

**STRATEGY  
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**A BRAZILIAN SECURITY STRATEGY**

**BY**

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**A BRAZILIAN SECURITY STRATEGY**

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## ABSTRACT

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Subsequent to the conclusion of the era of the military regime, the Federative Republic of Brazil has not prepared a formal document which consolidates national security strategies. A wide range of partial and individualized security policies and strategies were and are existent, but they are set forth and published in numerous directives spread throughout Government agencies and departments, ensuring the difficulty of implementing a single, cohesive policy. This project proposes to merge the numerous programs and directives that have been previously adopted by the Brazilian government and to complement these policies with new concepts developed by the author. To present an organized national security strategy, this paper starts by defining an own concept of national security. National values and interests are then described. Next, major global trends are briefly considered, with a view to possible influences on Brazil during the next 15 to 20 years. Subsequently, serious threats are presented. The main body of the project contains objectives, elements, and perceived methods to implement a unified Brazilian national security strategy. Finally, the reader's attention is directed to the fact that almost all successful countries in the world have a formal document delineating their national security strategies – Brazil should and must follow this precept.



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## A BRAZILIAN SECURITY STRATEGY

### INTRODUCTION

In a Presidential message to the Brazilian National Congress, former President Juscelino Kubitschek declared that "in the contemporary world, the number of issues which are part of national security has increased every day."<sup>1</sup> Since this message was delivered however, the Brazilian Government has consistently tried to extinguish the term "national security." The country's past and current leadership believes that the military regime that formerly ruled Brazil had distorted the concept of national security, using it as a pretext to political persecution and violation of human rights.

National security is an integral part of individual and communal needs. Without it, there is a lack of those conditions necessary for societal development. With it, high levels of respect for human rights and guarantees of democratic state rights are prevalent.

National security is not "defense." They are two distinct and different concepts, with dissimilar meanings. While the hypothesis and definition of defense has been relatively unaltered over time, that of national security has constantly evolved as world conditions have changed. Thus, the perception of this security during the Cold War era is quite different from that discerned in the current time frame. Each sovereign nation develops and implements its own concept based upon its own peculiar circumstances and national characteristics.

In order for security to be fully enjoyed by the Brazilian populace, it must be subordinated to as well as based on national values. These are the main references used to formulate a concept of security and most importantly, to create and prepare forces that, by people's delegation, are constituted to protect them.

Using national values as a beacon, Brazil can more readily define its interests and the direction it wishes to follow. When policy is formulated, approved, and disclosed to the Brazilian society, there will be generated a conjunction of efforts, from both the government and the private sector, which will facilitate the country's labors in achieving its defined objectives.

Several questions arise: (1) What are the threats that Brazil has faced? (2) What kind of threats could interfere with the path adopted by Brazil to guarantee achievement of the nation's interests? (3) What are the global trends influencing Brazil's future in the next 15 to 20 years?

This project addresses the above-enumerated issues and continues forward, presenting a single national security strategy for Brazil. The Brazilian Government in one form or another has already implemented most of the proposals set forth herein. However, these are widely

dispersed among many official documents and laws, and some of them are not even official government policy, at least those that are of an unclassified nature. A number of them appear in speeches, interviews, articles, or presentations delivered by various authorities and scholars. Some are proposals discussed herein. The major objective of this project is to combine all of them in a single document containing a diverse collection of important and complex issues related to security strategy, and set forth a coherent Brazilian national security strategy.

## **A CONCEPT OF SECURITY**

“... it is necessary that every national state clearly defines its perception of concepts of security and defense.”

— Geraldo Quintão – Ministry of State for Defense

In the last few decades, world political and social structures existed under the influence of uncertainties which adversely affected security conditions in many countries. Every nation sought to reduce these uncertainties through national security strategies in their efforts to create acceptable conditions for economic development and to improve the welfare of their populations.

According to the Minister of Defense, Mr. Geraldo Quintão, testifying before the Committee on Foreign Relations and National Defense of the Brazilian Federal Senate, “Security is an ideal state, a condition; defense is a real side, directly linked to a specific kind of characterized and measured threat.”<sup>2</sup> Emphasizing the difference between both concepts is a clever measure, due to the still strong emotional feelings that the term “security” brings to Brazilian society.

Subsequent to the end of the Cold War, scholars as well as governments have argued that the former definition of national security is not wide enough to cover most threats that states face.

According to its definition in the Oxford University dictionary, security is “the state of feeling safe and being free from worry.”<sup>3</sup> To achieve this state, governments should develop and initiate their own national security strategies.

This paper intends to present a new concept of national security:

*“National security is a responsibility of both the state and the people respectively, represented by government institutions and private organizations, in relation to external and/or internal vulnerabilities, that threaten to, or have the potential to, weaken state structures and/or reduce human development.”*

Contrary to the traditional concept of national security adopted during the Cold War, the concept presented above posits that internal and/or external vulnerabilities can threaten not only the structures of a state but also the human development of its populace.

Another important aspect is related to sharing responsibility of a country's security between its government and its people. In fact, the events that occurred in the United States on September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 demand a greater national state presence in societal activities, defining actions to be taken and alerting the populace to eminent perils. On the other hand, there is a perfect understanding that the state structure, even one belonging to a hegemonic world power, cannot fully guarantee a feeling of security to its individual citizens. Thus, support of proposed government actions by non-governmental organizations, by media, and by the population in general, will be very important in achievement of awareness of collective security.

It is necessary to stress that a "nation in arms" prepared to face every threat pointed out by the government, is not something that is intended. However, communities will be working together more closely to improve the quality of education and to support greater participation in municipal efforts – they consider government as the expression of popular desire – as well as demanding a greater perfection in actions on their behalf which may be proposed by the authorities. Finally, society simultaneously demands actions to further the best interests of the people, as well as be more participative in assisting the government in successfully accomplishing this mission.

## **NATIONAL VALUES AND INTERESTS**

Defining its values and interests is an important first step for any country in its development of a national security strategy. Brazilian national values are clearly defined in the Preamble to the Constitution. They include the exercise of social and individual rights, liberty, security, well-being, development, equality and justice. Actions by any entity that contradict or restrict these values, besides being unconstitutional, cannot and will not gain popular support.

Many Western countries share most of the principles described above, which establishes basic values upon which to formulate international agreements between Brazil and such nations.

As opposed to public interest, national interest is related to external issues involving Brazilian international relations with other countries and organizations. Based on values already expressed, these interests are reached through the employment of national power expressions.

Brazilian national interests are grouped into three categories: Vital, important and peripheral. Vital interests are the maintenance of sovereignty; protection of the citizenry;

protection of the patrimonial integrity; sustenance of development and social peace. Important interests are perfecting functional democratic institutions; strengthening free trade; consolidation of the South American continent as a zone of peace and striving for international peace and security. The third category, the peripheral interests, is an increase in Brazil's participation in the international decision making process and the assumption of a significant role in the international issues.

