THE BRAZILIAN ARMED FORCES ROLE IN PURSUING NATIONAL INTERESTS

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USAC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

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Brazil is a large country, with a democratic system and a political tradition of an Executive with broad powers. By virtue of the nation's history, the military units are spread throughout the national territory. By law, the Armed Forces (AF) have a double role: national security and participation in domestic governamental activities. This paper displays how the Brazilian AF currently balances the constitutional obligations of security and participation in social projects.
CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION ................................................................. 1
- TRADITION OF THE BRAZILIAN ARMED FORCES .................. 1
- BRAZILIAN DIMENSION .................................................. 1

DEVELOPMENT .................................................................. 2
- HISTORICAL RECORDS ..................................................... 2
- CONSTITUTIONAL OBLIGATIONS AND MISSIONS PRESENTLY ASSIGNED TO THE BRAZILIAN ARMED FORCES .................. 4
- NATIONAL OBJECTIVES .................................................... 5
- PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE NATIONAL CONGRESS ...... 7

- FOREIGN POLICY .......................................................... 8
- DOMESTIC POLICY .......................................................... 9
- PLURIANNUAL PROGRAM 1996-1999 .................................. 9
- BUDGETARY RESOURCES FOR THE AF ............................ 10
- PARTIAL CONCLUSIONS ................................................... 10
- ACTIONS CARRIED OUT BY THE ARMED FORCES IN RECENT YEARS .............................................. 11
  - BRAZILIAN ARMY ........................................................ 11
  - BRAZILIAN NAVY ....................................................... 22
  - BRAZILIAN AIR FORCE ............................................... 23
- STRUCTURE OF DEFENSE ............................................... 24

CONCLUSION ................................................................. 25

RECOMMENDATIONS ........................................................ 26
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1. INTRODUCTION

a. Tradition of the Brazilian Armed Forces

Throughout Brazil's history, the Armed Forces (AF) have always had a very active participation in internal politics, particularly in periods of crisis, and frequently with a decisive weight in the achieved solutions. To understand such integral participation in the national life a complete knowledge about the history of the country is necessary, particularly the characteristics of the founders and social groups that established the Brazilian nation. Also important is a knowledge of inherited political customs and the involvement of the AF in external and internal political events.

b. Brazilian Dimension

Brazil is a country of continental dimension with 8,547,000 square kilometers (3,286,475 square miles), that comprises almost half of South America. It is the fifth largest country in the world and slightly larger than the continental United States (US). Because of its size, climate conditions, geology and vegetation, Brazil has very large quantity of natural resources not yet completely explored and exploited.

The large expanse of land and resources available lead Brazil naturally to the establishment of huge economic, social and political objectives.

In this paper, I will examine several issues in the
following order:

1) General background information on Brazilian history.
2) The Brazilian Armed Forces' constitutional missions.
3) An excerpt of the Address of the President for the National Congress, in what is related to the AF.
4) An excerpt of the Pluriannual Program 1996-1999 of the Ministry of Planning and Budget, in what is related to the AF.
5) Some actions carried out by the AF during the last years, with emphasis on the Brazilian Army.
6) Conclusions and recommendations.

2. DEVELOPMENT

a. Historical Records

Brazil was discovered by the Portuguese in 1500 and remained a Portuguese colony through 1822, when independence was proclaimed.

During the colonial period there was an intense racial integration among the native people: Indians, Africans who were brought from Africa as slaves and Europeans. From that racial and ethnic mixture resulted a peaceful, tolerant and highly creative people.

The country stood off attacks from the French, English and Dutch. The Dutch occupied the Brazilian northeast for twenty-four years (1630-1654) and were finally driven out by Brazilian native militia. The militia defeated the Dutch in 1848 in the Battle of Guararapes. This event is considered the birth of the Brazilian Army.
During the period from discovery (1500) until independence (1822), the nation expanded its borders to the west and south. The great natural inheritance received from the Portuguese by the Brazilian people was a continental country, without problems of political division, without racial hatred and with the same language spoken everywhere in Brazil.

