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**ESCOLA MARECHAL CASTELLOBRANCO**

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**The Role and Importance of the Military Diplomacy in  
affirming Brazil as a Regional Protagonist in South America  
(O Papel e a importância da Diplomacia Militar na afirmação  
do Brasil como um Protagonista Regional na América do Sul)**



Rio de Janeiro  
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Course Completion Paper presented to the Army  
Command and General Staff College as a partial  
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Sciences, with emphasis on Strategic Studies.

Advisor: Cel Inf WAGNER ALVES DE OLIVEIRA

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## **The Role and Importance of the Military Diplomacy in affirming Brazil as a Regional Protagonist in South America**

O Papel e a importância da Diplomacia Militar na afirmação do Brasil como um Protagonista Regional na América do Sul

*“It is very good to discuss agreements having behind you a squad with credibility.”*

— José Maria da Silva Paranhos Junior, the Baron of Rio Branco

### **ABSTRACT**

The Brazilian Army has carried out, in several South American countries, instructional cooperation missions, such as in Paraguay, and has also designated senior and intermediaries officers as instructors in friendly nations Advanced Schools and Command and Staff Officers. The military instructors of the schools as well as the components of the cooperation missions, besides teaching the Brazilian military doctrine, also spread the economic possibilities of the nation, thus projecting the national power. This enables Brazil to carry out Military Diplomacy. The military diplomacy seeks to promote exchanges and cooperation, building relationships of mutual trust aiming at collaborating with personnel training, security, development, regional stability and world peace. Another important initiative of military diplomacy is to promote seminars and visits, both for Brazilian military personnel abroad and by foreign authorities and military personnel in Brazil, in order to deal with matters of interest to the Brazilian Army. These actions of Military Diplomacy have the potential to strengthen Brazil's role as a protagonist in the military and economic fields, within the framework of South America. The current moment in South America, with right-wing ideological governments, may facilitate diplomatic-military relations between the countries of the subcontinent. This affirmation of our nation, besides providing economic dividends, enables the development of our Defense Industrial Base. This article aims to highlight the potential of Military Diplomacy in the sense that Brazil asserts itself as a protagonist in the military and economic fields in South America.

**Key Words:** Military Diplomacy. South America. Defense Industrial Base.

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## 1 Introduction

Brazilian Army international relations are regulated by the following instruments: **Brazilian Constitution; Defense White Paper; National Defense Policy; National Defense Strategy<sup>1</sup>; Army Directive for International Affairs; and Army Commander's Directive.**

Article 4 – The international relations of the Federative Republic of Brazil are governed by the following principles:

- I – national independence;
- I – prevalence of human rights;
- III – self-determination of the people;
- IV – non-intervention;
- V – equality among the States;
- VI – defense of peace;
- VII – peaceful settlement of conflicts;
- VIII – repudiation of terrorism and racism;
- IX – cooperation among peoples for the progress of mankind;
- X – granting of political asylum.

(Brazilian Constitution, 1988) (translation by the author)

Consistent with the legal diplomas referenced, **South America is a priority for Brazilian Military Diplomacy.** The National Defense Policy<sup>2</sup> states that the South American subcontinent, as it is the environment Brazil is part of, is a priority in the relations between Brazil and the bilateral. In this region, Brazilian Army has implemented cooperative actions to develop an environment of mutual, which contribute positively to the solution of security issues, particularly in the border area.



**FIGURE 01** – Strategic Environment of Brazil

**SOURCE:** Army General Staff

<sup>1</sup> The National Defense Strategy (NDS) establishes guidelines for the proper preparation and training of the Armed Forces to ensure the security of the country in peacetime and in crisis situations.

<sup>2</sup> The National Defense Policy (NDP) is the conditioning document highest level of national defense action planning coordinated by the Ministry of Defense.

South America is the regional environment in which Brazil operates. Seeking to deepen its ties of cooperation, the Country envisions a strategic environment that goes beyond the South American region and includes the South Atlantic and the bordering countries of Africa, just like Antarctica. To the north, the proximity of the Caribbean requires increasing attention to this region. (National Defense Strategy, 2008) (translation by the author)

The South American regional environment is a priority for the Army, as the maintaining a climate of trust and cooperation between the countries of this region has significant repercussions on security in the border area. (Army Directive for International Affairs, 2016) (translation by the author)

A country's security is affected by the degree of stability of its region where it is inserted. Thus, it is desirable that consensus, political harmony and the convergence of actions between neighboring countries to reduce transnational offenses and achieve better economic development conditions and social, making the region more cohesive and stronger. (National Defense Strategy, 2008) (translation by the author)

Brazilian Army, in the region concerned, keeps 109 (one hundred and nine) Officers and 37 (thirty seven) Non Commissioned Officers, in the following countries: Argentina; Bolivia; Chile; Colombia; Ecuador; Paraguay; Peru; Uruguay; Venezuela; Guyana; and Suriname.



