

Political relations between Brazil and Germany: **Cooperation in Peace and Security**

**Migration and Multilateralism in
comparative perspective**

Monique Sochaczewski, PhD in History,
Politics and Cultural Assets, CPDOC/FGV



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DIALOGUE

BRAZIL  **GERMANY**

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DIALOGUE

BRAZIL GERMANY

On June 26, the Europe Program of CEBRI, in partnership with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Brazil promoted, within the framework of the project Dialogue Brazil and Germany, the workshop *"Political relations between Brazil and Germany: Cooperation in peace and security"*. During the event, issues related to migration and bilateral political coordination were discussed in international forums. The topics covered during the event were important to highlight the common challenges Brazil and Germany face, as well as the different experiences among various actors in the field of migration and refugees. In addition, participants exchanged views on the political coordination of both countries in a multi-polar, global scenario, particularly on issues related to peace and security.

Summary

Introduction	6
<hr/>	
Migrations in Comparative Perspective	7
<hr/>	
a. Brazil and the refugee crisis	10
b. Germany and the refugee crisis	11
Challenges and recommendations	12
<hr/>	
Multilateralism	15
<hr/>	
Brazil-Germany concertation in a multipolar scenario	15
Challenges and recommendations	17
<hr/>	
Final Thoughts	18
<hr/>	
Annexes	19
<hr/>	
Some concepts related to migration	19
Principle institutions involved in bilateral cooperation in migration and multilateralism	20
<hr/>	
About CEBRI	21
<hr/>	

Introduction

Economic relations between Brazil and Germany are lasting and based on mutual trust. Political relations, however, need greater proximity, dynamism, and pragmatism. In the context of the debate on cooperation in peace and security, we have chosen to address two major ongoing challenges: the flow of refugees and its management, and concerted action in the face of a multipolar global scenario. These issues demand greater reflection and present themselves as opportunities for greater engagement and eventual joint actions.

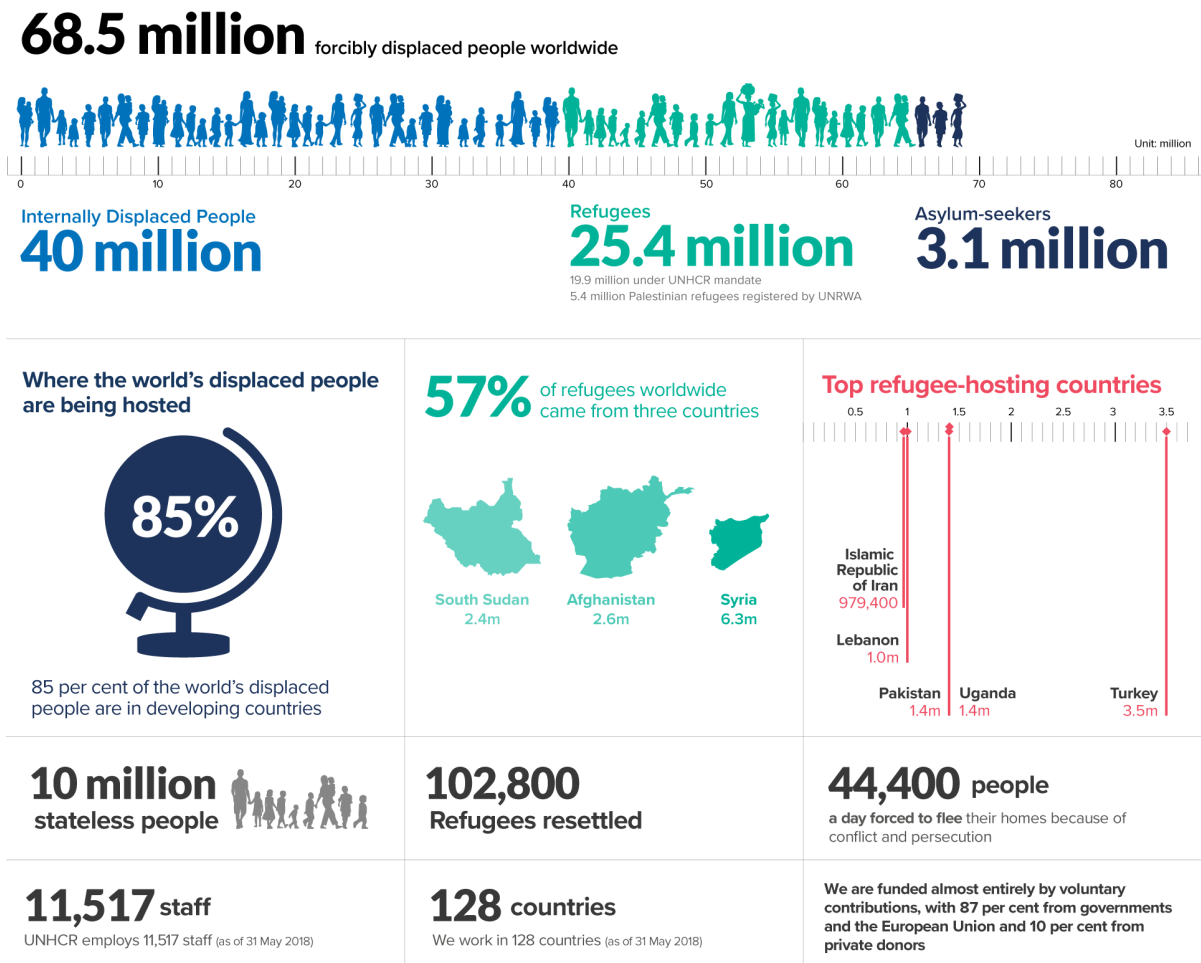
UA comparison between Brazil and Germany is valid as far as migrations are concerned. We seek to evaluate the history of both countries in this area, as well as solutions tried and initiatives in progress, to determine to what extent this issue also presents itself as an opportunity.

