to enable its military headquarters to function effectively. The European officer corps is socialised to such an extent by NATO procedures that the CSDP cannot be seen as fully autonomous from the Alliance. The African Union, in turn, is engaged in building up the African Peace and Security Architecture. This process is heavily influenced by the model European integration provided and is to a large extent financed by European development assistance. Through maintaining a NATO Senior Military Liaison Officer team in Addis Ababa, the Alliance also contributes to African capacity building efforts. Ever more regional international organisations seem to be embarking on similar paths, including the Union of South American Nations and its South American Defence Council. Even if the latter does not constitute a military alliance and has no operational purposes, it is clear that interest in cooperative security efforts is still on the rise.

Given this proliferation of cooperative security arrangements, what can NATO offer? The short answer is that its assets described above are nowhere replicated to the same level of professionalism. Firstly, NATO is the only organisation that has given birth to a well-developed body of multinational military doctrine covering the full spectrum of military affairs. As a con-

¹⁸ See: J. Hillen, *Blue Helmets: The Strategy of UN Military Operations*, 2nd ed., Washington DC, Brassey’s, 2000, p. 250.

sequence, this is what officers get taught at military academies across the Alliance (and frequently beyond). It effectively sets the doctrinal standards that other organisations may choose to adopt or elaborate on. Secondly, NATO is the only international organisation with a permanent command chain instead of *ad hoc*, mission-specific command arrangements. This permanence is invaluable for enabling genuine rapid response and strategic planning efforts. Whereas other international organisations require a political decision to start planning and need ample time to get headquarters up and running (typically measured in months), the NATO Command Structure can deliver planning output quasi-immediately. Thirdly, it needs to be remembered that NATO has confronted the most challenging operations. Its structures and procedures are correspondingly the most robust and battle-hardened available.

It is possible to argue that these qualities are the mere by-product of the Alliance's membership in general, and of the dominant role of the United States in particular. Does this not mean that NATO represents a vehicle for exporting American military doctrine and political preferences? It is of course a fact of life that international organisations inevitably reflect their membership, in the sense that members attempt to upload their policy preferences. But one needs to acknowledge that the outcome of the policy process in NATO always reflects a search for consensus, with input being generated on both sides of the Atlantic. Thinking about the "Comprehensive Approach," to take a popular example, is heavily influenced by European and Canadian ideas. The German concept of "Vernetzte Sicherheit" played a particularly prominent role in this regard.¹⁹ The so-called "3D-approach" (defence, diplomacy and development) was promoted by Canada and the United Kingdom early on. Similarly, NATO's counterinsurgency doctrine was not just a model copy of the counterinsurgency field manual the US adopted five years before, but incorporated the lessons learned in

¹⁹ Cf. e.g. A. Wittkowsky and J.P. Meierjohann, "Das Konzept der Vernetzten Sicherheit: Dimensionen, Herausforderungen, Grenzen," *ZfP Policy Briefing*, 2011; and C. Major and E. Schöndorf, "Umfassende Ansätze, vernetzte Sicherheit," *SWP Aktuell*, No. 22, 2011.

Afghanistan. In other words, NATO doctrine may be inspired by national doctrines, but is itself the product of a deliberative process involving all the Allies and their respective sensitivities. NATO effectively pursues an open door policy not only towards membership questions, but also towards ideas.

The fact that all proposals need to be agreed to by every individual Ally always stirs debate. In the aftermath of the Kosovo campaign, many lamented the frustration ensuing from what was called “warfare by committee.”²⁰ Yet this constitutes the very essence of working through multilateral channels. When all the Allies pool their resources, political strings get attached and difficult discussions are part of the game. For example, when NATO agreed to augment Turkey’s air-defence capabilities in the context of the Syrian crisis, it was clearly stipulated that this deployment only served a defensive purpose.²¹ NATO is not different from other international organisations in this regard: it constitutes a forum where inevitable trade-offs are made. The only aspect that sets NATO apart from the UN, the EU and others is its functional specialisation in military affairs. Naturally this has advantages and shortcomings: it will deliver military professionalism but will correspondingly be perceived as a purely military organisation.

Beyond crisis management

In mid-2011, the number of NATO troops deployed on operations peaked at a level of nearly 170,000.²² In the same timeframe, nearly 100,000 uniformed personnel served on UN peacekeeping deployments.²³ Such fig-

²⁰ Cf. L. Michel, “NATO Decisionmaking: Au Revoir to the Consensus Rule?,” *Strategic Forum*, No. 202, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University, August 2003, pp. 1-8.

²¹ See: *NATO Foreign Ministers’ statement on Patriot deployment to Turkey*, Brussels, NATO, 4 December 2012, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_92476.htm (accessed 9 July 2013).

²² See: J.G. Stavridis, *European Command 2012 Posture Statement*, Stuttgart, United States European Command, 2012.

²³ See: Center on International Cooperation, *Annual Review of Global Peace Operations 2012*, Boulder, Lynne Rienner, 2012, pp. 5-6.

ures are historically unprecedented. They reflect the remarkable boom that has materialised in what is now commonly known as crisis management. At the end of the Cold War, peacekeeping and related duties could be considered to be a relatively marginal phenomenon. Over the past twenty years, however, various indicators such as the number of missions, troops or organisations involved have broadly trended upwards. Yet one must keep in mind that historical trends never last indefinitely. Just as NATO itself is a multi-purpose organisation, its hardware and software must serve as versatile instruments for coping with the evolving security landscape.

The “crisis management paradigm” that has shaped the post-Cold War strategic environment is likely to be close to a tipping point. This is not just because the number of NATO troops in Afghanistan will decrease substantially in the years ahead. Rather, it relates to a combination of budgetary constraints in the Western world and emerging challenges in the Far East. In the aftermath of the sovereign debt crisis, the developed world may not have the fiscal bandwidth required to sustain multiple large-scale campaigns over an extended period.²⁴ This is not to say that the days of crisis management are numbered. New emergencies such as the one in Mali, as well as legacy dossiers such as Kosovo and Afghanistan, will continue to command a certain amount of attention and resources. But the fiscal situation many Western nations find themselves in will prompt them to be more selective in contemplating new missions and experiment with more cost-efficient operational templates. The reticence to repeat the Libya template in the context of the civil war in Syria is illustrative in this regard. Furthermore, this new trend is likely to manifest itself not only in a NATO framework but elsewhere as well. It is in this light that one can interpret the EU’s turn towards capacity-building missions, for example.

²⁴ This problem is particularly acute for the European Allies whose total level of defence spending is broadly on a downward trend. Although some argue that this should be offset by increased regional cooperation, it is clear that combined European capabilities are currently in freefall. Cf. F.S. Larrabee et al., *NATO and the Challenges of Austerity*, Santa Monica, RAND, 2012; and J. Rogers and A. Gilli, *Enabling the future: European military capabilities 2013-2025*, Paris, EU Institute for Security Studies, 2013.

At the same time, crisis management operations are losing their relative prominence on the international security agenda as new threats begin to materialise. Claims that a naval arms race may be emerging in East Asia, the American “pivot” to the Asia-Pacific and the sharply rising interest in cyber security issues suggest that contemporary strategists have started contemplating very different scenarios than those the international community confronted in the past two decades.²⁵ The fact that a new division responsible for emerging security challenges was set up inside NATO’s International Staff in 2010 testifies that this process also plays out within the Alliance. But again, this does not mean that crisis management has lost its relevance. The continuing instability in Europe’s wider southern neighbourhood will ensure that crisis management remains a salient theme for the Alliance. The recent Libyan request for assistance in reforming its security sector illustrates that NATO may still have a role to play here.²⁶ Yet, at the strategic level, it seems clear that a more crowded agenda (beyond crisis management) as well as a revisiting of burden sharing discussions is becoming unavoidable.

The gradual shift that is underway, from permanent campaigning to a “contingent posture” characterised by selective engagement and force rationalisation, suggests that NATO’s role as a vehicle for cooperative security may well increase in importance in the years ahead.²⁷ Outreach to nearby as well as more distant partner countries offers a way to invest in conflict prevention and a multilateral mode of governing security affairs. This in fact constitutes a natural geographical extension of the internal function of the Alliance, namely to provide a stabilising framework for intra-European strategic dynamics. In essence, cooperative security speaks to the idea that

²⁵ Cf. e.g. G. Till, *Asia’s naval expansion: An arms race in the making?*, London, International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2012; and M. Gunzinger, *Shaping America’s Future Military: Toward a New Force Planning Construct*, Washington DC, Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, 2013.

²⁶ See: *NATO to send expert team to Libya to assess aid request*, Brussels, NATO, 4 June 2013, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_101096.htm (accessed 9 July 2013).

²⁷ On the shift from campaigning to contingency, see: P. Wall, *Keynote speech to the RUSI Landwarfare Conference 2013*, London, Royal United Services Institute, <http://www.rusi.org/landwarfare> (accessed 30 June 2013).

international security does not have to be a zero-sum game. Budgetary constraints in the West, as well as increasing geostrategic rivalry in the Far East, only add to the appeal.

Paradoxically, the assets that NATO can rely on to fulfil this cooperative security role are the same as those that enable its operational role. The NATO Command Structure constitutes the organisational backbone of the Alliance for *all* tasks, not only those relating to crisis management. NATO headquarters monitor the security environment and engage in prudent planning with an open mind. In the absence of actual operations, the distinction between the three core tasks of the Alliance is largely a theoretical one. Internal processes such as the NATO Defence Planning Process and initiatives such as Smart Defence and Connected Forces are instrumental to enabling Allies to confront an age of austerity and retain military know-how after ISAF gradually winds down. Military exercises not only help prepare the Alliance for collective defence as well as crisis management scenarios, but can simultaneously serve to benefit partnerships. Joint doctrine development and standardisation efforts remain critical for international cooperation, inside as well as beyond the Alliance. The multifunctional nature of NATO's key assets therefore mimics the multifaceted nature of the Alliance as a whole.

Serving as a repository of military expertise not only makes NATO operationally capable, but also ensures that the Alliance has something tangible to offer as far as cooperative security is concerned. The primary reason for engaging in cooperative security efforts is of course to advance common interests and work towards shared objectives. Yet it is not only the destination that counts: there is much to learn from security cooperation with NATO. Its status as the pre-eminent international organisation specialised in military affairs, enabled through its hardware and software assets, assures partner countries that they will get something out of such cooperation they are unlikely to find elsewhere. Above all, this relates to the professionalisation of their armed forces: it exposes military personnel to advanced

military doctrine and technology, employed in a joint and combined environment. Partnerships in this sense contribute to an extended multilateral security network in which all nations can learn from each another and develop mutual understanding on contemporary challenges. Multilateral cooperation is thus not only a method for reaching common objectives, but also something of intrinsic value.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to advance the thesis that NATO constitutes the principal multilateral repository of military expertise and therefore acts as the gold standard enabling international military cooperation. This role is founded upon operational experience which is institutionalised in the NATO Command Structure and Allied doctrine – the twin containers of Allied military know-how. The combination of these factors ensures that the Alliance is a unique defense and security actor. Even if the Alliance had not already been around since 1949, there still would be a need for an organization serving the functions it currently fulfils. Today the Alliance's principal assets serve all core tasks simultaneously, from collective defence through crisis management to cooperative security. As the international environment changes, the Alliance also evolves.

What does all this mean for potential partners such as Brazil? The answer very much depends on how Brazil sees its own future role on the international stage. Dialogue and cooperation, and joint decisions, must take into account the perspectives of all countries involved. Having said that, however, it is clear that potential areas for cooperation abound. These range from constabulary tasks on the high seas and UN-mandated crisis management tasks to the pursuit of military modernisation. Brazil would also benefit from access to advanced military training and education. Common standards would allow for greater interoperability and thus boost Brazil's ability to contribute to multilateral security assistance missions, including

in the UN context. Global partners such as Japan indeed recognise that this is where NATO's "greatest comparative advantage" lies.²⁸ It is natural that such dialogue must be tentative and exploratory at first, only to mature over time. Yet, if the longer history of the Alliance proves anything, it is that multilateral security cooperation has much going for it.

²⁸ See: M. Tsuruoka, "NATO and Japan as Multifaceted Partners," *Research Paper No. 91*, NATO Defense College, April 2013, p. 6.

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

Antonio Jorge Ramalho

In this chapter, I shall discuss Brazil's foreign policy with the purpose of informing readers of the traditional values and current attitudes that condition the country's decisions in the international realm. Before that, I shall identify some of the main trends in current international relations to contextualize Brazil's positions. I shall then illustrate Brazil's perceptions of these trends and to the faltering leadership that threatens the existing global order. I begin with a dilemma that involves sovereign states and their citizens, institutions and global governance.

The dilemma we are trapped in pertains to global governance. Current global norms and institutions do not provide the levels of governance necessary to effectively manage the prevailing interdependence of economies and societies. Though this issue first emerged at the end of World War II, it has only recently become critical. If left unaddressed, it may endanger the current multipolar world order by favoring dynamics based on real-politik. By contrast, if properly managed, it may involve emerging powers in reducing instabilities, and strengthening the role played by responsible nation-states.

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

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

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

The context ... and how Brazil perceives it

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

Better informed and empowered by new technologies, individuals compare their living conditions not only with their own historic record, but also with those of other communities all over the world.¹ The many indicators created by international organizations over the last several decades, topped

¹ B. Friedman, *The Moral Consequences of Economic Growth*, Alfred Knopf, New York, 2005.

by the Human Development Index, the Millennium Development Goals and initiatives such as the Social Progress Index, provide the parameters to measure the effectiveness of public policies at the global level.² At the end of the day, individuals' human security and welfare anchor political processes and set the course for governmental action.

This creates a gap between citizens and their governments. Individuals' expectations are numerous and complex, while governments lack the possibility to fulfill their citizens' demands. As a matter of fact, governments are requested to act upon processes that they cannot control. Kept under permanent pressure by citizens and business alike, they have to deal with growing demands while observing progressive reductions in their room for maneuver. This frustrates citizens, who tend to protest and demonstrate in favour of their rights. These movements appeared clearly during the Arab Spring, but also during protests as diverse as those observed in Turkey, Brazil, and the United States (US).

As a result, sociopolitical dynamics create instabilities and challenges to security, both domestically and internationally. The European Union (EU) Scenario document focusing on 2030 captured these trends from different angles.³

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

² M. Porter, S. Stern, and R.A. Loría, *The Social Progress Index 2013*, The Social Progress Imperative, Washington, DC, 2013, available at: <http://socialprogressimperative.org>

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

⁴ Reasonable overviews of this process and its implications can be found in: D. Held et al., *Global Transformations*.

As happens in non-linear systems, the international system suffers substantial transformations that result from unexpected and unpredictable interactions. It is clear that the current global governance architecture is not optimized to promote peace, stability and sustainable growth in the long run. Hence, acute crises emerge every now and then, occasionally motivating *ad hoc* emergency responses. In the US, scholars like to portray these dangerous turning points as cliffs that, if things go right, we avoid falling over. The problem with this *ad hoc* system of management is that it will only take us from one cliff to another – if we are lucky. The whole system requires structural adjustments, which are politically very difficult to achieve, as the enduring crisis in Syria illustrates.

In other words, the international order needs reform. But it lacks leadership. Reforms need to be incremental to avoid confrontation and engage key players. They also have to address the anxieties of individuals. Though the game has evolved in its essence, it happens within obsolete frameworks.⁵ Not surprisingly, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) Yearbook 2013 focuses on four significant fields that reveal knowledge gaps, two of which are related to institutional failure, poor governance, and the institutions for security and peace; another pertains to the link between violence and socio-economic and political outcomes; and only one deals with the root causes of specific conflicts. The document also records increases in world military expenditure, either in absolute terms (1,742 US\$ b. in 2012, up from 1,291 US\$ b. in 2003, at constant 2011 prices and exchange rates), or in military spending per capita (current US\$ 249 in 2012, up from current US\$ 144 in 2003). Even the world military burden – i.e., world military spending as a percentage of world GDP (both measured in current

mations. Politics, Economics, and Culture, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1999; G. Clark, *A Farewell to Arms. A brief Economic History of the World*, Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 2007; and M. Barnett, and R. Duvall, *Power in Global Governance*, Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005.

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

US\$) – has increased from 2.4% in 2003 to 2.5% in 2013.⁶

These trends highlight one important fact: notwithstanding the significant increase in the cost of war, traditional wars in close interdependence with violent internal unrest remain a possibility; they represent a growing phenomenon in many parts of the world. Violent conflicts in Africa, together with rising tensions in the Middle East and in the South China Sea, point to the fact that governments have to deal with traditional as well as new threats simultaneously.

In this context, Brazil believes that a culture of tolerance based on shared rules is the key to providing states with new arrangements to govern their common challenges. The way to proceed is thus for all governments to give preference to operating within existing arrangements, particularly within the United Nations (UN), while seeking reform. After all, the UN embodies the set of institutions built by the international community that comes closest to what a global government would look like, and it is obviously more legitimate than newly concocted bilateral or multilateral arrangements.

Brazil's positions and initiatives

Brazil thus advocates for the reform of institutions. Antonio Patriota's call for raising "awareness on the importance of associating development to the security strategies we conceive towards sustainable peace," as well as for increasing cooperation between the UN Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, illustrates this commitment.⁷ This cry was supported by incumbent Minister Luiz Alberto Figueiredo in his inaugura-

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

⁷ Statement by H.E. Ambassador Antonio de Aguiar Patriota, Minister of External Relations of the Federative Republic of Brazil at the Open Debate of the Security Council on "Maintenance of international peace and security: the interdependence between security and development," 11 February 2011, available at: <http://www.un.int/brazil/speech/11d-AAP-Maintenance-international-peace-security.html> (accessed 30 June 2012).

tion speech that concentrated on deepening the contributions Brazil can offer to enhance the current order:

*... our voice has been gathering strength in defence of our state at the multilateral level and the great issues of the international agenda, ranging from sustainable development to human rights and social affairs as well as from international peace and security to the multilateral trade system ... Brazil is a player that cannot be sidestepped.*⁸

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

In a nutshell, this is the narrative that has informed Brazil's foreign policy throughout recent decades. It combines common sense with proposals for conservative reforms in the world order. Back in the 1960s, the Brazilian Ambassador to the UN, Araújo Castro, denounced the UN Charter as a document concerned with peace and power, rather than justice, and the Security Council, in tandem with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

⁸ Statement delivered by Ambassador Luiz Alberto Figueiredo Machado on the occasion of his inauguration as Minister of External Relations (Brasília, 28 August 2013), available at: <http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/sala-de-imprensa/notas-a-imprensa/discurso-do-embaixador-luiz-alberto-figueiredo-machado-na-cerimonia-de-transmissao-do-cargo-de-ministro-de-estado-das-relacoes-exteriores> (accessed 1 September 2013).

(NPT), as a tool to freeze the distribution of power on the world stage.⁹ He pointed out that, at the San Francisco Conference, the international community mistakenly focused on military dynamics instead of development, apparently ignoring the extent to which they are intertwined.

At current levels of interdependence, in the long run, only an international order that represents the real distribution of power on the world scene can effectively regulate the allocation of values on a politically sustainable basis. Hence, Brazil is pushing for reforms that help *multilateralize* the multipolarity observed in international relations. At this level of interdependence, the whole political process has to be perceived as legitimate, which requires that emerging powers be offered reasonable levels of representation within world institutions.

Evidence abounds. We live in a global society structured to administer an international system. Hence, the consensus on the need to reform institutions, such as the UN Security Council and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), as well as to end the Doha Round of the World Trade Organization (WTO), gathers momentum daily. But no one appears to know how to proceed.

As socio-economic processes unfold, successive political crises affecting the whole world cause multilateral institutions to fail in managing the world order. If their improvement was an option when the idea of an international community was utopia, the need for sound global governance infrastructure has become paramount. Interdependence requires the appropriate institutions to manage global flows (of information, money, goods, services, persons, etc.) and people's expectations, cementing what effectively corresponds to a world society. And in this complex environment, different kinds of people matter.¹⁰

⁹ J.A. Araújo Castro, "The United Nations and the Freezing of the International Power Structure," *International Organization*, Vol. 26, N. 1, pp. 158-166, 1972.

¹⁰ So important is this perception that some analysts recall the European Middle-Ages, when sovereigns of different kinds interacted purposefully in a legitimate way. See, for instance: W. Pfaff, *The Wrath of Nations*:

Simply put, this is the narrative. Brazil proposes using empathy, tolerance, and cooperation to improve the global order. This needs to take place in several places: at the UN Security Council, to face security challenges; at the WTO, to unleash the energies of free trade on behalf of economic growth; at the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), to provide for food security; and on the broader sustainable development agenda, especially through the Sustainable Development Goals, to build “the future we want.”¹¹ All of this is based on Brazil’s foreign policy traditions.

From words to deeds

These positions also imply moving from words to deeds. After solving its most serious socioeconomic problems, Brazil is gradually becoming a model for other developing countries. National development as well as maintaining peaceful and cooperative relations with its neighbours have emerged as priorities.

Brazil, ranked among the top ten economies in the world, has an improved infrastructure which operates above capacity. Brazil has added over 40 million people to its middle class in the last 20 years, reaching over 120 million people. It is the only BRICS country to have reduced inequalities over this period, by defending its social policies. Home to about 12% of the world’s fresh water reserves, Brazil ranks 7th in terms of water consumption, behind India (13%), China (11%), the USA (9%), Russia and Indonesia (4% each), and Nigeria (3%).¹² Having championed clean

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

¹¹ It is not a coincidence that the Outcome document of the Rio+20 Conference considers the eradication of poverty as “the greatest global challenge facing the world today and an indispensable requirement for sustainable development.” See A/RES/66/288, Par. 2, adopted by the UNGA in its 66th session, 12 September 2012, available at: [http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N11/476/10/PDF/N1147610.pdf](http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N11/476/10/PDF/N1147610.pdf?accessed=4+February+2013) (accessed 4 February 2013.)

¹² Boletim da Associação dos diplomatas Brasileiros, Year XIX, Number 78, Winter 2012, pp. 5-10.

energy production and pushed for Rio+20, its power generation comes mostly from hydro-electric (76%) and bio/wind (8%) sources, which are expected to become the most important sources by 2035 (67% and 16%, respectively).¹³

In 2010, the Brazilian Cooperation Agency published a report that summarized its initiatives over the previous five years. It has invested almost R\$ 2.9 billion (roughly US\$ 1.25 billion at the time of writing) on humanitarian aid, scholarships to citizens from poor countries, technical and R&D cooperation, and contributions to international organizations.¹⁴ According to the same Agency, for the years 2013 to 2015, Brazil has budgeted US\$ 40 million to invest in development cooperation in the Americas and the Caribbean, and US\$ 36 million in Africa, mainly in the fields of food security, agricultural development, health and professional training.¹⁵ The country is also implementing a debt relief programme that will benefit 12 African countries, with an estimated total debt forgiveness of US\$ 900 million when completed. Its rationale is to avoid turning the debt burden into an obstruction to economic growth, and to overcome poverty.¹⁶ Investments have also grown in South America. In 2010, the Brazilian Development Bank (BNDES) alone was responsible for projects related to the Initiative for Integrating South-American Infrastructure, costing over US\$ 300 million. In 2011, it had a portfolio of over US\$ 17 billion for investments in Latin America, an increase of over 1,000% since 2001.¹⁷

¹³ Brasil, MME/EPE, 2011 (op cit.), 30. The other sources are nuclear (2% in 2010) and Thermal (14%). By 2035, they are expected to remain stable, with an increase of 1% in thermal generation.

¹⁴ IPEA / ABC. *Cooperação brasileira para o desenvolvimento internacional: 2005-2009*, Brasília, Ipea, 2010.

¹⁵ Abreu, Fernando, speech at “Os desafios da política externa brasileira em um mundo em transição,” seminário na Câmara dos Deputados, available at: <http://www.camara.gov.br/internet/jornalcamara/default.asp?selecao=materia&codMat=75254&codjor=> (accessed 26 September 2013).

¹⁶ See Brasil perdoa quase US\$ 900 milhões em dívidas de países Africanos. Em BBC Brasil, 25 de maio de 2013, available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/portuguese/noticias/2013/05/130520_perdao_africa_mdb.shtml (accessed 26 September 2013). The countries are Republic of the Congo, Tanzania, Zambia, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Gabon, Republic of Guinea, Mauritania, São Tomé e Príncipe, Sudan and Guinea Bissau.

¹⁷ BNDES impulsiona maior presença brasileira na América Latina. In BBC Brasil, 11 de novembro de 2011, available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/portuguese/noticias/2011/11/111109_mundo_bndes_mdb.shtml (accessed 28 September 2013).

In sum, Brazil's message is clear, though seldom explicitly spelled out: we live in a world of deep-rooted interdependence, threatened by traditional patterns of conflict, as well as by unrest related to revolts against unbearable socio-economic inequalities and a widespread sense of injustice. Therefore, the promotion of international security will depend on reliable and legitimate institutions that help to solve conflicts through peaceful means, as much as on efforts to reduce inequalities both domestically and abroad. If governments do not manage to settle their conflicts of interest, redistributing power to emerging nation-states so as to render multilateral institutions more representative, legitimate and effective, the whole system will partially surrender its capacity to shape political processes, as other political groups will become more relevant in world affairs.

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

The way ahead

This is not an uncontroversial agenda. It may engender conflicts of different kinds: conflicts over rules, particularly those pertaining to the access to key technologies; conflicts over principles, mainly those that oppose the basic values of fairness and freedom; and conflicts of power, related to the possibilities of influencing the evolution of international events. But where you stand informs what you can do. Brazil considers that emerging powers should have their opinion taken into consideration in the key decisions in world affairs. Over the last few years, it has shown that it is ready to take responsibility on important issues. By example, it hopes to lead, and offer other developing countries its expertise in international negotiations, its tradition of respect for laws and institutions, and its tolerance and restraint in implementing its foreign policy. Inspired by these values, global governance architecture may gain in legitimacy – and become more effective.

The way ahead is an uneasy path to take, but the alternative would be to discredit the existing order completely, reducing states' capacity to manage the running of world affairs on behalf of other political entities. After all, not that long ago, leading scholars thought of war as a phenomenon not exclusively related to nation-states.¹⁸ This may again become the case, if we bear in mind the current relevance of individuals and business in international economics, and of private entities, mercenaries, and terrorist groups in the security domain.

Yet, this is more easily said than done. The international system is complex, and the imaginary boundaries we use to make sense of it do not help us understand its recent adaptations to the most important shocks. By showing caution, Brazil does not fundamentally threaten the system. But it is innovating by applying globally the political savvy and creativity acquired regionally, and consolidating its position as a global diplomatic hub. In-

¹⁸ Quincy Wright, for instance, conceptualized war as “a social recognized form of intergroup conflict involving violence” (See: Wright, Q, *A Study of War*, Chicago, Ill., University of Chicago Press, 1942, p. 6).

deed, despite being relatively richer and more powerful, the country lives in peace with its neighbours and helps resolving almost all conflicts in South America without resorting to the use of force.

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

Interests, Identity and Brazilian Peacekeeping Policy¹

Kai Michael Kenkel

This chapter provides an analytical background for discussion of Brazilian participation in peace operations, including potential cooperation in that area with NATO powers. It lays out the role of both material and normative motivations in determining the country's stance on intervention, before placing these in the context of the discussions held at the Closed High-Level Academic Roundtable, "Brazil and the Euro-Atlantic Area: Managing International Security in a Changed Global Order," hosted by the NATO Defense College, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the Getúlio Vargas Foundation on 9 May 2013 in Rio de Janeiro.

Studies of states' motivations to participate in peace operations have grown significantly in recent years, simultaneously with the rise of new troop contributors, often from the category of "emerging powers."² Brazil is one such emerging contributor, having moved in 2004 from sending what had until then been a constant trickle of military observers and liaison officers to providing both the lead contingent and the military force commander of one of the United Nations' (UN) largest missions, the Stabiliza-

¹ A previous version of this article appeared in English and Portuguese in *Revista Tempo do Mundo/ Perspective of the World Review*. Vol. 3, No. 1, 2011; pp. 9-35. Permission has been obtained from the Institute for Applied Economic Research (IPEA) for it to appear here.

² See, for example, the numerous analyses in the field's leading journal, *International Peacekeeping*, as well as, indicatively of studies of state motivations, the work of Arturo Sotomayor Velázquez, "Why Some States Participate in UN Peace Missions While Others Do Not: An Analysis of Civil-Military Relations and Its Effects on Latin America's Contributions to Peacekeeping Operations," *Security Studies*, v. 19, n. 1, pp. 160-195, 2010; "Different Paths and Divergent Policies in the UN Security System: Brazil and Mexico in Comparative Perspective," *International Peacekeeping*, v. 16, n. 3, pp. 364-378, 2009; and "Unintended consequences of peace operations for troop-contributing countries in South America: the cases of Argentina and Uruguay," in Chiyuki AOI, Cedric De Coning and Ramesh Thakur (eds.), *Unintended Consequences of Peacekeeping Operations*, New York, United Nations University Press, 2007, pp. 171-192.

tion Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH). This chapter brings a theoretically grounded approach to the study of Brazil's foreign policy goals and how these translate into motivations for participation in peace operations.

Though the country has both very clearly defined foreign policy guidelines and highly professional armed forces and diplomatic personnel, the public and political decision-making criteria for its participation in peace operations remain subjective, under-institutionalized and (perhaps intentionally) ill-defined. This stands in sharp contrast to what is increasingly being referred to as a separate Brazilian model of peacebuilding, which tends more and more to reveal clearly-defined objectives in both the short and long term, and is implicitly geared towards implementable versions of what have heretofore only appeared as vague declarations of intent in official documents. In this sense, practice leads policy and politics, not only in terms of Brazil's motivations to contribute to UN peace operations, but also in the manner of that contribution. There is need for considerable consolidation and clarification in Brazilian policy on peace operations (especially in view of the country's growing profile in this area); the appropriate framework for doing so is the country's first *Defence White Paper*, completed in 2011.

After providing a theoretical background, the analysis begins with a review of the most important Brazilian policy documents on foreign and security policy, presented with a view to illustrating their shortcomings as a basis for consistent action in, *inter alia*, peace operations. It proceeds by illustrating how the vague basis set out in these documents has been translated into diplomatic statements that are equally inchoate as a platform for concrete policy. Here, other factors from outside foreign policy traditions, particularly the country's rise as an emerging power, are brought to bear as well. The theoretical framework is then used to crystallize objectives and motivations which can serve as the basis for a clear and implementable policy on peace operations, as developed for and in the Haitian environment.

Selfish altruism: why states contribute to peace operations

As with other forms of humanitarian intervention, states' motivations for engaging in peace operations are variegated. Some motivations are internal. A decision to participate may derive from the use of peacekeeping as a means of pursuing a country's own unilateral interests (although this, to an extent, is anathema to the character of peacekeeping as practiced by the UN).³ In some cases, states view a peacekeeping contribution as conducive to greater international prestige or more extensive participation in UN decision-making bodies; there may also be genuine altruism mixed in with these motivations on specific occasions. Some motivations, on the other hand, are external: states have been pressured by allies into participating in intervening coalitions, or have altered their position vis-à-vis a specific conflictual context as a result of changes in the interpretation of international norms by their leading policy partner.⁴ Yet others participate in peace operations for reasons of financial compensation.

Though it is not the most recent, Laura Neack's 1995 analysis of a state's motivations to participate in peacekeeping operations remains seminal in that it avails itself of the distinction—which reflects the climate of growing institutionalism at the time of its publication—between what are termed the realist and the idealist motivations for participation. Though analyses of participation have advanced considerably since then, this distinction remains crucial, and is taken up here; its relevance to the Brazilian case is enhanced further by Neack's focus on middle powers (a category in which Brazil has recently emerged) and her explicit inclusion of Brazil in the study.

In accordance with specialists on middle powers, Neack situates peacekeeping as a quintessential activity for this category of state for which in-

³ A frequently cited example of this is Russia's military presence in its "near abroad," particularly the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) "peacekeeping" force sent to accompany the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG).

⁴ A strong current of analysis among German scholars attributes the German government's motivation for dispatching troops to Bosnia in 1994 to this source.

ternational institutions have become the primary vehicle for the pursuit of national interests. She notes the contradiction this creates in terms of separating the rational calculus of interests from altruistic dedication to the maintenance of the common good—reified in the global institution—and illustrates how this tension is at its most pointed in the case of multilateral interventions:

The origin of UN peace-keeping, then, has an internal contradiction that characterizes it to date. Participation in UN peace-keeping is supposedly an act that transcends narrow national interests, while in no small way peace-keeping has developed as a way for middle powers to demonstrate their power in and importance to world politics.⁵

Neack then seeks to distinguish between the two motivating factors for peacekeeping participation, which she labels as idealist and realist:

Two competing explanations for state participation in UN peace-keeping can be developed from this contradiction. First, state participation that transcends narrow national interests can be explained from an idealist perspective. Briefly, states will participate in UN peace-keeping out of an obligation to protect the international peace and to preserve international norms and values. States will do so even in the face of conflicting national interests ... The realist explanation of state participation in UN peace-keeping is that states do whatever they can, given their power resources, to protect and preserve their national interests. If national leaders see their states' interests inexorably linked to the continuation of the international status quo, they will support and defend the status quo. International organizations, particularly the UN, are the main beneficiaries of such support ...

⁵ Laura Neack, "UN Peace-Keeping: In the Interest of Community or Self?," *Journal of Peace Research*, v. 32, n. 2, pp. 181-196, 1995; here, p. 183.

For Neack, middle powers are the strongest supporters of peace operations, and have both idealist and realist motivations for doing so. From an idealist standpoint, they "...are the most likely states to protect the international system, and thus more likely to participate in multi-lateral activities such as peace-keeping because of their strong commitment to international peace."⁶ However, a rational calculus also leads these states to the same conclusion, "because of the aggregate power they can wield. Middle power interests are served by a continuation of the international status quo because in the status quo they have achieved relative affluence and influence..."⁷

While this is a crucial first step in getting to the roots of states' decisions to participate, Neack's two motivations remain weakly differentiated, particularly with respect to the very states on which she has placed the focus. How does one differentiate in practice between a middle power's idealist support for structures conducive to international peace as a foreign policy virtue, and its support thereof as a means of maintaining an order from which it benefits? It is not the purpose of Neack's initial analysis to clarify this point in great detail; this is left to later scholars of the nature of state interests in international institutions.

In this vein, James March and Johan Olsen's oft-cited work posits two contending logics which, by extension, explain state action within institutions (of which participation in peace operations is one form). One is rationalist; the other has been associated with varying success to the constructivist, or at least the normative, school of thought. Rationalist motivations, based on the analysis of relative costs and benefits, are encapsulated in the notion of the "logic of expected consequences": "[t]hose who see actions as driven by expectations of consequences imagine that human actors choose among alternatives by evaluating their likely consequences for personal or collective objectives, conscious that other actors are doing likewise."⁸

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 183-184.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

⁸ James G. March, and Johan P. Olsen, "The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders," *International Organization*, v. 52, n. 4, pp. 943-969, 1998; here, p. 949.

March and Olsen contend that

[f]rom this perspective, history is seen as the consequence of the interaction of willful actors and is fully understood when it is related to expectations of its consequences and to the interests (preferences) and resources of the actors. Individual actions are 'explained' by identifying consequential reasons for them. Foreign policy is 'explained' by providing an interpretation of the outcomes expected from it.⁹

Within the opposing, normatively grounded “logic of appropriateness,”

actions are seen as rule-based. Human actors are imagined to follow rules that associate particular identities to particular situations, approaching individual opportunities for action by assessing similarities between current identities and choice dilemmas and more general concepts of self and situations. Action involves evoking an identity or role and matching the obligations of that identity or role to a specific situation. The pursuit of purpose is associated with identities more than with interests, and with the selection of rules more than with individual rational expectations. Appropriateness need not attend to consequences, but it involves cognitive and ethical dimensions, targets, and aspirations. As a cognitive matter, appropriate action is action that is essential to a particular conception of self. As an ethical matter, appropriate action is action that is virtuous. We 'explain' foreign policy as the application of rules associated with particular identities to particular situations.¹⁰

With regard to the ultimate rationale for intervention, “decisions of states to intervene are usually related to two issues: positive cost-and-bene-

⁹ March and Olsen, p. 950.

¹⁰ March and Olsen, p. 951.

fit calculations, and their moral obligations either towards the belligerents or within a generally altruistic behavior.”¹¹ The lack of any clear distinction between these categories is perhaps the most vexing among the number of problems subsequently identified in March and Olsen’s approach.¹² Though there is a temptation, in the interest of methodological parsimony, to construct the logics as totally distinct, March and Olsen themselves recognize the impossibility of this goal, and thus work to clarify the relationship between the logics, which they admit are:

*not mutually exclusive. As a result, political action generally cannot be explained exclusively in terms of a logic of either consequences or appropriateness. Any particular action probably involves elements of each. Political actors are constituted both by their interests, by which they evaluate their expected consequences, and by the rules embedded in their identities and political institutions. They calculate consequences and follow rules, and the relationship between the two is often subtle.*¹³

Nonetheless, March and Olsen do not retreat from viewing the two logics as sufficiently separate for operationalization, and offer four possible characterizations of the interrelationship between the two.¹⁴ Ultimately, the most analytically compelling formulation, especially for those interested in peace operations, is Kjell Goldmann’s. Goldmann points out the inherent inequality between the two categories, arguing that, while the logic of appropriateness is able to assimilate the calculation of interest, the logic of consequences in March and Olsen is something of a straw man:

This, at first blush, is simple enough. It turns out, however, that

¹¹ Robert Nalbandov, “Battle of Two Logics: Appropriateness and Consequentiality in Russian Interventions in Georgia,” *Caucasian Review of International Affairs*, v. 3, n. 1, pp. 20–36, 2009; here, p. 23.

¹² Kjell Goldmann, “Appropriateness and Consequences: The Logic of Neo-Institutionalism,” *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions*, v. 18, n. 1, p. 35–52, 2005; here, pp. 40–41.

¹³ March and Olsen, p. 952.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 953–4.

whereas [the consequentialist position] excludes th[at based on expectations], the reverse is not true. Those on the latter 'side,' in contrast to those on the former, are deemed capable of taking more than one thing into account. They do not link action 'exclusively' to anything: they emphasize identities but do not exclude interests; they do not deny 'the reality of calculations and anticipations of consequences' In other words, those who 'interpret' action in terms of the 'logic of expected consequences' are simple-minded and unimaginative, whereas those who do it in terms of 'the logic of appropriateness' are open-minded and sophisticated. This may be seen as (relatively) innocent academic salesmanship, but it undermines the idea that we are dealing with mutually excluding perspectives, theories, or ideal types.¹⁵

In this way, the approach based on contending logics is subject to what might be termed the “normative rationality of action”; actors’ felt identities are embedded in their calculation of consequences (and interests).¹⁶ Goldmann contends that in essentially taking both preferences and identities as previously given, even when focussing on identities the approach does not truly transcend structuralism:¹⁷

... the 'logic of appropriateness' provides for a more complex view of human motivation, because it does not exclude the consideration of consequences whereas the 'logic of expected consequences' is taken to 'ignore' rules and identities. ... [J]ust as the 'logic of expected consequences' assumes preferences instead of accounting for them, the 'logic of appropriateness' assumes identities. The omission is not complete in either case: reasoning along the lines of the

¹⁵ Goldmann, pp. 39-40.

¹⁶ Ole Jacob Sending, “Constitution, Choice and Change: Problems with the ‘Logic of Appropriateness’ and its Use in Constructivist Theory,” *European Journal of International Relations*, v. 8, n. 4, pp. 443-470, 2002; here, p. 444. Sending explicitly references in this regard Thomas Risse, “Let’s Argue!”: Communicative Action in World Politics,” *International Organization*, v. 54, n.1, pp. 1-39, 2000.

¹⁷ This point is taken up by Sending as well.

*'logic of expected consequences' is often based on a structural theory of interests, just as March and Olsen emphasize the social formation of identities. The parallel is clear, however: while the 'logic of expected consequences' essentially leads us to derive actions from given preferences, the 'logic of appropriateness' essentially leads us to derive actions from given identities.*¹⁸

In this sense, in applying contending logics to analysis of motivations for participation in peacekeeping operations, one might begin with the assumption that states are more likely to follow the logic of appropriateness, albeit strongly imbued with the drive to follow rationally calculated interests as the situation befits. However, in the case of a practice whose normative basis and practical implementation are driven by international institutions such as the UN, it is clear that a normative concern with identity will limit the expression of exclusively consequence-based action in the ambit of international peacekeeping.¹⁹ In other words, a practice historically crafted with an eye to quintessentially Northern elements of identity may not dovetail quite as smoothly with the pursuit of interests of a Southern state, without normative tensions and significant adaptations of practice.

Official Brazilian policy on intervention and peace operations

How, then, does this theoretical lens allow us to elucidate the motivating factors behind Brazilian policy and decision-making on peace operations? For all its abovementioned shortcomings, by distinguishing normative from material policy motivations, the competing-logics approach is particularly helpful with regard to two aspects central to understanding Brazilian peacekeeping policy. These are the normative tension between historical, regionally-bound foreign policy traditions and newly evolving

¹⁸ Goldmann, p. 44.

¹⁹ Roland Paris makes this point in "Peacekeeping and the Constraints of Global Culture," *European Journal of International Relations*, v. 9, n. 3, pp. 441–473, 2003.

international norms of intervention; and the effects of the country's fractured and under-institutionalized decision-making process in the area of peace operations.

In its foreign policy orientation, Brazil is very firmly rooted in the Latin American security subculture. Shaped by almost two centuries of a continued interventionist stance by the United States and other Western powers in its hemisphere, this culture has focussed largely on the development of legal protection against American intervention. As a result, its highest principle is respect for the norm of non-intervention, an interpretation which is closely linked to the equation of the principle of sovereignty and the inviolability of borders.

Following independence from Portugal and Spain, the newly independent states of South America largely settled their borders by negotiation rather than force, and have adopted a strong preference for negotiation, coupled with the strong repudiation of the use of force in the resolution of disputes. Historically speaking, in global terms, Brazil's perception of its identity was long that of a weak peripheral state in need of the protection of absolute sovereignty against the will of the stronger Northern powers. The normative frameworks of multilateral institutions and international law have long been seen as an essential protection against the vagaries of the distribution of power in the international system.

In this sense, the key role of multilateral institutions in the expression of Brazil's foreign policy identity underscores the commingling of normative and material interests within it: sustaining international institutions and their practices is a way of pursuing the national interest, which in turn derives partially from normative feedback from those fora. Tellingly, in its role as the primary architect of Brazilian foreign policy, the Ministry of External Relations, also known as Itamaraty, has a pronounced predilection for the multilateral approach and its normative sequelae.²⁰ By contrast,

²⁰ Indeed, it is the conflict between this predilection, manifested in participation in peace operations, and

the Armed Forces, primary designers of the country's defence policy and primary implementers of its peacekeeping policy, adhere to the approach - common to almost all military establishments - of placing at the centre of their analysis a primarily material national interest. This has resulted in a nefarious vagueness in both declaratory policy and specific process with regard to peace operations.

The documents which ground Brazil's foreign policy conduct strongly illustrate this point. Article 4 of the 1988 Constitution subjects Brazil's international action to the following principles:

- I - national independence;*
- II - prevalence of human rights;*
- III - self-determination of the peoples;*
- IV - non-intervention;*
- V - equality among the States;*
- VI - defence of peace;*
- VII - peaceful settlement of conflicts;*
- VIII - repudiation of terrorism and racism;*
- IX - cooperation among peoples for the progress of mankind;*
- X - granting of political asylum.²¹*

Beyond its decisive function, what makes this paragraph interesting is that it does not establish a hierarchy between the values in question; in the case of a clash between the values of "defence of peace" or "non-intervention" with "self-determination" or "human rights," it is explicitly left to politics to decide which precept is to prevail. This "post-modern"

the absolutist interpretation of sovereignty, manifested in the strict non-intervention norm, that is at the basis of the larger tensions surrounding Brazilian policy on peace operations as the country emerges into a more prominent international role. See: Kai Michael Kenkel, "Global Player, or Watching from the Sidelines? The 'responsibility to protect': definition and implications for Brazil," *Revista da Escola de Guerra Naval*, v. 12, pp. 6-59, 2008.

²¹ *Constitution of Brazil*, Article 4. 1988, available at: <http://www.v-brazil.com/government/laws/titleI.html> (accessed 9 March 2011).

aspect of the Brazilian Constitution²² is both a blessing and a curse; it allows great freedom of interpretation while providing less of a firm guideline in specific situations. Article 4's precepts could indeed be used as reasoning for Brazil to act in divergent ways during the same crisis, if intervention were deemed an option in attaining, for example, the defence of peace.

