

Developing a security and defense thought in the Brazilian academy: case study of the partnership between NERINT and NEE/CMS

La construcción del pensamiento en seguridad y defensa en la academia brasileña: estudio de caso de la asociación entre NERINT y NEE/CMS

Abstract: This paper seeks to offer a study of the cooperation between the Brazilian Center for Strategy and International Relations (NERINT) of the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS) and the Center for Strategic Studies of the Southern Military Command (NEE/CMS) in the construction of a common mentality on Brazil's international security interests, national defense and foreign relations in the fields of Strategic Studies, Political Science and International Relations. Following an agreement signed with UFRGS in the wake of its constitution, NEE has partnered with NERINT, a research center linked to the university and established in 1999 as the first center to be exclusively dedicated to the study and research in International Relations in Southern Brazil. Since then, both institutions have been promoting research and joint activities aimed at strengthening links between advanced research centers in both the Armed Forces and Brazilian academic institutions.

Keywords: National Defense. International Security. Academy and Armed Forces. NERINT. NEE/CMS.

Resumen: Este artículo tiene como objetivo ofrecer un estudio de la cooperación entre el Núcleo Brasileño de Estrategia y Relaciones Internacionales (NERINT) de la Universidad Federal de Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS) con el Núcleo de Estudios Estratégicos del Comando Militar del Sur (NEE/CMS) en el análisis de una percepción común sobre la seguridad, la defensa y las relaciones exteriores de Brasil en las áreas de Estudios Estratégicos, Ciencia Política y Relaciones Internacionales de la academia brasileña. A partir de un acuerdo formalizado con la UFRGS, desde 2016 el NEE mantiene asociación con el NERINT, núcleo de investigación vinculado a la UFRGS establecido en 1999 como el primer centro orientado exclusivamente al estudio y la investigación en Relaciones Internacionales en el Sur de Brasil. Desde entonces, ambas instituciones vienen compartiendo investigaciones y promoviendo actividades conjuntas, con la intención de obtener el estrechamiento de vínculos entre centros avanzados de investigación tanto de las Fuerzas Armadas como de las instituciones académicas brasileñas.

Palabras clave: Defensa Nacional. Seguridad Internacional. Academia y Fuerzas Armadas. NERINT. NEE/CMS.

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1 Introduction

This paper aims to analyze the cooperation between the Brazilian Center for Strategy and International Relations of the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (NERINT/UFRGS) and the Center for Strategic Studies of the Southern Military Command (NEE/CMS) in the construction of a common mentality about the security, defense and foreign relations in Brazil. To that end, we will use materials published by the two research centers, as well as documental research based on the cooperation files established between the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS), the Center for International Government Studies (CEGOV), the Graduate Program in International Strategic Studies (PPGEEI) and between NERINT, the Southern Military Command (CMS) and NEE/CMS¹.

This paper is motivated by academic and social reasons: in the academic field, its importance is justified due to its interface and the dissemination of teaching and research activities; and from a social standpoint considering the importance of the activities themselves, which are part of a broader effort to explore the possibility of a Brazilian perspective on International Security and National Defense. The design of the survey was divided into three fundamental steps: (1) working meetings and gathering of information with the Center for Strategic Studies of the Southern Military Command; (2) presentation of the research and previous results in the International Defense and Security Agenda Working Group of the Brazilian Security and Defense Strategic Studies Seminars of 2018, which were simultaneously held from June 5th to June 8th of 2018 at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul and in the Southern Military Command; and (3) the presentation of the research and its final results in the Theory, Methodology and Institutionalization of Defense Studies: Education, Vocational Training and Research in Defense Panel at the 10th Meeting of the Brazilian Association of Defense Studies (ABED), held from September 3rd to September 5th of 2018 at the University of São Paulo.

Our main hypothesis points to the idea that a closer relationship between the academic field and the Armed Forces (which, together with the industry, make up the triple helix) contributes to the debate about the construction of a Grand Strategy for Brazil in the 21st century, which aims for a greater integration and autonomy of Brazil in the international scenario.

What we understand as ‘Grand Strategy’ is: a National Strategy defined by the synergy between the Military Strategy and other areas of National Power, directed to the preparation and implementation for the overcoming of obstacles, and the achieving and maintaining of national goals, in accordance with the guidelines established by the National Policy (BRASIL, 2007 *apud* MARTINS; NUNES, 2017, p. 191, our translation). Once the scope of the term is recognized, we establish that our proposal aims to approach the Grand Strategy as an idea and as an ongoing research line, not as a static concept.

The design of a Grand Strategy for Brazil, gathering diplomatic and defense policies, only became possible with the unfolding of a historical process of evolution in the relations between civilians and the military, especially within the academic environment.

