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CENTRO DE ESTUDOS INTERNACIONAIS
SOBRE GOVERNO

**COORDINATING NATIONAL
DEFENSE PUBLIC POLICIES
ANALYZING THE CASE OF BRAZIL**

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CONCEPTS

Security and Defense as Public Policy

- National Security institutions and policies are characterized by strong bureaucratic interests, weaker (than social policies) civil society pressure groups, and stronger (than Legislative and Judiciary) Executive clout. They justify themselves as a very expensive insurance policy.
- The National Security sector is comprised by the Defense Policy, the Foreign Policy, the Intelligence Policy, and the Law Enforcement Policy clusters.
- **Defense** policies' main goal is to expand military capabilities to ensure some level of deterrence and security, even if the combating forces remain asymmetric.

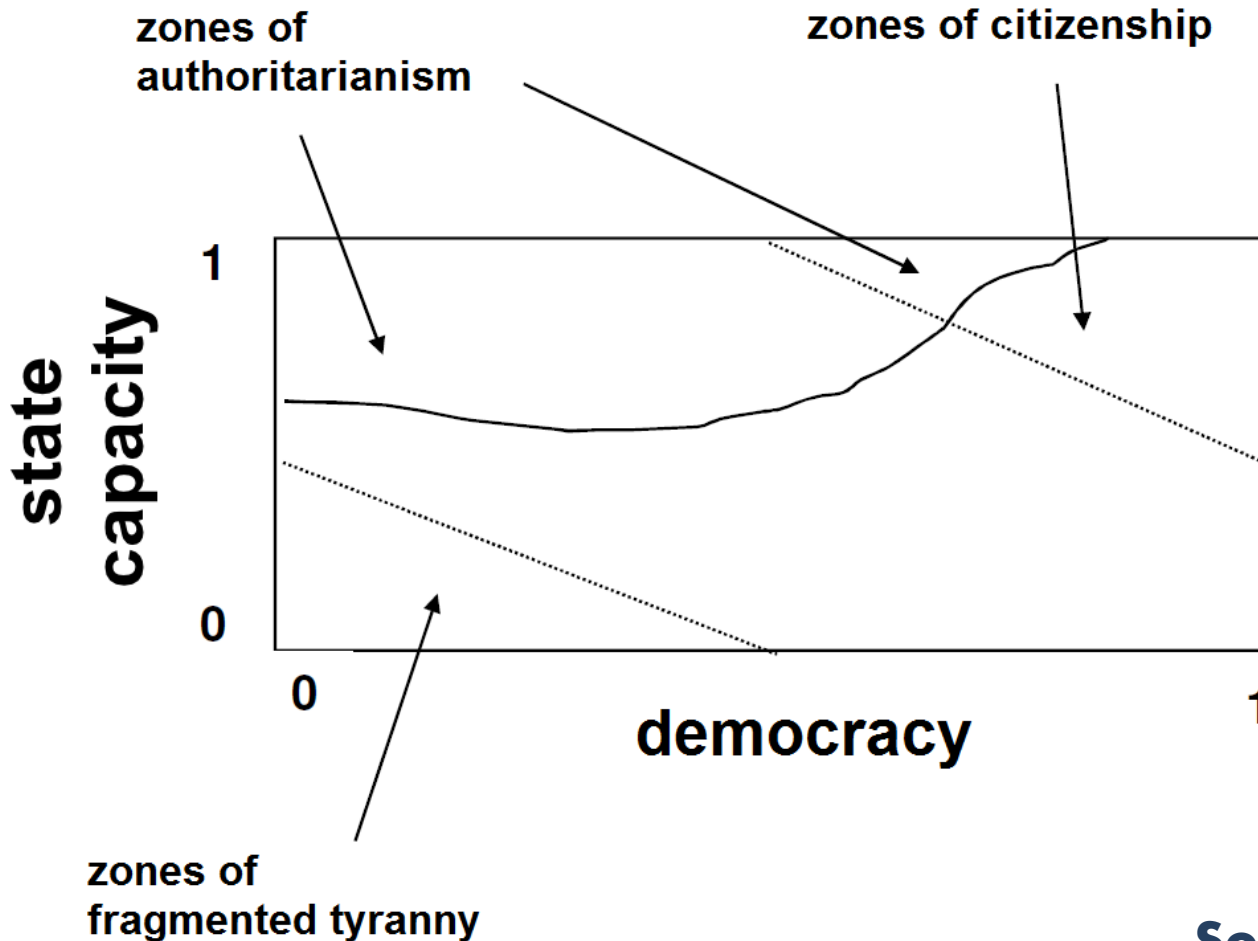
Source: Zegart, 1999; Alsina Jr., 2003.

