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**BRAZILIAN WAR COLLEGE:
academic-military pathway followed since 1949**

The Brazilian War College (ESG - Escola Superior de Guerra) marks an important milestone: 75 years of reflecting on Brazil's strategic interests. Since its establishment on August 20, 1949, in Rio de Janeiro, where it remains headquartered, ESG has served as a place where thinkers and leaders, civilians and military, are forged. It is a platform where they exchange ideas, diverge, converge and discuss the paths of national defense and security.

Within its classrooms, auditoriums, and hallways, ESG fosters the study of strategic arts and defense policies, among other related disciplines. These studies aim to equip students with the knowledge needed to confront the challenges faced by Brazil and the global community.

Over the past 75 years, ESG has introduced and refined various courses, adapting their content and titles to meet contemporary needs. Postgraduate programs, in both the *lato sensu* and the *stricto sensu*, were launched in 2016 and 2019, respectively, and have been taught by a distinguished roster of professors, instructors, and guest lecturers. Throughout its history, ESG has evolved to address modern phenomena such as artificial intelligence, drone technology, cyber warfare, and conflicts driven by social media. Its mission is to inspire and facilitate the exchange of ideas that will help shape Brazil's future.

Today, ESG has established itself as a cornerstone in the building of strategies that protect and promote Brazil's development. Its graduates, like shining stars, rose to prominent positions, guiding the nation's course with wisdom and courage. The institution is thus revered for its academic excellence and for being a vibrant forum for discussions on the great challenges of our time.

This year, in particular, it is time to recount the various pathways followed by ESG, including this set of articles that aims to read the past, echo the present and project the future. ESG has prepared a number of events to commemorate this date: the release of this special publication, seminars and workshops that are designed to share knowledge and encourage new ideas that can generate invaluable contributions. These celebrations not only recall the past, but also light the flame of the future, highlighting the importance of education and strategic thinking as pillars of Brazil's tomorrow.

**Vice Admiral Marcelo Menezes Cardoso
Commandant of Brazilian War College**



LETTER FROM THE EDITOR IN CHIEF

In the commemorative year marking the 75th anniversary of the Brazilian War College (Escola Superior de Guerra, ESG), this issue presents a collection of articles that provide analyses and reflections on the challenges and opportunities faced by Brazil within the global geopolitical landscape. These articles emphasize topics such as Defense, International Security, International Relations, Politics, Economy, and related thematic areas, while also tracing ESG's history from 1949 to future prospects. This publication not only celebrates ESG's history with a critical and balanced perspective but also envisions its future, reaffirming a commitment to knowledge, military-civilian partnerships, and modern and unbiased education engaged with science, social issues and the development of strategic policies in Brazil's interest.

Each article, each page, each writer testifies the legacy left by the Institution's pioneers and reviews and updates the studies generated here for the new generations of thinkers. This 86th edition, the second issue of the year, serves as a tribute to the past, as recalled by authors Jamylle de Almeida Ferreira and Luiza das Neves Gomes in the sixth article; and, as confirmed by the second article, written by Sandoval Góes, it embodies hope for a promising future, reaffirming ESG as a center of knowledge and innovation.

The inaugural article, titled *A Escola Superior de Guerra e o desenvolvimento do Brasil* (Brazilian War College and the development of Brazil), authored by Sebastião André Alves de Lima Filho, narrates the genesis of the "house where Brazil's destiny is studied" and discusses its connection with the prospects of national modernization in the scientific, technical and industrial areas after the Second World War, marked by a geopolitically bipolar world.

In the second article, *A grande estratégia brasileira da tríplice tríade: pensando o futuro do país* (The grand Brazilian strategy of the triple triad: thinking about the future of the country), Guilherme Sandoval Góes proposes a distinctly national model aimed at overcoming the absence of a comprehensive strategy to direct Brazil towards fulfilling constitutional objectives, particularly in the social realm, and positioning the nation among the top five global powers.

In the third article, *Biblioteca General Cordeiro de Farias: arqueologia do conhecimento - uma abordagem sobre a conservação e preservação do acervo da Escola Superior de Guerra* (General Cordeiro de Farias Library: Archeology of Knowledge - an approach to the conservation and preservation of the Brazilian War College collection), the authors Antonio Rocha Freire Milhomens and Maria Célia Barbosa Reis da Silva showcase the history and importance of this research space and write almost a love letter to this place, a democratic symbol dedicated to preserving collective knowledge and fostering cultural education.

Eduardo Rizzatti Salomão's article, *José Honório Rodrigues na Escola Superior de Guerra e o debate sobre a formação da nacionalidade* (José Honório Rodrigues at the Brazilian War College and the debate on the formation of nationality), explores the often-overlooked connection between this influential historian and the

institution between 1955 and 1964, as well as his works arising from this dialectical and productive environment. The historian José Honório played an important role as an intellectual and educator during the time he contributed to Brazilian War College, notably in the development of strategic thinking and in the training of civilian and military intellectuals and researchers.

In the fifth article, Guilherme Lopes da Cunha, Ana Flávia Granja e Barros, Paulo Eduardo Aguiar Saraiva Câmara, and Fábio Albergaria de Queiroz note that, while Brazil's formal signing of the Antarctic Treaty occurred in 1975, the nation has been engaged in related policies and scientific activities since the 1950s. A historical analysis of Brazil's relationship with Arctic issues is carried out on *Escola Superior de Guerra e o Pensamento Antártico Brasileiro desde a década de 1950* (Brazilian War College and Brazilian Antarctic thinking since the 1950s), presenting ESG as the national epicenter of the debate.

In *As raízes nacionalistas da professora Therezinha de Castro e seu legado para a Escola Superior de Guerra* (The nationalist roots of Professor Therezinha de Castro and her legacy for Brazilian War College), Jamylle de Almeida Ferreira and Luiza das Neves Gomes conduct genealogical research to discuss the origins of this significant geographer, whose pioneering thoughts and passion continue to resonate today. Therezinha de Castro's academic empowerment as a prominent woman scholar earned her a notable place on Brazil's geopolitical map and beyond. Her extensive work remains a vital resource for reevaluating Brazil's geopolitical potential and updating the framework of Geopolitics and its related disciplines. Therezinha de Castro was a permanent staff member at ESG and now lends her name to the Institute that houses the ESG Press, the Postgraduate Program in International Security and Defense (PPGSID), and Research Groups.

In the article *Escola Superior de Guerra: 75 anos contribuindo com o conhecimento em segurança, desenvolvimento e defesa* (Brazilian War College: 75 Years contributing to knowledge in security, development, and defense), Professor Jacintho Maia Neto, discusses the interdisciplinary nature of the institution and its academic evolution over decades to keep pace with scientific discourse, examining the influence and the impact of its updated guidelines and regulations.

In the last article, *Escola Superior de Guerra: mobilização total pelo destino do Brasil* (Brazilian War College: total mobilization for Brazil's destiny), Rodrigo Fampa Negreiros Lima and Patrícia de Oliveira Bastos approach Ernst Jünger's ideas to highlight the importance of fostering a culture of holistic engagement in war studies that goes beyond the military, involving civilians and a range of professional and intellectual efforts.

Celebrate the 75th anniversary of the Brazilian War College by dedicating your attention to the insightful articles presented here.

Maria Célia Barbosa Reis da Silva
Editor in Chief

BRAZILIAN WAR COLLEGE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF BRAZIL

A ESCOLA SUPERIOR DE GUERRA (ESG) E O DESENVOLVIMENTO DO BRASIL

LA ESCUELA SUPERIOR DE GUERRA (ESG) Y EL DESARROLLO DE BRASIL

Sebastião André Alves de Lima Filho*

ABSTRACT

This article outlines the stages leading to the creation of the Brazilian War College and its interconnection with the planning of Brazil's development. The establishment of the Brazilian War College was influenced by a gradual shift in military thought that began to prioritize the relationship between National Security, military effectiveness and Brazil's progress. The experience of the Brazilian Expeditionary Force during Second World War, alongside armies with advanced technical, scientific, and industrial capabilities, highlighted the significant disparity between the level of modernization achieved by the Allied nations and Brazil. This gap concerned Brazilian officers who, since the twenties aimed (1920) to overcome the scientific and technological divide separating Brazil from major industrialized nations. From its inception, the Brazilian War College aimed to establish an identity that underscored its role as an institution responsible for designing and promoting the much-desired development. The extensive range of topics involving Brazil's development covered throughout the academic year, as well as the numerous study trips, some abroad, for example, contributed to the image that the Brazilian War College was essential for the planning of national modernization.

Keywords: Brazilian War College; National Security; Brazilian development.

RESUMO

Este artigo descreve as etapas que culminaram na criação da Escola Superior de Guerra (ESG) e sua interligação com o planejamento do desenvolvimento brasileiro. A formação

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da Escola Superior de Guerra (ESG) foi influenciada pela mudança gradual no pensamento militar que começou a priorizar a correlação entre Segurança Nacional, eficácia do aparato militar e o progresso do Brasil. A experiência da Força Expedicionária Brasileira (FEB) na Segunda Grande Guerra, ao lado de exércitos com avançado desenvolvimento técnico, científico e industrial, reforçou o entendimento acerca da profunda diferença entre o nível de modernização alcançado pelas nações aliadas e o Brasil. Esse desnível incomodava os oficiais brasileiros, que desde os anos vinte ambicionavam superar as distâncias científicas e tecnológicas que nos separavam das grandes nações industrializadas. Desde o início de seu funcionamento a Escola Superior de Guerra (ESG) buscou imprimir uma identidade que demarcava e reforçava a ideia de que seria uma instituição que se encarregaria de desenhar e induzir o tão almejado desenvolvimento. A grande quantidade de temas envolvendo o desenvolvimento do Brasil que eram tratados durante o ano letivo, as inúmeras viagens de estudos, algumas ao exterior, por exemplo, contribuíram com a imagem de que a Escola Superior de Guerra (ESG) seria necessária ao planejamento da modernização nacional.

Palavras-chave: Escola Superior de Guerra; Segurança Nacional; desenvolvimento brasileiro.

RESUMEN

Este artículo describe las etapas que culminaron en la creación de la Escuela Superior de Guerra (ESG) y su interconexión con la planificación del desarrollo brasileño. La formación de la Escuela Superior de Guerra (ESG) fue influenciada por el cambio gradual en el pensamiento militar que comenzó a priorizar la correlación entre Seguridad Nacional, eficacia del aparato militar y el progreso de Brasil. La experiencia de la Fuerza Expedicionaria Brasileña (FEB) en la Segunda Gran Guerra, junto a ejércitos con un avanzado desarrollo técnico, científico e industrial, reforzó la comprensión sobre la profunda diferencia entre el nivel de modernización alcanzado por las naciones aliadas y Brasil. Esta disparidad incomodaba a los oficiales brasileños, que desde los años veinte aspiraban a superar las distancias científicas y tecnológicas que nos separaban de las grandes naciones industrializadas. Desde el inicio de su funcionamiento, la Escuela Superior de Guerra (ESG) buscó imprimir una identidad que marcara y reforzara la idea de que sería una institución encargada de diseñar e inducir el tan anhelado desarrollo. La gran cantidad de temas relacionados con el desarrollo de Brasil que se trataban durante el año lectivo, los numerosos viajes de estudio, algunos al extranjero, por ejemplo, contribuyeron a la imagen de que la Escuela Superior de Guerra (ESG) sería necesaria para la planificación de la modernización nacional.

Palabras clave: Escuela Superior de Guerra; Seguridad Nacional; desarrollo brasileño

1 INTRODUCTION

The establishment of the Brazilian War College resulted from significant transformations within the Armed Forces, particularly the Army. The most notable influences were the arrival of the French Military Mission in 1919 and Brazil's participation in World War II. From World War I, the Brazilian military received only theoretical instruction from French officers who had fought in the war. They did not, as in World War II, directly experience the deadly mechanisms unleashed by advances in science and technology and the refinement of productive forces.

Despite the active involvement of young lieutenants who sought to reshape the Republican political model during the 1920s, their ideas and initiatives were temporarily set aside due to ongoing skirmishes. More philosophical than pragmatic, and still influenced by positivist ideals, the military leaders aligned with the lieutenants' movement considered themselves "scientifically" educated and equipped to address Brazil's challenges.

When compared to another cohort of military personnel from the same period, we see that this group prioritized modernizing the military apparatus before formulating solutions to mitigate Brazil's "backwardness." Not coincidentally, the officers directly involved in the establishment of the Brazilian War College began their careers within this context of deep change and rupture in the Brazilian military institution.

Figures like Juarez Távora, Cordeiro de Farias, Góes Monteiro, and Golbery do Couto e Silva, among others, learned from foreign influences the importance of building a foundation for the nation's scientific and technological infrastructure. As Domingos aptly stated (2007, p. 34):

The French military introduces renovations in medicine and veterinary medicine; they train geographers and cartographers, unifying the work in these specialties; they reveal the importance of demographic studies and the planning of transport infrastructure; they develop an interest in chemistry and metallurgy with a view to producing weapons and ammunition; they introduce statistical procedures, without which compulsory military service would be unfeasible; they organize the aviation of the Army and guide the first regulations of civil aviation; they teach modern administrative principles and interfere in the sending of French academics fundamental to the creation of the University of São Paulo.

2. FROM THE BRAZILIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE (FEB) TO THE BRAZILIAN WAR COLLEGE (ESG)

The desire to advance Brazil's development was not exclusive to the Armed Forces; however, it took tangible form within the military realm. During World War II, contact with foreign military forces highlighted both the limitations of the Brazilian officers and the broader deficiencies in Brazil's industrial, scientific, and technological sectors. These gaps underscored the need for the establishment of the Brazilian War College.

For the military, Brazil's participation in World War II was not solely about defending the nation, freedom, and democracy. General Cordeiro de Farias, commander of the FEB's artillery and one of the founders of the Brazilian War College, described the profound impact of Brazil's involvement in the war:

The impact of the FEB was such that we went back to Brazil looking for models of government that would work: order, planning, rational finances. We didn't find this model in Brazil at that stage, but we decided to look for ways to find a way forward in the long term. ESG was the means for this and ESG came from the experience of FEB (Farias, 1972, p. 21).

The understanding that the Brazilian War College was born from the experience of the Brazilian Expeditionary Force is also shared by General Golbery:

The FEB military wanted a very rapid development for Brazil. The FEB wasn't just important for going to Italy. Possibly even more important was the visit of FEB members to the United States, where they saw firsthand a great democratic and industrial power. It was an opening of horizons. I was and was a great impact: for me, it was perfectly clear that a country under free enterprise had been successful in creating a great industrial power (Golbery apud Stepan, 1975, p.176).

In the perceptions of the military who planned the creation of the Brazilian War College, the progressive modernization of the Brazilian military apparatus was delayed, due, in great measure, to the deficiencies in infrastructure, a reflection of the civilian elites, indifferent to the problems of development and of the Security of Brazil. ESG's creator, Marshal Salvador César Obino, expressed this idea briefly:

Our School came at the right time, as if reflecting a general

desire to eliminate the watertight compartments in which the Nation was divided and which hindered the study of an efficient organization, a basis of trust and mutual knowledge. The two world wars focused on the need for a perfect understanding between the civil and military elites, in the sense of organizing the Nation for its defense [...]. In Brazil, the civilian element was oblivious to the needs of the Armed Forces. It was to connect civilians and military that we launched the idea of ESG 9 (Obino, 2003, pp. 62-65).

The Brazilian War College assumed the responsibility, aligned with its values, beliefs, and doctrines, to “educate” the nation’s elites with the aim of transforming Brazil into a developed country. As the legitimate voice in military discussions surrounding national development, the Brazilian War College not only engaged in this discourse but also intensified the political consciousness of Armed Forces officers. This engagement resulted in a cadre of officers who were consistently politicized, committed, and aware of the objectives required to fulfill the principles of the War College, aligning with Brazil’s defense and modernization efforts.

At the time of World War II, Brazil was a nation deeply dependent on foreign support in terms of military, industrial, technological, and scientific capabilities. The country lacked even a basic industrial base sufficient to meet essential war production needs, which were critical for supplying the campaign materials needed by the Brazilian Expeditionary Force troops fighting in the Italian Apennines.

This technical deficiency profoundly affected the Brazilian Expeditionary Force, impacting both officers and soldiers. The significant disparity between the Brazilian and foreign Armed Forces engaged in the conflict was strikingly clear. As General Octávio Costa recalled:

When we returned from the war, the FEB brought the equipment, then modern, with which it had fought in Europe. And the rest of the Army was still on the back of the donkey, from the time of the Frenchman. That was the first shock. Starting with the dropping of the Hiroshima bomb in 1945, the Americans began to think about the use of nuclear weapons in the tactical field as well. They’ve subverted all your previous operational ideas. I know this very closely because I was with ECEME, and I saw everything from the professional-military point of view and not from the political point of view. So what happened? The Americans were no longer with that organization from the time of the Second World War. They experimented with new organizations on the basis of the atomic weapon, which

they believed would go onto the battlefield. They began to create pentomic divisions, that is, divisions with five battalions employed according to the doctrine of the use of nuclear weapons in combat, not only in strategy. From there, we get lost. Why? You see, we had an army with a large part still on the back of the donkey of French time, a piece of the organization of the Second World War. Meanwhile, the Americans were already thinking about an organization based on atomic weapons (Costa apud D'Araujo; Soares; Castro, 1994, p. 96).

What stands out in the above quote is the environment that sparked the motivations to transform Brazil's reality. The context of modern wars, fought between nation-states, underscores the importance of scientific and technological development in enabling a country to aspire to great power status. The Italian thinker Gramsci (1989) recognized this principle, stating that the ultimate criterion for determining a great power would be set by war: "The concept of great powers is closely linked to wars" (Gramsci, 1989, p. 191).

The nations that emerge as or become great powers are those that, upon achieving peace, maintain balanced relations of force and power with their allies, allowing them to uphold agreements and commitments established at the onset of hostilities. Conversely, a nation that must rely on loans, arms supplies, and transportation from allies for troop mobilization—essentially lacking self-sufficient defense capabilities—and continues to require financial or other forms of support post-conflict, will struggle to stand as an equal among its allies and face significant challenges in maintaining agreements.

Such a nation would hold the title of a power only in diplomatic terms; in concrete terms, it would be viewed merely as a probable supplier of raw materials and manpower to a coalition that possesses the resources to sustain its own military forces and finance those of its allies (Gramsci, 1989, p. 191). This was the state of Brazil in the early 1950s, deeply dependent on and subordinate to foreign interests.

The idea that economic and scientific advancement is essential for an effective military organization did not originate solely from the effects of World War II. From the sixteenth century onward, capitalism, in alliance with science, began to reshape the ways societies organized themselves to settle rivalries on the battlefield.

The examination of the social, economic, and political ramifications of technological innovations in warfare as modernity emerged was not overlooked when Anderson (1989, p. 21) studied the formation of the modern

state, observing that “the development of the cast bronze cannon made gunpowder, for the first time, the decisive weapon in the art of war, rendering the defenses of manor castles obsolete.” However, during the two world wars of the 20th century, the capacity for destruction grew extraordinarily with the application of scientific and technological advancements to instruments of war.

The military leaders at the Brazilian War College understood that, from World War II onward, conflicts would increasingly demand scientific and technological expertise. Nations aiming for a degree of autonomy and influence in the emerging global order would need to invest heavily in developing a scientific and technological infrastructure. These were the ideas shared by Lieutenant Colonel Idálio Sardenberg with the military officers attending the Advanced War Course at the Brazilian War College in 1952:

The Second Great Conflagration was a war of applied science. Almost all known scientific possibilities have been exploited for the application of theoretical knowledge to the art of war. A large number of new devices have been designed, tested and put into service. Modern weapons, when employed against a nation that has no corresponding means of defense, are actually terrifying and make any attempt at defense derisory. We, for example, here in Brazil, are placed in the face of nations possessing atomic weapons and strong aviation, in the situation of Indians who had to face, armed with bow and arrow, troops provided with the whole range of firearms; they are different eras and there is no resource capable of overcoming the immense difference that exists between them. However, things happen differently when two contenders are confronted that are equally capable of handling and producing, in quantity, these new mills (Sardenberg, 1952, p. 7).

The military leaders who established the Brazilian War College were no longer satisfied with the role of mere supporting actors within the Cold War context. For this group of officers, Brazil should transition from being a nation primarily supplying combat labor and agricultural products to becoming a modern, highly developed country.

The creation of the Brazilian War College was closely linked to the strengthening of relations between the Brazilian Armed Forces and those of the United States. Following the FEB's experience, cooperation agreements between Brazil and the United States intensified. The proposal to establish the ESG aligned with visits by Brazilian officers to U.S. military institutions.

Before Marshal Cordeiro de Farias was appointed as the organizer of the ESG, officers under the command of General Salvador César Obino attended the National War College in the United States, during which time a military cooperation agreement was established. One of the goals of this agreement was to send an American military mission to assist with the establishment of the Brazilian War College, modeled after the National War College.

In 1956, a group of U.S. military personnel from the National War College visited the ESG to observe the institution they had helped to establish. During their visit, they were briefed on ESG's objectives as follows:

The Brazilian War College, which is similar to your National War College, attended by both civilian and military, it aims especially at: (1) Establishment of a doctrine of National Security. (2) Formulation of a policy of National Security. (3) The elaboration of a technique of planning for National Security in the high echelons of the government (Escola Superior de Guerra, 1956).¹

ESG was not only influenced by the National War College. He also assimilated traits of the French congener:

Seeking its basic model at the National War College of the United States, we did not forget, however, the organizers of our ESG to also study the School of the same genre, pioneer all over the world, created in France, in 1936, even before the Second War, by inspiration of the famous Admiral Castex, concerned then, almost obsessively, with the problem that he called "unity of war", to demand the joint study of civilians and military of the highest projection in the national community, not only during the course of the armed conflict, but also in periods of tension, and not only as regards exclusively military aspects, but also in relation to political, economic aspects, (Fragoso, 1972, p. 22).

However, American influence was evident. The experience of the FEB played a significant role in shaping ESG's perspectives on designing Brazil's National Security Policy within the framework of the bipolar conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union. By aligning with the societal paradigm

1 The Brazilian War College, similar to the American National School of War, attended by both civilians and military personnel, aims especially at: (1) Establishing a National Security doctrine. (2) Formulation of a national security policy. (3) The elaboration of a National Security Planning Technique at the top echelons of the government (Brazilian War College, 1956)

of the former, ESG conveyed through the National Security Doctrine a worldview that reinforced organizational structures supporting democratic society and the free market.

Consequently, the Brazilian War College's proposals for Brazil's development model were rooted in a logic that emphasized strengthening the Brazilian state while deepening economic liberalism.

It is therefore unsurprising that, during their visit to the Brazilian War College in 1962, a delegation from the Industrial College of the Armed Forces initiated discussions with Brazilian and American officials by immediately inquiring about Brazil's stance on foreign private capital investment concerning national development.

1. Apparently one of the principal uncertainties in the current and prospective economic situation is Brazil's future attitude toward foreign private investment. What do you consider should be the role of foreign private investment in Brazil's future economic and industrial development?
2. Given Brazil's acute need foreign exchange and its interest in the growth of heavy industry, does the School (ESG) consider current Brazilian attitudes toward foreign capital investment in mineral development – particularly iron ore justified?
3. How does the School (ESG) believe that private domestic and foreign enterprise might best assist in attaining the goals of economic and social reform as envisaged by the Alliance for Progress program? (Escola Superior de Guerra, 1962, p. 1).

The responses of the members of the Brazilian War College to the questions of the American military corresponded to the ideas that the *esguians* had transmitted about how the Brazilian model of development should be, deeply linked to the advances of the capitalist system.

A country with a stock of capital that is not sufficient for its expansion needs, it is natural that Brazil wants to join foreign capital. The role of foreign investment will therefore be to make good these deficiencies and should be directed to sectors where it can make a greater contribution to the country's economy. In this regard, the President of the Republic, during his visit to the USA, expressed the Brazilian Government's intention to ensure full guarantees for foreign investments. The President of the Republic agreed with the President of the United States on the need for the rapid implementation of the measures necessary to make the "Alliance for Progress" effective. These measures include national programming for

the concentration of resources on high priority objectives in the field of social and economic progress; institutional reforms, including the reform of the agrarian structure; tax and other reforms, required to ensure a wide distribution of the fruits of development among all sectors of the community. The goals provided for in the “Alliance for Progress” are goals that the Brazilian Government also intends to realize within the objects of the national plan. If the planning of the Government of Brazil is accepted by that of the United States, it may assist, as it sees fit, its execution. The particular initiative, whether national or not, could also contribute in a measured and efficient way to achieving these goals (Escola Superior de Guerra, 1962, p. 5).

Based on the quotations above, it is clear that the envoys from the Industrial College to ESG were focused on the development model that Brazil should adopt. The political context of global bipolarization necessitated Brazil’s choice of alignment. For ESG, there was no doubt that the Western model, led by the United States, aligned with Brazil’s “strategic interests of national power.”

An alternative vision of society and development was not considered at the Brazilian War College. Accordingly, ESG’s purpose was to formulate and disseminate a National Security Doctrine that promoted capitalist development through the enhancement of public and private administrative cadres—or, as General Cordeiro de Farias defined it:

Suppress the ideological problem through the education of enlightened elites and, above all, those whose mission is to shape the character and form the culture of our youth, and capable of enlightening Brazilian society of the difficult time in which the world lives (Farias, 1949, p. 49).

3 THE FOUNDERS OF THE BRAZILIAN WAR COLLEGE

The military officers who established the Brazilian War College were profoundly committed to Brazil’s development. Their political experiences and actions often extended beyond the confines of military life. Among them, the political and professional journey of ESG’s organizer and first commander, Marshal Cordeiro de Farias, was particularly notable. In the 1920s, driven by his political convictions, he defied military hierarchy and discipline to join the rebel lieutenants, eventually becoming one of the leaders of the Prestes Column. He also played an active role in the Revolution of 1930.

Upon returning from Italy as the artillery commander of the Brazilian Expeditionary Force (FEB), he participated in the efforts that led to the removal of Getúlio Vargas from power in 1945. Deeply concerned with the obstacles hindering Brazil's development, Cordeiro de Farias, as commander of ESG, prioritized the examination of the barriers to the country's progress.

Marshal Cordeiro de Farias' dedication to fostering discussions about development was crucial in the early stages of ESG's establishment. When "confronted" by the American officers supervising ESG's organization—intended to be modeled closely on the National War College—Cordeiro de Farias persuaded them that Brazil's issues stemmed from an infrastructure deficit rather than a lack of understanding of global foreign policy.

The National War College in Washington, D.C., founded on July 1, 1946, coordinated military-related instruction across U.S. government agencies. It served as an educational institution aimed at enhancing the intellectual capacity of U.S. Armed Forces officers, offering a space for analyzing military modernization issues and discussing the international landscape.

Brazilian officers who attended the National War College recognized the need for a similar institution in Brazil. They returned with a strong conviction that establishing a high-level institution dedicated to National Security studies was essential. However, its focus would also encompass Brazil's role in the international arena and its developmental challenges. Stepan (1975, p. 129) succinctly described the contribution of Farias Lamb in shaping ESG's characteristics as follows:

General Cordeiro de Farias was entrusted with the task of developing the theme and the organization of the school in Brazil. After spending most of 1948 and part of 1949 on this task, he recommended a school standardized on the model of the United States National School of War, but different in two respects. The United States, he argued, was a developed country; thus, its fundamental concern lay in mobilizing resources for war. This task was assigned to the Industrial School of the Armed Forces. As for the National War College of the United States, its main task concerned foreign policy. However, in the opinion of Cordeiro de Farias, the question of a strong Armed Force, in a developing country like Brazil, could not separate itself from education, industry or agriculture. He guessed, therefore, that in the Brazilian School of War, the functions of the Industrial School of the Armed Forces of the United States and of the National School of War would be combined, and, furthermore, that the emphasis on the internal aspects of development and

security would be greater than the similar school in the United States.

For this reason, the ESG should, from its inception, focus on examining and evaluating Brazil's structural challenges. Thus, the study of National Security would begin with an analysis of the obstacles hindering the country's modernization. Camargo and Góes (1981, p. 417) preserved the memory of this reflection, emphasizing the importance of directing the future institution's potential toward issues related to national development:

It argued that ESG, as a center of studies, could not fail to be deeply linked to the national foundations [...]. I told them [the American officers]: we have no time to waste on issues that are not our top priority. At the moment we don't have the advance from the United States to justify these studies. General Obino had already been allowed to postpone the start of ESG activities until 1950. During this period, I programmed a trip through Brazil for the three of them. They went to the Amazon Region, to the Northeast, got to know the São Francisco River, visited the São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro industries, and reached as far as the Rio Grande. When they came back, they gave me every reason.

General César Obino, Chief of the Army General Staff at the time of ESG's establishment, did not participate in the lieutenants' movement. However, throughout his career, he held prominent positions within the military bureaucracy. In 1943, he served as Director of Army Education and, in 1947, was part of the commission tasked with reviewing the preliminary draft law on oil refinery concessions. Obino was also a member of the National Security Council and, in 1946, was elected president of the Military Club, where he became involved in debates concerning oil policy.

Idálio Sardenberg, as a first lieutenant, joined the Liberal Alliance, a political movement that endorsed Vargas's presidential candidacy and facilitated the Revolution of 1930. He fought with revolutionary forces in Paraná and later served as a deputy in the 1934 Constituent Assembly, representing Paraná in the "Commission of 26," responsible for drafting proposals for the new Constitution. During Juscelino Kubitschek's administration, he was appointed president of Petrobras. Beloch and Abreu (1984, p. 3098) highlight several of his achievements as head of the state-owned company:

During his administration, major works were done, such as the construction of new units in the Landulfo Alves refinery,

in Bahia, the Duque de Caxias refinery, in the state of Rio, the terminal of Island D'Água, in the state of Guanabara, the Madre de Deus terminal, in Bahia, the Synthetic Rubber Factory, in Duque de Caxias, and the oil pipeline of Island D'Água, in the Duque de Caxias refinery. In addition, it achieved the elevation to double the capacity of the Cubatão refinery.

The group of military personnel who contributed to the establishment of ESG included Juarez Távara, Golbery do Couto e Silva and Jurandir Bizarria Mamede. Marshal Juarez Távara, ESG's second commander, had an extensive revolutionary career, participating in all the Tenentista uprisings of the 1920s and the Revolution of 1930. Appointed by Getúlio Vargas, he served as Minister of Public Works and Roads and later as military delegate overseeing interventions in the North and Northeast, from Acre to Bahia (Beloch & Abreu, 1984).

In May 1932, at the invitation of then-Minister of Finance Osvaldo Aranha, Juarez Távara joined the Commission for Economic and Financial Studies of States and Municipalities. In December of the same year, Vargas appointed him Minister of Agriculture. During his tenure, he established the Directorate of Expedient and Accounting and the "General Directorates of Agriculture, Animal Industry, and Scientific Research." His administration also saw the creation of several significant institutions, including the Technological Institute, the Sugar and Alcohol Institute, the Directorate of Statistics and Advertising, the National Department of Mineral Production, the Institute of Animal Biology, the Supervisory Council of Artistic and Scientific Expeditions of Brazil, the Fishing Warehouse of the Federal District, the National School of Agronomy, and the National School of Veterinary Medicine (Távora, 1974).

In 1947, Távara actively participated in the Military Club debates on the future of oil policy, engaging in a public dispute with General Júlio Caetano Horta Barbosa. He outlined his views on the matter in three lectures at the Military and Naval Clubs (Távora, 1955). According to Távara, oil policy should be framed within the scope of international cooperation, advocating for Brazil to allow foreign companies to manage mineral exploration. His argument rested not only on the limited national financial resources but, more critically, on military strategy as a means of ensuring national security against Communist advances.

Deeply committed to addressing the issues hindering Brazil's progress, Marshal Juarez Távara authored several books proposing solutions to overcome infrastructural deficiencies. In *Organization for Brazil*, he recommends:

- 1) The creation, production or acquisition of the technique and capital goods that the country needs to efficiently boost its material progress;
- 2) the harmonious development of agricultural and industrial production and its circumstantial factors - energy and transport;
- 3) Extensive and intensive training of qualified agrarian labor, through elementary vocational courses, which can be carried out in or alongside rural primary schools;
- 4) the provision of technical assistance available to all producers and in accordance with their activities, including rules relating to basic respect for nature;
- 5) the provision of facilities by governments - especially the federal and state governments - for the extensive mechanization of agricultural activities, for the irrigation of suitable areas and for the correction and fertilization of farmed and cultivated land;
- 6) Reasonable retrofitting of our transport - starting with the railways and aquaviaries - so that they can flow, in a timely manner and in economic conditions.
- 7) Guaranteeing the indispensable supplies of energy - above all electricity and fuels - without which neither transport can be moved nor mechanized agricultural activities and industrial activities in general can be activated (Távora, 1959, pp. 212-213).

Marshal Juarez Távora's commitment to thinking about Brazil's development also extended to the field of advanced science. Engaged in discussions regarding nuclear energy production, he advocated for the importance of investing in scientific research. In *Átomos para o Brasil* (Atoms for Brazil), he recommended:

the intensive preparation of scientists, technicians and specialists in the various sectors of nuclear energy;
Support for national industry, making a condition for the program for using nuclear energy, and covering the research, exploration, processing and refining of our atomic minerals, including uranium;
Production in the country and as soon as possible of nuclear fuels, starting from the national production of pure nuclear metals (Távora, 1958, p. 290).

While Marshal Juarez Távora was prominent in debates regarding Brazil's modernization in infrastructure, General Golbery do Couto e Silva played a key role

in shaping the ideological framework that would influence the thinking of significant sectors within the Brazilian military apparatus, as well as the development policies of military governments.

Golbery had previously served as a member of the General Secretariat of the National Security Council (SGCSN) in 1937 and the General Staff of the Army (EME) in 1947. After graduating from ESG, he joined the Permanent Corps and became deputy of the School Studies Department in 1952. This position provided him with the space and opportunity to reflect on the theoretical foundations needed for the establishment of the National Security Doctrine (DSN), which emphasized the importance of Brazil's development as essential for ensuring security against external or "subversive" threats.

In line with the National Security Doctrine, General Golbery (1981) advocated for Brazil's immediate development, suggesting that preparation for warfare should be subordinated to the enhancement of Brazilian society's scientific, technological, and industrial capacities. In the first guideline he developed on National Security planning—which served as a reference for ESG's doctrinal formulations—Golbery asserted:

Relations between states are expressed today, with clarity never equaled before, in multiple dimensional equations of power, and power is itself, as we all know, a complex that goes far beyond the restricted scope of the armed forces to the psychosocial field, the political and, above all, the economic one in this historical phase of high mechanization and technicality of the war [...]. It is actually more precisely a question of raising the potential rather than strengthening the national power, however much these two functions are closely dependent on each other; in fact, what will be of interest in many cases will be to increase the possibilities of a greater future power without admitting as inevitable the need for effective exploitation of these possibilities - so, for example, when setting up a factory of refrigerators or sewing machines it is foreseen to mobilize them for the production of military material or, also, when equipping a production line of engines it is considered the possibilities of their expansion, if necessary, by continuous shift work, etc. (Couto; Silva, 1954 apud Golbery, 1981, p. 40).

General Jurandir Bizarria Mamede played a prominent role in the developments that led to the creation and consolidation of ESG, maintaining a close association with politically engaged activities since his graduation from the Military School of Realengo. He supported the Lieutenants' uprising and participated in

the movement that deposed President Washington Luís in 1930. He also joined the contingent of Brazilians who fought in Italy and, after the war, was actively involved in the campaign to support Brigadier Eduardo Gomes's presidential candidacy for the UDN.

As a military attaché to the Army General Staff, he contributed to the planning efforts for the creation of the Brazilian War College and, in 1950, was invited to join the school's instructional staff. That same year, he appeared on the slate led by ESG commander Cordeiro de Farias, who contested the presidency of the Military Club against the faction led by Estilac Leal and Horta Barbosa. In 1967, he became head of the Army's Department of Production and Works, overseeing the construction, expansion, and renovation of military infrastructure (Beloch & Abreu, 1984).

The careers of the military leaders who established the Brazilian War College reflect a deep commitment to Brazil's development. All were competent officers shaped largely by the French Military Mission and their experiences in World War II. They maintained close ties with U.S. military institutions and held firm convictions about the importance of national development.

These officers represented the most organized faction within the military, with clear goals and a strong sense of esprit de corps that promoted unity. They enjoyed positive relations with civilian elites, and their experience in bureaucratic management, coupled with intellectual and political acumen, were invaluable assets in establishing ESG.

The founders of the Brazilian War College can be seen as "organic intellectuals" within the Brazilian military apparatus. They achieved and solidified this status by creating a platform to produce and disseminate their worldview through the "education" of other officers. They fostered an awareness among their peers that preparation for modern warfare required the enhancement of Brazil's productive capabilities, while also highlighting ESG's essential role in interpreting Brazil's social, cultural, economic, and political challenges.

4 IN THIS HOUSE THE DESTINIES OF BRAZIL ARE STUDIED

Inspired by the United States' National War College, the Brazilian War College (ESG) was founded in 1949 with the mission of training senior military officers and civilians "of outstanding competence and relevant roles in the guidance and execution of national policy" (Fragoso, 1971, p. 2). Its objective was to prepare a military and civilian elite, equipping them for leadership and advisory roles within institutions responsible for formulating National Security Planning policies.

ESG's regulations were established a year earlier by Decree 25,705 on October 22, 1948. According to Article 1 of this decree, ESG would serve as the military institution responsible for the High Command course, extending participation to officers from the Navy, Air Force, and Army.

Other articles in the decree assigned the General Staff (later to become the General Staff of the Armed Forces) the responsibility of organizing ESG and required it to submit guiding principles for the institution's functioning to the Presidency within 120 days. This mission was entrusted to then-Lieutenant Colonel Idalio Sardenberg.

One phase of implementing ESG's organizational program began in Curitiba in 1948, when General Cordeiro de Farias, then commander of the Military Region of Paraná and Santa Catarina, received, via Lieutenant Colonel Idalio Sardenberg, the assignment from General Salvador César Obino, Chief of the Armed Forces, to establish a military educational institution based on the model of the U.S. National War College.

On January 17, 1949, under Cordeiro de Farias' leadership, a military commission was established to draft preliminary regulations for ESG. Simultaneously, commission members analyzed organizational models of other similar military institutions, notably the National War College and the *Institut des Hautes Études de la Défense Nationale* in Paris. Founded prior to the American counterpart, the French institution was notable for including civilians among its students.

Both institutions were designed to serve as specialized centers for national security and planning studies, shaped by the experiences and aftermath of the two world wars that devastated Europe—what Mazower (2001) describes as the “dark continent.” France and the United States, having exerted immense effort across all sectors, already possessed military and civilian personnel capable of assessing the nation's strategic landscape. At the *Institut des Hautes Études de la Défense Nationale*, two-thirds of students were civilians, while at the National War College, civilian participation was not only permitted but encouraged (Stepan, 1975).

The Brazilian military was also struck by the teaching methods and work methodologies of these foreign institutions. The traditional teacher-student dynamic was replaced by group work that emphasized producing written and oral analyses, evaluating case studies, and exploring situations involving national security and strategies to enhance the nation's economic, military, scientific, and technological capacities. This methodology was adopted at the Brazilian War College (Fragoso, 1971).

The conviction among ESG's founders that they were the “chosen” leaders to guide Brazil toward development reflected their self-image as historical agents and symbols of national consciousness and aspirations. As Eliade (2002, p. 9)

notes, “images, symbols, and myths are not irresponsible creations of the psyche; they respond to a need and fulfill a function: to reveal the most secret modalities of being.”

In the case of the Brazilian War College’s military leaders, these “secret modalities of being” reveal the weight of their collective identity in shaping perceptions and attitudes. When we view the military professional outside the typical framework of other professions, diverging from Huntington’s (1996, p. 37) theoretical model that considers the military as comparable to professions like law and medicine, we begin to understand the unique practices, ideas, and values that constitute the “military being.”

Indeed, no other profession so effectively reinforces its reason for existence or elevates this purpose to a level approaching the “sacred” as does the profession of arms. The beliefs and values underpinning the military are rooted in a symbolic universe that diminishes individuality and amplifies collective strength.

Patriotism is the only sentiment capable of influencing the social body in such a powerful way, and it was one of the driving forces behind the creation of the Brazilian War College. As one of ESG’s founders expressed:

The fundamental principles guiding the conception of an institute of high studies related to National Security, from which the idea of the Brazilian War College was born, are as follows: Principle 1. National Security is a function more of the nation’s overall potential than of its military potential. This principle means that the way to achieve National Security is to promote the general development of the Nation, an expression that comprises three aspects: demographic, economic and financial. The bodies responsible for national security have a duty to ensure the development of the nation’s potential. Principle 2. Brazil has the basic requirements (area, population, resources) indispensable for becoming a great power. It recognizes in this principle the real fact of Brazil’s development, which is not stagnant but delayed, that is, being processed according to slow pace, motivated by obstacles that are not insurmountable. Principle 3. The development of Brazil depends on removing the obstacles that hinder it, in order to obtain an acceleration of the rhythm (Sardenberg, 1949, p. 3).