With respect to the articulation of both countries in multilateral issues, they have long been aimed at reforming the UN Security Council and cooperating in the implementation of reforms in the international monetary and financial system, seeking greater representativeness and alignment with geopolitical and economic realities. The current question, however, is how Brazil and Germany should act, chiefly as a result of the US retraction in the multilateral system, and how to contribute to support multilateralism in this context.

Migration in comparative perspective

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) released a report in June 2018 stating that 68.5 million people are currently forcibly displaced in the world; 25.4 million of them are refugees. The greatest humanitarian crisis since the end of World War II is currently underway, and the migratory issue will continue to be of paramount importance for a long time. The majority of refugees come from South Sudan, Afghanistan and Syria, and almost all of them are sheltered in developing countries, such as Turkey, Pakistan, Iran, Jordan, Lebanon, Uganda and Kenya. About 44,400 people are forced to leave their homes daily.

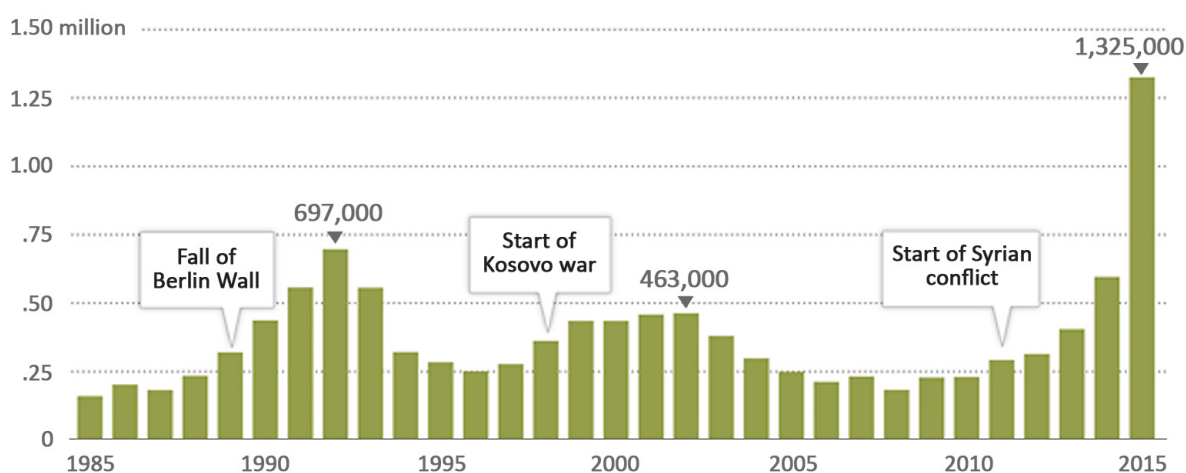
Figure 1. Global panorama of refugees, according to the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR)



Source: UNHCR

Neither Europe nor South America are at the heart of the migratory crisis. Compared to recent numbers, however, the arrival of asylum-seekers to these regions, and specifically in Germany and Brazil, has increased greatly and created the perception of crisis. In Europe, some 200,000 refugee applicants arrived ten years ago. In response to the war in Syria and a relaxation of the border of Turkey, this number reached almost one million and a half in 2015 (Figure 2). Refugees flee to Germany, Italy, France, Greece, the United Kingdom, and Spain¹. Due to insecurity in Colombia and Central America there have been many refugees and asylum seekers in Latin America since the 1980s. Between 2015 and 2017, however, the number of Venezuelan immigrants in the region grew from 88,975 to 885,891, according to figures from the International Organization for Migration, of the UN, an increase of more than 900%².

