ABSTRACT
The Defense Studies in Brazil: from its origins to the creation of the Ministry of Defense

This paper aims to make a brief overview of the history and agenda of Defense Studies in Brazil, an interdisciplinary area that involves political science, international relations and other related disciplines. We will focus our efforts until 1999, when the Ministry of Defense was createdin the second presidential term of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1999-2002). The Defense Studies have been an important area in Human Sciences - with the institutionalization of the field with the creation of the Brazilian Association of Defense Studies and the attempt to a better dialogue between researchers and the Ministry of Defense - given the historical importance of the military in Brazilian politics and the international projection that the country has pursued in recent decades. In this sense, we will approach our work highlighting the importance and the recent research agenda on civil-military relations in the country.

Keywords: defense studies; civil-military relations in brazil; political science.

RESUMO

O presente trabalho objetiva fazer um breve balanço da trajetória e agenda do campo dos Estudos de Defesa no Brasil, uma área interdisciplinar que envolve Ciência Política, Relações Internacionais e outras disciplinas correlatas. Concentraremos nossos esforços até o ano de 1999, quando foi criado o Ministério da Defesa no segundo mandato presidencial de Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1999-2002). Os Estudos de Defesa têm se constituído uma importante área nas Ciências Humanas – com a institucionalização do campo na Associação Brasileira de Estudos de Defesa e da busca de maior diálogo entre pesquisadores e o Ministério da Defesa - dada a importância histórica das Forças Armadas na política brasileira e na projeção internacional que o país tem perseguido nas últimas décadas. Neste sentido, abordaremos nosso assinalando a importância e agenda recente dos estudos sobre as relações civis-militares no país.

Palavras-chave: estudos de defesa, relações civil-militares no brasil; ciência política.

The Defense Studies in Brazil: from its origins to the creation of the Ministry of Defense

Ludolf Waldmann Júnior[1]
Paulo Gustavo Pellegrino Correa[2]

INTRODUCTION

Georges Clemenceau, French Prime Minister during World War II, once said that "war is too serious a matter to be left only to the generals". The phrase of the French politician points to two key issues: the importance of maintaining a civil control over the military, as well as over the conduct of the country's defense policy. In the field of political thought, classical authors such as Plato, Aristotle, Thucydides and Sun Tzu already noted the relevance of the state to worry about the issues of defense and military organization. Machiavelli, in turn, devoted several chapters of The Prince to address the need of the sovereign prepare their defenses to not lose control of their state.

These concerns of political philosophy were soon incorporated, in the early twentieth century, to the emerging academic disciplines of Political Science and International Relations. The experience of WWI and WWII and the beginning of the Cold War demonstrated the importance of the issues of military organization and defense, which became to constitute a new interdisciplinary field, the Strategic Studies or Defense Studies.

In Brazil, the area was formed very recently. Although there is a long trajectory of military involvement in Brazilian politics, it is possible that the small amount of threats to national defense during the twentieth century, and the relative absence of long periods of armed conflict in Latin America as well as the late institutionalization of the disciplines that form the basis of the area (especially Political Science and International Relations[3]) have delayed

1 PhD Student in Political Science at the Federal University of São Carlos. Has a FAPESP Fellowship (2013/22061-1). E-mail: ludolfjr@hotmail.com.

2 PhD in Political Science and professor of the International Relations course at the Federal University of Amapá (UNIFAP). Researcher at the Observatory of Guyana Shield Borders (OBFRON). Email: paulogustavo1978@gmail.com. This Researcher has support for the research project Pró-Defesa (Call 031-2013).

3 It is valid to remember that in Brazil the first university will be founded in the early decades of the twen-

the formation of this field in the country.

Institutionally, we can trace the origins of Defense Studies in the Brazilian academic world back to the mid 1980's. In 1984, at the 8thMeeting of the National Association of Graduate Studies and Research in Social Sciences (Portuguese: 8º Encontro da Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação e Pesquisa em Ciências Sociais - ANPOCS), Professor René Armand Dreifuss, professor of Political Science at the Federal University of Minas Gerais by that time, coordinated the Working Group "Forças Armadas, Estado e Sociedade"[4]. Since then, WGs on military and defense themes have been part of the annual meetings of ANPOCS and originated other academic groups, as we will mention later on.

