Brazilian Defence Policies

Current Trends and
Regional Implications

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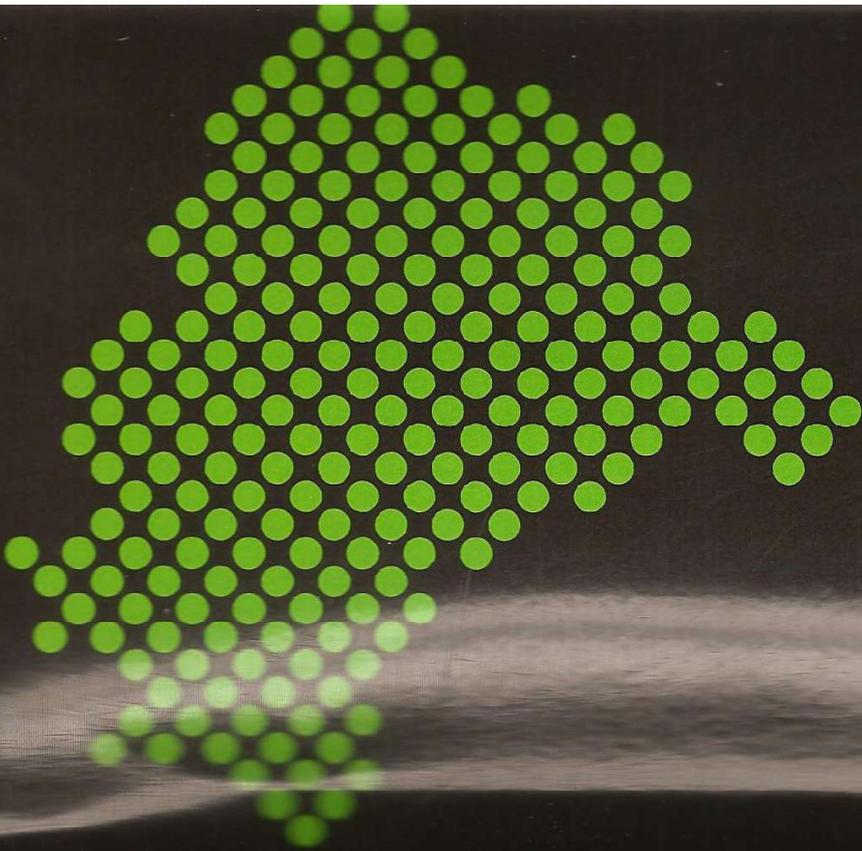
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Brazilian Defence Policies

In 2008 the U.S National Intelligence Council's quadrennial report on future global trends warned about the forthcoming global instability and forecasted a "power shift" of unparalleled proportions. Significantly, Brazil was pointed out as one of the key emerging powers that would shape the coming decades. Of course, the "emerging power" theory is not new in Brazil. This "cliché," as some would call it, has haunted the country's political though since the end of World War II, having deep consequences in Brazil's political and economical development specially during the military regime.

The severe impact of the recent world economic crisis on the richer economies, the scare of peak oil and the growing importance of biofuels, the revaluation of raw materials or the growing economic relations among the BRICs have revived international attention over Brazil's possibilities, demands and aspirations. And the "green giant" knows that. The country's defence budget has grown at extraordinary rates and huge projects (many of which were forcibly abandoned during the early 90s) are now being undertaken. The old ambition to own a nuclear-powered submarine could become a reality before 2020 and is considered by many as a step stone toward a permanent seat the UN Security Council.

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Policy Analysis in Strategic Studies of Security and Defense

An Overview of the Brazilian Case

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A long-standing neglect of the connection between the military affairs and the study of public policy by social scientists and policymakers has been decisive lately for the building up of policy analysis as a field of study every time more important for the human sciences and for the policymaking due to the analytical contributions about influential variables on the state agenda.

Policy analysis is a field of study aimed to demonstrate that public policies are relational products of politics once made by governments in the short run or by the State in the long run. Its contribution makes clear why defense policy is not independent of politics but rather is part of a wider public policymaking context.

This is a sub-area of applied studies where contents can not be determined by disciplinary boundaries due to the approach that validates the circumstances of time and nature of the problems, focusing on explanations instead of prescriptions because it is a field of studies that inquiries causes and consequences of public policies (Roth-Deubel, 2006).

Through this analysis it is possible to understand how Modern state machine gets in the center of a complex intersection of systems of action, determining a non homogeneous logic despite general similarities registered in multiple institutions that have different positions in a continuum formed by historical and social conditions.

In this complex system of action, the systematic use of the policy analysis instrumental as a methodological guide for the *strategic evaluation* of security and defense policies can be considered a theoretical innovation that this paper brings to interpret the agenda of the Brazilian military forces in its national and international context.

