

# The history of military education in perspective: training of officers at the Agulhas Negras Military Academy (1989-2018)

*La historia de la educación militar en perspectiva: formación de oficiales en la Academia Militar das Agulhas Negras (1989-2018)*

**Abstract:** This article aims to present a brief analysis of changes in educational strategy that have impacted the way of being and thinking of the military personnel trained by the Agulhas Negras Military Academy (AMAN) over the past 30 years. For this, the survey had access to classified documents of the Brazilian Army (EB) and interviews. The political-historical backgrounds that contributed to the planning and implementation of new sectors in the AMAN in 1989 are the starting point for structural and curricular changes in the EB. The results point to the applicability of a course focused on human rights and the gradual change in treatment between officers and cadets. The focus of this article is the role of the Ministry of Defense in conducting what the military elite changed in the preparation of young officers in the context of Brazilian democracy.

**Keywords:** Military education; Academia Militar das Agulhas Negras (AMAN); Military elite.

**Resumen:** El artículo tiene como objetivo presentar un breve análisis de los cambios en la estrategia educativa que impactaron en la forma de ser y de pensar de los egresados militares de la Academia Militar das Agulhas Negras (AMAN) en los últimos 30 años. Para ello, la investigación tuvo acceso a documentos internos del Ejército Brasileño (EB) y entrevistas. Los antecedentes político-históricos que contribuyeron a la planificación y ejecución de nuevos sectores en AMAN en 1989 son el punto de partida para los cambios estructurales y curriculares en el EB. Los resultados apuntan a la aplicabilidad de una disciplina centrada en los derechos humanos y al cambio gradual en el trato entre oficiales y cadetes. El recorte cuenta sobre el papel del Ministerio de Defensa en la conducción de lo que la élite castrense cambió en la preparación de jóvenes oficiales en el contexto de la democracia brasileña.

**Palabras clave:** Educación militar; Academia Militar das Agulhas Negras (AMAN); Élite castrense.

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## 1 Introduction

The initiative of this study was based on a literature review, a documentary research, the analysis of teaching materials used from 1989, and the conduct of interviews. The documentary focus was on the analysis of reports of the former Ministry of the Army and Ministry of Defense<sup>1</sup>, in the internal bulletins of the Agulhas Negras Military Academy (AMAN)<sup>2</sup> Department of Education and Research (DEP). Interviews were conducted about the changes in the narrative during the training process at AMAN, between 1989 and 2018.

Although the main values that guide the idealization of this profile have been in force by law since 1980<sup>3</sup>, the aim is to elucidate aspects that are still little known about the instruments and strategies that changed the military profile of the officers who graduated from AMAN<sup>4</sup> with focus on the year of 1989. That year, AMAN practically doubled its physical and administrative structure, with the inauguration of a series of permanent facilities: the Main Complex II, the headquarters of the Advanced Course, and the Guilherme Paraense Shooting Polygon, better known as the “Shooting Section”.

These works were part of a strategic portfolio of the Army – the Task Force 90 (FT-90) – a set of projects that allowed, over almost thirty years, to expand and offer support for the formation of a military more focused on professional activities.

At the same time, other factors went hand in hand with the national context of transition from the Figueiredo government to democracy. According to Martins Filho (2007, p. 10), at the regional level, the Falklands/Malvinas War, which took place in 1982, provided new teachings in the military field and contributed to the process of tension between Brazil and Argentina, which was already happening. Additionally, the Brazilian military structure was quite similar to that of its Argentine neighbors<sup>5</sup>. As a result, the political-military results of the conflict<sup>6</sup> in the south of the continent motivated the transformation of the Brazilian Army (EB) in the 1980s (ALVES; CAMPOS, 2012). In this context, General Walter Pires

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1 The Ministry of the Army changed to the Army Command in 1999, with the creation of the Ministry of Defense.

2 The Agulhas Negras Military Academy - AMAN, as an establishment of higher military education, is heir to the bicentennial tradition of training the junior officer and the unskilled captain of the military education line of the Brazilian Army, begins the training of the military chief (BRASIL, 2011a). A military graduate from AMAN is equated with university education and receives a bachelor's degree in Military Sciences, in accordance with the Army Education Law (BRASIL, 1999).

3 Military Statute (E1) - Law No. 6880, of December 9, 1980 (BRASIL, 1980).

4 When summoned by the Minister of the Army Leônidas Pires Gonçalves, the Colonel of the Staff of Military Engineers (QEM) - formed by the Military Institute of Engineering - Cláudio Meirelles Santos expressed the opinion of the minister that nothing should be done without a deep study to, not only expand, but also adapt the AMAN, so that the cadets have the same standard of modern colleges, with the use of computers, videos, etc. He also said that a solution should be given to allow it to be, like the first, proud of those who passed by, adding value for another 50 years of use and, still, keeping a memory of its glory times (VELLOSO, 2010).

5 In 1982, the military government was still in force in Brazil, under the presidency of General João Baptista Figueiredo. Wars were topics that naturally received special attention from the government. Its Army was, until the 1970s, the traditional adversary in the hypotheses of employment and war games developed by Brazilian military schools. Its equipment and doctrine were very similar to that of the Brazilian Army. The same inclination towards counterinsurgent warfare, at the expense of preparing for conventional fighting, was found. It seems logical to think of the Brazilian government and Army as attentive observers of the conflict (ALVES; CAMPOS, 2012).

6 For example, the war revealed the impotence of the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (TIAR). As demonstrated by the ineffectiveness of these instruments during the war and the ostensible support of the United States for its British ally, such organizations were functional only when they responded to the interests of the northern superpower. Brazilian diplomacy was attentive to this lesson (CERVO; BUENO, 2002).

(1979-1985) and, successively, General Leônidas Pires Gonçalves (1985-1990), ordered the Army General Staff (EME) to plan the restructuring of the Force, providing the continuity of the project that was in progress since the 1960s (PEDROSA, 2018), but with a focus on the panorama of the 1980s, where the Falklands/Malvinas War had an important influence. Thus, in 1984, within the scope of the EME7, the Army Planning System - SIPLEX<sup>8</sup> arose. This plan lasts, with adaptations, until the present time<sup>9</sup>.

The professional training of officers in the military education line (LEMB) is the main thread in the career of future commanders of the Brazilian Army (EB). In the last thirty years the EB educational system, especially the Department of Teaching and Research (DEP)<sup>10</sup> posed a great challenge in trying to objectively assess the revised military attitudes and values in the Military Statute. The year 1989 also brought contributions to the theoretical field of History. That same year, the History of the Present Time (HTP) in France started, with Pieter Lagrou as one of its greatest collaborators. Although the Institute of the Present Time History (IHTP) was created in the 1970s, Timothy Garton Ash published a book called *The History of the Present* (1999) in which he defends the practice of a recent history, made of interviews with the protagonists and full immersion in the events (PÔRTO JÚNIOR, 2007).

