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ABSTRACT

Brazil, in 2022, assumed its 12th term as an elective member of the National Security Council, demonstrating the country's active participation in global issues of peacekeeping and national security. However, the Brazilian past demonstrates a history of internal and international conflicts, which sometimes required the mediation of friendly countries for the resolution and return to diplomacy between the countries involved. With this, the objective of the work is to discuss the factors associated with Brazil's participation in the Security Council of the United Nations - UN. The research was carried out based on a literature review and a case study, in a survey of secondary data released by the Alexandre Gusmão Foundation between 2007 and 2021. With the research, it was possible to understand that Brazil, from the first contact with the countries that made part of the Peace Conferences through multilateralism, proved to be an active, defender of international rights, of the principle of equality, and claimant of its place in the Council. Engaged in all matters that were his concern, his trajectory at the UN was, and still is, of great relevance to peacekeeping and conflict resolution.

Keywords: Diplomacy. Conflict resolution. National security. UN Security Council.

INTRODUCTION

The United Nations - UN says that the countries that are associated with it must peacefully resolve their conflicts so that there is the preservation of peace and justice and security at the international level. Among the possibilities for peaceful negotiations between the countries in dispute, the UN recommends that they act through mediation, conciliation, arbitration, inquiry, resort to agencies, judicial or regional agreement, as well as other mechanisms that fulfill the same purpose of the resolution peaceful conflict.

In 1942, the United Nations - UN created its Security Council through the United Nations Declaration, signed by China, England, the United States, and the Soviet Union (USSR). In 1945, the Council had the participation of 21 countries. The UN Security Council is the only body with the authority to impose decisions and obligations, even in the face of military intervention, on all countries in the international system. Among the members with voting and veto powers, there are five permanent members, the first four being linked to the foundation and France, and a further 10 who are elected by the General Assembly. Brazil has already been elected 11 times to occupy a rotating seat on the UN Security Council, the last being in the 2022-2023 biennium.

The participation of Brazil as a protagonist in international actions is increasingly recurrent and related to issues of relevant importance. Several internal and external conflicts are related to the history of Brazil, since its colonial period, and most of the time England's mediation was used to reach the terms of re-establishing peace. However, over the centuries, Brazil became an important mediator in international conflicts. Because of this, the question is: what were the factors that made Brazil one of the protagonists in the mediation of conflicts at the international level?

The general objective of the work is to discuss the factors associated with Brazil's participation in the UN Security Council. The specific objectives are: to present the concept and, briefly, the history of the mediation of international conflicts; to describe the creation, relevance, and role of the United Nations and the UN Security Council to mediate conflicts, and discuss Brazil's participation as a mediator of international conflicts, through the study of its history in the internal and external relationship in the face of conflicts and external mediations. The questions that guide the study are: what are the instruments for mediation of international conflicts; what is the role of the UN and the Security Council in the face of conflicts between states? How did Brazil become an important mediator of conflicts abroad?

The theme becomes relevant in the face of intense globalization and negotiation between countries, making relationships increasingly close and collaborative, moving towards the realization of world governance. Therefore, the research intends to contribute with relevant knowledge about Brazil's participation in the United Nations, elucidating its trajectory and the factors that made it a country of notable importance in international peace negotiations.

Furthermore, understanding all the human and material damages that wars and armed disputes of any nature bring to nations, it is necessary to discuss and disseminate knowledge that makes the legal instruments of pacification evident, contributing to the affirmation and consolidation of collaborative and multilateral relations. by the premises of solidarity and international peace.

1 MEDIATION OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS

Disputes, or conflicts, in an international environment, are understood as disagreements, both legal and factual, that cause two States to enter into a conflict of interest. This definition given by the International Court of Justice, in its Statute, transcribed in full as: “every disagreement on a certain point of law or fact, a contradiction or opposition of legal theses or interests between two States” was given about the case *Mavrommatis* in 1924, therefore, limited the delimitation of conflict applied to two States. However, it should be noted that the conflict can be carried out by more States or International Organizations (MERCADANTE, 1998).

Resek (2000) elucidates that between the words conflicts and litigation, there is the observance of the impression that each pronunciation causes to the listener since conflicts are associated with disagreements that generate tensions, sometimes difficult to resolve diplomatically, and falling into armed solutions. Litigation refers to jurisprudential terms worked out and resolved by diplomatic mediation in peaceful agreements. The solution to conflicts at the international level is not something new in history, since in Ancient Greece there was the Council of Amphictyons to avoid wars between neighboring states in the face of agreements and legislation that showed a common understanding between the leaders involved.

In 1794, Jay's Treaty was announced for the creation of joint commissions to discuss conflicts between the United States and Great Britain. The commission had leaders from both countries and an arbitrator (RESEK, 2000). It can be noted, therefore, that the articulation for the resolution of conflicts with the collaboration between countries is old, acting in an evolutionary remodeling so that it can acquire greater scope and effectiveness. It is noted that, despite the various armed conflicts experienced by nations, the means of a peaceful solution have been a reality in the international relationship between countries for many centuries.

The means of conflict resolution were consolidated through the creation of Institutes that were guided by international customs and practices. In the 20th century, agreements and treaties between countries were consolidated, including multilateral treaties to consolidate viable means of resolving conflicts between nations. The main conventions held for this purpose of peace were the Hague Convention for the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, the second Hague Convention for the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, and the General Act for the Peaceful Settlement of International

Disputes. Also worth mentioning are the Inter-American Treaty on Good Offices and Mediation carried out in America and the Inter-American Treaty on Peaceful Dispute Settlement.

The first Hague Convention for the Settlement of International Conflicts was held in 1899 and the second in 1907, becoming popularly known as "Peace Conferences". The two Conferences had great relevance in international law, as they did not take place in a post-war context, as the Council of Vienna of 1815, and highlighted the ideals of the peace movements of the 19th century. After experiencing the war experience, which resulted in the creation of the Red Cross in 1863 and the Geneva Convention of 1864, several actors mobilized to build an international movement for peace between countries, understanding that several controversies could be resolved in the light of law (MINISTÉRIO PÚBLICO DE PORTUGAL, 1910).

The Hague Conferences, both in 1899 and 1907, took place through the vote, resulting in a pioneering spirit of open democracy, breaking with the culture of secrecy, with the great dissemination of such an ideal of peace in the press. Among the main leaders were William T. Stead and Baroness Bertha von Suttner, who allied with the will of Nicholas II, Tsar of Russia to contain the arms race, and made the First Hague Convention come to fruition.

Signed in Geneva in 1928, the General Act for the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, also known as the Geneva General Act, by the New General Assembly of the Societies of Nations represented a code of international legal procedures to cover the peaceful settlement of conflicts between States. :

In its most important provisions, the General Act provided, in the case of disputes between States, for recourse to a mixed conciliation commission; in case of failure, disputes of a political nature, and which dealt with matters of "lege ferenda", would be resolved by arbitration, admitting the solution "ex aequo et Bono", and disputes of a legal nature, with based on the interpretation of an existing right between the parties, would be resolved, judicially, by the Permanent Court of International Justice (SOARES, 2013, p. 187).

This result was conferred through the creation of an international Court with scope for world issues, its Statute being adopted in 1920 by the League of Nations, and being accepted by most of the participating States. Soares (2013) states that the judicial way of resolving conflicts was adopted on this occasion, being in force until the present day, as the most perfect solution to resolve disputes fairly and peacefully.

The court system provides for automatic jurisdiction, which is the immediate recognition of the protagonists of the dispute over the decision-making sovereignty of the court and the jurisdiction instituted by compromise, possible for signatory States that conflict with non-signatory States, recognizing and delimiting the mandatory competence of the court (SOARES, 2013).

Article no. 33 of the United Nations Charter states that nations in conflict have some alternatives to reach a peace agreement:

All members shall resolve their international disputes by peaceful means so that international peace, security, and justice are not threatened.
The parties to a dispute, which may constitute a threat to international peace and security, will seek, first of all, to solve by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial solution, or recourse to regional entities or agreements. , or any other peaceful means of your choice (ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS, 2009, p. 24)

It is noticed that there are some predetermined mechanisms for the peaceful solution of conflicts, one of them being negotiation. Diplomatic negotiations are common ways of resolving conflicts, which can take on a multilateral or bilateral character, and also occur during the process of other means of resolving international conflicts. Bilateral negotiation takes place between two conflicting States, whereas multilateral negotiation takes place in Congresses, extraordinary or ordinary meetings, or intergovernmental organization sessions (CAVALCANTE, 2002).

The results of the negotiation can vary from withdrawal, characterized as the waiver of the intended right of one of the parties involved in the litigation, to acquiescence given the recognition of the value of the claim of one of the parties or transaction, in the solution by reciprocal concessions (CAVALCANTE, 2002).

Another relevant tool for the peaceful resolution of international disputes is the Good Offices, which Cavalcante (2002) explains as being one of the oldest and most consecrated in the good customs of International Law:

Good offices are characterized by the understanding between the parties involved in a conflict, facilitated by the friendly action of a third party. This third party is a person under international law, that is, a State or an International Organization, although the initiative is usually individualized in the person of the head of State or Government or in that of a high official within an organization, such as the Secretary-General of the United Nations. United. This third party, called a provider of good offices, is limited to bringing the parties together and providing a neutral field for negotiations. Therefore, neither the offering of good offices nor their refusal should be considered an unfriendly act (CAVALCANTE, 2002, p. 4).

It is thus noted that in the face of friendly action by a third State, the two conflicting States can achieve peace for the conflict presented through the understanding of the two parties involved. Approaching the Good Offices, mediation is premised on the arbitrator of a third State for the solution of the conflict, however, mediation occurs seeking an agreement between the parties, so that the mediator actively participates in the entire process. of mediation.

The term mediation comes from the Latin “ *mediare* ” meaning to intervene, mediate and divide in half, which in conflicts means fulfilling the demands presented by the act of litigation. Morais (2019) explains that the origin of the practice of mediation can be associated with Mesopotamia, more than 4 thousand years ago, however, its use for international relations is recent.

At the Paris Conference, in 1856, it was mentioned that the signatory countries should use mediation as a way to resolve their conflicts, the same recommendation, years later, in 1885, was made by the Berlin Conference, however, it was at the end of the 19th century. that the numbers of mediation grew, including the mediation carried out by Para João XIII in the conflict between Germany and Spain, the conflict between Brazil and Spain with mediation by Portugal in 1895 and the mediation of the Holy See in the delimitation of the border between Peru and Ecuador (MORAIS, 2019).

It was with the Hague Conference that Good Offices and Mediation, at the beginning of the 20th century, were consecrated, allowing the powers in conflict to request mediation from a third power with which they maintained a friendly relationship. Cavalcante (2002) states that at that time there were two types of mediation, the required and the spontaneous:

The required or requested mediation is enshrined in article 2 and allows the conflicting powers to request the intervention of a third friendly power. Spontaneous mediation, enshrined in article 3, allows foreign powers to offer their good offices or mediation to States in conflict, but it was not always well accepted by the parties in conflict (MORAIS, 2019, p. 24)

It is noted that even before the creation of the United Nations, there were already mechanisms for the pacific resolution of conflicts in relations between countries, however, it was after the Second World War, with the creation of the United Nations, that the concept and terms of mediation were renewed, by massive investments in academic research that studied all the mechanisms of mediation.

Another technique of conflict resolution is arbitration characterized by the choice of an arbitrator or court composed of several people, who, being specialized in the subject of

the dispute issues and ruling by neutrality, can help to resolve the conflict. Arbitration is divided into voluntary or optional and permanent or mandatory:

The first would arise from the commitment between the parties to the solution of a dispute that has already arisen. Thus, there is no prior agreement between the parties, as the dispute was not foreseen. The arbitration agreement for the establishment of this type of judgment is called a compromise. In this commitment, the litigants mention the rules of the applicable law, appoint the arbitrator or the arbitral tribunal, eventually establish deadlines and procedural rules and undertake to comply with the arbitration award as a mandatory legal precept. It is also known as ad hoc arbitration, as an arbitration court is created for that case. Permanent or mandatory arbitration results from a prior agreement between the parties, which provides that if there is a discrepancy between them, it will be submitted to an arbitration solution. This prior commitment can be either a general arbitration treaty or an arbitration clause inserted into a treaty. In the first case, two or more States permanently choose this route for the solution of disputes that may come between them in the future. In the second case, the States bound by a bilateral or collective treaty, on any matter, insert in its text an arbitration clause, establishing that the questions resulting from the application of that pact must be resolved through arbitration (RESEK, 2000, p. 343). *apud* CAVALCANTE, 2002, p. 7).

For arbitration, a Permanent Court was created during the Hague Conference of 1889 so that this type of conflict resolution instrument would have a judicial bias, however, there was not great adhesion between the countries, since its creation it has been used only 24 times. , falling into sharp disuse after the creation of the ICJ.

It is noteworthy, however, that arbitration is advantageous for economic matters, as in the case of NAFTA and Mercosur, and in the great multilateral treaties involving Brazil, that is, the Brasilia Protocol of 1991, the Treaty of Assunção, from the same year and in 1994, the Ouro Preto Protocol, there is the use of arbitration (SOARES, 2014).

Among the mechanisms for resolving bilateral or multilateral disputes, some consultations seek a conciliatory solution through the exchange of opinions between the litigants, Conciliation, differs from mediation as it is carried out in a collective of States that act for previous norms and conduct, and the inquiries that are conducted by commissions that have characteristics similar to those of the Conciliation, resolve situations that need further clarification. Finally, there are international Courts that act for universal representation (CAVALCANTE, 2002).