Analyzing security and defense as public policies can be very useful for both social scientists and policymakers to understand the existing tensions between the national and international spaces of action brought by old and new functions of the military forces that make them a hybrid strategic archetype.
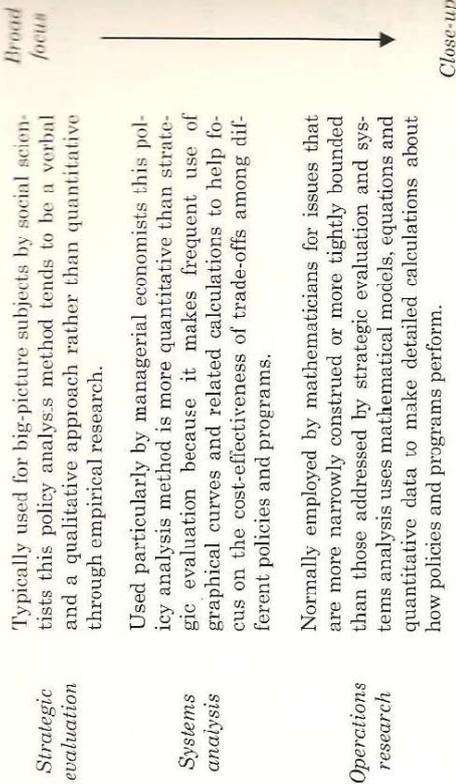
Strategic evaluation	Typically used for big-picture subjects by social scientists this policy analysis method tends to be a verbal and a qualitative approach rather than quantitative through empirical research.
Systems analysis	Used particularly by managerial economists this policy analysis method is more quantitative than strategic evaluation because it makes frequent use of graphical curves and related calculations to help focus on the cost-effectiveness of trade-offs among different policies and programs.
Operations research	Normally employed by mathematicians for issues that are more narrowly construed or more tightly bounded than those addressed by strategic evaluation and systems analysis uses mathematical models, equations and quantitative data to make detailed calculations about how policies and programs perform.

Broad focus →————————————→ *Close-up*

Table 1. Policy Analysis: A Spectrum of Methods. Based on Kugler (2006)

Despite the special characteristics of the defense and security policies representing indivisible public goods and continuous needs they foster common features of regular public policies as outputs resulting from political activity, shaped through a series of policy decisions regarding to the allocation of mandatory values or to demands generated inside the state machinery. As public policies, defense and security have been thought as complimentary sides of a coin where military forces are not restricted to defense in the foreign policy arena but also incorporate national policy issues of security due to the new treaties.

National policies using military forces in special security issues that threaten survival and requires urgent and exceptional political action have traditionally been restricted to short periods of instability or crises. When military troops are requested to act on national soil their operations have usually been related to processes of national securitization as instruments of government use to operacionalize assistance or protection in emergency times in order to preserve fundamental rights to citizens (Buzan, 1991).

But foreign policies have been considered the main reason for the existence of military forces because they represent channels that extend national power through a wide range of political activities as such military and diplomacy. As a public policy, the use of force in foreign policy is a traditional and long run military mechanism of defense defined continuously as a State agenda by different governments in order to promote national interests in the international context of anarchy engendered by the competitive dispute of powers.

The study of the Brazilian case in the military area taking for granted policy analysis aims to understand the active or latent actions of military forces as a continuous *defense State policy* in the international affairs *vis-à-vis* its emergencies use in the short term as a *security government policy* in national affairs, bringing into light what transformations have occurred in

the public policy field of security and defense that increasingly became interdependent and hybrid due to new functions.

Although the innovative approach to understand the military agenda setting as part of the public policymaking reflects specificities of the sociohistoric formation of Brazil today, this hybrid profile of inter(national) action highlights a major trend spread world wide about the linkage of security in traditional issues of defense.

Despite the emergence of new functions brought by increasing processes of national securitization in emergency times of domestic crises in democratic countries, the use of military forces has never stopped being defined by its higher function as a State defense policy in international affairs.

In this context, the analysis of international relations retains its importance in order to demonstrate how short-term foreign policies in defense and security of different governments accumulate over time engendering a series of structural trends that stratify into long-term State policies.

State Policies	Reflect the structure of the most permanent interests of the State consolidated over time. Permanent State defense agenda emanates from its condition as a mid-power country that seeks regional leadership in S. America and also multilateral space to preserve and enlarge its autonomy in the world.
Government Policies	These policies are related to the priorities, emphasis, tone and style continuously defined by different occupying forces of command of the executive branch over time. In Brazil, foreign policy guidelines have changed due to the strategic options adopted emphasing on different operative mixes composed by bilateralism, regionalism and multilateralism.

Table 2. Public Policy Dimensions. Based on Fernandes apud Bonotto (2005)

In this analytical framework, the Brazilian foreign policy *stricto sensu* in security and defense affairs can be analyzed in its formulation, change and continuity guidelines based on *endogenous factors*, such as in military governments and in the redemocratization period, and due to *exogenous factors* as *structural* influences and redefinitions in the international political and *cyclical* trends in the regional South American system.

Constrained by the interaction of national and international factors, Brazilian public policymaking determines the capacity of autonomy for security policies, defense and development by making it a relational output of national need and foreign opportunities in different cyclical and structural changes in the international system.

