

DEFENSE, FOREIGN POLICY AND BRAZILIAN MILITARY THINKING (2003-2016)

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ABSTRACT

This article presents how Brazilian military thinks about issues related to the defense and foreign policy of the country in the 21st century, especially between 2003 and 2016, as a period characterized by deeper dialogue between defense and diplomacy. With this purpose, there is a brief presentation of the institutional trajectory of the Armed Forces and the military thinking on foreign policy in a context in which this corporation and the diplomatic institution acted relatively insulated. Next, the article addresses the changes that strengthened the military institution in the country's foreign policy in the post redemocratization period. Finally, the military thinking on defense and foreign policy in the recent context is analyzed. The paper is based on academic productions on the subject and on the collection of articles published by the military on periodicals specialized in defense and strategic studies, as well as monographs, theses and dissertations produced by officers in military studies courses.

Keywords: Thinking. Military. Defense. Foreign policy. Brazil. Nações Unidas (ONU).

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INTRODUCTION

One of the great exponents of the realistic theory of International Relations, Raymond Aron (2002), argues that interstate relations are expressed through two central figures: the diplomat and the soldier. These characters represent the state to which they belong and act in a complementary manner by conducting "relations with other states so as to further the 'national interest'" (ARON, 2002, p. 73). The articulated action of these players is perceived as fundamental for the countries, embodying both the foreign policy and the defense policy of the nation (MENEZES, 1997).

Foreign policy can be understood as a public policy (FARIA, 2012; PINHEIRO; MILANI, 2013) that involves all state policies and interactions at the international level, which encompasses its external action in different areas (BREUNING, 2002; HILL, 2003). Defense policy, in turn, is also a public policy (RUDZIT; CASARÃO, 2015), responsible for regulating the use of the Armed Forces as an instrument of national political power (ALSINA JR., 2003).

An analysis of Brazilian history, at least since the 1889 Proclamation of the Republic, shows that, over the years, the conduction of foreign policy and defense policy has been carried out separately, without the synergy necessary for the elaboration of an effective strategy for international insertion that would enhance the benefits obtained abroad. Both historical conditions and political choices influenced the polarized relationship established between the central characters of the country's international relations, contributing to developing autonomous institutional considerations on Brazil's insertion in the world and to a difference between diplomatic and military thinking (MENEZES, 1997).

Among the factors that influenced the historic lack of articulation between diplomats and the military, it is the deviation from the classic defense mission that the military should perform, which contributed to limiting their participation in national foreign policy, increasing their interference in domestic policy and internal security issues (LIMA, 2010). In contrast, the diplomatic institution has expanded its control over foreign policy formulation, gaining prestige and credibility with the rest of the state bureaucracy and society.

However, the end of the Cold War, the United Nations (UN) reform agenda and the intensification of peacekeeping operations created

the conditions for bringing diplomacy and defense closer, in addition to a renewed military role in foreign policy. In the domestic field, the consolidation of the democratic regime led to important changes that helped associate the Armed Forces with the classic defense function. Fernando Henrique Cardoso administration (1995-2002) contributed to this through the formulation of the National Defense Policy (PDN) in 1996 and the creation of the Ministry of Defense (MD) in 1999, providing conditions for civilian control over the Armed Forces (ALSINA JR., 2003).

However, the most intense approximation of defense and foreign policy occurred along Lula da Silva (2003-2010) and Dilma Rousseff (2011-2016) administrations, with the enhanced understanding that it was necessary to invest in Armed Forces consistent with Brazil's size and international importance to generate an effective deterrent capacity (FUCCILLE; BARRETO; GAZZOLA, 2015). In this context, some initiatives were of particular relevance to greater dialogue between diplomacy and defense and to strengthening the military external action, implying greater synergy between the areas and motivating reflections on the new conjunctures in the field of national security and on Brazil's insertion in the world.

The declaratory defense documents, released from the 1990s onwards, were accompanied by MD legislation and guidelines, which led to modifications in military education, including the study of disciplines such as International Relations and Geopolitics as mandatory components of the curriculum (FONTOURA, 2016), stimulating thinking related to foreign policy and defense in the Armed Forces.

Based on the above, this article aims to present how the military thinks about issues related to Brazilian defense and foreign policy in the twenty-first century, especially between 2003 and 2016, since it is a period characterized by the establishment of greater dialogue between defense and diplomacy and the publication of declaratory defense documents by Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff administrations, which stimulated reflection on the subject at the military level (such as the Defense White Paper, the National Defense Strategy and the revision of the National Defense Policy). Thinking is understood as the set of ideas, beliefs, values and principles that are expressed on specific subjects (LOPES, 2016). Thus, the present study analyzes the opinions and conceptions of the Brazilian military on international subjects.

For this purpose, the next section presents, in short, the

institutional trajectory of the Armed Forces and outlines the characteristics of military organization that relate to military identity and thinking over time. This analysis is performed from an organizational perspective, which understands that intra-organizational factors (such as identity, mission, culture, and interests) influence the positions of institutions in the political field. Considering that organizations are collectivities formed by individuals and their members are socially institutionalized – absorbing values and institutional principles –, the military organization's trajectory in the country is highlighted, with emphasis on the institution's characteristic features that shape the identity and military thinking.

The following section presents a brief history of the role played by the military in Brazilian foreign policy, drawing attention to the insular performance of the diplomatic and military institutions until the period of redemocratization in the country. From secondary sources, it seeks to identify what was the military thinking focused on international relations at that time. The fourth section addresses the changes in the role assigned to the military in the 1990s and 2000s, which strengthened the Armed Forces in Brazil's foreign action. The fifth section examines the main subjects that integrate the military thinking on defense and foreign policy in the recent context (2003-2016). Finally, the conclusion is presented.

In order to reach the defined objectives, this article is based on academic productions on the subject and survey on articles that are part of national military periodicals², monographs, theses and dissertations produced by officers at the Army Command and General Staff School (ECEME), War College (ESG) and Naval War College (EGN)³. The survey on the intellectual production of the officers is carried out without intention to be exhausting, and covers the period from 2003-2016, time frame of this

² The periodicals surveyed were the Brazilian National War College Magazine and the Journal of Strategic Studies, both produced by the Naval War College (ESG). As the objective is not to perform an exhaustive survey, the option was to research the articles published on periodicals linked to this College, which includes studies of various military branches, instead of searching for periodicals linked to specific Military Commands.

