

Contributor Profile: Brazil

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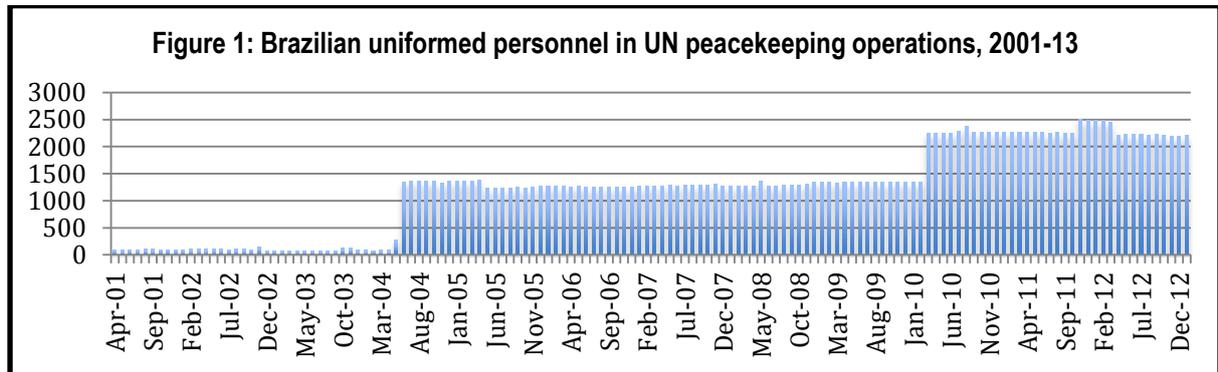
Active Armed Forces ¹	Helicopters	Defense Budget	Uniformed UN Peacekeepers	UN Contribution Breakdown	Other Significant Deployments
318,480 World Ranking (size): 13 Army: 190,000 Navy: 59,000 (Marine Corps 16,000) Air Force: 69,480	Transport: 150 <u>Heavy</u> : 5 (1 Navy, 4 AF) <u>Medium</u> : 55 (12 Army, 27 Navy, 16 AF) <u>Light</u> : 90 (15 Army, 21 Navy, 54 AF) Multirole/ISR: 49 (Army) ASW: 16 (Navy) Attack: 6 (AF)	2010: BRL59.6bn (US\$33.7bn) (1.62% of GDP) 2011: BRL60.2 bn (US\$36.55bn) (1.49% of GDP) 2012: BRL63.7bn (US\$32.67bn)	2,202 (20 women) (31 Jan. 2013) Ranking: 11 (Largest contributor from the Americas)	MINURSO: 8 experts MINUSTAH: 1,901 (6 police, 1,895 troops) (18 women) UNFICYP: 1 troop UNIFIL: 264 troops UNISFA: 3 (1 expert, 2 troops) UNMIL: 4 (2 experts, 2 troops) UNMISS: 14 (6 police, 5 experts, 3 troops) UNOCI: 7 (4 experts, 3 troops)	None
Defense Spending / Troop: ² US\$102,581 (compared to global average of approximately US\$59,000)					

Part 1: Recent Trends

Brazil has contributed to UN peace operations and their precursors since 1947. Its participation can be clearly divided into two eras: before and after the MINUSTAH operation in Haiti from 2004. Prior to MINUSTAH, Brazil adopted a strict policy of participation only in Chapter VI observation and monitoring missions (often not participating in more robust follow-on missions) in the Western Hemisphere and in Lusophone states. This resulted in a steady trickle of individual or small teams of soldiers—in essence token contributions—to UN missions, with four notable exceptions. A battalion-size (600-800 strong) force was integrated into UNEF I (1956-67); 200 troops deployed with ONUMOZ (1992-94); 800 infantry troops, 200 engineers and two field hospitals were sent to Angola with the UNAVEM missions; and over 50 police participated in Timor-Leste beginning with INTERFET in 1999. Overall, Brazil participated in 23 peacekeeping operations from 1957 to 1999, as well as several Organization of American States (OAS) missions and operations under the auspices of the UN Department of Political Affairs (DPA).

