

Brazil's growing relevance to peace and security in Africa

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■ Executive summary

There is growing interest in the role of rising powers in African politics and development, as South-South cooperation with Africa expands. Although recent research on this trend has examined Brazil's increasing economic and political relevance in Africa, relatively little has been written on the country's involvement in peace and security on the continent. This report helps to address this gap by focusing on Brazil's role in African security, especially over the past decade – a period that brought about a surge in Brazil-Africa ties and, simultaneously, the development of the African Peace and Security Architecture. We find that Brazil's involvement encompasses a wide range of state and non-state actors, and that it has been motivated not only by economic interests, but also by a greater prioritisation of Africa and the South Atlantic by Brazil's foreign and defence policies. Topics covered in the report include Brazil's role in peacekeeping and peacebuilding, arms exports, military cooperation, concerns with the spread of piracy in the Gulf of Guinea, positions on major crises, and institution-building efforts. These initiatives reflect not only Brazil's quest to become a global player, but also its efforts to redefine its strategic focus to encompass the South Atlantic.

Introduction

Brazil's relations with Africa have focused mainly on the economic and political dimensions, but Brazilian stakeholders have also paid increasing attention to African security issues. Both foreign policy, which has sought to deepen ties with Africa, and Brazil's new national defence strategy, with its renewed focus on the South Atlantic, have made Africa one of the country's top priorities abroad. Africa is also relevant to the Brazilian government's broader foreign policy ambitions, including the desire to be recognised as a major global power. In January 2014 the importance of African security to Brazilian foreign policy was underscored by Brazil's election as chair of the United Nations (UN) Peacebuilding Commission. This report thus asks: how has Brazil's approach to African peace and security issues changed over the past decade?

We argue that Brazil's engagement with security in Africa is marked by a tension inherent in its status as a rising power: Brazilian policy elites' desire to transform the country into a global player and their insistence on respect for national sovereignty. On the one hand, Brazil seeks to become more of a norms setter in international relations, for which a role in African security has become essential. On the other

hand, the country's burgeoning engagement with security issues in Africa is tempered by the emphasis it places on sovereignty and non-intervention, as well as by its own limited capacity to become directly involved in security matters outside its immediate vicinity.

However, Brazil's involvement with African security issues is still piecemeal and occurring primarily through indirect channels. Its current military presence in Africa is limited to military observers in certain UN peacekeeping missions and to military staff participating in technical cooperation missions. Brazil does not provide troops to missions in Africa except for a small number of police and experts in Côte d'Ivoire, South Sudan and Guinea-Bissau. Thus, Brazil's engagement with Africa on peace and security takes place predominantly in multilateral venues – primarily the UN Security Council and in the context of evolving UN peacekeeping operations.

While Brazil's current security presence in Africa is limited, it is far from insignificant. Our findings illustrate the type of dilemma that a rising power like Brazil, caught between the desire to become a global player and the need to avoid over-reach, must navigate in projecting its power transregionally.

For the country's African partners, Brazil represents a consensus builder in multilateral forums in the security realm, a significant arms exporter and a growing cooperation partner in matters concerning non-traditional threats.

Current Brazilian foreign policy

Brazil as a rising power

Brazil is frequently identified in the international relations literature as a rising power – a state that seeks to ascend in the international order; broaden its economic, political and security opportunities; and assume a greater role in the global governance architecture. Although South-South cooperation had been part of Brazilian foreign policy in previous eras, the new government of President Lula da Silva (2003-11) made it an unprecedented priority, deepening ties with South American and African countries, as well as strategic partners outside the region, including China, Russia and India. These relations were strengthened both bilaterally and multilaterally, not only through Brazil's strong activism in UN agencies and the Bretton Woods institutions, but also via coalitions such as the G-20, IBSA¹ and BRICS.²

Under Lula, some traditional principles of Brazil's foreign policy were maintained, including those of non-intervention, the emphasis on international law, multilateralism and restrictions on the use of force, while government officials adopted a more assertive language, positioning Brazil as a potential global player. The government also proposed new concepts to guide foreign policymaking: expressions such as "non-indifference" and "diplomatic solidarity" were incorporated into mainstream foreign policy vocabulary alongside its historical stress on respect for national sovereignty.

Brazil's approach to international relations must also be considered in light of the country's constitutional principles, including those meant to guide foreign policy. These principles include national independence, the prevalence of human rights, self-determination, non-intervention, equality among states, the defence of peace, the peaceful resolution of conflicts, the rejection of any form of racism and terrorism, cooperation for the benefit of humankind, and the granting of political asylum. Two of these concepts are particularly central to understanding Brazil's engagement with international security: the central role accorded to human rights and the idea of cooperation as benefitting all peoples. Some principles might sometimes appear to be in contradiction, such as the importance of human rights and respect for non-intervention.

Over the past decade the government has been working to boost the country's role in the global security architecture. For instance, it has increased its contributions to UN peacekeeping and has led the MINUSTAH mission in Haiti.

Brazil has also been proactive in calling for reform of key global governance structures, even as it also hopes to play a bigger role in this architecture.