³ The survey on monographs, theses and dissertations was conducted from the websites of military educational institutions and material available online. In this sense, the theses and dissertations produced by the officers were investigated within the scope of the Research and Graduate Program in Military Sciences (PPGCM) of ECEME and the Postgraduate Program in Marine Studies (PPGEM) at EGN. Monographs of Advanced Policy and Strategy Studies Course (CAEPE) and Maritime Policy and Strategy Course (C-PEM), both of EGN, were also studied. It was not possible to access theses, dissertations and online monographs produced at the Air Force Command and General Staff School (ECEMAR). Other programs, such as the ESG General Staff Course, do not make available the monographs produced at the end of the course on its website, making it impossible to survey the topics studied.

study.

The option of conducting the bibliographic survey on the officers' academic production within these Colleges was due to the relevance that these courses have in their professionalization processes, enabling their institutional socialization. Thus, they constitute an important stage of their professional and intellectual training. However, as Soares (2005, p. 51) notes, "the view contained in military academic work is not considered to be necessarily representative of the Armed Forces, but the outlined traits are indicative of that military mentality, certainly derived from a unique process of socialization." Thus, based on the proposed survey, one seeks to answer the following question: How do the military think about defense and foreign policy subjects in current context?

ORGANIZATION, IDENTITY AND MILITARY THINKING IN BRAZIL

As Garcia (1997) states, three groups of Brazilian society assume, with different degrees of involvement and responsibilities, prominent positions in discussions about international relations in Brazil: diplomats, academics and the military. Indeed, studies on Brazilian foreign policy inevitably pass through reading and discussing texts and authors that fit into one of these segments highlighted by the author. However, the contribution of military thinking to the country's foreign relations is generally related to the view on geopolitics and national security (GARCIA, 1997), referring us to classic authors, such as Goés Monteiro, Golbery do Couto e Silva, and Carlos de Meira Mattos, with a still scarce reference to a broader view of the military on international relations and Brazilian foreign policy.

Bibliographic research conducted for this work indicates that there are few studies that sought to map Brazilian military international view on foreign policy. A pioneering effort was conducted by Eugênio Vargas Garcia (1997), curiously a diplomat, who highlighted traits that characterized military thinking on international politics during the years 1961-1989, based on the prevailing doctrine in the Armed Forces during this period and the survey on national military periodicals.

However, before discussing the prevailing military thinking on foreign policy and defense, it is necessary to discuss the thinking produced in the institution, which relates to the formation of the organization and the

collective identity. This is because indoctrination, that is, the transmission of values and practices to the members of the corporation, generates an institutional socialization that imprints a professional mentality and forms a certain identity of the members of the institution (SOARES, 2005).

In a recent article, D'Araujo (2016) revisits works considered classic in the Brazilian literature on military corporations. Assuming that until the present day the Armed Forces are an institution characterized by broad institutional and decision-making autonomy, in order to analyze the organization the author presents how these studies in the country evolved in terms of theoretical approach. Among the various approaches, D'Araujo (2016) presents the axis of analysis that privileged the study of the relations of the Armed Forces with politics, that is, that addressed the military as political players and as organization.

This was the case of the pioneering study by Alfred Stepan in 1975, which considers the military institution "a subsystem that reacts to changes in the political system as a whole." The author investigates the Brazilian military's organizational characteristics, arguing that since the Armed Forces are a well-developed bureaucratic institution, they value the maintenance of their command and disciplinary structure, seeking to ensure their institutional unity. Even the fear of fragmentation of the institution was as a limiter in coups d'état, causing the stimuli for the depositions of presidents to come from outside the institution, embodied in the "moderator model"⁴ of the civil-military relationship, where, after the deposition, power was transferred to an alternative civilian group (STEPAN, 1975). According to Stepan (1975), this model predominated in Brazil until 1964, when there was a rupture of this pattern caused by the Military Regime. At the same time, in 1976, Edmundo Coelho published a study in which he takes a stand against the Armed Forces' instrumental conceptions, which consider them oligarchy's and middle sectors' instruments, or a moderator power⁵. The author reinforces that the Armed Forces are organizations and it is necessary to analyze them from this perspective to understand their behavior, also understanding their own interests and goals. From the perspective adopted by Coelho (2000, p. 43), organizations "do not meet objectives, but are served by

⁴ "In the moderator model, the military has a task that consists essentially of conservative system maintenance activity" (STEPAN, 1975, p. 50).

⁵ In his view, the very idea of moderator power is incorporated by the military organization as a legitimization principle of interventions based on rationalizations of players excluded from power or from its benefits (COELHO, 2000).

them,” that is, the institution’s objectives are redefined over time as a way to expand its competitive capacity, its control over resource allocation, and its political control.

Through an institutional and historical approach, Coelho (2000) presents how the military organization was structured and evolved, building its identity and expanding its autonomy in the state apparatus, a process that reaches its climax with the authoritarian regime. Regarding the period of Brazilian Empire, the author argues that there was a phase of hibernation, in which the military adjusted to the hostile environment, adopting a routine behavior with minimum levels of organizational aspirations. At this time, prejudice against military organization, allocation of few budget resources, negative stereotypes of service, low professionalism and lack of prestige of the organization prevailed even after participating in the Paraguayan War (COELHO, 2000). There was no formation of a community with its own identity.

The regime change, inaugurated by the Old Republic, marked a stage of military ascension, in which self-awareness and self-esteem began to emerge in the barracks, although the values that would transform the organization into an institution in the consciousness of its members were not yet established. During this period, reforms, promotions and salary increases occurred, inserted in a co-optation policy sponsored by the civil governments from Prudente de Morais administration (1894-1898), and which provided privileged positions and power to the military organization’s members. From the 1920s onwards, the Armed Forces underwent a process of professionalization and modernization, stimulated by Brazil’s participation in the First World War, although little significant, and by the awareness of the need for military professionalization, stimulated by the so-called “young Turks” – Brazilian officers who demanded the modernization of the Army (COELHO, 2000).