1.1 The League of Nations and the United Nations Security Council

After the end of the First World War, there was an ambitious proposal to bring together the victorious states in a globalizing context so that there would be the regularization of guidelines that could establish world order and peace through supranational authority.

In 1921, the International Court of Justice - ICJ was created, interconnecting the international association of countries that were grouped in the post-World War I with the creation of the League of Nations, in 1919 by the Treaty of Versailles. The League of Nations was created so that, through supranational authority, the premises of International Law could be valued, as well as conflict resolutions that could maintain peace and order at a global level. However, even after the creation of the League of Nations, the world experienced the Second World War that began in 1939 and ended in 1945 (MORAIS, 2019).

The Second World War represented the ideological extremism responsible for the deaths of millions of people, both on the Allied and Axis sides. With the end of the Second World War, it became evident the need to strengthen the winning countries to create strong mechanisms that could share tools to contain the beginning of systemic wars, this body materialized with the creation of the United Nations - UN, and the new Court International Justice, extinguishing the former League of Nations and ICJ. Headquartered in the city of The Hague, in the Netherlands, the ICJ is also known as the Hague Court or World Court, whose statute is annexed to the UN Charter, with all member countries participating (MAIA, 2017).

The International Court of Justice was created to resolve disputes carried out by States. This objective was enhanced by the perspective of the regulatory function of documents that were created internationally by the jurisdiction legitimizing the functions and actions of States in the resolution of conflicts. Over the years, the ICJ started to have regional thematic courts according to new demands, such as the realization of Human Rights (Inter-American Court of Human Rights) and the International Court of the Law of the Sea (GARCIA, 2000).

Acting with greater support from the international community, the ICJ is responsible for solving various issues submitted to it by the participating parties. It is also responsible for matters specified by the UN Charter. The ICJ works with the participation of 15 judges representing the States that participate in the international regulatory body. Morais (2019) explains that judges are chosen based on their moral and professional competencies and international recognition, having a nine-year term, renewable in three years.

The election takes place by the UN Security Council and the General Assembly considering the representation of the main participating members, as well as the recognized

global judicial systems. Given the sovereignty of States, jurisdiction is only possible if the participating members agree through prior agreements, treaties, or reciprocal declarations.

The sources for ICJ legislation are international customs, the most qualified doctrines, international theories of law, and the Treaties and Conventions in force at the decision-making period. Decisions are made based on the equity rule. Despite not being mandatory, UN opinions are applied by moral force, however, decisions within the ICJ are mandatory before States in conflicts and disputes. If there are disagreements regarding compliance with the measure, the winning State can appeal to the UN Security Council, which through its resources can enforce international legislation (UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION, 2009, art. 94).

The UN Charter (UN, 2009), in its art. 34, determines:

The Security Council may investigate any dispute or situation likely to cause friction between Nations or give rise to a dispute, to determine whether the continuation of such dispute or situation could constitute a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security (UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION, 2009, p. 24).

It is thus noted that in addition to being a mediator in search of peaceful solutions to conflicts between States, the Security Council is responsible for verifying whether there are controversies between countries that may pose a threat to world peace.

1.2 Brazil as a mediator of international peace - Brief history of Brazil's participation in the United Nations Security Council

Brazil's participation in the International Security Councils dates back to the events of the Great Wars that took place in the 20th century, however, its participation in events for the mediation of international conflicts is older, and the Alabama Arbitration in the years 1871 to 1873 can be cited. In 1871, Great Britain and the United States celebrated the Treaty of Washington, whose mediation had a Brazilian arbitrator. The Minister of Brazil in Paris, Marcos Antônio de Araújo, Viscount of Itajubá was the arbitrator appointed by the Emperor of Brazil, D. Pedro II (BRASIL, 2014).

It can be noted, therefore, that since the Empire, Brazil was requested to participate in mediation for the peaceful solution of international conflicts. However, Brazil, too, has already needed the mediation of third parties for the solution of internal conflicts, for example in the year 1864, in which Portugal mediated a conflict between Brazil and Great Britain after the Christie incident that impacted the rupture of the diplomatic relationship between the two States (CAVALCANTE, 2002).

Christie's event occurred between the years 1862 and 1865 and was configured by the discontent of England with Brazil, from the event of the sinking of a British ship called “*Prince of Wales*”, after having its cargo looted and its crew disappeared on Albardão beach in Rio Grande do Sul. Continuing the adverse events for the relationship between the two countries, partners, until then, in the year 1862, Brazilian soldiers and English crew entered a physical confrontation after a disagreement over-identification contempt requested by Brazilians to foreigners who ended up being arrested. The British ambassador, William Douglas Christie, took the opportunity of the incidents that occurred in Brazil to externalize his discontent with the bilateral relationship, accusing Brazil of negligence and demanding compensation for the damages caused by the shipwreck and punishment for the military who clashed with the British crew. (JANUÁRIO, 2012).

With popular support from Rio de Janeiro, D. Pedro II, Emperor of Brazil, denied Christie's requests, which resulted in the confiscation of five Brazilian merchants. Faced with such an offensive, D. Pedro II reversed his decision and decided to accept the request for payment of compensation, however, in the face of pressure from the population and the military, who saw the retreat in the Emperor's decision as an offense to the sovereignty of the nation. , demanded that there be explanations from England about Christie's attitudes, as well as the immediate rupture of diplomatic relations between the two States. It was then necessary for the international mediation of King Leopold I of Belgium to resolve the issue. Queen Victoria of England issued an official apology to Brazil, which was declared the winner of the conflict by Belgian mediation in 1864 (JANUÁRIO, 2012).

It is interesting to note, however, that in an earlier period, between 1835 and 1838, Brazil, along with Argentina, the United States, Chile, Uruguay, and Peru, was a mediator in the Chaco War between Paraguay and Bolivia. In the same period, Brazil mediated the Leticia Question between Colombia and Peru (CAVALCANTE, 2002).

In 1895, it was Portugal's turn to separate the conflict between England and Brazil, in the dispute over Trindade Island - RJ. The British occupied the island of Trindade in Rio de Janeiro in the 18th century, Brazil only recognized this fact in 1895 through a newspaper intended for the British in Brazil:

According to the newspaper, earlier that year the cruiser Barracouta had planted the British flag on the island with a proclamation from Queen Victoria. On July 20, the plenipotentiary minister of Brazil in Great Britain, Artur de Sousa Correia, after being informed of the fact by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, would confirm the occupation with the Foreign Office. According to him, the British occupation would have taken place in January 1895 under the allegation that the territory had been English since

1700 when Halley arrived. In 1781 Great Britain would have founded a colony, abandoned in 1789. Even so, the English navy would have continued to visit the island regularly, without registering at first any protest, either from Portugal or later from Brazil. Proof of this would be the absence of evidence of occupation by another nation. The justification for the occupation was the need to establish a telegraph station that would connect London to Buenos Aires, without the intermediation of Brazil. The person responsible for operating the system would be a private company (ARRAES, 2020, p. 3).

As soon as Brazil became aware of the British occupation of the island, it showed discontent, as the territory, despite not being occupied at that time, belonged to Brazil. In May 1896, Portugal offered the two countries mediation through good offices. In the previous year, Great Britain had carried out a mediation to restore diplomacy between Brazil and Portugal, broken in the context of the Armada Revolt. Portugal's proposal for mediation was accepted by the two countries in conflict, and in July of the same year, the British retreated from their interests in remaining on the island on August 5, Portugal issued an official note in favor of Brazil, restoring the island in their possession (ARRAES, 2020).

The issue of the island of Trindade strengthened the republican regime, which demonstrated the same vitality and sovereignty as the monarchical regime, helping to maintain its unity and confidence in the nation. The execution of foreign policy directly influenced how the military, nationalists, and monarchists understood the strength of the regime.

2 RESEARCH METHODS

Scientific knowledge is identified by being rational, as it finds its structural bases in reason; general, as it is interested in general norms that typify the object of study; it is objective, as it is formed independently of the researcher's opinions; it is systematic, due to its rational organization; it is verifiable by exposing variables that confirm the result or fallible when recognizing its passivity to error (GIL, 2008).

The use of scientific research methods implies organizing and systematizing data and information, arranging them into results and analyses in a coherent way. The chosen methodology determines the contours making clear how the researcher approached the phenomenon/theme object of his research. This sense of organization gives consistency to the research. "In the sciences, a method is understood as the set of processes that the

human spirit must employ in the investigation and demonstration of the truth” (CERVO; BERVAIN, 2002, p. 23).

At first, the methodological procedure of the bibliographic review was used to understand the key concepts of research, as well as the formulation of the theoretical support used for the later stage, configured in the case study. Bibliographic research or literature review, according to Gil (2008), is characterized by the bibliographic survey developed based on material already prepared, that is, what has already been scientifically produced on the subject, through books and scientific articles, mainly, so that data are validated and recognized by the sciences. It is a method that makes it possible to know what other scholars have already produced on the topic to be addressed.

For the literature review, authors who approach the concepts and history of international mediation were used, such as Cavalcante (2002) who, in his work, describes the main characteristics of the instruments provided for the solution of peaceful conflicts, exemplifying their use throughout History. . The author also briefly addresses the International Courts and the International Court of Justice; the dissertation by Morais (2019) that details the mechanisms of arbitration and mediation in the context of the peaceful solution of international conflicts and Resek (2000) elucidating concepts of International Law through the historical revisitation of the elements that favored the construction of conflict resolution mechanisms bilateral and multilateral.

Secondly, a case study was carried out on Brazil's participation as a mediator in international conflicts. The case study is classified as characterized by the detailed study of one or a few objects in an empirical study framed within reality:

Case studies are useful in informing us about rare conditions that cannot be easily studied in other ways. Ideas suggested by case studies can lead researchers to develop hypotheses, which can be tested using other methods (GIL, 2008, p.139).

The case study can be carried out on primary or secondary data, primary data are usually collected in field surveys, and secondary data in desk research.

Research data were interpreted using a qualitative approach. Before delving into research techniques, it is important to understand the method of procedure. Severino (2007) points out that the qualitative method does not aim to enumerate or measure events, much less to use statistical instruments for data analysis, on the contrary, it has a broader focus of interest. In it, the researcher seeks to understand the phenomena from the perspective of the actors involved in the context.

According to Demo (1995), among the characteristics that define the qualitative method, The highlights: the collection of data in its natural environment, the descriptive character, the inductive perspective, the interaction between the researcher and the source, and the search for the perspective correspondent for a better understanding of its concepts. Furthermore, this method involves secondary data analysis techniques; group discussion; word association tests, among others.

Severino (2007) adds that, for the qualitative method, the means of data collection are aimed at describing, translating, analyzing, and understanding the meanings of certain events or phenomena that occur in the social world. According to Gil (2008), qualitative content analysis is an approach to the empirical analysis of texts within their communication context. Texts, themes, and ideas (latent information) are the main content of the analysis, without the need to quantify information to interpret the phenomenon.

The systematic process of qualitative content analysis is built on research questions and theoretical foundations (GIL, 2008). Qualitative content analysis, when guided by a theoretical framework, enables previous categorization and coding schemes that allow the conceptual validation or understanding of the theory and research results, in addition to guiding the discussion of results with previous studies. The procedures for systematizing qualitative content analysis involve three steps: summary, explanation, and structuring. These steps aim to reduce the complexity of the data, by filtering the main topics of analysis for the interpretation process.

In the process of data analysis, the presence of subjectivity in the interpretation of data inherent to the technique of qualitative content analysis is observed. According to Demo (1995), the systematic process of analyzing qualitative data is a complex act of interpretation that requires a subjective relationship between the researcher and the textual material, in the search for meanings in the text. In the qualitative approach, data collection is carried out, to expand knowledge about the subject matter of our study.