Any dependent country foreign policy is subject simultaneously to the national power system as well to internal and external *political conjunctures*, [...]. This hypothesis, first stresses the need to combine the *structural determinations* that delimit the scope of action of the decision agents with *conjecture determinations* engendered by decision and action of policymakers. It also avoids a notion that a foreign policy of a depend-

ent country is a simple reflection from hegemonic decision-making countries and also denies its comprehension only based on the examination of decisions made exclusively in a dependent country (Moura, 1980: 42-3).

Hence, the identification of inflections or continuities in the Brazilian pattern of public policies *stricto sensu* in security and defense stands on the observation of national dynamics as well on the identification of multilateral and regional conjectures that influence the stratification of major structural contexts. Based on this policy analysis analytical framework, the article aims to reflect on the *government policies* and the State policy pattern that determine the Brazilian agenda setting of security and defense policy, through two main discussions developed from now on.

Policy Analysis of the Brazilian Security and Defense Policymaking Agenda

Every security and defense policy makes part of a hybrid strategic field of public policy that is responsible for maintaining individual rights and national interests through a *continuous state of security and isolated acts of defense*. There is great concern in the academia to define which threats - foreign or national - should be considered to understand the centrality of security and defense as public policies. Countries with liberal tradition have traditionally split both fields: foreign defense functions reserved to the military forces and national security functions reserved to national, state or local police forces. Nevertheless a division of powers has always been mixed in the history course of many countries (Santos, 2004).

The inclusion of security and defense within a singular framework converges with the complementation of both concepts but their operational use are very different in Brazil because while security is a condition that involves political, economic, social, scientific, technological and military issues; defense is an act of protection or a force system of self-determination that warranties sovereignty.

According to Costa (1999) a new reading about security-defense relation is necessary in democratic countries because almost every country of the world have military defense policies but just a few have military capabilities for emergency security assistance to inter-operate with national, state or local agencies in different issues.

The securitization agenda of democratic states is an essential instrument of survival and stability of the nation and due to this characteristic must be requested and used just for a short term to inter-operate with other actors to overcome emergencies or crisis that take place. In this sense securitization represents the antithesis of politization processes that happen in non-democratic countries (Collins, 2007).

Regardless of the need of securitization agendas for responsible intervention operations in the short term as assistance against specific crisis times, defense keeps being a continuous state policy that comes beforehand preceding the efficient establishment of security policies. Therefore defense and security policymaking must be thought together as interdependent sides of the

same coin with different scope and duration but with common channels of positive or negative influence on national stability.

Due to the national and international debates to bring multidimensional analysis about new transnational threats that require cooperative hybrid use of defense and security, Brazilian policymaking on the area has incorporated some pragmatism but continues having a predominant realistic ideological conception adapted to conventional threats.

| Security	Condition that allows the country to preserve sovereignty, territorial integrity, self-realization of its national interests without pressures or threats of any kind, and to warranty citizens exercise of their constitutional rights and duties.
Defense	A set of measures and actions of the State –with emphasis on the military forces– for the defense of territory, sovereignty and national interests against predominantly foreign potential or manifest threats.

Table 3. Security and Defense Definitions in the Brazilian Agenda. Source: National Defense Policy (2005). Available at <http://www.defesa.gov.br> (2007).

Despite the qualification of defense and security as public policies due to their centrality to preserve the democratic state through national and foreign actions they have rarely been a point of wide political discussion or social consultation, therefore leading to a decision-making process with a historical policymaking agenda restricted to the military core or to partner institutions such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Office of Strategic Affairs (Renamed as Special Secretariat of Strategic Planning in 2007).

Foreign policies designed by different governments in Brazil in the postredemocratization era have created an internal competitive trend for budgetary resources where the security and defense area turned out to be relegated to a marginal space due to the lack of a Ministry of Defense and the priority agenda of international trade and diplomatic policies from the Ministry of Foreign Relations.

The Ministry of Foreign Relations has absorbed the doctrine of security and defense policy in the 1990s through a Grotian and a Kantian reading that depressed the strategic role of military forces in the foreign affairs. [...] The Brazilian foreign policy disqualified force as a mean of action in favor of diplomatic persuasion. The country has abandoned the historical trend of national security and military industrial policy that began in 1970s reinforcing pacifism through the signature of international disarmament pacts and a multilateralist proposition for international trade and security [...] These peaceful initiatives were intended to influence the disarmament of the South Cone and have been initiated with the disassemble of the national system of security and the resignation of a realist action in the international arena (Cervo and Bueno, 2002: 468-9, 471).