Another priority of the Brazilian War College was to contribute to the training of personnel in both public and private administration. In 1949, Army General Salvador César Obino, then Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces, referenced the initial document outlining the organization, establishment, and operation of the

ESG. This document was titled “Data Justifying the Presidential Message Forwarding the Project to Secure Funding for the Organization, Establishment, and Operation of the Brazilian War College.”

This summary of the first three articles of the preliminary draft regulation is sufficient to show its revelation within the governmental and educational organizations, and the importance that it will assume for all activities linked to national security, not only the results that will be obtained by the objective and impersonal study of all national problems by the highest class of students that could meet, as from the exercise of their future activities in positions of the highest governmental levels: general officers, diplomats, engineers, colonels of the Armed Forces, employees, industrialists, economists, financiers and all other persons who have or may come to have the responsibility of planning and direction. The advantages that will come to the formulation and implementation of national policy will be even more appreciable when the future Brazilian War College, through the continuity of its work and through the formation of successive classes, can establish a rational method of analysis of the factors that condition the strategic concept and a politico-military doctrine of national security (Sardenberg, 1949, p. 5).

The first commander of the Brazilian War College, Marshal Cordeiro de Farias, also expressed what was the main objective of the School:

What ESG does is give its trainees a taste of Brazil. It was the statistician, the sanitarian, the economist, the road engineer, the specialist in hydroelectric power or in minerals. During the course, they spent a period of two months visiting the country: different regions, industrial installations, hydroelectric power stations etc. The idea of development started to have greater weight after 1964, but it had already been present since the beginning of the School. The curriculum proposed the study of different Brazilian problems and the working groups debated their possible solutions. It wasn't for the government. ESG has never had - before as now - any function of advising the government. However, there was nothing to prevent the authorities from asking for certain subjects to be studied. This is how the School has been studying, from the beginning, problems of energy, communication, transport, public health, education,

industrialization etc. Each year, we emphasized a theme. In the early days, we also tried to form a general picture of the conditions of development of the country, including journeys through Brazil. These journeys were intended to allow people to approach a reality they barely knew (Camargo; Goes, 1981, p. 419).

In fact, the military personnel who participated in the two world wars, especially the latter, embraced the idea that future conflicts would be determined by the nation's ability to mobilize and plan its human and technical resources. In 1969, reflecting on the impact of the Second World War on the establishment of the Brazilian War College, Marshal Cordeiro de Farias stated:

Of all the denominations given in the various countries, for the preparation of the cadres in national planning, they have a warrior connotation, not because they dedicate themselves to military studies, but for the fact of having the idea arising from the experience of the Second World War. After the end of the war, the reflections to which it gave rise would conclude that, in the work of restoration that each State had to face, to safeguard its destinies and defend its sovereignty, the economic, social and political powers, overshadowed military power. This would always be a consequence of those, so that the National Security, understood in permanent and much broader terms, should transcend the military aspects of the national problem, without ceasing to encompass them and consider them as part of their whole (Farias, 1969, p. 8).

The growing intensity and reach of modern warfare, fueled by scientific and technological advancements, began to demand intellectual preparation not just for soldiers, but also for civilians who could contribute to "the war effort." When discussing the context that led to the creation of the ESG, Marshal Cordeiro de Farias emphasized that national security would no longer be the exclusive domain of the military; it would become a shared responsibility involving civilians, focused on boosting production and ensuring work efficiency. Below is an excerpt from his speech at the ESG's inaugural class in 1969:

The mobilization, seen in this new aspect, goes beyond the functions of specialized organs of specific ministries, to be a function of the Government as a whole, assuming it served by an organization suitable for this purpose. For it is no longer a question of mobilizing only those who will perform a proper function in battle, but - organizing, guiding and leading the

total forces of the Nation. National Security today concerns the whole nation that needs, for its leaders, its elite, its businessmen and its mass, to understand its permanent role in all kinds of efforts, so that the country can solve, in the event of a conflict, the problems concerning its own survival. In fact, National Security rests, first and foremost, on a proper organization of government, in which planning is the major concern. From this general planning will arise an increase in the economy, taken in its broadest sense, and from where will emerge finally and naturally, a solid organization for the armed classes. A complete security program must consider the possible use of all our economic resources, the employment of men of science, both the mass of men and armaments (Farias, 1969, p. 9).

5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The experience of the FEB, the strengthening of relations with the American military, and the arrival of officers in the United States to study the organization of their productive structure, which had enabled the Allied victory in the West, inspired the Brazilian military with the idea that achieving a high level of development was feasible for Brazil. This realization contributed to the creation of the ESG, with the goal of analyzing how Brazil could reach the status of a world power.

The Brazilian War College was established to deepen the understanding of Brazilian issues and propose solutions, prioritizing the development of industrial, scientific, and technological infrastructure, with a focus on formulating a National Security policy.

The military's involvement in major national events since the Imperial era is well-documented. However, until the creation of the ESG, military interventions in the political sphere were directed at achieving specific and limited objectives. Despite significant engagement in guiding the Nation's course, the military lacked a comprehensive model for national development grounded in ideological, theoretical, and practical principles.

For the officers who played a key role in establishing and shaping the ESG's ideology – such as Cordeiro de Farias, Juarez Távara, Salvador César Obino, Golbery do Couto e Silva, and Idália Sardenberg – Brazil already possessed characteristics that could facilitate its transformation into a developed nation, including vast territorial size, a strategic geographic location, and abundant natural resources. What was missing was a development plan prioritizing scientific and technological advancement, industrial modernization, and economic growth, all in support of a National Security policy. The creation of the Brazilian War College aimed to fill this void.

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THE GRAND BRAZILIAN STRATEGY OF THE TRIPLE TRIAD: thinking about the future of the country

A GRANDE ESTRATÉGIA BRASILEIRA DA TRÍPLICE TRIÁDE: pensando o futuro do País

LA GRAN ESTRATEGIA DE LA TRIPLE TRIADA BRASILEÑA: pensando en el futuro del país

Guilherme Sandoval Góes*

ABSTRACT

This article introduces a possible autochthonous model of Grand Strategy for Brazil, capable of coordinating the elements of National Power based on its four foundational geopolitical archetypes, which position Brazil as an energy superpower, a food superpower, a water and environmental superpower (green superpower). To this end, it proposes a Grand Strategy for Brazil in the 21st century, structured around three major triads: the South American triad, the Atlantic triad, and the central power triad. The goal is to demonstrate that such a strategy can fulfill the categorical imperative of Brazilian geopolitics, positioning the country among the five largest global powers, while also achieving the fundamental objectives outlined in the Constitution, Section 3, subsections I to IV.

Keywords: South American Triad; Atlantic Triad; World Power Triad; Strategic Nuclei.

RESUMO

O presente artigo apresenta um possível modelo autóctone de Grande Estratégia para o Brasil, com capacidade de articular os elementos do Poder Nacional, a partir dos seus quatro arquétipos geopolíticos fundantes, que posicionam o Brasil como uma superpotência energética, uma superpotência alimentar, uma superpotência aquífera e ambiental (superpotência verde). Para tanto, propõe uma Grande Estratégia do Brasil para o Século XXI articulando três grandes tríades a saber: tríade sul-americana, tríade atlântica e tríade do poder central. Com isso, colima-

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se demonstrar que tal estratégia será capaz de realizar o imperativo categórico da geopolítica brasileira, que posiciona o País entre as cinco maiores potências globais, bem como concretiza os objetivos fundamentais previstos na Constituição, em seu artigo 3º, incisos I a IV.

Palavras-chave: Triáde Sul-americana; Triáde Atlântica; Triáde do Poder Mundial; Núcleos Estratégicos.

RESUMEN

Este artículo presenta un modelo autóctono de Gran Estrategia para Brasil, con capacidad de articular los elementos del Poder Nacional, a partir de sus cuatro arquetipos geopolíticos fundacionales, que posicionan a Brasil como una superpotencia energética, una superpotencia alimentaria, una superpotencia acuífera y ambiental (verde). superpotencia). Para ello, propone una Gran Estrategia para Brasil del siglo XXI, articulando tres grandes triadas: la triada sudamericana, la triada atlántica y la triada del poder central. Con esto, pretendemos demostrar que tal estrategia será capaz de alcanzar el imperativo categórico de la geopolítica brasileña, que posiciona al país entre las cinco mayores potencias mundiales, además de alcanzar los objetivos fundamentales establecidos en la Constitución, en su artículo 3, puntos I a IV.

Palabras clave: Triada Sudamericana; Triada Atlántica; Triada del Poder Mundial; Núcleos Estratégicos.

1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this article is to provide a critical analysis of the lack of a “Grand Brazilian Strategy” for the 21st century.

Fatally, there is still no independent scientific thinking in Brazil that could serve as a basis for the construction of such a grand strategy for the country. In fact, this is due to the lack of multidisciplinary studies involving political science, international relations, strategic defense studies, economics, sociology and, above all, geopolitics and law.¹

Strictly speaking, a major national strategy is, in addition to the geopolitical dimension, also a constitutional issue. From the perspective of the democratic state, if, on the one hand, it is the Constitution that conditions the strategic actions of the Brazilian State. On the other hand, it is the Grand Strategy that realizes the

1 In this sense, we can define geolaw as the branch of scientific knowledge that aims to systematize the relations between the Federal Constitution and the Great National Strategy, clarifying its links and evaluating its results and applications in terms of national development and full effectiveness of the fundamental rights of the Brazilian citizen within the framework of a true State Democratic Law (Góes, 2008, p. 38).

fundamental objectives provided for in the Constitution, in its Section 3, Subsections I to IV. (Brasil, 2024).²

The Constitution and the Grand Strategy are two sides of the same coin, and their alignment is essential for the achievement of the fundamental objectives of the Brazilian State. However, in Brazil, there is a tendency for discord between the implementation of the Constitution and the formulation of strategic actions aimed at national development. Gilberto Bercovici (2003, p. 79), precisely, shows that

Another issue that we have ignored recently is the issue of development. Without a state that promotes an effective development policy, we can put what we want into the Constitution, and, unfortunately, we will be condemned to continue denouncing the fact that the Constitution provides for something that does not actually materialize.

It is evident that Brazil encounters significant challenges in developing its own scientific capabilities for national development, which hinders the transformation of its considerable potential into a tangible source of state power. This, therefore, impedes the construction of an autonomous form of thinking that is focused on the political and strategic importance of Brazil, especially in the context of the reconfiguration of the post-war world order in Ukraine and the post-conflict situation between Hamas and Israel.

A significant challenge currently facing Brazilian academia is to elucidate the scientific relations between the “Grand Strategy” and the “Constitution.” This endeavor aims to achieve a balance between national development and other constitutional values, including environmental protection. Examples of such values include the exploitation of the equatorial margin and the expansion of the Alcântara Launch Center, as well as the legitimate recognition of quilombo rights.

In the absence of this understanding, Brazil will persist in its trajectory away from its aspiration to be among the five most powerful nations in the world. This assertion will be supported throughout this academic work, which is based on the theory of perceptible power as put forth by Ray Cline (1975).

It is therefore essential to formulate a Grand Strategy that links all the elements of national power, including business and industrial establishments, universities and research centers, and the government entities themselves. These strategic nuclei of the Brazilian State are the true vectors of national development.

It is time, therefore, to reject Brazil’s geopolitical submission to the world centers of power and to refute automatic and subservient alignments made uncritically.

2 The fundamental objectives of the Brazilian State are: a) to build a free, just and supportive society; b) to guarantee national development; c) to eradicate poverty and marginalization and to reduce social and regional inequalities; and d) to promote the welfare of all, without prejudice to origin, race, sex, color, age, or any other forms of discrimination. (Brasil, 2024, p. 4)

Conversely, Brazil is well positioned to pursue the realization of its constitutional objectives by fostering the growth of these Strategic Development Centers (in Portuguese: Núcleos de Desenvolvimento Estratégicos, or “NED”). The acronym “NED” encompasses all actors, entities, companies, or segments, whether private or state-owned, that contribute to economic, commercial, technological, academic, scientific, financial, normative/regulatory, or industrial activities. These entities must demonstrate the capacity to engage effectively in global competition, particularly in light of the influx of global production, knowledge, and value chains. This may entail investment by the Brazilian State, as outlined by Góes (2022).

In light of these considerations, it becomes imperative to recognize the “Grand Strategy” as the principal means of attaining the fundamental objectives enshrined in the Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil, 1988. In order to achieve these goals, it is essential to integrate the strategic digital dimension into the democratic rule of law. This integration should begin with the inclusion of the issue of national development in the process of weighing constitutional values of the same normative dignity.

It is evident that the 1988 Constitution plays a pivotal role in shaping the course of events and not merely in regulating them. It can be reasonably argued that the lack of strategic vision among the members of the three powers (executive, legislative, and judicial) and the absence of a comprehensive national strategy have the potential to negatively impact the lives of all Brazilians.

It is therefore imperative that the Brazilian strategist formulate a National Security Strategy, which can effectively integrate the various elements of National Power, transforming potential power into tangible capabilities and projecting the country in a constructive manner within the global community. This strategy should take into account Brazil’s unique geopolitical position, which has positioned the country as an energy superpower, a food superpower, an aquifer and environmental superpower (green superpower) (Góes, 2020).

Hence, this thesis aims to present the fundamental bases of this strategy, starting from the vitality and expansion of the Brazilian strategic centers, guaranteeing their competitiveness in the global chains of value and technological innovation.

To this end, it will propose an autochthonous model of grand strategy based on three major triads: the South American triad, the Atlantic triad and the triad of central power.³

The initial triad posits that South America serves as a vital space for Brazil’s international position in the emerging post-modern world order. Brazil is the only country with sufficient geopolitical dimensions to exercise regional leadership, thereby charting an autonomous future for the South American world.

3 This is why, in an academic sense, the theory made by Coronel Roberto Machado de Oliveira Mafra, from the Brazilian War College, when engineering his Theory of the Quaternio, is gaining relevance. Its great merit lies in the idea-force that Brazil and the other Latin American countries should not accept inferior treatment from the other blocs or world leaders (2006, p. 197).

The apothegm is a straightforward concept. "Brazil must assume its natural leadership in South America, or it will be subordinated geopolitically to one or more centers of power, most likely China or the United States."

Consequently, the principal challenge of the Grand Brazilian Strategy is to integrate the three principal geopolitical groupings of the South American scenario: the Amazon Arc, the Andean Pact, and the Southern Cone. In addition, the possibility of Brazil establishing a presence in the Pacific Ocean is also being considered within the context of this triad.

The second triad of the Grand Brazilian Strategy is the Atlantic Triad, here envisioned as the founding base of Brazilian oceanpolitics.

This strategic triad encompasses the Blue Amazon, which represents Brazil's projection into West Africa and the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPSC), as well as the Antarctic Front.

Similarly, the South American triad represents Brazil's strategic presence in the Pacific, while the Atlantic triad symbolizes Brazil's projection into the Arctic Ocean.

The Atlantic Triad is of particular importance in the context of the complex global energy reconfiguration, which stands out not only for the diversification of green matrices, but also for the geopolitical competition for control of the world energy market between major private and state-owned organizations, as well as strategic centers in their respective countries of origin.

In light of the definition of oceanpolitics as the global geopolitics of the oceans, it can be inferred that Brazilian oceanpolitics represents the geopolitics of the utilization of the sea as an instrument of Brazil's national development.

In the context of the Atlantic triad, the Grand Brazilian Strategy will examine the perspectives associated with the four founding archetypes of Brazilian geopolitics, particularly in the areas of energy and the environment (biodiversity).

In conclusion, the third triad, designated the triad of world power, establishes connections with strategic relations with the United States, Europe, and China, while nevertheless maintaining consideration of other powers, including India, Russia, and Japan.

On the global level, the long-held aspiration of Brazilian business and industrial organizations to become competitive players in supply chains, production, and innovation would be realized from three distinct fronts, with a particular focus on the United States, Europe, and Asia, particularly China.

The central axis of the triad of world power, also referred to as the triad of global influence, is to consider the Grand Brazilian Strategy as a standalone entity, free from any geopolitical constraints imposed by these three dominant poles.

In light of these considerations, Figure 1 below provides a summary of the principal elements of the Grand Brazilian Strategy for the 21st century, emphasizing the importance of fostering greater collaboration between industry, academia, and government.

Figure 1 - Overview of the National Strategy



Source: Prepared by the author (2024).

It is regrettable that, over the past few decades, Brazil has been unable to develop a comprehensive national strategy that considers the full range of its potential capabilities. This has resulted in the country's inability to occupy its rightful position in the global geopolitical order. It is therefore imperative to initiate a debate and to embark upon a course of action that will lead to the realization of the well-being of Brazilian society, based upon a genuinely Grand Brazilian Strategy.

Finally, this is the thematic spectrum of this article.

2 THE CONCEPT OF NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Prior to examining the potential foundations of a Grand Brazilian Strategy for the 21st century, it is essential to acknowledge that numerous countries, including the United States, China, Russia, the United Kingdom, France, and Spain, do not utilize the term "Grand Strategy." Instead, they employ the term "National Security Strategy."

In the case of the United States, for example, the National Security Strategy (NSS) was established as a result of the Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986. This legislation requires the President of the United States to present the United States National Security Strategy to the National Congress.

In this sense, it can be observed that the American NSS project has implications beyond the United States' own borders, with direct and far-reaching consequences for the rest of the world.

Indeed, the very genesis of the project is inextricably linked to global developments. It is crucial to acknowledge that the American NSS, from the conclusion of the Eurocentric world in 1945 to the present era, has transcended the boundaries of its national identity, projecting itself over other nations with the objective of influencing the global order. There is an indivisible connection between the American NSS and global geopolitics, which in turn establishes the foundations of the global governance system.

Undoubtedly, since the end of the Cold War, the post-modern world order has been governed by US national security strategies, if not:

(a) the emergence of economic globalization and the opening up of the world market, as promoted by Bill Clinton's Engagement and Enlargement Strategy (United States of America, 1996);

(b) the war on terror and the fight against terrorism, as defined in George W. Bush's strategy 'Defending the Nation Against Its Enemies' (United States of America, 2002);

c) after the 2008 crisis, Barack Obama's Nation Renewal and Global Leadership Strategy (United States of America, 2010), seeking to contain Chinese geopolitical progression and rescue global leadership;

d) The denial of globalization, the repatriation of industries and the American nationalist protectionism engendered by Donald Trump's Making America Great Again Strategy (United States of America, 2017) explain the Trade War with China, maintained by Joe Biden's "Nameless" Strategy.

Figure 2 – American Strategies



Source: Author's essay (2024).

It is clear, therefore, that the National Security Strategy was designed to be the largest document guiding the achievement of the great national objectives and the high global interests of the United States, thus making its domestic and foreign policies coincide. This is a Grand Global Power Strategy, which incorporates in its content the worldwide projection of the American economy, the amplification of liberal democracy around the planet and the unstoppable maintenance of its military hegemony.⁴

Strictly speaking, U.S. NSSs are largely aimed at enhancing the resilience, international competitiveness, and technological leadership of its large multinational corporations, financial and commercial enterprises, academic institutions and research centers, and government agencies, all of which are engaged in the race for innovation and disruptive technologies.

It is also worth noting that the global leadership of the United States in technological innovation can only be maintained through its control of large global production, value-added, and supply chains, and vice versa.⁵ (United States of America, 2021, p. 8-9).

In the current postmodern geopolitical order, the new axis of attrition between the Western powers, led by the United States, and the Eurasian powers, led by China, lies precisely in this struggle for technological progress and, above all, for control of the great global chains of value and technological innovation. In the midst of this attrition, the underdeveloped countries of late modernity, of the Global South, as is unfortunately still the case with Brazil, have been left behind.

4 As Henry Kissinger rightly points out: American military might has provided a security shield for the rest of the world, whether its beneficiaries ask for it or not. Under the umbrella of an essentially unilateral American military guarantee, much of the developed world joined this system of alliances; developing countries were protected against a threat they sometimes did not recognize, let alone admit. A global economy has developed, and for it the United States has contributed finance, markets, and a wide variety of innovations. The period from 1948, perhaps, until the turn of the century marked a fleeting moment in human history when it was possible to speak of an incipient global order composed of a combination of American idealism and the traditional components of the balance of power (Kissinger, 2015, p. 364).

5 It is Biden's own NSS that highlights the importance of maintaining its scientific and technological supremacy, when it states that: "Rapid changes in technology will shape all aspects of our lives and our national interests, but the direction and consequences of the technological revolution remain undefined [...]. The United States must reinvest in maintaining our scientific and technological edge and, once again, lead by working alongside our strategic allies to establish the new rules and practices that will allow us to seize the opportunities that technological advances present." (United States of America, 2021, p. 8-9).

In a strategic sense, this means that there is no power vacuum in geopolitics and international relations, i.e., there will always be some state trying to influence major international decisions; there will always be disputes between hegemonic nations dealing with the resilience and expansion of their respective supranational corporations, for example, the dispute between the Chinese companies (Huawei and ZTE) and the companies Nokia (Finnish) and Ericsson (Swedish) in 5G technology. (Góes, 2022).

All the analyses developed so far serve to reinforce the idea that, in the United States and in many other important countries, the concept of national security is a strategic whole that transcends the levels of national defense and public security, up to the level of the grand strategy that defines the nation's future. Thus, we cannot equate a National Security Strategy along the lines of the American NSS with the Brazilian Defense Strategy, or even with the Brazilian Defense Policy.

Strictly speaking, what is meant here is that the international projection of a country in the concert of nations is a direct function of its grand strategy, whatever it may be called: National Security Strategy, Global Strategy, National Development Strategy, General Strategy, etc.

In the view of Richmond Lloyd, former Director of the Strategy and Force Planning Course at the Naval War College of the United States of America, a National Security Strategy should aim for a national power projection project from well-defined goals to achieve:

The United States continues to reassess its national priorities and key elements of its national security strategy. It is important that the nation seize this moment well, but for this it is necessary to have **quality and clarity** in strategy and decisions of force planning. The lack of a clear set of objectives and a robust and focused national security strategy will lead the United States to react, rather than control, the **world events** that are of interest to it. To confuse such a step will not suffice (Lloyd, 1995, p. 1).

This, then, is the idea of a National Security Strategy that rules over the United States, a superpower that is still dominant on the international stage, but which is now in a geopolitical dispute with China.

Sino-American competition for global value chains and technological innovation transcends the economic sphere, and is also a geopolitical dispute for global power and influence. The ability to master these disruptive chains and technologies is the preponderant factor in determining which nation will

take the lead in the post-modern world order, notably in the next post-war era of Ukraine/post-conflict Hamas versus Israel.

Logically, it must be recognized that the international projection of a country of the Global South, as is the case of Brazil, cannot aspire to control world events, as Richmond Lloyd (1995) points out, much less contest the control of supply chains, production and technological innovation on a planetary scale.

Consequently, it is maintained here that, unlike the American NSS, the main challenge of our Grand National Strategy for the 21st Century is to promote the reduction of poverty and marginalization, as well as social and regional inequalities, within a free, just and supportive society, in accordance with Section 3, Subsections I to IV, of the Federal Constitution of 1988 (Brasil, 2024).

3 THE BRAZILIAN STRATEGY AND THE LEGAL WAR (LAWFARE)

Without any ideological bias, a future Grand National Strategy must provide Brazilian society with an instrument to guarantee fundamental rights, especially those of the second dimension of the social welfare state, which necessarily depend on the strategic actions of the State.

This strategy thus plays a crucial role in the development of regulatory frameworks for strategic sectors of the national economy, such as the energy transition regime or oil exploration on the equatorial margin.

This broader worldview enables the state strategist to protect the legitimate interests of the country in a complex world order where the geopolitical power game of a Machiavellian-Hobbesian nature prevails under the guise of a Kantian-Wilsonian discourse.

However, behind the discourse of the common good of humanity, there will always remain a Machiavellian-Hobbesian perspective of the selfish interests of the richer states, that is, the desire to exploit oil, rare earths, or any other natural resource of value on the world market.

In view of this, the countries of late modernity must have the strategic capacity to perceive such a way of acting and to create mechanisms to protect their authentic vital interests. It is not appropriate to uncritically embrace these cosmopolitan currents of Kantian rhetoric, which in most cases do nothing but further aggravate poverty and social exclusion on the periphery of the world system.

It is therefore urgent to lay the foundations of a Grand National Strategy that takes into account the impact of global geopolitics on the domestic legal order of the country, especially on the regulatory milestones of its economy.

The surprising and discouraging fact is that the deregulatory forces of economy and technology, as conceived by Natalino Irti (2007), using the so-called lawfare⁶, are capable of deconstructing the strategic nuclei of a geopolitical opponent, in particular the competitive business organizations in the global market, without resorting to the use of force or even shedding a drop of blood.

Thus, resignifying Carl von Clausewitz, with the inks of postmodern statality, and considering the essence of lawfare, it is defended here the thesis that “law becomes the continuation of geopolitics by other means”.

Broadly speaking, lawfare is the new form of geopolitical conflict in the postmodern era, in which law is used as a weapon of war to destroy the enemy’s triple helix (university-industry-government interactions).

In this context, legal actions replace the actions of the armed forces to achieve the fundamental objectives of the state, be they political, economic, military, psychosocial, or scientific-technological.

In short, legal war represents a new dimension of polemology (scientific study of wars and their effects, forms, causes and functions as a social phenomenon), in which law and geopolitics intertwine, and its understanding is essential for the formulation of the Grand Strategy of Brazil.

With this broad view of lawfare, it is now important to examine the challenges and opportunities for Brazil’s strategic development, without deviating from the principles of the democratic order.

4 THEORETICAL BASES OF THE BRAZILIAN GRAND STRATEGY

In general terms, the Grand National Strategy of Brazil has three basic premises, namely:

a) the first premise is that its inherent objectives are the fundamental objectives of the Federative Republic of Brazil already duly cataloged in our Constitution, that is, the objectives of the Grand Brazilian Strategy are the objectives provided in Section 3, subsections I to IV, of the CRFB/88;

b) the second premise is that the Grand Strategy must be formulated with an inseparable commitment to the realization of the categorical imperative of Brazilian geopolitics: to elevate our nation to a position of prominence among

6 In our opinion, LAWFARE represents nothing more than one of the epistemic segments of geolaw (a branch of science that studies the scientific connections between geopolitics and law). It is one of the aspects of the fourth generation of warfare, in which law, among other means, is used as a weapon of war to achieve a specific geopolitical, strategic or political objective, through the destruction or reduction of an opponent’s triple helix (businesses-universities-government).

the five great powers of the world.;

c) the third premise lies in the prioritization of strategic actions intrinsically linked to our four major geopolitical archetypes, which give Brazil the condition of a superpower in the areas of energy, food, the environment and the aquifer.

With regard to the first premise, as has already been extensively studied, unlike the global powers, especially the USA and China, whose logic in constructing their major strategies is the search for world leadership through influence, control and hegemony in the global markets, the Grand Brazilian Strategy should focus on the achievement of the fundamental constitutional objectives.

It should also be noted that in the vision of Golbery do Couto e Silva (1981), the permanent national objectives (ONP) would be those that remain constant over time, such as national sovereignty, national security, national unity and sustainable development. Current national objectives, on the other hand, would be those that reflect the specific needs and priorities of a given period.

Such a conception of national goals has been much debated and even criticized because of its link to the security-development binomial and its possible contradiction with democratic political regimes.

On the other hand, Meira Mattos represents a great difference, since, in addition to updating the thought of his predecessors, especially Mário Travassos and Golbery do Couto e Silva, he had already presented the democratic conception of geopolitics and the pursuit of human dignity at the end of the last century. Here is the great academic legacy of Meira Mattos, which extends into the 21st century..⁷

In the words of Meira Mattos himself: our concept of development is democratic and finds its roots in Christian philosophy. Development is not just about economic growth. To be authentic, it must be integral, that is to say, promoting all men and the whole man (Mattos, 1975).

Thus, taking into account the concepts of permanent national objectives and the National Strategic Concept of Golbery do Couto e Silva, in conjunction

7 In his work *The Brazilian Geopolitical School: Golbery do Couto e Silva; Carlos de Meira Mattos and Therezinha de Castro*, Jorge Manuel da Costa Freitas highlights that "Considered by Kelly (1988) as "the maximum authority in Geopolitics in South America", to his theses Carlos de Meira Mattos, as an integral part of the Brazilian School, does not fail to incorporate the legacy of founding fathers (its axiological basis), molding it, however, according to Brazilian society (...). [In this sense], Meira Mattos makes use of the expression democratic development in a broader sense of geopolitics of democracy. (Freitas, 2004, p. 64-65).

with the geopolitical ideas of democracy and the search for human dignity of Meira Mattos, it is defended here the thesis that the Grand Strategy of the Country has the mission of realizing the fundamental objectives of the Federative Republic of Brazil, already duly cataloged in the Constitution of 1988, in its Section 3, Subsections I to IV.

In this sense, it can be said that, systemically, the first premise of the Grand Brazilian Strategy for the 21st Century is to establish as its inherent objectives the same fundamental constitutional objectives.

This first premise is very important because it projects the image that the formulation of the Grand National Strategy implies the outlining of the strategic actions necessary for Brazil to build a free, just and solidary society, to ensure national development, to eradicate poverty and marginalization, to reduce regional and social inequalities, and to promote the good of all, without any kind of discrimination, according to the precepts established by the 1988 Constitution.

The second fundamental axis of the Grand National Strategy, on the other hand, points to the realization of the categorical imperative of Brazilian geopolitics: to place the country among the five most important countries in the world, with the capacity to influence the reconfiguration of the complex contemporary world order, characterized by the competition for markets and minds around the globe (the new *Lebensraum* of the postmodern era).

The purpose of this academic work is not to present utopian, unrealistic, retrograde or even jingoistic reflections, but rather to reaffirm the need for Brazilian society to become aware of all of Brazil's geopolitical potential, which, unfortunately, has not yet been transformed into real power. When this happens, Brazil will certainly position itself among the five greatest powers on the planet.

As an epistemic justification for the validity of the second premise (categorical imperative of Brazilian geopolitics), recourse is made to Ray Cline's (1975) theory of perceptible power, an approach that mathematizes the power of the state in the field of geopolitics and international relations.

Despite the criticisms it has received, the theory of perceptible power remains relevant to the study of geopolitics and international relations, especially in a world where economic power and national strategy play an increasingly important role.

Ray Cline's approach offers a well-structured methodology for evaluating a country's power and, in its wake, for understanding the dynamics of the postmodern world order under construction, and is therefore relevant for

justifying the thesis that the great imperative of Brazilian geopolitics should be the positioning of the country among the top five global powers.

Ray Cline, a realist school theorist, proposed a formula that considers several factors: critical mass (territory and population), economic capacity, military capability, national strategy (strategic goals), and willingness to execute the strategy.⁸

As Roberto de Oliveira Mafra points out, Ray Cline's own assessment during the Cold War:

Afterwards, in an evaluation done in 1978, published in 1980, Professor Ray Cline placed Brazil in third place, only preceded by the Soviet Union and the United States of America, in this order, with China in fourth place. ... As early as the late 20th century, other analysts of the power of nations assert that China and Brazil, now emerging nations, would also be world leaders in the 21st century, another reason for both to be included in the first places of the Perceptible Power relationship, soon after the then leaders, the United States and the Soviet Union (Mafra, 2006, p. 150-152).

Using Ray Cline's formula for comparing the power of countries, it is sad to see the great difference between the positions of Brazil and China in a little more than three decades. While China is already projecting itself as the second great power on the planet, going so far as to threaten the hegemony of the United States itself, Brazil has regressed, remaining an underdeveloped country of late modernity in the Global South.

And the question is: why has this happened?

In our opinion, the answer comes from the components S (linked to the formulation of the strategic objectives of the State) and W (willingness to implement the Grand Strategy).

Generally speaking, in terms of "critical mass", Brazil has a large territory (approximately 14.2 million square kilometers, including the Blue Amazon) and a large population (more than 203 million inhabitants, according to the latest Demographic Census 2022 of the IBGE).

8 Cline's mathematical formula for quantifying the power of a country is expressed as: $Pp = (C + E + M) \times (S + W)$ where: Pp is the perceptible power, C represents the critical mass (territory and population), E is the economic capacity, M is the military capacity, S is the national strategy and W is the national will. (Cline, 1975). Although Cline's theory is widely respected, it is not exempt from criticism. Some argue that the formula oversimplifies the complexity of national power and does not take into account factors such as diplomacy and cultural influence (Mafra, 2006, p. 150).

In these aspects of critical mass (territory and population), Brazil's potential in terms of natural resources and a robust population base is great, whether for the composition of a strong consumer market, or for the labor market and the recruitment of people, including the armed forces, which obviously reinforces the thesis of the great categorical imperative of Brazilian geopolitics.

From another perspective, however, the analysis of Brazil's position according to Ray Cline's theory of perceptible power, in terms of the formulation of a grand strategy and society's desire to carry it out, is even more melancholic.

However much the variables of critical mass favor the country (population and territory), the others are practically nil in the face of these two major factors (S and W). In fact, as has been widely observed, the lack of a Grand Brazilian Strategy, with clear and well-defined objectives, has been enormously detrimental to national development and, in its wake, to Brazil's perceptible power.

Similarly, Brazilian society's lack of awareness of the country's geopolitical potential hinders the economic and social development of the country as a whole and, consequently, the strengthening of the synergy between industry, academia and government (strategic poles of national development). In short, the lack of a major strategy, coupled with a national will without any commitment to geopolitical development, makes it difficult for Brazil's perceptible power to grow.

In this context, the third pillar of the Grand Strategy for the 21st Century emerges: the prioritization of national development based on its four founding geopolitical archetypes, which position Brazil as an energy superpower, a food superpower, an aquifer superpower and an environmental superpower (green).

In short, the Brazilian positioning in the market of primary products (commodities) is already of great relevance, but insufficient to transform all the country's potential into real power, especially in its four major geopolitical archetypes (energy, agribusiness, environment and water/sanitation).

Therefore, it is urgent to overcome Brazil's peripheral position in the global chains of high added value and high technology products, prioritizing Brazil's four major geopolitical archetypes, with the aim of strengthening and rebuilding the already existing nuclei and creating new business and industrial organizations with international competitiveness, together with modern institutes of academic excellence and research centers integrated in the global chains of innovation and knowledge.

Figure 3 – National Strategy Priorities



Source: Prepared by the author (2024).

Therefore, in addition to trying to achieve the fundamental constitutional goals of being one of the five great powers of the planet, the thesis is defended that the Grand National Strategy must be oriented towards the full realization of the country's potential in the world geopolitical scenario, for the benefit of Brazilian society itself, and not for foreign interests dressed up as national interests.⁹

For example, Brazil, one of the world's largest producers of raw materials and the owner of a vast amount of biodiversity, whether in the Green Amazon or the Blue Amazon, faces major challenges in this process of transforming potential into real power.¹⁰

9 In this sense, as the document - Fundamentals of National Power - ESG (2019, p. 136) rightly points out: If this were not enough, the so-called developed world pressures developing countries to adopt what they call good institutions and procedures supposedly indispensable for the realization of economic development, which may well characterize a fallacy, since the economic evolution of these countries was not always based on the good institutions and procedures that they now recommend to developing countries. Such a strategy is very well qualified by Ha-Joon Chang (2004) in his work - Kicking the ladder.

10 In this regard, Cristina Soreanu Pecequillo's lesson is accurate: "The more efficient the conversion of potential power into real power, the greater the possibility of a State acting in the international system. Another example: Brazil is considered one of the largest producers of raw materials and holder of biodiversity in the world, but the processing of many of these raw materials is not carried out here, but abroad. Brazil, therefore, has potential power but is unable to convert it into real power, allowing others to add value and gain control over its resources, and leaving many of the resources unexploited." (Pecequillo, 2005, p. 57 e 58).

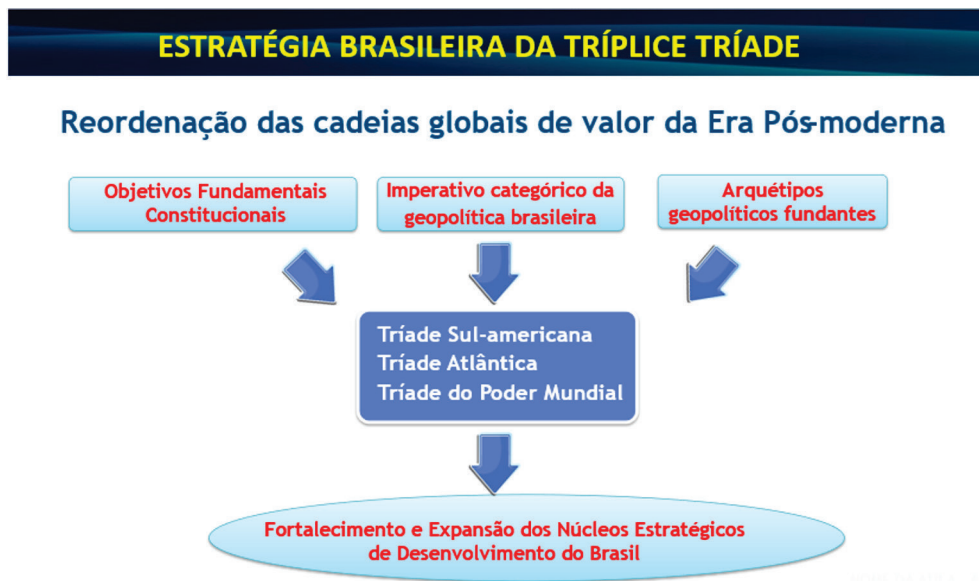
Much of Brazil's raw materials are processed abroad and then exported back to the country with high added value, which prevents the transformation of this potential into effective power.

From this art, Brazil must prioritize its national development based on these four great geopolitical archetypes, which obviously does not impede the development of other sectors, such as the aerospace sector.

Right now, in the midst of the war in Ukraine and the conflict in the Middle East, a significant opportunity has arisen for Brazil to engage internationally. The new process of reorganization of global value and innovation chains is defining several possibilities, especially the concepts of near-shoring and friendly-shoring, which play a crucial role in the reconfiguration of the postmodern world order under construction. Such concepts are strategically important because they project the struggle for control of global chains between the Western powers, led by the United States, and the Eurasian powers, captained by China.

Therefore, the present study aimed to demonstrate that the model of a Grand Strategy should promote the harmonious integration of the triple helix in all the links of the international chains, including production, distribution, technological innovation and knowledge transfer, in order to maximize Brazil's competitiveness and international insertion in the post-modern global scenario under construction.

Figure 4 – National Strategy General Outline



Source: Author's essay (2024).

For this reason, the present work will systematize the idea of the triad of world power (USA, European Union, China), precisely in the spirit of identifying those multilateral cooperation arrangements that strengthen the resilience of already established nuclei and/or enable the international competitiveness of new emerging nuclei.

Cooperation bodies such as Mercosur, the European Union, the BRICS, and bilateral agreements with the United States and China can play a key role in increasing the resilience and expanding the number of Brazilian business organizations and universities in global chains.

Such multilateral and bilateral mechanisms have the potential to provide access to new markets, expand growth opportunities and increase the international competitiveness of our strategic centers. Similarly, scientific cooperation between countries from different international blocs can accelerate the integration of their members into global research and innovation chains.

In addition, many of these international organizations have funding bodies for commercial research and development projects, such as the BRICS Bank, which can of course benefit both universities and industry. Finally, it should be noted that international cooperation also helps harmonize regulatory milestones, which can facilitate international trade flows and collaboration between companies from different countries.

It is from this perspective that, next, we are going to systematize the Grand Strategy of Brazil starting from the South American, Atlantic and world power triads.

5 SOUTH AMERICAN TRIAD, ATLANTIC TRIAD- WORLD POWER TRIAD: FOUNDING AXES OF BRAZIL'S GRAND STRATEGY

In this thematic segmentation, this paper intends to present the three main strands of a future Grand National Strategy for Brazil in the 21st century.

In a global context dominated by geopolitical tensions between the United States and China, a grand strategy model is proposed that includes three major triads for strengthening Brazilian national power: the South American triad, the Atlantic triad, and the global power triad.

With regard to the first triad, the South American triad, it should first be noted that Article 4, § 1 of the 1988 Constitution states that the Federative Republic of Brazil will seek the economic, political, social and cultural integration of the peoples of Latin America, with the aim of forming a Latin American community of nations. (Brazil, 2024).

Nevertheless, such a constitutional arrangement is an important geopolitical orientation for Brazil's grand strategy. However, it is believed that Latin American integration, although the best geopolitical course in the long run, is difficult to implement.

In this step, Mexico is already hopelessly tied to the United States (especially now with the friendly shoring up of global chains); the countries of the Caribbean and Central America are also strategically closer to the United States than any other South American country; finally, such integration would be practically impossible, at least in the short or medium term.

Consequently, the best alternative for Brazil's grand strategy is to reduce our vital space for the South American subcontinent. This is undoubtedly our real *lebensraum*, our effective living space.

Therefore, it is argued that South American integration should be the starting point, but not the arrival point, of Brazil's grand strategy, since it is only the first step of a very broad strategic design that still includes the Atlantic Triad and the triad of world power.

Its central points are the Brazilian exit to the Pacific Ocean, the interconnection of the Amazon and Platinum Basins, and the creation of multilateral strategic nuclei for the exploration of the biodiversity of the Pan-Amazon.

Figure 5 - Integration of South America



Source: Author's essay (2024)

So, the first challenge of the Grand Brazilian Strategy for the 21st Century is to make the interconnection of the three geopolitical groupings of the South American scenario, that is, the Amazon Arc, the Andean Community of Nations and the Southern Cone.

