

v. 10 • n. 19 • Dec. 2013
Biannual
English Edition

FOREIGN POLICY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

- **David Petrsek**
New Powers, New Approaches? Human Rights Diplomacy in the 21st Century
 - **Adriana Erthal Abdenur and Danilo Marcondes de Souza Neto**
Brazil's Development Cooperation with Africa:
What Role for Democracy and Human Rights
 - **Carlos Cerda Dueñas**
Incorporating International Human Rights Standards in the Wake of the 2011
Reform of the Mexican Constitution: Progress and Limitations
 - **Elisa Mara Coimbra**
Inter-American System of Human Rights:
Challenges to Compliance with the Court's Decisions in Brazil
 - **Conor Foley**
The Evolving Legitimacy of Humanitarian Interventions
 - **Deisy Ventura**
Public Health and Brazilian Foreign Policy
 - **Camila Lissa Asano**
Foreign Policy and Human Rights in Emerging Countries:
Insights Based on the Work of an Organization from the Global South
 - **Interview with Maja Daruwala (CHRI)
and Susan Wilding (CIVICUS)**
Emerging Democracies' Foreign Policy: What Place for Human Rights?
A Look at India and South Africa
-
- **David Kinley**
Finding Freedom in China: Human Rights in the Political Economy
 - **Laura Betancur Restrepo**
The Promotion and Protection of Human Rights through Legal Clinics and their
Relationships with Social Movements: Achievements and Challenges in the
Case of Conscientious Objection to Compulsory Military Service in Colombia
 - **Alexandra Lopes da Costa**
Modern-Day Inquisition: A Report on Criminal Persecution,
Exposure of Intimacy and Violation of Rights in Brazil
 - **Ana Cristina González Vélez and Viviana Bohórquez Monsalve**
Case Study on Colombia: Judicial Standards on Abortion to Advance the
Agenda of the Cairo Programme of Action

EDITORIAL BOARD

- Christof Heyns** University of Pretoria (South Africa)
Emilio García Méndez University of Buenos Aires (Argentina)
Fifi Benaboud North-South Centre of the Council of Europe (Portugal)
Fiona Macaulay Bradford University (United Kingdom)
Flávia Piovesan Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (Brazil)
J. Paul Martin Columbia University (United States)
Kwame Karikari University of Ghana (Ghana)
Mustapha Kamel Al-Sayyid Cairo University (Egypt)
Roberto Garretón Former-UN Officer of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (Chile)
Upendra Baxi University of Warwick (United Kingdom)

EDITORS

Pedro Paulo Poppovic
Oscar Vilhena Vieira

EXECUTIVE BOARD

Maria Brant - Executive Editor
Albertina de Oliveira Costa
Conrado Hubner Mendes
Glenda Mezarobba
Hélio Batista Barboza
Juana Kweitel
Laura Waisbich
Lucia Nader

EDITING

Luz González
Ana Godoy

REVISION OF TRANSLATIONS

Carolina Fairstein (Spanish)
Ana Godoy (Portuguese)
The Bernard and Audre Rapoport
Center for Human Rights and Justice,
University of Texas, Austin (English)
Pedro Paulo Poppovic (Portuguese and English)

GRAPHIC DESIGN

Oz Design

ART EDITING

Alex Furini

CIRCULATION

Luz González

PRINTING

Prol Editora Gráfica Ltda.

ADVISORY BOARD

- Alejandro M. Garro** Columbia University (United States)
Bernardo Sorj Federal University of Rio de Janeiro / Edelstein Center (Brazil)
Bertrand Badie Sciences-Po (France)
Cosmas Gitta UNDP (United States)
Daniel Mato CONICET / National University of Tres de Febrero (Argentina)
Daniela Ikawa International Network on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights / Columbia University (United States)
Ellen Chapnick Columbia University (United States)
Ernesto Garzon Valdes University of Mainz (Germany)
Fateh Azzam Arab Human Rights Fund (Lebanon)
Guy Haarscher Université Libre de Bruxelles (Belgium)
Jeremy Sarkin University of the Western Cape (South Africa)
João Batista Costa Saraiva Regional Jurisdiction for Children and Adolescents of Santo Ângelo/RS (Brazil)
José Reinaldo de Lima Lopes University of São Paulo (Brazil)
Juan Amaya Castro University for Peace (Costa Rica)/VU University Amsterdam (Netherlands)
Lucia Dammert Global Consortium on Security Transformation (Chile)
Luigi Ferrajoli University of Rome (Italy)
Luiz Eduardo Wanderley Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (Brazil)
Malak El-Chichini Poppovic Conectas Human Rights (Brazil)
Maria Filomena Gregori University of Campinas (Brazil)
Maria Hermínia Tavares de Almeida University of São Paulo (Brazil)
Miguel Cillero University Diego Portales (Chile)
Mudar Kassis Birzeit University (Palestine)
Paul Chevigny New York University (United States)
Philip Alston New York University (United States)
Roberto Cuéllar M. Inter-American Institute of Human Rights (Costa Rica)
Roger Raupp Rios Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (Brazil)
Shepard Forman New York University (United States)
Victor Abramovich University of Buenos Aires (UBA)
Victor Topanou National University of Benin (Benin)
Vinodh Jaichand Irish Centre for Human Rights, National University of Ireland (Ireland)

SUR - International Journal On Human Rights is a biannual journal published in English, Portuguese and Spanish by Conectas Human Rights. It is available on the Internet at <<http://www.surjournal.org>>

SUR is covered by the following abstracting and indexing services: IBSS (International Bibliography of the Social Sciences); ISN Zurich (International Relations and Security Network); DOAJ (Directory of Open Access Journals) and SSRN (Social Science Research Network). In addition, SUR is also available at the following commercial databases: EBSCO, HEINonline, ProQuest and Scopus. SUR has been rated A1 and B1, in Colombia and in Brazil (Qualis), respectively.

SUR. Revista Internacional de Direitos Humanos / Sur – Rede Universitária de Direitos Humanos – v.1, n.1, jan.2004 – São Paulo, 2004 - .

Semestral

ISSN 1806-6445

Edições em Inglês, Português e Espanhol.

1. Direitos Humanos 2. ONU I. Rede Universitária de Direitos Humanos

CONTENTS

FOREIGN POLICY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

DAVID PETRASEK	7	New Powers, New Approaches? Human Rights Diplomacy in the 21st Century
ADRIANA ERTHAL ABDENUR AND DANILO MARCONDES DE SOUZA NETO	17	Brazil's Development Cooperation with Africa: What Role for Democracy and Human Rights?
CARLOS CERDA DUEÑAS	37	Incorporating International Human Rights Standards in the Wake of the 2011 Reform of the Mexican Constitution: Progress and Limitations
ELISA MARA COIMBRA	57	Inter-American System of Human Rights: Challenges to Compliance with the Court's Decisions in Brazil
CONOR FOLEY	75	The Evolving Legitimacy of Humanitarian Interventions
DEISY VENTURA	95	Public Health and Brazilian Foreign Policy
CAMILA LISSA ASANO	115	Foreign Policy and Human Rights in Emerging Countries: Insights Based on the Work of an Organization from the Global South
CAMILA LISSA ASANO AND LAURA TRAJBER WAISBICH (CONECTAS HUMAN RIGHTS)	135	Interview with Maja Daruwala (CHRI) and Susan Wilding (CIVICUS) Emerging Democracies' Foreign Policy: What Place for Human Rights? A Look at India and South Africa
DAVID KINLEY	143	Finding Freedom in China: Human Rights in the Political Economy
LAURA BETANCUR RESTREPO	157	The Promotion and Protection of Human Rights through Legal Clinics and their Relationships with Social Movements: Achievements and Challenges in the Case of Conscientious Objection to Compulsory Military Service in Colombia
ALEXANDRA LOPES DA COSTA	175	Modern-Day Inquisition: A Report on Criminal Persecution, Exposure of Intimacy and Violation of Rights in Brazil
ANA CRISTINA GONZÁLEZ VÉLEZ AND VIVIANA BOHÓRQUEZ MONSALVE	193	Case Study on Colombia: Judicial Standards on Abortion to Advance the Agenda of the Cairo Programme of Action

PRESENTATION



Foreign Policy and Human Rights

The fields of human rights and foreign policy have coincided with increasing frequency in recent years. The convergence of these areas, however, has not been widely explored in academic circles of the Global South, and is often considered secondary by activists working at the national level. This issue of SUR, prepared in partnership with **Asian Forum for Human Rights and Development**, **CIVICUS: Worldwide Alliance for Citizen Participation** and **Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative**, proposes, on the one hand, to raise awareness about the different interfaces and interactions between the international activities of countries and the national *protection* of human rights, and, on the other, to examine contemporary international dynamics such as the emergence of a multipolar world and its impact on the global protection of human rights.

The thematic group of articles addresses the changes in the international system – primarily the more prominent role played by so-called emerging powers (Brazil, South Africa, India and China, among others) – and their impact on the global protection of human rights.

Reviewing the foreign policy of these countries and their impact on human rights includes, for example, analyzing their increased commitment to and engagement with regional and international human rights protection mechanisms. With respect to this point, the potential role of emerging powers in the field of human rights is examined by David Petrasek in **New Powers, New Approaches? Human Rights Diplomacy in the 21st Century**. In his article, Petrasek argues that, despite the reluctance of these new powers to adopt “traditional” tactics such as naming and shaming and the imposition of conditionalities in their bilateral relations, these countries play an important role in the international protection of human rights through standard-setting on specific human rights issues in multilateral forums.

In **Foreign Policy and Human Rights in Emerging Countries: Insights Based on the Work of an Organization from the Global South**, Camila Asano, coordinator of Foreign Policy and Human Rights at Conectas, examines the role of emerging countries,

with a focus on Brazil, in international and multi-lateral bodies. Based on the experience of Conectas, the article provides insights for other civil society organizations wishing to engage with the formulators and implementers of foreign policy to promote policies that are more respectful of human rights. SUR 19 also features a joint interview with Maja Daruwala, of the **Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (India)**, and Susan Wilding, of **CIVICUS World Alliance for Citizen Participation (South Africa)**, two additional organizations that monitor how their countries’ activities abroad are affecting human rights. Both for Asano and for Daruwala and Wilding, the international performance of their countries leaves a lot to be desired in terms of consistency.

A subgroup of articles analyzes, more specifically, two topics of Brazilian foreign policy: health and international development cooperation. In **Public Health and Brazilian Foreign Policy**, Deisy Ventura addresses Brazilian diplomacy in the field of health – at a regional and international level – and analyzes how the human rights topic has been included in this agenda. In the article, Ventura demonstrates the solidarity that underpins Brazilian health diplomacy, but also warns of the proliferation of cross-cutting contradictions – both internal and external – that weaken, in the current context, the prevalence of human rights and the very effectiveness of Brazilian health cooperation. In **Brazil’s Development Cooperation with Africa: What Role for Democracy and Human Rights?**, Adriana Erthal Abdenur and Danilo Marcondes de Souza Neto revisit the role and presence of Brazil on the African continent, analyzing how and to what extent the “Brazilian model” of cooperation directly and indirectly impacts the dimensions of democracy and human rights on the African continent. The authors identify, despite the non-interventionist rhetoric of Brazilian foreign policy, a positive – albeit cautious – role of the country in its relationship with African nations. They point out, however, that Brazil could be a more active and decisive partner in the promotion of democracy and human rights on the continent.

