

Report from Rio by Silvia Palacios and Lorenzo Carrasco

A disastrous security doctrine

Brazil's new National Defense Policy abandons the defense of sovereignty and economic development.

In a document released on Nov. 7, the government of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso revealed its new National Defense Policy (PDN), which is another step forward in the British agenda to demilitarize the Ibero-American continent, subordinating the Armed Forces to the much-ballyhooed "civil democratic order." The government doesn't try to hide the fact that the policy puts an end to Brazil's traditional national security doctrine, lining up instead with the dictates of the Wall Street-linked Inter-American Dialogue think-tank, of which Cardoso is a founding member.

The politically explosive nature of the situation is due, on the one hand, to the passive resistance of Brazil's Armed Forces, which refuse to be converted into a simple national guard; on the other hand, U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry is pressuring Brazil to immediately adopt the demilitarization policies discussed at the October meeting of the Defense Ministerial of the Americas, held in San Carlos de Bariloche, Argentina (see *EIR*, Nov. 1, 1996, p. 47).

This is the first time since Brazil's military government ended in 1985, that a project of this nature was not the result of the General Staff's analysis of the national and world strategic situation, but rather of a "democratic consensus" with the participation of civilian government agencies, the Foreign Ministry, and Strategic Affairs Secretariat—the latter an intelligence agency attached to the Presidency of the Republic. Military ministers were merely one group among many other

participants in formulating the policy.

As the daily *O Estado de São Paulo* editorialized on Nov. 9, "for the first time in Brazilian history, a government—a civilian one at that—has set clear and public guidelines for the Armed Forces, making clear that military subordination to the civilian branch has been consolidated."

Using the pretext that the Cold War is over, the National Defense Policy eliminates from the concept of defense of national sovereignty and territorial integrity all internal conflicts, reducing them to dangers of "armed gangs operating in the Amazon region." So, from the standpoint of post-modern strategists, such pro-terrorist operations as the Landless Movement (MST), linked to the narco-terrorist São Paulo Forum, represents no threat to sovereignty at all.

By making approval of financial resources a key conditionality, the PDN echoes the recommendations made by, among others, former U.S. defense secretary and former World Bank president Robert McNamara, to financially strangle the Armed Forces. "Defense expenditures must be compatible with economic stabilization and social commitments," said President Cardoso at the ceremony inaugurating the PDN.

The worst aspect of the PDN, however, is that it eliminates the national security doctrine which, in Brazil, has been premised on the principles of national security and development. Through its embrace of globalism, the government has stripped the Armed Forces of their institutional role as a

moderating power, eliminating their historical mission of building and defending a sovereign economy, and reducing them to a police force subject to internal and external political developments. Thus separated from the mission of economic, scientific, and technological development as the centerpiece of national defense doctrine, the Armed Forces will be limited to participating in the United Nations' one-worldist peacekeeping missions.

President Cardoso's plan, in fact, is to return the Armed Forces to their pre-1930 status, in which they were divided regionally and were dependent on local powers. The concept of a General Staff really only took root in the country as a result of the Lieutenants' Movement, a nationalist military rebellion against the oligarchy which culminated in the Revolution of 1930. Out of this came the idea of building an industrial power and developing economic infrastructure as the bases of a nation-building project, strongly influenced by a French military training mission (1920-40), which brought with it the ideas of national economic development of German-American economist Friedrich List.

Forcing a change in Brazil's doctrine was one of the primary strategic objectives of the demilitarization project known as the "Bush Manual," since it was set up under the direction of State Department official Luigi Einaudi in 1986. The "Bush Manual" crew had complained in its book *The Military and Democracy: the Future of Civil-Military Relations in Latin America*, that "the 1964 Brazilian elaboration of a national security doctrine, which formalized military professional responsibility to respond to internal security threats and to play a role in national development matters, has profoundly influenced debates in other militaries."