In 2004, Brazil took on its most important and sizeable peacekeeping commitment to date: providing MINUSTAH's largest contingent (up to c.2,200 troops) as well as—unusually for UN practice—an unbroken succession of generals serving as its Force Commander. Brazilian troops have participated in the full range of activities under MINUSTAH's Chapter VII mandate. But in order to maintain its repudiation of Chapter VII—whose provisions Brazil considers dangerously close to a violation of the principle of state sovereignty, a major pillar of its foreign policy, Brazil's representatives insist MINUSTAH is consistent with the country's tradition of not using force. Diplomats have long insisted MINUSTAH does not have a peace enforcement mandate.³ Similarly, the Foreign Ministry's view is that MINUSTAH is not a Chapter VII mission. According to this interpretation, Resolution 1529 mentions Chapter VII in its preamble, placing the entire mandate under Chapter VII.

Resolution 1542, however, only mentions Chapter VII in its seventh operative paragraph. This would place only that paragraph under a peace enforcement mandate, allowing Brazil to participate in the mission without all of it qualifying as a Chapter VII mission.



Brazil's original MINUSTAH contribution consisted of an Army infantry battalion, a Marine Corps operations group, and a military engineering company (1,300 troops). Following the devastating January 2010 earthquake, this was supplemented with a second Army battalion, resulting in a total contingent of c.2,200. This commitment has been reduced proportionally to MINUSTAH's total authorized troop strength since 2012. Brazil has also seconded a frigate and a contingent of 260 to the maritime component of UNIFIL since late 2010 and two successive Brazilian admirals have commanded the maritime force since February 2011. The UNIFIL contingent marks the first time Brazil has participated in the maritime component of a UN PKO. Alongside these commitments, as of 31 December 2012, Brazil has individuals or small teams serving with seven other DPKO operations.

Part 2: Decision-Making Process

Brazil's presidential system leaves ministries significant autonomy; sustained coordination is difficult to achieve, particularly on crosscutting issues such as peacekeeping. Two actors have the greatest influence on peacekeeping policy: the Foreign (MRE) and Defence (MD) Ministries. The Foreign Ministry has long held a monopoly on issues with foreign impact; its relative isolation from the rest of government has allowed it to develop entrenched values (see below) that have guided policy for over a century and a half. Similarly, civilian control of the armed forces is still weak, having only existed institutionally since the Ministry of Defence was created in 1999. Thus, the armed forces have also been allowed to build a significant body of doctrine and traditions in isolation from civilian or democratic input. Both ministries have developed policy independently, and coordination is very limited. As a result, security (and peacekeeping) policy documents are few and vague, and do not provide clear objectives or operational guidance.⁴ Policy initiatives therefore tend to depend upon (often short-term) Presidential or ministerial protagonism, with negative effects on their cohesion, rationality and sustainability.

The decision-making process itself is an ad-hoc mechanism made permanent, dating from the Brazil's first major deployment in 1956. It is grounded in imprecise legislation and remains "byzantine and under-institutionalized."⁵ Initially, the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) submits a request to the Brazilian Permanent Mission to the UN, which is forwarded together with an initial evaluation to the MRE. The MRE consults the President as to the political landscape, the MD on the availability of troops, and the Ministries of Planning and Finance regarding funding. If the response is positive DPKO is requested to formalize its request, on the basis of which the MD and the MRE draw up a Joint Exposition

of Motives for the National Congress, which is accompanied by a Presidential message. If the Congress approves—by decree—the President, also by decree, authorizes deployment under the auspices of the MD. Although there is significant discontent with this process, which is beholden to personalities and unrelated external forces, several reform proposals have failed to come to a vote in the legislature. Though parliamentary participation in the decision-making process is required, its nature reflects legislators' low levels of interest in, and familiarity with, defense and security issues, leading to an increased risk of personal preferences or exogenous political factors influencing decisions.

Part 3: Rationales for Contributing

Brazil's foreign policy strongly reflects the strategy of adopting diplomatic niches favored by emerging powers, i.e. areas where comparative advantages in experience and capacity allow countries to "punch above their weight."⁶ Peace operations, particularly peacebuilding missions focused on development rather than enforcement, have become a key element in Brazil's quest for greater international influence. As such, political rationales clearly dominate Brazil's motivations to contribute to peacekeeping, though they are tinged by normative concerns as well. As in many other states where the establishment of civilian control over the military is recent, institutional rationales play a key role. Economic and particularly security rationales play a negligible role. Some political rationales are internal: for example, the country's participation in UNIFIL should be placed in the light of the influential presence of the over seven million Brazilians of Lebanese origin.