1 The authors would like to thank the work team of Prof. Dr. José Miguel Quedi Martins, from the Department of Economics and International Relations at UFRGS, in particular the former students of International Relations Luana Isabelle Beal and Valeska Ferrazza Monteiro, for the provision of documents, minutes and official records of the collaboration agreements between UFRGS and the Southern Military Command.

1.1 Historical and theoretical aspects: the evolution of civil-military relations²

It was only after World War II that the studies on International Security began to acquire projection and solidity (along with the already existing studies on war and defense) making it so that the analysis were able to cover a wider range of aspects, including the presence of non-military threats. The high amount of human capital mobilized during World War II, as well as the new strategic challenges stemming from the advent of nuclear weapons, catalyzed the occurrence of a significant innovation in this period: the greater engagement of civilians in the studies of International Security and Defense, and their collaboration to the military authorities and governmental organizations (BUZAN; HANSEN, 2012). Such an expansion of scholars dedicated to the area entailed a significant increase in the production of knowledge concerning security and defense policies.

This phenomenon credits the 1950s and 1960s as the “Golden Years” of International Security Studies (FREEDMAN, 1998). During the period, Western governments began to recruit civilian strategists from academic institutions to develop conceptual innovations and high-level research to be used by the high-ranking state bureaucracy. It was not unusual for these scholars to be accepted and incorporated into the public services, thus exercising a more active role in the decision-making process regarding security policies (WILLIAMS, 2008). In parallel, the field of Strategic Studies also underwent a remarkable expansion: during the second half of the 20th century, the concepts of Grand Strategy and Total Strategy were invented, seeking a more targeted approach than that proposed by the traditional studies regarding security – as well as analyses in the military, naval, air and aerospace, industrial, and operational levels, among others. (PROENÇA; DUARTE, 2007).

In short, this new way of approaching security policies post-World War II has provided the opportunity for a rapprochement between academics, strategists, civilians and military personnel, and the state. In this regard, the relationship between the state and the Armed Forces is fundamental, considering that one of the main focuses of the civil-military affairs is precisely the relationship between military personnel and the state: the military personnel is the active pole of the military structure and is responsible for the society’s military security, while the state is the active pole for the formulation of society’s guidelines and is responsible for the allocation of resources in important fields, including military security (HUNTINGTON, 1957). Thus, “the integration between military institutions, government policy-makers and the rest of society represents the focus on civil-military relations and the basis of democracy” (LOVEMAN, 1999 apud FERREIRA, 2018, p. 6, our translation).

The goal of any National Defense policy is to formally ensure the security of a nation’s social, political and economic institutions against threats that may arise from other independent states or actors of the international system. Civil-military relations, therefore, correspond to a

² Segments of this subsection have been previously presented and made available at the XIV Congresso Acadêmico sobre Defesa Nacional under the following reference: Thudium *et al.*, (2017).

fundamental aspect of a national defense policy, being the main institutional component in the elaboration of military security policies (HUNTINGTON, 1957).

It is important to note that studies on International Security and National Defense have an essentially Anglo-Saxon nature, due to the rapprochement between military personnel and civilians in Western countries during the postwar period. The Western formula, however, says that there cannot be development without investment in research and Defense, and these two poles (academic knowledge and the Armed Forces) need to be interconnected. Similar to Western countries in the postwar period, Brazil seems to be experiencing, in its own time, a more elaborate and fruitful relationship between the military and the academic environment – one that has the potential to foster the emergence of national approaches to the topic, which are extremely necessary.

The case study presented here seeks to address an example of this approach and a reflection of the evolution of the civil-military relationship in Brazil, the unprecedented partnership that has been developed between the academic environment and the military environment in the state of Rio Grande do Sul stemming from a cooperation agreement between the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS) and the Southern Military Command (CMS), which allowed for the development of joint activities between the Brazilian Center for Strategy and International Relations (NERINT) of UFRGS and the Center for Strategic Studies of the Southern Military Command (NEE/CMS), among other institutions involved. This is an extremely relevant process for the construction of a common mentality of International Security and National Defense in Brazil.

2 THE BRAZILIAN CENTER FOR STRATEGY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

NERINT – The Brazilian Center for Strategy and International Relations — is currently collaborating closely with international security scholars both in academic and military centers in Brazil. The Armed Forces, in turn, have been seeking an intense dialogue with the academic field and with society in general, which can be observed through the cooperation efforts developed in southern Brazil. NERINT represents the consolidation of the joint encouragement efforts for the production of studies and research in International Relations at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS), a Higher Education Institution (HEI) of excellence³, and is the first research center to be created for this end (in August of 1999). NERINT's inception brought together professors and researchers from various areas and departments, especially those linked to the Institute of Philosophy and Human Sciences (IFCH) of the university.