3 DATA PRESENTATION

The data collection instrument of the present research was document analysis, analyzing the 10 volumes of the Brazilian Foreign Policy Notebook published by the Alexandre de Gusmão Foundation - FUNAG, gathering testimonies, documents, and reports relevant to the understanding of Brazilian actions in the context of international relations. abroad, as well as other documents released by FUNAG. The list of documents selected for analysis is shown in table 1:

Table 1 - Documents selected for analysis

VOL.	AUTHOR	TITLE	YEAR OF PUBLICATION	LINK
1	BRAZIL	II Peace Conference, The Hague, 1907: the telegraphic correspondence between the Barão do Rio Branco and Rui Barbosa.	2014	http://funag.gov.br/loja/download/II-conferencia-da-paz-daia-1907.pdf
two	BRAZIL	Brazil and the United Nations	2013	http://funag.gov.br/loja/download/1045-o-brasil-e-as-nacoes-unidas.pdf
3	BRAZIL	Foreign Policy Repertoire: Brazil's positions	2007	https://funag.gov.br/loja/download/388-Repertorio_de_Politica_Externa_Posicoes_do_Brasil.pdf
4	BRAZIL	Foreign Policy Notebooks - Year 1 Number 1 first semester of 2015	2015	https://funag.gov.br/biblioteca-nova/produto/1-87-cadernos_de_politica_exterior_ano_1_numero_1_first_semester_of_2015
5	BRAZIL	Foreign Policy Notebooks - Year 1 Number 2 second half of 2015	2015	https://funag.gov.br/biblioteca-nova/produto/1-88-cadernos_de_politica_exterior_ano_1_numero_2_second_semester_of_2015
6	BRAZIL	Foreign Policy Notebooks - Year 2 Number 3 first half of 2016	2016	https://funag.gov.br/biblioteca-nova/produto/1-89-cadernos_de_politica_exterior_ano_2_numero_3_first_semester_of_2016

7	BRAZIL	Foreign Policy Notebooks - Year 2 Number 4 second half of 2016	2016	https://funag.gov.br/biblioteca-nova/produto/1-90-cadernos_de_politica_exterior_ano_2_numero_4_second_semester_of_2016
8	BRAZIL	Foreign Policy Notebooks - Year 3 Number 5 first half of 2017	2017	https://funag.gov.br/biblioteca-nova/produto/1-91-cadernos_de_politica_exterior_ano_3_numero_5_first_semester_of_2017
9	BRAZIL	Foreign Policy Notebooks - Year 3 Number 6 second half of 2017	2017	https://funag.gov.br/biblioteca-nova/produto/1-92-cadernos_de_politica_exterior_ano_3_numero_6_second_semester_of_2017
10	BRAZIL	Foreign Policy Notebooks - Year 4 Number 7 first half of 2018	2018	https://funag.gov.br/biblioteca-nova/produto/1-93-cadernos_de_politica_exterior_ano_4_numero_7_first_semester_of_2018
11	BRAZIL	Foreign Policy Notebooks - Year 5 Number 8 second half of 2018	2019	https://funag.gov.br/biblioteca-nova/produto/1-1013-cadernos_de_politica_exterior_ano_5_numero_8_first_semester_of_2019
12	BRAZIL	Foreign Policy Notebooks - Year 6 Number 9	2020	https://funag.gov.br/biblioteca-nova/produto/1-1127
13	BRAZIL	Foreign Policy Notebooks - Year 7 Number 10	2021	https://funag.gov.br/biblioteca-nova/produto/1-1166

Source: Alexandre de Gusmão Foundation (2007 to 2021).

4 DATA ANALYSIS

The booklet “II Peace Conference in The Hague” (2014) presents the messages that were exchanged between Rio Branco and Rui Barbosa that demonstrate Brazil’s position on the creation of the International Council of Justice – ICJ resulting from the II Peace Conference in The Hague. The two great figures of Brazilian diplomacy acted with extreme activism to ensure the Brazilian position in the international scenario, perceptible by the victories conquered in the first Council that aimed at multilateral collaboration for the maintenance of world peace.

The section entitled “Foreign Policy Repertory: Brazil's positions” (2007), on pages 193-210 and 301 to 311, deals with Brazil's positions before the UN and International Security. The section entitled “Brazil and the United Nations” revisits Brazil's trajectory at the United Nations, from its foundation to the present. The notebooks deal with the historical aspects of the creation of the UN and the National Security Council and the countries that have been involved since its foundation, as well as those that have been annexed over time. Brazil's positions and actions are also mentioned with emphasis on the various achievements achieved in the course of affirmation of the Security Council.

The notebook “Policy Notebooks abroad” volume 1, on pages 91-111, describes the UNSC's intervention in Libya, with Brazil playing a leading role in conflict resolution.

The notebook “ Policy Notebooks Abroad” volume 2, on pages 9-22, addresses the issue of conflicts in Syria and the difficulties in diplomacy for a peace mediation in the region. In this context, it expresses the entire geopolitical configuration of the region and Brazil's perspectives in the face of the conflict.

The Notebook “Policies Abroad” volume 3, brings on pages 65-91 and on pages 93-119 the facts of the recognition of the State of Palestine by Brazil, and nuclear disarmament.

The notebook “Cadernos de Políticas no Exterior” volume 4, on pages 213 to 239, addresses the origins of Brazilian diplomatic thought. The section “Notebooks on Policies Abroad” volume 5, on pages 11-36 deals with policies for nuclear disarmament, and on pages 151-153 presents a statement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Aloysio Nunes Ferreira about the Brazilian fight against anti-Semitism.

The notebook “Policy Notebooks abroad” volume 6, on pages 15 and 27, exposes new principles of the PEB, as well as the universalism of Brazilian politics, on pages 215 to 262, addresses the role of the UNSC for conflict prevention.

The notebook “Policies Abroad” volume 7, pages 195-226, analyzes the working methods of the Security Council after the cold war. The section “Notebooks on Policies Abroad” volume 8, on page 197, deals with Brazil's participation in the Palermo Convention in the fight against transnational organized crime. The Palermo Convention is the main instrument forged by multilateral relations to combat transnational organized crime.

The notebook “Policy Notebooks Abroad” volume 9 on pages 29-43 deals with the non-compliance with UNSC resolutions by Brazil, hypotheses and consequences, and the notebook “Policies Notebooks abroad” volume 10 deals with the profile of Brazil in the negotiations peace agreement (pages 17-34). Below are the relationships between the notebook and the subjects analyzed to arrive at the answer to the research problem (Table 2):

Table 2 - Systematization of the topics covered

Notebook	Year	Topic	Topics covered
Conf. The Hague 1907	2014	Brazil in the insertion of international peace policies	Brazil's position on the creative movement of the CSI
Brazil and the United Nations	2013	History of Brazil at the UN The Security Council	UN Foundation Importance of the UN UN actions
Foreign Policy Repertoire: Brazil's positions	2007	UN reform	Claims from emerging countries
		Brazil's position	Speeches by Celso Amorim
PEB notebooks V.1	2015	Intervention in Libya	Conflicts in the Libyan Territory
		Dilma Rousseff's positions on the conflict	UN General Assembly speech
PEB notebooks v.2	2015	conflict in Syria	Brazilian positions
PEB notebook vol.3	2016	State of Israel	Recognition of the State of Israel by Brazil
		nuclear disarmament	Positions of the UN and Brazil
PEB notebooks Vol.4	2016	Nuclear Approaches	Treaties and Position of Brazil
		The genesis of Brazilian diplomatic thought	Studies on the influence of Portugal on the Brazilian positioning
PEB v.5 notebooks	2017	nuclear non-proliferation treaty	Brazil's position and the victory of multilateralism in the face of the interest of powers that have nuclear weapons
PEB v.6 notebooks	2017	PEB perspectives	Speaking of Aloysio Nunes Ferreira
		security advice	Criticism of the discourse and practice of UN conflict resolution
PEB v.7 notebooks	2018	UNSC Actions in the Post-Cold War	Critical analysis of the transformations in the post-Cold War UNSC

PEB v.8 notebooks	2019	Palermo Convention	Brazil's actions to combat transnational organized crime
PEB notebooks v.9	2019	International law and national law	Possible hypotheses for non-compliance with UNSC determinations
PEB notebooks v.10	2020	UN peacekeeping missions	Brazilian engagement

Source: Prepared by the author.

5 DISCUSSION

The document that takes to the reader the testimonies of the Brazilian protagonists for the insertion of Brazil in foreign policies, emphasizes that the testimonies, gathered there, are dynamic that express Brazil's debut in international negotiations. Brazil was present at the Hague Conference, in its second edition, in 1907, however, it refused to participate in the 1899 edition. First Peace Conference, because as was later revealed by the exchange of correspondence between Oliveira Lima and Rui Barbosa, the government chancellor Campos Sales did not notice the importance of the event and the Brazilian participation (BRASIL, 2014).

José Maria da Silva Paranhos Júnior was Minister of Foreign Affairs during the term of four presidents of the Republic, he maintained a relationship of friendship and respect with the delegate of Brazil at the Hague Conference, Ruy Barbosa, considered a very important personage of the Republic of Brazil for his intense abolitionist and federalist activism.

The Conclave that brought together countries from all over the world to establish terms of peace revealed to the different potentials of Europe the strength and dignity of the countries of South America, given the words of Nellidoff (president of the Second Peace Conference in The Hague - 1907, Russian diplomat from the highest level of the Russian delegation): "South America was a revelation for all of us" (BRASIL, 2014, p. 15).

The first telegrams by Rui Barbosa presented in the document released by FUNAG (BRASIL, 2014) show the diplomatic and divergent relationship between the United States and Brazil, which balances friendship and respect between nations, as well as, by conflicts of interests. The United States, at that time, after the Hague Conference - 1907, presented an ambitious project to create a new Court of Arbitration Justice that, after the acceptance of other nations involved, took shape, while Rui Barbosa expressed:

"[...] I just got serious news Americans to keep absolute secrecy about permanent court organization. But by a mutual friend I had complete confidence the court will have seventeen member base population. France, England, Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia, United States, Japan, and Holland, each a member. The most by groups as follows: Spain and Portugal; Belgium, Switzerland, and Luxembourg; Turkey and Persia; China and Siam; Sweden, Norway, and Denmark; Balkans. Our continent: Mexico and Central America one; South America one. You will see if through Washington we are spared such bitter humiliation. Verified, it does not understand Brazil can dignifiedly continue the conference" (BRASIL, 2014, p. 17)

Rui Barbosa's expression shows his indignation at the non-participation of Brazil among those chosen for the Court of Justice, so that he expresses, according to the information he was acquiring from the claims of that Court, that if the USA proposed, Brazil should not accept:

Telegram 39, from Rui, 7/8: "(...) I find this system equally unacceptable (...)".
Telegram 63, from Rio Branco, 8/7: "Gurgel do Amaral, returning from Clinton, where he lectured Secretary of State, informs Root "He thinks there is no impoliteness proposed for the formation of groups of nations, understanding, however, that Brazil has its representation (...)” (BRASIL, 2014, p. 18).

Among the telegrams, Brazil expresses its determination to approve the predeterminations of the Hague Conference of 1899, as it did not want to lose its autonomy by submitting internal matters to international arbitration, Rio Branco, in an express telegram that if Brazil does not have a permanent position in the referred court must not agree by signing the convention. They blamed the North Americans together with Germany for designing the convention arbitrarily, excluding the Latin American countries. In another telegram, Rio Branco expresses his dissatisfaction with the US Convention, since, given the creation of the Hague Court, there would be no need for more bodies of this competence to coexist at the international level and given the lack of clear communication with the US authorities. expressed:

[...] Now that we cannot hide our disagreement with the American delegation, we must frankly defend our rights and those of the other American nations there. We are certain that Vocência will do it with firmness and moderation and brilliance, attracting to our country the sympathies of weak peoples and the respect of the strong (BRASIL, 2014, p. 20).

Brazil demanded the recognition of the equality of States, rejecting any system that had not been affirmed in the 1899 Convention, as opposed to the choice of judges by foreign voters. Rio Branco and Rui Barbosa, in this context, strengthened a bond of friendship and cooperation in the service of the interests of national sovereignty that stimulated an intense exchange of messages about the most commonplace events. Respect and rapport between the two diplomats were evident (Figure 1):

Figure 1 – Representation of respect, partnership, and admiration between two protagonists of Brazilian international relations in the First Republic.



"Come here and hug me Ruy! Look, you came out better than the order. Brave! Really Brave"

Source: Brazil (2014, p. 24).

The Second Hague Conference, in 1907, was marked by Brazil's struggle for the principles it carried, among which, the struggle for equality between nations, represented by Rui Barbosa, who reported to the Baron of Rio Branco, stood out. , who expressed gratitude and admiration for the services of the Brazilian delegate representing the nation at the Conference:

24 – 14 Jul. 1907 – We are all, government and opinion, very satisfied with the shine that Vocência has given, as we had hoped, to the representation of Brazil in the work

of the conference. I send my very cordial congratulations. Rio Branco (BRASIL, 2014, pp 58).

In that context, Brazil defended its ideas and sovereignty, as it declared that no country on any continent should impose on Brazil that it submit sentences in national territory for review by international courts, as well as, it could not give up resorting to recognized means to conflict resolution, such as good offices, arbitration, and mediation. Gurgel Amaral, in charge of business at the Brazilian embassy, opposed the representation of all American nations by a single arbitrator, arguing that this fact went against the interests of large potentials to the detriment of small countries, also stating that Brazil had its own representation (BRASIL, 2014).

In this context, the USA continued with the negotiations of the international court, and Brazil, still, demanded that its participation be effective, while fighting for the principle of equality between countries, however, Rio Branco pondered: “ On the question of the court permanent seems we should defend our ideas, but in order not to make it impossible for Brazil to have a seat in this court if these ideas don't win. Rio Branco (BRAZIL, 2014, p.103).

Ruy Barbosa received a proposal for an American agreement for Brazil to join the international Court, which he reported to Rio Branco:

Aug 23, 1907 – 11:00 pm – Choate has just left here and has sent me to ask for a conference for Scott. Came to deal with possibilities according to us. Rejected by me some suggestions, suggested this: project organization permanent court would be approved except point 150 II Peace Conference - The Hague 1907 concerning court composition which by express stipulation convention would be reserved for future or further agreement powers. I promised to consult the government. Such a suggestion would still depend on the assent of other States with whom it will come to an understanding. But checking it out might be a good deal. Project other respects excellent legal work and consenting to Americans now giving up the principle impugned by us, I think we would have remarkable triumph being that due to our initiative and perseverance of resistance. The subject however opinion dependent still reflects the judgment Vocência. I believe, that by compromising without sacrificing our principle, on which a decision would be postponed, we would come out gracefully without any disadvantages. Ruy (BRASIL, 2014, p. 149-150).