Political Rationales: Peacekeeping has long provided a role in emerging powers' strategies to gain international influence. Brazil's principal foreign policy goal over the past decade has been acceptance as a permanent member of the UN Security Council, which is symbolic of a broader drive for greater influence in international decision-making bodies. Demonstrating capacity and commitment through strong involvement in MINUSTAH is seen as directly contributing to this cause. The principles this embodies—commitment to collective security and multilateralism—contain a normative component as well. Prestige provides considerable motivation. Those involved in Brazil's peacekeeping efforts are very conscious of its effects on the country's image—attested by the effort invested in issues such as the prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA). Prestige is an important motivating factor for Brazil in PKOs.

The country's military and financial involvement in MINUSTAH has been accompanied by considerable bilateral investment (see below). Haiti has become somewhat of a testing ground for a distinct Brazilian approach to peacebuilding and development aid, which to some extent mirrors its successful domestic development initiatives. This advances both political and normative objectives in Brazil's commitment to the Caribbean nation as well as underscoring a claim to exceptionalism. In addition, with over half of MINUSTAH's troops hailing from Central and South America, MINUSTAH is seen as affording Brazil the opportunity to exercise regional leadership; indeed coordination efforts around MINUSTAH represent the farthest advance so far for multilateralism in defense issues in the region.

Finally, Brazil has sought to play an entrepreneurial, mainly mediating, role in the debate on the normative underpinnings of military intervention for protection purposes.⁷ Its "[responsibility while protecting](#)" (RwP) concept, floated in November 2011, has been well received, though the MRE later elected not to pursue a greater role in developing this concept.⁸

Economic Rationales: Economic gain does not play a role in motivating Brazilian

participation in peacekeeping. Taking the Haitian case as an example, total investment there from 2004 to 2012 both within and outside of MINUSTAH is estimated at between BRL1.075 billion (US\$560 million)⁹ and BRL1.670 billion (US\$850 million).¹⁰ According to the MD, total reimbursements covered BRL524 million (US\$260 million). Overall, Brazilian diplomats estimate that no more than 40% of operational costs within missions are reimbursed, excluding Brazil's assessed contributions to the UN operating and peacekeeping operations budgets. Typically, costs come out of the defense budget, while reimbursements are made to the general Treasury. Remuneration for personnel deployed on UN peacekeeping operations is generous, using a scale ranging from US\$972 (for privates) to US\$4,400 (general officers) added to monthly base pay.¹¹ Finally, with the possible exception of Mozambique and Angola—where other factors come into play—trade with states to whom Brazil deploys or has deployed peacekeepers is minimal.

Security Rationales: For political reasons, Brazil favors operations within its zones of influence—the Western Hemisphere and Lusophone countries. This is where it receives the greatest return on its investment in terms of image and prestige, due to cultural affinities and similar levels of economic development. However, this effective focus on its immediate surroundings should not be taken as motivated by security concerns. Should instability arise in South America, Brazil's preference is to address it multilaterally through regional organizations and the UN; and it is likely that Brazil will seek a leadership role in such efforts, including in terms of troop contributions.

Institutional Rationales: The two major governmental actors in Brazilian peacekeeping policy both have, to varying degrees, institutional reasons to support involvement in peacekeeping. First, these missions benefit the armed forces in a number of ways. They provide operational experience, socialization into international professional norms, and exposure to a multinational environment. In addition, over US\$100 million of the excess expenditure in Haiti has gone towards equipment and other purchases for the armed forces.¹² Involvement in peace operations, which is voluntary, has also somewhat assuaged inter-service rivalries and the Army and Marine Corps peace operations training centers were merged in June 2010. The Sergio Vieira de Mello Peace Operations Training Centre (CCOPAB) has been a major source of professionalization and socialization for Brazilian peacekeepers; there is a strong commitment to quality and training running through the country's preparation of personnel for PKOs. Cooperation between training centers, both at the regional (ALCOPAZ) and global (IAPTC) levels has been a significant driver of military-military cooperation for the Brazilian armed forces.

Normative Rationales: Chapter VI peacekeeping shows a great deal of overlap with both longstanding Brazilian foreign policy principles such as multilateralism, pacific resolution of disputes and collective security, and more recent emerging-power priorities. Under President Lula da Silva and Foreign (now Defense) Minister Celso Amorim, Brazil's bid for global influence was couched in a claim to speak for the global South. As such, the involvement in MINUSTAH was justified using a rhetoric of a "diplomacy of solidarity," "non-indifference," and South-South cooperation. These justifications gained currency as the use of force by the Brazilian MINUSTAH contingent increased, creating tensions with Brasília's official rejection of Chapter VII.