As a result, Article 4 attributes a powerful interpretative role to both the executive and the legislative branches. Partially as a result of the stigma attached to military issues since the era of military rule, both branches have largely shied away from taking on this role. There is a general lack of expertise and interest regarding military issues within Parliament, and the executive branch—which has only possessed a civilian Ministry of Defence since 1999—has yet to lay out policy guidelines truly capable of serving as the basis for implementable policy, though a great leap was made with the issue of the country's first *Defence White Paper* in late 2011.

A case in point are the two iterations of the *National Defence Policy* (*Política de Defesa Nacional*), in 1996 and 2005. The history of the first document is telling: after having been submitted in the form of “Foundations of a [future] *National Defence Policy*,” during the consultation process the “Foundations of a” was simply removed and the text issued in essentially unrevised form as a government document. This is reflected in its vagueness, particularly as regards the complex of issues surrounding peace operations. Consistent in adopting a preference for pacific, non-military approaches to defence (and pervasively referring to the armed forces and diplomacy with largely unquantifiable notions such as “expressions of national sovereignty and dignity”),²³ the document establishes

²² On the post-modern nature of the Brazilian Constitution, see: Luis Roberto Barroso, *Fundamentos Teóricos e Filosóficos do Novo Direito Constitucional Brasileiro: Pós-modernidade, Teoria Crítica e Pós-positivismo*, available at: http://www.direitopublico.com.br/pdf_6/DIALOGO-JURIDICO-06-SETEMBRO-2001-LUIS-ROBERTO-BARROSO.pdf. (accessed on 9 March 2011).

²³ Brazilian Ministry of Defence, *National Defence Policy*, Brasília, Ministry of Defence, 1996; paragraph 2.13, available at: <http://merln.ndu.edu/whitepapers.html> (accessed 9 March 2011).

three pertinent values, among others, as defence policy priorities:

- e. the fulfilment and maintenance of Brazilian interests abroad;*²⁴
- f. the projection of Brazil within the international community and its better insertion into international decision-making processes; and*
- g. its contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security.*²⁵

Committing the country to “the search for the pacific settlement of disputes, with the use of force only as a means of self-defence,”²⁶ the final guidelines of the 1996 document, with relevance to peace operations, are:

- a. active contribution to the building of an international order, based upon the rule of law, which will promote universal and regional peace and the sustainable development of humanity;*
- b. increasing participation in international decision-making processes;*
- c. the improvement and increase of Brazil’s negotiating capacity on the international scene;*
- ...
- e. participation in international peacekeeping operations, in accordance with national interests.*²⁷

The 1996 policy document shows very clearly the overlap between the logics of appropriateness and consequences, as expounded by March and Olsen and critiqued by Goldmann and Sending. The policy defines as interests aspects generally associated with identity in the “logics” approach, and subordinates to interests—at home in the logic of consequences—the practice of peacekeeping, generally held to be subject to the dictates of norms and identity.²⁸ This results from Brazil’s long-standing tendency—

²⁴ As the country’s international economic and security profiles grow, the prospect of the defence of Brazilian commercial interests abroad through the Armed Forces is likely to arise as a hypothetical consideration — one which historical patterns dictate would be rapidly discarded.

²⁵ 1996 *National Defence Policy*, paragraph 3.3.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, paragraph 4.2.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, paragraph 5.

²⁸ See: Paris, “Global Culture.”

now increasingly contested—to identify itself as a peripheral state whose best chance at achieving influence on the international stage is through a commitment to the multilateral approach.

In this sense, it can be said that March and Olsen's approach provides the possibility of pointing out the conflation of interests with values in the policy document, albeit to the detriment of a clear definition of the former. While the policy document paints a clear picture of facets of Brazilian security identity, it does not refine these aspects into pursuable interests or a sharp decision-making criterion.

The situation improves only slightly with the 2005 revision of the *National Defence Policy*. The 2005 version makes the link between upholding the international system, multilateral institutions and peace operations:

*The prevalence of multilateralism and the invigoration of the principles consecrated by international law as sovereignty, no-intervention and equality among States, are the promoters of a more stable world, turned to the development and well being of humanity.*²⁹

...

*Brazil acts in the international community respecting the constitutional principles of self-determination, no-intervention and equality among States. In those conditions, under the protection of multilateral organisms, the country participates in peace operations, seeking to contribute to peace and international security.*³⁰

...

*[Prevention in the National Defence Policy is based on]
IV— [the] search for the peaceful solution to controversies;
V— [the] valorization of multilateral forums.*³¹

²⁹ Brazilian Ministry of Defence, *National Defence Policy*. Brasília: Ministry of Defence, 2005; paragraphs 2.3, available at: <http://merln.ndu.edu/whitepapers.html> (accessed 9 March 2011).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, paragraph 4.12.

³¹ *Ibid.*, paragraph 6.2.

The 2005 document repeatedly highlights the importance of peace operations, without offering greater detail on their preparation or deployment, or a criterion for commitment to either:

*To enlarge the country's projection in the world concert and to reaffirm its commitment with the defense of peace and with the cooperation among the peoples, Brazil should intensify its participation in humanitarian actions and in peace missions with the support of multilateral organisms.*³²

The importance of peace operations as a strategic objective, stated in the last section of the 1996 document, is repeated unchanged nine years later.³³ Once more, the 2005 *National Defence Policy* does not offer a guideline as to how the principles of Article IV of the Constitution are to be related to one another in practice, and what are to be the fixed criteria, or even political parameters, for the deployment of forces. The maintenance of multilateral structures and strong participation in them are enshrined as the preferred way to advance Brazilian interests at the international level, in such a way as to obviate the distinction between March and Olsen's two logics. Brazilian interests are defined in terms of a multilateralist, pacifist, sovereigntist identity, and peace operations subordinated to those interests.

This confusion stems in no small part from differences in the approaches taken by the different ministries involved in crafting the country's security policy, particularly where peace operations are involved. Whereas the Ministry of External Relations is steeped in a "Grotian"³⁴ culture of negotiation, multilateralism and pacifism, clearly aligned with a logic of appropriateness, the military-heavy Ministry of Defence tends to adopt a logic of consequences, assuming the pursuit of a rationally calculated national interest.

³² *Ibid.*, paragraph 6.17.

³³ *Ibid.*, paragraph 7.25.

³⁴ See, for example: Gustavo S  n  chal de Goffredo J  nior, *Entre poder e direito: A tradi  o grotiana na pol  tica externa brasileira*, Bras  lia, Instituto Rio Branco/FUNAG, 2005.

This leads to a situation where military documents subordinate peace-keeping participation to consequence-based national interests, whose definition is given by the Ministry of External Relations as a function of norms and identities aligned with notions of appropriate action. This is clearly consistent with Goldman's aforementioned critique concerning the logics' ability to be cleanly separated. As a result, evaluating the consequences of action is a practice already couched within perceptions of their appropriateness. Seen in this perspective, the 2008 *National Defence Strategy* takes a step towards the operationalization of the concepts outlined in the inter-ministerially negotiated Defence Policy, with a view to implications for the Armed Forces and the Ministry of Defence. Interestingly, it does so first by further enshrining elements of identity relevant to peace operations:

*Brazil is pacific by tradition and conviction. It lives in peace with its neighbours. Its international relations are governed, among others, by the constitutional principles of non-intervention, the defence of peace and the peaceful resolution of conflicts. This trait of pacifism is a part of national identity and a value to be conserved by the Brazilian people.*³⁵

Only later does the document revert, in the specific section on peace operations, to the need to subordinate actual deployment to notions of consequences and national interest. It sets the following objective:

To promote the increase in training for the participation of the Armed Forces in peace operations, in UN forces or those of regional multilateral organizations.

1. Brazil should increase its participation in peace operations under the auspices of the UN or regional multilateral organizations, in accordance with national interests as expressed in inter-

³⁵ Brazilian Ministry of Defense, *Estratégia Nacional de Defesa*, Brasília, Ministry of Defence, 2008, http://www.mar.mil.br/diversos/estrategia_defesa_nacional_portugues.pdf, p. 8.

national commitments.³⁶

It is interesting to note the increasing importance given to peace operations by the successive policy documents, without an attendant amelioration of content or level of executable detail. Though it devotes a separate heading to peace operations, the *National Defence Strategy* limits itself to repeating previous documents, adding the desire to assume a regional leadership role in training for such missions. Finally, the 2007 *Military Defence Doctrine* also highlights the importance of peace operations to the country's foreign policy objectives, and once more attempts to create a hierarchy of national interests over multilateral participation: "the armed forces may participate in peace operations, in conformity with the prescriptions of the United Nations Charter, as long as the principles of non-intervention and the self-determination of peoples are respected."³⁷

These documents illustrate the tensions inherent in laying out a policy based on the potentially conflicting principles outlined in the Constitution. The two main ministries involved can be said to take up sides within March and Olsen's division between contending logics. As a result, there are clear tensions between the responses called for in the documents. For example, the country's commitment to non-intervention—fostered most actively by the Foreign Ministry—by nature grants it a sceptical stance with regard to certain types of peace operations, particularly those deployed under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. The military document, on the other hand, argues strongly in favour of increasing overall participation across a range of mission types.

This raises the question of what interests are to be safeguarded through

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

³⁷ Brazilian Ministry of Defence, *Doutrina Militar de Defesa*, Brasília, Ministry of Defence, 2007, paragraph 6.7.4, available at: www.arqanalagoa.ufscar.br/pdf/doutrina_militar_de_defesa.pdf (accessed 9 March 2011). See also: Osvaldo Peçanha Caninas, *Enquadramento Jurídico-Normativo Nacional das Operações de Manutenção da Paz: Situação Atual e Proposta de Mudanças*, Thesis, Curso Estado-Maior para Oficiais Superiores. Rio de Janeiro, Escola de Guerra Naval, 2007, p. 15.

peacekeeping beyond the declared (almost tautological) goal of further participation in international institutions. Of what is peacekeeping an example, in terms of national aims, other than improving the relationship with multilateral organizations and the international system? To date, the interpretation of these questions has tended to favour the line taken by the Foreign Ministry; nevertheless, there is need for a criterion to identify clearly which types of missions strike an acceptable balance between Constitutional objectives, and which form of participation can be routinely excluded. The delay in elaborating such a criterion is exacerbated by the fractured and underinstitutionalized nature of the political decision making process.

The decision-making process for deployment of Brazilian troops to peace operations

Currently, the decision-making process for the deployment of peacekeeping troops in Brazil is ad-hoc and under-institutionalized. As a result, it is quite malleable in that personalities play an excessive role in either speeding it up or holding it hostage. The legal basis for decisions is outdated, having been established as a temporary measure in 1956 with the country's first participation in the UN Emergency Force in the Suez—32 years before the ratification of the current Constitution. The lack of clear definition of formal pathways, or their complex and redundant nature when they are present, are not an uncommon feature in the Brazilian political process, and are in fact indicative of a frequent pattern of spontaneous solutions made permanent. From these origins, a fixed process has crystallized out of repeated practice.

The process begins when the United Nations, typically by way of the Department for Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), informally asks the Permanent Mission of Brazil for a stance on a possible contribution of troops to an operation under planning. The Permanent Mission evaluates

the request in light of the country's interests at the United Nations and forwards it to the Ministry of External Relations (MRE).³⁸ The MRE informally consults with the Defence Ministry (MD) on the availability of troops, and with the Presidency regarding the domestic political expediency of deployment. A formal request is sought from DPKO; the MRE and the MD respond in a Joint Statement of Motives (*Exposição de Motivos Conjunta*). Input is sought here as well from the Ministry of Planning and Budget, which must approve the stocking-up of the military budget for the operations. The process then moves to the Legislative Branch, by means of a Presidential Message to Congress containing the request and the Ministries' evaluation. The Parliament must then approve the details of the deployment by means of a Decree, under Law 2.593/1956.³⁹

Brazilian analysts have identified a series of difficulties with this process, among which one diplomat has identified the most problematic:

1. *there is very low institutionalality, given that the steps are not determined by a norm and might be circumvented or questioned. Further, the progress of the decision depends on the constant application of political pressures, above all on organs that are not directly involved in the topic (such as the Planning Ministry and the President's Chief of Staff);*
2. *In this area there persists an acute dependency on personal relationships between the area officers for a request to be processed;*
3. *The Congress normally does not receive systematic information about the conflicts in question and on peace operations and depends on news from the press;*
4. *As a result of the previous factors, it frequently happens that the decision is morose and ends up not meeting the expectations of the*

³⁸ Note the prominence this accords both "interests" (consequences) and Itamaraty, whose preference is taken to be for appropriateness.

³⁹ See: Eduardo Uziel, *O Conselho de Segurança, as operações de manutenção da paz e a inserção do Brasil no mecanismo de segurança coletiva das Nações Unidas*, Thesis, Curso de Altos Estudos, Instituto Rio Branco, Brazilian Ministry of External Relations, Brasília, MRE, 2009, p. 81.

*United Nations, which needs to mobilize contingents quickly.*⁴⁰

This makes the actual outcome of the process highly dependent upon politics and personality. Therefore, the overarching attitude of the government in power can leave a strong (occasionally party-political) mark on the country's pattern of deployments to peace operations. Indeed, the country's participation in MINUSTAH has very demonstrably shown this to be the case, in contrast to the pattern prior to the Haiti engagement.

Historical patterns: Brazil and peace operations, 1956-2004

Prior to the country's adoption of a leadership role in MINUSTAH, Brazil was a constant, yet small, contributor to peace operations. The country sent a steady stream of individual officers on UN Peace Keeping Operations as liaison officers, staff officers, and military observers. There were three exceptions to this rule, in the form of battalion-sized forces sent to the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) I (1956-1967), the United Nations Verification Mission in Angola (UNAVEM) 1995-1997 and the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (UNOMOZ) in 1993-1994, for which the country also briefly supplied the Force Commander.⁴¹ The country adhered very strictly to the norm of non-intervention, which was interpreted as prohibiting participation of missions under anything other than Chapter VI of the UN Charter, Chapter VII being seen as a violation of its Article 2(7).

The country took this stance so far as to abstain from voting on several resolutions on Haiti—and, tellingly, the decision to establish a more

⁴⁰ Uziel, pp. 81-82.

⁴¹ The most detailed works of reference by Brazilian authors are Paulo Roberto Campos Tarrisse da Fontoura, *O Brasil e as Operações de Manutenção da Paz das Nações Unidas*, Brasília, FUNAG, 1999; and Afonso José Sena Cardoso, *O Brasil nas Operações de Paz das Nações Unidas*, Brasília, FUNAG, 1998. More recently, see: Sérgio Luiz Aguiar (ed.), *Brasil em Missões de Paz*, São Paulo, Usina do Livro, 2005; and Joao Paulo Soares Alsina Júnior, *Política externa e poder militar no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro, FGV, 2009.

robust peace operation in Rwanda—during its stint as a non-permanent member of the Security Council in 1994. With the exception of the early missions in the Suez Peninsula, which afforded the opportunity for a clearly neutral contribution to the maintenance of international order under the strictest of guidelines relative to the use of force, Brazilian peacekeeping contributions were subject to deployment in areas of clear national interest and affinity. Mozambique and Angola are former Portuguese colonies and members of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries (CPLP), which began to play an increasing role in Brazilian foreign policy at the time. In other words, the deployments followed the logic of appropriateness, though not divorced from considerations of consequences, and these consequences were not filtered through a lens of increasing international profile (a national interest) as a result of participation.

Brazilian troops contributed largely in non-combat roles such as the provision of medical assistance, and their presence was not explicitly connected to declared broader foreign policy aims.⁴² This participation was to become much less reluctant as the country increasingly took on the characteristics of an emerging power, and began to undergo a series of shifts in the self-identification underlying its foreign policy, including its attitudes towards participation in peacekeeping.

New interests and identity: Brazil as an emerging power⁴³

Brazil's historical stance clearly reflects the country's grounding in a specific Latin American regional security subculture that—in terms, for example, of the competing values enshrined in the Brazilian Constitution—val-

⁴² Kai Michael Kenkel, "South America's Emerging Power: Brazil as Peacekeeper," *International Peacekeeping*, v. 17, n. 5, pp. 644-661, 2010; and "New missions and emerging powers: Brazil's involvement in MINUSTAH," in Christian Leuprecht, Jodok Troy and David Last (eds), *Mission Critical: Smaller Democracies' Role in Global Stability Operations*, Montréal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010, pp. 125-148.

⁴³ This section is closely based on the analysis in Kai Michael Kenkel, "Brazil and the Responsibility to Protect: Once Bitten, Twice Shy?" Paper prepared for presentation at the 52nd Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, 16-19 March 2011, Montréal, Québec, Canada.

ues sovereignty and non-intervention over the (forceful) defence of peace and human rights. The advent of President Lula da Silva's second term would lead to changes both in perceptions of Brazil's international identity and in the nature of the cost-benefit analysis associated with it.

The under-institutionalized and personality-dependent decision-making process in fact facilitated a change in policymaking goals and their rapid implementation in practice. In terms of March and Olsen's approach, a dual shift began to occur as a result of Brazil's adopting a position typical of an emerging power: just as, within the logic of appropriateness, Brazil's identity began to move away from a regionally anchored understanding towards a role as a global player, the balance between the two logics began to shift as well, with more emphasis placed upon a cost-benefit analysis geared towards increasing the country's global clout.

One way of encapsulating the internal tensions in Brazil's policy on intervention during this period is to frame them in terms of a clash between regional norms (which have until recently been sufficient to equate to the country's focus), and the attitudes inherent in the quest for greater influence at the international level, with participation in peace operations as a means to do so. The tensions between the regional and global perspectives are triggered by the shift in self-identification, from a weak peripheral power (in need of the protection of "sovereignty as shield") to a global stakeholder prepared to take responsibility for the international system and (particularly in the case of potential Council members) for those in it who cannot fend for themselves.

As a result, the balance between the Constitutional principles shifts away from those favoured in the regional context towards those whose pursuit and support is seen as leading to a greater payoff at the international level. In the case of peace operations, this translates into granting priority to the defence of human rights and of peace at the cost of (albeit the strictest form of) adherence to the principle of non-intervention.

One useful way of analysing emerging powers is to view them as a subclass of middle powers, highlighting the recently studied differences between the traditional and the emerging middle powers. Here the author builds on a previous application of the emerging power concept to Brazilian policy regarding peace operations; the conclusions apply to the country's stance on the "responsibility to protect" (R2P) as well. In line with March and Olsen's analysis, and Paris' conclusions, middle powers,⁴⁴ as a result of their position in the international system, tend to pursue foreign policies that align with a logic of appropriateness as the most effective means of achieving objectives, with the attendant identity based on negotiation and compromise; strong support for international order, in the form of multilateral institutions; and "good international citizenship."⁴⁵ Middle powers self-identify with the status quo from which they benefit, and are often conservative supporters of the *status quo ante* from which they profit.

States which emerged as middle powers after the end of the Cold War have a more ambiguous and no less instrumental relationship with the international system.⁴⁶ They are typically regional leaders who have sought to parlay their regional preponderance into increased global position.⁴⁷ As Neack pointed out as early as 1995:

Non-Western middle powers or even 'small' or 'weak' powers may also support the status quo, even though the status quo is undeniably Western in origins. For these states, it is unrealistic to imagine completely revising the world system to better serve their interests. However, these states can attempt to find for themselves

⁴⁴ See: Adam Chapnick, "The Middle Power," *Canadian Foreign Policy*, v. 7, n. 2, 1999, p. 73-82, here, p. 76.

⁴⁵ This analysis is based on Andrew F. Cooper, "Niche Diplomacy: A Conceptual Overview," in Andrew F. Cooper, Richard A. Higgott and Kim Richard Nossal (eds.), *Relocating Middle Powers: Australia and Canada in a Changing World Order*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 1993; and Robert W. Cox, "Middlepowermanship, Japan, and Future World Order," *International Journal*, v. 44, n. 4, p. 823-862, 1989.

⁴⁶ See: Kenkel, "Emerging Power."

⁴⁷ Analysts such as Andrew Hurrell disagree on the need for regional dominance as a springboard to global player status as an emerging power, which is of particular relevance to Brazil's situation in Latin America. See: "Hegemony, liberalism and global order: what space for would-be great powers?" *International Affairs*, v. 82, n. 1, 2006, pp. 1-19.

*a position within the established order from which they can offer and defend non-status quo interests. India's and Brazil's involvement in the UN system can be understood in this way. Thus, participation in UN peace-keeping can derive from an interest in protecting the international system and the participant state's current or desired position in that system.*⁴⁸

The abovementioned tension between the regional and global ambits is thus typical of these actors, who are both central leaders and peripheral followers in the international system.⁴⁹ Emerging powers have a more ambiguous relationship with international structures, supporting them when doing so is advantageous and seeking their reform or even obstructing their work when it is not.⁵⁰ Thus, an emerging power such as Brazil would be expected, within this form of analysis, to continue to support, at the very least rhetorically, international structures while seeking both a stronger role for itself within them, their overall reform in favour of a more advantageous outcome for the group of states it represents, and the prevention of developments counter to its own preferences.⁵¹ Overall, analysts have noted a more assertive stance in Brazil's policy position in security matters⁵² and an increasing instrumentalization of peace operations towards objectives associated with the country's position as an emerging power.⁵³

⁴⁸ Neack, p. 184.

⁴⁹ Stefan A. Schirm, "Leaders in Need of Followers: Emerging Powers in Global Governance," *European Journal of International Relations*, v. 16, n. 2, 2010, pp. 197–221.

⁵⁰ See: Daniel Flesmes, "Brazilian foreign policy in the changing world order," *South African Journal of International Affairs*, v. 16, n. 2, 2009, pp. 161–182.

⁵¹ As evidenced in the recent Western intervention in Libya and Brazil's abstention during the Security Council vote authorizing the use of force.

⁵² Rafael Antonio Duarte Villa, and Manuela Trindade Viana, "Security issues during Lula's administration: from the reactive the assertive approach," *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional*, v. 53, special edition, 2010, pp. 91–114.

⁵³ See: Cavalcante, Fernando, "Rendering peacekeeping instrumental? The Brazilian approach to United Nations peacekeeping during the Lula da Silva years (2003–2010)," *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional*, v. 53, n. 2, 2010, pp. 142–159.

Brazil as an emerging power: MINUSTAH as a crucible

Brazil's contribution to MINUSTAH, the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, represents a clear break from a series of previous policy principles related to intervention. Though the Foreign Ministry is correct in insisting that greater involvement in MINUSTAH is an expression of continuity in the country's commitment to international institutions,⁵⁴ the nature of the change (principally to a mission which, despite semantic sophistry, undeniably belongs in the Chapter VII category)⁵⁵ belies fundamental changes in both the way the country sees its identity, and in the cost-benefit analysis that underlies how it defines its interests. The change represents, in essence, a shift from a regionally-bound mode of conduct to one geared to growth toward filling global objectives.

In terms of the identity-based logic, Brazil no longer sees itself merely as the lead power in a particular (relatively peripheral) region of the world, but as a global player in its own right. As a result of its strong commitment to the UN and other multilateral institutions, there has been a realization that such a shift comes with a change in the costs and benefits of action. In important ways, in particular the Latin American interpretation of sovereignty and the ensuing response to changes in international norms such as the "responsibility to protect" have been a handicap in New York: in the eyes of several countries key to a possible reform of the UN Security Council, they cloud the country's ability to project readiness for increased international responsibility.⁵⁶ Indeed President Lula da Silva has recognized this as a motive for the country's role in MINUSTAH: "[t]his is how we responded, Brazil and other Latin American countries, to the call

⁵⁴ On this point see: Eugênio Diniz, "Brazil: Peacekeeping and the Evolution of Foreign Policy," in John Fishel, John T. and Andrés Saenz (eds.), *Capacity Building for Peacekeeping: The Case of Haiti*, Washington, National Defense University Press, 2007, p. 91-111.

⁵⁵ On this point, see: Fontoura, esp. p. 261. Brazil has a longstanding, if not extensive, tradition of participation in peacekeeping operations. With the exception of battalion-size commitments in the Suez, Angola and Mozambique (and now the country's leadership role in MINUSTAH), the pattern has been of contributing individuals or small groups as observers.

⁵⁶ See: Kenkel, "Once bitten."

from the UN to contribute to the stabilization of Haiti. Whoever defends new paradigms in international relations cannot be absent from a concrete situation.”⁵⁷

This realization was to have certain effects on the logic of consequences and the attendant cost-benefit analysis. Despite well-known misgivings about deserting an absolutist interpretation of sovereignty for a more participative stance on humanitarian intervention, Lula’s Foreign Minister Celso Amorim also realized that the emerging power’s desire for global clout came with a steeper price tag:

*Our participation in the UN mission in Haiti also arises from the principle that peace is not a free international good: the maintenance of peace has a price. That price is participation. To be absent from or to evade giving an opinion or to act in a crisis situation can signify exclusion from the decisionmaking process or worse, dependency in relations to other states or regions.*⁵⁸

In this sense, the basic metrics of the logic of consequences have changed: there is now a greater cost to non-intervention, and its perceived peace-bringing benefits are not valued in the same way at the global level (where the protection of human rights is increasingly paramount) as they were historically in the region. There is a growing though reluctant realization that with power comes responsibility and that, if peace operations are to be a key vehicle for these aims, these may not be attainable without more robust participation in peace operations. This is combined with a shift in self-identification, as described above, that has led to the expected shift towards a middle power’s more ambiguous and instrumental stance towards multilateral engagement. The bulk of diplomatic response to Northern states’ equation of responsibility with the readiness to use force has been to

⁵⁷ Caninas, p. 15.

⁵⁸ Celso Amorim, *Conceitos e estratégias da diplomacia do Governo Lula*, available at: <http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/sala-de-imprensa/discursos-artigos-entrevistas-e-outras-comunicacoes/embaixador-celso-luiz-nunes-amorim/artigo-conceitos-e-estrategias-da-diplomacia-do> (accessed 9 March 2011).

seek to demonstrate that responsibility can be exercised without recourse to force, through a focus on development and the export of social policies that have met with success at home.

Lessons from the field: motivations and results

It is therefore paramount to note that the availability of military force is not the most important element of Brazil's effort in Haiti. Alongside sending the largest contingent to MINUSTAH, as well as—in a break with normal UN practice—consistently providing its Force Commander, in parallel with its military contribution Brazil is engaged in a highly successful and targeted attempt to develop a specifically Brazilian, Southern, form of peacebuilding as a counterproposal to the liberal-democratic Northern model that pervades the UN approach today.⁵⁹ In addition, Brazil has taken on a leadership role in coordinating the efforts of South American contributors to the missions, who make up slightly over half of its composition. Participation in peace operations has undeniably become the nucleus of a crucial part of the country's projected identity, and a prominent way for it to stake its claim to greater participation and to regional and bloc leadership.

In practice, as a number of previous analyses⁶⁰ show, there is a clear idea in the field as to what Brazilian priorities are in peace operations, how they fit into a larger plan for maximizing Brazil's international profile, and how they can be employed as a tool both in pursuit of national interests and the realization of the precepts of Brazilian identity. Within the context of the "Haitian laboratory," a model has emerged that has gone a great deal further than the political process, by actually implementing the precepts set out in both Brazilian declaratory policy documents and in the country's long-standing foreign policy traditions.

⁵⁹ For much more detail on this point see: Kenkel, "Emerging Power."

⁶⁰ See, for example: Carlos Chagas Vianna Braga, "MINUSTAH and the Security Environment in Haiti: Brazil and South American Cooperation in the Field," *International Peacekeeping*, v. 17, n. 5, 2010, pp. 711-722.

This model couples the Brazilian penchant for negotiation and peaceful conflict resolution with the country's traditional focus, both internally and in foreign policy, on sustainable economic development. Though there is emphasis on negotiation and peaceful means, bolstered by an approach that places an incentive on close contact with the local population, Brazilian troops have not shied away from using force effectively and very robustly when called upon to do so (although this came as the result of considerable pressure from other states present in the Haitian context). In development terms, there is a preference—somewhat distinct from that of other “emerging donors”—for smaller-scale integrated projects rather than major infrastructure projects.

A further forte of the burgeoning Brazilian model is the export of technologies and techniques used in the country's own domestic context in situations of underdevelopment and violence. This is embodied chiefly in the activities of the agricultural development agency, EMBRAPA and the microlevel community violence reduction projects of the Non-governmental organizations (NGO) Viva Rio, which receives its funding from Canadian, Norwegian and Brazilian sources. Taken holistically, this approach represents a distinct Brazilian contribution to the development of peacebuilding paradigms, and as such constitutes a diplomatic “niche”⁶¹ of great utility to Brazil in advancing its foreign policy goals through participation in peace operations and broader peacebuilding efforts.⁶²

What, then, are Brazil's objectives and motivations to participate in peace operations? Peace operations allow Brazil to attain a specific set of objectives which bridge the logics of consequences and appropriateness, and the rationales of material interest as well as normative identity. Indeed, though the focus here is on the precepts of foreign policy, the benefits of PKO participation are not limited to diplomatic objectives and include the

⁶¹ See: Cooper.

⁶² Information obtained in interviews with actors involved in implementing the model in Haiti, 2009 and 2011.

training and equipment of the Armed Forces,⁶³ as well as the provision for the military of a new, prestigious mission intimately linked to the country's image abroad.⁶⁴ One Brazilian diplomat has summed up Brazilian interests in the useful chart shown below:⁶⁵

Internal	Bilateral/regional	Institutional
- achieve principles in Article 4 of Constitution; - training for the Armed Forces; - promote the role of the military in society.	- show solidarity with the conflict-stricken country; - deepen relationship with host country or neighbours; - deepen relations with other TCCs [Troop Contributing Countries]; - promote Brazilian trade and investments.	- legitimate candidacy for a permanent seat on the UNSC; - strengthen multilateralism and the peaceful resolution of conflicts; - maximize influence in UNSC during elected periods; - demonstrate capacity for mobilization.

Table 1: Brazilian interests in participating in peacekeeping operations

Participation in peace operations allows Brazil to satisfy the logic of appropriateness by conducting itself in a manner that is plainly supportive of the UN as an institution, specifically with regard to strengthening its mechanisms for the peaceful resolution of conflicts. As such, it is an excellent vehicle for the transformation of the country's Grotian stance into concrete action. Sending blue helmets also fulfils the logic of consequences, not only bringing the benefits of demonstrating the country's fitness and

⁶³ Fernanda Lira Goés and Almir Oliveira Júnior, "A presença brasileira nas operações de paz das Nações Unidas," in Luciana Acioly and Marcos Antonio Macedo Cintra (eds.), *Inserção Internacional Brasileira: temas de política externa*, Brasília, IPEA, 2010, pp. 407-440.

⁶⁴ For more details see: Lira Goés and Oliveira Júnior; Alsina, and the extensive body of work of Antonio Jorge Ramalho Da Rocha.

⁶⁵ Uziel, p. 91.

willingness to assume international responsibility (and thus its aptness for a veto-endowed seat on the Security Council), but at the same time hedging against the cost of losing influence by not engaging actively in fora where the major powers are active.⁶⁶

This latter calculus, however, is contingent upon engaging in peace operations in a form perceived as demonstrating more international responsibility by those same major powers. In this sense, the Brazilian peacebuilding model serves a broader purpose. As intervention norms move towards an increased willingness on the part of major powers to use force to protect human rights, this provides an opportunity for Brazil to demonstrate responsibility and effectiveness without recourse to increased levels of force. In this sense, an important element of future Brazilian peacekeeping policy centres around the exportability of the model beyond Haiti to contexts in which the Council deems it useful. This specialization in certain development-related aspects of the peacebuilding process dovetails nicely with the division of labour in PKOs proposed, *inter alia*, in DPKO's *New Horizon Report*.⁶⁷ In short, the ensemble of opportunities presented by the Haitian experience serve to show the way for the broader transformation of notoriously vague policy objectives into concrete actions that both advance Brazilian interests and serve to consolidate its international identity.

Brazilian and NATO perspectives on peace operations: “dialogue de sourds?”

As illustrated above, Brazil's participation in peace operations is intended to increase the country's global influence and illustrate a diplomacy of solidarity. It does so from within a foreign policy with a revisionist view of international institutions. While continuing to support multilateral initia-

⁶⁶ Lira Goés and Oliveira Júnior, p. 424.

⁶⁷ United Nations, Department of Peacekeeping Operations, *New Horizon Report*, 2010, available at: www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/newhorizon.shtml. Accessed 1 April 2011

tives, Brazilian diplomacy has sought to create alternative sources of global power (BRICS) to counter the hegemony of the industrialized states of the North Atlantic ambit. It has connected its rise in influence to a role as a voice of the global South and has prioritized its relations with the developing world, including (importantly) through South-South cooperation. As such, it has been critical of the Northern-dominated “liberal peace” that underlies modern reconstruction operations, seeking instead to develop its own model of peacebuilding that allows the country to attain security goals through development means. Using these latter means becomes a policy necessity not only because this is where Brazil’s policy strengths lie (tied to the fostering of the country’s international profile through soft power), but because of the country’s limited capacity for force projection and its historical attitudes towards the use of force.⁶⁸

Brazil is highly sceptical of the utility of the use of force as a means of conflict resolution, relying instead on the peaceful negotiation of disputes through diplomatic means. This stems from both the success of this approach on the South American continent—Brazil has not been involved in a territorial war for over 140 years—and of the historically interventionist stance in its region of the United States and major European powers, as evidenced in the Monroe Doctrine and Roosevelt Corollary. Brazil’s historical experience has seen it more likely to be intervened upon (by the West) than to intervene upon others (in the South).

Correspondingly, in its diplomatic positions today the country categorically does not support interventions using military force. Until it took on a major role in MINUSTAH the country did not engage in any Chapter VII peace operations and, despite the nature of the Haitian mission, this rhetorical position continues today. A UN Security Council mandate is seen as

⁶⁸ This argument is developed in the author’s publications: “Brazil and R2P: Does taking responsibility mean using force?,” *Global Responsibility to Protect*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012); pp. 3-29; “Out of South America to the globe: Brazil’s growing stake in peace operations,” in *South America and Peace Operations: Coming of Age*, London, Routledge, 2013; pp. 85-110; and “Brazil’s peacebuilding in Africa and Haiti,” *Journal of International Peacekeeping*, 2013.

a necessary prerequisite for any forceful intervention and, even when such authorization is present, it is no guarantee of Brazil supporting, or even accepting, a given mission. To name a few cases, alongside strongly repudiating the US-led non-UN interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan, Brazil did not vote in favour of, and did not participate in, the interventions in Rwanda, Kosovo and Libya, and does not favour, at the time of writing, military strikes against the Syrian government.

Operation Unified Protector and the other military operations in Libya in 2011 transformed Brazil's already significant scepticism of the motives and utility of recent Western-led military interventions into profound mistrust. Of particular importance in this respect was the manner in which Security Council Resolution 1973 was proposed and passed in that chamber; the process excluded BRICS representatives from much of the drafting and negotiation of the text. These diplomats (and others) later felt manipulated by assurances given at that time that the Resolution's permissive text would not be used as grounds for regime change.

The uncertain long-term aftermath of the Libyan intervention, its explicit use of the principle of the "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P), and the marginalization of BRICS states during its negotiation and implementation were all important factors in motivating Brazilian diplomats to submit to the UN in November 2011 a non-paper entitled "Responsibility while Protecting." In this document Brazil voices its conceptual support for the R2P doctrine together with its mistrust over its recent practical implementation. The text itself was less innovative than the important step it represented for the country's willingness to play a leading mediatory role in the debate between North and South over intervention issues. Unfortunately, this promising initiative was abandoned before it could bear its most important fruit as the touchstone for a productive and necessary discussion.

Together with growing concerns over foreign powers' presence in the South Atlantic, a number of factors—the foreign policy purpose of par-

ticipation in peace operations; the country's increasingly revisionist stance with regard to the distribution of power within international institutions; and its concerns over the ultimate motivations and utility of recent Western-led interventions—came to the fore in the discussions held at the Rio Closed High-Level Roundtable on which the chapters of this volume are partly based. Several participants were not able to identify extensive areas of (interest-based or normative) common ground to serve as the basis for cooperation in the field of peace operations and intervention.

Alongside significant divergences in material capabilities and geographical focus, these missions appear to serve fundamentally different normative and political purposes for NATO and Brazil, indeed serving as one of the areas where the lack of correspondence between these actors' interests and outlooks is most clear. NATO's historical experience is grounded in a belief in the possible utility of military force in attaining humanitarian goals. As one Brazilian diplomat pointed out, Brazil's has been very different, leading the country to seek to make its contribution in a form more coherent with its own capabilities and priorities: through development cooperation, poverty reduction and an emphasis on social justice rather than military alliances. Accordingly, whereas there was little consensus in the Rio round on direct cooperation in the realm of peace operations and intervention, the possibility remains that both parties might be active players in a global division of labour in the peace building field, where the strengths of both might be brought equally to bear.

PART 2

PERSPECTIVES ON INTERVENTION

Brazil as a Norm Entrepreneur: “Responsibility while Protecting”

Oliver Stuenkel

Introduction

Emerging powers such as Brazil are bound to play a far greater role in international affairs over the coming years. This will affect not only global deliberations in the economic realm, but also the way we think about global security. One of the concepts profoundly affected by this process is the “Responsibility to Protect” (R2P), discussion of which is largely dominated by established powers on both the policy and the academic level.¹ While several non-Western powers and thinkers supported the creation of R2P early on, and while R2P was adopted unanimously at the 2005 UN World Summit, many observers still perceive a certain “collective opposition” to the norm from emerging powers, particularly when putting it into practice involves the use of force.² If Brazil – expected to become the world’s fourth largest economy – remains ambiguous about R2P, what does this mean for the future of the norm? This paper analyzes Brazil’s views on R2P and focuses in particular on the case of the Responsibility While Protecting (RwP), one of the rare instances when Brazil has assumed international leadership in the debate about humanitarian intervention.

¹ Thomas G. Weiss and Rama Mani, “R2P’s Missing Link, Culture,” *Global Responsibility to Protect* 3 (4) (2011), pp. 451–472.

At the same time, non-Western thinkers have made important and seminal contributions to the concept of R2P, such as Francis Deng and the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan.

² See, for example: Rahul Rao, *Third World Protest: Between Home and the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 86. See also: Zach Paikin, “Responsibility to Protect and the new calculus of genocide,” *iPolitics*, 18 December 2012, <http://www.ipolitics.ca/2012/12/18/responsibility-to-protect-and-the-new-calculus-of-genocide> (accessed 18 February 2013); and Michael Ignatieff, “How Syria Divided the World,” *The New York Review of Books*, 11 July 2012, <http://www.nybooks.com/blogs/nyrblog/2012/jul/11/syria-proxy-war-russia-china> (accessed 18 February 2013).

Emerging powers and R2P

In 1965, the UN General Assembly issued a Westphalian-sounding “Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention into the Domestic Affairs of States”:

*No state or group of states has the right to intervene directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other state. Consequently, armed intervention and all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the state or against its political, economic and cultural elements are in violation of international law. No state may use or encourage the use of economic, political or any other type of measure to coerce another state in order to obtain from it advantages of any kind. Also, no state shall organize, assist, foment, incite, or tolerate subversive terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of or civil strife in another state.*³

Less than 35 years later, however, then UN Secretary General Kofi Annan famously argued in an article in *The Economist* that “state sovereignty, in its most basic sense, is being redefined – not least by the forces of globalization and international co-operation. States are now widely understood to be instruments at the service of their peoples, and not vice versa.”

Yet while R2P, which he was referring to in his article, has turned into a household concept of international politics over the past decade, emerging powers have traditionally been thought to reject it on the grounds that it sought to legitimize interest-driven Western military interventions. Most of the time, therefore, those in favour and those opposed to R2P were not talking to each other, thus reducing its impact on foreign policy.

³ UN General Assembly, 1408th Meeting, “Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty,” *A/RES/20/2131*, 21 December 1965.

The argument

The question about when and how to intervene is not new.⁴ The debate shifted in the first decade of the new century, when the Evans-Sahnoun Commission (an international study group on humanitarian intervention) released its findings in 2001. In a similar way, a 2004 UN Secretary General's high-level panel formulated and promoted the idea that, when states do not conduct their internal affairs in ways that meet internationally recognized standards, other states have a right to intervene. This idea would soon be known as R2P.

The Bush administration's intervention in Iraq weakened the intellectual case for intervention of any kind, but did not undo the growing global consensus whereby, under specific circumstances (and with UN approval), the international community had a responsibility to protect civilians if their government was unable or unwilling to do so.

Amitai Etzioni, describing China's perspective that "respect for each other's independence and sovereignty is vital to the maintenance of world peace," makes the case for R2P very difficult.⁵ Russia usually sides with China and has been one of the fiercest critics against foreign meddling in the Middle East, regarding it as a form of neoliberal imperialism. India is similarly reluctant to weaken the Westphalian principle, and its government was reluctant to criticize President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt for human rights abuses even after he had been ousted. Jon Western and Joshua Goldstein, on the other hand, argue in their article "Humanitarian Intervention Comes of Age" that the international community has learned a lot over the past two decades, and that interventions are "getting better all the time":

⁴ Walter Clarke and Jeffrey Herbst, "Somalia and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April, 1996, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/51844/walter-clarke-and-jeffrey-herbst/somalia-and-the-future-of-humanitarian-intervention> (accessed 8 July 2013).

⁵ Amitai Etzioni and G. John Ikenberry, "Point of Order," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2011, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/136548/amitai-etzioni-g-john-ikenberry/point-of-order> (accessed 8 July 2013).

*Humanitarian interventions involve an inherent contradiction: they use violence in order to control violence. Setbacks are almost inevitable, and so it is no surprise that the operations often attract criticism. Yet when carried out thoughtfully, legitimately, and as part of a broader set of mechanisms designed to protect civilians, the use of military force for humanitarian purposes saves lives. Mass atrocities, ethnic cleansing, and genocide are truly problems from hell, but their solutions – honed over the course of two decades of experience from Mogadishu to Tripoli – are very much of this world.*⁶

Against this, Benjamin Valentino argues that interventions are excellent in theory, but that collateral damage is generally too high to justify them. He argues that: “On the ground, the ethical clarity that advocates of human rights have associated with such actions – saving innocent lives – has almost always been blurred by a much more complicated reality.”⁷

Prior to the report by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) in 2001, Brazil was, along with other emerging powers, rather suspicious of those who argued for a doctrine of “contingent sovereignty,” which implied that a nation’s sovereignty depended on its willingness and capacity to protect its citizens.⁸ Alex Bellamy rightly points out that the contemporary notion of “sovereignty as responsibility” embodied in R2P was not a Western notion *per se*, but the only countries in the Global South that pioneered the idea were African Union members. Further, except for South Africa, which joined the BRICS in 2011, none

⁶ Jon Western and Joshua S. Goldstein, “Humanitarian Intervention Comes of Age,” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2011, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/136502/jon-western-and-joshua-s-goldstein/humanitarian-intervention-comes-of-age> (accessed 8 July 2013).

⁷ Benjamin A. Valentino, “The True Costs of Humanitarian Intervention,” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2011, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/136542/benjamin-a-valentino/the-true-costs-of-humanitarian-intervention> (accessed 8 July 2013).

⁸ Stewart Patrick, “The role of the US Government in Humanitarian Intervention” (lecture, Lewis and Clark College, 5 April 2004), in Stuart Elden, “Contingent Sovereignty, Territorial Integrity and the Sanctity of Borders,” *SAIS review* 26 (1), 2006, p. 15, in Alex J. Bellamy, *Global Politics and the Responsibility to Protect. From Words to Deeds*, London, Routledge, 2010, p. 13.

of the emerging powers played an active part in promoting the concept.⁹

In the debates prior to the UN World Summit in 2005, when emerging powers' governments began to study the concept in earnest, India threatened to turn into the principal spoiler, when its Permanent Representative Nirupem Sen openly challenged R2P's legal and moral foundations, thus almost derailing the process.¹⁰ After the successful inclusion of R2P in the Summit Outcome document (as part of articles 138 and 139), produced by the largest gathering ever of heads of state and government, China argued that it had, in fact, not agreed to the idea after all, and that the World World Summit agreement merely committed states to continue the debate on R2P. Brazil, while less willing to be seen as the single spoiler, temporarily adopted a similar position. It was largely due to fear of the Russian and the Chinese veto in the UN Security Council that R2P was actually not used more frequently in the years after the Summit.

