Brazil and Indonesia: Horizons of a Strategic Partnership

Borzova A. Y., Da Costa Santos J., Sibarani Dame M.
Peoples' Friendship University of Russia (RUDN University), Moscow, Russia

There are many similarities between the national growth of Brazil and Indonesia. Both countries are rich in natural resources, play a vital role in the establishment of regional blocs, are members of G-20 and adhere to the principles of preventive diplomacy. The objective of this article is to show the role of the concept of strategic partnerships in the foreign policy of Brazil, whose international influence in the UN and other global structures is actively growing, and also to identify the characteristics of such partnership with Indonesia. Southeast Asia is becoming extremely important for the international economic system, and Indonesia, located on 17,000 islands, has an important geostrategic position, since all major sea routes in the Indian and Pacific Ocean pass through it. Indonesia is currently distinguished thanks to its steady economic growth, political stability, integration into the global economy, and increased activity on international platforms. Consequently, it is no surprise that Brazilian-Indonesian strategic partnership has started to manifest itself not only in the development of comprehensive ties, but also in the cooperation in upholding the ideas of sustainable development, disarmament, as well as the peaceful resolution of conflicts on the global level. The authors utilized a problematic-chronological method that allowed to analyze the areas of contacts between Brazil and Indonesia in the global arena, to find the problems and promising areas of partnership—including the oil and gas sector, the exchange of technologies, the creation of favorable investment climate, the coordination of activity in international organizations, and willingness to take into consideration mutual interests.

Keywords: strategic partnership, Brazil, Indonesia, cooperation, preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping

The Theoretical Aspects of a Strategic Partnership

When identifying the peculiarities of the interaction between two countries which aim to increase their influence in the world and prefer to benefit from cooperation rather than from the use of force, it seems logical to rely on the neoliberal theory of international relations. The theory contains an argument that international cooperation is more preferable over conflict, and that the growing economic interdependence of states leads to their interaction in international institutions for the sake of strengthening international law and the regulation of the rules of behavior on the global level. According to the theory of liberal institutionalism (Keohane & Nye, 2001), more intensified cooperation of states, both with each other and international organizations, can help to

---

* The article was published in the journal “Latin America”, 2020, No.6, pp. 95-100. doi:10.31857/S004748X0009595-3 (in Russian).

Borzova A. Y., Doctor of Historical Science, professor, Department of Theory and History of International Relations, Peoples' Friendship University of Russia (RUDN University), Moscow, Russia.

Da Costa Santos, J., Master in International Relations, post-graduate student, Department of Theory and History of International Relations, Peoples' Friendship University of Russia (RUDN University), Moscow, Russia.

Sibarani Dame M., Master in International Relations, post-graduate student, Department of Theory and History of International Relations, Peoples' Friendship University of Russia (RUDN University), Moscow, Russia.
create more comfortable conditions for their development. It was during this period that the partnership strategy began to develop as a new tool of diplomatic practice, otherwise specified as a “diplomatic strategy” in the global net-centric dimension (Grachikov, 2019, p. 87).

A strategic partnership implies a multidimensional and mutually beneficial cooperation of equal subjects that aim to achieve common goals regarding national growth, where they use such techniques as mutual political trust, economic interdependence, cultural and social ties, and interaction in security matters. The formulation of the concept of strategic partnerships is presented by numerous scientific researches. In the works of Chinese authors, the progression of state-partners depends on the level of their support to the interests of China. Along with this, strategic partnerships may be: “comprehensive, multivector, mutually beneficial, all-weather, etc.” (Grachikov, 2019, p. 87).

The European Union has also entered into strategic partnerships with 10 countries and highlights three main elements of such cooperation, namely: promoting trade and investment, finding allies to promote multilateralism and strengthen international cooperation, and burden-sharing in security governance (Marcus & Sangsari, 2015). Counterterrorism, climate change and development issues are also areas of cooperation of the partner-countries (Renard, 2012).