Whenever vital interests have been threatened, Brazil has been willing to utilize its national power, including the military, to ensure a return to high, pre-existing security standards. Therefore, resorting to diplomacy, international organizations, allies, Brazilian security forces or even a national mobilization, could be perceived as necessary steps needed to defend those interests.

To achieve its important interests, Brazilian military power does not present itself as a protagonist of the country's strategic actions, although it can be employed supporting these and other national power expressions. For important, as well as peripheral interests, political and economic Brazilian powers are the major tools at the disposal of the Government.

## **INFLUENCES OF GLOBAL TRENDS ON BRAZIL**

Planning measures undertaken for security should consider the influence of global trends on Brazil. Those trends can be thematically grouped, according to key drivers that shape the future. The following key drivers deserve special attention and are presented as short scenarios: demography, environment and natural resources, economy, science and technology, and national governance.

### **DEMOGRAPHY**

The Brazilian population growth trend indicates that around 2015 the country will have nearly 200 millions inhabitants.<sup>4</sup> Due to increasing expectancy of life, associated with reduced birth rates, there will be an enlarged number of elderly people in relation to the total population. Welfare and health systems could be affected by a larger number of elderly, experienced voters who will unpredictably influence the political process.<sup>5</sup>

In that era, developed countries will have fewer young people due to the aging of their respective populations. This factor demands the implementation of policies targeted to attracting youthful migrants from undeveloped countries to fill existing vacancies in the work place. As a country with an increasing rate of migration, Brazil must carefully monitor the situation and implement protective measures as well as safeguards for the civil rights of these Brazilians.<sup>6</sup>

Further, the number of inhabitants living in the megalopolis will increase stress through demands for job creation and quality of life improvements.

## ENVIRONMENT AND NATURAL RESOURCES

World food grain production will be adequate to meet the needs of a growing world population. But, despite the overall adequacy, problems of availability and distribution will remain, adversely affecting society's poorer elements.

By 2015, approximately half of the world population will reside in countries with inadequate supplies of water, largely due to the difficulty of maintaining the current levels utilized in agricultural production. There will be no attempt to realistically tax the price of water because of the sensitive nature of this issue.

For energy, the global economy will tend to be more efficient. Petroleum exploitation in deep waters will continue to develop, creating opportunities to open new major areas of production. In all probability, Brazil will become self-sufficient in petroleum in the next 15 to 20 years. It is estimated that world sustained economic growth linked with increased population will increase energy demands by nearly 50 percent.

Problems of environmental degradation will continue. Intensive use of arable land as well as damage to tropical forests will require more management attention. Environmental issues will be important concerns of the developed countries.

## ECONOMY

The economic globalization process will expand, creating opportunities for development in a great number of countries. International organizations, such as MERCOSUL<sup>7</sup> and the likely conclusion of the Free Trade Area of Americas (FTAA), will facilitate regional integration and support the economic expansion of their respective member nations.<sup>8</sup> In the next 15 years, Brazil should be able to consolidate its position among the ten wealthiest countries in the world.<sup>9</sup>

The international system tends to operate as multi-polar world.<sup>10</sup> It is considered likely that the United States will continue as the world's major individual market. Protective trade measures such as the recent American steel tariffs, indicates that the U.S. will unilaterally persist in resorting to protective trade measures while seeking access to foreign markets. Lecturing at the Third National Strategic Studies Meeting, Ambassador Luiz Felipe Lampreia suggested that Brazil needs to understand why the United States is internally forced to take this kind of protective measures in order to choose the best diplomatic approach to achieve the Brazilian interests. He believes that even with "the economic and political growth of Germany,

China, and Japan, although crucial and important to the Brazilian strategic-diplomatic plan should not alter that reality, except in relative terms.”<sup>11</sup>

Governments, entrepreneurs and consumers will become increasingly entwined, with information and communications technologies facilitating the process. These technological resources will demand well-educated and qualified workers. Possibly, it will lead to a reduced number of low-level qualified jobs.

Financial crises will persist in Latin America due to its dependence on foreign capital and the fact that many countries in that region have just one commodity as the base of their economy. This factor can also adversely affect the democratic process in those countries.

## SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Information technology (IT) will continue to be diffused and new bio-technological applications will be very important for the world. There will be a combination of current disciplines, creating new ones. For instance, integration of IT, biotechnology, sciences, and nano-technology will permit greater innovation in business, commerce, public health and security. The time between discovery and application of scientific advances will be shortened. “People will lack full awareness of their wider economic, environmental, cultural, legal, and moral impact – or the continuing potential for research and development.”<sup>12</sup>

“Older technologies will continue lateral sidewise development into new markets and applications.”<sup>13</sup> Due to the fact that Brazil has prioritized constructing and maintaining its infrastructure, it has no sufficient financial resources to invest in science and technology. However, it is essential to expend in current technologies, such as computer chips, because they will have an important role in developing new markets.

Terrorists, drug dealers, and organized crime, among others, will benefit from technological advances, mainly in the information area. These organizations will incorporate those advances into their illegal activities and pose an increased threat to the stability and security of every country.<sup>14</sup>

## NATIONAL GOVERNANCE

The nation-state will continue to be considered as the major international actor. Political, economic, and security issues will persist as interests of state. However, governments will be challenged by non-state actors demanding specific actions by their governments in order to solve conflicts generated by the growth in international relations.

State and non-state actors will increasingly share responsibility for administration of issues, which were traditionally treated only by governments. States will face three major challenges: (1) management of relationships with non-state actors; (2) combat of organized crime; and (3) adequate response to religious and ethnic group dynamics.<sup>15</sup>

There is no question that social growth is an essential condition to economic evolution. Social development is also the first line of a country's national defense and is needed to sustain its sovereignty. Consolidation of citizenship is the fundamental foundation of sovereignty in the modern world and the basis of a legitimate and powerful state. Every nation should encourage, through adequate policies, an increasing importance of its citizens as both political electors and economic consumers.<sup>16</sup>

The next 20 to 25 years could see "the maturity of Brazil as a medium power, economically strong and socially coherent and solid, with intense regional presence and considerable interchange with other [countries and] regions, although without the capacity of strategic power and global influence."<sup>17</sup>

From a strategic-military point of view, two future trends are projected. On the one hand, international relations will continue to be led by a uni-polar world with American predominance as the only superpower. On the other hand, there will be intensified regional integration as well as integration among regions.

## **DANGERS AND THREATS TO SECURITY**

Based on the global trends already presented, it is unlikely that a war between the major superpowers will occur in the next 15 to 20 years. Even if a conflict at this level of intensity occurs, the role that Brazil would play would be secondary, with minimal influence over the major actors involved in that conflict. In the same way, there is no indication that a war between Brazil and its South American neighbors might happen during this same period of time.<sup>18</sup>

Colombian military forces as well as those illegal forces existent in that country had already utilized part of Brazil's territory to access regions where conflict is occurring.<sup>19</sup> This scenario demands that dissuasive measures be adopted in advance and if they fail, other actions must be implemented in order to preserve national vital interests, including to wage war.

