

FINAL REPORT

# Brazil-Germany Dialogue: Possibilities for and challenges to multilateralism and bilateral cooperation

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**Monica Herz**, Associate Professor, International  
Relations Institute of PUC-Rio

**Victória Santos**, PhD student, International  
Relations Institute of PUC-Rio

# Acknowledgements

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## **Authors**

Monica Herz;  
Victória Santos

## **Executive editor**

Julia Dias Leite

## **Editorial coordination**

Luciana Gama Muniz  
Monique Sochaczewski

## **Editorial support**

Gabriel Torres  
Mônica Pereira

## **Technical revisions**

Carlos Orteblad

## **Graphic design**

Presto Design



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DIALOGUE  
**BRAZIL**  **GERMANY**

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DIALOGUE

## **BRAZIL** **GERMANY**

The Brazil-Germany relationship is deeply rooted and anchored in shared values regarding the importance of democracy, multilateralism, the peaceful settlement of disputes, and the expectation that the multilateral framework will be reformed. Thus, during 2018, the Brazil-Germany Dialogue project, promoted by CEBRI's Europe Program, in partnership with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, deliberated on issues of environmental and energy cooperation, security and safety cooperation, migration, economic ties, and energy geopolitics. The project facilitated exchange regarding the political, private, and institutional practices of both countries and allowed for an exchange of experiences among diverse actors in the public, private, and third sector spheres, in Brazil and Germany, broadening the dialogue between the two countries. Three workshops were held during the year, in Rio de Janeiro, Brasilia, and São Paulo, and this report reviews the debates, (without necessarily following the order in which they took place).

# Summary

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# Multilateralism and bilateral cooperation in the environmental and energy areas

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Germany and Brazil are countries with intense relations in the economic sphere and their international insertion strategies demonstrate strong support of the multilateral system created after World War II. The German government has favored incorporating countries at a level of development such as that of Brazil into processes of global governance, which is consistent with the Brazilian interest in having a more significant role in the international arena. In this context, the commitment to **multilateralism** takes center stage in Brazilian and German diplomatic traditions, especially after the end of the Cold War - a period that also marks the processes of redemocratization in Brazil and of German reunification. Such a commitment is characterized by the respect for ordering frameworks grounded on rules and norms, to the detriment of unilateral actions, and the sharing of values such as the promotion of democracy and sustainable development.

In this context, successive Brazilian and German governments have acted to establish an international order that is more adapted to the contemporary multipolar scenario, through changes to existing multilateral mechanisms. An example of such action is seen in discussions on the reform of the UN Security Council, within the framework of the G4, a group composed of Brazil, Germany, India and Japan. In a statement in 2011, for example, the group reiterated its "common vision of an enlarged Security Council for the 21st century, expanded in both the permanent and non-permanent categories of membership, taking into consideration the contributions made by these countries to the maintenance of international peace and security, as well as the need for increased representation of developing countries in both categories,

in order to better reflect today's geopolitical realities"<sup>1</sup>. In a meeting held in November 2017, representatives of the four countries reiterated the need for reform of the Council, which is considered crucial to strengthening multilateralism and global governance<sup>2</sup>.

Recently, multilateral mechanisms that underpin the production of the international order have encountered a series of challenges, as can be observed in the UN Security Council itself - which has seen its role hampered by the actions of governments in countries such as the United States of America and Russia. The European Union, for its part, has sought to occupy spaces ceded by the current US administration, as seen in the case of the nuclear agreement with Iran - even though the organization sees its own

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1. Brazil, Ministry of Foreign Relations. Reunião Ministerial dos países do G4 (Brasil, Alemanha, Índia e Japão) à margem da 66ª Sessão da Assembleia Geral das Nações Unidas – Declaração Conjunta à Imprensa – New York, September 23, 2011. Available at: <http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/ptBR/notas-a-imprensa/2759-reuniao-ministerial-dos-paises-do-g4-brasil-alemanha-india-e-japao-amargem-da-66-sessao-da-assembleia-geral-das-nacoes-unidas>

2. Brazil, Ministry of Foreign Relations. 2017. G4 Meeting in Brasilia – November 24, 2017. <http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/pt-BR/notas-a-imprensa/17946-encontro-do-g4-embrasilia-24-de-novembro-de-2017>

influence affected by transformations such as “Brexit”<sup>3</sup>. Simultaneously, the rise of populist discourses around the globe - including in the European Union, Germany, and Brazil itself - jeopardizes the commitment of such actors to multilateralism in regional and global spaces, favoring the adoption of a nationalist rhetoric and a subsequent narrowing of such spaces. In this scenario, the political coordination between Brazil and Germany must adopt a clear and assertive commitment to historically shared values, such as respect for democracy and human rights, and the priority of multilateral solutions to shared problems.