This group also includes two articles on the national implementation of international norms, decisions and recommendations. These articles were

included with the aim of countering the normative analysis that usually underlies studies on this topic by including the political dimension that permeates the domestic incorporation of international instruments, given that, in the same one country, we find cases of active engagement, limited respect and even defiance of international norms. These dynamics interest us, since they have a considerable impact on the scope that victim protection systems will have in each specific context.

In this context, in **Incorporating International Human Rights Standards in the Wake of the 2011 Reform of the Mexican Constitution: Progress and Limitations**, Carlos Cerda Dueñas examines how the 2011 constitutional reform in Mexico established respect for human rights as a guiding principle of the country's foreign policy and what the impact of this has been on the incorporation of international norms by the country. Elisa Mara Coimbra, meanwhile, discusses the relationship between Brazil and the Inter-American System of Human Rights. In **Inter-American System of Human Rights: Challenges to Compliance with the Court's Decisions in Brazil**, the author comments on the implementation status of the decisions in five cases in which Brazil was condemned by the regional system.

Despite the variety of issues present in this edition, we should briefly mention the major research topics and agendas that emerged during the conception and production of this issue of SUR and that, for practical reasons, have not been fully addressed here. Prominent among them are, for example, the dynamics of transparency, accountability and citizen participation in foreign policy, and comparative studies of foreign policies of two or more countries from the Global South. As expected, and fortunately, the debate does not end with this issue, and SUR remains committed to continuing this dialogue.

Non-thematic articles

This issue of SUR includes four articles in addition to the dossier. The first, **Finding Freedom in China: Human Rights in the Political Economy**, written by David Kinley, addresses human rights in China from an economic policy perspective, proposing new ways of viewing the relationship between the Chinese

economic model and the realization of fundamental freedoms in the country.

Laura Betancur Restrepo, in **The Promotion and Protection of Human Rights through Legal Clinics and their Relationships with Social Movements: Achievements and Challenges in the Case of Conscientious Objection to Compulsory Military Service in Colombia**, presents an analysis of the work of the Constitutional Court of Colombia on the subject of conscientious objection in the specific case of mandatory military service. Based on discourse analysis, the author attempts to comprehend the legal translation of social demands and its direct and indirect impacts for social movements.

Finally, the issue contains two articles that tackle the issue of sexual and reproductive rights. The first, **Modern-day inquisition: A Report on Criminal Persecution, Exposure of Intimacy and Violation of Rights**, written by Alexandra Lopes da Costa, discusses the implications of the ban on abortion in Brazil, in a quasi-journalistic account of a case that occurred in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul.

The second, **Case Study on Colombia: Judicial Standards on Abortion to Advance the Agenda of the Cairo Programme of Action**, by Ana Cristina González Vélez and Viviana Bohórquez Monsalve, examines how Colombia and, more broadly, Latin America, have advanced in the implementation of the Cairo Programme of Action, which addresses access to abortion and the protection of other reproductive rights.

Finally, we would like to emphasize that this issue of the Sur Journal was made possible by the support of the Carlos Chagas Foundation (FCC). Conectas Human Rights is grateful for the collaboration of the partner organizations throughout the production of the thematic section of this issue. We also thank Amado Luiz Cervo, Bridget Conley-Zilkic, Celia Almeida, Daniela Riva Knauth, Deisy Ventura, Eduardo Pannunzio, Eloisa Machado de Almeida, Fernando Sciré, Gabriela Costa Chaves, Gilberto Marcos Antonio Rodrigues, Gonzalo Berrón, Guilherme Stolle Paixão e Casarões, Katia Taela, Jefferson Nascimento, Louis N. Brickford, Márcia Nina Bernardes, Renan Honório Quinalha, Renata Avelar Giannini, Salvador Tinajero Esquivel and Thomas Kellogg for reviewing the articles published in this issue.



ADRIANA ERTHAL ABDENUR

Adriana Erthal Abdenur (PhD Princeton University, BA Harvard University) is a professor of International Relations at the Pontifical Catholic University in Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio) and the General Coordinator of the BRICS Policy Center.

Email: abdenur@puc-rio.br



DANILO MARCONDES DE SOUZA NETO

Danilo Marcondes de Souza Neto is a PhD candidate at the Department of Politics and International Studies (POLIS) at the University of Cambridge, UK. He was formerly a lecturer at PUC-Rio and an educational adviser at the Fulbright Commission's office in Rio de Janeiro.

Email: dm595@cam.ac.uk

ABSTRACT

Over the past ten years, Brazil's foreign policy elites have made economic, political, and military cooperation with Africa one of the country's top priorities, as part of Brazil's emphasis on expanding relations within the Global South. While growing research literature has sought to analyze the norms and practices this cooperation entails, little of the current scholarship has examined its relevance to African politics. In this article, we consider the implications of Brazilian cooperation for democracy and human rights in Africa along three lines: the scope and content of Brazil's democracy promotion programs; the implications of its cooperation (official and non-official) for democracy and human rights; and its responses to political crises in Africa.

Original in English.

Received in May 2013. Accepted in October 2013

KEYWORDS

Brazil – Africa – Cooperation – Foreign policy – Democracy – Human right



This paper is published under the *creativecommons* license.

This paper is available in digital format at www.surjournal.org.

BRAZIL'S DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION WITH AFRICA: WHAT ROLE FOR DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS?

Adriana Erthal Abdenur and
Danilo Marcondes de Souza Neto

1 Introduction

Over the past decade, Brazil's foreign policy elites have made economic, political, and military cooperation with Africa one of the country's top priorities abroad, as part of Brazil's emphasis on expanding relations within the Global South. Not only does the government view the continent as a promising market for Brazilian investments and exports, but it also sees to African States as key political partners in Brazil's quest to become a global player. Efforts to strengthen economic, political, and defense partnerships with Africa include a fast-growing South-South cooperation program whose discourse stresses solidarity and horizontality, as well as the promotion of Brazilian public policy experiments in areas such as agriculture, education, and health.

While growing academic and policy literature has sought to analyze the norms and practices that this cooperation entails, little of the current scholarship has examined its relevance to African politics. In this article, we consider the political implications of Brazilian cooperation for democracy and human rights in Africa along three lines: the scope and content of Brazil's democracy promotion programs; the implications of its cooperation (official and non-official) for democracy and human rights; and its responses to events in Africa that threaten democracy and human rights. The paper is exploratory in that it maps out some of the key patterns in Brazilian cooperation so as to guide a more long-term research agenda on the relevance of Brazilian cooperation to Africa's democracy and human rights landscape.

Notes to this text start on page 34.

Examining Brazilian cooperation in light of African politics is important not only because Brazil's role in Africa has grown substantially over the past decade, but also because this engagement raises new questions regarding the norms and principles underpinning Brazilian cooperation. For instance, some analysts question why a democratic country with a formal commitment to human rights within its foreign policy has sought closer ties with regimes that are strongly condemned for human rights violations perpetrated by Northern States and civil society entities. Analysts also tend to stress the contrast between this foreign policy approach and the government's recent human rights efforts at home, including the creation of a Truth Commission (approved in September 2011) devoted to uncovering human rights violations perpetrated during the military period (1946–1988). Others adopt a pragmatic perspective according to which, despite Brazil's democratic identity, in foreign affairs “business is business,” suggesting a willingness to subordinate non-economic principles such as democracy and human rights to the desire to broaden Brazil's economic relations. This last perspective also emphasizes that, despite their strong rhetoric stressing democracy and human rights, liberal democracies have supported authoritarian regimes when politically or economically convenient (including Brazil's past military government).

Other defenders of Brazil's recent foreign policy orientation also insist that Brazil deals with these countries by promoting dialogue rather than through “naming and shaming,” often associated with the strategies of American and European NGOs, and that through engagement rather than isolation, it is possible to nudge authoritarian regimes in the direction of democracy and human rights.¹ While some Northern donors adopt a similar approach, the Brazilian government has stressed the need for diplomatic resolution of conflicts before multilateral intervention (FRAYSINET, F. 2011), noting that such interventions often yield regime change with uncertain results, or outcomes that primarily benefit NATO countries, as in the cases of Iraq and Afghanistan. This debate, sparked in part by President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's (2003-2011) active presidential diplomacy in Africa, reemerged as President Dilma Rousseff (2011-present) continued to boost relations with countries whose governments were associated with human rights violations and as Brazil began to more openly question military intervention, including through UN Security Council (UNSC) votes in the Libyan and Syrian crises.

Our analysis suggests that Brazil's democracy and human rights initiatives abroad, carried out under a foreign policy discourse that stresses non-intervention, are restricted to transitional regimes that have explicitly requested assistance with governance matters, and to fellow members of the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP), an organization premised in part on its members' commitment to democracy and governance cooperation. More broadly, our analysis suggests that Brazil's cooperation in Africa does have implications for local political systems, whether by boosting democratic institutions or, conversely, by supporting authoritarian regimes. In addition, Brazilian cooperation with Africa has begun attracting the attention of Brazilian civil society entities,

including those that collaborate with African counterparts, leading to increasing contestation of some Brazilian cooperation practices abroad.

The article is structured as follows. After providing a background on the intersection between development cooperation and democracy promotion, including Brazil's role, we analyze the Brazilian official discourse on democracy and human rights as it pertains to Brazil's foreign policy, including with respect to Africa. Second, we examine some of the practices of Brazilian cooperation with Africa, analyzing the extent to which they adhere to those principles. Finally, we consider the Brazilian government's positions on key political crises in Africa, and how they relate to its cooperation practices and approach to democracy and human rights. In the conclusion, we consider some of the implications of Brazil's cooperation for African politics.

2 Brazilian cooperation with Africa, democracy, and human rights

2.1 *Democracy and development cooperation in Africa*

Although there are diverging definitions of “democracy promotion,” here we draw on Carothers' (2009) view of democracy promotion as *cooperation programs that contain an element that seeks to support the spread of democracy within a given country, region, or other geographic context*. Although transition to democracy is largely endogenous, international relations can affect this process – towards democracy, or away from it (BROWN, 2005). In Africa, the scope and diversity of aid and cooperation (from Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development - OECD donors and other partners) means that complex international elements influence regime types. The Arab Spring also shows the importance of international factors in democracy promotion at several levels, including state-led processes, civil society, and social networks that cross boundaries, and with a wide range of outcomes. Although the literature on democracy promotion focuses on Northern aid, there is a growing need to analyze the role of emerging powers. While many of these countries stress national sovereignty and non-intervention in their foreign policies, democratic emerging powers often incorporate state-building within their cooperation efforts. While these initiatives are not necessarily labeled as democracy promotion initiatives, they disseminate norms, technologies, and practices that are politically relevant.