As a result of the new political democratic time of budgetary restructuring the military forces have suffered a significant drop in the level of their spending on security and defense in the passage of the 1980s to the 1990s.
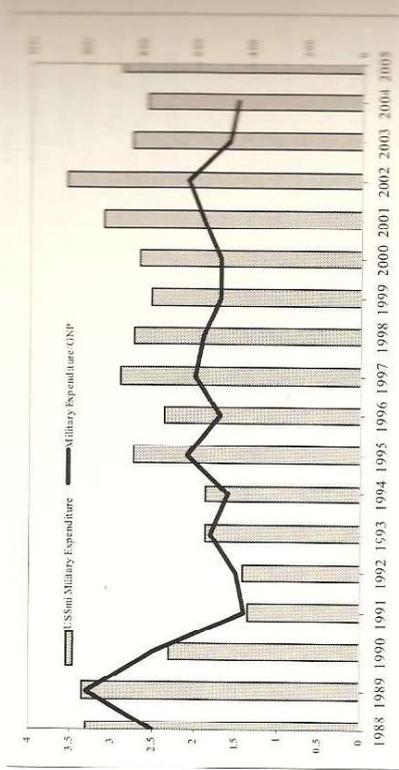
Graphic 1. Evolution of the Brazilian Military Expenditure. Source: Authors' elaboration. Database: SIPRI. Available at <http://www.sipri.org> (2007).

After the redemocratization period important issues in security and defense have passed out unnoticed by large public discussions whether in stable or unstable times, such as the survival problem of the domestic armament industry, the participation of Brazil in sensitive technology transfer control regimes or in UN peacekeeping initiatives.

In the Brazilian political history, moments when international security affairs were relevant on the political agenda and in national public debates have been virtually non-existent not even in academic researches (Costa, 2004: 107).

The lack of a public debate and a formulation and implementation agenda of strategic planning for the defense and security policies by the Government remain being significant gaps for a real redefinition of the military forces. The policymaking agenda in security and defense still remains empty due to the lack of presidential and legislative willpower in the national and foreign redefinition for the military branch, although progress had occurred with the creation of a Ministry of Defense and a National Defense Policy in President Fernando Henrique Cardoso administration (1995-2002) as strategic basis in the agenda setting of national security, so far relegated in prior civilian governments.

Consolidated democratic society has an active role in the formulation and implementation of defense and security policies through the national congress that regulates the decision making process, while NGOs and lobby groups participate in public debates and direct their interests through various channels to decision-makers. In Brazil, however, society has not been

interested in national defense and security affairs and this reflects on politician campaigns without any proposition for the area such as the past presidential elections (Santos, 2004).

According to Oliveira (2006), the neglect of defense and security policies in Brazil has four main reasons: a) low social perception of the area, b) prejudice of the military forces due to the military regime, d) belief in the absence of threats to national security, and finally, d) social policies / defense and security policies trade off.

Besides the lack of interest of the national political core and Brazilian society there have also been some controversy faced by the security and defense policies demonstrating an operational imitation to their action that comes from regional interests in South America and hegemonic interests from the United States.

Nationally, military programmes that have been initiated right after the end of the dictatorship regime, as such Calha Norte (1985), had their budgets reduced and were very criticized by Brazilian intellectuals and environmentalist groups set in epistemic communities.

Internationally, military have faced the blockade imposed on technology transfer to Brazil by developed countries, mainly by the U. S. government, that conditioned the resumption of trade agreements in that area in exchange to the signature of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Missile Technology Control Regime.

Associated to this complex relational framework, the decline causes of the defense industry has been related to two distinct phenomena that affected Brazil simultaneously due to an international context –with the fall of the Soviet Union and end of the Cold War– and a national context between the late 1980s and the early 1990s.

First, the international context of the end of the Cold War has generated an ample availability of military weapons of high quality and cheap sale due to the erosion of Soviet Union into many different countries, affecting the competitiveness of the Brazilian defense industry that once ranked as the ninth biggest exporter in the world in the middle 1980s.

Second, the national context change brought by the redemocratization process in the 1980s has contributed to the erosion of the industrial defense due the end of subsidies and further shrinkage of military technology centers of research and development.

As a result of these contexts, a strategy sought to solve new and old problems that threatened the security of national interest in Brazil and significant part of the South American countries had been engendered to address the promotion of a continuous demilitarization of troops. This adopted framework implemented with a gradual build up of mutual trust has been thought as in important instrument of military transparency for further bilateral cooperation in order to create a stable and peaceful region in opposition to the global increase trend of military expenditures (Pereira, 2004).

Due to the demilitarization process, Brazilian military expenditures with human resources, supplies, weapons, equipments had been relatively low when compared to the proportion of the military *per capita* spending even in another countries and regions in the world.