There are an increasing number of non-state actors involved in illegal activities such as organized crime, drug trafficking, arms smuggling, money laundering and terrorism. These factions represent a serious threat to the Brazilian State and its people. Some places are currently under strong influence of criminal groups. They challenge national authority and reduce the number of options for social development.

In order to protect their own interests, the so-called superpower countries have influenced some of the decisions reached by international organizations. For instance, in the recent Argentine economic crisis the International Monetary Fund (IMF) had received no U.S. support to bail out that country,<sup>20</sup> thus affecting Brazil's major MERCOSUL partner. Another example was the false Canadian accusation that the Brazilian cattle herd was contaminated by the Mad Cow disease. Actually, this accusation intended to indirectly protect the Canadian aviation industry from the Brazilian one.<sup>21</sup> Sometimes, these decisions are contrary to Brazilian interests and must be viewed as a threat to our security. They can also have a negative impact on the Brazilian welfare state.

The increase of foreign migrants in Brazil, followers of diverse religions and naturally from different civilizations,<sup>22</sup> poses problems associated with terrorism, public security, arms smuggling, drug trafficking and money laundering.

Economic troubles contribute to the insecurity of the Brazilian people. Striving for high levels of sustained development will also create basic conditions for a feeling of security among the people.

Drug trafficking deserves special attention. Internally, the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry carried out by the Chamber of Federal Deputies proved the involvement of many local authorities with drug trafficking, demonstrating how far society can be affected by this illegal activity. Outside of the country's borders, the ongoing Colombian crisis may spread into neighboring regions<sup>23</sup> and affect stability in the Amazon area. "Colombia's civil war displaced over a million people, some of whom have migrated to neighboring countries. Guerrilla and narco-traffickers have penetrated the border countries of Venezuela, Brazil, Peru, Ecuador, and Panama."<sup>24</sup>

The importance of the Amazon to Brazil must be emphasized. The authentic concern that the world has demonstrated for the tropical forest is also understandable. Thus, protection of the Amazon is a major national priority. Also, measures to preserve the environment, as well as the indigenous populations, orient governmental actions to attain sustainable development in that area.

The need of water for human consumption is part of the agenda for many countries. Measures recently adopted by the Brazilian government to try to preserve the hydrographic basin demonstrate that, even though Brazil has a great number of sources of water, it is not immune to waste and environmental degradation. External pollution threats to the nation's rivers are unlikely, although they cannot be disregarded.

## FUNDAMENTALS OF STRATEGY

### OBJECTIVES OF SECURITY STRATEGY

Because Brazil has not had its own national security doctrine since the current Constitution was approved, it has not defined many concepts which are related to security and that are normally implemented for other successful countries. National values and interests, threats, and even a Brazilian definition of national security have not been made known to the populace or unfortunately to many Brazilian authorities throughout the legislative, executive and judiciary branches.

The Constitution of 1988 practically coincided with the end of the Cold War. It sought to de-characterize most of the issues related to the previous military governments. Thus, almost all laws and strategies which were intended to structure Brazilian national security were abolished. However, the increasing number of conflicts in the world after the end of Cold War clearly demonstrated the country's need to be strategically prepared to face threats to its security.

Almost daily, the Brazilian media extensively broadcast the advance of criminality throughout the country. The Brazilian people do not feel safe. In some places, even police representatives have become corrupt and threaten the population. Subsequently, people have preferred to avoid those who exist to protect them. It is not only public security that scares the Brazilian people. Risk of unemployment, possible return of inflation, a slow justice decision making process, low quality level of education, strikes in essential public services and struggles to preserve consumer rights, among others, have led to a collective perception of insecurity.

Risk of conflict between Brazil and other nations is remote. This is due to a lot of factors such as historical background, Brazilian satisfaction with its current borders, the Constitutional prohibition to not carry out wars of conquest, a democratic regime, the desire to seek a peaceful solution to conflict, adoption of a market economy, the will of the people, and the power of the armed forces to dissuade such conflicts. On the other hand, there are concrete transnational threats, such as terrorism and drug trafficking, which contribute to an increase in the collective perception of insecurity.

It is worthwhile to point out the dissuasion capabilities of the Brazilian Armed Forces. In comparative terms, the country's military forces are bettered prepared and equipped than those belonging to neighboring countries. Brazil has sought to increase military cooperation among the South American countries. According to David Pion-Berlin, "Francisco Rojas Aravena describes cooperation as a 'thick network of contacts and declarations among professionals in the military institutions' that has led to a series of concrete measures designed to establish a

'framework of understanding that mitigates the perception of immediate threat and prevents possible elements of surprise'.<sup>25</sup> There is a great military interchange, mainly in educational and intelligence areas, which is intended to help reduce distrust among the South American militaries.

When a collective feeling of security returns, Brazil will receive an indirect result – the enhancement of the country's international image. When the world realizes that Brazilian citizens and consumers have their rights respected, both at home and in foreign lands, there will be projected an image of a just and well developed country. That picture will be associated with the existent image of a peaceful country with the potential to assume a special place in the concert of nations. Thus, this strategy will present ways to promote security in the country and, at the same time, will contribute to Brazil's greater stature in the international arena.

## ELEMENTS OF STRATEGY

### **Preventive action**

The adoption of preventive measures will assist in seeing that Brazil achieves the two strategic security goals already defined. These measures constitute the major part of this strategy. They require actions be implemented in both internal and external spheres. The participation of the Brazilian National Congress will reinforce governmental strategic actions.

It is extremely important that Brazil continues to seek its economic prosperity. Without economic prosperity, it would be difficult to achieve the basic conditions that would allow the protection of our citizens and national patrimony, as well as maintain our national sovereignty. However, achieving only economic development is not sufficient for Brazil. Policies aimed at the people's social development must be implemented. The currently deprived part of our population, as well as the internal regional inequalities, demand actions aimed at including them among those Brazilian areas that have high level of human development.

Another element that will decisively contribute to our security is related to diplomacy. Traditionally, the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Itamaraty) has acted as an instrument to pacifically solve international crises. A Brazilian pro-active diplomatic posture seeking to spread an agenda based on our national interests will clearly define our priorities. Acting with international organizations, or bilaterally with individual countries, Brazil can create opportunities for its own economic development as well as its security.

Adopting a dissuasive strategic posture, backed by its economic, political, and military capacities, Brazil will continue to enjoy its privileged position as a pacific country, with no major

external disputes which can threaten its national security in short and medium time terms. The existence of well equipped Armed Forces contributes to support the Brazilian diplomatic actions.