At AMAN, this guideline was also reflected in the expansion of its physical structure (works started in 1987 and inaugurated in 1989), practically doubling the capacity to train officers, with the aim of, in the future, facing the increase in personnel that was envisioned in the FT-2000 and FT-21 Projects. AMAN is the military educational establishment responsible for the training of most of the career officers of the Brazilian Army. At the Academy, the main values of the Land Force's organizational culture are developed in the cadets, which will be cultivated throughout the officer's career. Since 1964, its courses have lasted four years, divided into two phases: Basic Course<sup>11</sup> and Weapons Courses. There are seven specialties conducted there: Infantry (Inf), Cavalry (Cav), Artillery (Art), Engineering (Eng), Communications (Com), War Material (MB) and Quartermaster (Int). Teaching at AMAN includes two major areas: Elementary Education (so-called "university" disciplines, in the areas of Exact Sciences and Human Sciences, for all courses) and Professional Education (military disciplines, common and specific to each course).

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7 The General Staff of the Army is the general management body (ODG) of the Land Force, responsible for coordinating the action of all sectors of the EB.

8 SIPLEx is the set of measures and actions of the State, with emphasis on military expression, for the defense of territory, sovereignty and national interests against predominantly external threats, potential or manifest (BRASIL, 1984b).

9 According to Kuhlmann (2007) the possibility of adaptations was already part of the system from the beginning.

10 Since 2009, the DEP has been renamed the Department of Education and Culture of the Army (DECEX).

11 From 1964 to 1976, the Basic Course covered the first two years; from 1977 to 1987 it was reduced to one year and, in 1988, it returned to the previous two-year conformation. In addition to concentrating so-called "basic" disciplines, both in Elementary and Professional Education, it allows for a period of coexistence and mutual knowledge, aiming at a better future interpersonal relationship, since the cadets will be further divided into different weapons/services.

In order to enable the achievement of the research in question, internal documents of AMAN were researched, such as the internal bulletins (BI AMAN). Regarding the methodology, the present work is based on the contributions of José D'Assunção Barros (2013). For oral history, the works of Ferreira and Amado (2006), Alberti (2013) and Cardoso and Vainfas (2012) were consulted. Publications related to military ethics were also consulted on the Capes Journal Portal. The military and former military personnel interviewed signed the Informed Consent Form (TCLE), which, in turn, was sent to the Ethics Committee of the Salgado de Oliveira University (UNIVERSO). The texts underwent a discursive analysis (MAINGUENEAU, 2008). Therefore, this article is in accordance with the following classifications: regarding the type of research (or objective), it is an applied research, and, with regard to the methodological procedures, it is a case study based on bibliographic review and documental research.

## 2 Development

### The training of officers in perspective of the military education line

The socialization of LEMB officers begins even before entering the academic gates. The rigid selection processes established in public notices verifies the social situation of the candidates, by proving that they do not have a criminal record in the national public security registry. Once approved, the “still” candidate is submitted to the basic notions of the institutional culture during the adaptation period, which lasts for approximately fifteen days<sup>12</sup>. At this initial moment, manuals are distributed, of which the Military Statute<sup>13</sup> (BRASIL, 1980), the General Services Internal Regulations<sup>14</sup> (BRASIL, 2003) and the Army Disciplinary Regulations<sup>15</sup> (BRASIL, 2002) are distributed. After one year of preparatory education at EspCEx, once approved, the student will be able to join AMAN.

The process also involves the development of other moral values that should guide their actions not only throughout their careers, but throughout their lives, as long as they are considered military, even if they are no longer in active service. The search for these values is guided by the “predominant idea” of honor, which must accompany the military and promote conduct that leads to being considered worthy of officialdom and the defense of the homeland. For Rosinha and Andrade Júnior (2020) the armed forces prepare young people to exercise the role of defense and security in a social context in constant transformation and work by ideology, simultaneously

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12 With the exception of some sporadic open tenders for immediate entry into AMAN (2004 and 2011), entry into the LEMB takes place through approval at EspCEx. In this educational establishment, the student learns in one year the basics of the military profession and has contact with the members of AMAN.

13 The present Statute regulates the situation, obligations, duties, rights and prerogatives of the members of the Armed Forces (BRASIL, 1980).

14 The Internal Regulations and General Services (R - 1 or RISG) prescribes everything related to the internal life and general services of units considered troop corps, establishing norms regarding the attributions, responsibilities and the exercise of the functions of their members (BRASIL, 2003).

15 The Army's Disciplinary Regulation (R-4 or RDE) aims to specify disciplinary transgressions and establish rules regarding punishments, military behavior of the soldiers, resources and rewards (BRASIL, 2002).

to ensure their own cohesion and reproduction of the values they project abroad. There is no pure ideological apparatus, but the “school, whether civil or military, is a dynamic political space par excellence” (PALMA ROSINHA; ANDRADE JÚNIOR, 2020, p. 132).

According to article 36 of the Regulations of the Agulhas Negras Military Academy, AMAN courses also aim to form a basic military personality, with a solid ethical structure and strong attitudinal development, all in accordance with the professional profile established by the Army General Staff (BRASIL, 2014). Dênis de Miranda (2019) verified in his doctoral thesis that military ethical training would be a improvement of the ethical and moral standards proposed in the Law of Directives and Bases of National Education (LDBEN) (BRASIL, 1996). For Miranda, the development of structured thinking has a similarity to what LDBEN calls critical thinking. This construction appears in the military text as a behavior that the Army values in those concluding its teaching modalities (MIRANDA, 2019). It is noteworthy that, according to article 35 of the LDBEN, ethical training has its focal point during high school (BRASIL, 1996), without any mention of higher education. However, the derivations of the military structuring axis are stimulated so that military values are spontaneously manifested at the end of the teaching process.

In order to operationalize the reproduction of expected values in an environment of increasingly rapid transformations, tensions were evidenced between the rupture of teaching strategies and the continuity of traditions solidified over time. Sueli Magalhães shared some of the dichotomies that made the Teaching Modernization Process (PME) in the late 1990s and early 2000s a major challenge:

This updating of the military ethos of teaching took place in favor of a pedagogical rationality centered on completely opposite values and categories of analysis: instead of the absolute subordination of the individual to the group and to the Institution (holism), the consideration of the emotional and cognitive needs of the students; instead of the unrestricted primacy of hierarchy, the mention of rational-legal criteria for the exercise of leadership; instead of the omnipresence of radical asceticism, the defense of the eventual use of the principle of pleasurable learning (MAGALHÃES, 2010, p. 2).

