

Editorial: “Brazilian participation in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations”

In 2014, Brazilian Armed Forces celebrated ten years of participation and leadership in the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti – MINUSTAH. The Brazilian contribution to this mission is considered paradigmatic in many aspects, both for the model of UN peacekeeping operations and for the Brazilian Armed Forces and Diplomatic corps. Brazil has participated actively in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKO) since 1947, either with troops, commanders, police personnel, or military observers. Since the engagement in Haiti, however, the international and national echoes of this particular example of Brazilian military leadership in a complex UN Peacekeeping mission have been remarkable. Both in the public sphere and in academia the efforts have raised many questions ranging from the changing global status Brazil, including the role of this engagement in Brazilian foreign policy, to implications for internal security issues, Brazilian civil-military relations, South-South approaches to stabilization, and more.

As one of the four large and globally emerging BRIC countries, Brazil’s evolving role in global affairs is a vital question for students of international relations. A central element in Brazil’s own search for a proper and meaningful role in world politics has been and continues to be the United Nations, not merely as a framework for a just global governance, but also as a context for Brazil’s recognition. Brazil’s contributions to United Nations’ peacekeeping operations therefore appear as a complex element in a larger puzzle tied to more general debates about how emerging countries evolve as responsible stakeholders in the international system, strategic as well as ‘disinterested’ contributions to international order. While such high politics reasons provide important grounds to study Brazil’s participation in UN peacekeeping operations, more

organizationally oriented analyses provide equally important input. Brazil's domestic experience, for example, with its lack of a just and effective sovereign territorial control and subsequent stabilization efforts are relevant for and related to Brazil's organizational learning in the peacekeeping context.

This dossier of *Brasiliانا – Journal for Brazilian Studies* critically analyzes the Brazilian engagement in these United Nations PKO missions through comparative studies of missions with Brazilian participation. The dossier contributes to the understanding of Brazilian participation in UNPKO both from a military and a diplomatic point of view, with special attention to the internal echoes of these external military engagements; to the effectiveness of this Brazilian participation in UNPKO, the problems associated to it and the outcomes for Brazil regarding international relations; to the relations between Brazilian participation in UNPKO and the internal public security policy in Brazil; and finally provides a basis for future discussions of whether there is a 'Brazilian way' of doing peacekeeping operations.

The dossier starts with an article that looks at the global perspective that led Brazil to a cystic position from participating in UN peacekeeping operations from 1967 to 1989. At the same time the authors examine related attitudes towards peacekeeping and the motivations that have driven Brazil once more into the world of UN peacekeeping in the late 1980s.

The second article discusses two important and polemic concepts related to the peacekeeping operations: 'Responsibility to Protect' (R2P) and the 'Responsibility while Protecting' (RwP). The authors point out the Brazilian position regarding the 'Responsibility to Protect', which must be discharged in accordance with international humanitarian law, human rights law, and the rules regarding the use of force (*Jus ad Bellum*), since these actions should not worsen the conflicts and must not harm the

civilian population. Thus, Brazilian foreign policy operated a conceptual change when it brought the concept of 'Responsibility while Protecting' to the table, which would have aimed to show the importance of complying with a legal framework during these operations.

The third article asserts that the diplomatic point of view and its pragmatic operation in UN peacekeeping operations in Haiti, appears as one of the main cases of Brazil's performance in its participation in international conflicts. According to the authors, the Brazilian paradigm favorably changed its position on the UNSC resolutions established under the Chapter VII of the UN Charter. The Haitian case would demonstrate that Brazil, as a rational actor, chooses to support the establishment of these operations as it seeks the opportunity of occupying a seat as a permanent member in the UNSC.

The fourth article discusses the Brazilian participation in the Minustah but from the perspective of the securitization of peacebuilding operations. The main argument here, is that the withdrawal of foreign forces before the consolidation of a strong political tradition of state authority, in a Weberian sense, might be fraught with danger. Nonetheless, an international military presence cannot and should not be permanent in a country where there is no actual armed conflict. It lays on UN Security Council shoulders the responsibility to consider whether a specific situation is no longer to be considered a threat to international peace and security, and therefore no longer requires a substantial international presence. This kind of evaluation could be influenced by unexpected events such as the 2010 earthquake, but cannot be avoided forever.

The fifth paper addresses that Brazilian interest and support of peacekeeping operations could be demonstrated by its 53 participations in UN missions

since the 1950's. The know-how accumulated in those missions allowed Brazil to create a process of selection, preparation and deployment of military and police contingents. However, the author claims that the country still does not have a proper policy aimed to perform the various functions that the current peace operations require.

The sixth article takes its cornerstone from the fact that Brazil has provided Force Commanders and the largest number of troops to the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH). Thus, MINUSTAH is understood as the origin of Pacification approaches in Rio de Janeiro, where the military occasionally acts. By contrast, a minority view evaluates that the MINUSTAH experience would probably have little consequences for public security in Brazil. The author shows that both sides of the argument should be seen as complementary. The seventh and final paper deals with the subject of the direction of Brazilian foreign policy regarding the employment of military troops in robust operations. The author discusses that the Brazilian credibility regarding its participation in peacekeeping operations, especially in MINUSTAH, is based on the recognition of CCOPAB excellence as a training center for blue helmets troops. Alongside this recognition, the UN invitation of former Brazilian MINUSTAH's Force Commander Gen Santos Cruz to be the FC of MONUSCO could be considered as additional evidence of the positive contribution of Brazilian troops to robust operations.

This dossier is an attempt to analyze, through different lens, one of the main elements of the current Brazilian international presence and relevance: its incisive participation in the MINUSTAH. We do believe that the readers will find a fine collection of perspectives, both critical and factual, that could set a benchmark in fields of research such as the Brazilian Foreign Policy, the Brazilian military role, the Civil-Military relations in Brazil and many others. In sum the set of articles that form part of this special number shows a 'multidimensional' approach that could enrich the

understanding of different performances, policies, concepts and ways for military contribution taken from Brazilian experience in contemporary peacekeeping operations.

This issue of *Brasiliana* also brings five contributions to the General Articles section. The first one discusses the way that the ‘mensalão’ scandal was narrated by the Brazilian media. The article is extremely relevant in reading the contemporary context of Brazil. The second one discusses the argument that the federal system in Brazil leads to economic inequality. The author proposes that intergovernmental transfer reforms, especially regarding taxation, are in need to keep Brazil on the path of reduction of inequality. The third article aims to understand the economic impact of land regularization in Vidigal, a neighborhood of Rio de Janeiro. The paper analyses whether the legalization of properties promoted economic growth, as proposed by de Soto.

The last two articles focus on Brazilian literature. One analyses the intermediality in the works by Ana Paula Maia, namely *A Guerra dos Bastardos*; the other is a discussion on the construction of subjectivity in relation to gender categories based on Caio Fernando Abreu’s first novel: *Limite Branco*. This issue concludes with 3 book reviews.

We are proud of publishing one more issue of *Brasiliana – Journal for Brazilian Studies* and we hope the articles published here will provoke more debates, discussions and reactions on the field of Brazilian Studies.

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