In Brazil, as in other countries, the formation of a network of strategic partnerships is based on pragmatism and is associated with the process of choosing preferential partners in the context of “selective universalism”, which allows to adapt quickly to changing conditions on a global level (Oliveira & Lessa, 2013). As the Brazilian researcher Antonio Carlos Lessa (2010) noted, the format of such partnership fits into Brazil’s general foreign policy strategy, which is aimed at creating a favorable international environment for the country’s sustainable development. The concept of strategic partnerships was affirmed in the foreign policy of President Luís Inácio Lula da Silva (2003-2011), when the range of diplomatic relations of the country expanded significantly (Borzova, 2016). Brazil has several models of strategic partnership. Ties with a number of priority countries fall under the strategic category, and the number of “strategic partnerships” increases and gives Brazil a higher international profile (Almeida, 2009). Brazil’s relations with the USA and Argentina take the form of a fundamental partnership. While the ties between Brazil and the USA are historically and economically crucial, the “symmetrical (equal) partnership” or Brazil and Argentina marked the beginning of new integration processes in the region. Two states share not only by their economic interdependence, but also by cooperation in the area of security and nuclear field. Brazil’s strategic alliances with industrialized countries (Germany, Japan) in the 1970’s and 1980’s were based on political, economic, scientific, and technological ties, that later evolved into partnerships (Oliveira & Lessa, 2013). The new strategic partnership that was launched at the turn of the millennium, involves expanding ties with the leading European countries (France, Portugal, Spain, England, Italy, and Russia) and most of the attention is allotted to relations with the European Union (Saraiva, 2018). Among the developing countries, Brazil’s strategic partners are the regional leaders—China, India, South Africa, Indonesia, Vietnam, Turkey, Angola, South Korea, and Israel (Goçalves & Brito, 2010), where along with trade and economic, and investment cooperation, a peculiar similarity in strategic thinking is being formed. Brazil’s reappraisal of the priority of South-South bilateral contacts leads to the creation of new axes where effective mechanisms of cooperation are formed to achieve geopolitical goals on the global level. Brazil’s strategic partners within the groups India, Brazil, and South Africa (IBSA) and Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa (BRICS) join forces to review the decision-making process at different levels.
BRAZIL AND INDONESIA: HORIZONS OF A STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

(Rodrigues, 2010), while in the G-4, Brazil along with Germany, Japan, and India, advocates for the UN reform (Almeida, 2018). With regards to Brazil’s relations with Indonesia, the emphasis is placed on two factors—trade and economic ties, and the ability to jointly respond to global challenges (Desiderá Neto & Tussie, 2018).

The Political Rapprochement of Brazil and Indonesia

The Second World War, in which Brazil took part on the side of the anti-Hitler coalition significantly changed the political map of the world. Under the new conditions in the late 40’s and early 50’s, Brazil actively worked within the UN and supported the independence of former colonial territories in Asia. The Former Dutch colony Indonesia that survived the Japanese occupation, declared its independence in 1945 and in 1950 became the 60th member of the UN. Brazil established diplomatic relations with Indonesia in 1953, and in 1959, the leader of the national liberation movement and President of Indonesia Ahmet Sukarno (1945-1967) arrived to Brazil on an official visit, becoming the first of the heads of Asian states to visit the country (Mendes, 2016). Multiethnic Indonesia was united by the desire to eradicate colonialism in all its manifestations, to achieve equality in solving global problems, and to reach the forefront of the development of the economy and education (Setiawan, 2015). The country took part in the Bandung Conference of 1955, where the idea of creating the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), based on neutrality and equidistant position from the bloc confrontation between the USSR and the USA, was put forward. Brazil joined the NAM as an observer and supported the basic criteria for non-aligned countries, which later became the five principles of peaceful coexistence, and in 1963 in the UN proclaimed three main principles of its foreign policy—disarmament, development and decolonization (Rio de Janeiro, Centro de História e Documentação Diplomática, 2007). Brazil and Indonesia are united by an active anti-colonial position, commitment to a disarmament policy, upholding the idea for a new international order that is free from imperialism and neocolonialism.

In May 1961, representatives of Brazil and Indonesia signed an economic declaration. However, their relations did not make significant development, since authoritarian regimes were established in both countries. In the mid-70s, a certain tension arose between them, when East Timor, which declared independence in 1974, was occupied by Indonesia. Brazil supported the UN resolution on the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from the territory of the former Portuguese colony and condemned the violent actions that led to numerous civilian casualties.

A new stage in the development of bilateral relations was related to the transformations in the political system of both countries. The restoration of democracy in Brazil and the active presidential diplomacy enhanced the country’s presence in the international arena. It was the globalist paradigm that suggested that Brazil should enhance the potential of bilateral economic ties with Asian, African and Middle Eastern countries, deepen regional integration, because the collapse of the bipolar system did not lead to the creation of multipolarity, but, on the contrary, to a world order where one superpower identified its foreign policy with the concept of being the guarantor of “order and justice” in international affairs. This state of affairs is beneficial for developed countries, but less acceptable for those states whose economies are based on natural resources and cheap labor. Reduced export of raw materials, foreign investment flows and access to the latest technology strengthen their marginal position in the global economy and discards it in development. “The great transformation that has taken place during the creation of a modern economy and a more equitable society” requires Brazil to “act on the global arena in the spirit of multilateralism, respect for international law, the
In 1998, political changes took place in Indonesia, and the principles of *Pancasila* became the ideological foundation of the new state. These principles are reflected in the foreign policy concept *bebasaktif*, which means activity and independence. It was presented in the 1999 Constitution as follows:

> foreign policy does not inherently mean a neutral policy, but a policy in which a country refers to itself as free and fair, and its policy does not depend on any world power and actively promotes the resolution of conflicts, disputes and other problems for the formation of a world order that is based on the principles of freedom, peace and social justice.