Accordingly, Celso Castro (2004) lists a series of attributes that, in his research, appear to be valued by cadets and that, in this perspective, are considered complementary and necessary for the exercise of honorable conduct, such as: seriousness, professionalism, competence, maturity, discipline and order. It is interesting to note that these values must result in “irreproachable moral and professional conduct”, as established by military duties related to ethics (BRASIL, 1980). They are, therefore, values whose pursuit are encouraged and which should result in actions and attitudes regulated by statutes that apply internally to the corporation. In addition, the cultivation of these values must also establish an evident behavioral difference between the military and civilians, culminating in a separation of the military from the civilian world.

The perception of military attributes as examples of true ethical and moral values, as well as sacrifice for the country, permeated a speech by General Antônio Hamilton Martins Mourão on the occasion of the celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Sergeant Argemiro de Camargo, victim of a guerrilla ambush in 1965. According to Zatta and Vannini (2018), the general's speech reaffirms the military view of the "Redentor" (the movement of March 31, 1964), in addition to implying the idea that the Brazilian Army saved the country from a communist dictatorship. Also, according to these authors, the year 2015 marked the resumption of the institutional discourse with a political position favorable to the Military Regime (1964-1985) (ZATTA; VANNINI, 2018).

In addition, the use of the uniform and its insignia become part of the routine of student candidates in a military school, where this is evaluated by the three documents mentioned above. In the case of the student in a LEMB training course, the ornaments created receive special attention. This is because some uniforms were made specifically for this purpose.

In the first year of AMAN, the then cadet<sup>16</sup> wore the historic uniform called "*Azulão*". Additionally, during the soldier's week, the cadet receives the marlin, a reduced copy of the sword that the Duque de Caxias received for his services to the Army and the Empire of Brazil. The date is celebrated around August 25th, the birthday of Luís Alves de Lima e Silva<sup>17</sup>. It is worth highlighting the role of Colonel José Pessoa Cavalcanti de Albuquerque in changing the career profile of LEMB. According to Celso Castro:

With the creation of the Cadet Corps, the student enrolled in the school began to be considered part of a collective entity [...]. The main control that the new disciplinary precepts would be followed should be the conscience of the cadets themselves, through the creation of what José Pessoa called, in his autobiography, "a new psychological state", which would make each one a "slave of his personal dignity" [...]. Each cadet was a prisoner of himself. And we can affirm, there was no more solid prison. The main goal was therefore to reach "the soul and heart" of young officer candidates. Therefore, his most important initiatives – and the most lasting ones – were on the symbolic level [...]. First, the cadets' uniforms were changed [...]. The artist José Washt Rodrigues was asked to help create the new uniform plan. Military uniforms of the Empire were adopted, mainly from the 1852 campaign against Rosas<sup>18</sup>: shako,

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16 The cadet, title of noble origin, put into disuse at the beginning of the republican period, gained new contours. On August 25, 1931, the "Cadet Corps" was created by Colonel José Pessoa, in a ceremony attended, among other authorities, by the President of the Republic, Getúlio Vargas (CASTRO, 2002, p. 42).

17 Luís Alves de Lima e Silva – the Duke of Caxias – is the patron of the Brazilian Army. Born on August 25, 1803, his military career is a prominent target in the face of military and political achievements inside and outside the Brazilian Empire. As a result, he was elected with the title of Duke, second in the nobility scale. From 1923, the date of his birth began to be celebrated, with greater relevance, until it received the name Army Day. Currently, August 25 is celebrated as Soldier's Day, accompanied by specific rites such as military graduations, the pledge of allegiance ceremony and the marlin pledge for AMAN's first-year cadets.

18 Juan Manuel de Rosas ruled the Argentine Confederation between 1835 and 1852, being defeated by troops led by Caxias in the Battle of Monte Caseros, in Argentine territory, on February 3, 1852. This was the only historical fact in which the main powers of the South American continent, Argentina and Brazil, faced each other militarily and its result influenced the choice of uniform for AMAN cadets.

cords with paddles and tassels, palm and scarlet paddles and a symbolic emblem for the covering. The predominant color was turquoise. The most important element became the marlin (CASTRO, 2002, p. 42-43).

As a result of the attention given to the creation of new devices and artifacts, the cadet began to receive a more rigid treatment, under a more closed control. Sociologist Erwin Goffman<sup>19</sup> argues that reciprocal influence occurs when partners exert physical presences on each other over their respective actions. In military education, the most intense and lengthy process of socialization of all technical and higher education takes place.

The boarding school system, with more than 10,000<sup>20</sup> (ten thousand) hours of class or instruction of professional courses, is divided by means of military maneuvers and field exercises. This long period of at least five uninterrupted years is considered an isolation system compared to a “bubble” or “a world apart” (CASTRO, 1990). Later, the author would classify the military institution as “totalizing”<sup>21</sup> (CASTRO, 2007) instead of total, in reference to the study by Canadian Erwin Goffman (1971), in attention to details collected through participant observation developed between 1987 and 1988, at AMAN.

**Table 1 – Differences between the total institution (Goffman) and the totalizing institution (Castro)**

Goffman (1971)	Castro (2007)
In total institutions, what is sought is not a “cultural victory” over the inmate, but the maintenance of tension between their domestic world and the institutional world. This persistent tension is used as “a strategic force in controlling men.	In a military academy, what is sought is precisely a “cultural victory” and not a “persistent tension”: the academy is clearly seen as a place of passage, a stage to be overcome.
There is a rigid division between the management team and the inmates.	There is no strict division between “management team” and “inmates”. In the military chain of command there is no separation of the same nature.
It deals mainly with establishments with compulsory participation (prisons and asylums).	In a military academy, only those who want, stay.

Source: Adapted from Castro (2007).

19 In the case of the total institutions described by Erwin Goffman (1971), related to closed life and with defined schedules, it is possible to analyze some aspects. From waking up, “dawn”, to bedtime, also called “silence”, is a common norm in military training schools, particularly in AMAN, and its counterparts, in other FFAA. These stages are phases of daily activities programmed within narrow lines, representing an activity conducted at the predisposed time for the next (GOFFMAN, 1971, p. 305).