Figure 2. Number of applications for refugee status in Europe between 1985 and 2015



Source: PEW Research Center

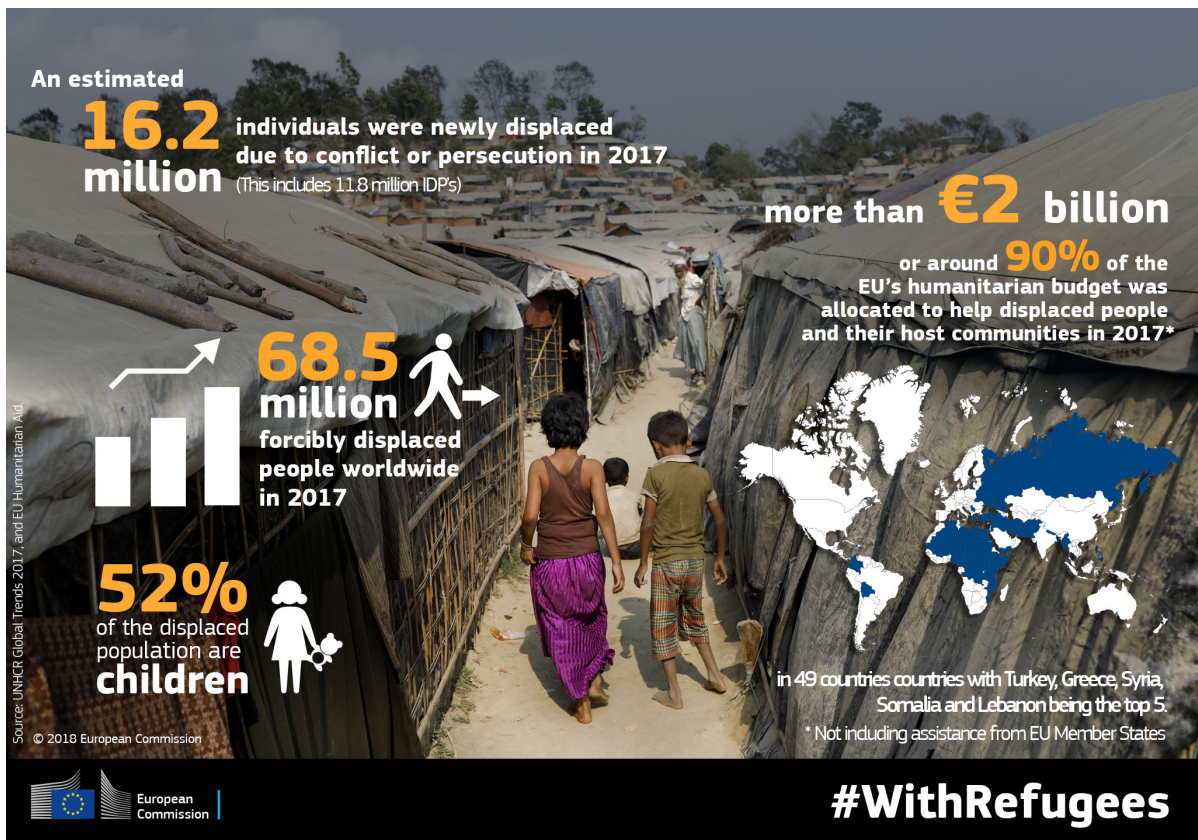
Europe is not the region with the greatest presence of refugees, but it has a key role in finding solutions to the crisis. Countries on the continent are major contributors to UNHCR, and around 90% of the humanitarian budget of the European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations is intended to help refugees³. The resources have been used to help Syrian refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey and Greece; Afghan refugees in Iran and Pakistan; Somali refugees in Kenya; Congolese refugees in the Great Lakes region; Palestinian refugees in general; Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh and Thailand; and Sahrawi refugees in Algeria.

1. In a recent speech at CEBRI, the President of Macedonia, Gjorge Ivanov, highlighted three refugee escape routes in Europe. The Western Route connects northern Morocco to southern Spain. The Central Route connects northern Libya to southern Italy. And the Eastern Route connects Turkey to Greece.

2. Source: http://robuenosaires.iom.int/sites/default/files/Informes/National_Migration_Trends_Venezuela_in_the_Americas.pdf

3. Source: https://ec.europa.eu/echo/what-we-do/humanitarian-aid/refugees-and-internally-displaced-persons_en

Figure 3. Data on the European Union responses to the humanitarian crisis



Source: UNHCR Global Trends 2017

Latin America is a region that historically has received Europeans, Africans, Asians and Middle Easterners as settlers, merchants, refugees or enslaved. Despite its history, it is currently unwilling to bear the global costs of the refugee crisis and has accepted only a few hundred refugees from Syria, for example. Government rhetoric toward the refugees is positive, but action is limited as the region focuses on its own political and economic issues.