Despite the quantitive low profile of military spending in Brazil, a controversial issue frequently brought into discussion has been the qualitative profile of this spending that was concentrated in human resources and pensions that would immobilize almost 80% of the total budget as such most cases of South American countries. In this sense Brazilian military spending structures brings a very important contribution as a full employment policy but engenders very little security or defense (Resdal, 2007).
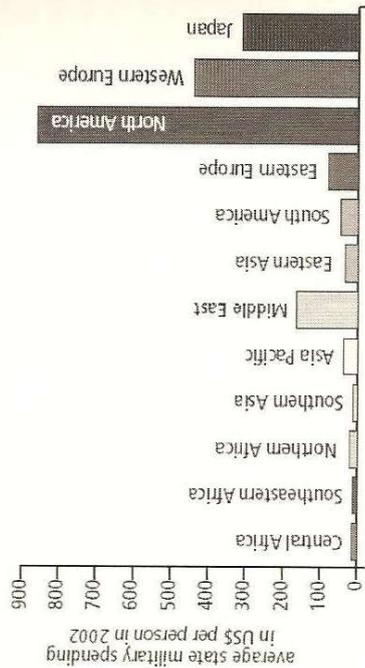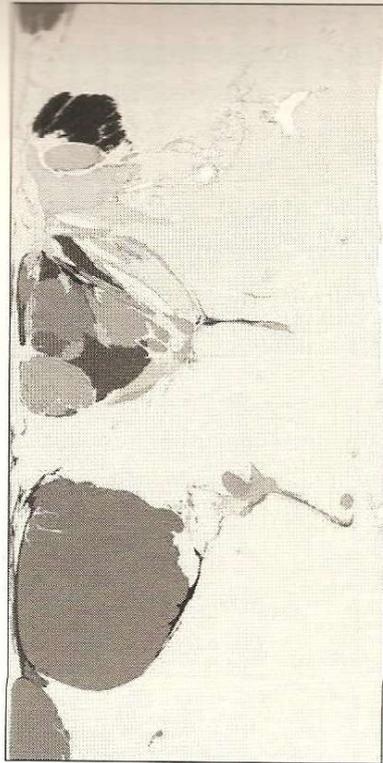
Map 1. *Military Spending in the World. Source: World Mapper (2002).*
Available at <http://www.worldmapper.org> (2007).

In a national context without any clear strategic defense and security policy, the military industry has shrunk with the closure of many factories or the privatization of some others. Defense industry turned out to be in a delicate situation mainly due to the budget immobilization for human resources and pensions payments, the domestic demand reduction and difficulties for exports.

Just by the end of the 1990s within the chronological framework of security, defense and development programs for the Amazon triggered the re-emergence of investment in technological development in the national mili-

tary forces, primarily in the air force through the implementation of the Amazon Surveillance System (SIVAM). In order to minimize the technological gap quickly with minimal cost, the military forces were induced to import significant portion of the equipment with no internal spillovers for the national industry.

It was only in president Luís Inácio "Lula" da Silva administration that has really emerged a debate about the technological industries in security and defense with the building up of a common agenda by the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Science and Technology but still without any strategic repercussion.

In the year of 2002 these ministries launched the First Seminar on Science, Technology and Innovation for National Defense, releasing a discussion paper called "Science, Technology and Innovation - Proposal of Strategic Guidelines for National Defense". As a result from these public discussions a Science, Technology and Innovation policy for the National Defense was launched by the Ministry of Defense with the assistance of the academic community and the industrial sector in 2004.

In order to improve this framework still incipient of resources and programs the Ministry of Defense in partnership with the Ministry of Education launched the "Support Program to Education, Scientific Research and Technology in National Defense" (Pro-Defense) aimed to amplificate the training of graduate specialists in security and defense and to create linkages with the national scientific community in defense activities of Science, Technology and Innovation.

An important policy analysis feature of these support programs for scientific and technological research highlights the lack of a well-defined strategy for defense and security policy agenda pulverizing the limited resources. According to Dagnino (2004), while National Defense policy sets up the scientific and technological development as an strategic goal through the partnership with industries and universities, it misses operational pragmatism due to the absence of technology transfer consortia or external cooperation with South American countries and due to the unexpressive amount of resources allocated to military research and development activities which represent only 1% of the total expenditures of the Ministry of Defense.

Policy analysis trends in Brazil for Security and Defense Public Policy

The Brazilian military forces have traditionally been used according to the constitutional defense obligations to warranty security in co-responsibility with national agencies, preserve national patrimony and territorial integrity, and defense against foreign aggression as such any other country in the world.

In the case of the foreign policy for security and defense, peaceful conflict solutions have been incorporated to the Brazilian policymaking agenda as a landmark due to the influence of national and regional structural factors.

According to Costa (1994), despite fluctuations brought from different governments the predictability level of the Brazilian foreign policy in the area of security and defense is very high due to a distinguished standard

performance in history and due to the juridical and non-confrontational characteristics in the international relations.

On one hand, a *non-confrontational feature* of Brazil upholding the principle of self-determination and non-intervention has been a historical choice to provide peaceful solutions for disputes and conflicts without the use of force. On the other hand a *law enforcement feature* has been of frequent use for sanction declarations of treaties or conventions as expressions of national or multilateral willpower.

Both features of the foreign policy have determined a traditional negative public perception about the intervention of the Brazilian State in wars that built up a wall of elevated costs when the country needs to make use of force in international affairs.

Due to the international pacifist history and the importance of peaceful settings, the prevalence of an international order based on liberal values that discourages the practice of war and the gradual consolidation of international laws in the Brazilian State agenda have turned the *defense of liberty and peace* in an embedded feature of the military foreign policy culture.