The establishment of the *Estado Novo* in 1937 broadened the ties between the state and the Armed Forces, marking a period in which identity and military cohesion were improved. The impact of the Constitutionalist Revolution (1932), the Second World War (1939-1945) and the Communist Intent (1935) help this happen. General Goés Monteiro played a key role in this phase, developing and disseminating a doctrine that strengthened the military organization – Army and Navy –, and made it a model for society (TREVISAN, 2005).

Góes Monteiro advocated, among other things, economic nationalism and a strong state for the establishment of national base industries and autonomous exploitation of underground wealth, the only way, according to him, to build the true security of the nation and to enforce the "Army policy." The country's industrial capacity would be confused with the military capacity, and the way to enable this project would be through order and discipline, in accordance with the principles of military organization. [...] national defense would be the result of a development policy that would imply "a global strategy of rigid containment of the fighting political forces and social discipline" (GARCIA, 1997, p. 24).

According to Coelho (2000), this military political doctrine, combined with anti-communist sentiment, marked a decisive phase in the evolution of the organization. Moreover, there was creation of symbolic elements that referred to a common past, honored military heroes and revered the victims of the Communist Intent, creating an identity feeling. As indicated by Celso Castro (2002), symbols allow us to construct identity and the sense of permanence by evoking a common past. The creation of these symbols seeks to express cohesion and stability, which is particularly important in the context marked by divisions within the military corporation. Indeed, the period before the *Estado Novo* (1937-1945) and the doctrine proposed by Goés Monteiro was marked by profound divisions in the institution, as evidenced by the "Tenentist" revolts (1922, 1924, and Prestes Column), which resulted in the 1930 Revolution.

This period of military organization evolution, institutional maturation, and the creation of an identity and a majority doctrinal thinking made the Armed Forces more aware of its existence as a distinct entity in society, creating values and goals with which members are compromised (COELHO, 2000). However, it was with the 1964 Military Regime that the Armed Forces had a degree of unprecedented autonomy and decision-making power in national history. This scheme was based on the National Security Doctrine (DSN), created within the ESG. This doctrine, based on the security-development axis, can be seen as an updated and systematized version of Goés Monteiro's thinking

(TREVISAN, 2005). In addition to its contributions, the DSN also resorted to Brazilian geopolitical thinking, providing a legitimator ideology for the national project of an authoritarian state (Garcia 1997).

Geopolitical thinking was based mainly on the reflections of Generals Golbery do Couto e Silva and, to a lesser extent, Carlos de Meira Mattos, whose views reflected Brazil's fate as a major power, related to its geographical conditions and natural resources, and the projection of regional power (GARCIA, 1997). Although there were divergent groups, the DSN became majoritarian in the Armed Forces. The doctrine was effective in reinforcing the military identity, generating conditions for its integration into society as political and social elite (COELHO, 2000).

With the end of the military regime, there is a profound identity crisis. Soares (2005), in an article that analyzes "traits of the military political mindset" between 1985 and 1993, through the survey on monographs produced at ECEME, identifies the prevalence of military thinking that considers that the Armed Forces play an intervention role in the political process, in line with the doctrinal thinking forged in the institution over the years. As the author mentions, it is not by chance that the Armed Forces was organized in the Constituent Assembly to guarantee the constitutional provision that assures them, in addition to national external defense, the responsibility for maintaining law and order. Because they had played a preponderant role in politics over the years, it was difficult for the military to accept that their activities would be restricted to external defense.

In the 1990s, the military underwent intense organizational restructuring, with the extinction of some organs and the creation of the MD in 1999, expanding civilian control over the Armed Forces and inaugurating a new period in Brazilian democracy and civil-military relations. During this period, re-equipping the Armed Forces and the establishment of the PDN, transforming the military profession into a state career, were some initiatives taken to strengthen the organization (FUCCILLE, 2002). Since then, the dimension of external defense has been emphasized as a military organization's function, legitimizing a new role for the military in Brazilian society, and conferring a renewed identity. Nevertheless, it is not so difficult to find cases of the Armed Forces employing Law and Order Guarantee operations, undermining the allocation of resources to foreign policy objectives and diverting their activities to public security.

Throughout this section, it was sought to trace the military organization's trajectory in Brazil, demonstrating how the Armed Forces emerged from a situation in which they were fragile institutions and manipulated by some civil groups, to become institutions with great autonomy and decision-making power, reaching the point of governing the country authoritatively during the military regime. The organization's identity and mission have been built over time, resulting in different military behaviors in the national political game. Organizational interests as well as influence capacity varied according to the resources and degree of autonomy acquired.

It should be noted that the specialized literature on the Armed Forces makes little reference to the external defense function when addressing the military in Brazil. This is result of the deviation from the classic defense function that generated, throughout the process of building and maturing the military institution, a constant participation in domestic political life, besides the production of a kind of thinking associated with the moderator role to be played. The very thinking associated with external defense was elaborated within this context, within the scope of the doctrine proposed by Goés Monteiro, and related to National Security. Thus, it can be seen that the dimension of external defense, as part of Armed Forces' own mission, has low priority in Brazil when it should be the central concern, since the sovereign representation of national interests is not only done by diplomats, but also by the military.

MILITARY, FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE: A BREF HISTORY

The deviation from the military function had its consequences for the performance of this segment both in domestic policy and in foreign policy. However, blaming only this question for the weak articulation between defense and diplomacy and the low participation of the military in the conduct of Brazilian foreign policy would be a mistake. Thus, this section presents other factors that also caused the Armed Forces' defense dimension and participation not to be central in relation the country's international insertion over time.

Several authors emphasize the low articulation between foreign and defense policies in Brazil, highlighting the existence of a late dialogue (FUCCILLE; BARRETO; GAZZOLA, 2015), an imperfect synthesis (ALSINA JR., 2003), and a parallel destiny (SAINT -PIERRE, 2010). What the literature indicates is that there is a peculiar functioning of foreign

and defense policies in the country, which is related to the autonomy of specialized bureaucracies.

However, it was not always like this. As Alsina Jr. affirms (2014, p. 68) that the patron of Brazilian diplomacy himself, the Baron of Rio Branco, described by the ruling historiography as “a peace-loving statesman,” combined defense and diplomacy with national foreign policy. In the context of negotiations with Bolivia on the territory of Acre, he continued mobilizing the Navy and Army and sending troops in support for diplomacy. He also led the nation’s naval reorganization project at the beginning of the twenty-first century in a scenario of dispute with Argentina for hegemony in the subregion and fear of the European nations’ imperialist pretensions. In other words, the Chancellor understood the relevance of the Armed Forces to Brazil’s international insertion project (ALSINA JR., 2014).