Germany received about 400,000 requests for asylum in the early 1990s at the end of the Cold War, many from Jews from the former USSR and refugees from the wars in the former Yugoslavia. Then, for many years, requests stayed steady in the tens of thousands, until 2015, when they peaked, reaching some 890,000 applications that year, the great majority from Syria⁴. By 2018, the numbers fell to 78,000 requests from Syrians, and they are decreasing, but the perception of crisis persists, and this issue plays a fundamental role in the local electoral landscape, with diverging policy proposals, even among allied parties. After Syria, applicants come from countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Nigeria, Iran, Turkey, Eritrea and Somalia.

In Brazil there are about 10,000 legally-recognized refugees and about 86,000 asylum seekers, approximately 100,000 in total, with a considerable increase in recent times. Refugees and applicants come from around 80 countries, including Syria, Cuba, Haiti,

4. Source: <https://www.dw.com/en/refugee-numbers-in-germany-dropped-dramatically-in-2017/a-42162223>

Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo, but the vast majority come from neighboring Venezuela⁵. Syrians are generally granted refugee status. The question of Venezuelans, above all, concerns the possible change of their status, from economic migrants to refugees. There has been a large increase in requests from Venezuelans since 2014, but especially after 2017, leading to major crisis on the border in Roraima.

a. Brazil and the refugee crisis

Brazil was the first country in the Southern Cone to ratify the 1951 Refugee Convention, later acceding to the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees. In 1984, faced with the growing number of refugees on the continent due to the escalation of the conflict in Colombia and the outbreak of civil war in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala, Brazil participated in the elaboration of a regional response, the Cartagena Declaration, which extended the classic definition of refugee to anyone who has suffered serious and widespread human rights violations. The Foreigners Statute (Law No. 6815/80) was also established by the military regime and dictated immigration law for nearly four decades. The impetus behind the law was, above all, national security. Since the 1990s, however, important issues have arisen, both because of the growing number of Brazilians in the world, and the arrival of Bolivians, Paraguayans and Haitians to Brazil. Brazil coexisted with a normative tangle of regulations made on a case-by-case basis and committed to international measures that were not yet reflected in its legislation. This changed, only in 2017, when the new Immigration Law (No. 13,445 / 2017) came into effect. It focused on guaranteeing the rights of migrants.

The National Committee for Refugees (CONARE) was created by Law No. 9474/97 with the objective of recognizing and determining refugee status in Brazil, as well as promoting integration of refugees. CONARE is a multi-ministerial body, comprised of government, civil society and the UN in the form of UNHCR. One of the main entities

that provides shelter and integration services to refugees in Brazil is the Caritas Archdiocese. It works with the UNHCR and the Ministry of Justice to carry out programs for Reception, Legal Protection and Local Integration. Caritas has been working mainly in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, sometimes in close coordination with other NGOs and initiatives such as Abraço Cultural, Chega Junto, Mulheres do Sul Global, Migraflitx and Instituto Adus. In addition to working on reception, inclusion and employability, these initiatives seek to give voice to refugees, making them protagonists for their issues.

Brazilian universities have been providing support for refugees. In 2003, UNHCR created the Sérgio Vieira de Mello Chair (SVMC), in partnership with CONARE, with the objective of “promoting education, research and academic extension programs geared to the refugee population.” There is an academic component of research and extension providing extension classes related to the refugee issue, but there is also a role for universities in teaching Portuguese, assisting in revalidation of diplomas, as well as in a series of initiatives promoting social and economic inclusion. Nineteen universities have created a SVMC, with professors and students from various disciplines. Professors participating in the program perceive the knowledge and life experiences that refugees bring, thus supporting university education.

With the political and humanitarian crisis in Venezuela, the request for refuge from people from that country has grown vertiginously and

5. Source: http://www.acnur.org/portugues/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/refugio-em-numeros_1104.pdf

a crisis has emerged, particularly in the state of Roraima, in the border region. Provisional Measure No. 820 of 02/15/2018, established the Federal Emergency Assistance Committee which has decreed a social emergency and has implemented measures to accommodate those seeking refuge. The Brazilian Army created the Humanitarian Logistics Task Force / Operation Acolhida, in Roraima, to provide support with personnel, material, setting up of tents and temporary structures, and in the organization of activities necessary to receive those seeking refuge.

The performance of the Brazilian Army is perceived as very important and efficient and demonstrates a major change, from 2017 to 2018, in dealing with the issue of Venezuelan migrants

in Roraima. There is a consensus among civil society actors in the legal area, however, that more substantial efforts should be devised and executed by the Ministry of Social Development, with special attention to the areas of Health and Education, since the local systems are overloaded.

The crisis in Venezuela will persist for many years. What has been a reactive policy on the part of the Brazilian State regarding the refugee crisis, especially the Venezuelan case, must become an active policy, designed for the long term, with clear attributions as to who is responsible for what. The possibility of repatriation and resettlement should be evaluated but, realistically, once cannot lose sight of the need for an effective refugee integration policy in Brazil.

b. Germany and the refugee crisis

Germany is a signatory to the 1951 Convention and has adopted it into law. In 2015 an enormous number of asylum applications were filed, 425,035 between January and November of that year. The majority came from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq; the Syrians, with approvals in 94.8% of cases. Overall, 45.8% of applicants in 2015 had their applications approved by the government.