In addition to multilateral mechanisms, **bilateral cooperation** between the Brazilian and German governments has been central in several areas. An important framework of cooperation between the two countries was the bilateral nuclear agreement signed in June 1975. The agreement involved prospection, exploration, and the commercial use of Brazilian natural uranium, as well as the construction of plants in partnership with the Brazilian state-owned Nuclebrás. Although the agreement was criticized at the time due to the countries’ commitments to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, it was defended as supporting the interests of the parties in ensuring sufficient energy production to allow high growth rates<sup>4</sup>. More recently, cooperation in the nuclear agenda has given way to that in the field of renewable energy sources. Since 2002, Brazil and Germany have been strategic partners and in 2015 the High Level Intergovernmental Consultations mechanism was inaugurated, with emphasis on the environment and energy, as will be discussed later in this report.

In the economic area, trade links and investments have intensified in recent years and Germany is one of Brazil’s main trading partners and the main one in Europe. The

second half of the 1950s was a milestone in the growth of German investment in Brazil with the arrival of companies such as Mannesmann and Volkswagen. This investment grew significantly in the 1970s, in areas such as the chemical industry, machinery and automobiles, and then declined in the 1980s. Today, more than 1600 Brazilian companies hold German capital. We also observe cooperation in the fields of education, culture, science and technology, the environment, and energy.

## Brazil - Germany cooperation in environmental and energy issues

Since the early 1990s, following the processes of re-democratization in Brazil and German reunification, bilateral relations between the countries changed course. Germany opened a new front in Brazil, in the form of **environmental agendas**. Especially since the ECO-92 in Rio de Janeiro, the sustainable development agenda has become a priority in bilateral relations, in addition to trade and investment<sup>5</sup>. Cooperation between the two countries in the environmental area was consolidated in the early 1990s with the creation of the Pilot Program for the Protection of Tropical Forests (PPG7), in which Germany is Brazil’s main partner<sup>6</sup>.

Since 2000, cooperation between the governments of the two countries has focused primarily on environmental protection, natural resource management, and energy, as well as integrated regional development in disadvantaged regions. In 2006, following an analysis of the German Development Institute (GDI) project portfolio, the parties agreed that future cooperation would focus on the following: environmental protection and natural resource

3. See Sochaczewski, Monique. 2018. *Relações políticas entre Brasil e Alemanha: Cooperação em Paz e Segurança. Migrações e Multilateralismo em perspectiva comparada*. Rio de Janeiro: CEBRI.

4. Lohbauer, Christian. 2013. “Brasil e Alemanha: seis décadas de intensa parceria econômica.” *Cadernos Adenauer*, XIV(2013). Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Konrad Adenauer. Available at: [https://www.kas.de/c/document\\_library/get\\_file?uuid=37fa7f57-aa66-f269-a062-4cdcab7d98ab&groupId=252038](https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=37fa7f57-aa66-f269-a062-4cdcab7d98ab&groupId=252038)

5. Ibid.

6. Brazil, Ministry of the Environment. *Brazil-Germany Bilateral Cooperation*. Available at: <http://www.mma.gov.br/assuntos-internacionais/cooperacao/item/857-cooperacao-7-3-3-bilateral-brasil-alemanha.html>

management; and energy, with a focus on renewable energy and energy efficiency<sup>7</sup>. In this context, in 2008, the Brazilian President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and the German Chancellor Angela Merkel signed the Strategic Partnership Action Plan, intensifying bilateral relations with an emphasis on the aforementioned areas.

Regarding environmental issues, German cooperation remains important for a series of projects focused on biodiversity conservation, sustainable development, forest management, indigenous lands, and capacity building. The **Amazon Region** is a priority in tropical forest cooperation, as seen in German support for the Ministry of Environment, the Brazilian Forest Service (SFB), and the Chico Mendes Institute for Biodiversity Conservation (ICMBio). An important program in this area, which counts on the German government among its international collaborators, is the Amazon Region Protected Areas Program (ARPA), which is in its third phase (2014-2039)<sup>8</sup>.

The Amazon Fund, focused on preventing, monitoring, and combating deforestation, and promoting the conservation and sustainable use of forests in the region, also receives large financial contributions from Germany as well as Norway<sup>9</sup>. The Amazon Fund, which celebrated its 10th year of existence in 2018, currently supports 101 projects and has disbursed 978 million *reais* (approximately USD 250 million)<sup>10</sup>. The types of projects currently supported by the fund include inspection and combat of environmental crimes, implementation of the Rural Environmental Registry (CAR), land regularization, territorial and environmental management of indigenous lands, and the sustainable use of forest and biodiversity, among others<sup>11</sup>.