During the Cold War, American foreign aid was more anti-communist and anti-revolutionary than it was pro-democratic (LOWENTHAL, 1991). In the post-Cold War period, US and European donors began to attach more political conditionalities to aid, and they invested significantly in programs specifically designed to promote democracy – with highly variable results (BROWN, 2005 and BRATTON; VAN DE WALLE, 1997). As Africa underwent a partial wave of democratization in the 1990s, democracy promotions yielded steps forward as well as reversals; Lynch and Crawford (2011) conclude that, “typically, though not universally, sub-Saharan African countries are more democratic today than

in the late 1980s.” However, Africa still suffers significant economic, social, and political obstacles to democratization, including colonial legacies, clientelist politics, and complex ethnopolitical dynamics. Since 2001, the US and Europe’s security interests have weighed more heavily in their aid design and allocation, with increased support for countries that agreed to cooperate in the ‘war on terror,’ independently of regime type. Over the past decade, the growing role of emerging powers, particularly China, in Africa has rendered the landscape of aid and cooperation even more complex. Although the literature on South-South cooperation has examined some of the effects that Chinese cooperation is having on African democracy (ESTEBAN, 2009), little has been written so far on the political implications of Brazil’s growing cooperation ties with Africa. Such analysis is necessary not only because of Brazil’s increasing role in Africa, but also because Brazil’s current Foreign Minister, Luiz Alberto Figueiredo, has signaled his intention to give human rights greater space within Brazil’s foreign policy.²

2.2 Brazilian foreign policy and human rights

Understanding the relevance of Brazilian cooperation to democracy and human rights in Africa requires taking into account the country’s own experiences with democracy. First, Brazil has received both aid that promoted autocratic rule and aid that promoted democracy—in the case of US, from the same provider. This may help to explain the cautious tone of Brazilian foreign policy elites when addressing democracy and human rights abroad.³ Second, Brazil’s own political experiences, including the gradual transition from military rule (1964-1985) back to democracy, had profound and lingering effects on Brazil’s foreign policy making (SANTORO, 2012). For instance, the role of civil society (local and international) in Brazil’s return to democracy helps to explain the emphasis placed on public policy councils at different levels of government, from federal to municipal, as well as recurring calls for broadened civil society participation. Moreover, Brazilian civil society has become an important part of Brazil-Africa cooperation, both through collaboration with official cooperation, and by contesting cooperation initiatives. The Brazilian government has acknowledged the importance of non-state actors’ connections to Africa; for instance, former Foreign Minister Antonio Patriota asserted that Africa is of genuine interest not only to the Brazilian government but also to private companies and civil society organizations (BRASIL, 2011a). Although civil society entities such as NGOs, labor unions, and trade associations have often struggled to expand the space available to them in Brazil’s foreign policy sphere, they have played a growing role in international cooperation, both through participation and through contestation of that cooperation.

The transition from military back to civilian rule also yielded a formal commitment to democracy and human rights, within and beyond Brazil’s borders. Brazil’s 1988 Constitution establishes the principles that should guide the country’s foreign policy: national independence; prevalence of human rights; self-determination of the peoples; non-intervention; equality among States;

defense of peace; peaceful settlement of conflicts; repudiation of terrorism and racism; cooperation; and granting of political asylum. Within foreign policy, Brazil's commitment to human rights has been most clearly visible in regional initiatives such as the Organization of American States, which imposes sanctions on member States where democracy is endangered (for instance, through a coup) (SANTISO, 2002 and CAROTHERS; YOUNGS, 2011).

Within its bilateral relations, Brazil has often upheld democratic principles. For example, Brazilian diplomats played a crucial role in the Paraguay crisis of April 1996, helping to maintain Paraguay's democracy (SANTISO, 2002). However, following Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide's resignation in 2004, Brazil provided a veneer of legitimacy to an intervention that "had more to do with political expediency than with the protection of democracy" (BURGES; DAUDELIN, 2007). Such ambiguities and inconsistencies have often cast doubts on Brazilian foreign policy's commitment to democracy and human rights.

In 2003, when Lula began his first mandate, the government presented an additional concept that would guide Brazilian foreign policy: the idea of non-indifference. Non-indifference was meant to balance non-intervention, meaning Brazil would intervene abroad only when it was invited by the parties involved and if it believed it could play a positive role. This principle has since been evoked to justify development cooperation with African nations, as well as Brazil's involvement as a troop contributor to the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) in 2004.⁴

President Rouseff's inauguration in January 2010 raised expectations regarding the role of human rights in Brazil's foreign policy, especially in light of Rouseff's personal history as a militant against the military regime, including her experience under arrest and her subjection to torture. In 2011, Foreign Minister Antonio Patriota cast Brazil's poverty reduction achievements as a success in terms of Brazil's domestic human rights situation, but he also recognized areas that needed improvement, including urban violence, women's rights, education, and the incarcerated population.⁵ On other occasions, the Brazilian government has rejected what it views as the stigmatization of poor nations as the only human rights violators, stressing that developed countries sometimes commit serious violations themselves. This leads to a reluctance to single out States for human rights violations, although within the UN Human Rights Council, Brazil has often backed resolutions condemning States that systematically abuse human rights.

In January 2011, Patriota stated that the government would denounce all human rights violations, no matter where they had taken place,⁶ and Foreign Policy Advisor Marco Aurelio Garcia asserted that Rouseff's government would emphasize human rights both domestically and abroad, in part due to the president's own history.⁷ In February 2011, Brazil, playing the role of facilitator within the UN Human Rights Council, presented a proposal in which human rights violations should be investigated without special treatment and ideological considerations. Civil society organizations called the proposal the first concrete step on the part of the Rouseff administration to make human rights a central theme within Brazilian foreign policy.⁸ However, in evaluating Rouseff's human

rights policy, some analysts⁹ argue that the potential for Brazil's contribution towards human rights remained underexplored in Rousseff's first year as president, and that her government's foreign policy has generally focused on the economic and commercial aspects of Brazil's international relations to the detriment of its commitment to democracy and human rights.¹⁰

Brazil's redemocratization has also shaped its foreign policy by enhancing the prominence of social policy issues within the Brazilian conception of democracy, as well as throughout its international cooperation agenda. For instance, in addition to establishing the principles meant to guide Brazil's foreign policy, the 1988 Constitution enshrined health, education, and social security as citizen rights, boosting public education and leading to the creation of institutions such as Brazil's publicly funded health care system, the *Sistema Único de Saúde* (SUS). In the mid-1990s, the creation of an electronic voting system (drawing on technological innovations by Brazilian and foreign companies) broadened political participation of illiterate and handicapped citizens during elections – another hallmark of the country's concern with accessibility as a key component of democracy.

Despite their less than adequate implementation, the rights stipulated in Brazilian legislation represented significant accomplishments in that they formally acknowledge the rights of individuals regarding access to areas such as health and education (CARDOSO JR., 2009). The expansion of income redistribution schemes (such as the conditional cash transfer program *Bolsa Família*, which started under President Fernando Henrique Cardoso and was broadened under President Lula) and the approaches developed to tackle food security and public health became hallmarks of Brazil's social development, and later of its international cooperation (SANTORO, 2012 and ABDENUR; SOUZA NETO, 2013). Thus, over the past ten years, reductions in poverty and social inequality, driven by higher economic growth and by redistributive policies, have also highlighted social and economic aspects of Brazil's democracy. Moreover, the creation (in 2011) of a Truth Commission and the Supreme Court corruption trials of high-ranking government officials are part of the efforts to consolidate Brazilian democracy. Brazil's capacity to produce fair economic results for its population is an important source of legitimacy for the Brazilian government, which helps to explain why its foreign policy tends to mention democracy alongside social and economic rights.

Examining Brazil's democracy promotion in Africa is necessary for a variety of reasons. First, this type of analysis sheds light on the extent to which rising powers contest the dominant principles of Northern development assistance. US and European governments have urged rising democracies to take a more active role in human rights and democracy promotion, as have some civil society entities within and outside States where South-South cooperation is undertaken. Second, questions about Brazil's impact on African politics have increased with Brazil's recent voting pattern in the UN Security Council. While holding a non-permanent seat, Brazil aligned with most of its fellow BRICS countries (South Africa supported resolution 1973 on Libya, but later expressed regret at having done so) and abstained on the 2011 resolution supporting military action in Libya,

although it supported the expulsion of Libya from the Human Rights Council. Explaining Brazil's behavior in issues of democracy and human rights within different spheres calls for analysis of its concrete cooperation ties.

Finally, the diversity of Brazilian actors participating in development cooperation in Africa needs further analysis, including in terms of their impact on local politics. In addition to civil society organizations, Brazilian multinationals operate in several African nations, especially in mining and infrastructure, sometimes backed by the Brazilian Development Bank (BNDES). Many such companies have reinforced their corporate social responsibility guidelines, yet in some contexts their operations have generated local tensions.¹¹ Moreover, the Brazilian government's efforts to expand Brazil's defense industry, including towards Africa, may help boost non-democratic regimes. Brazil has become the Western Hemisphere's second largest exporter of small arms,¹² whose use and movement, both within and across borders, are difficult to track (Brazilian-manufactured non-lethal weapons such as tear gas canisters were used against Arab Spring protesters in Bahrain).

2.3 Brazil's democracy and human rights initiatives

Projects that openly seek to promote democracy and human rights are not always a highly visible part of Brazil's official cooperation efforts. Among the projects listed in the Brazilian Cooperation Agency's (ABC) project database, none mention democracy in their titles, and only one explicitly refers to human rights: a partnership between the Brazilian Human Rights Secretariat (SDH) and the ABC to collaborate in the fight against child and teenage exploitation in Togo. However, democracy and human rights sometimes appear as components of broader cooperation programs, often through the involvement of human rights-related institutions in Brazil, especially SDH. For instance, SDH and the Ministry of Justice joined efforts to strengthen human rights-related institutions such as civil registries in Guinea-Bissau. There are also broader programs related to democracy and human rights that involve agreements with countries in disparate areas of the world through South-South multilateral arrangements.

Many of these efforts target sub-national level state units, especially cities. This focus reflects the decentralized dimension of Brazil's own experience with democratization, in which municipal governments and communities played a pioneering role. Cities have also been the site of important democratic experiments, including the Participatory Budget model implemented in Porto Alegre, which was adapted in some form by 1,500 municipal governments around the world (GANUZA; BAIOCCHI, 2012 and AVRITZER, 2002). The World Social Forums, initially held in Porto Alegre, have been a crucial catalyst, enabling civil society entities and activists from around the world to receive information about Brazil's participatory budget experiences. In addition, international organizations such as the World Bank, UNDP, and UN Habitat promoted participatory budget models as a way to encourage more socially equitable forms of spending.¹³ The ABC has coordinated several projects aimed at promoting participatory budgets

abroad, including through a partnership with the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (ABC, 2013). Several South African cities have adapted parts of this model, inspired by the Porto Alegre case.