There are those who believe that South American integration is an outdated model for Brazil's geopolitical projection. For others, however, South American

integration remains the cornerstone of the country's project to reassert itself as a global power in the 21st century.

Therefore, it is appropriate to reflect on the best strategic alternative for Brazil in times of deglobalization of the world economy, initiated by the Trump Doctrine (2017), boosted by the coronavirus crisis (2019), and now by the wars of Russia vs. Ukraine (2022) and Israel vs. Hamas (2023), with the possibility of increasing the size and number of contenders.

This situation has led to a reorganization/regionalization of the global supply and production chains, accompanied by a major attempt to repatriate the national industries of the Western powers in order to reduce the risks arising from this dependence on the powers classified as revisionist by the US NSS, in particular China and Russia.

Given this context, the strategic junction of South America must start from the creation of multilateral strategic nuclei that explore their natural vocations from the perspective of subregional intercomplementarity.

To this end, the Grand Brazilian Strategy must systematize the integration of the South American triad. Without this broad vision, it will not be possible to shape the system of South American geopolitical forces in a single direction. There is no other way but to take the lead in the South American triad.

With regard to the Amazon Arc, comparing the works of Golbery and Meira Mattos, Freitas (2004, pp. 65-66) points out that:

In the line of Golbery do Couto e Silva, also underlies the thinking of Meira Mattos in the quest for establishing applied geopolitics, having an inherent idea that "the geographical relations understood must be contained in the government's policy". [...] worthy of particular emphasis is the geopolitical focus given to the complex issue of the integration of the Amazon, the particular interest devoted by the author to the study of the geopolitical potentialities and challenges of Brazil as "expanding world power"; and, more broadly, the analysis on the capacity of the "Brazilian man" to build a civilization of the tropics, or, in other terms, the potentialities for Brazil to compete on the world stage.

It is the responsibility of the country's strategist to articulate a large agglomerating cluster for the exploitation of this national genetic heritage.

Without significant investments in the country's own strategic centers (business institutions, universities and governmental institutions, such as the National Research Institute of Amazonia) related to the national genetic heritage, processing and value-added will continue to take place abroad, without generating income and quality jobs in Brazil itself, the owner of this rich genetic heritage, but without the capacity to fully exploit it.

Likewise, scientific research on biodiversity must be prioritized in all research and teaching institutions in the Amazonian countries, in order to add value to their discoveries and secure South American patents, thus preventing the flight of resources through piracy and the illegal trade of herbs and seeds. The indigenous question must be resolved in harmony with the prospect of increasing the exploitation of the precious minerals of the Amazon, without violating their constitutional rights.

In short, it is on the side of the Amazon Arc that Brazil can consolidate its position as an environmental and aquifer superpower.¹¹

The integration of the Andean Community of Nations is much more complicated, but that does not make it impossible. The nodal point of Brazil's geopolitical positioning within the Andean front should be the Brazilian exit to the Pacific Ocean.

In this sense, the thesis is defended that this exit necessarily passes through the complex cooperation between Mercosur (at the level of the common market) and the Pacific Alliance (at the level of the free trade area), whose leadership is under the responsibility of Mexico, counting also on Chile, Colombia and Peru.¹²

Finally, Mercosur is undoubtedly the most important forum for South American integration. The other two fronts, the Amazon and the Andes, are complementary in the process of South America's international integration.

Broadly speaking, the main challenge of the Grand Brazilian Strategy in the South American triad is to reverse Argentina's pendular geopolitical positioning, aligning itself sometimes with the United States and sometimes with Mercosur. Indeed, Argentina is fundamental to the vitality of the Southern Cone.¹³

11 In fact, the country is home to most of the Amazon Forest, which is crucial for the conception of ventures by the billionaire pharmaceutical industry. Such an industry is driven by the constant demand for innovative medicines, vaccines and treatments, which depend on significant investments in research and development aimed at biodiversity and its bioprospecting process. The Grand Brazilian Strategy should attract foreign investments for the creation of companies aimed exclusively at the transformation of this potential into real power. In short, the exploitation of the enormous potential of the biodiversity of the Amazon basin should be done strategically in such a way as to include Brazilian and South American industry and universities in the discovery of new medicines and treatments, benefiting both human health and the economy of the region as a whole.

12 Chile's refusal to join Mercosur is also a factor in the disintegration of South America. Chile's decision to become an observer member of Mercosur should be interpreted with caution. In fact, it cannot be forgotten that Chilean foreign policy naturally tends toward bilateral free trade negotiations with developed countries.

13 Unfortunately, Argentine society is unable to accept Brazil's natural leadership in the South American context, since it voted against Brazil's desire to become a member of the UN's Permanent Security Council. The statement by a former Argentine minister that relations with the US were carnal shows a clear bond of political subordination in that country. Argentinians have not yet learned the lesson of the Falklands War, when the U.S. completely disregarded the Argentine nation. It was too pretentious or naive to think that the Americans would support Argentina at the expense of their traditional European ally, the United Kingdom.

In other words, just as there is no Mercosur-European Union agreement without Brazil, likewise there is no Mercosur without Argentina.

In strategic terms, the importance of the interconnection of the Amazon and Platinum basins is also highlighted, as advocated by Mario Travassos (1947), in that it boosts economic development, regional integration and national security itself.

The direct interconnection of the Amazon Basin, the largest in the world, and the Platinum Basin, the second in South America, may revolutionize the freight transport system in terms of cost reduction, which naturally increases its competitiveness in relation to the road modal, besides being a more adherent alternative to the global initiative for environmental conservation.

The second triad of the Grand Brazilian Strategy is the Atlantic triad, which is conceived here as the founding base of Brazilian oceanpolitics.

This is because it encompasses the three main maritime spaces of Brazilian geopolitics: the Blue Amazon, the Brazilian projection for West Africa, and the Antarctic front. Moreover, given the categorical imperative of Brazilian geopolitics, strategic actions related to the Atlantic Triad can contribute significantly to the consolidation of Brazil as an energy and environmental superpower.

Figure 6 - Pillars of Brazilian Oceanpolitics



Source: Author's essay (2024).

In fact, oceanpolitics, as a geopolitical instrument of the use of the sea as an instrument of national development, has the mission of revealing the power relations between states, hence the epistemological link between the potentialization of the use of marine resources and the positioning of Brazil as an energy and environmental superpower.

In the Blue Amazon, for example, there is the prospect of the economic exploitation of new technologies for the use of the sea, such as offshore wind power, which will require the creation of new strategic nuclei to take advantage of the strong and constant winds to generate electricity.

Similarly, the exploration of the pre-salt and now with the possibility of exploration on the equatorial margin, which may induce the reconstruction of the Brazilian naval industry. In addition, the Blue Amazon region offers the prospect of exploiting an extremely rich marine biodiversity, with previously unknown species and potential for the development of new medicines and other products with high added value.

Under the aegis of the Atlantic Triad, the Grand Brazilian Strategy still has the task of planning new Brazilian ventures in the West African region, which is rich in natural resources such as oil, gas and minerals, and also offers a growing market for Brazilian industrial products.

Finally, the Antarctic region, which, although protected by international treaties that limit the exploitation of its resources, has great economic potential for the future. In this tuning fork, the region represents a promising horizon for science and economy, in which Brazil is well positioned, not only because it is a signatory to the Antarctic Treaty, but also because of its presence in the Commander Ferraz Antarctic Station, whose field of action can and must be expanded.

The third triad of the Grand Strategy, the triad of world power, which includes relations with the States, Europe and China, is now the next highlight.

In this sense, there are currents of thought that defend the idea that Brazil's grand development strategy must be based on the opening up of the national economy, without any kind of protection of its development poles, within a liberal internationalist perspective.

Others, however, believe that such a strategy should be based on the integration of these strategic centers into the links of global value and technology chains. That is, they defend the idea that Brazil cannot be a mere consumer market in certain sectors of the global economy, especially in the energy, agro-industrial, environmental and aquifer sectors, hence the vision of increasing the resilience and expansion of Brazil's industrial and technological triple helix.

Consequently, the question is simple: can a country with more than 200 million inhabitants abandon its technological, industrial, commercial, scientific and academic centers and transform itself into a mere service society, exporting primary products without added value?

This is the great strategic dilemma of the less developed countries, as is unfortunately still the case in Brazil: if they automatically align themselves with the world powers, they will probably be forced to accept the simple role of exporters of raw materials, without any kind of insertion into the world networks of value and technological innovation.

On the other hand, if they reject major multilateral agreements for trade openness and scientific cooperation, they could be isolated from the largest consumer markets on the planet and, in particular, from the large international chains, which are in reordering in the post-war world of Ukraine/post-conflict Hamas vs. Israel.

On this point, once again, one can observe the importance of the idea of “an increase in the vitality and the expansion of the triple development helix” as the fundamental basis of the Grand National Strategy.

This means that Brazil cannot renounce the growth of its triple helix of high value-added products, intensive in technology and skilled labor, which includes internationally competitive business entities, universities and academic centers integrated in the research and innovation chains, and the government itself, either as a normative agent of regulatory landmarks or as a financing agent.

In view of this, the role of the State is to ensure that the triple helix works well, including the relationship between government and universities, universities and industry, and industry and government (Etzkowitz; Zhou, 2017). A good example of non-compliance with this strategic action of the state in Brazil is the telecommunications sector, where there is practically no relevant Brazilian strategic core with international competitiveness.¹⁴

In short, with regard to the world’s centers of power, our strategy must be to maintain a firm position of automatic and subservient non-alignment with any of the world’s poles of power.

This means that Brazil must adopt an equilibrium strategy towards the two superpowers, since they are important trading partners. Maintaining a neutral position allows Brazil greater autonomy in the search for the creation of new axes of development, thus attracting greater investment in infrastructure, technology and other strategic sectors in Brazil from both superpowers.

14 In fact, there are no more Brazilian companies acting internationally in 5G technology, moving to 6G, in the construction of communications satellites, the satellite launch vehicle project walking slowly, after the accident at the Alcântara Base on August 22, 2003, with the death of 21 highly qualified professionals; lack of concrete initiatives for the own construction of geo-referencing systems, also known as satellite navigation systems and many other examples. The following countries have their own satellite navigation systems: United States: GPS (Global Positioning System); Russia: GLONASS (Global Navigation Satellite System); European Union: Galileo; China: BeiDou; Japan: QZSS (Quasi-Zenith Satellite System) and India: NavIC (Navigation with Indian Constellation).

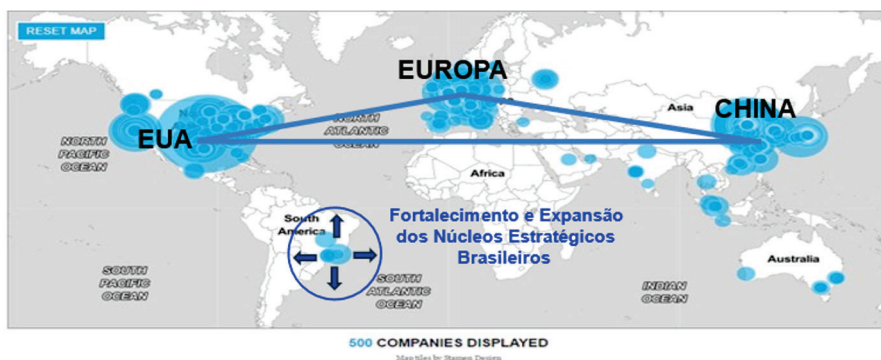
The figure below shows the large multinational corporations concentrated mainly in the United States, Europe and China.

From the figure, note that the Grand Brazilian Strategy has the mission to expand the list of Brazilian companies in the world's largest ranking.

Figure 7 - Geopolitical strength of the strategic centers of world power

TERCEIRA TRIÁDE DA GRANDE ESTRATÉGIA BRASILEIRA

Triáde do Poder Mundial



Fonte : www.fortune.com

Source: *Fortune*, 500 largest companies worldwide with author adaptations (2024).

In conclusion, Brazil must continue to seek a position of equilibrium, maximizing the productive investments coming from the world's centers of power, while at the same time seeking to maximize the development and diffusion of Brazilian business and academic institutions, both of the South American Triad and of the Atlantic Triad. This seems to be the best way for Brazil's future.

6 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This study has endeavored to show that the absence of a truly Brazilian Grand National Strategy, along the lines of the National Security Strategy of the United States, leaves Brazil adrift, a country without direction, without knowing where it wants to go, easily influenced by external strategies. This takes us further and further away from the categorical imperative of our geopolitics, which is to be one of the five major world powers. (Góes, 2022, p. 76).

In this sense, he proposes a Grand Strategy model based on three great triads that can leverage Brazilian national power, starting from the consolidation, diversification and diffusion of business and academic organizations, components

of the Brazilian Triple Helix, an essential model for promoting innovation and development based on technological knowledge.

A country with strong and consolidated strategic hubs can promote the growth of its economy, sustain its armed forces, invest in technology and infrastructure, and exert geopolitical influence over other countries.

In a comparative perspective with the American NSS, it was sought to demonstrate that the Grand Strategy of Brazil for the 21st Century has the mission of promoting the reduction of poverty and marginalization, as well as social and regional inequalities, within a free, just and solidary society, in accordance with Article 3, Sections I to IV, of the Constitution of the Republic of 1988.

A nation without an autochthonous national strategy can hardly formulate effective strategic actions to combat poverty, marginalization, social exclusion and regional inequality.

Thus, Brazil's future strategy should prioritize national development based on four main pillars: energy, food, water and the environment, making the country a superpower in these sectors. In other words, the lack of an effective strategy prevents Brazil from realizing its full potential, limits its ability to assert itself as a global power, and jeopardizes its strategic role on the international stage.

There is an urgent need for Brazil to stop being on the periphery of the international flows of high-value goods and technological innovation, and to focus on its four main geopolitical pillars in order to strengthen and rebuild existing business centers and research institutions, and to create new ones that can compete internationally.

To this end, the present study suggests the formulation of an autochthonous Grand Strategy from three major triads: South American triad, Atlantic triad and central power triad.

The first triad suggests that the integration of South America should take place by linking the region's three main geopolitical groupings: the Amazon Arc, the Andean Pact, and the Southern Cone. In fact, Brazil is the only country with a sufficient geopolitical dimension to exercise regional leadership and outline an autonomous future for the South American world.

The second triad of the Grand Brazilian Strategy is the Atlantic Triad, which forms the basis of the country's oceanpolitics. It includes the Blue Amazon, the Brazilian projection for West Africa, and the Antarctic front. This triad is crucial in the new global energy configuration, which involves not only the diversification of green energy sources, but also the geopolitical competition for control of the global energy market between large corporations and governmental entities, true strategic centers of their respective countries of origin.

Finally, the third triad, called the triad of world power, is linked to strategic relations with the United States, Europe and China, but without neglecting other powers, especially India, Russia and Japan. Its central axis is based on the rejection of automatic and subordinate alignments, especially with the United States and China.

In short, the grand strategy of the Triple Triad (South American Triad; Atlantic Triad; World Power Triad) is based on the strengthening and expansion of the Triple Helix (companies; universities; government).

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GENERAL CORDEIRO DE FARIAS LIBRARY - ARCHEOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE: an approach to the conservation and preservation of the Brazilian War College collection

BIBLIOTECA GENERAL CORDEIRO DE FARIAS - ARQUEOLOGIA DO CONHECIMENTO: uma abordagem da conservação e preservação do acervo da Escola Superior de Guerra

BIBLIOTECA GENERAL CORDEIRO DE FARIAS - ARQUEOLOGÍA DEL CONOCIMIENTO: una aproximación a la conservación y preservación de la colección de la Escuela Superior de Guerra

In a good bookroom
you feel, in some mysterious way,
that you are absorbing the wisdom contained
in all the books through your skin,
without even opening them.
Mark Twain

Antonio Rocha Freire Milhomens*
Maria Célia Barbosa Reis da Silva**

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the importance of libraries in society from Antiquity until the 2020s, highlighting their public character after the French Revolution. The focus especially illuminates the Cordeiro de Farias Library of Brazilian War College (ESG), and addresses the role of preservation and conservation of the Institution's historical

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collection and events that moved the world, after the Second World War. The text also mentions the leading role of libraries as instruments for promoting citizenship and the cultural formation of a people: a hidden space of memory. The ESG Library, created in 1949, has a collection of approximately 50 thousand works, including monographs produced by students of the Institution, photos of students and visitors, and records of various conferences given by personalities from different political spectrums and from different geographic latitudes. The paper provides the reader with data on maintenance and care initiatives aimed at the library's collection, such as: review of spaces, cleaning, repairs and environmental control to avoid interference with the material housed in the library. The search for solutions in reference institutions to improve the subsistence of the bibliographic collection and facilitate access to the collection's material stands out. We also emphasize the importance of a preservation policy to guide the work of library staff and the minimum care of those who use it. The text uses the descriptive method: study, analysis of the object studied, in this case the ESG Library. The material gathered in it, the form of conservation carried out and what needs to be done or acquired are presented. It aims to instigate research into what is available there, how it is separated, and who frequents it.

Keywords: General Cordeiro de Farias Library; Brazilian War College; Collection.

RESUMO

Este artigo se propõe a discutir a importância das bibliotecas na sociedade desde a Antiguidade até os anos de 2020, destacando seu caráter público após a Revolução Francesa. O foco ilumina especialmente a Biblioteca Cordeiro de Farias da Escola Superior de Guerra (ESG), e aborda o papel da preservação e da conservação do acervo histórico da Instituição e de acontecimentos que movem o mundo, após a Segunda Guerra Mundial. O texto menciona também o protagonismo das bibliotecas como instrumentos de promoção da cidadania e da formação cultural de um povo: recôndito espaço da memória. A Biblioteca da ESG, criada em 1949, tem um acervo de aproximadamente 50 mil obras, incluindo monografias produzidas por alunos da Instituição, fotos de alunos e visitantes, e registros de conferências de várias proferidas por personalidades de espectros políticos diferentes e de latitudes geográficas diversas. O texto municia o leitor de dados sobre iniciativas de manutenção e cuidados direcionados ao acervo da biblioteca, como: revisão dos espaços, higienização, reparos e controle ambiental para evitar a interferência no material abrigado na biblioteca. Destaca-se a busca por soluções em instituições de referência para melhorar a subsistência do acervo bibliográfico e facilitar o acesso ao material do acervo. Também enfatizamos a importância de uma política de preservação para orientar o trabalho dos funcionários da biblioteca e o mínimo cuidado de quem a frequenta.

O texto usa o método descritivo: estudo, análise sobre o objeto estudado, no caso a Biblioteca da ESG. Apresenta-se o material nela reunido, a forma de conservação feita e o que carece de ser feito ou adquirido. Visa instigar pesquisa sobre o que nela está à disposição, como está separado, quem a frequenta.

Palavras-chave: Biblioteca Cordeiro de Farias; Escola Superior de Guerra; Acervo.

RESUMEN

Este artículo tiene como objetivo discutir la importancia de las bibliotecas en la sociedad desde la Antigüedad hasta la década de 2020, destacando su carácter público después de la Revolución Francesa. El foco ilumina especialmente la Biblioteca Cordeiro de Farias de la Escuela Superior de Guerra (ESG), y aborda el papel de preservación y conservación del fondo histórico de la Institución y de los acontecimientos que conmovieron al mundo, después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial. El texto también menciona el papel protagónico de las bibliotecas como instrumentos de promoción de la ciudadanía y de la formación cultural de un pueblo: un espacio oculto de la memoria. La Biblioteca ESG, creada en 1949, cuenta con un acervo de aproximadamente 50 mil obras, entre monografías realizadas por estudiantes de la Institución, fotografías de estudiantes y visitantes, y registros de diversas conferencias impartidas por personalidades de distintos espectros políticos y de distintas latitudes geográficas. El texto proporciona al lector datos sobre iniciativas de mantenimiento y cuidado dirigidas a la colección de la biblioteca, tales como: revisión de espacios, limpieza, reparaciones y control ambiental para evitar interferencias con el material alojado en la biblioteca. Destaca la búsqueda de soluciones en instituciones de referencia para mejorar la subsistencia de la colección bibliográfica y facilitar el acceso al material de la colección. También destacamos la importancia de una política de preservación que oriente el trabajo del personal bibliotecario y el mínimo cuidado de quienes la utilizan. El texto utiliza el método descriptivo: estudio, análisis del objeto estudiado, en este caso la Biblioteca ESG. Se presenta el material reunido en él, la forma de conservación realizada y lo que hay que hacer o adquirir. Su objetivo es promover la investigación sobre lo que se encuentra allí, cómo se separa y quién lo frecuenta.

Palabras clave: Biblioteca Cordeiro de Farias; Escuela Superior de Guerra; Acervo.

1 INTRODUCTION

The social function of libraries is directly associated with the mission of preserving, organizing and disseminating cultural elements and the knowledge acquired by historical actors.

Libraries, which have existed since antiquity, took on a public role in France at the close of absolutism and with the emergence of the republican government model between 1789 and 1799. It was only after the transformations brought by the French Revolution that libraries began to be regarded as tools for promoting citizenship and fostering cultural development.

With the onset of the Industrial Revolution and the institutionalization of science, libraries began to play a significant role in the transmission and dissemination of knowledge. By the mid-19th century, interest in the historical value of books and documents had grown, elevating them to the status of witnesses to history (Barbier, 2018). The efforts of that period primarily focused on the organization and utilization of documentary and bibliographic collections.

In the 20th century, particularly after World War II, rapid scientific and technological advancements led to an exponential increase in information production, surpassing the capacity of institutions to manage and organize it. This forced institutions to seek solutions for preserving documents and photographs to meet the challenges of a changing world. In this context, libraries safeguard a portion of national history and knowledge across diverse fields, playing a vital role in the cultural and social development of citizens (Milanesi, 1988). Generally, a library is a physical space where books are stored and systematically arranged for study and consultation, encompassing diverse information collections, including books, encyclopedias, dictionaries, monographs, magazines, pamphlets, DVDs, and other resources aligned with the latest technological advances in science.

Libraries hold a significant position in society (Schwarcz, 2002), supporting both basic and university studies while assuming a broader cultural and democratic role by disseminating information. Therefore, it is crucial to maintain preservation and conservation policies to safeguard and ensure the continuous use of library collections.

The documentary and bibliographic collections, often considered public heritage, are held in trust by government institutions that need to allocate resources and establish preservation policies. These policies should prioritize solutions that, coupled with technological advances, ensure that future generations have access to evidence and testimonies of humanity's continuous development.

Analyzing the Library of the Brazilian War College as a historical object sheds light on the process of shaping the identity of the School and how this institution and its members organized/organize their reflections on Brazil. The books selected and read within the library mirror the academic profile of its visitors. The demand for new books reflects the desire for knowledge and the pursuit of continuous learning by those who frequent this revered space.

2 THE CREATION OF THE BRAZILIAN WAR COLLEGE LIBRARY: A POLITICAL PROJECT

The Brazilian War College (ESG) was established in 1949 during a period of historical upheaval marked by the ideological polarization of the post-World War II era, where the concept of National Security was a key focus for many nations. Initially, ESG's early interpretations of National Security centered on defense against external threats, safeguarding sovereignty and territorial integrity, and maintaining internal order. This era was predominantly characterized by a military and strategic perspective on National Security. In the decades following the 1980s and 1990s, ESG redefined and broadened its view of National Security to include economic, political, social, and environmental dimensions. This evolution reflected a more comprehensive understanding of security, acknowledging that a state's security is influenced by multiple, interconnected factors and that threats can emerge from various sources. The General Cordeiro de Farias Library offers valuable resources for comparative studies, allowing for an analysis of the evolving and enduring elements of the National Security concept as perceived by ESG, spanning from its early doctrine manuals to those of the 2020s.

One of these concepts outside ESG comes from Arnold Wolfers in 1962, 17 years after the end of World War II:

Security, in so far as the term means something specific, implies the absence of threats to the values acquired. National denotes that these values are sustained by a nation. National Security, therefore, can be understood as protecting a nation's core values against significant external threats (Wolfers, 1962, p. 120)

Arnold Wolfers, in alignment with his previously mentioned ideas, argued that National Security is not an absolute but a relative concept, shaped by the values a nation chooses to prioritize (Wolfers, 1962). Following World War II, the notion of National Security evolved beyond military defense to include political, economic, and social stability, reflecting an expanded understanding of the types of threats and the protective strategies states needed to adopt in response to emerging international dynamics.

The collection at the ESG Library comprises publications focused on Defense, Security, International Relations, and related fields, holding significant

value for scientific, technological, historical, and commemorative research in Brazil. The bibliographic documentation includes approximately 50,000 works, such as books, academic papers, and audio-visual materials. Notably, many of these works are final monographs produced by students of the Brazilian War College. The iconographic and audiovisual collection features records from lectures by civil and military authorities, documentation of ESG visits to various military and civilian institutions both in Brazil and abroad, and contributions from other study centers.

During the 1980s, some of these monographs were microfilmed, resulting in a collection of microfiches stored at the National Archives. This collection spans about 12 linear meters and covers monographs produced between 1960 and 1980. The originals of these monographs remain housed in the ESG Library, cataloged in a database that includes the author's name, title, date of production, and subject matter. If needed, the ESG Library can generate a comprehensive report from the database, detailing these microfiches.

Despite the existence of written documentation of a permanent and historical nature, there has not been an overall presentation of these documents, leading to their recognition as mere "archives" within different sectorial records of the School.

A significant aspect of the collection is the 7,455 publications declassified in 2014 following the establishment of a commission that enabled access to 6,936 documents reclassified as public through compliance with the Access to Information Law (LAI) 12,527/2011, with 519 items remaining as reserved.

Academic works deemed confidential are stored underground in the library, totaling approximately 128 linear meters. These works are classified by their authors and/or supervisors, often due to the use of restricted sources. According to the guidelines of the National Archives, many of these monographs are due for declassification, necessitating a careful review process.

The Cordeiro de Farias Library has also identified around 20 Tombo Books, which show signs of deterioration. Another noteworthy point is that ESG attributes a higher historical value to some documents over others, such as the monographs of prominent alumni like Tancredo Neves and Ranieri Mazzilli. However, it is believed that all permanent documentation holds historical significance and should be assessed as such without selective judgment.

The growth of History as a scholarly field and the expansion of postgraduate programs at various institutions have spurred significant changes in this

context, leading to the development of new studies with different temporal, spatial, theoretical, and methodological perspectives. This shift allows for fresh approaches to understanding the military and rethinking Brazilian politics and society.

Figure 1 - Reading Room of the General Cordeiro de Farias Library of the Brazilian War College



Source: From authors (2023).

Since 1949, the Brazilian War College (ESG), an institution under the Ministry of Defense, has aimed to understand both national and international contexts to prepare civilians and military personnel for high-level management and advisory roles in National Defense planning, encompassing the essential aspects of Security and Development.

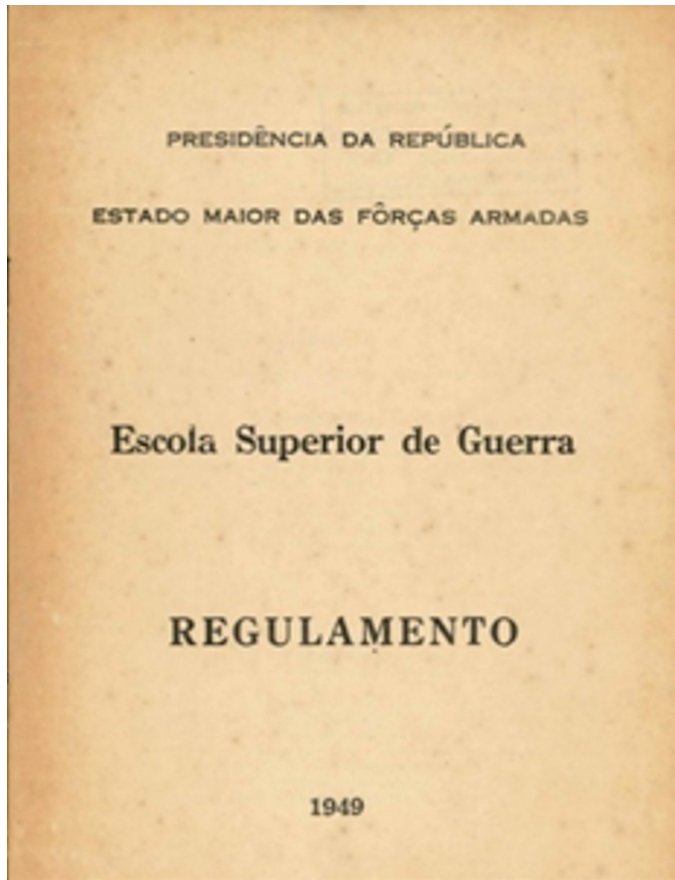
After World War II, the global landscape was shaped by Cold War ideologies and a bipolar balance of power, with political and economic blocs still in the process of formation. In Brazil, there were shifts in alignment, oscillating between different ideological influences.

At that time, the Brazilian military, shaped by military school traditions, leaned toward conservatism and naturally found alignment with the American military. This alignment was reinforced by the training of Brazilian officers at the National War College, developed during their collaboration in World War II.

In December 1948, a group of Brazilian soldiers, joined by some American counterparts and led by General Oswaldo Cordeiro de Farias, drafted a preliminary version of the ESG regulations. During the development of the School's procedural rules, new ideas emerged, notably outlined in a document authored by Colonel

Idalio Sardemberg titled *Fundamental Principles of the Brazilian War College*. This document emphasized that development was not solely dependent on natural resources but was primarily influenced by cultural factors and, most importantly, by the capacity of individuals in management positions to transform established work habits. This transformation aimed to foster an environment conducive to analysis and the habit of collaborative work (Figure 2).

Figure 2 - Cover of the First Regulations of the Brazilian War College (1949)



Source: General Cordeiro de Farias Library (2024).

The aforementioned document highlighted that the newly created Institute would focus its efforts on studying and reflecting on National Security issues through a methodical analysis and interpretation of political, economic, diplomatic, and military factors influencing the National Strategic Concept. This approach aimed to foster comprehensive understanding among the various groups represented within the institution.

Despite its name, the Brazilian War College (ESG) has never been dedicated to traditional war strategy and tactics. Instead, it has centered on political studies, with its main course, the Course of High Studies of Politics and Strategy (CAEPE), comprising a faculty in 2024 that includes more than half civilians, among them religious figures such as priests and pastors.

With the establishment of the Ministry of Defense on August 20, 1999, ESG was placed directly under the Minister of State for Defense and tasked with developing and consolidating the knowledge required for strategic leadership and planning in the realm of National Security. ESG was a pioneering institution in Brazil, bringing together military and civilian experts to engage in discussions on national security and defense. The value placed on knowledge was evident in a report by the American Military Mission in Brazil, dated October 1, 1948. This report, produced by U.S. military personnel, emphasized that the success of the School would heavily rely on students' access to a well-resourced library.

Figure 3 - General Cordeiro de Farias Library Collection, of the Brazilian War College



Source: From authors (2023).

According to Ferreira, Gomes, and Silva (2015), the report by the American Military Mission represents the first evidence of the organization of the ESG Library. The American presence at ESG was significant, with American officers forming part of the regular staff until the early 1960s. Additionally, much of the initial teaching material at ESG consisted of summaries from U.S. generals' lectures or texts on

national security and geopolitics produced by U.S. military institutions (Svartman, 2006).

Despite this alignment with American influences, the ESG military quickly demonstrated strong nationalist motives, establishing the School as a continuous center for research and debate on Brazilian issues. Over its seven decades, more than eight thousand individuals, known as Esguianos, have graduated from ESG, including four Presidents of the Republic, Ministers of State, and other prominent figures in Brazilian politics. Notable alumni and contributors include Arthur Bernardes Alves de Souza, Augusto Hamann Rademaker Grunewald, Newton Araújo de Oliveira e Cruz, Golbery do Couto e Silva, Ernesto Geisel, and several others who played significant roles during Brazil's period of military rule from 1964 to 1985.

It was at ESG that General Golbery do Couto e Silva, a member of the Permanent Corps from 1952 to 1955, began his studies on geopolitics and strategic areas while still a Lieutenant Colonel. His works, preserved in the School's archives, highlight how geopolitical configurations have evolved, influenced by political, social, economic, cultural, and technological changes that often transcend geographic boundaries.

The General Cordeiro de Farias Library was named in honor of General Oswaldo Cordeiro de Farias, the first Commander and Director of Studies at ESG (1949–1952), appointed by President Eurico Gaspar Dutra. In May 1950, Cordeiro de Farias lost a politically charged election for the directorship of the Military Club to Newton Estillac Leal, who represented nationalist segments of the Armed Forces, while Cordeiro de Farias supported the inclusion of foreign capital in the exploration of Brazilian petroleum. Following his tenure, Marshal Juarez Távora succeeded him, initiating a rotation system where the ESG would be commanded by generals from all three branches of the military.

The General Cordeiro de Farias Library, unlike public libraries funded by state or municipal governments, is a section of an organ under the Ministry of Defense, linked to the federal administration. It primarily serves ESG's civilian and military staff, supporting the institution's courses, but is also open to external researchers seeking to study or consult its materials, albeit with limited access. ESG itself stands out as an institution that consolidates knowledge for planning and advising on National Defense, focusing on Security and Development without

the typical characteristics of a traditional military organization. Instead, it operates as an academic and research institution, managed collaboratively by the Navy, Army, and Air Force, facilitating an exchange of perspectives among the branches.

Over time, the General Cordeiro de Farias Library adopted some characteristics of public service institutions. This is evident from the gradual expansion of access to its collection, once restricted and now available to various user groups. Both military and civilian commands at ESG have historically emphasized the value of knowledge for professional advancement, influencing the development of the library as a center for academic support.

Notably, Admiral Eduardo Bacelar's career, including time spent as a civilian working at a U.S. library and subsequent roles at the Naval School and the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, exemplifies the importance of international educational experiences to ESG's development. Today, the General Cordeiro de Farias Library holds approximately 50,000 items, including a small map collection focused on Defense, International Relations, Economics, and Geopolitics. The collection also contains records, in both paper and audiovisual formats, of lectures and teachings from intellectuals and politicians who have contributed to the institution, preserved in "Golden Books" that bear their handwritten signatures.

The founders of ESG, initially a military elite that transitioned into influential political roles during the latter half of the 20th century, believed in the urgent need to strengthen the relationship between Brazil's military and civilian elites. This historical context is key to understanding ESG's modern role as a research and education center responsible for coordinating and developing courses mandated by the Minister of State for Defense. The establishment of the Brazilian Defense College (ESD) by Presidential Decree No. 10,806 on September 23, 2021, marked the beginning of a new institution for knowledge exchange under the Ministry of Defense, launching its operations in Brasília on October 1, 2021, at the core of federal politics and administration.

[...] studies, research, extension, dissemination, teaching and exchange, in themes of interest to the National Defense, with a priority focus on the civil servants of the Executive, Legislative and Judicial Powers and institutions of interest to the Defense, also attending to the military of the Armed Forces and Auxiliaries (Brasil, 2022).

The intellectual output generated at ESG and produced by those who attended the institution generally reflected the political thought of its time, with a significant focus on security and the development of Brazil within the context of specific historical circumstances. It is important to note that the School does not engage in policy formulation or implementation in Brazil. Instead, its work is academic in nature, serving as a democratic and open forum for free debate. This body of intellectual production, which forms part of the ESG Library's collection, has shifted over time, influenced by the country's changing political periods and events, encompassing themes ranging from national issues to the global context.

The library services provided to users are comprehensive, offering modern infrastructure that meets the needs of researchers. Facilities include multimedia computers for research and collection consultation, group study rooms, and a video room, ensuring quality service for both Brazilian and international researchers interested in the library's collection.

Despite these resources, the technical processing of part of the collection is still underway, involving tasks such as organization, classification, indexing, and cataloging. This process has been slow due to limitations in staffing and funding. As a result, many materials remain relatively unknown to academia and broader Brazilian society, even though they are accessible for local consultation.

3 THE PRESERVATION OF ESG MEMORY: NOTES ON PRACTICAL ACTIONS

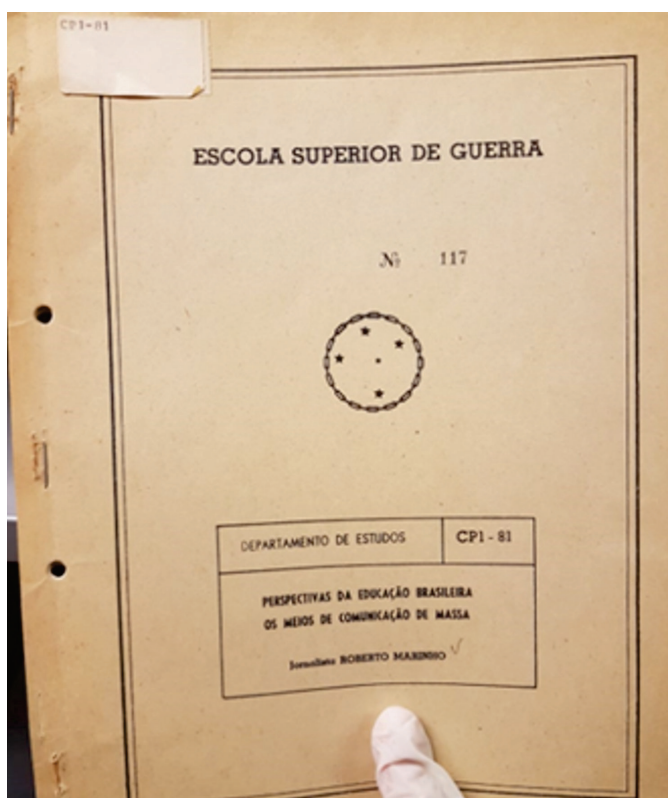
The Brazilian War College's commitment to the preservation, conservation, and management of its historical heritage has prompted a search for solutions in various reference institutions to evaluate the most cost-effective preservation strategies. The goal is to preserve, conserve, organize, and disseminate information related to the memory of its institutional academic activities since 1949. These efforts aim to deepen the understanding of both national and international realities and support the preparation of civilians and military personnel for high-level management and advisory roles in the field of National Defense, encompassing Security and Development.

Preservation efforts not only seek to commemorate the creation and early years of ESG but also aim to highlight the institution's process

of consolidation, valuing its accumulated experiences and emphasizing the significance of its services to the country. According to the guiding document published by the National Library, three key elements form the general guidelines for supporting the preservation of ESG's bibliographic collection: monitoring physical spaces, safeguarding the collection, and ensuring access.

The textual, iconographic, cartographic, audio, and film collections that document ESG's educational activities are essential in tracing the trajectory of its courses and the intellectuals and institutions that collaborated with the college at different times. This comprehensive approach to preservation helps build a nuanced historical narrative of ESG's contributions and interactions over the decades.

Figure 4 - Registration of the Passage of Journalist Roberto Marinho at the Brazilian War College in June 1981



Source: General Cordeiro de Farias Library (2024).

With regard to cultural legacy, the project will address issues of civility and patriotism, particularly focusing on youth and education, thus giving this initiative a sustainable and socially beneficial character. Beyond fostering awareness for actions geared towards the management and sustainability of collections, a new project opportunity titled “Management of Rare Works” has been identified. The primary objectives of this project include centralizing these rare works in a suitable space for storage and treatment, digitizing select items to make them available online, producing catalogs, and organizing exhibitions conducted by the School.

The book, regarded as a social symbol, holds a prominent place as a cultural artifact par excellence due to its nature as a repository of accumulated human culture. It stands as a heritage legitimized and reinforced through socially constructed narratives, mediation, and a sense of belonging. This heritage renews itself in diverse ways, functioning as both a collective memory and an intermediary element between individuals and reality. Whether found in open-air collections—such as Machu Picchu in Peru, Athens in Greece, Serra da Capivara National Park in Piauí, Brazil, or Souza Dinosaur Valley in Paraíba, Brazil—or housed within libraries, books and records preserve dual stories: the memory they embody and the historians who interpret them.

The first [of memory, predominance of the oral] is essentially mythical, deformed, anachronistic, but it constitutes the lived of this never-ended relationship between the present and the past. It is desirable that the historical information - provided by the historians of the craft, vulgarized by the school (or at least should be) and the *mass media* - correct this falsified traditional history. History should clarify the memory and help it rectify its mistakes. But is the historian immunized against a disease that is not of the past, at least of the present, and, perhaps, an unconscious image of a dreamt future? (Le Goff, 1990, p. 19-20).

Both are influenced by the perspectives of their time and the subjectivity of the writer or narrator. They capture the *zeitgeist*—the spirit of the time—of those who lived through an event and recounted it or those who wrote about it based on what they read, heard, or experienced. The archaeological sites mentioned previously, as well as items preserved in museums, are often documented in books through descriptions, paintings, and drawings and stored in libraries. These works become part of the realm of the General Cordeiro de Farias Library because they contribute to the history and memory preserved within libraries and serve those who conduct research there. As Jacques Le Goff (1990) illustrates, libraries hold not

just collections but are repositories of collective memory, bridging the past with contemporary understanding.

Kings create institutions-memory: archives, libraries, museums. Zimrilim (circa 1782-59 BC) makes his Mari palace, where numerous tablets have been found, an archival center. In Shamra frogs, Syria, excavations of the Ugarit royal archives building have allowed three archives in the palace to be found: diplomatic, financial and administrative archives. In this same palace there was a library in the 2nd millennium BC and in the 7th century BC the library of Ashurbanipal in Nineveh was celebrated. In Hellenistic times, the great library of Pergamon and the famous library of Alexandria, combined with the famous museum, created by the Ptolemies (Le Goff, 1990, p. 374).