Brazil considers the UN as the most important venue for the solution of violent conflicts. While the country has supported the creation of regional initiatives – indeed, it participates in several security initiatives in Latin America and the South Atlantic, including the South Atlantic Peace and Cooperation Zone (ZOPACAS) – it insists that these regional efforts must complement rather than detract from or conflict with the UN system.

Brazil has also attempted to influence the debate regarding humanitarian intervention through its November 2011 proposal of the concept of "Responsibility while Protecting". The initiative calls for greater oversight by the UN Security Council of interventions and the use of force on behalf of the Responsibility to Protect. For Brazil, the initiative is meant as a positive step beyond mere criticism of unilateral interventions by NATO³ countries – a way to put on the table a new set of parameters to structure multilateral security efforts.

These general positions adopted by the Brazilian government over the past few years can serve as a lens through which to analyse how Brazil has behaved and responded to major security issues in Africa. In some instances African crises have served as a litmus test for the country's positions regarding global security issues, both in terms of its norms-setting efforts and of defining the extent of its own direct participation in security issues outside its own territory.

Brazil-Africa relations

Brazil has had formal diplomatic relations with African states for more than fifty years, prioritising countries using Portuguese as an official language. The country's foreign policy discourse for Africa has historically stressed the connections and shared culture that emerged from the transatlantic slave trade, through which millions of Africans from the Gulf of Guinea all the way down to Angola were forcibly taken to Brazil. At the same time, Brazil has had economic interests in the region, especially given Africa's role and potential as a source of raw materials and markets for Brazilian manufactures. During the "Brazilian miracle" period of high economic growth Brazil depended heavily on oil imports from the Persian Gulf. In order to diversify supply sources, the Brazilian government worked to deepen relations with African oil-producing countries. Thus, from their inception, Brazil-Africa relations have been motivated by both economic and political considerations.

Since then, relations have been marked by discontinuity, with periods of greater engagement alternating with those

1 India-Brazil-South Africa Forum.

2 Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa.

3 North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

of low activity. After the 1970s these ties weakened, when the foreign debt crisis and attention to other topics and regions led the Brazilian government to de-emphasise relations with Africa. The Lula administration made Africa one of the country's top concerns in a broader drive to enhance ties with the Global South. In addition to viewing Africa as a place where Brazil could garner support for its initiatives in multilateral settings such as the UN – including its campaign for a permanent seat on the Security Council – Lula's government saw African countries as important for Brazil's trade and investment strategy.

Between 2002 and 2012 trade between Brazil and Africa increased from just over \$4 billion to nearly \$27 billion. Although Africa remains a small market, its proportion of Brazilian exports increased from 3.91% to 5.03% in this period. Imports remain heavily dominated by oil and other natural resources and are limited to a small number of African countries, primarily Nigeria, Angola and South Africa. Brazilian exports to Africa are composed mostly of agricultural and processed foods, with a heavy focus on Lusophone countries (Angola in particular) and larger economies (especially Nigeria, South Africa and Egypt).

In terms of Brazilian investments in Africa, in 2009, 50.1% of its investments in international development projects went to the African continent, reaching 57.2% in 2010 (IPEA/World Bank, 2012: 43). Brazil invests primarily in Lusophone countries, as well as in major economies such as Nigeria and South Africa. These investments are dominated by oil, construction and mining companies. In addition, there is a recent trend of small to medium-sized Brazilian firms establishing a presence in Africa to provide services and support for major companies

The government has launched several programmes to stimulate trade with Africa based on loans and export credits. In 2008 the Brazilian National Economic and Social Development Bank disbursed \$265 million to such efforts. This subsequently increased to \$360 million (IPEA/World Bank, 2012: 5). Under President Rousseff Africa has been included in Brazil's new commercial promotion strategy, which aims to diversify Brazil's partners in the continent. In order to strengthen the commercial promotion capacity of its diplomatic representations in Africa Brazil has decided to send additional diplomatic staff to 12 African posts: Khartoum, Tripoli, Rabat, Cape Town, Dakar, Lusaka, Kinshasa, Brazzaville, Lagos, Tunis, Addis Ababa and Dar es Salaam.

The Brazilian government also ramped up its solidarity discourse, highlighting claims of horizontality and openly contrasting Brazilian cooperation to the aid provided by the former colonial powers. Brazil thus presented itself as a more sincere partner for cooperation development, devoid of the colonial legacies of Northern aid. In practice, ties with Africa were boosted by an active presidential diplomacy by President Lula, who made his first visit to the African continent in the first year of his term in office.

In November 2003, just ten months after taking office, Lula visited São Tomé and Príncipe, Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa, stating that strengthening relations with Africa would be a moral, political and historical obligation. Between 2003 and 2010 Lula made 12 trips to the African continent, visiting a total of 29 African states. Between 2003 and 2010 the Brazilian government received 48 visits by African heads of state and 67 visits by African foreign ministers. These high-level exchanges helped to diversify and consolidate diplomatic ties across a range of sectors.