In addition to the role of cities, Brazilian cooperation in democracy and human rights often includes civil society entities such as NGOs, trade unions, and professional associations. These organizations have participated in projects related to Brazil's negotiations on the external debt, the creation of Mercosur, and free trade agreements. UN conferences devoted to social issues also generated new incentives for the involvement of feminists, environmental activists, and indigenous peoples movements (ALVES, 2002). More recently, civil society entities in Brazil have begun questioning Brazil's role in groupings such as the G-20 and the BRICS, including the latter's plans to finance large-scale infrastructure in Africa through the planned BRICS Development Bank.

The project's database maintained by ABC reveals that most official Brazilian cooperation programs in Africa referring to democracy or human rights focus on electoral or judicial cooperation. Brazil has helped several African countries with their elections, with the Superior Electoral Court (SEC) actively promoting the country's electronic voting system abroad. In Africa, Brazilian experts have visited Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Tunisia, and Guinea-Bissau, and a recent workshop in Cape Town introduced the Brazilian voting system to representatives from South Africa, Namibia, Mozambique, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, and Madagascar.¹⁴ The exact impact of this cooperation is difficult to ascertain, since the technology that is promoted is not always adopted by the cooperation partners, sometimes due to lack of resources or insufficient confidence in the integrity of the system. Nonetheless, through these exchanges, Brazil may help to spur discussions in Africa about the procedural aspects of electoral democracy.

Such exchanges have also taken place in Brazil. Cooperation with Sudan, for example, has been intense since 2010. It has included visits by officials from the Sudanese Parliament to Brazil's Superior Court (TSE) and also an agreement between the Brazilian Bar Association and its Sudanese counterpart¹⁵ to promote the protection of human rights; the protection of lawyers' rights; and professional exchanges between lawyers of both countries, including professional qualification activities and a joint collaboration on guaranteeing respect for human rights legislation both domestically and internationally.¹⁶

Brazilian promotion of electronic voting is also carried out through multilateral channels. On October 3, 2011, authorities of electoral courts from Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde Islands, São Tomé and Príncipe, East Timor, and Portugal signed the "Carta de Brasília," which reaffirmed the States' common "commitment to democracy and their confidence in the free, just democratic process based on the norms established through their legal systems and universally accepted human rights." Through the agreement, those countries also expressed their intent to improve the management and administration of their electoral systems through cooperation programs covering civic education, capacity building for judges and electoral officials, media coverage for elections, electoral legislation, guaranteeing accountability of political parties, and electronic voting.

2.4 Brazilian development cooperation

Although democracy and human rights remain niche topics in Brazil's cooperation with Africa, Brazil's broader impact on African politics may come out of cooperation programs that lack any overt reference to those principles. Within its official cooperation programs, the Brazilian government claims that it actively contributed to improving the lives of Africans, especially through the sharing of social program models that were essential in stabilizing Brazil's own democracy. The ABC's project portfolio in Africa includes dozens of projects under the rubric "Social Development," many of which are intended to boost governance and institutions. Some of these projects are carried out in collaboration with non-state actors that played a defining role in widening human and social rights in Brazil, such as the *Pastoral da Criança* (Pastoral Care for Children), a division of the Brazilian National Conference of Bishops dedicated to children's rights and well-being.

Beyond official cooperation, there are attempts to draw on Brazil's own experience with democratization, including the emergence of a robust and well-articulated civil society, to cooperate on political and social issues. Brazilian NGOs have analyzed the impact of technical cooperation projects as well as the role of Brazilian mining and construction multinationals in Africa. For example, FASE has partnered with Mozambican entities, including the National Union of Mozambican Peasants (UNAC), to question the implementation of the Triangular Cooperation Program for the Agricultural Development of Tropical Savannah (Pro-SAVANA), which Brazil is undertaking with Japan to boost agricultural productivity in Mozambique's Nacala Corridor (MELLO, 2013). Also in Mozambique, Brazilian trade unions have been collaborating with local counterparts to monitor allegations of human rights violations by Brazilian multinationals, and the São Paulo-based human rights NGO Conectas is collaborating with South African and Nigerian NGOs to strengthen their positions on human rights and foreign policy debates. In addition, there is increasing domestic scrutiny of Brazilian development cooperation by leading human rights NGOs, including Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International.

2.5 Brazilian positions on political issues in Africa

Finally, Brazil has an indirect effect on democracy and human rights in Africa through the official positions that the Brazilian government adopts regarding key issues and political crises in Africa, and through the use of development cooperation (its continuation or suspension) as leverage with local authorities. In 2007, Brazil had expressed concern regarding the Zimbabwean government's lack of respect for fundamental rights, arguing that that all parties should dialogue in order to guarantee the respect for the rule of law and the harmonious development of Zimbabwean society (SITUAÇÃO..., 2007, p. 284). In 2008, former Foreign Minister Amorim was one of the first foreign dignitaries to visit Zimbabwe at the

time of the political crisis (VISITA..., 2008, p. 247), meeting with President Mugabe and representatives of political parties, including the opposition (Brazil had participated in an observer electoral mission during the first electoral round, in March 2008 and also in July 2013, by invitation of the Zimbabwean government). Through the visit, the Brazilian government proved willing to engage with Mugabe even as he was being ostracized by the international community. Brazil's attitude contrasted sharply with those of the US and the EU, which imposed sanctions that included the termination of all grants and loans to Zimbabwe's government made through bilateral and multilateral channels.¹⁷

The Brazilian government also assumed official positions regarding the Arab Spring events that took place in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya. In February 2011, with respect to Egypt, President Rousseff stated that Brazil could not have a say on the internal affairs of another country.¹⁸ The Brazilian government expressed its hopes that the crisis would end through a democratic solution involving greater social inclusion and prosperity, and former Foreign Minister Patriota noted that Egypt was an important trade partner and that, in the eyes of the Brazilian government, protests in Egypt emerged due to frustration regarding the economic situation and inadequate social inclusion (GODOY, 2011). Shortly afterwards, during the 16th session of the UN Human Rights Council, Brazilian Human Rights Minister Maria do Rosário openly criticized Middle Eastern and North African regimes for their authoritarian practices, singling out the use of force against civilian populations (O GLOBO, 2011). As of 2011, the United Nations Development Program – UNDP (2012) supported a visit by Egyptian politicians and businessman to Brazil and Chile, identifying the two countries as examples of transitions to democracy, including constitutional reform, which could inspire Egypt. During a May 2013 visit by former President Morsi to Brazil, Brazil and Egypt agreed to cooperate towards economic development in a democratic and socially just environment (BRASIL, 2013a). Brazil expressed concern after the overthrow of Morsi in early July 2013 and cooperation projects negotiated during Morsi's visit are yet to be implemented.¹⁹

In addition, Brazilian authorities have repeatedly made references to democracy in statements related to the African continent. In 2009, Lula condemned the assassination of Guinea-Bissau's president, João Bernardo "Nino" Vieira, and of the head of its Armed Forces, General Tagme Na Waié, stating that Brazil could not "remain silent before another attack against an incipient democracy that was building itself" (LUSA, 2009). During a 2011 state visit to Angola, Rousseff gave a speech at the National Assembly mentioning a future of economic progress, social justice, peace, and democracy for Angola, and cited Angola's new constitution as a key step towards deepening the country's democracy. Rousseff (BRASIL, 2011b) also referred to the joint efforts by Angola and Brazil to the stabilization process in Guinea-Bissau, praising Angola as an example of national reconstruction with democratic liberties — a very positive assessment compared to the EU's evaluation (EUROPEAN UNION, 2010). Other Brazilian government officials have openly supported democracy and human

rights in Africa. During the 50th anniversary of the African Union, in 2013, Brazilian diplomats praised the AU's contributions towards democracy in Africa, especially its zero-tolerance policy regarding coups d'état.²⁰

However, in its bilateral relations Brazil has often proven reluctant to directly condemn or single out human rights violators, expanding cooperation as well as commercial relations with these regimes. Under Lula and Rousseff, Brazil has deepened ties with Equatorial Guinea, selling Brazilian defense equipment, importing oil, and helping Brazilian construction companies to participate in the construction of the country's new capital. Brazil also supported the country's bid to obtain full membership within the CPLP – a decision highly contested by civil society movements due to Equatorial Guinea's poor democratic and human rights credentials. In refraining from antagonizing certain countries as human rights violators, the Brazilian government has argued that violations are committed by all countries, developed and developing. As a result, the Brazilian government has refused to accept human rights reports conducted by individual countries, including those that evaluate Brazil's domestic human rights record, arguing that the UN is the only legitimate entity for monitoring and reporting on human rights.²¹

Brazil has also strongly favored responses to crises by local and regional actors, including during crises in the Ivory Coast, Sudan, and Mali — as long as these actions are complementary, rather than contradictory, to the UN security system. For instance, Brazil has argued that the AU can legitimately deal with crises on the continent, and that the international community should work jointly with the AU. Regarding peacekeeping missions in Africa, Brazil's most recent troop contributions were in Mozambique and Angola in the mid-1990s, but the country has observers in almost all UN missions in the continent, and in 2013 Brazilian General Santos Cruz, a former Force Commander of the mission in Haiti, was appointed force commander of the MONUC mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

In early 2003, Brazil participated in the Brazzaville Group, an initiative organized by African nations and the CPLP regarding political instability in São Tomé and Príncipe. The effort led to a memorandum of understanding, signed in July 2003 between the president of STP and the leader of the Armed Forces group that had rebelled, so that the country could return to democratic government.²² In November 2003, during a stop in São Tomé and Príncipe as part of his first visit to Africa, Lula offered Brazilian support for the efforts to consolidate its democracy.²³

The ways in which these positions and Brazil's concrete engagement in Africa intersect are illustrated by the case of Guinea-Bissau. Brazil has long sought to bring attention to Guinea-Bissau's recurring political instability, and in 2007, Brazil became the chair of the Guinea-Bissau configuration in the UN Peacebuilding Commission. Through this position and its membership in the CPLP, Brazil has implemented a variety of cooperation initiatives to strengthen institutions in the country, for instance by training the country's police, boosting its judicial system, and supporting its parliament (ABDENUR; SOUZA NETO,

2013). In 2008, Brazil condemned an attempt by members of the Armed Forces to destabilize the government in Guinea-Bissau, reiterating its support to the elected government.²⁴ A coup in April 2012 led to an interruption of Brazilian cooperation programs in the country, and Brazil has made the return to democratic normalcy a condition for the resumption of its cooperation initiatives. In June 2013, Brazil joined other CPLP member States in calling for free and fair elections so as to restore democracy in Guinea-Bissau (BRASIL, 2013c). Although not all of Brazil's official positions on African political crises are directly linked to Brazilian cooperation programs, as in the case of Guinea-Bissau, the example shows Brazil's willingness to engage with democracy and human rights promotion in Africa by combining discursive support/condemnation with concrete actions.