Part 4: Barriers to Contributing

Alternative political or strategic priorities: Overall, Brazil is still inwardly focused, dealing with priorities such as poverty reduction, industrial development and combatting crime. Foreign policy priorities center on the concerns of the global South, echoing an economic

focus. Peace operations predominantly serve the instrumental goal of increasing the country's global decision-making influence and cementing its standing as a voice for the global South.

Alternative institutional preferences for crisis management: Some authors claim that Brazil has a preference for dealing with important issues in those multilateral forums where it has the most influence; this would seem to favor regional institutions for regional crises.¹³ In general, Brazilian foreign policy favors the peaceful resolution of problems and emphasizes its preference for pacifist solutions and aversion to the use of force.

Financial costs: The Brazilian government instituted drastic budget cuts in early 2011, including to defense. Major purchasing programs and a focus on maritime protection of oilfields have drawn resources away from peacekeeping in relative terms. Despite this, the considerable cost of participation in peace operations is acceptable [as long as it brings tangible results for the country's image](#).

Discomfort with the expanding UN peacekeeping agenda: A strong proponent of state sovereignty defined as inviolability, Brazil is critical of the new normative underpinnings of UN peace operations. Though the R2P and PKO debates are separate, the RwP paper does underline several points of relevance to the country's stance on peacekeeping. Brazil warmed to the "responsibility to protect" only when the inevitability of the concept's endorsement by the UN and the benefits for its foreign policy aims became clear. The "[responsibility while protecting](#)" paper claims that "one person killed in an intervention is too many." The country has in the past shown it will not vote in favor of, or contribute to, robust Chapter VII operations even in the face of grave human rights violations, preferring a negotiated solution (on Haiti, see below). There is deep suspicion as to the motives behind recent Western interventions.

Exceptionalism: There is a distinct sense of exceptionalism to Brazil's approach to peace operations. It ranges from essentialist claims about the Brazilian "national character" (gregarious, peaceful, caring, tolerant, mediator) to the idea that cultural affinities and economic similarities—which ease contact with the local population—heighten the effectiveness of the Brazilian soldier vis-à-vis other contingents. Brazil's colonial past and Southern provenance are considered to confer heightened normative legitimacy on its participation in interventions. One specific Brazilian advantage comes to the fore in development-heavy missions: many programs, especially for agricultural development, infrastructure creation, and poverty reduction, have been successfully tested at home. However, all of these advantages only come to bear in specific contexts where similarities are significant, excluding a number of current UN peace operations.

Absence of pressure to contribute: Brazil is not a member of any alliance where its allies' interests might drive participation. It faces no interstate instability, and its regional security culture does not motivate intervention in the name of individual rights.

Difficult domestic politics: Given the lack of parliamentary competence and involvement in peacekeeping issues, this is limited to the executive branch and the under-institutionalized decision-making process highlighted above.

Damage to national reputation: There is a very high degree of attention to the positive image and prestige seen to be generated by participation in peace operations. As such, any event detrimental to Brazil's image is likely to lead to a sharp rise in criticism, a drop in broad support and perhaps a hastened withdrawal.

Resistance in the military: Negligible. Peace operations are seen as conducive to the military's image and financial situation.

Lack of fit with legislative, procurement and operational timelines: These are not sufficiently consistent and institutionalized to conflict with peacekeeping necessities.

Legal obstacles: Article 4 of the [Brazilian Constitution](#) establishes guiding principles for foreign policy that have the potential to conflict in the case of modern peace operations (e.g. non-intervention and peaceful conflict resolution versus human rights, self-determination, and the defense of peace). Traditionally, state sovereignty has trumped individual rights, though this is a political choice rather than a binding legal interpretation.

Part 5: Current Challenges and Issues

After almost nine years of MINUSTAH, Haitians are losing their patience with a continued UN peacekeeping presence. Given Brazil's image-conscious approach to peace operations, there is an increasing urgency to elaborate an exit strategy. Brazil has also tried to shift the UN from a military to a civilian development-based approach. Several key government officials have stated that in the wake of MINUSTAH Brazil is not likely to maintain current troop contribution levels simply for the sake of doing so. Contributions will continue to be limited to missions with a limited use of force, unless—as in the case of MINUSTAH—a convincing case can be made that the added influence and prestige from participation in a Chapter VII mission outweighs the cost of departing from established principles.