In this way, advanced research developed by NERINT sought to rescue the historical dimension of international affairs, which is traditionally neglected in contemporary international relations analyses and in Security and Defense studies. Such a rescue also represents a theoretical issue, since international relations, defense matters, and the areas dominated by political science

3 The Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS) ranked first among the federal universities in the general course Index (IGC) of 2016, published in November of 2017 by the Ministry of Education (MEC). With a score of 4.29 on a scale ranging from 1 to 5, UFRGS reached the highest score of IGC-5 (UFRGS..., 2017).

have consistently been presented as fields of study marked by instrumental theorizations (VISENTINI, 2016).

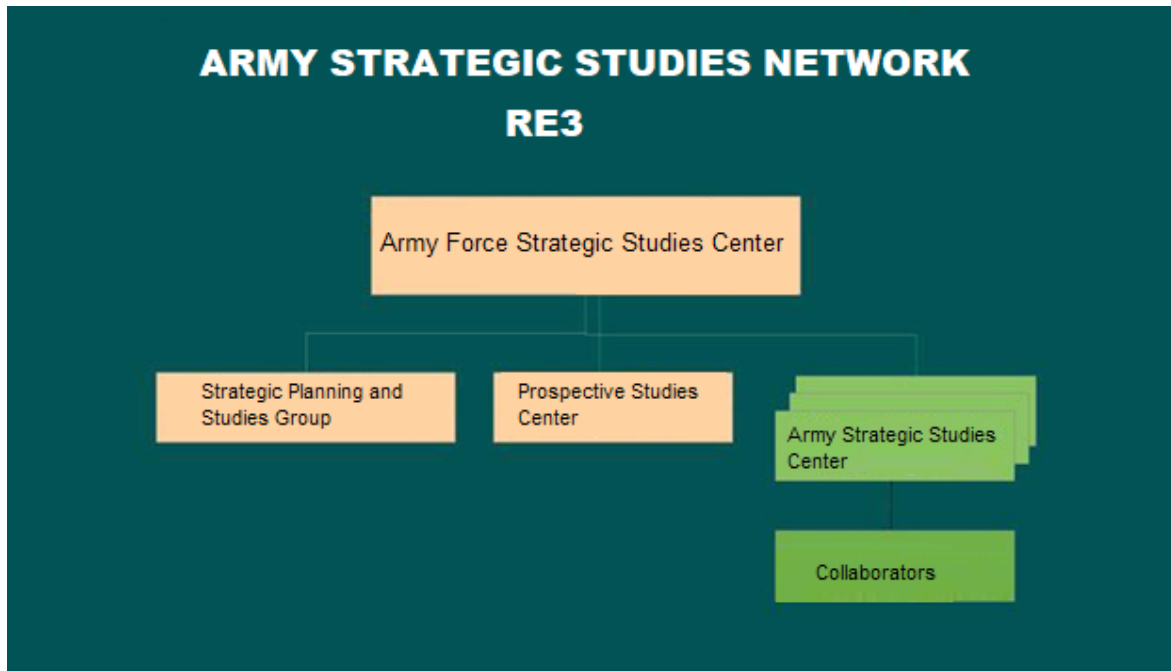
NERINT was originally established in a partnership with the university's Latin American Institute for Advanced Studies (ILEA), whose purpose is to support teaching, research and extension programs and projects, giving priority to proposals that involve inter-institutional collaboration of multidisciplinary nature (UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO RIO GRANDE DO SUL, 2018a). The exploratory studies that were developed by NERINT, especially those regarding emerging countries, have experienced remarkable expansion since the threshold of the 21st century, as they accompanied the political-diplomatic and economic-social development of Southern countries — or the 'Geopolitical South'. Within a framework of increased importance of international affairs in the Brazilian political and economic agenda, NERINT acted as an ambassador for the implementation of an undergraduate course in International Relations in 2004, and of a graduate program in International Strategic Studies (PPGEEI) in 2010, both within the framework of UFRGS. Consequently, many researchers linked to NERINT also became part of the University's Faculty in the Department of Economics and International Relations. Since 2018, NERINT has been partnered with the Center for International Studies on Government (CEGOV), a multidisciplinary research center dedicated to public policies in the international area and linked to the institution's Dean's Office.

The cooperation between state, corporate, academic and social institutions was also intensified by NERINT, as well as the direct contact with Latin American, African and Asian centers, which were added to the already existing contacts with Europe and North America. It was within this framework that NERINT began to work more closely with the military. Therefore, since 2016 NERINT has been acting as a partner of the Center for Strategic Studies of the Southern Military Command (NEE/CMS).

3 THE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES OF THE SOUTHERN MILITARY COMMAND AND THE RAPPROCHEMENT OF THE MILITARY WITH THE ACADEMIC WORLD

The Network of Strategic Studies of the Brazilian Army (R3E), which aims to promote greater participation of the academic and civil areas in defense debates, was established in 2013. Ever since its inception, the R3E has partnered with public bodies, research centers and national and international Higher Education Institutions (HEI) to hold seminars, lectures and courses on strategic defense issues (BRASIL, 2016). In addition, the network operates in the dissemination of knowledge and of activities produced by the Army, and the integration of researchers in discussions regarding the strategic planning of the Armed Forces, promoting an exchange of ideas and views that contribute to the production of knowledge in National Defense and to the development of a culture of defense in Brazil (BRASIL, 2016).