**FIGURE 02** – Countries in South America at where Brazilian Army has representatives  
**SOURCE:** the author

In addition, as a result of the likely strengthening of Mercosur, following the conclusion of an important trade agreement with the European Union, Brazil has an excellent opportunity to increase business with other neighbouring countries.

South American integration remains a strategic objective for Brazilian foreign policy. The country acknowledges the deepening of political, social and economic relationships among South American countries as a fundamental element for social and economic development and for the preservation of peace in the region. (Defense White Paper, 2013)

Therefore, **how the Military Diplomacy has been employed in order to assert Brazil as a possible protagonist in South America?** It is mandatory to understand why it is important for Brazil to be a protagonist in South America. The search for this protagonism is justified, among other factors, for Brazil to benefit from agreements within and outside the region, such as the recognition, by the United States of America, as a priority military partner extra NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization).

Thus, integration among South America Armed Forces is the desired end state and, for this, Brazilian Army has participated in multilateral and bilateral initiatives that allow the expansion of the interinstitutional relations network.

The main objective of this paper is **to identify whether Military Diplomacy has been effectively used in order to strengthen Brazil's role in the military and economic fields in South America.**

Another objective is **to present suggestions to improve Military Diplomacy actions.**

In order to achieve the objectives proposed to this paper, a conclusive research will be conducted with description of several important aspects, such as purposes of Military Diplomacy; activities carried out by Brazilian Army in the conduct of Military Diplomacy; and the possibilities of the Defense Industrial Base.

In the second chapter of this paper, the historical military background of South America will be studied, as well as an overview of the current situation of the region's borders.

In the third chapter, the main aspects of **Military Diplomacy** will be addressed as well as the actions of the Brazilian Army related to the subject.

In the next chapter, the **Defense Industrial Base**, as well as its perspectives and its importance for the country, will be studied.

At the end of the paper, as a result of research and study, **conclusions** and **recommendations** regarding the subject will be presented.

The **methodology** will be to employ qualitative through **survey** and to make **documentary research.**

## 2 South America Military Background

South America is far from the main areas of global economic and geopolitical tensions.

Currently, South America is living a **peaceful moment**. The last international armed conflict in the region occurred on January and February 1995, between Peru and Ecuador, because of a border divergence, in a stretch known as the Condor Mountain Range.

“Regional peace was much improved by the 1980s democratization process, which allowed South American countries, particularly in the Southern Cone, to peacefully resolve their still-pending boundary disputes and to increase political, economic, and military cooperation” (KACOWICZ, 1998, pag. 81–83).

The main armed conflicts in the subcontinent were the **Paraguay** and **Pacific Wars** in the 19th century and the **Chaco War** in the 20th century.

“Even though peace has still been maintained in that kind of context, its quality has been actually low, since war has never been completely ruled out” (KACOWICZ, 1998, pag. 67–81).

“The remainder of the 19th century was a violent time in South America, seeing numerous wars between the newly independent states. The conflicts were driven by the **uncertain frontiers of the colonial period**, attempts to achieve regional dominance, and the importance of trade and the consequent involvement of many European nations in the internal affairs of the continent. As the century progressed, the growing wealth of South America allowed the creation of larger and more modern armies than in the revolutionary period, with the death toll of the wars increasing as a result” (DORATIOTO, 2002).

“The Paraguayan War (also known as the War of the Triple Alliance), was one of the most violent wars to be fought in South America, started in 1864 between Paraguay and the allied countries of Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay” (LEUCHARS, 2002).

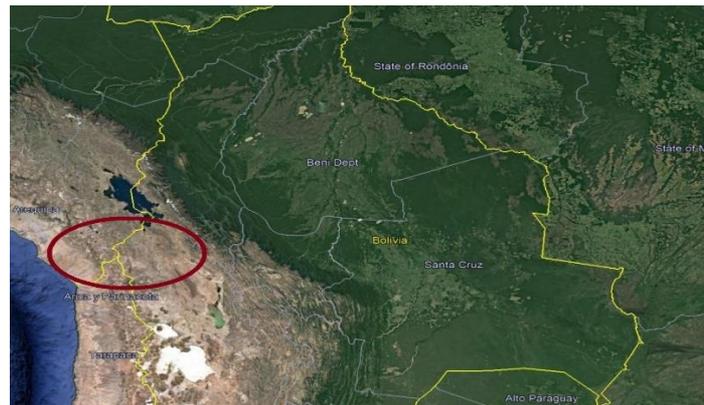
Despite the current moment of peace that South America is going through, there are still territorial (peaceful) disputes among some countries in the region, such as:

a. **Colombia x Venezuela:** The two countries dispute a gulf in the Caribbean, important for the oil reserves it contains.