During Lula's two terms the Brazilian government opened 17 new embassies on the continent (out of a total of 41 new embassies created by Brazil between 2003 and 2011). Some of these diplomatic representations had been created prior to the Lula administration, but had been closed down for financial reasons. The decision to reopen these embassies was an important political gesture, signalling not only a change in direction from the previous administration, but also a firmer commitment to Africa. In exchange, more African states opened up embassies in Brazil during the same period, reflecting the greater importance also accorded to Brazil by its African partners. Under Rousseff, Brazil opened its 38th embassy in Africa, in Malawi. For many African nations Brazil is the only country in South or Latin America in which they have resident diplomatic representation.

Brazil also strengthened its ties to multilateral institutions in Africa. Among the African embassies created under Lula, the representation in Addis Ababa, inaugurated in 2005, has served a particularly important function, being accredited both to Ethiopia and the African Union (AU). Such multilateral ties have also grown through initiatives that bring together North African states, Middle Eastern countries, and observers or participants from outside these regions. For instance, in 2003 Brazil became an Arab League observer state. In 2005 Brazil hosted the First Arab-South America Summit in Brasília and in November 2006 Nigeria hosted the Africa-South America Summit, an initiative inspired by the Brazil-Africa Forum of 2003 and Lula's visit to Nigeria in April 2005. Brazil has also joined transregional initiatives such as IBSA, the G-20 and BRICS, all of which bring together Brazil and South Africa in broader coalition platforms.

These economic, cultural and political ties are further strengthened through a rapidly expanding development cooperation programme. The Brazilian Cooperation Agency (Agência Brasileira de Cooperação, or ABC), a division of the Ministry of External Relations, coordinates the country's technical cooperation programme. Although such initiatives are not a novelty – Brazil has been offering South-South cooperation to Africa since the 1970s – these programmes have vastly expanded over the past decade, with Africa accounting for half. With regard to overall cooperation – including not just ABC projects, but also other aid – 22.6% of Brazil's official development

cooperation expenditures in 2010 went to Africa. This amounted to approximately \$30 million (IPEA 2013).

Development aid has been particularly strong in agriculture, public health and capacity-building, although it reaches beyond these fields to include education, public administration and security. Official cooperation programmes have followed the geographic and thematic priorities established by Brazilian foreign policy and are implemented by a variety of agencies that range from public institutions such as Fiocruz and Embrapa to private contractors such as SENAC. In general, Brazil has sought to promote abroad those public policies that it claims to have been successful at home, including redistributive schemes such as the Bolsa Familia conditional cash transfer programme.

The geographic range of Brazil's bilateral cooperation in Africa is quite extensive – in 2010 the country provided official technical cooperation to 48 African countries (IPEA, 2013). However, Brazil's contributions are also channelled through multilateral institutions, including the World Bank, UN agencies and the African Development Bank. Through the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP), for instance, Brazil has a broad range of cooperation programmes ranging from sports to electronic voting. Under President Rousseff the Brazilian government has indicated that it may align its development cooperation efforts more closely with its economic interests. During her 2013 trip to Addis Ababa Rousseff announced plans to restructure the ABC so as to decouple it from the Ministry of External Relations and make it more trade oriented. At the time of writing the fate of the agency has not yet been decided.

Brazil's cooperation also serves to project Brazilian influence and to pave the way for trade and investment opportunities, as well as to garner support in multilateral forums. During President Rousseff's visit to the AU Brazil also announced that it would cancel around \$900 million in African debt. Rousseff presented this initiative as being a mutually beneficial arrangement, since Brazil cannot establish further investment, credit and loan agreements with countries that have not serviced their debt to the country.

Debt renegotiation has been criticised from a human rights perspective because many of the countries are described as authoritarian and human rights violators. Members of the opposition in the Brazilian Congress have asked for additional information in order to decide on the approval or rejection of future renegotiations requested by the government.

Brazil has also cooperated with African countries via the IBSA Fund, a programme jointly funded by Brazil, South Africa and India. This UN Development Programme

(UNDP)-managed fund is small, but has financed a number of projects in various African countries, including running HIV/AIDS programmes in Burundi, delivering safe drinking water and refurbishing health infrastructure in Cape Verde, human development and poverty reduction in Sierra Leone, and rural electrification and agricultural development projects in Guinea-Bissau. However, Brazil has far more extensive trilateral cooperation projects with traditional Western donors and Japan in Africa.

Nonetheless, Brazil often contrasts its cooperation programme in Africa with aid provided by traditional Western donors and former colonial powers. For example, in Addis Ababa in 2013 President Rousseff argued that Brazil aimed at “non-oppressive” cooperation with Ethiopia – ties that would be “based on mutual advantages and shared values”. Although such claims are sometimes disputed – some scholars argue that Brazilian cooperation entails asymmetries of its own and question whether Brazilian cooperation truly diverges from Northern aid (Mawdsley, 2012) – this discourse has played a key role in Brazil's efforts to present itself as a desirable alternative to OECD⁴ donors.

Finally, the Brazilian government has made efforts to stimulate knowledge production about Africa in Brazil. A 2003 law made African history a mandatory part of the curriculum in Brazilian schools, while in 2010 Brazil created a university in the north-east of the country to promote integration between Brazilian and African students, especially from Lusophone countries. The PEC-G academic exchange programme has brought hundreds of African students to study at Brazilian universities, increasing the African presence on campuses around the country.