Brazilian society must perceive that the state is present and ready to satisfy its fundamental necessities, such as health, education and security. For other necessities, a regulator state, which indicates courses to be followed but leaves to private initiative to provide these needs to the society, can be considered as ideal. However, to deal with the above three basic necessities, the Brazilian State must be present, and perceived as such by the citizens. Those necessities require close government attention. It is well to remember that the absence of the state in these matters is noted and other actors easily fill the vacant space.

Economic and social prosperity, active diplomacy, dissuasive posture and presence of state for the people are all fundamental components to prevent conflict.

### **Responding to threats**

In case prevention fails to restrain threats to Brazil, the country should be prepared to employ all of its national power expressions in order to preserve its interests. Anticipating possible conflicts, the input developed by intelligence organizations, led by the Brazilian Intelligence Agency, will be essential to the country's security. Active participation of the National Congress will ensure proportionate societal guidance required in conducting these kinds of activities.

In relation to economic and diplomatic issues, Brazil will seek to solve them supported by most of the international organizations in which it is a member. In the military arena, the Armed Forces have demonstrated that they are ready to act and defend our national sovereignty according to their constitutional mission. This capacity demonstrated in actions against FARC guerrilla incursions in the Amazon in 1991, 1996 and 1998.<sup>26</sup> A readiness to respond, whenever necessary, has been the major option for Brazilian military forces. Monitoring Brazilian territorial sea limits, preserving air space and maintaining inviolability of our homeland, are tasks that have always been executed by the Ministry of Defense.

Reviewing federal agencies responsible for public security, Brazilian society has witnessed the effort that Federal Police, Federal Highway Police and Federal Railway Police have carried out numerous tasks in order to ensure public safety. In relation to municipal and state policies, under supervision of their respective executive chiefs, the Government has adopted a supportive attitude, intervening only when law and order must be preserved and is beyond the capabilities of these agencies. In specific instances, the employment of the Armed

Forces under current legislation, will seek to reestablish institutional normality in the shortest possible time.

It can be assured that the country is prepared to rapidly respond to any security necessity. In the case of failure of preventive measures, and acting in concert with economic, military, diplomatic and public security powers, the Government will act to preserve its national interests and protect its populace and territory from any threats to its security.

### **Inserting Brazil into the International Scenario**

Predicated on successes attained with preventive measures already presented above, Brazil will have facilitated its insertion into the international scenario. As a member, its active participation in international organizations will contribute to the creation of an image of a country that has as its major motivation the guarantee of the rights of its people.

South America as a whole continues to be among Brazil's top priority. It is a part of Brazilian interest in striving to ensure a much larger economic integration and increased cooperation in security issues, both backed by democratic compromise reaffirmed in the First Meeting of South American Presidents.<sup>27</sup>

Hemispheric integration through the FTAA is one concrete measure directed at integration of the region. FTAA should start in 2005 and Brazil, as a member of MERCOSUL, continues to be willing to participate. However, it is extremely important that the agreements translate an actual integration concept – with every country making trade concessions within its own respective possibility and preserving its own national industry.

Although its main efforts ought to be concentrated to South America as well as to Latin America, Brazil should act globally due to its political-strategic dimension. It cannot be limited to the regional universe of nations. Strengthening trade and diplomatic relations with Portugal, Spain, Germany, the European Union, China, Japan, Russia, the Middle East, Africa and India, among others, are very important for Brazil.

The Colombian crisis demands greater attention. That conflict deserves strong international effort to solve. As suggested by Joseph Nuñez, "It will require major international support to advance investment, build democratic institutions, develop infrastructure, and combat multinational criminals in the worldwide drug trade."<sup>28</sup> The Colombia Plan should receive more attention from Brazil. This increased involvement would facilitate our international insertion process.

In summary, to obtain a more important role in the international decision making process as well as to assume a more significant position in the global arena, many diplomatic,

commercial and security actions must be implemented. Prioritizing South America, continuing to strive for regional integration, acting globally and participating in the Colombian crisis solution would lead Brazil to a new and enlarged international position.

## **IMPLEMENTING THE STRATEGY**

A few years ago, existing bipolar world countries were ranked in at least three great groups: Democrats, Communists, and Non-Aligned. There is a worldwide perception that, since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the American hegemony has magnified security problems throughout the world. The increasing number of regional conflicts easily demonstrates this. During its entire existence, the United Nations has sponsored 54 peacekeeping operations in the world. From those 54 operations, twenty three initiated in the four decades of the Cold War period. The others 31 operations had begun during the ten years of American lonely superpower.<sup>29</sup> The war against terrorism, led by the United States, has been useful to reduce uncertainties that the end of the Cold War brought to the world. Following the terrorist attack on 11 September 2001, a real global threat materialized. Combating terrorism will lead the international agenda for some time. Actions taken against terror will influence the process of globalization. Borders will be more secure; airports and seaports will be more heavily guarded. The flow of commerce will be impeded and the movement of individuals greatly reduced. Although these trends will not continue too far into the future, they will last for some years until new security measures achieve a balance between individual and commercial safety and the agility of transactions required by the globalization process.

In the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, it is necessary that Brazil executes its own agenda. To accomplish this, the existing national resources for implementing this security strategy are now discussed.

### **TO PROMOTE SECURITY IN THE COUNTRY**

This security strategy has two major elements: Preventing possible conflicts and responding to perceived threats.

#### **Preventing possible conflicts**

#### **ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROSPERITY**

To guarantee economic growth, Brazil depends on three fundamental conditions: (1) Maintaining democratic governmental institutions; (2) Sustaining an economic growth of 4 to

4.5% of GNP for the next decade; (3) Continuing and strengthening policies for social inclusion and reducing internal regional inequalities.<sup>30</sup>

To accelerate economic growth, new reforms must be advanced that yield reduced costs and increased efficiency. The country must improve the quality of its system of taxation, strengthen capital markets and continue to modernize its infrastructure. Good educational opportunities and proficient health care for all is a social imperative. Strengthening the economy is also a fundamental necessity. The successful circle of the Brazilian economy is dependent upon the controlled fiscal regime that has been established during the last decade.

Among industrial policies, it is worthwhile to point out increased support to technological development, the strengthening of medium, small and micro companies, and the expansion of exports. The priority for expansion of exports is not only focused on agricultural or agro-industrial sectors. It is also valid for all group of activities and sectors of Brazilian economy. It demands that agencies and institutions, both private and public, carry out articulated actions to achieve necessary goals.

To negotiate international agreements, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will act firmly, both multilaterally and bilaterally, to ensure fair access conditions for Brazilian products and services in foreign markets and to reinforce the nation's position in the international marketplace.

It is necessary to rapidly proceed on social welfare reforms. The annual per capita expenditure for the Republic's civilian employees is three times more than the country's per capita annual income. This inequity subtracts resources from programs that are directed towards the poor. The government must propose to the Congress a reduction in that expenditure.