Foreign policy is engaged in determining the “national priorities” of a country and is carried out in order to support and implement national goals. Indonesia is actively expanding contacts with all the countries of the world based on these principles (Setiawan, 2015). In 2005, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2004-2014) put the idea of “A Thousand Friends and Not a Single Enemy” forward and outlined four principles of foreign policy: constructive approaches, identity, nationalism and the rejection of military alliances with other countries. The current president, Joko Widodo (2014-present), launched the Indonesia-Global Maritime Axis (GMA) initiative, and the country’s desire to become a sea power showcases a new level of national identity, an abandonment of previous attempts to only restore and improve the international image (Marsudi, 2014).

Finding the solution to issues relating to East Timor is a significant moment in the development of the relations between Brazil and Indonesia. Brazil participated in peacekeeping operations in East Timor after the withdrawal of Indonesian troops and began to provide a great deal of technical and humanitarian assistance in the formation of a young state. Indonesia, in turn, signed a number of agreements aimed at improving relations, the demarcation of borders and solving the problem of refugees coming from East Timor, and conducted an investigation of crimes committed during the occupation (Strating, 2014). As a result, Indonesia became the leading trade partner of the young state and also provides technical assistance for its development.

The similarity of the principles and priorities of the states’ foreign policy led to the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding between Brazil and Indonesia in 1996 and the intensification of their bilateral relations. In 2001, Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2003) visited Indonesia, and Luis Inácio Lula da Silva in 2008. A number of agreements were signed, including one on the development of biofuel production technology in Indonesia. The Indonesian President Abdurrahman Wahid (1999-2001) visited Brazil in 2000, and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono paid a visit to the country on his way to the APEC summit in Peru. During this visit, a Strategic Partnership Agreement between Brazil and Indonesia was concluded on November 18, 2009.

---

1 Portal do Governo Brasileiro. República da Indonésia. Retrieved March 22, 2020, from http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=5244&Itemid=478&cod_pais=IDN&tipo=ficha_pais&lang=pt-BR.
2 *Pancasila* is the official Indonesian philosophical doctrine. Literally: five basics. The name consists of two words of the Old Javanese, of Sanskrit origin: *pañca* (five) and *sīla* (principles, foundations). Principles of Punch Strength: Belief in the Almighty God; a just and civilized humanity; the unity of Indonesia; democracy led by collective wisdom in representation; social justice for all the peoples of Indonesia.
3 Speech by H. E. Dr. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, President of the Republic of Indonesia before the Indonesian Council on World Affairs (ICWA). Available at: http://www.kemlu.go.id/en/pidato/presiden/Pages/Speech-by-H.E.Dr-Susilo-Bambang-Yudhoyo-no-President-of-the-Republic-of-Indonesia-before-the-Indone.aspx (accessed 22.03.2020).
4 Portal do Governo Brasileiro. República da Indonésia. Retrieved March 22, 2020, from http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=5244&Itemid=478&cod_pais=IDN&tipo=ficha_pais&lang=pt-BR.
However, in early 2015, the progressive development of bilateral relations was complicated after the execution of a Brazilian citizen accused of drug trafficking in Jakarta. The friction was settled only during the meeting of the foreign ministers of the countries on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly. During the visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil to Indonesia in May 2018, along with the agreements on the abolition of visas for the short-term stay of Indonesians in Brazilian territory, a number of technical cooperation agreements were signed. In a meeting with President Jair Bolsonaro (2019-present), the Ambassador of Indonesia to Brazil, Edi Yusup stressed the importance of a strategic partnership both in the political, economic and socio-cultural spheres, in the field of defense, and in expanding contacts between citizens of the two countries.

Being rich in natural resources, multiethnic Brazil and Indonesia have achieved significant success in economic development and have become regional leaders and significant players in the international arena, which has expanded the opportunities for cooperation.