Brazil and the AU

The growing ties between Brazil and the AU are an important dimension of Brazil's Africa policy. Brazil has for a long time expressed political support for the AU's NEPAD programme (New Partnership for Africa's Development) and the aim of reducing African dependency. Brazil has observer status at the AU, but relations began to intensify in 2005 when it reopened its embassy in Addis Ababa. Since then, high-level meetings have helped to cement ties. In February 2007 the president of the AU Commission, Alpha Oumar Konaré, visited Brazil and met with Brazilian authorities. A framework agreement for technical cooperation was signed during the visit.

Another important milestone in Brazil-AU relations was reached in 2009, when President Lula attended the 13th African Union Summit of Heads of State and Government at Sirte, Libya, as the guest of honour. During the summit additional cooperation agreements were signed concerning technical cooperation in agriculture, social development and health.

4 Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development.

In a 2011 speech during Africa Day celebrations, former Brazilian foreign minister Antonio Patriota stated that Brazil valued Africa's capacity to provide creative solutions to regional questions and called the AU Peace and Security Council an inspiration for South American integration. Reflecting Brazil's stance that regional security organisations should complement rather than contradict the UN, Patriota also stated that Brazil believed in the AU's potential for cooperating with the UN in order to undertake growing responsibilities.

Although Rouseff's presidential diplomacy has not been as active as that of Lula, in May 2013 she visited Addis Ababa to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the AU's founding. She was accompanied by a delegation of ministers, including from the departments of External Relations, Development, Industry and Trade, and Education, and the Secretariat for Policies Promoting Racial Equality, as well as private sector firms – an indication of the diversity of actors interested and involved in issues related to the AU. Brazil was the only Latin American country to send a high-level delegation to the meeting.

Brazil and security in Africa

Bilateral security issues

Brazil's expanding ties with Africa have also generated new security interests and concerns. The rapidly growing number of Brazilians now working and living in Africa creates new concerns for the Brazilian government, especially in contexts of political and social instability. During the 2011 Libyan crisis Brazil had to arrange for the evacuation of 900 employees from Brazilian construction companies Odebrecht and Andrade Gutierrez and the Brazilian state oil company Petrobras.

In addition, Africa has become a relevant tourist destination for Brazilians. Between 2011 and 2012 there was a 44% increase in the number of Brazilian tourists visiting South Africa. Direct flights connect São Paulo and Johannesburg, and Ethiopian Airways operates a new air route between Rio de Janeiro/São Paulo and Addis Ababa, with a stopover in Lomé. A request for direct connection between Recife (located in Brazil's north-east) and Nigeria, operated by the Brazilian airline Gol, is also under consideration. These links may help to boost direct commercial and tourist links between Brazil and Africa, which also increases the number of Brazilians exposed to risks abroad.

Brazil's interest in increasing security and defence cooperation with Africa has also fuelled greater interaction between Brazil's External Relations Ministry and Defence Ministry. As of 2009, the External Relations Ministry financially supported prospecting missions by the Defence Ministry in Africa. These included a technical mission to scope out sites for the future Brazilian Military Mission in Guinea-Bissau, an air force and civil aviation technical mission to São Tomé and Príncipe, and a mission to discuss cooperation concerning peace support operations in Mozambique.

In terms of security, under Lula Brazil also expanded its network of police attachés around the world, focusing on South America and Europe, but also including a Federal Police representation in South Africa, established in 2010 to help combat international crime. The Brazilian government has intended to make this attaché representation a gateway for communicating with the police forces of other African countries. The official list of topics of interest includes international drug trafficking, money laundering, chemical products control, marijuana eradication, cyber-crime, environmental crime, corruption and white-collar crime, illegal immigration and border control, human rights, and slave labour. The official work plan for 2010-11 listed Mozambique and Botswana as top priorities, with Tanzania, Nigeria, and Angola as second priorities, and finally Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Namibia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Zambia, and Swaziland as third-tier priorities. In addition to fostering collaboration between police forces in Brazil and South Africa, the attaché office in Pretoria is also meant to help enhance multilateral police cooperation through mechanisms such as IBSA and BRICS. Aside from the deployment of police officers to peacekeeping missions such as the one in South Sudan, Brazil's most important police engagement in Africa may be its participation in the creation of Guinea-Bissau's police academy.

In addition, Brazilian policy elites are worried by transnational and organised crime. Although growing cooperation with Nigeria has boosted trade and investment relations, it has also strengthened international crime. Nigerian criminal networks have been operating in Brazil, mainly in São Paulo, since the early 2000s, purchasing cocaine from Bolivia and Peru and shipping the drug to European destinations, either via São Paulo or Salvador in the Brazilian north-east. African-based criminal networks have also been reported as operating illegal mobile phone services in São Paulo. As of 2010 Nigerians constitute the third-largest group of foreigners in Brazilian jails after Bolivians and Paraguayans.