In view of the large influx of refugees over the course of 2015, German legislation was amended at the end of that year and the beginning of the next. In addition, a political agreement with Turkey was sought negotiated in March 2016 to reduce the number of refugees from that territory. On August 1, 2015, the Act to Redefine the Length of Stay and Termination of Residency came into force, as an amendment to the Residency Act, which prohibited the entry of applicants from safe states or those who have made repeated requests, in addition to granting residence permits to persons who are able to prove that they are well integrated after a period of eight years. On October 24, 2015, the Act to Accelerate Asylum Procedures came into force, with the aim of speeding up the asylum process, granting cash benefits, reducing

financial burdens for German municipalities and states, reforming policies for the integration of refugees, and designating Albania, Kosovo and Montenegro as safe countries of origin. On November 1, 2015, the Act to Improve the Housing, Care and Treatment of Foreign Minors and Adolescents came into force and on February 3, 2016, the German government agreed on a series of measures to restrict asylum (Asylum Package II) and accelerate the asylum application process. Family reunification of migrants with subsidiary protection status for the two-year period was suspended; monthly financial stipends were decreased; deportation procedures were streamlined; a new Federal Police unit to assist with documentation was established; the security of underage refugees was improved; and Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia were designated as safe countries of origin.

The Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF, using German initials) is the German institution linked to the Ministry of the Interior, responsible for refugee issues in the country. It is a decentralized agency, with several locations, including regional offices and arrival centers and has direct contact with all that are concerned

with the protection and integration of refugees. Its purpose is to facilitate integration of refugees by teaching them German and social customs⁶.

Arrival centers are the entry point for the asylum or refugee application procedure. It is where the medical examination is done, personal data is collected, the application for refugee status is submitted, interviews are carried out, and the decision is made. The arrival center also aids in the search for work. Complex cases are handed over to the regional office and it is in the decision-making centers that the decision on the requests for refuge is made.

The German state is very efficient in dealing with refugees, but the evaluation process lasts for about nine months and during that time the applicants cannot work. They often live in isolated shelters with fences to protect them from the Far Right, and the main obstacle is integration. German civil society - institutions or individual volunteers - has played an important role in helping refugees learn German, better understand the culture and issues of the country,

and for those who have documentation, find housing, work and schools. Initiatives such as the Asyllotheke, a library created in 2012 in Nuremberg from donations and with help from schools that teach language and provide information on culture and life in Germany, also provide support. The same goes for the Begegnungscafé (Meeting Café) where refugees, residents and volunteers mingle during activities such as workshops and conversation.

According to official figures from the German government, 15 million of more than 82 million inhabitants have an immigrant background. Beyond this presence and history, the country has received hundreds of thousands of refugees in recent times, especially Syrians. Entry of refugees has declined since 2016, either through international agreements within the European Union or directly with Turkey, or through clearer and more transparent legislation on who may apply. Despite this decrease, however, the issue of refugees plays a central role in European policy of the present day, with strong political weight in Germany.

Challenges and recommendations

1. Refugees as an opportunity for Brazil to remain aware to world events and even to its future economic development

After a long period of international events in which Brazil played a prominent role - from the 2007 Pan-American Games to the Olympics in 2016 - but, under governments for which foreign policy and international issues were not central policy concerns, the issue of refugees presents itself as an opportunity for various spheres of civil society, and even the public at large, to debate international issues generally, and regional ones in particular. The question of refugees presents itself in Brazil, above all, as potential, and even as a solution, according to several academics, civil servants and professionals of the third sector. Refugees bring and encourage creativity, exchange of ideas, cultural diversity, and entrepreneurship. A solution for some issues in the field of education in the short term, but a policy to attract and culturally include immigrants would also be indispensable for future economic development since Brazilian population is forecast to stabilize in the not too distant future.

6. Source: <http://www.bamf.de/EN/Fluechtlingschutz/fluechtlingschutz-node.html>

2. Refugees as an opportunity for the educational development of Brazil

In the area of education, there is a demand for the internationalization of schools and universities. To welcome and include refugees can contribute to this without the need for costly and time-consuming agreements. Refugees bring knowledge and life experiences from other cultures, with other languages, and other stories. In some cases, refugees have diplomas and knowledge in areas that Brazil has needs, such as engineering and information technology. Challenges in this area include improving and facilitating the process of recognizing diplomas and inclusion in professional associations, as well as the need to develop an education policy that prepares public school teachers to deal with child refugees, to include them and, more than that, making them and other children realize that their stories are rich and help us to know the world better.