Nevertheless, the ruling narrative created, from Rio Branco, a diplomatic legacy based on a conciliatory identity and a non-confrontational foreign policy that, over the years, reduced the role of defense in foreign policy and, consequently, the role of the military in international action. Allied to this, the fact that Brazil is located in a region that does not have intense regional threats undermined the legitimacy of the expansion of military capabilities and generated indifference towards military power (LIMA, 2010).

The definition and institutionalization of a role in society has become problematic for the military in a context in which its classic external defense functions have decreased. The diffuse identity that resulted from the lack of clarity of the role to be played made it necessary to form an internal unity in the organization and to identify a purpose (COELHO, 2000). In this context, the Armed Forces turned to issues related to their institutional development and the maintenance of internal order – rather than preparation for war (ALSINA JR., 2009). In this process, the lack of an external enemy forged the combat against the internal enemy, creating conditions for the Armed Forces to be employed in domestic policy (CENTENO, 2002). Both the doctrines that underpinned military thinking and the support of political groups for the institution’s moderator role in political life contributed to the abandonment of the classic military mission.

In turn, Brazil’s conciliatory identity legitimized a fundamental role for the diplomatic institution: the search for national economic

development. The emphasis on development as a vector of foreign policy has further weakened the dimension of security in foreign relations (LIMA, 2010). In this scenario, the diplomatic corporation strengthened itself as a bureaucratic institution, gaining autonomy in the face of countless governments and presidents, legitimizing its conduct of international affairs. Indeed, the prioritization of national economic development legitimized the country's peaceful conduct and renunciation of any regional military ambition (LIMA, 2010), contributing to the Armed Forces' secondary role in foreign policy.

By acquiring autonomy and strengthening itself as an institution, the military detached itself bureaucratically and developed its own identity in relation to society and national policy, reflecting on the idea of the nation's tutelage (moderator power). The Cold War context and the spread of the DSN strengthened the Armed Forces' mission in terms of internal security, and strengthened institutional identity as separate and above other organizations (ALSINA JR., 2009; LIMA, 2010).

During the Military Regime, there was a momentary synergy between the diplomatic and military corporations, founded on the defense of Brazilian autonomy to conduct its nuclear policy. This synergy led to the refusal to sign the 1967 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the celebration of the nuclear agreement with Germany in 1975, and a change in the military perception of the Brazilian association with the US for technological development projects (LIMA, 2010).

The period of military regime made suspicions about the military corporation persist even after the process of redemocratization implemented from 1985, which contributed to the low priority given to defense in Brazilian political life. Until the mid-1990s, indifference and low political interest in issues involving the Armed Forces occurred in the country, and there was a gradual detachment from the military in participating in political affairs, including the defense subject.

From the exposed above, it can be observed that some factors contributed to the low defense priority in foreign policy, weakening the articulation of military and diplomats, namely: Armed Forces' history of intervention in Brazilian political life; emphasis of foreign policy on economic development over national defense; non-confrontationism of the foreign policy; low perception of any external threats; isolation and high degree of autonomy of the military and diplomatic institutions, and, finally, concern about internal threats.

The military organization's emphasis on domestic rather than external affairs had an impact on military doctrines and thinking. Garcia (1997) draws attention to a curiosity in this regard. The logic of internal warfare inherent in the DSN meant that studies of international relations had a secondary role in the military organization. The concepts, language and conception proper to the study of International Relations began to be employed in domestic scope, applied to the DSN. Thus, concepts such as 'security,' 'national power,' 'strategy,' 'ideological warfare,' 'ideological boundaries,' and 'enemy' were borrowed from international politics and applied to the study of what was central to the Armed Forces: internal security and non-classical warfare.

By mapping how the military thought of international policy and foreign policy between 1961 and 1989, Garcia (1997) identified the predominance of the realistic conception of International Relations. The DSN identified that relations were based on the pursuit and maintenance of power and that a defense policy should value the integrity of the territory and the maintenance of state autonomy at the international level. The idea of raising Brazil to a position of power in the world power hierarchy, creating a power center in South America, predominated in the imagination of this segment. This perspective was deeply related to military nationalism and to the geopolitical vision disseminated within the ESG (GARCIA, 1997).

In a survey on the academic production of officers for national periodicals, Garcia (1997) found that the studies tended to be focused on the strategic-military scope, with few specific studies on foreign policy. In this sense, some themes were recurrent in the years 1961-1989, such as: borders, Amazon, South Atlantic and Antarctic, Southern Cone (emphasis on relations with Argentina), and analyzes on the advances of international communism. However, the end of the Cold War formally closed the possibility of the country's involvement in an extra-continental war and emptied the vision of fighting the internal enemy, eliminating the hypothesis of revolutionary and anti-guerrilla warfare. In addition, relations with Argentina and the countries of the region, which had been progressing since the 1980s, originated a pattern of cooperation.

Thus, it was necessary to renew the imaginary, values and concepts that guided Brazilian military thinking, since the three hypotheses of war that guided military employment in Brazil – global, subversive and regional – no longer made sense (FUCILLE, 2002). In this

new scenario, the revision of the conceptions and doctrines was stimulated by several governmental initiatives and the more active insertion of Brazil in international relations in the 1990s, providing relevant changes in the Armed Forces' function, mission and thinking, as presented below.

STRENGTHENING OF THE CLASSIC FUNCTION: ARTICULATING DEFENSE AND FOREIGN POLICY

The identity crisis that impacted the Armed Forces in the 1990s relates to changes in their institutional, material and political post-redemocratization conditions (FUCCILLE, 2002). In this context, the military has experienced instability and weakening. The National Intelligence Service (SNI) and the Secretariat of National Defense Affairs were extinguished, the ministerial status of the *Casa Militar* and the Armed Forces Joint General Staff (EMFA) was demoted, and it was decided to no longer manufacture the nuclear bomb (FUCCILLE, 2002). These initiatives were implemented under Collor administration (1990-1992), and there were also the end of the Cold War and the lack of strategic direction for military preparation and employment.

