

THE BRAZILIAN MINISTRY OF DEFENCE AND DEFENCE THOUGHT IN BRAZIL

MINISTÉRIO DA DEFESA E PENSAMENTO DE DEFESA NO BRASIL

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Abstract

This paper aims to present a summary analysis on the changes in the concept of National Defence, particularly since the last decade of the twentieth century, when the Ministry of Defence (MoD) was created in Brazil. To achieve this purpose, the paper is subdivided into the following sections: the concept of National Defence from the promulgation of the Brazilian Constitution of 1988; the creation of MoD; the concept of National Defence after the creation of MoD; and, finally, some considerations about the topic. The article presents basic concepts related to national defence in order to facilitate the understanding of the analysis developed. For that purpose, we conducted a review of the literature, focusing on the normative legislation produced by the MoD and on previous studies on the subject. From the observation of impacts since the creation of the MoD, the paper presents the emergent concerns about the changes brought about by this phenomenon, which resulted in the following research question: How has Defence thought in Brazil evolved since the creation of the Ministry of Defence in 1999? Thus, this paper aims to find answers as to how to identify the changes in the Brazilian defence sector since the creation of the MoD.

Keywords: Brazil; Ministry of Defence; National Defence; National Defence Policy; National Defence Strategy; White Paper on National Defence.

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Resumo

O presente artigo pretende apresentar uma análise sintética acerca das mudanças observadas na concepção da Defesa Nacional, particularmente a partir da última década do século XX, considerando a criação do Ministério da Defesa (MD) no Brasil. Para atingir o objetivo proposto, o desenvolvimento do presente trabalho encontra-se subdividido nas seguintes seções: a concepção da Defesa Nacional a partir da promulgação da Constituição Federal de 1988; a criação do MD; a concepção da Defesa Nacional após a criação do MD; e, por fim, algumas considerações sobre o tema. O artigo apresenta conceitos básicos relacionados à Defesa Nacional, a fim de facilitar a compreensão da análise desenvolvida. Para isso, emprega revisão bibliográfica e documental, priorizando a legislação normativa produzida pelo MD e estudos relacionados ao assunto. A partir da constatação de impactos provenientes da criação do MD, o trabalho apresenta o surgimento de inquietações acerca das mudanças que foram originadas por esse fenômeno, apresentando a seguinte pergunta de pesquisa: Como evoluiu o pensamento sobre Defesa no Brasil desde a criação do Ministério da Defesa em 1999? Nesse sentido, o presente artigo buscou encontrar respostas quanto à identificação das mudanças ocorridas no Setor de Defesa do País, a partir da criação do MD.

Palavras-chave: *Brasil; Ministério da Defesa; Defesa Nacional; Política Nacional de Defesa; Estratégia Nacional de Defesa; Livro Branco de Defesa Nacional.*

Introduction

This paper aims to present a summary analysis on the changes in the concept of National Defence, particularly since the last decade of the twentieth century, when the Ministry of Defence (MoD) was created in Brazil. This analysis was motivated by the perception of a significant change in the stance of the Brazilian State regarding defence issues in the period under study.

In order to achieve this, this paper has been subdivided into four sections, the first of which presents the concept of National Defence after the promulgation of the Federal Constitution of 1988 (CF/88), making some considerations about the defence thinking of the time and establishing terms of comparison for future analysis. The second section deals with the creation of the MoD and aims to portray some aspects of its implementation. Afterwards, we will discuss the concept of National Defence after the creation of the MoD in order to compare defence-related thinking. Finally, we will present our final considerations about the research.

The research was guided by the precepts of defence from the perspective of how it fits into the broader concept of National Security, argued by national thinkers and institutions in the field, and data were gathered and treated by a qualitative method (Creswell, 2014, 49), gleaned from the legislation and the literature reviewed the knowledge needed to understand national defence as a kind of thinking that the Brazilian society requires.

Furthermore, in order to find answers to the phenomenon under study, using a deductive method, this research endeavoured to compare the treatment of National Defence in periods when the State was structured differently, with the aim of confirming whether knowledge was constructed by comparing both data and previous studies (Creswell, 2014, page 51).

This paper also presents some basic concepts related to National Defence in order to facilitate the understanding of the analysis conducted. In addition to this, the study was based on a review of the literature, focusing on the normative legislation produced by the MoD and previous studies on the topic, with the purpose of analysing the ministry's organisational structure, as well as to identify the repercussions of its creation and the impact on National Defence.