**FIGURE 03** – Territorial dispute between Colombia and Venezuela  
**SOURCE:** Google Earth

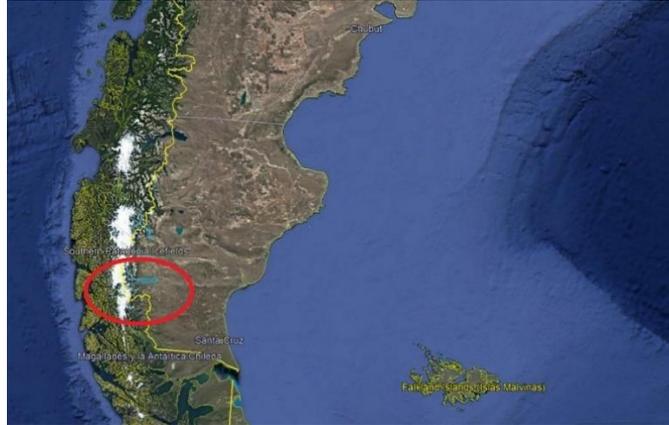
b. **Chile x Bolivia:** Bolivians claim sovereignty over a continuous 400 km coastline. Chile annexed the territory during the Pacific War in 1879, and has since kept Bolivia without sovereign access to the sea.



**FIGURE 04** – Territorial dispute between Chile and Bolivia  
**SOURCE:** Google Earth

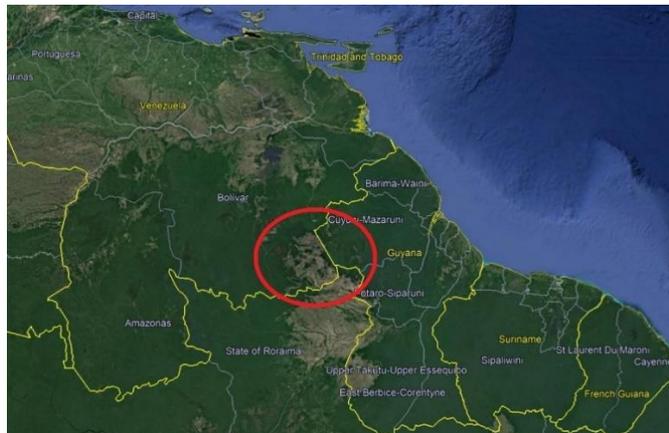
c. **Chile x Peru:** Peruvians and Chileans differ on how to draw the imaginary line that determines what is from one country and what is from another.

d. **Chile x Argentina:** The southern border between these two countries is determined at various points by changing natural landmarks, which leads to sporadic divergences.



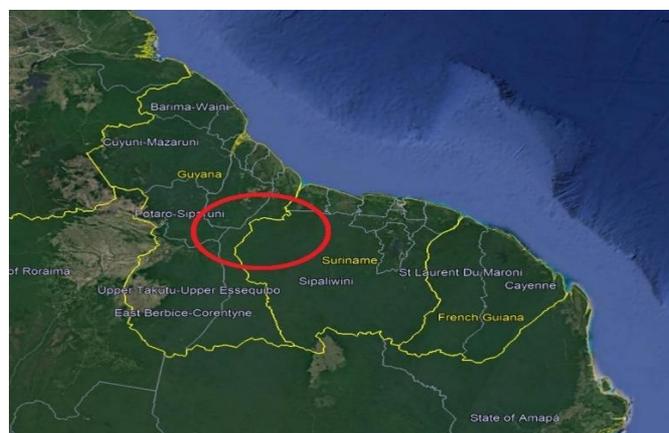
**FIGURE 05** – Territorial dispute between Chile and Argentina  
**SOURCE:** Google Earth

e. **Venezuela x Guiana:** Three-quarters of Guyana's territory is claimed by Venezuela.



**FIGURE 06** – Territorial dispute between Venezuela and Guiana  
**SOURCE:** Google Earth

f. **Guyana x Suriname:** The dispute between Guyanese and Surinamese involves a jungle region called Tigri, which also borders Brazil.