An additional Brazilian contribution to African security is the provision of military training. In 2010 the ABC and the Defence Ministry signed an agreement to improve Brazilian military cooperation, including the possibility of the ABC providing additional resources to foreign military officers to come to Brazil for training. The agreement reflects a desire on the part of the Brazilian government to increase the presence of foreign military officers, especially from Africa and South America, in Brazil. Between 2000 and 2010 Brazil trained 118 African military officers in the Brazilian army and 696 officers in the Brazilian navy, while in the same period a total of eight Brazilian officers were trained in African armies and 20 in African navies.

Brazil is also an important destination for refugees from African nations. Of the 4,401 refugees in the country, 2,824 come from African nations (a total of 64% of all refugees in Brazil), with 1,686 coming from Angola (38% of all refugees

in the country), 453 from the DRC (10%) and 258 from Liberia (6%).

Brazil's role in peacekeeping and peacebuilding in Africa

Brazil views contributions to UN peacekeeping missions as an important means to promote global security. The country's participation in such missions began with UN missions in the Middle East in 1957. Between July 1960 and June 1964 Brazil contributed with crew and staff to operate aircraft and helicopters serving the UN mission in the Congo. From 1967 to 1988 Brazil's military government distanced itself from the UN, but since 1989 the country has contributed to a large number of UN peacekeeping missions in Africa, including in Angola, Mozambique, Rwanda, Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire, the DRC, and – most recently – South Sudan.

In addition, some Brazilian civil society entities have collaborated with their African counterparts on peacebuilding measures. For instance, the Rio-based NGO Viva Rio has been cooperating with the government of Mozambique since 2006, with support from UNDP, in order to help Mozambican authorities develop the country's national firearms registry, based on the NGO's prior experience with disarmament efforts in Brazil.

In recent years the Brazilian foreign minister has begun addressing the political and diplomatic implications of arms exports to countries, denying export licences when the situation in a particular country may pose a threat to Brazilian foreign policy interests. In addition, civil society organisations have increased their monitoring of arms exports, especially cluster ammunition, which Brazil continues to produce, export and stockpile.

Despite its deepening relations with the AU, Brazil has limited direct engagement with the AU Peace and Security Council and other AU institutions and projects of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). However, the Brazilian government has shown growing interest in the subject of African peace and security. This is reflected, for instance, in the topics selected by the External Relations Ministry for diplomatic corps theses in the past few years, which have included the theme of Brazil's relevance to APSA (see, for instance, Cardoso, 2011; Santos, 2011). Another sign of the Brazilian government's growing interest in the AU's role in African security was the participation in February 2013 of representatives of the Defence Division of the Secretariat of Strategic Affairs, which is part of the President's Office, in a seminar on AU-NATO relations that was jointly organised by the University of Brasília and the NATO Defence College. These examples show that Brazil's engagement with the APSA agenda is still very limited.

Much of the debate within the AU/APSA on an African Standby Force and peacekeeping is de facto derived from developments at the UN (multidimensional peacekeeping,

the role of police and civilians in peacekeeping, the protection of civilians, sovereignty/intervention, etc.). Brazil does not seem to engage directly with the AU on these issues, but perhaps more indirectly in New York through debates and policy development with the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), the Peacebuilding Commission, and, above all, the Security Council, where African security issues dominate the agenda. In Somalia, Brazil has praised the contribution of the AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), asked the Security Council to continue supporting regional and subregional efforts to bring peace to that country, and addressed the need for an integrated UN presence there. In addition, in 2010 Brazil asked the international community to contribute with funding for AMISOM and the Somali transitional government, arguing that funding was essential for the success of the security initiatives. While Brazil has recognised the importance of peacekeeping missions, as in the case of the DRC, it has stressed that the military component of the UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the DRC must be part of a broad political strategy leading to dialogue and peace.

When addressing UN-AU cooperation, Brazilian diplomats have stated that this should focus not only on peace, but also include sustainable development, incorporating a peacebuilding dimension into peacekeeping. This argument is based on the idea that the promotion of security has to be accompanied by the consolidation of national institutions and the conditions for sustainable development. Brazil has also argued that the UN should discuss funding for AU missions, not only in the Security Council, but also through the General Assembly and the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations. Brazil has also supported the creation of the UN Office to the AU, characterising it as an important step towards promoting strategic cooperation between the two entities, including in terms of AU peacekeeping. Finally, Brazil has acknowledged the need for the UN to incorporate the AU in its peacekeeping-related policy work by exchanging knowledge and lessons learned between the DPKO and the AU.

Brazil's South Atlantic strategy and military cooperation with Africa

Brazil's new security strategy also places more emphasis than before on ties with Africa. This is due primarily to the interest in enhancing the country's role in the South Atlantic. This is reflected in key defence policy documents such as the National Security Strategy (2008) and the Defence White Paper (2011). These documents essentially elevate the South Atlantic to the same level of defence priority that Brazil has historically accorded the Amazon, stressing that Brazilian economic interests in this maritime space are growing. Not only does roughly 95% of Brazil's foreign trade transit through the South Atlantic, but it is also where some of Brazil's vital mineral resources are located – particularly its offshore and pre-salt oil deposits. This renewed attention to the sea has yielded not only a proposal to expand Brazil's maritime borders through the UN Convention on the Law of the Seas, but also efforts to

upgrade its navy, including through vessel acquisitions and the development (in cooperation with France) of a nuclear-powered attack submarine (Abdenur & de Souza Neto, 2013).