After the UN World Summit, it took six months for the UN Security Council to adopt Resolution 1674, which did little more than reaffirm R2P – by this time Brazil, which by then had frequently voiced its opposition to the concept, had left the Security Council. In 2007, the Human Rights Center at the University of Berkeley listed, in a report, so-called “backsliding countries” – those that had “shifted their stance regarding the R2P mandate since agreeing to its basic principles at the 2005 World Summit.” The list of 11 countries included China, India and Russia, but not Brazil.¹¹ During the first four years of R2P's existence, emerging powers' stance on the matter seemed thus to be marked by skepticism, caution, and the occasional willingness to obstruct the advancement of the concept. Brazil's Foreign Minister under President Luiz Lula, Celso Amorim, had described R2P as “*droit d'ingérence* [. . .] in new clothes.”¹²

⁹ Bellamy, *Global Politics and the Responsibility to Protect. From Words to Deeds*, p. 13.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹¹ Human Rights Center, *The Responsibility to Protect. Moving the Campaign Forward*, 2007, p. 1.

¹² Matias Spektor, “Humanitarian Interventionism Brazilian Style?,” *Americas Quarterly*, Summer 2012, <http://www.americasquarterly.org/humanitarian-interventionism-brazilian-style> (accessed 8 July 2013).

This general narrative of emerging powers' criticism of R2P seemed valid to many observers as the decade drew to a close. During the 2009 General Assembly debate, the President of the General Assembly appointed India's Nirupam Sen, one of the most outspoken critics of R2P, as Special Advisor on the Responsibility to Protect. This appointment led to a highly critical concept paper, which pointed out that "colonialism and interventionism used responsibility to protect arguments."¹³

And yet, in the same year, when the UN Security Council was largely thought not to have passed a resolution on the humanitarian crisis in Guinea due to China's and Russia's opposition to what they claimed was interference in Guinea's domestic affairs, it became obvious that the two BRICS with permanent seats in the UN Security Council held somewhat different views about R2P compared to the other three members of the BRICS, including Brazil. It served as an early indicator that Brazil would stand neither categorically with China and Russia, nor with the more intervention-prone European powers.

As Michael Ignatieff pointed out in the early days of the Syria crisis, "the responsibility to protect doctrine was crafted after Kosovo to bridge the gap between the global North and the global South on intervention." Considering the debates after Libya and the stalemate about Syria, he observes that "these North-South bridges are still not built."¹⁴ Yet those who depict the discussion about R2P today as one about a pro-interventionist Global North and a pro-sovereignty Global South fail to see important nuances – symbolized by Brazil's more ambiguous stance.

R2P's non-Western origins

Western-centric analyses also fail to recognize that, although heralded as

¹³ Bellamy, *Global Politics and the Responsibility to Protect. From Words to deeds*, p. 43.

¹⁴ Ignatieff, "How Syria Divided the World."

a new paradigm in international response to serious humanitarian catastrophes, elements of what is now known as R2P were already institutionalized in Africa, particularly within the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) region.¹⁵ While many policy analysts around the world still confuse R2P as being exclusively about humanitarian intervention, “ECOWAS has already developed and commenced the operationalization of its mechanisms on conflict prevention; management and resolution with an appreciable success,” Sampson points out.¹⁶

This can be explained by the profound changes in African security arrangements after the end of the Cold War. As conflicts on the African continent were no longer seen in the context of the ideological battle of the West versus the Soviet Union, the continent lost its strategic significance, and outside powers closed their military bases. It thus fell to regional organizations such as ECOWAS to deal with conflicts. When it became clear that Western rhetoric about the universality of human rights meant little in times of crisis (such as Rwanda in 1994), a consensus emerged in Africa that “African solutions were needed to solve African problems.”

African scholars’ and policy makers’ strong focus on prevention also stems from necessity: African armies are simply not capable of engaging in a complex intervention, such as the one seen in Libya in 2011. The results are of great interest. For example, the ECOWAS Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security, enacted in 1999, established the creation of a web of institutions and support bodies, such as the Sub-Regional Peace and Security Observation System, otherwise known as the Early Warning System (EWS), which focuses on conflict prevention. All these mechanisms are designed to cooperate with the AU and the UN when necessary – as was the case in the Ivorian post-election crisis.

¹⁵ Isaac Terwase Sampson, “The Responsibility to Protect and ECOWAS Mechanisms on Peace and Security: Assessing their Convergence and Divergence on Intervention,” *Journal of Conflict and Security Law* 16 (3), 2011, pp. 507-540 (accessed 8 July 2013), doi: 10.1093/jcs/kr022 540

¹⁶ Sampson, “The Responsibility to Protect and ECOWAS Mechanisms on Peace and Security.”

The ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF), a “comprehensive operational conflict prevention and peace-building strategy,”¹⁷ has several similarities with R2P – emphasizing prevention and peace-building, including the strengthening of sustainable development, the promotion of a region-wide humanitarian crisis prevention and preparedness strategy, and the culture of democracy. It gives ECOWAS the legitimacy to intervene with:

- (a) the responsibility to prevent – actions taken to address the direct and root causes of intra- and inter-state conflicts that put populations at risk*
- (b) the responsibility to react – actions taken in response to grave and compelling humanitarian disasters; and*
- (c) the responsibility to rebuild – actions taken to ensure recovery, reconstruction, rehabilitation and reconciliation in the aftermath of violent conflicts, humanitarian or natural disasters.*

This sounds, in several aspects, very similar to R2P, suggesting that African thinking about sovereignty and intervention had evolved already prior to the birth of R2P. This is because ECPF was specifically designed to provide a strategic focus on the implementation of the principles contained in the Mechanism of 1999¹⁸ and the EPDGG (ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance) of 2001.¹⁹ The African commitment to ending non-intervention and the subsequent development of legal and institutional mechanisms to concretize this aspiration on the continent also predates the ICISS report in 2001²⁰ and the World Summit Outcome Doc-

¹⁷ ECOWAS Mediation and Security Council, *Regulation MSC/REG.1/01/08 - The ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework*, 16 January 2008.

¹⁸ Enacted on 10 December 1999, in Lome, Togo, by the Heads of States and government, the Mechanism established three institutions, namely: the Authority, the Mediation and Security Council (MSC) and the Executive Secretariat (ES); and three support organs of the institutions of the mechanism, namely: the Defence and Security Commission (DSC), the Council of Elders (COE) and ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG).

¹⁹ Adopted by the Heads of States and Government on 21 December 2001, the protocol is meant to complement the Mechanism, by strengthening the internal mechanisms that would prevent crisis eruption.

²⁰ ECOWAS Mediation and Security Council, *Regulation MSC/REG.1/01/08*.

ument (WSOD)²¹ in 2005. (These two are generally seen as the key moments in the history of the R2P concept.) Isaac Terwase Sampson rightly argues that the quadruple crimes and three pillars of R2P²² are based on existing obligations under domestic law, with binding legal effect – thus countering those who claim that the WSOD’s treatment of R2P is meaningless as it is not legally binding. As a consequence, all participating governments supported WSOD in 2005.²³

ECOWAS can, therefore, be said to be something like a global R2P leader: its interventions in Liberia (1990) and Sierra Leone (1997), and its missions in Côte d’Ivoire (ECOMICI) in 2002 and Liberia (ECOMIL) in 2003, were classic demonstrations of regional security enforcement. They took place for – and on behalf of – the international community, while one must concede that some of these operations were carried out prior to UN authorization and seen by some as a Nigerian military adventure. Sampson also points to a certain incongruity between R2P norms and ECOWAS instruments, with the latter setting the bar for intervention somewhat lower.

Still, it becomes clear that ECOWAS’ contribution to R2P is far greater than many analyses suggest, particularly in the area of less expensive preventive and peace-seeking measures that would creatively transform conflict on the continent, in view of the region’s reduced financial and institutional capacity. Considering where populations are most vulnerable to genocide, ethnic cleansing, crimes against humanity and war crimes, West

²¹ UN General Assembly, 60th session, “2005 World Summit Outcome,” A/60/L.1, 15 September 2005.

²² Pillar One stresses that states have the primary responsibility to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. Pillar Two addresses the commitment of the international community to provide assistance to states in building capacity to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity and to assisting those which are under stress before crises and conflicts break out. Pillar Three focuses on the responsibility of the international community to take timely and decisive action to prevent and halt genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes and crimes against humanity when a state is manifestly failing to protect its populations. “An Introduction to the Responsibility to Protect,” *International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect*, <http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/about-rtop> (accessed 17 October 2013).

²³ Sampson, “The Responsibility to Protect and ECOWAS Mechanisms on Peace and Security,” *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, Oxford Journals, 2012, available at: <http://jcs.oxfordjournals.org/content/16/3/507.full.pdf+html>

Africa's intellectual contribution to the future global debate about R2P will be crucial.

Yet, despite the intellectual foundations of the principle being attributed to several non-Western thinkers and to the African norm of “non-indifference” which indirectly led to R2P,²⁴ the vast majority of thinkers who contribute to the debate hail from rich developed countries in the Global North.²⁵ In addition, in particular after 2005, emerging powers have often criticized R2P and have, in some instances, sought to undermine its development into a global norm.²⁶ In particular, hostile governments – though not the BRICS – have challenged the norm for using arguments of cultural specificity, arguing that the West was seeking to impose “certain ideological conceptions of human rights” on the poor.²⁷ As a consequence, comments like the one made by Chris Keeler, arguing that “the BRIC/IBSA countries are beginning to unite around skepticism (of R2P), countering western enthusiasm,”²⁸ have been common since R2P's inception.

There are additional reasons why the West seems to “own” R2P. First of all, the academic debate about it is fundamentally a Western one, and scholars like Francis Deng and Rames Thakur are exceptions. The majority of leading thinkers on the topic – Gareth Evans, Alex Bellamy, Jennifer Welsh, Edward Luck, Michael Ignatieff, and so on – are all from the so-called “Global North” (although this phenomenon is not limited to R2P, but to International Relations more generally).

²⁴ Mohamed Sahnoun has argued that R2P is a distinctly African contribution to human rights. In Mohamed Sahnoun, “Africa: Uphold Continent's Contribution to Human Rights, Urges Top Diplomat,” *All Africa*, July 21, 2009, <http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/200907210549.html> (accessed 18 February 2013). In addition, see: the African Union Constitutive Act of 2000, article 4, especially point h.

²⁵ Serena K. Sharma, “RtoP at Ten Years,” *Global Responsibility to Protect*, 3, 2011, pp. 383–386.

²⁶ Weiss and Mani, “R2P's Missing Link, Culture,” p. 453.

²⁷ UN Commission on Human Rights, *Responses of Government and Agencies to the Report of the UN Special Representative for Internally Displaced Persons*, E/CN.4/1993/SR.40, 1993.

²⁸ Chris Keeler, “The End of the Responsibility to Protect?,” *Foreign Policy Journal*, October 12, 2011, <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2011/10/12/the-end-of-the-responsibility-to-protect/> (accessed 18 February 2013).

Thomas Weiss and Rama Mani state that:

*Western scholars have produced most of the seminal work that has influenced the development of R2P – in conflict prevention, crisis management, peace-building, human rights, and international humanitarian law. In parallel, the voluminous reflections and publications by scholars across the global South are unavailable even in world-class, research-university libraries in North America and Europe; they are inaccessible to policy makers in the North and in the South.*²⁹

This has partly to do with quality issues of publications in the Global South, but also with a slight Western-centric bias and English as the dominant language in international academia.

When Brazil seemed to make an intellectual contribution to the debate in the form of the RwP concept, analysts sensed an opportunity to “globalize” the debate on the subject and quickly rushed to Brazil – a sign of how easy it would be for a non-established power to assume leadership in this field.

A second consideration is that R2P is often misunderstood as being all about humanitarian intervention (as seen in Libya), an area clearly dominated by the West. Yet, of the concept’s three pillars, only the third is partially about intervention, while the rest are about the far more important aspect of prevention. Prevention gets far less media coverage than intervention, so India’s, Nigeria’s, China’s and Brazil’s (significant) peacekeeping efforts over the past years – fully aligned with R2P – have probably generated fewer media reports than NATO’s military intervention in Libya. As a consequence, the BRICS are often wrongly seen as unsupportive of R2P.

Finally, emerging powers may prefer to depict R2P as a foreign concept

²⁹ Weiss and Mani, “R2P’s Missing Link, Culture.”

they reluctantly agreed to, as this may increase their room for political manoeuvre to occasionally distance themselves from the idea if they believe it has been misinterpreted, as was the case in 2011 in Libya. This is particularly important, since the operational capacity to actually intervene if necessary is distributed unevenly. Even if emerging powers fully support an intervention, implementation will inevitably lie with the United States and its close allies, making it impossible for emerging powers to affect the details of the operation.

Emerging powers' views are more nuanced

The attitude of emerging powers towards R2P is thus, along with Brazil's views, far more complex and nuanced than many Western analysts believe. As mentioned above, China, Russia, Brazil, South Africa and India all supported the concept of R2P at the UN World Summit in 2005 and on several occasions since then – in fact, the BRICS have supported R2P far more often than not, in the UN Security Council (UNSC). The same was true in 2011, when the BRICS collectively voted in favour of resolutions invoking the responsibility to protect vis-à-vis conflicts in the Central African Republic, Guinea Bissau, Sudan and Côte d'Ivoire, among others.³⁰

Along with the other BRICS, Brazil's views on sovereignty have also changed. As Matias Spektor writes, Brazil's stance on intervention is "in flux."³¹ He argued that, while the traditional thinking was still strong, "many in Brasília already regard as legitimate the suspension of the sovereign rights of governments that are unwilling or unable to care for their own citizens." This situation, according to him, "was unthinkable only a few years ago." In the same way, Kai Kenkel points out that "Brazil is no longer a vocal detractor of R2P."³²

³⁰ Anne Orford, "From Promise to Practice? The Legal Significance of the Responsibility to Protect Concept," *Global Responsibility to Protect* 3 (4), December 2011, pp. 400-424.

³¹ Matias Spektor, "Intervenções no Brasil," *Folha de S. Paulo*, 19 March 2012, <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/colunas/matiasspektor/1063756-intervencoes-do-brasil.shtml> (accessed 18 February 2013).

³² Kai Michael Kenkel, "Brazil and R2P: Does Taking Responsibility Mean Using Force?"

Responsibility while Protecting: The broader context

Brazil's decision to introduce the concept of Responsibility while Protecting (RwP), irrespective of its ultimate success or failure, marks a milestone in the process of multipolarization. Emerging powers are no longer seeking merely to obtain a seat at the table, but to turn themselves into agenda-setters of the global debate. This process is bound to cause friction, for developing new terms or concepts is a sign of independence and unpredictability – thus disappointing those in the West who had hoped that rising powers would turn into “responsible (and docile) stakeholders,” graciously filling the space established powers had reserved for them.

The West is inviting emerging powers to assume global responsibility and engage internationally, but the fact that Beijing, New Delhi and Brasília prefer to engage on their own terms has caught many in the United States and Europe by surprise. The initial rejection of RwP in many Western capitals must be understood in this context.³³ There have been, from the West's perspective, few instances of constructive proposals for global norms emerging from the Global South, and thus Brazil's initiative was seen by many as an attempt to obstruct the debate, rather than a genuine attempt to enrich the conceptual discussion about humanitarian intervention. It is the first time that Brazil has projected itself internationally as a creator of global norms, seeking to adopt global “thought leadership.”

All the arguments and proposals that appear in the RwP concept developed by Brazil have been made, in one way or the other, in the past – the novelty was much more Brazil's decision to bring them together under the RwP header and support them explicitly in their entirety. Still, there was a strong surprise element in Brazil's initiative, considering that the country's reaction to R2P had been, initially, quite negative. As mentioned above, the

³³ Thomas Wright, “Brazil hosts workshop on the ‘Responsibility While Protecting,’” *Foreign Policy*, 29 August 2012, http://bosco.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/08/29/brazil_backs_responsibility_while_protecting (accessed 29 August 2012).

then Foreign Minister Celso Amorim described it as just another pretext emerging powers would readily use to pursue their economic interests with military force.³⁴

The specific context

The origin of the concept of RwP must also be seen in the context of the year 2011 – the year in which R2P was applied, for the first time, in Côte d'Ivoire and then in Libya. The UNSC did so in a historic composition of having all the BRICS present (Brazil, India and South Africa as non-permanent members, China and Russia as permanent ones). None of the BRICS voted against Resolution 1973 (Brazil, China, India, Russia and Germany abstained). Despite their decision to abstain, the result was seen at the time as a subtle signal of general support for humanitarian intervention in Libya. Yet this support among emerging powers quickly turned into rejection when it appeared to them that NATO was using its mandate to protect civilians as a mandate for regime change, thus clearly misinterpreting the spirit of the resolution.³⁵ In addition, some NATO member states disobeyed the arms embargo by supplying Libyan rebels with arms and acted as the rebels' air force in the conflict.³⁶

The bombing in Libya did not stop as soon as the rebels took control of Tripoli, but only when Muammar Gaddafi was killed. It was during this time that Brazil's moderately supportive rhetoric changed and adopted a highly critical tone, falling in line with Russia's assertions that the intervention in Libya was just another chapter of Western imperialism. The way NATO intervened led to a hardening of positions. In the West, it was seen as a great success, in the Global South as a step back. The result,

³⁴ Spektor, "Humanitarian Interventionism Brazilian Style?"

³⁵ Richard Gowan, Emily O'Brien and Andrew Sinclair, "The Libyan War: A diplomatic history – February – August 2011," *Center on International Cooperation, NYU*, August 2011, p. 7.

³⁶ Gowan, O'Brien and Sinclair, "The Libyan War. A diplomatic history – February – August 2011." A distinction must be made between what states did acting individually, and what was done through the collective NATO Operation Unified Protector under the command of LtGen Bouchard. The NATO operation did not provide direct military assistance to the rebels.

in the words of Michael Ignatieff, was a return to the 1990s, when the world could decide between inactivity in the face of mass killings (as seen in Rwanda) and humanitarian intervention outside of international law (as seen in Yugoslavia).³⁷

RwP can thus be seen as an attempt to bridge the widening gap that emerged in the aftermath of the Libya intervention.

Reception in Western capitals

Initial reactions in the West were marked by skepticism. This was due, first of all, to accusations, suggesting that the Concept Note lacked detail, leaving too much space for speculation. Its opponents quickly called it a plot to delay meaningful action against the mass atrocities in Syria. How, they asked, could such a short and generally worded concept paper be of any use, now that the world needed to take swift action against the Assad regime?

Thomas Wright, for example, expressed skepticism,³⁸ pointing out that instead of taking the debate forward, RwP could cause paralysis, as the West would most likely see it as a means to make humanitarian intervention impossible.

This narrative was strengthened by Brazil's previous decision to abstain, on 4 October 2011, from the European-sponsored UNSC resolution condemning Syria. Given that the RwP concept paper was so vague, it was natural for analysts around the world to look back and measure it by Brazil's recent behaviour in matters related to humanitarian intervention.³⁹ The

³⁷ Ignatieff, "How Syria divided the world."

³⁸ Wright, "Brazil hosts workshop on the 'Responsibility While Protecting'."

³⁹ Edward Luck, Opening Statement during informal discussion on "Responsibility While Protecting," hosted by the Permanent Mission of Brazil, New York, 21 February 2012.

European proposal contained only symbolic threats and explicitly excluded the use of military force, so Brazil's stance was seen as a sign that it stood closer to Russia and China on the matter than to the West.

The second reason for the skepticism in Western capitals was the fear that RwP would make intervening quickly – if the circumstances required it – too difficult, as satisfying the long list of demands was too cumbersome. The rigid sequencing was particularly strongly criticized during early debates in New York (Brazil distanced itself from it later on). In addition, article 11 (h) - (i) of the Brazilian concept paper states: “Enhanced Security Council procedures are needed to monitor and assess the manner in which resolutions are interpreted and implemented to ensure responsibility while protecting; the Security Council must ensure the accountability of those to whom authority is granted to resort to force.” This led to worries among NATO countries that the UNSC would have a say in ongoing R2P operations – something almost impossible to find support for in the West. The third reason for skepticism was that, in the view of Western policy makers, Brazil was acting irrationally and driven by the anger of being relegated to the sidelines during the intervention in Libya. Brazil's and India's requests for information had been, allegedly, arrogantly brushed aside by NATO, implicitly arguing that Brazil and India had no business in the rather serious matter of war.⁴⁰

This points to the fourth reason for skepticism. Since Brazil has insignificant hard power and is lacking in experience in armed international conflict, Western powers feel that Brazil has no business in assuming a leadership role in important global security questions. What do Brazilian diplomats know, they ask, about what it means to send fighter jets into combat? Few Western commentators realized the great potential RwP had in order to bridge the gap between Global North and Global South. Quite to the contrary, several Western analysts have argued that RwP could even

⁴⁰ Thorsten Benner, “Brasilien als Normunternehmer. Die ‘Responsibility While Protecting,’ ” *Vereinte Nationen* June 2012, pp. 251-256.

increase the wedge between the West and the rest.

Reception in the Global South

The reaction to RwP in the Global South has been far more muted than in the West. Dilma Rousseff mentioned the concept during the 2011 IBSA Summit, yet it did not find its way into the final declaration of the meeting, indicating South Africa's and India's skepticism. Rejection in China and Russia was even stronger, and Brazil failed to include RwP in the final declaration of the 4th BRICS Summit in Delhi in March 2012. Brazil had thus successfully shaped an idea about which both the West and emerging powers had notable reservations, albeit for opposing reasons. RwP was seen in the West as a tactic to obstruct action. In the Global South, by contrast, policy makers were reluctant to accept any idea that seemed to limit the concept of sovereignty.

Reluctance in China and Russia seemed vindicated when Brazil supported Resolution 66/253 B against Syria on 3 August 2012, strengthening those in Moscow and Beijing who thought of RwP as a Western plot to trick emerging powers into accepting Western imperialist intervention. On 2 August 2012, the *China Daily* carried the headline that "BRICS nations are to vote against Syria resolution," citing the Moscow-based RIA Novosti news agency.⁴¹ Yet only a day later, China and Russia proved to be the only BRICS members to reject UN General Assembly Resolution 66/253B, which directly criticizes Russia and China by "deploring the Security Council failure" to act.⁴² In addition, the resolution supports Kofi Annan's "demand that the first step in the cessation of violence has to be made by the Syrian authorities." This was the main reason for India's abstention, arguing that the text made scant mention of the role of the armed

⁴¹ Zhao Shengnan, "BRICS nations to vote against Syria resolution," *China Daily*, 2 August 2012, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2012-08/02/content_15639447.htm (accessed 10 July 2013).

⁴² UN General Assembly, 66th Session, "The situation in the Syrian Arab Republic," A/66/L.57, 31 July 2012.

opposition, which was setting a “dangerous trend” by using weapons of “very high sophistication,” in the violence. Brazil and South Africa supported the Resolution. As a consequence, the BRICS could not find a common denominator on what to do about Syria.

The Syrian question points to a larger debate about the BRICS’ attempts to define their stance on sovereignty versus intervention. Brazil’s idea of RWP has had a limited impact on the debate so far, partly because it did not mitigate China’s and Russia’s worries that interventions cause more damage than necessary or support a hidden agenda.⁴³ As Matias Spektor points out, China and Russia were “unhappy to see Brazil go further than they were ready to go in criticizing the Assad regime in Syria, and in their eyes RWP only confirms Brazil’s unpredictability when it comes to defending the primacy of sovereignty.”⁴⁴

The BRICS are unable to agree on these big issues because their individual strategic interests diverge too much.⁴⁵ Michael Ignatieff has argued that:

*Syria tells us that the era of humanitarian intervention, ‘responsibility to protect,’ is over, because it assumed a historical progression that has turned out to be false. The idea that the ‘international community’ should shoulder the responsibility collectively, to protect people from murderous regimes made sense only on the assumption that we all wanted people to live in tolerably decent regimes. Neither Russia nor China takes this view.*⁴⁶

⁴³ Oliver Stuenkel, “BRICS and the ‘Responsibility while Protecting’ concept,” *The Hindu*, 12 March 2012, <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/article2985190.ece> (accessed 10 July 2013).

⁴⁴ Matias Spektor, “Humanitarian Interventionism Brazilian Style?”

⁴⁵ Oliver Stuenkel, “Emerging powers remain divided on R2P and RWP,” *Post Modern World*, entry posted 8 July 2012, <http://www.postmodernworld.com/2012/07/08/why-emerging-powers-are-divided-on-r2p-and-rwp/> (accessed 10 July 2013).

⁴⁶ Ignatieff, “How Syria Divided The World.”

Lost momentum?

With several years passed since the launch of the concept, many think the time to follow up and flesh out the concept has passed. The Brazilian government decided not to turn RwP into the foreign policy signature issue of Dilma Rousseff's first term. This became clear when the Brazilian President declined to explain the issue further during her opening speech at the UN General Assembly (UNGA) in September 2012. In a debate on the sidelines of the UNGA about RwP, Brazil was markedly absent.⁴⁷

Looking back, it seems clear that upon launching the concept, there was a window of opportunity during which Brazil should have drafted a more specific proposal to create momentum. Brazil would have had to develop a diplomatic campaign to garner support for the idea. For example, South Africa and India could have been potential candidates to promote the concept. Rather than being "Brazil's concept" it could have become "IBSA's concept." But Brazil declined to assume leadership in the matter, and RwP never achieved what R2P did – to become a household name in the public international relations debate. In theory, a country other than Brazil could have taken up this role – yet, given the lack of a more specific description of what RwP entails and how it applies to the Syria crisis, no other country took the chance. However, given that Antonio Patriota, the creator of RwP, is Brazil's Permanent Representative to the UN, it is not inconceivable that the country may once again try to push RwP into the centre of the global debate.

Conclusion

As new powers like Brazil, India and China rise to the top of the international order, Michael Ignatieff wrote recently, "their resistance to interven-

⁴⁷ Conversation with a Head of Mission to the UN, August 2012.

tion will become increasingly influential. “Responsibility to Protect” will continue to frame the terms of debate, but it has a long way to go before it becomes customary international law.”⁴⁸ Yet emerging powers are far from certain about their traditional stance on non-interference and rejection of R2P. As their national interests begin to change, according to their economic and geopolitical rise, the debate about what role sovereignty should play is gaining momentum in Brasilia, New Delhi and Beijing.

This does not mean that emerging powers can be expected to adhere soon to the Western discourse about intervention; far from it. On the other hand, Western governments and analysts would also be wrong to dismiss the leaders of rising powers as hopeless Westphalian ideologues. Consensus-builders are now needed more than ever to keep us from returning to the days of Rwanda and Kosovo, in which we faced the stark choice between inaction in the face of large-scale killings (Rwanda) and intervention outlawed by the UN Charter (Kosovo).

As *The Economist* points out, China was beginning “to knock against the limits of its hallowed non-interference.”⁴⁹ Perhaps worried that its economic interests in Libya would be threatened if it were to be singled out as Gaddafi’s staunchest ally, China decided not to veto the Resolution allowing for the use of “all necessary measures to protect civilians” in Libya. Chinese diplomats also met the Libyan rebels in Qatar and Benghazi. This arguably reflected, as observed by the European Council on Foreign Relations among others, that a posture of non-interference was increasingly at odds with China’s global economic presence. Such talk, however, cannot conceal the fact that, because of China’s domestic political situation, the government is for the most part likely to condemn any revolution abroad for fear of encouraging an uprising at home.

⁴⁸ Michael Ignatieff, “The Libya Case, A Teachable Moment,” *Süddeutsche Zeitung Special Supplement - Munich Security Conference*, 3 February 2012.

⁴⁹ *The Economist*, “The Libyan dilemma,” <http://www.economist.com/node/21528664> (accessed 10 July 2013).

India has traditionally been one of the most stalwart defenders of the principle of sovereignty, but has recently shown some flexibility as well. While RWP is likely to be seen by the West as a tactic to delay intervention, India's support for it implies that it is ready to support intervention in some specific instances. Rather than siding with Moscow and Beijing, New Delhi also voted in favour of the defeated Resolution condemning the Syrian government.

Brazil is no different, as shown above. Yet, rather than fully adopting Washington's view, Spektor expects Brazil to continue straddling both worlds, thus seeking to become an active voice in the global debate about the future of intervention.

This makes Brazil's role among the emerging powers unique, potentially turning the country into a crucial mediator between "the West and the rest." The introduction of the concept of RWP was an example of just that. At the 4th BRICS Summit, however, this concept failed to do its magic: Russia imposed its view regarding Syria on the other BRICS countries, making any mention of RWP impossible.

Building that bridge between different worlds is a daunting challenge that may take years to complete, and it will require difficult concessions from both sides. The intervention in Libya may have complicated the debate even further, but as long as the topic is high on the agenda of both Western and non-Western actors, there is hope that meaningful progress can be made. Unprecedented debates about R2P, such as those in Brazil and India, certainly show that not everybody's views are set in stone. RWP could have played a crucial role in this endeavour.

Just as important as RWP's content is its origin. The debate about sovereignty and intervention pits two worlds against each other, seemingly often unable to communicate properly. Most rich Western nations support R2P, while many non-Western poor nations reject it. Analysts from devel-

oping countries argue that, in practice, R2P does not redefine sovereignty in general, but creates two types of sovereignty: that of the strong and that of the weak, the latter enjoying a significantly watered-down version of it. RwP was thus significant because it emerged in the Global South, from a country whose perspective on sovereignty is much more aligned with that of the developing world than with that of NATO and its member states. As a consequence, it could help bring the two opposing sides to the table and thus mark a step forward towards creation of the framework for a constructive debate.

The Role of NATO and Brazil in the Search for an R2P/RwP Regime

Alexander Moens and Jimmy Peterson

*“Much is said about the responsibility to protect;
yet we hear little about responsibility in protecting.
These are concepts that we must develop together.”[Emphasis added]*

*Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff, UN General Assembly,
New York, 21 September 2011.*

New norms need time and examination

The debate about the ways and means of employing and implementing the Responsibility to Protect (R2P), and the Brazilian-proposed concept of the Responsibility While Protecting (RwP), reflect the fact that the international community has only recently defined the norm of R2P and tested its real-world implications as a result of the international intervention in Libya in 2011.¹ The concept has two main roots: firstly, beginning in the 1990s, the increasingly popular notion that sovereignty is contingent on a state's responsibility for its citizens and secondly, the debate surrounding unilateral interventions to prevent acts of genocide from taking place, sparked by the involvement of the NATO in Kosovo in 1999.² After its en-

¹ The R2P norm was defined by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) (report on the responsibility to protect), endorsed by the General Assembly on 2005 World Summit Outcome, paragraph 138/139. GA Res 60/1 and reaffirmed in United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1674 (2006), paragraph 4 and UNSCR 1706 (2006), preamble.

² A. Bellamy, “The Responsibility to Protect and the Problem of Military Intervention,” *International Affairs* 84.4, 2008, p. 617.

dorsement by over 150 states at the World Summit in 2005, R2P gradually matured as a concept politically, organizationally, and institutionally. Yet, while this indicates substantial political acceptance of R2P, it remains one of the most contested norms internationally.³ R2P has three pillars.⁴ Firstly, the state has a “responsibility to protect” its population from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity, which for the purposes of this paper we group together as Mass Atrocity Crimes (MAC). Secondly, the international community has a responsibility to assist other states, including with capacity-building, to carry out their primary responsibility of preventing MAC (the “responsibility to rebuild”). Thirdly, the international community has a responsibility to intervene in a state where the government is not upholding the responsibility to prevent MAC (the “responsibility to react”). Although military force is a last resort, this third pillar necessitates a “timely and decisive response.”⁵

While no state questions the idea that they have a responsibility to protect their populations from facing atrocities such as genocide, there is little international consensus on how R2P should be executed.⁶ In 2011, R2P was invoked for the first time in Libya under United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1973.⁷ Uncertainty remains as to whether more principles and guidelines should follow the definition of this norm, so that we may know not only that civilians must be protected in certain circumstances but also how the “protecting” states ought to exercise this new responsibility. The debate about R2P and RwP is beneficial to better understand divergent interpretations in the international community regarding

³ M. Brosig, “Introduction: The Responsibility to Protect: The GIBSA Perspective,” in *The Responsibility to Protect - From Evasive to Reluctant Action? The Role of Global Middle Powers*, Institute for Security Studies, 2012, p. 3.

⁴ L. Woocher, “Chapter 2: The Responsibility to Prevent: Toward a Strategy,” in *The Routledge Handbook of the Responsibility to Protect*, ed. by W. Knight and F. Egerton, Routledge, 2012, p. 26.

⁵ J. Hoffman and A. Nollkaemper, “Introduction,” in *Responsibility to Protect: From Principle to Practice*, Pallas Publications, 2012, p. 15.

⁶ A. Bellamy, “Chapter 1: R2P - Dead or Alive?,” in *The Responsibility to Protect - From Evasive to Reluctant Action? The Role of Global Middle Powers*, Institute for Security Studies, 2012, pp. 11-28.

⁷ M. Findlay, *Can R2P Survive Libya and Syria?*, Ottawa, Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute, 2011, p. 3.

the narrow notion of humanitarian intervention and the larger concept of R2P. It is especially important for NATO members and regional powers, such as Brazil and India, to have this discussion.

The mission in Libya faced opposition from China, Brazil, South Africa, Russia, India, and other states. The overarching concern was that the implementation of R2P had become a means for regime change, and that the line between civilian protection and regime change in R2P operations had been blurred. The countries concerned argued that they should have been given more of a role in how the UN-authorized military operations were conducted.⁸ The disagreement regarding R2P and Libya illustrates that, while the norm itself has matured conceptually and politically since the time that human security and humanitarian intervention were first discussed, it is not yet an operational entity. This will require time and continual re-evaluation.⁹

False-start arguments and strong arguments

At least two biases exist in the short history of R2P and they are essentially false-start arguments advanced by those who do not want R2P to take hold at all. Neither NATO nor Brazil subscribes to either of these false starts, while both recognize the arguments as important warnings around the debate.

The first holds that some Western states, including NATO members, are keen to keep the R2P norm wide-open and elastic, but, in so doing, are nurturing an agenda other than curbing MAC. The hidden agenda is that of democracy promotion, including regime change, in countries deemed

⁸ F. Chalk, R. Dallaire, and K. Matthews, "Chapter 3: The Responsibility to React," in *The Routledge Handbook of the Responsibility to Protect*, ed. by W. Knight and F. Egerton, Routledge, 2012, p. 38.

⁹ E. Luck, "Chapter 2: The Responsibility to Protect: The Journey," in *Responsibility to Protect: From Principle to Practice*, ed. by J. Hoffman, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2012, pp. 39-46.

unfriendly to Western interests.¹⁰ In this dark image, NATO is seen as a camouflage organization by which the US is attempting to spread its empire across the globe. R2P in this view is merely the most recent amendment to international law, which is seen itself as a servant of Western imperialism, providing legal cover for raw power politics.¹¹ Western superpowers, such as the United States, are regarded as utilizing R2P to create a sense of ideological legitimization over smaller states.¹² The national sovereignty of smaller or weaker states is, thus, jeopardized and humanitarian goals are simply a part of the tool-box used by superpowers and NATO to pursue an imperialistic agenda. Strong critics of R2P argue for the centrality of the principle of non-interference and denounce R2P as a form of “moral imperialism.”¹³ Before reluctantly endorsing it at the World Summit in 2005,¹⁴ Chinese policymakers had condemned R2P outright as a dangerous form of Western imperialism and moralism.¹⁵ R2P was questioned by Chinese analysts and seen as having the potential to be manipulated and applied inconsistently by Western superpowers to justify illegitimate unilateral interventions in countries in order to further Western material interests.

That this view is incorrect is obvious. The political drive behind R2P comes from Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and legal scholars, and not from vested political or economic interests in NATO capitals or from NATO’s political or military branches. Many NGOs have a tradition

¹⁰ A. Bellamy and P. Williams, “The New Politics of Protection? Côte d’Ivoire, Libya and the Responsibility to Protect,” *International Affairs*, 87.4, 2011, p. 848.

¹¹ A. Fenton, “Responsibility to Protect,” *Briar Patch* 42.1, January 2013, p. 25.

¹² E. Brun and J. Hersh, “Faux Internationalism and Really Existing Imperialism,” *Monthly Review* 63.11, April 2012, pp. 36-48.

¹³ L. Arbour, “The Responsibility to Protect as a Duty of Care in International Law and Practice,” *Review of International Studies* 34.3, July 2008, pp. 445-458.

¹⁴ In the end, China endorsed R2P partly because it did not want to obstruct the overwhelming level of agreement on R2P nor did it want to damage its self-professed image as a responsible engager in UN peacekeeping operations. Nonetheless, Chinese policymakers continued to resist non-consensual intervention and military enforcement measures and emphasized the importance of political negotiations within the third pillar of R2P. See: S. Teitt, “The Responsibility to Protect and China’s Peacekeeping Policy,” *International Peacekeeping* 18.3, 2011, p. 299.

¹⁵ S. Teitt, “The Responsibility to Protect and China’s Peacekeeping Policy,” *International Peacekeeping* 18.3, 2011, p. 300.

of spotlighting attention on genocides and the need to prevent MAC from occurring.¹⁶ Civil society played a crucial role in the development of the R2P concept. Projects such as the R2P-Civil Society Project, established by the World Federalist Movement, enhanced the discussion around R2P in its early formative years and promoted greater cooperation between states, the UN, and various international bodies.¹⁷ Civil society organizations contributed to state practice, which included policy decisions, treaty ratifications and consensus-building, particularly during the process of dissemination and debate over the norm. NGOs also undertook educational projects for communities where civil society was weak. R2P was built from the bottom up, as civil society led state governments and inter-governmental organizations.¹⁸ At the 2005 World Summit, UN member state representatives, UN Secretariat officials, and experts and members from think tanks and NGOs collaborated to work on the World Summit Outcome Document.¹⁹ Following the World Summit, the NGO community established the Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect (GCR2P) and the International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect (ICRtoP), two umbrella organizations, to advocate for and educate on R2P.²⁰ In Canada, after 2005, NGOs have increasingly taken on the role of developing R2P.²¹ Moreover, the strongest proponents of R2P are hoping to transform the institutions of the UN to enable global law enforcement. In other words, as with the International Criminal Court, the interest behind R2P stems from a desire to transform the UN into a stronger body capable of world governance. At best, they see NATO as a temporary stop-gap measure to implement R2P while UN capacity is being prepared. While not the authors' position, this

¹⁶ B. Jentleson, "A Responsibility to Protect," *Harvard International Review* 28.4, January 2007, p. 18.

¹⁷ T. Chataway, "Towards Normative Consensus on Responsibility to Protect," *Griffith Law Review* 16.1, 2007, pp. 193-224.

¹⁸ E. Luck, "Chapter 2: The Responsibility to Protect: The Journey," in *Responsibility to Protect: From Principle to Practice*, ed. by J. Hoffman, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2012, pp. 39-46.

¹⁹ The Stanley Foundation, "Actualizing the Responsibility to Protect: 43rd Conference on the United Nations of the Next Decade," *The Stanley Foundation*, June 2008, pp. 1-56.

²⁰ J. Bond and L. Sherret, "Chapter 13: Securing Consistency for Constituent Security: Gender and the Responsibility to Protect," in *The Routledge Handbook of the Responsibility to Protect*, ed. by A. W. Knight and F. Egerton, Taylor and Francis, 2012, pp. 166-180.

²¹ A. Fenton, "Responsibility to Protect," *Briar/Patch* 42.1, January 2013, p. 25.

is a view held by numerous international relations scholars.²²

The second false argument or bias holds that, regardless of the strength of the wave of recent reforms in humanitarian intervention, including R2P, state sovereignty in practice must remain limited to its traditional understanding. Proponents of this view attempt to minimize R2P by defining its operationalization so narrowly and restrictively that, in essence, the norm is rendered moot. These states were not able to stop R2P from emerging in the mid-2000's but now they seek to "starve the beast," especially as regards Pillar 3.

These two extreme flanks of the debate have flared up since the 2011 Libya crisis, in which NATO's actions pursuant to UN Security Council Resolution 1973 became a major concern in R2P discussions. The arguments played an important role in the Chinese and Russian arguments not to allow UN Security Council action vis-à-vis the regime in Damascus in recent years. It is important not to let the two false-start arguments discussed above undermine the debate.

The criticisms made against NATO in the wake of the Libyan crisis – or, perhaps more accurately, towards several NATO nations' independent activity – including arming the Libyan rebels and providing other military assistance beyond narrowly defined protection of civilians in Benghazi, must become part of the discussion of what R2P's Pillar 3 is meant to achieve, what it should not do, and how its operationalization can be improved. Neither the NATO motivation nor the critiques expressed by Brazil, India and others must, a priori, be dismissed as non-constructive. NATO genuinely sought to put into action the R2P objectives expressed in UN

²² In fact, the UN Charter acknowledges equally the potential role of regional actors (as well as the UN Security Council) in enforcement actions to maintain international peace and security. While NATO does not view itself as a regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter, since 1992 the peacemaking and peacekeeping role of "treaty-based organizations, whether created before or after the founding of the United Nations," has been acknowledged. See: "An Agenda for Peace: Preventative Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping," *United Nations*, Forty-seventh Session, Report of the Secretary-General, 17 June 1992.

Security Council Resolution 1973. But certain actions (whether NATO or national) have been legitimately questioned. For example: were rebel forces armed beyond the point of self-defence, and were government forces attacked after they stopped being a threat? As we will discuss below, both the actions in Unified Protector and the critiques raise more questions than they provide answers. It turns out that the R2P norm is much more difficult to operationalize than to articulate. This means that NATO nations and regional powers, such as Brazil and India, must engage in further discussion on how to reach the next level. Libya points to the need to consider improvements, but not to the need to ditch the R2P concept.

It sounds paradoxical, but one should regard the Libya controversy as a blessing in disguise, as it concentrates our minds on re-examining the R2P norm in light of a real-case scenario in which the outcome may not have been optimal, but neither was it disastrous. Therefore the advocates of R2P – including many NATO nations – should welcome the challenge of revisiting R2P and engage fully with the critical points advanced by India and Brazil, and most specifically the RwP Note provided by Brazil.²³ India has sometimes used R2P rhetoric in its dealings with neighbouring countries, but criticized NATO's operations in Libya.²⁴ India's government has looked upon R2P ambiguously since its inception: it has often stressed the importance of state sovereignty and non-interference in the domestic affairs of smaller and weaker states whilst becoming one of the leading contributors to UN peace operations. In the case of Libya, India was especially concerned that the line between civilian protection and regime change in R2P operations had been blurred.²⁵ Consequently, India's government has argued that RwP is now central to R2P.²⁶

²³ G. Evans, "Interview with Alan Philips: Responsibility to Protect after Libya," *World Today* 68.8, October 2012.

²⁴ D. Banerjee, "Chapter 5: India and R2P: Reconciling the Tension between Intervention and State Sovereignty," in *The Responsibility to Protect – From Evasive to Reluctant Action? The Role of Global Middle Powers*, Institute for Security Studies, 2012, pp. 91-110.

²⁵ L. Glanville, "Christianity and the Responsibility to Protect," *Studies in Christian Ethics* 25.3, August 2012, pp. 312-326.

²⁶ J. Pattison, "The Ethics of 'Responsibility While Protecting': Brazil, The Responsibility to Protect, and

The so-called Concept Note and its Annex submitted by Brazil to the UN in 2011 raises an important flag. What, ultimately, will be the answer to this challenge remains to be seen, but it relates to the core issue of finding the right balance between just action to protect and just action in doing so. Motives, actions, and perceptions should all be considered from both sides of the spectrum: the need to act and the need to act carefully. If R2P is seen or perceived as a cover for action that aims at regime change, it will lose its legitimacy and ultimately its effectiveness. At the same time, if in certain cases R2P action cannot help but bring about regime change, parameters may be found for when this is a legitimate by-product and when it is not. Therefore, even if leaders, both in NATO governments and in the governments of Brazil and India, know in their heart of hearts that their intentions are noble, their actions and recommendations must still look fair and be objectively respectable.

Why is a dialogue about this between NATO nations and Brazil important? The answer is largely one of necessity. For NATO, the likelihood is that it, rather than the UN proper, will remain one of the most capable instruments to implement UN Security Council Resolutions under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Therefore, it needs to think about its role in facilitating this Security Council mandate. For Brazil, the likelihood that its strong and persuasive argument for permanent status on the Security Council or another type of major Security Council reform will be implemented in the near future is small. Therefore, its articulation of the R2P issue is critical and its engagement with NATO on the issue rather more practical.