It is important to emphasize the technical and financial components that are part of these cooperation efforts in the environmental area. Technical cooperation between the two countries in this area is coordinated, on the Brazilian side, by the Cooperation Agency of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and on the German side, by the German Agency for International Cooperation (GIZ). Financial cooperation, in turn, is coordinated, on the Brazilian side, by the Secretariat for International Affairs of the Ministry of Planning, Budget and Management. On the German side, projects are financed by the Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). Since 2008, the German Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety (BMU) has financed the project through the International Climate Protection Initiative (IKI)<sup>12</sup>. While the specific projects in the environmental area are largely coordinated in Brazil by the Ministry of the Environment, including the activities of ICMBio and IBAMA, some projects involve partners such as the National Indian Foundation (Funai). Cooperation projects in education and research between the two countries are also important. One example is the New Partnerships (NoPa) program, which since 2010 has been coordinated by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), GIZ and the Brazilian Federal Agency for Support and Assessment of Post-Graduate Education (CAPES), geared to promoting the exchange of ideas and expertise for energy efficiency and protection of tropical forest<sup>13</sup>.

In recent years, cooperation between Brazil and Germany has been very dynamic, including innovative financing such as the Amazon Fund and projects aimed at combating deforestation in the Amazon, the Atlantic Forest, and the

7. Brazil, Brazilian Cooperation Agency. 2007. Summary Record of the Negotiations on Development Cooperation between the Government of the Federative Republic of Brazil and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany held in Brasília on 21 to 23 November 2007. Available at: <http://www.abc.gov.br/Content/ABC/docs/AtaAlemanha.pdf>

8. Socio-Environmental Platform of the BRICS Policy Center. 2017. Radar Socioambiental - A flexibilização socioambiental no Brasil e os Investimentos Internacionais, Heinrich Böll Stiftung Brasil, October 31, 2017. Available at: <https://br.boell.org/pt-br/2017/10/31/radar-socioambiental-flexibilizacaosocioambiental-no-brasil-e-os-investimentos>

9. Brazil, Ministry of the Environment. Brazil-Germany Bilateral Cooperation. Available at: <http://www.mma.gov.br/assuntos-internacionais/cooperacao/item/857-cooperacao-7-3-30-bilateral-brasil-alemanha.html>

10. Amazon Fund. Available at: <http://www.fundoamazonia.gov.br/pt/home/>

11. Amazon Fund. Focos de apoio. Available at: <http://www.fundoamazonia.gov.br/pt/comoapresentar-projetos/focos-de-apoio/>

12. Brazil, Brazilian cooperation agency. German-Brazilian Program. Available at: <http://www.abc.gov.br/Projetos/CooperacaoRecebida/BrasilAlemanha>

13. DAAD. s.d. German-Brazilian Partnerships in Sustainable Development. Available at: <https://www.daad.de/der-daad/unsereaufgaben/entwicklungszusammenarbeit/foerderprogramme/hochschulen/infos/en/43835-germanbrazilian-partnerships-in-sustainable-development/>

Cerrado, a huge tropical savannah forest. One possibility that could be further explored is triangular cooperation, such as that in projects carried out with other partners, such as Mozambique and Peru, to discuss topics that include climate and preservation. An important challenge is the scarcity of Brazilian resources for projects in this area, as well as bureaucratic restrictions on the use of existing resources. In a scenario of budgetary constraints on the part of both governments, it is necessary to think about ways to ensure the continuity of cooperation projects. One option discussed at the workshop is the establishment of more partnerships with private sector actors, as well as cooperation with civil society actors. Another important factor discussed is the economic sustainability of the projects financed, as seen in relation to those that integrate tourism activities, such as bird and animal observation and forest conservation.

In one of the workshops in the project, the challenge of striking a balance between **centralization** and **decentralization** of environmental cooperation was debated. On the one hand, some level of centralization is important, since the projects benefiting from cooperation should be part of a broader governmental strategy, especially for issues such as reducing deforestation. In addition, a strategic vision should take into account the interests of major economic sectors such as agriculture and mining, and include diverse stakeholders, such as family farmers, in order to develop plans that are sustainable. The need for decentralization was emphasized, so that local government actors, such as city halls, can take on more prominent roles and share their needs and knowledge. Attempts at decentralization often bump up against bureaucratic obstacles, and cooperation depends largely on negotiations between the central governments of the two countries.

