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THE RISKS WHICH BRAZILIAN'S PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS SHOULD BE INFLUENCED FACE THE BRAZILIAN POLITICAL SCENARIO

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Exercise Solo Flight

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EXERCISE *SOLO FLIGHT* – EXERCICE *SOLO FLIGHT*

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INTRODUCTION

Since 1956 in Suez, Brazil has participated in peacekeeping operations under the United Nations (UN) responsibility and led by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO).¹

In the last three decades, the UN has had limited success in its missions to maintain international peace and security because of the complexity of threats, as networks of organized crime, extremist actors, and sharpening tensions in different regions of the world flare up.² However, Brazil is a good example to other friendly nations in peacekeeping operations by reason of significant positive results achieved in its mission participation, especially in ex-Portuguese colonies such as Mozambique, Angola, and East Timor in the 1990s and its leadership in MINUSTAH in Haiti since 2004.³

Nevertheless, the current situation in Brazil represented by a profound political crisis starting with the presidential impeachment process in 2016, and the scandals involving many cases of corruption in all levels of the republic are presenting problems in determining the country's direction in UN operations. In consequence, there is a change in the nation's priorities as economic issues, social crises, and issues linked to domestic law enforcement in different regions of Brazil are taking precedent over international deployments.⁴ It is reasonable to pose the question whether the situation could bring some risks and negative influences in relation to Brazil's participation in peacekeeping operations in the coming years.

¹ United Nations Peacekeeping, "Peacekeeping operations," last accessed 10 April 2017, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/>

² United Nations, "International Peace and Security," last accessed 10 April 2017, <http://www.un.org/en/sections/priorities/international-peace-and-security/index.html>

³ Peacekeeping Operations, "Past peacekeeping operations," last accessed 10 April 2017, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/past.shtml>

⁴ The Economist, "Brazil's fall," last accessed 10 April 2017, <http://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21684779-disaster-looms-latin-americas-biggest-economy-brazils-fall>

Brazil is a regional power that has had a significant positive influence on UN operations. Being part of DPKO's mandate has resulted in international credibility for Brazil and recognition that Brazil is a regional power. However, a lack of consensus on if, when, or how Brazil's military should be employed in UN missions as a result of political upheaval is detracting from Brazil's ability to employ its military as an instrument of national power outside Brazil. This paper will argue that Brazil requires a foreign policy that employs the military in UN roles in order to bring credibility to the nation and international recognition that Brazil is a regional power and contributor to global security. A solid, if not permanent, foreign policy that employs the military in international roles will enable Brazil to have a larger say in politics at the international level and in dealing with the UN Security Council.

The paper focuses, in the first part, on Brazil's peacekeeping operation traditions, supported by the understanding of the capabilities and limits of its participation in accordance with national laws. In the second part, it will encompass the change of Brazilian foreign policies. In the last part, it will characterize the contemporary political situation in Brazil, analyzing how the political power should influence military actions abroad and its repercussions for Brazilian's peacekeeping activities.

The research questions leading supporting this thesis included: "How will the Brazilian political crisis impact its peacekeeping presence in the future?" and "Should the military be employed as a tool of foreign policy?" Although the focus will be on peacekeeping consequences in light of the country's political crisis, the capability applies across some aspects of how Brazil contributes to security and peace in the international community.

BRAZILIAN'S PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

Undoubtedly, Brazil, after the end of the Cold War, was increasingly focused on the aegis of peacekeeping missions, both in sending troops and observers, as well as with the participation of forces in different regions, such as Africa and Oceania to aid in the community of states.⁵

To support DPKO deployments, the country needs a solid base through Brazilian elements of national power to project its leadership from South America to the international community. Brazilian armed forces have a recognized expeditionary military capability known for success in its leadership in MINUSTAH in Haiti during the last twelve years.⁶ Many others military deployments in critical operations under the UN mandate have seen significant successful deployments including: Angola (1989-1999), Mozambique (1993-1994), East Timor (2000-2002), Lebanon (FINUL), South Sudan, Ivory Coast, and Liberia.⁷ All of them reinforce Brazil's peaceful traditions under the principles of the international relations of the Federative Republic of Brazil, as self-determination of the people, as enabling peaceful settlement of conflicts, and in the defence of peace.⁸ These deployments have helped Brazilian credibility in the international community.