**FIGURE 07** – Territorial dispute between Guyana and Suriname  
**SOURCE:** Google Earth

Brazil has **no border problems** with the other South American countries.

Despite these disputes over territory, the countries of the region maintain a **certain balance between their Armed Forces**, which helps to avoid attacks against neighbors.

“Regional peace was maintained mainly by the presence of norms of peaceful settlement of disputes” (KACOWICZ, 1998).

Nevertheless, South America is calm compared to other parts of the world.

“As a matter of fact, security relations between countries in the Southern Cone have improved substantially since the 1980s. Democracy has had a favorable impact on the security situation in this zone” (BATTAGLINO, 2012, p. 15).

However, in the region, there are conventional external threats and current risks such as **piracy and organized crime**.

Thus, it is possible to conclude **how important it is for Brazil to have the capacity to face both conventional external threats and current risks**, strengthening a **possible protagonism in the region**.

### 3 Military Diplomacy

The Constitution of Brazil establishes that the international relations of the Brazilian state shall be governed, among others, by the principles of **nonintervention, equality between states, defense of peace, peaceful settlement of conflicts, and cooperation among people to the progress of humanity**.

The principles capitalized in art. 4 of the Federal Constitution mark the Brazilian diplomatic performance and, as a consequence, the Army's performance externally.

In supporting the diplomatic actions, the Army exercises the so-called Military Diplomacy, understood as “the set of actions cooperation in the Defense Area, carried out between friendly countries, including the establishment of military additives, conferences bilateral actions, combined military actions, exchanges between establishments among others”. (Army Directive for International Affairs, 2016) (translation by the author)

The Brazilian military have always had a prominent role in the region, especially in the concerning foreign policy and international relations in South America.

The Military Diplomacy aims to promote **exchanges and cooperation, building relationships** of mutual trust, with the aim of collaborating with personnel **training, security, development, regional stability and world peace**.

Military diplomacy is the employment of military power actively in the service of national interest with the intent to influence the thoughts and actions of foreign decision makers. It can be practiced in the benign cooperative form and in coercive forms short of war, when military forces are used to threaten, or impose violent sanctions, without engaging in a continuing contest of violence. (DITZLER, 1989)

“Thus, military diplomacy has as its overarching goal the purpose of assisting political ends while deterring escalation of a situation beyond the brink of war” (CABLE, 1981, p. 38).

According to the **Army Directive for International Affairs**, the **purposes of Military Diplomacy** are:

- a. to contribute to maintaining a stable global order through participation in humanitarian aid and peace operations under the aegis of international and regional bodies;
- b. to support and contribute to the efforts of the armies of friendly countries to consolidate their structures;
- c. to facilitate the achievement of a legal framework governing the development, within the framework of the Defense, of bilateral and multilateral relations;
- d. to expand opportunities for strengthening the national defense products industry to reduce technological dependency and overcome unilateral restrictions on access to sensitive technologies;
- e. to project Brazilian Army on the international arena; and
- f. to contribute to the professional training of members of the Land Force.

The **activities carried out by Brazilian Army** in the conduct of **Military Diplomacy** are:

- a. permanent missions abroad with diplomatic missions, military education or training organizations, international organizations, commissions and others;
- b. permanent missions of foreign military personnel in Brazil in the military area;
- c. conferences and meetings, bilateral or multilateral, with the participation of representatives of the Army in Brazil or abroad;
- d. courses, internships, seminars and visits, both by Brazilian military personnel abroad and by foreign authorities and military personnel in Brazil, in order to deal with matters of interest to the Army;
- e. various military exchanges;
- f. exercises / trainings in conjunction with foreign troops in Brazil and abroad;
- g. participation in peace missions;
- h. participation in humanitarian missions;

- i. management of Defense Products, its components and raw materials;
- j. signature of agreements, covenants, additive terms, technical arrangements, partnership instruments, letters of intent and related documents; and
- l. any other missions.

In accordance with the Army Directive for International Affairs, the Brazilian Army, exercising military diplomacy, carries out its international activities seeking to achieve the following main objectives:

a. meet the National Defense Objectives contained in the **National Defense Policy**<sup>3</sup>, particularly as regards the items:

- b. guarantee sovereignty, national heritage and territorial integrity;
- c. the defense of national interests and of Brazilian people, goods and resources abroad;
- d. contribute to regional stability;
- e. contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security;
- f. intensify Brazil's projection in the concert of nations and its greater insertion in international decision-making processes;
- g. develop the National Defense Industry, oriented towards obtaining autonomy in indispensable technologies;
- h. deepen the relationship in the military field with the countries of greatest interest to Brazil;
- i. maintain a regular dialogue on bilateral and multilateral defense issues of mutual interest, fostering cooperation, integration and mutual trust with the armies of other countries;
- j. contribute to the defense of the interests of Brazilian Army, employing military attachés, liaising with foreign accredited attachés in Brazil, participating in international events, visiting Brazilian military authorities abroad and receiving foreign military authorities in Brazil;

l. assist in projecting a positive image of Brazil at the concert of nations, particularly in contributing to international peace and security and participating in relevant international fora; and

- j. seek qualified training in areas of interest of the Earth Force.

