

REFLECTIONS ON BRAZIL AND DEFENSE COOPERATION: BETWEEN HISTORICAL ADVANTAGES AND CHALLENGES (1822-PRESENT)

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Introduction

Defense cooperation in Brazil involves collaboration with other countries and international organizations to strengthen military, technological, security and diplomatic ties. This specific collaboration between actors in the international system can range from joint training and military exercises to the acquisition and development of military technology and has been included in Brazilian Defense documents since 1996 as a way to standardize, enable and encourage its actions.

The general objective of the research is to analyze the defense cooperation that Brazil has undertaken since its independence process. The specific objectives are to discuss defense cooperation theoretically, to historically periodize Brazil's defense cooperation actions (from 1822 to the present) and to identify its historical advantages and challenges. In proposing to answer what are the most evident historical characteristics of Brazil's defense cooperation, as a working hypothesis it is pointed out that the characteristics are a) advantages and challenges in Brazil's defense cooperation actions, b) a correlation between foreign policy and defense in these actions, also highlighting the c) mapping of priority areas, historically established.

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Methodologically, in terms of nature, this is an applied research, which seeks to “generate knowledge for practical application, aimed at solving specific problems” (Gerardt and Silveira 2009, 35) and in terms of objectives, it reveals itself to be a descriptive-explanatory research. The procedures used were documentary and bibliographic research and the collection of quantitative data, which, when associated, classify the research as qualitative in its protocol, with the aid of the hypothetical-deductive method, according to Karl Popper, understood by the sequential set: “problem – hypotheses – deduction of observed consequences – attempt at falsification – corroboration” (Gerardt and Silveira 2009, 27). In addition to a longer scope of the study, qualitative research also has the characteristics of

[...] objectification of the phenomenon; hierarchy of actions to describe, understand, explain, precision of the relations between the global and the local in a given phenomenon; observance of the differences between the social world and the natural world; respect for the interactive character between the objectives sought by researchers, their theoretical orientations and their empirical data; search for the most reliable results possible; opposition to the assumption that defends a single research model for all sciences (Gerardt and Silveira 2009, 32).³

Seeking to understand the totality of the phenomenon is also a characteristic of the qualitative protocol, rather than focusing on particular concepts. We agree with Minayo, as this protocol is suitable for studies of the history “[...] of representations [...] of relationships [...] that is, of the products of the interpretations that humans make during their lives, of the way they construct their material artifacts and themselves, feel and think” (Minayo 2008, 57).⁴

Why cooperate in Defense?

3 In the original: “[...] objetivação do fenômeno; hierarquização das ações de descrever, compreender, explicar, precisão das relações entre o global e o local em determinado fenômeno; observância das diferenças entre o mundo social e o mundo natural; respeito ao caráter interativo entre os objetivos buscados pelos investigadores, suas orientações teóricas e seus dados empíricos; busca de resultados os mais fidedignos possíveis; oposição ao pressuposto que defende um modelo único de pesquisa para todas as ciências” (Gerardt and Silveira 2009, 32).

4 In the original: “[...] das representações [...] das relações [...] ou seja, dos produtos das interpretações que os humanos fazem durante suas vidas, da forma como constroem seus artefatos materiais e a si mesmos, sentem e pensam” (Minayo 2008, 57).

In order to understand the relevance of Brazilian Defense⁵ cooperation actions in general, it is essential to revisit classical authors who have historically contributed with qualitative analyses and applied research. The theoretical-conceptual design that underpins this research is based on the theoretical perception of International Relations to help understand the dynamics of the international system, identifying that cooperation, in all spheres, is a relevant variable, associated with the historical approach as vital to understanding the evolution of Brazil's actions in defense cooperation.

The perspective of the Geopolitical South⁶ permeates the proposal and identifies that the theoretical analysis will complement the research through the bias of neorealism and how cooperation between states can be motivated by domestic and regional stability. It also takes into account the importance of analyzing international relations considering the colonial and post-colonial history of countries in the Geopolitical South, as these shape the power structures and current economic relations. Therefore, South-South cooperation must be understood as a strategy to strengthen the position of developing countries on the global stage, as this interaction can lead to more appropriate solutions to the problems they face, compared to the solutions proposed by the Geopolitical North, as “[...] we insist that South-South cooperation is a foreign policy strategy with a strong geopolitical aspect” (Da Rocha 2019, n/p).⁷

From the 1970s onwards, the debate on the possibilities and challenges of cooperation began to stand out in the area of International Relations. For neoliberal theorists, cooperation should occur through international organizations, which would be the institutions responsible for the functioning

5 In this article, the conceptualization related to Defense cooperation was chosen. Derived and/or complementary concepts, such as security and public safety cooperation, will not be the subject of specific analysis here, although they may sometimes be considered.

6 The concept of the Geopolitical South refers to a global division that goes beyond economic categories, addressing the dynamics of power, influence, and international alliances between countries considered part of the Global South. This geopolitical division is complex and multifaceted, reflecting the historical, economic, and political relations that shape the contemporary world. The term emerged during the Cold War to distinguish the developing Non-Aligned Countries of the Southern Hemisphere from the industrialized countries of the Northern Hemisphere. For Visentini (2019, 19), the Geopolitical South “[...] concentrates approximately two-thirds of the existing states (quite unequal), the overwhelming majority of which are highly politically fragile and have military and economic weaknesses. Their international agenda consists simply of maintaining their existence as a nation and maintaining the local elites in power”.

7 In the original: “[...] insistimos que a cooperação Sul-Sul é uma estratégia de política externa com forte feição geopolítica” (DA ROCHA, 2019, s/p).

of cooperation, in addition to promoting communication between the actors involved, and collective action would lead to a greater common objective (Smouts 2004). Haas (apud Marra 2008) contributes to the discussion by presenting the concept of “spill over”, which suggests that the set of benefits achieved through cooperation through the institutions of a certain sector can encourage cooperation in other areas.

Keohane (1984) points out that cooperation is more difficult in political terms than in other areas, such as the economy - this occurs because there are common interests that allow cooperation, which leads to the establishment of regimes that guarantee the permanence and continuity of cooperation, even without hegemony. Furthermore, according to the concept of balance of power, this is not impossible to achieve and can be used as an instrument of self-help, even accepting the limitations imposed by the concepts of sovereignty and self-help on the predisposition to cooperation.

Authors from the neo-institutionalist movement, in turn, analyze from the perspective of rational choice. Communication is another fundamental assumption for this movement, and through it, signals that are costly for an actor can be emitted, which would be a way of demonstrating the predisposition and commitment to cooperative efforts. Neo-institutionalists explain the continuity of cooperation through greater trust due to the successive fulfillment of agreements – the repetition of games – and also do not consider the issue of identity formation and the influence of these on changing perceptions about the environment. Müller (2002) says that cooperation in Defense is cooperation between actors that may be in conflict, since cooperation cannot be guaranteed for a long period of time, which can cause states to become adversaries to each other. This perception, says the author, indicates that a state trusts in the skills and capabilities of another – in contrast to the notion of self-help, which states that a state should only trust in its ability to survive. Furthermore, this would mean the accumulation of power and the loss of freedom of action (Müller 2002). The author also discusses the challenges and limitations of security and defense cooperation, recognizing that although international regimes can facilitate cooperation, they also face difficulties due to trust issues, divergent national interests, and changes in global power dynamics.