#### **ACTIVE DIPLOMACY**

"We are a copy of the West, but an original... We must be ever Western, but another Western."<sup>31</sup>

— Fernando Henrique Cardoso – President of Republic

Some scholars embrace the idea that there is a Latin American civilization,<sup>32</sup> very close to the Western civilization, but distinct. President Cardoso believes that, as member of this civilization, Brazil is "a nation where there is pluralism. The cultural, political, ethnical, and religious Brazilian pluralism."<sup>33</sup> This sentiment of difference orients the nation's diplomatic posture. A pluralist society, Brazil has an enormous facility to establish strong relationships with other nations with no risk to their own security.

For Brazil, Latin America is the first focus of attention. According to the Constitution, the country should seek integration in economic, political, social, and cultural matters with the people of the region in order to build a Latin American community.<sup>34</sup>

In the First Meeting of Presidents of South American Countries, a most "historical and pioneer event in the region... the Head of States reassured their commitment to Latin American and Caribbean integration." That commitment emphasized convergence of interests among South American countries, based on a common history. The South American sub-continent begins the 21<sup>st</sup> Century striving to consolidate democratic institutions, reaffirming its commitment to a respect for human rights, protection of the environment, elimination of social injustices and development of their citizens through economic growth by pledging to maintain economic stability and deeply expanding the regional integration process.<sup>35</sup>

In the context of Latin America, South America deserves major attention. Due to its shared borders with all of the South American countries but two, Brazil is better positioned to lead that integration. It must be sought with no Brazilian hegemonic pretentiousness. Instead, the nation must seek to "promote regional stability and cooperation."<sup>36</sup> This cooperation becomes possible due to "consolidation of democracy and peace throughout the region," allowing "to surpass, through negotiated solutions, controversies between sister nations."<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, according to Maria Helena Techinardi, "Washington and the American investors recognize Brazil as a political and geo-economic factor in South America."<sup>38</sup> Thus, there is a real possibility that Brazil, supported by the United States, will lead economic and security integration among the South American countries.

Although Minister Geraldo Quintão supports the idea that "the geographical, political, socio-economical and cultural realities of the North, Central and South Americas"<sup>39</sup> are distinct, Brazil must examine the hemisphere as a whole. Strengthening hemispheric relationships consumes a large portion of Brazilian interests. However, the country believes that South American integration will facilitate the coordination of every nation's position in the context of negotiations for extended hemispheric integration.

Two main axes lead South American integration: the economic and the security aspects. In the economic axis, MERCOSUL causes difficulties due to the fact that the "conjuncture of the countries does not favor substantial progress,"<sup>40</sup> it is considered by President Fernando Henrique Cardoso as natural "destiny" for Brazil.<sup>41</sup> From currently being an agreement of some interest to Brazil, in the future it will become a top priority to ensure that the countries remain

united. Guaranteeing the continuity of the project, progress in commercial and cultural areas should lead the negotiations.

The agreement between MERCOSUL and the Andean Community, seeking the establishment of a free trade area among the countries signatories in 2002, is the fruit of the existence of a trust climate among the several nations involved. It is based on the adoption of democratic regime and is a commitment to a peaceful search for a resolution of conflicts. That agreement, even if its effective implementation is postponed, will help in the formation of a South American united image with a predisposition towards integration. The countries that are not members of these commercial pacts can be persuaded to join, once concrete results begin to verify the success of both trade pacts.

Still in the economic axis, another area is the physical integration of the infrastructure of states. According to Ambassador Rubens Barbosa, this "trans-border integration strengthens because it contains, among other factors, the geographical proximity, the cultural identity and the consolidation of common values."<sup>42</sup> Roads inter-connecting Brazil to other countries, will transform the borders into a development sphere, facilitating transit and trade. With that objective, the creation or improvement of highways that connect the Brazilian Amazon to the country's neighbors will successfully contribute to the growth and safety of the area. The trade in energy, particularly natural gas, petroleum and electricity are of great importance for the economic growth of the country. Agreements with Paraguay about the energy produced by the bi-national hydroelectric facilities of Itaipu; with Bolivia for the purchase of natural gas; with Venezuela and Argentina for the trade of petroleum and derived products, are concrete examples of regional integration. More opportunities of this nature exist and they should be identified through diplomacy in cooperation with other ministries, then promoted and developed.

In the area of security, Brazil believes that there can be great progress on the way to full integration. For more than 130 years it has not been involved in armed conflicts with its neighbors. It has perfectly defined borders. Traditionally, it is a peaceful country that respects and abides by decisions delivered by the international courts of arbitration (whenever it has appealed to those courts in attempts to resolve problems between itself and other countries). That historical background – allied to the fact that South America is the only continent that contains democratic countries with low indexes of military expenditures – has influenced Brazil to establish contacts with other nations at high levels of their Governments in attempts to preserve South America as an area free from nuclear weapons. It has also been determined and predominant in the search for peaceful resolution of conflicts. In these efforts, negotiations were initiated seeking to the creation of a South American Zone of Peace,<sup>43</sup> which will allow

Brazil, as well as the other countries, to concentrate their resources in economic development and in the improvement of their societies.

In the context of hemispheric integration, the creation of FTAA is an early initiative. There is no existing unanimity in Brazil regarding whether or not it should adhere to such commercial agreement. The recent Trade Promotion Authority (TPA) approved by the U.S. House of Representatives catalyzed the Brazilian Congress against the TPA's restrictions.<sup>44</sup> This lack of concurrence underlines the necessity of informing, with full disclosure, all segments of society of the advantages and disadvantages of the act, as well as all other pertinent information that might lead to an agreement.

The creation of a South American free trade agreement in the short term, as was intended by the Brazilian administration, will not occur due to economic and political problems in some South American countries, such as Argentina, Peru and Venezuela.<sup>45</sup> Hence, Brazil should prioritize the negotiations for the implementation of FTAA considering the various interests of Brazil's economic sectors, attempting to stimulate the more competitive ones and preserving those that need more time to adapt to international reality. Negotiations should be preferably conducted, considering Brazil in the context of MERCOSUL, according to norms already agreed upon by the World Trade Organization (WTO).

"A more pre-eminent performance of Brazil in the regional scenario must take in consideration our relationship with the USA."<sup>46</sup> Brazil considers this hegemonic power as the "most sensitive and important speaker." Although it has a frank and close relationship with the U.S., that relationship does not ensure automatic agreement with an American agenda.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has observed that "In the multilateral plan, there is a reevaluation of the international organisms, for instance, the United Nations (UN)."<sup>47</sup> This reevaluation has caused a significant increase in Brazil's presence in several world forums. In recent years, it has participated in peacekeeping missions in Mozambique, Angola and East Timor. According to the Itamaraty, in the specific case of Angola, a nation with strong historical ties to Brazil, there was the "most important Brazilian military presence in a foreign country since the arrival of the Brazilian Expeditionary Force in Italy in 1944/45."<sup>48</sup>

The United Nations has reformed its structure in the past few years in a process that it considers a "silent revolution".<sup>49</sup> The result of that reform is of great interest to Brazil, particularly as related to the Security Council (SC). The current structure of power is the same as when the UN was first created in 1945. The Security Council consists of just 15 of the 185 country-members and it continues with the same five permanent members. The permanent members have the right of veto without representation from any of the member nations that form the UN.