The military's capacity of Brazil should not represent a threat for other South American countries, a direct consequence of regional multipolarity and a Brazilian foreign policy to increase the military cooperation under the Brazilian leadership.⁹

For instance, it is able to show how much Brazil maintains its efforts to preserve its

⁵ Patrick, H.Martin. "La politique Étrangère du Brésil (2003-2013): une émergence contestée." *Recherches des Amériques Latines*. Ed. L'Harmattan. 2013, 139.

⁶ Ministry of Defense, Brazil, *National Strategy of Defense*, (1st Edition. Brasília-DF. 2008),17, 19, 62.

⁷ Alex, J.B. & Paul, D.W. "Understanding Peacekeeping". Second Edition. Polity Press. UK. 2010, 119-123.

⁸ Brazil. Federative Republic. "Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil". Brazilian Deputy House. 3rd Ed. Brasília-DF, Brazil, 2010, Art 4.

⁹ Bruno, M. "Le leadership du Brésil en Amérique du Sud: de la contestation à l'émergence d'une hégémonie consensuelle. *Recherches des Amériques Latines*. Ed. L'Harmattan. 2015, 109-114.

position as regional moderator on the continent or in Haiti, represented by an excellent relationship between Brazil and other South American countries such as Argentina, Chile, and Paraguay.¹⁰

Brazil becomes a relevant candidate in world security because its capacity to act on conflict prevention, many different strategies, and responsible leadership. In addition, Brazil has considerable domestic stability, effective armed forces, and a good projection in the national community - the latter two elements are a result of Brazil's ability to demonstrate support to the international community.¹¹ Furthermore, Brazil has led in areas of pacification in areas of conflict, making the country an interesting global actor in international security's issues.¹² That situation promotes its position as active player of the international security system.¹³

In contrast, given the limitations stemming from the same constitutional foundations as non-intervention in other sovereignties,¹⁴ Brazil may suffer an impact on its holdings. It is possible because reforms in the DPKO area has estimated the implementation of ambiguous mandates enabling more flexibility for forces under international interests. Such forces can include the UN Force Intervention Brigade to respond to a responsibility to protect (R2P) situations.¹⁵ As a good example based in that ambiguity, two new important peacekeeping missions stand out when it comes to the use of force. That new structure of employment of forces may make Brazilian participation unfeasible for some aspects: First, it contradicts Brazil's charter

¹⁰ Félix, E. Martin. "Militarist Peace in South America: conditions for war and peace. Palgrave MacMillan Edition. 2016, 49-53.

¹¹ Patrick, H.Martin. "La politique Étrangère du Brésil (2003-2013)"..... 135-145.

¹² Yes, G. "Geopolitique du Brésil: les chemins de la puissance." Presses Universitaires de France. 2012, 130-133.

¹³ Eduarda, H. & Adriana E.H. "The Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations from a Brazilian Perspective". Igarapé Institute. Strategic Note. March, 2017. https://igarape.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/NE-25_Hippo-31-03.pdf

¹⁴ Brazil. Federative Republic. "Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil"....., Art 4.

¹⁵ Alex, J.B. & Paul, D.W. "Understanding Peacekeeping", 140.

regarding the country not intervening on the sovereignty of other nations. Second, Brazilian diplomacy advocates negotiation to achieve peace in conflicts. Thus, the prerogative to respond to the UN call for interventions in countries with failed structures and to protect civilians creates an ambiguity in the Brazilian political realm that does not represent the tradition of Brazilian diplomacy.

It is important to emphasize that maintaining an equitable, multipolar world reduces the problems of armed conflict. In order to reach this long path, the military of the countries which contribute to the United Nations need to be able and willing to contribute. On the other hand, it is interesting to remember that this will only happen if the political element of national power is focused on the projection of the country in the international scenario. This is supported by the Clausewitz's statement: "the war was a continuation of politics was an insistence that military force should be understood in the context of the purpose it serves."¹⁶ In that sense, despite the ability of Brazilian armed forces to deploy abroad, they are more linked with domestic issues such as law and order due to political decisions in last two decades than new UN intervention missions.