In spite of these issues, participants at the event

emphasized the centrality of Brazil-Germany cooperation for the Brazilian environmental agenda, noting that the flow of resources has remained constant and even increased. In addition, the logic of reciprocal cooperation was emphasized, since priorities are not imposed on the Brazilian government. This cooperation has had a structural impact over the Brazilian environmental field, and much of the progress achieved since the creation of the Ministry of the Environment on issues such as deforestation is due to the participation of the German government.

In 2015, the bilateral partnership intensified with the first meeting under the Brazil-Germany High-Level Intergovernmental Consultations mechanism, aimed at strengthening trade, economic, and technological cooperation in priority areas. At that meeting, Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff and German Chancellor Angela Merkel discussed climate change, internet security, and reform of the UN Security Council, among other issues<sup>14</sup>. In addition, possibilities of cooperation between the two countries in education, and science and technology were discussed<sup>15</sup>. Regarding climate change, the 2015 meeting was important for the Brazilian and German governments to define their positions before the UN climate summit that would take place in December, where the so-called **Paris Agreement** was signed<sup>16</sup>. In fact, the bilateral agreement signed by Brazil and Germany in 2015 already contained many of the elements that would form part of the Paris Agreement. This was one of the ways in which the Brazilian and German governments exerted influence over the international negotiations regarding decarbonization policies. In the current context, however, the influence of both governments on this agenda is in question, which creates challenges for bilateral cooperation in the field. These challenges are linked, for example, to the questioning of the terms of the Paris Agreement by certain domestic political actors in Brazil - especially

14. Deutsche Welle. 2015, August 20. Cronologia das relações Brasil-Alemanha. Available at: <https://www.dw.com/pt-br/cronologia-das-rela%C3%A7%C3%B5es-brasil-alemanha/a-18662968>

15. Deutsche Welle. 2015, August 20. Merkel chega ao Brasil para a estreia de Consultas de Alto Nível. Available at: <https://www.dw.com/pt-br/merkel-chega-ao-brasil-para-estrea-de-consultas-de-alton%C3%ADvel/a-18659140>

16. Deutsche Welle. 2015, August 14. Cúpula Brasil-Alemanha foca em ambiente e cibersegurança. Available at: <https://www.dw.com/pt-br/c%C3%BApula-brasil-alemanha-foca-em-ambiente-eciberseguran%C3%A7a/a-18649275>

those related to the agricultural sector - and to questions about the ability of the German government to meet its emissions reduction targets agreed to in Paris.

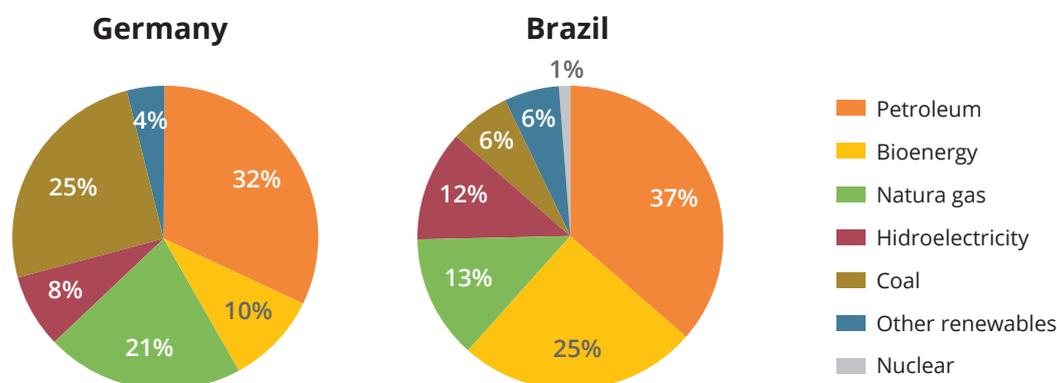
At the same bilateral meeting in 2015, cooperation in the area of data protection was also foreseen in the form of a regular exchange between the cybersecurity authorities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brazil and the Federal Foreign Office of Germany. The context of the initiative was the cases of espionage on the part of the United States government, that affected both the Brazilian president and the German chancellor.