With protection as the goal, responsibility matters all the time

Brazil's Concept Note raised a substantial point that all public policy initiatives, including R2P, ought to consider – namely, the “unintended consequences” of any proposed course of action. The first premise to recognize is that neither traditional sovereignty nor R2P can be absolute. Traditional interpretations of sovereignty include the state's exclusive jurisdiction to govern its internal affairs without any outside interference.²⁷ This notion of sovereignty stresses the “freedom of” and, like classical liberalism, can be seen as a type of “negative sovereignty.” It is based on the notion that states and the international community should not interfere in another state's internal affairs. Alas, in practice this has come to mean that, regardless of how poorly the state abuses its citizens, it must still not be interfered with.²⁸ But, just as in classical liberalism no one has the absolute right to shout “Fire!” in a crowded theatre, so no state has an absolute right to shout “Hands off my internal affairs!” Both in international law and in practice, sovereignty has always had positivist connotations, dating back to its earliest formulations by Hugo Grotius and Emerich de Vattel.²⁹ The very essence of sovereignty, as defined by liberal philosophers Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, brings with it responsibility. Hobbes and Locke posited that the state must meet certain conditions in order to uphold the social contract with its citizens. Hobbes contended that state sovereignty was contingent on the state's ability to keep the peace.³⁰ If the state was unable to maintain peace, then the social contract would dissolve and the state would lose its sovereignty. Locke argued that state sovereignty was contingent on the state upholding of people's natural property rights, which included their rights to life, lib-

²⁷ E. Mintz et al., *Politics, Power and the Common Good: An Introduction to Political Science*, 2nd ed., Toronto, Pearson Longman, 2009, p. 29.

²⁸ R. Axtmann, “The State of the State: The Model of the Modern State and its Contemporary Transformation,” *International Political Science Review* 25.3, 2004, p. 262.

²⁹ P. Minkinen, “The Ethos of Sovereignty: A Critical Appraisal,” *Human Rights Review* 8.2, March 2007, pp. 33–51.

³⁰ T. Hobbes, “Leviathan”, in *Political Philosophy: The Essential Texts*, ed. by S. Cahn, New York, Oxford University Press, pp. 217–242.

erty, and property.³¹ This trusteeship arrangement, between the basic rights of citizens and the duty of the government to uphold these rights, constitutes the legitimacy on which a state's sovereignty is, ultimately, based. The trust between a state and its citizens is violated when a government uses its monopoly on the use of force to inflict harm on its own people. In such a case, the people have an inherent right to overthrow this tyrannical government (as reflected in 1581 Dutch Declaration of Abjuration and the 1776 US Declaration of Independence). Likewise, the UN Charter makes provision for state limitations in, for example, the principle of the self-determination of peoples.

The advance of recent concepts such as human security and humanitarian intervention, and most recently R2P, emphasizes the erstwhile positive aspect of sovereignty, namely the right of citizens to be protected by their government. Human security focuses on threats to individuals emanating from starvation, disease, poverty, and ecological problems, as the needs of individuals are recognized to be the primary concern of states.³² Human security accuses governments that attack their own citizens, as well as intra-state violence that threatens people with genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. Under this concept, a state has obligations to protect and promote the general welfare of its people. At the 1998 Rome Conference, the then Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lloyd Axworthy, played a crucial role in galvanizing international support for the creation of the ICC.³³ The ICC prosecutes individuals responsible for taking part in the aforementioned egregious crimes in their capacity as state employees. Former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan argued that state sovereignty was "never meant as a license for governments to trample on human rights and human dignity."³⁴ Thus, we recognize in international

³¹ J. Locke, "Second Treatise of Government," in *Political Philosophy: The Essential Texts*, ed. by S. Cahn, New York, Oxford University Press, pp. 246-273.

³² L. Axworthy, "Human Rights," *Vital Speeches of the Day* 66.19, July 2000, pp. 578-580.

³³ J. Goldstein et al., *International Relations*, 2nd ed., Toronto, Pearson Longman, 2008, p. 138.

³⁴ B. Jentleson, "A Responsibility to Protect: The Defining Challenge for the Global Community," *Harvard International Review* 28.4, 2007, p. 19.

relations both negative and positive aspects of sovereignty. R2P in general, but especially its first and second pillars, emphasizes both the responsibility of the state in question and the need of the international community to help such a government to fulfil its responsibility and live up to its positive sovereignty.³⁵

When a state fails and when mass atrocity crimes are being committed or are imminent, the R2P concept allows eventually for third-party intervention. However, R2P-Pillar-3-enforcing states do not protect civilians in such cases by “whatever means it takes.” If protection of civilians is the ultimate goal, rather than territory or sovereignty, then the means used raise the stakes even higher than when lawful combatants are the subjects at stake. While the moral duty to protect innocent civilians is absolute in principle because of the absolute nature of human rights, and the legal right to this is becoming clearer under international law,³⁶ its implementation can never be unfettered and, indeed, was not meant to be open-ended. It must be tempered by various prudential considerations. To be sure, the leaders behind the 2005 World Summit Outcome (WSO) and the authors of the International Commission preceding it on R2P were well aware of the need for careful and limited means. Repeatedly, they argue that all the legal restraints in both the law of war and the laws in war apply to R2P operations.³⁷

Broadly speaking, five tests of R2P legitimacy have been defined and reiterated, going back to the initial work done on the subject by former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan. These five are elsewhere called precaution-

³⁵ United Nations, *Implementing the Responsibility to Protect: Report of the Secretary-General*, United Nations, General Assembly, 2009, http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/63/677 (accessed 17 June 2013).

³⁶ H. Brollowski, “Chapter 7: The Responsibility to Protect and Common Article 1 of the 1949 Geneva Conventions and Obligations of Third States,” in *Responsibility to Protect: From Principle to Practice*, ed. by J. Hoffman, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2012, p. 103.

³⁷ C. Junior, “Chapter 5: Implementing R2P: A Vision for How Military Force Might be Applied,” in *Implementing the Responsibility to Protect: New Directions for International Peace and Security?*, ed. by E. Hamann and R. Muggah, Brazil, Igarape Institute, March 2013, pp. 41-46.

ary principles.³⁸ Though they are for the most part not mentioned in the WSO document, they are part of the legal and political debate of which the WSO is the product. They are intended to serve as rational guidelines for R2P operations.³⁹

Firstly, there is a “right intention” to prevent mass-scale casualties from occurring and to revert or stop harm.⁴⁰ Overthrowing a regime is not a legitimate objective of an R2P operation; however, when a regime is responsible for attacking its own population, disabling that regime’s capacity to act may become essential to fulfilling R2P. Secondly, the seriousness of the risk must warrant coercive action to prevent MAC.⁴¹ Thirdly, force is used as a last resort when diplomatic and non-military means have proved inadequate. Fourthly, there is a proportionality principle in intervention, whereby the forces utilized are the minimum necessary to secure the overall objective in protecting human life. Lastly, there must be a balance of consequences, wherein recovery is attainable and the benefits of intervening outweigh the benefits of not intervening.

The fact that authors of the R2P norm have seriously thought about these five precautionary principles is not to say that this aspect of the concept cannot be improved. Paragraph 9 of the concept note, submitted by Brazil in 2011, identifies some of the risks that may be associated with R2P Pillar 3 operations such as “aggravating existing conflicts,” giving rise to “new cycles of violence” and “increasing the vulnerabilities” of civilian populations.⁴²

³⁸ H. Denduangrudee, “Chapter 8: Problems and Prospects for R2P: The Unilateral Action of Viet Nam in 1978,” in *Blood and Borders: The Responsibility to Protect and the Problem of the Kin-State*, ed. by R. Thakur and V. Popovski, Tokyo, United Nations University Press, 2011, pp. 144–167.

³⁹ G. Evans, “Interview with Alan Philips: Responsibility to Protect after Libya,” *World Today* 68.8, October 2012.

⁴⁰ ICISS, *The Responsibility to Protect: Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty*, ICISS, December 2001, <http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/ICISS%20Report.pdf> (accessed 17 June 2013).

⁴¹ H. Denduangrudee, “Chapter 8: Problems and Prospects for R2P: The Unilateral Action of Viet Nam in 1978,” in *Blood and Borders: The Responsibility to Protect and the Problem of the Kin-State*, ed. by R. Thakur and V. Popovski, Tokyo, United Nations University Press, 2011, pp. 144–167.

⁴² Permanent Representative of Brazil to the United Nations, *Concept Paper on the Responsibility While Protecting: Elements for the Development and Promotion of a Concept*, United Nations, General Assembly, Novem-

We must keep in mind that both the five precautionary principles and the Brazilian contribution, with respect to the consequences of protecting, exist in a world in which information is usually incomplete and ambiguous, value conflicts are typical, and the estimated consequences of decision options are just that: estimates. In other words, both in the decision to intervene and in the parameters to limit interventions, decision-makers work in an environment of bounded rationality.⁴³ Within the realm of bounded rationality, governments must provide themselves with safeguards, benchmarks and beacons to guide them on their way. The balance of estimated outcomes must indeed play its proper role in the question of how to formulate Pillar 3 R2P operations: how to define them, how to guide them, and how to end them.

Regional partners and capacity building: understanding NATO's role

Since the early 1990s, NATO has increased its direct assistance to the UN Security Council in implementing UN Security Council resolutions. However, NATO has a vital second role to play, namely that of cooperative security building, and not only with Partners but also in the context of inter-regional discussions. The *Strategic Concept* adopted by NATO in Lisbon in 2010 specifies this cooperative security mission as a third core task of the Alliance.⁴⁴ The mission of cooperative security outside NATO's immediate neighbourhood is in its early stages and would benefit from dialogue with major non-NATO states, such as Brazil. One example of NATO's cooperative security is the capacity-building role it has developed with the African Union since 2005.⁴⁵ NATO-AU security cooperation in the areas

ber 2011, <http://www.un.int/brazil/speech/Concept-Paper-%20RwP.pdf> (accessed 17 June 2013).

⁴³ G. Allison and P. Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 2nd edition, New York, Longman, 1999.

⁴⁴ M. Ilie, I. Gheorghe and A. Ilie, "The New Strategic Concept NATO 2010," *Journal of Defense Resources Management* 2.1, 2011, pp. 51-56.

⁴⁵ G. Segell, "The First NATO Mission to Africa: Darfur," *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Mili-*

of training, planning, and logistics is based on military and technological assistance as requested by the AU, promotes African solutions to African problems, and sets a useful precedent in terms of not committing NATO troops to African soil.⁴⁶ Capacity-building cooperation also occurs in Africa with regional cooperation regimes such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which taps into NATO's expertise and experience built up over 64 years of coordinating political guidance and military preparedness.⁴⁷ NATO's will to build crucial relationships with regional partners and organizations is a general principle embodied in the last sentence of WSO paragraph 139, which follows under the second pillar of R2P:

We also intend to commit ourselves, as necessary and appropriate, to helping States build capacity to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity and to assisting those which are under stress before crises and conflicts break out. [emphasis added]

The African Union (AU) has committed to an ambitious new security paradigm capable of preventing or responding to MAC. Given the many development and financial challenges in Africa, this new design will need a lot of work and some outside assistance to get off the ground. Obviously, NATO contributes to AU capacity building alongside many other organizations such as the United Nations, which has a long-standing role in Africa.

NATO's relationship with each region of the world will vary. The key point for NATO-Latin American liaison may well be cooperative norm-

tary Studies 36.2, 2008, pp. 17-18.

⁴⁶ A. Moens and J. Peterson, "Chapter 16: Canadian Interests in Building Cooperation Between NATO and the African Union," in *AU-NATO Collaboration: Implications and Prospects*, ed. by B. Smith-Windsor, Rome, NATO Defense College, 2013, pp. 246-264.

⁴⁷ T. Ajayi, "The UN, the AU and ECOWAS: A Triangle for Peace and Security in West Africa?," *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung* Briefing Paper 11, November 2008, pp. 1-9.

building rather than capacity-building. This also implies much more of a two-way stream of interaction. Latin America has a very different history, security culture, and institutional structure than the Euro-Atlantic region. Relations between NATO and Latin American states are somewhat limited.⁴⁸ A significant number of misperceptions on both sides need to be overcome before more cooperative security dialogue can occur. Still, this is not insurmountable as Brazil and others are reaching out to a wider international network of interlocutors and NATO is doing the same. Military interaction in UN missions is of course already a reality between Brazil and NATO nations such as Canada. As a result of working together in Haiti, Brazilian and Canadian security personnel often interact. In 2013, Canada sent a company of some 40 peacekeepers to Cuiaba, Brazil, to train with Brazilian counterparts and from this interaction small steps in security dialogue may follow.⁴⁹

When reaching out to so-called “Global Partners,” the Alliance needs first of all to explain itself, which is not a simple task. In some ways, its long history since 1949 and rapid change in the last twenty-five years make it a hybrid institution with a wide array of different tasks and capabilities. We argue that the Atlantic Alliance is best understood as a confluence of two functions: it is a regional *reference group* and a manifestation or framework for *military readiness*. The former is about establishing the legitimacy for action, the latter about practical utility in implementing a decision. NATO has a wealth of experience as a vehicle for building regional “unity of purpose,” coupled with relatively integrated military options. The unity of purpose in the Cold War was collective defense against the threat of Soviet encroachment in Western Europe. The military readiness it created was a blend of US, Canadian, and European command and control, as

⁴⁸ That being said, some Latin American states have contributed to past NATO operations. Argentina even pushed to be included as a non-regional associate of NATO in the 1990s and has been a major non-NATO ally since 1998. J. Hedges, *Argentina: A Modern History*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 260.

⁴⁹ CBC, *Canada Joining Brazilian-Led Peacekeeping Mission in Haiti: Deployment of a 34-Soldier Infantry Platoon Arrived in October 2012, Starts Friday*, The Canadian Press, 18 June 2012, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/story/2013/06/18/canada-soldiers-haiti.html> (accessed 20 June 2013).

well as common approaches to force planning, doctrine development and training.

In the 1990s, NATO found a new unity of purpose when the flanks of the European Union (EU) in the Balkans were aflame in civil war. From the political unity of purpose (weak and stumbling at first) came the policy to limit the carnage. NATO, alongside the EU, became part of regional stabilization in the Balkans.⁵⁰ Military command, force planning and tasks were adjusted to undertake this new purpose. After the terrorist attacks on New York City in September 2001, NATO found new purpose and a new military readiness to bring stabilization and peace building to Afghanistan.

The point is that NATO is a regionally-based historical expression of democratic states trying to find common purpose and capacity to act in security crises. NATO is changing rapidly. It should be seen as a useful instrument in thinking about building larger “unity of purpose” across continents, and with key reference states such as Brazil. As Brazil continues to grow in economic and political weight, its liberal-democratic values as projected into international affairs will play a larger role.⁵¹ As such, its reference value increases for all, including for NATO nations.

As security challenges change and as different Global Partners work with NATO on different security problems (of which R2P is one), NATO’s unity of purpose and military role will again adjust. NATO has a “best practices” standard when it comes to military training and interoperability.⁵² This standard has already had a direct impact on the extent that a European Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) has come about (it copies NATO standards), and it will have relevance and benefits beyond

⁵⁰ M. Stixová, “Does NATO Enlargement Spread Democracy? The Democratic Stabilization of Western Balkan Countries,” *Sředoevropské Politické Studie* 14.1, April 2012, pp. 1-33.

⁵¹ I. Guevara, “Wish List: Brazil’s Procurement and Global Power Aspirations,” *Jane’s Intelligence Review* 24.9, September 2012, p. 29.

⁵² A. Tolk, L. Bair and S. Diallo, “Supporting Network Enabled Capability by Extending the Levels of Conceptual Interoperability Model to an Interoperability Maturity Model,” *The Journal of Defense Modeling and Simulation: Applications, Methodology, Technology* 10.2, December 2011, pp. 145-160.

the North Atlantic. But NATO also has an impressive record of building political consensus between two regions: Europe and North America. It has a track record in reconciling various regional and national interests into a common unity of purpose regarding crisis management and security provision. In this process of reaching common purpose, NATO has also developed methods and a strong track record of bringing the military dimension of this purpose early – and continually – into the process so that, in both the objectives and implementation stages, the Alliance can act relatively quickly. In other words, NATO has built a regional security regime that is of value for others to understand and perhaps borrow pieces from, to facilitate security cooperation in their own region, including in Latin America. NATO, as a capacity-builder, has both political and military lessons it can provide to other key states and regions as they develop their regional dimension of security.

The point is not that NATO wants to come to other regions of the world and “do security” for them or extend its own “sphere of influence,” but rather that its 28 member states collectively desire to bring their “lessons learned” regarding political and military interoperability to various powers and regions so as to help them find their own variant and, at the same time, build understanding and bridges between different regions. The flow of learning and information will be two-way, with NATO also learning from others. The entire RwP issue is an example of this dynamic process. NATO nations have been focused more on launching R2P than on defining RwP. Brazil’s (and India’s) input means that a larger inter-regional debate can take place to find the next level of understanding regarding Pillar 3 operations.⁵³

One lesson few would quibble with is that Libya 2011 points to the immediate need to improve NATO’s liaison with other regional bodies such as the Arab League and the African Union. For norm building, more con-

⁵³ E. Hamann, “The Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict and Brazil’s Responsibility While Protecting,” *NOREF Policy Brief*, October 2012, p. 1.

nectivity is needed between NATO and key world powers and regions, including the South American Defense Council (CSD), which is an agency of the Union of South American Nations. The CSD aims to facilitate more effective regional integration and transparency in military and defence policies.⁵⁴ While it is difficult to foresee immediate NATO involvement in Latin America without a humanitarian emergency,⁵⁵ the CSD could also serve as a useful regional forum for dialogue with NATO to discuss military concerns and interoperability, including control, command, and communication.⁵⁶ Latin American countries, especially Brazil, and NATO members share fundamental principles, such as commitments to the rule of law and recognition that state rights and responsibilities are ultimately a function of human rights.

Defining a NATO-Brazil debate on the R2P-RwP: remedial and end goals

NATO's actions in Libya have been controversial, but it is difficult to pinpoint exactly how to fix the problem. Brazil's Concept Note offers better questions than answers. So where do we go from here? First let us remember the genuine lowest common denominator in this inter-regional debate about international norms.

Protecting innocent civilians from MAC is the goal of R2P, but we must not forget that protection is not a stable end-goal – it is only a remedial goal. The actual end-goal is well defined liberty that sustains an orderly society. Democratic liberty – as defined by constitutional law and a legal

⁵⁴ A. Sanchez, *The South America Defense Council, UNASUR, the Latin American Military and the Region's Political Process*, Cohea Research, October 2008, <http://www.coha.org/the-south-american-defense-council-unasur-the-latin-american-military-and-the-region%E2%80%99s-political-process/> (accessed 22 June 2013).

⁵⁵ NATO, "NATO 2020: Assured Security; Dynamic Engagement," *North Atlantic Treaty Organization*, Analysis and Recommendations of the Group of Experts on a New Strategic Concept for NATO, May 2010, p. 17.

⁵⁶ F. Merke, "Chapter 9: Political and Military Utility of NATO for Argentina," in *NATO: The Power of Partnerships*, ed. by H. Edström, J. Matlary and M. Petersson, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, p. 203.

and representative government – is the real goal or end of international cooperation. Why? Because such well-structured liberty tends to produce political freedom and economic prosperity, thereby enhancing the conditions for domestic stability and international peace.⁵⁷ Of course, there are many interpretations of what types of institutions and processes a society finds the best, but that does not negate the premise. Well-ordered liberty that promotes prosperity is the bottom line where democratic nations find common purpose and common cause. Brazil and NATO nations, as well as other regional democracies, must begin their discussion about R2P at that level in order to prepare the moral foundation for shared international goals.

On this basic and broad agreement, we can perhaps find initial accord on key themes in the R2P/RwP discussion. Brazil's RwP concept reflects a "Restrictive Approach" that emphasizes the ethics of humanitarian intervention."⁵⁸ Let us transpose this point to a lower level to see where we agree. For example, we expect a restrictive approach from police in our domestic societies in order to keep law enforcers from using excessive means or engaging in unnecessary restrictions on individual freedom. Therefore, it is quite logical and consistent to also expect international action, including R2P action, to be hemmed in by a restrictive approach so as to prevent abuse of force. It would be contradictory to replace the abusive action of domestic forces with that of foreign forces. At the same time, police officers must act decisively – even violently at times – in order to uphold the law, but as they do so, they are under obligation to act justly and within legal parameters. The question then is how we define decisive yet restrictive R2P action. We do this continually in our domestic politics and, while the parameters of international politics are different and less defined, we need to do this for R2P action as well. In many ways, this is not new ground.

⁵⁷ K. Rasler and W. Thompson, *Puzzles of the Democratic Peace: Theory, Geopolitics and the Transformation of World Politics*, Gordonsville, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp. 5-6.

⁵⁸ J. Pattison, "The Ethics of 'Responsibility While Protecting': Brazil, The Responsibility to Protect, and Guidelines for Humanitarian Intervention," *Human Rights and Human Welfare* Working Paper 71, April 2013, p. 3.

For example, in UN peacekeeping operations, we work together on rules of engagement and use of force in volatile environments.

As always, things are more difficult in international affairs. They are not different in moral terms, just more difficult in terms of agency and function. In the case of MAC and Pillar 3 R2P operations, the government itself is the accused, and as such it forfeits some of its powers, and the “police” are by necessity other states. To compound the problem is the fact that the global arena does not have a single constitutional order, a coherent administration of justice, or a monopoly on the legitimate use of force. States remain the intermediaries, both for law making in the UN Security Council and for law implementation in R2P operations.

The conflation of R2P and regime change in Libya has caused some to question whether the phrase “all necessary means” is the right mandate. Again, it may be useful to look at key concepts both in their negative and their positive meaning, as we did with sovereignty. The traditional defence of sovereignty as in territorial integrity has led to zero-sum concepts. In other words, “all necessary means” is a force definition that is associated with state rights but may not be the best term for humanitarian action. Traditionally it has been viewed as open-ended, as it was meant to give the Security Council clearance to counter state aggression. Initially, many may consider that a more restrictive phrase should govern R2P operations, but to find an alternative one will not be easy. For example, a regime’s MAC could be seen as a type of internal state aggression that has all the elements of terror and human loss in it, except for territory. If so, “all necessary means” remains valid as the mandate needed for external states to stop the MAC. But should the UN Security Council specify what the built-in limits of the word “necessary” are?

In terms of humanitarian law, the phrase “all necessary means” refers to weakening the military force of the enemy to the point of the latter not

being able or willing to commit further MAC.⁵⁹ But tyrannical regimes relying solely on force and terror become synonymous with “military force” and thus, in practice, weakening enemy force *ipso facto* means weakening the regime. Can R2P minus regime change be defined in law and practice? Would regime continuance in Rwanda, had it stopped its slaughter in the middle of the Rwandan genocide, constitute “just outcome” or the proper balance of consequences?⁶⁰

The international community must be cautious about over-emphasizing procedure, as this could hinder the effectiveness of efforts that require the use of the force needed to save the lives of innocent civilians.⁶¹ Procedures are fundamentally important, but should not constrain the use of force in R2P operations from being able to fulfil the function of preventing MAC in a rapid manner. In some cases, the best responses would be more aggressive.⁶² Timely and decisive action was necessary in the Balkans, Sierra Leone, and in Somalia. Nonetheless, one must keep in mind that not even the best or most sophisticated military in the world can guarantee there will be no civilian casualties or mistakes. Furthermore, “just war” theory confirms that the international community employ the means that have a certain likelihood of resolving a crisis, including the use of force if necessary.⁶³ Waiting for Pillar 3 and exhausting every peaceful means to resolve an MAC situation may lead to grave consequences.

Here is another puzzle: How do you distinguish between an R2P opera-

⁵⁹ E. Griffin and B. Cali, “Chapter 11: International Humanitarian Law,” in *International Law for International Relations*, ed. by B. Cali, New York, Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 243.

⁶⁰ The example was used by Herman Schaper at Center for Global Affairs Panel, 28 February 2013. <http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/component/content/article/35-r2pcs-topics/4697-center-for-global-affairs-panel-discussion-on-responsibility-to-protect-to-the-crises-in-syria-and-other-nations>

⁶¹ K. Homan, “Challenges in Implementing the Responsibility to Protect: Undertaking Coercive and Non-Coercive Action,” *Security and Human Rights* 2, May 2012, p. 111.

⁶² M. Kelly, “Chapter 7: Fighting for their Lives: R2P, RWP and the Utility of Force to Protect Civilians,” in *Implementing the Responsibility to Protect: New Directions for International Peace and Security?*, ed. by E. Hamann and R. Muggah, Brazil, Igarape Institute, March 2013, p. 57.

⁶³ A. Bellamy, “The Responsibility to Protect and the Problem of Military Intervention,” *International Affairs* 84.4, 2008, pp. 615-639.

tion conceptually, and taking sides in a civil war? For example, if you are a foreign soldier with two weapons, protecting civilians from an imminent MAC operation, and you have a “rebel” soldier willing to help you but without a weapon, may you “share” your equipment? If we can do it conceptually, perhaps we can specify how it can be done operationally? Even if we get the rules of engagement during the MAC prevention operation right, how do we end such an operation? Civil wars tend to be zero-sum contests and, as such, weight put for or against one side necessarily affects the other. Can you do R2P without taking sides? If you cannot, can you exit without determining the balance of outcomes?

Perhaps the debate between Brazil and NATO should include more detailed explanation of what we mean by Pillar 3 operations. Does Pillar 3 itself need to be conceptually broken down into more modes? For example, should another step be added in the logic of prudential sequencing that could be used in the early stages of Pillar 3, something akin to what has been called coercive diplomacy?⁶⁴

*Coercive diplomacy is the diplomacy of threats. Rather than relying on negotiation, diplomats will sometimes threaten adverse consequences if a demand is not met. Factors that influence the success of coercive diplomacy are similar to the factors that influence the success of other types of threats: the threat must be credible, the adverse consequence must be severe enough that the potential recipient really wants to avoid that outcome, and the demand must be clear and possible to meet.*⁶⁵

John F. Kennedy’s naval embargo off Cuba in 1962 can be seen as a successful case of “compellence” or coercive diplomacy. Similarly, the Arab oil

⁶⁴ A. George and R. Smoke, *Deterrence in American Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1974. R. Art and P. Cronin, *The United States and Coercive Diplomacy*, Washington, United States Institute of Peace Press, 2003, p. vii.

⁶⁵ University of Colorado, *Coercive Diplomacy*, University of Colorado, Conflict Research Consortium, 1998, <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/treatment/coercedip.htm> (accessed 22 June 2013).

embargo led to an overall change in Western policy towards Israel.⁶⁶ Critical to this method is that the coalition of states imposing coercion communicate urgency and a willingness to escalate rapidly. At the same time, compliance by the other party may lead to compromise as it did in the case of the US-Soviet stand-off over Cuba.

Coercive diplomacy as applied to R2P Pillar 3 operations could thus offer a step between economic sanctions and a full R2P Pillar 3 operation. In this logic, the international community would provide a limited action that prompts the offending regime to rethink its defiance of UN Security Council demands. It is a step between sanctions and a full-blown Pillar 3 operation. It could, as in the recent case of Libya, fit between UN Security Council Resolutions 1970 and 1973. Coercive diplomacy involves efforts to persuade states to stop continuing certain actions that they have already begun to undertake.⁶⁷ The coercion does not come at the end of diplomacy, but is part of a package of limited forceful actions that are followed either by more violence or by rewards. At the same time, the advocates of R2P would need to consider accepting a reasonable compromise rather than a clean victory.

Conclusion

R2P as a norm is new, and feedback on how it is doing must be considered seriously. The questions and concerns raised by Brazil's RwP Note are substantial and constructive. What it ought to initiate is a discussion on how to reach more common ground which may include further parameters around R2P actions. NATO has no inherent prerogative to execute R2P actions and Brazil has no inherent right to refrain from cooperating in ac-

⁶⁶ G. Craig and A. George, *Force and Statecraft: Diplomatic Problems of Our Time*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1983, pp. 189-204.

⁶⁷ W. Langenheim, "Give Peace a Chance: First, Try Coercive Diplomacy," *Naval War College Review* 55.4, October 2002, p. 56.

tion including Pillar 3, alongside norm clarification. There is a tremendous area of potential dialogue and cooperation available between the two. Both nation states and international institutions are trying to understand how R2P is changing their mandates.

NATO needs more global democratic partners to help it chart its course when asked by the UN Security Council to take on R2P tasks. To do so, other states such as Brazil need to know how NATO works so as to contribute to its development on this score. NATO's tasks, threat assessments, force planning, interoperability requirements, and military response options have changed many times over its long history. With R2P as an emerging task, they will need to adjust again. Despite the controversy over the implementation of Security Council Resolution 1973 in Libya, NATO has adapted a great deal since 1991 and is well situated to be a key tool in R2P and to assist other regions in becoming such tools or joining with NATO in the task. Such regional cooperation is meant to complement, not replace future UN capacity. If the UN Security Council itself builds stronger institutional capacity to undertake and monitor R2P operations, NATO's way of planning, conducting and supplying operations must be regarded as among the best standard practices currently available.

The evolution of R2P will be gradual and must be broad-based. Rather than trying to attain consensus on amendments to the WSO language or to the workings of the UN Security Council (both too difficult), gradual practice and the emergence of an R2P regime is what is needed. Building such an R2P regime requires broad inter-regional discussions and cooperation. Regime theory in international relations infers that states will create institutions in particular issue areas (as has been done in trade, security, communications, or financial systems), which in turn will alter state behaviour and foster cooperation even when short-term self-interests may dictate deviation.⁶⁸ International regimes, which are more permanent than

⁶⁸ M. Levy, "The Study of International Regimes," *European Journal of International Relations* 1.3, 1995, p. 271.

temporary ad-hoc arrangements or coalitions of the willing,⁶⁹ require three overarching pillars to be effective entities. Firstly, that the regime is characterized by the major norms and principles it adopts. Norms serve as the behavioural standards, outlining both rights and obligations for its members.⁷⁰ Over time, these norms and principles tend to become highly durable and resilient.⁷¹ Secondly, that rules establish the specific prescriptions for action that the regime and states within the regime must take in specific situations. Compliance need not be perfect for a useful regime to exist, as there are variations in compliance at any level of behaviour.⁷² However, states should regularly refer to the rules of a regime, as clear violations of regime norms and principles become increasingly rare. Thirdly, that the decision-making procedures are the practices that generate and implement collective choices. Changes in rules or decision-making procedures imply changes inside the regime; however, modifications of norms or principles may cause the restructuring or disappearance of a regime entirely.⁷³

As is clear from the above, measured by the logic of international regimes, we have just begun the first phase. A broad agreement on balancing R2P and RwP is needed to finish this phase. Through debate and practice we can move from initial norms to guidelines and procedures which, in turn, lead to the building of regularized patterns of behaviour on R2P. We must break the notion that the North does Pillar 3 and the South is the critic. Brazil should deepen its engagement with NATO and the EU, in terms of both norm building and capacity building. Brazil's strong articulation of – and involvement in – all three pillars, including Pillar 3 work, will give it influence to find the necessary adjustments in R2P operations. Brazil's engagement in R2P Pillar 3, at the military level as well as at the political

⁶⁹ S. Krasner, *International Regimes*, Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1983, p. 3.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁷¹ M. Bovcon, "Françafrique and Regime Theory," *European Journal of International Relations* 19.1, March 2013, p. 8.

⁷² A. Hasenclever, P. Mayer, and V. Rittberger, *Theories of International Regimes*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 15.

⁷³ M. Bovcon, "Françafrique and Regime Theory," *European Journal of International Relations* 19.1, March 2013, p.9.

and institutional level, will provide the needed influence and experience, and help build North-South understanding of how to do R2P.

PART 3

VIEWPOINTS ON NUCLEAR AND WMD PROLIFERATION

Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and the Western Alliance

Joachim Krause

Introduction

NATO has a long-standing commitment towards an active policy in the field of nuclear non-proliferation (as well as non-proliferation of other weapons of mass destruction), together with arms control. In looking at NATO documents, one finds that heads of state as well as foreign and defence ministers have repeatedly stressed the need to raise NATO's profile in this field and that NATO will continue to contribute to international efforts.

According to NATO texts, "non-proliferation refers to all efforts to prevent proliferation from occurring, or should it occur, to reverse it by any other means than the use of military force."¹ Non-proliferation usually applies to weapons of mass destruction (WMD), which the Alliance defines as weapons that are "capable of a high order of destruction and of being used in such a manner as to destroy people, infrastructure or other resources on a large scale." NATO's definition for the term "WMD proliferation" encompasses "attempts made by state or non-state actors to develop, acquire, manufacture, possess, transport, transfer or use nuclear, chemical or biological weapons or devices and their means of delivery or related material, including precursors..."²

¹ Cf. NATO's *Comprehensive, Strategic-Level Policy for Preventing the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and Defending Against Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN) Threats*.

² NATO website, entry "Proliferation of WMD."

It is not the purpose of this paper to further quote from NATO documents or to report on activities undertaken by the Alliance in this regard. Rather, the intent is to ask, from a scholarly perspective: (1) what strategic logic lies behind this policy? and; (2) which current risks and opportunities foster cooperation with other actors? It is the central argument of this paper that nuclear non-proliferation is a crucial element for any international order. At a time when the relative influence of the Western world – as the main guardian of this international order – is decreasing, it is of the utmost importance that new and emerging powers like Brazil take their share in upholding and defending the international nuclear order, in order to ensure that the door is not left wide open for a return to international anarchy.

The strategic logic of NATO's non-proliferation policy

Today, all members of the Alliance share the conviction that the proliferation of WMD (in particular nuclear weapons) is a major threat to international security. This has not always been the case; in the past, non-proliferation issues were very controversial within the Alliance.

During the 1960s and 1970s there were severe political crises within NATO over issues relating to nuclear non-proliferation, in particular between the US, on the one hand, and the Federal Republic of Germany, on the other. France, too, had major misgivings about the very notion of nuclear non-proliferation: it took 20 years after the implementation of the NPT for France to accede to it. These debates are now over. What has caused this change within the Atlantic Alliance? The following points represent the strategic logic of the current non-proliferation policy within the Alliance and will serve as a starting point for further reflection.

1. Although NATO is an Alliance which made extensive use of nuclear deterrence during the Cold War, there is no need today to base a strategy for avoiding or deterring war on nuclear deterrence. Ar-

guments over the usefulness of nuclear weapons on the battlefield are redundant, as are the discussions about “prevailing” in a strategic nuclear exchange between Russia and the US.³ Current debate has returned to fundamental issues, such as the role of nuclear weapons as a guarantor against existential threats, and the potential danger of nuclear weapons in the hands of extremist actors.⁴ The toolbox of instruments, which modern civilized nations (and not only the Western Alliance) can resort to in order to prevent or deter wars, has become bigger and more varied than ever before. In retrospect, the Cold War was rather the exception than the rule. It was a conflict based on an uneven balance of forces in a limited, but strategically highly relevant region (Central Europe), and based on a global strategic balance of terror which led both superpowers to sometimes play a zero-sum game with high stakes.⁵ The current strategic community wisdom is to broadly agree that this situation is unlikely to repeat itself, even if relations between major powers were to deteriorate. In the strategy of all Western nuclear weapon states, the role of nuclear deterrence is reduced to keeping or deterring others from existential threats (i.e. the use of nuclear weapons) against themselves or their allies. Even Russia, which has upgraded the role of nuclear weapons in its strategic concept, has made it clear that nuclear weapons are a means of existential deterrence. They would be used only if the very existence of Russia came under threat (i.e. meaning the threat of nuclear weapons), for example, if NATO were planning a major land offensive, which is not on the cards. Since existential threats to national security

³ For an overview of strategic debates during the Cold War, see: Lawrence Freedman, *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy*, London, St. Martin's Press, 1981 and 1997; see also Lawrence Freedman, “The first two generations of nuclear weapons strategists,” in *Makers of Modern Strategy*, edited by Peter Paret, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1986, pp. 735-778; Desmond Ball and Jeffrey Richelson, *Strategic Nuclear Targeting*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1986.

⁴ Bernard Brodie (ed.), *The Absolute Weapon. Atomic Power and the World Order*, New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1946; T.V. Paul, Richard J. Harknett and James J. Wirtz (eds.), *The Absolute Weapon Revisited. Nuclear Arms and the Emerging International Order*, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 2000; see also Joachim Krause, “Nach Hiroshima. Die Entwicklung der Theorie des Nuklearkriegs,” in *Handbuch Kriegstheorien*, edited by Thomas Jäger and Rasmus Beckmann, Wiesbaden, VS Publ., 2011, pp. 413-426.

⁵ See: T.V. Paul, “Power, influence, and nuclear weapons: a reassessment,” in *The Absolute Weapon Revisited. Nuclear Arms and the Emerging International Order*, pp. 19-45.

today emanate mostly from the threat of other states using a nuclear weapon, the idea of removing such threats by abolishing nuclear weapons is a logical step, as suggested by US President Barack Obama in his Prague speech in April 2009. It is an idea that is very much under discussion within the strategic community.⁶

2. By the same token, the technical and political risks associated with the production, possession, storage, handling and stationing of nuclear weapons are viewed today within the Western world with much more scrutiny – and scepticism – than ever before.⁷ With the end of military competition with the Soviet Union (or Russia), the balance between the risks and benefits of nuclear deterrence has been redrawn. This was, in part, the result of research done on Cold War history, which uncovered incidents involving nuclear weapons, including cases in which nuclear explosions might have occurred, or where the inadvertent launch of nuclear weapons due to technical malfunction was a real possibility.⁸

3. The expectation that nuclear weapons would enhance their possessors' prestige, technology and economic power belongs to the past. Between the 1950s and the 1970s, this was a widely shared conviction, which led many governments to consider a full-scale nuclear option (civilian plus military). Today, nuclear technology is no longer cutting-edge. It has been dislodged by information, nano and biotechnologies. More importantly, nuclear technology has not lived up to expectations, particularly in terms of fast-breeder technology, heralded at the time as the promise of an almost inexhaustible supply of energy. With this promise unfulfilled, the share of nuclear energy within overall

⁶ Ivo Daalder and Jan Lodal, "The Logic of Zero. Toward a World Without Nuclear Weapons," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2008; Georg Perkovich and James Acton (eds.) *Abolishing Nuclear Weapons*, London, Routledge; IISS Adelphi paper, 2008; Sverre Lodgaard, *Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation: Towards a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World?*, London, Routledge, 2012.

⁷ Bruce G. Blair, *The Logic of Accidental Nuclear War*, Washington DC, Brookings Institution, 1993.

⁸ See the Wikipedia entry: "List of Military Nuclear Accidents."

energy consumption will remain limited. Nuclear energy will probably not solve the energy problems of the future. In global comparison, it still ranks far behind natural gas, petroleum and coal, and its place is being increasingly challenged by renewable energies. The huge problems involved in the final stages of nuclear energy (i.e. radioactive waste, separated plutonium) are far from being solved in all countries engaged in the civilian use of nuclear energy. The nuclear powers of the world are not necessarily the leading powers in terms of technology and influence. This is quite evident in Europe, where the main technological and economic impulse comes from Germany and the Scandinavian states and not from the nuclear-weapon states (France and Great Britain) – or at least not from their respective nuclear sectors.

4. Equally important is that nuclear weapons have turned out to be much more expensive than expected. The notion that nuclear weapons would result in “more bang for the buck” has never been true for the United States,⁹ or any other nuclear weapon state. The Soviet Union, for instance, had to shoulder an enormous economic burden for its nuclear arms programme. The collapse of the Soviet Union was – among other factors – caused by its oversized military effort, of which the strategic nuclear competition with the US absorbed a major share. Russia, which has considerably downsized its former nuclear complex as well as its arsenal of nuclear weapons, still has huge problems in maintaining a far too costly nuclear posture and infrastructure. Pakistan suffers from unstable conditions because it has invested so much in its nuclear armaments. Some states – such as Switzerland and Sweden – are known to have abandoned the nuclear option, for financial and other reasons.

5. The relatively well-functioning international nuclear order has been successful in developing norms, principles and other institu-

⁹ Stephen Schwartz, *Atomic Audit. The Costs and Consequences of U.S. Nuclear Weapons since 1940*, Washington, DC, Brookings, 1998.

tions and has been comparatively effective in their enforcement. The current international order is built around the NPT and consists of a number of regulations, including export control regimes such as the Zangger Group, Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) and Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR); specific regimes such as the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) and the Container Security Initiative (CSI); and initiatives like the G8 Global Pact, intended to secure material that could be used by irregular forces to build nuclear or radiological weapons. Given the distinction made in the NPT between nuclear-weapon states (NWS) and non-nuclear-weapon states (NNWS), this order is often criticized as unjust, unfair and imbalanced. In spite of this (or perhaps for this very reason), the order has been surprisingly resilient. But understanding the real nature of the international order requires one to disregard the mistaken notion that the NPT was negotiated as a disarmament treaty between NWS on the one side and NNWS on the other.¹⁰ This contention is not borne out by the study of the relevant documents.¹¹ The Non-Aligned states – neutral Sweden in particular – wanted this, but did not succeed. In her statement to the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee on 8 February 1968, the Swedish Minister for Disarmament, Alva Myrdal, conceded that it had become impossible to arrive at legally binding obligations requiring the NWS to eliminate their nuclear weapons and she called upon the Non-Aligned states not to sign the treaty because it did not contain the necessary

¹⁰ A typical example of this kind was the so-called Blix Report in 2006, which stated: "...the original 'bargain' of the treaty is generally understood to be the elimination of nuclear weapons through the commitment by non-nuclear weapon states not to acquire nuclear weapons and the commitment by five nuclear weapon states to pursue nuclear disarmament." See: The Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission (chairman: Hans Blix), *Weapons of terror: freeing the world of nuclear, biological and chemical arms*, Stockholm, Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission, 2006, p. 62.

¹¹ The negotiations and their results are analysed by William Epstein, *The last chance: nuclear proliferation and arms control*, London, Collier Macmillan, 1976. There is a detailed documentary analysis of the negotiations from a Non-Aligned perspective in Mohamed Shaker, *The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty: origin, and implementation, 1959–1979*, New York, Oceana, 1980, esp. ch. 9, pp. 555–648; another detailed analysis of the ENDC (Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee) negotiations can be found in Erhard Forndran, *Probleme der internationalen Abrüstung. Die Bemühungen um Abrüstung und kooperative Rüstungssteuerung 1962–1968*, Frankfurt, Metzner, 1970.

provisions regarding nuclear abolition.¹² But most Non-Aligned states signed, and felt very comfortable with the treaty. This indicates that there was – and still is – a different “bargain” which keeps the NPT together, as a coalition between the United States (later joined by other NWS) and the silent majority of states which were happy to see a freeze put on nuclear proliferation. That silent majority comprises all those states which, for different reasons (often related to their limited human, economic and technological resources), could not even consider nuclear weapon options of their own, or which simply found nuclear weapons to be abhorrent for reasons of principle. They represent the majority among the international community of states. Their main interest was, and still is: (1) to have security guarantees against the threat from an established NWS; (2) to seek assurance that their neighbours (with the capability to build nuclear weapons) would not acquire them; (3) to ensure that the big nuclear powers would not engage in a nuclear arms race which might draw in others. For most of these states, the international nuclear order is primarily a guarantee against the nuclear ambitions of neighbouring medium-sized states or nuclear-weapon-capable states. The bargain between the United States and the weaker states still prevails as the basis of international actions isolating and punishing states which try to circumvent the restrictions of the non-proliferation system. If any state today attempts to obtain nuclear weapons, it will have to pay a high price in terms of economic sanctions and the loss of opportunities in trade and development.

Opportunities: the global zero option

Since the end of the East-West conflict and the dissolution of the former Soviet Union, the nuclear arms race has ended, even if nuclear competi-

¹² See: ENDC/PV/363 (8 Feb. 1968); for a more detailed analysis see Joachim Krause, “Enlightenment and Nuclear Order,” *International Affairs*, Vol. 83, No. 3, May 2007, pp. 483-499.

tion between Russia and the US has not ceased to exist.¹³ Nuclear arsenals have been considerably reduced over the past 30 years. The reappraisal of nuclear weapons that has set in during the past two decades in the Western world is creating the opportunity for further progress towards nuclear reductions and might eventually lead to Global Zero. At least the US is ready to move towards Global Zero, since it needs nuclear weapons only for protection against existential threats (i.e. the nuclear weapons of others) and hence could afford to give them up within the framework of an agreed (and verified) ban on their possession and production.¹⁴ However, whether or not the concept of Global Zero ever materializes depends on a number of conditions. Among these are some which will pose almost insurmountable problems:

- The United Kingdom and France must be involved, which seems to be feasible if other conditions are met.¹⁵
- The strategic nuclear stand-off between Russia and the US must come to an end and some kind of minimal deterrence status has to be found; this is extremely difficult.
- The emerging strategic competition between the US and China has to be contained in such a way that no strategic nuclear stand-off ensues. While there is no such strategic competition between both states so far, the possibility cannot be ruled out.
- Iran and North Korea must be brought back to NNWS status and kept under close surveillance; the chances of both states foregoing their nuclear weapon programmes under peaceful conditions are extremely slim.