However, the Portuguese centralized political system, left its imprint of the importance of a central political power (king) and the people close to the court (aristocrats). The Portuguese colonial system didn’t develop priorities of popular social interests. It didn’t create conditions for the establishment of strong community systems or a regime based on popular participation.

Brazil never received expressive benefits from the Portuguese administration. The colonial system redistributed the colony’s wealthy to the court, not to the people.

After independence, the Brazilian AF, buttressed by broad distribution throughout the country, military might and institutional stability derived from discipline and military hierarchy, became a powerful tool for the government. The AF had the ability to sustain national integrity, defend the territory and represent the central government throughout the country.

Highly respected by the nation and population throughout the Brazilian territory, the FA represented public power even in the most distant places.

In this manner, since independence, the AF, particularly
the Army, has acquired strong political weight, frequently being courted by political groups and encouraged by the population to become involved in specific critical situations. With the development of the country and political, social, and economic structures, the FA are diminishing in influence in the political power game, with higher levels of participation by other branches of the national power. The AF retain the respect and reliability of the population.

b. Constitutional Obligations and Missions Presently Assigned to the Brazilian Armed Forces

The Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil - 1988, specifies in Article 142: "The Armed Forces, made up by the Navy, the Army and the Air Force, are regular national permanent institutions, organized based on hierarchy and discipline, under the authority of the President, and are intended for defense of the nation, guarantee of the constitutional power and, in accordance with the initiative of those powers, the law and the legal order."

The obligation to defend the nation implies a commitment to deploy military forces only to counter offensive actions against Brazil. The guarantee of constitutional powers implies in the usage of military power, if necessary, to maintain the security of the Executive, Legislative and Judicial powers. At the same way, when convened by one of the Three Powers, the AF may carry out missions to sustain the law and legal order.

The Brazilian Armed Forces has a subsidiary mission, as a
general contribution, to cooperate with the national development and civil defense (Complementary Law number 69, July 34th, 1991, Chapter V, Article 9).

The current constitutional text is limited and doesn’t reflect the great commitment the AF have with the government guidelines for external politics (participation in international peacekeeping operations, for instance).

c. National Objectives

Brazilian national objectives are found in the Constitution, in government official documents and in the public speeches of the Executive Power. Within these sources are established the principles that lead the Brazilian political behavior.

Article 1 of the Brazilian Constitution of 1988 reaffirms the unity of the states, townships and the Federal District, building up a legal democratic state and establishes the principles upon which the nation is based to achieve its fundamental objectives and conduct international relations.

Federative Republic of Brazil’s FOUNDATIONS (Art 1):

I - Sovereignty.

II - Citizenry.

III - Dignity of the human being.

IV - Social values of the job and private initiative.

V - Political pluralism.

The FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVES (Art 3) are the following:

I - Build up a free, fair and united society.
II - Guarantee national development.

III - Eradicate poverty and other forms of exclusions and reduce the social and regional inequalities.

IV - Promote welfare for all, without regard for origin, race, gender, age or other forms of discrimination.

Brazilian PRINCIPLES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (Art 4)

I - National independence.

II - Priority for the human rights.

III - Self determination of the people.

IV - Non-intervention.

V - Equality of the States.

VI - Defense of the peace.

VII - Peaceful solution of disputes.

VIII- Repudiation of terrorism and racism.

IX - Cooperation among nations for the progress of the people.

X - Concession of political asylum.

The so-called POWERS OF THE UNION are the Executive, the Legislative and the Judiciary (Art 2).

The Armed Forces, as stated before, are under the authority of the President. So, it's clear and very simple the commitment and obligation of the AF to execute all its actions in accordance with the objectives, foundations and principles established in the Constitution.

d. Presidential Address to the National Congress

As Commander in Chief of the AF the President's directives
and guidelines are sources of extreme importance in the analysis of the politics of defense and for the establishment of military strategy.