Brazil has characteristics that make it unique in the regional and international geopolitical scenario. The national territory has an extensive coast; a border with almost all the countries in its region, without any border disputes; a broad territorial platform; a society characterised by diversity of races and religions, which coexist in harmony; and rich natural and cultural resources. Moreover, South America has peculiar characteristics that differentiate it from other parts of the world, such as few recent military conflicts between established States, the absence of belligerency related to religious extremism, and the low rates of terrorist threats and humanitarian problems. These features lend a peaceful character to the region, as stated in the Brazilian National Defence White Paper (NDWP):

Brazil is a country with continental dimensions. It has the largest Atlantic coast in the world and a population of almost 191 million, the fifth largest on the planet. It is a major producer of renewable and non-renewable energy, as well as animal and vegetable protein. It has extensive drinking water reserves, vibrant biodiversity and vast mineral resources. Recent discoveries in the pre-salt layer have led the country to a whole new level of reserves and of oil and natural gas production. (Brazil, 2012c, page 15)

In light of this, it is imperative to identify the unique importance of the country for its strategic regional environment, as well as its position in the concert of nations. This suggests that there is a need for the establishment of a defence sector at the level of the Brazilian State, in order to ensure an appropriate level of security in the pursuit of national interests.

The concepts of 'Security' and 'Defence' are inextricably linked, as the second provides conditions for the establishment of the former. Among the various existing definitions, the National Defence Policy (NDP) (Brazil, 2012a) lists 'National Security' as a condition of full preservation of national sovereignty and territorial integrity, allowing the country to achieve its objectives free from any threats, guaranteeing its citizens the exercise of their constitutional duties.

However, in order to achieve this purpose, the country needs a 'Defence' capable of providing adequate conditions for the preservation and maintenance of national interests. According to the abovementioned Policy, 'National Defence' combines measures and actions

by the State, with priority to the military, for the defence of the Brazilian territory and its sovereignty. It also addresses the preservation of national interests against potential or overt foreign threats.

Confirming this idea, Eliézer Rizzo de Oliveira (2005, p. XXIII) argues that National Defence must ‘...provide the Brazilian State with one of the variables in the preservation of its interests, that of supporting diplomacy, as well as, hypothetically, its own survival’, which is an indication of the importance of ‘Defence’ for maintaining sovereignty and for the existence of a national State.

In Brazil, ‘National Defence’, as it is understood in the NDP, prioritises the military component in its structure, the main institution of which is the Ministry of Defence (MoD). It was established in the last decade of the 20th century, during the administration of Fernando Henrique Cardoso, and was designed to fit the modern international conceptions of ‘Defence’¹. Oliveira (2005, p. XXV) considers the creation of the MoD to have been the most daring and profound change to the Armed Forces in the history of the republic, implying an important transformation of the concepts related to ‘National Defence’.

The creation of the MoD transformed the country’s Defence structure and brought along emerging concerns about the ensuing changes. In order to clarify this topic, this paper seeks to answer the following question: *How has Defence thinking in Brazil evolved since the creation of the Ministry of Defence in 1999?*

The concept of National Defence in the Federal Constitution of 1988

The Federal Constitution promulgated in 1988 (CF/88) establishes that it is the responsibility of the union to ensure National Defence. Furthermore, the Constitution gives the Union the responsibility to protect the country against foreign threats and the authority to declare war and peace (Brazil, 1988, Art. 21).

CF/88 imposes specific responsibilities directed to the National Powers, in matters related to National Defence, particularly with regard to the military component represented by the Armed Forces. According to the constitutional provisions, the organisation, preparation and use of the Armed Forces are laid out in the general laws². In light of this, Otávio Amorim Neto (2010, 441) points out that:

It should be noted that both the Executive Branch and the Legislative Branch are part of the Union. However, the instrument of national defence, the Armed Forces, is under the supreme authority of the President (Article 142). Thus, it can be said that, by means of the Magna

¹ The decision to establish the Ministry of Defence was based on various aspects related to national defence, including comparative studies based on the concept of defence implemented by other nations (Winand & Saint-Pierre, 2008).

² Complementary Law No. 97, of June 9, 1999, sets down the general rules for the organisation, preparation and employment of the Armed Forces. This order establishes that only the head of the Executive Power (the President of the Republic) can authorise the use of the Armed Forces to guarantee the constitutional powers in various situations, despite the possibility of their activation also being given to the other Branches.

Carta, the sovereign people delegated the defence of the Homeland to the Union, which, in turn, has its instrument of defence in the Armed Forces, and that instrument is under the authority of the Head of State.

Eliézer Rizzo de Oliveira (2005: 48) points out that in spite of the constitutional designation of Commander of the Armed Forces and the prerogative of their use being attributed to the President of the Republic, the Legislative Branch also has National Defence responsibilities. However, the author also notes the Parliament's lack of interest on the issues related to this topic. The above situation resulted in the complementary and dependent functions of the Legislative Branch, such as forming the National Defence Council.