Bilateral technical, commercial, financial and technological cooperation in the energy sector between Germany and Brazil offers strong potential, promoting the **energy transition** in both countries. The transfer of knowledge, investments, and commercial partnerships tend to grow, and Brazil has become a hub for German interests in Latin America in a variety of fields, including renewable energy penetration, technological innovation focused on energy transition, and governance for the transition. As Brazil is among the ten largest energy producers in the world<sup>17</sup>, and the demand for energy tends to grow in view of the development stage of the country, the interest of German investors

is clear. Brazil also has significant potential to develop wind and solar energy, and Germany has developed great expertise in regulatory, technological, and operational terms, enabling it to contribute to the energy transition in Brazil. It is also worth mentioning the existence of opportunities for greater integration of research centers in the field of bioenergy (with emphasis on biogas), smart grids, and energy efficiency. In addition, Brazil also offers important lessons for the development of the field in other contexts: for example, the Brazilian model of auctions for renewable energy, currently also applied to other energy sources, is considered innovative, with potential for replication by governments of other countries.

However, it should be emphasized that the challenges of the two countries regarding the transition to a low carbon economy are quite different. The generation of greenhouse gases as a result of deforestation still needs to be faced by Brazil, in addition to its dependence on long-distance road transport. In this sense, in order to fulfill its commitments to the climate agenda in a sustainable way, the energy area must be managed in Brazil from a strategic perspective, as a State policy, integrating the need to combat deforestation and the diversification of energy and electric matrices. This diversification must consider the costs and opportunities associated

**Graph 1:** Energy matrix of Germany and Brazil



Data available at: Lins, Clarissa. 2018. Diálogos Brasil-Alemanha: Relações econômicas Brasil-Alemanha e a geopolítica da energia. Rio de Janeiro: CEBRI.

17. International Energy Agency. 2018. IEA Atlas of Energy – Total Energy Production.

with different energy sources in the short and long term. For example, the role of the pre-salt and of gas, sources that may be central to the attraction of German investment and to the very viability of Brazilian government subsidies for renewable sources, should be discussed.

On the other hand, Germany undertakes a transformation of the energy matrix in response to pressure from the decision to eliminate nuclear energy production, the pressure of the coal-based trade union movement, and the geostrategic challenge of dependence on Russian gas. In addition, only 15% of the German energy matrix comes from renewable sources, with coal corresponding to one-quarter and oil, to almost one-third of the energy matrix<sup>18</sup>. In addition, Germany fell short in relation to achieving the targets agreed on in the Paris Agreement which jeopardizes its leadership potential in the multilateral climate regime. Unlike Brazil, where land use and agriculture account for 73% of greenhouse gas emissions, in Germany the energy sector accounts for 81% of emissions in the country.

It is worth noting that cooperation between Brazil and Germany has also produced important impacts on energy efficiency, including projects involving the Ministry of Mines and Energy and the Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation. However, significant opportunities for cooperation in the area remain little explored, as in the case of urban sanitation, which continues to be severely limited in several parts of Brazil due to problems of energy inefficiency.

Clearly, therefore, there is an intersection between environment-oriented policies and energy-related policies, as well as connections between the possibilities for cooperation in these areas, especially in view of the challenges posed by climate change. Thus, in addition to the strengthening of multilateral solutions and regimes, numerous possibilities for bilateral cooperation emerge between Brazil and Germany. With a view to the energy area specifically, as discussed in the third workshop of this project, it is important to develop a strategic partnership for the energy transition which promotes sharing common lessons and challenges, including technical partnerships for research and development in the area; the development of the renewable energy sector; investments in infrastructure for electric mobility; and projects aimed at training the workforce.

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18. See Lins, Clarissa. 2018. *Diálogos Brasil-Alemanha: Relações econômicas Brasil-Alemanha e a geopolítica da energia*. Rio de Janeiro: CEBRI.

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## Challenges and Opportunities

### • Challenges to promoting multilateralism

International political circumstances and regional and domestic factors present challenges to an assertive stance on multilateralism by the Brazilian and German governments. Such factors include the rise of political actors using populist and nationalist rhetoric, in which multilateral organizations, both regional and international, are constructed as threats to national interests. In addition, the actions of actors such as the US and Russia have narrowed spaces for political concertation, such as the United Nations Security Council itself. On the other hand, in light of the retreat on the part of these political actors, Brazil and Germany may mobilize to make such spaces more representative and to occupy eventual vacuums in agendas that are of shared interest.

### • Challenges to bilateral environmental cooperation

While technical and financial cooperation in the environmental area have been at the center of bilateral Brazil -Germany relations, challenges to strengthening this cooperation exist. On the Brazilian side, budgetary constraints, bureaucratic limitations on the use of existing resources, and a context of political and economic instability, make it difficult to establish long-term projects that meet diverse local needs. Possible institutional transformations can also lead to a weakening of the environmental regime in the country, which would make maintaining and deepening cooperation in this area difficult. On the German side, the emergence of other priority issues, such as the migratory crisis, has reduced the attention reserved for Latin America, in general, and for Brazil, in particular. In this sense, developing alternatives capable of attracting the participation of private sector and civil society actors, as well as facilitating the participation of subnational units in the elaboration and management of cooperation projects, can favor the continuity of bilateral agendas.