Although this inherent structural peaceful characteristics consolidated over time, security and defense policies contain other historical and political designs that deserve consideration of analysis because there have been significant changes in the military strategic policymaking agenda in relation to treaties or conflicts.

Since the end of the Cold War defense and security policies have been in redefinition and adjustments in the whole Inter-American System, as well in Brazil since the redemocratization when new conceptions for the national military have come up into scene bringing an agenda of institutional concern related to possible new uses of the military forces through a democratic ample definition of defense and security in order to absorb the traditional foreign military role in the maintenance of the national sovereignty and a new domestic military role in federal, state and local agencies interoperations and fostering social development through the creation of basic infrastructure in several poor or isolated municipalities, mainly the in North.

Local populations have positively evaluated domestic security interventions at the northern region of the country, especially in the Amazon. The army, for example, has been considered the most reliable actor in the region by public opinion, beating even police, churches or NGOs, due to the activities against drug trafficking, smuggling, illegal extraction of timber and deforestation that in some sort affect direct or indirectly the population.

Foreign Defense and Securities Policies

Domestic defense & security policies

An important role played by the Brazilian military forces in comparison to other countries lies on its historical responsibility participating in interventions of humanitarian aid for vulnerable populations threatened by hunger or civil wars as such its constant presence in UN missions. On one hand, the constant Brazilian participation in humanitarian missions of *peacekeeping and reconstruction and development* has enhanced the prestige of the Brazilian military forces in the international system, on the other hand, there have also been permanent the historical attention of the Brazilian foreign policies in the projection of the national interests to ensure a permanent seat as a member in the UN Security Council.

Multilateral policies

On one hand, the establishment of the cooperative initiative of the Southern Common Market (Mercosur), based on democratization and economic development, has stimulated the emergence of an environment where rivalries between countries and conflictive threats in this region have significantly been reduced due to positive spillover effects that reflected in debates about a regional policy of security and defense. On the other hand, the Brazilian army has strategically moved from the borders of the Platinum Basin flank to the Amazon Basin due to a perception change of policymakers about border fragilities in large areas of the territorial Legal Amazon with guerrilla problems, low population density, illicit trafficking and institutional vulnerability of neighbors.

Regional policies

In the first Lula administration the technical cooperation agreement signed together by the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger have clearly set up a social role for the military forces in the national territory with responsibilities of logistic interoperation in the Zero Hunger programme. Logistic assistance to the Election Supreme Court (TSE) in the distribution of electronic voting machines in the elections, the emergency assistance to hospitals in public health crises in Rio de Janeiro, as well distribution of food supplies and identification of vulnerable families without medical and dental care have been some of the contributions to domestic security that the military forces brought inter-operating with civilians in regions of difficult access as such in the Amazon.

Policies of positive acceptance

Among the most controversial actions of the army there are some interventions in urban area that created a complex relationship with state governments, their police forces and the communities involved as such in the sluma of Rio de Janeiro in order to combat drug trafficking. The Army has also carried out mega operations in partnership with state and federal polices or with the national security force in rural intensive regions in order to disarm fraudulent landowners, rural squatters and landless movements. Criticism from specialists against these types of action lies on the fact that the army plays an intensive domestic police role without legal status or specific capabilities in training procedure and weapons. The military forces would have traditionally been prepared for external contexts of war and not for urban action.

Policies of Controversial acceptance

Table 4. New Conceptions of Security and Defense for the Military Forces. Based on Fuccille (2001); Moreira (2004); Sensato e Cunha (2006).

On regional foreign affairs, Brazilian national frontiers in the Platinum Basin, in particular with Argentina, have traditionally represented a neuralgic spot of tensions and conflicts. This situation started undergoing a substantial change even before the fall of the Berlin Wall due to the first negotiations for regional cooperation by the Presidents Raul Afonsin and José Sarney (1985-1989), and the subsequent consolidation of Mercosur with the inclusion of Uruguay and Paraguay.

Due to the new context of cooling down rivalries in the Platinum Basin flank, for the first time since the Empire, the insecurity perceptions of the Brazilian state have migrated to the Amazon flank with repositioning of army troops along the northern borders of the country.

During this period of changes Bakker (1984) pointed out that the end of border problems would have served to undermine the professionalism of the classic Brazilian defense foreign policy at the expense of an increasing of domestic defense and security concerns mainly by the Army in the Amazon.

The size of the *new threats* in the Amazon have been clearly perceived by the Brazilian military forces according to the development of domestic conflicts in Colombia, the increase of drug and weapon trafficking and the pressures related to the protection of Northern borders and to the demand of international biodiversity securitization from the U.S. and Europe.

The most substantive and positive change that the prioritization of the Amazon borders may have operated in the Brazilian strategic national defense concepts was the acceptance of the necessity for operational integration by the three branches of military forces. With greater or lesser degree of conviction, the acceptance among other beneficial things undermined the military resistance for the creation of the Ministry of Defense.