Until 1999³, the National Defence structure presented the political and administrative relations of the Army, Navy and Air Force ministries as directly under to the President of the Republic, who was advised by the Military Staff of the Armed Forces (EMFA) and the Armed Forces High Command (Figure 1). Furthermore, the President also relied on the Council of the Republic and on the National Defence Council to deal with matters pertaining to the Defence of the Country.

The Council of the Republic included the vice-president, the presidents of the Chamber of Deputies and the Federal Senate, as well as parliamentarians who are majority leaders in the Chamber and in the Senate, the Minister of Justice, and six born citizens. This instrument was only activated when there was the need for federal intervention, in state of defence or state of siege, and in issues relevant to the stability of the democratic institutions (Brazil, 1988, Art. 89 and 90).

As for the Defence Council, it was composed by the Vice-President of the Republic; the presidents of the legislative chambers; the Minister of Justice; the military ministers (Army, Navy and Air Force); the Minister of Foreign Affairs; and the Minister of Planning, Budget, and Management. This instrument was an advisory body to the President of the Republic in the event of a declaration of war or a celebration of peace; in the event of federal intervention, state of defence and state of siege; in the proposals for declaration and use of areas indispensable to national security; and in matters related to national independence and democratic law (Brazil 1991a, Art. 1 and 2).

The structure described above provided the natural withdrawal of the Legislative Branch from matters of National Defence, due to the rare activation of the councils on which the parliamentarians had seats. This departure contributed to a lack of knowledge on matters of defence, or even their misinterpretation. Under these conditions, defence was seen as a 'subordinate' issue in the country's political agenda (Oliveira, 2005: 48). This is confirmed by Amorim Neto (2010, page 435), who notes that both the journalistic articles and the academic literature related to National Defence agree that the Legislative Branches saw the issue as secondary during the period under study.

³ The date of the establishment of the Ministry of Defence.

Amorim Neto (2010, 443) also points to the inexperience of the members of the Legislative Branch on matters related to Defence, and to the limited number of lawmakers who studied the subject. The author also warns against the lack of multiple organised interest groups in Brazil capable of properly discussing national security matters, which would contribute to the development of a national defence policy (NDP).⁴

This finding is reinforced by the length of time that the members serve on the Committee on Foreign Relations and National Defence (CREDN⁵). This resulted in a somewhat shallow handling of defence issues by the commission (Winand & Saint-Pierre, 2008).

The low priority given to National Defence issues by the Legislative Branch in the period at hand was also mentioned by Oliveira (2005), who referred to it as a consequence of the misunderstanding of the relationship between the regional environment and the need for security⁶. The author points out that the Legislature did not see any possibility of immediate external conflict in the near horizon based on the peaceful conditions that Brazil enjoyed in the South American reality, which reveals that their perspective was limited to the analysis of conflicts between States, excluding other possible threats to national security.

Amorim Neto (2010, p. 435), in his analysis of Brazilian society's thinking on defence-related issues, concluded that Brazil's non-participation in wars over a long period of time, in addition to the remote possibility of a conflict with another state or non-state actor, weakened society's interest in defence matters, resulting in the low priority given to the subject by lawmakers.

Although the National Defence Policy of 1996 (Brazil, 1996, p.4) points to the necessity of a balanced strengthening of national training in the field of defence - with the participation of the industrial, university and scientific-technological sectors - it should be noted that the priorities of Brazilian society in peacetime relegated the Armed Forces to a secondary position (Proença Junior & Diniz, 1998: 28).

The Legislative Branch also tends to devote its attention to topics that can yield results in the short term. Referring to Latin America as a whole, David Pion-Berlin (2009, pp. 25 and 26) notes that '[...] political parties in the region rarely include defence issues in their programmes and do not use them as campaign and government topics'. This phenomenon is also described

⁴ The National Defense Policy (NDP) issued in 1996 was the first national defence document after the promulgation of CF/88, aiming to standardise defence thinking in Brazil (Proença Jr & Diniz, 1998, p.35).

⁵ The Committee on Foreign Relations and National Defence (CREDN) is one of the 23 standing committees of the Chamber of Deputies. One of its main attributions is the study of draft laws, international treaties and other proposals concerning the Brazilian defence and foreign policy areas. It is also responsible for monitoring and supervising the administrative actions carried out by the Executive Branch in those areas, under the terms established by the Federal Constitution. In addition to these functions, the CREDN also promotes debates and discussions with the participation of civilian and military authorities, scholars, experts, academics and civil society, on all topics or subjects within its thematic field of action (Brazil, 2016).