20 Curriculum of the Agulhas Negras Military Academy (BRASIL, 2016).

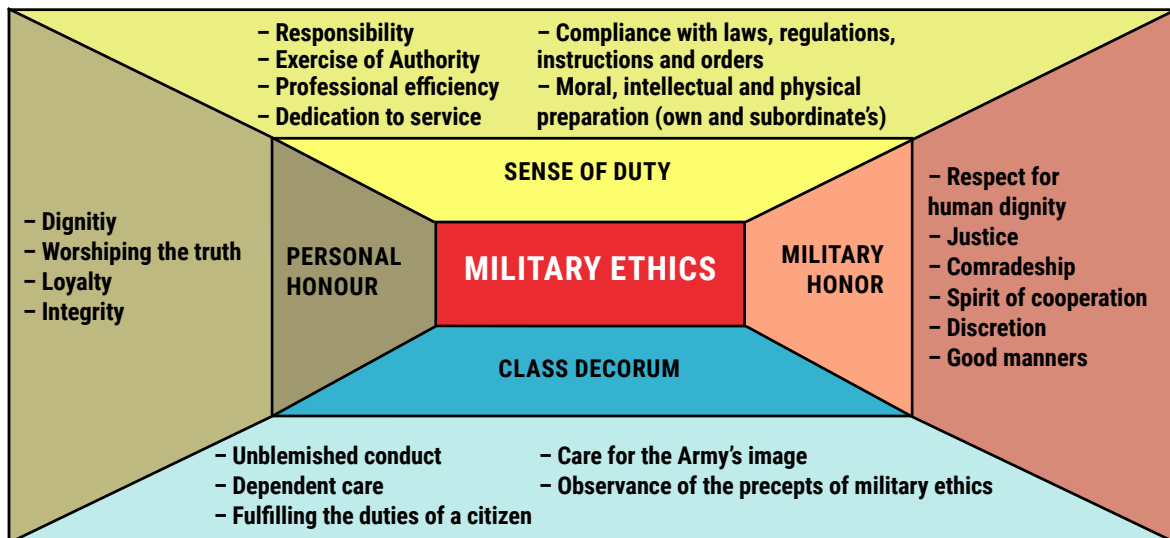
21 Castro refers to the word “totalizing” to qualify the act of attributing a total character (CASTRO, 2007, p. 5). The discourse points to a differentiated world between the “paisanos” and the “military”, in which the cadets perceive themselves in a “differentiated” process from what occurs in civilian higher education establishments.

The cadet’s code of honor initiates the military in the development of four fundamental duties: truth, loyalty, probity and responsibility (BRASIL, 2014, p. 24). However, the Army Military Ceremonial Vade-Mecum - Military Values, Duties and Ethics (BRASIL, 2002a) lists and categorizes, of these four duties, just two: loyalty and probity.

The result is the fusion of countless concepts, which are not always strictly defined and some even redundant, to which the cadet is submitted during the five-year training. As an example, the figure below shows the repetition of the item “Fulfillment of the duties of a citizen” (Class decorum), without even an instruction on the scope of the topic. Another factor is linked to “Observance of the precepts of military ethics” within the instructional diagram itself, resulting in observation as a communicative link.

Thus, the item exercise of authority and professional efficiency lack situational explanation, leaving the issue strictly to manuals and regulations. To mitigate the different situations in which cadets are evaluated, the military education system has sought to contextualize situations that the future officer will face in the exercise of command of small fractions, which is still an objective to be achieved, even after two great teaching projects. Truth and responsibility are part of the military ethics plan, but do not have a specific institutional definition. Additionally, the Vade-Mecum has other statements that lack objective meaning, as shown in the figure below:

Figure 1 – Diagram on Military Ethics



Source: Brasil (2002b, p. 10).

The additional duties listed in this document are the result of the gradual change in the “desirable military profile” to meet public policies under the democratic context. By definition, public policies are the field of knowledge that seek, at the same time, to “put the institution into action” and analyze this action and, when necessary, propose changes



(SOUZA, 2015, p. 111-112). The objective is to interfere in the perception of relevance to society and to military commanders, inspiring credit and confidence to legitimize military struggles in the face of changes in the political scenario.

Oliveira (1994) discusses the identity crisis of the reason for the existence of the military apparatus, in which tensions with Argentina would be overcome after the creation of the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUL) and the inexistence of the bipolarity between capitalists and socialists after the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991. The military educational reassessment culminated in the creation of the Working Group for the Study of Teaching Modernization (GTEME), in accordance with Ordinance No. 26, of September 6, 1995 (BRASIL, 1995). Such a perspective was an important step in military thinking, because, on the one hand, it represented the core of the doctrinal change aimed at the actions that were taking place at that time around the world. General Carlos Alberto Pinto Silva gives a brief overview of this new scenario:

Global threats, in the current juncture, are rapidly changing: cyber warfare; information warfare; psychological warfare and clandestine operations; influence and interference in elections; weapons of mass destruction and their proliferation; terrorism, counterintelligence and destructive technologies; threats to economic competitiveness; and transnational crimes are just some of the resources widely used, in conjunction, as non-military alternatives, aimed at complementing, supporting, expanding and, above all, avoiding formal confrontation, and wearing down political, economic, social, military information forces and the command and control infrastructure of opposing forces (SILVA, 2019, n.p.).

The general classified this current order as “War of the new generation”, characterized by the presence of states and non-state groups, by the considerable increase in the power of small entities, but marked by blind loyalty to their cause, that go beyond any international borders and challenge the power of the great nations. For this purpose, the small military fractions<sup>22</sup> were given a heavy responsibility in making decisions in an uncertain environment.

The scenario implies the constant need for change and foresight, unlike the previous scenario, in which the formation of an army was focused almost exclusively on defense in the face of external state aggression, either by a country or by a coalition of national states, as was the case during the Cold War period (1947-1991).

On the one hand, EB gradually employed the concepts of “Subsidiary Actions”<sup>23</sup> to military schools through curriculum changes. On the other hand, the EME team worked to seek autonomy in the legislation of military education in order to meet its peculiarities, seeking a specific path of integration of civil and military education, as provided for by article 83 of the

22 The small fractions highlighted are: the Squadron – a group of four soldiers commanded by a corporal; the Combat Group – composed of nine soldiers, commanded by a third sergeant; the Platoon – commanded by an aspiring officer or lieutenant, with a staff of 36 to 50 soldiers.

23 The Subsidiary Actions, as they were called in that 1990s, were the new missions that were being given to the military, on the world stage, after the 1980s, such as the fight against drug trafficking and organized crime, the UN peace missions and humanitarian actions.

Law of Directives and Bases of the National Education (BRASIL, 1996). Magalhães (2010) stated that during the implementation of the PME it would have contributed to the softening of the secular trend of the military's missionary role in national political life, since it blurred the differences between civilians and military personnel. This contribution legitimized democratic values and concepts in force in national education and in Brazilian society as a whole.

As a result of these multiple efforts, military education laws<sup>24</sup> were approved a few years later, granting educational authority to the three military forces (PEREIRA, 2016). In an interview, the former Army Minister Gleuber Vieira pointed out the motivation for the changes:

Initially, it is necessary to understand as modernization of the Army Education System, the continuous process of adoption of a new pedagogical approach. According to this model to be adopted, the school no longer intends to teach everything. It selects a core of basic knowledge to teach to its students. They must actively participate in the teaching-learning process, experimenting, researching and working in groups, exploring doubt and error, manifesting their talents, using the available techniques in the search and selection of the knowledge they build. A holistic sense of military education is sought, so that it is able to manipulate models and **interact with the society to which it belongs**. It must be flexible and adaptable to new generations of technologies (VIEIRA, 1999, p. 5-6, emphasis added).