On November 10, 2001, President Fernando Henrique Cardoso stated to the 56th United Nations General Assembly that "No longer does it makes sense to confine to such a restricted group of countries the discussion of the themes that have to do with globalization and the events that happen unavoidably in the political and economic life of the emergent countries."<sup>50</sup> A possible solution calls for the enlargement of the Security Council to including major developing countries. In that sense, Brazil will continue to recommend the expansion of the Security Council and its place on the Council as the representative for Latin America.

Brazilian diplomacy has greatly contributed to the prevention of conflict and the strengthening of international relations. Unvarying dedication, coordination of effort and constructive planning are integral to its efforts in pursuing its agenda with themes like MERCOSUL, Andean Pact, FTAA, USA, WTO, European Union, the UN (and other international organizations), as well as treaties and agreements with other countries in areas of interest to Brazil. Attention to the South American and hemispheric integrations, both security and economic, will be predominant.

#### **PRESENCE AND DISSUASION**

The Brazilian armed forces are fully dispersed and are a viable presence throughout the entire country. During the course of time, they have proven their capability to defend the nation's geographical space as well as to execute presidential directives to preserve law and order.<sup>51</sup> With the modern transport resources now available, mainly air and ground resources, that presence and the ability to quickly converge on points of stress can be greatly improved.

To be present in an area is to possess a capacity to quickly assist and to help solve problems anywhere. Therefore, with modern transportation equipment, it is valid to say that the concentration of units of the armed forces in a rural area is perfectly feasible. Such a measure must, of necessity, be perceptively adopted, with the Ministry of the Defense carefully investigating the most appropriate units that should be moved. New locations for the assignment of forces should be carefully chosen away from the great urban centers of the country. Large in area, they should be positioned in places where their presence would contribute to the development and integration of the surrounding regions as well as facilitate personal safety and training of troops.

To ensure the greatest advantage of such a concentration of forces, the Ministry of the Defense should create combined military commands, placing forces of the Navy, Army and the Air Force under a unified command. This will help to structure the Armed Forces in a better position to exercise its dissuasive role in a regional context.

It will not be sufficient to just create combined military commands to increase our deterrent capacity. Due to its being a signatory to a series of international agreements that limit the employment of certain weapons and ammunition, Brazil must adapt its Armed Forces doctrines and military strategies to that reality. It will be necessary to increase efforts seeking modernization. The acquisition of new military equipment and supplies, preferably produced with the participation of Brazilian industries, should be made according to general directives issued by the Ministry of the Defense. New equipment and materials should seek to reduce the technological hiatus now existent in relation to the armed forces of developed countries such as the United Kingdom and France.

With forces endowed with more modern equipment, the Brazilian military will increase its dissuasion capacity. It will also provide better conditions for and facilitate its participation in multinational and peace operations under the auspices of international organizations such as the OAS and UN. The Brazilian military has demonstrated great professional competence in all of the international operations in which they have participated, contributing to the effort for a peaceful world. This competence will support Brazil when alterations in the structure of UN are considered.

At home, the sea and air patrols of territorial waters guarantee free passage of commercial vessels in transit and are a factor of the safety of our patrimony, particularly in our exploration for petroleum. The aircraft carrier Sao Paulo and our submarine force are important pieces of that effort. To further complement the foregoing effort, and as a way to expand the maritime security of the hemisphere, the government should study the feasibility of a combined naval force consisting of components of the navies of all countries in South America that wish to participate.<sup>52</sup>

The Amazon region's "great potential of natural resources, covered by the largest rain forest of the planet,"<sup>53</sup> is of great importance to Brazil. The Amazon has attracted the attention of many sectors of the international community that share with Brazil an interest in its preservation. In that sense, the Federal Government has two ongoing projects for the area, seeking to develop it, to preserve it and to protect it from several threats. They are: (1) the North Basin Project; (2) and the Systems of Protection and Surveillance of Amazon (SIPAM/SIVAM). Among the threats, those that stand out are the continuing drug traffic along the country's frontiers, the damage to the environment and the uncontrolled exploitation of fauna and flora that is being sponsored by certain organizations and commercial companies, as well as poor Brazilians trying to make a living. To rigorously control those non-governmental organizations

that work in the area will reduce illegal harvesting of natural resources which are used, among others, by the pharmaceutical industry.

The North Basin Project is an initiative that has as its objectives regional development and the maintenance of national sovereignty and territorial integrity.<sup>54</sup> It intends to contribute to the solution of the "demographic emptying of the most remote" areas as well as to reduce transnational crimes.<sup>55</sup>

To control the Northern region, SIPAM/SIVAM will initiate a complete coverage of the entire Amazon, permitting that area to be "watched permanently, controlled and supervised."<sup>56</sup> Because of its capacity for collection of data, such as environmental control, management of aerial traffic and monitoring of the meteorological conditions, the countries of the Amazon have demonstrated interest in sharing information. This confirms the existence of several forms of integration in South America.

Scientific and technological development, mainly in the areas under the responsibility of the Brazilian Space Agency, will also contribute to guarantee the presence of the State in the entire national territory. The release of Brazilian satellites, through national launchers, affirms enterprising capacity, at the same time that it allows remote imagery, communications, environmental control and meteorological forecast.

With the increase in the crime rate and acts of violence, particularly in the metropolitan areas, the Brazilian populace is worried and urgently demanding remedial action by the Government. The gravity and complexity of the public safety issues demand more zeal and realistic corrective action on the part of all levels of the public authority. Constitutionally, public security is "the duty of the State and the right and responsibility of all."<sup>57</sup> The Governors of the States and of the Federal District, as the direct superiors of the security units, must ensure the safety of their citizens, preserve public order and safeguard the people's right to remain unharmed as well as guarantee the safety of their property. It is unfortunate however, that the current atmosphere is one of fear as well as public anxiety deep feeling of insecurity.

According to the Cardoso's Government Agenda, "Inside of its sphere of competence, the Federal Government has been prioritizing the fight to combat money laundering that is the financial lung of the organized crime."<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, the Government Agenda intends to adopt new initiatives in seeking to: (1) Implement the devices of the "Convention of the United Nations for the Combat of Organized Transnational Crime and of its additional protocols on traffic of weapons, of people and of immigrants; (2) Provide support to the Federal Police and Interpol for re-equipment, training, assembly of laboratories and incorporation of technologies for the

combat of organized crime; and (3) Lobby administrations close to the UN, OAS and MERCOSUL for adoption of joint measures against the traffic of weapons."<sup>59</sup>

It is the government's responsibility to signal directions and coordinate actions to try to reduce public insecurity. To increase public safety, two measures should be followed. The first one is for the short period – those actions that will immediately affect the populace and disaffected elements. The second, looking forward to medium and long range time frames, is the modification of behaviors and adaptation of institutions.