⁶ National Defence needs transcend the analyses of possible conflicts between National States. As defined above, the NDP defines defence as 'the set of measures and actions of the State, with an emphasis on the military component, for the defence of territory, sovereignty and national interests against predominantly foreign potential or manifest threats.' Thus, there are other threats besides National States which can interfere in the security of the Brazilian territory, such as non-state actors, international bodies, among others.

by Oliveira (2005, p. 107), who notes that high-profile parliamentarians direct their efforts to commissions with greater media visibility, while political parties appoint parliamentarians with little experience or limited influence in the CREDN.

Domício Proença Jr. and Eugenio Diniz (1998, p. 51) reinforce this perception, arguing that political leaders tend to pay more attention to short-term issues which will gain them more votes. When there are no threats on the horizon, political leaders tend not to attach importance to defence issues, leaving them to be discussed within military institutions.

Regarding the integration of the Armed Forces, Amorim Neto (2010: 443) reports that 'between 1985 and 1998, Military Ministers were mainly concerned with the corporate interests of their forces and the preservation of the particular strategy of defines traditionally adopted by each of them'. João Paulo Alsina Jr. (2006, p.61) confirms this, stating that in the period prior to the creation of the MoD, the National Defence Policy was a summation of the sectoral policies of the Singular Forces⁷, which suggests the absence of integration.

Also referring to the period prior to the creation of the MoD, Proença Jr and Diniz make some considerations about the content of the 1996 NDP in their book 'Defence Policy in Brazil: a critical analysis', raising questions regarding the issue of the integration of the Brazilian Armed Forces'. The authors question the lack of a clearer defence policy stance on the establishment of effective practical measures of integration, and conclude that the NDP was simply a harmonisation of ideas among the individual forces.

Another characteristic aspect of the concept of National Defence in the period prior to the creation of the MoD was the multiplicity of actors who deliberated on the theme of National Defence⁸, but who nevertheless lacked a body that coordinated all efforts. There was, therefore, the need to gather those interested in the matter in a single body, as stated by the former Minister of the Navy, Admiral Marcio Cesar Flores (2011): 'Across Brazilian history each one of them (singular forces) cultivated concerns and priorities that are specific to them'.

Furthermore, some authors present arguments that focus on the lack of interest by rulers and by the Armed Forces themselves in the creation of the Ministry, pointing out different reasons such as the absence of wars, building stronger relations with neighbouring countries, high military autonomy, and the emergence of internal State priorities, such as economic and social issues (Rocha, 2008, p.2).

Other shortcomings in the defence thinking expressed by the 1996 NDP prior to the creation of the Ministry of Defence are the superficial treatment of issues such as mobilisation, readiness levels and prioritisation of resources and assets (Proença Junior & Diniz, 1998, p.69).

Moreover, Rocha adds that at the time of the creation of the MoD, the international situation was geared towards economic issues and cooperation in the security sector, particularly with the countries of South America. This directly reflected the lack of concern with the issue and the consequent reduction of the military budget (Rocha, 2008, p.3)

⁷ Singular Forces: each of the three military forces of Brazil: Brazilian Navy, Brazilian Army and Brazilian Air Force.

⁸ National Defence Structure, including the Military Ministries and the EMFA, as shown in Figure 1.

Thus, we found that the issue of national defence was inadequately addressed in the period immediately following the enactment of CF/88. Defence matters were also handled by different actors, which fragmented the efforts and hampered their development. The National Defence Policy of 1996 was not enough to remedy this dispersal of efforts or the tendency towards autonomy by each Singular Force in terms of maintaining its traditional missions, preserving or expanding its budget share, and pursuing prestige (Grissom, 2006). This pointed to the need to create an organism that could provide an orientation to the actions related to the national defence in a centralised and harmonious way, thereby enhancing the singular efforts.

The creation of the Ministry of Defence

Although the creation of a ministry of defence was referred to in previous government plans⁹, the then candidate for presidential re-election Fernando Henrique Cardoso included in his programme the intention of consummating those attempts¹⁰. Thus, after Cardoso's re-election, measures were taken to continue the process that would originate the Ministry of Defence (MoD).

With the goal of facilitating this construction, [...] the Chamber on Foreign Relations and National Defence (CREDN)¹¹ was created [...]. The newly created chamber drafted a Defence Policy document [...] entitled National Defence Policy Document (NDPD).¹² (Winand & Saint-Pierre, 2010, p.4)

Before taking on the presidential functions, Fernando Henrique Cardoso entrusted the General Staff of the Armed Forces with conducting studies which advised on the implementation of the new ministry, signalling the intention to centralise the country's defence affairs in a single body directly subordinate to the Presidency of the Republic (Oliveira, 2005, p.