The network is made up of the Army Forces Strategic Studies Center (CEEEEx), the Army Strategic Planning and Studies Group (GEPEEx) and the Army Strategic Studies Center (NEE) and their collaborators, as shown in Figure 1:

Figure 1 - Army Strategic Studies Network (RE3)

Source: Brasil ([201 -])

The Army Forces Strategic Studies Center (CEEEEx) precedes the formalization of the R3E, having been created a decade earlier, in 2003, as a subordinate organ to the general staff of the Army that aims to study and propose military policies and (non-operational) strategies, as well as to monitor and evaluate, at a national level, policies and strategies that are linked to the interests of the Force (BRASIL, 2016). The work produced by the Center serves to subsidize the Army Strategic Planning System (SIPLEx) and the internal planning of the General Board (ODG), the Operating Board (ODO) and the Sectoral Management Bodies (ODS). In addition, the Center is responsible for increasing the Brazilian Army's relationship with the academic community through the holding of seminars, participation in academic events and the promotion of publications approaching defense issues (BRASIL, 2016). Among the responsibilities and functions of the Army Force Strategic Studies Center are:

- (1) To elaborate prospective studies in matters of National Defense, in order to identify possible situations that may require initiative on the part of the Brazilian Army in order to overcome difficulties and seize opportunities, aiming to guide the Army Strategic Planning System in the formulation of its goals and strategies;
- (2) To evaluate national and international circumstances and determine situations that may require Force initiative for overcoming conflicts and crises or fulfilling national defense interests;
- (3) To study and propose policies and strategies that go beyond the operational level, as well as monitoring and evaluating (on a national and international level) policies and strategies that may be of interest to the Institution;
- (4) To advise the Ground Force Command and Control Center (CC2 FTer);

- (5) To promote and participate in meetings, seminars, panels and similar events, with political, judicial, academic, corporate, and other segments, with the intention of encouraging society to reflect on the importance of National Defense issues at the political-strategic level;
- (6) To coordinate the work of the various Advisory Councils and Centers of Strategic Studies - existing or to be created within the framework of the Force -, through an engineering service channel to be established, in order to standardize procedures, studies and activities relating to the subject, so as to avoid the dispersion of efforts and resources;
- (7) To maintain contact with entities similar to the Ministry of Defense, other armed forces, and other public or private entities. (BRASIL, 2016, our translation).

The Army Strategic Studies Network is composed by different partners within the university, such as, for example, the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS), the University of Brasilia (UnB), The Federal Fluminense University (UFF) and the São Paulo State University (UNESP); military institutes, such as the Meira Mattos Institute (IMM) of the Brazilian Army Command and General-Staff College (ECEME), and the Pandiá Calógeras Institute (IPC)⁴ of the Ministry of Defense; national and international research centers and *think tanks*, such as the Brazilian Center for International Relations (CEBRI) and the *International Institute for Strategic Studies* (IISS); and academic-civil societies such as the Brazilian Association of Defense Studies (ABED). The Network's institutional collaboration projects are operationalized, for the most part, by Strategic Studies Centers established in the Military Commands and Army Divisions, organs which are directly subordinate to the Army Strategic Studies Center. On October 20th of 2015, the Strategic Studies Center of the Southern Military Command (NEE/CMS) was activated, based in Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul. The Southern Military Command (CMS) has the mission of maintaining sovereignty in the southern region of Brazil, which covers the states of Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul. For this purpose, it has 50,000 military officers, that is, a quarter of the Brazilian Army's personnel, 75% of the mechanized resources available in the ground force, 18 general officers and 160 Military Organizations (CMS, 2018).

Ever since 2014, the Center for International Studies on Government (CEGOV), an interdisciplinary center linked to the UFRGS' Dean's Office, and of which NERINT is part, has launched a rapprochement with the Southern Military Command through working meetings and technical missions in Santa Maria. In May of 2015, the EME 1303500 Memorandum of Understanding was signed, which formalized the cooperation between the Southern Military