Compelling Factors for Public Policy Results



Source: Parsons, 1997.

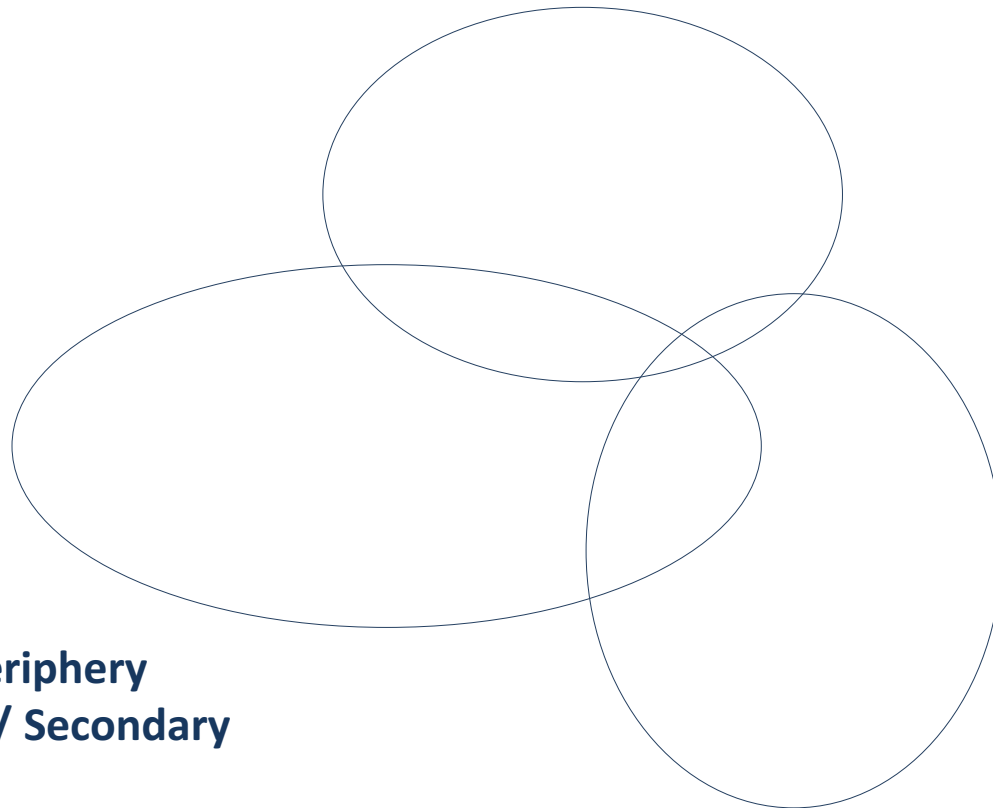
Polity in the International System



Source: Tilly, 2007.

Semiperiphery and World Capitalism

Organic Core
Innovation / Knowledge



Semiperiphery
Production / Secondary

Periphery
Consumption/ Primary

Source: Arrighi, 1994.

office-seeking

policy-seeking

parties

interest groups

competition

participate in government

citizens

Problems and themes

representation

**government
+
bureaucracy**

policies'
formation

information

media

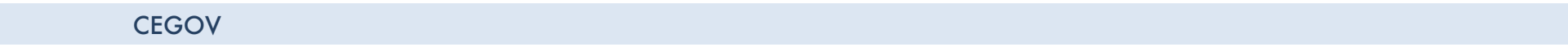
electoral system

party
system

interests'
mediation
structure

policy results

policies implementation



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BRAZIL

Obstacles to Overcome

- Highly unequal and hierarchical society
- Authoritarianism in Society and State
- Late and incomplete industrialization
- Personalist and clientelistic political life
- Corporativism versus social class' organization
- Corruption and tax evasion as elite *mores*
- Bureaucratic insulation
- Armed Forces: conditional subordination

Source: Nunes, 1997.

Brazilian Political System

- Democracy (Freedom House 79/100)
- Presidentialism
- Decentralized federalism
- Symmetric and Incongruent Bicameralism
- Proportional Representation
- Single Majority for the Senate
- Open list electoral system
- Electoral districts with high magnitude (mean = 19)
- Multipartism (35 parties, $N_p = 12,7$)
- Campaign financing as a % of income/profits
- Main Parties (PMDB, PT, and PSDB) = 38% seats

What went wrong?