Finally, in 1999, the Brazilian State created the Ministry of Defence (MoD)¹³, through Constitutional Amendment No. 23/99, centralising the defence issues of the country and placing them under the umbrella of the Armed Forces. According to Complementary Law 97/99, which provides the general norms for the organisation, preparation and employment of the Armed Forces - 'The Armed Forces are subordinated to the Defence Secretary of State, and have their own structures' (Brazil, 1999a, Art. 3). Furthermore, in its official web page, the Ministry of Defence lists as its purpose:

⁹ Fernando Collor de Melo's government plan included the integration of defence efforts into a single ministry (Amaral & Suter 1990). Some studies noted the intentions to centralise the defence since the 1940s (Winand & Saint-Pierre, 2008)

¹⁰ Period of his 1st presidential candidacy.

¹¹ The CREDN was created through the Resolution of 15 September 1936, entitled 'Diplomacy and Treaties', and was renamed with its current designation via Resolution no. 15, 1996 (Brazil, 2016).

¹² It should be noted that, according to Domício Proença Jr. and Eugenio Diniz (1998, p. 22), this document described what was almost a subordination of the military to civilians - a complete inversion of perspective, according to the authors.

¹³ New National Defence structure, depicted in Figures 2 and 3.

To coordinate the integrated defence effort, aiming to contribute to the assurance of sovereignty, constitutional powers, law and order, national patrimony, safeguarding national interests and increasing Brazil's integration into the international arena (Brazil, 2015b).

The creation of the MoD contributed to a greater unity of efforts in defence thinking, allowing a better integration of civilians and military personnel on matters related to the issue at hand. Thus, Winand & Saint-Pierre (2010, p. 5) state that this event heralded a new era for these relationships. It is also worth noting that, in a speech by President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, the President clarified his views on the purpose of the MoD, emphasising that it was not an attempt to reassert civilian command over the military (Oliveira, 2005: 296).

This also ensured the possibility of integrating the various 'National Defence' sub-sectors, such as those related to the purchase and acquisition of military equipment. Thus, Complementary Law 97/99 establishes that:

It is the duty of the Ministry of Defence ... to formulate the policy and guidelines for defence products used in operational activities, including weaponry, ammunition, means of transportation and communications, uniforms and materials for individual and collective use [...].

Despite the complexity of operationalizing integration among the former military ministries, it appears that the creation of the Ministry of Defence was intended to promote the rationalisation of military activities related to 'Defence', seeking to ensure greater efficiency in the sector.

The MoD replaced the former military ministries, which became the Commands of the Ministry of Defence. Furthermore, the General Staff of the Armed Forces was extinct on the date of the creation of the new ministry. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that, despite the extinction of the military ministries and the General Staff of the Armed Forces, the special jurisdiction enjoyed by the military commanders was preserved, as they were part of the Military Defence Council (Brazil, 1999a).

The creation of the Ministry of Defence naturally led to changes in the national rules system of the Armed Forces. Thus, Complementary Law No. 69 of 23 July 1991 - which detailed the general rules for the organisation, preparation and employment of the Armed Forces - was repealed by Complementary Law No. 97, dated 9 June 1999, which was later updated by Complementary Law No. 136 of 25 August 2010.

The latter laws introduced changes that had an impact on the concept of defence. Some of those changes are: the creation of new positions and bodies; changes in the advisory relationships to the supreme commander; the attribution to the Minister of Defence of responsibility in the proposals of promotions of general officers and in the exercise of the superior direction of the Armed Forces; the attribution to the MoD of responsibility in the elaboration of the production of defence legislation and in the prioritisation of the defence

budget; the inclusion of considerations on participation in peace missions in the general rules of employment of the AAF; greater detail on the use of the AAF in the tasks of guaranteeing law and order; and a more detailed discrimination of the attributions of the Singular Forces.

The contents of this section show that the process of the creation of the Ministry of Defence was developed because there was a perceived need to integrate all defence-related efforts, resulting in the centralisation of the political direction and the joint use of the Armed Forces in a single body. This was done to modernise the defence structure, seeking to broaden the way in which the issue is handled.

The concept of National Defence after the creation of the Ministry of Defence: identification of changes

The creation of the Ministry of Defence altered the National Defence structure of the Brazilian State, thereby implying changes for the country's Defence sector (Figure 2). In its first organizational structure, the MoD comprised the Commands of the Army, Navy and Air Force, as well as the Defence Staff and three secretariats: the Secretariat of Strategic Policy and International Affairs; the Secretariat of Logistics and Mobilisation; and the Secretariat of Institutional Organization. It should also be noted that the Military Defence Council was also changed, and that it now includes the figure of the Defence Minister.

It should be noted that the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces - the prerogative of the President of the Republic - began to operate through the MoD in the superior direction of the Armed Forces, representing the main change to the National Defence structure. It should also be noted that the MoD was given key responsibilities in defence issues, such as the National Defence Policy¹⁴, the National Defence Strategy, the National Defence White Paper, military policy and strategy, the doctrine and planning of employment of the Armed Forces, among other topics (Brazil, 1999a).