Contributions of police personnel have been identified as a means of strengthening Brazil's commitment to peacebuilding; however, there are several important constraints to the country's ability to furnish UNPOLs. Some derive from the country's federal institutional structure (the relevant police forces are state-level), and others from difficulties with language proficiency and the modernization of police training,

Part 6: Key Champions and Opponents

There is little public debate on security issues in Brazil, isolating decision-making from public pressure to a certain extent. Coverage of the country's efforts in Haiti has tended to portray peace operations as a worthwhile investment of resources, portraying a positive and responsible image of Brazil in the world. Key proponents include the armed forces, which possess strong institutional motivations for participation, and the Foreign Ministry, which stands to gain from the increased influence putatively accruing to major troop contributors. While foreign policy-focused actors tend to support peacekeeping, those focused on internal problems such as poverty reduction (rural areas) and combating crime (urban *favelas*) question the need to invest extensive resources abroad. This category includes some parliamentary representatives of these areas. In addition, some academics and other leftist civil society movements are critical of the use of force by Brazilian forces abroad in what they see as a neocolonial, neoliberal and Western-dominated practice.

Part 7: Capabilities and Caveats

Though it has been able to maintain solid logistical links with the relatively proximate contingent in Haiti, the Brazilian military does not possess the same maritime or airlift capacity to maintain a battalion-size contingent further from home for an extended period. In addition, several political factors limit the country's ability and/or propensity to contribute large contingents to the major UN peacekeeping operations: the aversion to Chapter VII and missions associated with a Western agenda; the restriction to areas of policy priority and

cultural affinity; and an image-conscious approach that is highly sensitive to potential scandals and political ambiguity and has yet to face any combat deaths of peacekeepers. Nevertheless, Brazilian troops are trained to high professional standards and have shown themselves to be very effective in contexts such as Haiti, Timor-Leste and Lebanon.

Part 8: Further Reading

Fernando Cavalcante, "Rendering peacekeeping instrumental? The Brazilian approach to United Nations peacekeeping during the Lula da Silva years (2003-2010)," *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional*, Vol.53, No.2 (2010): 142-59.

Kenkel, Kai Michael, "Brazil and R2P: Does taking responsibility mean using force?" *Global Responsibility to Protect*, Vol.4, No.1 (2012): 3-29.

Kenkel, Kai Michael, "Brazil" in Alex J. Bellamy and Paul D. Williams (eds.) *Providing Peacekeepers: The Politics, Challenges, and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Contributions* (Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.335-354.

Kenkel, Kai Michael, "Out of South America to the globe: Brazil's growing stake in peace operations" in Kai Michael Kenkel (ed.) *South America and Peace Operations* (Routledge, forthcoming 2013).

Notes

¹ Unless otherwise stated, data is drawn from IISS, *The Military Balance 2012* (London: IISS/ Routledge, 2012).

² Armed Forces Spending is a country's annual total defense budget (in US dollars) divided by the total number of active armed forces. Figures from IISS, *The Military Balance 2012*.

³ See the foreword by Foreign Minister Antonio Patriota to Kai Michael Kenkel and Rodrigo Fracalossi de Moraes, eds., *O Brasil e as operações de paz em um mundo globalizado: entre a tradição e a inovação*. Brasília: IPEA, 2012.

⁴ See Kenkel, "Brazil" in Bellamy & Williams (eds.), *Providing Peacekeepers*.

⁵ Ibid, p.338.

⁶ See Kenkel, "Out of South America" in Kenkel (ed.), *South America and Peace Operations*.

⁷ Kenkel, "Brazil and R2P," *Global Responsibility to Protect*, 4:1 (2012).

⁸ [Statement by H.E. Ambassador Antonio de Aguiar Patriota, Minister of External Relations of the Federative Republic of Brazil](#), Open Debate of the Security Council on the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict". 9 November 2011.

⁹ "[Especialistas questionam retorno geopolítico de presença brasileira no Haiti](#)" ["Analysts question geopolitical return on Brazilian presence in Haiti"]. *O Estado de São Paulo*. 21 January 2012.

¹⁰ Brazil. Ministry of Defense, *Livro Branco de Defesa Nacional* (Brasília: Ministry of Defense, 2012), p.163.

¹¹ [Brazil. Presidency](#), Lei N^o 10.937, de 12 de agosto de 2004.

¹² Folha de São Paulo, "[Brasil já gastou quase R\\$2 bilhões no Haiti](#)," June 11, 2012.

¹³ S. Burges and J. Daudelin, "Brazil: How Realists Defend Democracy" in T. Legler, D. Boniface & S. F. Lean (eds.), *Promoting Democracy in the Americas* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), pp.107-132.