3 Conclusion

As Brazil's ties with Africa intensify, its development cooperation has increasing implications for local politics, whether the cooperation partner is a democracy or an authoritarian regime with a record of human rights violations. In this article, we have analyzed three emerging routes for this impact: democracy and human rights promotion programs, development cooperation in general, and official positions on key political issues in Africa. The analysis suggests that, despite adopting a strong rhetoric of non-interference in its foreign policy, the Brazilian government has actively engaged with issues of democracy and human rights in Africa, directly and indirectly. The Brazilian government addresses democracy and human rights directly only when there is a clearly identifiable demand from the African partner government on such issues, or when a coup occurs in a country bound by a CPLP mechanism that stresses the importance of democracy, as in the case of Guinea-Bissau. At the same time, even when democracy and human rights are not explicit themes of cooperation, Brazil's growing role on the continent—propelled not only by the Brazilian government, but also by civil society and private sector actors—has political consequences, whether by contributing to democracy via institution-building or (in the case of Equatorial Guinea) by boosting authoritarian regimes through expanded economic cooperation.

Brazil's greater visibility in the international arena has prompted calls for greater involvement by Brazil in the promotion of democracy and human rights abroad – by both Northern donors and actors from the Global South (PATRICK, 2010). This is particularly important in Brazil's relations with Africa, because in that continent Brazil often promotes its image as a model of economic and social justice. Yet the Brazilian government's preferred mode of democracy and human rights promotion in Africa – based predominantly on discreet, back-stage diplomacy — is still marked by a cautiousness that may be disproportionate in light of Brazil's own experience with democracy. In trying to balance its commitment to human rights and the principle of non-intervention, Brazil has raised concerns not only about the coherence of its approach, but also regarding its future positions on democracy and human rights abroad. Some analysts have

voiced concerns that Brazil's growing ties with non-democratic emerging powers, particularly through the BRICS grouping, may push its foreign policy in the direction of defending unconditional sovereignty (CASTAÑEDA, 2010). Although this position may overestimate the importance attached by Brazilian foreign policy to the BRICS, it calls attention to the need for Brazil to forge a more consistent path. While a Brazilian approach to human rights and development is unlikely to entail an uncritical acceptance of American and European positions on democracy and human rights, it should also not mean siding by default with regimes that overlook those principles altogether. In the case of Africa, there are pragmatic reasons why Brazil might signal a greater willingness to support democracy and human rights, including the fact that the rupture of democratic order in African states could generate instability to the detriment of Brazilian economic interests and cooperation initiatives.

Brazil can also provide stronger support for democracy and human rights in Africa by cooperating with third parties. South Africa has provided a model for such an initiative hosting the first EU-South Africa dialogue forum on democracy and human rights.²⁵ Cross-regional summits such as the Africa-South America and the Arab-South America initiatives could also become relevant spaces for a positive Brazilian influence in African nations regarding democracy and human rights.

At the multilateral level, the India-Brazil-South Africa Dialogue Forum (IBSA), in contrast to the BRICS, is premised on the common identity of these countries as large, diverse democracies. Brazil has demonstrated a willingness to use this platform to discuss issues related to democracy, such as in the April 2013 "Deepening Democracy through Local Governance" Forum held in New Delhi.²⁶ At the Forum, the three IBSA nations acknowledged their common role as representing a "unique democratic alliance of the Global South." Within the BRICS, although discussions of human rights and democracy are hampered by the inclusion of authoritarian Russia and China, Brazil could push for norms and practices, for instance via the BRICS Development Bank initiative, that prioritize poverty and inequality reduction rather than simply infrastructure and industrial policy.

Finally, Brazil's potential to learn from African countries about democracy and human rights should not be underestimated, including reconciliation initiatives in countries such as Rwanda and South Africa. Brazil's National Truth Commission may learn from South Africa's experience addressing the role of State and non-state agents in human rights violations and memory-building. By opening up to the possibility of learning about democracy and human rights from African countries' own experiences — positive or negative — Brazil might refine its own approach to democracy and human rights, both at home and in Africa.

REFERENCES

Bibliography and other sources

- ABDENUR, Adriana Erthal; SOUZA NETO, Danilo M. de. 2013. South-South cooperation and democracy in Africa: Brazil's role in Guinea-Bissau. *Africa Review*, v. 5, n. 2, p. 1-14, 2 dec.
- ALVES, José Augusto L. 2002. *Relações Internacionais e Temas Sociais: a década das conferências*. Brasília: FUNAG/IBRI. Available at: <http://www.dhnet.org.br/direitos/sip/onu/textos/livro_lindgren_alves_decada_conferencias_onu.pdf>. Last accessed on: 13 June 2013.
- AVRITZER, Leonardo. 2002. *Democracy and the Public Space in Latin America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- BRASIL. 2011a. Ministério das Relações Exteriores. Discurso proferido pelo Ministro Antonio de Aguiar Patriota durante solenidade em comemoração do Dia da África, Brasília, 25 de maio de 2011.
- _____. 2011b. Palácio do Planalto. Discurso da Presidenta da República, Dilma Rousseff, na sessão solene na Assembleia Nacional – Luanda/Angola. 20 de outubro de 2011. Available at: <<http://www2.planalto.gov.br/imprensa/discursos/discurso-da-presidenta-da-republica-dilma-rousseff-na-sessao-solene-na-assembly-nacional-luanda-angola>>. Last accessed on: 13 June 2013.
- _____. 2013a. Ministério das Relações Exteriores. Comunicado Conjunto emitido por ocasião da Visita de Estado do Presidente da República Árabe do Egito, Mohamed Morsi, ao Brasil -. Nota à Imprensa, Brasília, n. 147, 8 de maio de 2013.
- _____. 2013b. Ministério das Relações Exteriores. Situation in Egypt. Nota n. 232, 3 de julho de 2013
- _____. 2013c. Ministério das Relações Exteriores. Comunicado da Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa (CPLP) sobre a formação de novo Governo na Guiné-Bissau. Nota n. 208, 12 de junho de 2013.
- _____. 2013d. Tribunal Superior Eleitoral. Juiz auxiliary do TSE apresenta sistema eleitoral na África do Sul, março 2013.
- BRATTON Michael; VAN DE WALLE, Nicholas. 1997. *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BROWN, Stephen. 2005. Foreign Aid and Democracy Promotion: Lessons from Africa. *The European Journal of Development Research*, v. 17, n. 2, p. 179-198, June. Available at: <http://aix1.uottawa.ca/~brown/pages/Stephen_Brown_EJDR.pdf>. Last accessed on: 13 June 2013.
- BURGES, Sean; DAUDELIN, Jean. 2007. Brazil: how realists defend democracy. In LEGLER, Thomas; LEAN, Sharon F.; BONIFACE, Dexter S. (eds). *Promoting Democracy in the Americas*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- CAROTHERS, Thomas. 2009. Democracy Assistance: Political vs. Developmental. *Journal of Democracy*, v. 20, n. 1, p. 5-6, Jan. Available at: <<http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/gratis/Carothers-20-1.pdf>>. Last accessed on: 13 June 2013.

- CAROTHERS, Thomas; YOUNGS, Richard. 2011. **Looking for help**: Will rising democracies become international democracy supporters? Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, The Carnegie Papers, Democracy and the Rule of Law, July. Available at: <http://carnegieendowment.org/files/Rising_democracies_final.pdf>. Last accessed on: 13 June 2013.
- CASTAÑEDA, Jorge G. 2010. Not ready for Prime Time. Why including emerging powers at the helm would hurt global governance. *Foreign Affairs*, v. 89, n. 5, p. 109-122. Available at: <http://media.jorgecastaneda.org/files/Not_Ready_for_Prime_Time_Castaneda.pdf>. Last accessed on: 13 June 2013.
- COMUNICADO à imprensa sobre o fim da sublevação militar em São Tomé e Príncipe (23 de julho de 2003). 2003. **Resenha de Política Exterior do Brasil**, Ministério das Relações Exteriores, ano 30, n. 93, p. 278, 2o semestre. Available at: <<http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/divulg/documentacao-diplomatica/publicacoes/resenha-de-politica-exterior-do-brasil/resenhas/resenha-n93-2sem-2003>>. Last accessed on: 13 June 2013.
- DISCURSO do Presidente da República, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, por ocasião do almoço oferecido pelo Presidente da República Democrática de São Tomé e Príncipe, em 2 de novembro de 2003. 2003. **Resenha de Política Exterior do Brasil**, Ministério das Relações Exteriores, ano 30, n. 93, p. 185, 2o semestre. Available at: <<http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/divulg/documentacao-diplomatica/publicacoes/resenha-de-politica-exterior-do-brasil/resenhas/resenha-n93-2sem-2003>>. Last accessed: 13 June 2013.
- DREYFUS et al. 2010. **Small Arms in Brazil**: Production, Trade, and Holdings. Rio de Janeiro: Viva Rio / ISER.
- ENGSTROM, Par. 2012. Brazilian Foreign Policy and Human Rights: Change and Continuity under Dilma. *Critical Sociology*, v. 38, n. 6, p. 835-849.
- ESTEBAN, Mario. 2009. The Chinese Amigo: Implications for the development of Equatorial Guinea. *The China Quarterly*, China and Africa: Emerging patterns in globalization and development, ed. by Jualia C Staruss and Marta Saavedra, Cambridge University Press, v. 199, p. 667-685, sept.
- EUROPEAN UNION. 2010. **Capitalisation Study of EIDHR Projects Programme in Angola** (Report). 23 March. Available at: <http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/what/human-rights/documents/angola_eidhr_capitalization_study_2010_en.pdf>. Last Accessed on: 13 June 2013.
- FIGUEIREDO, Janaína; FABRINI, Fábio. 2011. Dilma: Brasil não pode ter opinião sobre tudo. *O Globo*, Mundo, 31 de janeiro de 2011. Available at: <<http://oglobo.globo.com/mundo/brasil-nao-pode-ter-opiniao-sobre-tudo-diz-dilma-2830436>>. Last accessed on: 13 June 2013.
- FOLEY, Conor. 2011. The West's Gift to Robert Mugabe. *The Guardian*, 15 August 2011. Available at: <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/aug/15/west-mugabe-sanctions-zanu-pf-zimbabwe>>. Last accessed on: 13 June 2013.
- FRAYSINET, Fabiana. 2011. Brazil Opposed to Military Options in Libya Crisis. *Inter Press Service*, 2 february, 2011. Available at: <<http://www.ipsnews.net/2011/03/brazil-opposed-to-military-options-in-libya-crisis/>>. Last accessed on: 15 June 2013.
- GANUZA, Ernesto; BAIOCCHI, Gianpaolo. 2012. The Power of Ambiguity: How