¹³ In this article, the term “arms race” is used to describe a dynamic adversarial relationship in which each side tries to outflank the other, in terms of military options, by establishing qualitative or quantitative superiority. An “armaments competition” is a situation in which two sides consider themselves to be competitors, but where the armaments relationship is not necessarily characterized by a dynamic pattern. The concept “nuclear stand-off” is used to describe the fact that the American and Russian strategic arsenals are still directed against each other, but that there is no arms race involved, since relations are rather stable.

¹⁴ See: Joachim Krause/Benjamin Schreer, “Salvaging Global Zero. Diplomacy in the Second Nuclear Age,” *RUSI Journal* 155, No. 3, June/July 2010, pp. 48-52.

¹⁵ See for instance: Prime Minister’s Office, United Kingdom: *The Road to 2010. Addressing the nuclear question in the twenty-first century*, London, Her Majesty’s Government, 2009.

- India must join any cooperative process for denuclearization – which, for the time being, is quite improbable.
- Pakistan must join too; Pakistan has to control its own nuclear complex and prevent any leakage of nuclear material and technology. Given the current record of Pakistan's nuclear policy, this is far from realistic.
- Israel too must adhere to any process of denuclearization decided by the established NWS. Given Israel's aggravated security situation (the nuclear threat from Iran, and the rise of fundamentalist Sunni forces in their neighbourhood), this is a highly unlikely scenario as well.
- All nuclear-capable NNWS have to accept tighter International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards. This is not easy to achieve, but there is at least a good chance of making progress.
- Sensitive nuclear activities (enrichment, plutonium separation, natural uranium reactors, reactors fuelled with highly enriched uranium, etc.) must either be put under special monitoring regimes or operated by multilateral/supranational entities. While there has been progress in many areas, it is still difficult to determine whether it might be feasible to arrive at a situation of total control of all relevant nuclear weapon materials during the coming decades.

These preconditions will be hard to fulfil in the years ahead. While it is understandable to demand Global Zero as an overall concept that could eventually solve almost everything, putting all the eggs into the basket of full-scale nuclear abolition might be problematic. Nuclear abolition will not occur within the next decade or two. Instead of deploring the current state of nuclear disarmament (like many international documents and NGOs), the more important task is to look at the existing international nuclear order and ask what can be done to stabilize it, to address urgent challenges and to envisage how the international nuclear order can be adapted to new circumstances. This order is more resilient than often assumed. It is, however, subject to many challenges which jeopardize it. Those who argue

that this order was “for muddling through” – if not clearly heading towards “Global Zero” – ignore the fact that stabilizing or even restoring this order was the most important condition for making any success towards Global Zero. We have to pay more attention to the existing international nuclear order – its strengths as well as its weaknesses. Otherwise, the danger is that, with constant talk about Global Zero and nuclear disarmament, we will end up in a situation similar to the late 1950s, where the superpowers presented the UN General Assembly with wonderful draft conventions for nuclear and general disarmament. The real problem at that time – the emergence of the threat of first strike between the US and the Soviet Union – was flatly ignored by this lofty diplomacy. Fortunately, there were some intellectual experts at the time within the RAND Corporation, who discussed real strategic challenges and who came to the conclusion that more pragmatic problem-solving would make a real difference – the difference between war and peace. It is precisely this pragmatic approach to problem-solving which is more important today than devising new sweeping and unrealistic concepts for the fastest track towards nuclear abolition. The alternative is the risk of ending up with neither the abolition of nuclear weapons nor their regulation through an international order – which, although relatively “unjust and unfair,” is much more acceptable than any kind of nuclear anarchy.

Challenges and risks

What are, from this perspective, the most serious challenges the international nuclear order is currently facing and which need to be addressed?

1. The main risk results from Iran's nuclear programme. If Iran were successful in breaking the rules despite all international efforts and sanctions, and if it were able to establish itself as the key challenger to the international order and to the alleged hegemony of the West, then the nuclear order might fall apart, at least in the Middle East,

with repercussions extending far beyond the region. Whether or not the international order will falter depends on how successfully the US is able to build on the November 2013 preliminary agreement with Tehran and compel Iran to disband its nuclear weapons program- and how determined the US (as the prime guardian of the nuclear order) is perceived to be by medium-sized powers in the Middle East, and possibly elsewhere.¹⁶ The Iranian nuclear weapons programme is extremely dangerous, since it might result in a nuclear war.

2. North Korea is a similar case, although here, the extreme isolation of the regime is quite tangible and North Korea will not have the potential to challenge the international nuclear order in the same fundamental way as Iran. However, North Korea is situated in quite a volatile region. Hence, the nuisance potential of that state is enormous and could lead South Korea and Japan to envisage their own nuclear weapons options, depending on how strong and reliable the US guarantee is judged by them. The North Korean nuclear weapons programme might unsettle regional balances and prompt further proliferation.¹⁷
3. Over the last few years, modern technology in Iran and in North Korea has had an impact: Iran was able to master enrichment technology, although the source of the technology is unknown, whereas North Korea has made sudden progress in missile technology, with dubious origins. Are the roots to be found in Pakistan, one of the most dangerous sources of nuclear weapons technology and material in the past?¹⁸ Or are other states implicated? It is imperative to

¹⁶ See: Joachim Krause and Charles King Mallory, IV, "Strategic Implications of the Iranian Nuclear Programme," in *Iran's Nuclear Programme*, edited by Joachim Krause, London, Routledge, 2012, pp. 11-33.

¹⁷ See: International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), *North Korean Security Challenges: A Net Assessment*, London, IISS, 2011; Thomas Plant and Ben Rhode, "China, North Korea and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons," *Survival*, Vol. 55, no. 2, April-May 2013, pp. 61-80.

¹⁸ See: Douglas Frantz and Catherine Collins, *The Nuclear Jihadist: The True Story of the Man who Sold the World's Most Dangerous Secrets... And How We Could Have Stopped Him*, New York, Twelfth 2007.

identify these sources and to contain or neutralize them.

4. It is equally imperative to restrict access to other potential sources of nuclear weapon materials or sensitive technologies not yet under international control (in particular enrichment facilities, reprocessing facilities, heavy water moderated reactors using natural uranium, and research reactors using highly enriched uranium or heavy water).

The global nuclear strategic balance remains of paramount importance. First, cooperation among the nuclear weapon states is essential for the functioning of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Second, most governments of NNWS like Brazil will take a critical look at the nature of the global nuclear strategic relationship between the US and Russia, as well as between both those countries and China during the coming decades. For the time being, the strategic nuclear balance between the US and Russia is the most relevant issue. In the long run, the strategic relationship between Washington and Beijing will become increasingly significant.

As to US-Russian strategic competition, it is bizarre that, more than twenty years after the end of the Cold War, Russia and the US are still trapped in a nuclear strategic stand-off, although the competition is no longer an arms race. Despite a remarkable reduction of more than 70% in their total strategic nuclear arsenals since 1990, the nuclear strategic stand-off still exists, with more than two thousand nuclear weapons aimed at each other – some on hair-trigger alert or on short notice systems.

There are at least three different interpretations as to the causes and likely implications of the continuing strategic armaments competition:

1. The alarmist interpretation is that this stand-off is a dangerous relic of the Cold War and results in the risk of nuclear war (due to technical failure). The exponents of this view complain that the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) appears to codify the ex-

isting balance of terror, and that the nuclear stand-off cannot easily be defused because both sides hold to the notion of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) as a means of ensuring strategic stability. The MAD hypothesis suggests that the more nuclear weapons are available on both sides, the better the stability. Alternative modes of strategic stability have not been devised so far.¹⁹ If this is true, why does no one in high-profile positions in the US and in Russia – except the traditional arms control advocates – seem to care about these dangers?

2. There is a relaxed interpretation according to which the continuation of the nuclear stand-off might not be dangerous, because strategic competition is over and neither side is actually planning to attack the other with strategic nuclear weapons.²⁰ If this is true, why did the arms reduction process actually go no further than the levels established by New START?
3. The third interpretation claims that MAD has already been surpassed by US primacy and that the nuclear strategic balance is not in a state of equilibrium. Due to massive improvements in missile targeting accuracy, conventional precision strike, anti-submarine warfare, ballistic missile and air defence, intelligence and reconnaissance, as well as in cyber warfare, the US may already be in a position of strategic superiority (or primacy) *vis-à-vis* Russia. In theory, the US could already destroy the nuclear arsenals of Russia, China and others. Hence, the traditional equation of MAD might

¹⁹ See, for instance: Rose Gottemoeller, *Russian-American Security Relations after Georgia*, Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2008, Alexei Arbatov and Vladimir Dvorkin, (eds.), *Beyond Nuclear Deterrence, Transforming the U.S.-Russian Equation*, Washington, DC: The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2006, International Commission on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament (IC-NND), *Eliminating Nuclear Threats. A Practical Agenda for Global Policymakers*, Canberra, Foreign Ministry, 2009, pp. 26-28.

²⁰ Stephen J. Cimbala, "Russian-U.S. Nuclear Force Reductions and Nuclear Proliferation," *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 27, no. 5, 2008, pp. 431-450.

no longer be applicable.²¹ If this is true, why have China and Russia not hastened to seek a Global Zero treaty with the US?

Our intention is not to find an answer to these questions immediately, but it is obvious that the continuing armaments competition between the US and Russia is an irritant for the international nuclear order and that this problem has to be addressed somehow in the not too distant future. The same applies to the US-Chinese nuclear strategic balance. Will this balance remain as asymmetrical as it is? Or will China seek to catch up, turning strategic competition into a three-man race? How will the US react to this, and what will Russia do? These are all pertinent questions which need to be addressed.

If there were a renewed bilateral or even trilateral nuclear strategic armaments competition (with far-reaching consequences for the security of others including Brazil), it might have negative consequences on the political cohesion in the broad coalition that keeps the international nuclear order together. Some will seek new guarantees against nuclear threats; others may look for their own nuclear weapons. In any case, the cards will, once again, be shuffled. The international nuclear order will have to be stabilized and finalized (if it ever is) differently. Alternatively, if the three big powers can agree on a policy of minimal deterrence, the overall stability of the international nuclear order might be boosted, thus opening the road towards Global Zero.

What creates an international nuclear order?

What is the nature of the international nuclear order? Is it concerned only with norms, principles and rules? Or is the nuclear order rather what Hedley Bull once described as rules that are agreed upon by the most rel-

²¹ Keir Lieber and Daryll Press, "The New Era of Nuclear Weapons, Deterrence, and Conflict," *Strategic Studies Quarterly* (Spring 2013), pp. 1-14.

evant powers, and which reflect their common interest in avoiding anarchy? Most likely, it is both.²² The current international order is clearly built around the NPT and consists of a lot of additional and supplementary regimes. It has undergone significant changes since the end of the Cold War, but its basic features have remained the same.²³ It has worked because of the unrelenting efforts of successive US administrations to support it and to adapt the system to changed circumstances. The number of governments supporting the regime and cooperating with the US in adapting and strengthening it has grown, in particular during the past 25 years. As a rule, an international order persists as long as those states which support it are powerful and consider themselves to be stakeholders.²⁴ We are living in an era of fundamental political change: the age of US hegemony is slowly coming to an end. However, it is difficult to identify a new global hegemon or any new constellation of multipolarity that could form the basis of a new international and, hence, nuclear order. There seems to be, however, a broad understanding within the international community of states that any functioning nuclear order might be better than none. This notion goes hand in hand with the awareness that it cannot be left to the US alone to support the international nuclear order, guarantee it, and adapt it to changed circumstances. Emerging powers, such as China, India and Brazil, have a large responsibility to play a stronger role in preserving and supporting the nuclear non-proliferation regime. Brazil has already, most laudably, advocated nuclear-weapon-free zones. However, given the nature of the current problems, nuclear-weapon-free zones are just a small contribution towards effective problem solving. What may be more relevant is the role of Brazil as a model for a rising major power, which has achieved this status without possessing nuclear weapons. Brazil and South Africa are the only two states among the BRICS which have abandoned former nuclear weapon plans or

²² Headley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1977.

²³ Brad Roberts, *Weapons Proliferation and World Order after the Cold War*, The Hague/London, Kluwer International, 1996.

²⁴ Henry Kissinger, *A World Restored: Castlereagh, Metternich and the Restoration of Peace, 1812-1822*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1957, chapter 1.

programmes. This needs to be publicized with more vigour than has been done so far.

Brazil will find NATO states at its side whenever it attempts to work constructively towards solving the many problems in the field of nuclear non-proliferation and maintaining the international nuclear order. One might even state that it is of the utmost importance that both Brazil and NATO take their share in upholding and defending the international nuclear order. Otherwise, the door might be wide open for a return to international anarchy.

Brazilian Perspectives on Weapons of Mass Destruction

Carlo Patti

Brazil is one of the prominent voices against the spread of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and favours their elimination. A rising power in the international system, the world's sixth economic power, and with strong ambitions for a permanent seat on a reformed United Nations Security Council, Brazil is the only country among the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) that never developed WMD, even if it acquired the capability to do so in the past. The government of Brazil is a full member of the regimes for the non-proliferation of biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons. With Brazil's growing global responsibilities, its stance is considered crucial for guaranteeing a world without WMD.

Brazil is a founding member of the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW), and its importance has been recognized by the election of a Brazilian diplomat as the first executive secretary of the organization.¹ Similar engagement is clear in Brazil's commitment to the implementation of the Biological Weapons Convention.²

This chapter will deal with Brazil's perspective on WMD, focusing particularly on Brasilia's position within the nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament regimes. The selection of the topic is connected with criticism expressed regarding the extent of Brazilian commitment to nuclear non-proliferation, above all on the question of non-adhesion to specific instruments of the regime (e.g. the Additional Protocol to the International

¹ "Foreign Minister of Brazil Visits the OPCW," <http://www.opcw.org/news/article/foreign-minister-of-brazil-visits-the-opcw/> (accessed on 20 July 2013).

² http://www.opbw.org/new_process/msp2010/BWC_MSP_2010_Statement_Brazil_E.pdf

Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards agreement) and on the decision to broker in mid-2010, together with Turkey, an agreement with Teheran as an attempt to resolve the international crisis over the Iranian nuclear programme.

It is important to say that Brazil is not the only emerging country with a peculiar position towards non-proliferation. As noted recently by an international commentator, all the rising countries are very critical of the unfair nature of nuclear non-proliferation regimes³. Brazil (like India, for example) is a constant critic of the limited efforts made by the main nuclear powers for complete nuclear disarmament. Applying a traditional position of Brazilian diplomacy, the country does not accept the permanent division between non-nuclear-weapon states (NNWS), which are not allowed to build nuclear weapons, and nuclear-weapon states (NWS), with no obligation towards disarmament.

Brazil abandoned its long-standing opposition to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) fifteen years ago, but continued to criticize an unfair regime that should be reformed. However, Brazil maintained a conservative position towards other instruments that could affect its sovereignty, such as the Additional Protocol. To explain Brazil's position in greater detail, the following pages offer an historical account of Brazil's policy towards the regime of nuclear proliferation. The question of whether Brazil had real ambitions to develop nuclear weapons in the past will also be considered. Furthermore, Brasilia's current nuclear diplomacy will be examined. In conclusion, the discussion will focus on whether Brazil challenges the current nuclear order.

³ Miles Kahler, "Rising powers and global governance: negotiating change in a resilient status quo," *International Affairs*, 89, 2013, pp. 716-717.

Brazil and nuclear weapons: a historical account

Since the beginning of the atomic age, Brazil has been one of the main actors in promoting the need for international control over nuclear energy. After supplying the Manhattan Project with atomic minerals,⁴ Brazil's representatives between 1946 and 1948 participated in the first talks over the future of nuclear energy, beginning just months after the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As a temporary member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), Brazil supported the US proposal to ban the production of nuclear weapons, and to control the use of atomic energy – the so-called *Baruch Plan* (named after Bernard Baruch, the US representative to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission). Brazil thus supported the proposal to curb the spread of WMD, but did not agree to internationalization of atomic mineral reserves. This particular point was in fact perceived as a significant interference in Brazil's own sovereignty. Brazilian diplomats won the battle and excluded international supervision from the final text of the possible agreement over the peaceful use of nuclear energy, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, and elimination of the existing atomic arsenal. Despite the approval of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA), the plan never entered into force. An important element was, however, introduced by Brazilian diplomacy: strenuous defence of sovereign control over its abundant resources of atomic minerals. This would remain a permanent position over the next sixty years, with regard both to national mineral reserves and to technology.⁵

After the diplomatic talks in New York, the Brazilian government unsuccessfully tried to develop its own nuclear plan. With scientific, industrial and military ambitions, Brazil tried between 1951 and 1955 to set up an atomic energy programme. This was the first time Brazil challenged the established nuclear order. Through the secret collaboration of European

⁴ Jonathan E. Helmreich, *Gathering Rare Ores. The Diplomacy of Uranium Acquisition, 1943-1945*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, pp. 49-57.

⁵ Carlo Patti, "Brazil in Global Nuclear Order," Ph.D. dissertation, Università di Firenze, 2012, p. 32.

countries such as France and Germany, Brazil tried to import sensitive technologies and Brazilian scientists began studies on nuclear weapons.⁶ However, external pressures along with a new nuclear domestic policy then limited the programme to research activities.⁷

While Brazil's nuclear ambitions were curbed, its nuclear diplomacy continued actively. Brazil was one of the first participants in the US-sponsored "Atoms for Peace" programme, through which it received its first experimental nuclear reactor, and played an important role in the talks over the creation of the IAEA.⁸ Brazil made an unsuccessful bid to host the new agency headquarters and, along with India, proposed to guarantee the promotion of nuclear energy in developing countries.⁹ After the implementation of the IAEA statute, Brazil became a member of the Agency's board of governors, alternating with Argentina as South American representative.

At the end of the 1950s, Brazil played a central role in the discussions over disarmament. In 1958, President Juscelino Kubitschek supported new proposals for reducing nuclear arsenals.¹⁰ Following that policy, and the proposals of Polish Foreign Minister Adam Rapacki, Brazil at that time became a prominent supporter of the establishment of nuclear-weapons-free zones around the world, and also approved international norms on disarmament and nuclear proliferation.¹¹ Indeed, Brazil strongly promoted the institution of a nuclear-weapons-free zone in Africa, as a consequence

⁶ Carlo Patti, "The German Connection: the origins of the Brazilian nuclear program and the secret West German – Brazilian cooperation in the early 1950s," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Historians of American Foreign Relations, Arlington, 22 June 2013.

⁷ Guilherme Camargo, *O Fogo Dos Deuses: Uma História Da Energia Nuclear: Pandora 600 a.C.-1970*, Rio de Janeiro, Contraponto, 2006, p. 150.

⁸ On Brazil and "Atoms for Peace," see: Drogan, Mara, "Atoms for Peace. US Foreign Policy and the Globalization of Nuclear Technology, 1953 – 1960," PhD thesis, University of Albany, 2011.

⁹ Renato Archer: *Energia Atômica, Soberania E Desenvolvimento: Depoimento*, ed. Álvaro Rocha Filho and João Carlos Vitor Garcia, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil, Contraponto, 2006, pp. 77-79.

¹⁰ Glenn M. Cooper and H. Jon Rosebaum, "Brazil and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty," *International Affairs*, 46, 1970, p. 74.

¹¹ Patti, "Brazil in Global Nuclear Order," 46. Poland's Foreign Minister, Adam Rapacki, in 1957 proposed to denuclearize Central Europe. James R. Ozinga, *The Rapacki Plan: the 1957 Proposal to Denuclearize Central Europe, and an Analysis of Its Rejection*, Jefferson: McFarland & Co, 1989.

of the French nuclear tests in Algeria. This and other previous proposals over denuclearized zones were not approved within the UNGA, above of all because of opposition from the superpowers, which did not accept the proposed limitations on the use of nuclear weapons in different parts of the world.

Thanks in part to this activism, in 1961 Brazil was elected one of the eight neutral countries in the United Nations Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC), which gathered in Geneva to discuss global disarmament.¹² Together with development and decolonization, disarmament became one of the pillars of the more autonomous foreign policy that Brazil adopted in the early 1960s.¹³ The Brazilian Foreign Minister, San Tiago Dantas, was among the protagonists of the first sessions of discussions of the ENDC. Receiving the support of several countries, including neutral governments and the Soviet Union, Dantas proposed in Geneva measures to limit the superpowers' nuclear arsenals and impose a complete nuclear test ban. The proposal was submitted in March 1962, but never discussed as the work of the ENDC became totally paralysed in subsequent months.¹⁴

The attention of the international community, and of the superpowers, was at the time focused on the Cuba missile crisis. Brazil, as several studies have highlighted, tried to play a central role in defusing the nuclear threat.¹⁵ First, Brasília's representatives tried to negotiate a possible solution between the Cuban and the Soviet government. Second, after that failed, they tried

¹² Patti, "Brazil in Global Nuclear Order," p. 49.

¹³ Paulo Wrobel, "Diplomacia nuclear brasileira: não proliferação e o tratado de Tlatelolco," *Contexto Internacional*, 15, 1993, p. 31.

¹⁴ From the Brazilian delegation in Geneva (Afonso Arinos) to Brazil's Foreign Minister (Francisco Clementino de San Tiago Dantas). *Relatório de Afonso Arinos sobre as atividades da primeira parte dos trabalhos da ENDC*, 16 June 1962, Secret. Del.Bras./Desarmamento/No 5/1962/2. Antônio Azeredo da Silveira Personal Archive at Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação sobre a História Contemporânea do Brasil of the Fundação Getúlio Vargas. (Hereafter AAS) del 1966.01.27.

¹⁵ James Hershberg, "The United States, Brazil and the Cuban missile crisis, 1962," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 6, 2004. Carlo Patti, "The Global nuclear crisis of 1962: a Brazilian perspective" (paper presented at the conference "The Global Nuclear Crisis of 1962," University of Bristol, 6 September 2013).

to find a regional solution within the UNGA. Following the example of denuclearized areas elsewhere, Brazil proposed to declare Latin America as a nuclear-weapons-free zone, thus imposing a clear commitment for all the nuclear powers (some of them, such as France and the Great Britain, were present in the region as a result of colonial ties). Moreover, Brazil wanted a clear guarantee that its, and Latin America's, security would not be the target of a nuclear attack. The idea was discarded by Cuba and the super-powers, but it did not mean the end of the initiative. In the following two years, Brazil continued to promote the project of the nuclear-weapons-free zone in Latin America, and to support the establishment of global non-proliferation norms. 1963 was a crucial year. In promoting a comprehensive nuclear test ban, Brazil was among the proponents and the first signatories of the Limited Test Ban Treaty (LTBT), considered a first step toward a world free of nuclear tests. The agreement between the US and USSR allowed other initiatives to gain momentum. Disarmament and denuclearization were at the core of the debate over the future international system. A few months before the signature of the LTBT, in August 1963, five Latin American presidents (from Mexico, Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador and Venezuela) declared a strong interest in establishing a nuclear-weapons-free zone in Latin America. In the following months, parallel to the talks in Geneva, the Latin American countries committed to discuss a possible denuclearization treaty. Within Brazil, which was experiencing a period of political turmoil, there was a clear difference in attitude between diplomats/politicians and the military/scientists. A survey among Brazilian military officers by a local newspaper demonstrated their massive support for a Brazilian atomic bomb, and clear opposition to imposition of denuclearization.¹⁶ The scientific community, and above all the members of the Brazilian Nuclear Energy Commission (CNEN), strongly criticized the diplomatic manoeuvres of the left-wing government. "Brazil can't give up its right to nuclearize the country," wrote CNEN Chairman Marcelo Damy de Sousa Santos to the

¹⁶ The Brazilian newspaper *Última Hora* wrote in 1963 that 80% of the military officials approved of Brazil's weaponization. On the survey, see: Ovídio de Andrade Melo, *Recordações de um removedor de mofo no Itamaraty: (relatos de política externa de 1948 à atualidade)*, Brasília, Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão, 2009, p. 40.

Brazilian Foreign Minister, João Augusto de Araújo Castro.¹⁷ Brazil was not pursuing a clear nuclear policy. Internal political weakness prevented this. Brazil's nuclear project nevertheless existed, and its purpose was to give Brazil autonomous capability for generating energy or, in the future, building a bomb.

The crisis resulting from the impasse between the words of the diplomats and the positions of the military-scientific community was resolved in March 1964 with a coup that inaugurated a twenty-year military regime. The neutralist position was abandoned, making way for a foreign policy that oscillated between pro-Americanism and nationalism. Nuclear diplomacy and policy experienced a deep reformulation. Brazil abandoned its role as the main promoter of a denuclearized Latin America. On the contrary, during the negotiations in Mexico City to finalise the treaty introducing a nuclear-weapons-free zone, Brazil began to defend its right to develop peaceful nuclear devices and to accept the new zone only subject to a full commitment from all the South American countries and nuclear powers.¹⁸ The Brazilian position prevailed. Though the United States tried to influence the course of the debate among the Latin American countries, the text of the treaty made provision for development of civilian nuclear power plants. (The technology concerned is, of course, not easily distinguishable from that used for development of nuclear devices for military purposes). In 1967 Brazil signed and ratified the treaty, but important countries such as Cuba and Argentina decided not to participate. Furthermore, the nuclear powers did not commit themselves to refrain from use of nuclear weapons in the area. This prompted Brazil's immediate refusal to be an active party to the treaty. Brasilia persisted with this policy until 1994, reflecting the new Brazilian posture on nuclear energy. Brazil's military regime, along with the political elites, did not want to give up access to both military nuclear *and* civilian technology. For this reason, the Brazilian government

¹⁷ Marcello Damy de Souza Santos (Chairman of the CNEN) to João Goulart (President of Brasil), *Exposição de Motivos 7/62 – Secreto*, 29 de novembro de 1962. Maço 692.30 (00) Energia Nuclear. Universo 1954/66 – Caixa 47 – Secreto. Archive of the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (hereafter AHMRE).

¹⁸ Wrobel, p. 52.

decided to reformulate a new nuclear policy, the aim being to turn Brazil into a civilian nuclear power by achieving full command of all the technologies involved, without depending on external suppliers. As Brazilian President Artur da Costa e Silva declared in a secret meeting, Brazil “could not limit its possibilities” and, through diplomacy, should defend its right to develop nuclear energy for civilian use. There was no clear decision that Brazil should arm itself with nuclear weapons, but for Costa e Silva and his successors during the years of military rule it was essential to keep such a possibility open for the future. The quest for greater prominence in the international arena is one of the reasons for Brazil’s ambition to become a nuclear power. On the other hand, Brazil needed security guarantees from the nuclear powers so as to insure against risk of a nuclear attack. This also explains Brazil’s opposition to the text of the NPT, after participating in the long negotiations leading up to it. When the treaty was approved, in 1968, it was widely viewed in Brazil and other Third World countries as a mere agreement among the nuclear powers, especially the United States and the Soviet Union. Brazil shared Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi’s view that the treaty “disarmed the disarmed,” since it imposed full commitment to denuclearization only on countries which in any case had no nuclear weapons, while there was no obligation for those which did to eliminate them. The result was a discriminatory regime, referred to by Indian diplomat Vishnu Trivedi as a “nuclear apartheid,” dividing the international community between the “haves” and the “have-nots” in terms of nuclear technology for military use. In addition, the treaty did not allow non-nuclear states to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. Thus, if peaceful nuclear explosions (PNEs) were required by non-nuclear states for engineering or geological purposes, this technology could be offered only by nuclear powers.¹⁹ Brazil found such a prospect unacceptable, and began a thirty-year opposition towards a treaty which, seen from a Brazilian per-

¹⁹ In 1968, the United States Atomic Energy Commission attempted to offer Brazil the service of peaceful nuclear explosions, but the Brazilian government refused the proposal. On the US proposal see: Patti, “Brazil in Global Nuclear Order,” p. 69; Glenn T. Seaborg, *Stemming the Tide: Arms Control in the Johnson Years*, Lexington, Lexington Books, 1987. On the PNEs see: Scott Kaufman, *Project Plowshare. The Peaceful Use of Nuclear Explosives in Cold War America*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2013.

spective, did not guarantee security from attack by a nuclear-weapon state in the event of a nuclear war.²⁰

Building nuclear weapons was not, however, a priority for Brazil. In the years following the creation of a nuclear non-proliferation regime, Brazil kept up its opposition to the treaty but was nevertheless slow to develop its nuclear sector, limiting its activity to purchase of a nuclear power plant in the United States in 1971.²¹ 1974 was a watershed year for Brazil's nuclear diplomacy. In order to diversify its energy sources and to reduce its dependence on external oil supply, Brazil decided to invest heavily in nuclear power and purchased the complete nuclear fuel cycle, including sensitive dual-use technologies, such as uranium enrichment and spent fuel reprocessing. Brazil's decision raised international concern about its real ambitions. Did it aim to emulate India, which exploded a nuclear device in May 1974? The Indian explosion was a shock for the non-proliferation regime. Acquiring the necessary material and technology thanks to its safeguarded cooperation with Western nuclear powers, India (another opponent of the, or NPT) had nuclearized its military. The international community, and mainly the United States, decided to strengthen the NPT regime. First, the US would be far more restrictive in its decisions to supply sensitive nuclear equipment and materials to other countries, particularly those outside the NPT. Second, the so-called Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), comprising the Western military and civilian nuclear powers together with the Soviet Union, would impose stricter rules on international trade in nuclear materials and technology. Brazil, in particular, was affected. Brasilia refused to adhere to the international regime, and the United States decided not to provide it with dual-use technologies (for peaceful and military aims). This did not mean the end of Brazil's atomic plans. West Germany, not

²⁰ MRE to DelBraGen. *Instruções para a delegação do Brasil. Conferência dos Estados Militarmente Não Nucleares*. 16 August 1968. Secreto. Paulo Nogueira Batista Personal Archive at CPDOC. (Hereafter PNB) pn.a 1967.02.24.

²¹ It is important to note that Brazil adhered to another nuclear-weapons-free zone, signing in 1971 the Seabed Arms Control Treaty (ratified only in 1988). Brazilian Foreign Ministry to Brazil's delegation in Geneva. *Desarmamento. CCD. Desmilitarização dos mares. Direito do Mar*. 15 September 1971. Secreto Urgente. 953.1 (00). Tratado de desnuclearização do fundo do mar. AHMRE.

yet committed to the new non-proliferation rules under discussion within the NSG, decided to supply Brazil with all the equipment, facilities, and material needed for its civilian nuclear project. On 27 June 1975 after more than a year of confidential negotiation, West Germany and Brazil signed a major nuclear deal. Bonn would supply up to eight nuclear power plants and create Brazilian-German joint ventures for building facilities capable of implementing the nuclear fuel cycle. The deal was widely recognized as the largest technological and industrial transfer between industrialized and developing countries. In practice, however, it affected Brazil's posture on nuclear weapons only to a limited extent. First, West Germany, in response to international pressure, decided to export an unproven uranium enrichment technology, considered unviable for producing nuclear weapons. Second, Brazil agreed to safeguards on its nuclear cooperation with Bonn, respecting the norms imposed by the NPT. On the other hand, Brazil did not change its attitude to PNEs, continuing to declare its right to develop atomic devices. According to the available documentation, however, the agreement with West Germany was not seen by Brazil as paving the way towards nuclearization of its military arsenal.²²

This perspective was not shared by the United States and other countries. Despite Brazil's commitment to certain non-proliferation norms, at least in its cooperation with Bonn, Washington thought that a nuclear arms race was in progress between Brazil and Argentina, which boasted a more advanced nuclear sector. Tensions between the two countries existed, but not over the nuclear question. Both strongly criticized the non-proliferation regime and opposed its reinforcement. The NSG, in fact, set up a new normative framework to address some of the loopholes in the NPT. The nuclear suppliers undertook not to export sensitive materials to countries not belonging to the NPT, or not to accept as a condition of supply that the IAEA should have access to all their nuclear facilities. Brazil was one of the targets of a regime, which was perceived as increasingly intrusive. Between 1976 and 1979, the government in Brasilia was the target of sustained criti-

²² Patti, "Brazil in Global Nuclear Order," pp. 94-146.

cism from the United States, which was trying to impede the implementation of the German-Brazilian nuclear deal.

The US diplomatic pressure was both bilateral and multilateral. In its diplomatic contacts with Brazil, Washington tried proposing alternatives to the agreement with West Germany. At the end of the Ford administration, there were secret attempts to convince the Brazilians to recede from the nuclear deal in exchange for US supply of nuclear fuel and economic assistance. The initiative was almost successful. However, when US State Department officials leaked news of the agreement, the Brazilians refused to keep their word. The period after the inauguration of US President Jimmy Carter was thus marked by a US crusade against the Brazilian nuclear programme. While the Carter administration put pressure on both Brasilia and Bonn to freeze the deal and agree to a moratorium on the transfer of sensitive technologies, Brazil continued to state its opposition to the nuclear non-proliferation regimes – both the NPT and the Treaty of Tlatelolco. However, multilaterally, Brazil was willing to discuss the future of the nuclear non-proliferation regime. First, between 1979 and 1981 Brazil took part in a US-sponsored international initiative to assess the most adequate nuclear fuel cycle – the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation (INFCE). The discussions led nowhere. Scientists, politicians and diplomats did not agree on a possible nuclear fuel cycle that could exclude dual use technologies from the production of nuclear energy for civilian use. Second, long negotiations were held on the possible admission of Brazil and other opponents of the NPT to the NSG. Promoted by the United States to strengthen the non-proliferation regime, the NSG, made up of the countries with the most advanced civilian nuclear programmes, established stricter rules over the trade of sensitive nuclear materials and technology. Admitting Brazil, South Africa or India would be an acknowledgment of their status as important developing countries with nuclear industries. All three had both civilian and military nuclear ambitions, were developing their nuclear sectors, aimed to master the nuclear fuel cycle, and were opponents of the NPT. Including them in the nuclear cartel would

entail their implicit acceptance of several non-proliferation norms. However, as in the case of the INFCE, an internal debate among the NSG led to the decision not to admit non-members of the NPT. Brazil was actually willing to be part of the NSG. Even if publicly the group was criticized as a manifestation of an unfair distribution of power, the Brazilian government was willing, as seen in the case of the agreement with West Germany, to comply with important non-proliferation rules – even the NPT – in exchange for the recognition by the great powers of its status as a country with nuclear capability – or, more precisely, as a country that would master the nuclear fuel cycle in a few years. With its exclusion from the NSG, Brazil confirmed its opposition to the NPT and decided to develop a secret nuclear programme. The decision was motivated by a hostile international environment and severe new international trade rules – such as the 1978 US Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act, which imposed international full scope safeguards for countries benefiting from US nuclear cooperation.

In order to acquire autonomy in the nuclear sector, the Brazilian government set up a secret civilian-military atomic programme that, in unsafeguarded facilities, could build sensitive nuclear technologies and conduct research in areas not allowed, for example, in the cooperation with West Germany.²³ This was the beginning of the so-called autonomous or parallel nuclear programme, since it was independent to the civilian programme born from the agreement with West Germany. The aims of that programme, which lasted from 1978 to 1990, were both military and civilian. On the military side, the Army, Navy and Air Force, with the most advanced research centres and the best financial and technological resources, were working on the construction of a reactor for marine propulsion, on several uranium enrichment techniques, on reprocessing spent fuel rods, and on building an atomic device. The civilian purpose was to adapt all the technologies developed by the military programme for research and energy production.

²³ On the origins of the autonomous nuclear program see: Aviso nº135/79 da Secretaria-Geral do Conselho de Segurança Nacional, 18 June 1979. (From Danilo Venturini to Minister Ramiro Saraiva Guerreiro). AHMRE. For a description of the autonomous nuclear program see: Barletta, Michael. *The military nuclear program in Brazil*. Working Paper, CISAC, Stanford, CA: Stanford University, 1997; Patti, pp. 197-210.

The civilian-military collaboration worked. Within a few years, Brazilian research centres had mastered certain key processes based on in-house technology: in 1982, uranium enrichment (through the ultracentrifuge method) and, in 1985, the reprocessing of spent fuel rods, useful for producing plutonium. This did not mean, however, that Brazil could immediately produce weapons-grade material. Nevertheless, the Brazilian military regime considered the possibility of experimenting on PNE, thanks to material secretly imported from the People's Republic of China. Brazil, as far as is known, never actually tested an atomic device. Brazil's President, the majority of the armed forces and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs decided against taking this step, in order to avoid plunging Brazil into isolation both internationally and regionally.²⁴

It was in the final five years of the military regime that Brazil began to cooperate with Argentina. Previously seen by many US and Western observers as engaged in a nuclear arms race, Brasilia and Buenos Aires signed in 1980 an important and extensive agreement for nuclear cooperation.²⁵ This marked the end of the supposed rivalry between the military regimes in the two countries. Both had been fierce opponents of the NPT and refused to take part in the Latin American nuclear-weapons-free zone. They now started to establish a relationship of mutual trust and this led, eleven years later, to the creation of a bilateral non-proliferation regime and an undertaking not to acquire or develop nuclear weapons. It is important to mention several elements that led to this change in Brazil's posture towards nuclear weapons. First, democratization was an important factor. The end of the military regimes in Brasilia and Buenos Aires, in 1985 and 1983 respectively, created greater scope for more institutionalized collaboration between the two countries and for a stepping up of diplomatic exchanges

²⁴ Patti, "Brazil in the Global Nuclear Order," pp. 208-209.

²⁵ *Cooperação nuclear com a Argentina. Visita ao Brasil do Almirante Castro Madero, do CNEA*. 24 January 1980 – Secreto. IPR n.14 PNB pn a 1974.07.01 [126/666]. In the same document is included the draft agreement with Argentina not available in RSG] *Brasil-Argentina.Energia Nuclear*. 3 March 1980 – Secreto. IPR n.49.(From Saraiva Guerreiro to Figueiredo). AHMRE. See also: Desptel 146, de 12 de fevereiro de 1980, Secreto - para Brasemb Buenos Aires. AHMRE

between their respective heads of state. In 1987, for instance, before publicly announcing Brazil's capability to enrich uranium, President José Sarney de Araújo Costa informed his Argentine counterpart President Raul Alfonsín, who also visited the main Brazilian nuclear facilities.²⁶ Second, the new Brazilian constitution, approved in 1988, repudiated the use of nuclear weapons.²⁷ The international context was also important. The end of the bipolar rivalry between the US and the USSR concluded their nuclear arms race and both undertook to limit their nuclear arsenals. Furthermore, the end of the Cold War meant that a country like South Africa, which owned a small nuclear arsenal, could now agree to destroy its nuclear weapons and join the NPT. These and other examples help explain Brazil's decision, in 1990, to renounce nuclear weapons and eliminate military nuclear projects.

Fernando Collor de Melo, who was President between 1990 and 1992, spectacularly closed a nuclear test shaft at an Air Force base in Northern Brazil in September 1990 and announced to the UNGA Brazil's decision to renounce nuclear weapons.²⁸ At the same time, Brazil agreed with Argentina to create a bilateral Brazilian-Argentine Agency for Accounting and Control of Nuclear Materials (ABACC). This was the first step on the path towards adhesion to the main non-proliferation regimes. In 1991, immediately after the creation of the ABACC, the Brazilian and Argentine governments signed a quadripartite agreement with both the ABACC and the International Atomic Energy Agency, accepting international full scope safeguards. The agreement, which entered into force in 1994, entailed compliance with norms stricter than those of the NPT. At that time, Brazil made another major decision, thus taking an important step towards international transparency. In accepting international safeguards, the Brazilian government addressed both its civilian and military facilities. The Navy research centres, where Brazil developed its uranium enrichment capabilities,

²⁶ Richard Kessler, *Brazil's President to visit Top-Secret Argentine Nuclear Complex*, Nucleonics Week, Vol. 28, No. 29 (16/7/1987); Pg. 3 Despacho Telegráfico para BRASEMB Buenos Aires n ° 896/87 Exclusivo, de 29/06/1987. AHMRE.

²⁷ Patti, "Brazil in Global Nuclear Order," p. 220.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

were opened to international inspections. Opening the military facilities meant the end of the secret nuclear programme, and the subsequent limitation of the programme to nuclear technology for non-explosive purposes. The Navy continued to develop technologies not only for possible Brazilian nuclear submarines, but above all for the civilian nuclear programme; a result of this was the production, in 1999, of the centrifuges to be used in the commercial-scale facility for producing nuclear fuel.

After a long debate within the Brazilian government and almost global adhesion to the NPT, Brazil decided to join the non-proliferation regimes formally, since accepting international full-scope safeguards meant respect of the non-proliferation rules. Between 1994 and 1998 Brazil not only joined the Treaty of Tlatelolco, the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) and the NSG, but also signed and ratified the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Eventually, in 1998 Brazil joined the NPT.²⁹ After almost thirty years, Brazil, a country that by 1998 had mastered sensitive nuclear technologies, signed an agreement that it had vehemently criticized in the past. This decision was related to the notion of international responsibility.³⁰ In order to demonstrate full compliance with an almost global norm, the Brazilian authorities, mainly President Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002), decided to join the regime even if the Brazilian Congress made this subject to full respect of Article IV of the Treaty.

Since the mid-1990s, Brazil has been one of the most prominent voices in the international arena against the spread of WMD. In the nuclear field, this has been apparent in the promotion of new initiatives for full disarmament, such as the New Agenda Coalition, Global Zero and the 13 steps towards non-proliferation. Furthermore, Brazil strongly criticized the Indian and Pakistani nuclear tests in May 1998. On that occasion, Brasília's new posture on nuclear weapons was put to the test. Brazil approved inter-

²⁹ On the gradual adhesion to the non-proliferation regime, see: Luiz Felipe Lampreia, *O Brasil E Os Ventos Do Mundo: Memórias De Cinco Décadas Na Cena Internacional*, Rio de Janeiro, Objetiva, 2009.

³⁰ Etel Solingen, "Middle East Denuclearization? Lessons from Latin America's Southern Cone," *Review of International Studies* 27, 2001, pp. 375-394.

national sanctions against New Delhi and Islamabad, and participated in high-level talks to identify a solution for the “nuclear crisis.” Brazil became a model of success of the non-proliferation regime. After long-standing opposition to the regime, Brazil undertook not to develop nuclear weapons and became strongly committed to the promotion of non-proliferation. In the next section, the current Brazilian stance on the regime will be analyzed.

Brazil’s current stance within the global regime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and disarmament

Despite the new Brazilian nuclear diplomacy, former President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (Lula), during his presidential campaign of 2002, strongly criticized the decision to join the NPT. Later, in 2006, prominent members of his cabinet, such as Vice-President José Alencar, took a similar stance. According to Alencar and Lula, the NPT reflected an unfair distribution of power, with different rights for NWS and NNWS, and set no clear goal in terms of achieving full nuclear disarmament. Alencar also criticized Brazil’s renunciation of nuclear weapons, since they could be considered a useful means of enhancing Brazil’s international status.³¹ Nevertheless, neither Lula nor his successor Dilma Rousseff overturned Cardoso’s decision to join the NPT. On the contrary, both kept nuclear non-proliferation as a central goal of Brazil’s foreign policy. During Lula’s presidency, the commitment to full denuclearization was evident. Brazilian Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Celso Amorim and Antonio Patriota, both publicly condemned North Korean nuclear tests and missile programmes, in 2003 and 2013 respectively.³² Brazil’s commitment to non-proliferation was further

³¹ Lula, a few weeks before his election, vehemently criticized the NPT. See: Plínio Fraga, “Na escola de guerra Lula muda discurso para agradar a militares,” *Folha de São Paulo*, 14 September 2002. Edição Especial Eleições. On Alencar’s declaration, see: M. Sibaja, “José Alencar, Brazil VP, Says Country should Build Nuclear Arms,” *Huffington Post*, 25 September 2009.