In the beginning of this term, the President presented his Address for the National Congress with the guidelines of his government, which are summarized as follow:

1) Approval of some constitutional amendments.

2) Commitment for the consolidation of the Economic Stabilization Plan and continuity of the development of the country.

3) Modernization of the national economy.

4) Competitive integration in the worldwide market, with priority for the MERCOSUL (Common Market between Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Paraguay) and ALCSA (South America Free Trade Area).

5) Great concerns for social problems.

Environmental policy is an issue of great international importance, primarily when related to the Amazon Region. The following goals were pointed out in this area:

6) Establishment of regional patterns of development.

7) Integration of efforts among the political entities currently working in the Amazon Region.

8) Improve environmental programs with resources of international organizations.

9) Improve the conditions of the population.

The Ministry of Environment should participate in the planning for security in Amazon Region, which has the following
objectives:

1) Maintain control and assure defense of the national territory.
2) Control narcotraffic and smuggling.
3) Reduce and prevent illegal exploitation of natural resources.
4) Protect the population from criminal or illegal groups.

e. Foreign Policy

Brazil defines itself as a global actor in external politics and economics. The country participates in the MERCOSUL, which has functioned as a customs union since January 1, 1995. Brazil has about 13% of its external trading with its neighboring countries, after the European Community and the United States.

The FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVES in external politics can be defined as follows:

1) Wide political and economic international relationship.
2) Support the main international concerns on important social issues such as; human rights, environmental protection, combating narcotraffickers and organized crime.
3) Consolidation of MERCOSUL.
4) Reinforce linkage with Latin America countries.
5) Relationship with centers of economic power and countries with continental dimension.
6) Assist Brazilians abroad.

f. Domestic Policy

Brazil has important problems to solve in the areas of deep
social inequality and regional unbalance, and the government needs to pay attention to the necessary constitutional reforms, economic issues and political routine.

The Armed Forces, with internal political feeling needs to participate in the governmental actions and, at the same time, take care of its own preparedness and effectiveness.

g. Pluriannual Program 1996-1999

The Brazilian government, through the Ministry of Planning and Budget, established its objectives to 1996-1999 period. Basically, the goals are focused on economic and social areas. From the established directives to build a modern and efficient state, two particularly, are important for the AF:

1) Improvement of the public spending efficiency.
2) Modernization of the AF and its operational levels.

Among the "Projects and Actions with Priority" it's important to point out some items directly related to the AF:

1) Modernization of the port activities.
2) Projects of transports, especially in the Northern Region.
3) Recovery of the shipbuilding sector.
4) Introduction of the Amazon Protection System (SIPAM, in Portuguese).

The Government, in its "Main Actions in the National Defense Area", defines its goals as follows:

1) Introduce the Military Communications System by Satellite.
2) Develop and introduce the Military System of Command and Control.
3) Build up permanent peacekeeping forces.
4) Reinforce the military presence in the Amazon Region.
5) Build Readiness Force in the Navy and in the Army.
6) Revitalize the Airspace Defense System.
7) Introduce a nucleus of modernization in the Ground Forces.

g. Budgetary Resources for the AF

The Armed Forces receive approximately 1.7% of the Federal Budget. Despite the payment for personnel and resources for some special projects are not included in that rate, it is hard to administrate the day-to-day routine and some investments.

At the same time, with important social problems to solve, an increase in the military budget during the next years is not a viable option. As a result, Brazil will continue to be one of the countries that spends the least amount of resources on its Armed Forces.

h. Partial Conclusions

From the Pluriannual Program it is easy to infer that, besides the projects specified in "Main Action in the National Defense Area" the AF has a commitment with:

1) Administrative modernization to spend the public resources increasingly in better ways.

2) Cooperation with governmental initiatives in social area.
3) Contribute to the preservation and reinforcement of the national values.