3. Refugees as an economic opportunity for Germany

Refugees can also be seen as an opportunity and even a solution for Germany in economic terms. The country has a deficit of 1.1 million jobs which generates a loss of 7.6 billion euros per year⁷. There is an unfulfilled demand for engineers, computer technicians, nurses, and caregivers of the elderly, and Germany should develop a strategy that identifies refugees that can be trained and prepared to occupy these many existing vacancies. If the workforce is no longer qualified, qualify it, in order to support the elderly population on the one hand and, on the other, to help with the challenge of inclusion and integration.

4. The need for an active, rather than a merely reactive, policy

Everything indicates that the number of migrants from Venezuela will increase and, therefore, an active (and not merely reactive) and long-term policy should be elaborated, broadening and improving, for example, initiatives such as the interiorization of refugees. It is also imperative to recognize Venezuelans as refugees due to serious and widespread violation of human rights in their country, which is a criterion established in Brazilian law. Residency does not provide the necessary protection to those persons who are vulnerable to exploitation, human trafficking, violence, sexual abuse, discrimination and xenophobia. In the specific case of the border in Roraima, refugees can also be co-opted to act illicitly, in illegal extraction of wood and drug trafficking.

5. Give more visibility to already existing initiatives

Initiatives such as the NGO Abraço Cultural (Cultural Hug) - where refugees in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo teach their native languages and aspects of their culture – allow refugees, on the one hand, to teach languages demanded in the labor market (English, Spanish, French and also Arabic) at affordable prices, to showcase other cultural aspects linked to these languages, and also to support themselves and even help family members. There is a strong component of employability and dignity in this type of project. It is not by chance that many of the refugees linked to this project are now working to create an organization that gives them their own voice, so that they directly

7. Source: <https://oglobo.globo.com/economia/saiba-quais-profissionais-alemanha-esta-buscando-no-exterior-22887480>

defend their interests. One challenge is precisely to create a public policy for refugees in which they also create their space, without paternalism.

6. Sensitivity to cultural differences

Migrants and refugees welcomed in Brazil, even those from the same country, bring cultural differences that deserve attention. Among the Venezuelans are many indigenous people of different tribes, and among the Syrians, many Muslims (religion) and Kurds (ethnicity). Demonstrating sensitivity to these cultural differences can be a challenge. A course on the Islamic World offered by OAB-DF with the Federation of Muslim Associations of Brazil (FAMBRAS), in July 2018, is an example of a successful initiative. Universities, especially those with the Sergio Vieira de Mello Chair could help more in this effort by teaching courses of interest to the wider public and to active public servants on subjects related to this issue.

7. Invest in public relations campaigns

It is important to invest in public relations campaigns so that perceptions regarding the numbers and realities of refugees and asylum seekers in the country is more accurate. In addition, refugees are associated with crimes they do not commit. Almost all jihadist attacks in Europe, for example, were perpetrated by natives of the continent. In this sense, it is also important for Germany to be sensitive to cultural diversity, different from the case of Venezuelans in Latin America, for example, where immigrants are generally of cultural, religious, and linguistical origins which are not unlike those of countries to which they migrate. In the German case, especially when considering the large Syrian presence, one can not lose sight of the many differences involved, be they ethnic, religious or idiomatic.

8. Reinforcing authoritarianisms will not hold back the refugee crisis

The Charter of the European Union (EU) on Fundamental Rights states that it is based on “the universal and indivisible values of human dignity, freedom, equality and solidarity” and on the principles of democracy and the rule of law. In the light of the refugee crisis, the EU will need to decide whether it remains a cohesive group that advocates tolerance, democracy, and opposes racism and xenophobia. Attempts must also be made to ensure that policies to contain the flow of refugees to the European continent, and to Germany in particular, do not reinforce authoritarian regimes, as is currently the case in Turkey with President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. As George Soros pointed out recently in the European Council on Foreign Affairs⁸, reinforcing authoritarianism may lead to additional refugee crises in the near future.

8. Source: https://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary_how_to_save_europe

Multilateralism

Brazil-German concertation in a multipolar scenario

How should countries coordinate in a world that still feels the impact of the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, the 2008 economic crisis, and the Russian occupation of Crimea of 2014, in addition to witnessing the largest refugee crisis since World War II, the global rise of China and a drastic change in US international conduct? We are witnessing the end of the unipolar moment; living a moment of transition to “a certain multipolarity.” The world is showing that it is tremendously complex and characterized by an international order that is being challenged on the one hand, while at the same time intensely connected. Brazil, Germany and the European Union have common values in defense of democracy and human rights and face the challenge of defending them in an international system that is in a precarious, rapidly changing and highly vulnerable, and also unpredictable, state.

One can witness members of the UN Security Council attempting to undermine multilateralism, namely the US and Russia. China sometimes seeks to undermine and sometimes to support it, depending on the circumstances. The US, under Trump, altercated with historic allies like Canada and Europe, with a special focus on Germany, as was clear at the 2018 NATO meeting in Brussels. The scenario is multipolarized, with Europe as a sui generis pole, and the issue of defending multilateralism is a commitment of the European Union and Brazil.