Furthermore, the implementation of the Ministry of Defence contributed to the treatment of defence issues that transcended the military sphere, allowing a broader range of studies and opinions in the area of defence – either through the insertion of defence professionals into the MoD, or even by offering scholarships for research in the area. The study carried out by Professor André Marengo (2016), presented during a conference held at the Escola Superior de Guerra (ESG) identified educational institutions all over the country that offer postgraduate programmes in Political Science and International Relations that deal with defence issues (Table 1). The table shows that important Brazilian universities offer research programs in the field of defence, demonstrating the current importance of the subject in the academic circles.

This becomes clear when we compare the National Defence structure of the periods before and after the creation of the MoD. Civilians were only present in the National Defence

¹⁴ Currently, the National Policy for Defence (a document originally issued in 1996 under the title National Defence Policy, updated in 2005 and currently bearing the title of National Policy for Defence, issued in 2012) fulfils the role of establishing objectives and National Defence guidelines.

structure in the period prior to the MoD in the Council of the Republic and in the Defence Council; however, the opportunities and purposes that required its members to meet were rare. When the MoD was established, this state of affairs changed as civilian professionals were included in the various secretariats of the new ministry.

If we look at the current organisational structure of the MoD¹⁵, and at its positioning in the structure of Brazil's Federal Executive Branch, we can see a large presence of civilians in the Ministry dealing with matters directly related to Defence¹⁶.

In line with the above observation, Oliveira (2005, p.296) highlights President Fernando Henrique Cardoso's speech during a luncheon with the general officers at the Army club in the year 2000:

The security and defence of Brazil are not the sole purview of the Armed Forces and the nation has already realised this. [...] they are no longer the exclusive concern of the military sector and Brazil is increasingly assimilating this, in the universities, in Congress, in the press, in the political parties, and we can see that these sectors are beginning to participate more intensely in the elaboration of a Policy for Security and Defence.

Initiatives to broaden the scope of National Defence contribute to the above argument, such as, among others, the seminars provided by the MoD - including a series of seminars entitled International Security: Brazilian Perspectives, in partnership with public and private institutions - and the launch and reissue of defence documents. Furthermore, the National Defence White Paper (NDWP) (2012c, p. 147) reveals the expectation that the topic of National Defence will be discussed in Parliament, in the federal bureaucracy, in academic circles, and in Brazilian society in general.

On the other hand, 17 years after the creation of the Ministry of Defence, the expectation that Brazilian society would have begun to participate more in the discussions on defence has not been fully realised. In this sense, when analysing the National Defence Strategy (NDS) (2008), Admiral Marcio Cesar Flores (2011) noted the lack of interest of the various sectors of society - media, academia, parliamentarians, public opinion and industry - in the area of National Defence, which impoverishes the discussion on the issue.

Likewise, on the same topic, diplomat Paulo Roberto de Almeida (2009) notes that the NDS (2008) opens the debate '[...] about where and with what instruments Brazil wants to arrive

¹⁵ We should also mention that the secretariats provided for in the initial organisation of the MoD (Figure 2) have evolved into the current Secretariat of Institutional Organization (Seori); the Secretariat of Personnel, Teaching, Health and Sports (SEPESD); the Secretariat of Defence Products (SEPROD); and the Management and Operations Centre of the Amazon Protection System (CENSIPAM), in addition to the direct advisory bodies to the Minister of Defence. Organisational chart of the Ministry of Defence retrieved from the official website of the ministry. Available at: <http://www.defesa.gov.br/arquivos/estrutura/organograma.pdf>. Accessed 13 June 2016

¹⁶ The organizational chart of the MoD shows, through colour coding, the organisms directed by military personnel (colour caption) or by civilians (blank caption).

at defence and strategic security', pointing out that the document represented an important initiative; however, its content must be discussed further regarding the real needs of the nation on aspects related to the topic.

On the other hand, according to Rocha (2009), the NDS (2008) provided meaningful content, but which was difficult to achieve in full. The author argues that the text proposes solutions in areas that, although related, are not included in the framework of the defence sector, such as education, and science and technology.

According to Amorim Neto (2010, 444), it should be noted that the ministers appointed since the creation of the MoD have not had much legislative influence due to the historic withdrawal of the Legislative Branch from National Defence issues. The author adds that the only exception to this was the tenure of Nelson Jobim, who proved to be 'a fully integrated Minister of Defence to the legislative majority', allowing his administration to achieve important goals for the sector. This was confirmed by the launching of the NDS (2012b, pp. 134 and 135), a document that contributed to the mediatisation of the subject, and the creation of the National Defence Parliamentary Front, in the same period.