Because constructivists do not fix the priorities of actors or the structure in which they interact, collaboration in Defense is considered feasible (for Wendt apud Müller 2002). Constructivists, in contrast to realists, argue that actors can shape the structure. They argue that the structure of the international system is defined by material means (such as the distribution of power) and by the social component (Adler; Barnett 1998), which makes

collaboration less necessary. Customs and norms can change the international environment from extremely competitive to extremely cooperative.

The Copenhagen School created the Theory of Regional Security Complexes, to understand international security issues from a regionalist perspective. This theory - expanded by Buzan and Waever (2003) - states that, although security problems are more related to their region, they are still affected by the polarization of the international system. As a result, this is seen as a rapprochement between constructivism and offensive realism in international relations theories (Cepik 2005). Neorealists believe that national and regional stability can encourage cooperation between states.

The central point of the analysis carried out here is that the idea of stability (or its absence) is crucial for the analysis of Brazil's defense cooperation actions, giving special emphasis to its Strategic Environment, understood as an area of Brazilian priority action. According to Fiori (2013), it would be "the region where Brazil wants to radiate – preferably – its influence and its diplomatic, economic and military leadership, which includes South America, Sub-Saharan Africa, Antarctica and the South Atlantic Basin" (s/p). The working hypothesis indicates that the advantages and challenges in Brazil's defense cooperation actions are correlated between defense and foreign policy in these actions, highlighting the mapping of priority areas, which were constructed throughout the history of the independent country. The idea of stability or its absence is crucial for the analysis, not only of Brazil's Strategic Environment, but for thinking about the definition of Brazil's defense policy historically and the motivations that lead to cooperation, on the part of defense policy.

Cooperating in Defense is acting internationally (bilaterally and multilaterally) with friendly nations and organizations to purposefully meet the demands of both sides. Agreeing with Muthanna (2006 apud Rezende, 2014), cooperation in Defense is also understood here between both civilians and military personnel, involving political-military collaboration (multilateral actions such as peacekeeping operations) and direct cooperation, which includes the ministries in the area, associated agencies and the Armed Forces of different states, also covering the issue of military cooperation.

In the Brazilian case, for Barros; Lima; Barros (2024), this international action of the defense sector is

represented by technical cooperation and military advisory services, combined operations with friendly nations, border cooperation, military exercises with foreign forces, cooperation in science and technology,

military courses abroad, bilateral and multilateral meetings, trips and acquisition programs, joint development of defense **products, and the work of military advisory services in international organizations. This broad international network is commonly referred to as defense diplomacy, technical cooperation, international cooperation in the defense sector** (Carvalho, 2017; Cottey and Forster, 2004; Plessis, 2008), and even defense activities in the international arena (Brazil, 2017b) (Barros; Lima; Barros, 2024, 7, **our emphasis**).⁸

For Rezende (2014),

cooperating in defense can be a way for these states to maintain, modernize and, eventually, even increase their power resources without, however, (a) triggering an arms race that they cannot maintain or (b) arousing the disagreement of the unipolar power (Rezende 2014, 527).⁹

Additionally, the (incomplete) correlation between Brazilian Defense and foreign policies, understood as public policies, guides the analysis of Brazil's positioning. Bringing Defense and foreign policies closer together is possible and also essential, considering the historical path that both public policies have taken. Although academics and technicians discuss whether foreign policy is a state policy, the truth is that it is a continuous action based on historical accumulation and standards of conduct (Cervo 2003; 2008), which has given predictability and continuity to Brazilian foreign actions, even with the changes required by each government and its political-partisan problems. Three issues are related to foreign policy as a public policy: a) the centrality of relations between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Presidency of

8 In the original: “representada por cooperação técnica e assessorias militares, operações combinadas com nações amigas, cooperação fronteiriça, exercícios militares com forças estrangeiras, cooperação em ciência e tecnologia, cursos militares no exterior, reuniões bilaterais e multilaterais, viagens e programas de aquisição, desenvolvimento conjunto de produtos de defesa, e atuação de assessorias militares em organizações internacionais. **Essa ampla rede internacional é comumente referida como diplomacia de defesa, cooperação técnica, cooperação internacional do setor de defesa** (Carvalho, 2017; Cottey e Forster, 2004; Plessis, 2008), e até mesmo atividades de defesa na área internacional (Brasil, 2017b)” (Barros; Lima; Barros 2024, 7, **grifo nosso**).

9 In the original: “cooperar em defesa pode ser um caminho para que esses Estados possam manter, modernizar e, eventualmente, até mesmo aumentar seus recursos de poder sem, contudo, (a) desencadear uma corrida armamentista que não possam manter ou (b) despertar a discordância da potência unipolar” (Rezende 2014, 527).

the Republic; b) the adoption of institutional modernization measures within the Ministry; and c) the relevance of political coordination, transparency of decisions and social participation. The concept used by Araújo Castro (1982, 206) is adopted, according to which foreign policy is the set of guidelines that the country would have historically implemented in its relations with other states. Such guidelines would involve, among others, principles such as the sovereign equality of nations and non-intervention.

It is understood here that national defense is a public good provided to society through public policies. Public policies are usually the result of intense interaction between political actors and not the imposition of formulas and calculations for each problem. Defense policy deals with specific problems that cannot be transferred to the private sector or any other area of government management and seeks to implement solutions to these problems. An effort to fit national defense into this context occurred with the preparation and constant updating of national defense documents (National Defense Policy, National Defense Strategy and National Defense White Paper), since 2000, as the basic normative axis of National Defense.

National defense policy can focus both within the country, reducing its vulnerability, and outside it, reducing external threats through negotiations or direct armed attacks. This action is the result of major historical processes that led to its composition. We agree with Halliday (1999, 34)¹⁰ when he mentions that states, “[...] function simultaneously at the domestic and international levels and seek to maximize their benefits in one domain to improve their positions in the other. The needs of interstate competition explain much of the development of the modern state, while the mobilization of domestic resources and internal constraints account for the success of states in this competition”.

Almeida (2010), Alsina Jr. (2006) and Oliveira (2006) argue that Defense policy is a state policy, as a public policy, which deals with specific problems, not susceptible to transfer to the private sector or to any other field of government management; it can be understood by political, legal and economic concepts and must be immune to partisan disputes.

Public policy allows us to distinguish between what the government intends to do and what it actually does [...] being an intentional action

10 In the original: “[...] funcionam simultaneamente nos níveis doméstico e internacional e buscam maximizar seus benefícios em um domínio para melhorar suas posições no outro. As necessidades da competição interestatal explicam muito do desenvolvimento do Estado moderno, enquanto a mobilização dos recursos domésticos e os constrangimentos internos dão conta do sucesso dos Estados nessa competição” (Halliday 1999, 34).

[...] and although it has impacts in the short term, it is a long-term policy [...] it involves subsequent processes after its decision and proposition, that is, it also implies implementation, execution and evaluation (Souza 2006, 36).

For Proença Jr. and Duarte (2007) and Rudzit and Casarões (2003), Defense policy is a public policy that must necessarily consider the dynamics of its decision-making process, which is influenced, in addition to systemic constraints, by the determinations of domestic politics (such as party disputes, government changes and conflicts of interest), which would classify it more as a government policy. Santos (2018) identifies that Brazil's Defense policy has characteristics of both state policy (with continuities) and government policy (with conceptual innovations and changes in emphasis).