Table 1
Economic Indicators of Brazil and Indonesia (2018)

| Country   | Population | GDP (billion USD) | GDP per capita (thousand USD) | GDP growth from 1990 to 2018 | GDP growth in 2018 |
|-----------|------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| Brazil    | 210 million| 2,138             | 8,800                         | 237%                        | 1.1%              |
| Indonesia | 266.3 million| 1,074           | 4,824                         | 542%                        | 5.17%             |

Brazil ranks 9th in the world in terms of GDP, which makes it attractive for foreign investment and trade. Foreign trade in 2018 amounted to $420.7 billion, with a surplus of $58.3 billion. Its main trading partners are China, the European Union, the USA, and Argentina. In 2018, Indonesia became the 16th economy in the world and the largest in Southeast Asia with a foreign trade of $390 billion, where export grew over the year by 7.45% ($208.8 billion), and imports—by 20.7% ($181.2 billion), with a surplus of $27.6 billion. Its leading trading partners are China, USA, Japan, India, and Singapore. Among the 15 countries of the world that account for more than 70% of global GDP, Brazil accounts for 2.81%, and Indonesia 2.51%. However, despite such a huge economic breakthrough, Indonesia is still outpaced by Brazil in social development and per capita income.

The strategic partnership action plan (2009) defined areas of rapprochement, such as: renewable energy, defense, mining, social inclusion policies, cooperation in science and education, as well as in multilateral diplomacy. Brazil and Indonesia maintain several regular dialogue mechanisms: at the level of political consultations, a joint commission, an agricultural advisory committee, and a working group on trade and investment. There are Memoranda of Understanding in the areas of education, poverty eradication, agricultural development, energy, ethanol production, and trade and investment facilitation.

---

5 Indonesia way, 4.6.2019. Retrieved March 22, 2020, from https://fi-fi.facebook.com/pages/category/Government-Organization/kbrbrasilia/posts/.

6 Таблица объема ВВП стран мира 2019 год. Available at: https://bcb.su/vvp-po-stranam-mira-za-2018-god.htm; ВВП на душу населения в Индонезии в 2019г [VVP nadushunaseleiniy v Indonezii v 2019g. Available at: https://take-profit.org/statistics/gdp-per-capita/indonesia/ (accessed 22.10.2019) (In Russian).

7 Balança comercial brasileira teve superávit de US$58.3 bi em 2018. Retrieved October 22, 2019, from https://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/economia/noticia/2019-01/balanca-comercial-brasileira-teve-superavit-de-us-583-bi-em-2018.

8 Индонезия-экспорт товаров и услуг [Indoneziya-eksportтовоar and uslug [Indonesia-exportofgoodsandservices] (In Russian). Retrieved October 22, 2019, from https://knoema.ru/atlas/Indoneziya/Экспорт-товаров-и-услуг.

9 Brasil-Indonesia balança comercial. Retrieved November 22, 2019, from https://invest-exportbrasil.dpr.gov.br/arquivos/IndicadoresEconomicos/web/pdf/INDIndonesia.pdf.
From 2005 to 2014, trade between two countries grew by 424%, but has been declining since 2015, due to a number of restrictions imposed by Indonesia on Brazilian goods. In 2018, Brazil’s exports to Indonesia accounted for 1% of total exports and 0.78% of its imports. In 2014, the main Brazilian exports were soybean meal, cotton, grains, iron and steel, sugar, tobacco, and iron ore. The list of Brazilian imports from Indonesia was dominated by palm oil, synthetic fibers, rubber, shoes, as well as spare parts for machines and tractors. In 2018, Indonesia became Brazil’s 11th trading partner in Asia (Popov, 2019).

Indonesia is interested in adopting new technologies, expanding investment cooperation for the development of transport infrastructure and energy, especially in its peripheral eastern regions, which is important for strengthening the Indonesian state (Ministério das Relações Exteriores, 2015).

Among Brazilian companies, the most interested in investing in Indonesia were: PT Vale Indonesia Tbk (INCO) ($13 billion investment), PT Alchem Indonesia ($110 thousand investment), which are engaged in the development of mineral resources; PT Indonedia Brasil Aesthetic Center ($5 mln investment), which deals with health issues, PT Argo Manuggal Land Development Imobiliaria ($516 mln investment), that develops agricultural projects, PT Orang Utan Resort ($1 mln investment), specializing in hotel construction (Vale Indonesia Annual Report, 2015). The Brazilian Corporation Vale plays an important role in the extraction and processing of nickel in Indonesia (Sulawesi Island), and its investments have become the largest Brazilian investments not only in Indonesia, but also in Asia as a whole. The company operates on an area of 190,509 ha, uses new technologies, and is involved in the restoration of the territory. In 2015, it produced 81,177 tons of nickel concentrate, which amounted to 3% of its world production. Vale received a special award for adhering to the principles of sustainable development in doing business (IDNfinancials, 2018). In the third quarter of 2018, the revenue of PT Vale Indonesia Tbk (INCO) amounted to $205 million, and nickel production 18,193 metric tons. During this period, the company spent $27.7 million on capital expenditures, which is $13.3 million more than the previous quarter (IDNfinancials, 2018).