For Military Diplomacy to be successful, it is important to emphasize the conduct of the Brazilian military assigned to perform duties in schools abroad, who have been performing

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<sup>3</sup> The National Defense Policy sets the objectives of National Defense and guides the State on what to do to reach them.

their activities in an excellent manner, either as instructors of tactics and techniques based on Brazilian doctrine, or by example of blameless military and civil conduct.

Specifically for South America, the Army Directive for International Affairs sets the following objectives:

- a. develop cooperation actions;
- b. develop integration actions;
- c. the operation of an effective Land Military Doctrine System;
- d. the functioning of an effective Science, Technology and Innovation System; and
- e. promoting skills development.

For instance, in order to increase relations with the host country and with the other Attachés in Argentina, the Additance of that country participates in Bilateral Conferences, Combined Exercises, Military Coordination Meeting, briefings and social events promoted by Argentina.

The South American region is little affected by conflicts among states. A peaceful regional environment has contributed, in the last decade, to economic growth in the continent. Brazil's conciliatory position, for over 140 years, has contributed to the region's stability. This legacy must be valued and preserved. Brazil's stability and prosperity reinforce its security and produce positive effects on all South American nations. (Defense White Paper, 2013)

Due to its **economic** and **geopolitical grandeur**, it is crucial to have in mind that **Brazil** has **not only a natural leading role in South America**, and but also **respect from other countries as well**.

However, some gaps have been left by foreign policy in recent years. After the left wing governments of the last years in the country, South America was relaxed in the background, mainly in the economic part.

Thus, **why is important for Brazil to be a protagonist in South America?**

For **Brazil** to **play** its important role in the regional and **global** scenarios, it is important to **strengthen its regional role** and assume the **leadership of the subcontinent**, as the most relevant nation in the area and world scenario.

The strengthening of Brazil's presence in the strategic environment is essential for the country's recognition as a regional power, including South America, which, consequently, increases its capacity for global insertion.

Brazil has a natural leadership to be exercised in the region because of its size, population and economy. Paraguay, for instance, despite some feeling against Brazil, as a result of the trilice Alliance War, identifies Brazil as a protagonist in South America due to

existing trade relations, to the role of the Brazilian Military Cooperation in Paraguay, and to the existing partnerships in the border region.

Besides that, **any positive action in the surroundings tends to provide reflexes in Brazil itself**. It is also worth remembering that **other state actors are increasing their presence in South America**, especially **Russia and China**.

So, it is expected that Brazil, as the largest country in the subcontinent, should be projected as well. The size and projection of the country imposes this objective as something that must be permanently pursued. Such a factor would be fundamental for the country to be able to exercise the much desired **regional leadership**, as well as to contribute to the development, integration and the normal situation in the strategic surroundings of the national territory.

Therefore, the **size and projection of the country** imposes this **objective** as something that must be **permanently pursued**.

Despite all the aspects that make it possible for Brazil to play an unofficial role in South America, important countries in the Region do not recognize it as such, such as Colombia and Argentina. The latter has a clear position against Brazil receiving a permanent seat in the event of a possible reform of the UN Security Council.

If Brazil does not act steadily and decisively to consolidate its role as a regional power (especially given its economic gigantism), there is a risk that other powers (worldwide, such as China, or regional, such as India) or even other countries in the area (as recently happened with Chile, in relation to the creation of PROSUL) assume this role - even in specific fields.

More developed countries, such as the US, jointly prepare and execute their Military Diplomacy in an Intelligence facility. The US Joint Department operates 16,500 professionals in the international sphere, guiding its Military Diplomacy.

This desired role can even help to develop the Industrial Defense Base, fact that will certainly boost the Brazilian economy.