This concept, adaptable to the educational process, allowed the insertion of duties that were not previously listed in the Military Statute. In Law No. 6,880 of 1980, only the values and principles of military ethics are listed, thus lacking provisions in legal form for the definition and exercise of rules. However, school regulatory inserts<sup>25</sup> were dedicated to filling this gap, assigning the cadet new rules to follow. To amalgamate these insertions, the figure of the hero, built from patriotic historiography, contributes to the formation of a collective identity.

Traditionally, Military History has been the history of the wars, campaigns, battles and deeds of great generals, as well as the record of all the activities of military forces in war and peace. The phenomenon of war has evolved from a purely military dimension to a total dimension, in which military operations are no longer restricted to a limited space known as the battlefield, but affect society as a whole.

24 Navy Education Law - Law No. 11,279, of February 9, 2006; Army Education Law - Law No. 9,786, of February 8, 1999; and Aeronautics Teaching Law - Law No. 12,464, of August 4, 2011.

25 In addition to the contents covered by the Commander's guidelines at the beginning of the school year and at AMAN's morning graduations, some contents seek to offer references to military ethics, such as, for example, the Student Manual of the Army Cadet Preparatory School (EsPCEx), the Regulations of the Agulhas Negras Military Academy (EB10-R-05.004) (BRASIL, 2014), the Cadet Educator's Ideas, edited by General Marco Antônio de Farias in 2000, the "Cadet Life" by Colonel Nilson Marques de Souza (SOUZA, 2013, p. 108), the letter entitled "Cadet's Day" by Colonel Nei Paulo Panizzutti (1998), the General Rules of Action (NGA) and the specifications of the Rules for the application of disciplinary punishments (NAPD).

Traditional military history has been the field of “military historians”. In general, it has little methodological acuity, as it is not the result of the work of professional historians, but of enthusiasts. It tends, therefore, to grandiloquence and excessive adjectivation. It is basically a descriptive story and seeks the ideal of presenting “the facts as they happened”. Due to these characteristics, it became known derogatorily in the United States as “**Battle-History**” or “Drums and Bugles” History. Due to its non-specialized and “corporate” origin, it has a clear tendency towards myth, the praise of historical figures and a certain condescension in the judgment of the facts and protagonists (PEDROSA, 2011, p. 2-3, emphasis added).

According to Pereira (2021), traditional historiography has been criticized for only narrating the facts “as they really happened”, analyzing the history of leaders and offering a view from above. Additionally, traditional historiography was based on official documents, vetoing alternative methodologies that would contribute to the political-social perception of the time. It has become the discovery of history as a process of directional change, development or evolution.

Faced with the overwhelming reality of transformation, even conservative thinking becomes historicist. A kind of historicism, that is, the more or less sophisticated and complex extrapolation of past trends. For the future, it was the most convenient popular method of forecasting. History as a “main line of life”, in which the phenomenon tends to repeat itself given some similar circumstances, represents the trap for those who intend to write and analyze the phenomenon only based on facts, disregarding geographic and historical-cultural influences (PEREIRA, 2021, p. 67).

The enunciation of military values and duties, inspired by Caxias, recognized by historians for their loyal attitudes to the current power, a remarkable role within the military institution. However, has mythification brings problems to the image that one wants to convey to soldiers. When the studies on the origin of Francisco Alves de Lima e Silva, the Duke of Caxias, are deepened, it is observed that family ties are permanently linked to the military institution, for political purposes. Souza (2018) described the social configuration with which parents, grandparents and uncles lived in an army along the lines of the “Old Regime”, in which, for a long time, it reproduced itself as a “split force”, constituted by an officer recruited between the first echelons of the nobility and a soldiery made up of the scum of the population (SOUZA, 2018).

By making a brief analysis of the didactic material used in the teaching activities of AMAN since 1989, it is possible to verify the linear and factual approach of the main military events in which the patrons, especially Caxias, actively participated. Rémond (1996) criticizes this approach to political history. Desiring to get to the bottom of things, to capture the core of reality, new history considered durable structures more real and decisive than the accidents of conjuncture.

Political history presented a configuration that was exactly contrary to this ideal history. Study of structures? It only had eyes for the most superficial accidents and circumstances: exhausting itself in the analysis of ministerial crises and privileging breaks in continuity, it was the very image and the perfect example of the so-called factual history, or *événementielle* — the term being evidently in the bad sense — which stays on the surface of things and forgets to link events to their root causes. By privileging the particular, the national, political history deprived itself, at the same time, of the possibility of comparisons in space and time, and generalizations and syntheses were prohibited, which alone gives the historian's work its scientific dimension (RÉMOND, 1996, p. 16-17).

The linear narrative, based on the positive facts of rupture of the “heroes” confers an aura of predestination, embodied in the cause and effect relationship, which restricts the audience to the manifestation of contradictory arguments. In this aspect, the Triple Alliance campaign (1864-1870) received special attention as it was the genesis of almost all patrons until 1962<sup>26</sup>. In structuring the Military History book (1979), the division of subjects is similar to the content of technical-military manuals where historical facts are analyzed according to the fundamentals of the art of war: organization, equipment, instruction, moral forces, and employment. Such foundations belong according to the terrestrial military doctrine (BRASIL, 1979).

The concept of doctrine points to the set of teachings that is based on a belief system. They are the principles that exist on a given issue, usually for the purpose of universalization. The notion of doctrine is also related to the body of a dogma, formed by certain and irrefutable statements. In the case of military doctrine, it is the set of techniques, strategies, tactics and practices that constitute an armed confrontation in which the steps to win a war are proposed.

When talking about Military Doctrine, Pedrosa (2011) refers to the set of knowledge and practices formalized in doctrinal “manuals”, encompassing: the structuring and preparation of forces; its armament and equipment; and the rules for employing them in combat. In this scope, Azevedo (1998) prepared an itinerary for the “analytical campaign study” in three chapters, as shown in the following table:

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26 The patrons of the Signal Corps and of the Board of Military Material were related to specific contexts, the first being Rondon, for his contribution to communications in the countryside of Brazil (BRASIL, 1962, 1963); and Napion, for being responsible, among other outstanding achievements, for the direction of the Royal Military Academy (1811), embryo of the Agulhas Negras Military Academy (BRASIL, 1966).