4) National Defense will have to keep its spending within established limits.

i. Actions Carried out by the Armed Forces in Recent Years

1) Brazilian Army

   a) Security of the distribution process of the new Brazilian currency that took effect with the Stabilizing Economy Plan in 1994.

   b) Support for security and transport during the 1994 elections, primarily in the most distant and remote places. This initiative is very common during elections and facilitates the access of all Brazilians to the electoral system.

   c) Agreement with some state governments to carry out actions of technical services of topography and cartography. At the same time the Army fosters development and training its specialists.

   d) In the sector of engineer services the Army signed agreements to construct roads, public buildings for general purposes, construction projects for environmental sanitation to increase malaria control in the North, etc. The participation of the Engineer branch in these issues has a long tradition and has resulted the construction of about 11,000 kilometers of roads in the country.

   In December 1994 a railroad line called FERROESTE was completed, 248 kilometers in one of the most important Brazilian
regions. The work will greatly enhance better integration with Argentina and Paraguay.

In some regions Army Engineering has been the fundamental element for development.

e) The Army possesses important historic sites, which were established in the colonial period, and invaluable historical documents. Presently, important programs are being developed for the Preservation of the Historic Heritage.

f) In the area of elementary and secondary educational systems (middle and high school in the USA), the Army inaugurated five additional military schools. Such institutes have an excellent reputation because of the high quality level of teaching.

Many military units cooperate with nearby schools providing general support or permitting the functioning of schools inside military buildings.

g) Side-by-side with the Industry National Service, the Army developed a program of vocational courses for recruits. It creates opportunities to prepare specialized workers and facilitates access in the marketplace to recruits following military service.

h) Besides benefits in the social area through actions cited previously, the Army carries out occasionally other tasks:

- Humanitarian relief for flood victims.
- Restoration of normal traffic in highways, when blocked by floods or land slides.
Participation in immunization programs.

■ Coordination and control of handling, transport and distribution of food for needy people and in emergency situations.

■ Deployment of health teams to assist the social system.

■ Assistance and support to institutions that take care of needy children.

In the Public Security area, the Army participated with the other services and the state police forces, in the so-called "Rio Operation", in 1994-1955 in the city of Rio de Janeiro. The main objective was restore the public confidence in the Government. It was a very special event, by virtue of the increasing urban violence and activities of organized crime in some areas of the city and the inability of the state police to deal with the problem.

Involvement in public activities to resolve some problems is a very common mission for military forces all over the world, and more frequent when the country, as in Brazil, doesn’t have a military component like the US National Guard to respond to domestic crises before the active duty military.

It’s easy to understand that the AF’s role is not only preparedness and deployment for external defense. The Armed Forces exist to serve the nation, no matter what the mission. Obviously, it’s inappropriate to commit all AF resources to internal problems and leave insufficient resources for the
defense of political objectives of the Nation.

The balance between preparedness to fight against probable external threats and response to missions to address domestic problems depends upon the political objectives, the resources allocated and, in the final analysis, the strategic decisions of political and military senior leaders.

The Brazilian Armed Forces, and the Army in particular, are deployed throughout the country. With this deployment, sometimes the AF are the only governmental power present in remote places. Consequently, it is frequently called upon to cooperate with federal, state, and municipal programs and initiatives.

Despite its domestic participation, the Army has been steadily increasing its administrative and operational ability. Here are some examples:

a) Modernization of bureaucratic procedures.

b) Investment in Military Training Schools and specialization to improve the selection of human resources. This has been an Army policy for a long time. Undoubtedly, the quality of its personnel is the great strength of the Brazilian Armed Forces.