Rio Branco responded by saying that he would speak to the president about the nomination and recommended that the principles of equality and representation of the principles signed in 1899 be maintained. Brazil began to establish relations with Latin American countries, which Ruy said was the beginning of a response to the European convention, in case the North American proposal became sterile:

05 Sep.1907 – 06:25 pm – Received 133 to 136. This morning committee finished the second reading exam American project then Choate read the exposition quickly analyzing several proposed plans including ours; concluding with several

suggestions without formulating a proposal. The declared system included the American project was mere suggestion without character proposed to be voted. This is how they think to cover defeat and retreat. Responding to him without discussing his ideas, for the time being, I showed that the rotation system, being part of the project, discussing two readings, constituted part of it and was how he proposed it. So the next session was decided to discuss voting on the American system, ours, and the new suggestions proposed... (BRASIL, 2014, p. 188-9).

The Brazilian proposal for equality with judges of all nations was answered as the intention to create, not a court, but an assembly of nations, the impasses regarding the representation of the court continue, with Brazil being firm in its position of defending the equality so that there would be no arbitrage between a few powers to the detriment of smaller and weaker countries. The principle of equality for the international court was then recognized, wrote Rio Branco:

As for arbitration: the principle of equal representation of States has now been recognized as it had been without difficulty in 1899. This time, however, it was recognized at a cost and thanks to the talent and competence with which it was defended by Vocência. It is a victory that Brazil and all other countries excluding the eight great powers owe to Vocência (BRASIL, 2014, p. 207).

The Hague Commission was then closed, with a Brazilian victory for the equality represented in the international Court that will arise from these agreements. In 1920, a public commission was held in The Hague for the creation of the Permanent Court of International Justice - CPJI. Among the jurists who made up, the CPJI was the Brazilian Clóvis Belivágua and Raul Fernandes who contributed to the drafting of the Statute of the Court that was being formed.

Raul Fernandes was responsible for the Optional Mandatory Jurisdiction Clause, or as it became known, the Raul Fernandes Clause that remained active after the creation of the United Nations. Once the clauses and conditions for the creation of the International Court of Justice were approved by the Assembly of Societies of Nations, the inaugural session took place in 1922. From 1922 to 1940, he worked on the resolution of 29 controversies between States at the international level and 27 consultative opinions.

5.1 Historic Rescue – from the League of Nations to the United Nations

The order established in the year 1648 for peace in Westphalia inspired the creation of the League of Nations. Both the League of Nations and the UN were created in an environment of international conflicts marked by the ideas of North American and Western European leaders.

After the two world wars, the United Nations was created in 1945 to prevent other conflicts of such magnitude from happening again. Created with the participation of 51 states, with Brazil involved in the creation, it currently has 191 members, most of them from developing countries. Minister Celso Amorim, in 2005, stated that Brazil defended the UN Reform proposed by Secretary-General Kofi Annan, as well as the Human Rights and Peacebuilding Council (BRASIL, 2007).

Amorim, states that Brazil was meant to be part of the UN Security Council since its creation, in 1945:

Brazil was supposed to be [in the UN Security Council] since 1945 when the UN was created. Brazil did not enter, Brazil defends the democratization of the United Nations, defends, above all, the democratization of the Security Council, defends the participation of representations by continent, by Africa, which can have two, by South America, by Asia, and Brazil claims this vacancy for itself, for being the largest country in South America and Latin America, for being a country with the largest number of inhabitants, the country with the largest territorial extension, so we have the right to claim. We are claiming (CELSO AMORIM, 2005 apud BRASIL, 2007, p. 196).

President Luís Inácio Lula da Silva (2003-2011) defended the reform of the International Security Council and the active participation of Brazil in international decisions, both representing South America and the representation of developing countries. He defended, then, that there should be reform in the structure of the CSI because the world was operating in new perspectives that no longer supported the old structures of 1945:

Brazil, together with the G-4 countries, maintains that the expansion of the Council should include the entry of developing countries into its permanent staff. This would make the body more democratic, legitimate, and representative. The vast majority of Member States also agree with this view and recognize the urgency of the matter. We cannot deal with new problems using anachronistic structures (BRASIL, 2007, n.197).

Furthermore, more countries were participating in the UN that should also have representation and participation in international issues. The United Nations body was created to plan and execute actions that would lead to the solution of macro-problems on the world stage, intervene in the solution of political, legal, military, environmental, and social disorders, impose legitimacy of its opinions and sanctions on member countries. that do not follow the principles agreed in Conventions.

The United Nations acts through the Security Council for the maintenance of peace and the assumptions of its regulatory Charter, by incorporating themes that go beyond the discussions of the San Francisco Conference of 1945. Given the emergencies of the themes

that are part of the development of countries, the United Nations takes action to discuss the threat that domestic affairs can pose to world peace and order. In the meantime, topics such as nuclear weapons, peaceful uses of atomic energy, human rights, and environmental issues are debated.

Sardenberg (2013) states that, in 1948, UNESCO adopted the Charter of Human Rights, and since then, the debate on preventive diplomacy for the construction of world peace has been growing, however, in practice, they are still not being implemented. actions that reach the objective estimated by the documents. Topics such as conflict, technological and military equity, and cooperation between nations are not exhaustible in the National Security agenda.

All mentions in the UN Charter go beyond its creation and rest on the defense of not making the same mistakes that the two great wars caused in humanity. The first item of Article 1 of the UN Charter states that its purpose is:

1. Maintain international peace and security and, to that end: collectively take effective measures to prevent threats to the peace and suppress acts of aggression or any other breach of the peace and arrive, by peaceful means and following the principles of justice and international law, to an adjustment or solution of controversies or situations that may lead to a disturbance of the peace (ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS, 1945, p.5).

Because of this, it is noted that the two wars which involved all humanity, left deep marks that should be repaired, so as not to affect future generations. This reparation could only occur if the values of human dignity and the rights of nations, whether potential or not, developed or developing, with large or small populations, were reaffirmed.

It is for this purpose that the UN seeks conditions to ensure that justice is carried out and maintained among peoples through the international promotion of economic and social development and respect for the different nuances of each nation, using military force only when the situation presents itself for the common good. The United Nations Charter talks about actions, both short and long term, and it is in this perspective in different dimensions that the legitimacy of its actions lies.

Sardenberg (2013) states that even installing itself in the middle of the Cold War, the UN managed to legitimize guidelines to conduct the relationship between nations in a dynamic and vulnerable scenario, demonstrating that multilateralism has become the core of contemporary democracy. It is not about containing conflicting powers, but about building

a universal policy environment guided by ethics and by the simultaneous representation of various interests led by the States.

Despite the attempts to return to the past of its founders, as in the scenario of the fall of the USSR in 1990, the mechanisms of the Charter are adaptable to the times that are installed, allowing it to be accompanied by institutional advances and not allowing the regression that needs formulas that got lost in time :

Since its foundation, the United Nations occupies a focal position in the international power system¹². Designed to prevent the return of the scourge of war, collective security mechanisms were paralyzed for decades by the terrible complication of the cold war. The Organization's institutional evolution was distorted, with consequences that can still be seen today in terms of the procedures, composition, mandate, and performance of its bodies. (SARDENBERG, 2013, p. 22).

However, even in the face of all these premises, there is still an arduous work to be able to order the actions of States, making international life more predictable and, consequently, safer, as the Security Council, a body created for the actions of maintenance and guarantee of peace worldwide.

Sardenberg (2013) notes, however, that the power of veto made the actions of member countries of the Security Council illegitimate when the mechanism is abused, to override the principle of equality between member countries. This fact stems from the fact that the member countries of the Security Council have the power to use the veto to overturn the decision of the other countries, even if in a vote, there is a numerical advantage of such a decision to be taken.

If there is an abuse of veto to defend national interests, the effectiveness of the UN as a world organization is compromised. Retondario (2007) reveals that in the post-Cold War period until 2007, the United States used the veto 11 times, Russia used the resource 3 times and China used it 2 times:

The legal institute of veto as absolute power, incapable of deliberation to the contrary, is completely abandoned by modern Constitutional Law, being rejected by legal doctrine since the end of the 19th century. Different luck had the mechanism within the ambit of the United Nations Security Council, still in full force in the 21st century, as a result of the formula elaborated at the Yalta Conference in 1945. However, its anachronism and clear anti-democratic tendency give rise to growing questions, with the expectation that the evolution that has taken place in domestic law will also reach international law (RETONDARIO, 2007, p.42).

In this context, in the face of disagreement between the great members of the UN Security Council, regional treaties such as NATO, TIAR, and the Warsaw Pact were fruitful.

Brazil has lived in a climate of peace with its South American neighbors for more than a century, taking it as a natural part of their relationship, however, several dimensions can undermine peace and cause conflicts, a fact that makes them have to be aspects of Social Justice, democracy and the rule of rights are contemplated. With the ideological character of peace removed, it becomes a tangible project for nations.

The League of Nations was the first attempt to align the trajectory and international relationship between countries, however, some factors contributed to its failure, such as:

The League of Nations: suffered the initial blow – which proved deadly – from the absence of the United States; it was hampered by the lack of sensitivity and wisdom of the victorious powers in the Great War, in their policy of demanding reparations against Germany; suffered the impact of the Great Depression of 1929; and against its success the ferocity of left and right ideologies, which meant that during the '20s and '30s there was virtually no space for accommodations in the center and pragmatic compromises;

The League of Nations, in its purpose of offering a framework of collective security for the world of its time, also had, among other sins, that of not being able, of course, to incorporate the peoples then colonized; the vices of its jurisdiction; his virtual blindness to the economic and social dimension of international problems, seen only in the classic configuration of power and his obsessive concern with the problem of disarmament, as if it could spring from circumstances of distrust and resentment and not, as we now know, was the necessary result of a whole process of confidence-building and transparency and the application of rigorous methods of verification and control (AZAMBUJA, 1995 *apud* SADENBERG, 2007, p. 32-33).

is more creative and effective, which makes it a survivor. At the UN, actions are projected that go beyond the Westphalian models and promote the continuous improvement of the current model. In this context, Brazil has shown itself to be a fundamental protagonist, since the foundation of the UN it has sought to confront the maintenance of world order, aimed at promoting equality between countries, and building an environment of full democracy and participation.

The UN's internal relations are marked by tensions between the General Assembly and the Security Council, which are balanced by the principles of cooperation inscribed in the UN Charter, which explains the sovereignty of nations and non-interference in the resolution of internal affairs. In this way, it is the UN Charter that maintains the balance so that the body can remain the representation of international stability (SADENBERG, 2007).

If originally, the States that were part of the creation of the UN were in the number of 51 distributed and characterized homogeneously, because even the developing countries had a strong identification with the principles propagated by the organization, currently it registers the mark of cultural diversity in 193 States. -members that mark the

representativeness of the UN in international affairs. Below, the evolution of countries' accession to the UN can be seen (table 3):

Table 3 - UN member countries and year of entry

Year	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	nineteen ninety	1995	2000	2005	2013
	South Africa	Afghanistan	Albania	benin	Algeria	Barbados	Germany	Angola	antigua and barbuda	Liechtenstein	Andorra	Kiribati	Switzerland	Montenegro
	Saudi Arabia	Yemen	Austria	Burkina Faso	Burundi	Botswana	Bahamas	Djibouti	Belize	Namibia	Armenia	Naru	East Timor	Southern Sudan
	Argentina	Iceland	Bulgaria	Cameroon	The Gambia	eswatini	Bahrain	Dominica	Brunei		Azerbaijan	Serbia		
	Australia	Israel	Cambodia	Chad	Jamaica	Fiji	Bangladesh	Solomon Islands	San Cristobal and Neves		Bosnia and Herzegovina	tonga		
	Belarus	Myanmar	Spain	Cyprus	Kuwait	Guyana	Bhutan	Saint Lucia	Vanuatu		Kazakhstan	Tuvalu		
	Belgium	Pakistan	Finland	R. Congo	Dem. Malawi	Equatorial Guinea	Cape Green	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines			North Korea			
Parents¹	Bolivia	Sweden	Hungary	R. Congo	Maldives	Lesotho	Qatar	Samoa			South Korea			
	Brazil	Thailand	Indonesia	Costa Marfim	do Malta	Mauritius	Comoros	Seychelles			Croatia			
	Canada		Ireland	Gabon	Mauritania		Arab emirates	Vietnam			Eritrea			
	China		Italy	Ghana	Mongolia		Grenade	Zimbabwe			Slovakia			
	Chile		Jordan	guinea	Kenya		Guinea Bissau				Slovenia			
	Colombia		Laos	Japan	Rwanda		Mozambique				Estonia			
	Costa Rica		Libya	Madagascar	Sierra Leone		Oman				Georgia			
	Cuba		Nepal	Malaysia	Singapore		Papua New Guinea				Latvia			
	Denmark		Portugal	Morocco	Tanzania		Sao Tome and Principe				Lithuania			

¹Approximate results

Egypt	Romania	Niger	Trinidad and Tobago	Suriname	North Macedonia
El Salvador	Sri Lanka	Nigeria	Uganda Zambia		Marshall Islands Moldavia
U.S		R. Central African			
Ethiopia		Senegal			Kyrgyzstan
Ecuador		Sudan			Czechia
Philippines		Togo			San Marino
France					Turkmenistan
Greece					Uzbekistan
Guatemala					
Haiti					
Honduras					
India					
Iran					
Iraq					
Lebanon					
Liberia					
Luxembourg					
Nicaragua					
Norway					
New Zealand					
Netherlands					
Panama					
Paraguay					
Peru					
Poland					
United Kingdom					
Dominican Republic					
Russia					
Syria					

Total per Period	Turkey	Ukraine	Uruguay	Venezuela	Czechoslovakia	Yugoslavia							
51	70	76	99	117	127	144	154	159	159	185	189	191	193

Source: Brazil (2013)

The countries that became part of the UN brought great impacts to the organization, which started to count on diversity present in its agendas and decisions. The Security Council, however, continues with an original structure, with permanent members, namely: China, the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and France.