The European Union is still a very relevant academic, economic and technological force among the world’s power elite. Europe declares that it seeks to strengthen rationality, calm and dialogue on controversial issues, such as the nuclear agreement with Iran. It is a historic case of a regional order that has grown multilaterally to be politically integrated. The European Union has grown through dialogue, through traumatic historical experience, and its commitment

to integration is therefore genuine, and not opportunistic.

On the one hand, public opinion polls indicate that citizens are in favor of the European Union; on the other, many political divisions exist within it. The perception of “creditor states” and “debtor states,” in economic terms, makes it difficult to reinforce awareness that the EU is a voluntary and egalitarian organization. Many young people see it as an enemy that takes away jobs, security, and the promise of a future, and this resentment has been mobilized by political parties in recent times. There are those who question the coherence of the values and principles of the European Union because of the rhetoric of some member governments, increasingly xenophobic, perceiving the current moment as an identity crisis for the bloc.

There is also a growing awareness on the part of member states of the need to coordinate in terms of security and defense. Although this

aspiration has existed since the 1950s, advocated by the French, only in 2016 was the need felt to elaborate a document outlining the objectives, perceptions of threats, and instruments of action: the European Union's Global Strategy. The challenge of territorial disintegration posited by Brexit and the common view of a dangerous world demanding a new approach have led to this strategy. There is a perception of the need for a strong European Union, as never before, united by interests, principles and a collective sense of direction. The Strategy covers energy security, migration, climate change, violent extremism and hybrid warfare. As a result, institutions and initiatives have been created, including the Single Command Center in Brussels for military training; the European Defense Fund, with EUR 90 million available by 2020 for research on Defense and the Defense Industry; the Permanent Structural Compression which allows integration of force projection capacity (25 countries); the Maritime Surveillance System; the European Peace Operations Training Center; Combat Battle Groups for a Crisis Situation; the European Fund for Peace; and a "Military Erasmus."

Brazil is valued because of its size and international capability, although the latter is now fragile. Brazil is seen as Germany's partner because of its strength, potential, interests, and values that are consistent with the Europeans'. Brazil lived through a recent euphoria - internally and internationally - without due attention to excessive debt and corruption. The crisis of recent years has led to debates on the need for more dialogue, more honesty and more transparency.

Brazil is an internationally responsible actor and is familiar with complex debates. It also is an important interlocutor within the BRICS. There is a demand for the country to play a more active

role in international cooperation. A persistent difficulty is that foreign policy will not be an important issue in the 2018 elections, and there is no consensus as to the international profile that the country should have.

In recent years, in terms of security and defense, Brazil has adopted guidelines in the form of the National Defense Policy, the National Defense Strategy and the White Paper. If, on the one hand, the country has no war, on the other hand it is alert to hostile scenarios, seeking cooperation and deterrence. The main objectives of its Defense concern sovereignty and territorial integrity, due to the fragility of the State, but the armed forces are also being used in the Guarantee of Law and Order missions and even intervention in public security. As discussed, they also play an important and immediate role with border refugees.

Germany is the largest country in the European Union and the fourth largest economy in the world. As presented in the White Paper on Security Policy, its identity is inseparably connected to European identity and remaining economically important and effective in the area of security depends on secure supply routes, stable markets, functioning information and communication systems, as well as alliances, partnerships, and participation in a wide variety of communities.

Key challenges in the area of security include, among others, transnational terrorism, information and cyber security challenges, climate change, epidemics and pandemics, and irregular and uncontrolled migration. There is a clear distinction made by German diplomats and scholars between the question of terrorism and the refugee crisis, as well as great care to clarify this topic in lectures and the like.

Challenges and recommendations

1. Structured dialogue to address international projects

Brazil, Germany and the European Union have as their main common link the defense of democracy, human rights, and multilateralism. Brazil, Germany and the European Union have solid democratic institutions and have overcome many crises. They are also suffering from the internal actions of populist groups which threaten the democratic values of freedom, equality and solidarity. On the other hand, in external terms, and linked to refugee crises, they should strengthen their defense of democracy, whether it be against the Venezuelan or Turkish governments. In this sense, they should maintain clarity and consistency in their international stances. A structured dialogue could be organized to deal specifically with this issue, with representatives from Brazil and Germany, including the Brazilian public, especially the young audience that is the target of this initiative, thus giving them an experience with political practices dialogue.

2. Execution and dissemination of studies on terrorism

Scholars, diplomats, and German authorities clearly understand that there is no necessary connection between refugees and terrorism, but this does not appear to be the case with Brazilians. Received wisdom in Brazil, even among high-level spheres of civilians and military, is that there is an immediate connection between Middle Eastern refugees and terrorism. In this sense, although terrorism is not seen as an immediate threat to Brazil (any fears in this sense were linked to the cycle of major events, with Brazil as a possible stage, rather than a target), it is necessary to have broader studies to understand the Brazilian specificity and avoid reductionism and generalizations that reinforce prejudices.