4 "The Pandiá Calógeras Institute (IPC) is a direct and immediate assistance body to the State Minister of Defense. Its mission is to provide a portfolio with precise, useful and timely strategic advice in the Defense Area, based on Higher Level Studies and broad academic, institutional and social participation. The IPC operates through different means, including the production of analyses, the promotion of dialogue between the Ministry of Defense and the academic area, and the stimulation of knowledge production on topics of interest to the National Defense. Thus, the Institute permanently contributes to the enhancement of the civil-military relationship. The IPC works on several fronts, on its own initiative or in cooperation with similar institutions and national and international *think tanks*. Its activities include: promotion and participation in events that collaborate to create an authentic development of thought on Brazilian Defense; stimulus to the integration with civil and military education institutions; and the establishment and maintenance of a documentation center to subsidize research projects and promote the exchange of information and analyses in the field of national defense. The Institute is named after the engineer and politician João Pandiá Calógeras, the first civilian to hold the post of Minister of War in Republican history during the Government of Epitácio Pessoa. In his term, Pandiá Calógeras undertook an important process of modernization, expansion and improvement of the Army. At the same time, he left a remarkable legacy as a writer, academic, and researcher, thus personalizing civilian-military rapprochement, always with a mind to the interests of the state. Civilian-military cooperation was pioneered in the beginning of Brazilian Republicanism, and has now become crucial for the consolidation of the defense sector in the country." (BRASIL, 2018a, our translation).

Command and the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul. Six areas of cooperation were defined: (1) Santa Maria Rationalization Program (PRORASAM); (2) The Impact Studies in the Santa Maria Region; (3) Applied Research on models and organizational systems based on simulation platforms with a large number of agents; (4) The International Relations and Defense distance learning course; (5) the creation of a Strategic Management Center; and (6) The Supply Chain and Environmental Management of the PQ-R-MNT/3.

With the establishing of the Strategic Studies Center in October of 2015, many of the partnership's activities became operational through the agency. This allowed for the maintenance and expansion of partnerships with the academic environment, in particular with the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, and with Defense Industries, through the Committee of the Defense and Security Industries of Rio Grande do Sul (COMDEFESA) and with the other Armed Forces, for the leveling and integration of knowledge, and the provision and strengthening of the civilian-military relationship (UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO RIO GRANDE DO SUL, 2016).

Within the framework of the Southern Military Command, NEE/CMS promotes an interaction between public and private bodies, Higher Education Institutions (IES), public and private research institutes, associations, researchers, and national and international *think tanks* aimed at the production and dissemination of knowledge on National Defense (BRASIL, [201-]). In addition, NEE/CMS has the duty of encouraging the creation of centers of strategic studies in its area of influence, as well as articulating members of its network of collaborators through the promotion of seminars, meetings, the signing of agreements, and the production of papers and books approaching the Army's thematic areas of interest (BRASIL, [201-]). The strategic themes of interest that are approached by the NEE/CMS are divided into seven main axes, as shown in Table 1:

Table 1 - Strategic Themes

Events	Main Themes
International reactions to Brazilian protagonism	Geopolitics
Strengthening of South America's integration	
Increase in international pressure regarding the Amazon Forest	
Increase in international interest on strategic areas of Brazil	
Growth and security of the Brazilian Army's budget flow	Public Management
Adequacy of the infrastructure necessary for meeting defense demands	
Strengthening of the defense industry in Brazil	
Increase in investments on science and technology	
Increase in the complexity of Brazilian public security	Social tensions
Increase in influence by non-governmental actors	
Increase in social tensions	
Occurrence of terrorist activity in the Brazilian territory	Terrorism
Occurrence of cyber attacks in the Brazilian territory	Cyber Defense
Worsening of the environmental issues	Environment
Development of a defense mentality in Brazil	Defense Mentality

Source: Brasil ([201 -])

As a result of this approach, on May 4th of 2016 the Cooperation Agreement EME 1505400 between the Board of Higher Military Education and the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul was officially recognized by the Official Gazette of the Union, with the objective of developing an exchange program for scientific and technical cooperation between the Brazilian Army Command and General-Staff College (ECEME), CEGOV, and the Graduate Program in International and Strategic Studies (PPGEEI) in the areas of Teaching, Research and Extension. Also in 2016, NERINT, as a research center linked to UFRGS and PPGEEI, announced its collaboration with NEE/CMS.

Currently, as of January 2018, NEE/CMS has several partnerships with the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS), including the aforementioned Graduate Program in International and Strategic Studies and the Brazilian Center for Strategy and International Relations; in addition to partnerships with the Federal University of Santa Maria (UFSM), the Santa Maria Development Agency (ADEMS); and the South American Institute for Policy and Strategy (ISAPE). The NEE/CMS is composed of three Cavalry Colonels – one chief and two analysts – and three military auxiliaries. The NEE/CMS also relies on researchers from its partner institutions.

One of the main projects arising from the partnership between UFRGS and the CMS, carried out through NERINT and NEE/CMS in partnership with ISAPE and the International Relations Student Center (CERI) of UFRGS, and promoted by PPGEEI and CEGOV, was the organization of the Strategic Studies Seminars. The Seminars were proposed to foster integration between academic knowledge and Defense and Armed Forces Industries for the development of a defense mentality, with a view to the social and economic development of Brazil and greater insertion of the country in the international scenario (UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO RIO GRANDE DO SUL, 2016). In the year of 2016, the Brazilian seminar of International Strategic Studies of the PPGEEI/UFRGS⁵ was organized simultaneously with the newly inaugurated Seminar of Strategic Studies of the Southern Military Command and the CEGOV Union Houses Seminar, giving rise to a simultaneous and unprecedented event in the National academic-military environment.