The institutionalization process of the field continued with the creation of the Strategic Study Center (Portuguese: Núcleo de Estudos Estratégicos) at the University of Campinas (NEE / UNICAMP) in 1985. This center, whose first coordinator was Professor Eliezer Rizzo de Oliveira, brought together researchers from different departments and was the first academic organization dedicated to the field of Defense Studies. In the following year, a new Strategic Study Center was created, this time at the Fluminense Federal University (NEST / UFF) under the coordination of Professor René Armand Dreifuss.

New developments in the field soon occurred during the early years of the next decade. The military perspective on the political transition, the military regime and the 1964 coup would be the focus of extensive research conducted by the researchers Maria Celina D'Araújo, Gláucio Ary Dillon Soares and Celso Castro in the Brazilian Contemporary History Research and Documentation Center of the Getulio Vargas Foundation (Portuguese: Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil - CPDOC/FGV) since 1991 (Castro, Izecksohn, Kraay, 2004). Using interviews as a methodological resource, the researchers sought to reconstruct the historical memory of officers and important characters to the military regime.

We also highlight the creation of the Ana Lagôa Archive (Portuguese: Arquivo Ana Lagôa - AAL), belonging to the Department of Social Sciences at the Federal University of São Carlos. The Archive was created in 1996 from the donation of journalist Anna MasciaLagôa and since then has substantially increased its collection. The AAL absorbed the material related to the activities of the Research Group "Forças Armadas e Política" from PPGCSo-UFSCar (the Social Sciences Graduate Programme of the University), and now it contributes with the discussions of the evolution of Brazilian Armed Forces in the post-cold war era.

After a long period with no big news, in the early twenty first centurythe Defense Studies field started to grow again and it went institutionalized. This process began with the reactivation of the NEST / UFF in 2003 under the coordination of Professor Euricode Lima Figueiredo, after a period in which virtually ceased its activities. Two years later, the area effectively gotinstitutionalized. During the 29th ANPOCS Meeting a group of scholars from the WG "Forças Armadas, Estado e Sociedade", coordinated by João Roberto Martins, Professor of the Department of Social Sciences at the Federal University of São Carlos,

tieth century. Social Sciences, in turn, will emerge only in the 1930s with the Free School of Sociology and Politics, University of São Paulo and the Federal District University.

4 The program of this ANPOCS meeting and the respective annals is in the association's website. Available on: http://portal.anpocs.org/portal/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=488&Itemid=373. Accessed on February 28th, 2016.

founded the Brazilian Association of Defense Studies (Portuguese: Associação Nacional de Estudos de Defesa - ABED).

Also in 2006, an agreement between the Ministry of Defense and the Higher Education Personnel Improvement Coordination (Portuguese: Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior - CAPES)was signed. The Pro-Defesa Program was then created. The still in action program, aims to establish academic cooperation networks in the country in the national defense field, enabling the production of scientific and technological research and training graduates in the area. The fact of it is an inter-institutional program with a specific focus enabled the creation and consolidation of research lines in master's and doctoral degree programs in Brazil.

In recent years, the field of Defense Studies has been established and obtained a significant space in Brazilian academic world. In 2007, by initiative of NEST / UFF, it was createdthe first graduate program in the area, the Graduate Program in Strategic Studies of Defense and Security (Portuguese: Programa de Pós-Graduação em Estudos Estratégicos da Defesa e da Segurança). Three years later, the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul also created its Graduate Program in International Strategic Studies (Portuguese: Programa de Pós-Graduação em Estudos Estratégicos Internacionais). It is also worth pointing out the conversion of the NEST / UFF to the first academic institute dedicated to the field with the creation of the Institute of Strategic Studies in 2012.