3. A program of studies and events to specifically address issues of climate change and migration

The global refugee crisis is an ongoing humanitarian drama and will persist for a long time. It has directly impacted Germany, and Brazil only recently, but neither government prepared as they saw it approaching. As a result of climate change - with drought, famine and disease - this crisis will grow, and both countries must develop specific, long-term policies to address it. There are those who point out that the experience with Haitians who arrived in Brazil after the earthquake of 2010 can already be understood in this context, and it would be worthwhile to give more attention to the lessons learned in this respect. These questions have already been contemplated in the XV International Security Conference of the Copacabana Fort in 2018, but clearly demand more studies, debates and diffusion for a wide public.

Final Thoughts

The issue of migration has global, regional, national and even subnational facets. It is being tackled to a large extent on global and regional lines, especially by Europe (certainly with many difficulties), but it still lacks sufficient coordination in regional terms in Latin America, and nationally, in Brazil. Unasur could have played an important role in managing migration, for example, and this did not happen. This theme is also almost non-existent in the current Brazilian electoral debate.

In many aspects, this is a crisis that demands more attention and engagement from the public spheres and from civil society, with Brazil needing to commit more in the former and Germany, in the latter. With all the complexities, however, the crisis also offers many opportunities: including refugees, as well as assisting them during periods of extreme hardship, can help both Brazil and Germany to remedy some difficulties, either in internationalizing teaching, in the Brazilian case, for example, or filling numerous job openings in the German case.

The cornerstone of refugee protection, the 1951 Convention, was born from the post-World War II European crisis. Alongside the 1967 Protocol, it assures the means for those who need the right to seek and receive refuge. Today the circle is closing, and Europe is widely sought as a refuge and has a leading role in financing solutions to this crisis. An issue raised by specialists, however, is the quality of the new Brazilian legislation on the subject, because it is more open and there is no criminalization of the migrant. A more detailed study of this legislation should be developed to deal with humanitarian crises. To what extent would Brazil become a good example for this issue in the legal sense?

This issue attracts much attention in the multilateral sphere, but multilateralism itself has been challenged, especially by the nation that helped to forge its main institutions, the United States. Brazil and Germany have as their common goal the defense of democracy, human rights, and multilateralism, and more than ever before, they must approach and articulate this approach in as many forums as possible.

Annexes

Annex 1

Glossary:

Stateless persons

Individuals whose citizenship is not recognized by any country.

Political exiles

Individuals who have suffered political persecution in their countries of origin and sought protection in another country. Asylum is a political status that can be granted at the sole discretion of the President of the Republic, without the need for strict legal reasoning.

Environmentally displaced persons

Persons who are forced to leave their habitual place of residence, temporarily or permanently, as a result of long-term climate change or sudden natural disasters.

Internally displaced persons

Persons displaced within their own country, for the same reasons as a refugee, but who have not crossed an international border to seek protection, so they remain legally under the protection of their own state.

Economic migrants

Individuals who leave their country of origin or residence for mainly economic reasons, to work in another country.

Refugees

Persons who have left their country of origin due to well-founded fears of persecution on the grounds of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, or due to serious and widespread violations of human rights and armed conflict. As a result of the fears, these persons cannot or do not wish to avail themselves of the protection of their country of origin.

Refugee claimant

Persons who have only subsidiary protection because they have requested refugee status, but their applications have not yet been evaluated by the national protection and refuge systems.

Annex 2

Main institutions involved in bilateral cooperation on migration and multilateralism:

International / Multilateral

- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)
- United Nations Security Council (UNSC)
- United Nations (UN)
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
- International Organization for Migration (IOM)
- European Union (EU)
- Union of South American Nations (UNASUR)

Brazil

- Caritas Archdiocese
- National Committee for Refugees (CONARE)
- Brazilian Army
- Ministry of Justice (MJ)
- Ministry of Social Development (MDS)
- Brazilian Federal Police (PF)

Germany

- Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF, German initials)
- Interior Ministry

About CEBRI



The Brazilian Center for International Relations (CEBRI) is an independent think tank that contributes to building an international agenda for Brazil. For twenty years, the institution has engaged in promoting pluralistic and proposal-oriented debate on the international landscape and Brazilian foreign policy.

In its activities, CEBRI prioritizes themes with the greatest potential to leverage the country's international insertion into the global economy, proposing pragmatic solutions for the formulation of public policies.

It is a non-profit institution, headquartered in Rio de Janeiro and internationally recognized. Today, its almost 100 associates represent diverse interests and economic sectors and mobilize a worldwide network of professionals and organizations. Moreover, CEBRI has an active Board of Trustees composed of prominent members of Brazilian society.

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