However, if on the one hand the end of the East-West conflict meant problems, on the other, it brought opportunities. As stated by Lima (2010), the decision-making paralysis of the United Nations (UN) was eliminated and the UN reform agenda and the intensification of peacekeeping operations created conditions for a closer diplomacy and defense and for the employment of the military in matters related to external security.

At the domestic level, then-President Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002) produced two important institutional innovations that contributed to making defense policy more relevant to the national agenda, besides improving the articulation of defense and foreign policies. The first was the formulation of the PDN in 1996, and the second was the creation of the MD in 1999, extinguishing the former military ministries (Navy, Army, Aeronautics, and Armed Forces Staff).

The formulation of the PDN had contributions from several representatives of Committee of Foreign Relations and National Defense (CREDEN) of the Government Council, involving different players, military and diplomats. The document was widely criticized for being generic, but, even with the deficiencies, it was important for the effort of articulation of the areas. In turn, the creation of the MD forced the Armed Forces to work together – reducing the autonomy of each military branch

in decisions –, and promoted dialogue and need of coordination with members of the civil bureaucracy, such as diplomats. The creation of the Ministry reduced the isolation of the military (LIMA, 2010; ALSINA JR., 2009).

However, the approximation of defense and foreign policies and the recovery of the classic military defense function occurred more intensely throughout Lula administration (2003-2010), with the adoption of a more autonomous policy which sought to overcome the country's weaknesses – such as the deficit in its defensive capabilities. The understanding that it was necessary to invest in Armed Forces consistent with Brazil's size and importance, increasing dissuasive capacity (FUCCILLE; BARRETO; GAZZOLA, 2015), caused practical results. Some initiatives were of particular relevance, such as active participation in Peacekeeping Operations, leading the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), the establishment of the South American Defense Council (CDS) in Unasur, the drafting of the National Defense Strategy (END), the review of the PDN, and the strengthening of the MD.

This paper highlights the relevance of the END as well as of the participation in Peacekeeping Operations. The END, published in 2008, was an innovative document that advanced in relation to the PDN and its second version, published in 2005. The END addressed aspects that had been little explored in previous documents and defense-related aspects, such as education, science and technology, economy and infrastructure. It even reinforced the need for technological independence based on the constitution of a national scientific-military complex, which would have protection and economic a sought to define Brazil's grand strategy⁶, as well as addressing other assistance from the government (SAINT-PIERRE, 2010). The elaboration of the END created an important space for dialogue between diplomats and the military, allowing the alignment of objectives between defense and foreign policies, as expressed in the strategic environment priority, highlighting the already deepened relations with foreign policy.

Another important dimension was the Peacekeeping Operations.

⁶ According to Amorim (2016, p.133), the concept of grand strategy “refers to need to use the full range of resources available to the state, not just military resources, to maintain its security.” In this sense, the development of this strategy involves the coordination of different bureaucracies to ensure Brazil's sovereignty and peaceful projection, especially the MRE and the MD. Also the Ministry of Science and Technology is paramount for the achievement of the strategy.

The Brazilian decision to lead MINUSTAH in 2004 broadened Brazil's commitment to international security issues and directly involved the military in an external activity, stimulating cooperation with Itamaraty. Moreover, the military's active participation in Peacekeeping Operations legitimizes the public defense function in society and stimulates the accountability of defense policy, assisting in forming a constituency in the area (LIMA, 2010).

Dilma Rousseff administration (2011-2016) faced difficulties in conducting foreign policy and suffered from the impacts of the economic and political crisis in the country, but made important advances in the area of defense. During her term, the theme was reinforced in foreign policy, mainly due to Celso Amorim's taking office as Minister of Defense in 2011. Amorim, a career diplomat who had been Foreign Minister of Lula administration, reinforced the interest in bringing the two areas closer. On several occasions, he stressed the importance of consolidating a broad vision of Brazil's international insertion that combined foreign policy with defense policy to ensure the country's projection and the defense of national sovereignty. The concept of "grand strategy" has gained relevance in its management and efforts have been made to establish coordination logic between those responsible for implementing foreign and defense policies. To the diplomatic and military field, Amorim also added science and technology, indispensable for the achievement of a grand strategy, and highlighted in the EDN (AMORIM, 2016).

Amorim's diplomatic experience resulted in a deepening of MD's and Armed Forces' external performance capacity. Thus, even in a scenario of retraction of the country's role in international relations, there were activities in several fronts in the defense scope, such as cooperation in defense and Peacekeeping Operations in Haiti and Lebanon. Amorim's management was also marked by the revision of some documents, such as the PDN, which has since been renamed National Defense Policy (PND), and END, published in 2012. The PND reinforces the orientation of the Armed Forces' performance towards its classic mission, and the articulation of diplomacy and defense. In turn, the END "addresses decisive political and institutional issues for the country's defense, such as the objectives of its 'grand strategy' and the means to enable the nation's participation in defense" (BRASIL, 2012a, p. 45). In Rousseff administration, there was also the creation of the National Defense White Paper (LBDN) in 2012, which signaled transparency of military objectives and sought to systematize

diplomatic and defense positions adopted by Brazil.

In addition to documents that offer guidelines for conducting national defense, the period was marked by changes in military education. In 1999, the Army Teaching Law (LEEx) was regulated, stating that courses taken at military educational institutions by those with higher education constitute graduate courses, provided that they fall within the relevant legislation. This law also established that officer training courses were university-level, related to the Bachelor's Degree in Military Sciences (CUNHA; MIGNON, 2016). Since then, a series of modifications have been implemented, accompanied by MD legislation and guidelines (FONTOURA, 2016). In 2002, the Ministry of Education established the equivalence of studies and the inclusion of Military Sciences in the scope of the sciences studied in the country. This field became part of the Defense knowledge area, which covers 36 areas of concentration, including International Relations (CUNHA; MIGNON, 2016).

In this context of modernization of education, the Command and General Staff Schools of the three branches submitted proposals to the Ministry of Education for the creation of master's degree programs.

In 2012, ECEME and the Air Force University (Unifa) obtained authorization for their programs. In 2013, it was the EGN which obtained authorization for its programs. The programs benefited from the resources of public funding agencies – through Pro-Defense and Pro-Strategy programs – that sought to stimulate the study of lines of research directed to defense studies (MARQUES; FUCCILLE, 2015).