The discussion is fruitful and highlights the importance of deepening reflection on the topic, since it is also necessary to analyze Brazil's national Defense documents, which contain vital issues of the country's Defense cooperation. Lima (2015, 8)¹¹ agrees when he states that the aforementioned authors "reinforce the importance of subordinating the actors involved in both policies to government guidelines, highlight the difficulty of interaction between them when their organizations present different degrees of bureaucratic maturity, and present the need for coherence between the objectives of the country's external action", identifying that the institutional and international levels are fundamental in this analysis.

The Brazilian documents analyzed are the most recent versions of the National Defense Policy (2020), National Defense Strategy (2020), and National Defense White Paper (2020). The National Defense Policy, both in its first version (1996) and in its second (2005), emphasized the uncertainties of the post-Cold War international system. However, these documents did not explicitly mention threats or sources of uncertainty originating in South America. Furthermore, both policies affirm the defensive posture adopted by Brazil. The PDN (2005), in turn, also highlighted concerns about natural resources in relation to extra-regional threats, with the greatest concerns being concentrated in the South Atlantic and the Amazon. Therefore, the South Atlantic Peace and Cooperation Zone (ZOPACAS) deserves special mention, which, according to the PDN (2005), is one of the processes that can contribute to reducing the possibility of conflicts in the Strategic Surrounding

¹¹ In the original: "reforçam a importância da subordinação dos atores envolvidos nas duas políticas a diretrizes de governo, destacam a dificuldade de interação entre eles quando suas organizações apresentam graus de maturação burocrática díspares e apresentam a necessidade de coerência entre os objetivos da ação externa do País" (Lima 2015, 8).

Area.

Given concerns about extra-regional threats, the END (2008) proposed a greater presence of the Armed Forces on the borders (with priority being the Amazon region) and in the South Atlantic, with a role primarily of surveillance. The element of deterrence is present in these documents – which Brazil strives to demonstrate, but not in relation to its neighbors – and according to the PDN, this will be the second strategic option, with diplomatic action to resolve conflicts coming first. Another point raised by the END (2008) deals with the priority sectors for national Defense: cyber, space and nuclear.¹² The White Paper (2012) helps to build trust through military transparency. It contains information on the number of foreign soldiers in Brazil, Brazilian soldiers abroad and joint military exercises carried out by all Armed Forces between 2001 and 2011.

Compared to previous versions, the 2020 PND emphasizes the importance of a solid Defense policy that takes into account the development of strategic capabilities, international cooperation and the modernization of the Armed Forces. The END established new strategic priorities, such as cyber defense, space and biosecurity, in response to technological and global developments. In addition, the LBDN provided updated information on the Armed Forces' capabilities and modernization programs, as well as addressed emerging issues such as border protection and the defense of the South Atlantic.

Thus, the combination of theoretical elements mentioned above is complex for understanding cooperation in Defense, in agreement with Rezende, because

Although they have produced important advances, there are significant limits to understanding cooperation in Defense that are not explored in depth in the literature. While International Relations theories are very broad, identifying the conditions that are more or less favorable for cooperation, those that have specifically sought to address the element of cooperation in Defense and International Security are too specific (Rezende 2014, 520).¹³

¹² These last two are revisited in the White Paper (2012), where Brazil reaffirms the importance of bilateral nuclear exchange, in addition to the nuclear-powered submarine project, which will use nuclear technology only in this aspect – that is, the weapons used by the submarine will be conventional – in compliance with its commitment to nuclear agreements.

¹³ In the original: “Ainda que tenham produzido avanços importantes, há limites significativos para se entender a cooperação em defesa que não são aprofundados pela literatura. Enquanto as teorias de Relações Internacionais são muito amplas, localizando as condições mais ou me-

However, this item concludes with the certainty that cooperation in Defense is a relevant military and diplomatic instrument for states in their projection of power, maintenance of sovereignty and endogenous development and that in the Brazilian case, Defense and foreign policy have been in dialogue, at more or less close moments.

History of Brazilian Defense Cooperation

Methodologically, cooperation agreements in Defense (or international acts in the field of Defense and military affairs and their derivatives) are the focus of documentary analysis here. Based on a historical assessment and data collected from documentary sources, we propose a periodization of cooperation in the area implemented by the country, in four subsequent and complementary phases, based on Visentini (2015), namely: a) the first, from independent Brazil to the country's entry into the Second World War (1822-1942), strongly characterized by the actions of the Empire in the south of the continent and by the relationship with England and later the USA, as a focus of international influence; b) the second, between the end of the Second World War and the second half of the 1970s, of Brazilian unilateralism in the international system within the orbit of the USA in the context of the Cold War (1942-1978); c) the third phase, lasting from the end of the 1970s until the creation of the Ministry of Defense in 1999, in the context of multilateralism in the face of the erosion of North American hegemony in the international system and the related domestic transition (1978-1999); and d) the fourth and current phase, to the present day, of defense cooperation deepened by institutionalization and by the Defense Documents themselves (1999-present), still in the context of international multilateralism, under systemic transition, with a strong call for institutionalization.

Below, each phase will be analyzed, with the main activities of cooperation in Defense, without, however, intending to be exhaustive in itself; the intention here is to present some specific examples from each period, as a way of mapping the characteristics, advantages and challenges of the cooperation in Defense that Brazil has operated. It is important to emphasize that the documentary analysis opted for selected international acts signed between Brazil and some partners as the primary source, leaving the analysis related to the country's Attachés abroad for another time. In these acts, the

nos propícias para a cooperação, aqueles que buscaram especificamente tratar do elemento da cooperação em defesa e segurança internacional são específicos demais" (Rezende 2014, 520).

main intentions expressed by the actors and also the possible activities of the aforementioned cooperation were verified.

The first phase refers to independent Brazil under the monarchical regime and the Old Republic until 1942, with the maintenance of properties from the colonial period, characterized by the actions of the Brazilian Empire in the south of the continent (interventions in Uruguay and Argentina, War of the Triple Alliance) and by the relationship with England and later the USA, as centers of diplomatic, economic-commercial power and defense of the international system. During this long period, there were no acts of cooperation in Defense per se, but rather missions and other related activities, such as the French Military Mission (between 1850-1858), which was the first military mission in Brazil, led by French Colonel Pierre Labatut, with brief activity (due to disagreements with the Brazilian authorities), but helped in the introduction of European training methods in the Brazilian Army; the Prussian Military Mission (1865-1870), which was sent during the War of the Triple Alliance and played an important role in the reorganization and training of the Brazilian Army, to modernize the Brazilian military structure and discipline; and the American Military Mission (between 1922 and 1940), which significantly influenced the Brazilian armed forces, in the modernization of the Army and in the development of military tactics and strategies. In 1919, a new agreement was signed with France, for a new Military mission in Brazil, especially implemented with the Brazilian Army.¹⁴ For Guerra (2019, 14),¹⁵

¹⁴ The Mission was to assist in the training and modernization of the Army. For CPDOC (s/a, s/p), “[...] negotiations for the contract took place in Paris, between the Brazilian military attaché in France, Colonel Malan d’Angrogne, and the French Minister of War, Georges Clemenceau (1917-1920). At that time, the designated chief, General Maurice Gamelin, was already on a reconnaissance mission in Brazil. The contract was signed a few months later in the French capital and ratified shortly thereafter in Rio de Janeiro, then the Federal District. The terms of the contract stipulated that French officers would command the General Staff School (EEM, in portuguese), Officer Training School (EsAO, in portuguese), Quartermaster School and Veterinary School for four years; and that Brazil would undertake to prioritize French industry in its purchases of weapons and military equipment on the condition that the material offered, the delivery time and the prices were at least equivalent to those of other supplier countries. Although contracted for four years, the mission was extended to 20 years: its contract was renewed six times. His actions, although concentrated in the Federal District, had a national impact”.