### • Challenges to energy transition in the two countries

Both countries face challenges to promoting renewable energy matrices, although they emerge from quite different contexts. In the Brazilian case, energy transition projects for the development of a more balanced and diversified matrix may require investments in fuels. Short term investment in natural gas, for example, may allow for the availability of funds for future subsidies to other sources considered clean. In the German case, initiatives must consider the social and economic costs that may lead to the delegitimization of the energy transition agenda. In fact lessons can be learned from Brazilian experiences, such as the renewable energy auction model. In addition, opportunities for cooperation and investment in energy efficiency, including in infrastructure such as urban sanitation, can be explored, favoring greater rapprochement between the two countries.

# Migration, refuge and human rights: challenges and opportunities

Germany and Brazil comply with international refugee protection regimes; both are signatories to the main international treaties in the area and have set up domestic institutions to meet the demands generated by the regimes. In Brazil, the 1997 Refugee Statute establishes norms for refugees, and the National Committee for Refugees (CONARE) was created to determine and make decisions about refugee status and to promote local integration.

In November 2017, the new Immigration Law came into effect in Brazil, replacing the 1980 “Foreigners’ Statute.” In addition to regulating the rights and duties of immigrants and visitors, the law provides special regulations for crisis situations, in the form of temporary humanitarian visas<sup>19</sup>. In Germany, the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF, using German initials) is the institution responsible for refugees. The country has programs for integration, insertion in the labor market, and teaching German, in several locations.

The flow of refugees to Germany has required significant resources to receive and integrate them, especially since 2014, and through the peak of the process in 2015, when about 890,000 people, mostly Syrians, applied for refuge. Since then such requests have declined, but the perception of crisis persists<sup>20</sup>. In Brazil, there are about 10,000 recognized refugees and about 86,000 applicants. Applicants are mostly from Venezuelans - in 2017, more than 17,000 - and

Haitians; among the recognized refugees, a large share came from Syria (39%), among many other countries<sup>21</sup>.

In view of the humanitarian, social, and political challenges posed by refugee and immigrant flows globally and the need to generate coordinated public policies to address them, Brazil and Germany are in a privileged position to contribute to global governance in this area. In addition to the role of state agencies, we emphasize that in both countries, creative and successful solutions have been generated by civil society organizations to deal with the arrival of refugees and immigrants: for instance, Abraço Cultural provides a forum for refugees and immigrants to teach the languages of their countries of origin in Brazil, and host families play an important role in Germany.

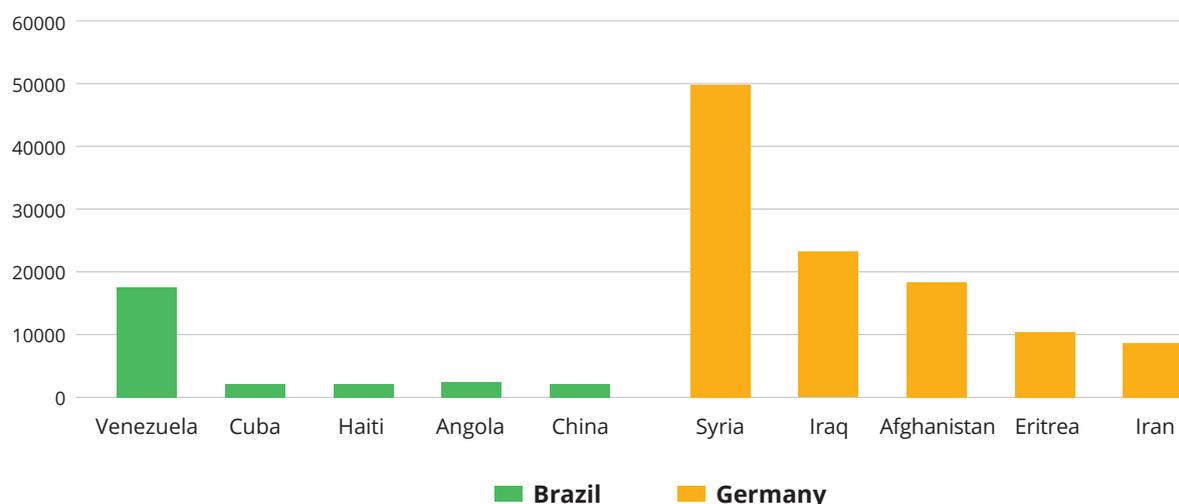
In the European context, the connection between the rise of populist discourse and the expansion of refugee flows became especially clear, as

19. Revista Brasil-Alemanha. 2018, junho. Novidades do Direito Brasileiro, p. 86. Available at: [http://www.ahkbrasil.com/downloads/Arquivos/Revista\\_Brasil\\_Alemanha\\_2018.pdf](http://www.ahkbrasil.com/downloads/Arquivos/Revista_Brasil_Alemanha_2018.pdf).