As regarding academic organizations overall, in just over ten years after its creation, ABED constituted as an important entity that promotes dialogue and research between state and society, bringing together researchers from institutions throughout Brazil. It has already been conducted eight national meetings throughout Brazil since the first meeting back in 2007 at the Federal University of São Carlos, as well as dozens of regional and local meetings.

Considering thatthe Defense Studies constitute a broad and interdisciplinary field within the Humanities, our goal here will be to take stock of the agenda and the trajectory of the civil-military relations in Brazil.We have no intention to make a broad analysis of the entire academic production on the issues but a brief overview that highlights the main production of Brazilian authors.

The civil-military relations constitute a relevant field of the Defense Studies and it is an important area within the perspective of Political Science. The historic role of military in Brazilian politics and the experience of a recent past of just over two decades under military regime have turned the civil-military relations even more relevant for the Brazilian Academy. Few studies have made synthesis on the production in the area. Among the main studies that accomplished that, we can point Coelho (1985) and Zaverucha & Teixeira (2003). The first author, a pioneer in the study of civil-military relations in Brazil, has mapped the production of Brazilian and foreign researchers up to that point, highlighting the different approaches. Zaverucha & Teixeira (2003) took stock of the area focusing on the period between the military dictatorial regime and the end of the former President Fernando Henrique Cardoso (FHC) government. In addition to these works, we can also highlight others. Ferraz (1998) sought to make a historical sketch of civil-military relations in Brazil from the time of Brazilian monarchy until the first FHC government. The work of Castro, Izecksohn and Kraay (2004), despite focusing on the analysis of the trajectory of

Brazilian Military History, devoted part of its attention to the prospects of Political Science over the military. Lemos (2013), in turn, discussed the main interpretations of civil-military relations in Brazil.

MILITARY AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

The idea that military matters are politically important has a long historical trajectory. In contemporary Political Science, only after World War IIarose important works analyzing the military and its impacts on the domestic affairs, in which the works that begin the field of Civil-Military Relations Theories are highlighted.

The US decision to maintain a large military personnel in the post-World War II, in view of the Cold War climate that was emerging, created concerns about the possible threats that the maintenance of this massive military structure could cause to democracy. These concerns led to the publication, from the mid-1950s, of a series of works in the area of Political Science and Sociology that opened the field of theories of Civil-Military Relations. Two books are often mentioned as the founders of this field: the publication in 1957 of The Soldier and the State, by Samuel Huntington, and in 1960 The Professional Soldier, by Morris Janowitz. Both emphasize the American idea on how to preserve liberal democracy considering of the challenges posed by the Cold War to the country's security[5]. It was up to Samuel Finer, who published The Man on Horse Back in 1962, to introduce the study of civil-military relations on the so-called Third World countries.

Considering the various coups and military regimes of his time[6], Finer (2006) criticized the previous works which considered civilian supremacy over the military as a given thing. As he pointed out, the main issue was not "why do they rebel against their civilian masters, but why they have ever obeyed them" (p. 6). In this sense, some organizational characteristics of the armed forces strengthened their political power, while others reduced it. The central issue of civilian control was not the military professionalization, as advocated by Huntington, but rather to full acceptance of the military headquarters under civilian supremacy. More specifically on the civil-military relations in Latin America, Edwin Lieuwen's work Arms and Politics in Latin America (1961) and John Johnson's work The Military and Society in Latin America (1964) are considered pioneers. The authors sought to understand the phenomenon of militarism in Latin American politics, returning to the creation of the armed forces in the region, the authoritarian leadership phenomenon (known as caudilhismo) and the emergence of military professionalization in the twentieth century.

The appearance of works on the military theme in Latin America had as background the new US emphasis on the region in the context of the Cold War. The victory of the Cuban Revolution in 1959 and numerous coups on the continent in the 1960s, including the 1964 Military Coup in Brazil, were accompanied by an influx of experts on Latin America and

5 Despite the focus on the US case, Huntington (2002) pointed out that the objective and subjective models of civilian control were found across the globe. Specifically on Latin America, he said the region was traditionally marked by subjective model of civilian control.