Since President Fernando Henrique Cardoso administration (1995-2002), in the context of regional security, it became an obvious concern the creation of the Ministry of Defense in order to respond to instable issues considered sources of negative potential spillovers against the national in-

terests as such conventional threats from state conflicts at the boarders and new threats related to transnational organized crime.

This strategic option certainly - that has already been envisioned by the Army since the rivalry cooling between Brazil and Argentina - had its first manifestation in the Calha Norte project. Amazon idea as the 'last frontier to be conquered' is a recurrent theme in geopolitical studies produced in the country making reference to an important element of the Brazilian military thought: the belief that the military forces are legitimators of the national integration and the main modernizing agents of the country. In this sense when Amazon became a priority for the national defense in the 1990s this strategic choice has become an interesting concept for the military forces because once again it allowed them to discuss institutional interests as national interests (Marques, 2003: 78).

On multilateral foreign affairs there are issues of strategic nature for the defense and security foreign policy related to military use as it can be attested by the Brazilian commitment sending troops to peacekeeping and collective security missions in several countries due to the historical interests for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council since their origin.

The global transformations brought by the redefinition of international security in multidimensional have reflected on the foreign security and defense policies of Brazil in order to pursue a more prominent role in the UN, particularly in its Security Council, with the increasing importance of the so-called new issues of the global agenda.

In order to accomplish UN demands Brazil has become involved not only in a large number of peacekeeping operations but has also sought a more prominent role in comparison to the one played in the past. That is one of the explanations for the Brazilian participation in widespread missions covering almost every continent. Just in the last twenty years the country has acted in almost all parts of the world in past or ongoing missions as such in Europe: Croatia; Africa: Angola, Mozambique, Rwanda/Uganda, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Cost; Asia: Cambodia, East Timor; Latin America: Peru/Ecuador, Guatemala, El Salvador and Haiti (Mathias and Pepe, 2006: 07).

The multilateral experience and the active participation in peacekeeping operations authorized by the UN Security Council have made Brazil the fifth biggest country in effective troops and the seventh largest financial contributor although considered one of the biggest financial debtors to the Council.

Cervo and Bueno (2002) criticize the Brazilian multilateral conduct given to international affairs due to its failure to achieve national interests in the 1990s considering the reduction of the Defense role in relation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs since the end of the Cold War when bipolar system has changed into a multipolar economic system and a unipolar strategic-military system. The problem is that multilateralism fits well just in the first case.

Considering that multilateralism was chosen as a mean of international action for a country, Brazilian foreign policymaking has been very successful

handling with human rights and environmental issues, partially positive with international trade issues, and inefficient on security and defense.

On domestic affairs the defense and security policy has changed due to the redemocratization and the end of the Berlin Wall because the communist expansion threat discussed in the National Security Plan from the military administrations started to fall down as a threat for the Brazilian sovereignty and constitutional values.

The Brazilian military identity crisis brought by the national redemocratization and the end of international bipolarity has had consequences for the defense and security policy with an initial agenda setting gap while compared to the National Security Doctrine from past military administrations.

The most relevant and definitive change in the institutional sphere has been the restoration of democratic administrations which led the Brazilian State to a reformulation of its administrative structure in the security and defense policy decision-making. Accordingly to the principles outlined in the 1988 Constitution the increased participation of civilians in the decision-making process, the creation of the Ministry of Defense and the formulation of a White Paper for National Defense Policy emerge as new and significant elements in the institutional sphere (Moreira, 2004: 01).

If on one hand, the National Congress had no power to decide on military matters during the military dictatorship because civilians had been prohibited to set National Defense agenda due to the institutional autonomy of military forces at that time, on the other hand, the redemocratization process strengthened the freedom of expression of the Legislative branch reducing at a first moment the budget and the military capacity to carry out its policymaking.

Facing budgetary restrictions and the marginalization of an agenda for defense and security policy during the redemocratization years military forces turned out to be no longer *politically autonomous* although maintaining a high level of *institutional autonomy*.

The Brazilian military-civilian relations structured by military forces during different administrations in the democratic regime have been constructed in positive and negative ways depending on many dynamic factors such as presidential authority, leadership of ministers and military commanders and congress performance.

José Sarney Administration

(1985-1990)

Military defense programmes and military-civilian development programmes such as the Calha Norte project at the Amazon formulated during the military administrations have been continued in the redemocratization period due to the institutional fragility brought by the death of the elected president Tancredo Neves. In order to maintain stability in this transition period, José Sarney Administration (prior vice president) has chosen to fund traditional support for the military forces maintaining their command autonomy.

The executive branch has sought to assert presidential command authority in the military forces in order to limit their political autonomy and capacity to influence politics through a number of actions as such: budget cuts, eroding the legal status of the former Joint Military Forces Ministry; replacing the National Office of Information and the Advisory Secretary of National Defense through the creation of the Department of Strategic Affairs; transferring the control of nuclear activities to the Ministry of Science and Technology; and ending a number of military programmes through the privatization of state defense industries.