Aside from Jobim, other personalities of significant political importance, such as diplomat Celso Amorim, who had previously held the Foreign Affairs folder, and Jaques Wagner, Aldo Rebelo and Raul Jungmann, all of whom had extensive Legislative experience. However, it should be noted that, with the exception of Celso Amorim, all the others did not remain more than ten months in office, which meant it was impossible to achieve more.

Moreover, it should be noted that, since the creation of the MoD (1999), only three of the ten ministers appointed for the position were in charge of the ministry for more than 24 months: Geraldo Quintão, Nelson Jobim and Celso Amorim (Table 2). This has created difficulties for the implementation of more consistent measures in the Brazilian defence sector.

Despite the intention to promote greater involvement by the members of the Legislative Branch in the debates on defence-related issues, there is still a lack of specialisation of parliamentarians in the area, as noted by Andréa Benetti Carvalho de Oliveira (2014, p. 8). His research was based on the composition of the CREDN and of the Chamber of Deputies, and analysed the degree of specialisation on the topic. The results revealed that there is a very low level of specialisation and a lack of technical knowledge by the majority of the deputies surveyed.

The normative modernisation of Defence¹⁷ represented a change in the National Defence thinking after the creation of the MoD. The Ministry of Defence has developed and reissued defence documents that guide, standardise and establish guidelines on State Defence issues. Thus, the NDP organises the National Defence guidelines and goals for the Brazilian State, allowing the appropriate targeting of the measures to be adopted by the actors that are part of this sector of the country (Brazil, 2012a).

¹⁷ Term used by then Minister of Defence Jaques Wagner on the occasion of a lecture delivered at the Escola de Comando e Estado-Maior do Exército [Army Command and Staff School] (ECEME), on 31 July 2015.

This was complemented by the issuance of the NDS¹⁸, which defines the paths that must be taken to reach the objectives proposed by the NDP, which are put into practice through the strategic guidelines. In this context, the then deputy Raul Jungmann (2010, page 478) considers that the NDS expresses the country's self-assertion about the paths it intends to take, and reveals the State's stance regarding its strategic objectives and interests. The deputy also states that 'some important aspects must be identified in the development of the NDS. It was drafted and written by both civilians and military, the strategic considerations acquired broad features, and it was decided that it would be as publicised as possible'.

On the other hand, there were different opinions, and, for example, Paulo Roberto de Almeida (2010, p.1) considers the first version of the National Defence Strategy (NDS/2008) to be idealistic, removed from the challenges posed to the country and alien to the actual facts. The diplomat highlights the weaknesses related to the lack of an economic analysis regarding the established guidelines and the divergence between the defence priorities and the reality of Brazil's national security.

Admiral Flores (2011) shares this critical view of NDS 2008, noting that the development of projects related to defence is not convergent with the established priorities, nor is it sustainable from the economic point of view. He adds that the content of NDS 2008 was not perceived as a clear definition of the threats to the country.

For Almeida C. W. (2010), the defence documents were conceived as a result of the need to order and clarify the objectives of national defence, in addition to serving as guide for the organisation of the preparation and use of the military instrument of national defence, since that instrument was mainly engaged in actions typical of other governmental areas, that is, where the State could not be present.

Regarding society's engagement in issues related to the topic, Rocha (2009) argues that it still questions the true function to be exercised by the Armed Forces, because the population does not know fundamental precepts related to national defence. Thus, the defence documents were an emergent need to bring clarification to the Brazilian society, as well as to establish goals for the defence institutions of the country.

As for the White Paper on National Defence (NDWP), it proved to be a stimulus to the discussion on defence issues within Brazilian society, as it contributed to the possibility of a deeper knowledge of the actors related to National Defence. However, this initiative requires the continued participation of various sectors of society in order to consolidate the issue on the national agenda, and to allow it to become more effective.

The creation of the Ministry of Defence brought changes to 'National Defence', which stemmed from the political consequences of the changes in its structure. Furthermore, it also increased the possibility of opening up a discussion on the issue in society through its normative modernisation. In this sense, such actions made it possible to achieve greater comprehensiveness when dealing with the issue, serving as a stimulus to the discussion of defence issues by Brazilian society.

¹⁸ Issued originally in 2008 and reissued in 2012.

Final considerations

The National Defence underwent changes after the creation of the MoD, particularly after regulations were established which impacted the concept of defence of the State; however, some improvements can still be made to its process of consolidation. The ministry was conceived to become the higher body of National Defence, in which all defence-related matters would be concentrated. The structuring of the ministry has triggered political and strategic consequences for the country's defence sector.

This enabled the implementation of actions, which reflected a change in the Brazilian State's stance on defence-related issues (Table 3), representing the beginning of a multidisciplinary approach to defence and strategic security, with a broader scope than the manner in which the subject has been traditionally handled by the military.