Actions to be undertaken in the short period to improve public safety should consist, among others, of the following: (1) To consolidate the Intelligence of Public Security System,<sup>60</sup> in way that integrates the organs of intelligence of public security of States and the Federal District. This will facilitate police preventive actions to reduce crimes against persons and institutions committed for the benefit of individuals, organized crime, drug and illegal gun smuggling operations. It can also coordinate with the intelligence organs of other countries, especially MERCOSUL; (2) Accelerate the unification of the command of the civilian and the state military police, which would materially increase efforts to lower the crime rate; (3) Hasten the vote on the proposed Constitutional Amendment that would allow the creation of agreements between State and Municipal governments to integrate the municipal guards' actions with those of the police forces; (4) Increase professional training of the police forces, improving their investigative qualities, educating them to the necessity of respect for the human rights, and adapting their equipment, training and arms to the peculiarities of each State; (5) Initiate voluntary civil service in the States based on those young men who were exempt from the obligatory military service in order to increase the sense of citizenship; (6) Establish telephonic service for the citizenry to utilize in reporting civil rights violations; (7) Enlarge the current National System of Attendance to Victims and Witnesses; (8) Install Council of Woman, both in the States and Municipal districts; (9) Promote, in national ambit, the standardization of actions to combat violence against women,<sup>61</sup> and (10) Create mechanisms of financial assistance to the States and municipalities that enforce the above measures.

In both the medium and long periods, the actions should affect not only the police forces but also society as a whole. The improvement of the quality of the education ranks in first place. Teaching should be directed towards the citizenship. The students need to learn the importance of respect for law and order, the value of public properties and to exercise their rights as voters and consumers. The media can be of great help in the educational process by promoting ethical values and by extolling the virtues of a culture of peace and strict adherence to the rule of law.<sup>62</sup> To further aid in improvements to quality education, police forces should also be empowered to

ensure strict execution of the laws in this area. Whether criminal or civil offences such as drug abuse, traffic violations, protection of the public patrimony or "white collar" crime, the populace requires assurance that local and national authorities are ever present and ready to act in the name of justice to preserve a healthy social coexistence. Along the same line, the reform of the Judiciary System is indispensable. That maxim that the "Justice delays but it comes" needs to give place to one of an equitable Justice of faster decisions and copious capabilities.

Another field for improvement is public health. Medical and dental care should be available to all, as prescribed in the Constitution.<sup>63</sup> Also, preventive health, such as vaccinations, basic sanitation and treatment of water, should measure high on the list of priorities. Combating corruption in the health services, the Government can guarantee an adequate use of budget to attend the populace.

The National Congress is currently studying the possibility of creating a National Guard, designed for the protection of goods and services of the Union. It is important that the pertinent legislation considers the employment of that future unit in "critical situations in the field of public security."<sup>64</sup>

In summary, the Brazilian Armed Forces should adopt a new concept of national presence, establishing combined military commands and modernizing equipment and materials. The organs of Public Security demand greater attention. Measures of short, medium and long term need to be implemented in order to reestablish the trust of the nation in the police forces and to reduce the high indexes of existent crime rate. Finally, the Amazon region, a top priority security area of interest, will become fully integrated with the rest of the Country as its needs are addressed.

### **Responding to crises**

In case the measures previously mentioned are not sufficient to prevent either internal or external conflicts, Brazil is prepared at all times to use its national power to defend against threats that can affect the safety of the nation, its citizens and its institutions.

### **DECISION FOR THE EMPLOYMENT OF MILITARY FORCES**

The decision to mobilize military forces depends exclusively on the President of the Republic, who will normally accept the recommendations given by the Council of National Defense.<sup>65</sup> Advice given to the President should be presented in such way that leaves no doubt that all peaceful solutions have already been tried. As a general rule, the use of the armed forces would be authorized in situations where the vital interests are at stake such as threats to

the Brazilian homeland by foreign actors and, internally, threats to Brazilian citizens as well as to the patrimonial integrity.

In the cases of a threat to national sovereignty by an external actor, resorting to the use of military power will be the last option that remains for Brazil to defend itself. Employment of forces should be done to reach a clearly defined political objective and one that is compatible with the means allocated to the military component. Risks with which our forces will be confronted should be considered. These will influence the decision of whether or not to employ the military.

For internal protection of the citizens and the national patrimony, the employment of the Armed Forces will occur only when the available resources of the public security are deemed inadequate or have been exhausted.<sup>66</sup> In this case, the Federal Government will define the measures to be adopted, include the military ones, to protect the citizens and the national patrimony.

Once resolved that the employment of the military forces is the best solution, two principles should be emphasized: (1) They should receive a clear mission, accompanied by the necessary means to reach their objectives; and (2) The support of the Brazilian population, as well as the allies and international organizations, will be indispensable to success.

#### **DEFENSE AGAINST THREATS**

Due to its status of medium power, Brazilian resources are limited but growing. When facing a crisis, selective responses should be employed, concentrating efforts against those threats that affect national interests. The appropriate use of available means, in an isolated or combined way, will help to guarantee success. Among the available tools for use by the Government, those that stand out are the employment of information, diplomacy, economic measures, effective utilization of intelligence and of counter-intelligence and the military.

As a real threat to the Country appears, such as the utilization of part of Brazil's territory by military or paramilitary forces belonging to neighboring countries, the Government will develop public information campaigns directed towards the populace, informing it on the ongoing situation and the risks that need to be faced. The willpower of the people is essential to sustain actions that the Government should adopt in order to obtain a favorable solution to the crisis.

If the threats are from other countries or from non-state actors, Brazil will attempt to form alliances and coalitions with countries that share its common goals. It is important that international organizations, such as the OAS and the UN, support the actions that the Brazilian government takes to guarantee territorial integrity.

International support is not obtained gratuitously. It is fruit of previous work, built on solid Constitutional principles of national independence, non-intervention, self-determination of the people, equality among national States, prevalence of human rights, defense of the peace and strong desire to arrive at peaceful conflict solutions to a conflict.<sup>67</sup>

Guaranteed internal and external support, economic and financial measures will be taken for facilitating the employment of military forces. At the same time, direct action that will deny access to and the generation of resources utilized by those that threaten Brazil will be undertaken in an attempt to reduce their short and long range capacity to persevere in the attack.

The Brazilian Agency of Intelligence should assess the internal and external conjunctures, gathering the necessary data, analyzing and then disseminating it in sufficient time to the decision-makers to allow them to take appropriate actions. It is also the Agency's responsibility to deny access to Brazil's classified information by unauthorized sources and those that threaten the safety of the Country.