2015 March

Petrobras corruption scandal and Car Wash Operation. Hundreds of thousands protest against President Rousseff.

2015 August

Defeated presidential candidate Aécio Neves (PSDB) demand Dilma Rousseff's resignation. The Workers' Party (PT) is largely blamed for the corruption scandal and the faulty economic situation.

2016 April

Lower house of Congress votes in favor of impeachment motion against President Dilma Rousseff.

The Workers Party accuses opponents of launching a media and parliament led coup d'état.

2016 May

Senate votes in favor of subjecting President Rousseff to an impeachment trial. She is suspended pending the trial.

2016 December

Congress changes the Constitution to approve a 20-year long freeze on social spending. Brazil's GDP growth in 2016 was -3,5% compared with previous year, making the worst recession since 1929.

2017 January

Prison riots and deteriorating social conditions are met by President Temer decision to increase the use of Armed Forces in public order missions.

2015 October

PMDB dissolves the alliance with PT. Top finance court (TCU) accuses government of breaking **fiscal laws** to offset 2014 budget shortfall.

2015 December

Led by Eduardo Cunha (PMDB), the Chamber of Deputies launches impeachment proceedings against President Rousseff. Brazil's GDP growth in 2015 was -3,8%.

2016 August

Senators vote to remove President Dilma Rousseff from office for supplement the budget without previous Congress authorization. Michel Temer (PMDB) is sworn in to serve until 2018. PSDB takes part in the new all white/male cabinet.

2016 November

The new government starts a very aggressive austerity program, trying to revert social, environment, and civil rights initiatives from the Lula-Rousseff governments.

2017 April

Massive protests and a general strike against additional bills reducing pensions and labor rights.

2017 May

Temer (PMDB) and PSDB leader Aécio Neves face **direct corruption charges** against them. Supreme Court and Congress are reluctant to press the case.

2017 June

Brazil's Top Electoral Court acquits Rouseff-Temer ticket regarding accusations of electoral fraud in 2014. Lula is ahead in electoral opinion polls and the Workers Party are still the most preferred party (by a minority of 18% respondents).

National Security in Brazil

Tier 1

- Presidency
- National councils (absence of NSC)
- Specialized Congressional committees