#### **4 Defense Industrial Base**

“Sovereignty only exists when there is strong Defense, that is, when there are properly equipped and trained Armed Forces, which are prepared to act jointly in any scenario, especially in today’s increasingly diffused threats.”  
(Presidency of the Republic, Secretariat of Strategic Affairs — Brazil Plan 2022 Brasilia, December 2010)

The **National Defense Policy** presents **eleven objectives**:

- I. To guarantee sovereignty, national assets and territorial integrity.
- II. To defend national interest, Brazilian citizens, goods, and resources abroad.
- III. Contribute towards the preservation of national unity and cohesion.
- IV. Contribute to regional stability.
- V. Contribute to the maintenance of peace and international security.
- VI. Enhance Brazil's projection in the concert of nations and its greater participation in international decision-making processes.
- VII. To keep the armed forces modern, integrated, trained and balanced, increasing their professionalization, operating in joint fashion while being adequately distributed over the national territory.
- VIII. To raise awareness within Brazilian society of the importance of defence subjects.
- IX. To develop the national defence industry to obtain autonomy in indispensable technologies
- X. To structure the armed forces around capabilities, providing them with personnel and materiel compatible with strategic and operational planning.
- XI. To develop the potential of defence logistics and national mobilization (Brasil 2012, 29–30).

“Objective IX requires developing the national defence industry so as to obtain autonomy in indispensable technologies, which admits a plain text reading of autonomy while deferring to a later unspecified date [defining?] which technologies would be deemed indispensable” (PROENCA JR., Domicio; LESSA, 2017).

The **National Defense Strategy**, created in **2008**, established not only the **need to restructure the operational capacity of the armed forces**, but also highlighted **the strategic importance for the national Defense Industry Base (DIB)** to become a prominent provider of such equipment. Guideline No 22 of the National Defense Strategy determined the need to develop the nation's defense industry in order to achieve autonomy in technologies that are vital for national defense.

Thus, the industry now has a number of incentives such as specific legislation - Law n. 12,598, establishing a special tax regime and prioritizing the development of critical technologies to the country. Beside, every single real invested in defense programs generates 9,8 times of Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

The DIB could develop, over the last decades in major economic difficulties, access to technologies, availability of skilled labor, among others<sup>4</sup>.

The DIB consists of:

- a. State defense companies (eg Imbel, Engeprom, etc.);
- b. Large nationally controlled private companies (eg Embraer, Avibras, CBC / Taurus, etc.);
- c. Small and medium-sized private nationally controlled companies;
- d. Foreign companies established in Brazil.



**FIGURE 08** – Defense Industrial Base  
**SOURCE:** São Paulo State Federation of Industries



**FIGURE 09** – Brazilian Aerospace Industry  
**SOURCE:** São Paulo State Federation of Industries

<sup>4</sup> Marcus Tollendal, “National Defense Industry: Situation and Perspectives”, São Paulo State Federation of Industries (lecture), São Paulo-SP, July 2, 2019.



**FIGURE 10** – Land Defense Systems  
**SOURCE:** São Paulo State Federation of Industries



**FIGURE 11** – Naval Defense Industry  
**SOURCE:** São Paulo State Federation of Industries

Brazilian defense industry provides, for the country, 60 thousand direct jobs plus 240 thousand indirects jobs, and, because of that, is an important vector of scientific, technological, industrial and commercial progress in the country.

According to the São Paulo State Federation of Industries, currently, **Brazil has a Defense Industrial Base (DIB) in full renovation process, which has allowed the country to be more competitive in the international market as well as a diversified DIB capable of supporting the armed forces with a variety of products and services.**

However, **Armed Forces' current demand cannot maintain Defense Industry.**

Is meant by Defense Product good, service, work or information used in the final defense activities, such as weapons, ammunition, means of transportation and communications, uniforms, and materials for individual and collective use. Strategic Defense Product is every product that, due to the technological content, the difficulty of obtaining of the indispensability, of strategic interest for the national defense.

The Defense Industry has, among others, the following characteristics<sup>5</sup>:

- a. Frontier of Knowledge;
- b. Information Asymmetry;
- c. Duality;
- e. Seasonality and Low Scale;
- f. Long Life Cycles;
- g. High acquisition and maintenance costs;
- h. High investments in research and development;
- i. Long term maturity of projects;
- j. Accelerated Obsolescence;
- l. Dependent on government purchases;
- m. Foreign oligopolies and monopolies;
- n. Acting outside World Trade Organization<sup>6</sup> and Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development<sup>7</sup> rules;
- o. Dependent on official credit instruments;
- p. Political and strategic influences present; Offsets Requirement; and International control and obligations.

On the other hand, the DIB has the following **problems**:

- a. Low integration between universities and companies: Approximately 75 % of Brazilian researchers are working in teaching and research centers.
- b. Excessive bureaucracy: According to the World Bank, among 183 countries, Brazil ranks 126<sup>th</sup> when analyzing the ease of doing business.