¹⁵ In the original: “O Exército Brasileiro, cujas raízes estavam na doutrina militar do Exército Português e nas próprias experiências de conflitos internos e externos (sobretudo na Guerra da Tríplice Aliança), passaria à influência do Exército Francês no período de 1920 a 1940. Quando então, a MMF foi encerrada e o Exército Brasileiro passou a receber influências do Exército norte-americano, o qual também tinha em suas origens de formação o Exército Francês” (Guerra 2019, 14).

The Brazilian Army, whose roots were in the military doctrine of the Portuguese Army and in its own experiences of internal and external conflicts (especially in the War of the Triple Alliance), would come under the influence of the French Army in the period from 1920 to 1940. When then, the MMF was closed and the Brazilian Army began to receive influences from the North American Army, which also had in its origins the French Army.

It can be seen that the nuances of this first phase of cooperation place Defense policy side by side with Brazilian foreign policy in the 19th century and early 20th century, with a focus on relations with England, France and the USA, within the scope of Agro-Export Diplomacy (Cervo and Bueno 2002).

The beginning of the second phase dates back to the Brazil-United States Military Agreement (1942), which established the Brazilian alliance with the USA and the Allies against the Axis Powers during the Second World War.¹⁶ Brazil allowed the USA to use air bases in the Brazilian Northeast, which were essential for operations in the South Atlantic and Africa. Through the creation of the Brazilian Expeditionary Force (FEB) – a Brazilian demand –, Brazil sent troops to fight in Europe, demonstrating a significant commitment to the alliance.¹⁷ In November 1943, the FEB called up more than 25,000 soldiers (known as “*pracinhas*”), led by General Mascarenhas de Moraes, and was integrated with the 5th US Army to act on the war front in northern Italy. Two of the most concrete results of this Agreement were a) the creation of the Brazilian Air Force (FAB) - when the Ministry of Aeronautics was created on January 20, 1941, Decree-Law No. 2,961 already mentioned the creation of the “National Air Forces”, which were to bring together aircraft and military personnel from the Brazilian Navy and Army; and b) subsequent US support, together with the implementation of the Brazilian steel project proposed by the Getúlio Vargas government, a result of the swing diplomacy between 1936 and 1942.

¹⁶ Brazil had already aligned itself with the USA in January 1942, after the Rio de Janeiro Conference, when it decided to break off relations with the Axis – formed by Italy, Germany and Japan.

¹⁷ Vargas presented to Roosevelt at their meeting in Natal on January 28, 1943, the Plan for the International Enhancement of Brazil, which consisted of refusing to send troops to Portuguese archipelagos, giving priority to the Mediterranean, in order to gain international visibility. Bueno states that “Brazil’s direct participation in the conflict was more a result of its will than at the request of the United States” (Cervo and Bueno 2002, 280). Therefore, Brazil did not necessarily need to participate in the war, but Vargas desired such participation in order to obtain more advantages.

On March 15, 1952, the United States and Brazil signed the Mutual Defense and Assistance Agreement. During the Cold War, this agreement, also known as the Mutual Defense Assistance Program (MDAP), was created to increase military cooperation between the two nations and ensure security in the Western Hemisphere. The agreement provided for military aid between the United States and Brazil, including military training and equipment. The objective of the agreement was to modernize the Brazilian Armed Forces and strengthen hemispheric defense against possible communist threats.

During most of the Cold War, Brazil aligned itself largely with the United States, receiving military and logistical support, in a position of unilateralism in the face of American hegemony (Visentini, 2015). The National Security Doctrine, influenced by the first governments of the Military Dictatorship, emphasized the importance of cooperation with Western powers to contain communist influence in Latin America.

The 1970s saw more pragmatic positions in Brazilian foreign policy, with the aforementioned vertical actions combined with horizontality and diagonality, which sometimes resulted in some cooperation activities in Defense and in a more effective rapprochement with South America. Thus, the Amazon Cooperation Treaty Organization (ACTO) of 1978¹⁸, created with the aim of promoting sustainable development and cooperation in the Amazon, including security and Defense aspects, is a milestone for the beginning of the third phase (1978-1999). Another relevant partner of this period was Argentina, when the first combined exercises between the Navies of the two countries took place in 1978, such as the *Fraterno Operations*. However, it was only in 2005 that the first military and Defense cooperation agreements between Brasília and Buenos Aires were signed.

With the return to democracy in the 1980s, Brazil began to diversify its Defense partnerships. The 1988 Constitution brought new challenges and perspectives to the area's policy, both domestically/institutionally (the process of reorganizing departments and functions, the Armed Forces, the organizational chart, and the budget) and externally (promoting South American integration and the pursuit of strategic autonomy). With the end of the Cold War, cooperation evolved to include areas such as the fight against drug trafficking, regional security and peacekeeping operations.

A relevant instrument of this phase – which was later expanded – refers to Brazilian cooperation activities in all areas, through the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC), created in 1987 and linked to the Ministry of

¹⁸ The Amazon Cooperation Treaty was initially signed on July 3, 1978, in Brasília, by Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Peru, Suriname and Venezuela. In 1995, the Cooperative Republic of Guyana joined the organization.

Foreign Affairs. The ABC began to coordinate, negotiate and implement international technical cooperation offered by Brazil to other developing countries, in addition to managing the technical cooperation received by Brazil from other nations and international organizations.

Brazil's technical cooperation with foreign countries is based on the capacity of specialized institutions in the country and occurs at three levels: bilateral, trilateral and with groups of countries, meeting the demands of developing countries. Based on the principles of horizontality, neutrality, non-conditionality and mutual benefits, the ABC's collaboration with the ministries, particularly the Defense Ministry in this case, has helped to promote South-South cooperation, since Brazil's technical cooperation abroad, commonly called South-South cooperation (SSC), is developed in response to demands received from foreign governments, through bilateral channels, or via international organizations with which the country maintains trilateral cooperation programs. In this aspect, initiatives can be bilateral, trilateral or with blocs of countries. [...] In SSC, it is not necessary to invest large financial resources to achieve excellent results for all parties involved. The partner country, by adapting the transferred knowledge to its reality, is ensuring the future sustainability of its own actions (ABC, 2024, n/p) ¹⁹

The 1990s, in the immediate post-Cold War period, saw Brazil deepen its regional integration processes and maintain bilateral and multilateral defense cooperation (especially in United Nations peacekeeping missions) with previously established partners.²⁰

19 In the original: "A cooperação técnica do Brasil para o exterior, comumente chamada de cooperação Sul-Sul (CSS), desenvolve-se em resposta a demandas recebidas de governos estrangeiros, por canais bilaterais, ou via organismos internacionais com os quais o País mantenha programas de cooperação trilateral. Nessa vertente, as iniciativas podem ser bilaterais, trilaterais ou com blocos de países. [...] Na CSS, não é necessário investir grandes recursos financeiros para alcançar excelentes resultados para todas as partes envolvidas. O país parceiro, ao adaptar o conhecimento transferido à sua realidade, está garantindo a sustentabilidade futura das suas próprias ações (ABC, 2024, s/p)".