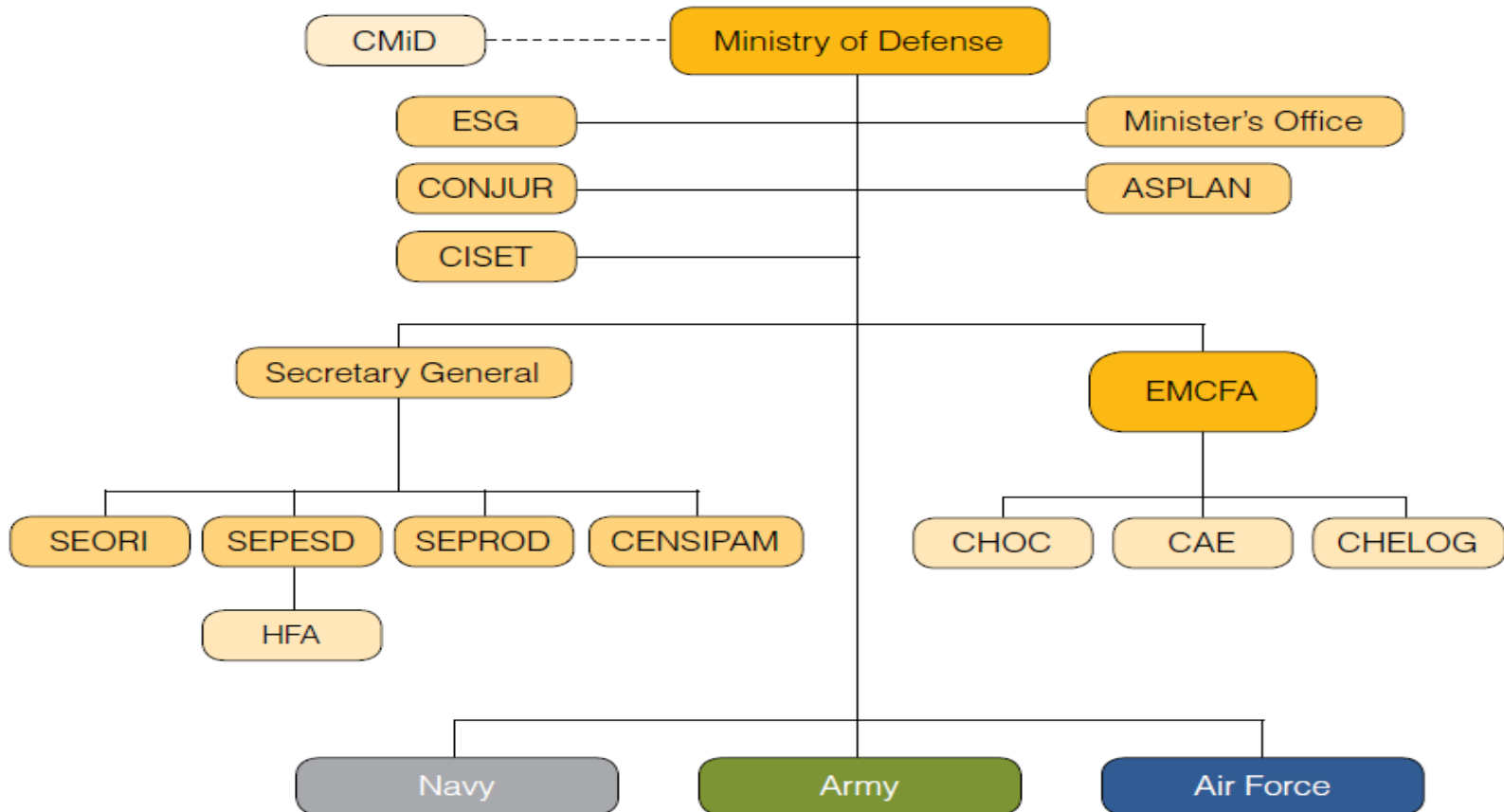
Tier 2

- Ministries (Defense, Justice, and Foreign Affairs)
- Departments (GSI-PR, SAE-PR, SENASP-MJ)

Tier 3

- Armed Forces (Navy, Army, and Air Force)
- Law Enforcement (Federal Police, 27 states x2 police)
- Intelligence (ABIN, Military Agencies, Police Agencies)

Ministry of Defense



Source: Brazil, 2012

National Defense Documents

PND - National Defense Policy (2005)

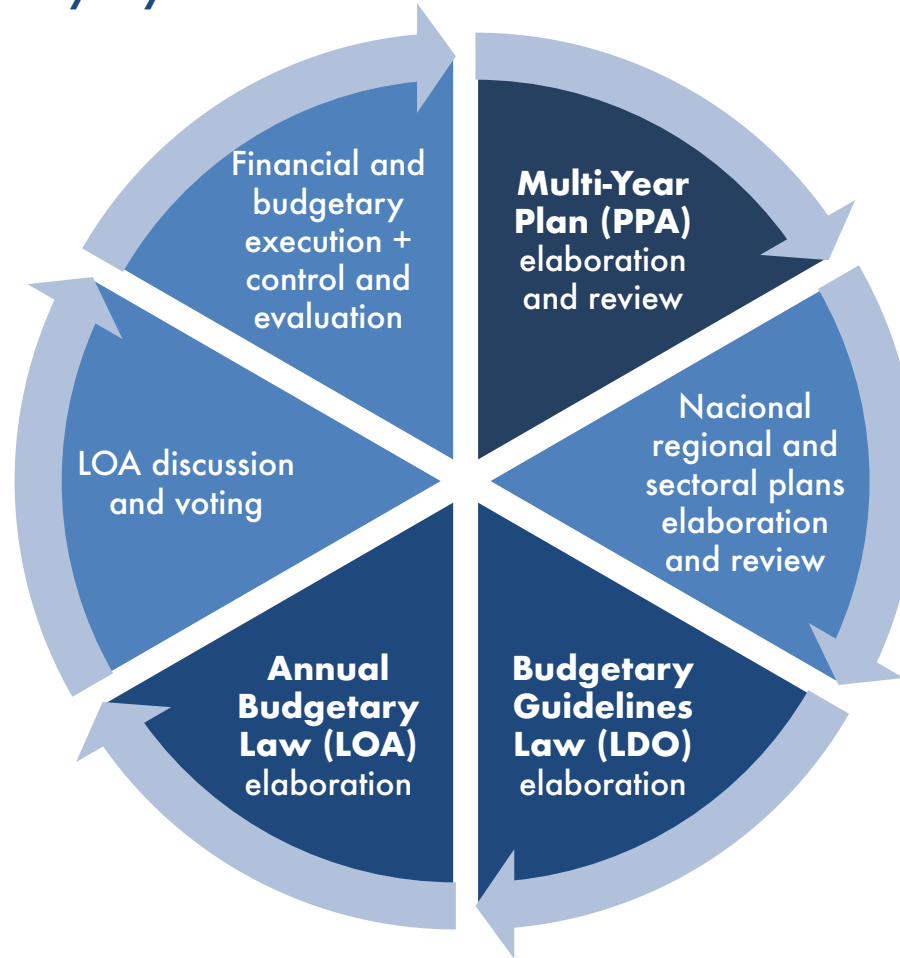
END - National Defense Strategy (2008)