These initiatives are relevant to security in Africa not only because many African countries are located on the South Atlantic, but also because current Brazilian defence doctrine explicitly addresses cooperation with Africa as necessary for ensuring the country's interests in the South Atlantic. As a result, Brazil has embarked on a campaign to strengthen bilateral military cooperation ties with the African coastal states of the South Atlantic. Expanding cooperation in this area covers, among other things, training programmes for officers and cadets, the provision of military vessels and equipment, and capacity-building. These initiatives are, moreover, frequently accompanied by efforts to boost Brazil's defence industry exports to African states, with Brazilian companies viewing Africa as a promising market to expand sales of equipment and small arms. Brazil was among the world's top ten arms exporters during the 1980s, and revitalising the industry has become one of the government's top priorities.

Brazil's defence cooperation efforts encompass both large and small countries along the South Atlantic. With South Africa, for instance, Brazil has a wide variety of initiatives, including the joint development of a short-range infrared-guided air-to-air missile, the A-DARTER. The two countries have discussed collaboration on drone development and an oceanographic satellite with an exclusive focus on the South Atlantic. Brazil's ties with Angola and Nigeria have also grown, including through arms sales. As for smaller countries in the area, Brazil has been helping many to carry out their own continental shelf surveys, in preparation for their own proposals for maritime expansion in the South Atlantic.

On the multilateral side, Brazil has stepped up efforts to revive ZOPACAS, as part of its broader effort to construct a South Atlantic identity. This organisation dates back to 1986, when it was first launched (at Brazil's initiative) in order to address the common concern of the region's coastal countries over nuclear proliferation. In the post-cold war context the focus has been on jointly taking responsibility regarding the problems in the common maritime area so as to avoid interventions by outside powers. The ZOPACAS meeting held in Montevideo in January 2013, which included the presence of defence ministers, placed a strong emphasis on sharing Brazil's knowledge in search and rescue operations, maritime surveillance, and continental shelf surveys (a separate statement mentioning the instability in Guinea-Bissau and the DRC was also issued during the meeting).

Aside from ZOPACAS, Brazil is part of other multilateral initiatives relevant to the South Atlantic, including the South America-Africa Summit and IBSA. An important recurring naval exercise is the ATLASUR series of simula-

tions, which have been held every two years (off the coast of both South America and South Africa) since 1993 by the navies of Argentina and South Africa, and which Brazil joined in 1995 (Uruguay joined the same year). The exercises are meant to consolidate the presence of these countries in the South Atlantic and to strengthen the defence ties between both sides of this maritime space.

Through the IBSA Forum, which brings together India, Brazil and South Africa, Brazil has been participating in the IBSAMAR trilateral naval military exercises, held since 2008 off the coast of South Africa. Although the trilateral grouping's broader initiatives focus on economic, development and political issues, Brazil's multilateral engagement with Africa sometimes touches on security issues as well. IBSA has set an ambitious defence cooperation agenda since the 2003 establishment of the Defence Working Group, although concrete initiatives thus far are limited to personnel exchanges and the IBSAMAR naval exercises. In addition to these exercises, efforts are under way to expand IBSA trilateral defence cooperation through the Joint Defence Group. In November 2012 a delegation from Brazil joined its counterpart from India in a week-long "study tour" of South Africa's defence industry to explore possibilities for defence cooperation in the fields of military science, technology and defence industries.

Within the CPLP, Brazil has also supported defence cooperation, participating in and hosting joint military exercises and working to strengthen state institutions in Guinea-Bissau. Brazil has also used the CPLP to promote the idea that the South Atlantic needs stronger maritime security. Although the BRICS grouping does not yet have a concrete cooperation programme in the area of defence and security, security discussions are under way that may be relevant to the South Atlantic. For example, in a January 2013 meeting of high-level security representatives from the BRICS countries, discussions covered terrorism, piracy and cybersecurity. These efforts may signal the growing geostrategic importance of the South Atlantic in regional, transregional and other multilateral platforms.

The Brazilian government has also been expressing concern that piracy in the Gulf of Guinea might affect Brazilian interests and spread to other parts of the South Atlantic. The Brazilian navy has sent observers to the U.S.-led Obangame Express, which brings together mostly African and European countries in carrying out joint anti-piracy exercises in the Gulf of Guinea (planning is under way for the 2014 exercise, slated to be held in Ghana, and Brazil has been part of the planning conference). Similarly, given the recent growth in the transatlantic smuggling of drugs, Brazil is interested in collaborating with African countries to stem the flow of illicit goods. As for violent acts by specific groups, in keeping with its broader stance Brazil has been more cautious than the U.S. in applying the term "terrorism" to specific groups. Instead, the Ministry of External Relations has often emphasised the need to understand the socioeconomic

deprivations and structural instabilities that help fuel such movements. At the UN level, Brazil has supported Resolution 2039 (2012) that recognised the importance of building national, regional and extra-regional capacity to enhance maritime safety and security in the Gulf of Guinea. It has also suggested that international efforts should be made to support the objectives of the South Atlantic Zone of Peace and that states in the region should take the lead in coordinating efforts to address piracy and armed robbery at sea. Brazil has also stated that piracy in the region is the result of problems found ashore related to economic hardship and lack of opportunities, especially among young people.