In June of 2018 the event was held again under the unified thematic axis “National Issues and the Defense Agenda”. This thematic axis aimed to highlight the importance of Defense studies in Brazil as an instrument to promote national development and to obtain better international insertion (UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO RIO GRANDE DO SUL, 2016).

The project counts with the support of the Ministry of Defense, the general staffs of the Army, Navy and Air Force, the Ground Operations Command, the Department of Science and Technology of the Army, the Defense and Security Industries of Rio Grande do Sul Committee (CIERGS/FIERGS), the UFRGS’ Pro-Rector of Extension and Pro-Rector of Graduation Courses, AEL Systems, among others. Among the authorities involved in the last edition of the

5 The first edition of SEBREEI was held between June 20th and June 22nd of 2012 and approached the theme ‘Regional Integration and South-South Cooperation in the 21st century. SEBREEI’s second edition took place between May 21st and May 23rd of 2013 and its theme was ‘The South Atlantic as an International Insertion Axis for Brazil’. The 3rd edition of SEBREEI was held between October 18th and October 21st of 2016, in conjunction with the 1st Seminar on Strategic Studies of the Southern Military Command and the 4th Union Houses Seminar, together they made up the Strategic Studies Seminars of 2016 (UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO RIO GRANDE DO SUL, 2016).

event were the Academic Coordinator, Prof. Dr. Paulo Gilberto Fagundes Visentini, NERINT's Coordinator; the Institutional Coordinator, Col. Cav. Mário Giussepp Santezzi Bertotelli Andreuzza, Head of NEE/CMS; and the leader of the Organizing Committee and creator of the event, Prof. Dr. José Miguel Quedi Martins. The presence of UFRGS' Dean Rui Vicente Oppermann, the Southern Military Army General Commander Geraldo Antônio Miotto, and the head of the Strategic Studies Center of the Army, Art. Col. Valério Luiz Lange were also noteworthy – among other renowned academics and high-ranking officers of the Army, Navy and Aeronautics.

The strengthening of the relations of the military segment with the academic environment, through seminars, joint works and information exchange serves the purpose of “(...) keeping the academia updated regarding the conditions of employment of the troops and the difficulties faced. This as a way of maintaining the institutional strength of civil organizations and allowing the troops to be supervised” (JANOWITZ, 1971 *apud* FERREIRA, 2018, p.9).

Another project spearheaded by the rapprochement between the Southern Military Command and the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul was the creation, in the year of 2016, of a Special Selection Public Notice for military personnel in the International Strategic Studies Graduate Program at UFRGS. Based on the Memorandum of Understanding between the institutions, which sought mutual cooperation in research, technological innovation and the training of human resources, the Public Notices are intended to encourage *avant-garde* knowledge production in the context of International and Strategic Studies and Military Science through the fostering of high quality and impactful research, the developing of studies and research in International and Strategic Studies that can contribute to the formulation of state policies in various aspects involving Security and National Defense, and the developing of skills associated with transmission of knowledge, in particular the publication of scientific papers and the promotion of teaching activities (UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO RIO GRANDE DO SUL, 2017).

In the year of 2017, within the scope of the cooperation axes established two years earlier, CEGOV offered a distance learning specialization course in International Relations: Geopolitics and Defense, bringing together civilian and military students from several states of Brazil. The reciprocal sharing of academic and military publications in the NERINT and NEE/CMS digital platforms was also intensified with emphasis on the publication “Austral: Brazilian Journal of Strategy and International Relations”, NERINT's Research Bulletin, the Brazilian Journal of African Studies (edited by CEBRAFRICA, a research center associated with NERINT), and the NEE Library.

Finally, on December 28th of 2018, as another result of this fruitful rapprochement, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed between the Brazilian Army's Department of Science and Technology (DCT) and the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS). The partnership instrument aimed to develop and strengthen cooperation in the fields of Science, Technology and Innovation in scientific research and in the exchange and training of technical and human resources, seeking to improve the National Defense Strategy, meet the common interests of the participants and the interest of the Program of Transformation of the Army's Science and Technology System (PTSCTE_x) (BRASIL, 2018b).

All these efforts and projects have pointed to an intensification of the activities of research and joint strategic development between the Armed Forces and the academic sector, a critical factor

to the production of knowledge, and unified policies with the potential to contribute to the social and economic development of Brazil and for the construction of a Grand Strategy in the 21st century which may grant greater integration and autonomy to the country in the international scenario.