Even in the face of intense diversity, the United Nations forum manages to act so that each nation can take its aspirations to the international scene, there is, thus, dynamism between the interests of the different nations and the strategies of balance for the maintenance of world peace, however, conflicts between states are part of such a process. Sadenberg (2007, p.40) points out that UN practices are part of the larger global whole, not just in the main member states: “[...] the stabilizing, managing, coordinating, integrating and repressive role of the powers dominant. In the operation of regimes, there is a permanent conflict between general interests and the dictates of hegemony”.

It is worth remembering that during the Cold War, the UN was de-characterized from its main functions to serve as a platform for anti-war and USSR propaganda, which impacted its discredit, in the so-called crisis of multilateralism. However, after the Cold War, the Security Council began to act actively, relegating a prestige it had not achieved before, and from 1990 to 1994, 322 resolutions were approved (SADENBERG, 2007).

In 1991, in the context of the Gulf War, the UN, after experiencing a financial crisis, noticed the limitations of the use of multilateral power, however, it began to expand its activities:

The Council began to expand its jurisdictional attributions, under the impulse of the great powers and middle western countries. The position that this expansion does not harm the “letter” or “spirit” of the constitutional text seeks to maximize the United Nations as a legitimizing instance for sustaining the current arrangements of power. Under the influence of these ideas, the Council sought to take on normative functions, either by discussing issues of universal scope or by creating precedents as sources of constitutive *case law*, whose formulation is subtracted from the participation of the wider international community. The Council's innovative actions, so to speak, presuppose the so-called “creative interpretations” of the Charter that function as “white reforms” and reinterpret it without going through the painful process of adopting amendments (SADENBERG, 2007, p. 45).

However, the 1990s posed new challenges for the organization, as in many places of conflict, its strength and legitimacy were not recognized, which generated a feeling of incapacity translated into long-term peace missions, such as in Haiti, Cyprus, Lebanon, and Congo. Among the bodies that are part of the UN, the Security Council is the one that stands out the most in terms of publicizing its actions by the national media.

The Security Council was created to deal with factors related to international peace so that its actions or inaction are the targets of relentless debate and criticism in the four corners of the globe. 15 members make up the Council, 5 of which are permanent, defined by the guidelines of the UN Charter. The five groups that make up the Security Council are the United States, China, the United Kingdom, and France. In addition, 5 more member states are elected to be part of the Council for a period of 2 years based on the contribution of their actions to the maintenance of global peace. However, of all the countries that are part of the United Nations, 36% were never elected to be part of the Council (SADENBERG, 2007).

It should be noted, however, that even among the permanent member countries there are conflicts, as in the case of the USA and the USSR during the Cold War. The productive collaboration of the P-5 group has been consolidating since 1999, however, when there are disagreements, other members may maneuver:

In 1991, two facts led to an even greater expansion of the Council's area of activity: the successful military campaign against Saddam Hussein, under the aegis of the United Nations, but commanded by the US; and the collapse of the USSR, which ceased to oppose Washington's interests. In the years that followed, the Security Council not only expanded its area of action geographically but also included new topics, such as drug trafficking, human rights aspects, combating terrorism, and the consequences of damage to the environment. If, on the one hand, this new activism led to the treatment of previously neglected conflicts, and the erroneous impression that the number of conflicts was increasing; on the other hand, it marked a usurpation by the Security Council, now more prestigious, of matters within the competence of the General Assembly and other bodies. In some cases, the Council even tried to legislate, as in Resolution 1373 (2001), on terrorism, adopted shortly after the attacks of September 11 (SADENBERG, 2007, p.63).

If we consider the 10 electives, with organic participation, they are still the target of discredit by the P-5 group, being seen as "second class" citizens who are only responsible for a few procedures (SADENBERG, 2007). There are several guidelines for reflection on the Council's actions, such as the use of sanctions, which in 1990 proved to be wrong, because, in addition to not preventing the actions of the Saddam Hussein government, it harmed the Iraqi population.

The debates lead countries, mainly developing ones, to believe that the Council needs reform, with a renewal of veto policies and expansion of the elective and permanent members. The G-4 group (Brazil, India, Germany, and Japan) is one of the defenders of the expansion of the Security Council in opposition to the P-5 who, at the moment, do not want changes, as they would directly affect their privileges in the world body. Brazil's position,

since its participation in the Hague Conference, is to fight for its insertion, recognition of equality, and rights among the great world powers that appear in the UN.

5.2 The trajectory of Brazil

As seen, Brazil, since its first contact with the aspirations of the International Leagues, has shown itself to be active, suggesting changes that would expand the performance of the members to the detriment of just following the aspirations of the world superpowers. However, in 1926 he left the League of Nations, as he was refused a permanent seat on the Council. Brazil lost its place to Germany, which had just lost the First World War, however, it did not disassociate itself from specialized causes dealt with by the Council (SADENBERG, 2007).

With little negotiating power at the San Francisco Conference, Latin America was already signing up for the creation of the UN with a considerable number of members, among which Brazil, which was present from the beginning, also in this new endeavor to unite the States. . However, in that context, perspectives were lacking, since, through the experience of the Leagues of Nations, it was noted that the negotiations would be forwarded by the powers, despite the qualitative improvement of guidelines arising from the UN Charter compared to the League Pact.

It can be noted, therefore, that Brazil entered into unfavorable conditions permeated by neighboring rivalries and dependence on the alliance with the United States. The Brazilian vision, at first, was that the UN could represent a mixture of hope and utopia in an anarchic international scenario. Brazil maintained its unique position of claiming respect for International Rights, taking the roots planted by Ruy Barbosa in first contact with foreign diplomacy so that Brazil acted on the strength of its convictions (SADENBERG, 2007).

In the year 1946-47, Brazil was elected as a non-permanent member of the Security Council that had just been born, Brazil was proud to have inserted in its own Federal Constitution, a clause that provided for arbitration for international conflicts. Ambassador Luiz Martins de Souza Dantas states that Brazil was willing to maintain its work for world peace and noted that the experiences of atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki were signs that there should be greater concerns about secret weapons, as they would erupt simultaneously. in different parts of the globe.

During the Cold War, Brazil already indicated its dissatisfaction with the Council's mechanisms, stating that they were not serving the purpose of keeping the peace and that it was necessary to create mechanisms for better use of the right of veto:

Brazil has always been among the change-oriented countries at the United Nations; always known how to contribute to the effort to make them more open and equitable, more transparent, and sensitive to the demands of our time. Since San Francisco, the dominant themes of Brazil's long-term performance at the United Nations are perceptible: the functioning of the Security Council, the reform of the Charter, and economic and social development (SADENBER, 2007, p.90).

As a founding member and active in the struggle that defeated Nazism and fascism in World War II, Brazil was even considered to act as a permanent member of the International Security Council, however, without great results, it is worth saying that Brazil did not lose heart and remained engaged in all matters concerning the UN.

In the Security Council, he served ten terms until 2007, being reelected in 2010-2011 and 2022-23, the table below shows the list of mandates of Brazil in its trajectory at the UN (Table 4):

Table 4 - Brazil's mandates as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council

Year	International Situation
1946-1947	Creation of the Security Council in 1945 – Post World War II
1951-1952	Cold War
1954-1955	Cold War
1963-1964	Cold War - Nuclear Disarmament
1967-1968	Cold War
1988-1989	Human Rights, Combating Drug Trafficking, Women's Rights
1993-1994	Local and regional conflicts
1998-1999	Local and regional conflicts
2004-2005	Post-September 11, 2001 terrorist attack; anti-terrorism policies
2010-2011	Nuclear Disarmament; Syria war/Libya conflict
2022-2023	Speech with greater emphasis on Human Rights – Post-Covid-19 Pandemic; War between Russia and Ukraine

Source: Brazil (2007); Brazil (2022).

Brazil, too, was active in the Councils of the Assembly in its multiple facets of work, acquiring great diplomatic experience. In the early years of the creation of the Security Council, the Cold War theme permeated the entire international scenario, which made the Council's work difficult. The theme of Nuclear Security only started to be worked on from 1962 onwards, as there was evidence that the United States and the USSR could attempt a terminal conflict:

Every stage of international life, since 1945, finds resonances in Brazilian diplomatic performance at the United Nations. As with other countries, in the early years of the United Nations, the cold war strongly conditioned Brazil's participation both in the General Assembly and in the Security Council, where it was represented for four periods of two years, between 1945 and 1964. In addition, the hemispheric preponderance of the US and the precariousness of our sub-regional base, at a time when Brazil and Argentina had difficulties in getting together, were significant limiting factors (SADENBERG, 2007, p. 92-93).).

The agendas for nuclear disarmament are intense and require several debates among UN member countries to reach a consensus, because, as Duarte (2016) elucidates, some countries defend that nuclear disarmament should be carried out gradually, and others that emphasize more drastic measures.

The positioning of Brazil and its prestige in the international environment depends on its balance between global issues and the defense of its values and traditions:

There is a guiding line that unites thought and action in Brazilian diplomacy, which goes back to the good traditions of Portuguese diplomacy and extends throughout the 20th century in the construction of contemporary multilateralism. These traditions correspond to principles and values that will be increasingly important to legitimize the institutions of the 21st century (LIMA, 2017, p.236).

It is believed that the traditions of Portuguese-speaking countries can help in the conduct of international policies in the face of intense globalization, vulnerability, and uncertainties. Another issue of great importance for multilateral relations is the fight against transnational organized crimes.

In 2000 there was the Palermo Convention, which resulted in an effective instrument to combat organized crime at the international level. The Convention took place on December 12, 2000, and had as its product the classification of criminal crimes and their level of gravity, in addition to stating that the basis of the problem comes from corruption and money laundering.

It is noteworthy, in this scenario, that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brazil has contributed to issues of combating organized crime since 1999. The Minister of Italy invited Brazil to participate in informal meetings in 1994 to facilitate the approval of the document resulting from the Palermo Convention. In 1995, Brazil, Argentina, and Italy, at the IX United Nations Congress on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice in Cairo, sponsored projects in favor of international instruments that regulate procedures to combat organized crime (POLETTTO, 2019).

On one more occasion, Brazil actively participated since the embryonic stage of the issue, with tireless activism in defending international law, however, it stressed that it should not go beyond the limits of the legal understanding of each country. Brazil led the approval of the *Measures Resolution to regular firearms to fight illicit trafficking in firearms*, in addition to having previously been the protagonist of regional workshops that addressed the legalization of firearms in the American continent (POLETTTO, 2019).

Brazil also regulated the treaty for the Portuguese language with the understanding of Portuguese-speaking countries so that it would be possible to work from a single document with the cooperation of such countries. In 2004, Brazil was involved in *workshops* to publicize the new instrument in the fight against transnational organized crime, representing the Itamaraty's commitment to the Convention's treaties (POLETTTO, 2019).

Brazil assumes responsibility and concern for national and international security as one of the premises to achieve the well-being and development of its nation. The rule of law, democracy, human rights, and the economic and social development of Brazil, constitutionally affirmed, are linked to security issues.

5.2.1 Nuclear disarmament

In addition to the specific control of nuclear weapons, the arms control policy was adopted by the international community even before the outbreak of the first world war (1914-1918). At the Geneva Conference in 1864, he introduced the concept of humanitarian law in international matters, to mitigate the suffering of soldiers of defeated armies and alleviate the suffering of civilian populations that are affected by war conflicts, thus instituting the concept of war crimes and the conception that war must have limits (OLIVEIRA, 2021).

The Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 also rank as the first international treaties on war crimes and are the beginnings of the arms control concept, widely known in international law today. They were the first devices to institute mediation institutions for international conflicts, as well as limit weapons and war budgets (FONSECA, 1998).

However, the outcome of the First World War changed the logic of arms control policy, since, by the Treaty of Versailles, the winners of the war got together and based on the aforementioned treaty, determined the mandatory disarmament of Germany, defeated in the war. (FONSECA, 1998).

In the early 1930s, there was the Geneva Disarmament Conference, organized by the League of Nations, aimed to carry out disarmament, in response to the exacerbated militarization of global powers during the First World War, to prevent another war of such proportions. However, despite the commitment of all 31 nations involved in the Conference, none of them became demilitarized. Only after the tragedies and atrocities that occurred in World War II, among them the Holocaust and the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, did nations develop mechanisms that effectively curb the indiscriminate use of weapons (REGIOTA, 2015).

Initially, the processes aimed at controlling the use of weapons, with a special focus on nuclear weapons, had cooperative dimensions, since, in general, nations arm themselves to preserve national security and the inviolability of the territory. The UN Security Council

addressed the issue throughout the cold war, and this issue dominated the entire agenda during the duration of the geopolitical conflict (DUARTE, 2016).

In this context, in 1946, the UN created the *United Nations Atomic Energy Commission* (UNAEC), whose objective was: to guarantee to all member countries the benefits of technology for peaceful purposes; establish the need to develop mechanisms for the use of technology for peaceful purposes; establish the plan to eliminate all the world's nuclear arsenals; and finally, the implementation of inspection operations to prevent countries from violating the terms of the agreement (VAISSE, 2013).