Fernando Collor de Mello Administration

(1990-1992)

President Itamar Franco replaced former president Fernando Collor de Mello due to his impeachment assuming a smoother position about the military autonomy although maintaining budget cuts and the privatization of sate defense industries. The main features of this administration were related to the securitization agenda of military forces in order to ampliate the traditional use of force also in domestic affairs as such in Rio de Janeiro and in the Amazon. Technology investment had been reincorporated in the agenda setting through the Amazon Surveillance System (SIVAM) but the project was suspended after allegations of contractual corruption.

Itamar Franco Administration

(1992-1994)

The (re) creation of the Ministry of Defense, a National Defense Policy and the Brazilian Intelligence Agency (ABIN) have been some of the initiatives aimed to give strategic coherence for the defense. Foreign peacekeeping policies and domestic military interventions in different regions of Brazil have extended the former securitization agenda. Due to the emergent US intervention in South America through the Plan Colombia, Brazilian "Calha Norte" project was "reactivated" as well the SIVAM project that was implemented through inter-operation of several other ministries with an hybrid civilian-military structure called Amazon Region Protection System (SIPAM).

Fernando Henrique Cardoso Administrations

(1995-2002)

Lula administration has given continuity to former administrations in order to better organize the importance of the military forces for national interest. Attention was given to equipment rearmament through technology transfers and government purchases. The launch of a National Defense Policy in 2005 introduced new securitization contributions to prior documents as such legal employment of the military forces in UN peacekeeping operations and in domestic affairs in order to ensure integrity of citizens and national territory as well defining additional police activities of public security in emergency times.

Luis Inácio "Lula" da Silva Administrations

(2003 - today)

Table 5. Civil Government-Military Relations.
Based on Hunter (1997); Marques (2003); Cervo e Bueno (2002)

Despite national, international and regional changes that have triggered a number of constraints for the policy and institutional autonomy of the Brazilian military forces, the return to the bases not necessarily meant the end of military autonomy but certainly showed that the foreign security and defense policies have become secondary on the policymaking agenda.

The institutional autonomy loss of the military forces should be analyzed with caution because it is been registered in the redemocratization period with an institutional successful lobby most of the times articulated by the military inside the legislative branch in order to preserve corporate interests during the elaboration of a new constitution in 1988 as well in the context of amendment rectification in 1993.

Since President Fernando H. Cardoso administrations (1995-2002) the construction of a policymaking agenda on Security and Defense has improved significantly when compared to prior times due to the emphasis on the design of a National Defense Policy and the creation of the Ministry of Defense structured by civilian command according to democratic theories.

The main goals for the creation of this ministry were quite extensive encompassing issues related to national sovereignty and national economic and social development in spite of the lack of correspondent financial resources or national discussions on defense and security agenda setting engendered by the legislative in order to define domestic and foreign role for the military forces.

Despite significant advances in the civilian-military relations, defense and security issues remain relegated to a secondary level of public policymaking in Brazil creating a context of uncertainties to steer a clear and systematic position about military domestic and foreign affairs.

Final Remarks

Issues related to security and defense policy have been relegated or taken apart from Latin American studies due to the lack of a historical and theoretical vision of force as a component of public policy that reflects a remaining misrepresentation from the negative military regimes.

But security and defense may be rethought as important concepts for the general interest in democracies, not restricted to expert military circles, due to the importance of public policymaking agenda in this area playing a vital role to warranty stability and liberty.

In some sort these concepts have been inter-related. For some countries positive or negative security sense is determined by the single existence of defense policies, and for some other countries security and defense area independent policies with complementary characteristics in order to maintain order and stability in domestic and foreign affairs.

The understanding about existing or not of defense and security policies arises through the identification that every military role has been defined *ex ante* by State or governments *political variables* and by National Constitution *law variables*.

Qualifications for different countries deserve policy analysis in order to bring comprehension that political and law variables allow policymaking agenda closure or opening for the foreign or domestic military use.

In the Brazilian case this paper has discussed that security and defense policymaking agenda makes sense due to the constitutional qualifications of defense as a State policy and due to the growing attribution of security functions for the military forces by different democratic governments.

Although Brazilian military forces have been inputted with an *ample agenda* for action that allows analysts to the identification of an existing security and defense policy not all the countries take to the same conclusion because most of them have military restrictive agendas.

If, on one hand, just a few countries with ample military policymaking agendas have the capability to define domestic and foreign policies related to security and defense, on the other hand, for most countries military forces have only been used in restricted foreign policymaking agendas of defense.

Taking for granted that the study of a case represents something very specific, policy analysis has many other contributions as an important exploratory instrument that points out critical subsidies for a better empirical comprehension related to the military public policy agenda setting.

No amount of analysis can wipe away uncertainty nor can analysis prevent controversy about defense and security policy choices or alter the reality that hindsight will always be better than foresight but at least policy analysis can help academic research and governments construct better policymaking.

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