Still in the field of education, structural changes were implemented from the release of the declaratory defense documents (PND and END), as these indicate important disciplines in the military curriculum, specific attributions of each Force, in addition to strategic guidelines. Fontoura (2016) identifies that besides changes in the workload of existing disciplines, new disciplines were created, such as Geopolitics and International Relations, including the study of subjects related to the strategic environment, international organizations, and Brazilian actions in peacekeeping missions, among others initiatives present in the EDN. These actions contributed to stimulating the military thinking on strategy, defense and foreign policy in a new context of Brazil's insertion in international relations. In addition to these initiatives, there are participation of the military in civil research programs and the structuring of a Brazilian Association for Defense Studies (ABED), which contributed

to broaden the dialogue between civilians and the Armed Forces.

Over the period presented in this section, it is noted that the classic Armed Forces mission, related to external defense, has been strengthened. Declaratory defense documents, military cooperation initiatives, active participation in Peacekeeping Operations, changes in the structure of military education, stimulation of research and study on the subject, creation of a regional defense body and the institutional maturation of the MD established a renewed role and mission for the segment, having its impact on Brazilian military thinking⁷.

MILITARY THINKING ON FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE (2003-2016)

How does the military think about defense and foreign policy issues in the recent context? It is evident that the attempt to identify the military thinking on foreign policy and defense is limited not only by methodological issues, due to the very sampling of this work, but also by the complexity and heterogeneity present in the Armed Forces (GARCIA, 1997). Although there are traits that are characteristic of the military, it is not possible to neglect that there are distinct opinions and divergences regarding their members (SOARES, 2005). Thus, dealing with military thinking is dealing with an attempt to present the average existing among the various segments that make up the organization (GARCIA, 1997).

However, for an organization whose foundation is hierarchy and doctrinal unity, it can be assumed that the thinking expressed in academic work produced by its officers does not deviate too much from the prevailing view of the institution. Thus, the starting point is “the premise that the analysis of the school documents produced by these officers makes it possible to delineate fundamental aspects of Brazilian military thinking” (SOARES, 2005, p. 54).

The survey on the military intellectual production regarding ESG periodicals, theses and dissertations of the EGN Research and Postgraduate Programs in Military Sciences (PPGCM/ECEME) and the Postgraduate Program in Marine Studies (PPGEM), monographs of the Advanced Studies Program on Policy and Strategy (CAEPE/ESG) and

7 It is worth mentioning that in both Lula and Dilma administrations, the military was constantly required to participate in law and order assurance operations, undermining the allocation of resources to foreign policy objectives and the performance of its classic function.

the Maritime Policy and Strategy Program (C-PEM/EGN), between 2003 and 2016, showed convergence regarding the main subjects addressed. The thinking expressed in the monographs, theses, dissertations and articles researched is aligned with the main documents that establish the guidelines for the Armed Forces and national defense, that is, the PND, END and, more recently, the LBDN.

Regarding the ESG publications, the articles published by the military on the Brazilian National War College Magazine and the Journal of Strategic Studies were analyzed. The first encompasses articles from the areas of Military Science and Politics and the second publishes works that fall into Culture, International Relations, Modernity, Axiology, Praxiology, Polemology, Cratology, and Security. In the first periodical, 19 volumes were analyzed (from volume 42 to volume 61), referring to the years 2003-2015, since 2015 is the last year with available publication. Regarding the second periodical, analysis was performed on its 12 volumes, published between 2005 and 2013, the year of its last edition⁸.

In general, the topics addressed by the military related to Brazil's international relations, foreign policy and defense address recurring themes that are important to the different branches of the Armed Forces, and which are part of the Brazilian government's declaratory defense documents. In the aforementioned periodicals, the most discussed subjects were: Amazon (mainly by army officers who emphasize the defense of borders); Peacekeeping Operations (with emphasis on Brazilian participation in MINUSTAH and the innovation of the Responsibility while Protecting - RwP proposal); South America (inserted in the Brazilian strategic environment and considered from the perspective of cooperation and integration); South Atlantic (area seen as fundamental in the strategic environment); Blue Amazon (in particular by naval officers seeking to legitimize the extension of the boundaries of the Continental Shelf in strategic, defense and development terms); Antarctica (also emphasized by Navy military personnel in the strategic environment); Nuclear Submarine (considered a project that adds a new dimension to the Brazilian naval power, increasing its deterrence capacity), and Brazilian Space Program (highlighted by Aeronautics officers as a strategic factor for national security and development).

In addressing these subjects, the military expresses its concern

⁸ Information from ESG official website. Available on: < <http://www.esg.br/index.php/es/2014-09-03-13-08-36/2014-02-19-17-55-35/revistas-da-esg>>. Access on: August 20, 2017.

to defend national sovereignty (including new threats such as biopiracy, piracy, smuggling, terrorism and drug trafficking), to contribute to regional stability and to exercise “military diplomacy” through defense cooperation, such as the South Atlantic Peace and Cooperation Zone (ZOPACAS). There is a clear concern about safeguarding the wealth of natural resources and working to reduce the vulnerabilities that the country has in relation to its land and sea borders and in the field of technological development.

The survey on monographs produced in CAEPE (ESG) presented similar results. This course is designed to prepare civilians and military personnel for government guidance and advisory functions in the areas of security and national defense. In its 1,000 hours of training, students study Geopolitics and International Relations, whose module integrates the curriculum. The material available online comprised the years 2011 to 2016, covering a total of 468 monographs⁹.

Through the mapping of titles and core subjects, it was identified that the works focused on defense and foreign policy addressed the same themes covered in ESG periodicals, with the addition of the following subjects: Cooperation with African Countries (inserted in the Brazilian strategic environment due to the South Atlantic); Humanitarian aid operations; Council of South American Defense (Brazilian participation and potential defense cooperation in the region); Cyberwarfare and Cyber Security (subjects addressed by the END); LBDN (whose disclosure took place in 2012, stimulating studies that analyzed and reflected on its importance); Armed Forces acting on chemical, biological, radioactive and nuclear threats (new threats); UN Security Council reform (and possible participation of Brazil in the body); Brazil’s participation in Peacekeeping Operations, in addition to MINUSTAH, such as the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) and operations in East Timor (UNTAET and UNMISSET).