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<sup>5</sup> Thiago Couto Carneiro, "Defense Industrial Base (DIB)", Instituto Rio Branco (lecture), Brasília-DF, August 20<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>6</sup> The World Trade Organization is an intergovernmental organization that is concerned with the regulation of international trade between nations.

<sup>7</sup> The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development is an intergovernmental economic organisation with 36 member countries, founded in 1961 to stimulate economic progress and world trade.

c. Low capacity of Investments: The investment rate is low in Brazil, around 18% of GDP (ideally at least 25 %). Defense investments accounted for 0,11 % of GDP last year (2018) – Defense Budget 1,4%.

d. Lack of Innovation Stimules: The data show that the country invests around 1,2 % of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in Innovation, while Israel, for example, invests 4,2% and South Korea contributes 4,3%.

e. Skilled Labor Deficit: More than two thirds of the companies have issues regarding hiring qualified employees.

f. High Brazilian Tax Burden: According to a World Tax Burden: According to a World Bank report, 2,600 hours per year are required for Brazilian midsize companies just to pay taxes.

It is possible to perform the following mapping of the DIB:

a. Light and Heavy Explosive Weapons and Ammunition: Major new product innovations for the domestic market are the result of existing product enhancements. On average, 60% of product innovations introduced did not come from partnerships.

b. Electronic and Command and Control Systems: Difficulty in hiring labor (73% of companies). Considerable participation of companies operating in radars (strategic area for Brazil).

c. Military Naval Platform: Companies with engineering and project design capabilities, but with limitations for the development of innovations. Major producer of components and systems.

d. Nuclear Propulsion: It has low application in research and development due to the shortage of qualified labor. Most are small companies (up to 9 employees) acting as manufacturing industries (60%).

e. The DIB has developed over the last decades amid major financial difficulties, access to technologies, availability of skilled labor among others.

Actual current scenario deeply impacts Strategic Programs defined between 2008 and 2012.

Impacts:

- a. Lengthening deadlines and late payments;
- b. Increased costs resulting from longer development and deployment cycles;
- c. Higher risk of technological obsolescence;
- d. Reduction of the size of the original program;
- e. Definition of new strategic programs to replace existing ones.

With the **launch of strategic programs** and the **growth of defense investments between 2008 and 2013**, the **Defense Industrial Base** began to show **some signs of recovery after decades of hardship**.

Strong restructuring movements were observed with several mergers and acquisitions (eg EDS - Embraer Defense and Security).

Virtually all major Brazilian contractors have created business areas focused on the defense market.

Traditional defense companies have begun to sketch a recovery.

Several foreign defense companies began to invest in Brazil.

However, in the period 2013 to 2018, A severe crisis hit the IDB.

Difficulties in continuing some ongoing programs. Some foreseen strategic programs did not even begin. Several companies have closed their doors. All companies are reevaluating their business plans and many are considering moving out of the defense segment. The interest of foreign defense companies in investing, cooperating or participating in defense programs in the Brazilian market has dwindled. Impacts on meeting the needs of the military and loss of export opportunities. The layoffs of skilled labor at the Defense Industrial Base occur at a rapid pace. Part of the human resources will not be recovered at the end of the crisis.

Strong defense design favors strong development project. Strong is the development project that, whether whatever your other orientations, be guided by the following principles:

(a) National independence through resource mobilization physical, economic and human resources for investment in productive potential of the country. Take advantage of foreign investments, without depending on them;

(b) National independence achieved by technological empowerment including the strategic space, cyber and nuclear. It is not independent who does not have the domain of sensitive technologies for both defense and development; (...)

(National Defense Strategy, 2008) (translation by the author)

Willingness to change is what the Nation is now demanding of herself, of her leadership, of her sailors, soldiers and airmen. It's not just about financing and equipping the Armed Forces. It is to transform them, to better defend Brazil. (National Defense Strategy, 2008) (translation by the author)

An important **initiative** to help the **development** of the Defense Industrial Base is the **Brazilian Army Strategic Portfolio**.

“The Brazilian Army manages its Strategic Portfolio, comprising programs which contributes to generating the necessary capabilities for the accomplishment of its constitutional missions.