BRAZILIAN FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY

Despite Brazilian longing for a change in the structure of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC),¹⁷ Brazilian diplomacy has made contradictory decisions, since it has become reticent to the concepts of Responsibility to Protect (R2P), employed by the world powers and the UN. This position is exemplified by decisions contrary to the resolutions of the UNSC on interventions in Libya (2011) and other African countries. So, on the one hand, it can be said that such a position brings Brazil

¹⁶ Michael Seehan. "Military Security," in Contemporary Security Studies. Fourth Edition. Edited by Alan Collins. Oxford Press. UK. 2016, 192-193.

¹⁷ United Nations, "UN Charter," last accessed 10 April 2017, <http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/un-charter-full-text/index.html>

closer to countries such as China and Russia, away from the historic diplomatic relationship with the Western powers. On the other hand, the aforementioned adverse position contrasts with the current needs of the international community regarding humanitarian aid and the fight against terrorism and genocide.¹⁸ In this way, it is possible to affirm that the Brazilian political level presents a position of ambiguity, hindering their relationship in the international community. In consequence, reducing the possibilities of engagement in peace missions. The probability of Brazilian participation would bring one more contradiction to the direction taken by the government.

In this century, the political level in Brazil has changed the direction of the military several times, which may send a message to the international community that Brazil is not always committed to external military support. Deployments for UN missions was most recently discussed in 2008 when Brazil created the National Defence Policy and its strategy in a relation to peacekeeping operations participation. In consequence, Brazilian armed forces have received, from the federal government, some direction to improve Brazilian engagement abroad.¹⁹ For example, the Brazilian Peace Operations Center was created with the objective of developing doctrine and improving training and material for DPKO deployments.²⁰ Furthermore, another Brazilian military position is its participation in the "United Nations Peacekeeping Capability Readiness System (UNPCRS)" which allows for the collection and

¹⁸ Patrick, H.Martin. "La politique Étrangère du Brésil (2003-2013): 135.

¹⁹ Brazil. Ministry of Defense. "National Strategy of Defense". 1st Edition. Brasília-DF. 2008.

²⁰ Brazil. Ministry of Defense. "Brazilian Peacekeeping Operations Center." last accessed 2 May 2017, <http://www.defesa.gov.br/relacoes-internacionais/missoes-de-paz/centro-conjunto-de-operacoes-de-paz-do-brasil-ccopab>

preparation of modules to send assistance at any time to the DPKO in an emergency or crisis.²¹

Unfortunately, many commentators claim that the military in Brazil does not have the priority by the government. A recent example, showing increased support for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs over the Ministry of Defence helps support the assertion that foreign policy and diplomacy were paramount to military employment abroad.²² In this case, this soft power diplomacy, seeking greater representation in forums and international organizations as Brazilian participation in the creation of the Peacebuilding Commission in 2005, reinforcing a solid base to become an attractive actor in the international scene appears in the political dialogue to suggest that diplomacy over military participation was the preferred choice for Brazil.

Second, the Ministry of Defence faces some obstacles originating from the political level, which must approve the Brazilian military participation in the National Congress. It means that only after a promulgation of the law that the country is able to continue its intentions to have troops capable of deploying in different UN security scenarios.²³

Third, Brazilian diplomatic attitude represents an ignorance to the fact that the military can be used as a political tool to generate influence in the international community, even in peacekeeping missions.

Fourth, it is possible to affirm that Brazilian diplomacy does not have a history of employing the military establishment in the sense of being an extension of politics

²¹ Eduarda, H. & Adriana E.H. "The Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations from a Brazilian Perspective".https://igarape.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/NE-25_Hippo-31-03.pdf

²² Tullo, V. & Gabriel, C."Brazilian Foreign Policy in Changing Times: the quest for autonomy from Sarney to Lula." Lexington Books. 2009, x-xiv.