The monographs produced at the end of the C-PEM (EGN) emphasize how the Navy should meet the PND. This course, which lasts for one school year, aims to enable officers to analyze the current situation and future needs of the Force, identifying the indispensable capabilities to meet national defense objectives. Like CAEPE, students in this course study International Relations and Geopolitics, as well as other related

⁹ Information from CAEPE official website. Available on: < <http://www.esg.br/index.php/curso-de-altos-estudos-de-politica-e-estrategia-caepe>>. Access on: August 20, 2017.

disciplines, such as Public International Law, International Strategy, Crisis and Insecurity in the New World Order, and International Human Rights Law¹⁰.

The survey on monographs covered the period from 2008 to 2014, as these were the works available online on the EGN website. A total of 131 monographs were identified and, among those addressing foreign policy and defense, there was a predominance of subjects related to those presented on ESG periodicals and CAEPE studies that focused on topics of Navy's interest: Blue Amazon; Nuclear Submarine (deterrent capacity); South America (including cooperative actions in the Council of South American Defense); Antarctica (strategic surroundings); South Atlantic (ZOPACAS and defense cooperation with African countries); New Threats (especially piracy). Navy officials also addressed Brazil's participation in Peacekeeping Operations (emphasis on Marines), the Cyberwarfare, and the presence of powers in the South Atlantic, such as China, whose presence has been strengthened in Namibia. A concept used in some monographs was "naval diplomacy," to refer to how naval power can contribute to the implementation of Brazilian foreign policy, expanding cooperation with other states and the country's international projection, in addition to safeguarding natural resources and national sovereignty.

Regarding the ECEME PPGCM, master's and doctoral programs are offered, aiming to develop research that assists in the elaboration of doctrines and problem solving, enabling students to provide advisory activities. The programs involve two lines of research: (i) Defense Management, and (ii) Peace and War Studies. Subjects related to International Relations are inserted in the second line.¹¹ The PPGCM website makes 34 dissertations and 36 theses available, which were prepared between 2007 and 2014. For the research, only the military intellectual production was considered in the survey, excluding the civilians' dissertations.

The predominant subjects in the dissertations and theses of the military that address defense and foreign policy were compatible with those mentioned above; however, as they are productions of Army officers, reflect greater concern with the Brazilian Amazon, highlighting

¹⁰ Information from C-PEM official website. Available on: <<https://www.egn.mar.mil.br/cpem.php>>. Access on: August 20, 2017.

¹¹ Information from PPGCM official website. Available on: <<http://www.eceme.eb.mil.br/instituto-meira-mattos-imm/ppgcm-2>>. Access on: August 20, 2017.

the increase in combat actions, regional cooperation in border areas and in the intelligence sector. Peacekeeping operations are also emphasized, focusing on Brazil's leadership in MINUSTAH and the demobilization strategy, as well as the application of international armed conflict law in these missions. The term "defense diplomacy" is used to refer to Brazil's participation in Peacekeeping Operations.

The strategic environment is the target of several researches, which emphasize defense cooperation with South America's neighbors (both bilateral and multilateral via the Council of South American Defense) and with African countries. Cyberwarfare is also a research topic, emphasizing need of Brazil's preparation for new threats. Other topics studied were Managing Non-Combatant Evacuation Operations in a Non-War Situation (as occurred in Lebanon in 2006 and Guinea-Bissau in 1998) – where it is not possible to manage the international crisis only through diplomacy, and a military operation is necessary – and Exports of Defense Products, relating it to the foreign policy strategy.

Subjects related to the applicability of international armed conflict law and research comparing Brazil's defense policy with other countries or exploring its relations with other nations and their results for the Armed Forces were also identified.

Regarding EGN's PPGEM, master's and doctoral programs are offered (the latter scheduled to start in March 2019), whose objectives are to develop research related to defense and the maritime field and to train specialists to work technically in these areas. The programs are part of the area of Defense, Governance and Maritime Security and involve three lines of research: (i) Maritime Policy and Strategy; (ii) Regulation of Sea Use, Decision Making and Prospective Methods, and (iii) Policy and Management in Science, Technology and Innovation in the Maritime Environment. Abstracts of dissertations produced between 2014 and 2015 are available for consultation on the institution's website. For the survey on the subjects, abstracts of the 37 dissertations available were analyzed, excluding the civilians' productions.

The dissertations produced by the military in the program that express the relationship of foreign policy and defense emphasize: concern with the South Atlantic and the effort of the Brazilian government to expand cooperation in the region to defend wealth in this area; strategic dimension of the Blue Amazon, highlighting the proactive defense of the oil rigs by the Navy, as established by the END (with emphasis on pre-

salt reserves); dimension of security in South America, which although composed of subcomplexes, could evolve to build a security community at the international level. Other subjects addressing the foreign policy and defense dimension focus on the Brazilian merchant navy, its development and its impacts on foreign trade, and the exploitation of ocean floor beyond national jurisdiction, involving discussion of international law and Brazil's responsibilities in the area.

As can be seen, the Armed Forces advanced their conceptions and doctrines in the post-Cold War, after the period marked by an identity crisis and the absence of established guidelines on the use of military power in national and international scopes. The institutional changes that led to the creation of the MD, the drafting and review of documents establishing guidelines and orientations on national defense, military education reforms and the implementation of a foreign policy strategy that created space for greater articulation of defense and diplomacy stimulated the renewal of the military thinking on its performance and identity.

It is clear the influence of the PND and END guidelines and, more recently, of the LBDN, on the topics researched by the officers. In fact, many officers make direct references to the documents to guide their analysis. As presented in the previous section, these documents reinforced the need for a foreign and defense policy synergy. The studies analyzed are based on this premise, including concepts that relate the two activities, such as "defense diplomacy," "naval diplomacy," and "military diplomacy." Thus, a relationship of complementarity is established, in which the military, along with diplomats, act as agents of foreign policy, representing national interests. Brazilian engagement in Peacekeeping Operations is also analyzed with this conception, and it is considered a way of strengthening the country's international insertion and projecting its aspirations as a global player.