Supported by Nora, we justify the previous quote in an article that addresses the Cordeiro de Farias Library, a place of refuge for the history of ESG and for so many other narratives that:

[...] ferments from the study of the “places” of collective memory. “Topographical places such as archives, libraries and museums; monumental places such as cemeteries or architectures; symbolic places such as commemorations, pilgrimages, anniversaries or emblems; functional places such as manuals, autobiographies or associations: these memorials have their history (Nora, 1978, p. 473).

For a long time, the main figures and supporting players of memory and history have narrated their deeds, guiding us to the threshold where memory transforms into “history.” In our library, interns from various courses, students of the Graduate Program in International Security and Defense (PPGSID), instructors, teachers, staff, and visitors seek material in the ESG archives to compose their academic and non-academic works.

Since its establishment, the Cordeiro de Farias Library has preserved various documentary formats, including gold books, photo albums, magazines, and audiovisual materials, which enrich the library’s collection. These materials enable external observers to recognize the institution’s significance while fostering a collective identity among the internal community. Additionally, the library encourages voluntary efforts to safeguard and cherish present-day items that could become future historical artifacts. Donations from personal archives across Brazil

are welcomed, creating a dynamic blend of existing materials and newly acquired items. These documents often carry the imprint of those who handled them in the past and those who access them today.

Complementing these archives are books acquired to meet the evolving knowledge needs of PPGSID students, participants in various courses, and researchers from other institutions. New knowledge continuously emerges from developments in areas such as Artificial Intelligence, including technologies like ChatGPT, cyberculture, the reshaping of geopolitical and geocultural landscapes, and the multidisciplinary approaches in International Relations that adapt to modern academic inquiries.

In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Michel Foucault explores the concept of archiving as an ever-evolving process, emphasizing that it involves more than just storing documents. For Foucault, an archive is a set of rules that determines which statements can be made and preserved within a particular era and culture. While the book does not specifically focus on libraries, Foucault's notion of the archive is essential for understanding how knowledge is structured, preserved, and continuously shaped by its context.

The archive is therefore no less what causes all these things said not to accumulate indefinitely in an amorphous mass, nor to vanish in an instant without memory; it is no less what causes them not to disperse in a multiplicity without law, nor to cluster in a figure without duration. The archive is, at the same time, the law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of the enunciations as singular happenings. But the archive is also what causes all these things said not to accumulate indefinitely in an amorphous mass, nor to disappear in an instant without memory (Foucault, 2008, p. 170-171).

The quote above illustrates how Foucault (2008) conceptualizes the archive not merely as a physical storage space but as a framework of rules and systems dictating what can be spoken, recorded, and remembered within a specific culture. He perceives the archive as a structure that organizes knowledge and cultural memory, establishing the legitimacy of certain statements while dismissing others. This understanding underscores that a library is more than its physical building; it is the archive within it and how that archive has been maintained over its 75-year history. Therefore, the meticulous work of preserving the collection demands special attention and a critical approach by the professionals in charge, requiring methods of evaluation, prevention, and remediation in the treatment of the collection.

Preservation activities are also an expression of social responsibility and should be consistently encouraged to enhance the library environment, ensure the quality and conservation of collections, and improve access. These efforts extend the lifespan of the works and contribute to the well-being of all users. The preservation of archives carries the legacy of various curators and those who have contributed to or engaged with them, making them valuable subjects for speech analysis and adaptation.

The preservation of historical collections, crucial for scientific and social memory, faces risks such as improper use, lack of preservation, and security issues, which can result in their degradation or disappearance. In light of this, the conservation of bibliographic collections can be seen as a bridge between the past and present, fostering the construction of institutional memory and reinforcing the collective identity of the community—in this case, the Brazilian War College (ESG). However, the collection is currently subject to a natural process of degradation, compounded by the challenges mentioned earlier.

Despite these challenges, there is clear concern for the modernization of the library space, as evidenced by multiple renovations aimed at updating its physical infrastructure and preserving its historical collection. One significant intervention occurred on July 7, 2009, during a technical visit from the National Archives, where it was proposed that ESG develop a project to identify and protect its historical and cultural heritage in commemoration of its 60th anniversary, amidst concerns of potential collection loss.

Subsequent renovations included updating the flooring, acoustic, and electrical systems, as well as increasing the number of electrical outlets to accommodate users of laptops and tablets. However, the architectural constraints of the library's 75-year-old structure limit structural changes, such as the installation of additional air conditioners. Notably, although no books were removed during the renovation five years ago, the space remains inaccessible for wheelchair users between the shelves, hindering their ability to browse or retrieve materials.

The concern for preserving and maintaining the library's historical heritage has driven ESG to explore solutions in various reference institutions to find the most cost-effective preservation methods. This reflects an understanding within ESG that preservation is essential for maintaining both the documentary memory and the physical conservation of the General Cordeiro de Farias Library's collection.

Insights gathered from ESG staff revealed that the institution recognizes the importance of preservation in a library and its significance to the institution's collection. Based on these findings, ESG considers the library to be in good

condition but acknowledges the potential for quality improvement. Conservation actions taken over the years, such as cleaning, repairs, and maintaining a climate-controlled environment, have helped protect the collection, even during renovation periods.

The ongoing question of how to preserve the collection remains integral to the library's daily operations, though further progress is needed. It is recommended that a formal preservation policy be developed for the General Cordeiro de Farias Library to provide employees with guidelines for better maintaining the collection. Through a comprehensive analysis of the library's current state, necessary preservation measures can be planned and implemented.

To mitigate damaging actions, the ESG Library can enforce rules such as prohibiting food within the collection area and educating users about the importance of these guidelines. Another important aspect of management is the need for ongoing training of all library staff, as proper preservation requires skilled personnel. This includes fire safety training, ensuring that staff can properly handle fire extinguishers, which are essential in a library setting.

Preservation activities are heavily dependent on financial resources. Therefore, preservation should be incorporated into the institution's budget. The library's information manager must advocate for the necessary budget allocations to support preservation initiatives.

4 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The ESG Library has evolved into a space dedicated to the memory and dissemination of academic and scientific knowledge produced by the School, serving as the custodian of records that document its growth from its inception in 1949 to the present day. This transformation has made the library an essential part of the preservation of the history of contemporary Brazil. Effective collection management in libraries, particularly specialized institutions like the ESG Library, is critical to understanding the value of the collection—both in terms of content and its representational importance for the School. It also emphasizes the potential impact of any losses or damage to the collection and the ESG as a whole.

Proper management requires identifying, selecting, and qualifying collections using specialized techniques that take into account not only the scientific value and aesthetic qualities of certain works but also their historical and cultural significance. The General Cordeiro de Farias Library has demonstrated adaptability to change since its establishment, maintaining its relevance in the information landscape by fulfilling its mission of making information accessible.

However, the library faces significant challenges. Older documents are subject to accelerated degradation, posing a threat to these irreplaceable sources that hold immense historical value for Republican Brazil. The recently declassified documents offer the public a deeper understanding of the ideas circulated within the School and help break down access barriers, contributing to a broader comprehension of Brazil's historical narrative. Yet, many of these documents are still undergoing thorough technical processing (cataloging, classification, content analysis), a slow process hampered by insufficient staffing and funding. Despite being available for consultation, they remain largely unknown to society.

Contributing to the discussion on the immense historical and cultural value of the ESG Library's collection provides a vital service to society and the academic community. The collection supports studies in the fields of Defense and Security and showcases the technical processes involved in managing and preserving information both within and outside the institution. Analyzing the General Cordeiro de Farias Library and its collection reveals insights into the construction of the identity and history of the Brazilian War College and sheds light on how the School and its members have evolved and organized themselves over time.

Across Brazil, numerous libraries hold crucial information spanning various fields of knowledge. Preserving these materials and preventing archive deterioration is a significant challenge, as libraries must contend with the natural degradation of storage media. The necessity of preservation lies in ensuring that all stakeholders are committed to maintaining the integrity of the School's historical memory through its bibliographic collection, thus safeguarding it for future generations.

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JOSÉ HONÓRIO RODRIGUES AT THE BRAZILIAN WAR COLLEGE AND THE DEBATE ON THE FORMATION OF NATIONALITY

*JOSÉ HONÓRIO RODRIGUES NA ESCOLA SUPERIOR DE GUERRA E O DEBATE SOBRE
A FORMAÇÃO DA NACIONALIDADE*

*JOSÉ HONÓRIO RODRIGUES EN LA ESCUELA SUPERIOR DE GUERRA DE BRASIL Y EL
DEBATE SOBRE LA FORMACIÓN DE LA NACIONALIDAD*

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ABSTRACT

José Honório Rodrigues (JHR) was a Brazilian intellectual associated with the improvement of archival and historical sciences, known for, among other things, dozens of published books and his directorship of the National Archives (1958-1964). Less known is his contact with the Brazilian War College (ESG), which he attended from 1955 to 1964. At the ESG, he completed the Superior War Course (CSG), only to return as a lecturer. In recent decades, historians have paid more attention to JHR's intellectual legacy, including his time at the Institute. However, there has been work that examines the content of his lectures in order to deepen our understanding of this understanding of this phase of his intellectual production and its relationship to the ESG universe. With this in mind, this article examines JHR's relationship with the ESG through documents, books, and academic papers. This effort led to the discovery of a printout of a lecture given by JHR in the premises of the ESG in 1964, which is relevant material for understanding his career, highlighting his character as an intellectual committed to defending the need to overcome the country's social backwardness in favor of true integration.

Keywords: José Honório Rodrigues; Brazilian War College; Brazilian History.

RESUMO

José Honório Rodrigues (JHR) foi um intelectual brasileiro associado ao aprimoramento da ciência arquivística e histórica, notabilizando-se, entre outras realizações, por dezenas de livros publicados e pela direção do Arquivo Nacional (1958-1964). Menos conhecido é o seu contato com a Escola Superior de Guerra (ESG), por ele frequentada de 1955

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a 1964. Na ESG, formou-se pelo Curso Superior de Guerra (CSG) para retornar como conferencista. Nas últimas décadas, historiadores tem dado maior atenção ao legado intelectual de JHR, abordando, inclusive, a passagem pelo Instituto. Faltou, entretanto, um trabalho destinado a examinar o conteúdo das palestras por ele ministradas, no interesse de aprofundar a compreensão dessa fase da sua produção intelectual e do relacionamento com o universo esguiano. Com essa questão em foco, este artigo aprecia a relação de JHR com a ESG, inquirindo documentos, livros e trabalhos acadêmicos. Esse esforço resultou na localização de impresso com palestra proferida por JHR nas dependências da ESG em 1964, material relevante na compreensão da sua trajetória, onde se ressalta seu caráter de intelectual engajado na defesa da necessidade de se superar o atraso social do país em favor da sua real integração.

Palavras-chave: José Honório Rodrigues; Escola Superior de Guerra; História do Brasil.

RESUMEN

José Honório Rodrigues (JHR) fue un intelectual brasileño vinculado al perfeccionamiento de la ciencia archivística e histórica, que destaca, entre otros logros, por las decenas de libros publicados y por su dirección del Archivo Nacional (1958-1964). Menos conocido es su contacto con la Escuela Superior de Guerra del Brasil (ESG), a la que asistió de 1955 a 1964. En la ESG, se graduó en el Curso Superior de Guerra (CSG) para regresar como profesor. En las últimas décadas, los historiadores han prestado más atención al legado intelectual de JHR, incluida su estancia en el Instituto. Sin embargo, faltan trabajos que examinen el contenido de las conferencias que impartió, en aras de profundizar en el conocimiento de esta fase de su producción intelectual y de su relación con la ESG. Con esta cuestión en mente, este artículo analiza la relación de JHR con la ESG, investigando documentos, libros y trabajos académicos. Este esfuerzo resultó en la localización de una copia impresa de una conferencia pronunciada por JHR en los locales de la ESG en 1964, material relevante para la comprensión de su trayectoria, que destaca su carácter de intelectual comprometido con la defensa de la necesidad de superar el atraso social del país en favor de una integración real.

Palabras clave: José Honório Rodrigues; Escuela Superior de Guerra del Brasil; Historia de Brasil.

1 INTRODUCTION

José Honório Rodrigues (JHR) is a prominent figure among Brazilian intellectuals, particularly recognized for advocating the professionalization of the roles of archivist and historian. Although he never pursued a master's or doctoral

degree or a formal university career, he was acknowledged as a professor and a leading figure in historiography, collaborating with numerous teaching and research institutions. At a time when the boundaries between the human and social sciences were more fluid, he highlighted the drawbacks of amateurism in historical writing by those who lacked a commitment to theory-based and methodical research. His body of work spans specific studies and essays, comprising approximately 30 books and numerous articles and opinion pieces. Despite not being favored by the academic community during his time, he was less frequently remembered than many of his contemporaries, such as Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, Caio Prado Jr., Gilberto Freyre, and San Tiago Dantas, with whom he maintained sometimes contentious relationships. Today, JHR's name garners interest from many researchers and serves as the subject of studies seeking to understand his legacy. In the field of Archival Science, he is particularly celebrated for his efforts to invigorate the discipline in Brazil, notably remembered for his leadership at the National Archives.

This article highlights JHR's engagement with the study of Brazilian history as a means of addressing contemporary and politically relevant issues, reflected in lectures delivered at the Brazilian War College (ESG). It was during his interactions with ESG, between 1955 and 1964, that he formulated ideas he presented in lectures and seminal books, as he himself acknowledged (Rodrigues, 1985; 1986). This article specifically aims to assess JHR's relationship with ESG, examining the nature of his connection with the institution and its impact on his work. The study follows a descriptive approach using qualitative bibliographic-documentary analysis, drawing on ESG documents, JHR's publications, and academic works. Noteworthy are the examinations of JHR's trajectory found in the works of Iglésias (1988), Alves Júnior (2010), Freixo (2011, 2012, 2018), and Albertti (2021). Consultation of the ESG archives revealed a lecture delivered by JHR in 1964, titled *Elementos básicos da nacionalidade – o Homem* (Basic Elements of Nationality - The Man) (Rodrigues, 1964). The printed version of JHR's text was found with the assistance of archivist Raquel Fernandes, to whom the author of this article extends their gratitude. Demonstrating ESG's interest in inviting prominent figures for thematic discussions, Sérgio Buarque de Holanda participated in the same lecture series in 1967, a topic addressed in Mendonça's thesis (2018).

To contribute to studies on the trajectory of this pioneering historian, the first section of this article provides a brief biographical overview of JHR, situating readers within the context of his life and work. The following section delves into JHR's relationship with ESG, emphasizing the 1955-1964 period when he attended

courses and received invitations to lecture. The final section focuses specifically on the content of the lecture delivered during the 1964 conference, which signaled a shift in his relationship with ESG.

2 THE COMBATANT HISTORIAN¹

José Honório Rodrigues (JHR) was born in Rio de Janeiro on September 20, 1913, and graduated in 1937 with a degree in Legal and Social Sciences from the Law School of Rio de Janeiro at the then University of Brazil (Iglésias, 1988). At the age of 24, in collaboration with Joaquim Ribeiro, he completed *Civilização holandesa no Brasil* (Dutch Civilization in Brazil), published in 1940, which earned him the 1st Prize for Education from the Brazilian Academy of Letters. Biographical accounts suggest that law was never his primary interest. JHR himself noted that he was drawn to the study of history since high school but chose law due to the absence of higher education in history at that time (Alberti, 2021; Alves Júnior, 2010; Freixo, 2011, 2012, and 2018). In 1941, he married Lêda Boechat, a fellow law graduate he met in college. Lêda B. Rodrigues was a steadfast contributor to JHR's projects and pursued a career as a public servant at the Supreme Court (STF), gaining recognition for her writings on its history (Alberti, 2021).

From 1939 to 1944, JHR worked at the National Book Institute (INL), under the direction of fellow historian Sérgio Buarque de Holanda. While at INL, he received a research grant from the Rockefeller Foundation and spent approximately a year in the United States (1943-1944), attending history courses at Columbia University (Freixo, 2018). This experience, which included exposure to American archives and their curators, was pivotal in shaping his interest in archival methodology—a field, as Iglésias (1988) noted, largely overlooked in Brazil at that time.

Upon returning from the United States, JHR joined the Library of the Sugar and Alcohol Institute (IAA), where he gained recognition for publishing articles on the sugar economy. From 1946 to 1958, he served as the director of the Division of Rare Works at the National Library. His profound passion for Brazil was rewarded through his proximity to the nation's rich bibliography.

1 The term "combatant historian" alludes to the title of the work *Fighting history* (1983). In it, JNR resumes, among essays, the defense of the vision of a dynamic historian and committed, among other tasks, to the battles in the name of valuing historical science and archival science.

During this period, he published *Teoria da história do Brasil* (Theory of the History of Brazil) (1949), marking the start of his approach to history as a science, tackling issues central to the historian's craft. Concerned with the need to professionalize historians, he advocated for the creation of the Institute of Historical Research. This phase notably enriched his erudition, fueling an impressive surge in intellectual production. As Iglésias (1988, p. 57) put it, "If he studied a lot there [in the National Library], he also worked equally, dynamizing the division responsible for two of the institution's most important collections—the *Documentos Históricos* and the *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional* (Historical Documents and the Annals of the National Library), publishing 40 volumes in the former and nine in the latter."

JHR also worked as a professor, either formally hired or as a guest lecturer. Although he never pursued a master's or doctoral degree, this did not hinder his recognition for erudition and expertise. He taught Brazilian History, emphasizing diplomacy, at the Rio Branco Institute (1946-1956), one of his most consistent teaching roles (Freixo, 2018). He also lectured at the Faculty of Economic Sciences of the State of Guanabara, the Fluminense Federal University, the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, and the University of Brasília, although without formal employment ties to these institutions. At the Ministry of Foreign Relations, he was recorded as working in the research section from 1949 to 1950. In 1950, he received a British Council scholarship and traveled to England, where he met historian Arnold Toynbee (Iglésias, 1988). With support from Itamaraty and the IAA, he extended his research travels to Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, and the Netherlands. These experiences fostered connections with professionals in historical research and archival institutions, deepening his knowledge and establishing valuable relationships for future projects. His publication *As fontes da história do Brasil na Europa* (The Sources of the History of Brazil in Europe) (Rodrigues, 1950) emerged from this journey, becoming an essential resource at a time when few researchers had access to information about foreign collections.

In 1955, JHR attended the Higher Course of War (CSG), beginning his association with ESG. From 1958 to 1964, he was the director of the National Archives, a significant milestone in his career. There, he implemented practices learned in the U.S. and Europe, striving to invigorate the institution and appeal to the Ministry of Justice for resources—an oversight body of the National Archives to this day. To enhance staff training, he secured partnerships with

embassies, notably that of the United States, and facilitated the arrival of archivist and historian Theodore R. Schellenberg, now a prominent figure in the field. Together, Schellenberg and JHR introduced improvements, especially in staff training. Workshops for staff were organized by visiting experts, resulting in publications that guided archival practices. This period was transformative, yielding significant advancements for public administration and influencing future archival education in Brazil, as Iglésias (1988, p. 59) noted, “The mentioned courses were the origin of the systematic teaching of archival science in Brazil.”

An active participant in international institutions, JHR joined the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History’s History of America Program in 1951 (Iglésias, 1988), attending conferences in Mexico, Havana, New York, and Washington, contributing to publications and book projects. He became a member of the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute in 1948 and was elected to the Brazilian Academy of Letters in 1969, holding chair 35². He also contributed to journals such as *Historical Abstracts*, *Revista de História da América*, *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Internacionais*, among others. In 1963, 1964, and 1966, he was a visiting professor at the University of Texas, and in 1970 at Columbia University, but declined offers to remain in the U.S. (Iglésias, 1988).

JHR acknowledged his Anglo-American intellectual foundation. He identified as a radical liberal, admiring the United States’ break from colonialism, and noted that Brazil had never undergone a revolution that transformed societal structures or improved the population’s conditions. “In Latin America and Brazil, a semi-colonial government, poor, did little, and was dominated by the rural oligarchy” (Rodrigues, 1963, p. 18). He further clarified in another passage, “I have always maintained that Brazil never had a victorious revolution, like all the great countries, but rather counter-revolutions” (Rodrigues, 1986, p. 145).

After being dismissed from his position at the National Archives in the turbulent year of 1964, he remained on public service leave. Despite this, he continued his prolific intellectual activity. JHR was known for his erudition and for candidly expressing his views on the country’s direction,

2 “Third occupant of Chair 35, elected on September 4, 1969, in succession of Rodrigo Octavio Filho and received by the Academic Barbosa Lima Sobrinho on December 5, 1969”, according to <https://www.academia.org.br/academicos/jose-honorio-rodrigues/biografia>. Accessed: 06 May 2024

emphasizing that he had no political affiliations: “I have no political activity. My work was expressed in articles, books, and at the University” (Rodrigues, 1986, p. 142). His work spanned historical themes from colonial Brazil to contemporary issues, addressing diplomacy, politics, archival science, and other topics of current relevance. As an essayist, he remained focused on Brazil’s challenges. Notable works, in addition to those previously mentioned, include *A pesquisa histórica no Brasil* (Historical Research in Brazil) (1952), *Brasil e África, outro horizonte* (Brazil and Africa, Another Horizon) (1961), *Conciliação e reforma no Brasil* (Conciliation and Reform in Brazil) (1965), *Vida e história* (Life and History) (1966), *Formação do Brasil Contemporâneo* (Formation of Contemporary Brazil) (1969), *O Brasil e a crise mundial* (Brazil and the World Crisis) (1973), *O parlamento e a evolução nacional* (The Parliament and National Evolution) (1972), *Independência: revolução e contrarrevolução* (Independence: Revolution and Counter-Revolution) (1976), *História da história do Brasil, a historiografia colonial* (The History of Brazilian Historiography: Colonial Historiography) (1979), *História viva* (Living History) (1985), *Tempo e sociedade* (Time and Society) (1986), among many others. A devoted Flamengo supporter (Iglésias, 1988), he cherished the city of Rio de Janeiro, where he spent his life and built his career. He passed away in his beloved city on April 6, 1987, at the age of 73.

3 IN THE BRAZILIAN WAR COLLEGE, A “SLAP OF BRAZILIANITY”

At a certain point in his career, JHR became concerned with reflecting on the historical problems that contributed to Brazil’s current social and political stagnation. This shift is said to have taken place during his time at ESG. Alberti (2021, p. 45) asserts that “it was at the Brazilian War College where he began to develop a combative, interpretive approach to history,” marking the genesis of JHR’s historical essays, in which he made a genuine effort to identify the structure of Brazilian society. Highlighting this transformation, Alves Jr. revisits JHR’s own words regarding his journey.

This production undergoes a change from his time at the Brazilian War College, because according to his statement, after the “slap of brazilianity” he suffered in the ranks of this institution, an inflection in his intellectual production occurs and this starts to turn to an interpretation of Brazilian society (Alves Júnior, 2010, p. 24).

JHR's involvement with ESG began in 1955 when he attended the Higher Course of War (CSG) at the age of 41. Upon completing the course, he was listed as a graduate of the "José Bonifácio de Andrade e Silva" class, as documented in the Graduates Almanac of the Brazilian War College (Almeida et al., 1999, p. 17). At that time, JHR was working at the Rio Branco Institute, teaching Brazilian history. ESG, then in its sixth year, had already gained significant prestige due to the support of high-ranking military officials and began attracting trainees (the term used for students) and lecturers from diverse professional backgrounds (Ferraz, 1997).

The organization of the CSG required participants to contribute their expertise, as noted by its first director, Oswaldo Cordeiro de Farias, in an interview (Camargo & Góes, 2001). The term "trainee" emphasized this expectation, dispelling the notion that CSG attendees were mere students; instead, they were expected to actively contribute to the course with their professional knowledge. When JHR enrolled at the "Sorbonne³," it was a period marked by political uncertainty about Brazil's future. Getúlio Vargas had recently committed suicide, and during Café Filho's presidency, debates about the upcoming elections were in full swing. In the October elections, Juscelino Kubitschek de Oliveira, the PSD (Social Democratic Party) candidate, took office with the support of Marshal Teixeira Lott, the Minister of War. JHR experienced the turbulent political climate of the 1950s-1960s, where discussions about Brazil's present and its desired future placed various political factions in opposition, each advocating different paths for national development.

The 1955 CSG class was eclectic, though composed of individuals from social groups considered elite. This did not necessarily imply ideological uniformity. The "elite" represented here was not narrowly defined as economic or political but generally included upper-middle-class members holding senior public service positions (e.g., politicians, diplomats, and general officers) or professionals with established careers. ESG's 1954 regulations (Brazil, 1954) did not specify strict intellectual or political prerequisites for civilian candidates, although research on ESG (Arruda, 1983; Ferraz, 1997) indicates that candidates were evaluated based on experience and professional standing. Civilian candidates could be rejected for undisclosed reasons, with the head of the Armed Forces General Staff (EMFA) having the final say on enrollment.

3 The epithet "Sorbonne" has been attributed to ESG as in a playful tone, being adopted not only among the institution's harshest critics, but also among those who perceived in some slackers a tendency to over-attribute to the School an overly overrated role.

At ESG, JHR interacted with a diverse group, including teachers, engineers, military personnel, doctors, lawyers, civil servants, businessmen, and politicians (deputies and senators). According to the ESG Graduates Almanac, 104 men graduated from the CSG and the Joint Staff Course of the Armed Forces (CEMCFA) in that year (Almeida et al., 1999). Women were not admitted to ESG courses until 1973, when professors Alda Cardozo Kremer and Mavy D'Ache Assumpção Harmon attended the CSG (Almeida et al., 1999). The 1955 CSG class listed 74 graduates, although this number may not represent the total number of attendees due to Article 22 of the 1954 regulations, which allowed for the conferral of the *Honoris causa* title.

A photograph of the 1955 class (Figure 1) depicts 79 individuals, including 11 members of the Permanent Corps and 68 CSG graduates. The Almanac does not indicate which graduates received the *Honoris causa* title, and absences in the photo could be attributed to other commitments. Nevertheless, this class photograph provides a general overview of ESG's most distinctive feature: fostering relationships between civilians and military personnel in an unprecedented way (Stepan, 1975). The creation of the Association of ESG Graduates (ADESG), a private-law organization, underscores the significance of this approach. From its inception, ESG worked to bring graduates together through ADESG, encouraging the formation of regional branches to maintain civilian-military connections and disseminate ESG's doctrines, particularly the National Security Doctrine. National Security was a central focus in the 1954 regulations, relevant during JHR's time at ESG. With ADESG's outreach, ESG's principles were promoted across Brazil through events and publications (Stepan, 1975).

Bringing senior officers from all three military branches together in one course was notable in the 1950s, even with the experience of World War II. Including civilians from various sectors, particularly parliament, was even more significant, given the challenge of integrating individuals from different organizational cultures. Another notable aspect, in line with the agreement made when ESG was founded, was the presence of U.S. military officers in the Permanent Corps as advisors. In the 1955 class, Sea and War Captain Edward E. Colostock and Colonel George H. Chapman served as consultants, as depicted in Figure 1. This article does not delve into the administrative, ideological, or political implications of this Cold War-era practice but recognizes it as evidence of the emphasis placed on maintaining formal ties and proximity with the military forces of the leading Western power.

Figure 1 - Class “José Bonifácio de Andrade e Silva”



Source: General Cordeiro de Farias Library (1955). Photo scanned: Apr. 2024.

Caption: Class photograph of the Superior War Course (CSG), with adaptations: in the upper right corner, in highlight, José Honório Rodrigues.

The information above is crucial for understanding the context in which JHR found himself in 1955. For a more comprehensive assessment, it is essential to consider the purpose behind the creation of ESG. The experience of the Italian campaign during World War II and the early developments of the Cold War, which signaled doctrinal changes in the conduct of modern warfare, fueled the idea of establishing an institution in Brazil initially designed as a high command course for senior Army officers, ideally including members of all three Armed Forces (Arruda, 1983). However, this vision evolved rapidly. In 1948, General Salvador César Obino, head of the EMFA, visited the National War College and the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, working on arrangements for a similar institution in Brazil (Arruda, 1983).

Officially established in 1949 during the administration of President Eurico Gaspar Dutra, ESG emerged from the Brazilian military's closer relationship with its American counterparts. However, from its inception, it followed a distinctive path. In the document *titled* Fundamental Principles of the Brazilian War College (Sardenberg, 1983), the aim was to create an Institute of Advanced Studies, bringing together civilians and military personnel to study and debate economic, political, social, diplomatic, military, and other

factors related to Brazilian challenges that hindered the nation's progress toward becoming a global power. While studying warfare remained a priority, national security was the main focus. This involved assessing the nation's weaknesses and needs in various areas and preparing for general mobilization in case of war. The CSG was embedded in this research environment, aiming to propose solutions or at least identify the causes of Brazil's developmental delays (Arruda, 1983; Stepan, 1975). With its growth, ESG trained cadres for the state apparatus, producing leaders who occasionally sought to influence or intervene in national politics (Lima Filho, 2011). However, it should be noted that ESG never became a governing or planning body in the strict sense. Instead, it functioned as a specialized higher education institution capable, due to the expertise of its Permanent Corps and trainees, of stimulating research on national issues. At its peak, with the collaboration of notable intellectuals, ESG functioned as a think tank. This was the environment that attracted and welcomed JHR.

During his time at ESG, JHR witnessed both the excitement and disillusionment surrounding the construction of Brasília and the achievements of President Juscelino Kubitschek (JK). This was soon followed by economic challenges, including inflation, and the acute political crisis during the administration of Jânio Quadros, who had been elected with a promise to "sweep away" corruption. Quadros resigned from the presidency under what he described as "unconfessed reasons," claiming to be a victim of hidden forces. When the National Democratic Union (UDN), a political group often associated with conservative or reactionary military elements, stepped aside, the anticipated rise of Vice President João Goulart⁴, from the Brazilian Labor Party (PTB), triggered a political crisis. Goulart's assumption of the presidency was made possible by a political agreement that introduced a parliamentary system. However, the return to presidential rule led to Goulart's eventual ousting in 1964, an act supported by several ESG alumni, including Cordeiro de Farias and Juarez Távora. This movement brought General Castello Branco, another ESG alumnus, to power, marking the beginning of 21 years of military rule and the suppression of national-developmental aspirations on the left. During

4 At the time, the election for president and vice president involved voting for candidates for each of these positions. Thus, the UDN right-wing saw the PT candidate Jango elected as vice president, on the ticket of Marshal Lott. Jango had been JK's vice president and Getúlio Vargas' minister of labor, with connections to the workers' struggle and the political left. When Jânio Quadros resigned in August 1961, Jango was traveling to China, following the government's independent foreign policy program. His return to Brazil to take up the presidency required agreements and negotiations that led the country into the period of parliamentarism, which ended in January 1963 (a total of 1 year and 4 months) by means of a plebiscite.

the 1960s, JHR maintained a critical view of the nation's political direction. Nonetheless, he acknowledged the positive aspects of his time at ESG.

Regarding JHR's experience at ESG, Francisco Iglésias noted, "In 1955 he took a course at the Brazilian War College—a very important experience for him—where he gave lectures, some of which were the foundation for *Aspirações nacionais* (National Aspirations). It was during this period that he became more interested in the present than in the colonial period" (1988, p. 58). JHR himself remarked, "For me personally, and I believe for other civilians or military members, the course had a lasting influence" (Rodrigues, 1985, p. 130), emphasizing that the primary contribution of ESG was its focus on the national context, which provided updated insights into Brazil's challenges. In an interview with Carlos Guilherme Mota, published in *IstoÉ* magazine on April 12, 1978, and later transcribed in *Tempo e sociedade* (Time and Society) (Rodrigues, 1986), JHR elaborated on many aspects of his relationship with ESG.

Aspirações Nacionais is, in fact, the fruit of conferences at the Brazilian War College, between 1956 and 1964. Conciliation and Reform is a consistent reflection of the former. I graduated from ESG in 1955, when the Studies Department was run by the then colonels Jurandir Bizarria Mamede and Golbery do Couto e Silva. I was surprised at their knowledge. They spoke as university professors and quoted books, articles from Anglo-American and French specialist magazines, which many professors do not usually know. I noticed in both of them a middle class conception, tending to the right. Who first told me about David Riesman (*The Lonely Crowd*, 1st Ed. 1950) was Colonel Mamede. Buy the book, I read it, and I found that numerous intellectuals were unaware of its work. Santiago Dantas did not know her, was very interested and surprised [...] (Rodrigues, 1986, 143-144).

In the preface to *Aspirações Nacionais*, JHR notes that the book comprises the content of two essays. The first essay was presented at a conference in 1957 in Lisbon at the III International Colloquium of Portuguese-Brazilian Studies, where he discussed the theme of national character, drawing on anthropological and historical studies to critique interpretations he labeled as "immovers" and "Europocentrists" (Rodrigues, 1963, pp. 13-15). The second essay, written in 1960, focused on national aspirations, political struggles, and parties, with power relations as a central theme. He touched on the concept of total war, the post-World War II context, and the psychological dimensions of modern conflicts, recalling themes addressed in ESG's doctrinal texts, though JHR did not explicitly cite references from

the Institute. What stands out in JHR's own words is the stimulating environment he encountered at ESG, which was centered on contemporary issues and aimed at a future of national prosperity. This setting facilitated the exchange of ideas and knowledge with prominent figures in academia and diplomacy, such as Chancellor Santiago Dantas.

Was ESG influenced by JHR in return? In an interview published in *IstoÉ*, when asked whether any of his ideas were incorporated into ESG doctrine, JHR stated that he had no influence on the institution. "On the contrary, it was she [ESG] who influenced me. I went through that period following an erudite course, and the School provided an opening that shook me, revealing the contemporary Brazilian reality" (Rodrigues, 1986, p. 144). This relationship led JHR to focus more on contemporary issues, as noted by Iglésias (1988), Alberti (2021), and other scholars of JHR's work. He described it as an intellectually vibrant period: "When I studied there, ESG welcomed opinions from all viewpoints, including from many individuals with known leftist affiliations" (Rodrigues, 1986, p. 144). To gain a deeper understanding of this moment and to examine JHR's lectures as delivered at ESG, the full content of the 1964 lecture was found, which will be discussed in detail in the next section.

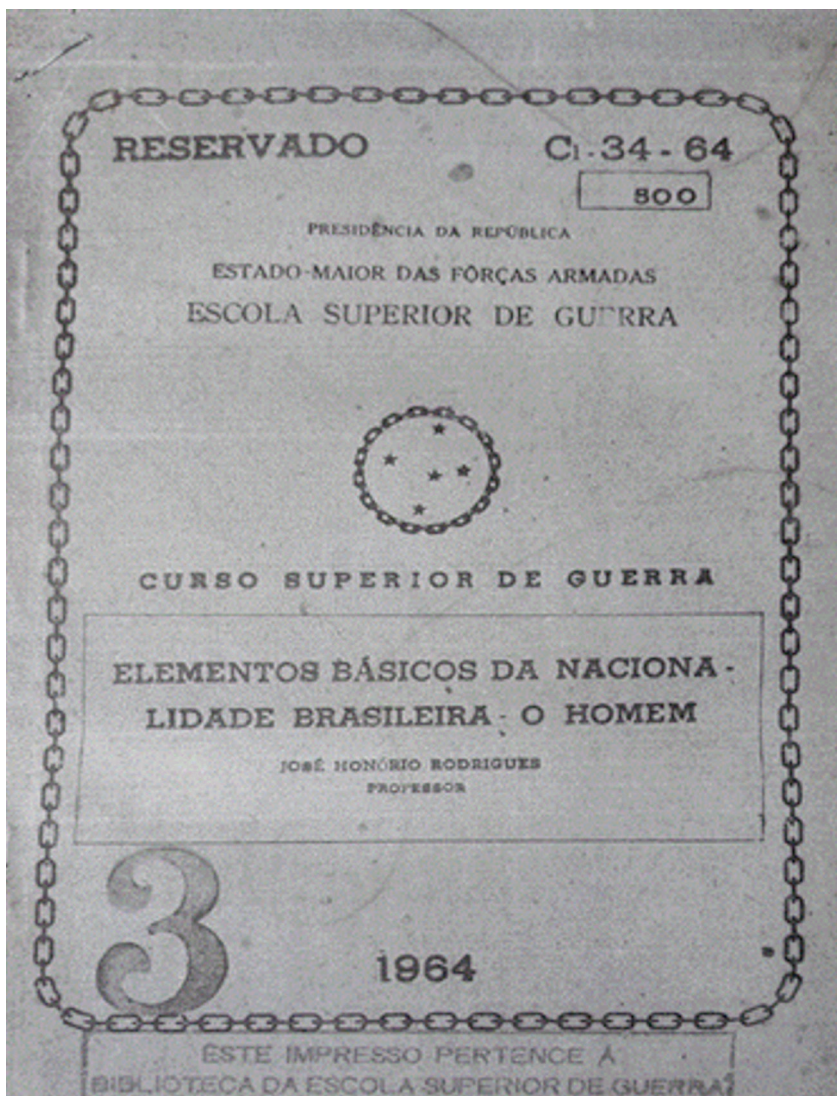
4 THE FORMATION OF NATIONALITY OR THE "HARSH" HISTORY OF BRAZIL

From being a trainee in the 1955 class to a lecturer invited to deliver conferences (1956-1964), JHR experienced a period in which he acknowledged that his works were influenced by his association with ESG (Rodrigues, 1985, 1986). He began to approach history as a means to interpret Brazil, questioning the "harsh" path that shaped the nation's identity. This past was marked by conflict and rivalries, punctuated by periods of political conciliation among the elites—periods that brought notable achievements but fell short in addressing the needs of the broader population. In his writings, JHR exposed the myth of an "unbloody" history, using expressions that characterized his work, such as describing a "bled," "capped," and "recaptured" people. At ESG, JHR found an environment conducive to disseminating his interpretations of Brazil to an audience composed of influential individuals, sparking questions about how his reflections were received.

In resuming research to better understand this period in JHR's career, the text *Elementos básicos da nacionalidade brasileira: o homem* (Basic Elements of Brazilian Nationality: The Man), from 1964, published internally by the Institute, was obtained. The theme of this conference shares the same title as a lecture delivered

by Sérgio Buarque de Holanda in 1967, which was first encountered in the work of Mendonça (2018), helping to contextualize the study program of the CSG in which other notable speakers participated.

Figure 2 – Conference



Source: Cordeiro de Farias Library (1964). Photo scanned: Apr. 2024.

Caption: Photograph of the cover of the conference *Elementos básicos da nacionalidade brasileira: o homem*, preferred by José Honório Rodrigues at ESG in the year 1964

Referring to the JHR lecture form (see Figure 2), it was not located the day and month it was given. Seeking this information from other sources, the newspaper *Jornal do Brasil*, of May 26, 1964, found the news in the “Free throw” sector that:

Next week, the Brazilian War College begins a series of conferences on Basic Factors of Brazilian Nationality, with three important works. Mr. Fábio Macedo Soares will talk about Brazilian resources, Professor José Honório Rodrigues about Leadership and People Behavior in the History of Brazil and Mr. Tristão de Ataíde about Political and Social Institutions (*Jornal do Brasil*, 1964).

According to the published information, the conference took place in June. An interesting detail is that the text of the lecture, as published by ESG, corresponds to the content of chapter 1 of *Conciliação e reforma no Brasil* (Conciliation and Reform in Brazil) (Rodrigues, 1965), which features a preface dated September 1964. At that time, the Castello Branco government was just beginning, and there was still anticipation about the return to normalcy, particularly with regard to holding presidential elections (one of the promises made by Castello, who was indirectly elected by the National Congress). In his lecture, JHR discussed the path toward nation formation, summarizing topics such as settlement, the composition of the population, and, significantly, the political behavior of the country’s leaders from the colonial period to the republic. The lecture, as published, spans 27 pages and carries a tone of denunciation regarding the rights denied to the people and the persistent stagnation in Brazil’s political and social relations.

It remains unclear how the audience received the content of the lecture, as no audio recordings have been found to determine whether it was read in full or if there were any modifications during delivery. The analysis below focuses on the textual content of the lecture as published by the ESG press. The text begins with an examination of colonization and the types of people who populated the territory that would become Brazil. JHR states that the colonizers sought to subdue the indigenous population by converting them to Christianity, employing a method of cultural dissolution rather than immediate, overt violence. This approach was reserved for those who did not resist the process. For the resistant and disobedient, there was no tolerance, and crude violence was applied against those who defied the colonizers. No audio⁵ recording has been found to determine whether the

5 There are records that some of the lectures delivered were recorded, in audiovisual or audio only. At the time of the consultation of the ESG collection, this material was being processed, and no specific information about lectures given by JHR was indicated in the previous listing.

lecture was read in its entirety or if any edits or additions were made during its delivery. The following analysis focuses on the published text of the lecture as it appeared in the ESG press. The text begins with an exploration of colonization and the types of people who inhabited the territory that would become Brazil. JHR notes that the colonizers aimed to subdue the indigenous population by converting them to Christianity, using a method of cultural assimilation rather than resorting immediately to overt violence. This approach was reserved for those who did not resist the colonization efforts. For those who were resistant or defiant, there was no tolerance, and harsh violence was employed against those who opposed the colonizers.