**Table 2 – Analytical study of campaigns**

Chapter I The elements of drama	Chapter II The drama	Chapter III Lessons from the campaign
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The context. General situation;</li> <li>• The causes;</li> <li>• The theater of operations; and</li> <li>• The actors (the forces present and the leaders).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Coup view of the set;</li> <li>• Development of operations;</li> <li>• Conclusion. The peace. The objectives achieved.</li> </ul>	<p>Appendix: detailed study of some interesting episode of the campaign; This will be the most didactic way to study a campaign; and</p> <p>It is possible that the study of all campaigns is not always done taking as a model what has been exposed, but we will not stop <b>to advocate this seriation as necessary and fundamental.</b></p>

Source: Adapted from Azevedo (1998, p. 36-37, emphasis added).

In this aspect, military history books from the 1980s and 1990s mostly do not present historiographical discussion, indicating that the subjects addressed directly and synthetically are finished from the military-historical point of view. There is confusion whether when the story ends and when the doctrine begins, within the context of the battle-story (KEEGAN, 2006b). When presenting another work by John Keegan (2006a), Colonel Luiz Carlos Carneiro de Paula, a member of the editorial board of the Army Library (BiBliEx) admits the need for a broader analysis of military history:

The division of the study (from Keegan on the Second World War) into Controversies, Histories, Biographies, Campaigns, Intelligence and War Economics, and finally Occupation and Resistance constitutes a good itinerary for the student of Military History and serves as the historian's job is laborious, especially the one who has war as an object of historical research. Treating it like a military operation just might be the easiest. But finding all the interfaces of it as a political, economic and social phenomenon, particularly the latter, is a challenge. It is a good time for BiBliEx to publish this book. It will come to meet a need in the military and academic circles to update and dynamize the study of Military History among us (KEEGAN, 2006a, p. 6).

According to Ferreira and Amado (2006, p. 49-51) there is both a political oral history and an anthropological traditional history that were developed especially after the Second World War (1939-1945). To make this possible, young people from Italy and France began to collect reports from their grandparents in order to create a national memory – and this memory dialogues with the new military history, especially in the context of the (re)creation of an institutional

*ethos*. Even if the objective is not the training of historians, but of the military, the study of military history should awaken a taste for the matter, currently being offered as an institutional, academic course. This challenge, which can be seen as current, is reported in the preface to the book by Apelo General Jonas, former cadet of Professor Pedro Cordolino Ferreira de Azevedo (1884-1958), in 1945:

Its scope was wide: the time allotted to it was very little – totally insufficient, even in a complete program [...] learning depended on the students' efforts; teaching, of teachers who, as much as instructing, should – even with more emphasis – attract interest and motivate (AZEVEDO, 1998, p. 5).

The doctrinal compendium (BRASIL, 1979) recommends a complementary study to deepen knowledge, as well as the reading of books and manuals<sup>27</sup> edited by the Brazilian Army (BRASIL, 1979). Such contents are books written by the military between 1950 and 1978, where strictly military factors were highlighted and factual narratives were preserved, characterizing the evolution of war and military doctrine (PEDROSA, 2011). Thus, the notion of *ethos* allows, then, to reflect the more general process of subjects' adherence to a certain position (MAINGUENEAU, 2008).

Everton Santos (2012) states that an institution reflects, through its rites, its deepest values, the most intimate of its *ethos*, spirit and essence (SANTOS, 2012, p. 81). As it is typical of symbolic discourse, the ritual highlights certain aspects of reality, giving a close-up on things in the social world, that is, making them clearer (DAMATTA, 1997, p. 76-77)<sup>28</sup>. The needs of discipline in military institutions are of importance when we pay attention to the Weberian function of the administration of violence. Military professional education works with weapons and equipment aimed at the art of war, within the constitutional principles and according to the legislation in force. Thus, intensity is related to the two basic assumptions in the military institution: hierarchy and discipline.

As a result, military personnel pursuing careers must strictly follow what is provided for in curriculum plans and guidelines. They shape, within themselves, the attitudes desired by their superiors. Under the penalty of not being promoted in the hierarchical

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27 AZEVEDO, P. C. *História Militar Geral*. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1950 (coronel); BENTO, C. M. *Como estudar e pesquisar a História do Exército Brasileiro*. Brasília: EGGCF, 1978 (coronel); BRASIL, Ministério do Exército. Secretaria Geral do Exército. *Marechal Castello Branco – seu pensamento militar*. Rio de Janeiro: Escola de Estado-Maior do Exército, 1968; MAGALHÃES, J. B. *Civilização, Guerra e Chefes Militares*. Rio de Janeiro: BibliEx, 1959 (coronel); RAPOSO FILHO, A. *A manobra na Guerra-Síntese filosófica*. Rio de Janeiro: BibliEx, 1960 (coronel); e RUAS SANTOS, F. *A arte da guerra*. Resende: AMAN, 1960 (coronel).

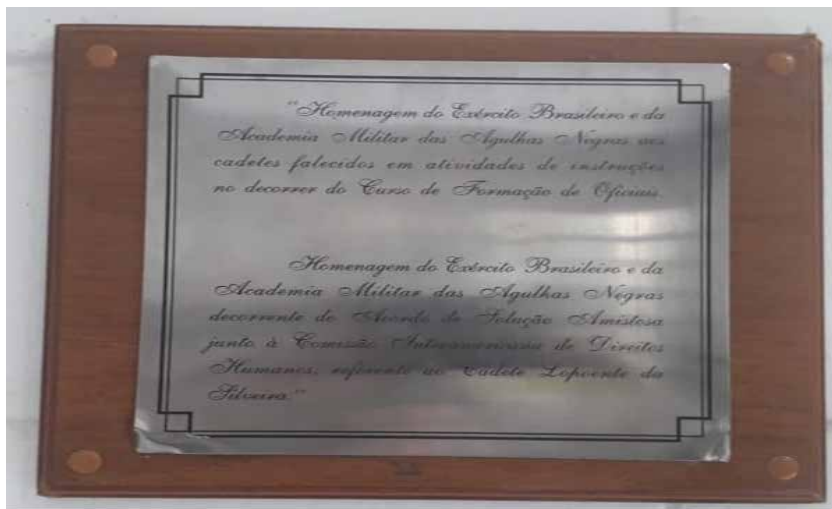
28 Focusing on value systems and fundamental orientations, T. Parsons (1966) proposed a complex typology. We return, therefore, to the question posed by A. Giddens on structural principles research: “What are the levels of abstraction that are worth distinguishing in the study of the structural properties of social systems?” In order to answer, he abandoned the formal side of the task to **search for “elements closer to the empirical content”**. He thus defined the structural principles as “principles of organization of societal totalities” (JOHNSON, 1997, p. 429, emphasis added).

scale, or even being fired, punished or summarily prosecuted<sup>29</sup>, from a disciplinary point of view, they comply with orders, without further challenges or considerations. In fact, the “ponderer” is seen as a bad example to be followed and may be the target of hostility towards superiors and even among the companions themselves.