³² On Brazil’s criticism towards North Korea see: Ministério das Relações Exteriores, *Tratado para a Não-Proliferação Nuclear (TNP)*. Nota nº 14. 12 January 2003; Yara Aquino, “Governo brasileiro manifesta preocupação com novo teste nuclear da Coreia do Norte,” *Agência Brasil*, available at: <http://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/noticia/2013-02-12/governo-brasileiro-manifesta-preocupacao-com-novo-teste-nuclear-da-coreia>

confirmed when Ambassador Sérgio Duarte took up two significant appointments – first, as Chairman of the 2005 NPT Conference Review and, second, as the United Nations High Representative for Disarmament.³³

Maintaining a traditional position, Brazil strongly criticizes the limited steps taken by the NWS towards disarmament and approves the new posture of the United States towards disarmament. As is known, since the beginning of his administration President Barack Obama has considered nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament major priorities of his foreign policy. This was clear from Obama's Prague speech in 2009, when he called for full elimination of nuclear arsenals, and above all from his success in convincing Russia to accept further reduction of nuclear arsenals. Brazil, consequently, warmly supported the New START, signed by the US and Russian governments in 2010. Although Brazilian diplomats approved such a solution, they continued to be concerned by the lack of US and Russian engagement over full repudiation of nuclear weapons. In addition, the Brazilian government does not accept the presence of atomic weapons in NATO countries, and in other countries covered by the nuclear umbrella.³⁴ As underlined by the Brazilian *National Defense Strategy*, Brazil is "the most active country regarding the nuclear disarmament cause" and considers the main premise of the NPT to be that NWS advance in "their own nuclear disarmament."³⁵

Although Brazil is a full member of the nuclear non-proliferation regime, there is a controversial point in its participation: the acceptance of the IAEA Additional Protocol to the Safeguards Agreement. As already mentioned, Brazil accepted international full scope safeguards to its nuclear

-do-norte (accessed 12 February 2012).

³³ "Secretary General Appoints Sérgio de Queiroz Duarte of Brazil High Representative for Disarmament Affairs," UN, available at: <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2007/sga1075.doc.htm> (accessed 22 July 2013).

³⁴ "Jobim o futuro da comunidade transatlântica," Defesanet, available at: <http://www.defesanet.com.br/defesa/noticia/3381/> (accessed 30 August 2013); Leonam Guimarães, "O paradoxo nuclear," Defesanet, available at: <http://www.defesanet.com.br/tecnologia/noticia/6521/O-Paradoxo-Nuclear/> (accessed 30 August 2013).

³⁵ Brazilian Ministry of Defense. 2010. *National Defense Strategy*, available at: http://www.defesa.gov.br/projetosweb/estrategia/arquivos/estrategia_defesa_nacional_ingles.pdf (accessed 2 August 2013).

activities in 1994. Nevertheless, Brazil is opposed to granting the IAEA complementary inspection authority. With the Additional Protocol, the IAEA inspectors can provide assurance about both declared and possible undeclared civilian nuclear activities. Above all, the IAEA is granted extended rights of access to information and nuclear sites. This was a measure considered necessary after the United States and IAEA inspectors, during the first Gulf War, discovered that Iraq, an NPT member, had developed a secret nuclear weapons programme in undeclared facilities.³⁶ Given its reiterated opposition, both in 1997 and 2010, to signing the protocol and including it within the NPT, Brazil's participation became a matter of international concern when, in 2004, Brazilian authorities denied full access to its centrifuges for enriching uranium. These had been developed by the Brazilian Navy under a secret nuclear programme and were then transferred to INB (Indústrias Nucleares do Brasil), a civilian enrichment plant in Resende (in the State of Rio de Janeiro).

Brazil's attitude caused strong concern in the United States, which saw Brazilian opposition to the Additional Protocol as a strategy to cover ambiguous nuclear activities.³⁷ However, after long negotiations, Brazil granted the IAEA access to verify the nuclear material, but prohibited visual inspections of the centrifuges. Brazilian authorities explained that this was to protect their industrial secrets since the centrifuges used in the civilian plant were the fruit of science and technology developed by the Brazilian Navy. The United States mildly criticized Brazil's stance and continued to request, as did other nuclear and non-nuclear powers, the acceptance of the protocol. In response, former Foreign Minister Celso Amorim (currently Minister of Defence) declared that the issue was not central to the reform of the NPT and underlined Brazil's right to maintain its industrial secrets.³⁸

³⁶ Theodor Hirsh, "The IAEA Additional Protocol. What It Is and Why It Matters," *The Nonproliferation Review*, 11: 3 (2004), pp. 147-167.

³⁷ Liz Palmer and Gary Milhollin, "Brazil's Nuclear Puzzle," *Science*, 306:5696, 22 October 2004, p. 617. It is important to note that, unlike in many other cases, the military component of Brazil's nuclear programme is also under international safeguards.

³⁸ For the declaration of the Brazilian foreign minister see: "Chancellor Amorim no Canal Livre," Ministério das Relações Exteriores, available at: <http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/videos/chanceler-amorim-no-canal-livre>

As already noted, Brazil retains its pre-1997 attitude to the NPT. Several years ago, Brazilian diplomats proposed to resolve the issue by recognizing the bilateral Brazilian-Argentinan ABACC inspection system as an alternative to the Additional Protocol. In June 2011, after a six-month negotiation, Brazil achieved an important success: the NSG accepted the Brazilian proposal.³⁹ That decision had several important consequences for Brazil. It put an end, at least temporarily, to the concerns of the international community over Brazil's allegedly ambiguous attitude to the nuclear question. Brazil, in fact, could now be considered a player which accepted the international norms of non-proliferation. The NSG decision also had significant importance for bilateral relations with Argentina. The recognition of the binational agency means international approval of the cooperation between the two countries.⁴⁰ Finally, as was noted by the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the decision "opens new perspectives for international cooperation and greater access to the technologies relevant to the development of the Brazilian nuclear program."⁴¹ This represents a temporary victory for Brazil, which can now enter the international market for nuclear material and technologies.

Brazil: a challenger of the regime?

Another controversial aspect of Brazil's nuclear diplomacy has been the attempt to broker a nuclear agreement with Tehran. The Brazilian press has often strongly criticized Lula's decision to intervene in such a distant area, generally not relevant to Brazil's interests. However, it is important to emphasize the parallels between Brazil's and Iran's nuclear programmes. Both Tehran and Brasilia are members of the NPT and, according to the letter of

livre/?searchterm=nuclear (accessed 20 January 2013).

³⁹ "Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) recognizes the Quadripartite Agreement as an alternative criterion to the Additional Protocol," *ABACC News*, 28 June 2011, <http://www.abacc.org.br/?p=3846&lang=en>

⁴⁰ On the Kirchner-Rousseff joint communiqué, see: "ABACC's existing safeguards agreement provides the highest guarantees regarding nuclear safeguards," *ABACC News*, 12 August 2011, <http://www.abacc.org.br/?p=4431&lang=en>

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

the Treaty, they can fulfill their ambition and right to enrich uranium up to 20% (the threshold immediately prior to the production of highly enriched uranium suitable for weapons) for medical research and marine propulsion purposes. Iran and Brazil did not accept the Additional Protocol and wanted to preserve their industrial secrets.⁴²

As is known, Iran has an ambitious nuclear programme and, since the beginning of the 2000s, has raised international suspicions about possible military nuclear ambitions. This concern grew in recent years, after the IAEA's discovery in 2009 of an undeclared nuclear enrichment facility. Later, the Iranian authorities stated that the plant was constructed for producing enriched uranium either to supply medical research reactors or to provide fuel for future nuclear submarines. This parallel with Brazil also emerged in a broader context. Since 2006, Brazil has taken a favorable position towards Iran, with growing bilateral trade between the two countries and cordial personal relations between Lula and Iran's former president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. In 2009, when Iran reached an agreement with the IAEA and the so-called P5+1 (the five members of the UN Security Council + Germany) regarding the exchange of uranium for isotopes for medical use, Brazil welcomed this outcome, perceiving it as a successful step towards mutual trust between Iran and the international community. However, Tehran refused to implement the deal, due to the lack of guarantees and the opposition of conservatives within the regime.

Brazil, in May 2010, together with the Turkish government, and apparently with United States support, tried to propose a new solution and defended Tehran's right to enrich uranium and to develop its own nuclear technology. The Turkish-Brazilian initiative coincided with the presence of both countries within the UNSC, with the 2010 NPT Review Conference, and with the Global Nuclear Security Summit hosted by US Presi-

⁴² Iran signed the Additional Protocol in December 2003 but, for political reasons, decided not to ratify it. That position could be revised, since the new Iranian President, Hassan Rouhani, was the chief negotiator for nuclear energy in 2003 and has manifested the desire to modify the current Iranian position towards nuclear non-proliferation.

dent Barack Obama in Washington in April 2010. Immediately after the Summit, the Brazilian and Turkish Presidents are thought to have obtained Obama's endorsement of the initiative to resume the negotiations between Iran and the P5+1.⁴³ On May 17, after several visits to Tehran, Brazil's Foreign Minister Celso Amorim and his Turkish counterpart, Ahmet Davutoglu, succeeded in achieving a formal declaration from the Heads of State of Turkey, Brazil and Iran. As with the October 2009 deal, Iran would allow international inspections of its nuclear plants as well as transfer of low-enriched uranium to Turkey, in exchange for the nuclear fuel for the Tehran research reactor. This declaration had an important impact on the international community, because the governments in Ankara and Brasilia seemed to have succeeded where the major powers had previously failed. At the end of the month, Amorim and Davutoglu issued a public call for international support, above all from the UNSC, for the Tehran diplomatic declaration. However, the UNSC, with the sole opposition of Turkey and Brazil (and the abstention of Lebanon), decided to issue several sanctions against Iran and continued to request the closure of the enrichment plant. The Brazilian-Turkish initiative while initially considered a failure, nevertheless conceivably paved the way to the historic November 2013 interim accord between Iran and the P5+1 powers on curbing Tehran's nuclear program. At the time of writing, negotiations for a final deal are ongoing.

Another issue that raised international concerns is the Brazilian plan to develop nuclear submarines by 2025. In 2008, Brazil's *National Defence Strategy* underlined the need to achieve nuclear autonomy for economic development and for building a fleet of nuclear submarines.⁴⁴ Using traditional rhetoric, Brazilian strategists justified that decision by the need to preserve the country's immense marine and undersea resources from possible enemies and, above all, to defend the oil reserves off the coast of the states of Rio de Janeiro and Espírito Santo.⁴⁵ Thanks to an agreement with

⁴³ "Obama se reúne com Lula e Erdogan para conhecer proposta sobre Irã," *Estado de São Paulo*, 13 April 2010.

⁴⁴ *Estratégia Nacional de Defesa*, Ministério da Defesa, available at: http://www.defesa.gov.br/projetosweb/estrategia/arquivos/estrategia_defesa_nacional_portugues.pdf (accessed 2 January 2013).

⁴⁵ According to former Brazilian Defense Minister Nelson Jobim, the discoveries increased the country's

France, signed in December 2008, Brazil will construct submarines using Brazilian nuclear reactors, to be built by the Navy research centre in Iperó (State of São Paulo).⁴⁶ In July 2011, Dilma manifested her will to pursue Lula's decision by inaugurating the shipyard of a new state-owned firm – *Amazul* – in Sepetiba (State of Rio de Janeiro), for building conventional and nuclear submarines. Dilma announced that by 2023 Brazil will own its first nuclear submarine.⁴⁷ It will be a historical outcome for Brazil to join a restricted group of countries with a nuclear-powered submarine fleet (the United States, the United Kingdom, Russia, China and France – i.e. the permanent members of the UNSC). Other emerging countries, such as India (which is also a NWS), are planning to build several nuclear-powered submarines, but Brazil is one of the most advanced in terms of designing and developing its own nuclear technology without possessing nuclear weapons. It is important to note that, by virtue of this status, Brazil will in future be a significant candidate for a seat on the UNSC.

In previous pages, the Brazilian position towards WMD, with a specific focus on the regime of nuclear non-proliferation, has been discussed. Despite several controversial points, Brazil is an active player in the regimes for curbing the spread of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons. In the nuclear field, it is particularly critical of the unfair nature of the regime and strenuously defends the right of the members of the NPT, such as Iran, to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. International commentators, above all in the United States, have severely criticized Brazil's ambitions to

need for nuclear-powered submarines to help discourage possible terrorist attacks against planned offshore oil platforms. "Amazul" refers to Brazil's idea of its territorial waters as a "Blue Amazon." A fuller explanation is in Marinha do Brasil, "Amazônia Azul. O patrimônio brasileiro no mar" (2011), available at: www.mar.mil.br/menu_v/amazonia_azul/html/programa.html.

⁴⁶ In 2008, after long negotiations, the French government agreed to provide Brazil with the capability for constructing *Scorpène* class submarines. The submarines will be completely built in Brazilian shipyards, and will be modified for nuclear naval propulsion. It is important to note that France will not provide the nuclear technology, which is being developed in Brazil. According to the most recent information released by the Brazilian government, the first nuclear submarine will be launched in 2025. Simone Sanches, "Submarino nuclear brasileiro começa a ser desenvolvido em julho," *Cruzeiro do Sul*, available at: <http://www.cruzeiro-dosul.inf.br/materia/372768/submarino-nuclear-brasileiro-comeca-a-ser-desenvolvido-em-julho> (accessed 18 March 2012).

⁴⁷ "Construção de submarinos terá efeito estratégico, defende Dilma," *Agência Estado*, 18 July 2011.

master the nuclear fuel cycle and to build a fleet of submarines with nuclear propulsion. Brazil would be the first NNWS to possess such vessels. This has been interpreted abroad as a sign of covert ambition to own nuclear weapons in the future. Brazil, however, accepted international safeguards for its military programme and, unlike the other countries with nuclear submarines, decided to supply the reactor with low-enriched uranium, avoiding accumulation of highly enriched uranium which could easily be converted into weapons-grade material. This constitutes an important precedent for current and future nuclear fleets, since the NPT does not ban the use of highly enriched uranium for nuclear propulsion – an important loophole of the regime, allowing the possible production of weapons-grade material for non-explosive purposes.

Providing such a positive example, Brazil could turn itself into a promoter of a revision of the nuclear non-proliferation norms. Given its traditional role in the last twenty years as a vocal player for nuclear disarmament, Brazil could advance a proposal at the next NPT Revision Conference, expected in 2015, to ban the use of weapons-grade material for marine propulsion. This would be an important decision, helping ease international concerns about Brazil's will to develop a nuclear arsenal in the future. Such a proposal would help support Brasilia's position in favour of a fairer and more effective NPT, in which both NWS and NNWS would relinquish or renounce dangerous material. Above all, it would confirm Brazil's commitment towards non-proliferation.

PART 4

SECURING THE SOUTH ATLANTIC

Securing the South Atlantic: In Favour of a Revised Brazilian Maritime Strategy

Érico Duarte

National defence is a fundamental need, given the anarchical structure of the international system. The absence of any mandatory legal regulation over states means that they are, in practice, sovereign and self-regulated with regard to the safeguarding of their security and their interests.¹ A major consequence of the structure of international politics is the constant possibility of war: while this does not actually imply a permanent state of war, it does mean that countries must continue to ensure that they are prepared for it. This results in constant creation and preparation of armed forces.² Brazil is no exception in this regard.

Brazil, for the first time in a hundred years, has the opportunity to draw up a real maritime strategy. This means drawing on its diplomatic, economic and military assets, with a view to ensuring the security of the South Atlantic for the foreseeable future in accordance with Brazilian interests. Such an experience is totally new and demands careful consideration of Brazil's two options.

On the one hand, Brazilian intentions may be limited to guaranteeing the security of national and South Atlantic waters, with periodic assistance to UN missions as was the case in Haiti. On the other hand, Brazil may pursue ambitions to become a global maritime power, as a "ticket" to an

¹ J.J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2003; and K. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979.

² É. Duarte, *O Conceito de Logística de Clausewitz e seu teste pela Análise Crítica da Campanha de 1777 em Saratoga* (tese de doutorado), Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, 2009; and Domicio Proença Júnior and É. Duarte, "The Concept of Logistics derived from Clausewitz: All That is Required so That the Fighting Force Can Be Taken as a Given," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 28(4), 2005, pp. 645–677.

established role as a credible player in great power politics.

In the first case, the necessary capabilities are specific and would be developed in accordance with one or more possible conflict scenarios. Solutions would mostly combine domestic and external standards in terms of naval procedures and weapons systems. In the second case, a state with ambitions to become a global maritime power must seek to emulate the established maritime powers of the day in the purposes it pursues, if not in fleet composition. “The resulting fleets, then, are not designed, built, and operated expressly to conduct a particular wartime naval strategy; they are the product of political goals and intended to pursue specific political designs of grand strategy.”³ In the past, that was the behavioural pattern of imperial Germany and the Soviet Union. With an eye to future developments, there have been many studies of whether China intends to follow suit.⁴

Against this background, the present paper argues that Brazil’s maritime strategy should not, and is unable to, emulate US maritime strategy: US control of the global commons (including in the Americas) is likely to remain for the foreseeable future, despite the predictions of some analysts. The argument developed on the following pages is that Brazil’s maritime strategy should focus on national defence, particularly sea denial in the Blue Amazon, together with parallel international cooperative efforts centered on securing the South Atlantic. In practice, Brazil’s current approach to maritime strategy suffers from missed opportunities as well as conflicting priorities, and immature defence policy formulation. The paper concludes with some thoughts on opportunities for North-South (including Brazil-NATO) collaboration, with a view to remedying current deficits in Brazil’s maritime strategy formulation.

³ M. Caris, *A Ticket to the Global Game? The Political Motivations for the Maritime Transformations of Continental Powers*, Georgetown University, Washington, 2011, p. 3.

⁴ For example, see: T.G. Mahnken, “China’s Anti-Access Strategy in Historical and Theoretical Perspective,” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 34(3), 2011, pp. 299–323, doi:10.1080/01402390.2011.574971.

Power in the Atlantic in the 21st century

The primacy of the United States derives from its unique position as the sole regional hegemon in the Americas. Although this status has gone unchallenged since the end of the 19th century, the United States' global military hegemony and its political consequences developed during the 20th century. Since the end of the Cold War, US power has been practically unrivalled. This is the defining characteristic of the current international system. The United States' presence as the sole hegemon in the Americas⁵ is a central issue for Brazil's emerging maritime policy. US foreign policy is conducted accordingly, following three main trends.

First, the United States has reacted against any intrusion in the Americas by other major powers. Spanish rule in the Caribbean ended in 1898; even before that, however, British support for the Monroe Doctrine was an important factor. The United States reacted against Germany's special relations with Latin American countries during the 1930s, while the creation of a Soviet nuclear stronghold in Cuba met with determined US opposition and almost carried the world to Armageddon in 1962.⁶

Second, the United States has opposed any major change in the distribution of power in the region. This stance reflects the proximity of the sub-regional system to the Contiguous United States (CONUS).

⁵ É. Duarte, "Panorama de Projeção de Poder e Intervenção Militar no Século XXI: os EUA e o Mundo," in Domício Proença Júnior & C. Brigagão (eds.), *Panorama Brasileiro de Paz e Segurança*, São Paulo: HUCITEC, 2004, pp. 235-276; É. Duarte, "South American Strategic Condition and Implications for Brazilian National Defense," in *IPSA-EPCR Joint Conference*, 2011, presented at "Whatever Happened to North- South?" São Paulo: Associação Brasileira de Ciência Política; É. Duarte, "A Conduta da Guerra na Era Digital e suas Implicações para o Brasil: uma Análise de Conceitos, Políticas e Práticas de Defesa," *Texto para Discussão (IPEA)*, Junho, 2012; É. Duarte, "Military Power, Financial Crisis and the International Security Panorama of the 21st Century," *Austral: Brazilian Journal of Strategy & International Relations*, 2(3), 2013, p. 11-46; Domício Proença Júnior and É. Duarte, "Brazilian Strategic Context: An Offensive Realist Assessment," Presented at the LASA International Conference, Toronto: LASA, 2010; and B.R. Posen, "Command of the Commons," *International Security*, 28(1), 2003, pp. 5-46.

⁶ Mearsheimer, 2003, Chapter 7.

On the one hand, since the American Revolutionary War, the Caribbean basin has been the Southern maritime boundary of the United States. The United States' regional presence, with regular interventions in Central America and the Caribbean, therefore predated its regional hegemony.⁷ The status of several Central American countries as US protectorates, from the Spanish-American War to the Banana Wars, in practice limited the function of most local armed forces to a constabulary role. On the other hand, the United States has been involved in South America since the late 1890s, but its global ascendancy since the 1940s has made its regional hegemony even stronger. United States involvement in Brazilian domestic politics started during the Revolution of 1893-94,⁸ and the relevance of South American strategic resources increased in the Second World War.

One cannot ignore the dual purpose of the United States' bases in the Brazilian Northeast region – both as a half-way base for the war effort in Africa and as a means of dissuading South American alignment with the Axis. During the first half of the 20th century, there were recurrent rivalries and instances of aggression among South American countries. Several of them, including Brazil, worked on elevating their status to that of a great power, not only introducing universal conscription but also purchasing large battleships and fighter planes from Europe;⁹ they even developed nuclear projects. With the United States' increasing global ascendancy, the pursuit of military power and political prevalence by South American countries has decreased since the Second World War.¹⁰

In the 1950s, the period of the Korean War witnessed some of the most asymmetric and aggressive US diplomacy towards South America.¹¹ US

⁷ See: R.L. Scheina, *Latin America's Wars*, Washington DC, Brassey's, Inc., 2003, Chapters 20 and 38.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Chapter 37.

⁹ J.R. Martins Filho, *A Marinha Brasileira na Era dos Encouraçados, 1885-1910: Tecnologia, Forças Armadas e Política*, Rio de Janeiro, FGV, 2010.

¹⁰ C. Brigagão and D. Proença Júnior, *Concertação Múltipla: Inserção Internacional de Segurança do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, Francisco Alves, 2002.

¹¹ A. Cervo and C. Bueno, *História da Política Exterior do Brasil*, Brasília: Ed. UnB, 2002; Mônica Hirst, "O Pragmatismo Impossível: a Política Externa do Segundo Governo Vargas 1951-1954," *Cena Internacional*,

concern with limiting any regional instability in Latin America was practically synonymous with pre-empting extra- and intra-regional threats related to the spread of communism.

In the case of Brazil, the period stretching from Vargas' second mandate in the 1950s to the Geisel administration of the 1970s coincided with the almost total subservience of Brazilian foreign policy to that of the United States. The isolated experience of a *Política Externa Independente* (PEI), or independent foreign policy, met with a stern reaction from the United States and an American intervention posture in the South Atlantic. Successive United States administrations prioritized the containment of socialism at large over more specific concern with the containment of the Soviet Union.¹²

Third, the United States has worked to balance and disarm every potential regional hegemon in Europe and Asia. Early experience as an offshore balancer in Europe during the 1920s came after it had established itself as the regional hegemon of the Americas. The United States pursued a systematic agenda of countering bids for regional hegemony by Germany, Japan and the Soviet Union.¹³

US hegemony has resulted in two foreign and defence policy approaches shared by all other American countries. First, the United States has guaranteed protection against any threat from overseas. During the last cen-

5(3), 2003; Mónica Hirst, *The United States and Brazil: A Long Road of Unmet Expectations*, Routledge, 2004; J.A. Huston, *Guns and Butter, Powder and Rice: U.S. Army Logistics in the Korean War*, Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1989; B. Kaufmann, *The Korean War: Challenges in Crisis, Credibility, and Command*, New York: Newbery, 1986; A. J. Levine, *Stalin's Last War: Korea And The Approach To World War III*, Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2005; M.B. Ridgway, *The Korean War* (New edition), New York: Da Capo Press, 1986; W. Stueck, *Rethinking the Korean War: A New Diplomatic and Strategic History*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002; K. Weathersby, "Stalin and the Decision for War in Korea," in *War and Democracy: A Comparative Study of the Korean War and the Peloponnesian War*, New York: East Gate Book, 2001; and K. Weathersby, "The Soviet Role in the Korean War: the State of Historical Knowledge," in *The Korean War in World History*, Lexington, University Press of Kentucky, 2004.

¹² N. Friedman, *The Fifty-Year War: Conflict and Strategy in the Cold War*, Annapolis: US Naval Institute Press, 1999; and C. Pecequillo, *A Política Externa dos Estados Unidos*, Porto Alegre, Ed. UFRGS, 2001.

¹³ Mearsheimer, 2003, Chapter 7.

tury, the only instance of wars pitting Latin American countries against outside powers was the Falklands War of 1982. As a consequence, defence expenditure in Latin America has fallen to a very low level. Second, there is a very limited scope for military offensives among American states seeking to ensure their security and protect their interests. By working to maintain this system of power, the United States has guarded against its Southern neighbours dedicating their national resources to the development of real offensive power. They have neither built up large ground troops nor developed nuclear initiatives beyond a very limited extent.¹⁴

It remains to be seen whether this historical analysis gives any real indication of developments for the near future, in relation to the effects of the recent financial crisis on the United States.¹⁵ It is also important to consider whether the international system is currently moving towards a multipolar world and, if so, what consequences this will have for the Atlantic space and US policy there.

A preliminary assessment seems to indicate that current economic trends in the United States seem have halted the progressive increase in its defence expenditure. Nevertheless, the US still spends 40% of the world's total defence budget; in addition, its defence spending reductions in the last three years have not been linear.¹⁶ Therefore, a qualitative interpretation of the overall reductions is needed.

The United States does seem motivated to keep the resources and capabilities that it has carried over from the Cold War – what Barry Posen calls “command of the commons” with almost absolute domination of space (understood as the Earth's orbit), “command of the sea approaches,” and

¹⁴ Brigagão & Proença Júnior, 2002; D. Proença Jr., *Door into Summer. Brazil and the Nuclear Power*, Rio de Janeiro: Grupo de Estudos Estratégicos, COPPE/UFRJ, 2004; and D. Proença Júnior and E. Diniz, “The Brazilian Conceptualization of Security,” in H. Brauch (ed.), *Globalization and Environmental Challenges: Reconceptualising Security in 21st Century*, Berlin, Springer, 2008, pp. 311-320.

¹⁵ Duarte, “Military Power, Financial Crisis and International Security,” 2013.

¹⁶ IISS, *Military Balance*, London, 2013, pp. 41-42, 64.

ability to impose and sustain air supremacy above 15 thousand feet in almost any region where the US decides to act militarily.¹⁷

In order to sustain the global reach of its military power, the United States' security policy has recently given special importance to others countries' efforts in access denial – especially with regard to maritime access by Iran and China. A proposal to strengthen United States military capabilities in order to sustain command of the commons in the 21st century, particularly in Asia, was recently submitted to Congress as part of the Air-Sea Battle Concept.¹⁸

Another meaningful topic on the United States agenda is the preservation of regional political structures that perpetuate these strategic advantages. The United States has thus pursued alliances with countries whose geography and infrastructure can offer useful bases for pre-positioning equipment, ammunition and supplies for the regional projection of force.¹⁹

United States primacy in the Americas seems unlikely to change over the next few decades, meaning that the two main constraints on South American foreign and security policy in the Atlantic seem likely to remain relevant in the foreseeable future. This perspective is admittedly at odds with that of the analysts who predict changes in the international security scenario as a result of the agendas pursued by countries like Iran and China.²⁰ It also diverges from the forecast presented by top Brazilian of-

¹⁷ Posen, 2003.

¹⁸ US Department of Defense, "Background Briefing on Air-Sea Battle by Defense Officials from the Pentagon," Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, 2011. This is a clear allusion to the Air-Land Battle Concept designed in response to the land-based capabilities of the Warsaw Pact in the 1980s (É. Duarte, "A Condução da Guerra na Era Digital e suas Implicações para o Brasil," 2012, pp. 14-16).

¹⁹ E. Diniz, "Encerrando a Guerra Fria: revisão da postura global dos Estados Unidos," *Boletim Conjuntura Internacional*, 1(2), 2004; E. Diniz, "Relacionamentos Multilaterais na Unipolaridade," *Contexto Internacional*, 28(2), 2006, pp. 502–565; and D. Proença Júnior and E. Duarte, "Projeção de Poder e Intervenção Militar pelos EUA," *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional*, 46(1), 2003, pp. 135–152.

²⁰ F. Ávila, M. Cepik, and J.M. Martins, "Armas Estratégicas e Poder no Sistema Internacional: O Advento das Armas de Energia Direta e seu Impacto Potencial sobre a Guerra e a Distribuição Multipolar de Capacidades," *Contexto Internacional*, 31(1), 2009, pp. 49–83.

ficials: a multipolar world, created by the redistribution of power from the northern to the southern hemisphere.²¹ Actually, the ongoing redistribution of power from European to Asian countries does not offer evidence as to whether – and how – this trend affects the United States' position in the international system.

With specific reference to the Atlantic, it seems unreasonable to forecast any abrupt decline in the United States' command of the maritime commons, or any resulting disputes involving South American countries (and perhaps outside maritime powers, too), particularly over natural resources.

Before assessing what implications continuing US command of the commons might hold for Brazilian maritime strategy, a second factor with significant influence on strategy formulation must also be taken into account: the emergent character of war at sea.

War at sea in the 21st century

Providing a useful overview of this topic is no easy task, since the last major war at sea took place 30 years ago – in the Falklands.²² Nevertheless, a review of contemporary scholarship is a valuable source of information. One critical point is the consensus on the growing strategic importance of cruise missiles and their proliferation worldwide, particularly in the last decade.²³

²¹ C. Amorim, "Defesa Nacional e Pensamento Estratégico Brasileiro," Conferência do Ministro da Defesa presented at the Seminário Estratégias de Defesa Nacional, Brasília, Câmara dos Deputados, 2012, available at: www.itamaraty.gov.br/divulg/documentacao-diplomatica/publicacoes/discursos-palestras-artigos/arquivos/discursos-chanceler-vol1.

²² J.F. Dunnigan, *How to Make War: A Comprehensive Guide to Modern Warfare in the Twenty-first Century* (4th ed.), New York, Harper Paperbacks, 2003.

²³ N. Friedman, *Seapower and space: from the dawn of the missile age to net-centric warfare*, Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 2000; N. Friedman, *Seapower as strategy: navies and national interests*, Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 2001; D.M. Gormley, *Missile contagion: cruise missile proliferation and the threat to international security*, Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2010; C.S. Gray, *The leverage of sea power: the strategic advantage of navies in war*, New York, Free Press, 1992; W.P. Hughes, *Fleet Tactics and Coastal Combat*,

The use of missiles with powerful warheads has changed the way navies organize themselves, move and fight. This change has by no means proved easy, since navies are typically very conservative and are now faced with the need to abandon two major traditions dating back to the 19th century.

First, navies need to recognize that warships are very vulnerable to missile attack. The size of a vessel is no guarantee of protection, the main priority being to reduce the likelihood of detection and of a missile strike. Second, large navies paid little attention in the past to the adoption of formations favouring mutual defence (a basic countermeasure against missiles). This has wide-ranging effects in terms of procedures and training, as well as systems for control, communication and detection. It also has a major impact on the role of the commander.

Historically, war at sea placed small fleets deployed for coastal defence at a disadvantage.²⁴ Size was synonymous with expectation of tactical success: larger vessels operated more powerful artillery superior to the limited firepower of smaller ships. In the age of the aircraft carrier, the quantity and capacity of fighter planes became important. However, the advent of missiles has brought an enormous paradigm shift.²⁵ Having large ships and a big fleet is, therefore, no longer a guarantee of success. There are several major corollaries to this basic truth.

First, missiles empower smaller vessels. Statistically, just two missiles are enough to damage medium-sized ships and four are enough to take out larger vessels. The need for large ships derives from the will to project power and control sea lanes outside national waters. However, smaller ships with cruise missile capability can be very useful within national waters, and may be better equipped in terms of mobility, deception and effective short-

Annapolis, Naval Institute Press, 2000; R. Menon, *Maritime strategy and continental wars*, London; Portland, OR: F. Cass, 1998; S.J. Tangredi (ed.), *Globalization and Maritime Power*, University Press of the Pacific, 2004; and G. Till, *Seapower: a guide for the twenty-first century*. New York; London, Routledge, 2009.

²⁴ M.N. Vego, *Naval Strategy and Operations in Narrow Seas* (2nd ed.), London, Routledge, 2003.

²⁵ Hughes, 2000.

range attack.

Second, this has important strategic and logistical consequences for naval planning, especially in countries with few resources: smaller vessels can provide an effective counter to bigger and more traditional navies, affording significant missile firepower at a relatively low cost.

Third, missiles favour remote combat with integration of sea, submarine, land and airborne platforms. This means that coastal defence depends increasingly on the coordinated action of navies, armies and air forces. Hence the importance of combining a variety of platforms and of ensuring that effective missile cover is organized accordingly.

Fourth, the destructive force of missiles in naval warfare means that victory no longer depends on repeated, protracted engagements. The decision to use missiles is, therefore, more crucial than ever. Their use is nevertheless complicated by the various platforms involved, all dependent on often vulnerable electronic systems. This puts a premium on effective command, joint education, training and doctrine for the armed forces.²⁶

War at sea thus demands a joint approach, focusing on sea denial and full use of cruise missile technology. As will be seen in the next section of the paper, these basic considerations afford a suitable backdrop against which to assess the relevance of several naval projects currently underway in Brazil.

Brazilian maritime policy

With US command of the maritime commons likely to continue in the near future, Brazil has no reason to undertake the costly development

²⁶ Friedman, 2000.

of a global blue water navy suited to an envisaged role as a great power. It would be more advisable to embrace the strategic advantages of cruise missile technology for joint approaches to national defence and regional security. However, a survey of contemporary maritime strategy in Brazil reveals that neither course of action is being clearly followed.

First, there has been no executive maritime policy in the last sixty years, though the Brazilian Navy has enjoyed greater advantages than the other services in terms of resources and expertise. It has thus sought to develop a role as a “balanced navy of all capabilities,” with surface vessels, submarines, amphibious craft, aircraft carriers and nuclear technology.²⁷ In this sense, the Brazilian Navy has tried to emulate its United States counterpart, which is the only navy in the world with all five capabilities fully developed.

Although Brazil has never been close to achieving the great power status of the US, the Brazilian Navy’s high command has always maintained that all operational options should be readily available. This has been the case since the early 20th century, when the Brazilian Navy purchased three dreadnoughts.²⁸ The institutional autonomy of the Brazilian Navy has increased in recent years, in line with its operational self-sufficiency (it has its own infantry and aviation) and the unique status of the naval budget. Unlike the other armed forces, the Brazilian Navy receives almost 80% of its revenues from oil and gas royalties, and not from the national treasury.²⁹

One unfortunate consequence of the established force structure is inefficient use of resources. Brazil is responsible for 51.3% of Latin America and Caribbean defence spending,³⁰ but its actual military capabilities are by no means commensurate with this share of the budget. While Brazil’s defence expenditure is six times greater than Chile’s, the Brazilian Navy and Air Force are not really more advanced or effective than their Chilean

²⁷ Brigagão & Proença Júnior, 2002.

²⁸ Martins Filho, 2010.

²⁹ Brasil, *Livro Branco de Defesa Nacional*, Ministério da Defesa, 2012, p. 23.

³⁰ IISS, 2013, p. 421.

counterparts as providers of maritime security.³¹

Second, in recent years, this “balanced navy of all capabilities” has proved unsustainable in human and technical terms. The Brazilian Navy is autonomous in terms of operational resources, but still depends on the Brazilian government and public tax revenues for research and development. The related budget issues have come to a head since the end of the military regime, as defence issues have been relegated to a marginal position in Brazilian political life.³²

However, the Navy’s nuclear energy project received continuing support against all odds, irrespective of the results actually achieved. As stated by a former Minister of Defence, “every 20 years, completion of the Brazilian nuclear project is still another 20 years away.”³³ Until recently, the completion of even a single nuclear reactor for submarine deployment was not thought to be a firm prospect. Considering the recent cuts in the overall defence budget – and albeit to a lesser extent on the nuclear project in particular – the situation is unlikely to have changed in this respect.

The future role and structure of the Brazilian Navy is thus a dangerously open question. The greatest challenge is to be able to develop expertise in defence analysis so as to forecast strategic scenarios, to estimate defence costs and programs, and to design force structures in order to shape the South Atlantic security environment.

In the current case of Brazil, the 2008 *National Strategy of Defence* (NSD) endeavoured to reset defence policy. In Brazilian democratic history, the 1996 *National Defence Policy* (NDP), the 2005 NDP and the 2007 *Military Doctrine of Defence* failed to offer focused guidelines for the armed forces, to promote a public debate, or to improve Brazilian national

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 420, 440, 443–444.

³² W. Hunter, *Eroding Military Influence in Brazil: Politicians Against Soldiers*, The University of North Carolina Press, 1997 – especially Chapter 5.

³³ Non-attributable interview with author

defence policy. By contrast, the 2008 NSD provides international and regional situational assessments, minimum requirements in terms of security goals and force capabilities, and an agenda to achieve them.

Given the structural deficits in Brazilian defence policy-making, however, the NSD is replete with inconsistencies and omissions. For instance, it indicates that the Brazilian Navy should conduct sea denial. Based on pre-SALT estimates of stockpiles on both sides of the South Atlantic, the Brazilian political leadership increasingly believes that Brazil's future will depend on its ability to protect and develop the Blue Amazon. The NSD affirms that sea denial would be accomplished by satellite surveillance, by air patrolling (from land and from the country's sole aircraft carrier) and by a fleet of submarines, warships and small patrol vessels.³⁴ However, the NSD offers no comment on joint cooperation involving the various platforms and the other two armed forces, or on guided/cruise missile capabilities.³⁵ The Brazilian Navy's anti-ship missile capability is actually very small. It has only three frigates, and no submarine or small vessel platforms, with anti-ship capabilities; the Air Force's missile research and development is focused on air-to-air delivery.³⁶ The ongoing PROSUB submarine project includes four *Scorpène*-class submarines, able to launch cruise missiles, though there is no official communication on acquisition of any specific weapon system or related programme.

Four submarines would also be able to cover only a very limited part of the Brazilian coast. Another issue is the need for public discussion about the intention to double Brazil's conventional navy and to develop a nuclear submarine (part of the PROSUB programme) – maritime capabilities consistent with far more extensive strategic aims than sea denial. In other

³⁴ Brasil, *Estratégia de Defesa Nacional*, Ministério da Defesa, 2008, pp. 13–14.

³⁵ M.C. Flores, "Estratégia Nacional de defesa - uma breve análise," *Liberdade e Cidadania*, 3(12), 2012, available at: http://www.flc.org.br/revista/materias_view.asp?id=%7BE4A78181-DDA8-4D9A-84EE-4C15AE1B9288%7D

³⁶ IISS, *Military Balance*. London, 2010, p. 70; and Jane's Defence, *Jane's Country Profile: Brazil*, Colorado: IHS, 2010, p. 75.

words, there is little consistency between the NSD's stated prioritization of coastal defence and its continued efforts to design and sustain a navy of all capabilities.

Given the inconsistencies and shortcomings discussed above, the need for a review of maritime policy is undeniable. But this can only be accomplished with qualified personnel and by cooperation with other international actors, as the concluding section of this paper explains.

Concluding remarks: filling gaps in Brazilian defence policy-making and an agenda for cooperation in maritime security

A contemporary democracy needs a civil service able to manage security and defence policy-making, reconciling security needs with budget constraints and the interests of society at large. In Brazil, this has not been the case until very recently. This has entailed difficulties in overcoming the historical and institutional constraints to the development of university research on defence, even years after the end of the military regime. Brazil struggles to escape this heritage, and its overall apparatus for defence – in both conceptual and institutional terms – is in need of a thorough review.

The conceptual heritage is the perpetuation of the *National Security Doctrine*, which has gone unquestioned since the time of the military regime. The centre of the doctrine can be found in the dual aims of security and development. The proper harmonization of priorities and the balancing of their mutual influences is the recipe for national power, providing both development and security. Development is defined as the increase of national power. Security is the ability to make use of national power without hindrance. National power is defined as the full range of means that can be mobilized in accordance with the national will, in order to achieve internal or external objectives. Power is composed of five co-equal spheres, all autonomous and interdependent: the political, economic, military, psy-

chosocial and, later, the scientific-technological.

The NSD has dominated the conceptualization of defence and security policy in Brazil and can claim longevity and breadth comparable to that of the Brazilian diplomatic tradition. This is due to a number of factors such as its association with the military regime of 1964-1988. Even when deprived of its anticommunist justification after 1991, the NSD remained pervasive. Some of its terms and concepts recur throughout Brazil's legislation, official documents, and statements on defence issues by political parties, academics, and journalists from the whole political spectrum.³⁷

A recent institutional expression of the *National Security Doctrine* is the current NDP published in 2005 and not revised since then.³⁸ Neither a defence white paper nor a national security policy, it is a broad statement of intent but, despite its name, not a policy. What it expresses is a compromise among the agencies involved in its formulation. It brings together those items that one or more agencies would like to include in such a high-level statement, and that are not vetoed by another agency. The whole of the document, and each of its various sections, is written jointly and it offers no prioritization. It offers statements of principle, topics of concern, and lists of definitions, guidelines, and directives that are general enough to allow each agency to find its own interpretation. It also offers little practical orientation on the use of force itself.³⁹

The conduct of defence policy according to democratic criteria is a recent experience for Brazil, and its civil society is not yet fully qualified to provide the specialized personnel in the necessary quantity and quality for a sustainable defence policy-making process. Although Brazilian political leadership and military personnel have become more professional, the development of defence analysts, managers and economists by Brazilian uni-

³⁷ Proença Júnior & Diniz, 2008, p. 318.

³⁸ See: <http://www.defesa.gov.br/index.php/publicacoes/politica-de-defesa-nacional>.

³⁹ Proença Júnior & Diniz, 2008, p. 319.

versities and government institutions lags behind.

One might propose that the more mature democracies of Europe could see this shortcoming of Brazil as an opportunity for confidence-building, including through provision of education and training by bodies such as NATO and the EU. Exchanges between Europe and Brazil in expertise, education and training of civilian defence analysts, managers and economists would provide an inexpensive and relevant contribution to the development of defence policy-making in Brazil, focused as it must be on joint national and regional security and defence. Additionally, the interaction of policy-makers might in turn help to identify scope for cooperation between the two Atlantic hemispheres. In this regard, Brazil and Europe have the potential to act as a bridge between the two main transatlantic security regimes: NATO in the North and ZOPACAS and in the South.

On the one hand, the Atlantic Alliance's European members may play an active role to balance the asymmetric maritime power of the United States with a more focused and shared approach in the North Atlantic.⁴⁰ On the other hand, ZOPACAS is a younger initiative which has enormous potential to advance a multilateral governance of the South Atlantic, in which Brazil would perform a central role in cooperation between South American and West African countries.⁴¹ Thus, with Brazil and Europe leading the way, it is not inconceivable that these two transatlantic organizations might learn to compromise and to benefit from each other's presence in maritime governance of the Atlantic space.

⁴⁰ M.E. Smith, "A Liberal Grand Strategy in a Realist World? Power, Purpose and the EU's Changing Global Role," *Journal of European Public Policy*, 18(2), 2011, pp. 144-163, doi:10.1080/13501763.2011.544487; and L. Willett, "Pirates and Power Politics," *The RUSI Journal*, 156(6), pp. 20-25, doi:10.1080/03071847.2011.642681.

⁴¹ P. Visentini, "Brazilian Policy to Africa and the South Atlantic Geopolitics," in *Communautés Atlantiques: Asymetries et Convergences*, Québec: Éditions IEIM, 2012, pp. 79-112.

Brazil versus NATO? A Long-Term View of Maritime Security in the Atlantic

Bruno C. Reis

In this chapter I will be addressing three main points: first the significance of the growing importance of maritime security (both for Brazil and NATO); second, whether in strategic terms and in terms of maritime security we should consider the Atlantic to be a single ocean or one divided between north and south; third, the implications of both these issues for future relations between NATO and Brazil. I will be adopting a long-term historical approach, to provide some context to the mutual perceptions between NATO and Brazil and their implications on any future relationship.

Maritime security – fashionable, useful, but not so new

Maritime security gained increasing salience, owing to the relative decline of conventional naval conflicts between states, especially visible after the Cold War. This was reflected in academic publications, as well as official documents including the 2011 *Alliance Maritime Strategy* or recently published Brazilian strategic documents.