The US government, chaired at the time by Henry S. Truman, was the strongest advocate of nuclear non-proliferation. As the possessor of the monopoly of the nuclear arsenal, the USA endeavored, especially during the first year of the “nuclear age”, to prevent other countries, especially the USSR, from gaining access to the technology, with due concern for the destructive power of nuclear weapons. , but also to guarantee its hegemonic position in the area (VAISSE, 2013).

To ensure the fulfillment of this objective, the US government presented the Baruch Plan to the UN in 1946, whose objective was the creation of international mechanisms to prevent the use of nuclear energy for war purposes and, therefore, proposed the creation of the *International Atomic Development Authority*, which would be an international authority that would control all stages of nuclear study and development, including the handling and limitation of raw material procurement (uranium-235 and plutonium-239). However, to be approved, the Baruch Plan required approval by a simple majority, in a vote and appreciation of the project, at the first meeting of UNAEC, which it did not obtain, due to restrictions imposed by representatives of other nations regarding certain topics of the Plan, in particular, regarding the acquisition and availability of radioactive raw material, which does not necessarily mean use for military purposes, and therefore, it was not approved (OLIVEIRA, 2021).

It is worth mentioning that Brazil also opposed the Baruch plan, for being extremely intransigent regarding the acquisition of radioactive raw material, because, for the Brazilian authorities, especially for the military authorities, it was important for the Brazilian State to disseminate knowledge. scientific knowledge, and at the time, scientific knowledge also encompassed research involving atomic materials (DUARTE, 2016). In addition, Brazil had a considerable reserve of radioactive ores and did not want to have an international agency controlling access to ores, in addition, the plan advocated political sanctions for countries that did not respect the terms of the Plan, however, this clause was seen by several

countries, including Brazil, as a cause of possible ambiguity, as it could harm research involving radioactive miners for peaceful and scientific purposes (WROBEL, 1986).

The USSR was the biggest opponent of US ambitions in this sense, as it positioned itself as a political and geopolitical rival of the US, and therefore, actions that benefited the Americans would harm some Soviet interests, and for that reason, the USSR voted and positioned itself against all plans and suggestions coming from the USA. The biggest point of disagreement between the powers was the transfer of authority over nuclear matters to an international body, which from the beginning the US would try to influence in its favor (STUENKEL, 2010).

To counter the US proposal that could threaten the sovereignty of States, the USSR launched the Gromyko plan, which proposed the immediate destruction of all existing nuclear weapons and the outlawing of atomic bombs and similar nuclear arsenals. However, the plan presented by the Soviet Prime Minister of Foreign Affairs, Andrei Gromyko, was not accepted by the Americans, since they had no intention of destroying their nuclear weapons, but of prohibiting the existence of new countries that possess the technology. (VAISSE, 2013).

However, the US government saw the possession of a nuclear arsenal as security for sovereignty and national security, in the face of several disputes and annoyances with the Soviet government, in addition to the presence of the Red Army in various parts of Europe, which could threaten both physically and the American country, as its interests in Europe. The differences between the powers made it impossible to reach a non-proliferation treaty, as both nations had large zones of influence, and their supporting countries voted according to the supported power, causing the immediate failure of any plan supported by one of the powers. (VAISSE, 2013).

The US nuclear hegemony was broken in 1949, after the explosion of the experimental Soviet bomb in Kazakhstan, whose success granted the USSR the status of nuclear power, which for the US was something of extreme gravity, as it would necessarily imply the expansion of its arsenal. nuclear power, to surpass the Soviets qualitatively and quantitatively. The American government was even suggested by its scientists and even considered the option of manufacturing a bomb with thermonuclear energy or “hydrogen” that would be many times superior to the recently won Soviet bomb, raising the level of the military dispute and regaining hegemony (FIGLINO, 2015).

The “superbomb” plan was forgotten in the face of the impossibility of manufacturing it, and the dispute between the powers was guided by the maintenance of military

equivalence since the possession of more weapons would mean greater destruction capacity, which would change the global scenario. The USSR followed the construction of its bomb, which was ready in 1953, but it was smaller, lighter, and more powerful than the American bomb that destroyed Japanese cities (VAISSE, 2013).

The elevation of the Soviet status to nuclear power altered the US posture and discourse in the international negotiation on non-proliferation. If, until then, the USA sought hegemony, being the only holder of a nuclear bomb, it began to seek conciliation, as it had to adapt to the fact that another power had the same arsenal, ending the hegemony that began at the end of World War II (FIGLINO, 2015).

The UN Atomic Energy Commission was dissolved in 1952 and gave way to the Disarmament Commission, which would cover all matters about international arms control policy, including multilateral negotiations on nuclear matters. At that moment, the United Kingdom developed a nuclear bomb and became the third nation to have a nuclear arsenal, which pointed to the urgency of controlling access to technology and the immediate signing of a non-proliferation treaty, as several countries were or wanted to develop in the field of nuclear technology, and if the manufacture of the most powerful bombs in the world were public knowledge, the replication of such weapons would only be a matter of engineering and would facilitate the obtaining of the bomb by terrorist groups and dictatorships. that could attempt against the global order and world security (DUARTE, 2016).

In 1953, US President Dwight D. Eisenhower delivered a speech considered historic about peace in the nuclear and cold war context, in which he committed himself to peace:

The atomic energy agency could be made responsible for the impounding, storage, and protection of the contributed fissionable and other materials. The ingenuity of our scientists will provide special safe conditions under which such a bank of fissionable material can be made essentially immune to surprise seizures. The more important responsibility of this atomic energy agency would be to devise methods whereby this fissionable material would be allocated to serve the peaceful pursuits of mankind. Experts would be mobilized to apply atomic energy to the needs of agriculture, medicine, and other peaceful activities. A special-purpose would be to provide abundant electrical energy in the power-starved areas of the world (IAEA, 1953).

At the same time, the US president proposes the plan “atoms for peace” that determined nuclear cooperation between sovereign nations for peaceful purposes, provided that the nations accepted the implementation of an international control system, and represented a consensus between previously antagonistic discourses: access to nuclear

technology for peaceful purposes and the concern with restricting access to nuclear technologies and raw materials (FIGLINO, 2015).

Because of this speech, meant a change in the North American posture, and culminated in the creation of the International Atomic Energy Agency (International Atomic Energy Agency). Atomic Energy Agency - IAEA), after debates during 1954 and 1955, until its official creation in 1957. Despite the USSR's refusal to release part of its fissile material for non-military purposes under international administration, it did not oppose the creation of the IAEA (DUARTE, 2016).

Given this context of initial understanding between the powers on the nuclear issue, in 1955 the Geneva Summit took place, in Switzerland, which debated relevant issues on nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, in a debate that brought together scientists and technicians from different areas of study. to debate the possible uses of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, becoming a major milestone in scientific history, as it was the first intercontinental and intergovernmental conference to debate issues relevant to the scientific development of new technology (OLIVEIRA, 2021).

Several nations showed interest in participating in the development of nuclear technology in their country, especially for the generation of electricity, which led to the officialization of the International Atomic Energy Agency later. Despite the open dialogue on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and its possibilities, the technologies involving the enrichment of uranium remained secret, as they serve exclusively for fissile raw material, at least at the time, since, currently, enriched uranium-235 is used for several functions, as highlighted by INB (INB, 2020).

After the Geneva Summit, the most developed nations in the nuclear issue debated the creation of control mechanisms for the first time in history in 1956. The following year, the IAEA is founded to encourage research, practical applications, and the development of energy. nuclear weapons for non-military purposes, in addition to managing and establishing criteria for safeguarding international deposits of nuclear raw materials (VAISSE, 2013).

At the time of formation of the IAEA, its statute was stipulated, whose objective is to determine and detail the questions involving the means of functioning of the agency, the privileges of the members of the agency in each country, the international cooperation to fulfill the objectives of the agenda, general provisions, the parameters for peaceful research involving fissile materials, as well as the suspension of the privilege of countries in the face of breach of norms and the ways of resolving disputes between nations:

Any matter of dispute concerning the interpretation or application involving this Statute, which has not been resolved through negotiation, is referred to the International Court of Justice, following the Statute of that Court, unless the interested parties agree otherwise. solution mode (BRASIL, 1956, p.652).

Thus, the first legal provision that determines an international regime in nuclear matters was instituted. The foundation of the agency showed the interest of States in creating specific mechanisms that prevent the proliferation and dissemination of nuclear technology for military purposes, and it was considered a victory from the diplomatic point of view since at least there was some legal provision that regulated the issue, even that did not specifically address the countries that already had nuclear bombs, namely the USA, the UK, and the USSR:

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1504 adopted in 2004 stated, inter alia, that the proliferation of nuclear weapons constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. Given the presence on the Council, as permanent members with the right of veto, of the five possessors of nuclear weapons recognized by the NPT, it is extremely unlikely that that body will ever declare that the existence of these weapons constitutes an even more significant threat. From the physical proliferation of the 1960s, the world moved to the geographic proliferation of the 1980s and then to the technological proliferation of today. It is estimated that there are around 16,000 nuclear weapons around the world, in addition to their vectors (missiles, bombers, and submarines). Undoubtedly, this is a considerable reduction from the approximately 70,000 that were believed to exist at the height of the Cold War (DUARTE, 2016, p.97)

The agency and its regulations particularly benefited those countries that already had nuclear technology, because, in addition to not touching on the issue of denuclearization of their arsenal, it prevented other countries from reaching the same level. This was beneficial, especially for the US, which had this objective from the beginning, to prevent others from owning what it already has.

Despite the resistance of countries that already have nuclear weapons, the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons remains firm in international negotiations, with the active participation of Brazil with Ireland, Austria, South Africa, Nigeria, and Mexico:

Despite the resistance of nuclear-armed countries, it was possible to adopt a treaty that reflects the historical and largely majority aspiration of the international community to ban the existence of these weapons. In addition, the new treaty constitutes an important complement to Article 6 of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), which established the obligation of nuclear disarmament (FERREIRA, 2017, p. 11).

It is noted that Brazil, even in contemporary times, fights for the equality of countries and social justice in the face of the great powers that can exercise their military and/or

economic superiority so that developing countries are in an unfavorable situation in the face of international negotiations. The progress of the Treaty is a victory for the UN and multilateralism.

5.2.2 Engagement in Peace Missions

For 50 years, numerous Brazilian military and civilian actors participated in peace missions promoted by the UN. In all, 55,000 soldiers, civilians, and police were engaged in the commitment to resolving international conflicts, increasing Brazil's commitment to UNSC actions, in 71 operations promoted by the United Nations Assembly and the UNSC since 1945 (BRAGA; COSTA FILHO; ALVES, 2020).

In 1947, Brazil participated in the first peace mission approved by the UN Assembly and in the first mission with troops, UNEF-I, approved by the UNSC in 1956. In 1965, the Special Operations Committee was created. of Peacekeeping, in which Brazil participated as a founding member.

After the end of the Cold War, peace missions became more strategic, sending troops to continents where there was greater political, cultural, and historical affinity. Brazil carried out missions in Angola, Timor-Leste, and Mozambique, and in Mozambique, General Lélío Rodrigues da Silva was the first Brazilian to hold a command position in UN peacekeeping missions, as well as, in East Timor, Sérgio Vieira de Melo was the civilian commander of the UN administration during the mission (BRAGA; COSTA FILHO; ALVES, 2020).

For the stabilization in Haiti (MINUSTAH), between the years 2004 and 2017, they demonstrated the great engagement of Brazil in the peace missions, because, during the long period of the intervention, there was the tactical use of force, humanitarian missions, a large Brazilian contingent in the operations and uninterrupted military command, which made Brazil reflect on actions that promote Haitian socioeconomic development, debating with the UNSC and the Group of Friends of Haiti:

The joint contribution of diplomacy and the Brazilian Armed Forces to MINUSTAH created its brand for the country's participation in peace missions that is not limited to strictly military activities but also aim to create the necessary conditions for the political solution of the conflict, contributing to the conceptual interface between peacekeeping and peacebuilding (BRAGA; COSTA FILHO; ALVES, 2020, p.20).

The mission in Haiti demonstrated other aspects necessary for peacekeeping actions, providing an opportunity for greater development and training of the Brazilian

military, which has become a reference in training for peace missions. Brazil thus became recognized as a provider of training and capabilities to act in peace missions.

It is noteworthy, however, that, currently, peace missions are marked by greater pressures and budget cuts, in addition to more complex situations, of greater risk, weighing on an increasing limitation of human and material resources, which can result in losses of performance and contingent of Brazil for the missions (BRAGA; COSTA FILHO; ALVES, 2020).

In Libya, the peace mission called United Nations Interim Forces in Lebanon (UNIFIL) was established in 1978, with a marine force (MTF) since 2006 by the countries of the NATO treaty. In 2011, Brazil was invited to join the mission and command of FTM-UNIFIL. More than 3,600 Brazilian military personnel, Brazilian ships, and helicopters were thus involved in training the Lebanese navy and strategic intervention. Brazil's participation ended in 2020 due to considerations by the Brazilian Navy on logistical and operational factors that were inferring national defense policies.