- Participatory Budgeting Travels the Globe. *Journal of Public Deliberation*, v. 8, n. 2. Available at: <<http://www.publicdeliberation.net/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1229&context=jpd>>. Last accessed on: 13 June 2013.
- GIRALDI, Adriana. 2013. Dilma viaja à Etiópia para comemorações dos 50 anos da União Africana. *Agência Nacional*, 23 de maio de 2013. Available at: <<http://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/noticia/2013-05-23/dilma-viaja-etioopia-para-comemoracoes-dos-50-anos-da-uniao-africana>>. Last accessed on: 13 June 2013.
- GODOY, Fernanda. 2011. Desigualdade alimenta revolta, diz Patriota. 2011. *O Globo*, 11 de fevereiro de 2011.
- HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH. 2013. “What is a house without food?” Mozambique’s coal mining boom and resettlements (Report). United States of America: Human Rights Watch. Available at: <http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/mozambique0513_Upload_0.pdf>. Last accessed on: Nov. 2013.
- INDIA. 2013. Ministry of External Affairs; Institute of Social Sciences. India Brazil South Africa Local Governance Forum.
- INTERNATIONAL BUDGET PARTNERSHIP (n.d.). Available at: <<http://www.internationalbudget.org/themes/PB/>>. Last accessed on: 13 June 2013.
- KLEIN, Cristian. 2012. O Brasil precisa aprender a manipular a China. Entrevista com Matias Spektor. *Valor Econômico*, 2 de janeiro de 2012, Especial, p. A16. Available at: <<http://www2.senado.leg.br/bdsf/bitstream/handle/id/468733/noticia.htm?sequence=1>>. Last accessed on: 13 June 2013.
- LOWENTHAL, Abraham F. (ed.). 1991. *Exporting Democracy: The United States and Latin America*. Baltimore, MD and London: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- LUSA (Agência de Notícias de Portugal). 2009. Lula lamenta atentado contra democracia na Guiné-Bissau. *Uol Notícias*, 2 de março de 2009. Available at: <<http://noticias.uol.com.br/ultnot/lusa/2009/03/02/ult611u80762.jhtm>>. Last accessed on: 13 June 2013.
- LYNCH, Gabrielle; CRAWFORD, Gordon 2011. Democratization in Africa 1990-2010: An Assessment. *Democratization*, v. 18, n. 2, p. 275-310, 28 mar.
- MELLO, Fátima. 2013. O que quer o Brasil com o ProSavana? FASE—Federação de Órgãos para Assistência Social e Educacional, Rio de Janeiro. 21 de março.
- NOGUEIRA, Rui; PARAGUASSU, Lisandra. 2011. Brasil negocia ação diplomática junto à Síria. Entrevista com Antonio Patriota, *O Estado de São Paulo*, 17 July 2011.
- O ESTADO DE SÃO PAULO. 2011. *Onde o Itamaraty acerta*, Opinião, 11 de outubro de 2011.
- O GLOBO. 2011. *Brasil reafirma diplomacia e preocupa Irã*, Editorial, 2 de março de 2011.
- _____. 2013. *Brasil quer ação mais forte em direitos humanos*, Caderno País, p. 8, 22 de outubro de 2013.
- OLIVEIRA, Eliane. 2011. Contra violações, Brasil quer rigor sem ideologia. *O Globo*, 15 de fevereiro de 2011.
- ORDEM DOS ADVOGADOS DO BRASIL. 2011. *Ordens de Advogado do Brasil*

- e **Sudão firmam protocolo para cooperação**. Available at: <http://www.oab.org.br/noticia/20279/ordens-de-advogados-do-brasil-e-sudao-firmam-protocolo-para-cooperacao>. Last accessed on: 13 June 2013.
- O QUE muda e o que não muda na política externa com Dilma. Entrevista com Marco Aurélio Garcia. 2011. **Versus**—Revista de Ciências Sociais Aplicadas do CCJE/UFRJ, ano 2. n. 6, June.
- PATRICK, Stewart. 2010 Irresponsible stakeholders? The difficulty of integration rising powers. **Foreign Affairs**, Council on Foreign Relations, nov./dec. Available at: <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/node/66774>>. Last accessed on: 13 June 2013.
- PEREIRA, Paulo Celso. 2011. Continuar não é repetir. Entrevista com Antonio Patriota. **Veja**, n. 2199, 12 January 2011.
- RELATÓRIO da chancelaria da Suécia (9 de março de 2007). (2007). **Resenha de Política Exterior do Brasil**, Ministério das Relações Exteriores, ano 34, n. 100, p. 259, 1º semestre.
- SANTISO, Carlos. 2002. Promotion and protection of democracy in Brazilian foreign policy. **Contexto internacional**, Rio de Janeiro, v. 24, n. 2, p. 397-431. Available at: http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=S0102-85292002000200002&script=sci_arttext>. Last accessed on: 13 June 2013.
- SANTORO, Maurício. 2012. Democracia e Política Externa no Brasil. **Revista Estudos Políticos**, n. 4, p. 95-105. Available at: <http://revistaestudospoliticos.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/4p95-105.pdf>>. Last accessed on: 13 June 2013.
- SAPA (2013). SA, EU launch human rights dialogue. **News24**, May 5, 2013.
- SITUAÇÃO no Zimbábue (18 de março de 2007). 2007. **Resenha de Política Exterior do Brasil**, Ministério das Relações Exteriores, ano. 34, n. 100, p. 84. 1o semestre.
- SITUAÇÃO na Guiné-Bissau (11/8/2008). (2008). **Resenha de Política Exterior do Brasil**, Ministério das Relações Exteriores, n. 103, p. 198, 2º semestre.
- UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM. 2012. **Transição democrática e políticas brasileiras são exemplo para o Egito**. 18 de abril de 2012.
- VISITA do Ministro Celso Amorim ao Zimbábue e à Zâmbia (17 a 19 de outubro de 2008). 2008. **Resenha de Política Exterior do Brasil**, Ministério das Relações Exteriores, n. 103, p. 247, 2o semestre.

NOTES

1. This was the argument used to base Brazil's support for Equatorial Guinea to become a member of the Community of Portuguese Speaking Nations in spite of criticism by civil society organizations from Brazil and Portugal that the government of Equatorial Guinea was

not democratic and violated human rights. At the moment, EG still remains an observer state of the CPLP and has not obtained full membership status.

2. See *O Globo* (2013, p. 8)

3. Although democracy and human rights are not coterminous, Brazil's stance towards human rights overlaps significantly with its positions and discourse on democracy abroad.
4. Brazil's involvement in Haiti was also justified by Brazilian authorities as part of a shared African heritage. Brazilian authorities argued that, since Brazil was already being non-indifferent towards African nations, it could not abstain from doing the same with Haiti.
5. See interview with Antonio Patriota published at *O Estado de São Paulo* (NOGUEIRA; PARAGUASSU, 2011).
6. See interview with Antonio Patriota published at *Veja* (PEREIRA, 2011).
7. On this subject see Interview with Professor Marco Aurélio Garcia entitled "*O que muda e o que não muda na política externa com Dilma*" (2011) published at *Revista de Ciências Sociais Aplicadas do CCJE/UFRJ*.
8. On this subject see article signed by Eliane Oliveira (2011) published at *O Globo*.
9. See interview with Matias Spektor by Cristian Klein (2012), entitled "*O Brasil precisa aprender a manipular a China*", published at *Valor Econômico*.
10. Rouseff's intentions to focus on the economic and commercial aspects of Brazil's foreign policy agenda can be exemplified by Foreign Minister Patriota's announcement that more diplomats and resources from the ministry would be concentrated on issues such as commercial disputes and the creation of new markets for Brazilian products. Patriota announced that Brazil would double the number of diplomats allocated to the Commercial Disputes Section of the Foreign Ministry as well as the creation of training opportunities at Brazil's Mission to the WTO and seminars and studies on economic and commercial dispute. See: "*Onde o Itamaraty acerta*", *O Estado de São Paulo* (2011).
11. Brazilian mining company Vale and the Mozambican government have been criticized by Human Rights Watch and local actors for its actions in the Tete region of Mozambique, especially regarding resettlement policies (HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, 2013).
12. See Special Report by Dreyfus et al. (2010).
13. See International Budget Partnership (n.d.).
14. About the Brazilian voting system see Brasil (2013d).
15. For the full text of the agreement see Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil – OAB (2010).
16. Ibid.
17. On this subject see Foley (2011).
18. On this subject see Figueiredo and Fabrini (2011) on article entitled "*Dilma: Brasil não pode ter opinião sobre tudo*" published at *O Globo*.
19. The July 3, 2013 statement by the Brazilian Foreign Ministry (BRASIL, 2013b) can be found at: <http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/sala-de-imprensa/notas-a-imprensa/situacao-no-egito-2>. Last accessed on: Nov. 2013.
20. On this subject see article by Adriana Giraldo (2013).
21. See "*Relatório da chancelaria da Suécia...*" (2007).
22. See "*Comunicado à imprensa sobre o fim da sublevação militar em São Tomé e Príncipe...*" (2003).
23. See "*Discurso do Presidente da República, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, por ocasião do almoço oferecido pelo Presidente da República Democrática de São Tomé e Príncipe, em 2 de novembro de 2003*" (2003).
24. See "*Situação na Guiné-Bissau 11/08/2008*" (2008).
25. See Sapa (2013).
26. See India (2013).

RESUMO

Nos últimos dez anos, as elites responsáveis pela política externa brasileira puseram cooperação econômica, política e militar com a África entre as prioridades máximas do país, como parte da política de estreitar suas relações com o Sul Global. Embora uma crescente literatura especializada tenha tentado analisar as normas e práticas que esta cooperação implica, apenas uma pequena parcela da literatura atual tem escrutinado a relevância desta cooperação para a política africana. Neste artigo, consideramos os efeitos da cooperação brasileira para a democracia e os direitos humanos na África em três aspectos: o alcance e o conteúdo dos programas brasileiros para promoção da democracia; as consequências desta cooperação (oficial e não-oficial) para a democracia e para os direitos humanos; e as respostas do Brasil a crises políticas na África.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Brasil – África – Cooperação – Política externa – Democracia – Direitos humanos

RESUMEN

En los últimos diez años, las élites de la política exterior de Brasil le dieron un lugar prioritario a la cooperación económica, política y militar con África, como parte del énfasis puesto por Brasil en la expansión de las relaciones dentro del Sur Global. Si bien hay cada vez más estudios que analizan las normas y prácticas que implica esta cooperación, es poca la investigación que actualmente se centra en examinar su relevancia para la política africana. En el presente artículo, consideramos las implicancias que tiene la cooperación de Brasil para la democracia y los derechos humanos en África haciendo eje en tres aspectos: el alcance y contenido de los programas brasileños de promoción de la democracia; las implicancias de la cooperación (oficial y no oficial) de Brasil para la democracia y los derechos humanos; y sus respuestas a las crisis políticas de África.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Brasil – África – Cooperación – Política exterior – Democracia – Derechos humanos

PREVIOUS NUMBERS

Previous numbers are available at <www.surjournal.org>.