According to França (2020), there was an emblematic case involving the death of a cadet in military training at AMAN, in 1990. The course of the judicial process, which had the latest information in 2018, brought the possibility of changes celebrated in agreement with the family of the deceased cadet. As a first symbolic aspect, a military ceremony took place in 2012, with the addition of the inauguration of a plaque honoring the cadets who died during instruction throughout the Officer Training Program.

The plaque is in the facilities of the Basic Course (1st year) of AMAN, close to the commanding post of the commander, sending a clear symbolic message to the body of instructors in memory of this and other tragic facts involving trainees that occurred in military training. The Basic Program was chosen because the deceased cadet was in his first year at the Academy and this fact reactivated the practice of honoring students who died in instruction.

**Image 1 – Plaque honoring the dead in instruction<sup>30</sup>**



Source: AMAN, 2019.

- 29 Process of investigation of disciplinary transgression that underwent changes with the entry of the democratic regime. Until the beginning of the 2000s, the investigation was carried out in a summarized way, and without the possibility of contradictory and ample defense, capital data of article V of the Federal Constitution of 1988. The soldier under investigation was submitted only to a verification rite called “the duck hour”. It is worth noting that at this point: the name alludes to an hour-long Sunday freshman program that was very successful on Rádio Nacional from 1943, during the Second World War. Starring Héber de Bóscoli, later replaced by other presenters, such as Paulo Gracindo, Aurélio Andrade and Jorge Curi, the program consisted of evaluating the performance of candidates for professional singer, offering them the opportunity to show their talent “live”. When the result was not satisfactory, the announcer “sounded the gong” with the sound of quacking ducks – sung by the broadcaster and voice actor Cahuê Filho – to keep the candidate away from the microphone when he was out of tune or made another mistake. The failed postulant was still booed by the audience, characterizing the punishment for his lame *performance* (IRDEB, 2019; RÁDIO NACIONAL, c2009). After the reissuing of the Army Disciplinary Regulation (BRASIL, 2002a), constitutional provisions were inserted in the process, allowing the investigated to put, in writing, information that is recorded in the files of the subunits (companies) under which the military is assigned.
- 30 “Homage from the Brazilian Army and the Agulhas Negras Military Academy to the cadets who died in instructional activities during the Officer Training Program”. “Homage from the Brazilian Army and the Agulhas Negras Military Academy as a result of the Friendly Settlement Agreement with the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, referring to Cadet Lapoente da Silveira.”

After the inauguration (2012), the rite of celebration and homage to the dead started to be repeated when there are deaths of cadets. Piovezan (2014) draws attention to the large number of commemorative plaques honoring the dead, although not in wars, realizing their political use in funeral moments:

An interesting aspect in the way death is remembered in these moments is the discourse used to convey this information [...]. Such expression refers to a greater drama of the event (war) which is already tragic, but which uses the idea of voluntarism of the individual who was killed for France. These plaques that refer to French funeral monuments can be compared with the idea that the soldiers died for a cause, which is the French homeland (PIOVEZAN, 2014, p. 217-218).

However, the memory exercise, in the case of accidents at work, was treated under another bias. History is not only a narrative of memory, but also of forgetting (RICOEUR, 1990). As a result of the progress of other international processes<sup>31</sup> involving the death and forced disappearance of guerrillas from the Araguaia campaign, it was added to the curriculum of AMAN, in agreement with the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) of a course specifically designed for this purpose. The negotiations took place between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defense (BRASIL, 2011a).

Another factor that added to the demand for the creation of the new course was the commitment made through the National Defense Strategy (END) (BRASIL, 2008a). Normative Ordinance No. 916/MD (BRASIL, 2008b) established the guideline for the dissemination of the concept of International Law of Armed Conflicts (DICA) in the Armed Forces, which represents a set of international norms of conventional or customary origin, intended to be applied in armed conflicts and which, for humanitarian reasons, limits the rights of the parties to the conflict [...], as it seeks to protect the people and property affected by said conflicts (BRASIL, 2008b, p. 1).

### 3 Results

The result was the structuring of a 20 (twenty) class-hour human rights course, mandatory for military schools, with the purpose of instructing the military who can participate in UN peace operations and law and order enforcement actions (GLO) (BRASIL, 2011c), guiding the content with “the ethical and moral values related to the practice of human rights (BRASIL, 2011c). The theme mobilized the Directorate of Higher Military Education (DESMil), involving the training, improvement and staff schools for

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31 In the historical context of transitional justice from practices considered dictatorial to democracy, a set of normative measures was carried out, inspired by the claims of victims of exceptional regimes, indispensable for achieving the reestablishment of social integration mechanisms. Such normative measures encompass an indicative content in four items of how to act in the best way from a moral perspective. First, access to the truth; second, the search for justice in the sense of civil, administrative and criminal accountability of state agents who committed crimes against humanity; third, the reparation of victims; and, finally, the need for institutional reforms that guarantee the resumption of the democratic process (BAGGIO, 2014, p. 96-97).



the elaboration of a synthetic framework to enable the course called “Military Professional Ethics” (EPM) (BRASIL, 2012). However, the implementation of the EPM was completed in 2015, three years after the start of the inter-institutional dialogue. The minimum syllabus of the first part, with seven semesters, involved the following human rights themes:

List of international acts of Brazilian diplomatic practice; Universal Declaration of Human Rights; American Convention on Human Rights (Pact of San José); Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms; Convention relating to the Status of Refugees; Protocol on the Status of Refugees; International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment and Punishment; Inter-American Convention to Prevent and Punish Torture; Inter-American Convention on the Forced Disappearance of Persons; International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; Declaration of the Rights of the Child; Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; Judgment delivered by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights on November 24, 2010, in the judgment of the historic case of Araguaia; Jurisprudence of the Inter-American Court; and the presentation of activities carried out by the Forces in Peace Missions (BRASIL, 2011c, p. 3).

Therefore, the set of actions aimed at symbolic memory, associated with the practice established in the curricula represented an important step towards the integration proposed by the Army Teaching Law (BRASIL, 1999).

Art. 3 The Army Education System is fundamentally based on the following principles:

I – integration into national education;

[...]

VI – constant improvement of ethical, moral, cultural and efficiency standards. (BRASIL, 1999, n.p, author’s emphasis).