4 DISCUSSING A GRAND STRATEGY FOR BRAZIL IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY⁶

Brazil must continue to combine efforts to create a long-term Grand Strategy that brings two complementary policies together: diplomacy and defense. In this sense, Brazil's Grand Strategy must articulate the planning sectors of politics, economy and security, guided by the permanent principles and objectives of sovereignty, citizenship and regional integration (MARTINS; NUNES, 2017). Within this framework, diplomatic policy must be responsible for the peaceful resolution of conflicts, a central feature to Brazil's political integration. In turn, defense policy should seek to introduce the matter of Brazil's deterrence capacity as a central pillar for its international diplomatic projection. In the strictly domestic field, a development strategy for the National Defense Industrial Base (IDB) is also fundamental, in order to strengthen the relationship with the economic sector.

In this sense, the Brazilian Center for Strategy and International Relations (NERINT) has a research line dedicated to tracing ideas for a Grand Strategy for Brazil in the 21st century - being the partnership with the Center for Strategic Studies of the Southern Military Command (NEE/CMS) a part of this line of research. NERINT seeks to promote efforts in three different fields in order to promote Brazil's international insertion: (1) Foreign Policy and Defense; (2) South American Strategic Partnerships; and (3) South-South cooperation (UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO RIO GRANDE DO SUL, 2018b).

The first aspect of this approach concerns Brazil's Foreign and Defense Policy. At an international level, one can observe a transition from unipolarity to a new configuration that is still undefined. In light of this, Brazil must expand its autonomous activities through several strategic bilateral and variable geometry partnerships in order to broaden its range of strategic options in an uncertain scenario of power transition. In short, there are several paths to be taken by Brazil at the multilateral level, whether in economic and commercial negotiations or security arrangements.

Due to its geographical and historical characteristics and the intense competition between major global capitalist centers, the challenge of South America's integration is central to Brazil's long-term strategy. In this sense, the second theme proposes the examining of the economic political and security opportunities and challenges in the South American strategic environment. From an integration and cooperation standpoint, two projects may be highlighted: the UNASUR and the South American Defense Council (CDS), both of these projects, in spite of the recent crisis, promoted an institutional framework that proved important to the development of diplomatic and defense policies in Brazil; the MERCOSUR, by its turn, is important not only for the integration of markets, but mainly for the joint development of its members, so as to enable

⁶ With the contribution of Erik Herejk Ribeiro.

the creation of regional productive chains. On the other hand, there are historical tensions and rivalries in the region, combined with internal political instability and “non-traditional” threats.

The third thematic field is centered around South-South cooperation. Apart from the immediate surroundings of Brazil, it is necessary to observe and formulate policies for countries in similar condition in the international system and with complementary interests in areas such as policy, economy, defense, technology and culture. The African continent, due to its historical ties with Brazil and its geopolitical importance, is a preferential region for partnerships. African studies have also been rapidly developing in Brazil, stimulated by Brazil’s growing strategic presence in Africa and the process of modernization of the countries that make up the African continent. In addition, Brazil’s Defense Policy considers as part of its strategic geopolitical environment not only the South American regional environment, but also the South Atlantic and the West African coast. Combined with this perspective, it is essential to analyze the Brazilian projection and its cooperation efforts with African countries (including in defense), a goal that is shared by NERINT⁷ and by the Armed Forces (VISENTINI; MIGON; PEREIRA, 2016).

Finally, the participation of Brazil in the Asian continent (which covers the Middle East) is also essential for the recognition of the global role to be played by the country, in view of the centrality of Asia in the geopolitical framework of the 21st century. The rise of China as a new major productive-technological hub raises new business and investment strategies for Brazil.

For the former Ministry of Defense (2011-2015) and Foreign Affairs (1993-1994 and 2003-2010), Celso Amorim (2015), Brazil must adopt a Grand Strategy that gathers foreign policy and defense policy, in which diplomacy must be the main instrument and the first line of defense of Brazilian interests, always supported by defense policy. In other words, what Amorim (2015) proposes is that the Brazilian state’s *soft power*, as theorized by Joseph Nye (2004), expressed in the ability to cooperate in a mutually beneficial manner with other countries, should be strengthened by the country’s *hard power*, capable of deterring threats and collaborating with our neighbors and partners, in the area of defense.

One of the main assumptions of Brazil’s Grand Strategy for the 21st century, which combines robust power and soft power, is a reasonable balance of world power (AMORIM, 2015). In this sense, Brazil has established as one of the pillars of its Grand Strategy the distribution of power within the international system in a multipolar world, ensuring greater autonomy to its national process of development, going back to the construction of an agenda of multi-stakeholder cooperation and the coordination of meetings with international bodies of economic-financial and, especially, political governance:

⁷ In 2005, NERINT established, through an agreement with the Alexandre Gusmão Foundation (FUNAG) of the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MRE), the Center for Brazilian-South African Studies (CESUL). With the remarkable development of African studies in Brazil, NERINT and CESUL established an independent center focused on the study and research of the African Continent’s International Relations: The Brazilian Center of African Studies (CEBRAFRICA), whose activities are developed in partnership with NERINT and CEGOV at UFRGS.