20. See Sochaczewski, Monique. 2018. Relações políticas entre Brasil e Alemanha: Cooperação em Paz e Segurança. Migrações e Multilateralismo em perspectiva comparada. Rio de Janeiro: CEBRI.

21. Brazil, National Secretary of Justice. 2018. Refúgio em números, 3a edição. Available at: [http://www.acnur.org/portugues/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/refugio-em-numeros\\_1104.pdf](http://www.acnur.org/portugues/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/refugio-em-numeros_1104.pdf)

**Graph 2:** Requests for recognition of refugee status in 2017, in Brazil and Germany, from the main five countries of origin.



Data available at: Brazil, National Justice Secretariat. 2018. *Refúgio em números, 3rd edition*; European Migration Network. 2018. Germany: Country Factsheet 2017.

seen in the rhetoric that connected the question of refuge to terrorism. In addition, a context of economic crisis has contributed to a certain corrosion of the European social fabric, leading to the partial de-legitimization of traditionally shared values such as respect for human rights and multilateralism. In a context of the rise of populist and conservative political actors, such tendencies become more pronounced and create difficulties for national and regional political concertation in various areas, including the reception of refugees.

In the Brazilian context, on the other hand, the arrival of Venezuelan immigrants, although in numbers well below those seen in other countries, has also generated challenges for the state of Roraima. This state has a precarious infrastructure and a labor market that is unable to absorb the numbers currently arriving. In any case, important initiatives have been put in place to protect Venezuelans arriving in Brazil, including their internalization to other Brazilian states where there is a demand for labor. The army has also played an important role in

Roraima, acting in coordination with UNHCR and various civil society entities. In the context of Operation Acolhida (Operation Welcome), the military has focused its efforts on humanitarian support for receiving vulnerable people<sup>22</sup>.

In addition, in Brazil, the New Immigration Law has been hailed for facilitating the process of requesting refuge and naturalization, as well as meeting the demands of stateless persons and those who immigrate for humanitarian reasons, contributing to the reception of Haitians and Venezuelans and their access to public services and the labor market. There are, however, obstacles to implementation, such as the lengthy processing of requests for refuge and the lack of definition of the status of certain groups, such as Venezuelans. The recognition of the situation in Venezuela as marked by widespread systematic violations of human rights would enable the applicability of rights such as those established in the Cartagena Declaration, contributing to the protection of Venezuelans who arrive in Brazil.

In this sense, both Germany and Brazil face,

22. Maj. George Alberto Garcia de Oliveira. 2018, October. "Use of the Brazilian Military Component in the Face of Venezuela's Migration Crisis". *Military Review*. Available at: <https://www.armyupress.army.mil/Journals/Military-Review/Online-Exclusive/2018-OLE/Oct/BrazilianMilitary/>

among other challenges, the need to carry out a public opinion campaign to generate greater sensitivity for the demands of refugees and their cultural specificities and greater empathy for these populations. The principles of human rights and humanitarianism, on which the refugee protection regime is based, are often limited and fragile. Thus, the influx of refugees may lead to a dispute over scarce resources, and the difficulty of dealing with lesser-known or distinct cultural practices can generate exclusion, violence, or even lead to a democratic crisis.

It is, therefore, important that projects aimed at the integration of immigrants and refugees, including those that are focused on their inclusion in the labor market, be expanded. Impetus for these projects may come from exchanges with civil society actors with wider

experiences in this field, as well as cooperation projects that promote knowledge exchange by government agencies of both countries. In addition, educational projects can contribute to the production and dissemination of knowledge about the current state of the refugee and immigration issue, aiming at deconstructing prejudices and misinformation and shaping the formulation of public policies. In Brazil, an important example is the Sérgio Vieira de Mello Chair, an education, research and university extension project implemented by UNHCR, in cooperation with national universities and CONARE. These experiences provide successful examples of how to integrate the refugee and immigration agenda into educational cooperation projects between Brazil and Germany, such as the CAPES / PROBRAL<sup>23</sup> and CAPES / DAAD programs<sup>24</sup>.