6 As Finer (2006) himself says, between 1958 and 1961 there were coups (both successful and unsuccessful) in Thailand, Burma, Venezuela, Pakistan, France, Iraq, Cambodia, Sudan, Turkey, Congo, Ethiopia, Laos, South Korea, Dominican Republic and Somalia. By the time he wrote his work, there were 11 dictatorships that he classified as military: Thailand, Pakistan, Egypt, Sudan, Iraq, Spain, Portugal, South Korea, El Salvador, Paraguay and Nicaragua.

Brazilianists (Castro, Izecksohn, Kraay, 2004).

The concern of understanding the phenomenon of the coup and the military regime in Brazil was evident in the work of this generation of Brazilianists. Among those who centered their analysis in the military, we can highlight some influent authors such as June Hahner (1969)[7] and John Schulz (1971)[8],who focused their analysis on civil-military relations and the transformation of the Army into a political actor at the end of the nineteenth century. However, the most influent Brazilianist on the civil-military relations would be Alfred Stepan, whose work The Military in Politics: Changing Patterns in Brazil, from 1971[9], would become a mandatory reference in political science studies on the subject in Brazil.

The work of Stepan (1975) sought to understand the changes in the military (primarily in the Brazilian Army) and its relations with the civil elites that led to the 1964 coup and the military regime. The author did not try to make a model for the understanding of civil-military relations throughout Brazilian history, but only in the democratic period prior to the coup. In his point of view, the determining factor in the military political action were neither the institutional characteristics of the armed forces nor the social origins of its officers, but the relationship between the military subsystem with the Brazilian political system.

Starting from Huntington's thesis on the classic models of civil-military relations, Stepan (1975) concluded that none of them could be appropriate in the Latin American case. For these countries, the pattern of civil-military relations was the "moderating power". According to the author, in "praetorian" societies such as Latin Americans (where society is highly politicized but the political institutions are weak), the military was politicized and all the civilian groups tried to co-opt them to increase their political strength. Thus, civilians gave partial legitimacy to military participation in politics: the military must act in a moderating role, which guaranteed the maintenance of the political system by replacing government leaders (often from the Executive) for civilian opposition groups. The military would accept this role primarily because, in their professional perspective, they would not have the same capacity of the civilians to rulethe state for long periods of time. As pointed out by Martins Filho (1996), the idea of "moderating power" was not the most original aspect of Stepan's work, as he acknowledged himself in his forewords. Two Brazilian analysts were considered the pioneers in this approach: Fernando Pedreira and Cândido Mendes.

This "moderator" model would find its end in Brazil with the military regime following the 1964 coup. According to Stepan, the 1961-1964 crisis would have acted on two fronts to change the military political behavior: on one hand, the political and economic crisis delegitimized the liberal constitutional framework for its inability to provide effective responses, which also affected the perspective of the military institution "moderating power"; on the other hand, it has sharpened the sense of institutional insecurity among the military in face of the threats ofits unity. At this critical juncture framework, a new ideology emerged, the National Security Doctrine (fomented by a military elite arising from the Brazilian National War College), allowing the armed forces to change their attitude towards politics and

7 Published in Brazil in 1975 as Relações entre civis e militares no Brasil (1889-1898).

8 As pointed out by Castro, Izecksohn andKraay (2004), Schulz's word (1971) in the collection General History of Brazilian Civilization was a summary of his doctoral thesis at the time not yet completed. The thesis was defended in 1973 and published in Brazil in 1994 as O Exército na política: origens da intervenção militar, 1850-94.

9 Published in Brazil in 1975 as Os militares na política.

legitimizing the emergence of a new regime led by the military.