The Brazilian Cooperation Agency (Agência Brasileira de Cooperação [ABC]) gave Indonesia the technology for growing, storing and processing sugar cane and producing ethanol based on it\textsuperscript{10}. Brazil also

\textsuperscript{10} Il Semana do Etanol-Compartilhando a Experiência Brasileira. Ministério da Agricultura, Pecuária e Abastecimento (MAPA), Universidade Federal de São Carlos (UFSCAR). Retrieved February 19, 2020, from http://www.abc.gov.br/Projetos/pesquisa.
provided humanitarian assistance to Indonesia in the amount of $100 million after the devastating tsunami in October 2018 (Portal do Governo Brasileiro, 2018).

Both countries are developing their defense relations. In April 2017, a new bilateral memorandum of understanding was signed in the field of defense and deepening cooperation, including such areas as high-level visits, the exchange of knowledge and experience in the military sphere, intelligence assessment, development of defense industry, and science and technology. Indonesia acquired 16 Brazilian Super Tucano aircrafts and two AVIBRAS and ASTROS II missile launchers, subject to further maintenance by Brazil (Parameswaran, 2017).

As part of the development of their humanitarian ties, 30,000 Brazilian tourists visited Indonesia only in 2018, and one and a half thousand Brazilians permanently reside in this country.

**Brazil and Indonesia on the International Arena**

Brazil and Indonesia play a similar role in the intensification of regional cooperation. Indonesia’s leadership in the creation of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) can be compared to Brazil’s efforts to strengthen the Common Market of the South (Mercado Común del Sur, Mercosur), where the largest country in the region contributes the most. In the near future, Indonesia plans to establish free trade zones (FTAs) with Australia, the European Union, and New Zealand, is currently negotiating with Morocco, Tunisia and Mozambique, and is working on a project for a Comprehensive Regional Economic Partnership, which, in addition to ASEAN countries, will include Australia, India, New Zealand, China, the Republic of Korea, and Japan, which will create the world’s largest free trade zone (FTZ). The Asian country also takes interest in joining BRICS (Indoneziya, 2019). Brazil has made a lot of efforts in developing Mercosur, expanding its external relations, and establishing a free trade zone with the EU. In 2012, it became the first Latin American country to accede to the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, one of the foundations of ASEAN, which was greatly facilitated by relations with Indonesia.

Within the framework of the Forum of East Asia-Latin America Cooperation (FEALAC), Brazil cooperates with Indonesia, and other Asian countries in the development of cultural, scientific and technological ties, and implements joint projects in the field of innovation, biotechnology and healthcare. Brazil and Indonesia are key partners of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), members of the Development Center, and are “new donors”. Each country implements a joint work program with the OECD and is actively involved in promoting the growth of weak states.

Brazil took an active part in the establishment and work of the UN, and was elected ten times as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. The country is in favor of reforming the UN Security Council, the expansion of the number of its permanent members, insisting on the need for a conceptual review of global governance institutions, advocating for the formation of a multipolar world and strengthening the UN’s role in resolving conflicts.

In 2019-2020, Indonesia, the largest Muslim country, for the first time became a non-permanent member in the UN Security Council. For both countries, ensuring the sustainability of the global financial system, the changing energy and climate, as well as the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons are all crucial issues. Indonesia emphasizes that proliferation of nuclear weapons today is no less a threat than at the height of the Cold War.

---

11 Embaixada do Brasil em Jacarta relatório de gestão Embaixador Rubem Antonio Corrêa Barbosa. Retrieved July 22, 2019, from http://legis.senado.leg.br/sdleg-getter/documento?dm=8004701.
Brazil and Indonesia have a clear stance on weapons of mass destruction and advocate for their limitation, support the idea of disarmament, the banning of nuclear weapons, advocate for the protection of the environment and the principles of sustainable development. The countries supported the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (07/07/2017), refrained from adopting a resolution on the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test Ban Treaty (12/05/2018), and emphasize the correlation between disarmament and development.

At the UN Security Council meeting 6479 (February 11, 2011), while addressing the issue of “Maintaining international peace and security”, Brazil, as the Security Council Chairperson, prepared a statement that noted the relationship between security and development, between the economic, political, and social aspects of resolving the conflict, between peacekeeping and the consolidation of the world, as well as steps towards sustainable development. Indonesia, on behalf of the members of the Non-Aligned Movement, introduced a draft resolution on the relationship between disarmament and development (A/C.1/73/L.11). Brazil ratified the Latin America Nuclear Weapons Free Zone Treaty, while Indonesia prepared the following draft resolutions: “Effects of the use of armaments and ammunitions containing depleted uranium” (A/C.1/73/L.12), “Observance of environmental norms in the drafting and implementation of agreements on disarmament and arms control” (A/C.1/73/L.13), which Brazil supported.