And that was the case for a long time. A general disaffection against the land and the Indians dominated the Portuguese people; an unrestrained hatred against the Gentile led them to practice the greatest iniquities, like those practiced by Mem de Sá and Jeronimo de Albuquerque, when they ordered to place at the mouth of bombings, made into pieces, the Indians who killed Christians (Rodrigues, 1964, p. 2).

During this account of Brazil's harsh history, JHR identified three types of colonizers—a typology reflecting Capistrano de Abreu's *Capítulos de História Colonial* (Chapters of Colonial History), with which JHR engages at the outset of the text. The first type of colonizer “did not resist the environment and adopted all the customs of Brazil,” following the local practices and even embracing the custom of consuming defeated foes, thus becoming an anomaly within the colony. The second type was “willful and indomitable,” exemplified by João Ramalho, who emerged as a dominant leader during times of conquest and conflict, though this leadership was not enduring—yet it never vanished entirely. The third type coexisted well with both Europeans and indigenous peoples, represented by figures like Diogo Álvares, known as Caramuru. This type was the “conciliator” and thus thrived, resulting in lasting psychological and social impacts on Brazilian leadership (Rodrigues, 1964, pp. 2-3).

JHR's aim was not to define a singular Brazilian character—a concept he critiqued, referencing David Riesman's view that character is shaped by social structures. JHR clarified in *Aspirações Nacionais* that “There is no single Brazilian character, nor a set of categories by which we can classify it” (Rodrigues, 1963, p. 13). Instead, he was interested in analyzing the behavioral models adopted by the dominant classes, without treating them as absolutes or emphasizing stark contrasts.

Addressing the ESG audience, JHR asserted that the millions of African slaves brought to the colony did not alter this typological structure. Despite disagreements, the second and third types strengthened as they sought to impose their culture and methods. “The various slave uprisings during the colonial period were suppressed with brutality and violence, showcasing the inconciliation between masters and slaves” (Rodrigues, 1964, p. 3). Using the concepts of conciliation and inconciliation, JHR outlined his interpretation of the genesis of Brazilian nationality. The racial and cultural mixture, familiar to the Portuguese, served their colonization project. “As indigenous culture began to disintegrate, the African was also uprooted from their culture, and these two models [the indomitable irreconcilable and the conciliator] were held up as political and social exemplars” (Rodrigues, 1964, p. 3).

The behavior of these two models of leaders defined the nation’s trajectory, alternating between violence and elite tolerance, as long as their privileges remained unthreatened. JHR stated, “The cruel and ungracious moments of our history depend on the triumph of one or the other type” (Rodrigues, 1964, p. 4). The violent, indomitable type led to the subjugation of indigenous nations, while the conciliatory type brought hope to the marginalized colony during moments of progress. These types represented the ruling minority, alternating in power over a population composed of free and enslaved people, poor immigrants, and mixed-race individuals, who together formed a new nation.

JHR reinforced his points with three main conclusions early in the text. First, he argued that “the historical moments of creation and progress on the internal front depend on the preponderance of the conciliatory element, like Diogo Álvares, within leadership” (Rodrigues, 1964, p. 7). Second, he noted that the general population’s hopes for improvement were repeatedly dashed, as “concessions were always minimal” (Rodrigues, 1964, p. 7), serving only the Metropolis and a self-interested minority. Third, he highlighted the cultural intermixing that created a unique synthesis, which enabled the continuation and preservation of territorial integrity. Critically, JHR questioned colonial leadership: “It did not provide the people even the benefits of health and education, leading Antônio Vieira to remark, ‘I don’t know what harms Brazil more, sickness or ignorance’” (Rodrigues, 1964, p. 7). These words echoed his self-described radical liberal stance (Alberti, 2021).

Reaching the first third of his presentation, JHR outlined the framework for understanding the distinction between raw historical reality and the sanitized version. He asserted that a new synthesis had emerged over time. By the dawn of Independence, after three centuries of colonization, Brazil was less Western-European than it might appear. It was the product of a synthesis of contradictions, resulting in a unique population “tupinized,” “Africanized,” “orientalized,” and

“westernized” (Rodrigues, 1964, p. 7). Linguistic unity was achieved through the dominance of the Portuguese language, though not without contributions from indigenous and African dialects. Brazilian culture, like its architecture and cuisine, was an amalgamation. Despite acknowledging prejudices and superficial conciliation that obstructed structural change, JHR praised the formation of a distinct Brazilian identity, valuing intermixing. He critiqued the forced Europeanization of Brazil when the Portuguese royal family arrived in 1808, noting, “The mass imposition of Euro-Western forms and methods could not yield positive results” (Rodrigues, 1964, p. 9). Referencing José Bonifácio, the patron of his graduating class, JHR noted that the Patriarch opposed excessive reliance on foreign models in building an independent Brazil, embodying the “conciliatory spirit” that sought to integrate new elements into Brazilian reality (Rodrigues, 1964, p. 9).

The remainder of the text provides a synthesis of Brazilian history, highlighting the tension between the leadership and the people. The population, continually mistreated, never received full recognition, even when shedding blood for Independence, as in the liberation of Bahia on July 2, 1823. At the top, political conflict and discord prevailed. After D. Pedro I’s abdication in 1831, revolts broke out during the Regency Period (1831-1840), fueled by provincial calls for autonomy. Reflecting on these struggles, JHR cited the example of Friar Caneca, who was executed for defying the dominant, irreconcilable forces of Brazilian semi-colonialism. He described Feijó as an authoritarian leader whose actions triggered crises and violence. Under D. Pedro II, the empire managed these inherited conflicts through leaders like Honório Hermeto, the Viscount of Paraná, and Luís Alves de Lima e Silva, the Duke of Caxias, both advocates of conciliation. JHR emphasized that conciliatory gestures were reserved for provincial elites, while lower-class insurgents faced harsh repression. He praised Caxias’ negotiation to end the Farroupilha War (1835-1845) without bloodshed, contrasting it with the brutal suppression of other revolts, such as the Balaiada (1838-1841) and the Cabanagem (1835-1840).

JHR acknowledged moments of hope, including attempts at political reform and the abolitionist movement, which were consistently delayed by the ruling elite. The Paraguayan War (Triple Alliance Campaign, 1864-1870) brought sacrifices and unpopular measures, but JHR commended D. Pedro II for upholding freedom of expression, fostering republicanism and positivism. Yet no movement emerged to fundamentally alter Brazil’s trajectory. The monarchy, committed to individual freedoms and national independence, avoided external entanglements and resisted foreign pressure, noted JHR. The Republic’s early years were marked by instability. After Deodoro’s resignation, Floriano Peixoto, known as the “Iron Marshal,” consolidated the Republic through repressive measures, setting a violent precedent that disturbed

the military. JHR points out that the repression and the shootings opened up a phase of unknown vendettas in the Empire. In another passage of the text, JHR recognizes the president's deeds in favor of national development, but does not hide his lament about these dark times that set a bad example and agitated the military class. Conciliation will be resumed at a few moments in the Republic, practiced with a view to accommodating interests and ending episodes of upheaval by the state elites. The outcome of the country's struggles, especially Canudos and O Contestado, made it clear that for the insubmissive on the top floor it was reserved annihilation.

Getúlio Vargas, JHR argued, was an ambivalent leader who shifted between conciliation and harsh measures. Under the Estado Novo dictatorship (1937-1945), efforts were made to end underdevelopment, and the working class was politically incorporated under government control, recognizing that modernization required more than elite and middle-class support. Economic nationalism characterized Vargas' era and resurfaced when he returned to power in 1951, but it was again an incomplete revolution. Concluding his lecture, JHR stressed that without integrating all social groups, especially urban workers and farmers, "a nation does not have political unity" (Rodrigues, 1964, p. 26). Was this a veiled message to those who assumed power in April 1964? It is possible. What is clear is that JHR, as an interpreter of Brazil's history, emphasized that while the nation had maintained political unity and territorial integrity, true integration required overcoming social and political stagnation. In his final moments, he delivered a closing message to his audience.

The Armed Forces and the Public Service are the most integrative forces, for their loyalty and for their national duties; but they are not enough, because a nation is a very complex sum of a group and the most varied interests, and the task of modernizing it demands the efforts and loyalty of all (Rodrigues, 1964, p. 26).

The presentation of *Elementos básicos da nacionalidade* (Basic Elements of Nationality) served as a prelude to the launch of JHR's book *Conciliação e reforma no Brasil* (Conciliation and Reform in Brazil) (1965). In the opening of the first edition, JHR directed clear messages to those in control of the state apparatus. Writing in a disapproving tone, he condemned the lack of structural reforms following the "April Movement" of 1964, emphatically stating, "So far [the preface is from September 1964] more than 150 days have passed and the government has punished more than it has built" (Rodrigues, 1982, p. 151). JHR concluded his association with ESG with this 1964 conference. As he noted in an interview, he would remain "frozen" for decades (Rodrigues, 1985, p. 131).

Nearly two decades later, in the preface to the second edition of *Conciliação e reforma* (Conciliation and Reform), published in 1982, JHR revisited the themes of his 1964 lecture with greater force and clarity. He stated, among other critiques, that “In 1964, there was the inconciliation and immoderation of the military leadership that seized power and claimed to protect the nation” (Rodrigues, 1982, p. 14). By then, the political landscape had shifted, especially after the Amnesty Law of 1979, but it is important to note that there is no record of JHR facing explicit persecution for his analyses of the Brazilian context. He remained active, publishing books, writing for newspapers, and seeking meetings with officials to discuss issues such as public access to historical collections held by government agencies.

As an intellectual, JHR consistently condemned all forms of authoritarian rule, whether it was the dictatorship of the proletariat, as he mentioned in an interview, or what he termed “generalism” (Rodrigues, 1985, p. 145) when referring to the 1964-1985 period of military governance. He was a democrat who did not engage in party politics and often expressed admiration for American political history, particularly for its break from colonial rule.

5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

JHR never denied that ESG provided an open and stimulating environment that propelled him to think critically about national issues. However, he maintained an independent stance beyond that, preserving his autonomy. Always critical, and at times acerbic, he expressed his ideas through his writings and lectures, engaging in intellectual debates and defending his administrative perspectives—especially during his tenure as head of the National Archives. This approach earned him both friends and adversaries (Iglésias, 1988). He returned to ESG in the 1980s, and in 1989, *Revista da ESG* (ESG Magazine) No. 12, published in commemoration of the institution’s 40th anniversary, featured an article by JHR from 1985 that revisited the themes he addressed in 1964.

Throughout his career, as evidenced in the content of his work, JHR remained aligned with liberal thought of an Anglo-American nature, while maintaining independence and a strong nationalistic sentiment, as shown in *Aspirações nacionais* (National Aspirations). As a liberal, he held a notably progressive vision for the social and political development of a modern Brazil. His intellectual battles were fought in the arena of ideas, where he strongly opposed the conservatism of national leaders who failed to meet the aspirations of a populace seeking better living conditions. He advocated for the self-assertion and appreciation of Brazil’s national identity. To him, fostering unity between minorities and majorities was the only path toward national progress.

At ESG, JHR witnessed the political divisions of the 1960s—a period marked by a rift among those proposing different courses for the country. This disunity

profoundly impacted him, but it did not lead him to repudiate his connections or align with partisan opposition to the government. When asked about his ESG experience, he would recall, with enthusiasm, the times when he encountered a space that welcomed diverse political views and ideas. It was at ESG that he awakened to the importance of engaging with contemporary issues, leveraging history as a tool to interpret and envision the transformation of Brazil. As Alberti (2012, p. 63) noted, it was through this personal journey that JHR became a “present historian,” a producer of “living history,” and he continued in this role until the end of his life, expressing enduring love and admiration for Brazil.

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BRAZILIAN WAR COLLEGE AND THE BRAZILIAN ANTARCTIC THINKING SINCE THE 1950S¹

*A ESCOLA SUPERIOR DE GUERRA E O PENSAMENTO ANTÁRTICO BRASILEIRO
DESDE A DÉCADA DE 1950*

*LA ESCUELA SUPERIOR DE GUERRA Y EL PENSAMIENTO ANTÁRTICO BRASILEÑO
DESDE LOS AÑOS 1950*

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ABSTRACT

Brazil stands out as one of the countries that participates effectively in Antarctic affairs. It maintains well-defined public policies and intense diplomatic and scientific activity focused on the “Icy Continent” since the first studies on Antarctica in Brazil

1 This text is a continuation of the research published in previous versions in ESG Magazine, in Cunha et al. (2022), and in the book Brazil in the Geopolitics of Amazonia and Antarctica, Lexington Books, edited by Queiroz et al, (2023).

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were carried out at Brazilian War College (ESG) in the 1950s. Although these studies and the dynamics of international politics have demonstrated the importance of Antarctica for Brazil, adherence to the Antarctic Treaty only took place in 1975. Forming a Brazilian Antarctic Thought triggered a unique internal political-administrative dynamic in this context. However, under what circumstances did the activities initially reflected within the scope of the College become State policy? On the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the creation of ESG, it is worth evaluating the roots of Brazilian Antarctic Thought, considering the School as a pillar in this process. We analyzed the evolution of this Brazilian Antarctic Thought based on the Delmas-Marty tripod, which is based on actors, factors, and processes. As a result, we found that ESG played a central role in the beginning of the construction of Brazilian thought, which today extends to the Arctic and has greater participation from other actors, notably the scientific community.

keywords: Antarctica; Brazilian War College; Polar Geopolitics; Brazilian Antarctic Program

RESUMO

O Brasil destaca-se como um dos países com participação efetiva nos assuntos antárticos. Atualmente, mantém políticas públicas bem definidas, junto a intensa atividade diplomática e científica voltada para o “Continente Gelado”, posto que os primeiros estudos sobre a Antártica no Brasil tenham sido realizados na Escola Superior de Guerra (ESG), na década de 1950. Embora esses estudos e as dinâmicas da política internacional tenham demonstrado a importância da Antártica para o Brasil, a adesão ao Tratado da Antártica somente aconteceu em 1975. Nesse contexto, a conformação de um Pensamento Antártico Brasileiro desencadeou uma dinâmica político-administrativa interna ímpar. Contudo, em que circunstâncias as atividades refletidas, inicialmente, no âmbito da Escola, tornaram-se uma política de Estado? Por ocasião dos 75 anos de criação da ESG, convém avaliar as raízes do Pensamento Antártico Brasileiro, considerando a Escola como um pilar nesse processo. A evolução desse Pensamento Antártico Brasileiro foi analisada a partir do tripé de Delmas-Marty, baseando-se em atores, fatores e processos. Como resultado, constatamos que a ESG teve um papel central no início da construção do pensamento brasileiro, o qual hoje estende-se para o Ártico e tem maior participação de outros atores, notadamente da comunidade científica.

Palavras-chave: Antártica; Escola Superior de Guerra; Geopolítica Polar; Programa Antártico Brasileiro.

RESUMEN

Brasil se destaca como uno de los países con participación efectiva en los asuntos antárticos. Actualmente, mantiene políticas públicas bien definidas, junto con una intensa actividad diplomática y científica centrada en el “Continente Helado”, ya que los primeros estudios sobre la Antártida en Brasil se realizaron en la Escuela Superior de Guerra (ESG) en la década de 1950. A pesar de que estos estudios y la dinámica de la política internacional demostraron, en los años siguientes, la importancia de la Antártida para Brasil, la adhesión al Tratado Antártico solo tuvo lugar en 1975. En este contexto, es posible identificar la conformación de un Pensamiento Antártico Brasileño, que desencadenó una intensa dinámica político-administrativa interna única. Sin embargo, ¿en qué circunstancias las actividades reflejadas inicialmente en el ámbito de la Escuela se convirtieron en una política del Estado? Con motivo de los 75 años de creación de la ESG, es oportuno evaluar las raíces del Pensamiento Antártico Brasileño, considerando a la Escuela como un pilar en este proceso. La evolución de ese Pensamiento Antártico Brasileño se analizó a partir del trípode de Delmas-Marty, a partir de actores, factores y procesos. Como resultado, ESG tuvo un rol central en el inicio de la construcción del pensamiento brasileño, que hoy se extiende al Ártico y cuenta con una mayor participación de otros actores, en particular de la comunidad científica.

Palabras clave: Antártida; Escuela Superior de Guerra; Geopolítica polar; Programa Antártico Brasileño

1 INTRODUCTION

“Brazilian Antarctic Thought” refers to the ongoing debates among geopolitical scholars, diplomats, and military officials that have taken place since the 1950s regarding Brazil’s policy for the Antarctic region. Brazil has been engaged as a polar nation for over 40 years, despite recognizing Antarctica’s geopolitical significance long before that. Prior to the 1970s, Brazil’s interest in Antarctica was not clearly defined (Silva, 2020), although behind the scenes, there was considerable strategic contemplation.

Recently declassified documents, some of which were once classified as secret, have highlighted Brazil’s concerns about Antarctica. In this context, the Brazilian War College (Escola Superior de Guerra – ESG) played a pivotal role in shaping Brazilian Antarctic Thought by initiating discussions that evolved into significant scientific activity, laying the groundwork for Brazil’s current polar geopolitical stance. To understand ESG’s influence in formulating Brazil’s geopolitical approach to Antarctica, this study aims to assess how current policies and trends trace back to the strategic initiatives developed at ESG since the 1950s.

Antarctica represents one of the last frontiers on Earth. This unique continent commands attention due to its sheer scale and significance. Among its notable features: i) it spans 14 million square kilometers, an area comparable to the combined territories of Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Peru, and Bolivia; ii) it holds about 70% of the planet's fresh water in the form of ice; iii) it possesses mineral resources of immense value, including uranium, gold, silver, iron, and coal. These attributes underscore why Antarctica remains a critical focus in global politics. Although defined as part of Brazil's strategic sphere (Brasil, 2020), Antarctica has largely remained outside the national cultural consciousness. Historically, Brazilians have been perceived as having minimal connection with polar regions, reflecting an absence of guiding principles that would emphasize the importance of participating in global political decisions concerning these areas.

The analysis, based on official military and diplomatic documents, is divided into three main phases. The first phase examines the period from the end of World War II to Brazil's signing of the Antarctic Treaty in 1975, focusing on the rationale behind Brazil's investment in Antarctic diplomacy and geopolitics. The second phase spans until 2020, marked by the inauguration of the new Antarctic scientific station, Comandante Ferraz (EACF). The final phase, post-2020, assesses Brazil's role as either a passive observer or an influential "standard-setter" in Antarctic-related matters.

2 A STORY PROTECTED BY SECRECY

Scientific literature typically suggests that Brazilian interest in Antarctica began in 1975, when Brazil decided to join the Antarctic Treaty. However, there was virtually no information available from before this pivotal moment. This lack of information can be attributed to two main factors: 1) the limited interest shown by Brazilian historians and researchers, and 2) the high level of confidentiality that the Government assigned to related documents. Within this context, research by Cunha et al. (2022) and Câmara et al. (2020) highlights historical and documentary evidence that has allowed the mapping of the evolution of Antarctic geopolitical thought in Brazil.

Until the early 1950s, Antarctica was not an area of significant interest for Brazil. The earliest known official document related to Antarctica dates back to 1955: a report by Army Lieutenant Colonel Wladimir Bouças, in which he argued that Brazil should stake a territorial claim in Antarctica (Bouças, 1956). However, this report, submitted to the Army General Staff, did not prompt any action and was soon forgotten.

According to a confidential report produced by ESG (Brasil, 1956, p. 5), Brazil's first official involvement in Antarctic matters occurred in 1956 when India proposed a motion at the United Nations General Assembly for the peaceful use of Antarctica,

prompting protests from Chile and Argentina. Although the issue was ultimately removed from the agenda, the situation compelled Brazil to take a stance. The following year, India made another unsuccessful attempt to introduce the same motion, once again pushing Brazil to respond. This series of events marked the official starting point of Brazil's interest in Antarctic affairs.

To deepen its understanding of Antarctic issues and avoid being caught off guard in the future, Brazil's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MRE) tasked ESG with conducting a study on Antarctica in 1956. The study highlighted the Brazilian government's lack of information and engagement regarding the region. To bridge this knowledge gap, ESG produced a second report in 1957, which gained significant importance and served as the position of the General Staff of the Brazilian Armed Forces on the topic for many years.

This comprehensive 60-page document (Brasil, 1957), described by authorities as "sober and realistic" (Brasil, 1958b), was the first multidisciplinary analysis on Antarctica conducted in Brazil. Covering a range of topics from climate to geopolitics, it was distributed extensively to Brazilian embassies worldwide and remained the only study on the subject for many years. In some respects, its insights continue to influence Brazilian Antarctic thought today. It is likely that most policymakers responsible for shaping Brazil's polar policies are still influenced by the document's ideas, even if they have never directly accessed it.

The ESG study (Brasil, 1957), as noted by Army General Otávio Saldanha Mazza, Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces (Brasil, 1958b, p. 2)², encompassed the following key elements:

- a) the possible strategic influence that the so-called Graham Lands and their neighboring Antarctic regions may have on the defense of the Hemisphere, by their dominant position in the Drake Passage, where it is possible that maritime traffic will be diverted in the event of the closure of the Panama Canal, as well as in the passage from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean;
- b) the possibility of using these regions as bases for self-propelled projectiles intended for attacks on the South American continent;
- c) the expected future economic possibilities for the Antarctic continent, the extraction of which could become economically feasible with the development of technology;
- d) no legal basis supporting the rights of countries currently exploiting Antarctica.

2 The excerpt that comments on the Study conducted at ESG was part of Office 018B, dated April 16, 1958, classified as confidential. The document was signed by Army General Otávio Saldanha Mazza, Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces, and addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, stating, as a subject, "Brazilian interests in Antarctica." View Brasil (1958b).

The excerpt indicates that the study conducted by ESG spurred significant political mobilization. On February 24, 1958, Confidential Document No. 09-0-40 from the Air Force Chief of Staff to the Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Brazil, 1958a) recommended that government authorities refrain from recognizing any country's territorial claims in Antarctica and consider accepting only temporary international administration, without forfeiting Brazil's potential future interests.

A few weeks later, on April 16, 1958, Confidential Document No. 18-B (Brazil, 1958b) advised the initiation of publicity efforts, studies, and expeditions to Antarctica. The study was marked as confidential and subsequently sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, José Carlos de Macedo Soares, on April 18, 1958, by General Octávio Saldanha Mazza, Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces.³

These considerations were pivotal in shaping Brazil's engagement with an independent approach to Antarctica. Examining the roots of this conceptual framework, Brazilian diplomat Lindolfo Collor (1956) analyzed the geostrategic situations of the Arctic and Antarctic regions, pointing out their similarities and differences. Collor (1956, p. 3) referenced the Sector Theory proposed by Canadian Senator Pascal Poirier⁴, which inspired an academic version of potential Brazilian claims, even though the government never formally adopted an official stance.

In this context, the so-called Theory of Defrontation became a significant part of the analyses by Therezinha de Castro. Although commonly attributed to her, this theoretical approach was connected to Sector Theory. Castro (1958, p. 49) argued:

Let's claim our share in Antarctica! If they have appealed to history, let us appeal to them as well. Let us join the South American countries, Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, Peru and Uruguay around the right of confrontation or the Polar Sectors, conceived by the Canadian senator Pascal Poirier in 1907 when he dealt with the sharing of the North Pole.⁵

3 The original document (Brasil, 1957) appeared to be the only existing copy and was found in the MRE archives. In 2022, it was published by the Alexandre de Gusmão Foundation (FUNAG, 2022).

4 On February 20, 1906, Sector Theory was debated in the Senate of Canada. It was a means of justifying their rights over the Arctic domains. Poirier (1906, p. 271, our translation) addressed in his speech that: "[...]in the future sharing of the northern lands, a country whose possession today goes to the Arctic regions, shall either be entitled, or should be entitled, or have a right to all the lands lying in the waters between a line stretching from its eastern end to the north, and another line stretching from the western end to the north.[...]. This division of the polar regions seems to be the most natural because it is simply geographical."

5 Castro (1958, p. 49) defined the expression "Defrontation", in Portuguese, as synonymous with Polar Sectors, evoking the speech of Senator Poirier of February 20, 1906.

It is notable that these ideas continued to resonate in subsequent years. One such instance was the Confidential Memorandum from the Head of the South American Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Deputy Secretary-General for American Affairs. Sent on December 29, 1967, it highlighted a telegram from the Brazilian Embassy in Buenos Aires, Argentina, which noted that “Brazil’s potential claim to a sector in Antarctica, as advocated in the study developed by the Brazilian War College [...] based on the Theory of Defrontation, would come into conflict, among other issues, with Argentine territorial claims in the southern continent” (Brasil, 1967, p. 17)⁶.

Completely classified as urgent and secret, the telegram ‘DAM-I’ from August 4, 1978, issued by the Brazilian Embassy in Montevideo, Uruguay, reported that matters concerning Brazilian policy towards Antarctica were shrouded in absolute secrecy at the highest levels of the Uruguayan government. However, regarding the Theory of Defrontation, the document stated that it was “unreasonable to encourage the study of a territorialist theory” (Brasil, 1978, p. 1).

Conversely, voices within the Brazilian Parliament, such as Eurípedes Cardoso de Menezes, emphasized Brazil’s active involvement in Antarctica. This view was articulated in an article published in 1971 in the *Revista do Clube Militar* (Military Club Magazine), titled “The Rights of Brazil in Antarctica.” According to Menezes (1971, pp. 5-8):

We may well make an official statement on our legitimate claims. It would not be absurd to enact the annexation of the part of Antarctica between the meridians of Arroio Chuí and Martim Vaz, by the principle of Defrontation, adopted in the division of the North Pole and accepted by Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand. ... If it was thought of in the Arctic, why not in Antarctica? Mainly because it will be the only way to resolve the problem peacefully. Otherwise, there will be disagreements and friction. [...] After the decree, let us occupy what should be ours, and through our Embassy in the United Nations, let us enforce our right, sovereignty and desire for justice and peace.

This example illustrates how Brazil’s potential territorial claim in Antarctica was largely based on the “Defrontation Theory.” This concept was adapted to the context of the South Pole by Therezinha de Castro and Carlos Miguel Delgado de

6 The memorandum mentions a telegram issued by the Embassy of Brazil in Buenos Aires on August 16, 1958. Furthermore, this situation would jeopardize for many years Brazilian efforts to send scientists to the region. It is one of the reasons why the Brazilian Antarctic Program (PROANTAR) historically operates with Chilean and non-Argentine support.

Carvalho of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE). According to them, Antarctica should be divided using the extreme meridians of the Southern Hemisphere countries, implying that Brazil would have the right to claim a portion of the Antarctic territory⁷. While Collor (1956) had proposed effective occupation through a naval operation, Castro and Delgado de Carvalho refined the theory, suggesting that Brazil should occupy what was rightfully its own through defrontation.

To grasp the political climate of the period, it is essential to recognize that perceptions of Antarctica were shaped by earlier scientific efforts, such as those in Austria-Hungary in the 1880s, which led to the first International Polar Year of 1882/83. This initiative was repeated half a century later with the International Geophysical Year (1957-58), which involved 37 countries, including Brazil, and significantly advanced polar science. This landmark event established that participation in the Conference that created the Antarctic Treaty required conducting significant research on the continent during the International Geophysical Year.

Twelve nations met this criterion and became the original signatories of the treaty. Brazil, however, had not conducted research activities in Antarctica nor dispatched an expedition during that period and was therefore not invited to the Conference. Despite this, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs lodged protests, albeit unsuccessfully.

Interestingly, prior to this, on March 23, 1955, the Army General Staff submitted a report to the Secretary of the National Security Council advocating for Brazil's potential territorial claim over Antarctica. This topic gained attention in national media, such as *Revista da Semana*, in its April 30, 1955 issue titled "A Piece of Antarctica Belongs to Brazil" (Lima, 1955), and *O Globo*, which published a headline on February 9, 1956, stating, "We Also Have a Right to Antarctica" (*O Globo*, 1956).

3 BRAZIL'S POLAR GEOPOLITICS AND DIPLOMACY

With the onset of the Cold War, Antarctica assumed a central role in international politics. Strategically, significant international maritime routes, such as the Drake Passage and the Cape of Good Hope, intersect with Antarctica. Diplomat José Marcus Vinícius de Souza (Brasil, 1967), as well as Simões et al. (2011) and Simões (2020), noted that the region influences various global processes, particularly atmospheric dynamics and ocean currents, which in turn

⁷ Based on this theoretical perspective, Brazil would claim the Antarctic sector located between the meridians of Arroio Chuí and Martim Vaz Island.

impact the global climate system with significant consequences for sectors such as agribusiness and fisheries.

Colacrai (2004), Ainley et al. (2009), and Câmara e Melo (2018) highlight the vast reserves of strategic minerals and substantial amounts of fresh water found in Antarctica. Thorp (2012) points out that the waters of the Ross and Weddell Seas hold more than 50 million barrels of oil, comparable to Alaska's reserves. However, these resources did not initially feature prominently on the geopolitical agenda following World War II, when scientific knowledge about the region was still limited.

The prevailing concern among world powers was the potential for Cold War tensions to escalate into an arms race or territorial occupation by one or more countries. In this uncertain environment, several states began to assert sovereignty over overlapping territories, contributing to conflicts in the region (Câmara & Gonçalves, 2022). This atmosphere of tension led to significant military operations. The United States conducted the most extensive polar operation in history, Operation High Jump (1946-1947), which involved more than 4,000 military personnel and 13 Navy warships. The Soviet Union also launched its Slava Flotilla (1946) for operations in Antarctica. Further U.S. involvement included Operations Deep Freeze I (1955-1956) and Deep Freeze II (1956-1957).

The increase in military activities in polar regions also brought attention to Arctic initiatives known as cold-weather warfare or winter warfare. The Arctic's strategic importance grew due to resource competition and key logistical pathways, with receding polar ice lowering operational costs (Smith, 2022). The Antarctic Treaty was born from this context; by the 1950s, major players sought to establish mutual understanding to address these issues peacefully.

Initially conceived and signed by 12 countries in 1959⁸, the Antarctic Treaty came into force in 1961. It laid the groundwork for the Antarctic Treaty System (ATS), incorporating subsequent legal instruments to form the regulatory framework for the only continent where sovereignty remains unresolved. These territorial claims have not been resolved but are instead "frozen" pending future decisions. According to Article IV of the Washington Treaty (1959), as published by FUNAG (2021, p. 29):

1. Nothing contained in this Treaty shall be construed as:
 - a) the renunciation by any Contracting Party of previously invoked rights or the claim of territorial sovereignty in Antarctica;

8 As can be seen in the volume on normative instruments of the Alexandre de Gusmão Foundation - FUNAG (2021, p. 27) the signatory members of the Washington Treaty of 1959, received by Brazil in 1975, are Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, France, Japan, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, the USSR and the USA.

b) renunciation or reduction of the position of any Contracting Party with regard to the recognition of the rights or claims or bases of claim of any other State with regard to territorial sovereignty in Antarctica.

2. No act or activity taking place, for as long as this Treaty is in force, shall constitute a basis for proclaiming, supporting or challenging a claim to territorial sovereignty in Antarctica. No new claim, or extension of existing claim, relating to territorial sovereignty in Antarctica shall be made while this Treaty is in force.

This provision embodies the essence of the moratorium and outlines the parameters set for review in 2048. Today, the Antarctic Treaty System (ATS) includes 55 member countries, of which only 29 are consultative parties with voting rights⁹. According to the established norms, the primary legal requirement for becoming a voting member is the conduct of substantial scientific research. In support of this, Article IX, 2 states:

Each Contracting Party which has become a Member of this Treaty by accession in accordance with Article XIII shall be entitled to designate representatives to attend the meetings referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article for as long as the said Contracting Party demonstrates its interest in Antarctica in the promotion of substantial scientific research, such as the establishment of a scientific station or the dispatch of a scientific expedition (Brasil, 1975).

This rule is a fundamental condition for establishing rights. Brazil is among the countries with voting rights at the annual Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meetings (ATCM), holding equal voting power to that of the most influential states in the world, including all permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (Câmara & Melo, 2018). Consequently, scientific research is essential for nations that wish to have a significant influence on the future of Antarctic governance. In this sense, science serves as the premier geopolitical tool within the ATS (Mattos & Câmara, 2020).

In 2048, ATS members will have the opportunity to propose revisions to key aspects of the Treaty, such as the current prohibition on natural resource exploitation (Coburn, 2017) and potential changes to the ATCM voting system from a consensus model to a majority rule. Although this system has been stable and

9 Parties (ats.aq), em Secretariat of Antarctic Treaty (2024).

effective, geopolitical shifts are anticipated even before 2048 (Allen et al., 2020). It is crucial to recognize that, in a scenario where the ice sheet continues to melt, global demand for oil and minerals could increase, and advancements in mining technology may make resource extraction more feasible (Chown et al., 2022). Nonetheless, historical territorial claims on the White Continent persist.

4 THE TREATY OF ANTARCTICA AND BRAZIL

Scientific research forms the foundation of the Antarctic system. Driven by a geopolitical approach rooted in scientific inquiry, Brazil celebrated the 40th anniversary of its first scientific expedition to Antarctica in 2021¹⁰. Brazil's interest in joining the Antarctic Treaty emerged during the oil crises of the 1970s, prompting the nation to reassess its priorities amidst a decade marked by multifaceted turbulence. Key issues at the time included energy, finance, and military engagement. In this context, as Brazil navigated the evolving environmental landscape, it sought alternative energy solutions, which ultimately contributed to its decision to join the Washington Treaty in 1975.¹¹

The 1970s marked a resurgence in support for the Theory of Defrontation. This support was evident in speeches by Congressman Eurípedes Cardoso de Menezes in the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies, where he advocated for Brazil's presence in Antarctica and reiterated the call for a territorial claim (Menezes, 1971). Both Therezinha de Castro and Menezes played pivotal roles in these efforts, contributing to Brazil's accession to the Treaty in 1975.

Castro (1958) and Menezes (1971) supported territorial claims, a stance that often created tension with neighboring countries, particularly Argentina and Chile. This required Brazil's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MRE) to issue diplomatic notes to mitigate these complaints (Ferreira, 2005). Although Brazil never formally submitted a territorial claim in Antarctica, the influence of Castro and Menezes was significant in the country's decision to join the Treaty in 1975 and establish the Brazilian Antarctic Program (PROANTAR) on January 2, 1982. PROANTAR aimed to

10 In MARINHA DO BRASIL (2022), it is noteworthy that, on November 22 and 23, 2021, Itamaraty promoted the Seminar entitled "Brazil in Antarctica: four decades balance", bringing together civil and military researchers who participated in conferences on the historical and current challenges. The event marks the moment since the country became a consultative party (1983), after having launched PROANTAR, one of the most successful scientific programs in the country, lasting more than 40 years uninterrupted, a very unusual situation when it comes to Brazilian Science, as observed by Câmara et al. (2020).

11 The country quickly realized that the exploitation of natural resources was economically unviable and illegal, as established by the Madrid Protocol of 1991.

foster scientific research to better understand phenomena affecting the national territory and to secure Brazil's status as an Advisory Member of the Antarctic Treaty.

Admiral Maximiano Eduardo da Silva Fonseca was also instrumental in Brazil's Antarctic involvement. As Minister of the Navy from 1979 to 1984, he initiated the scientific program focused on Antarctic research. During his tenure, the decree establishing the National Commission of Antarctic Affairs (CONANTAR) was signed, and the Inter-Ministerial Commission of Sea Resources (CIRM) was tasked with developing the project for PROANTAR's implementation.

Under Admiral Maximiano's leadership, the Brazilian Navy acquired a polar ship and conducted its first scientific mission, leading to the construction of an Antarctic research station. The ship, a Danish polar vessel named "Thala Dan," was renamed Baron Teffé (H-42)¹². On December 20, 1982, this oceanographic vessel departed Rio de Janeiro, reaching Antarctica on January 4, 1983 (Câmara et al., 2020). In 1983, Brazil launched its first expedition, Operation Antarctica I (OPERANTAR), with the participation of the ship N/Oc. Professor W. Besnard from the Oceanographic Institute of the University of São Paulo (USP)¹³. In 1984, the Antarctic Station Commander Ferraz (EACF) was established, becoming a year-round operational research station by 1986.

The Brazilian Antarctic Program (PROANTAR) remains one of Brazil's most successful scientific programs. According to Câmara et al. (2020), national decision-making regarding Antarctica reflects the collaboration between Armed Forces officers, diplomats, and members of the epistemic community. Since 1975, Brazil's strategic approach has emphasized the roles of ESG, the Navy, Itamaraty (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), and ministries such as the Ministry of Science, Technology, and Innovation (MCTI), alongside other contributing institutions that have shaped the nation's Antarctic research mindset.

5 BRAZIL: Observer or formulator of standards?

In 1992, as part of Brazil's renewed interest in Antarctica, an agreement was established between the Navy and the Secretariat for Science and Technology. Under this agreement, the Armed Forces were tasked with providing logistical support, including funding for the Antarctic Station Comandante Ferraz (EACF) and polar vessels, while the Secretariat for Science and Technology was responsible for

12 For information provided by the Directorate of Historic Heritage and Navy Documentation, see Brazilian Navy (2022).

13 Subsequently, Brazil acquired the NApOc Ary Rongel (H-44), also known as the "Red Giant", built in Norway and commissioned from the Brazilian Navy in 1994.

conducting and financing all Antarctic scientific research. This arrangement has enabled continuous scientific expeditions over the past 40 years, even after the EACF was destroyed by a fire in 2012 (Pedone & Hernandez, 2020).

Scientific research has also been conducted aboard polar vessels and at temporary camps, ensuring that researchers do not rely solely on the station. The only interruption occurred during the summer of 2020/2021, when fieldwork was halted due to the COVID-19 pandemic, limiting research to Brazilian laboratories. Nevertheless, research did not cease, as most polar science in Brazil is conducted at public universities and research centers. Without these institutions, Brazil would struggle to maintain Antarctic research and uphold its obligations under the Treaty.

Despite favorable conditions, Brazil faces significant challenges (Oliveira et al., 2024). The most pressing issues are (i) political, as Brazilian authorities need to recognize Antarctica's importance for strategic diplomacy, with stable financial support being a persistent concern (Câmara et al., 2020), and (ii) technical-scientific, as Brazilian researchers must strengthen collaboration with other research teams, including those from Chile and Argentina, highlighting the critical role of international cooperation in advancing research in strategic areas.

Long-term and well-defined Brazilian interests may encounter obstacles such as budget constraints, administrative inefficiencies, and diplomatic hurdles. The three primary risks to Brazil's Antarctic initiatives include: i) a lack of consistent financial support, ii) logistical challenges that increase dependence on Chile and Argentina, and iii) administrative restructuring. High turnover in key political-bureaucratic positions, such as within the Secretariat of the Inter-Ministerial Commission for Sea Resources (SECIRM) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, could weaken Brazil's Antarctic policy.

A study by Boyadjian et al. (2020) demonstrated that Brazil has the potential to improve its position in Antarctic research for two main reasons. First, Brazil's GDP indicates that the country has the capacity to be ranked among the top ten most influential countries, similar to other high-GDP nations that maintain stable funding correlated with strong scientific output. However, stability in Brazil's funding has been inconsistent. Second, as a Southern Hemisphere nation with neighbors that have territorial claims over Antarctica—Argentina and Chile—Brazil, without any claims, is well-positioned to act as an intermediary in Antarctic affairs.

The original EACF, built in 1984, underwent expansions and renovations over the years. It supported generations of scientists until it was severely damaged by fire in 2012, which resulted in the loss of two lives. A temporary station was established in 2013 at the site where the new station would be built, and the new EACF was inaugurated in January 2020. Spanning 4,500 m², it is the largest and

most modern facility in the Antarctic Peninsula, featuring 17 laboratories and the capacity for year-round scientific activity, including during winter. This facility has drawn international attention due to its size, modern architecture, and laboratories, which underscore Brazil's long-term commitment to Antarctic research and signify science as the central political tool within the Antarctic Treaty System.

Scientific research is essential for maintaining voting rights at the annual meetings of Treaty signatory countries. As such, the EACF, according to Simões (as cited in Pierro, 2020), holds significant geopolitical value. Câmara et al. (2019) note that 21st-century Antarctic geopolitics face unconventional threats, including extreme weather events, rising sea levels, and advancements in biotechnological potential. Additionally, territorial disputes and access to biological resources present growing challenges, necessitating a geopolitical approach that incorporates cyberspace and disruptive technologies. Regarding biological research, these factors align with the perspective of Câmara and Carvalho-Silva (2020), who argue that Brazil has the potential to lead the development of next-generation Antarctic science.

Every three to four years, the Ministry of Science, Technology, and Innovation (MCTI) issues calls for proposals to support Antarctic research. The National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq), the MCTI's funding body, typically supports around 20 proposals across diverse areas, including atmospheric studies, oceanography, marine and terrestrial biology, glaciology, pedagogy, and research on ocean currents and wind patterns. With the advanced laboratories at the EACF and Brazil's skilled human capital, the outlook for Brazilian Antarctic science remains promising.

6 BRAZILIAN RESOURCES IN POLAR GOVERNANCE

Brazil's efforts in Antarctica have been maximized through various initiatives, raising awareness of an Antarctic mindset and embedding polar diplomacy into the national agenda. On one hand, administrative actions have strengthened the regulatory framework that solidifies the country's involvement, showing that both the Brazilian State and the scientific community are committed to positioning Brazil as a scientific leader in Antarctica. On the other hand, the outcomes of these state policies are becoming more evident, symbolized by scientific stations, laboratories, research modules, and vessels that serve as markers of Brazil's geopolitical influence, with science as its main instrument.