During the Latin America trip, by the International Fellows of the USAWC, there was opportunity to visit some units and headquarters in Brazil. The performance of the troops, at all levels, attracted attention and presented a very impressive professional image.
c) Acquisition of computers to increase the quality of administration in all levels.

d) Improvement of the social conditions for the military, with the purchase of new devices for health units and the construction of houses for military and civilian workers.

e) Modernization of equipment and purchase of material from different sources, for instance:

- 105 mm artillery system, from England.
- "Astros System" (Battery of rockets for area saturating), Brazilian industry.
- Fire Direction Equipment (EDT-FILA), Brazilian industry.
- AC ERYC missile system, from France.
- 105 mm M56 artillery system, from Italy, for jungle and parachute troops.
- Anti-tank cannons "Carl Gustav" and rockets AT4, from Sweden.
- General-purpose trucks, from Brazilian industry.
- Armored vehicles M60 A3-TTS, from the USA. It's not state-of-the-art material but meets Brazilian needs and is a system used by several countries.
- Campaign hospital, from France.
- Helicopters HM-1 Panther, from France.

The Brazilian Army is testing pontoon ribbon bridges, from Russia.

In the international arena, the Brazilian Army and the
other services has been developing several actions in different regions of the world, as follows:

a) Exchange of visits between civilian and military authorities with several countries, for instance:

(1) Visit in Brazil of the US Secretary of Defense William Perry and a group headed by Gen Gordon Sullivan.

(2) The counterpart was the trip to the US by the Brazilian Army Minister, Gen Zenildo de Lucena and General Benedito Leonel, Chief of Armed Forces General Staff.

(3) Other military Brazilian authorities visited Suriname, Panama and India.

b) Presence of Brazilian officers as advisers or instructor in the USA, Ecuador, Honduras, Guatemala and Paraguay.

c) Assignment of officers and sergeants to attend courses, conferences, congresses and other visits in the USA, China, Colombia, France, Argentina, England, Spain, Portugal, Paraguay, Uruguay, Chile, Italy, Israel, Singapore, Holland, Hungary and Denmark.

d) Presence of military attaches in many countries, for instance, USA, Mexico, France, England, Italy, Germany, Spain, Egypt, Angola, South Africa, Israel, Iran, China, Russia, Yugoslavia, several countries in Central America and virtually in all the countries of South America.

e) Intense military relationship with neighboring countries. Its important to point out the friendly behavior between military units on both sides of the Brazilian border,
for example, the participation of the First Infantry Regiment "Patricios" from Buenos Aires, Argentina, and troops from the Military School of Paraguay in the parade celebrating Brazilian Independence Day. In turn, Brazilian troops participate as well during celebrations in Argentina and Paraguay.

f) Participation in the United Nations and OAS (Organization of American States) peacekeeping forces with remarkable presence in Mozambique, Angola, Central America, in the just completed mission of military observers in former Yugoslavia, and currently working in the conflict between Peru and Ecuador. Brazil has two military personnel in Cyprus as members of the Argentine troops.

In this vein, the Army has been strongly encouraging professional development and improving its structure for learning different foreign languages to carry out missions abroad.

At the same time the Army is pursuing administrative modernization, participating in projects of national development and collaborating to project the country in the international scenario. Notwithstanding, the Brazilian Army has been paying strict attention to preparedness for its principal mission: warfare. Obviously it's important to reconcile projects with the resources allocated in the Federal Budget, and the Army is very conscious about it.

Looking to the future in its strategic vision, the Army placed priority in quality over of quantity and established the following periods for its force structure plan:
c) Long term - from 2010 until 2025.

Specifically, for the short term, the Army has three main goals:

a) Ensure a force able to confront any kind of threat.
b) Provide capability for the nation to carry out its international commitments.
c) Reduce the technological gap related to force development initiatives of the most modern armed forces.

With these guidelines, the Army has been investing in a "nucleus of modernization" with troops well equipped and highly trained. This nucleus is comprised of troops that make up the Rapid Deployment Force (FPE, in Portuguese) and other units as: military basic training schools, advanced and specialized courses, groups of electronic welfare, Army aviation and other combat units which maintain a high operational level called "school combat units".

Inside the FPE, some troops comprise the Rapid Action Force (FAR, in Portuguese), with emphasis to airborne, special forces, light infantry, and Army aviation.