Until the end of the Cold War, the primary concern of strategists – naval or otherwise – was war between states. Given the experience of two massive conventional wars (the First and Second World War), this was a logical preoccupation; all the more so given the seemingly real risk that tensions between the two Cold War blocs might escalate into a new global interstate war, including at the nuclear level. Only with hindsight do we now

know this was not to be the case. But from 1945 onwards, there was already a growing trend towards unconventional asymmetrical conflicts involving non-state actors engaged in guerrilla or terrorist activities. Only 18% of conflicts between 1945 and 1995 were conventional inter-state wars, and “almost all” conflicts in the post-cold war era have been intrastate.¹

From a naval standpoint, this trend was, perhaps, not as obvious, but the growing importance of maritime security reflects a broadening of the strategic security agenda, to include economic and human security as well as unconventional threats, such as piracy, armed robbery, maritime terrorism and other forms of organized crime at sea. Geoffrey Till, a recognised authority in naval strategy, has observed that the “emergence of the concept of Maritime Security (with capital letters) in publications in recent years is noteworthy.”²

Fashion tends to put too much emphasis on novelty. It is important, therefore, to add the caveat that maritime security is not, strictly speaking, new. Coastal security and economic security in the form of protecting vital sea-lanes for trade has always been an important mission for navies. And in most NATO member countries as well as in Brazil, navies have been not just ocean-going, but also (even, in some cases, primarily) coastal “green water” and/or riverine “brown water” forces. Over the past two centuries, the importance of coastal areas has in fact increased exponentially – with industrialization, urbanization and globalization resulting in more population growth and vital economic infrastructure being concentrated on or near the coast. It is only the increased salience of maritime security for *all* maritime powers relative to *other tasks* and *other times* that is relatively new.

¹ Michael Brown (ed.), *Grave New World: Security Challenges in the Twenty-First Century*, Washington DC, Georgetown UP, 2003, pp. 2-3. For more recent data see *SIPRI Yearbooks* at www.sipri.org/contents/publications/yearbooks.html (accessed 22 December 2013).

² See, for example: Geoffrey Till, “Maritime Strategy in a Globalizing World,” *Orbis*, Vol. 51, No.4 (2007), pp.569–575 *maxime* p.571; and Idem, *Seapower: A Guide for the Twenty-First Century*, 3rd ed., London, Routledge, 2013, chapter 12.

Maritime terrorism, moreover, is a very recent development. The first major incident recorded as such, was the hijacking of the Portuguese cruise ship *Santa Maria*, by Portuguese and Spanish dissidents, opposed to dictatorial rule in their respective countries, in 1961. The incident, despite the aim of a peaceful take-over, resulted in one fatality among the crew, with safe passage given to the ship and passengers once Brazil had agreed to grant asylum to the hostage-takers. But maritime terrorism has, so far, been relatively rare for a number of reasons – from the logistical difficulties posed by the maritime environment to the greater difficulty in achieving significant media impact.³

Piracy, the most frequently cited threat to maritime security, has, on the other hand, been a recurrent problem for many thousands of years, even if its impact has varied greatly and it has, at times, seemed to be a thing of the past. The Portuguese maritime discoveries in the early fifteenth century came about by way of *de facto* piracy incursions – but blessed as a sort of maritime crusade – against the infidels led by Prince Henry the Navigator. The piracy experience of many of the Portuguese navigators also made them better able to embrace this high-risk enterprise and to think in terms of the control of crucial maritime chokepoints. Ironically, once Portugal had become the dominant maritime power in the Atlantic region south of the Canary Islands, it enforced a strategic doctrine of “sea denial” – known as *mare clausum* – of its recently discovered maritime route from Europe to the Gulf of Guinea, and defined as piracy any maritime activity in the region by ships from other European states. However, many European states were either unable or unwilling to control the maritime activities of their subjects in the region. Rising European states like France simply refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the *status quo*.

I mention this historical period because not only does it date back to the time when a realistic geographical notion of the Atlantic was beginning to

³ See, for example: Peter Chalk, *The Maritime Dimension of International Security: Terrorism, Piracy, and Challenges for the United States*, Santa Monica, RAND, 2008.

emerge – and, with it, the possibility of formulating realistic Atlantic strategies – but also because of two important parallels with current problems of maritime security.

First, even back in the fifteenth century, how to define and deal with piracy generated complicated diplomatic and legal problems. They could, however, be more easily solved than is the case today. The Portuguese royal decree of April 1480 determined that “without any need for further orders or legal actions, any [foreign pirates] found [in West African waters] shall all be thrown overboard to be naturally drowned and not be brought to these realms ... as a penalty for doing something so forbidden and reserved, and for all others to hear and learn from this exemplary punishment.” And yet, even this ruthless measure did not put a definitive end to a problem which had deep-running structural causes.⁴

Secondly, what the Portuguese State perceived as obvious cases of piracy were not seen as such by others. Portugal saw a violation of norms it had legitimately set as the pioneering and preeminent naval power in an, until then, inaccessible region to Europeans, legitimised by papal mandate. Rising European states questioned the legitimacy of the Iberian maritime *condominium* over the Atlantic and beyond, formalized in the Treaties of Alcáçovas (1479) and Tordesillas (1494).

Today, in a period of global power transition and huge asymmetries in power, it is important to bear past history in mind, to help us realise that the West's military presence may not always be perceived as positive by other international actors, namely emerging powers like Brazil. And what may be seen as robbery and piracy at sea in the light of international norms, as shocking as this may seem, may *not* necessarily be perceived as illegitimate in the eyes of many locals in areas where these activities take place. Because of extreme poverty, coastal communities in Somalia or West Africa have lacked attractive legal economic opportunities, and entertained strong

⁴ L. Adão da Fonseca, *D. João II*, Mem Martins, Temas & Debates, 2007, p. 152.

grievances on what they perceive to be the unfair economic exploitation of maritime resources by foreigners.

The long-term history of the Atlantic shows that different legal and strategic responses were adopted by different actors, across time, to the issue of piracy. The differing histories of the actors themselves partly explain these variances in interest and perceptions. Given this, we should not be surprised that NATO's and Brazilian views on maritime security in the Atlantic do not necessarily coincide.

Brazil – a tradition of maritime security and of strong reservations about Northern powers in the South Atlantic

One possible way of looking at Brazilian naval history is to argue that Brazil anticipated the focus to be on a certain type of maritime security.

Indeed, from the time of independence in 1822, and during national consolidation, a key operational task was to project forces quickly against secessionist movements within Brazil or to help solve – preferably by coercive diplomacy, and by force only if necessary – a small number of border disputes with neighbouring states.

The most important example of a conventional conflict in Brazilian history is the war with Paraguay – when Brazil was a member of the Triple Alliance with Argentina and Uruguay between 1864 and 1870. The Brazilian navy's "Trafalgar" – its *data magna* – is officially considered to be the victorious Battle of Riachuelo, to enforce a river blockade of Paraguay. It can be argued that, during long periods of time, this Brazilian brown and green water navy may have existed because of a lack of sufficient interest and resources for Brazil to invest in a truly blue water navy. This was indeed the criticism formulated by Brazilian navalists, including Ruy Barbosa, whose famous dictum "Fleets cannot be improvised," is still quoted today by lead-

ing Brazilian strategists who argue for greater investment in the navy.⁵ In so doing, they increasingly refer to maritime security as the need to properly secure export trade and, above all, to protect Brazil's waters and rich natural resources.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, there was, arguably, a build-up in Brazilian naval strength. Even then, however, this was connected to territorial consolidation and a context of tense interaction with major naval powers from the North Atlantic. The aim seems to have been a more effective deterrent and some minimal sea denial ability against abuses by the Royal Navy and the US Navy, which both had squadrons in the South Atlantic.

Why refer to events more than a century old? Why adopt, in other words, this long-term view to strategic problems in the South Atlantic? Because they have not been entirely forgotten in Brazil, not least because of more recent reminders that the naval presence of North Atlantic powers can be less than benign, if not positively malignant, from the viewpoint of states in the South Atlantic.

The *Christie* affair, which led to a serious crisis in diplomatic relations between Brazil and Great Britain, seemed to pose an imminent risk of maritime confrontation in 1851. This was just the most visible episode in a long history of British naval clashes with Brazilian vessels, justified by the Royal Navy as a humanitarian mission to stop the slave trade between Africa and Brazil. Regardless of the normative ethical arguments, this was still strongly resented by Brazilians.⁶

The nineteenth century ended with the “visit” of the gunboat *USS*

⁵ COMANDANTE DA MARINHA, Ordem do Dia Nº 2/2013, “148º Aniversário da Batalha Naval do Riachuelo - Data Magna da Marinha” (BRASÍLIA, 11 June 2013), available at: <http://www.tecnodefesa.com.br/materia.php?materia=1081> (accessed: 21 October 2013).

⁶ See, for example: Rory Miller, *Britain and Latin America in Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, London, Longman, 1993.

Wilmington to the navigable portion of the Amazon river all the way up Brazilian territory to Peru and back. This was apparently the result of a personal initiative by its commanding officer. But it was officially defended by US diplomacy at the time as a friendly visit, which understandably led to angry Brazilian diplomatic protests that “friendly visits” of this nature are preceded by an invitation, very much absent in this case. This example of American “gunboat diplomacy” may have been relatively mild by the standards of the time. It was still deeply humiliating for Brazilians.

More importantly, it was seen as a concrete sign of American ambitions over the vast, potentially rich, but thinly populated and difficult-to-control Amazon region. This was further confirmed, in Brazilian minds, by US intervention over the next few years in Venezuela; and by the Bolivian attempt to sell the disputed Acre territory to an American chartered company that included among its shareholders the son of US President Mackinley.⁷ These incidents, coming so soon after the Spanish-American War of 1898 with the resulting US military occupation of Cuba and Puerto Rico, left a long-lasting suspicion about US intentions in the Amazonian region that persist to this day. In light of this, more recent albeit minor episodes have been perceived by many Brazilians (including within the Armed Forces) as examples of “foreign greed” and “great powers” threatening Brazilian sovereignty particularly in the Amazon basin. For example, the fact that the US was the only country to formally question Brazil’s claims to extend its maritime jurisdiction on the basis of its continental shelf has revived fears of the US agenda in the region. This fear has led to calls for urgent naval investments to protect what has become popularly known in Brazil as the “Blue Amazonia” – an area comparable in scale, in potential wealth and in attractiveness to foreign interests, to the real Amazonia.⁸ In this context, during the 35th Mercosur Summit, the then President Luiz Inácio “Lula” da Silva did not hesitate to publicly question why the US was re-establishing

⁷ See, for example: Lewis A. Tambs, “Rubber, Rebels, and Rio Branco: The Contest for the Acre,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (1966), pp. 254-273.

⁸ For this a key work is by Celso Castro, *A Invenção do Exército Brasileiro*, Zahar, 2002.

its Fourth Fleet, after sixty years, to deal with “our region that is completely peaceful” adding “now that we have discovered oil [...] 300 km from our coast, we, obviously, want the US to explain the rationale of this Fourth Fleet.”⁹

These historical memories are not just limited to the US or to a distant past. More recently, another NATO member, France, had a centuries-long territorial dispute with Portugal and then Brazil, over the border between the Brazilian Amazon basin and French Guiana. Conflicting claims over fishing rights also led to the so-called “Lobster War” with naval displays of force by both sides in the early 1960s.

It is also worth remembering the latest significant episode in this history of North-South relations in the Atlantic was the war over the Malvinas/Falkland islands – also known as *Guerra del Atlántico Sur*/South Atlantic War between a NATO member, the United Kingdom, and a key neighbour of Brazil, Argentina, in 1982. The then President of Brazil, General Figueiredo, appealed in vain to British Prime Minister Thatcher not to use force to re-conquer the islands. Recently released documents, prominently reported in the Brazilian press, underlined Brazil’s attempts to resolve the dispute when Argentina was suddenly deprived of weapons and ammunition from Western suppliers.¹⁰

History, obviously, is not the sole or even necessarily the main determinant of present or future strategic developments in the relationship between Brazil and NATO. Moreover, Brazil also has a parallel history of strategic alignment with the West, including militarily – not least as a naval ally of Western powers in the First and Second World Wars.¹¹ But this was

⁹ Márcia Carmo, “Lula quer explicações dos EUA sobre Quarta Frota,” in *BBC Brasil* (2 July 2008).

¹⁰ E.g. “Em carta Brasil pediu a Thatcher para não enviar tropas às Malvinas,” *Folha de S. Paulo* (12 October 2013), available at: <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/mundo/2013/10/1355592-em-carta-brasil-pediu-a-thatcher-para-nao-enviar-tropas-as-malvinas.shtml>; see also the dossier on the subject by another great daily *O Globo*, available at: <http://oglobo.globo.com/infograficos/brasil-malvinas/> (last accessed: 21 October 2013).

¹¹ *Brasil – Livro Branco da Defesa Nacional*, Brasília, MDN, 2012, p.157 ff.

largely a story of disappointment from the point of view of the Brazilian elite, who waited in vain for public recognition in the West as a result of its contribution, as well as in terms of the country's global status and its share in key global institutions, like the League of Nations or the UN.¹²

Consequently, Brazilian grand strategy from the 1960s onwards emphasised *autonomia*/autonomy from the West, and accentuated South-South relations, namely across the Atlantic with Africa. With some fluctuations, the *política externa independente*, inaugurated by President Jânio Quadros in the early 1960s has remained influential in the formulation of Brazilian foreign policy, even during the military regime, and more so after the Malvinas/Falklands episode, the process of democratisation and the end of the Cold War.¹³

From this point of view, the Brazilian initiative that resulted in UN General Assembly Resolution 41/11 of 1986 is important. This established ZOPACAS [Zone of Peace and Cooperation of the South Atlantic], whose aims are largely self-explanatory. But it is important to underline the focus of this initiative on preventing nuclear proliferation in the region and, more explicitly, on reducing and eventually eliminating the military presence of countries from other regions of the globe in the South Atlantic. This met with some opposition from the US, the UK and France, for instance in 1996, when ZOPACAS declared the South Atlantic a nuclear-free area. ZOPACAS has 24 members in South America and in West and Southern Africa. It has met irregularly, but with increasing frequency, not least because of recent Brazilian diplomatic efforts, under the Presidencies of Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff. There appears to be a Brazilian desire

¹² See, for example: Eugênio V Garcia, *O Sexto Membro Permanente: O Brasil e a Criação da ONU*, Rio de Janeiro, Contraponto, 2012.

¹³ There are many works worthy of note on the history of Brazilian foreign policy, in a more analytical vein closer to our concerns see, for example: cf. Amado Cervo, *Inserção Internacional: formação dos conceitos brasileiros*, São Paulo: ed. Saraiva, 2008; Maria R Soares & Mônica Hirst, "Brazil as an intermediate state and regional power: action, choice and responsibilities," *International Affairs*, Vol.82 No.1 (2006), pp. 21-40; P.G. Fagundes Vizentini, "O Brasil e o Mundo: a política externa e suas fases," *Ensaios FEE*, Vol.20 No.1 (1999), pp. 134-154.

to further institutionalise ZOPACAS, not simply as a consultative forum, but as a formally constituted international organisation. ZOPACAS was conceived of as a counterbalance to NATO, to de-securitise and de-militarise the area, as well as to reinforce cooperation and mutual identification among the states of the South Atlantic region. At its latest meeting, the Brazilian Defence Minister Celso Amorim underlined that, unlike other organisations, ZOPACAS was created to “bring peace” and not “make war or even defend militarily against others.” He has also expressed his hope of an emerging “South American security identity” signalling that a “geographical fact can become a geopolitical actor.”¹⁴

A Brazilian navy primarily guaranteeing maritime security was, and still is, well in line with a Brazilian strategic culture and a foreign policy that has long given priority to the peaceful resolution of conflicts, defensive military capabilities, non-interference and respect for national sovereignty. This was formally enshrined in the new democratic constitution of 1988, which includes among the core principles of Brazilian foreign policy: “3. Self-determination; 4. Non-intervention; 5. Equality between States; 6. Promotion of Peace; 7. Peaceful Resolution of Conflicts.”¹⁵

The 2008 *National Defence Strategy* makes clear the implications of this normative power identity for Brazil in terms of its grand strategy:

Brazil is peaceful by tradition and by conviction. It lives in peace with its neighbours. Its international relations are ruled by [...] the constitutional principles of non-intervention, promotion of peace, peaceful resolution of conflicts and democracy. This calling for peaceful co-existence, internally and externally, is part of

¹⁴ Defence Minister of Brazil Celso Amorim, Speech at seventh ZOPACAS Summit, Montevideu (15 January 2013) at: https://www.defesa.gov.br/arquivos/2013/pronunciamentos/discurso_ministro/zopacas.pdf (last accessed: 15 March 2013); and Defence Minister of Brazil Celso Amorim, speech at the closing ceremony of the “Rumo à Identidade de Defesa Sul-Americana,” Rio de Janeiro (1 November 2012).

¹⁵ Brasil, *Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil de 1988*, available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/constituicao/constituicao.htm.

*national identity and a cherished value of the Brazilian people.*¹⁶

There is, therefore, a deep-rooted, constitutionally formalised Brazilian strategic culture of resistance to the use of force and foreign military intervention, which is closely linked to Brazil's history, identity and vision of its international role. Is this simply a matter of making the most of limited resources and capabilities? The growing Brazilian investment in defence is an interesting test to this traditional posture, but so far, there are no indications of a fundamental revision of these key tenets of Brazil's position in the world at large and the Atlantic in particular.

Maritime security in NATO strategy and threats in the Atlantic

The Atlantic Alliance's official naval strategy remained unchanged between 1984 and 2011. This was likely due to a focus on seemingly more urgent operational challenges, mostly in land warfare, after the end of the Cold War. NATO's 2011 *Alliance Maritime Strategy*, however, should neither be criticised for embracing the current doctrinal vogue for maritime security, nor for showing explicit interest in areas outside the North Atlantic. A renewed political interest in maritime security seems to have been largely driven by the visible increase in the impact of piracy on vital choke-points for international maritime trade and, in particular, by the challenges posed by piracy off the coast of Somalia, given the total inability of local state authorities, where they exist, to deal with the problem – in contrast, with, for instance, the situation in the Strait of Malacca.

NATO played a prominent role in providing significant naval forces to fight piracy off the Somali coast, with Operations *Allied Provider*, *Allied Protector* and *Ocean Shield* from 2008 onwards, responding to a unanimous

¹⁶ Brasil, *Estratégia Nacional de Defesa de 2012* in <http://www.ecsbdefesa.com.br/defesa/fts/END2012.pdf>

mandate of the UN Security Council asking all member states and regional organisations to help solve the problem. (Brazil has had a minimal presence, sending naval officers as observers to related multinational missions like Combined Task Force 151).¹⁷

These developments were reflected in a new NATO naval strategy, issued in 2011. If we read the text of the new *Alliance Maritime Strategy* carefully, however, it is clear that there is a concern with balancing immediate maritime threats and risks with preparedness for other future challenges, including those of a more traditional nature. This effort at balancing different naval tasks also has the distinct advantage, from the point of view of existing navies, of avoiding radical changes in training, doctrine, equipment and budget allocation. This may, however, also justify reservations from countries like Brazil about how whether this new focus on cooperative maritime security has really superseded more traditional state-centric naval strategy.

The new NATO *Strategic Concept* tries to address this concern by defining “cooperative security [...] through partnerships, dialogue and cooperation” as one of its priorities, alongside “crisis management” and the traditional core mission of “deterrence and collective security.” This is seen as a way for NATO to address global threats alongside immediate (and more traditional) defence concerns, while rejecting accusations that it wants to become a global policeman.¹⁸ A crucial question regarding potential partners is whether this will be enough to assuage such fears, namely should NATO decide to take on a growing maritime security interest in the South Atlantic.

Certain areas of the Atlantic have, indeed, increasingly caught the attention of the media and, more importantly, of bodies linked to the maritime sector – like the International Maritime Organization (IMO). These “hot

¹⁷ <http://www.royalnavy.mod.uk/news-and-latest-activity/news/2013/october/22/131022-brazilian-officer>

¹⁸ NATO, *Alliance Maritime Strategy* (2011).

spots” are characterised by significant threat of piracy and armed robbery, as is the case in particular of the Gulf of Guinea. There are some parallels to be drawn with the process of internal securitisation of piracy off the coast of Somalia. In fact, we may be witnessing some sort of transfer mechanism, with the recent 90% drop in piracy off Somalia leading to the coast of West Africa becoming the main focus of attention from the threat of piracy. Additionally, there is the apparently growing threat posed by organised crime, which is using the South Atlantic as a transit route for drug trafficking from South America to West Africa and then across the Sahel into Europe. A paradigmatic incident of this trend was a Boeing aircraft full of drugs found in Mali in 2009.¹⁹

A December 2012 International Crisis Group report underlines that piracy in the Gulf of Guinea threatens 40% of European oil imports and 29% of US imports, and is increasing off the coast of Nigeria. It also points out that 7% of Nigeria’s oil wealth (US\$6 billion per year) is lost to armed robbery or piracy. With an increase in the rate of attacks, “the ability of these nations to reliably provide oil to the international market could be in question.” This situation has had a very severe impact on the ability of the ports in the region to ensure their usual rate of activity. In Benin, Cotonou’s shipping activity has declined by 70% due to piracy and the report concludes that:

[W]ithin a decade, the Gulf of Guinea has become one of the most dangerous maritime areas in the world. Maritime security is a major regional problem that is compromising the development of this strategic economic area and threatening maritime trade in the short term and the stability of coastal states in the long term.” The document strongly recommends increased regional cooperation through ECOWAS and ECCAS: “states must fill the security vacuum in their territorial waters ... improving not only security but also economic governance.”

¹⁹ Serge Daniel, “Burnout Boeing, a clue to African drugs trade,” *AFP press release* (11.12.2009), available at:

It also points out that the scale of the phenomenon may, in fact, be far greater than widely thought, since only about 50% of piracy attacks are reported to the IMO. It further emphasises that, except for Ghana and, perhaps, Côte d'Ivoire and Nigeria, the region suffers from underinvestment in what are already very limited naval capabilities.²⁰

Furthermore, as Chris Trelawny, Deputy Director for maritime security at IMO, has emphasised: “piracy and maritime robbery are just one maritime challenge” facing the region; “focusing on one symptom alone would be counterproductive.” What is needed is a comprehensive approach to the maritime sector of the region, clearly a mission for more than one state and for which states from the region require outside help.²¹

Will this be the preface to a NATO intervention in the region?²² Some initiatives have been taken by its member states on an individual basis. For example, the Africa Partnership Station involves the US in the lead role, but also the UK and France. There are, at least at the political level, some positive local developments. At the Yaoundé Summit of June 2013, a non-binding agreement was reached between 26 member states of ECCA and ECOWAS to a West Africa maritime security code of conduct. Although non-binding and based on the Djibouti code of conduct for East Africa, the former has a significantly more comprehensive approach than the latter. The big question is if this signals a real shift towards more investment in maritime security by West African states.

It seems clear that Brazil, as well as NATO member states, will suffer if there is a significant violent escalation of the crisis in the Sahel and West Africa with a maritime impact. What is far from clear, however, is wheth-

²⁰ <http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5i6w-doyjeweRGhOaaAHVYfrVWONQ>
ICG, *The Gulf of Guinea: The New Danger Zone*, Dakar etc, ICG, 2012.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.18. See also: Chris Trelawny, “Piracy in West Africa: A Symptom of Wider Problems?,” *New African*, Vol.47 No. 526 (2013), pp. 16-21.

²² See: Brooke A. Smith-Windsor, “From the Gulf of Aden to the Gulf of Guinea: A New Maritime Mission for NATO?,” *Research Paper no. 100*, NATO Defense College, January 2014.

er there would be even minimal political consensus between Brazil and NATO on the kind of responses best suited to counter perceived threats to maritime security off the coasts of the Western and Southern Atlantic.

The Atlantic is what states make of it, from colonial times to today²³

From the standpoint of naval strategy, and more specifically of maritime security, is it reasonable to think in terms of a single Atlantic Ocean? In addressing this question, we need to recognise that alongside the physical reality of the sea, there is a social construct of the Atlantic Ocean(s). The Atlantic is – from a strategic and, more specifically, a maritime security point of view – what states, especially powerful states, make of it, but regional groupings like NATO or non-state actors like pirates or the IMO also have a say in the matter. Undoubtedly, to think about this area of the Atlantic while ignoring Brazil's views would be foolish. By the same token, the opinions of the US also obviously matter given the country's position as still the globally dominant naval power.

And yet NATO has the North Atlantic inscribed in its very name. It is an alliance of North Atlantic countries linked by air and sea-lanes that cross that ocean. It remains a united robust even if sometimes strained community. One of the key tasks for which NATO was created was to plan for a massive deployment of forces from the US (and Canada) across the Atlantic, so as to defend Europe from Soviet aggression. The Second World War – the Battle of the Atlantic – had shown how vital that was.

NATO has also been historically a *divider* of the Atlantic. The US, as the leading power in NATO, presented a divided Atlantic as a *sine qua non* for

²³ Here I paraphrase Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 2, 1992, pp. 391-425 as well as adopting his Constructivist point of view.

making a permanent Alliance politically palatable to the American public. Additionally, successive US administrations saw *no strategic interest* in being bound to a military alliance in defence of European colonial empires in Africa, namely along the shores of the South Atlantic.

A number of founding members of NATO, namely France and Portugal, were opposed to a strategic division of security in the Atlantic, which they saw as increasingly out of place in a more and more global Cold War. They argued that, in Africa, the USSR and its allies were using proxy guerilla wars to undermine the West. Furthermore, the potential triumph of Soviet allies might affect the security of the main alternative to the Suez Canal – the Cape route around Africa.

The US, however, insisted upon building a strategy based on dividing the Atlantic(s).²⁴ Washington DC also wanted the Western hemisphere to be a preserve of the Inter-American security system. In 1948, this aspiration was realized in the form of the Organization of American States (OAS), which reflected the long-standing preference in American strategic culture – dating back to 1823 and the Monroe Doctrine – of “America for Americans” (even if the other side of the coin – non-intervention in European affairs – was no longer deemed applicable).

In any case, because of this divergence of views, there was always *some* informal discussion within NATO on the strategic implications of security issues in adjacent areas, including the South Atlantic, for the defence of the West in a global Cold War. There were even some vague attempts to create a NATO for the South Atlantic from the 1950s to the 1970s, always involving South Africa, but also colonial Portugal, Belgium, France and Britain as well as Argentina and Brazil. However, notwithstanding different points of view among these powers, the leading driver of these efforts was not the US, but South Africa, whose pariah status as home to apartheid

²⁴ The collective defence provisions of NATO’s founding treaty (1949 Washington Treaty) are geographically circumscribed to north of the Tropic of Cancer.

made any formal, open security alliance with it politically inconvenient even for dictatorial regimes.²⁵

After the end of the Cold War, and a few years before becoming American Ambassador to NATO between 2009 and 2013, Ivo Daalder, for example, publicly advocated for a global Alliance.²⁶ And yet, in practice, the US still seems keen on enforcing a division in the Atlantic, manifest in its Southern Command (SOUTHCOM) with responsibility for South and Central America and the Caribbean, and Africa Command (AFRICOM) for the Western reaches of Africa in the South Atlantic – even if, on a practical level, US Naval Forces Africa and US Naval Forces Europe are both commanded by the same US admiral from Naples, Italy.

Politically, however, it is significant that the US did not show any active support for the idea of involving Brazil in a partnership with NATO in the prelude to the Alliance's 2010 *Strategic Concept*. In contrast, Portugal had tried to replicate its successful promotion of a Brazil-EU strategic partnership, during its Presidency of the EU in 2007, by advocating greater NATO-Brazil cooperation. In this case, however, the end result was predictably very different. Portugal had, in the case of NATO, no control over the agenda. The final report of the so-called Group of Experts led by former US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, to advise on the future content of the 2010 *Strategic Concept*, pointed to the OAS as “the principal regional body for both continents” of the Americas and therefore “with the possible exception of a humanitarian emergency it is hard to foresee direct NATO involvement in the region.”²⁷ Not surprisingly the Portuguese preference for a more global NATO to mean greater engagement with the South Atlantic was largely ignored. If the concern of US experts, and of those of

²⁵ Andrew Hurrell, “The Politics of South Atlantic Security: A Survey of Proposals for a South Atlantic Treaty Organization,” *International Affairs*, Vol. 59, No. 2 (1983), pp. 179-193; G. Berridge, *South Africa, the Colonial Powers and African Defence: The Rise and Fall of the White Entente, 1948-1960*, Houndmills, Macmillan, 1992; C. Coker, *Nato, the Warsaw Pact and Africa*, Houndmills, Macmillan, 1985.

²⁶ Ivo Daalder & J. Goldgeier, Global NATO, *Foreign Affairs*, Sep./Oct. 2006, pp. 105-113.

²⁷ Madeleine Albright et al., *NATO 2010: Assured Security: Dynamic Engagement: Analysis and Recommendations of the Group of Experts on a new Strategic Concept for NATO*, Brussels, NATO, 2010, p.17.

other member states, was to avoid creating political problems with Brazil by advocating a stronger NATO engagement in the South Atlantic, then the emphasis on the OAS would not be the right answer. After all, there has been a growing resistance by South American states in general, and Brazil in particular, to any claim that the OAS is still the most important security organisation for the Americas. Brazil has been betting strongly on growing detachment from it, through ZOPACAS, the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), and the South America Security Council.

Regardless of the Group of Experts final emphasis on the OAS (which, incidentally, is not mentioned in the 2010 *Strategic Concept*), it is crucial to underline that Brazil did not welcome Portugal's overtures regarding a potential partnership with NATO, for a number of reasons. First, this would have been seen as a way of signalling subordination to the US – the Alliance being perceived as US-dominated, annulling decades of Brazilian diplomatic efforts to affirm its autonomy vis-à-vis the US. Second, NATO was also seen as trying to legitimise US-led interventions abroad, outside the UN framework – this was considered to be unacceptable by Brazilian elites. Third, a closer institutionalised relationship between Brazil and NATO was seen as running directly counter to the Brazilian priority of building up a South American and South Atlantic regional security identity. Even had this not been the case, and had Brazil embraced a partnership with NATO, this would have endangered its policy of maintaining good neighbourly relations with the more populist anti-American leaderships in its own region – in Venezuela, Argentina, Bolivia, even Cuba.

Portugal and Brazil, therefore, despite sharing the same Portuguese language, are divided over the South Atlantic as well as over NATO's role in it. Portugal has been clearly in favour of affirming the strategic unity of the Atlantic, not least in its own new 2013 *Strategic Concept*. Brazil rejects this, even if it acknowledges Portugal's historical interest in the region (which is not viewed as a challenge) especially in the context of the defence framework of the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries. This is

worthy of note and of further analysis, because of its implications for future relations between Brazil and NATO – a point to be addressed in the final section of this text.

Brazil, NATO and future security and political risks in the Atlantic

Brazil and NATO member states, especially those on its Southern maritime border, arguably share a strong, objective interest in a peaceful and prosperous Atlantic in terms of their hard security, the human security of their nationals, and their economic and energy security. They potentially face a common threat to their maritime security if there is a significant surge in violent instability in the shores of the Atlantic, for instance, in Western Africa. What they do not necessarily share is a common vision of how to deal with these potential threats, and especially of who should deal with them.

The Atlantic is divided by some national perceptions and state interests. But even if there was a clear and agreed border between the North Atlantic and the South Atlantic, as Brazil would like, the major threats to maritime security in the present century – non-state, unconventional actors, such as pirates, terrorists and other forms of organised crime – have historically flouted national and international borders and norms.

There is, in other words, no guarantee that the Atlantic(s) constructed by different states and regional security organisations would fit the needs of unconventional maritime security threats. Pirates and other forms of serious organised crime have an impact in matters of maritime (in)security in the Atlantic and are not concerned by official borders drawn on water unless they are strongly enforced.

It is important, in this fluid and dangerous context, to neither ignore

nor exaggerate the dangers of a potential escalation in threats to maritime security in the Gulf of Guinea, and more generally on the West African coast, which might require a visibly robust international naval presence. The same goes for the potential challenges and risks of a stronger NATO military presence in the region, in terms of reactions and relations with key countries in the wider South Atlantic region such as Brazil.

The case of Mali is paradigmatic of what this might entail. If other states primarily saw the risk of a security crisis in the Sahel dangerously spilling over into Western Africa, Brazil primarily saw a vindication of its long-standing reservations about foreign military intervention – with Western intervention in Libya being blamed for its spill-over effect into Mali. During the regular EU-Brazil strategic partnership summit, Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff made a point of expressing strong reservations over the French intervention in Mali, underlining that military intervention should have waited for careful deliberation at the UN and that the “fight against terrorism should not justify neo-colonial temptations.”²⁸ Brazilian concern about a return to “gunboat diplomacy” is not without some foundation, even if Western appetite for it seems decidedly on the wane.²⁹

And yet the French intervention was the result of appeals by the Malian government facing imminent state collapse and a number of other African states. This raises the issue of whether, in fact, the African partners in the Brazilian-led initiative of the South Atlantic Peace and Cooperation Zone (ZOPACAS) fully share Brasília’s aim of excluding a foreign military presence from the South Atlantic or are much more pragmatic about it.

In fact, at the same Brazil-EU summit, President Dilma Rousseff also highlighted the need not to ignore the prolonged crisis in the failing state of Guinea-Bissau, in line with the argument that prevention is better than

²⁸ Ana Flor e Maria Carolina Marcello, Dilma diz que é preciso evitar ‘tentações coloniais’ em intervenção no Mali, *Estado de São Paulo* (24.1.2013) in <http://www.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,dilma-diz-que-e-preciso-evitar-tentacoes-coloniais-em-intervencao-no-mali,988343,0.htm> (accessed: 15 March 2013).

²⁹ Christian Le Mièrre, “The Return of Gunboat Diplomacy,” *Survival*, Vol.53 No.5 (2011), pp.53-68

intervention. A more comprehensive and multilateral approach is clearly needed, based on foreign aid for capacity building, better governance and more equitable development. Yet Mali and Guinea-Bissau, despite years of effort, have failed to consolidate democracy or absorb foreign aid effectively – hence the need to reconsider how to make aid and capacity building more effective. This should be a common concern for both Brazil and NATO, which have become increasingly involved in this concern for cooperative security.

It is also clear that a robust military response is sometimes necessary, but cannot be provided by local actors because of minimal naval capabilities in West Africa. However well intentioned, Brazil's policy of building a South Atlantic identity and specific security community around ZOPACAS to address regional security challenges is not without problems, especially in the short term and if a sudden and serious crisis of maritime security emerges in West Africa. Again, many West African countries simply do not have sufficient naval capabilities to ensure the surveillance and security of their own territorial waters, much less contribute to that of international waters in the South Atlantic without external support.³⁰

Moreover, even in the case of Brazil and South Africa – which possess the most capable navies in this larger South Atlantic area – there are those critics who question whether their current capabilities and rate of future procurement are sufficient for significant and effective projection of power even at the regional level.³¹ Strategically, naval cooperation between Brazil, South Africa and India in the IBSAMAR (India-Brazil-South Africa Maritime) framework is potentially very significant. But cooperation has so far been limited to naval exercises every two years. There are those who have been arguing for IBSA “to exploit [...] the fact that they are linked by the sea lanes of two great oceanic corridors converging at the Cape of Good

³⁰ Cf. IISS, “Sub-Saharan Africa,” *Military Balance 2014*, London, IISS, 2014, Chap. 9.

³¹ On Brazil, see for example: Andrés Malamud, “Introducción.,Brasil:, ¿se, puede ser una potencia mundial, sin bombas, atómicas,ni premios, Nobel?” *Anuario Americanista Europeo*, N° 10, 2012, p.1.

Hope: the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans,” by developing a common approach to maritime security in this area.³² But this has not yet been the case, nor is it clear it will be.

Brazil should recognise the serious potential risks of a de-militarisation strategy before proper security structures and capabilities are in place, especially in Africa. In fact, it has tacitly done so by engaging in security cooperation agreements with African states – in particular with its long-term naval mission in Namibia and, since 2013, in Cape Verde (where, incidentally, NATO also conducted a major joint exercise – *Steadfast Jaguar* – in 2006). This should be welcomed by NATO member states if they are serious about the importance of cooperative security in capacity building they should not claim an exclusive to it.

At the same time, NATO and its members should not presume that their interventions – or potential interventions – are necessarily perceived by other peoples or states, particularly in former Western colonies, as beneficial, disinterested and purely humanitarian. There are not only military but also political challenges to armed interventions overseas. Nor should they assume that to offer cooperative security or partnerships under their leadership will solve all potential problems.

Brazil is a good example of a more generic problem with the partnership model. It worked well in the wider European neighbourhood. But it cannot be seen as a panacea, or necessarily the way forward for NATO engagement with the wider world. I would argue that in the case of major emerging powers it tends to create excessive expectations of mutual understanding that often are not realistic. Brazilian senior officials have made it very clear that they are not interested in any type of asymmetrical partnership with NATO. Brazil’s foreign policy has, after all, for decades, been

³² Francis A. Kornegay, “A Strategic Agenda for IBSA,” *SABC News* site, (3 October 2011) at www.sabc.co.za/news/a/b0bfbe00488e3730b55fbd8a493af53f/A-Strategic-Agenda-for-IBSA-20111003 (accessed 12 October 2011).

dominated by a concern with affirming its autonomy internationally. This is irreconcilable with a formal partnership with NATO as long as the latter is perceived as US dominated.

Despite these real political difficulties, maritime security is probably an area in which some common ground might be found between maritime powers from different parts of the Atlantic. Navies have often contributed to military diplomacy and have cooperated in facing shared risks and threats at sea. Serious but diffuse and unconventional maritime threats have required major long-term politico-economic responses, given the huge costs of military naval capabilities deployed to deal with them, which have often required *de facto* cooperation even between unlikely partners. This has been seen in the case of piracy off the Somali coast. But it is important to accept as a starting point that any such dialogue should be open to discussion about security in *all of the Atlantic* and not only the South Atlantic, because of the transnational nature of contemporary risks and threats, as discussed earlier. To do otherwise will naturally raises the question by countries like Brazil – why should North Atlantic powers be concerned with the South Atlantic, but not the reverse?

Last but not least, suspicions and misperceptions – regardless of how baseless or unfair they might appear to the other side – should not be totally ignored, tempting as that might be. They can be partly addressed through better communication, as well as track two fora for dialogue involving academics, senior officials and military officers.

If more ambitious objectives are to be pursued in the medium term, a security dialogue involving NATO and the EU on maritime cooperation with other relevant regional security organisations, like ECOWAS or ZOPACAS, should be considered. This could offer a more symmetrical approach compared to a bilateral relationship directly between Brazil and NATO. Even though there may be hurdles to overcome with this approach – for instance, given the stated aims of ZOPACAS there might be obstacles

to a formal dialogue with NATO – it is arguably worth exploring.

Ultimately, we should ask whether NATO is necessarily the best forum for high-profile engagement on maritime security in the South Atlantic. Not everything needs to be done within a NATO framework, as NATO would readily acknowledge. The principle of “do no harm” is a wise one. If, however, a situation emerges that would appear to require robust NATO involvement in the South Atlantic, it is important that the Alliance and its member states be aware that their intervention could be negatively perceived by important regional powers like Brazil, and, as such, have in place good communication channels of communication to fully explain their intentions and address any concerns from the outset.

PART 5

THE WAY AHEAD

Brazil-NATO: New Global Security Partners?

José Francisco Pavia

Introduction

NATO's new *Strategic Concept*, which was approved in Lisbon in November 2010, includes "Security through Cooperation" as one of the core tasks of the Atlantic Alliance. It was in this spirit that Allied Foreign Affairs Ministers approved the "New Partnership Policy" at their meeting in Berlin, in April 2011. In this decision, NATO members recognized that security issues today have reached such a level of complexity and have become so transnational that it would be impossible for a single country or a single organization on its own to cope with unexpected events and threats that may occur in the international arena. Hence the need to define and establish partnerships with other organizations and countries that share the same goals and are committed to the defence of common values. Many of these partnerships already exist and have shown their added value in the prevention and solution of crises, threats and international conflicts. The purpose of this paper is, thus, to try to identify goals and concerns common to the democracies of the Euro-Atlantic Community and Brazil, in order to possibly establish a basis for a common understanding and mutual support in tackling today's security challenges, many of which – from narco-trafficking to piracy and humanitarian disasters – know no borders. This paper will also endeavour to demystify some misconceived notions about NATO and consider other success stories which have resulted from partnership with it.

“Cooperative Security” and NATO’s “New Partnership Policy”

As previously stated, NATO’s new *Strategic Concept*, approved in Lisbon in November 2010, provides for “Cooperative Security” as one of the three main tasks to be carried out by the Alliance, and seeks to guarantee international peace and security through the establishment of partnerships with different actors. The development of, and framework for, such partnerships were examined in detail in the document issued after the meeting of the Alliance’s Foreign Affairs Ministers held in Berlin in April 2011. The aim of the policy was to reinforce NATO’s existing partnerships and render more flexible the structure of subsequent partnership mechanisms so that it would be more efficient and adaptable to a range of complex emerging issues. According to this new approach, NATO is equipped with a set of measures enabling it to “solve more problems, with more partners, according to different approaches,”¹ as stated by the Alliance’s Secretary General, Anders Fogh Rasmussen.

To date, NATO’s Partnership Policy has experienced three phases:

1. Beginning in the early 1990s and coinciding with the end of the former USSR and the dismantling of the Warsaw Pact, the Atlantic Alliance prepared for and adapted to the new international scenario. In the wake of such events, in December 1991, NATO established the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC), which was the first consultative forum between NATO and nine countries from Central and Eastern Europe. Subsequently in 1994, NATO implemented the PfP (Partnership for Peace), a bilateral cooperation programme between the Alliance and partner nations. In the same year, the Mediterranean Dialogue was also launched, which involves a partnership between NATO and seven countries in the Medi-

¹ Cfr: http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_84336.htm (accessed 15 Jan 2013).

terranean basin that are not members of the Alliance;

2. The second phase, which began in 1997 and ended in 2004, witnessed the establishment of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) which succeeded the NACC and currently comprises the twenty-eight members of the Alliance plus twenty-two partners. At the time, agreement was also reached on the 1997 NATO-Russia Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security, including the establishment of the Permanent Joint Council (later succeeded by the NATO-Russia Council in 2002), in addition to the establishment of the NATO-Ukraine Commission (1997). This period also covered two instances in which former Cold War adversaries became Allies, with the Alliance's further enlargement in 1999 and 2004. Finally, in 2004 the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative (ICI) was created as a partnership between NATO and countries from the Gulf region;

3. The third phase, from 2004 to the present day, saw the emergence of partnerships with the so-called "Partners Around the Globe," that is, partnerships with different states that are not part of any of the previously mentioned partnership frameworks, including Australia, Japan, South Korea, New Zealand, Pakistan, Iraq, Afghanistan and Mongolia. An information sharing agreement has also recently been signed with Colombia, as we will be discussing below. As regards other BRICS nations in addition to Russia, NATO's dialogue with China and India has also developed in recent years.² Notwithstanding NATO's support to the African Union which began in 2005, South Africa has likewise engaged with the Alliance

² NATO-China military to military consultations began in 2012 and Chinese officers have attended courses at the NATO Defense College. China's Ambassador to Italy also recently visited the NDC. NATO-India dialogue has in the past transpired informally, up to the level of Secretary General on the margins of the Munich Security Conference for example.

through the NATO Submarine Escape and Rescue Working Group (SMERWG).³

There are different reasons which explain the growing number of global partnerships with NATO:

1. The growing insecurity and unpredictability characterizing the present international scene have led NATO's member states and the Alliance as a whole, to take on new responsibilities and face new challenges, not just in the Euro-Atlantic region, but practically the world over. Largely at the behest of the United Nations, NATO has progressively embarked on missions and taken on duties beyond its traditional scope of action.⁴ These range from *Cooperative Security* missions like Ocean Shield (in the Gulf of Aden, off the coast of Somalia), to *Crisis Management* missions like Unified Protector (in Libya), as well as *Collective Defence* missions like Active Endeavour (in the Mediterranean). To be effective, such diverse activities require an increasing pool of partners — both regional and otherwise — and good will on the part of all. Operations conducted in cooperation with partners are more effective and have greater chances of being successful because they are familiar with the realities and specificities on the ground and in the surrounding context. NATO's support to the African Union Mission (AMISON) in Somalia (a peace support operation conducted by the African Union to stabilize the security situation in that country) is a case in point. Another example is the more recent exchange between NATO

³ South African Navy, "South Africa hosts NATO Submarine Escape and Rescue Working Group Meeting," 8 June 2009, available at: http://www.google.ca/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&frm=1&source=web&cd=10&ved=0CFIQFjAJ&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.atlanticcouncil.org%2Fen%2Fblogs%2Fnatosource%2Fsouth-africa-hosts-nato-submarine-escape-and-rescue-work-group-meeting&ei=YVa9U4SxH4rm4QSt04BQ&usg=AFQjCNHXPOk497x3pylR3tboveQji-_dGg.