Brazil has continuously worked to modernize its institutional mechanisms. Decree No. 1,791 of January 15, 1996, established CONAPA, the Brazilian National

Antarctic Research Committee (Brasil, 1996), within the Ministry of Science, Technology, and Innovation (MCTI). Reformed by Decree No. 10,603 on January 20, 2021 (Brasil, 2021), CONAPA has enhanced regulatory frameworks, coordinating national policies, advisory committees, and relations with international institutions such as SCAR (the Scientific Committee for Antarctic Research), through ministry and scientific community representatives.

CONAPA, under the purview of the MCTI's Secretariat for Research and Scientific Training, manages and promotes government actions in Antarctica (Brasil, 2021). Among its initiatives are (i) the "Antarctic Science for Brazil: Action Plan 2013-2022" and (ii) the "Decennial Plan for Antarctic Science 2023-2032" (Brasil, 2022). While the Decennial Plan emphasizes that Antarctica is embedded in Brazil's state policy, the first Decennial Action Plan (2013-2022) resulted in the Antarctic Science Program, which aimed to develop research on Antarctica and its links to the Atlantic Ocean and South America. This program covered six themes: Climate Change, Cryosphere, Geodynamics, Biocomplexity, Atmospheric Dynamics, and emerging topics.

The second Decennial Plan (2023-2032) reaffirms Brazil's commitment, consolidates results, and maintains a strong scientific focus that supports the nation's interests. According to Rosa (2022), this plan is guided by SCAR's agenda, with CONAPA drafting the document for public consultation, incorporating feedback from Antarctic experts to make necessary adjustments. This plan is innovative, factoring in climate change and Brazil's scientific involvement in both Antarctica and the Arctic, a topic gaining traction in Brazilian society.

Brazil's pursuit of a science-driven geopolitical approach is exemplified by the development of the new Antarctic Polar Ship, (*NAPAnt Almirante Saldanha*). Barreira (2022) reports that the Brazilian Navy expects to commission the vessel by the end of 2025, as part of a consortium with Jurong Aracruz Shipyard (EJA) and Sembcorp Marine Singapore. The current ships, *NAPoc Ary Rongel (H44)* and *NPo Almirante Maximiano (H41)*, have been crucial for logistics and scientific work, facilitating approximately 40% of Brazil's scientific output in areas such as Glaciology, Meteorology, Biology, and Climatology (Almeida, 2019).

With the addition of the *NAPAnt Almirante Saldanha*, PROANTAR will be able to operate further south than before, enabling longer expeditions and more flexible scheduling for Brazilian scientists. The ship will have a displacement of approximately 5,880 tons, measuring 93.9 m in length, 18.5 m in width, and a 6 m draft, with a cruising speed of 12 knots, 70 days of autonomy, and a crew of 95, including 26 researchers.

Additionally, three Airbus H135 (UH-27 in the Brazilian Navy) twin-engine, multi-purpose helicopters were acquired to complement operational capabilities.

These helicopters, purchased in 2019 from Helibras, Airbus's Brazilian division, replaced the older AS355F2 Écureuil (UH-13). Capable of transporting troops and cargo, conducting surveillance, and performing evacuations, two were delivered in 2020, with a third arriving in 2021 (Barreira, 2021).

The *Criosfera* Modules represent Latin America's most southerly scientific endeavors in Antarctica. The *Criosfera 1* module (84°S) has marked Brazil's presence in continental Antarctica, operating automatically since 2012 and monitoring climate and atmospheric chemistry. This project was a collaboration among UERJ, UFRGS, and INPE (Marcher et al., 2022). On September 28, 2022, the *Criosfera 2* automated and sustainable laboratory, assembled by UFRGS's Polar and Climate Center, was sent to Antarctica (Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 2024).

These initiatives are supported by FINEP, with funding from the National Fund for Scientific and Technological Development (FNDCT). Supervised by Professor Jefferson Simões, eight researchers participated in the installation of *Cryosphere 2*, which focuses on Climate Change, Climatology, Glaciology, and research on ice platforms affecting the South Atlantic. The aim is to better understand climatic variability in Antarctica and its impact on cold fronts, extratropical cyclones, and extreme weather events, while supporting glaciological studies.

POLANTAR, the National Policy for Antarctic Affairs, was first published in 1987 and updated by Decree No. 11,096 on June 15, 2022. As a key public policy document, POLANTAR defines Brazil's Antarctic activities, addressing international challenges and outlining new perspectives on Brazil's presence in the region. Looking ahead to 2048, it emphasizes Brazil's role within the ATS and future participation in Antarctic affairs. In an era where threats to Antarctica are more varied and pose disruptive risks, new power dynamics, climate change, biodiversity loss, and the scarcity of strategic resources are becoming prominent issues (Arpi et al., 2022). From a geopolitical standpoint, Antarctica remains a top strategic priority for Brazil. The scientific community continues to emphasize the importance of integrating polar diplomacy with the Arctic to enrich the national discourse on global environmental dynamics.

7 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Despite being the seventh-closest country to Antarctica, Brazilian administrators and strategists only began to recognize the continent's geopolitical significance in the mid-1950s. Documentary analysis shows that Antarctica is too vast and too close to Brazil to be overlooked. A thorough review of these archives reveals that, gradually and progressively, the country has come to understand Antarctica's importance as a

component of national strategic interests, especially after the extreme weather event that impacted the state of Rio Grande do Sul in April and May 2024.

The early studies conducted at the Brazilian War College (ESG) laid the foundation for Brazilian Antarctic Thought. Initially driven by efforts to prevent conflicts with neighboring countries like Argentina and Chile, Brazil soon realized that the icy continent is deeply intertwined with geopolitical and strategic issues, including food security, biosphere integrity, the global hydrological cycle, and climate change.

Today, Brazil is in a promising phase. Aware of its strategic interests and opportunities to expand scientific activity, the country positions itself as a polar player in both Antarctica and the Arctic. The challenges of Antarctic geopolitics are tied to crucial mechanisms of polar governance, particularly considering the connections between climate change in Antarctica and the cold fronts affecting South America. These complex interactions must be fully understood, as Brazil has the potential to play a key role in addressing these global challenges.

Documentary evidence, alongside initiatives such as the inauguration of the new Antarctic Scientific Station and the deployment of the *Criosfera* modules, shows that Brazil is advancing its interests and assuming a proactive role on the international stage. This represents a turning point, placing humanity in a new era of uncertainties with potentially unpredictable consequences, where Antarctica's significance is paramount.

Sánchez (2018) reminds us that Antarctica is more fragile than ever. Recognizing the continent's uniqueness, Brazil's National Defense Strategy (END) has established "increasing Brazilian participation in decisions about the fate of the Antarctic region" (Strategic Defense Action AED No. 83) as a key objective. This reflects the early perceptions identified in the 1950s, when the foundations of Brazilian Antarctic Thought were developed at ESG. This evolving perspective underscores the growth of an Antarctic mindset and highlights a geopolitical approach anchored in scientific research. It also points to the potential discovery of other national vocations that Brazil is eager to explore.

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THE NATIONALIST ROOTS OF PROFESSOR THEREZINHA DE CASTRO AND HER LEGACY FOR BRAZILIAN WAR COLLEGE

*AS RAÍZES NACIONALISTAS DA PROFESSORA THEREZINHA DE CASTRO E SEU
LEGADO PARA A ESCOLA SUPERIOR DE GUERRA*

*LAS RAÍCES NACIONALISTAS DE LA PROFESORA THEREZINHA DE CASTRO Y SU
LEGADO PARA LA ESCUELA SUPERIOR DE GUERRA*

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ABSTRACT

Therezinha de Castro (1930-2000), daughter of General Fábio de Castro and Mrs. Nedyr de Castro, was an active scholar of Brazilian geopolitics. From the publications that she left us as a legacy, we see her connection with different fields of knowledge: Political Science, Sociology, History, Education, Geography, Geopolitics and International Relations. This article aims to highlight the pioneering role of a civilian woman in the field of security, defense and geopolitics, analyzing that, in addition to her paternal reference - a general, her maternal family origin can reveal important aspects of her nationalist and republican. In the last part of the text, we will show how Therezinha's memory has been perpetuated by the Brazilian War College (ESG), highlighting the various initiatives in her honor and ending with the discovery of a family member belonging to the Institution's Permanent Corps.

Keywords: Geopolitics; Brazilian War College; Maternal genealogy.

RESUMO

Therezinha de Castro (1930-2000), filha do General Fábio de Castro e da Sra. Nedyr de Castro, foi uma ativa estudiosa da Geopolítica brasileira. A partir da produção que ela nos deixou como legado percebemos sua ligação com diferentes áreas do conhecimento: Ciência Política, Sociologia, História, Educação, Geografia, Geopolítica e Relações Internacionais. Este artigo tem o objetivo de destacar a atuação pioneira de uma mulher civil na área de segurança, defesa e geopolítica, analisando, que para

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além de sua referência paterna – um general, sua origem familiar materna pode nos revelar aspectos importantes, e das suas raízes nacionalistas e republicanas. Na última parte do texto vamos demonstrar como a memória da Therezinha vem sendo perpetuada pela Escola Superior de Guerra (ESG) pontuando as diversas iniciativas em sua homenagem e fechando com a descoberta de um familiar pertencente ao Corpo Permanente da Instituição.

Palavras-Chave: Geopolítica; Escola Superior de Guerra; Genealogia materna.

RESUMEN

Therezinha de Castro (1930-2000), hija del general Fábio de Castro y de la señora Nedyr de Castro, fue una activa estudiosa de la geopolítica brasileña. Desde la producción que nos dejó como legado, vemos su conexión con diferentes áreas del conocimiento: Ciencia Política, Sociología, Historia, Educación, Geografía, Geopolítica y Relaciones Internacionales. Este artículo pretende resaltar el papel pionero de una mujer civil en el ámbito de la seguridad, la defensa y la geopolítica, analizando que, además de su referente paterno –general, su origen familiar materno puede revelar aspectos importantes de su carácter nacionalista y republicano. En la última parte del texto demostraremos cómo la memoria de Therezinha ha sido perpetuada por la Escuela Superior de Guerra (ESG), destacando las diversas iniciativas en su honor y finalizando con el hallazgo de un familiar perteneciente al Cuerpo Permanente de la Institución.

Palabras clave: Geopolítica; Escuela Superior de Guerra; Genealogía materna.

1 INTRODUCTION

Therezinha de Castro is regarded as a seminal figure in the field of Brazilian geopolitics, with an international reputation that endured throughout her lifetime. She devoted her attention to a range of geopolitical issues, including the significance of Antarctica and the South Atlantic.

In defining Professor Therezinha, the esteemed Slovenian geopolitical analyst Meira Mattos articulated the following:

Professor Therezinha de Castro was a highly dedicated researcher and a tenacious advocate for the acceptance of her geopolitical proposals. She authored numerous books, delivered hundreds of lectures in Brazil and abroad, and published over a thousand articles. For three decades (1970s-1990s), she was a prolific intellectual contributor. Among the key themes she addressed were the necessity for a Brazilian strategy of active presence in

the South Atlantic and the importance of participating in the occupation of Antarctica. [...] (Mattos, 2002, p.79).

She was among the first to argue for Brazil's claim to a presence on the Antarctic continent, citing the continent's vast mineral and water resources. Her stance was based on what she termed the "Confrontation Theory."¹ In January 1982, the Brazilian Navy officially established the Brazilian Antarctic Program (PROANTAR), which is currently managed by the Interministerial Commission for the Resources of the Sea (CIRM). This was achieved by acquiring the Danish icebreaker *Thala Dan*, which was later renamed *Baron of Teffé*. In the same year, Brazil undertook its inaugural expedition to Antarctica, known as "Operation Antarctica I."

Similarly, through countless works, she initiated Brazil's awakening to the strategic importance of the South Atlantic in the context of hemispheric security. Professor Therezinha de Castro sought to promote the maritime mentality and the geostrategic importance of the South Atlantic, stressing the need for closer relations with the countries of the Southern Cone.

It emphasizes the Atlantic as the "most intercontinental of oceans," serving as a maritime space between the African, American, and Antarctic continents, with three corridors or "interconnecting oceanic passages." These are formed by the Natal-Dakar strait (a direct route linking the Americas, Africa, and Europe), the Drake, Beagle, and Magellan Straits (a natural connection between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans), and the Cape Passage (linking the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean and the Americas to Africa and Asia) (Castro, 1996).

The works of Professor Therezinha de Castro clearly reflect a nationalist perspective. Her publications include: *José Bonifácio e a União Nacional* (José Bonifácio and the National Union, 1984); *O Brasil no Mundo Atual - Posicionamento e Diretrizes* (Brazil in the Current World - Positioning and Guidelines, 1982); *Brasil: da Amazônia ao Prata* (Brazil: From the Amazon to the Prata, 1983); *Retrato do Brasil* (A Portrait of Brazil, 1986); *Nossa América: Geopolítica Comparada* (Our America: Comparative Geopolitics, 1994); *Rumo à Amazônia* (Towards the Amazon, 1998); and her seminal work *Geopolítica: Princípios, Meios e Fins* (Geopolitics: Principles, Means, and Ends), written in 1999.

A distinctly political and actively nationalist figure, as evidenced in her own definition of geopolitics:

Converted into the geographical consciousness of the State,

1 The Confrontation Theory conceived by Therezinha de Castro and disclosed in the *Revista do Clube Militar* (Military Club Magazine) in April/June 1956, with subsequent transcription by the *Boletim Geográfico* (Geographic Bulletin) in November/December of the same year, emphasized the political and strategic importance of the Antarctic continent.

Geopolitics can provide services to the causes of war as well as to those of peace, provided that it is properly formalized. Thus, it will be able to draw up goals for good government, basing its guidelines in the sector of integration, in the systematic use of its space and position (Castro, 1999, p. 389).

Her nationalism is often attributed to her father, General Fábio de Castro, a prominent military figure. However, this article aims to explore aspects of her maternal lineage and other influences that extend beyond the main ones typically recognized. We aim at showing that she was embedded in a broader nationalist family context, extending well beyond her father. Notably, her great-aunt embroidered the first flag of republican Brazil.

The first part of the article undertakes a historical reconstruction of her family, tracing lineages and establishing connections between relatives over time. This involved analyzing various historical records, such as birth, marriage, and death certificates, parish records, censuses, and other documents that provide insights into individuals' life trajectories. Additionally, oral sources were used. These documentary sources were analyzed in Ferreira's thesis (2021), which focused on narratives that portray the life of Dona Yayá as representative of the way of life in the now-extinct Imbuhy Village, located in the fishing neighborhood of Jurujuba, Niterói-RJ, inhabited since at least 1863.

Ferreira's thesis was further developed in subsequent articles *Ferreira*, (2022); *Ferreira*, (2023); and *Ferreira et al.* (2023). The first paper explores how combining written sources with oral testimony serves as a creative approach to finding answers that written records alone could not provide.

The second one examines oral testimony as a corrective to written sources, lending greater credibility to oral accounts and thereby reconstructing the web of family relationships surrounding the embroiderer of the first flag of republican Brazil, the sister of Joana, who has only now been identified as the grandmother of Therezinha de Castro².

The records were instrumental in reconstructing family history, establishing connections between relatives, and understanding how historical events shaped the family structure of Therezinha de Castro.

Following this analysis, we will proceed to examine your contribution to ESG. Additionally, we will investigate how this institution has sustained the memory of this significant geopolitical event over time. Our theoretical framework is informed by the works of Halbwachs and Worcman, who conceptualize memory as a contested terrain for reinterpreting the past and reinforcing contemporary identities.

2 Information that was raised orally from Fabio Furtado Pereira, great-great-grandson of "old" Manoel Ignácio de Simas, of whom Therezinha was great-great-granddaughter.

Furthermore, it can be argued that there is no more contentious area of debate than that between oral testimony and written sources. Those engaged with written sources tend to adopt a skeptical stance towards oral sources, and conversely, those engaged with oral history methodology do not always adhere to the requisite standards for corroborating the veracity of statements in written sources. In a recent study, *Ferreira et al.* (2023) demonstrated the reliability of oral sources by successfully resolving a family mystery through oral testimony. This involved the maternal ancestors of Therezinha de Castro, whose history was obscured by inconsistencies in the records. Trebitsch (1994, p. 23) emphasized that oral history “*rescues from oblivion what official history has buried [...]*”

2 GENEALOGY AS A RESEARCH TOOL

We have chosen to use genealogy to reconstruct the family context of Therezinha de Castro, starting with a small approach to her direct family, focusing on the paternal influence, going through some of her experiences, and trying to complement it with an effective contribution on the maternal ancestors, so far not considered.

It is not our intention in this article to make a theoretical analysis of genealogical research, but it is important to show what our starting point is. It is from this point that the genealogical tree of an individual can be constructed, which:

[...] serves to designate the graphical determination of the ancestry of a family from a common trunk. By analogy to the single trunk of the tree, from which are forked the branches that form its canopy, as graphically so is represented the ancestry of the person, that is, its genealogy (Árvore [...], 2009).

Weigel (2007) expands the definition of genealogy beyond the simple study of kinship to include the history of symbolism, iconography, and rhetorical practices. According to the author, it includes recording systems and cultural techniques used to convey knowledge about families, races, species, or the succession of life over time.

The historian D’Assunção Barros, developing his work on the so-called “genealogical operations” carried out by “genealogists”, states that such practices were known since antiquity and increased, especially in the Middle Ages and in the early Modern Age, especially in aristocratic circles, where the knowledge of an individual’s insertion into a given lineage or the crossing of lines proved to be of vital importance for the social identity of the noble subject. (Barros 2013, p.146 *apud* Maciel e Maciel, 2022).

In recent years, tracing family trees has gained significant prominence, largely due to easier access to digital resources and advanced technology that enable more extensive and detailed exploration of family backgrounds. Specialized online platforms³ now allow users to connect to historical records – such as birth, marriage, and death certificates, parish records, and census data – and collaborate with distant relatives. This trend not only aids in uncovering family roots but also fosters a deeper understanding of personal and cultural history.

2.1 THE DIRECT FAMILY CONTEXT OF A REPUBLICAN AND NATIONALIST WOMAN

The family context is the environment in which the individual receives their values and belief. It is there where such values and beliefs are formed and where individuals learn to socialize. Therezinha de Castro was born in Rio de Janeiro on December 22, 1930. She was the daughter of General Fábio de Castro and Mrs. Nedyr de Castro. Her nationalism is attributed to her father, a career military man. She lived part of her childhood in Rio Grande do Sul. Penha (2021, p. 48) points out that:

She felt inclined to study geography when she participated with her father in an event of hoisting the Brazilian flag in the town of Uruguaiana, on the border with Argentina. In that historical context of the Second World War, Brazil had inclined itself to the side of the United States and was living through a strong geopolitical rivalry with Argentina, which had maintained its links with Germany. The feeling of being on the “right side” of the frontier motivated the future geographer to cultivate nationalism and, at the same time, to defend Western values that, afterwards, would permeate all of her scientific production.

The fact of being the daughter of a general may have contributed to the formation of Therezinha de Castro’s personality and facilitated her access to some of these institutions, as well as to the Military Club.

This paternal side has already been extensively examined in the articles⁴ that address the geographer’s biography. However, the impact on her development, character, and pursuits can integrate familial, cultural, social class, and environmental elements with genetic factors.

3 Some sites that assemble family trees stand out: My Heritage; FamilySearch, Ancestry and Family Tree - Gen

4 Articles that deal with the influence of the father are frequently dealt with in the geographer’s biography. Check out: Penha (2021) and Dictionary of Geographers, GeoBrasil - UERJ. Available at: http://www.grupogeobrasil.uerj.br/dicionario_de_geografos.php. Accessed: 17 July 2024.

The question of what is inherited and what is assimilated remains unanswered. Each subject assigns meaning to their origins, experiences, and interpersonal relationships in a unique manner.

In order to gain further insight into the familial context that shaped Therezinha de Castro and may have contributed to her becoming a seminal figure in geopolitics, we will now turn our attention to her maternal family. It is possible that the defense of Brazilian interests and the nationalism that drove it may have even deeper roots, anchored in a republican and abolitionist family context.

2.2 THE UNKNOWN MATERNAL GENEALOGY OF THEREZINHA DE CASTRO

Nedyr de Castro, Therezinha's mother, was the daughter of José Siqueira de Campos and Joana Simas de Campos. Joana, Therezinha's maternal grandmother, was the sister of Flora Simas de Carvalho, better known as Dona Yayá, a woman who, at the age of 16, embroidered the first flag of Republican Brazil in 1889. Therezinha was the great-niece of the embroiderer.

The importance of this episode lies not only in the fact that Therezinha de Castro's great-aunt was associated with the national symbols because of her participation in the establishment of the Republic through her work, but also in the family context that led to it. It was not just anyone who was chosen to embroider the flag, but someone who was in line with republican, abolitionist values, and who was imbued with these values because she belonged to a military family.

According to Draft Resolution No. 81/2015 authored by the cabinet of Deputy Waldeck Carneiro of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Rio Janeiro, Manoel Ignacio de Simas Filho, father of Joana, embroiderer and great-grandfather of Therezinha de Castro, was military and lived in São Cristóvão, where his family lived. He drew very well, had a contentious posture, and used his ability to make cartoons criticizing the power of the time. Because of his humanitarian convictions, he would have been politically persecuted.

In an interview, granted on October 18, 2016, the grand-niece of Therezinha de Castro's grandmother, Mrs. Lucy Vasconcellos Chaves, 97 years old, the source of the information in the Project, reaffirmed that Manoel Ignacio de Simas Filho was a revolutionary and stressed that he belonged to a large family of soldiers, but denied that he was a military.

Ferreira et al. (2023) points out that this confusion is due to the fact that Manoel Ignacio de Simas Filho, was the son of a military man of the same name, the "elderly" Manoel Ignacio de Simas, with Francisca Romana de Simas, and that the couple would have registered the grandchildren: Joana - the grandmother of Therezinha de Castro- (1869), Dona Yayá (1873), Olympia (1974) and Antônio (1877).

Ferreira *et al.* (2023, p.19) points out that:

Manoel Ignacio de Simas (1804-1887) and Francisca Romana da Pureza (1818- ?) were married in Nossa Senhora do Desterro, Florianópolis, on September 8, 1833. She, a 15-year-old girl, would have gone on to call herself Francisca Romana de Simas, and he, already the widower of Anna Ricarda, as a wedding seat, at the age of 28.

The marriage registers of “elderly” Manoel Ignacio de Simas, great-great-grandfather of Therezinha de Castro, points out his profession and some dates that lead us to his and his wife’s reproductive age:

Francisca Romana da Pureza, born on Feb. 8th, 1818 and baptized Dec. 20th, 1818, married on Sep. 8th, 1833, to Major Manoel Ignacio de Simas, son of Domingos Antonio de Simas and D. Delfina Rosa, whose place of birth was Pico Island. They took up residence in Paranaguá. (Piazza, 1982, p. 76).

Negrão⁵, (1945b, p.137-142) states that the couple had eight children: 1- João Thimoteo de Simas (1834-1873); 2- Francisco Ignacio de Simas (1836-?); 3- Manoel Ignacio de Simas Filho (1838-?); 4- Fernando Machado de Simas (1839-1840); 5- Maria Machado de Simas 6- Flora Machado de Simas (1842-1850); 7- Fernando Machado de Simas (1851-1916); and 8- Flora Machado de Simas (1853-?).

Since “elderly” Manoel Ignacio de Simas married, at 28 years old Francisca Romana da Pureza, 15 years old and she had the first child at 16 and the last at 35 years old, which matches the current data on Brazilian female fertility corresponds to the age group from 10 to 49 years old and the peak of female reproductive life, which is between 20 and 30 years old, having the woman conditions to become pregnant until the age of 37, when it gets more difficult.

These dates make it clear that the couple could not be biological father and mother of the generation that includes Joana (1869), Dona Yayá (1873), Olympia (1974) and Antônio (1877), since for such the reproductive age of the wife of the “elderly” Manoel Ignacio de Simas would need to have occurred between 51 and 61 years.

This question also contributed to Ferreira et al. (2023) came to believe that there is a generation suppressed in the family tree between the “elderly” Manoel Ignacio de Simas and his wife and the generation of Joana, the grandmother of Therezinha de Castro.

The marriage between Therezinha’s maternal great-great-grandparents was a union of military families, as, according to Piazza (1982, p. 73-76), he, the son of Domingos Antonio de Simas and D. Delfina Rosa, natives of Pico Island in the

5 The wife of Manoel Ignacio de Simas is named by Negrão (1945b, p.137) as Francisca Romana Machado de Simas.

Azores Archipelago, Portugal, is referred to sometimes as Captain and sometimes as Major in various publications. She was the daughter of Francisca Romana Pureza de Souza (daughter of Lieutenant Francisco Machado de Souza and Ana Francisca Flora de Faria) and the primary school teacher João Lopes Falcão, who held the rank of Major in the National Guard and was one of the seven children of Colonel Paulo Lopes Falcão and Maria da Conceição Costa.

The “elderly” Manoel Ignacio de Simas was regarded as an admirable man and model of honesty, as described in his necrology in the *Gazeta Nacional*, of December 7, 1887, on the occasion of his death, at the age of 83:

He came to Brazil before independence. Taking the place of scribe in the corvette ‘Itaparica’ that took part in the expedition against the dictator Rosas, he was with all his companions exiled to Patagonia. Among the prisoners was Joaquim José Ignácio, who later became a noted seafarer. Manoel Ignácio de Simas founded in Paranaguá the Society for the Defender of Brazilian Independence and later, with Father Gregório José Lopes Nunes and Manoel Francisco Correia (father of the current Senator Correia) and others, founded the Liberal Party of the Paraná Province. He received decorations from the First Empire and was unbreakable in his political faith until the last moments of his life. He was cited as one of the best models of honesty and was always esteemed and respected even by his political opponents (*Gazeta Nacional*, 7 December 1887).

After his death in late 1887, when there were records of testimonies of Therezinha de Castro’s great-aunt, Dona Yayá, reporting that in 1889 her father had indicated her to Marshal Deodoro to embroider the first republican national pavilion, he could only be Manoel Ignácio de Simas Filho.

Ferreira et al. (2023), points out that, Manoel Ignacio de Simas Filho had seven brothers, all born in Paranaguá. Since only João Thimoteo de Simas (1834-1873)¹⁵, Fernando Machado de Simas (1851-1916) and Flora Machado de Simas (1853- ?)¹⁶ reached adulthood, another three died as children and there is still one of which not much information is available. Among them was Fernando Machado de Simas, who after the course in Humanities, graduated in pharmacy from the College of Rio de Janeiro in 1874. He worked in Antonina and later in Paranaguá-PR, where, according to Negrão (1945a), he was an ardent propagandist of abolitionism and of the Republic, founding with others the newspaper, which he directed as a cultured polemist and intromate.

He married Helena Correia Gutierrez in January 1882 in Paranaguá. Negrão (1945a), points out that the couple had seven children, but the family states in

testimony that there were only four: Otto Gutierrez de Simas (Paranaguá, 1882 - Rio de Janeiro, 1968), Hugo Gutierrez de Simas (Paranaguá, 1883 - Rio de Janeiro, 1941), Raul Gutierrez Simas (Paranaguá, 1884 - Rio de Janeiro, 1952) and Loé Gutierrez de Simas Petrópolis, 1889 - Rio de Janeiro, 1966).

Otto, Army General and civil engineer; Hugo was illustrated jurist, journalist, professor emeritus, founder of the University of Paraná (now UFPR), Attorney of the Republic, Substitute Minister of the TSE in 1932, Attorney General of Justice in the State of Paraná and Judge of the TJ of that State; Raul and Loé were Navy Officers, both Sea and War Captains with vast military trajectory. Only the last son of Fernando Simas, Loé, was born in Petrópolis, where the family would have moved, in 1887.

The family moved to Rio de Janeiro. From the place of the birth registration of the children it is possible to have an idea of the family trajectory. In addition, there are also oral reports about the passage of Joana's father (and children), brother of Fernando Machado de Simas, through Petrópolis, in the service of the Imperial Family.

3 TRAINING AND PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES OF AN INTELLECTUAL PERSON

It is notorious how Therezinha de Castro employed her social prestige and eloquence to place her geopolitical studies as essential to national security. The geographer, historian and geopolitician has countless characteristics that allow her to be classified as intellectual, not only for being a woman of letters, but for having been a great nationalist. As Sirinelli points out (2006), intellectuals are men of thought who refuse to be confined to specific fields of knowledge and who throw themselves into more general causes, not only being a creator or cultural mediator, but it is indispensable to be politically engaged. It is in this sense that we can analyze Therezinha de Castro as an intellectual.

For Reis (2000), the most important is the function that intellectuals play in society, since they take on a collective perspective focusing on the interest of the community, and this perspective can be reactionary, conservative, reformist or revolutionary. This is how one understands that the intellectual is linked to the idea of intervention in the public space concerned with the organization and the destiny of his country. Therezinha de Castro was also a lecturer at the Command and General Staff Schools of the Army of the Air Force, at the Naval War School, at the Air Force and Army Officers' Training Schools and at the Brazilian War College.

The pioneering work of a civilian woman in the area of security and defense was highlighted, stressing the importance of integration between civilians and the military.

At the end of the 1940s, she started the History and Geography faculty at the University of Brazil (now UFRJ), a period in which the discipline of geopolitics did not yet exist.

Professor Therezinha de Castro entered in 1952 as a geographer at the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), where she remained for 27 years and was part of the National Geography Council; she was also a professor at the Pedro II College for 28 years, for which she wrote works such as *Brasil da Amazônia ao Prata* (Brazil from the Amazon to the Prata) (1983) and *Geopolítica: Princípios, Meios e Fins* (Geopolitics: Principles, Means and Purposes) (1999) and the extinct Pedro II Humanities College (FAHUPE); she was also a lecturer at the Command and General Staff Schools of the Air Force Army Naval War School, Air Force and Army Officers' Training Schools and the Brazilian War College, where he played a prominent role.

Therezinha de Castro's entry into the ESG was, without a doubt, a crucial milestone in her career, as it enabled her to engage closely with military doctrines and facilitated connections with other significant figures in Brazilian geopolitics, such as Golbery do Couto e Silva⁶ and Carlos Meira Mattos⁷.

Her relationship with the ESG began even before she enrolled in the CAEPE, which is somewhat unusual. Her first lecture published at the School is dated June 2, 1986, under the title Geopolitics of Brazil. In 1993, she joined the Permanent Corps of the ESG in the Division of International Affairs. The following year, she completed the Advanced Studies Course (CAEPE) and published her final thesis, Brazil and the *O Brasil e a 'Nova Ordem Mundial* (New World Order) leaving a body of theoretical work focused on Brazilian Geopolitics.

Additionally, she served as a lecturer for the Delegations of the Association of Alumni of the Brazilian War College (ADESG), which were spread throughout the country. In 1997, she was awarded the title of Grand Master of the Order of Military Merit by then-president Fernando Henrique Cardoso. She was frequently invited to deliver lectures on geopolitics in various countries.

6 Golbery do Couto e Silva (August 21, 1911 - September 18, 1987) was a Brazilian general and geopolitician. He became recognized as one of the main theoreticians of the doctrine of national security, elaborated in the 1950s by the Brazilian military of the Brazilian War College (ESG), being one of the creators of the National Intelligence Service (SNI). For more information, see: RAMOS, Pliny of Abreu. Biographical entry Golbery do Couto e Silva. In: Brazilian Historical Biographical Dictionary, CPDOC, FGV.

7 Carlos de Meira Mattos (São Paulo, July 23, 1913). He ascended to the generalate in 1968 and in 1969 was appointed commander of the Military Academy of Black Needles (AMAN) As General-of-Division in 1973, he was named Vice-Chief of the former General Staff of the Armed Forces (EMFA) and then in 1975 Vice-Director of the Inter-American Defense College. Once in the reserve, he can devote himself fully to his second passion - the first was the Army - literary production aimed at geopolitics and military strategy. He left several works in the fields of Geopolitics and Military Strategy, responsible for the definition of Permanent National Objectives (ONP) and the application of National Power, respectively. In geopolitics, he knew how few could study, examine and analyze the interaction between geography and politics, with autochthonous solutions for national problems, all endowed with a vision of the future. Website: Meira Mattos Collection. Available at: <http://www.ebrevistas.eb.mil.br/RMM/QFMM> Accessed: July 17, 2024

4 THEREZINHA DE CASTRO AT ESG - institutional memory

Halbwachs (2006) argues that memory is knowledge that is built socially and created collectively, going beyond the individual memories of each person. It involves the rescue and preservation of the social past, lived together by society. Our memories are collective and are remembered by others, even when they are events or objects that only we experience, because we are never truly isolated. Halbwachs (2006) highlights two essential features of remembrance: recognition, which implies rescuing past experiences already experienced, and reconstruction, as these experiences are reinterpreted and integrated in a present context, and can gain new meanings. Thus, memory establishes a link between the past and the present.

It should be stressed that all memory is selective, which means that an institution also chooses certain facts to highlight. "It is in the type of narrative that companies and social groups forge themselves and create their identity (Worcmán, 2004, p. 25)", that is, it is the stories selected to be disseminated that will show their identity to society.

ESG has always sought to honor and keep alive the legacy of geographer Therezinha de Castro, who died on February 16, 2000 during her participation in a congress at the National Defense Institute in Portugal. In the two years following her death, the School reprinted several of her works to recall her significant contribution to geopolitics. The Geographer collaborated a lot with the School and this item aims to demonstrate the institutional recognition of ESG.

On August 12, 2003, a building bearing her name was inaugurated at ESG's premises. This building currently houses the Administration Department, the Ranch and the Colonel Montenegro Memory Room.

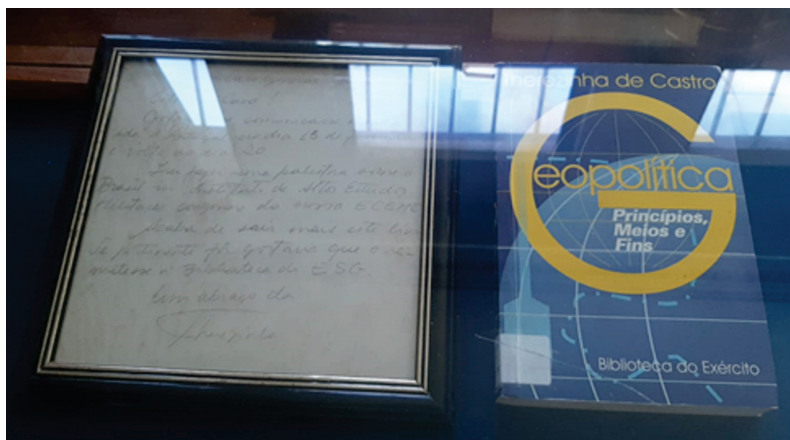
Twelve years after her death, the *Revista da Escola Superior de Guerra* (Magazine of the Brazilian War College) published, in 2012 (Revista da Escola Superior de Guerra, 2012, pp. 16-32) an edition containing some of his works: *América do Sul: Vocaç o Geopol tica* (South America: Geopolitical Vocation).

In 2022, the professor was also remembered in the Exhibition *ESG 73 years: a walk through history*, shows related to the celebration of the 73 years of the School, which began on August 17 of that year, having been made available to the public in the Hall of Memory Colonel Montenegro.

At the time she shared the stand with Golbery and Meira Mattos, as one, among the three important geopoliticians who passed through the School, the only woman. And that, by itself, already has a weight.

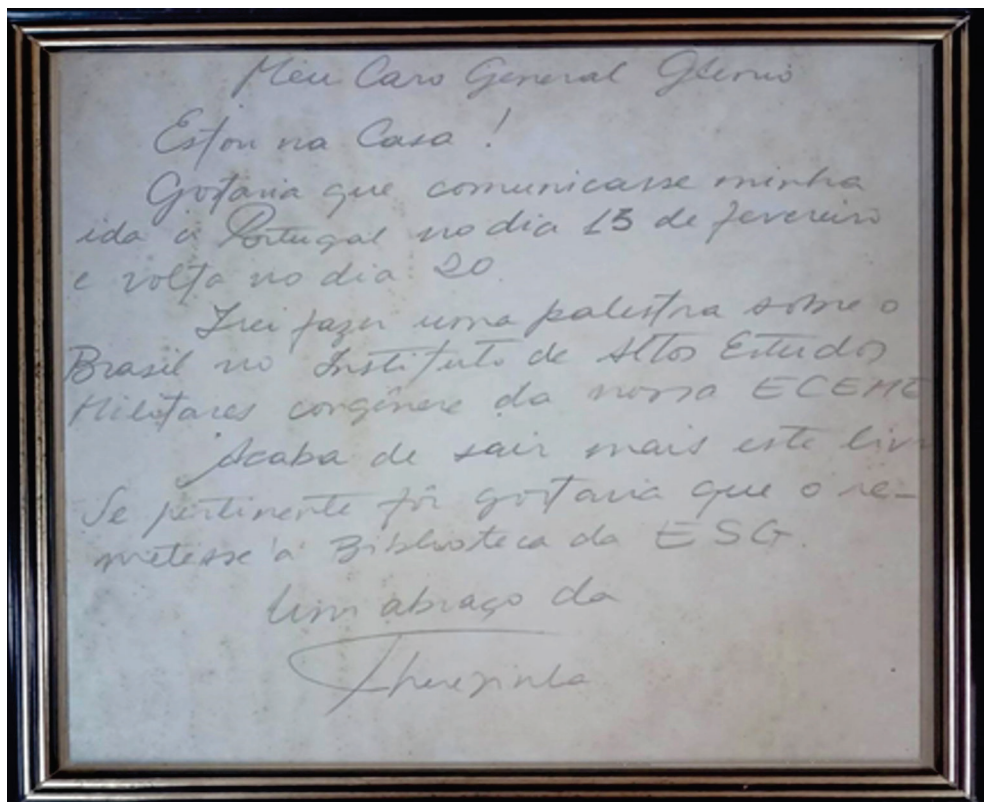
In the exhibition, a copy of the professor's last publication, offered by her to ESG, was made available, along with her last communication with the School, a composition that was made possible thanks to the process of organizing the collection, which began in 2015 and is still ongoing, and to historical research.

Illustration 1- exhibit of Therezinha de Castro's last book, as received by ESG Library



Source: Ferreira (2022).

Illustration 2 - last communication of Therezinha de Castro with the Brazilian War College



Source: Brasil (2000)

In the note, written in early 2000, she informed General Glenio that she would soon travel to Portugal. She would go on the 13th and would be back on February 20th, and would offer the School her last book, which had just left (1999), so that it could be added to the collection of the ESG Library, but her plans were not fulfilled, and on February 16th she died in Portugal.

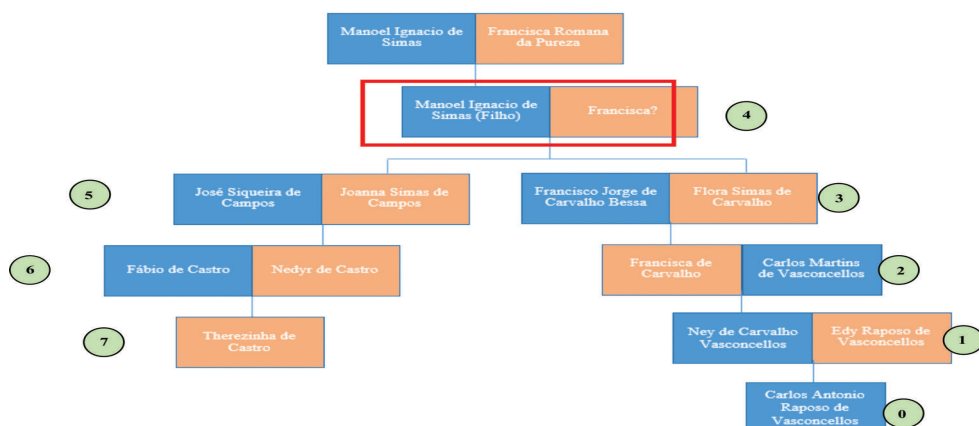
Recently, in 2023, another tribute was made to Professor Therezinha de Castro with the inauguration of the Therezinha de Castro Institute (ITC) at the ESG. The Institute incorporates the former structure of the Research and Graduate Center (CPPG), including the ESG Press, research labs in International Security and Defense, the Graduate Program in International Security and Defense (PPGSID), and other departments.

In addition to these honors, the ESG has consistently sought to preserve Therezinha's work in its archives. Its database contains 171 publications authored by her, including the aforementioned thesis. The institution's collection extends beyond written works, comprising audiovisual materials, including some recorded lectures by the geographer.

What was unexpected, however, was that, twenty-four years after her passing, a family member would still be present at the Brazilian War College. This individual is Carlos Antonio Raposo de Vasconcellos, who was unaware of his kinship with Therezinha de Castro. Commander Raposo is the great-grandson of Therezinha's great-aunt, Dona Yayá, known for embroidering the first flag of republican Brazil.