20 The main peacekeeping missions in the 1990s were a) the United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA) - established in 1994 to verify the peace agreements between the government of Guatemala and the URNG (Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca) guerrilla group. Brazil sent military observers to monitor compliance with the agreements and contribute to the consolidation of peace; b) the United Nations Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL), created in 1991 to verify the implementation of the peace agreements between the go-

The fourth (and current) phase of Brazil's defense cooperation began with the creation of the Ministry of Defense in 1999, which represented a significant milestone in the organization and administration of national defense. Before that, the Armed Forces were managed by three separate military ministries: the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force. The unification of these ministries aimed to improve the coordination and efficiency of the country's defense policies, with Complementary Law No. 97 of June 9, 1999, during the government of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso. The main objectives of the creation of the Ministry included the advancement of a) Coordination (centralizing the command of the Armed Forces under a single ministry to strengthen integration between the Army, Navy and Air Force); b) a Coherent Defense Policy (formulating a more comprehensive national Defense policy, aligned with the country's strategic needs); c) Administrative Efficiency (increasing administrative and operational efficiency, eliminating redundancies and promoting the rationalization of resources); d) and Strengthening National Defense (strengthening the country's defense capacity, especially in an ever-changing international scenario full of new challenges and threats).²¹

In this phase, Brazil's Defense cooperation actions expanded quantitatively and qualitatively, driven by the institutionalization of Defense policy and by the Defense Documents themselves, which provide for their

vernment of El Salvador and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) guerrilla group. Brazil participated with military and police observers to ensure the implementation of the peace agreements and support the disarmament process; c) the United Nations Mission in Angola (UNAVEM II and III), which aimed to supervise the ceasefire and the peace process between the Angolan government and UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola). Brazil has sent troops and military observers to these missions; d) United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Mozambique (ONUMOZ), which was established in 1992 to oversee the implementation of the peace agreement between the government of Mozambique and RENAMO (Mozambican National Resistance), and Brazil participated with military observers to monitor the ceasefire, the demobilization of combatant forces and the holding of free elections; e) United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) - Although MINUSTAH was officially established in 2004, Brazil had already participated in stabilization efforts in Haiti in the 1990s through other peacekeeping operations and humanitarian missions. Brazilian participation in MINUSTAH was subsequently consolidated, with Brazil assuming a leading role.

21 The Ministry of Defense became responsible for several functions, including: Strategic Planning (preparation and implementation of national defense policies and strategies); Interforce Coordination (coordination between the three Armed Forces for joint operations and integrated defense actions); International Relations (management of international defense relations, military and defense cooperation, as well as participation in peacekeeping missions); Budget and Resources (management of the defense budget and allocation of resources for the different areas and projects of the Armed Forces); and Military Modernization (supervision of the modernization and technological development programs of the Armed Forces).

actions and incentives, especially in the Brazilian Strategic Environment – a concept introduced by the Defense Documents. According to the 2020 National Defense Policy,

[...] international defense cooperation is essential for the country's security and the maintenance of regional peace and stability. **Brazil seeks to strengthen its bilateral and multilateral relations**, promoting the exchange of information, the conduct of joint exercises and participation in peacekeeping missions (Brasil 2020, 45, **emphasis added**).²²

Therefore, not only were previous actions with historical partners deepened at the vertical and horizontal levels, such as the United States and South America, but new partnerships were also established with African, European and Asian countries, in addition to increased participation in peacekeeping operations.²³ Defense cooperation with the United States has become strategic for Brazil, especially through three contemporary agreements: a) Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) signed on April 12, 2010,²⁴ covering the areas of research and development, technology, logistical support and joint training; b) Research, Development, Test and Evaluation Agreement of 2017 (RDT&E Agreement) with the objective of facilitating bilateral cooperation in research, development, testing and evaluation activities of defense technologies and promoting the exchange of information and collaboration in joint projects involving technological innovation to cooperate in research, development, testing and evaluation of defense technology and products; and c) Defense Information Sharing Agreement, dated March 8, 2020, which allows the sharing of sensitive information between the two countries, facilitating collaboration on Defense projects.²⁵

The sharing of activities in joint exercises (such as UNITAS, GUINEX,

22 In the original: “[...] a cooperação internacional em defesa é essencial para a segurança do país e a manutenção da paz e da estabilidade regionais. **O Brasil busca fortalecer suas relações bilaterais e multilaterais**, promovendo o intercâmbio de informações, a realização de exercícios conjuntos e a participação em missões de paz (Brasil 2020, 45, **grifo nosso**)”.

23 A complete list of International Acts signed by Brazil between 2000 and 2023 is available in Appendix B of Barros; Lima; Barros 2024.

24 Which came into force in 2015, according to Decree No. 8609/2015 (Brasil 2015, s/p).

25 This is the only one of its kind in South America. The agreement expands opportunities for both countries to jointly develop defense capabilities through cooperation in applied research, emerging technologies, analysis, operational studies, demonstrations and testing, and prototype evaluation.

Vanguarda Sul 22, FELINO, among others) remained an important point of this bilateral cooperation, as well as the training and specialization of Brazilian military human resources in US academies. In November 2021, the two countries agreed to continue joint training of Malawian units deployed to the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), with support from pre-deployment training provided by the US Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI) and the training of jungle warfare specialists that Brazil currently offers.

France has been a significant partner, particularly with the Submarine Development Program (PROSUB), which included the construction of conventional submarines and the development of a nuclear submarine. In 2014, the Agreement for the Purchase of Gripen Fighter Jets (2014) was concluded with Sweden, which also included technology transfer, training of pilots and maintenance personnel, and cooperation in the development of future versions of the fighter. With Israel, Defense and Security Cooperation Agreements were concluded in 2010, which involve the purchase of advanced defense systems, such as drones and radar systems, as well as collaboration in defense technology research and development. In subsequent years, there has been a significant increase in Brazil's purchase of defense equipment from Israel. Examples include radar systems, unmanned aerial vehicles (drones), and cyber defense systems. In 2013, drones were purchased from the Israeli company Elbit Systems to be used by the Federal Police and the Armed Forces in security and surveillance operations. In 2019, Cybersecurity Cooperation was celebrated during President Jair Bolsonaro's visit to Israel, when memorandums of understanding (MoUs) were signed to strengthen cooperation in cybersecurity, recognizing the growing importance of this area in national defense. In 2020, collaboration was expanded with the signing of new agreements aimed at promoting technological innovation and technology transfer between the two countries, particularly in the areas of high technology and defense (Technology and Defense Agreements). With Italy, there is the 1975 Military Cooperation Agreement, on armored vehicle and aircraft development projects, revisited by the bilateral defense cooperation agreement signed in Rome on November 11, 2008. Furthermore, there is the Technical Complementary Adjustment of the agreement, on cooperation in the defense area, related to the aerospace field of September 30, 2014 (generating reciprocal benefits resulting from the creation of strategic partnerships between Brazilian and Italian industries²⁶).

²⁶ According to the text, the agreement will allow joint development, the transfer or assignment of critical security technologies, and the exchange of national defense industrial capabilities. The main areas for the development of cooperation will be unmanned aerial vehicles,

With Russia, there is the 2008 Military-Technical Cooperation Agreement, which focuses on technology exchange, purchase of military equipment and collaboration in defense development projects. With India, the 2003 Defense Cooperation Agreement, as part of the IBSA Forum (India, Brazil and South Africa), involves technology exchange, military training and joint participation in military exercises. And with South Africa, there is also the 2003 Defense Cooperation Agreement, with collaboration in defense projects, knowledge exchange and training. With China, although there are no formal defense cooperation agreements like those established with other countries, such as the USA and France, Brazil has explored opportunities for collaboration in training, information exchange and visits by military delegations, within the scope of a broader spectrum of bilateral cooperation. The armed forces of both countries have participated in joint military exercises, mainly in the multilateral framework, such as exercises promoted by the UN and other international forums. Brazil and China have cooperated on regional security issues, such as combating drug trafficking and peacekeeping operations.