Other units inside the FPE make up the Peacekeeping Force to participate in international missions under UN/OAS.

The troops of the FPE and FAR are being equipped with modern high tech material and sustaining high levels of training and combat readiness.
Consistent with its main goals, the Army carried out in September/October 1995 "OPERATION TARAUACA" in the Western Amazon Region. The Command of Land Operations deployed more than five thousand troops from the three Services. There were land, river, airborne, airmobile, ranger and special forces operations. The operation also exercised electronic warfare as well.

The presence of the Army in the Amazon is as old as the colonization of the area. Many towns and villages were originally military posts and there always has been a perfect integration between the Armed Forces and the population.

The Brazilian Armed Forces never became involved in problems between the Indians and settlers. To the contrary, the AF, particularly the Army, has always been an institution that has enjoined a confidence by the Indians, civilian population and
government in the region.

In recent years, the Army has been increasing its efforts in the Amazon Region.

Currently, the Army has made the Amazon a high priority. This is evidenced by:

a) Augmentation of troops in the area.
b) Creation of new units.
c) Transfer of units from the South to the North.
d) Development of Brazilian doctrine for combat in the region.
e) Establishment of Army Aviation in the region.
f) Support for other governmental institutions to improve the "Project Calla North" to facilitate the development of the region.
g) Signature of agreements with the Brazilian Environmental Institute (IBAMA, in Portuguese) to assist activities of inspection to protect the environment in the region.
h) Execution of military maneuvers by the Land Forces Command, which has developed greater experience in planning and conducting combat operations.

Moreover, the Army has an important role in the new governmental project in the area called Amazon Protection System (SIPAM, in Portuguese). It is a project based on the technological support of the Amazon Surveillance System (SIVAM, in Portuguese). The price of the system is approximately US $2
billion and currently the purchase is under decision by the Congress to resolve some legal problems.

The participation of the Army is fundamental for the SIPAM, because of its presence and long experience in the area. The Army will provide to the project:

a) Logistical support.

b) Security of the devices set up near military facilities.

c) Operation of the radio monitoring system.

d) Cooperation in technical areas such as communications and cartography, and so on.

As a user of the SIVAM the Army will have access to:

a) Telephone, fax and data system in the region, improving the one that exists presently.

b) Maps.

c) Information on environment, meteorology and air traffic.

d) Records of illegal activities and radio monitoring.

e) Better means for planning and executing military operations.

2) Brazilian Navy

Brazil has approximately 11,000 Km (6,925 miles) of sea coast, and additionally tens of thousands of miles of internal waterways. The Navy has the responsibility to oversee civil navigation and port administration.

Simultaneously with its obligations of defense, the Navy
currently participates in the following initiatives and issues:

a) Projects of port modernization, in order to increase the capability for import/export, reducing freight prices, and making services more competitive.

b) Facilitating the transference of administration of some ports from the Federal to State Governments.

c) Improving the quality of oceanic and river navigation.

d) Continuing projects to build submarines (joint project with Germany). Conventional submarines class IL-209-1400 were built. The following phase is in low gear by virtue of reductions in the budget.

e) Development of nuclear technology. The Autonomous Program of Nuclear Energy, managed by the Navy and with the participation of the University of Sao Paulo (USP) and the Institute of Energy Research (IPEN, in Portuguese), permitted the operation of the first Brazilian nuclear reactor in 1988. Cuts in the budget reduced the speed in completing the project.

f) Cooperation with the shipbuilding sector with technical procedures, legislation and highly specialized personal.

g) Intensification of river patrolling in the Amazon Region.

h) Participation in peacekeeping operations, with the transport of Brazilian troops to Africa.
3) Brazilian Air Force

The Brazilian Air Force has a fundamental role in communications, transport and defense, due to the large size of the country. Some current important actions of the Air Force cover:

a) Linkage with remote sites. It's a justifiably famous and proud job carried out since 1931 by the National Air Mail (CAN, in Portuguese) and reaches remote places, small villages and communities in the Amazon Region.