Manoel Ignacio de Simas Filho, father of Joana (Therezinha's grandmother) and of the aforementioned embroidery, is the first common ancestor to appear between Therezinha de Castro and Carlos Antônio Raposo de Vasconcellos. He is Therezinha's great-grandfather and Commander Raposo's great-great-great-grandfather, as can be seen in the family tree below:

Figure 01 - Family Tree indicating the common ancestor of Therezinha and Commander Raposo



Source: Authors' work (2024). Produced from data extracted from FamilySearch, Geni, Piazza (1982) and family information.

From a legal point of view, what we conventionally call a first cousin is a fourth degree collateral kinship, starting from zero in one cousin, going all the way up to the common ancestor and down to the other cousin. It is possible to carry out this calculation to arrive at the kinship between Carlos Antônio Raposo de Vasconcellos and Therezinha de Castro, which from the conventional point of view would give a fourth degree of kinship and from the legal point of view, a seventh degree of kinship. They would then be seventh cousins.

In spite of all the forms of tributes that ESG has already made in memory of Therezinha de Castro, never looked at the whole in search of traces of her. It was never thought that the values of his family could still be present in school in such a palpable way, through a relative.

5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This article was written by two researchers who, after passing through the ESG (Brazilian War College) and serving there as military personnel for eight years, sought to honor its history through the lens of Institutional Memory, aiming to embed this history within the identity and sense of belonging of both civilians and military personnel associated with the institution.

This commemorative article is part of the anniversary issue of the *Revista da Escola Superior de Guerra* (Journal of the Brazilian War College). It begins with the family relationships and social connections of Therezinha de Castro, which ultimately led her to engage with several institutions, including the ESG. The authors start from her more well-known paternal and formative relationships, easily documented in various writings about her, and introduce a lesser-known familial aspect: her maternal lineage, through which they uncovered a lineage of military figures from the Army who held abolitionist, nationalist, and republican convictions.

The focus is on Therezinha as an intellectually, institutionally, and politically engaged individual, committed to national interests – a commitment that led her to explore regional themes that established her as one of Brazil's three foremost geopolitical thinkers.

The article concludes with a tribute to Therezinha de Castro's legacy within the ESG, highlighting several commemorative initiatives undertaken in her memory since her passing in 2000. It closes by showing that, more than twenty years after her death, traces of her influence still remain within the Permanent Corps, symbolically tying back to the starting point of the article through Commander Raposo, Deputy of the Political Affairs Division (DAP), who had no previous awareness of his kinship with her.

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**BRAZILIAN WAR COLLEGE: 75 years contributing to knowledge in Security,
Development and Defense**

*ESCOLA SUPERIOR DE GUERRA: 75 anos contribuindo com o conhecimento em
Segurança, Desenvolvimento e Defesa*

*ESCUELA SUPERIOR DE GUERRA: 75 años contribuyendo al conocimiento en
Seguridad, Desarrollo y Defensa*

Jacintho Maia Neto*

ABSTRACT

The Brazilian War College (ESG), in its 75 years of existence, has contributed to the production of knowledge in the areas of national security, development and defense. This work sought to present and analyze how this contribution has materialized since its creation in 1949, based on documentary and bibliographical analysis carried out, first, with emphasis on the eleven regulations that guided the organizational and academic structure of the School and, later, on the guidelines that regulated its various courses. With this aim, we walked along this legal framework, extracting the ideas and actions that guided the construction of knowledge, its relationships with the structure and organizational environment, also seeking to understand the impact that the external environment had on the School and its reactions based on the materialization of structures and courses. Finally, the materialization of scientific research and *stricto sensu* postgraduate studies at the Institute Therezinha de Castro is presented.

Keywords: Brazilian War College (ESG). Postgraduate studies. ESG courses. Therezinha de Castro Institute (ITC).

RESUMO

A Escola Superior de Guerra (ESG) vem contribuindo, ao longo de seus 75 anos, com a produção de conhecimento nas áreas de Segurança, Desenvolvimento e Defesa nacionais. Este trabalho buscou apresentar e analisar como essa contribuição foi

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se materializando desde sua criação em 1949, com base na análise documental e bibliográfica feita, inicialmente, com ênfase nos onze regulamentos que balizaram a estrutura organizacional e acadêmica da Escola e, posteriormente, nas diretrizes que regularam os seus diversos cursos. Com esse intuito, caminhou-se ao longo desse marco legal, extraíndo as ideias e as ações que nortearam a construção do conhecimento, suas relações com a estrutura e o ambiente organizacional, buscando entender, também, os impactos que o ambiente externo provocava na Escola e suas reações com base na materialização de estruturas e cursos. Finalmente, apresenta-se a materialização da pesquisa científica e da pós-graduação stricto sensu no Instituto Therezinha de Castro.

Palavras-chave: Escola Superior de Guerra (ESG). Pós-Graduação. Cursos da ESG. Instituto Therezinha de Castro (ITC).

RESUMEN

La Escuela Superior de Guerra (ESG) ha contribuido, a lo largo de sus 75 años, a la producción de conocimiento en las áreas de Seguridad, Desarrollo y Defensa Nacional. Este trabajo buscó presentar y analizar cómo se ha materializado este aporte desde su creación en 1949, a partir del análisis documental y bibliográfico realizado, inicialmente, con énfasis en los once reglamentos que guiaron la estructura organizacional y académica de la Escuela y, posteriormente, sobre los lineamientos que regulaban sus distintas carreras. Con este objetivo, caminamos por este marco legal, extrayendo las ideas y acciones que guiaron la construcción del conocimiento, sus relaciones con la estructura y el ambiente organizacional, buscando también comprender los impactos que el ambiente externo tuvo en la Escuela y sus reacciones. a partir de la materialización de estructuras y cursos. Finalmente, se presenta la materialización de la investigación científica y de los estudios de posgrado estricto sensu en el Instituto Therezinha de Castro.

Palabras clave: Escuela Superior de Guerra (ESG). Postgrado. Cursos de la ESG. Instituto Therezinha de Castro (ITC).

1 THE BEGINNING

The foundation of the Brazilian War College (Escola Superior de Guerra – ESG) traces back to the initial ambition to create a course uniting officers from all three military branches in a Advanced-level educational institution. This idea originated in 1942 with the Army's High Command course for generals and colonels (Arruda, 2013). However, Brazil's entry into World War II delayed further development of this initiative.

The proposal resurfaced in 1948 after a Brazilian delegation, led by the Chief of the General Staff, General Salvador César Obino, visited the United States. During this visit, they observed the Industrial College of the Armed Forces¹ and the National War College (NWC)² at Fort Lesley J. McNair in Washington, D.C., which inspired the creation of a similar institution in Brazil. This visit catalyzed the establishment of an American mission to assist in implementing a Brazilian counterpart, ultimately resulting in the creation of the ESG.

It is interesting to present the initial motivations for the establishment of the National War College, as explained at the time by Lieutenant General Leonard T. Gerow, President of the Council who proposed it:

The College is concerned with grand strategy and the utilization of resources necessary to implement that strategy...Its graduates will exercise a great influence on the formulation of national and foreign policy in both peace and war (National War College, 2024).

The concern for studying a comprehensive national strategy that involved military and civilian leaders from the upper echelons of the Armed Forces, the State Department, and various government agencies gradually took shape over time, culminating in the mission of the National War College, which is:

[...] educate joint, interagency, and international leaders and warfighters by conducting a senior-level course of study in national security strategy, preparing graduates to function at the highest levels of strategic leadership in a complex, competitive, and rapidly evolving strategic environment (National War College, 2024).

Thus, there is an intrinsic relationship between that school and the initial ideas that guided the creation of the Brazilian War College. However, they were not totally similar, as then-Division General Oswaldo Cordeiro de Farias pointed out:

We were born under the shadow of the National War College
[...] And we found, from the outset, that daughter of the War

1 The Industrial College of the Armed Forces was one of the first schools to focus on industrial mobilization for military purposes. To learn more, visit: <https://es.ndu.edu/About/Mission/>

2 The National War College was established in 1946, in the post-war environment, with the primary purpose of establishing a joint education for the American Armed Forces, with a focus on studying a major strategy. For more information, visit: <https://nwc.ndu.edu/>

College and proud of her ancestry, had our Brazilian War College, from the beginning, try to achieve the purposes of her American counterpart by roads other than the trails by her (Farias, 1949 *apud* Salomão; Vianna, 2021, p. 224).

On October 22, 1948, through Decree No. 25,705, the rules for the organization of ESG were established (Brasil, 1948):

Art. 1. The Advanced Command Course referred to by the arts. 25, 30 and 31 of Decree-Law No. 4,130, of February 26, 1942 is extended to officers of the Navy and Aeronautics and will be given under the direction of the General Staff.

Art. 2. The General Staff shall organize, for the purposes of Article 1, the Brazilian War College [...].

Art. 3. The General Staff will submit to the approval of the President of the Republic, within 120 days, the Rules of the Brazilian War College.

In May 1949, in a lecture given at the General Staff School, General Cordeiro de Farias, after speaking about the post-World War II environment, the changes that had occurred in the United States and the creation of the NWC, began to present what would become the Brazilian War College, centralizing the objectives of the “National War Academy, the Industrial School and a third American educational institution, essentially military, dealing with issues related to the combined operations of the different branches of the Armed Forces”. (Farias, 2003, p. 157).

The ESG would be “a mirror of the modern concept of national security: it is not only a military institute, nor only a civilian organization, but a mixed center of studies - military and civilian - and where, ultimately, it will be about the defense of the citizen”. (Farias, 1949, pp. 157-158).

Law 785, of August 20, 1949 (Brazil, 1949), would make the ESG official in definitive terms, expanding its scope to include also civilians of relevant activity in the national policy. The ESG has evolved to consolidate the knowledge necessary for the exercise of managerial functions and the planning of national security.

During its creation, the ESG was influenced by a post-World War II global environment, in which Brazil aligned itself with the Western bloc and prepared for possible new conflicts. This perspective led to an emphasis on military affairs and the designation of the school as one of Advanced Education for War (“Superior de Guerra”, in Portuguese, as mentioned by Arruda, 2013).

Over the decades, the ESG has adapted to the political and structural changes

in the country, maintaining structuring courses such as the Advanced Course of War, later renamed the Advanced Course of Policy and Strategy (Curso de Altos Estudos de Política e Estratégia –CAEPE), and the General Staff Course of the Armed Forces, later renamed the Joint Staff Course (Curso de Estado-Maior Conjunto – CEMC).

The introduction of ESG into the graduate environment was delayed, with the first significant attempt occurring in the 1970s. In 1973, a proposal for a Master's degree in "Studies of Brazilian Problems" was approved, but not implemented at ESG, and was later transferred to the State University of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ).

Subsequently, ESG expanded its academic work, transforming its regular courses into specialization courses, based on the Interministerial Normative Order No. 1/MD/MEC, of August 26, 2015 (Brasil, 2015), and a Master's Program in International Security and Defense, recognized by the Foundation Coordination for the Improvement of Advanced Education Personnel (Fundação Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior – CAPES) in 2018.

We will see below, this trajectory that has made ESG, since its inception, have been a pillar in the formation of military and civilian leaders, continuously adapting to national and international demands. Allowing the reader to "reflect and understand the construction, transformation and incorporation of human values and actions over time" (Vergara, 2005, p. 130), it is intended to show a part of how this history was constructed, its evolution reflecting the integration of security, development and defense, always with the objective of preparing Brazil for the strategic challenges of the future.

2 ESG SEEN BY ITS LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Since its creation in 1949, the ESG has had eleven regulations that have shaped its structure, regulated its courses, and defined its scope of activity. Initially, it was born with a focus on national security, as evidenced by its objective to "develop and consolidate the knowledge necessary for the exercise of the management functions and for the planning of national security" (Brasil, 1949, art. 1).

This concern for national security was a reflection of the "new" war that was presented during the Second World War, where the national efforts of the countries were used as a whole, and to understand the new complexity of the war it was necessary to use a broader concept than the "traditional concept of defense. And the main mission given to the ESG was to study security within this new concept" (Arruda, 2013, p. 19).

However, the School, considering Brazil's unique characteristics, sought to integrate the idea of Development into National Security studies, particularly from

the 1950s and 1960s, when developmentalism was firmly rooted in the country's economic policy, marked by the relocation of its capital to Brasília.

The Security and Development binomial becomes one of the bases of the formulation of a National Security Policy, becoming materialized in the ESG regulation in 1973 as one of the objectives of the Advanced Course of War (CSG): "Enable civilians and military for the exercise of functions of Direction and Advice, especially of the bodies responsible for the formulation and planning of the National Security and Development Policy", besides "Cooperate in the improvement of a methodology for the formulation and planning of the National Security and Development Policy" (Brasil, 1973).

It is worth highlighting that since its creation law on August 20, 1949, the ESG had as its purpose "to develop and consolidate the knowledge necessary for the exercise of management functions and for the planning of national security" (Brasil, 1949, Art. 1), which has remained until the present day (Brasil, 2006; 2022). At that time, it was understood that a "broad and objective concept of National Security" should be sought to serve as a basis for military and civilian coordination of their actions in favor of the Development and Security of the Country (Arruda, 1983, p. XXIII).

Regarding the current trinomial – Security, Development, and Defense – it began to take shape after the establishment of the Ministry of Defense in 1999. That year, General Théó Espíndola Basto assumed command of the School. Following several cycles of discussions, including the "ESG and its Future" initiative, the "ESG 2000 Program" was launched, comprising five key projects to guide ESG's activities:

- Modernization of Education
- Modernization and Rationalization of Administration
- Foundation
- Cultural Heritage
- Image of ESG (Basto, 2000, p. 26).

Among other proposals, Basto suggested updating the 1996 ESG regulations to replace "Security" with "Defense" and to add "Social Justice," creating a new trinomial: "Defense, Development, and Social Justice." However, this proposal was not incorporated into the 2002 or 2006 regulations. Instead, the trinomial "Security, Development, and Defense" was officially defined and consolidated in ESG regulations starting in 2006.

ESG, throughout its seventy-five years, went through eleven regulations that translated into a legal framework its organizational structure, the definition of courses, the categorization of candidates for each course, as well as the duration and its academic correlations.

In 2009, a new dynamic in relation to the courses is now being carried out, no longer waiting for a forthcoming update of the regulation to modify, cancel or create a course, the Ministry of Defense has begun to publish in the *Diário Oficial da União* (Official Gazette of the Union), based on the proposal of the School, the Guideline for the selection process to the courses of the Brazilian War College (Brasil, 2009).

The years 1948 and 1949 were fruitful for the ESG, beginning with Decree No. 25,705 (Brazil, 1948), which established the “Rules for the Organization of the Brazilian War College” and gave the General Staff a period of 120 (one hundred and twenty) days to submit the “Regulation of the Brazilian War College” for presidential approval. Less than a year later, on August 20, 1949, the Brazilian War College was created by Law No. 785 (Brasil 1949a), under the direct authority of the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, with its first regulation dated September of the same year, in which it was established in Art. 39, that the ESG should function “from the beginning of the year 1950”.

The 1st Regulation (Brasil, 1949b) defined in its Articles 5 and 6 the structure of the School based on the Law of creation:

Article 5 The ESG shall be directly subordinate to the General Staff of the Armed Forces (EMFA) and shall comprise the following bodies:

- a - Direction.
- b - Consultative Committee.
- c - Department of Studies.
- d - Department of Administration.

Art. 6 The School Management is the superior body that guides and coordinates all school activities. It comprises:

- the Command, and
- the Office.

§ 1º The command is exercised by an officer-general corresponding to Lieutenant General rank, assisted by an officer-general of each Force and an equivalent rank representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Brasil, 1949b).

It is observed that there was no position of Deputy Commander or Deputy Director at the time; these roles emerged later. The Assistants directly supported the Command and also acted as liaison officers between ESG and the respective Ministries of the Armed Forces. Additionally, their responsibilities at the School included overseeing the management of the existing courses.

Another striking feature of the first regulation is the definition that the problems to be studied at the School would focus on:

a - National Affairs: Analysis of the basic problems that interest the development of the national potential.

b - International Affairs: Study of foreign policy and its coordination with national security needs. Worldwide trends. International problems, especially those concerning the Western Hemisphere.

c - Military Affairs: Use of combined forces. Determination of the value of the armed forces necessary for the implementation of national policy in peace and war. Strategic planning. National mobilization (Brasil, 1949b, [sic] Art. 3º).

From its inception, the basic structure of the Studies Department and the themes of the School's initial courses were established, continuing until the 1960s. The ESG also became distinguished by the development of a method for analyzing issues related to national security, focusing on "political, economic, diplomatic, and military factors" (Brasil, 1949b, Art. 4).

Interestingly, in its first regulation, while it was stated that the School would begin operating "from the start of the year 1950," there were no instructors who had completed the School's course, as initially required. To address this, the regulation allowed the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces (Estado-Maior das Forças Armadas – EMFA) to "authorize the organization of a course that, under the guidance of the Mission contracted in the United States of America, would take place in 1949" (Brasil, 1949b, Art. 39). This requirement – mandating that instructors must have completed the ESG course – was waived until the end of 1952 and subsequently extended until the end of 1954.

From its inception, the ESG was characterized as a school that had neither students, who were called "trainees" (Brasil, 1949b, art. 38), nor teachers and instructors, since its faculty could be composed of lawyers, diplomats, economists and other personalities, who were later called the Permanent Corps (Arruda, 1983, Brasil, 1961). Subsequently, the Commandant of the School awarded the title of *honoris causa* to personalities who had distinguished themselves by their services to the School (Brasil, 1950).

Thus, everyone who worked on the implementation of the ESG for a year and already held a General Staff course or its equivalent became part of the first graduating class of the Advanced War College (Curso Superior de Guerra) in 1950. This class included 73 trainees, comprising both those involved in ESG's implementation efforts and those who effectively attended the course that year.

In 1951, some former trainees founded the Association of Graduates of the Brazilian War College (Associação dos Diplomados da Escola Superior de Guerra – ADESG), which began to include all individuals who had completed any course at

the ESG. Later, ADESG itself started offering Courses on Policy and Strategy Studies (Cursos de Estudos de Política e Estratégia – CEPE), training over 80,000 participants nationwide through its Regional Delegations over the years.

In March 1954, a new regulation was published, defining the courses to be offered: “the Advanced War Course (Curso Superior de Guerra – CSG), the General Staff and Command Course for the Armed Forces (Curso de Estado-Maior e Comando das Forças Armadas – CEMCFA), and others [...]” (Brasil, 1954, Art. 3).

The 1954 regulation maintained the existing structure but introduced a new organization for the Studies Department, based on the expressions of national power recognized at the time: Political Affairs Division (*Divisão de Assuntos Políticos – DAP*), Psychosocial Affairs Division (*Divisão de Assuntos Psicossociais – DAPS*), Economic Affairs Division (*Divisão de Assuntos Econômicos – DAE*) and Military Affairs Division (*Divisão de Assuntos Militares – DAM*). Additionally, there was an Executive Division responsible for the administrative aspects of the courses, which oversaw the Library, Map Archive, Classified Documents, Periodicals, Translation Services, and Auditoriums.

After 1954, the thematic areas defined in the first regulation were further consolidated as distinct courses. In 1957, the National Mobilization Course was established (Brasil, 1957), followed in 1958 by the Intelligence Course (Brasil, 1958), which were added to the Advanced War Course (1950) and the General Staff and Command Course for the Armed Forces (1953).

Decree No. 45,746, of April 7, 1959 (Brasil, 1959), amended the requirements for the position of School Commander, stipulating that it must be held by a general officer of the highest rank. Subsequently, another amendment contributed to stratifying command functions, assigning a three-star general officer as Deputy Director of Education and Head of the Studies Department – a position previously held by one of the assistants. This role became hierarchically superior to military assistants and operated on a rotational basis among the Armed Forces (Brasil, 1960).

In 1961, the new rules of the School incorporated the changes that occurred in 1957 (National Mobilization Course), 1958 (Information Course), 1959 (commander as general officer of the last post) and 1960 (plus a general officer of the penultimate post as Head of the Studies Department), however, it replaced the “Teaching Directorate” by a “General Directorate of Studies”, being the commander designated as Director General of Studies and the former Sub-Director General of Teaching went on to call himself Subdirector General of Studies, accumulating as Head of the Studies (Brasil, 1961).

The 3rd Regulation also stipulates that the CMN and IC, which had not worked in the previous year, should be reactivated as soon as possible. Meanwhile, in order not to lose the knowledge generated previously, the CSG and the CEMCFA should provide for studies on subjects related to Mobilization and Information.

Two years later, the 4th Regulation was published (Brasil, 1963), formalizing the creation of new courses within the Studies Department. This led to the establishment of the Logistics and Mobilization Affairs Division (Divisão de Assuntos de Logística e Mobilização – DALMob) and the Information and Counter-Information Affairs Division (Divisão de Assuntos de Informações e Contrainformações – DAICI).

A significant change introduced in the 1961 regulation, later reaffirmed in 1963, was the eligibility of civilians to head divisions. Previously restricted to military personnel of the rank of Colonel or Captain of Sea and War, the regulation now allowed civilians of equivalent rank to occupy these positions. In 1963, distinctions were made regarding the eligibility criteria for division leadership. While the Political, Psychosocial, Economic, and Logistics and Mobilization Divisions could be led by either military or civilian personnel, the Military Affairs, Doctrinal and Coordination Affairs, and DAICI divisions remained exclusively reserved for military personnel holding the rank of Colonel or Captain of Sea and War.

In 1967, President Castello Branco, during the Inaugural Lecture (Aula Magna) of the Brazilian War College, presented the School with its “great mission,” which he defined as “formulating, through the joint application of civilian and military talent, a permanent and coherent doctrine of national security.” This mission had already been officially initiated at ESG with the inclusion, in the 1961 regulation, of the “discussion and dissemination of a National Security Doctrine” as part of the studies conducted in the Advanced Course of War (Brasil, 1961, Art. 38).

In its fifth regulation (Brasil, 1973), the title of Commander was changed to Director of Studies, with the term “General” removed from the designation. Similarly, the Head of the Studies Department was renamed the Deputy Director of Studies and, following the restructuring of the Command, was further designated as the School’s Deputy Commander. From that point onward, appointments to the positions of Commander and Deputy Commander were to follow, in principle, “a rotational criterion among the Armed Forces, with both positions not belonging to the same branch” (Brasil, 1973).

As previously reported, the 1973 regulation institutionalizes the previous debate on the relations between security and development, inserting as objectives of the Advanced Course of War:

- a) to enable civilians and military personnel to exercise managerial and advisory functions, especially those of the bodies responsible for the formulation and planning of the **National Security and Development Policy;**
- b) Cooperate in the improvement of a **methodology for the formulation and planning of the National Security and Development Policy.** (Brasil, 1973).

With respect to the courses outlined in the 1973 regulations, the War College Continuing Education Course (CAESG) was established, delivered via correspondence, aiming to “update the knowledge of ESG graduates on the National Security and Development Doctrine and on the Methodology for the Formulation and Planning of National Policy” (Brazil, 1973, Art. 24).

Furthermore, it is important to note a shift in the composition of the Permanent Corps. Previously encompassing all members of the Command, Cabinet, Department of Studies, and Administrative Department, it was restructured to include only the Command, the Department of Studies, and the heads of the Administrative Department and Cabinet. This resulted in two distinct designations that would persist until the final regulation of 2006: the Permanent Corps and the Administrative Corps.

The regulation of 1984, in its Article 1, brought a “new” ESG:

Art. 1 - [...] is a permanent institute of Advanced studies and research [...] aimed at developing and consolidating the knowledge necessary for the exercise of command and advisory functions in Combined Organizations, Forces or Major States, as well as for the planning of National Security and Development (Brasil, 1984).

It was noted that the theme of national security and development, which was included as the main objective of the CSG, as well as the exercise of functions and advice in an environment of a combined nature, the main focus of the CEMCFA, became part of the definition and purpose of the school, and not only of these courses. It should be noted that the ESG already had administrative autonomy in 1981, in order to better support the activities of its courses (Brasil, 1981).

A novelty that appears in the 6th Regulation of the School is the creation of two structures that aimed to advise the Commander, besides the Consultative Board considered a permanent special advice that existed since the creation of the ESG, which are The Corps of Advisors, basically composed of former Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces and former commanders of the School, and the Corps of Special Advisors, composed of personalities of “proven competence and remarkable knowledge, not belonging to the staff of the ESG” and who had distinguished themselves as former members of the Permanent Corps or as individual lecturers (Brasil, 1984).

Decree No. 91,536, of August 16, 1985, brought a significant change, changing the name of the first course of the ESG, the CSG, to the Course of Advanced Policy and Strategic Studies (Curso de Altos Estudos de Política e Estratégia – CAEPE), updating its curriculum and continuing a period in the history of the Advanced War Course that had begun in 1948, when the General Staff of the Armed Forces

received the mission to restructure the Advanced Command Course, extending it to the Navy and the Air Force (Brazil, 1948).

In 1988, another regulation was published, modifying the scope of ESG's activities, which would include teaching, research, extension, exchange and dissemination, which were defined as:

Art. 13 - [...]

§ 1 - Teaching activities are those relating to courses established by the Executive Branch.

§ 2º - Research activities comprise theoretical, doctrinal and conjunctural studies, related to the purposes of ESG.

§ 3º - The extension activities are those related to the support of the courses promoted by the Association of Graduates by ESG (ADESG) and to other courses or cycles taught or promoted by ESG.

Art 14 - The related exchange and dissemination activities will be planned by ESG and submitted to the approval of the Chief Minister of EMFA.

§ 1 - The exchange activities include the interrelationship of ESG with public and private institutions, national, foreign and international, in the fulfillment of its purposes.

§ 2 - Dissemination activities involve the dissemination of knowledge and work developed and consolidated by the School. (Brasil, 1988).

The 1994 Regulation created another structure at the ESG, directly linked to the Commandant, the Center for Strategic Studies, with the purpose of understanding this new environment and advising the Commandant of the School in the coordination of studies and research.

Another novelty of the 8th ESG Regulation was the change of name of the Military Staff and Command Course for Advanced Studies in Military Policy and Strategy (Curso de Altos Estudos de Política e Estratégia Militares – CAPEM), starting to consider it of the same level as the CAEPE and with the same objectives of the CEMCFA, explained in the 1988 Regulation:

a) to contribute to the improvement of the Brazilian Military Doctrine, Policy and Strategy;

b) empower officers of the Armed Forces to exercise command, leadership and combined staff functions. (Brasil, 1994)

In 1996, the year of the publication of the National Defense Policy, in which the traces of the ESG can be observed, in the relation of defense to the fields of national

power, “a sustainable defense policy [...] and [that] reconciles the priorities in the political, social, economic and military fields” (Brasil, 1996a). The new regulation increases the number of advisors, but with a focus on administration, it was the Accountability Office that aimed to “create conditions for better performance of the administration” (Brasil, 1996b).

It is worth highlighting the return of the Information Course, which had been created in 1958, functioned in 1959 and from 1965 to 1972, incorporating the content worked in the CSG, and later, from 1996, with a new structural and objective outfit, now called Strategic Intelligence Advanced Course (CSIE), considered the highest-level course in the field of intelligence and of the same level as the CAEPE and CAPEM, (Brasil, 1996b).

The 9th ESG regulation also included another course to meet specific needs, especially the possibility of civilians and military from friendly nations to attend the school, which was the Special Course of Advanced Political and Strategic Studies (CEAEPE), which was not a regular course. The course operated until 2005, and from 2007, the CAEPE began to receive civilians and military from friendly nations.

The 2002 regulation added to the previous courses the Logistics and National Mobilization Course (Curso de Logística e Mobilização Nacional – CLMN), which was aimed at military personnel and civilians who had been nominated “by bodies or companies of interest to the National Mobilization System” and the Defense Resources Management Course (Curso de Gestão de Recursos de Defesa – CGERD), which was created at the request of the Secretariat for the Organization of Institutional Resources (Secretaria de Organização de Recursos Institucionais – SEORI) of the Ministry of Defense. In addition, the Course of Advanced Studies in Military Policy and Strategy was redesigned and changed its name to the Course of Defense Staff (Curso de Estado-Maior de Defesa – CEMD) (Brasil, 2002).

ESG’s current regulations date from 2006, being the 11th of a series that began in 1949 and that sought to adapt the School to the changes of its external environment, as well as to meet the needs of the new legislations and its internal public. In relation to the courses, it maintains the ones specified in the 2002 regulation, with some modifications, which are: the extinction of CEAEPE, by the absorption of its main target public (military and civilians of Friendly Nations) by CAEPE and extinguishes the updating course (CAESG) (Brasil, 2006).

In 2018, the last change to the 2006 regulation occurred until the time this article was finalized, which was the inclusion of the Commander of the Nucleus of the ESG in Brasília, a position to be filled by the “active General Officer of the first post of the Singular Forces, designated in the rotation system” (Brasil, 2018a).

The following comparative table presents ESG courses based on eleven regulations. The author notes that additional courses may have been offered during this period, although they were not formally included in the regulations:

Table 1 - Comparison of courses by their regulations

Nº	REGULATION	COURSES
Start	Decree Nº 25.705, Oct 22 1948. Ch EMFA: Gen Ex Salvador C. Obino Pres: Eurico Gaspar Dutra	- Advanced Command Course 1942-1947 (Army) / 1948 (Navy, Army and Aeronautics) (No longer functioning in ESG)
1º	Decree Nº 27.264, Sept. 28 1949 Ch EMFA: Gen Ex Salvador César Obino e Pres: Eurico Gaspar Dutra	- Advanced Course of War - General Staff Course and Armed Forces Command (1953)
2º	Decree Nº 35.187, March 11 1954 Ch EMFA: Gen Ex Álvaro Fiúza de Castro e Pres: Getulio Vargas	- Advanced Course of War - General Staff Course and Armed Forces Command - National Mobilization Course (1957) - Information Course (1958 and 1 st class in 1959)
3º	Decree Nº 50.352, March 17 1961 Ch EMFA: Gen Ex Oswaldo Cordeiro de Farias e Pres: Jânio Quadros	- Advanced Course of War* - General Staff Course and Armed Forces Command - National Mobilization Course* - Information Course* * CSG: Extends civilian access: governmental, parastatal or private organizations (1962) * CMN: as a subject of the CSG (1960 - 1981) * CI: as a subject of the CSG (1960 - 1964)
4º	Decree Nº 53.080, December 4 1963 Ch EMFA: Gen Ex Oswaldo de Araújo Motta e Pres: João Goulart	- Advanced Course of War* - General Staff Course and Armed Forces Command - Information Course (1965 - 1972) * as objective: Doctrine of National Security
5º	Decree Nº 72.699, August 27 1973 Ch EMFA: Gen Ex Arthur Duarte Candal Fonseca e Pres: Emílio G. Médici	- Advanced Course of War* - General Staff Course and Armed Forces Command - Advanced course of the Brazilian War College * as objective: National Security and Development Policy
6º	Decree Nº 90.079, August 16 1984 Ch EMFA: Ten Brig Valdir Vasconcelos e Pres: João Figueiredo	- Advanced Course of War* - General Staff Course and Armed Forces Command - Advanced Course of the Brazilian War College * Course of Advanced Strategy Policy Studies (1985)

Nº	REGULATION	COURSES
7º	Decree Nº 95.732, February 12 1988 Ch EMFA: Ten Brig Paulo Roberto Coutinho Camarinha Pres: José Sarney	- Course of Advanced Studies of Policy and Strategy - General Staff Course and Armed Forces Command - Advanced Course of the Brazilian War College
8º	Decree Nº 1.327, December 5 1994 Ch EMFA: Alnte Esq Arnaldo Leite Pereira e Pres: Itamar Franco	- Course of Advanced Studies of Policy and Strategy - Course of Advanced Studies in Military Policy and Strategy* - Advanced Course of the Brazilian War College (70 years) * Replaced CEMCFA
9º	Decree Nº 2.090, December 9 1996 Ch EMFA: Gen Ex Benedito Onofre Bezerra Leonel Pres: Fernando Henrique Cardoso	- Course of Advanced Studies in Politics and Strategy - Course of Advanced Studies in Military Policy and Strategy - Strategic Intelligence Advanced Course - Special Advanced-Level Policy and Strategy Studies Course* - Advanced course of the Brazilian War College * CEAPE: invitation for foreigners (military or civilian)
10º	Decree Nº 4.291, June 27 2002 Min Def: Geraldo Magela da Cruz Quintão Pres: Fernando Henrique Cardoso	- Course of Advanced Studies of Policy and Strategy - Defense General Staff Course - Strategic Intelligence Advanced Course - Special Course of Advanced Policy and Strategy Studies - Course of Logistics and National Mobilization - Defense Resources Management Course - Advanced Course of the Brazilian War College
11º	Decree Nº 5.874, August. 15 2006 Min Def: Geraldo Magela da Cruz Quintão Pres: Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva	- Course of Advanced Studies of Politics and Strategy - CAEPE (military and civil, national and friendly nations) - Defense General Staff Course - Strategic Intelligence Advanced Course - Course of Logistics and National Mobilization - Defense Resource Management Course - Advanced Course of the Brazilian War College

Source: Maia Neto (2019)

As of 2008, the Minister of Defense, on a proposal from ESG, issues annual guidelines that will regulate the School's courses, no longer requiring the publication of a new regulation. Thus the following guidelines were made:

- 2008: Guideline for the selection process for the courses of the Brazilian War College (ESG) in the year 2009;

- 2009: Guideline for the Planning and Implementation of the Studies Activities of the Brazilian War College (ESG), in the year 2010;

- in 2010, 2011 and 2012 the name of the guideline was the same: Guideline for the Planning and Execution of the Studies Activities of the Brazilian War College in the year 2011 (2012 and 2013);

- in 2013, 2014 and 2015 the name of the guideline was the same: Guideline for the Planning and Execution of Study Activities and for the Selective Processing of Courses of the Brazilian War College, related to the year 2014 (2015, 2016);

- from 2016 until 2021, the name of the guideline was: Guideline for the Planning and Execution of the Study, Research and Teaching Activities and for the Selection Process for the Courses of the Brazilian War College (ESG), referring to the year 2017 (2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022);

- 2022: Guideline for the Planning and Execution of Study, Research and Teaching Activities and for the Selection Process of the Courses of the Brazilian War College - ESG, for the year 2023; and

- 2023: Guideline for the Planning and Execution of the Study, Research, Teaching, Postgraduate Studies, Extension and Selection Process of the Courses of the Brazilian War College - ESG for the year 2024.

Changes in the names of the guidelines that occurred between 2008 (2009 Guideline) and 2023 (2024 Guideline) are identified in bold.

The table below presents the courses included in the guidelines issued from 2015 onwards. This date was selected in light of Interministerial Normative Ordinance No. 1 of August 26, 2015 (Brazil, 2015), which established the equivalence of military institution courses and ESG courses at the lato sensu postgraduate level. It should be noted that other courses may have been offered during this period, but were not explicitly mentioned in the guidelines:

Table 2 - Course Comparison by Guideline (2015-2023)

ORDINANCE	GUIDELINE FOR	COURSES ³
Normative Ordinance Nº 1.806/MD, August 20 2015	2016	ESG - RJ: - Course of Advanced Studies of Policy and Strategy (Lato sensu) - Advanced Defense Course - Strategic Intelligence Advanced Course (Lato sensu) - Course of Logistics and National Mobilization (Lato sensu) - Joint Staff Course (Lato sensu) - South American Advanced Defense Course (did not work) - Defense Resources Management Course in SP
		ESG - BSB: - Advanced Course of Policy and Strategy - International Law Course on Armed Conflict - Defense Diplomacy Course
Normative Ordinance Nº 68/MD, November 21 2016	2017	ESG - RJ: - Course of Advanced Studies of Policy and Strategy (Lato sensu) - Advanced Defense Course - Strategic Intelligence Advanced Course (Lato sensu) - Course of Logistics and National Mobilization (Lato sensu) - Joint Staff Course (Lato sensu) - South American Advanced Defense Course (did not work) - Defense Resources Management Course in SP
		ESG - BSB: - Advanced Course of Policy and Strategy - International Law Course on Armed Conflict - Defense Diplomacy Course
Normative Ordinance Nº 36/MD, September 8 2017 and Normative Ordinance Nº 12/MD, March 22 2018	2018	ESG - RJ: - Course of Advanced Studies of Policy and Strategy (Lato sensu) - Advanced Defense Course - Strategic Intelligence Advanced Course (Lato sensu) - Course of Logistics and National Mobilization (Lato sensu) - Joint Staff Course (Lato sensu) - International Security and Defense Course (Lato sensu) - Master in International Security and Defense (Stricto sensu) - South American Advanced Defense Course (it did not occur) - ESG Cultural Extension Program - Defense Resources Management Course in SP
		ESG - BSB: - Course of Advanced Defense Studies (Lato sensu) - International Law Course on Armed Conflict - Defense Diplomacy Course - International Crisis Analysis Course

3 Courses that are not defined as Lato and Stricto sensu, are considered Extension courses.

ORDINANCE	GUIDELINE FOR	COURSES ³
Normative Ordinance Nº 72/GM-MD, November 20 2018	2019	<p>ESG - RJ:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Course of Advanced Studies of Policy and Strategy (Lato sensu) - Advanced Defense Course - Strategic Intelligence Advanced Course (Lato sensu) - Course of Logistics and National Mobilization (Lato sensu) - Joint Staff Course (Lato sensu) - International Security and Defense Course (Lato sensu) - Master in International Security and Defense (Stricto sensu) - ESG Cultural Extension Program - Defense Resources Management Course in SP
		<p>ESG - BSB:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Course of Advanced Defense Studies (Lato sensu) - International Law Course on Armed Conflict - Internship in International Armed Conflict Law - Defense Diplomacy Course - International Crisis Analysis Course
Normative Ordinance Nº 16/GM-MD, February 13 2020	2020	<p>ESG - RJ:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Course of Advanced Studies of Policy and Strategy (Lato sensu) - Advanced Defense Course - Strategic Intelligence Advanced Course (Lato sensu) - Joint Staff Course (Lato sensu) - Postgraduate Course in International Security and Defense (Stricto sensu) - ESG Cultural Extension Program - Defense Resources Management Course in SP and MG
		<p>ESG - BSB:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - International Law Course on Armed Conflict - Diplomacy and Defense Course - Course of Advanced Defense Studies (Lato sensu) - International Crisis Analysis Course - Extension Course in Logistics and National Mobilization

ORDINANCE	GUIDELINE FOR	COURSES ³
<p>Ordinance Nº 3.975/GM-MD, November 26 2020</p> <p>and</p> <p>Ordinance GM-MD Nº 1.267, March 11 2021</p>	2021	<p>ESG - RJ:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Course of Advanced Studies of Policy and Strategy (Lato sensu) - Advanced Defense Course - Joint Staff Course (Lato sensu) - Master's Degree in International Security and Defense from the Graduate Program in International Security and Defense (Stricto sensu) - ESG Cultural Extension Program - Defense Resources Management Course in SP and MG
		<p>ESG - BSB:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - International Law Course on Armed Conflict - Diplomacy and Defense Course - Course of Advanced Defense Studies (Lato sensu) - Strategic Intelligence Advanced Course (Lato sensu) - International Crisis Analysis Course - Course of Logistics and National Mobilization (Lato sensu)
<p>Ordinance GM-MD Nº 3.821, September 14 2021</p>	2022	<p>ESG - RJ:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Course of Advanced Studies of Policy and Strategy (Lato sensu) - Advanced Defense Course - Special Preparatory Course for General Officers - Joint Staff Course (Lato sensu) - Master's Degree in International Security and Defense from the Graduate Program in International Security and Defense (Stricto sensu) - ESG Cultural Extension Program - Defense Resources Management Course in SP and MG
		<p>ESG - BSB:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - International Law Course on Armed Conflict - Diplomacy and Defense Course - Course of Advanced Defense Studies (Lato sensu) - Strategic Intelligence Advanced Course (Lato sensu) - International Crisis Analysis Course - Course of Logistics and National Mobilization (Lato sensu) - Extension Course "National Defense and Legislative Power"

ORDINANCE	GUIDELINE FOR	COURSES ³
Ordinance GM-MD Nº 4.965, September 22 2022 ⁴	2023	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Course of Advanced Studies of Policy and Strategy (Lato sensu) - Advanced Defense Course - Special Preparatory Course for General Officers - Joint Staff Course (Lato sensu) - Cyber Security and Defense Advanced School (Lato sensu) - Master's Degree in International Security and Defense from the Graduate Program in International Security and Defense (Stricto sensu) - ESG Cultural Extension Program - Defense Resources Management Course in SP, MG, RJ and SC - Defense Governance Course - Course on Policies and Strategies in the Face of Complex Threats
Ordinance AED/VCHEC/CHEC-MD Nº 6.188, December 21 2023 ⁵	2024	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Course of Advanced Studies of Policy and Strategy (Lato sensu) - Advanced Defense Course - Special Preparatory Course for General Officers - Joint Staff Course (Lato sensu) - Cyber Security and Defense Advanced School (Lato sensu) - Master's Degree in International Security and Defense from the Graduate Program in International Security and Defense (Stricto sensu) - ESG Cultural Extension Program - Defense Resources Management Course in SP, MG, RJ and SC - Defense Governance Course - Course on Policies and Strategies in the Face of Complex Threats - Advanced Defense Course for the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries

Source: Author, 2024.

4 As of 2022, a specific ordinance was established for ESG and another for ESD, created as of October 1, 2021 (Decree Nº 10.806, of September 23, 2021).