Cooperation in this area has been strengthened between Brazil and South American countries as a vital aspect for regional security and political stability. Defense integration in the region has several dimensions, from joint military exercises to the search for coordination in defense and security policies. The main forms of cooperation researched refer to bi- and multilateral actions, especially highlighted in the documentation: a) Amazon Cooperation Treaty Organization (ACTO), of 1978; b) South American Defense Council (CDS), established in 2008, with the objective of strengthening defense cooperation among the countries of the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), through joint military exercises, exchange of information, training and development of a regional defense industry²⁷; c) bilateral agreements with several South American countries for the holding of joint military exercises, technological cooperation and exchange of intelligence information, such as agreements with Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and Peru for cooperation in border security and combating transnational crimes.

It is important to emphasize Argentina as a strategic partner of Brazil. The Framework Agreement for Defense Cooperation between the Federative

electronic warfare, space, pilot training, and research and innovation (BRASIL, 2017, n.p.).

27 The CDS was formalized in December 2008 and its purpose was to “consolidate South America as a zone of peace, creating conditions for political stability and economic and social development; as well as to build a South American defense identity, generating consensus to strengthen cooperation on the continent” according to letter a, of Art. 4, of the CDS Statute (UNASUL, 2008, s/p).

Republic of Brazil and Argentina, signed in Puerto Iguazú on November 30, 2005 (entered into force by Decree No. 6,084 of April 19, 2007) is the most relevant regulatory framework of the partnership. In the Letter of Intent for the Brazil-Argentina Defense Production Integration Project of January 23, 2023, the two countries

1. They reaffirm the convenience of advancing in the consolidation of bilateral relations in the area of Defense and promoting all actions aimed at strengthening the agenda of integration, cooperation and mutual trust between the Armed Forces of both countries. 2. They will encourage the negotiation of the contract between the Argentine Army and IVECO Veículos de Defesa for the incorporation of 156 units of the “Guaraní 6x6” Wheeled Armored Combat Vehicle, including the transfer of technology, compensation for the progressive increase in the manufacture of parts in Argentina, logistical support and training of crews and technical personnel of the Argentine Army. 3. They will encourage understanding between the parties involved so that, once negotiations are finalized, it will be possible to deliver to the Argentine Army the first units of the “Guaraní 6x6” Wheeled Armored Combat Vehicle as soon as possible (Brasil, 2023a, n/p).²⁸

Additionally, the Action Plan for the relaunch of the Brazil-Argentina Strategic Alliance²⁹ foresees the resumption of bilateral cooperation actions in

28 In the original: “1. Reafirmam a conveniência de avançar na consolidação das relações bilaterais na área da Defesa e promover todas as ações que visem fortalecer a agenda de integração, cooperação e confiança mútua entre as Forças Armadas de ambos os países. 2. Encorajarão a negociação do contrato entre o Exército Argentino e a IVECO Veículos de Defesa para a incorporação de 156 unidades do Veículo Blindado de Combate sobre Rodas “Guaraní 6x6”, incluindo a transferência de tecnologia, a compensação para o aumento progressivo na fabricação de peças na Argentina, o apoio logístico e para o treinamento de tripulações e pessoal técnico do Exército Argentino. 3. Encorajarão o entendimento entre as partes envolvidas para que, uma vez finalizadas as negociações, seja possível a entrega ao Exército Argentino das primeiras unidades do Veículo Blindado de Combate sobre Rodas “Guaraní 6x6” o mais breve possível” (Brasil, 2023a, s/p).

29 Examples of regional cooperation include Joint Military Exercises such as AmazonLogr7 (a logistical exercise held in 2017 with the participation of Brazil, Colombia and Peru, as well as observers from other countries); the Multinational Exercise UNITAS (which includes naval forces from several South American countries, held annually to strengthen naval cooperation); Operation Ágata (a joint initiative by the Brazilian Armed Forces, with the support of other security agencies, to reinforce presence and surveillance on the border with neighboring countries); and Operation Sentinela, coordinated by the Brazilian Federal Police, in collaboration with the Uruguayan National Police, to combat smuggling and drug trafficking on the border.

several fields, including space cooperation to build and launch the Argentine-Brazilian Marine Environmental Information Satellite (SABIA-Mar B), but also

[...] XI. DEFENSE

41. Action: Continue holding meetings of the Permanent Consultation and Coordination Mechanism on International Defense and Security (2+2).

42. Action: Continue the planning and execution cycles of the Binational Exercise “Operation Aranduru”

XII. SECURITY

43. Action: Exchange information through the Registry of Members of Criminal Factions (Criminal Organizations) with transnational operations in the ORCRIM System.

44. Action: Exchange experiences for Public Security Intelligence training actions.

45. Action: Exchange information to combat Money Laundering crimes by criminal factions with transnational operations with the aim of expanding methods for detecting evidence of these crimes.

46. Action: Exchange experiences on drug policy, with a focus on community centers, between the National Secretariat for Drug Policy and Asset Management (SENAD) and the National Secretariat for Drugs of Argentina (SEDRONAR).

47. Action: Stimulate the exchange of experiences based on the Mapping Project of the Federal Highway Police (PRF).

48. Action: Discuss projects of the Federal Police in the areas of cybercrime and bank fraud.

49. Action: Implement the Memorandum of Understanding between

Operation Hermandad has been taking place since 2018 between the Brazilian and Argentine armies, and in an area close to the border between Brazil and Argentina, highlighting the importance of cross-border collaboration. Also between Brazil and Argentina, Operation Yaguareté has been taking place since 2004, a joint military exercise between Brazil and Argentina, which was held for the first time in 2004. This exercise aims to improve military cooperation, strengthen interoperability and increase the capacity for joint response to different types of crises. Operation Guarani is a combined training exercise, at the Unit level, between troops of the Argentine and Brazilian Armies. Its tactical framework is situated in the context of war operations, with the establishment of a Mechanized Task Force (FT) based on a Unit of the host country, with reinforcement from a subunit of the member friendly nation, and is carried out annually since 2011 (planning phase) and 2012 (with troops on the ground).

the Federal Police of Brazil and the Federal Police of Argentina on the prevention and combat of transnational organized crime.

XIII. PEACE AND SECURITY

50. Action: Create a coordination mechanism on peace and security issues (United Nations Security Council, Conference on Disarmament, First Committee of the General Assembly, among other forums) (BRAZIL, 2023a, n.p.).³⁰

In the sub-area of education and training, Brazil offers places in its military academies for cadets from other South American countries, promoting the exchange of knowledge and strengthening military ties. Another essential point in the Strategic Environment refers to the fight against drug trafficking and transnational crimes, where cooperation in intelligence operations and joint operations is required.