Both countries pay significant attention to the protection of the environment; cooperate in the achievement of the UN Sustainable Development Goals (UN SDGs). Brazil formed a national commission for the implementation of the SDGs in 2016, while Indonesia prepared a national report on the results of their achievements in 2019. Both countries are concerned about climate change and support the UN’s program to reduce emissions from forest degradation. Indonesia ratified the Paris Agreement in 2016 and intends to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 29% by the year 2030. Brazil also ratified this agreement and committed to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 37% by 2025. The country took this step, even though it does not consider climate-related issues as the priority goals of its policy.

**Brazilians and Indonesia’s Contributions to Peacekeeping**

From 1947, 50,000 Brazilian soldiers participated in 50 UN missions abroad. Indonesia has been involved in peacekeeping operations since 1957 and provided 39,875 soldiers to the UN.

As can be seen from Table 2, the countries are most actively cooperate in resolving the situation in Lebanon, where Brazil has been leading the maritime task force since 2011, which includes six ships provided by Bangladesh, Brazil, Germany, Greece, Indonesia, and Turkey. This group is engaged in preventing the entry of weapons into Lebanese territory and the training of the Lebanese naval forces. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Brazilian General Elias Rodrigues Martins Filho is the commander of a multinational peacekeeping contingent, which also includes Indonesian peacekeepers. The rest of the Brazilian representatives are senior expert officers (Nações Unidas Brasil, 2019).

Brazil believes that in modern world, there is a tendency of coercion, sanctions, etc., despite the fact that preventive diplomacy and peacekeeping operations, which include three elements: conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peacebuilding, should become alternative tools to prevent conflicts. In 2005, the Center for the Training of Peacekeepers (Centro Conjunto de Operações de Paz do Brasil [CCOPAB]) was opened in Rio de Janeiro. CCOPAB trained more than 15,000 troops, 2,300 of which are in active military service.

---

12 Presidential statement on the maintenance of international peace and security: The interdependence between security and development. Retrieved March 22, 2020, from http://www.un.int/brazil/book/11d-presidencialdeclaration-peace.html.
Table 2  
**Peacekeeping Operations (June 30, 2019)**

| Operation | Country                              | Total number of peacemakers | Peacemakers from Indonesia | Peacemakers from Brazil |
|-----------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| UNIFIL    | Lebanon                              | 10,291                      | 1,293                     | 220                     |
| MONUSCO   | Democratic Republic of Congo         | 16,837                      | 1,024                     | 20                      |
| MINUSCA   | Central African Republic             | 13,679                      | 346                       | 10                      |
| UNAMID    | Darfur (Sudan)                       | 6,657                       | 189                       | 4                       |
| UNMISS    | South Sudan                          | 16,108                      | 13                        | 20                      |
| MINUSMA   | Mali                                 | 14,560                      | 1                         |                          |
| MINURSO   | Western Sahara (Morocco, Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic) | 19                     | 4                         | 8                       |
| UNFICYP   | Cyprus                               | 743                         | 1                         |                          |
| UNISFA    | Abyei (Sudan/South Sudan)            | 4,014                       | 1                         | 1                       |
| Total     |                                      | 82,908                      | 2,871                     | 284                     |

In a speech to the UN in February 2012, the Brazilian Foreign Minister emphasized that on the 60th anniversary of the UN, it adopts the concept of “responsibility to protect”, which establishes the responsibility of the state to protect its people from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity. In this concept, it was clearly outlined that this responsibility should be exercised through the use of diplomatic, humanitarian, and other peaceful means, and only if these means deem insufficient, can the possibility of coercive measures be considered. Brazil proposed the concept of “responsibility in the process of protecting civilians” in conflict resolution, which should complement the existing concept of protection, based on the fact that the best policy is preventive diplomacy, which reduces the risk of armed conflict. However, this initiative was not supported by other countries. Brazil also launched the “Supporters of Mediation” initiative, which states that the use of force should be minimized, and in the case of the use of force, the actions of the authorities should be legal, proportionate and consistent with the goals set by the UN Security Council.

In 2014, Brazil led the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission, in which a Special Office and a Foundation or the Distribution of Funds operate and Brazil allocated the fund to fight Ebola in CAR, Guinea, Burundi, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, and Sierra Leone (Borzova, 2012).

Indonesia supported the concept of “responsibility to protect”, and in 2019 provided the UN with 4,000 peacekeepers, including a battalion of women, and plans to expand its participation in post-conflict peacebuilding programs. In 2011, the Peace Maintenance Mission Coordination Team (TKMPP) was created in the country, as well as the Peacekeeping Training Center, which trains the military and police personnel for the entire region. Indonesia put the “Civilian Potential” initiative forward, participates in the development of a “Strategic Leadership for Peacekeeping” in the UN, and convenes regional conflict resolution meetings.