5 As of 2023, ordinances were issued by the Head of Education and Culture of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces

3 THE THEREZINHA DE CASTRO INSTITUTE

The Therezinha de Castro Institute (ITC) emerged from the foundation laid at the ESG in 2017. In alignment with the 2017 guidelines⁶, the School proposed an academic master's degree program in International Security and Defense to CAPES, focusing on Political Science and International Relations. This program featured a concentration in "International Security and Defense" with two lines of research: "Geopolitics and International Security" and "Policies, Strategies, and Defense Planning."

CAPES authorized the Postgraduate Program in International Security and Defense (PPGSID) in late 2018, enabling its launch in 2019. This marked the culmination of over a decade of effort by the School. The program's initial intake occurred on March 18, 2019.

In 2018, the Cordeiro de Farias Institute was established to centralize newly recruited professors and manage the PPGSID. Subsequently, internal regulations led to changes in the institute's name, culminating in the creation of the Therezinha de Castro Institute on December 4, 2023, as depicted in the figure below:

Figure 1 - ITC Path



Source: Author, 2024.

⁶ Ordinance No. 68/MD, 21 November 2016.

The ITC is the newest structure of ESG and had its name dedicated to Professor Therezinha de Castro, who for so many years worked at the School, being the first woman of its Faculty and having in its trajectory more than twenty (20) books published. In the ESG⁷ repository alone there are more than 120 (one hundred and twenty) references of publications of his own.

As of the 2024 Rules of Procedure⁸, the ITC is responsible, within the ESG, for bringing together scientific research, post-graduate *stricto sensu* and for promoting postgraduate and extension courses in the context of International Security and Defense. In this context, it is proposed to attend, especially, to undergraduate and postgraduate students *stricto sensu* of Advanced Education Institutions partners of the School.

4 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Brazilian War College (ESG) has been a cornerstone in training military and civilian leaders since its founding in 1949. Inspired by institutions like the US National War College, ESG adapted its approach to the Brazilian context, focusing not only on national security but also on the country's development and defense.

Over the decades, ESG has evolved alongside political and structural changes, consistently adapting its courses and regulations to meet emerging demands. The transformation of regular programs into specialization courses and the establishment of the Graduate Program in International Security and Defense exemplify its commitment to academic excellence and preparing its students for contemporary challenges.

A significant structural change occurred in 2023 with the creation of the Therezinha de Castro Institute (ITC). This institute centralizes scientific research and *stricto sensu* postgraduate studies, promoting postgraduate and extension courses in the field of International Security and Defense. Named after Professor Therezinha de Castro, a prominent figure in ESG's history and Brazilian geopolitical thought, the ITC honors her legacy.

ESG's 75-year journey reflects a continuous integration of security, development, and defense, adapting to Brazil's evolving strategic needs. As a dynamic and innovative institution, ESG remains a vital pillar in civil-military cooperation, dedicated to fostering leaders who comprehend Brazil's multifaceted challenges.

7 Available at: <https://repositorio.esg.br/>

8 Ordinance GABSUBCMDO ESG/SUBCMDO ESG/COMANDO ESG-MD N° 1697, 04 April 2024.

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BRAZILIAN WAR COLLEGE: total mobilization for BRAZIL's destiny

ESCOLA SUPERIOR DE GUERRA: mobilização total pelo destino do Brasil

ESCUELA SUPERIOR DE GUERRA: movilización total por el destino de Brasil

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ABSTRACT

This article seeks to combine the idea of total mobilization of the German thinker Ernst Jünger with some discussions carried out in the early years of the Brazilian War College (ESG). Since its founding, ESG has been thought of as much more than a center for the study of war, or, at least, so-called conventional warfare. With the opening to civilians and the mission of thinking about the destiny of Brazil, there is an indication that the School takes on a more holistic stance in terms of understanding its own purpose. The German thinker Ernst Jünger, in turn, already after the First World War recognized that wars would require total mobilization on the part of the Nation, that is, a total union and coordination, both civil and military, of efforts devoted to the cause. of the conflict. In a similar way, thinking about Brazil's destiny also requires a channeling of efforts that do not only come from the military ranks, but from the most diverse professional and intellectual perspectives.

Keywords: Brazilian War College; Total mobilization; Total war.

RESUMO

O presente artigo procura combinar a ideia de mobilização total do pensador alemão Ernst Jünger com algumas discussões realizadas nos anos iniciais da Escola Superior

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de Guerra (ESG). Desde a sua fundação, a ESG foi pensada como muito mais do que um centro de estudos da guerra, ou, pelo menos, da guerra dita convencional. Com a abertura para civis e a missão de pensar o destino do Brasil, tem-se a indicação de que a Escola assume para si uma postura mais holística no que se refere ao entendimento do seu próprio propósito. O pensador alemão Ernst Jünger, por sua vez, já após a Primeira Guerra Mundial reconheceu que as guerras passariam a exigir uma mobilização total por parte da Nação, ou seja, uma união e coordenação total, tanto civis quanto militares, de esforços devotados à causa do conflito. De forma análoga, pensar o destino do Brasil exige, também, uma canalização de esforços que não advêm apenas das fileiras militares, mas das mais diversas perspectivas profissionais e intelectuais.

Palavras-chave: Escola Superior de Guerra; Mobilização total; Guerra total.

RESUMEN

Este artículo busca combinar la idea de movilización total del pensador alemán Ernst Jünger con algunas discusiones llevadas a cabo en los primeros años de la Escuela Superior de Guerra (ESG). Desde su fundación, se ha pensado que ESG es mucho más que un centro para el estudio de la guerra o, al menos, la llamada guerra convencional. Con la apertura a los civiles y la misión de pensar el destino de Brasil, hay un indicio de que la Escuela asume una postura más holística en términos de comprensión de su propio propósito. El pensador alemán Ernst Jünger, a su vez, ya después de la Primera Guerra Mundial reconoció que las guerras requerirían una movilización total por parte de la Nación, es decir, una total unión y coordinación, tanto civil como militar, de los esfuerzos dedicados a la causa. del conflicto. De manera similar, pensar el destino de Brasil requiere también una canalización de esfuerzos que no sólo provienen de las filas militares, sino de las más diversas perspectivas profesionales e intelectuales.

Palabras clave: Escuela Superior de Guerra; Movilización total; Guerra total.

1 INTRODUCTION

“War is too serious to be entrusted to the military.” The phrase with which this text opens is commonly attributed to Georges Clemenceau and does not intend to be (merely) provocative, but rather seeks to illustrate, in a synthetic and even slightly humorous way, what seems to us to be one of the great guiding principles of the Brazilian War College (ESG): the integration between civilians and military in the scope of studies for the exercise of the functions of direction and for the planning of national security. Although its origin was exclusively military, the institution is

notable for the strong presence of “civilians of remarkable competence and relevant action in the orientation and conduct of national politics”, who were allowed since the creation of the School to attend its courses.

It is also in documents that go back to the origin of ESG, more precisely in its first Regulation, of 1949, that there are indications about the purpose of the school, its structure, the school activities to be carried out and other general provisions necessary for the functioning of the institution, defined as “an institute of high studies intended to develop and consolidate knowledge concerning the exercise of functions of direction or planning of national security”. These studies, centralized and carried out by the Studies Department, comprised three divisions: “National Affairs, International Affairs and Military Affairs” (Brasil, 1949, p.5), each one covering as many other themes. Among these themes, attention is drawn to the one that is of particular relevance to this text: the National Mobilization, considered part of Military Affairs.

It can be observed that General Cordeiro de Farias sought, right at the beginning of his command of the School, to bring reflections inspired by the world conflict that had ended a few years before. Thus, in 1951 there was a series of conferences devoted to various aspects of the “total war”, a concept coined and debated by Erich Ludendorff (1936) in a book of the same title, published in 1935. The concept proved to be more than relevant in the immediate post-Second World War era. For Anna Carolina Monéia Farias, even, “the studies of ESG and DSN [National Security Doctrine] were thought starting from the concept of “total war”, which corresponded to a new type of conflict, brought about by the development of technology” (Farias, 2019, p. 10).

In the conference entitled “The total war: the importance of moral forces”, delivered by journalist and lawyer Elmano Cardim¹ on March 26, 1951 at the Brazilian War College, the author highlighted the importance of meditating on “an aspect of total war, which is one of the most interesting, as it escapes absolute precepts, to adapt to the conditions peculiar to the psychology of each nation, people or race” (Cardim, 1951, p. 1).

An important consideration must be given to the concepts used here. While Ludendorff, in his well-known *Der Totale Krieg* (“The Total War”), and the lecturers who were at ESG always refer to the idea of total war, the proposal of this article is to think how the concept of total mobilization seems more appropriate to think the content debated. Thus, in work on the Brazilian War College and the link between war and politics in Brazil (2018), Anna Carolina Monéia Farias herself acknowledges that “ESG observed that war in its period, conventional or revolutionary, implied the mobilization of the production of the entire country”

1 Elmano Cardim (1891-1979) was a Brazilian journalist, member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters. He was president of the IBGE (1953-1954), honorary partner of the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute and one of the founders of the Historical Institute of Petrópolis (1938).

(Farias, 2019, p. 7, grifo rus). Also, when quoting João Roberto Martins Filho (2003), he indicates that:

The notion of security, broader than that of defense, originated from the American idea of the need for a total mobilization of society as a precondition for a victory in modern warfare. In Brazil, it was translated in terms of military urgency to face national problems as a whole, where the social and political aspects would be inseparable from the military aspects (Martins Filho *apud* Tibola, 2007, p. 60).

2 THE TOTAL MOBILIZATION (1930), BY ERNST JÜNGER

The Total Mobilization (1930) is not only a text about war, but also for war. A manifesto, therefore, bellicose and also pedagogical. We must take care not to lose ourselves in the beauty of the text, in erudite references, or in the various speculative temptations that invite misplacement. A good measure is not to lose the north of this writing: why Germany lost the Great War (1914-1918) and how could it make this defeat an opportunity to resurface more powerful than the enemies who defeated it.

Ernst Jünger lived almost 103 years (1895-1998). When he published *The Total Mobilization*, he numbered only 35 and already had on his curriculum what would come to be considered a classic of the genre war diaries, *Storm of Steel*, written 10 years before, at the age of 25. Early on, he learned to turn modern war into an object of esthetics, politics and, above all, anthropology. If in *Storm of Steel* he seeks to understand what the mutual destruction reveals about the men involved in combat, in a fusion of humans and machines, in *The Total Mobilization*, Jünger seeks to understand a wider theater of war, that of all the societies that take part in the conflict. Without leaving the anthropological field, his question changes scale: from modern warriors to modern humans. All of them are resignified, as we shall see, by a very peculiar notion of “workers”.

The chronology of the text is fundamental in the understanding of its characteristics. 1930 is roughly equidistant in time between the end of World War I, 1918, and the start of World War II, 1940. Hitler, 6 years older than Jünger, had already begun to make noise and to gather followers, but had not yet come to power, which would occur in 1933. Thus, the speculations that would come to inform and materialize verbatim in *The Total Mobilization* precede the arrival of the Nazis in power. It would be irresponsible to say that Nazism, still a political movement, did not influence Jünger's intellectual mood, but it is reasonable to suppose that, faced with the same problem, reacting to the German defeat, we are faced with reactions of a very different nature. Within warmongering, Jünger describes a new type of humanism while Nazism operated with a vulgar

and revanchist Darwinism. For the first, the superficial layer that suggests the complete madness of the world conflict brings without its core a reason, and even a justice, of new times; for the second, the esthetic varnish of the superior race hides reasons of great reproach and stupidity.

Jünger balances with rare poetry rationality and passion, without getting lost in hysteria. To this end, he does not hesitate to counter consecrated passions. It begins by embezzling the traditional notion of heroism from its tragic character, that the hero would be the one who throws himself into the imponderable, submitting himself to forces that he cannot control. Here is a first proof of the game of scales that the author uses from the beginning to the end of his text. Taken as a superhuman set of motives, war in its pre-modern sense creates a microcosm apart from the rest of society, promoting a game in which death and honor are self-referring values and sufficient in themselves. The Great War would have eliminated that possibility of deeds aside. Not only had it presented itself as a macrocosm, but as a mode of social totality. In these terms, heroism would come to revere not only entire societies, but would come to depend structurally on provisions that went beyond the limits of purely warlike impetus. From a self-referential set, war becomes part of a larger movement. The secret of the effectiveness of total mobilization lies in removing the obstacles that hinder his free performance, beginning with overcoming militaristic notions of society - which Jünger classifies as "partial mobilization".

It would be unreasonable to analyze step by step Jünger's arguments regarding the reasons that led to this change, which he is not afraid to classify as revolutionary, in the sense and in the means of war. We can only recommend reading the essay, rich in philosophical, sociological and historical repercussions. Rich, equally, in conceptual terms, since the author lends his own meaning to several words of great importance, often subverting their meanings up until then consecrated: democracy, progress, work, freedom, patriotism, among others.

Some passages, however, deserve highlighting. For example, when he reveals that, in his analysis, it was the Great War, and not the French Revolution, the true revolutionary event that would have obliged the world, from Europe, to submit itself to the **energy regime** of the modern world.

The total exploitation of all potential energy, whose example we see in these "Volcano workshops" built by industrial states at war, reveals without doubt the most significant way that we find ourselves at the dawn of the Worker's era, and this makes the world war a historical event that surpasses in importance the French Revolution. To unfold energies of such magnitude, because it is no longer enough to equip those who fight, requires

us to reorganize ourselves in this perspective to the most internal market and even to the most tenuous nerve of activity; and that is the task of total mobilization (Jünger, 1990, p. 107-108).²

Another striking aspect of Jünger's text is that of the metaphors and, here, it is worth highlighting the two that he uses for war: volcano in eruption and earthquake. The first would be a metaphor that would favor a timeless and universal understanding of war: according to Jünger, however different the cities that have a volcano in their midst, as we approach its crater, the scenario is always becoming the same, of desertification and absence of life. In traditional terms, so too would wars, a phenomenon of destruction that would render secondary the specificities of those involved and the circumstances present. The author quickly rejects this image as misleading, since, in his view, wars change in nature and indicate essential changes in the organization of their contenders.

He prefers, therefore, that of the earthquake. If the volcano refers to causes that lead to destruction by destruction, the earthquake makes us pay attention to the effects of the war: what is still standing after an earthquake and what was on the ground? In this logic, war plays a role similar to that of Darwinian natural selection, as if it were a non-negotiable law that determines what must perish and what must remain to develop.

In this context, the Great War could be seen as the revolutionary realization of what the French Revolution had hinted at in intent but failed to achieve in practice: a profound democratization of human existence, reduced to its fundamental components of potential energy. The inherent vocation of modern life, Jünger suggests, is that of mobilizable energy, capable of adapting to any demand. The world conflict's significant humanitarian contribution was the unequivocal establishment of this condition:

[...] nous les définissons ici comme disponibilité à être mobilisé. Cette disponibilité était présente dans tous les pays, et la guerre mondiale fut une des guerres les plus populaires que l'histoire ait connue, du seul fait qu'elle a éclaté à une époque qui,

2 L'exploitation totale de toute l'énergie potentielle, dont on voit un exemple dans ces ateliers de Vulcain construits par les Etats industriels en guerre, révèle sans doute de la façon la plus significative qu'on se trouve à l'aube de l'ère du Travailleur, et cette réquisition fait de la guerre mondiale un événement historique qui dépasse en importance la Révolution Française. Déployer des énergies d'une telle ampleur, car il ne suffit plus d'équiper ceux qui combattent, nécessite qu'on réorganise dans cette perspective jusqu'au marché le plus intérieur et jusqu'au nerf d'activité le plus ténu ; et se la tâche de la mobilisation totale (Jünger, 1990, p. 107-108).

d'émblée, déniait tout caractère populaire aux autres conflits. (Jünger, 1990, p. 115).³

The popularity of the Great War in relation to the others lies in the consecration of social totality. No longer reserved for trained heroes, modern warfare would subject entire societies to invest their potential energy in favor of victory.

La mobilisation totale change de terrain, mais non de sens, lorsque, au lieu des armées, elle met en branle les masses et enclenche le processus d'une guerre civile. Dès lors, l'action se déroule dans des domaines qui échappent à l'ordre de mobilisation, car ils se situent hors de cette compétence strictement militaire; comme si les forces qui n'avaient pu être réquisitionnées pour la guerre revendiquaient elles aussi leur part du sanglant engagement. Autrement dit, mieux la guerre saura dès le départ mobiliser en profondeur et pour elle seule la totalité des forces disponibles, et moins elle commettra d'erreurs ou hésitera sur la marche à suivre (Jünger, 1990, p. 128).⁴

In other words, in an ideal scenario, civil war absorbs and transforms purely military conflict into a more effective and potent force. For Ernst Jünger, the emphasis on framing the national cause as solely a military endeavor was the crucial factor behind Germany's defeat. The reason is evident: warfare driven solely by military means is inherently limited compared to the broader conditioning of this energy for democratic purposes and productive efforts.

Despite the undeniable brilliance of Jünger's reflections on total mobilization, which continue to resonate today, his discussion remains somewhat tethered to the biases of his era. Jünger sought not only to comprehend the reasons behind Germany's defeat but also to foresee a potential revolutionary resurgence for his nation. It is not surprising, then, that Jünger attributed to Germany's adversaries the role of exposing themselves through the transformative process initiated by the world war. In opposing Germany, France,

3 "We define them here as the willingness to mobilize. This disposition was present in all countries, and the world war was one of the most popular wars that history has ever known, for the simple fact of having broken out at a time that, immediately, had denied any popular character to the other conflicts" (our translation).

4 "The total mobilization changes ground, but not meaning, when, instead of armies, it sets the masses in motion and sets in motion the process of a civil war. From then on, the action takes place in areas that escape the order of mobilization, for being outside this strictly military competence; as if the forces that could not be requisitioned for war also claimed their part in the bloody combat. In other words, the better the war can mobilize from the outset in depth and for itself all the forces available, the less it will make mistakes or hesitate in the course of action to follow" (our translation).

England, and the United States were, according to Jünger, compelled to reveal their underlying structures. However, he believed that the victors, emboldened by their triumph, failed to scrutinize total mobilization—an oversight that the defeated, like Germany, would avoid, allowing them to master this mechanism of modern times.

In 1930, as Jünger observed his adversaries succumbing to the complacency of victory, he described an intriguing trend towards widespread totalitarianism.

Au patriotisme se substitue un nationalisme nouveau, qui s'impose avec force, grâce à des notions cette fois présentes à la conscience des gens. Le fascisme, le bolchevisme, l'américanisme, le sionisme, les mouvements d'émancipation des peuples de couleur sont autant de bonds en avant du progrès qui jusque-là eussent été tenus pour impensable (Jünger, 1990, p. 137).⁵

It is particularly intriguing to observe a German war hero, only a few years after the Nazi rise to power, categorizing various political and nationalist movements as totalitarian, including Zionism, Americanism, and liberation movements of “people of color.” This perspective is notable given that the term “totalitarianism” would later become more closely associated with regimes such as Nazi Germany and, at certain stages, Stalinist Soviet Union—systems that epitomized undemocratic and reactionary governance.

3 THE GAUCHO TEACHERS AGAINST NAZISM: CORDEIRO DE FARIAS AND THE BRAZILIAN WAR COLLEGE

As we have seen, for Ernst Jünger, democracy transcends the concept of free elections, representing instead an optimal regime of energy efficiency that culminates in total mobilization. Osvaldo Cordeiro de Farias exemplified this concept throughout his life, embodying a form of total, mobile mobilization. He played a leading role in nearly every critical event of the Brazilian Republic from the final days of the Old Republic to the civic-military shift of 1964 and remained influential even after his official withdrawal from power, up until his death in 1981. His interviews with Aspasia Camargo and Lúcia Klein, compiled and edited by Walder de Góes, were aptly titled *Meio Século de Combate: Diálogo com Cordeiro de Farias* (*Half a Century of Combat: Dialogue with Cordeiro de Farias*) (1981).

5 “Patriotism is replaced by a new nationalism, imposed through force, thanks to notions now present in people’s consciences. Fascism, Bolshevism, Americanism, Zionism, the movements for the emancipation of people of color are all advances in progress that until then would have been considered unthinkable” (our translation).

Given the impossibility of fully exploring his historical significance within this scope, we offer a focused temporal analysis highlighting his contributions during key periods linked to the founding of the Brazilian War College (ESG). Specifically, we will emphasize his leadership roles, particularly as the intervenor in Rio Grande do Sul and as the commander of the Brazilian Expeditionary Force's (FEB) artillery during World War II. It was in these roles that Cordeiro de Farias not only participated in pivotal mobilizations but also directed the flow of collective energy.

Cordeiro de Farias extended the concept of total mobilization as part of his persona and as a practical imperative. In late 1937, while the Nazi regime had been in power for four years in Germany, Getúlio Vargas appointed him as the intervenor in Rio Grande do Sul. This assignment challenged conventional military norms: he was a colonel leading generals. "I never wanted to have auxiliaries, but collaborators," he stated (Camargo, 1981, p. 245). The community life in Rio Grande do Sul was more complex than purely military structures, demanding a nuanced approach. Despite this, Cordeiro de Farias maintained an internalized standard of military discretion: "I have always fully accepted internal disagreements, but public disagreements do not" (Camargo, 1981, p. 246).

Gifted with a keen sense of adaptability, Cordeiro de Farias seemed to recognize that he needed to embrace **a certain dynamism to drive forward significant changes**. Excessive rigidity, he understood, would undermine his effectiveness as a leader—not only in military matters but also in managing civil society in Rio Grande do Sul, a region marked by unique characteristics. This flexibility would prove invaluable when he later returned to military-specific duties. Unlike Jünger, who was an intellectual and theorist, Cordeiro de Farias developed an intuitive understanding of total mobilization.

His ability to balance rigidity with adaptability was evident during the great flood of 1941, where he first implemented executive measures with technical precision.

I mobilized the entire population, schools, hospitals, commerce and industry, to deal with the emergency. I once again convened the secretariat and said: "In a few days we are going to have an unprecedented flood in Rio Grande". Until then, they did not believe much in the technical data, because on other occasions similar rains in Porto Alegre had not caused any greater damage. It so happens that we were at that point in time with incessant rains for 35 days at the head of the rivers. And it was indeed devastation [...] (Camargo, 1981, p. 257).

Next, without letting himself be interrupted by the dynamics of the interview, he himself adds another measure that seems to understand as no less urgent.

I'm going to tell you a curious case. In Porto Alegre, there was a cabaret called Clube dos Caçadores (Hunters Club) that, as was very common at that time, had become a meeting point of the leaders of Rio Grande: Osvaldo Aranha, Lindolfo Collor, Maurício Cardoso met there. It was a bohemian center frequented by cheerful women, coming from Uruguay and Argentina, including France, which became the center of life of the Rio Grande. With the flood, I occupied the cabaret site, which was already closed, and gave it to the nuns, transforming that place into a service station. And people said, "If this man can get nuns into the Hunters, then you really need to be careful of him!" (Camargo, 1981, p. 257).

It is crucial to recognize that there is no hierarchy between these two types of situations: both represent equally successful instances of mobilization. The significant German presence in Rio Grande do Sul manifested in various forms, including that of a potential adversary.

It is intriguing to note the indirect intersections between the paths of Jünger and Cordeiro de Farias, even before the conflict of 1940-1945. Jünger, who lived to be 103, later expressed regret over his association with Nazism—a regime he came to detest even before the outbreak of World War II. Out of a sense of duty to Germany, he served as a captain but did not refrain from documenting his discontent in subsequent diaries, where he lamented the loss of one of his sons on the Italian front. Nonetheless, Jünger initially viewed Nazism as a means of redeeming Germany. This movement, notwithstanding its horrors, adeptly wielded various non-military innovations, including propaganda through cinema and radio, which became a comprehensive social phenomenon.

This wave of propaganda soon reached German communities in Brazil, many of which were so insular that they neither spoke Portuguese nor allowed schools to teach it. Cordeiro de Farias had already grasped that such "non-military" issues could pose significant threats to national sovereignty.

So my decision needed to be, at the same time, radical and careful. I ordered the closure of all German schools, but one school was effectively closed only when the state government opened another to enroll students, because I had no right to leave the boys uneducated (Camargo, 1981, p. 269).

As he had to face a war without an official conflict, Cordeiro de Farias had to improvise an army of civil fighters, like that of his teacher-combatants.

The teachers, very selfless, were extraordinary assistants in this campaign. Those who were in a more hostile environment sent, through the Department of Education, a list of boys, children of the more recalcitrant families. Thus, we had a complete list of students who resisted accepting Brazilian educational standards. With such lists in hand, we began a major work: to bring these children to Porto Alegre, in large groups of five hundred children, above all during the Fatherland Week, to show them that there was a world outside their small German universe (Camargo, 1981, p.269-270).

Work, the form assumed by democratic energy in the total mobilization mode. This was also the conclusion of Cordeiro de Farias, even without the conceptual concern of an intellectual. In his work, including the Brazilian sea acted as an ally: “As in general they came from the mountainous region, they didn’t know the sea, which was a novelty for them. These new sensations confused their heads, and they went back to their hometowns with another vision of things, far more complicated [...]” (Camargo, 1981, p. 270).

His observations about which segments of the German community were most susceptible to Nazi influence are particularly noteworthy: those who had arrived most recently. Even more compelling is the perspective these newcomers had of Brazil.

They propagated the notion that Brazil lacked a cohesive national identity—a unified people bound by shared laws and culture. Instead, they saw merely a population, a mosaic of individuals encompassing Germans, Italians, Portuguese, Japanese, and people of all races—white, Black, and Asian. According to this pangermanist theory, which intensified under Hitler, Brazil was an unnatural amalgamation, lacking unity and direction (Camargo, 1981, p. 272).

This perception of Brazil’s supposed absence of a national identity seemed to resonate deeply within Cordeiro de Farias, sparking a response. For him, the “German problem” was a national issue, as evidenced by his efforts to support the intervenor of the neighboring state of Santa Catarina in addressing the same challenge:

Nereu [Ramos] did not have enough resources to confront the Nazis. And it was a serious problem due to the large concentration of Germans in the territory of Santa Catarina. Thus, I appointed teachers and police officers from the State of Santa Catarina, placing them on the payroll of the Rio Grande

do Sul government, and placing them at the disposal of Nereu, at his request. I did so not only out of solidarity, but also to reinforce my safety belt. After all, what would it be worth to attack the problem of the Rio Grande if there were no control of the neighboring state? (Camargo, 1981, p. 278).

For these and other reasons, it seems reasonable to believe the statement that: "I declared my war against Germany at the end of 1938, anticipating the start of the Second World War. And the campaign against Nazism in Rio Grande do Sul was the point of honor of my government" (Camargo, 1981, p. 273).

As we are profiling the person responsible for laying the cornerstone of the Brazilian War College, from his experience in command of the FEB artillery, we will leave the strictly military content for other studies. Osvaldo Cordeiro de Farias is important here, as he perfects his anthropological gaze:

In fact, we have no meaning, but it is the occasion to seek to acquire it. The participation of Brazil will be an affirmation of our personality. A kind of 'break-in' of the Western world, so we can penetrate it (Camargo, 1981, p. 309).

He saw the participation of Brazil in terms similar to those of Jünger: that of submitting, as a society, as a nation, to an earthquake of scale never seen before. What remained standing, this would be Brazil, obviously in accordance with the personal and institutional perception of that man: "What was being created, this was a mentality that nobody could prevent: there was fighting for a certain idea, and politics, here, was the antithesis of it" (Camargo, 1981, p. 358). Before we move on to his participation in the post-Second World War Brazilian crisis, which would have as consequence been named by Eurico Gaspar Dutra the man of ESG, it is worth noting the continuity of his training as an interpreter of Brazil and its people.

In Brazil, the initial aim was to select soldiers for the Brazilian Expeditionary Force (FEB) based on American physical standards. However, these guidelines proved inadequate. "We can't physically compare ourselves to their men. Our soldier is stunted, born stunted. That is true. Yet, these people from the Northeast, those from the slums, are incredibly brave. Thrown into battle, our soldier is capable of extraordinary feats. The Americans, on the other hand, are very fragile despite being well-nourished. Do you know that when you give an injection to a big man like that, he faints?" (Camargo, 1981, p. 311).

Brazil represented a unique whole, where physical frailty did not preclude heroism. The country's strength and gentleness stemmed from its people, who did not view ethnic differences as a decisive factor. This conclusion, echoing elements of Freyre's (2006) sociological studies, is not our own but comes from

the interviewee himself. It is thus worthwhile to reference a significant passage where Cordeiro de Farias reflects on the Brazilian character, shaped historically by the various “earthquakes” it has faced. He contrasts this with his experience in the United States, where, in Kansas, he witnessed segregation on buses—Black individuals had to travel in separate vehicles or sit only in the back seats. The general then offers a succinct anthropological and historical synthesis of Brazil.

This would be the difference between the struggles against fascism or communism and the other infighting that we had, in 1932 or during the march of the Column: **we were as Brazilian as those that attacked us**. Thus, once the fight was over, **the parties reconciled**. It is not like in the United States, where the opposition between the North and the South has left traces that are only disappearing today.

In Brazil, the fights have always brought together people of different races and origins. Those who expelled the Dutch were the Portuguese and their descendants, but undoubtedly there was a first stage of the struggle in which one could see **Mamluks, Africans, united** to expel a people that, at the time, had a hegemony, at least maritime, over the world. Throughout the internal or external struggles - such as the Paraguayan or Platine War -, there was always a mixture and people accepted this.

In the Second World War, I remember having gone to see the replacement of an American battalion by Brazilian troops. These substitutions are usually delicate and sometimes make a lot of noise. Behold, a black Brazilian soldier approaches me, grabs me by the arm and says: “You don’t stay here, you mustn’t stay here, because there are black people on the side there”. They were black Americans! I mean, he didn’t know if his color was black or not, but he knew that he was Brazilian and that he was treated as such (Camargo, 1981, p. 354).

A multifaceted figure, Cordeiro de Farias embodied the spirit of his era and uniquely synthesized conceptions of Brazilianness championed by the leading intellectuals of his time. As previously mentioned, the notion that Brazil had made significant strides in addressing racial issues within its multicultural society finds resonance in the work of Gilberto Freyre. However, Cordeiro de Farias’ personality, reflected in his actions and interpretations of the world, aligns closely with the concept of cordiality as explored by Sérgio Buarque de Holanda in *Raízes do Brasil* (*Roots of Brazil*), first published in 1936 and reissued multiple times since.

For Holanda (2014), the Brazilian is a *cordial* man. Yet, it is important not to oversimplify the meaning of this term as used by the historian. Cordiality refers to a character trait in which reason, action, and behavior are influenced by an overarching emotional orientation, marked by difficulty in adhering strictly to rigid rules and distinguishing between public and private realms. Holanda neither condemns nor praises this characteristic, but rather observes that its deep-rooted nature in the Brazilian people has necessarily led to a distinct path of civilizational development, differing from both European and American models.

This distinction is evident in Cordeiro de Farias' simultaneous admiration for American efficiency and his view of their rigidity as potentially counterproductive. From the outset, he understood that the Brazilian War College would develop its own unique ethos, even as it borrowed elements from American institutions.

Cordeiro de Farias' interpretations of Brazilian society reflect a degree of self-indulgence that influences his understanding of Brazil and its people. It is not a lack of sincerity but rather that his sincerity conditions him to overlook certain contradictions. This was exemplified when he joined Germanophile generals Góis Monteiro and Eurico Gaspar Dutra in opposing Getúlio Vargas' attempts to remain in power. The paradox of an authoritarian regime persisting after Brazil had fought against the Nazis in Europe was not lost on him, though it involved figures sympathetic to the defeated regime. Yet, this was consistent with his view of Brazilian adaptability: in Brazil, those who fight soon reconcile, and those who reconcile may fight again—all within the bounds of cordiality.

Cordeiro de Farias was a man of broad, dynamic vision, aiming to make the founding of the Brazilian War College (ESG) a synthesis of his worldview and a culmination of his observations as a student of Brazilian society. During his interactions with Americans on the front, he was struck by what Ernst Jünger would likely call an example of total mobilization: "The American general who, in Italy, commanded the resupply [...] was not a career military. In civilian life, he owned a supermarket!" (Camargo, 1981, p. 313). This was not the only instance he noted of civilian energy being transformed into wartime power.

In short, the fact is that this officer arrived — he was a boy, he was about 22 years old —, observed everything and gave instructions for altering all of our camouflage system. I had to admit, in the face of the obvious, that he knew what he was doing. The camouflage has actually gotten much better with the introduction of the recommended changes. I talked a lot with an officer, and I found out that in civilian life he was a set designer. A set designer! The only job he had in the war was to see the camouflage and to do it very well, because he was an expert. The fact is that my people fell in love with him, with the things

he had taught. From then on, he became almost an attaché of the FEB's artillery! He was treated mainly and nobody discussed what he said. Sometimes we thought that the camouflage was going to turn out bad and the result was an extraordinary thing! (Camargo, 1981, p. 313).

With this perspective, supported by extensive evidence that national security extends far beyond the military sphere, Cordeiro de Farias aimed to establish the foundations and strategic recommendations for the effective functioning of the Brazilian War College.

His vision was to cultivate both civil and military leaders capable of confronting the reality of a new kind of warfare—one that is no longer confined to the battlefield or limited to military confrontations but has evolved into a **total phenomenon** impacting the entirety of society and the structure of the nation. Under such conditions, civilians from a wide range of professional backgrounds would need to be prepared to assume roles potentially even more pivotal than those of the military (Camargo, 1981, p. 413).

If we generally accept, while setting aside any ideologically sensitive content, Jünger's idea that total mobilization serves as a means of harnessing a nation's democratic energy for self-defense, it becomes undeniable that the Brazilian War College has embodied this principle since its inception.

4 THE TOTAL MOBILIZATION IN THE BRAZILIAN WAR COLLEGE

Brazil is a remarkably complex country. On the level of social organization and intellectual discourse, this complexity implies that ideas running in parallel can be part of the same political framework, while ideologically similar concepts may be championed by opposing groups.

This dynamic can lead to certain interpretative temptations, such as aligning disparate elements or distancing closely related ones. It would be tempting, for instance, to immediately dissociate Cordeiro de Farias, a celebrated war hero, from Ernst Jünger, an intellectual of great renown who was also a formidable German combatant in both World Wars. It would be simpler to associate the FEB artillery commander more closely with Elmano Cardim, a figure who, as we will explore, exudes pronounced patriotic fervor.

However, when considering the concept of total mobilization, neither patriotic sentiment for Brazil nor opposition to Nazi Germany guarantees alignment in thought. This highlights the inherent property of conceptual frameworks that do not depend solely on patriotic leanings. As previously discussed, the understanding of total mobilization intuitively reached by Cordeiro de Farias aligns more closely with Jünger's intellectual framework than with Cardim's perspective, despite the

foundational connection between Cardim's work at the Brazilian War College and Farias' influence.

While it would be possible to explore hidden divergences or reluctant commonalities, we prefer to emphasize the richness and stimulating nature of intellectual exploration. The Brazilian War College seemingly nurtured this diversity of thought.

Elmano Cardim's idea of mobilization is grounded in different premises from those of Jünger. Unlike the German thinker, whose central reference was the First World War, Cardim's pivotal moment is the Second World War. This difference, however, is secondary compared to Cardim's fundamental rejection of the idea that global conflict has the power to revolutionize every aspect of national life. Instead, he viewed total war as a means to uphold ancestral principles and values. Cardim's vision of total mobilization was firmly anchored in the Christian ethos, a moral force he deemed essential for commanding the material resources needed in warfare. Faced with the choice between moral or material superiority, Cardim would undoubtedly choose the former.

The importance of moral forces in war is all the greater the deeper the awareness of moral values in national formation among combatants. For this reason, protecting and preserving in the people the notion of morality with the defense of their postulates, with the diffusion, with and example of their observance, with the improvement of their sense, is to work for national unity, for the strengthening of the race, for the greatness of the destiny of the fatherland (Cardim, 1951, p.4).

The divergence from Jünger's perspective begins to become evident here, as Cardim's terms suggest not a modern revolution, but rather a restoration and preservation of values with almost transcendental significance. Cardim went so far as to assert that the primary work must be conducted in peacetime: "This work is not built on war, but on peace. It is the fruit of education and has, in the family and in the school, its great civic laboratory, and today it is absolutely essential to war" (Cardim, 1951, p. 4).

While Jünger would agree that total mobilization is a state of readiness established during peacetime, he recognized a fundamental distinction between potential readiness and active engagement. It is only through war that the full extent and quality of total mobilization can be revealed, as it does not unfold on static grounds but through dynamic processes. As discussed earlier, Cordeiro de Farias, from an early age, experienced mobilization both during peacetime and through internal crises, yet he understood that war imposes a fundamental threshold that

must be crossed. In contrast, Cardim's refusal to attribute a revelatory role to war, treating it instead as a sphere of consecration, effectively reverses the relationship between peace and war in the framework of total mobilization. His approach leans more toward a logic rooted in character and moral integrity than in the modernization of the Brazilian nation.

That is the great problem facing the preparation of total war. It is not difficult, of course, for you who have the responsibility for war to solve the problem, which escapes your authority in peacetime, to be, when the tragic day comes, the condition of success of your action in defense of the homeland. It is therefore necessary for the responsibility of other sectors to be alerted to bring you cooperation that will make up for your forced absence. It will be the legislators, the educators, the heads of the family, the bosses, all those who can have some influence in the spiritual formation of the people and in the preservation of the moral reserves of nationality (Cardim, 1951, p. 7).

5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Revisiting Jünger's concept of civil war—the kind that absorbs and redefines purely military conflict—Cardim appears to have inverted the order by adhering to the logic that it is the civil forces that must transform and direct military energy, rather than the military adapting to the new sociopolitical context. While Jünger indeed speaks of spiritual strength and value-driven motivations as superior to material causes, he contends that total mobilization must signify the acceptance of a modernizing revolution of these principles, not simply the restoration of enduring moral values. This distinction is crucial.

Cordeiro de Farias, while not synthesizing the two positions or representing a distinct third option, demonstrates an alignment with Jünger's view through his actions as both a military commander and a civil intervenor in Rio Grande do Sul. Farias understood that new eras require new values. Although his discourse reflects a shared Brazilian narrative contemporary with Cardim's, it is evident that his interpretation of total mobilization and its social and material implications resonates more closely with Jünger's perspective.

Colonel Aviator Teófilo Otoni de Mendonça, another lecturer at the Brazilian War College (ESG) in 1951, takes an approach different from Cardim's, interpreting world war as an unprecedented phenomenon. When discussing "total war," he asserts without hesitation: "This kind of war is new. It is modern warfare in the twentieth century" (Mendonça, 1951, p. 1).

Nevertheless, Mendonça soon gravitates toward a Prussian-style militarization of civil life within the war effort. Addressing the allocation of

economic, industrial, agricultural, and financial resources, he emphasizes: "These must be organized, coordinated and directed with the same strategy that governs the use of purely military weapons" (Mendonça, 1951, p. 2). Yet, he is quick to highlight the conceptual ambiguity in balancing militarism and civilian life—a challenge that underscores the difficulty of redefining their relationship. Mendonça, in an apparent contradiction, ends up subsuming military priorities under a broader societal framework.

The war was no longer a struggle between the armed forces of the belligerents, but interested all the living forces of a Nation, because only these - represented by their human, agro-industrial, technical-scientific, financial, trade, transport - can, by their productivity, provide the necessary energy to the fighting forces for the ultimate purpose of winning victory (Mendonça, 1951, p.2).

Mendonça talks about energy and takes another step that brings him closer to the concept presented by Ernst Jünger, which brings war and work closer together. Mendonça, in this case, leads us to an almost coincidence between soldier and worker.

Today, the human factor remains as decisive in war as it was in the past; indeed: today **man is part of a war not only as an element of combat, but also as an element of production**. In modern warfare, there is a need for men to wage war and men to keep the war machine running; it is obvious that there must be a fair relationship between combatant soldiers and workers soldiers, taking military and economic situations as the basis for determining this relationship, but it is beyond doubt that a Nation that engages in war, in the present, must utilize every human potential that exists within its borders because total war affects not only its military forces but also the spirit and life of each of its inhabitants (Mendonça, 1951, p. 2-3).

Teófilo Otoni de Mendonça's work delves into various sectors of Brazilian society and their potential contributions to the war effort. Notably, his anthropological examination of the *worker-soldier* concept stands out as particularly compelling, aligning him more closely with Ernst Jünger's well-established ideas. This alignment illustrates the depth of the debates that began to unfold early within the Brazilian War College.

Since the two World Wars, discussions of total mobilization have inevitably relied on established terminology, emphasizing the comprehensive nature of warfare that transcends the military domain. However, while this discourse often points to seemingly similar conclusions, it is essential to recognize that its underlying premises can differ significantly. As such, parallels in outcomes might mislead us into assuming shared foundational assumptions. The reality is that the concept of total mobilization is influenced by numerous variables. Emerging from an esteemed participation in the Second World War and still reshaping itself following the *Estado Novo* period, Brazil sought new ways to define and understand a cohesive national identity. The Brazilian War College certainly provided a unique setting for such explorations and facilitated meaningful discussions on the subject.

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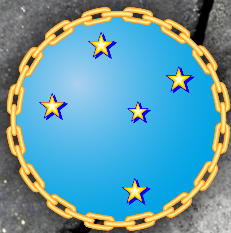
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