Stepan's work had great influence on the theme literature, being a starting point of much of the first works on civil-military relations produced by Brazilian political scientists.[10]

THE BEGINNING OF CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN BRAZIL

The civil-military relations theme emerged in the Brazilian Political Science with the institutionalization of the discipline in the country. As explained by Forjaz (1997), two institutions were pioneers in the formation process of the autonomous Political Science in Brazil: in Rio de Janeiro, the University Research Institute of Rio de Janeiro (Portuguese: Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro - IUPERJ) and the Department of Political Science at the Federal University of Minas Gerais, both established in the late 1960s. These institutions would receive large US financial support through development agencies (especially the Ford Foundation) that allowed the intellectual exchange with American theoretical models in Brazilian social science, hitherto dominated by European paradigms.

This entry movement of the theoretical and methodological American models was combined with a context in which old economistic models and Marxists had difficulty giving satisfactory answers to the new roles of the state, the failure of the liberal democratic model in the capitalist periphery and the rise of the military to the government. Thus, in Forjaz's perspective (1997), "the predominantly economistic explanations or 'sociologizing' did not handle the new historical reality anymore and it was necessary to found the 'autonomy of the politics'". In this new approach, the Political Science gave a lot of importance to the study of institutions to explain the political phenomenon. Considering that the military was a key institution in the political process in that historical moment, which ruled in Brazil and much of the Latin American countries, and that there was an American tradition of studying civil-military relations, it was natural that the analysis of both the relationship between civilians and military and about the military political behavior, would have space in the nascent Brazilian Political Science.

Nevertheless, there were other pioneer authors outside the Political Science that examined civil-military relations. One of the earliest works is certainly the work of Virgínio Santa Rosa, who published "O Sentido do Tenentismo[11]" in 1932. The work of Santa Rosa would initiate a fruitful line of analysis on this military-political movement, by developing the idea that the lieutenants represented the dissatisfaction and the aspirations of the middle class against the political practices of Oligarchic Brazilian Republic (1889-1930).

Another pioneer worth mentioning is Nelson Werneck Sodré, military and historian connected to the Higher Institute for Brazilian Studies (Portuguese: Instituto Superior de EstudosBrasileiros - ISEB). His work História Militar do Brasil was originally published in 1965 and was based on a Marxist approach which linked the political trajectory of the military with the development of the structure and the dynamics of social classes in Brazil. As pointed out by Lemos (2013), in Sodré's point of view the armed forces intervention would

10 Among the main works specific about Stepan's thesis, see Quartim de Moraes (1985), McCann (1979) and Markoff & Baretta (1985).

11 The title of the book can be translated to The Sense of the "Tenentismo". Tenentismo was a military movement aroused between enlisted military personnel and lieutenants by the end of the Oligarchic Brazilian Republic with liberal-republican tendencies who claimed constitutional changes.

be linked to the rising process of the industrial bourgeoisie to political power in Brazil, which would have started with the abolition of the international slave trade in 1850. In that sense, the military intervention in politics would always have a class origin, which was due to the recruitment of the army in the middle classes. While the bourgeoisie was on the rise and defending a democratic project, the military would intervene in politics as a vanguard in the struggle for democracy. Once in power, the bourgeoisie would become reactionary, leading the army to act as vanguard of the opposition to the democratic model.

It did not take long to arise authors questioning the idea that the military political action - especially lieutenant's actions – had classist origin. In the field of history, Boris Fausto (1978, p. 240), in an article dated back to 1968[12] pointed out the importance of the organizational characteristics of the military to explain the tenentismo phenomenon, because "the lieutenants are lieutenants, that is to say, members of the Army and this binding is not indifferent to make an ideological characterization". Later on, Fausto (2011 [1970]) further problematized this perspective. On one hand, he stressed the institutional specificity of the lieutenants and the fact that they have been reinstated to the Army and on the other hand he highlighted the position of relative autonomy of the armed forces for the whole of society; finally pointed out that most of the lieutenants were not only from the middle class but also from different social backgrounds.