According to the results obtained, the impact of these measures was felt, even before the effective implementation of the Military Professional Ethics course, in 2015. In an interview with officers who were cadets at the time of the negotiations, there was a change in terminologies considered traditional, “socially accepted” within AMAN. The first replacement was the designation of the first-year cadet: “animal”, considered a pejorative term associated with an irrational animal or the legitimizing discursive instrument for the application of prank calls by

cadets of other years, was gradually replaced from 2008 on by the terms “*basicante*” or “first year”. It is important to highlight that there was a gradual awareness campaign not to treat the subordinate with humiliating words or indicators of racial discrimination, as reported by an officer<sup>32</sup> trained by the Academy:

An example of this is in the treatment of “animal” and “big nigga”, right (sic); people called black cadets “nigga” [...] Ah, “big nigga”, come here! [...] And then, so much that the name of the target of the Shooting Section (for rifle and pistol exercises) was changed, right? Today it is no longer: ah! I gave so many shots at the “big nigga”. Today the target name is “A2” (alpha two), which is the larger black target (for 9mm caliber pistol shots) (C3, 2019).

When the principles of the END and the legal framework that supports the curricular structure are analyzed, the coincidence between the measures taken at the political level aligned with the gradual action at the tactical level within the military schools. The modification was supported with signs already existing and consecrated in the military environment. Despite not having found any document that forbids the use of such words, the instructors’ verbal guidelines from 2008 onwards linked the change to the main idea of “treating subordinates with kindness” and “treating weapon-brothers with affection”, contained in the oath to the national flag, a commitment solemnly signed by all soldiers associated with “reciprocal respect among people/work mates”.

As stated by Alberti (2013), in methodological terms, it is necessary to understand these reports as a contribution to political oral history, previously academically devalued, but which provide the institution with a broader understanding of human action and its relations with society. Another idea used to force the change was to link the pejorative terms to the practice of bullying, a concept now widespread in the school environment in Elementary (1st to 9th grade) and Middle (1st to 3rd grade) education<sup>33</sup>. Thus, a relationship of continuity was established in the cadets who were entering the military education system. In parallel, the instructor officers were verbally instructed by the Cadet Corps in adopting the new treatment. An officer, who had been a cadet representative of the AMAN Command, described the experience related to the topic in direct conversations with the general:

32 The names were changed to preserve the identity of the interviewees, who signed the Free and Informed Consent Term (FICT).

33 The word “bullying” is universally understood as a set of aggressive, repetitive and intentional behaviors for no apparent reason, adopted by one or more students against another (A) causing anguish, pain or suffering. Bullying was initially researched by Dan Olweus in Norway from 1978, when cases of systematic physical and psychological aggression committed by generally older students within the school system were verified. Cases of suicide among young people have prompted laws around the world aimed at eliminating the practice. In Brazil, research has intensified since 2000, 40.5% of students admitted that they were directly involved in acts of bullying in 2002, with 16.9% identifying themselves as targets, 12.7% as authors and 10.9% authors and targets (ABRAPIA, 2002).

The general always showed a concern to listen to the cadet... of talking [...] yeah [...] he wanted to demonstrate, right? I don't know if there was a basis of truth... but I know there was, because I was his assistant, I saw him talking to people, asking for their opinion, sometimes I gave an opinion about something, in this sense of improving the life of the cadet... for his life to be less "low morale". When the general was commander of the Cadet Corps [...] for him, the cadet had to have a lot of self-denial... no one motivated him [...] it was just negative reinforcement (punishment), you know. Then, when he tried to change it there, he tried to put it (humane treatment) into practice. And more motivation, and... talking about the attributes and values at the graduations of the Cadet Corps, right, being quite eloquent, trying to motivate the cadets in shape (D4, 2020).

The benchmark exercised made it possible to identify opportunities for improvement during the adaptation process, correcting the attitudes verified as anachronistic to the process, such as, for example, the humane treatment between peers and subordinates. A recently graduated officer commented on the difference in communication between older officers (colonels and lieutenant colonels) and more modern officers (graduated after the year 2000):

I usually heard the term "animal" from the colonels, from the lieutenant colonels, you know? In these terms, because it's the older people who really say them... people now, the officers, I've never heard anyone say that... very old officers, like calling "Ah, animal!" [...] no one says it anymore [...] just "*basicante*" or "first year" [...] it is actually "first year" their call (younger instructors) (D1, 2019).

In this way, the students' bodies, in the training process, are guided, in their conscious and unconscious plan - and this can have profound impacts on the rest of their career. Therefore, the institutional *ethos* reveals customs, modes of participation, social and private practices that design military life. Internalization configures a kind of "systematic determination" that takes place through selection mechanisms in which, on the one hand, general meanings appear in general contexts, at the individual level, and, on the other hand, generalizations of the variations of thoughts that are established in the social (ROSSI; ROSSI, 2012). This portrait provided by the analysis of military oral history reveals the sternum of the military, and is also imbued with a particular profile that is self-justifying. The *ethos*, therefore, lends itself to respect for established power (SCRUTON, 2015).

#### 4 Final Considerations

The impacts generated from the adoption of practices aimed at non-war activities and the promotion of human rights evidenced the inter-institutional dialogue to change AMAN's school curriculum. The understanding that the formation of officers also involves preparation for actions beyond the war between national states contributed to the gradual legitimization of the discourse that the military is prepared for war and also for state actions of a strategic nature.

The changes occurred as the federal government increasingly demanded subsidiary actions from the Brazilian Army, being more present in the first half of the 1990s and in the first half of the 2010s, moments when Brazil was hosting events of worldwide proportion, such as the ECO-1992 meeting, the headquarters of the Confederations Cup and the Soccer World Cup (2013-2014), and the Rio de Janeiro Olympics and Paralympics (2016).

In parallel, the systematic training of the ground combatant was undergoing a transformation. In view of the preparation focused on the three aspects (cognitive, psychomotor and attitudinal), it was not enough for the cadet to have rusticity, that is, physical resistance in the face of adversities imposed by the professional curriculum. It was now necessary to prepare the young officer to be trained to work in complex environments, where synergy with civilians was, is, and will always be fundamental to the success of operations. Not that this did not happen in previous moments, such as in the Second World War, however, the political and social demands in military operations increased considerably after the redemocratization in Brazil.

Furthermore, some tensions between the rupture of teaching strategies and the continuity of traditions solidified over time were evidenced in the process of military socialization from the 1990s, added to the desirable effect on the young officer that occurred in the process and in the tactical employment after the training. The discourse of civil-military integration proposed by the Army Education Law was also observed, in which the institutional promotion of human rights helped to shape the desired profile of the new cadet, attentive to the differences between the oldest officers and the most modern instructors.

Finally, everyday details, which were previously seen as gestures of intimacy and relaxation by colonels and lieutenant colonels, began to receive new contours for majors, captains and lieutenants. The contemporary perspective of civil-military integration in the formation of the officer of the Military Education Line contributed to the collective exercise of gradual forgetting, with discreet orders and few written documents. Thus, the support of methodologies such as oral tradition, the facts experienced by thousands of trainees over three decades helps us to identify motivations for the gradual transformation materialized in the curricular structure and in military education.

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