The National Defence structure, with the military ministries and the EMFA - the structure before the creation of the MoD - was characterised by the direct political relationship between the military ministers and the President of the Republic. The new organisational structure of the defence, represented in the centralisation of the military commands under the control of the Defence Minister, as well as the creation of secretariats and direct advisory bodies, aimed at expanding the political dialogue on defence issues¹⁹, thus contributing to a broader handling of the issue.

Furthermore, the defence structure prior to the MoD was greatly limited regarding the participation of civilians in the discussions related to the topic, as these discussions were confined to the Council of the Republic and the National Defence Council, which met sporadically to deal with specific issues. On the other hand, the design of the organisational structure of the MoD contributed to the greater participation of civilian citizens in matters of defence, who were integrated in the secretariats and direct advisory bodies to the Minister of Defence, in addition to being offered the opportunity to conduct studies in the field, funded by research grants.

In the period prior to the creation of the MoD, the issue of National Defence was conducted mainly by the Executive Branch, and was circumscribed to the handling of military personnel. Despite the responsible conduct of the National Defence issue by the military, these matters require a broader discussion. This situation has been mitigated since the creation of the MoD, which has served as a motivating factor for a greater participation of other actors of society in the discussion of defence issues. This reflects the current scope of the 'defence' topic in the national universities, as quoted in a previous section.

Moreover, it was possible to identify weaknesses in the integration of defence efforts, which resulted in reduced interaction among the Singular Forces in the period prior to the conception of the MoD, as noted above by Oliveira (2005) and Flores (2011). This constituted an inadequate way to deal with the issue. The creation of the MoD was the embodiment of

¹⁹ The creation of the Ministry of Defence would make it possible to centralise in one organization the Armed Forces and other departments of interest to defence, in order to organise the collective effort related to the country's defence and strategic security.

the initiative to establish a unifying body of National Defence issues, in order to allow greater integration between the Armed Forces and the different segments of Brazilian society in the development of issues related to the topic at hand. However, this attempt was insufficient, due to the still weak participation of society in defence issues and the incipient interaction of the Armed Forces.

The detachment of Brazilian lawmakers from defence issues, coupled with their inexperience regarding the topic, were a feature of both periods - before and after the creation of the MoD. In general, the Legislative chambers remain distanced from or indifferent to the topic of National Defence, although the period of Nelson Jobim's administration was an exception, leading to some concrete measures of parliamentary participation in the discussions on the subject.

It is also important to note that, since the establishment of the Ministry of Defence, appointed ministers have, as a rule, spent less than 24 months in office, with the exception of former ministers Geraldo Quintão, Nelson Jobim and Celso Amorim. This reduced the opportunities to improve the sector, since little can be done in short periods of direction or leadership of institutions.

The low perceptions of an eventual threat remained constant in both periods under study - before and after the creation of the MoD, causing the limited engagement of Brazilian society and its representatives in matters related to National Defence. Most initiatives presented came from the Executive Branch, such as the normative modernisation, the seminars promoted by the MoD, as well as the opportunities for civilian integration into the Ministry and the incentive to the conduct of research in the area, which served to mitigate that obstacle. Thus, there is a clear need for greater engagement by the civil society, the academia, and the Legislative Branch in the expansion of the defence debate, with the purpose of consolidating the issue, given its importance in the national context.

It should also be noted that the current defence documents – NDP, NDS and NDWP – resulted from civilian and military contributions. In spite of criticism regarding the contents of those documents and the necessity of four-yearly updates, according to Complementary Law no. 97/99, we were able to verify that the initiative of its issuance was a landmark moment for national defence thinking.

Furthermore, other integrative initiatives between the Academy and the AAFF have been established following the creation of the MoD, particularly the issuance of the NDP (2005) and the work 'International Security: Brazilian perspectives' edited by the Getúlio Vargas Foundation (GVF). The first was issued after a series of seminars in Itaipava, with the participation of various sectors of society; the second brought together academics, military, parliamentarians, journalists, among other representatives of society, in a rapprochement between the various actors with interests in the field of defence.

However, we must point out that such initiatives were only an acknowledgement of the rapprochement between the actors mentioned above, and that it is still necessary to further the interactions of the several sectors with interests on the matter through other initiatives, such

an elaboration of interdisciplinary projects, or the development of joint scientific research.

Finally, the enhancement of the country's defence structure, through the creation of the Ministry of Defence, was a fundamental step in the nation's evolutionary process, ensuring the adaptation to contemporary challenges and the preservation of national interests - according to the current defence planning. However, a continuous improvement of the studies on National Defence is needed if we wish to allow the issue to evolve as it deserves and to foster a greater awareness of its importance.

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