SUR 1, v. 1, n. 1, Jun. 2004

EMILIO GARCÍA MÉNDEZ
Origin, Concept and Future of Human Rights: Reflections for a New Agenda

FLAVIA PIOVESAN
Social, Economic and Cultural Rights and Civil and Political Rights

OSCAR VILHENA VIEIRA AND A. SCOTT DUPREE
Reflections on Civil Society and Human Rights

JEREMY SARKIN
The Coming of Age of Claims for Reparations for Human Rights Abuses Committed in the South

VINODH JAICHAND
Public Interest Litigation Strategies for Advancing Human Rights in Domestic Systems of Law

PAUL CHEVIGNY
Repression in the United States after the September 11 Attack

SERGIO VIEIRA DE MELLO
Only Member States Can Make the UN Work Five Questions for the Human Rights Field

SUR 2, v. 2, n. 2, Jun. 2005

SALIL SHETTY
Millennium Declaration and Development Goals: Opportunities for Human Rights

FATEH AZZAM
Reflections on Human Rights Approaches to Implementing the Millennium Development Goals

RICHARD PIERRE CLAUDE
The Right to Education and Human Rights Education

JOSÉ REINALDO DE LIMA LOPES
The Right to Recognition for Gays and Lesbians

E.S. NWAUCHE AND J.C. NWOBIKE
Implementing the Right to Development

STEVEN FREELAND
Human Rights, the Environment and Conflict: Addressing Crimes against the Environment

FIONA MACAULAY
Civil Society-State Partnerships for the Promotion of Citizen Security in Brazil

EDWIN REKOSH
Who Defines the Public Interest?

VÍCTOR E. ABRAMOVICH
Courses of Action in Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Instruments and Allies

SUR 3, v. 2, n. 3, Dec. 2005

CAROLINE DOMMEN
Trade and Human Rights: Towards Coherence

CARLOS M. CORREA
TRIPS Agreement and Access to Drugs in Developing Countries

BERNARDO SORJ
Security, Human Security and Latin America

ALBERTO BOVINO
Evidential Issues before the Inter-American Court of Human Rights

NICO HORN
Eddie Mabo and Namibia: Land Reform and Pre-Colonial Land Rights

NLERUM S. OKOGBULE
Access to Justice and Human Rights Protection in Nigeria: Problems and Prospects

MARÍA JOSÉ GUEMBA
Reopening of Trials for Crimes Committed by the Argentine Military Dictatorship

JOSÉ RICARDO CUNHA
Human Rights and Justiciability: A Survey Conducted in Rio de Janeiro

LOUISE ARBOUR
Plan of Action Submitted by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

SUR 4, v. 3, n. 4, Jun. 2006

FERNANDE RAINE
The measurement challenge in human rights

MARIO MELO
Recent advances in the justiciability of indigenous rights in the Inter American System of Human Rights

ISABELA FIGUEROA
Indigenous peoples versus oil companies: Constitutional control within resistance

ROBERT ARCHER
The strengths of different traditions: What can be gained and what might be lost by combining rights and development?

J. PAUL MARTIN
Development and rights revisited: Lessons from Africa

MICHELLE RATTON SANCHEZ
Brief observations on the mechanisms for NGO participation in the WTO

JUSTICE C. NWOBIKE
Pharmaceutical corporations and access to drugs in developing countries: The way forward

CLÓVIS ROBERTO ZIMMERMANN
Social programs from a human rights perspective: The case of the Lula administration's family grant in Brazil

CHRISTOF HEYNS, DAVID PADILLA AND LEO ZWAAK
A schematic comparison of regional human rights systems: An update

BOOK REVIEW

SUR 5, v. 3, n. 5, Dec. 2006

CARLOS VILLAN DURAN
Lights and shadows of the new United Nations Human Rights Council

PAULINA VEGA GONZÁLEZ
The role of victims in International Criminal Court proceedings: their rights and the first rulings of the Court

OSWALDO RUIZ CHIRIBOGA
The right to cultural identity of indigenous peoples and national minorities: a look from the Inter-American System

LYDIAH KEMUNTO BOSIRE
Overpromised, underdelivered: transitional justice in Sub-Saharan Africa

DEVIKA PRASAD
Strengthening democratic policing and accountability in the Commonwealth Pacific

IGNACIO CANO
Public security policies in Brazil: attempts to modernize and democratize versus the war on crime

TOM FARER
Toward an effective international legal order: from co-existence to concert?

BOOK REVIEW

SUR 6, v. 4, n. 6, Jun. 2007

UPENDRA BAXI
The Rule of Law in India

OSCAR VILHENA VIEIRA
Inequality and the subversion of the Rule of Law

RODRIGO UPRIMNY YEPES
Judicialization of politics in Colombia: cases, merits and risks

LAURA C. PAUTASSI
Is there equality in inequality? Scope and limits of affirmative actions

GERT JONKER AND RIKA SWANZEN
Intermediary services for child witnesses testifying in South African criminal courts

PREVIOUS NUMBERS

Previous numbers are available at <www.surjournal.org>.

SERGIO BRANCO

Brazilian copyright law and how it restricts the efficiency of the human right to education

THOMAS W. POGGE

Eradicating systemic poverty: brief for a Global Resources Dividend

SUR 7, v. 4, n. 7, Dec. 2007

LUCIA NADER

The role of NGOs in the UN Human Rights Council

CECÍLIA MACDOWELL SANTOS

Transnational legal activism and the State: reflections on cases against Brazil in the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights

TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE

TARA URS

Imagining locally-motivated accountability for mass atrocities: voices from Cambodia

CECILY ROSE AND

FRANCIS M. SSEKANDI

The pursuit of transitional justice and African traditional values: a clash of civilizations – The case of Uganda

RAMONA VIJEYARASA

Facing Australia's history: truth and reconciliation for the stolen generations

ELIZABETH SALMÓN G.

The long road in the fight against poverty and its promising encounter with human rights

INTERVIEW WITH JUAN MÉNDEZ

By Glenda Mezarobba

SUR 8, v. 5, n. 8, Jun. 2008

MARTÍN ABREGÚ

Human rights for all: from the struggle against authoritarianism to the construction of an all-inclusive democracy – A view from the Southern Cone and Andean region

AMITA DHANDA

Constructing a new human rights lexicon: Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

LAURA DAVIS MATTAR

Legal recognition of sexual rights – a comparative analysis with reproductive rights

JAMES L. CAVALLARO AND

STEPHANIE ERIN BREWER

The virtue of following: the role of Inter-American litigation in campaigns for social justice

RIGHT TO HEALTH AND ACCESS TO MEDICAMENTS

PAUL HUNT AND RAJAT KHOSLA

The human right to medicines

THOMAS POGGE

Medicines for the world: boosting innovation without obstructing free access

JORGE CONTESSE AND DOMINGO LOVERA PARMO

Access to medical treatment for people living with HIV/AIDS: success without victory in Chile

GABRIELA COSTA CHAVES, MARCELA FOGAÇA VIEIRA AND RENATA REIS

Access to medicines and intellectual property in Brazil: reflections and strategies of civil society

SUR 9, v. 5, n. 9, Dec. 2008

BARBORA BUKOVSKÁ

Perpetrating good: unintended consequences of international human rights advocacy

JEREMY SARKIN

Prisons in Africa: an evaluation from a human rights perspective

REBECCA SAUNDERS

Lost in translation: expressions of human suffering, the language of human rights, and the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission

SIXTY YEARS OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

PAULO SÉRGIO PINHEIRO

Sixty years after the Universal Declaration: navigating the contradictions

FERNANDA DOZ COSTA

Poverty and human rights from rhetoric to legal obligations: a critical account of conceptual frameworks

EITAN FELNER

A new frontier in economic and social rights advocacy? Turning quantitative data into a tool for human rights accountability

KATHERINE SHORT

From Commission to Council: has the United Nations succeeded in creating a credible human rights body?

ANTHONY ROMERO

Interview with Anthony Romero, Executive Director of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)

SUR 10, v. 6, n. 10, Jun. 2009

ANUJ BHUWANIA

"Very wicked children": "Indian torture" and the Madras Torture Commission Report of 1855

DANIELA DE VITO, AISHA GILL AND DAMIEN SH-ORT

Rape characterised as genocide

CHRISTIAN COURTIS

Notes on the implementation by Latin American courts of the ILO Convention 169 on indigenous peoples

BENYAM D. MEZMUR

Intercountry adoption as a measure of last resort in Africa: Advancing the rights of a child rather than a right to a child

HUMAN RIGHTS OF PEOPLE ON THE MOVE: MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES

KATHARINE DERDERIAN AND LIESBETH SCHÖCKAERT

Responding to "mixed" migration flows: A humanitarian perspective

JUAN CARLOS MURILLO

The legitimate security interests of the State and international refugee protection

MANUELA TRINDADE VIANA

International cooperation and internal displacement in Colombia: Facing the challenges of the largest humanitarian crisis in South America

JOSEPH AMON AND KATHERINE TODRYS

Access to antiretroviral treatment for migrant populations in the Global South

PABLO CERIANI CERNADAS

European migration control in the African territory: The omission of the extraterritorial character of human rights obligations

SUR 11, v. 6, n. 11, Dec. 2009

VÍCTOR ABRAMOVICH

From Massive Violations to Structural Patterns: New Approaches and Classic Tensions in the Inter-American Human Rights System

VIVIANA BOHÓRQUEZ MONSALVE AND JAVIER AGUIRRE ROMÁN

Tensions of Human Dignity: Conceptualization and Application to International Human Rights Law

DEBORA DINIZ, LÍVIA BARBOSA AND WEDERSON RUFINO DOS SANTOS

Disability, Human Rights and Justice

JULIETA LEMAITRE RIPOLL

Love in the Time of Cholera: LGBT Rights in Colombia

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS

MALCOLM LANGFORD

Domestic Adjudication and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: A Socio-Legal Review

PREVIOUS NUMBERS

Previous numbers are available at <www.surjournal.org>.

ANN BLYBERG

The Case of the Mislaid Allocation: Economic and Social Rights and Budget Work

ALDO CALIARI

Trade, Investment, Finance and Human Rights: Assessment and Strategy Paper

PATRICIA FEENEY

Business and Human Rights: The Struggle for Accountability in the UN and the Future Direction of the Advocacy Agenda

INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COLLOQUIUM

Interview with Rindai Chipfunde-Vava, Director of the Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) Report on the IX International Human Rights Colloquium

SUR 12, v. 7, n. 12, Jun. 2010

SALIL SHETTY

Foreword

FERNANDO BASCH ET AL.