The multi-polarity goal was sought by Brazil on different fronts, with the highest priority given to the integration of South America; the claim for the democratization of the United Nations decision-making bodies; the search for greater justice in trade negotiations [...]; and the articulation with new partners in the developing world [...]. Needless to say that economic, cultural and human motivations were also present in these efforts, on varying degrees. Multi-polarity, based on multilaterally accepted standards, offers the most favorable conditions for Brazil to independently define its interests and carry out a grand strategy that includes not only the dimension of a peaceful country, but the dimension of a peace-providing country. (AMORIM, 2015, p. 16, our translation).

In this way, Amorim defended the need for discussing a Grand Strategy for the 21st century that is authentically Brazilian and the result of cooperation between civil and military societies:

We have to think about our role in the world without complexes and with autonomy. The conception of an authentically Brazilian *Grand Strategy* – involving foreign policy and defense policy – must be the result of a broad public dialogue about our challenges and priorities, which involves the political, diplomatic and military fields, and the participation of universities, the media, the productive sectors (entrepreneurs and workers) and society in general. The publication of the White Paper on Defense, on 2013, and of the revised editions of the National Defense Policy and the National Defense Strategy should all be considered part of this dialogue. (AMORIM, 2015, p. 11, our translation).

Cooperation between academic and military bodies is particularly relevant to this debate. Thus, the professionalization of the Armed Forces, as defended by Huntington (1957), should also be extended to civilians, seeking to create opportunities for civilians and military personnel to work in an integrated manner addressing these issues (YOUNG, 2006 *apud* FERREIRA, 2018, p. 8, our translation).

5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In light of the undefined characteristics of the post-Cold War international system, it becomes necessary for Brazil to make an effort in creating a long-term Grand Strategy, bringing together two complementary policies and spheres: diplomacy and defense, and the civil and military environments — or the soldier and the diplomat, to quote Raymond Aron (2002), and the soldier and the state, to quote Samuel Huntington (1957). To this end, it is necessary to have synergy and coordination between social sectors and national institutions in order to maximize the diplomatic, economic, technological, political and security potential of Brazil's international integration.

The rapprochement between the Brazilian Center for Strategy and International Relations (NERINT), and the Center for Strategic Studies of the Southern Military Command (NEE/CMS) represents an important process towards this goal, with the potential of building

intelligence tools that allow for the classifying and sorting of the knowledge for the elaboration of common guidelines for Defense and National Development matters. It also represents the effective operationalization of guidelines already foreseen in the White Paper on defense, in the National Defense Policy and in the National Defense Strategy. In essentially practical terms, there is great potential for reproduction of the model of partnership developed between NERINT/UFRGS and NEE/CMS that has gone almost unexploited at the national level (in other states of the federation and in other military commands). Therefore, this paper represents a contribution to the field (in the form of a case study), and can – and should – be complemented by other similar initiatives.

After a long period of peace, the Brazilian population lacks perception of the country's defense threats, in spite of the efforts of the universities, the industries, and the institutions and agencies related to Defense and International Relations (UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO RIO GRANDE DO SUL, 2016). It should also be pointed out that the process of re-democratization has given rise to a general disregard for defense issues and civilian ignorance about the military field. In order to protect its population and its heritage, as well as to have the freedom to pursue its legitimate interests, Brazil needs to confront the antagonisms that endanger its national objectives (UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO RIO GRANDE DO SUL, 2016).

With that in mind, defense matters must be thought of not only considering a military (armed) instrument, since this is only a specific instrument of defense, just as the diplomat is only a specific instrument of diplomacy. In the same way, academic contributions and the governmental bureaucracy should not be restricted to the field of defense alone, since a Grand Strategy is composed of several crosscutting themes, in which defense is only one of its political spheres. It is, therefore, necessary to foster a cross-party debate regarding a Grand Strategy and a security policy, preferably with a mind to state policies in detriment of government policies.

Civil-military relations decisively improve and enrich this debate. As argued by the North American political scientist Samuel Huntington (1957), the nations that develop an adequately balanced civil-military relations standard have great advantage in the fields of Security and Defense, since they increase the probability of getting correct answers to operational questions regarding military policy; while the nations that fail to develop balanced civil-military relations tend to squander their resources and take uncalculated risks.

What the NERINT/UFRGS and NEE/CMS partnership achieved (through seminars and other activities) was a direct interaction between academic reflection and military activities. Mutual knowledge dispelled prejudices and contributed to the development of strategic thinking – and all of this was achieved during one of the most delicate moments of Brazilian political history.

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