Currently, there is no specific Defense agreement between Brazil and the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP) as a whole. However, within the CPLP, member states have bilateral Defense cooperation relations, and Brazil, as the most populous and economically strongest country in the bloc, plays a significant role in these initiatives.³¹ Brazil has

30 In addition to the X. OCEAN AND ANTARCTIC COOPERATION, with “35. Action: Continue the Ocean Dialogue between Brazil and Argentina, with a view to addressing maritime and oceanic issues of common interest, sharing information and coordinating positions in relevant international forums. 36. Action: Stimulate the coordination and strengthening of the South Atlantic Peace and Cooperation Zone (ZOPACAS), with a view to maintaining the South Atlantic as a cooperation zone free from extraregional disputes. 37. Action: Act jointly with a view to the approval of the South Atlantic Whale Sanctuary (SBAS) within the scope of the International Whaling Commission (IWC). 38. Action: Work for parliamentary approval, when applicable, the exchange of ratifications and entry into force of the Antarctic Cooperation Agreement between Brazil and Argentina, signed on 1/23/2023, in Buenos Aires. 39. Action: Stimulate cooperation initiatives on Antarctic issues, both in the scientific area and in logistical operations related to national activities in Antarctica. 40. Action: Continue Brazilian support for Argentina’s legitimate rights in the sovereignty dispute with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in relation to the Falklands, South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands and surrounding maritime spaces” (Brasil 2023ffi, n/p).

31 The formal beginning of defence cooperation in the CPLP was the 1st Meeting of the Ministers of Defence of the CPLP, in Oeiras, Portugal, in 1998. Other instruments of the defence architecture of the CPLP are the Conferences of Heads of State and Government, Meetings of the Ministers of Defence and of the CEMGFA, Meetings of the Directors of National Defence Policy (DPDN), Permanent Secretariat for Defence Affairs of the CPLP, Centre for Strategic Analysis of the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries, Integrated Programme of Combined Military Exercises of the CPLP, Military Exercises of the “FELINO” Series, Conferences of the Navies (and Coast Guards) of the CPLP, Meetings of Directors of Military Intelligence Services (DSIM), Protocol of Cooperation of the CPLP in the Field of Defence, CPLP Military Health

close defense relations with several CPLP countries, such as Portugal, Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, among others. These relations include the exchange of military experiences, cooperation in training and joint exercises, with the FELINO series exercise being the most relevant in the Community and taking place since 2000 (biannually), as part of efforts to increase interoperability and joint response capacity in crisis situations, according to Bernardino and Rizzi (2023). Cooperation in maritime and coastal security is a priority area of mutual interest, especially for countries such as Brazil, Portugal and Cape Verde, which have extensive maritime zones. Military Sports Games, the Military Health Forum and the promotion of gender equality and women's rights in the Community, based on UN Security Council Resolution 1325, are also ongoing activities in the CPLP.

Also within the adjacent area of the Brazilian Strategic Environment – the West African coast and the South Atlantic – cooperation in Defense is an area of growing importance. This relationship is shaped by historical, cultural and strategic ties, and encompasses a range of activities, from military training and knowledge exchange to joint peacekeeping operations. The main areas are related to military training and capacity building, with the exchange of Officers³² (and special courses in peacekeeping operations, counter-terrorism, and military engineering techniques are some of the programs offered), peacekeeping operations,³³ in the development of defense technologies, with transfer of technology and knowledge for the development of local defense industries.³⁴

Some concrete examples of cooperation in Defense with African countries are: a) the Peace Operations Training Center (CIOpPaz), located

Forum, Disaster Response Mechanism in the CPLP, Action Plan of the Defence Component of the CPLP for the Implementation of Resolution 1325/2000 of the UNSC on Women, Peace and Security, according to Bernardino and Rizzi, 2023.

32 African officers are invited to participate in courses at Brazilian military academies, such as the Agulhas Negras Military Academy (AMAN) and the Army Command and General Staff School (ECEME).

33 By contributing troops and logistical support to several peacekeeping missions in Africa, such as MONUSCO (Democratic Republic of Congo) - Brazil has sent military observers and MINUSMA (Mali) - also participating with military observers, logistical and technical support, helping to develop capabilities in areas such as equipment maintenance, construction of military infrastructure and logistical operations.

34 Including collaboration in research and development projects in areas such as shipbuilding: partnerships in the development of military vessels, such as patrol vessels, and aeronautics, with cooperation in the aeronautics sector, including the sale and maintenance of military aircraft manufactured by Embraer.

in the city of Rio de Janeiro,³⁵ Brazil, which has been a training center for African military personnel in peace operations techniques. Military personnel from several African countries, such as Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe, Nigeria, Senegal and Ghana have participated in courses at CIOpPaz; b) the partnership with Angola, which includes military training programs, support for the modernization of the Angolan armed forces and participation in joint military exercises; c) cooperation with Mozambique in training and technical support programs, in addition to participating in demining and maritime security projects; d) partnership with Namibia, in the sub-areas of training and capacity building, development of naval infrastructure (construction and donation of ships) and technical and logistical support (provision of continuous technical support for the maintenance and operation of Namibian vessels, helping to develop the country's autonomous capacity in the naval area) and exchange of knowledge and technologies, with the Communications and Surveillance systems (sharing of technologies to improve Namibia's communications and surveillance systems, essential for maritime security and the monitoring of its territorial waters) (Rizzi; Cossul and Bueno, 2023).

Between advantages and challenges: final considerations

Defense cooperation in Brazil is a complex and multifaceted field, involving a combination of traditional strategic alliances and new partnerships with emerging countries and regional neighbors. The success of this cooperation depends on a clear strategic vision, efficient management of resources, and the ability to adapt to geopolitical changes, in a clear allusion to the relationship between defense and foreign policy.

This type of cooperation can bring many benefits to Brazil, such as improving military capacity, saving resources and strengthening regional security. However, it also presents challenges, such as technological

³⁵ CIOpPaz was created on June 23, 2010, as an evolution of the Brazilian Army's Center for Preparation and Evaluation for Peacekeeping Missions (CEPAOP), founded in 2005. The creation of CIOpPaz reflected Brazil's growing participation in peacekeeping operations and the need for a structure dedicated to specialized training and education for these missions. CIOpPaz's mission is to train military personnel, police officers, and civilians to act in peacekeeping, humanitarian, and disaster relief operations, providing training and education that emphasizes interoperability, a culture of peace, and an understanding of United Nations standards and procedures. Among the main courses offered are the Peacekeeping Mission Preparation Course (CPMP), the UN Military Observer Course (UNMO), the Civil-Military Coordination Course (CIMIC), and the Protection of Civilians Course (Brasil 2024).

dependence, risks to national sovereignty, and financial costs. Brazil must carefully weigh these factors when establishing defense partnerships to ensure that they serve its long-term strategic and security interests. The overall objective of the research was to analyze the defense cooperation that Brazil has undertaken since its independence process, discussing cooperation theoretically, proposing a brief division into four phases of Brazil's defense cooperation actions (1822-present) and identifying historical advantages and challenges. The methodological procedures adopted indicated, through literature review, bibliographic research and document analysis, that the main advantages and challenges of Brazilian Defense cooperation are broad, complex and strategically important in the same direction. After testing, the initial hypothesis was corroborated. It is important to mention the difficulty related to the methodological procedure of collecting quantitative data on cooperation in the area that Brazil undertakes, since these are actions and initiatives that occur in the three Forces simultaneously, without specific and ordered filing.