The Effectiveness of the Inter-American System of Human Rights Protection: A Quantitative Approach to its Functioning and Compliance With its Decisions

RICHARD BOURNE

The Commonwealth of Nations: Intergovernmental and Nongovernmental Strategies for the Protection of Human Rights in a Post-colonial Association

MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

Combating Exclusion: Why Human Rights Are Essential for the MDGs

VICTORIA TAULI-CORPUZ

Reflections on the Role of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in relation to the Millennium Development Goals

ALICIA ELY YAMIN

Toward Transformative Accountability: Applying a Rights-based Approach to Fulfill Maternal Health Obligations

SARAH ZAIDI

Millennium Development Goal 6 and the Right to Health: Conflictual or Complementary?

MARCOS A. ORELLANA

Climate Change and the Millennium Development Goals: The Right to Development, International Cooperation and the Clean Development Mechanism

CORPORATE ACCOUNTABILITY

LINDIWE KNUTSON

Aliens, Apartheid and US Courts: Is the Right of Apartheid Victims to Claim Reparations from Multinational Corporations at last Recognized?

DAVID BILCHITZ

The Ruggie Framework: An Adequate Rubric for Corporate Human Rights Obligations?

SUR 13, v. 7, n. 13, Dec. 2010

GLENDA MEZAROBBA

Between Reparations, Half Truths and Impunity: The Difficult Break with the Legacy of the Dictatorship in Brazil

GERARDO ARCE ARCE

Armed Forces, Truth Commission and Transitional Justice in Peru

REGIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS MECHANISMS

FELIPE GONZÁLEZ

Urgent Measures in the Inter-American Human Rights System

JUAN CARLOS GUTIÉRREZ AND SILVANO CANTÚ

The Restriction of Military Jurisdiction in International Human Rights Protection Systems

DEBRA LONG AND LUKAS MUNTINGH

The Special Rapporteur on Prisons and Conditions of Detention in Africa and the Committee for the Prevention of Torture in Africa: The Potential for Synergy or Inertia?

LUCYLINE NKATHA MURUNGI AND JACQUI GALLINETTI

The Role of Sub-Regional Courts in the African Human Rights System

MAGNUS KILLANDER

Interpreting Regional Human Rights Treaties

ANTONIO M. CISNEROS DE ALENCAR

Cooperation Between the Universal and Inter-American Human Rights Systems in the Framework of the Universal Periodic Review Mechanism

IN MEMORIAM

Kevin Boyle – Strong Link in the Chain
By Borislav Petranov

SUR 14, v. 8, n. 14, Jun. 2011

MAURICIO ALBARRACÍN CABALLERO

Social Movements and the Constitutional Court: Legal Recognition of the Rights of Same-Sex Couples in Colombia

DANIEL VÁZQUEZ AND DOMITILLE DELAPLACE

Public Policies from a Human Rights Perspective: A Developing Field

J. PAUL MARTIN

Human Rights Education in Communities Recovering from Major Social Crisis: Lessons for Haiti

THE RIGHTS OF PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES

LUIS FERNANDO ASTORGA GATJENS

Analysis of Article 33 of the UN Convention: The Critical Importance of National Implementation and Monitoring

LETÍCIA DE CAMPOS VELHO MARTEL

Reasonable Accommodation: The New Concept from an Inclusive Constitutional Perspective

MARTA SCHAAF

Negotiating Sexuality in the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

TOBIAS PIETER VAN REENEN AND HELÉNE COMBRINCK

The UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in Africa: Progress after 5 Years

STELLA C. REICHER

Human Diversity and Asymmetries: A Reinterpretation of the Social Contract under the Capabilities Approach

PETER LUCAS

The Open Door: Five Foundational Films That Seeded the Representation of Human Rights for Persons with Disabilities

LUIS GALLEGOS CHIRIBOGA

Interview with Luis Gallegos Chiriboga, President (2002-2005) of the Ad Hoc Committee that Drew Up the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

SUR 15, v. 8, n. 15, Dec. 2011

ZIBA MIR-HOSSEINI

Criminalising Sexuality: *Zina* Laws as Violence Against Women in Muslim Contexts

LEANDRO MARTINS ZANITELLI

Corporations and Human Rights: The Debate Between Voluntarists and Obligationists and the Undermining Effect of Sanctions

INTERVIEW WITH DENISE DORA
Former Ford Foundation's Human Rights Officer in Brazil (2000-2011)

PREVIOUS NUMBERS

Previous numbers are available at <www.surjournal.org>.

IMPLEMENTATION AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL OF THE DECISIONS OF THE REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS SYSTEMS

MARIA ISSAIEVA, IRINA SERGEEVA AND MARIA SUCHKOVA

Enforcement of the Judgments of the European Court of Human Rights in Russia: Recent Developments and Current Challenges

CÁSSIA MARIA ROSATO AND LUDMILA CERQUEIRA CORREIA

The *Damião Ximenes Lopes* Case: Changes and Challenges Following the First Ruling Against Brazil in the Inter-American Court of Human Rights

DAMIÁN A. GONZÁLEZ-SALZBERG

The Implementation of Decisions from the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in Argentina: An Analysis of the Jurisprudential Swings of the Supreme Court

MARCIA NINA BERNARDES

Inter-American Human Rights System as a Transnational Public Sphere: Legal and Political Aspects of the Implementation of International Decisions

SPECIAL ISSUE: CONECTAS HUMAN RIGHTS - 10 YEARS

The Making of an International Organization from/in the South

SUR 16, v. 9, n. 16, Jun. 2012

PATRICIO GALELLA AND CARLOS ESPÓSITO

Extraordinary Renditions in the Fight Against Terrorism. Forced Disappearances?

BRIDGET CONLEY-ZILKIC

A Challenge to Those Working in the Field of Genocide Prevention and Response

MARTA RODRIGUEZ DE ASSIS MACHADO, JOSÉ RODRIGO RODRIGUEZ, FLAVIO MARQUES PROL, GABRIELA JUSTINO DA SILVA, MARINA ZANATA GANZAROLLI AND RENATA DO VALE ELIAS

Law Enforcement at Issue: Constitutionality of *Maria da Penha* Law in Brazilian Courts

SIMON M. WELDEHAIMANOT

The ACHPR in the Case of *Southern Cameroons*

ANDRÉ LUIZ SICILIANO

The Role of the Universalization of Human Rights and Migration in the Formation of a New Global Governance

CITIZEN SECURITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

GINO COSTA

Citizen Security and Transnational Organized Crime in the Americas: Current Situation and Challenges in the Inter-American Arena

MANUEL TUFRÓ

Civic Participation, Democratic Security and Conflict Between Political Cultures. First Notes on an Experiment in the City of Buenos Aires

CELS

The Current Agenda of Security and Human Rights in Argentina. An Analysis by the Center for Legal and Social Studies (CELS)

PEDRO ABRAMOVAY

Drug policy and *The March of Folly*

Views on the Special Police Units for Neighborhood Pacification (UPPs) in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Rafael Dias — Global Justice Researcher

José Marcelo Zacchi — Research Associate, Institute for Studies on Labor and Society — IETS

SUR 17, v. 9, n. 17, Dec. 2012

DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS

CÉSAR RODRÍGUEZ GARAVITO, JUANA KWEITEL AND LAURA TRAJBER WAISBICH

Development and Human Rights: Some Ideas on How to Restart the Debate

IRENE BIGLINO, CHRISTOPHE GOLAY AND IVONA TRUSCAN

The Contribution of the UN Special Procedures to the Human Rights and Development Dialogue

LUIS CARLOS BUOB CONCHA

The Right to Water: Understanding its Economic, Social and Cultural Components as Development Factors for Indigenous Communities

ANDREA SCHETTINI

Toward a New Paradigm of Human Rights Protection for Indigenous Peoples: A Critical Analysis of the Parameters Established by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights

SERGES ALAIN DJOYOU KAMGA AND SIYAMBONGA HELEBA

Can Economic Growth Translate into Access to Rights? Challenges Faced by Institutions in South Africa in Ensuring that Growth Leads to Better Living Standards

INTERVIEW WITH SHELDON LEADER

Transnational Corporations and Human Rights

ALINE ALBUQUERQUE AND DABNEY EVANS

Right to Health in Brazil: A Study of the Treaty-Reporting System

LINDA DARKWA AND PHILIP ATTUQUAYEFIO

Killing to Protect? Land Guards, State Subordination and Human Rights in Ghana

CRISTINA RĂDOI

The Ineffective Response of International Organisations Concerning the Militarization of Women's Lives

CARLA DANTAS

Right of Petition by Individuals within the Global Human Rights Protection System

SUR 18, v. 10, n. 18, Jun. 2013

INFORMATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS

SÉRGIO AMADEU DA SILVEIRA
Aaron Swartz and the Battles for Freedom of Knowledge

ALBERTO J. CERDA SILVA

Internet Freedom is not Enough: Towards an Internet Based on Human Rights

FERNANDA RIBEIRO ROSA

Digital Inclusion as Public Policy: Disputes in the Human Rights Field

LAURA PAUTASSI

Monitoring Access to Information from the Perspective of Human Rights Indicators

JO-MARIE BURT AND CASEY CAGLEY

Access to Information, Access to Justice: The Challenges to Accountability in Peru

MARISA VIEGAS E SILVA

The United Nations Human Rights Council: Six Years On

JÉRÉMIE GILBERT

Land Rights as Human Rights: The Case for a Specific Right to Land

PÉTALLA BRANDÃO TIMO

Development at the Cost of Violations: The Impact of Mega-Projects on Human Rights in Brazil

DANIEL W. LIANG WANG AND OCTAVIO LUIZ MOTTA FERRAZ

Reaching Out to the Needy? Access to Justice and Public Attorneys' Role in Right to Health Litigation in the City of São Paulo

OBONYE JONAS

Human Rights, Extradition and the Death Penalty: Reflections on The Stand-Off Between Botswana and South Africa

ANTONIO MOREIRA MAUÉS

Supra-Legality of International Human Rights Treaties and Constitutional Interpretation

The work of the Carlos Chagas Foundation revolves around the principle of citizenship. Its specialities and lines of research are geared towards human and social development. Research production at the FCC, which addresses the issues of policy evaluation, gender and race, consists of in-depth studies on the various levels of education.

In the Foundation's three publications – *Cadernos de Pesquisa* (Research Journals), *Estudos em Avaliação Educacional* (Educational Evaluation Studies) and *Textos FCC* (FCC Texts) – this academic production features alongside the work of researchers from other institutions, providing a diversified view of the issues in the field.



Fundação Carlos Chagas

A REFERENCE IN EDUCATION WWW.FCC.ORG.BR