After the end of such missions, Brazil temporarily stopped contributing troops to the peace mission. If between 2015 and 2016 Brazil had between 1,500 and 1,500 soldiers in contingents, between 2017 and 2020 this number did not exceed 500. 57 military personnel on individual UN missions, while the number of observers has remained stable since 2015 (BRAGA; COSTA FILHO; ALVES, 2020).

The Brazilian engagement in peace missions, expressed mainly in the operations of MINUSTAH and UNIFIL, made it a trainer and trainer, also, of other nations, which consolidates Brazil as a major contributor in capabilities. This engagement in training and capabilities was demonstrated by the deployment of mobile troops in the peace mission carried out in Congo (United Nations Stabilization Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo - MONUSCO) in 2019, with eleven soldiers from the Brazilian Army, one from the Air Force and one from the Navy.

By training the contingent from South Africa, Malawi, and Tanzania, Brazil carries out training for jungle operations so that actions are effective against the operations of local armed groups, such as the *Allied Democratic Forces* (ADF), as such groups take refuge and act in the jungle. In this way, it is only possible to succeed in the peace mission designed for Congo, if the contingent of soldiers sent by the UN has the strategic capacity to act in different terrains and conditions, including the jungle (BRAGA; COSTA FILHO; ALVES, 2020).

The military personnel involved in the MONUSCO mission have General Staff status, however, their permanence may be threatened by the exchange of the Brazilian general for one of another nationality, despite the excellent performance he has shown in the mission. Also worth mentioning is the Triangular Partnership Project (PPT) for better execution of peace missions, whose engagement by Brazil, annually welcoming African soldiers to the Construction Engineering Instruction Center and sending Brazilian soldiers to train soldiers in Africa, has contributed to the success of the PPT.

The election of Brazil as a member of the Security Council in the 2022-2023 biennium expands the possibilities of acting both in peacekeeping operations as a contributor of uniformed personnel, as a provider of training and capacity, and in the leadership of diplomatic mediations for conflict resolution international.

5.3 The UN Reform

Brazil has always been involved in claims in multilateral relations, however, as an original member of the UN, it must comply with the determinations made in Conventions and expressed in the UN Charter representing the actions of its organs and member countries, so that the legal effects are binding. to Brazilian law (MARQUES; RAPOSO, 2019).

sovereignist perspective, there are some hypotheses for Brazil to prevent itself from complying with the UN's international determinations. In this sense, Marques and Raposo (2019) state that the hypotheses raised for such a situation is the unavailability of goods, rejection of sending military troops to peace operations, and the unconstitutionality of the executive decree. However, it should be noted that failure to comply with one of the UN's determinations has negative consequences for the State, since, in international law, there would be several violations: “[...] the UNSC resolution in question; article 25 of the UN Charter; Article 27 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties²; the principle of *pacta sunt servanda*. Possibly, the State violating UNSC resolutions would be subject to retaliation, sanctions and, at the limit, international political isolation” (MARQUES; RAPOSO, 2019, p.40-41).

At this point, one of the strong arguments involved the practice of democracy, as Amorim and Lula emphasized that the UN taught and defended democracy for all countries, so it should also adhere to this system for the International Security Council. demonstrating

to developing countries that their participation had representative support through the democratic channels of the political forums that were part of the UN.

Peace, social justice, and social justice began to be thought of together, to make the Council more representative on the world stage, as well as, more effectively, in expanding its ways of combating global security problems such as the trafficking of drugs and weapons, terrorism, the proliferation of weapons and mass destruction, as well as acting more effectively in conflict regions, such as the Middle East (BRASIL, 2007).

In 2006, Lula da Silva, in a speech, criticized the use of the veto, which, for him, played a futile role most of the time:

Brazil defends that each veto is subject to explanation. The country that vetoes an initiative must assume full moral responsibility for the action. Another idea would be to interpret the UN Charter to allow permanent members of the Council to give a negative vote, without this necessarily implying vetoing a draft resolution (BRASIL, 2007, p.198).

In the same year, Amorim recalls the achievements of Ruy Barbosa, who, as seen before, achieved great achievements in the insertion of Brazil into international conflict mediation bodies, fighting for national sovereignty and equality between countries. Amorim questioned whether it was possible to reconcile the resolution of emerging issues, such as world peace and security, with the ideas of democracy. He, therefore, appealed that the UN could be maintained by the balance between the effectiveness of equality between countries and the effectiveness in the resolution of conflicts, guaranteeing international peace.

The group of 4 (G-4) positioned themselves in favor of the necessary reforms of the Security Council and the UN for the expansion of permanent and non-permanent categories in which developed and developing countries participate through a new method of work, more improved (BRAZIL, 2007).

In 2005, Celso Amorim spoke about the interventions in Haiti, stating that the actions carried out were aimed at maintaining order and security, promoting economic and social development, and restoring political dialogue for national strengthening:

The involvement of Brazil, as well as other Latin American countries, in Haiti, is unprecedented in terms of both the presence of military personnel and political articulation. We are encouraged by three main objectives: 1) the creation of a security environment; 2) the promotion of dialogue between political forces, with a view to a true democratic transition; and 3) effective international support for the social and economic reconstruction of Haiti (BRASIL, 2007, p.203).

Brazil, in that context, was responsible for commanding the troops at the UN to promote conciliation in Haiti. Amorim stated that in the Brazilian view, the problem in Haiti permeated a lot of the issues of restoration of order, of national security, as hunger, misery, social injustices, and structural failures of the State that affected the population had been verified:

Today, the United Nations sees its structural reform as an unavoidable problem, considering that, after almost seventy years of existence, an update of its structure has become fundamental and has been stimulated by the transformations in the global political and economic order (SADENBERG, 2007, p.97).

In this perspective, Brazil defends not only military intervention, but the action of the international community to guarantee the means that can make the peace achieved lasting. Acting on the principles of democracy and respect for Human Rights, means are created for the economic and social recovery of the affected nation.

The UN's perspective for the future is to keep acting beyond the resolution of conflicts, attending to humanitarian issues, issues of care for children, women, and the elderly that have been incorporated into the agenda of the Security Council, and policies that guarantee the respect for Human Rights, as well as conflict resolution and sanctions.

5.4 Contemporary Agendas and Conflicts

In 2010, Brazil favored the recognition of the State of Palestine, in a consequent understanding between the nations that resulted from Brazil's intervention in the Israeli conflict. Fávero and Pinheiro (2016) explain that the Palestinian president's request for Brazil's recognition of the State of Palestine is an indication of the great influence that Brazil exerts on Latin American countries, since, in the letter written by the Palestinian president, he stated that Brazil's attitude would be an example, encouraging other countries:

There was, in South and Latin America, apparently, a political disposition towards recognition. After the Brazilian recognition, Argentina followed, five days later. In the same month of December 2010, Bolivia and Ecuador would formally recognize Palestine. In January 2011, it was the turn of Chile, Guyana, and Peru to make the same decision. In February, Suriname granted political recognition to Palestine and, in March, Paraguay, which had already maintained diplomatic relations with the Palestinian National Authority since 2005, reiterated its political recognition. Currently, Colombia is the only South American country that does not recognize the State of Palestine (FÁVERO; PINHEIRO, 2016).

Thus, it can be noted that Brazil's attitude influenced the decision-making of the other Latin American countries that recognized the State of Palestine. Minister Aloysio Ferreira declared about Brazil's relationship with Israel:

What we want is peace and prosperity for Israel, an objective that largely depends on a definitive political solution to the conflict in the region. This explains our defense of the two-state solution (Israel and Palestine) living together in peace and security, on internationally recognized and mutually agreed borders, based on international law. And it is also for this reason that we do not shy away from condemning indiscriminate violence and terrorist acts, whatever the motivations. At Itamaraty, we are proud of the heroic acts of the only Brazilians “fair among the nations”, both members of the Brazilian Foreign Service: Luiz Martins de Souza Dantas and Aracy Guimarães Rosa. The two disregarded superior instructions to support the flight of Jews from Europe, putting their duty to humanity above convenience. These examples of courage today inspire Brazilian efforts to overcome true anti-Semitism, which must be fought with the weapons of tolerance, dialogue, and justice (FERREIRA, 2017, p. 152).

This declaration demonstrates that Brazil currently seeks peace, as well as justice to encompass the original inspirations of democracy and the promotion of world peace in combating situations that may infer national security or the full development of peoples.

Pontes (2018) states that the Security Council must act quickly and effectively in the context of the UN which, while preaching equality between nations, establishes the P-5 highlighting the hegemonic powers of the international scenario. After the end of the Cold War, more meetings of the United Nations Security Council – UNSC were held, with 433 being registered in 2017 alone.

Another relevant transformation was the consultation of texts previously prepared to serve as input to interventions, however, discussions of emerging themes usually begin with the P-5 or P-3, with the elected members being included only on the eve of the execution of the proposal. so that disagreements are mitigated, as well as not to enter into disagreements with countries that enjoy the right to veto:

The increase in the number of meetings results from the fact that the UNSC has become more active, being increasingly involved in peacekeeping operations and negotiation between parties to the conflict, including under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Their peacekeeping operations have changed their profile and today are more about civil wars than interstate conflicts, becoming multidimensional (HULTON, 2004, p. 240). The diversity of issues handled requires the UNSC to interact much more with different types of actors inside and outside the UN. The agency is currently dedicated to complex situations involving counterterrorism and to new phenomena such as maritime piracy; imposition of sanctions on individuals and entities; thematic discussions on cross-cutting issues (such as women, peace and security, and children in armed conflict); as well as monitoring peacebuilding activities in post-conflict situations. This results in a more intense workload and a complex and challenging work schedule (PONTES, 2018, p. 204).

Another finding of the UNSC is legislative inflation and the increase in adored resolutions, given the various activities that the Council has been carrying out. As for the issues involving the use of force and sanctions, there are differences between the Member States:

Brazil has been one of the most emphatic countries in the defense of greater regulation and monitoring of the process of implementation of resolutions that provide for the use of force. In addition to having launched the concept of “responsibility to protect” shortly after the military intervention in Libya⁵, he proposed, on different occasions, based on the experience of peacekeeping operations, the establishment of review clauses 4 UNITED NATIONS. A vital and enduring commitment: implementing the responsibility to protect: report of the Secretary-General. Document S/2015/500, July 13, 2015, p. 13. 5 For more details on the initiative, cf. TOURINHO, STUENKEL and BROCKMEIER, 2015, p. 134-150. 207 Cadernos de Política Exterior (sunset clauses), the presentation of periodic reports and briefings to the -member states, as well as the creation of monitoring mechanisms by experts, in the model that already exists in the sanctions committees. The essential thing is that the UNSC and the member states are kept sufficiently informed about the military actions carried out on their behalf, including assessing the proportionality of the use of force and the best moment to conclude the intervention. In the words of the then permanent representative of Brazil to the UN, Ambassador Antonio Patriota, these mechanisms could contribute to reducing “selectivity” and “inconsistency” in the use of force under the pretext of protecting civilians (PONTES, 2018, p. 206-). 7).

Here, it is understood that Brazil's efforts are in the maintenance of justice and equity between countries.

5.4.1 Conflict in Lebanon

The Arab Spring, whose starting point took place in December 2010, after the suicide of a Tunisian trader who, considering himself wronged and powerless to have his goods confiscated by the Tunisian authorities, who intended to extort him to return his goods, set fire to his own body in protest against the arbitrariness of the country's authorities. This act was widely publicized and triggered a series of protests across the country that culminated in the fall of the then president, Ben Ali (LEME, 2015).

The Tunisian leader received the support and solidarity of the Lebanese leader Muammar Al Gaddafi (Gaddafi) while on the same day, rumors of protests in Lebanese territory began to disrupt social life in the country. A month after the fall of Tunisian President Hosni Mubarak, the Egyptian leader voluntarily leaves power after massive protests in the

Egyptian capital Cairo. The echoes of the Egyptian demonstrations erupted in other countries in the region, the protest of the populations against their leaders (LEME, 2015).

In mid-February, unrest invaded Libyan territory, starting in Benghazi, the country's capital, and quickly spreading to several cities, which were harshly repressed by Lebanese government forces, claiming dozens of victims in a few days of protests. Faced with the Lebanese crisis, the UN intervenes in the matter, reiterating to the leader Gaddafi, the importance of the human and individual rights of the population and the need to respect them. Faced with this, the son of the Lebanese president, Seif al-Islam, pronounces on national television, declaring the organizers of the protests as enemies of Libya, radical Muslims who obtained support from Arab media vehicles to distort the facts and aimed to carry out in Libya the same agitation that caused the fall of the leaders in Egypt. and Tunisia. On the occasion, al-Islam declared its intention to make changes to the legislation and, if possible, enact a new constitution, guaranteeing the government the possibility of containing and repressing the protesters within the law (LEME, 2015).

In response to the actions of the Lebanese government, the UN, through its Council and Human Rights, passed resolution S-15/14, which recommended the suspension of Libya from the HRC, in the face of the brutal and massive attack on the human rights of the Lebanese population. , and then the UNSC – Security Council of the United Nations approved the 1970 resolution, called “Paz y Seguridad in Africa ”, which advocated sanctions against the Lebanese government, making explicit the actions that should be taken by the Gaddafi government to get rid of the sanctions, and possibly regain its seat in the HRC:

Insistence on compliance with the legitimate claims of the Libyan people; - Encourage the Libyan authorities to act with the utmost caution, respect human rights and international humanitarian law, and authorize human rights monitors; - Guarantee the security of foreigners wishing to leave the country and ask all UN members for cooperation; - Ensuring the work of humanitarian agencies and the provision of medicines (VAN AGGELEN, 2011, p. 247).