---

13 Troop and police contributors. Retrieved October 20, 2019, from https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/troop-and-police-contributors

14 Statement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Antonio Patriota, on the occasion of the UN Security Council Debate on Preventive Diplomacy. New York, United States, September 22, 2011. Retrieved March 22, 2020, from http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/en/speeches-articles-and-interviews/minister-of-foreign-affairs-speeches/2757-discurso-do-ministro-das-relacoes-exteriores-antonio-patriota-no-debate-sobre-diplomacia-preventiva-do-conselho-de-seguranca-das-nacoes-unidas-csnu -pava-york-22-de-setembro-de-2011.

15 “Indonesia offered the Indonesian Peacekeeping Center in Sentul to be the hub for the UN Peacekeeping Training Center in the region”, the minister tweeted, using her Twitter handle. Available at: https://indonesia4unsc.kemlu.go.id/index.php/component/k2/indonesia-lobbies-more-countries-for-unsc-spot (accessed 22.07.2019).
Indonesia maintains that the fundamental principles of harmony, impartiality and non-use of force, with the exception of self-defense and mandate protection, are an integral part of UN peacekeeping. It acknowledges that peacekeeping operations are the first phase of peacekeeping, but the question of when “early peacebuilding” ends and when efforts to “sustainable peacebuilding” begin remains unanswered. Indonesia poses challenges to improving staff safety and improving the equipment of its units in accordance with its commitment to strengthen peacekeeping as in the Peace Action Initiative launched by the UN Secretary General in 2018\(^{16}\).

Brazilians and Indonesians pay close attention to preventive diplomacy, conflict prevention, protection of civilians, which are reflected in the UN Secretary General’s Report on making peacekeeping operations more effective, efficient, and operational in a changing world (Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, 2015).

**Brazil and Indonesia in the Fight for Human Rights**

Countries that have survived the challenging stage of the military dictatorship pay special attention to the problem regarding human rights. Brazil is actively working in the UN Human Rights Council, owing to the fact that the “protection of democratic values” is manipulated by major powers that use the protection of human rights as an excuse to cover their true goals and to achieve their strategic interests. Brazil was a member of the Human Rights Council in 2006-2008, 2009-2011, and 2013-2015, which shows how the international community recognizes its commitment to protecting human rights and combating any form of discrimination (Fausto, 2010). As part of this council, Brazil participated in the definition of the provisions of the Universal Periodic Review, which assessed the human rights situation in a particular country, and collected 170 recommendations. The practical experience that Brazil gained during humanitarian missions, allowed it to provide technical assistance in the implementation of international human rights standards both in the economic, social and cultural spheres, as well as in the protection of civil and political rights (Portal do Governo Brasileiro, 2009).

Both countries supported the position of the African Group in the Human Rights Council on the prevention of a humanitarian catastrophe in the Horn of Africa, helped to bring together the positions of European and African delegations regarding Darfur, participated in the preparation of a special session on the human rights situation in Sri Lanka, worked in the Commission on the maintenance of Peace in Guinea-Bissau, DRC, Burundi and Liberia.

Indonesia and Brazil have similar positions regarding the Middle East. In 1947, Brazil chaired a special meeting when resolution 181 was approved, “where the key provision was the division of the territory under the British mandate into a Jewish and Arab state. The Zionists approved of this. The Arabs rejected, which was a strategic mistake”\(^{17}\). Brazil and Indonesia recognize the free Palestinian state within the 1967 borders, adhere to the principle of “two states-two capitals” and advocate the resumption of peace negotiations between Israel and Palestine, for a comprehensive political settlement in Syria, using primarily diplomatic means (Vieira, 2015).

On May 22, 2019, Indonesia led the UN Security Council meeting on the Middle East for the first time. In this meeting, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia set forth three important points to resolve the situation in Palestine: protect the civilian population, take concrete measures to overcome the humanitarian catastrophe,

---

\(^{16}\) Indonesia and the United Nations peacekeeping mission. Retrieved March 22, 2020, from https://ex.kemlu.go.id/en/kebijakan/su-khusus/Pages/Indonesia-and-the-United-Nations-Peace-keeping-Operations.aspx.

\(^{17}\) Dilma circulana ONU com o fantasma de Oswaldo Aranha. Retrieved March 23, 2020, from http://veja.abril.com.br/blog/nova-york/oriente-medio/no-discurso-de-dilma-na- Onu-o-fantasma-de-oswaldo-aranha/19.09.2011.
and resume the peace process as soon as possible (Retno, 2019). Indonesia expressed its concerns regarding the continuation of the Israeli policy of closing borders and severe restrictions on the movement of people and goods, including humanitarian ones. In 2017, Brazil and Indonesia supported the UN General Assembly (UNGA) Resolution against recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, believing that this would only increase tension in the Middle East.