“The **Army Project Management Office** is responsible for **planning** and **coordinating actions** of interest to the Portfolio, its programs and projects. The Portfolio brings a **significant amount of benefits to society**, among others: **strengthening of the Defense Industrial Base, development of dual technologies, job creation, international projection, social peace and security.**” (Brazilian Army Strategic Portfolio)

“The Brazilian Army is continually preparing, marked by the human dimension of the Force, by a new doctrine and for its Strategic Programs, Drivers of the Transformation Process.” (General Villas Boas, former Commander of the Brazilian Army)

## 5 Conclusions and Recommendations

“The use of military diplomacy, or military action short of war, in support of diplomatic efforts, is founded in history” (COOPER, 1993).

“Military diplomacy will continue to be an effective tool to offset, or at least mitigate, the consequences of unexpected events in a yet dangerous world” (COOPER, 1993).

There are **three prime conditions** for a nation to be a regional protagonist:

- a. **Subjective Dimension:** the country really wants to be a regional protagonist;
- b. **Objective Dimension:** Economic/Material capability to be a regional protagonist;
- c. **Social Dimension:** Be recognized / accepted in the region as such.

Brazil has **Subjective** and **Objective** Dimensions to be a protagonist in South America. However, despite the arguments presented in the third chapter of this paper, it does not have the recognition of the main countries of the region (Argentina and Colombia).

“Brazil’s regional influence is tested by measuring three dimensions: performance in region building, regional support for the country’s extra regional goals, and the existence of contenders for regional leadership” (MALAMUD, 2011).

“However, the country’s regional orientation has not guaranteed successful regional leadership” (MALAMUD, 2011).

**Brazil advocates a reform of the United Nations Security Council, aiming to postulate a permanent seat. In order to achieve this goal, it is essential that Brazil be recognized and accepted as the leader of South America by all countries in the Region.**

Thus, the **efficient use of military diplomacy** is of fundamental importance. In addition, is an **excellent tool for selling defense products**.

Brazil is seen as a reference about the military, mainly the training of its human resources. The fact that Brazil maintains a Military Cooperation with free access to the various commands of the Paraguayan Army and Paraguayan Military Forces, as well as instructors in various establishments in the country (Military Academy, Command and General Staff School, Physical Education School), confirms this understanding.

**Brazil's leadership in the subcontinent needs to be strengthened with practical actions that promote military cooperation, integration and diplomacy.**

It should be very important that there was a harmony between the military and professionals of the other ministries of the federal government, in order to allow the proper alignment and congruence of initiatives, thus facilitating the maximization of expected results and saving of effort and time. Only the isolated performance of military diplomacy may not be sufficient to achieve the proposed objectives and to make them beneficial to Brazil. Military Diplomacy is a tool for selling defense products.

Thus, it would be of vital importance, intensify, through military advisers, the development of rapid impact projects, particularly at borders.

**Effective military diplomacy performance would require the reinforcement of the Ministry of Defense-level staff** - reasoning together, bringing the management of the Additives into one single body. Currently, for example, in a Defense Additive, there may be up to 4 distinct "bosses" giving conflicting orientations, which undoubtedly does not help in terms of setting goals and meeting them - equipping the system with more civilian staff to avoid loss of efficiency and continuity with career turnover.

**It would also be important for all military personnel assigned to missions in South America to receive knowledge and information regarding the political and economic importance of Brazil, as well as the Defense Industry Base.** This action would provide better training of these military personnel in order to project the name of the country within the Region objectively and efficiently. **Knowing about the Brazilian Army Strategic Portfolio is also of vital importance for the diffusion of the Defense Industrial Base and, consequently, to project Brazil politically and economically in South America.**

In addition to this action, the **following measures may be taken:**

- a. Prospecting opportunities for staff training, MEM acquisition / sale, bilateral meetings and technology sharing;
- b. Dissemination of military thinking:

- c. Presentation of the characteristics and objectives of the country;
- d. Expansion of support to issue and of interest;
- e. Be more aggressive in diffusion of Defense Products propaganda and equipment;
- f. Exhibition of Brazilian military material in friendly countries; and
- g. Conducting symposiums on specific defense issues (in particular materials); Visits by Military, Political and Economic and Business Authorities to Defense Industry Centers of Excellence (AVIBRAS, EMBRAER, CTA, etc.) or places of interest.

**As a conclusion**, it is verified that Brazil, through its **Armed Forces**, and more precisely the **Army**, performs **an intense work of military diplomacy** with innumerable actions (studied in this work) **aiming to project politically and economically the name of Brazil in South America**.

**Finally**, for military diplomacy to be even more efficient, **there must be a complete and standardized training of military personnel assigned to missions abroad on topics of interest in Brazil**, in the **political and economic fields**, especially **Defense Industry Base**. This preparation could occur, for instance, at some times **during the language training program to be carried out by the military**.

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