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## Challenges and Opportunities

### • Challenges to the economic inclusion of immigrants and refugees

Factors such as economic crises and budget cuts generate negative impacts for the implementation of laws aimed at the protection of refugees and immigrants. These processes occur both directly, through budget cuts directed at these policies, and indirectly, through the strengthening of political actors with populist rhetoric attacking the protection of immigrants and refugees. In this scenario, both in Brazil and in Germany, it is necessary to think of economically sustainable forms of inclusion of immigrants and refugees through labor market insertion projects, governmental partnerships with the private sector, and the strengthening of third sector organizations. Developments such as the New Immigration Law, adopted in Brazil, contribute to this integration of immigrants and refugees into the labor market, facilitating their internalization and hiring by companies around Brazil. Obstacles, however, remain with respect to practices such as the revalidation of diplomas and the integration of highly skilled immigrants and refugees into their previous professions - especially in view of the inability, in many cases, of obtaining new copies of diplomas lost in contexts of war and violence. The exchange of experiences and lessons learned between the two countries can contribute to the strengthening and dissemination of successful initiatives.

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23. The Brazil-Germany Program (PROBRAL) was created in 1994 and is implemented by CAPES in Brazil and by DAAD in Germany, supporting research projects which entail the cooperation between institutions from both countries.

24. CAPES. 2018, 19 de junho. CAPES assina Acordo em ação de parceria com a Alemanha. Available at: <http://www.capes.gov.br/sala-de-imprensa/noticias/8935-capes-assina-acordo-em-acao-de-parceriacom-a-alemanha>

### • **Challenges to the implementation of existing regimes**

Even in the presence of a multilateral regime adopted by both States, and domestic laws based on them, obstacles to the implementation of such commitments persist. Issues such as the ability to process requests for refuge and ensure the provision of rights remain central in both cases. In the case of Venezuelans arriving in Brazil, for example, although government action implemented by the military in coordination with UNHCR and other entities has been positive, its impacts are limited in view of the broader socioeconomic needs associated with the integration of these populations into society. In the European context, the implementation of protection regimes has also been challenged by the large influx of refugees in recent years, although the recent decline of refugee flows may represent an opportunity for strengthening existing institutions.

### • **Challenges to the cultural inclusion of immigrants and refugees**

The spread of xenophobic discourse that portrays immigrants and refugees as an existential threat is a global problem that affects Brazil and Germany. In this scenario, it is important to develop means to disseminate reliable information and knowledge that foster a harmonious coexistence between different cultures. Educational cooperation projects between Brazil and Germany can play an important role in this regard. In addition, it is important that information be produced and disseminated from within the university space to the whole society, to demystify differences, undo prejudices, and shape the formulation of social projects and public policies aimed at integrating immigrants and refugees.

# Conclusion

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Discussions in the context of the Brazil-Germany Dialogues, while addressing different thematic areas, reveal some of the common broader challenges and opportunities in terms of cooperation between the two countries and their joint action in multilateral fora. One of these challenges is linked to the economic crisis and budget constraints, which affect both the possibilities for protection and integration of refugees and immigrants and the focus on energy transition and protection of the environment.

In addition, the rise of nationalist populist discourses poses a challenge to the promotion of the values and priorities that historically unite the two countries, such as the defense of human rights, the strengthening of democracy, and the prioritization of multilateral solutions to shared problems.

In this scenario, several proposals discussed during the events provide pointers to strengthening these values and areas, such as the development of partnerships with civil society and private sector actors, decentralization of intergovernmental projects, and the strengthening of cooperation programs in the scientific and educational field. In addition, the dissemination of knowledge about bilateral and multilateral cooperation initiatives in a wide range of areas, including migration, environment and energy, can contribute to legitimizing such practices among the societies involved. It is, therefore, essential to continue projects such as this Dialogue, bringing together stakeholders and experts, and disseminating information about the possibilities and challenges of bilateral cooperation and multilateral action.

# About CEBRI

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

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

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

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**Brazilian Center for International Relations**

Rua Marquês de São Vicente, 336 Gávea  
Rio de Janeiro - RJ - Brasil  
22451-044  
+55 (21) 2206-4400  
cebri@cebri.org.br  
[www.cebri.org](http://www.cebri.org)



**Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e.V. (KAS)**

Klingelhöferstraße 23  
10785 Berlin  
Germany  
+49 30 26996-0  
zentrale-berlin@kas.de  
[www.kas.de](http://www.kas.de)