Thus, both Brazil and Indonesia are interested in cooperation, mutual recognition of the strategic nature of relations and a common understanding of the multidimensional goals and principles of a partnership, the availability of effective mechanisms for their achievement, which showcases their significant potential. Both states actively interact at the global level on the basis of a commitment to the concept of a multipolar world, peaceful conflict resolution, preventive diplomacy, conceptually rethink the problems of peacekeeping, emphasize the relationship between security and sustainable development, and understand the importance of the SDGs and the need to join forces in confronting the threat of climate change.

**Conclusion**

The coronavirus pandemic negatively affected the economic ties of all states, not just Brazil and Indonesia. But it can be assumed that at the end of the epidemic, these two countries will return to deepening their strategic partnership, not only on a bilateral level, but also on the global level, given that in the new conditions, the question regarding the reform of many global structures will necessarily arise. The similarity of the principles of their foreign policy, their similar understanding of the problems of modern international relations, their desire to participate actively in resolving them suggest that the regional powers like Brazil and Indonesia will not remain aloof about this process.

**References**

Almeida, P. R. (2009). Bases conceituais de uma política externa nacional. In E. C. de Rezende Martins and M. G. Saraiva (Orgs.), Brasil-União Europeia-América do Sul: Anos 2010-2020 (pp. 228-243). Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Konrad Adenauer. Retrieved from http://www.academia.edu/5794482/079_Bases_conceituais_de_uma_pol%C3%ADtica_externa_nacional_2009_

Almeida, P. R. (2018). Diplomacia regional brasileira: Visão histórica das últimas décadas. In R. Barbosa (Org.), Política externa brasileira em debate: Dimensões e estratégias de inserção internacional no pós-crise de 2008 (p. 626). Brasília: Ipea-Funag. Retrieved October 20, 2019, from https://diplomatizzando.blogspot.com/2019/03/politica-externa-brasileira-em-debate.html

Borzova, A. Y. (2012). Brazil’s Approaches to UN Reform. International Organisations Research Journal (IORJ), 7(3), 237-245.

Borzova, A. Y. (2016). The diplomatic service of Brazil as a tool for implementing the country’s foreign policy (1902-2014). Moscow: PFUR Publishing. (In Russian)

Coning, C., & Prakash, C. (2016). Peace capacities network synthesis report: Rising powers and peace operations. Retrieved March 22, 2020, from https://peaceoperationsreview.org/wpcontent/uploads/2016/03/rel_pub_PeaceCap_Network_synthesis_peace_operation-report.pdf

Desiderá Neto, W. A., & Tussie, D. (2018). As relações Sul-Sul (2008-2015). In R. Barbosa (Org.), Política externa brasileira em debate: Dimensões e estratégias de inserção internacional no pós-crise de 2008 (pp. 248-261). Brasília: Ipea-Funag.

Fausto, S. (2010). La política exterior del Brasil en Derechos Humanos. Retrieved March 22, 2020, from http://www.cadal.org/articulos/nota.asp?id_nota=3734

Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect. (2015). Report of the high-level independent panel on peace operations on uniting our strengths for peace politics, partnership and people. Retrieved March 22, 2020, from https://www.globalr2p.org/resources/report-of-the-high-level-independent-panel-on-peace-operations-on-uniting-our-strengths-for-peace-politics-partnership-and-people/

Gonçalves, W., & Brito, L. B. (2010). Relações Brasil-China: Uma parceria estratégica? SÉCULO XVI, 1(1). Retrieved March 19,
https://setkab.go.id/en/indonesia-foreign-policy-priorities-in-5-years-ahead/
Strating, R. (2014). The Indonesia-Timor-Leste commission of truth and friendship: Enhancing bilateral relations at the expense of justice. *Contemporary Southeast Asia, 36*(2), 232-261.

Vale Indonesia Annual Report. (2015). Retrieved July 22, 2019, from https://cdn.indonesia-investments.com/bedrijfsprofiel/389/Vale-Indonesia-Annual-Report-2015-Company-Profile-Indonesia-Investments.pdf

Vieira, M. (2015). Settlement of conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa and countering the terrorist threat in the region. Retrieved March 20, 2020, from http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/en/speeches-articles-and-interviews/minister-of-foreign-affairs-speeches/11950-speech-by-minister-mauro-vieira-on-the-occasion-of-the-un-security-council-open-debate-settlement-of-conflicts-in-the-middle-east-and-north-africa-and-countering-the-terrorist-threat-in-the-region-new-york-september-30-2015