²³ Brazil. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. "Brazil and the Consolidation of Peace." last accessed 31 Octobre 2016, <http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/en/politica-externa/paz-e-seguranca-internacionais/6285-brazil-and-the-consolidation-of-peace>

in the international realm, rather it appears to be seen as largely seen as a tool for internal security. During the governments of the last three presidents, Brazil has oscillated between leadership pronouncements for reforming UNCS, with strong support for a soft power role internationally.

In this sense, the military has suffered many reductions in investment and received isolated and secondary actions among the priorities of the government. For example, the Government of President Rousseff supported a lack of Brazilian representation at the UN's Security Council from 2010 until 2033.²⁴

CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL SITUATION

Several scholars have stated that the Brazilian political crisis reflects on all elements of the country's national power, generating economic problems and social crises. Also, such instability has repercussions on public security issues because of increasing unemployment and at the same time the reduction of government subsidies for less advantaged people. Consequently, there is discontent and discontent often equates to the use of the Brazilian armed forces at increasingly higher rates to maintain law and order, distancing themselves from the possibility of projecting power through peacekeeping missions.

This is important with the end of MINUSTAH scheduled for October 2017. At this time, there will be a gradual withdrawal of Brazilian troops from the Caribbean. In the domestic arena, an intensification of popular demonstrations in the face of corruption scandals at the political level involving the parties of the last four governments are increasing and the role of the military are further and further seen as an internal security tool. This scenario reduced the Brazilian influence in the central

²⁴ Folha de São Paulo newspaper. "Brasil ficará de fora do Conselho de Segurança da ONU ao menos até 2033," last accessed 20 April 2017, <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/mundo/2017/03/1867280-brasil-ficara-de-fora-do-conselho-de-seguranca-da-onu-ao-menos-ate-2033.shtml>

debates on international security at the UN, mainly with the Security Council and the projects for the consolidation of peace and conflict prevention, the themes of former Brazilian foreign policies.²⁵

On the other hand, the Ministry of Defense continues to work together with the military to determine engagement in other missions starting in 2018. Therefore, although the political level seeks to use the military as an internal security tool, ministry and military leaders are still maintaining and interest in new "blue helmet" missions in Africa.

The aforementioned adverse situations in national politics makes it possible for the UN to search for employment alternatives in peace operations, since many countries have no interest in participating higher conflict kinds of engagement. For example, there are already studies in the DPKO dealing with the employment of the Private Military Companies (PMCs).²⁶ This model may cause the international body to be disinterested in engaging countries such as Brazil in new missions, especially as it is one of the largest debtors of the system, since Brazilian governments do not prioritize settling their international accounts related to the UN. It is important to remember that Brazil has accumulated a debt of almost 190 million dollars in its budgetary obligations with the institution,²⁷ representing a lack of interest from Brazilian government in concerning the subjects from that international organization. For all this, it would, therefore, be possible to establish a connection between the

²⁵ Adriana, E.A. & Eduarda, H. "O futuro do Brasil nas operações de manutenção da paz da ONU," *Le Monde Diplomatique* magazine. last accessed 13 April 2017, <http://diplomatique.org.br/o-futuro-do-brasil-nas-operacoes-de-manutencao-da-paz-da-onu/>

²⁶ Darren M. G. "The United Nations Revolution in Evolution: A Case for Leveraging Private Military Companies In the Management of Future Peacekeeping Operations." *Master of Defence Studies*. Canadian Forces College. CSC 32. 2006, 30-32.

²⁷ Estado de São Paulo news. "Brasil acumula dívida de quase R\$ 600 milhões com operações de paz pelo mundo," last accessed 30 April 2017, <http://internacional.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,brasil-acumula-divida-de-quase-r-600-milhoes-com-operacoes-de-paz-pelo-mundo,70001750984>

proposed UN reform and the lack above of priority, in which the Brazilian government demonstrates that it has other priorities concerning international issues.