The Libyan regime would also suffer from the following sanctions: freezing of international assets; arms embargo; travel ban, among others. It is worth mentioning that in the month in which Resolution 1970 was unanimously approved by the UNSC, Brazil presided over the council and acted satisfactorily to speed up the process (LEME, 2015).

The following month, the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, known as Itamaraty, released a press release declaring the Brazilian government's solidarity with the Lebanese

population, declaring the people's aspirations to participate more actively in politics as fair, and support for the decision. of the HRC to suspend Libya's participation in the face of the atrocities committed by the government (LEME, 2015).

The international commotion did not generate the expected results in the Gaddafi government, and the possibility of creating a no-fly zone in Libya was discussed at the UN, which was supported by the League of Arab States, the entity representing the Arab countries at the UN, as well as the possibility of military intervention to protect citizens (LEME, 2015).

Sectors of the media and public opinion in Western countries were against military intervention, especially because they saw hypocrisy in the speech of the powers, because Western countries did business, involving trade in war materials with Gaddafi in the past, and the recent intention of intervention was considered as a contradiction, and due to the anti-imperialist and anti-Western vision of several Arab countries, the intervention could guarantee allies to Gaddafi (LEME, 2015).

In this context, the US defends the use of all necessary means to protect the population and remove Gaddafi and changed the course of the debate, which was mainly guided by the exclusion of airspace. The US proposal had the support of its allies and the abstention of relevant countries in the Security Council, including Brazil, which allowed the approval of Resolution 1973 "La situación en Libya", which took place on March 17, 2011, and followed the same premise as Resolution 1970, except for a few points, such as the Council's condemnation of violence and intimidation against journalists, doctors, requesting compliance with the parameters of law humanitarian international; creation of the exclusion zone and:

Disapproval of the continued use of mercenaries and request that all states comply with their obligations under paragraph 9 of resolution 1970; - Demands, once again, that the authorities fulfill their obligations, by international law, international humanitarian law, such as human rights and refugee law, so that all civilians are protected and provided with humanitarian assistance (VON AGGELEN, 2011, p. 248).

The Resolution also exalts the Council's responsibility to protect, seeking to counteract the idea of interference and contradiction of Western countries, with the primary responsibility to protect citizens and found precedents in international law and concepts defended by the UN in past decades, such as the of "sovereignty as responsibility" (LEME, 2015).

Anyway, for critics of the interference and intervention, it was a maneuver to invade countries that were not following international dictates, in which the humanitarian issue was used as a pretext.

The question of intervention and the right to intervene to protect populations were widely debated in the coming months, with broad support from hegemonic nations and their allies, but encountering resistance from some countries, which believed that the intention was more than humanitarian aid. This was the case of Brazil, which, through the Committee on Foreign Affairs and National Defense of the Federal Senate, declared itself against the intervention, and that the concept of protecting the Lebanese population “by any means necessary” goes beyond the initial scope of diplomacy, alerting to the possibility of chaos, territorial fragmentation, and escalation of violence, if a coalition force was formed to remove the leader, who, in the face of violations of human and individual rights, was called a dictator (LEME, 2015).

The document states that the countries that advocated for intervention, including the USA, the United Kingdom, and France, held several meetings debating the issue among themselves, with the participation of other countries. The possibility of arming Lebanese rebels for the fight against Gaddafi was debated, which was widely controversial, both within the Security Council and in national parliaments. The idea was to arm the insurgents to provide ground support if NATO bombers and planes invaded Libya, however opposing arguments argued that the weapons could be misappropriated to Islamic rebels such as Al-Qaeda and serve other purposes, not only the protection of the Lebanese. Lebanese possession of fossil energy resources was also seen as a factor of great importance to those opposed to the invasion. Anyway, the insurgents were armed by Qatar and the USA (LEME, 2015).

Still, Gaddafi represented a certain threat to oil companies that operated in Libyan territory, by constantly imposing arbitrary fees, tariffs, and taxes. The Libyan dictator was hunted down by rebels, and spent two months in hiding, until he was captured and killed in October 2011. In March of the following year, the UN Commission of Inquiry issued a report declaring that to fight the demonstrations and the insurgents, Gaddafi violated various human rights and committed war crimes. Likewise, forces opposed to the dictator also committed crimes and violated rights during the fighting. A transitional government was established in the country, which was also accused of not fighting war crimes and not arresting those responsible (LEME, 2015).

Muammar Al-Gaddafi's regime ended, and debates began on ways of intervening in international conflicts. For, the success of the interveners in proceeding at any cost, and arming the insurgents, highlighted a serious problem in the multilateral peace and security mechanism since the concept of "by any means" and the arming of local rivals for the benefit of the coalition forces also created negative effects (LEME, 2015).

After the end of the conflict involving the "Arab Spring", Brazil maintained its position of non-intervention and criticized the interventionist coalition, the resolution by military means, and the use of violence to stop the violation of human rights. For Brazil, through its Foreign Minister in an interview with *Folha de São Paulo*, Antônio de Aguiar Patriota opposes the concept of imposing violence and coercion to guarantee democracy and human rights in the world (LEME, 2015).

Later, President Rousseff, in a speech at the United Nations General Assembly, reiterated the content of the minister's interview with *Folha* and defended the need for local populations to participate in the conduct of their freedom process, repudiating actions that victimize civilian populations and constant use of force in international mediation, since such a resource should only be used when all other instances have been exhausted (LEME, 2015).

In Rousseff's words, the concept of "responsibility to protect", widely debated during the Arab Spring, is broadened to include the concept of "responsibility to protect", that is, not abdicating the concepts already established in international law and diplomacy to protect the populations of threats to the democratic order, at any cost.

The Brazilian position defended by the representative at the UN General Assembly generated positive repercussions, and the concept of responsibility to protect was incorporated into conflict mediation actions and seen by Washington as a way to reestablish the credibility of the concept of "responsibility to protect" that had eroded in the face of the controversy surrounding the action of the international community during the Arab Spring (LEME, 2015).

5.4.2 The Syrian War

The war in Syria, which began in 2011, is one of the most intense and lethal battlegrounds in the world, and the conflict has soldiers and fighters of different nationalities and independent armed groups, causing a huge escalation of violence and destroying the people. Syrian. Syria is a country located in the western region of Asia, and its population is

home to several ethnicities and religions, such as Kurds, Christians, Muslims, Sunnis and Shiites, and Palestinians, in addition to other communities (PINHEIRO, 2015).

The war, which began in 2011, but continues to this day, albeit with a new dynamic, begins with ISIS (Islamic State), Jabhat -al- Nusra (Al Nusra Front), and the Syrian government, in which both groups Islamists qualified as terrorist organizations by most countries in the world, seek the occupation and control of the territory, carrying out attacks especially in the east of the country, in strategic regions, such as Idlib and Homs. In addition, several other armed groups with different intentions emerged, which considerably reduced the government's ability to fight on multiple fronts, and all of them faced numerous well-armed enemies. For this reason, the Syrian government chose to defend strategic positions, such as the capital Damascus, coastal provinces, and provinces bordering Lebanon (PINHEIRO, 2015).

Anti-government armed groups such as Ahrar Al-Sham and the FSA (Free Syrian Army) are simultaneously fighting government forces and Islamic groups and have won important victories against both, taking control of Aleppo and adjacent cities.

In the diplomatic field, despite the difficulty in resolving conflicts exclusively through diplomatic channels, the UN sent a representative to dialogue with the belligerents and local actors, to assess their demands and views with a view to a political resolution and presented a document to the UN, which aims to initiate dialogue between the parties, with international mediation.

The author states that all the protagonists of the war are violating the civil and human rights of the population, however, by controlling the airspace, the legal apparatus, and firepower superior to that of its enemies, the government of Damascus is the actor that most infringes on human rights, with arbitrary arrests, disappearance of anti-government civilians, bombers in demilitarized areas controlled by their opponents, as well as indiscriminate attacks against civilian populations (PINHEIRO, 2015).

Several countries in the international community have become belligerents of the conflict, making it international, and deepening its complexity. The author states that the war in Syria demonstrates the failure of diplomacy because at the same time that several Western powers are involved in the conflict through military means, they defend the need for a resolution through diplomatic channels. The entry of external actors financing, arming, and offering a military contingent to different sides of the conflict, caused an escalation of violence, in a conflict that in 2015, the date of writing of the text, did not present favorites to victory. Currently, the Syrian government holds approximately 66% of the territory, and the

anti-government rebels own another part, while the Islamic rebels have been defeated (PINHEIRO, 2015).

The author defends the need to take the issue to the ICC (International Criminal Court), to which Brazil is a signatory, however, there were political complications, such as impasses between the permanent members of the UN Security Council, which prevented the issue from being taken to the light of international justice.

The Itamaraty's position on the issue of the war in Syria is to defend the Arab League's plan to condemn human rights violations by the government and to remove Bashar Al-Assad, in addition to advocating for a ceasefire, so that both current belligerents can seek a solution through political and diplomatic channels (LUCENA, 2017).

5.4.3 New perspectives for PEB

In a speech, Aloysio Nunes Ferreira, 2017, expressed pride in Brazil's performance in international affairs in recent years and emphasized the implementation of a more dynamic and competitive foreign policy that would have a greater impact on Brazil on the world stage. Among the most prominent agendas is the promotion of cultural and political integration actions between Latin American countries, as well as the dedication to the peaceful resolution of international conflicts, the defense of Human Rights, and the fight against the illegal use of nuclear energy:

The defense of multilateralism and participation in major international decisions are of the highest interest to Brazil. In times of turmoil, we must be part of the solution to the problems that affect the international community. We need to advance our interests and promote Brazilian values on the various international boards (FERREIRA, 2017, p.18-19).

Thus, it can be noted that Brazil strives to maintain its position on matters of international relevance, understanding that such matters have a regional impact so that multilateral relations allow space for the sharing of Brazilian values and beliefs.

In 2015, Brazil played a leading role in the elaboration of the Paris Agreement on Climate Change, as well as Brazil's performance was essential for the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons at the 72nd General Assembly of the United Nations. For Brazil, more than challenges, globalization represents opportunities.

On the agenda, the crisis in which Venezuela is sinking is being the target of the diplomatic concerns of Brazil, which sought a way out in the international community so that

the Venezuelan people could overcome this political and economic crisis. Another concern is the conflicts in Syria, which, like Venezuela, Brazil is attentive to what has happened to anticipate diplomatic and peaceful solutions for the territorial preservation of Syria (FERREIRA, 2017).

Brazil's principle is the development of its people, therefore, global peace becomes an essential value. Therefore, Brazil seeks to remain active in multilateral relations so that it can disseminate its tradition and values in the effectiveness of conflict resolution, seeking to expand democratic and social justice means for the nations that are involved in global relations mediated by the UN.

CONCLUSION

The work had as its first specific objective to understand the concept and history of conflict mediation at the international level. It was understood that conflicts are part of the relations of nations since ancient times, in this context war was a practice used to resolve disputes between adverse interests, however, peaceful means of conflict resolution were present in the culture of several countries. In the modern age, the first steps were taken toward the regulation and legal recognition of the practice of mediation, however, it was in the 20th century that the agreements for the consolidation of peace between countries and the peaceful means of conflict resolution were consolidated.

The Hague Convention held in 1899 and 1907 was the main starting point that put on the agenda the importance of establishing multilateral relations that would forge mechanisms for conflict resolution and pacification, as well as acting collaboratively to discuss various issues that affected the nations. The second specific objective of the work was to describe the creation and relevance of the UN for the resolution of international conflicts.

The United Nations was created in 1945 by 51 founding countries that signed a partnership for the consolidation of world peace, after experiencing the traumatic experiences of the First and Second World War. To regulate its actions, the Security Council was created by the Charter of the United Nations, with 5 permanent members and 5 more elective members who rotated annually.

The United Nations currently comprises 193 nations that debate solutions beyond the maintenance of security and world peace, but also for economic and social development, environmental preservation, human rights, and social justice. Peace missions are the Security Council's means of intervention to resolve conflicts and restore order, as well as the practice of mediation and sanctions.

Responding to the third specific objective, it is noted that Brazil, during its colonial and imperial period, was the protagonist of several conflicts with neighboring countries and international diplomatic disagreements, requiring mediators for the solution and reestablishment of order. However, since its first participation in the context of multilateral relations, in the Hague Convention, it has shown itself to be engaged in international issues, demanding equality between countries and space for its voice to be heard before the great powers that participate in the UN. Brazil is one of the founding countries of the UN, being

present as an elective member of the Security Council since its creation, as well as participating in peace missions since the beginning.

His committed performance and lucidity of claims before the UN and the UNSC demonstrate the high diplomatic level that at the same time respects international law and fights for the realization of the UN as a legitimate body of international action, and defends its sovereignty and autonomy of actions for the development of your nation.

REFLECTION

The work allowed us to reflect on the trajectory of Brazil in the United Nations, understanding that despite coming from a historical past of internal and external conflicts, it has shown itself to be engaged and competent in multilateral relations for the maintenance of world peace, playing an important role for the quality of the actions of the UN and the UNSC, so that it still struggles to be recognized claiming a permanent place in the Council so that it can carry out greater actions that can achieve more aspects of its ideas of egalitarian development and maintenance of security together with the assumptions of the humanitarian-development and social justice.

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