With well-trained armed forces, endowed with contemporary armaments and modern equipment compatible with the political-strategic stature of the nation, the state will seek to obtain a favorable, fast and durable end to a conflict. If this is not feasible, given the possibility of superior the enemy forces, the country is prepared to conduct a lengthy campaign, attempting to decimate enemy force in the field at the same time that it reinforces its position in the international ambit.

#### CONTRIBUTING TO PROJECT THE COUNTRY

One of the aspirations of Brazil is to be recognized as an important actor in the world decision making process. To be projected internationally, it depends on a series of factors; those that stand out are economic development, democracy, and respect for human rights and active participation in international organizations. The success of these factors in Brazil is slowly noticed by the international community.

In the recent past, the fast and decisive involvement of certain countries in the solution of crises within in their areas of influence strongly contributed to the acceleration of international esteem and respect for those countries. For instance, the crises between Ecuador and Peru and that in East Timor. On both occasions, there was a ready response on the part of regional leaders. Brazil, together with the United States, Argentina and Chile, had a decisive peacemaking role in the crisis between Ecuador and Peru.<sup>68</sup> In the same way, Australia stopped the massacres that were carried out in East Timor. This attitude of assuming responsibility for

what happens within its circle of influence differentiates the leaders from those being led and is clearly noted by the international community.

In the Western Hemisphere, the Colombian crisis is a problem of gigantic proportions, which has persisted for decades. To resolve this conflict requires international aid and assistance. Brazil not only has the capability to intervene and aid its bordering country, but as the largest country in South America it has the responsibility of pushing the measures agreed by all South American presidents during the Summit of Brasilia. The country's successful involvement will benefit the entire region through the reduction of threats, the renewal of the vision of South America as a Peace Zone and the improvement of conditions for economic and social development. As a spontaneous effect of that performance, Brazil would accelerate its entry onto the world stage.

### **Colombian crisis**

The Colombian crisis has continued for more than fifty years without any visible solution in sight. The country "is unable to protect the rights of its citizens, thus raising serious questions of political legitimacy. A Hobbesian trinity of narcotraffickers, guerrillas, and paramilitaries has amassed one of the worst records of human rights abuses ever witnessed in this hemisphere."<sup>69</sup>

For Brazil to assume a more active participation in Colombian matters, there will first have to be a formal request for aid from the Colombian Government. Geraldo Quintão defends the idea that "Any aid should be done inside of the guidelines that have traditionally guided Brazilian external action, such as non-intervention and respect for self-determination by the people of other countries."<sup>70</sup>

Max B. Manwaring, commenting the U.S. Security Policy in the Western Hemisphere, believes that the solution to the Colombian crisis requires simultaneous actions in several different spheres: "Political-diplomatic, Socio-economic, Psychological-moral and Stability-security."<sup>71</sup> As demonstrated in its recent involvement in the solution of the conflict between Ecuador and Peru, Brazil, after a formal request for assistance, can contribute to the pacification of the adjoining country. There are several areas in which the nation can assist. The idea of Brazilian military participation should be discarded, not only because it would violate the Constitution but also to avoid the breaking of a cycle of more than 130 years since the Brazilian military became involved in conflict with any of the adjacent countries.

Commencing from the moment that Brazil is requested to participate more actively in the solution of the crisis, the Country will demonstrate with its actions the commitment contained in the Statement of Brasilia of "narrowing cooperation in the fields of intelligence and police

operations to control traffic and deviations of chemical precursors, control of the illicit traffic of weapons, and to combat money laundering."<sup>72</sup>

## **CONCLUSION**

Without security, there are no conditions favorable to maintain sustained development in a nation. In most cases, resources applied by a country in the area of security are sufficient to protect the populace. However, results are usually not as good as could be expected due to a lack of centralized planning by the Government.

After the end of the military regime in 1985, the Brazilian political leadership, with the support of the media, decided to abolish all of the remnants of that regime. The expression "national security" was seen as an excuse used to violate political and human rights. The expression was changed to the term "national defense." As it is discussed in this paper, the two expressions have different meanings, of different scope.

The great majority of the countries considered to be successful possess their own national security strategy. Brazil cannot afford the luxury of doing without. The Country lacks a detailed directive from the Government, approved by the Congress, explaining the necessary strategic actions needed to create a feeling of security in the strict sense of the word - of being safe from all danger, internal or external.

This work attempts to contribute to the national debate, calling attention to subjects that have not been thoroughly disclosed to public scrutiny. It sets forth a new concept of national security compatible with the level of Brazilian development; a definition of the values and national interests that have been the subject of discussion by politicians and intellectuals but have not been made public; influences on the Country of some future scenarios; threats faced by Brazil; and concludes with a proposed national security strategy. Many of the planned actions have already been implemented by the government, others are unpublished.

On 13 September 2001, President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, addressing the Presidents of the Federal Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies, stated that "any country or citizen is, today, not exempt from the possibility of an attack of irrationality."<sup>73</sup> In order to better protect our people, Brazil must have a national security strategy.

WORD COUNT = 10.602

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<sup>3</sup> Sally Wehmeier. "Oxford Word power Dictionary". (Oxford University Press, Sixth impression, 1994).

<sup>4</sup> Luiz Felipe Lampreia. "O Brasil e o Mundo no Século XXI: Uma Visão do Itamaraty", Política Externa – Vol. 5 – N.3 (Dezembro 1996).

<sup>5</sup> National Intelligence Council, Global Trends 2015: A Dialogue About the Future With Nongovernmental Experts, (Washington, DC: National Intelligence Council, December 2000), 15.

<sup>6</sup> Luiz Felipe Lampreia.

<sup>7</sup> MERCOSUL, Mercado Comum do Sul (Southern Common Market) is the common market formed by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay.

<sup>8</sup> National Intelligence Council, 52.

<sup>9</sup> Manuel Cambeses Júnior, "Aspectos da Conjuntura Internacional". Available from <http://www.esg.br/publicacoes/artigos/a055.htm>. Internet. Accessed 09 May 2001.

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<sup>11</sup> Luiz Felipe Lampreia.

<sup>12</sup> National Intelligence Council, 10.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, 26.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, 52.

<sup>16</sup> Luiz Felipe Lampreia.

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<sup>18</sup> Geraldo Magela da Cruz Quintão, Defesa, Diplomacia e o Cenário Estratégico Brasileiro, Posture Statement presented to the Students of Instituto Rio Branco (Brasília, DF: 28 August 2000).

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<sup>32</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, 46.

<sup>33</sup> Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Statement of the President of Brazil on the Graduation of Instituto Rio Branco - Class 2001.

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<sup>60</sup> Decreto N. 3.695, de 21 de Dezembro de 2000. Cria o Subsistema de Inteligência de Segurança Pública, no âmbito do Sistema Brasileiro de Inteligência.

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