Another dimension very present in military thinking is the Brazilian strategic environment, clearly identified in the PND. As in practical terms there was congruence between the military actions implemented in this geographical space and the guiding principle that oriented foreign policy, there was much reflection on the areas, countries and initiatives needed to strengthen defense and security cooperation in the strategic environment.

The PND also highlights the international environment in which Brazil operates, reinforcing some threats and elements that generate

insecurity in the post-Cold War world. Following the same line, there are studies that identify new threats and ways to increase trust, cooperation and security among nations, with great emphasis on the Amazon and border regions.

In turn, the END defined the strategic sectors of Brazilian defense as space, cyber and nuclear, which stimulated some intellectual reflections on these sectors. It was sought to identify vulnerabilities and ways to strengthen the country's international insertion, highlighting the importance of the development of science and technology, especially the Nuclear Submarine project. Moreover, by indicating the strategic objectives of each Force, the END encouraged research on the strategy to be implemented by each Military Command, promoting analysis on cooperation and deterrence in different areas (sea, ground and air).

What is perceived, therefore, is a substantial change in Brazilian military thinking on foreign policy and defense in relation to the previous period. The organizational change of the Armed Forces, the renewal of their mission and identity and their new institutional interests promoted the transformation of the perspective through which they analyzed their role in society and their functions in national defense. Although institutional socialization previously stimulated the construction of a thinking marked by reflection focused on the military-strategic perspective, in which hypotheses of war against the internal enemy, neighbors and communism prevailed, in the recent context the changes in the domestic and international spheres stimulated new majority conceptions in the Armed Forces thinking. Thus, in addition to rescuing the classic function of external defense, the military realized need to align "with national aspirations and governmental orientations, in particular with Brazilian foreign policy" and to act "in accordance with legal guidelines," structuring itself "around capabilities rather than enemies" (BRASIL, 2012b, p. 53).

The following table presents the survey on the themes that express the relation between defense and foreign policy in the academic productions mentioned above, and which supported the analysis presented in this section. It should be emphasized that the works were grouped by the most recurrent subjects in academic productions and occupy a prominent position among others that also address foreign policy and defense.

The most discussed subjects were: Amazon (from the perspective of border defense and cooperation with neighboring countries); Blue

Amazon (with emphasis on the strategic dimension of the extension of the boundaries of the Continental Shelf); South America (including investigations into the Council of South America Defense, UNASUR, cooperation, security and regional integration); South Atlantic (covering studies on its importance to the Brazilian strategic environment and ZOPACAS); Peacekeeping and Humanitarian Aid Operations (with special attention to Brazilian participation in MINUSTAH); Nuclear Submarine (focusing on its power dimension and deterrent capacity); Brazilian Space Program (understood as a strategic sector in the END); Cyberwarfare and Cyber Security (with emphasis on Brazil's need to prepare for this new reality); New Threats (including chemical, biological, radioactive and nuclear threats) and Defense Documents (encompassing studies that focus on the discussion of the documents and their implementation by Brazil).

Other issues related to foreign policy and defense, but not falling into one of these categories were included in Others (such as UN Security Council reform and the role of Brazil, International Law on Armed Conflict, Foreign Trade and defense).

**Table 1 – Survey on topics addressing foreign policy and defense
In the military academic productions (2003-2016)**

Temas Principais Tipo de produção	Amazônia	Amazônia Azul	América do Sul (inclui CDS/ Unasul)	Atlântico Sul (inclui ZOPA-CAS)	Operações de Paz e Ajuda humanitária	Submarino Nuclear	Programa Espacial Brasileiro	Guerra e Segurança Cibernética	Novas ameaças	Documentos de defesa (LBDN, END, PND)	Outros
Artigo	8	4	5	1	4	1					8
Tese	1		4		4			2	4		4
Dissertação	3	1	7	1	6			2	4		12
Monografia*	3	6	3	3	13	3	3	8	7	6	4

* With the exception of the C-PEM (EGN) monographs, since it was not possible to access online the academic productions collected for the elaboration of the article in February 2018 to elaborate this table in January 2019.

CONCLUSION

“What everyone needs to know is that not only rifles and cannons come from these barracks. Also ideas come out, and those are undeniably important in a country's life” (TREVISAN, 2005, p. 10).

In this article, it was sought to present how the military think of

defense and foreign policy issues in the recent context, more specifically between 2003 and 2016, covering a period of valuation of defense in the national agenda and greater Armed Forces' performance in foreign action. Thus, the subjects listed by the officers in their intellectual production that express the relation between defense and foreign policy stood out.

As discussed, the military thinking has been greatly modified over the years, following the Armed Forces' institutional trajectory and the military organization's characteristics. Factors such as identity, mission, and organizational interests have not only influenced military positions in the political arena, but also their domestic, internationally applicable values, doctrines, and thinking. In recent years, there have been several advances towards the institutionalization of a renewed role of the Armed Forces in society and in the state. Return of the democratic order, the end of the Cold War, creation of the MD and declaratory documents, greater participation of the military in international affairs and the search for the promotion of an integration between foreign policy and defense were some of the factors highlighted in this work as relevant to reinforcing the use of the Armed Forces as an instrument of national political power, repositioning the military as agents of foreign policy.

As Garcia (1997) points out, along with diplomats and academics, the military occupies a prominent position in the national elite that reflects on Brazil's international relations. However, although members of the Armed Forces have been pondering the issue, the contribution of military thinking to the study of the country's foreign affairs is still largely conditioned on geopolitics and national security readings. It is clear from the survey that there is a range of reflections little explored by academia, and unknown to the general public, which enrich the debate on foreign policy and Brazilian defense policy. It is understood that it is important to pay attention to the way the Armed Forces think about the country's insertion in the world, what are the resources of power available to Brazil, what defense strategies are viable, what are the main threats, besides the conception that they have about their own role in society.

It is from the best knowledge of the thinking of this segment of the national elite that it is possible to advance towards more adequate mechanisms of civil control over the Armed Forces and establish an open dialogue that brings together academia, governmental, civil and military sectors for the elaboration of a more democratic and transparent defense policy. Finally, greater knowledge of the Armed Forces, their doctrines

and concepts can stimulate a bias-free view of the role of the defense and the military in the foreign policy of a democratic country that, even if peaceful, needs to be ready to respond to eventual threats.

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