Brazil's engagement with the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) has also included security dialogues. For example, in 2010 a Brazil-ECOWAS Summit was organised in Cape Verde. At the meeting Brazil discussed with West African nations the possibility of strengthening cooperation in several sectors, including security. A declaration issued at the end of the summit mentions that these initiatives were being undertaken "to strengthen the political, social and economic institutions and the process of peace and stability-building, particularly in post-conflict countries". There has been an increase in the number of defence cooperation agreements with ECOWAS members.

Brazil at the UN: positions on African security

Brazil had a broader involvement in African security issues during its terms as a member of the UN Security Council in 2004-05 and 2010-11. According to Brazilian diplomats, during the discussion of African issues Brazil emphasised the role of regional actors and the sovereignty of African countries, stressing the need to address the social and economic problems faced by these countries.

When the country was elected for the 2004-05 term, Brazil's UN representative stated that the country would prioritise African issues, especially those related to Guinea-Bissau. Brazil also supported the peace negotiations in Sudan and the creation of the UN Mission in Sudan. As for the crisis in Darfur, Brazilian diplomats expressed concern due to the urgency of the humanitarian emergency in the region, but stated that any action on the part of the international community should respect the absolute sovereignty of Sudan. In the same period Brazil also recommended that discussions related to instability and conflict in the Great Lakes region of Africa should address development issues.

Prior to serving on the Security Council, Brazil supported UN initiatives to address the 2003 crisis in Liberia, encouraging the parties involved to implement an immediate ceasefire. Brazil also supported mediation efforts by African regional organisations. In August 2003 the Brazilian government, recognising the serious humanitarian consequences of the Liberian conflict, supported UN Security Council Resolution 1497 and encouraged all parties

involved in the conflict to respect the ceasefire and allow the delivery of humanitarian assistance. These positions are consistent with the Brazilian government's prioritisation of humanitarian assistance and in keeping with its emphasis on respect for sovereignty.

While Brazil is not directly contributing to international efforts to fight piracy off the coast of Somalia, it has supported UN efforts, including Resolution 1918 (2010) and the establishment of a regional centre to prosecute suspected pirates in the Seychelles. However, Brazilian diplomats have stressed that the piracy problem off the coast of Somalia can only be solved by addressing the root causes in the country. Such a strategy would include combining security and development measures so as to create the conditions for long-term stability.

In addition, Brazil has been providing humanitarian assistance, especially food, to the Somali population by way of the World Food Programme. In August 2013 Brazil donated \$300,000 to a project run by the UN Population Fund to address gender violence and reproductive health in Kenya, Somalia and Ethiopia. These donations allow Brazil to increase its role in security and humanitarian issues in Africa without compromising its official stance on sovereignty by relying on the logistical structures of UN agencies.

In contrast, in response to the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1973 on Libya, Brazil questioned the potential effects of external military action. The country's representatives argued that the involvement of external military forces could reduce the chances of a stable resolution to the conflict. Brazil's position towards Libya expresses the country's concern regarding the Responsibility to Protect, mainly the concern that the principle could be abused by countries willing to intervene in crises. When commenting on the Brazilian position, some academics argue that Brazilian diplomats recognise the importance of protecting civilians as a humanitarian imperative, but think that the international community should be cautious about assuming "excessively broad" interpretations of the principle of the responsibility to protect civilians that could cause more damage than good and exacerbate the conflict. Brazil stressed that its vote on this resolution should not be interpreted as condoning the behaviour of Libyan authorities, but rather as questioning whether the use of force would be the best way to guarantee the protection of civilians.

Political stability, democracy and human rights in Africa

Although Brazil does not engage in explicit democracy promotion, some of its initiatives and positions actively encourage democracy in Africa. In IBSA, Brazil, together with India and South Africa, has stressed members' identities as "vibrant democracies" that also seek the democratisation of the international system, especially through multilateral institutions. IBSA's founding document, the 2003 Brasília Declaration, prioritises policies that, among other

goals, promote human rights and an end to racial discrimination. However, IBSA's efforts in terms of democracy and human rights promotion remain timid, with the grouping focusing on development cooperation initiatives.

As for Brazil's bilateral efforts, they have been limited and confined to assisting in implementing elections, specifically through electronic voting. In December 2005 and July 2006, for instance, Brazil sent observers to the elections in the DRC, while an electoral judge was sent in April 2006 to provide training to Congolese officials. Brazil has also donated 2,950 ballot boxes and hosted Congolese electoral authorities. In Guinea-Bissau, support for elections has been coupled with support to democratisation as a precondition for stability, but elsewhere in Africa these efforts seem to be disconnected from a more comprehensive approach to stabilisation.