According to the Brazilian government after impeachment, the governments of President Rousseff (2010-2016) took the time to recognize the depth of the crisis by carrying out numerous administrative procedures that had been abandoned by the public inspection control law. This inefficiency produced a departure from the country's foreign investment resulting in negative economic consequences.²⁸

Faced with this situation of economic and political problems, Itamaraty, the main body of Brazilian diplomacy, has been seeking to resume conversations with several countries (without much success) as a means to increase Brazil's recognized power. However, given the changes in the discourses of foreign ministers during the last twenty years, this reinforces the uncertainty of the country's direction in the international community. For example, during the Dilma government, Brazil approached countries such as Venezuela and Iran and abstaining or voting negatively in their latest participation in the Security Council on issues such as the necessary intervention in Libya. The ambiguity mentioned above or changes of direction in Brazilian foreign policy contribute to the reduction of the Brazilian prestige with the traditional partners of the West.²⁹ Thus, it is reasonable to say that Brazil still does not have a strategy at the external level and about the necessary projection or employment of Brazilian troops in UN engagements. These changing political discourses appear to reduce the importance of employing the military as a tool that can help the world see

²⁸ The Economist. "Latin America: Brazil's fall." last accessed 10 April 2017, <http://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21684779-disaster-looms-latin-americas-biggest-economy-brazils-fall>

²⁹ Núcleo de Estudos Multidisciplinar de Relações Internacionais. "Os limites da política brasileira após o Impeachment - De José Serra a Aloysio Nunes Ferreira." last accessed 11 April 2017, <https://nemrisp.wordpress.com/2017/03/12/os-limites-da-politica-externa-brasileira-apos-o-impeachment-de-jose-serra-a-aloysio-nunes-ferreira/>

Brazil as a regional power. It could be argued that with the changes in politics, the diplomacy effects over the last 20 years have failed to garner anticipated world acknowledgement. A worsening economic situation, aggravated by the political situation, also detracts from Brazil's world prestige. Using the DIME model, the next best method to employ would be by military means to generate international recognition.

Unfortunately, due to the situations presented by the political level in Brazil, it is clear that contemporary instability is causing the need for a profound reformulation of government policies both internally and within the international community. This lack of Brazilian foreign policy allows speculation about the future of Brazilian participation in peace operations. It is a real risk, with repercussions that have already reached the lack of a Brazilian presence at the political and strategic level of the international security sector. Thus, the growing loss of credibility in this area may mean that Brazil is no longer present in missions on the African continent.

Finally, the system of governance in the area of international security brings benefits to Brazil insofar as it promotes peace and stability by projecting power in areas of its interest. However, the different directions adopted by the Brazilian political level and the current instability promote a distrust on the part of the international community for the lack of guarantees that Brazil faces in fulfilling its responsibilities.³⁰ In this context, for the country to be more efficient on the security agenda, it will need to be engaged, develop capacities, and participate in the challenges faced by the UN missions in the 21st century.

³⁰ Adriana, E.A. & Eduarda, H. "O futuro do Brasil nas operações de manutenção da paz da ONU," *Le Monde Diplomatique* magazine. last accessed 13 April 2017, <http://diplomatie.org.br/o-futuro-do-brasil-nas-operacoes-de-manutencao-da-paz-da-onu/>

CONCLUSION

Different positions of the Foreign Ministry have brought a situation of ambiguity to Brazilian diplomacy. This is part of the fallout of political upheaval. The mentioned position contributes to a loss of interest from the international community in Brazil as there is no sequence of actions nor a direction by the state. In this way, it is possible to say that the use of the armed forces becomes uncertain when it comes to the international security. Last but not least, it can observe that the crisis and instability at the political level may jeopardize the engagement of the military establishment abroad, since the focus and employment needs in the national territory may limit the possibilities of actions with peace operations.

To conclude, it is interesting to make a similarity of the current Brazilian political situation with that of a roller coaster ride. This comparison allows, within different scenarios, a pragmatic discretion in the international scene, victimizing the country as an actor without credibility. Therefore, in contrast to the intentions of the military to become a strong protagonist in the issues of security and pacification abroad, the political upheaval has detracted from Brazil's ability to employ the military as a tool of power.

Brazil needs to establish a solid foreign policy with the employment of its forces abroad in order to bring credibility to the nation as an institution, be recognized as a regional power, and be recognized amongst the members of the international community as not only a force for good, but a reliable contributor on the international stage.

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