⁴ Brooke Smith-Windsor, "Misery Makes for Strange Bedfellows: The Future of the UN-NATO Strategic Partnership," in *The UN and NATO: Forward from the Joint Declaration*, Forum Paper n. 17, NATO Defense College, Rome, May 2011.

and Colombia in the area of counter-terrorism and the fight against drug trafficking, which taps into the South American country's experience in these domains;

2. By the same token, the recent economic and financial crises in the United States and Europe have led many Allies to increasingly cut back on their defence budgets, which lessens the available pool of resources for UN-sanctioned global missions. Therefore, it is in the interest of the Allies and the international community that NATO helps to build up the regional and global capacities of others — building on its decades-old experience and multinational interoperability standards — in order to cope with today's challenges, as security providers instead of security consumers.

New opportunities, risks and challenges facing Brazil in the 21st century

Opportunities

Present-day Brazil has ceased to be a country eternally in the making and has become a reality with which the international community must necessarily engage. It is a country and, in many respects, a continent in itself, given its vast and diverse territory — the fifth largest in the world — with a population of around 200 million and an abundance of natural resources. In politico-economic terms it has become a global, as well as a major regional, actor. It is an integral member of BRICS, the Group of 20 (G20), India-Brazil-South Africa Dialogue Forum (IBSA), the Organization of Ibero-American States (OEI), the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), and the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP). It is actively involved in the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the Bretton Woods institutions, as well as in the United Nations and its

many agencies. It has also been an active and leading contributor to United Nations peacekeeping missions (e.g. Lebanon, Haiti) and is a privileged partner of the European Union and other major powers. Economically, it is a highly competitive exporting country, not only in agricultural and mineral commodities, but also in manufactured goods, as well as high-technology aerospace and oil products. Recent discoveries in the Pre-Salt areas⁵ may result in Brazil's rise to a position of prominence as one of the world's main oil producers and exporters. Its multinationals have already established global operations and include Odebrecht, Petrobras, Camargo Corrêa and Vale do Rio Doce. This new reality matches the Brazilian elite's objective for the country to become a leader on the international scene, consistent with its growing economic and political clout.

In terms of soft power, Brazil is already arguably there. It is a world exporter of its different cultural components, which include music, soap operas, and soccer. Portuguese is the third most widely spoken Western language and the sixth most widely spoken in the world. Brazil hosted the 2014 World Cup and the Olympic Games are scheduled for 2016. Its embrace of democracy and its development model, especially over the last decade, have commanded admiration internationally. But alongside the opportunities, there are also risks and challenges to Brazil's rise. Without discussing domestic political issues, which go beyond the scope of this paper, the following part focuses on three particularly salient concerns.

The Blue Amazon Concept and Brazil's Maritime Security

Maritime security (e.g. secure Sea Lines of Communication (SLoCs) to national and international markets, and the protection of critical infrastructure like offshore oil platforms) is today one of Brazil's most prominent strategic concerns. Approximately 80% of Brazil's international trade travels by sea (**Figure 3**), and the country recently announced massive

⁵ The Pre-Salt is a geological formation on the continental shelves.

offshore oil discoveries. This, coupled with Brazil's claim to an extensive continental shelf, has led to the emergence, in Brazilian strategic circles, of the "Blue Amazon" concept, to complement the Green Amazon one. The Blue Amazon concept shown in **Figure 4** refers to Brazil's established EEZ – already one of the largest in the world – with its claim to an extended continental shelf. The size of these two stretches of sea would be equivalent to the Green Amazon; in other words, half of Brazil's territory.

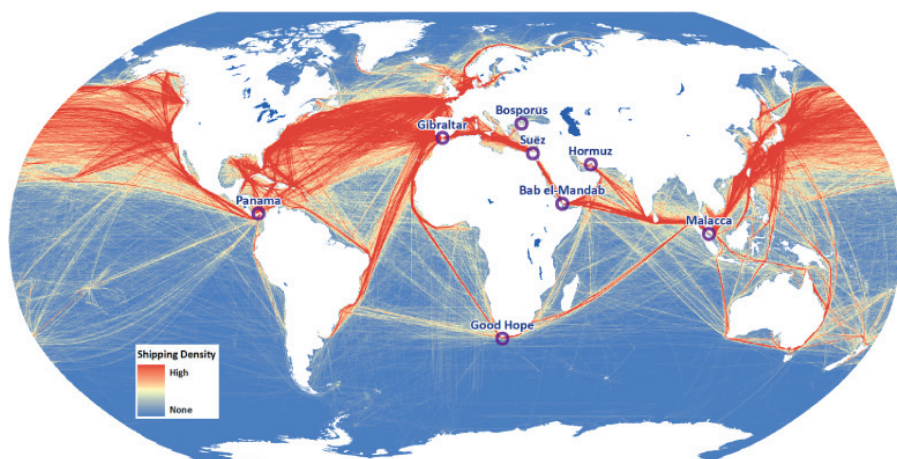


Figure 3: International Shipping Density⁶

⁶ Source: Adapted from the National Center for Ecological Analysis and Synthesis.
<http://neptune.nceas.ucsb.edu/cumimpacts2008/impacts/transformed/jpg/shipping.jpg>
 (accessed 29 July 2014).

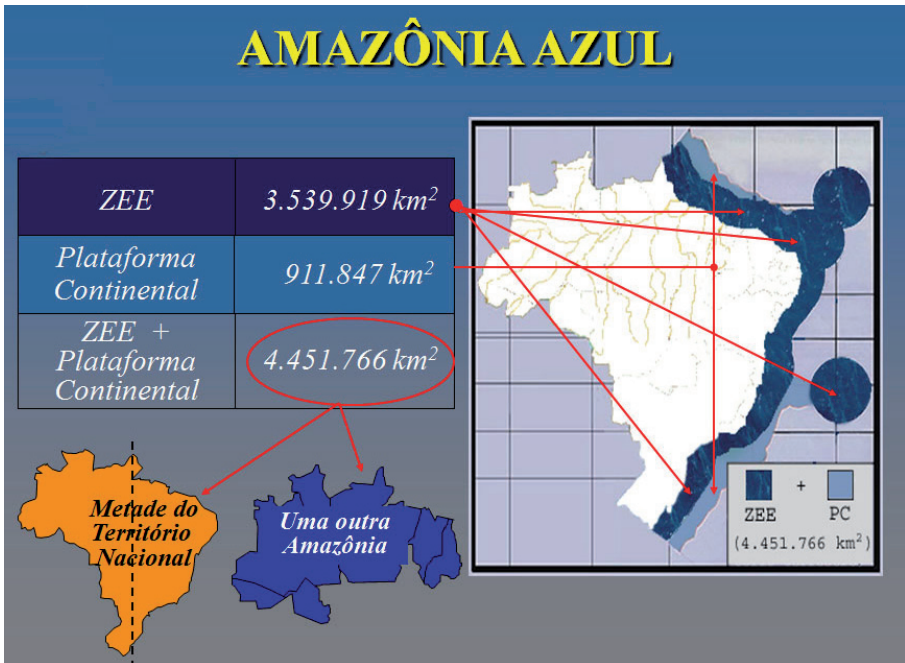


Figure 4: Blue Amazon⁷

Narco-trafficking

Narco-trafficking is Brazil's second security concern, with international reports indicating that, although Brazil is not a major producer of narcotic drugs, it is the second largest consumer after the US in the Western hemisphere, and a country of transit for criminal networks smuggling drugs to other parts of the world. This is a serious threat to national security which is not exclusive to Brazil. For example, West Africa is one of the routes for the smuggling of cocaine from South America to Europe. Financial flows originating from drug trafficking pervert economic systems and cor-

⁷ Source: <http://www.naval.com.br/blog/2010/10/16/poder-naval-no-seminario-da-amazonia-azul-na-escola-naval/#axzz2PhPFW8r0> (accessed 06 April 2013).

rupt societies. Drug traffickers may use threats and bribery, thus infiltrating state structures and operating with impunity.⁸ The case of Guinea-Bissau is a well-known example of how money coming from the drug trade can weaken state structures and debilitate society as a whole, thus exacerbating political conflicts and transforming the country into a possible safe haven for terrorist networks. **Figure 5** clearly illustrates the connections between major international drug trafficking networks – the South Atlantic is clearly a vulnerable region.

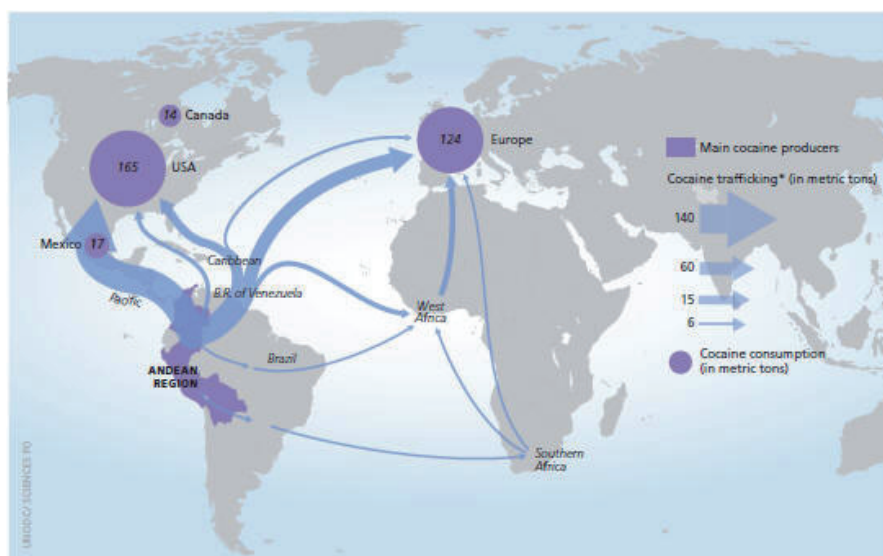


Figure 5: Global Cocaine Flows⁹

⁸ Amado Philip de Andrés, *Organized Crime, Drug Trafficking, Terrorism: The New Achilles Heel of West Africa*, FRIDE, 2008, http://www.fride.org/download/com_achilles_heel_eng_may08.pdf (accessed 12 March 2013 201).

⁹ Source: UNODC World Drug Report 2010, <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/drug-trafficking/>. <http://www.cert.br/stats/incidentes/> (accessed 29 July 2014).

Cyber Terrorism

While the 2007 cyber attacks against Estonia (a NATO member state) are perhaps the most widely quoted case of cyber terrorism, Brazil too has been exposed to the international menace of cyber terrorism. In June 2012, Brazil suffered the greatest cyber attack in its history. Hackers from the country, in partnership with a group known as LulzSe, closed down several portals belonging to the Brazilian government. Previously, in 2011, Brazil suffered 400,000 computer attacks, according to the Brazil National Computer Emergency Response Team (Brazil – CERT).¹⁰

Areas of possible cooperation with NATO¹¹

Given the previously mentioned security concerns, the question remains as to what, if anything, NATO could offer Brazil to help address these issues in a mutually reinforcing and beneficial way? As mentioned earlier, there is a certain degree of mistrust and even some reticence from various sectors of Brazilian society, concerning possible cooperation with the Atlantic Alliance – often considered a cloak to advance American interests in Central and South America and as a means to challenge Brazil's regional and international leadership aspirations.¹² The remarks of former Defence Minister, Nelson Jobim, when asked about the prospects for a Brazil/NATO partnership in the future, are illustrative.¹³ The Minister completely discarded this hypothesis, arguing that the United States has not ratified the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea [i.e. and would, therefore, not

¹⁰ See: <http://www.cert.br/stats/incidentes/>

¹¹ For a further exploration of several of the points discussed here, see also: Brooke A. Smith-Windsor, "NATO and the South Atlantic: Perspectives from the Global North," in *Multilateral Security Governance*, XI Conference of Forte de Copacabana International Security A European-South American Dialogue, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, October 2014.

¹² Cfr: Eusébio Mujal-León e Alejandro González, "A Relação Estados Unidos-Brasil, Perspectivas para uma parceria," in *Relações Internacionais*, no. 29, March 2011, pp. 59-81.

¹³ Cfr. Pedro Seabra, "South Atlantic crossfire: Portugal in-between Brazil and NATO," *IPRIS Viewpoints*, no. 26, Nov. 2010.

recognize Brazil's claims to Blue Amazonia] and that, in 2008, it reactivated its fourth fleet (which covers the entire South American continent) in pursuit of hegemonic and expansionist goals.

Notwithstanding the fact that these are US national decisions which have nothing to do with the Alliance and its other 27 members, the vast majority of which have ratified the UN Convention on the law of the sea (UNCLOS), one should explain that the US did not ratify the Convention only because of opposition from a minority of Republican Senators. President George W. Bush himself actually supported ratification, as does President Obama today, and the Administration is on record as stating it will respect UNCLOS through deeds pending ratification. On the other hand, the resurrection of Fourth Fleet is part of the US' reaction to what it perceives to be new international threats and the need to back up maritime vigilance, just as Brazil too is investing in its navy to counter emerging challenges of the kind outlined above.

One should also point out that NATO is not shorthand for the US. Indeed, although the US is NATO's indispensable member, it is not the only one. NATO is a political and military Alliance composed of 28 predominately European member countries; its decisions are taken by consensus and they are not geared solely towards American interests. Suffice it to consider the case of Iraq, where most members of the Alliance opposed American objectives and declined to support any NATO involvement in the invasion. In the case of NATO's intervention in Libya, the action was led by the French and the British with a Canadian commander, with the US playing a backseat role. In other words, and contrary to the notions circulated by a certain type of propaganda, NATO is not just the US; it is an Alliance of democracies made up of twenty-six European and two North American equal member states who collectively determine its actions. It is essential to remember this when addressing the issue of possible NATO-Brazil cooperation to address issues of international peace and security.

Maritime Security

Based on these considerations, it would seem that maritime security issues and any questions pertaining to the sea in general, could be areas in which possible cooperation between NATO and Brazil would prove to be most promising. On 16 March 2011, NATO approved its *Alliance Maritime Strategy* (this was the first strategic policy paper to be approved following the adoption of the overarching 2010 *Strategic Concept* at the Lisbon Summit). The document emphasizes freedom of navigation, the free transit of goods and energy resources, the protection of marine and environmental resources, the fight against piracy, terrorism, narco-trafficking, illegal migration, human trafficking, and the arms trade, much of which echoes Brazil's maritime concerns as outlined above. A window of opportunity for collaboration on a case-by-case basis would, therefore, appear to exist. As NATO's maritime strategy states: "Alliance maritime activities make an important contribution to NATO's policy of outreach through partnerships, dialogue, and cooperation. They offer valuable opportunities to prevent conflicts and develop regional security and stability through dialogue, confidence-building, and increased transparency. They can also contribute to building partner capacity, exchanging information, cooperative security, and interoperability ..."¹⁴

With regard to maritime cooperation between Brazil and the Alliance, there are precedents on which to build. For example, Brazil is party to the NATO Codification Scheme International Sponsorship Programme for military standards in areas such as logistics. It has in the past also participated in the NATO-chaired Maritime Commanders Conference, which brings together naval chiefs from Allied and partner countries to discuss opportunities for shared approaches in addressing maritime security threats. Moreover, under a UN mandate, both Brazil and NATO have contributed to the international community's counter-piracy efforts off the

¹⁴ NATO, *Alliance Maritime Strategy*, 2011, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-41426331-6494A785/natolive/official_texts_75615.htm (accessed 13 July 2013).

coast of Somalia — in the case of NATO, through its ongoing Operation Ocean Shield; in the case of Brazil, through the deployment of personnel to the Combined Task Force (CTF) 151. Both operations are not conducted in isolation but managed through, for example, the Shared Awareness and Deconfliction (SHADE) process which convenes quarterly to coordinate and de-conflict activities between the countries, the naval partnerships and the industry involved in counter piracy operations in the Gulf of Aden, off the Horn of Africa and in the West Indian Ocean. As one Brazilian officer recently remarked of his experience while serving with the UK's Royal Navy, "Working with a multinational team, I have learned a lot about key international cultures..."¹⁵ The African Union's recent adoption of *African Integrated Maritime (AIM) Strategy 2050* also arguably presents an ideal opportunity for more Brazil-NATO coordinated efforts in the maritime security domain. Both have already been engaged in maritime capacity building in Africa – as an example in NATO's case, providing sea-lift for past AU operations; in Brazil's case, extensive national aid has assisted in developing the Namibian Navy. As the AU moves to implement *AIM Strategy 2050*, the need for greater coordination and deconfliction between external actors' contributions across the continent will only increase. *AIM Strategy 2050* specifically calls for an "enhanced collaborative, concerted, cooperative, coordinated, coherent and trust-building multilayered approach among the AU, RECs/RMs [Regional Economic Communities/Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution], relevant African organizations, Member States, the private sector as well as international development partners, in order to promote the AU's objectives."¹⁶ In this context, NATO's Maritime Command (MARCOM) has already been approached by AU officials to assist in the *AIM Strategy 2050* implementation along with other international actors. These would surely include Brazil itself, sometimes described as Africa's most important ally when it comes to maritime security.¹⁷

¹⁵ <http://www.royalnavy.mod.uk/news-and-latest-activity/news/2013/october/22/131022-brazilian-officer>.

¹⁶ African Union, *AIM Strategy 2050*, <http://pages.au.int/maritime/documents/2050-aim-strategy-0> (accessed 4 December 2013).

¹⁷ <http://www.defenceiq.com/naval-and-maritime-defence/articles/why-brazil-is-africa-s-most-important->

Combating Narco-Trafficking

Given the South Atlantic-European linkage for the drug trade as referenced earlier, cooperation in combating narco-trafficking arguably holds particular promise for NATO-Brazil relations. In the fight against narco-trafficking, cooperation between the Alliance and the South American sub-region would not represent an entirely new strategy. As previously mentioned, NATO and Colombia recently signed a cooperation agreement.¹⁸ Colombian President Pinzón Bueno explained, “What we seek is to learn from NATO and to share our experience in the fight against drug trafficking, terrorist groups and other crimes committed by transnational crime organizations.”¹⁹ A similar practically focussed agreement on information exchange between Brazil and the Alliance in combating narco-trafficking would arguably be in the interest of both. The transnational nature of the drug trade, and the combination of international efforts required to combat it, is further underscored by, for example, Russia’s parallel initiatives with a number of South American nations, including Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru.

Cyber Defence

Another area for possible NATO-Brazil cooperation might be the fight against cyber terrorism. As previously mentioned, this is a constant and cross-cutting threat, since no-one is immune to its effects; as noted, Brazil itself has been the target of cyber attacks in the past. For its part, NATO has long-standing experience in the cyber defence field. Following the well-known 2007 cyber attacks against a NATO member state, Estonia, Tallinn established and hosts the NATO Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence (CCDCOE). Its mission is “to enhance the capability, coopera-

ally-for-mar/

¹⁸ “Colombia Signs Cooperation Agreement with NATO,” <http://www.globalresearch.ca/colombia-signs-cooperation-memorandum-with-nato/5340639> (accessed 9 July 2013)

¹⁹ “BLOG: NATO Signs Cooperation Agreement with Colombia,” <http://www.americasquarterly.org/nato-signs-cooperation-agreement-with-colombia>

tion and information sharing among NATO, NATO nations and partners in cyber defence by virtue of education, research and development, lessons learned and consultation.”²⁰ Encouragingly, in early 2014, Brazil made preliminary contact with the CCDCOE.

Peace Support Operations

Lastly, another focus for potential Brazil-NATO cooperation could be the shared lessons learned from, or even one day joint actions in, UN-mandated international peacekeeping operations. Such engagements are not without precedent in South America. Argentina participated in the NATO-led stabilization force (SFOR) mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina and was also involved in the Kosovo Force (KFOR) peacekeeping mission. As an increasingly active international security provider, Brazil is a valuable repository of expertise, founded on numerous peacekeeping operations including those conducted in Mozambique, Angola, Timor Leste, Lebanon, Haiti, etc. The exchange of experience and the Brazilian approach to conflict management has, encouragingly, been initiated with the Alliance. Brazil, for instance, which commands the Maritime Task Force of the United Nations Interim Force (UNIFL) in Lebanon, has shared lessons learned with NATO’s Maritime Interdiction Operational Training Centre in Souda Bay, Crete. There is no reason why such a dialogue should not be initiated in other areas of support for international peace where Brazil and NATO have both been involved.

Conclusion

As its international power and influence continue to grow, the historic pragmatism which characterises Brazil’s foreign policy will soon point to omnidirectional diplomacy as the most suitable course for the country.

²⁰ <https://www.ccdcoe.org/history.html>

This is perfectly natural and is intrinsic to the behaviour of states with global reach and influence in the complex of inter-state and inter-institutional relations that epitomize the international system. Brazil may well adopt and give pride of place to a South-South cooperation posture in different international fora like India, Brazil, South-Africa Dialogue forum (IBSA), South Atlantic Peace and Cooperation zone (ZOPACAS), Brazil, Russia, India, China, South-Africa (BRICS), or the Group of Tenty (G20) of the World Trade Organization (not to be confused with the other G20, of which Brazil is also a part), but (as has already been illustrated) that does not exclude exploring and mutually benefiting from engagement with NATO on issues of international peace and security. As Brazil rises and a transformed NATO endures, shared concerns and shared values speak to the logic of more, not less, engagement between them.²¹

²¹ Examples of the national defense objectives listed in the the *National Defence White Paper* issued by the Brazilian government in the second semester of 2012 include the following: contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security; intensify Brazil's international projection and promote its involvement in international decision-making processes. Such points are wholly consistent with this paper's proposals for greater cooperation with the Atlantic Alliance. Cfr. <http://www.defesa.gov.br/arquivos/2012/mes07/lbldn.pdf> (accessed 12 February 2013).

A Country of the Future and an Alliance that will Remain: an Interest-Driven Strategy for Brazil-NATO Relations

Robert Helbig

This paper argues that the rationale for a mutually reinforcing Brazil-NATO relationship exists and that the path to its achievement lies with a bottom-up process, involving the interest-focused military instead of position-focused policymakers.

Mutual interest in forging a NATO-Brazil relationship

As a political-military alliance with a long tradition of global engagement in crisis management (largely at the behest of the United Nations [UN]), NATO's interest in fostering relations with emerging powers, especially those sharing the same liberal democratic values as its member states, is perhaps easily understood. Brazil also stands to gain in a number of ways from developing relations with established security actors like NATO in the Global North:

- advancement of Brazil's image and vocation as a leader in international security alongside established powers, in addition to the country's participation in UN peacekeeping operations;
- promotion of Brazil's political and security interests in a reformed international governance system, accommodating the aspirations and competencies of the Global South alongside the countries of the Global North;

- insights into NATO's interoperability, as the 'gold standard' of multinational cooperation;
- the opportunity to learn from NATO's two decades of experience in peace support operations around the world.

Looking at the prospect of the Alliance cooperating more closely with Brazil, the following is an illustrative – although not exhaustive – list of the associated benefits from a NATO viewpoint:

- advancing NATO's general advocacy of cooperative security, as laid out in the 2010 *Strategic Concept*;
- building operational capacities for defence and security in the South Atlantic, to help address rising threats (e.g. piracy, drug trafficking) in a region that is vital for international trade, including energy flows to NATO member states;
- increasing burden-sharing with rising powers, in terms of responsibility for international security;
- increasing legitimacy for NATO in the international community, through partnerships in the Global South (where various states have often criticized NATO operations).

Obstacles to partnership

As indicated above, despite the obvious rationale for a Brazil-NATO partnership, obstacles to its realization centre on the prevailing mindset among Brazil's governing elite. Brazilian policymakers (including politicians, bureaucrats and diplomats) are reluctant to engage with the Alliance for two main reasons:¹

1. many regard NATO as a Cold War relic, from an obsolete post-

¹ Both points are based on intensive discussions and interviews with Brazilian foreign policy experts and diplomats during the author's research in Brazil in 2012 and 2013.

World War II international order which is badly in need of reform. Viewed as an exclusively military alliance focusing on military solutions to conflict, NATO is perceived as a challenger to aspirations for the peaceful settlement of disputes as enshrined in the UN Charter. These views were recently expressed in Brasília's opposition to NATO's 2011 Libya intervention;

2. NATO is perceived as a foreign policy instrument of the US, a country with which Brazil maintains an ambivalent relationship; there is concern about creeping American hegemony in Brazil's sphere of influence, reaching to the Western shores of South America and, in the other direction, as far as West Africa. As explained below, NATO's recent cooperation agreement with Colombia has only served to reinforce such perceptions.

In addition, Brasília fears the internationalization (and, particularly, the Americanization) of the Amazon, a region of rich bio-diversity. There is concern that, by complying with the calls of international non-governmental organizations for greater protection of the Amazon, Brazil would compromise its sovereignty and limit its ability to take full advantage of the region's resources.² In fact, over half of the policymakers interviewed for a study by the Brazilian Institute for International Relations see this internationalization as a threat;³ the protection of sovereignty in the Amazon is underlined in Brazil's *National Strategy of Defence*.⁴

² Gélío Fregapani, "Amazônia: a grande cobiça internacional," Brasília, *Thesaurus Editora*, 2000.

³ Amaury De Souza, "Brazil's International Agenda Revisited: Perceptions of the Brazilian Foreign Policy Community," *Brazilian Center for International Relations Executive Summary*, May 2009 http://www.cebri.org/midia/documentos/brazil's_international_agenda_revisited_-_cebri.amaury_de_souza_-_may2009.pdf (accessed 26 March 2014).

⁴ "Brazil will be watchful to the unconditional reaffirmation of its sovereignty upon the Brazilian Amazon region. It will repudiate, by means of actions of development and defense, any attempt of external imposition on its decisions regarding the preservation, development and defense of the Amazon region. It will not allow organizations or individuals to serve as instruments for alien interests – political or economic – willing to weaken the Brazilian sovereignty. It is Brazil that takes care of the Brazilian Amazon region, at the service of mankind and at its own service." – *National Strategy of Defence*. Ministry of Defence, 18 December 2008, http://www.defesa.gov.br/projetosweb/estrategia/arquivos/estrategia_defesa_nacional_ingles.pdf (accessed 26 March 2014).

Brazil has also become especially protective of its shorelines since the discovery of offshore oil reserves in the vicinity of Rio de Janeiro in 2006 and 2008. Brazilians are worried that the US has never signed the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, which implies American reluctance to accept Brazil's (or any other country's) exclusive economic zone. Moreover, the US' 2008 decision to reconstitute its 4th Fleet (which had been inactive since 1950), without any prior diplomatic consultation with South Americans, raised further concerns in Brasilia.⁵ Brazilian policymakers argue that the South Atlantic Peace and Cooperation Zone (ZPCAS), consisting only of South American and West African states, is the sole legitimate framework through which states should run missions in the South Atlantic. Brazil does not want US – or, by extension, NATO – operations in the region.

Because of policymakers' focus on positions (in Brazil's case, reforming international governance and maintaining sovereignty) relations between Brazil and NATO have tended to follow a distributive pattern – assuming a win-lose situation in which NATO wins and Brazil loses. Officials from Brazil's Foreign Ministry are very vocal in their opposition to NATO, both in closed talks and in public speeches.⁶ From an international perspective, this tendency stems from Brazil's strategy of soft-balancing the US⁷ and aligning with the Global South. From a domestic standpoint, the governing Workers' Party wants to display strength in foreign policy, conveying the notion that Brazil's political elite can stand up against the US and Europe. This is employed as a tactic to shift attention away from domestic problems, including domestic security issues and the mass demonstrations

⁵ David Rothkopf and Kellie Meiman, "The United States and Brazil: Two perspectives on dealing with partnership and rivalry," *Center for American Progress* March 2009 <http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2009/03/pdf/brazil.pdf>, p. 8 (accessed 13 October 2013).

⁶ This occurred during the last closed high-level roundtable on Brazil and the Euro-Atlantic Area, on 9 May 2013. The latest public denouncement of NATO was the speech by former Foreign Minister and then UN Ambassador Antonio Patriota, at the United Nations, on 6 August 2013.

⁷ According to T.V. Paul of McGill University, Soft Balancing "involves tacit balancing short of formal alliances ... often based on a limited arms buildup, *ad hoc* cooperative exercises, or collaboration in regional or international institutions ..." - Paul, T.V., "The Enduring Axioms of Balance of Power Theory," in: Paul, James J. Wirtz, and Michel Fortmann, eds., *Balance of Power Revisited: Theory and Practice in the Twenty-first Century*, 1-25, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2004.

of June-July 2013.

For reasons of ideology, foreign policy strategy and sovereignty, Brazilian policymakers have been reluctant to see the value of a partnership with NATO. In fact, they generally see any notion of defence cooperation as a threat, instead of looking at it from a perspective of mutual interest.

Political strategies and sovereignty concerns notwithstanding, Brazil's policymakers are also extremely confident in their position and tend to overestimate their country's rising influence in international affairs.⁸ As part of the BRICS,⁹ and considering itself a leader of the Global South,¹⁰ Brazil views itself as the country of the future; by contrast, NATO is viewed as an actor of the past. This image has been exacerbated by the recent economic and financial crisis, which has weakened the image of the US and Europe disproportionately. Therefore, the mindset of Brasília's policymakers is shaped by the notion that their country is on the upturn, while NATO's influence in international affairs (and that of the Global North generally) is diminishing.

It is unlikely that Brazilian policymakers' apparent overconfidence can be dampened by confronting them with the reality that Brazil, economically and militarily, cannot live up to its political aspirations (as discussed in the following section). After all, overconfidence is a tool that policymakers employ in order to advance their bargaining power in international relations through a narrative of Brazil as a rising power. However, as will be explained below, NATO has the opportunity to reframe the debate by focusing on what Brazil can gain from a partnership with the Alliance.

⁸ For example, Brazil's economy grew by only 1% in 2012 and 2.5% in 2013, which is significantly less than India's that grew by 4.7% in 2012 and 5.0% in 2013, as well as China's that grew by 7.7% in both 2012 and 2013. "GDP growth (annual %)." *World Bank* 2013, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG> (accessed 29 July 2014).

⁹ Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa.

¹⁰ Roque Planas, "Brazil Focuses on Ties With Global South to Boost Influence," *World Politics Review*, 2 June 2011, <http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/9040/brazil-focuses-on-ties-with-global-south-to-boost-influence> (accessed 2 December 2013).

Opportunities for partnership

For about a decade, any serious discussion about Brazil-NATO relations has been managed through track II communication and conference diplomacy, mainly via the ten annual Forte de Copacabana Conferences that have featured discussions between academics, diplomats and military officers. These have been organized by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS), acting as a facilitator of dialogue. The KAS was successful in establishing continuous conversation between the stakeholders, often inviting the same people throughout the past decade.¹¹ However, the discussions have constantly evolved around the same issues, with the political class from Brasilia repeating its positions on sovereignty and national security without outside interference. Consequently, only marginal progress has been made on creating a framework for NATO-Brazil partnership in matters of international peace and security.

Nevertheless, the Brazilian conference participants who have maintained a positive view on NATO generally stem from the military. This is because they, more than anyone, are acutely aware of the mismatch between Brazil's political aspirations and the country's military capabilities. The country, which currently leads the UN maritime mission in Lebanon, is reportedly barely able to sustain its engagement. In fact, the Brazilian Navy does not possess the capabilities to defend its country's coastline and immediate sea lines of communication from attacks and piracy.¹²

Despite the intention to upgrade its forces by developing nuclear-powered submarine technology together with France,¹³ Brazil is not taking ad-

¹¹ While it goes beyond this paper to assess the KAS's success as an agent, it has been able to facilitate relationships with NATO and key actors outside of the Alliance, for example India. Because the KAS is committed to the Brazil-Europe partnership and maintains long-standing relationships with foreign policymakers, the foundation is one useful instrument for NATO to facilitate relationships abroad, especially if NATO and KAS coordinate their approaches.

¹² Assessment based on an interview with a European defence official (on 29 November 2013, in Rio de Janeiro), who compared Brazil's ambitions according to official discourse with the country's concrete capabilities.

¹³ Ralph Espach, "Defence: Brazil's gamble on a nuclear-powered submarine," *GIS* 8 May 2013 <http://www.gis.org.uk>

equate action to advance its maritime capabilities in other critical areas. Contrary to its goals of building up its naval capabilities to project power in the South Atlantic, the prestigious, but very expensive recent procurements in the nuclear field may hinder the overall advancement of the Brazilian fleet in the medium term. It is remarkable that the Brazilian military currently possesses more non-functioning matériel than usable equipment. Also, about 70% of Brazil's defence budget is spent on personnel, which leaves little room for maintenance of, and investment in, equipment.¹⁴ In addition, Brazil is investing in upgrading its forces in the Amazon, which draws away resources from the Atlantic.¹⁵ Without maritime presence, however, Brazil will not be able to uphold its claimed strategic responsibility in the South Atlantic.

Opportunities for NATO could arise if Brazil realizes these shortcomings and attempts to bridge them. The Brazilian military already views a partnership with NATO as an opportunity and would like to accommodate its interests through operational cooperation, instead of viewing a partnership naturally with suspicion, as the political elite does. In addition, Brazil's military strategy points out several areas where NATO could assist, including the building of more flexible response forces as well as an internationally interoperable navy for UN-sanctioned missions.¹⁶ Brazil is already party to the NATO Codification Scheme International Sponsorship Programme, for military standards in areas such as logistics.

Therefore, there may be an opportunity for NATO to establish a fledgling relationship with Brazil by adopting a bottom-up approach to closer practical cooperation with the Brazilian military, focused on military-tech-

[cna.org/sites/default/files/Espach_Brazil_nuclear_submarines_Espach\[1\].pdf](http://cna.org/sites/default/files/Espach_Brazil_nuclear_submarines_Espach[1].pdf) (accessed 30 November 2013).

¹⁴ Based on confidential information from a European defence official, not available for consultation in publicly accessible documents.

¹⁵ Assessment based on an interview with a European defence official in Rio de Janeiro, on 30 November 2013.

¹⁶ *National Strategy of Defence, Brazilian Ministry of Defence*, 18 December 2008

http://www.defesa.gov.br/projetosweb/estrategia/arquivos/estrategia_defesa_nacional_ingles.pdf (accessed 2 December 2013).

nical issues. However, any practical military-to-military cooperation must take fully into account the political sensitivities mentioned previously, and support the international objectives of both actors. It is important to remember that the focal point of Brazilian foreign policy is the President, who is mainly supported by the Foreign and Defence Ministers;¹⁷ he is influenced only to a minor degree by senior military personnel.¹⁸

Moving forward: What NATO ought to do to advance its relationship with Brazil

Against this backdrop, the following section outlines four ways in which the Alliance can judiciously advance relations with Brazil:

- focus on building a relationship with Brazil's military, where possible;
- continue track II communication;
- manage engagement with Colombia carefully, and continue to engage Brazil's partners in the Global South;
- propose practical *ad-hoc* cooperation in the South Atlantic, under a UN mandate, with relevant South American and African partners.

Focus on building an alliance with Brazil's military

In order to make a partnership with NATO desirable for Brazil, the Alliance needs to focus on Brazil's interests. Because Brasília's policymakers have not identified any particular added value in a partnership with NATO, Brussels should focus efforts on the Brazilian military, which has indicated interest in advancing its operational capabilities through some cooperation with NATO. This would serve to shift the nature of negotiations from dis-

¹⁷ The Ministry of Defence is controlled by civilian officials. Especially since the former Foreign Minister Celso Amorim became the Minister of Defence, the Ministry of Defence has adopted many of the policies of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, according to an interview with a Brazilian diplomat on 29 November 2013, in Rio de Janeiro.

¹⁸ Assessment based on an interview with a Brazilian diplomat on 29 November 2013, in Rio de Janeiro.

tributive to integrative bargaining, in which both parties acknowledge they each can gain by working together (i.e. a win-win situation).

In the consultation process with the Brazilian military, NATO should also identify its exact interests and focus on practical cooperation with a view to broader foreign policy objectives. Specifically, the Alliance should facilitate research conferences, debates, publications and simulations, to ensure that it fully communicates the added value that it can offer the Brazilian military.

The Brazilian Ministry of Defence is currently creating a government think tank – the Pandiá Calógeras Institute – to address defence issues (in much the same way as the NATO Defense College does for NATO). The Alliance should propose cooperation with the think tank in its early stages. In addition, NATO should continue contacts with the Escola Superior de Guerra (Brazil's Superior War College), in the form of visits and exchanges to raise awareness of potential areas of cooperation with NATO among Brazil's military elite.

NATO should also establish military-to-military contacts in order to build greater understanding of its operational procedures among Brazil's senior military personnel. Initiatives should include joint training exercises and officer exchanges. Regular contacts on a military level can be considered to be at the lower end of the scale of possible cooperation between NATO and Brazil, but they would serve as a starting point for building trust and advancing official relations between the two parties. These could help move relations forward based on the argument that NATO can help Brazil build capabilities to match the country's aspirations to great power status.

NATO needs to be careful, however, not to overly militarize relations. Brazil was very successful in overcoming its military regime and building sound democratic civil-military relations. Brasilia's foreign policy culture is

based on pacifism, which is why NATO should try to couple discourse on military issues with civilian and political aspects of the Alliance when talking to the policymakers. For example, NATO should link military cooperation with Brazil's political objectives, as well as showcase its expertise in the civil aspects of defence (e.g. Science for Peace and Security Programme; Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre; NATO Shipping Centre) as potential models for Brazilian and South American approaches to security provision. The Alliance should therefore avoid creating any perception of imposing an omnipresent military culture, using the military to influence the policymakers or aiming to militarize the South Atlantic (which it does not seek to do in any event).

Continue track II communication

While building a closer relationship with the Brazilian military, NATO should continue to engage policymakers, diplomats and academics in the Brazilian foreign policy community, through the annual Forte de Copacabana Conferences and other meetings. These can be valuable indicators of the country's changing perception of security and opinion of NATO, and they are a good way for both parties to engage with one another outside official channels. The intensive participation of Brazilian diplomats in former editions of the Forte de Copacabana Conferences indicates that the Brazilians also see their value, as a means of consulting with European and North American officials.

Official discourse should underline the contradictions in Brazil's perception of NATO. After all, Brazil has been cooperating with major NATO member states for decades on defence-related issues, such as naval exercises with the US and defence procurement from France. As recently as 2010, it entered into a defence cooperation agreement with the United Kingdom. Also, NATO should challenge the Brazilian policymakers by asking why Brazil believes NATO to be illegitimate if legitimate actors, such as the UN, and neutral states, such as Sweden and Switzerland, are active partners

of the Alliance. In addition, the Alliance should ensure that panel discussions focus on practical security concerns and on matters of cooperation on which the parties' opinions converge. In this way, the conferences could be seen as important opportunities to brainstorm on common security challenges.

In driving the discussions towards practical concerns, the Alliance should clearly state its intentions in order to counter Brazil's suspicions of Western power projection. For example, NATO needs to explain that it is not interested in militarizing the South Atlantic, but that the Alliance's member states see the need, for example, to protect sea lines of communication and counter security threats in West Africa. NATO should highlight the inter-connectedness of international security and the need for acting outside of its member states' territories. By displaying frankness and explaining the reasons for its potential presence in the South Atlantic, NATO has the opportunity to underline the potential for a mutually beneficial cooperation with Brazil.

Manage engagement with Colombia carefully and continue to engage Brazil's partners in the Global South

In June 2013, the Alliance signed the "Agreement on the Security of Information" with Colombia, which commits both parties to cooperate in exercises and consult in areas of common interest.¹⁹ This stirred great opposition to NATO among Colombia's South American neighbours, who expressed hostility to any outside forces engaging on the South American continent.²⁰ In order not to generate any more opposition to NATO's involvement with South America, the Alliance should foster low-profile prac-

¹⁹ Note that this agreement does not constitute a formal NATO partnership agreement - "2013 NATO and Colombia open channel for future cooperation," *NATO*, 25 June 2013, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_101634.htm (accessed 30 November 2013).

²⁰ Patricia Mallén, "Colombia President Santos Approaches NATO; Bolivia, Venezuela And Nicaragua Condemn Him For It," *International Business Times* June 7, 2013 <http://www.ibtimes.com/colombia-president-santos-approaches-nato-bolivia-venezuela-nicaragua-condemn-him-it-1297059> (accessed 1 December 2013).

tical cooperation with Colombia while remaining open to partnership with other South American countries like Brazil.

In addition to considering its engagement in South America, the Alliance should assess the impact of its general relations with the Global South on its relationship with Brazil. Building partnerships with leading Brazilian allies could influence Brazil's foreign policymakers to reconsider their critical opinion of the Alliance. The Alliance already has staff contacts with Beijing and is working with China on an international counter-piracy mission off the coast of Somalia. Brussels has also pursued track II diplomacy with New Delhi.²¹ Using these relationships to increase cooperation with the Global South could help NATO to shed a positive light on itself, by offering examples of cooperative security and capacity building.

Propose practical ad-hoc cooperation in the South Atlantic, under a UN mandate, with relevant South American and African partners

If the proposed measures lead Brazilian policymakers to consider working with NATO, the Alliance should propose cooperation in the South Atlantic under a UN mandate. In order to further legitimize NATO's engagement in the South Atlantic, the Alliance would also need to highlight how it would complement ZPCAS, which Brazilian policymakers view as the primary actor for security provision in the South Atlantic. Unlike NATO, ZPCAS has no coordination mechanism for multinational military operations, and is essentially a loose agreement which prevents proliferation of nuclear weapons in the South Atlantic.²² In addition, ZPCAS signatory states lack capacity and require outside help to undertake large-scale naval operations.²³

²¹ See: Robert Helbig, "NATO-India: Prospects of a Partnership," *Research Paper* 73, NATO Defense College, Rome, February 2012, http://www.ndc.nato.int/news/current_news.php?icode=360 (accessed 2 December 2013).

²² "Declaration of a zone of peace and co-operation in the South Atlantic" *UN*, 27 October 1986, <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/41/a41r011.htm> (accessed 2 December 2013).

²³ Assessment based on an interview with a European defence official in Rio de Janeiro, on 30 November 2013.

Possible cooperation includes the implementation of UNSCR 2018 and 2039 to fight piracy in the Gulf of Guinea, a region that is a large oil exporter to NATO states.²⁴ Brazil has strong cultural and trade relations with former Portuguese colonies in West Africa. Because the US African Command is also already engaged in the region and the UN has called for assistance from the international community to provide security in the Gulf of Guinea, Brazil could collaborate with NATO in the region to underline its commitment to the South Atlantic and prove its capability to take on a leadership position.

Another cooperative approach could focus on fighting drug trafficking. Brazil is a transit country for about 15% of South America's cocaine on its way towards Europe and the US.²⁵ The drug trade not only advances criminal groups' activities in South America, West Africa and the receiving countries, but also fosters narco-terrorism through the network of West African criminal syndicates and terrorist groups such as Al Qaeda and other radical Islamist movements.²⁶ Brazil has already increased its border patrols and permitted its military to carry out police operations to counter the transit of drugs. However, the Brazilian government has acknowledged that Brazil's border controls are "far from satisfactory."²⁷ Here, NATO could propose cooperation of various kinds, including capacity building of border control forces and joint patrolling missions on the West African coast.

In cooperating to solve common security challenges, NATO should consider Brazil an equal partner, committed and capable of taking responsibly in international peacekeeping operations. NATO should therefore

²⁴ See: Brooke Smith-Windsor and José Francisco Pavia, "From the Gulf of Aden to the Gulf of Guinea: A New Maritime Mission for NATO?," *Research Paper 100*, NATO Defense College, Rome, January 2014.

²⁵ Nancy Brune, "The Brazil–Africa Narco Nexus," *Americas Quarterly* Fall 2011, <http://www.americasquarterly.org/brune> (accessed 26 November 2013).

²⁶ Douglas Farah, "Narcoterrorism And the Long Reach of U.S. Law Enforcement: Testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation and Trade," *Strategy Center*, 12 October 2011, http://www.strategycenter.net/research/pubid.259/pub_detail.asp (accessed 26 November 2013).

²⁷ Nancy Brune, "The Brazil–Africa Narco Nexus."

encourage and support Brazil in taking leadership in international missions (as it does with the AU). This approach would serve to build a relationship of equals, which would not undermine Brazil's image as a rising power, while creating opportunities for Brasilia to leverage NATO support in the South Atlantic.

Conclusion

Brazil and NATO should not to leave relations to chance and tension; it is far better to develop a mutually reinforcing cooperation framework, grounded in the interests of both parties. To do so, military-technical co-operation holds the best hope for the beginning of a lasting relationship – based on a bottom-up approach, which, in the long run, will make it possible to overcome political sensitivities about sovereignty and the exercise of power in the international system.

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