In addition, Brazil has been promoting electronic voting systems and equipment, drawing on lessons from the 1990s in expanding voting by handicapped and illiterate citizens. Brazil's Superior Electoral Court has emerged as a pre-eminent actor in electronic voting cooperation. Although cooperation programmes are coordinated through the ABC, the court has developed significant expertise and there is a potential for additional cooperative initiatives. Through this programme Brazil has helped several African countries with their electronic voting systems, including Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Tunisia and Guinea-Bissau.

Brazilian civil society organisations have also played a role in these debates, although not always aligned with the government's position. For instance, NGOs in Brazil joined their Portuguese counterparts in opposing the proposed inclusion of Equatorial Guinea as a member of the CPLP. In response, the Brazilian government argued that bringing Equatorial Guinea closer to the CPLP could contribute to democracy and human rights in that country. These arguments are based on the presumption that democratisation, however cautiously induced, can contribute to political stability and peacebuilding. The Brazilian government makes a similar argument when it cancels or renegotiates debt by African nations, stressing that these measures demonstrate a willingness to invest in African countries and signal an important commitment to these partners.

Brazil has also taken illustrative positions on specific democracy issues, as in the case of Mauritania. In October 2007 the Brazilian government decided to open an embassy in Mauritania; however, due to the political crisis in the country and the coup in August 2008, the opening was postponed. Brazil supported the AU's decision to suspend Mauritania and decided to only reinstate diplomatic relations after the presidential elections in July 2009, when the AU lifted the suspension.

In other instances, Brazil has used its political voice to encourage national reconciliation and peacebuilding. After

the 2007 post-election violence in Kenya, Brazil expressed its concern by calling on all Kenyan political actors to participate in a national reconciliation effort. Similarly, when the president of Niger, Mamadou Tandja, was overthrown in a military coup in February 2010, Brazil joined the AU and ECOWAS in condemning the coup. Brazil's support for regional initiatives aimed at stability and the rule of law has also become a key part of its positions on African security crises. After the March 2012 coup in Mali, Brazil supported the AU's efforts to restore constitutional order in the country, asking for dialogue, moderation and a rejection of the use of force.

Brazil's foreign minister visited Egypt in early May 2011 to discuss the possibility of cooperation and restart political dialogue with the new Egyptian authorities. Given Egypt's economic importance to Brazil – it is the latter's third-largest commercial partner in Africa and the main destination of Brazilian exports to the continent – this visit illustrated the political importance of Egypt to Brazil. The visit also reflected the Brazilian government's desire to preserve the commercial relationship that existed before the change in the Egyptian political regime. However, after the removal of Mohamed Morsi from power by the military the implementation of these new cooperation initiatives was delayed.

Conclusion

Although Brazil's engagement with African peace and security issues is still in its early stages, the country's relevance to African security has intensified over the last decade. There are three key factors behind Brazil's growing engagement. The first is the ongoing quest to project influence globally, including in the international security architecture. Given Africa's importance to this system as a space in which norms regarding the use of force, the protection of civilians, and humanitarian intervention are being applied and debated, the continent has become essential to Brazil's quest to participate more directly in international security discussions. In addition, Brazil's accumulated experiences in Africa have generated new security concerns and interests for the Brazilian government. Finally, the country's changing national security policy, which places renewed emphasis on the South Atlantic, has required closer collaboration with African countries along the Atlantic.

The resulting increase in engagement with African security is reflected in the proliferation of Brazilian actors playing a role – directly or indirectly – in the continent's security affairs. Broadly situated, Brazil's participation in African security issues has been predominantly state led. Through both bilateral and multilateral channels, Brazil has deepened its diplomatic and military cooperation ties, frequently relying on consolidated structures such as the UN and looser coalitions like IBSA. However, Brazilian non-state actors – private sector companies and civil society entities – are also becoming more active in African

security, sometimes in close alignment with the government. For instance, defence industry companies have worked closely with the ministries of Defence and External Relations to boost exports of equipment and arms to African countries. Equally, civil society organisations have become involved, either by participating in official development cooperation or by contesting such initiatives – sometimes in collaboration with their African counterparts.

The limited capacity of these actors – whose involvement is still restricted by budgetary constraints and the prioritisation of issues close to Brazil's territory – has forced the government to rely heavily on multilateral channels. Brazil's ability to build consensus through multilateral forums such as the CPLP and UN agencies serves as a buttress to its more fragmented bilateral efforts. Apart from necessity arising out of economic constraints, this tendency towards institutionalism reflects a conscious decision by the government to uphold the primacy of multilateralism in addressing international security issues. The January 2014 election of Brazil as chair of the UN Peacebuilding Commission will be yet another test of the country's ability to mobilise support for its initiatives in Africa.

Brazil's capacity to sustain or expand this involvement will depend on a number of factors. Firstly, the internationalisation of Brazilian companies – and to some extent Brazil's capacity to project itself internationally – depends on the dynamism of the economy. In 2012 the country's economic growth slowed down considerably. If this deceleration becomes a trend rather than a temporary dip, it could compromise Brazil's ability to sustain the scope of its role

in Africa. The government has already announced budget reductions, including for the Ministry of External Relations. In addition, although Brazil's involvement in security issues abroad has so far not provoked significant popular controversies at home, deeper engagement could generate more debate, subjecting the country's role in Africa to political oscillations.

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