LBDN - National Defense White Book (2012)

By law, the National Defense Documents are to be reviewed by the Brazilian National Congress in a quadrennial basis. The Executive branch as sent the new documents to the Legislative in 2016, but they are yet to be approved by the Congress.

Budgetary Authority

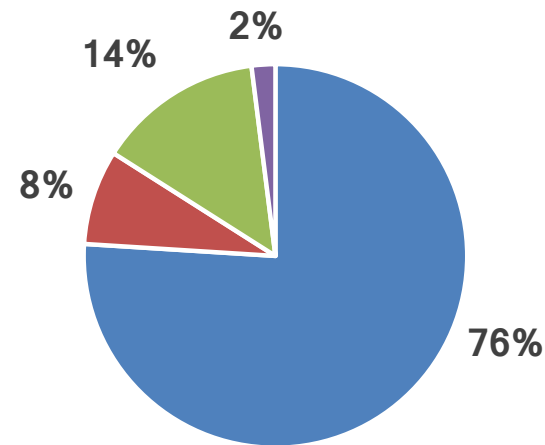
- Brazilian Budgetary Cycle



Source: Giacomoni, 2005.

Budgetary Authority

- Annual Defense Budget
 - US\$ 26.5 billions (2017)
 - 1.57% of GDP
 - 7.5% of Federal Budget
- Budget profile:



■ Personnel ■ Procurement
■ Operations and maintenance ■ Others

Source: IHS Jane's Defense Budgets, 2017.

Main Legal Provisions

Constitution

Art. n° 142: Armed Forces (missions, structure, function)

Art. n° 27: Ministry of Defense (organization)

Defense Organization

Complementary Law n° 97/1999 (armed force employment)

Complementary Law n° 136/2010 (EMCFA)

Federal Transparency

Law n° 12,527/2011 (freedom of Information)

National Intelligence

Law n° 9,883/1999

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CONCLUSION

Political Crisis and Defense

- Very conservative and unstable Temer team
- Foreign Policy highly controversial and weak
- Federal Public Ministry (MPF) and Federal Police, growing protagonism with mixed results in terms of reinforcing the rule of law
- Risk of Civil-Military clashes due to deteriorating public order and political tensions
- Cabinet of Institutional Security (GSI) led by Army
- Ministry of Defense reduces civilian participation

Budgetary Crisis and Defense

- Corruption scandals and the Car Wash Operation: severe negative effects on the biggest Brazilian enterprises in the construction and oil/gas sectors
- Odebrecht Defense and Technology, Mectron etc.
- FX-2 program is **behind schedule**
- Scorpene conventional submarines
- SISFRON (borders surveillance)
- SisGAAz (oceanic surveillance) **paralyzed**

Coordinating Defense in Brazil ?

- Institutional design lacks Congressional Oversight and National Security established arenas to coordinate defense, foreign, intelligence, and law enforcement policies.
- Hegemony crisis in major society-state systems (media, electoral, party, and interest groups mediation structures) entails lack of consensus regarding ends and means to achieve national objectives.
- Civil society tends to be detached from defense matters due to two factors.
- First, the low level of direct external military threats perceived by the Brazilian society. Since the end of the 19th century Brazil has solved territorial disputes through diplomatic means. This very benevolent view of the regional international environment is complemented by a persistent difficulty to understand power politics at a global level as something that affects the national life.
- Second, due to long term involvement in politics and the long shadow of the last civil-military dictatorship (1964-1985), nowadays the armed forces official policy and discourse is one of Constitutional obedience and restraint. Hopefully this will last until the current crisis is solved by democratic means.

Which Strategic Goals?

1. To sustain multilateral security commitments both regionally (UNASUR) and globally (UN PKO)
2. To dissuade aggression and to defend the national territory, the population, the resources, as well as the Brazilian interests abroad
3. To attend additional missions provided by the Constitution to its armed forces (development, public order assistance, and natural emergencies efforts)

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