b) Administration of airports and improvement of air transportation infrastructure.

c) Training of human resources at the highest level in the Aerospacial Technological Center (CTA, in Portuguese).

d) Operating the Air Control System.

e) Developing the Brazilian missile that was successfully tested in the Launch Center "Barrier of the Hell", in the Northeastern Region.

f) Participation with specialized personal in the industry of civil and military airplanes.

g) Launching of rockets and tests of equipment to be used in the Brazilian Satellite Launch Vehicle.

h) Fundamental role in the Surveillance System for Amazon. The Air Force was responsible for the process of procurement, acquisition and introduction of the system. It is a very expensive project virtually approved in the National Congress, and will permit in the Amazon Region:
military and civilian

- Surveillance.
- Data for assessment.
- Security for air transport.
- Combat drug traffickers and smuggling more effectively.
- Control of illegal transit of any type of airplane.
- Protection of the Brazilian boundaries.

i) Participation in peacekeeping operations with the transport of Brazilian troops to Africa.

4) Structure of Defense

The Brazilian Armed Forces' Commander in Chief is the President. Each Force has its Ministry subordinated directly to the President. The same status has the Ministry of the Armed Forces General Staff. Hence, Brazil has four military ministers subordinated to the Commander in Chief.

Currently, such structure is being questioned about its efficiency. There is political will to create a Ministry of Defense. Studies are being conducted to achieve the way to create such a ministry in accordance with the Brazilian traditional military and civilian relationship. It's one opportunity the politicians and the military should not miss to improve the Armed Forces structure and the civilian-military political relations. Undoubtedly, a better coordination of military efforts will be more productive for the nation. The process is going on and changes will be absorbed gradually.
3. CONCLUSION

Currently, the Brazilian Armed Forces performs its tasks in accordance with the legislation and clearly subordinate do the Executive Power.

Because of the dimension of the country, Brazil necessarily needs to establish high profile objectives. These goals inevitably will create areas of friction with other interests. Hence, Brazil requires a strong society, capable diplomacy and well developed AF with great capability.

Despite the lack of an explicit defense policy at the governmental level, it’s possible to infer some basic guidelines in furthering the defense effort:

a. External global presence, including the provision, training and deployment of UN peacekeeping forces.

b. Participation in the development of the country and in environmental preservation, with emphasis on the Amazon region.

c. Improvement of the relationship with the neighboring countries of MERCOSUL, important economic centers and with countries of continental dimensions.

d. Modernization of the AF, within the limits of the Federal Budget.

The approach of the Army with neighboring Southern Cone countries, especially Argentina, is critical to remove barriers that no longer make sense.

The presence of high performance units and individuals in peacekeeping operations is important for foreign policy
objectives.

The Army continues to participate in the support of governmental social initiatives. Such actions require an accurate understanding of domestic politics and don't have the objective of substitute institutions with specific assignments.

The contribution of the Army is highly important in technological development, airspace control, administration of the SIVAM, development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and modernization of ports, in addition to Brazilian defense and domestic support requirements.

4. RECOMMENDATIONS

a. Despite the excellent level of relationship between senior leaders and staffs of the Services and the Armed Forces General Staff, the creation of the Defense Ministry to coordinate military efforts between the Services is extremely important.

With a small budget it's very important to coordinate all actions and concentrate efforts in given areas of administration, technology and operations. A specific defense policy should be formulated to prioritize and guide government and military expenditures of scarce resources.

b. Stimulate better integration and participation of civilians in defense issues, in strategy and in high military administration. The current exchange with civilian authorities and scholars would be more effective with civilians and militaries living together as students and instructors in military courses, institutes and universities. Such institutions
would lead to more balanced social participation in defense issues.

c. Update the constitutional text related to the mission of the Armed Forces, to provide a more simple and broad definition of the AF's roles and missions, particularly to include such new tasks as participation in peacekeeping missions.
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