Another relevant point identified is the tone of this cooperation in Defense undertaken by Brazil, since we agree with Hirst when she argues about the feedback of cooperation, in a two-way path that is reinvented by the demands presented:

The involvement of Brazilian entities in programs that offer horizontal cooperation is not, therefore, associated with a policy that seeks to dispense with the receipt of technical knowledge necessary to consolidate areas of expertise. More than a substitutive dynamic, which expresses a zero-sum logic, we observe a two-way dynamic that feeds back on itself, with a view to improving the skills of state technical staff. **A simultaneity of cooperation programs received and offered is observed in several entities of the federation, which favors a process of learning and exchange between the two circuits that, in turn, expands and diversifies the spectrum of the state's international connections (Hirst 2012, 15, emphasis added).**³⁶

36 In the original: "O envolvimento de entidades brasileiras em programas que oferecem cooperação horizontal não está, portanto, associado a uma política que busque prescindir do recebimento de conhecimentos técnicos necessários para consolidar áreas de expertise. Mais do que uma dinâmica substitutiva, que expresse uma lógica de soma zero, observa-se uma dinâmica de via dupla que se retroalimenta, com vistas a aprimorar as competências dos quadros técnicos estatais. **Uma simultaneidade de programas de cooperação recebidos e oferecidos é observada em diversas entidades da federação, o que favorece um processo de aprendizagem e intercâmbio entre os dois circuitos que, por sua vez, amplia e diversifica o espectro das conexões internacionais do Estado**" (Hirst 2012, 15, grifo nosso).

The main advantages identified include strengthening military capacity through the promotion of joint training, education, specializations and qualifications. Participation in joint military exercises and training programs with the armed forces of other countries can improve the skills and preparedness of Brazilian troops. Access to advanced technologies and defense equipment that Brazil may not possess or produce locally is a possible advantage through bilateral agreements. In terms of resource savings, there is relative cost sharing, where collaborations can lead to a sharing of the costs of developing new technologies and military equipment, reducing the financial burden on Brazil. To improve regional security, cooperation with neighboring countries can contribute to regional stability and security, preventing tensions and conflicts, seeking to dismantle transnational criminal networks and strengthening diplomatic ties.

The exchange of strategic and intelligence information is a key point, as these partnerships can facilitate the exchange of intelligence information, helping to prevent threats such as terrorism and organized crime. Finally, in terms of the relationship between Defense policy and foreign policy, participation in Defense cooperation initiatives can increase Brazil's influence and prestige on the international stage, strengthening its diplomatic relations. For Barros, Lima and Barros (2024),

On the Itamaraty side, there is a growing increase in the space of the defense theme on the political agenda. There are two pieces of evidence of this process. In 2009, the MD and the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC) of the MRE signed a cooperation agreement with the aim of facilitating international technical cooperation in defense. In practice, the agreement aimed to facilitate the accounting and offering of initiatives for foreign military personnel in Brazil, helping to align foreign policy and defense objectives. This interaction is important, since most defense cooperation agreements focus on the topics of training, exercises, qualification and courses (Barros; Lima and Barros 2024, 22).³⁷

37 In the original: "Do lado do Itamaraty, há um crescente aumento de espaço do tema de defesa na agenda política. Há duas evidências desse processo. Em 2009, o MD e a Agência Brasileira de Cooperação (ABC) do MRE assinaram um acordo de cooperação com o objetivo de facilitar a cooperação técnica internacional em defesa. Na prática, o convênio visou facilitar a contabilização e o oferecimento de iniciativas para militares estrangeiros no Brasil, contribuindo para alinhar os objetivos de política externa e defesa. Essa interação é importante, posto que grande parte dos acordos de cooperação em defesa tem foco nos temas de treinamentos,

As for the challenges, the following were identified: a) possible dependence on external suppliers, since Brazil may become dependent on other countries for the supply of defense technologies and equipment, which may be problematic in the event of conflicts of interest; b) remote possibility of external interference, when very close partnerships can lead to interference in internal matters and loss of autonomy in strategic and operational decisions; c) geopolitical alignment and external articulation, an item strongly linked to foreign policy; d) financial costs, since defense cooperation requires significant investments in infrastructure, training and equipment to align military capabilities with those of partners.

The financial sustainability of Defense programs is a constant concern and its inconsistency has become evident. The defense budget needs to be managed effectively to ensure the continuity of programs. In addition to these items, political and economic differences between partner countries, the need to harmonize defense and security policies, and budgetary limitations for implementing joint projects are also outlined in the challenges.

When a comparative analysis is made between Defense cooperation with countries from the North or South of the geopolitical world, it became clear from the methodological procedures that the countries from the North have advanced technology (such as the USA, the United Kingdom, France, Israel, and Germany), with cutting-edge military technology, and cooperation can provide access to modern equipment and technological innovations, in addition to well-trained armed forces, and can also offer training and exchange programs for Brazilian forces, combined with the experience accumulated in conflicts and missions. However, Brazil may become dependent on foreign technology and equipment, which may be problematic in cases of diplomatic tensions, in addition to the fact that foreign policies and geopolitical interests may not always align, leading to possible conflicts of interest, as well as the acquisition of technology and training from developed countries may be very expensive.

In relation to countries in the Geopolitical South, cooperation can strengthen diplomatic and economic relations with nations that share similar challenges and interests, there is a greater chance of aligning interests and priorities in terms of development, regional security and foreign policy, cost-benefit can be valued, as partnerships can be more economical and adapted to Brazil's specific needs, with a focus on appropriate technologies and innovative solutions, in addition to the issue of regional solidarity strengthening regional

exercícios, capacitação e cursos" (Barros; Lima and Barros 2024, 22).

cooperation between developing countries, promoting regional stability and security. However, technological and resource limitations and the provision of less advanced training and capacity building require more joint efforts to achieve high levels of effectiveness. In this sense, defense cooperation at a multilateral level proves to be more proactive (however, currently, the integration and cooperation processes in South America are going through a moment of institutional fragility).

Thus, it is clear that there is a defined mapping of the main themes and activities of Brazilian Defense cooperation, corroborating what was presented by Lima (2015), but expanding here with the following thematic groups: a) Education, specialization and training of human resources at various levels; b) Acquisition of material, equipment and technologies in the area; c) Exchange of knowledge and practices, with training in peacekeeping missions; d) Carrying out bilateral visits, technical meetings, courses and seminars, working groups and missions; e) Visits by mutual military vessels and aircraft; and f) Holding joint sporting events.

Theoretically, it can be summarized that defense cooperation is viable, fruitful and facilitated by regional stability. The bibliographic and documentary analysis carried out identified that there is political coherence in the framework agreements signed in the defense area by Brazil and its partners, since all of them present areas/subareas of defense cooperation contained in the Defense Documents. In summary, the choice between cooperation with countries of the Geopolitical North or South is not simple and must be based on a careful analysis of Brazil's strategic objectives and needs in terms of Defense, taking into account the correlation between Defense and foreign policy. However, it cannot be denied that South-South cooperation brings with it the geopolitical aspect and is intrinsically present in Brazil's history.

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ABSTRACT

This research analyzes Defense cooperation in Brazil, seeking to facilitate a theoretical discussion and a proposal for a historical periodization of the actions of this type of cooperation in Brazil. When answering which are the most evident characteristics of cooperation in the area, as a working hypothesis it is pointed out that there are a) advantages and challenges in the actions of Defense cooperation in Brazil, b) a correlation between Defense and foreign policy in these actions and c) the mapping of priority areas throughout history is evident. Defense cooperation is a strategy that involves collaboration between countries to increase defense capacity, share information, conduct joint training, develop technologies and strengthen diplomatic ties. The review of the theoretical literature in the area points to several possibilities, understandings and paths for Defense cooperation, but in this research it was chosen to use the concept of stability as a factor generating cooperation, as well as the evolution of the correlation between Defense and foreign policy in Brazilian history.

KEYWORDS

Defense cooperation, Brazilian Defense policy, Brazilian foreign policy

Received on September 19, 2024

Accepted on May 22, 2025

Translated by Igor Estima Sardo