The proper approach of the Political Science on civil-military relations arose during the 1970s, although there were some pioneering worksfrom the previous decade.Coelho (1985) placed the first work produced on the subject in 1968, with the article On the Belief System of the Brazilian Military, written by José Murilode Carvalho, but he points out that there is an article even older, "As Forças Armadas como Força Política", written in 1966 by João Oliveira Camilo Torres. However, in his opinion, this last one is not even properly an analysis of the military but a reiteration of the idea of the "moderating role" of the military political action. José Murilo de Carvalho (2005) by his turn, places as pioneers two works of his own: the article mentioned by Coelho and another one named "Um modelo para as relações civil-militares no Brasil", from 1964.

In fact, the episode of the 1964 coup and the consequent military dictatorship in the country were quite influential incentives for researchers to treat the subject[13]. Two groups stood out in academic research in this field: one composed of mineiros e cariocas[14] researchers based in Rio de Janeiro (especially at IUPERJ) and another by scholars from UNICAMP. Overall, these studies emphasized the need to understand the "institutional", "organizational" or "structural" aspects of the Armed Forces in order to explain its political activity, especially in times of military intervention.

12 Lemos (2013) points out that the article was the result of a lecture delivered in 1966.

13 As reported by José Murilo de Carvalho (2005, pp. 7-8) "a political reality shock in youth dreams led me to study the military. (...) The military movement, supported by politicians, religious manifestations, and anti-comunists from middle class, overthrew the government with simple movement of troops. The government, the generals of the people, trade unions, parties and leftist movements, all disappeared, evaporated, offered no resistance. At this first surprise, another one was added: the military did not pass the power along to their political allies, as it was customary. (...) I found that there were hardly any academic studies on the subject among us. It was necessary to start almost from scratch".

14 Mineiro is the adjective related to people who were born in the Brazilian State of Minas Gerais and Carioca for those from Rio de Janeiro.

One of the first works of the Brazilian Political Science that examined the civil-military relations was "Em busca de Identidade: o Exército e a política na sociedade brasileira", originally published in 1976 by Edmundo Campos Coelho. From a historical-institutional interpretation of the Army, Coelho (2000) noted that the military organization was becoming increasingly autonomous and aware of their interests and needs, which led to a progressive closure process in relation to society in its surroundings that culminated in the 1964 coup. The author also relativized the studies that pointed to the centrality of the National Security Doctrine, considering it "mostly, just a deepening adaptation and systematization of doctrinaire thinking of Góes Monteiro" (Coelho, 1985, p. 10).

Another very importante work was the chapter As Forças Armadas na Primeira República: o Poder Desestabilizador, by José Murilo de Carvalho, originally published in 1977 in the collection História Geral da Civilização Brasileira. Carvalho tried to analyze the political behavior of the military in the First Republic both from its institutional / organizational characteristics (recruitment, hierarchical structure, training, troops, etc.) as the ideologies present in the officer corps that justified military intervention in politics. Carvalho's work is also noteworthy for being the first one to addressed more systematically the Navy, though his analysis on that were more intended to serve as a comparison with the Army, focus of his article due to its greater political importance. In later works (1982; 1999), the author would expand his analysis of civil-military relations to other periods in Brazilian political history, studying both military institutions during the Vargas Era (1930-1945) as the president's relations with the Armed Forces.

Both Coelho and Carvalho were researchers from Minas Gerais linked to IUPERJ institution that concentrated most of the work of Political Science about the military. Other relevant worksfrom scholars linked to IUPERJ on the issue were the ones by Aderaldo (1978), who studied the importance of the Brazilian National War College for military political action, and by Barros (1978), who examined the military education and its effects on the construction of a "military mentality" of de Army's officers. It is also worth mentioning Antonio Carlos Peixoto's work. In two of his articles (1980a; 1980b), the author criticized the traditional models of interpretation of military intervention in politics, defined by him as instrumental (in which military action is derived only from the civilian world stimuli) and institutional-organizational (which emphasize the autonomy of the military institution and explain the political action of the military for organizational and institutional perspectives of the Armed Forces), pointing out the need to understand the military intervention as a complex game of relations between civil groups, divergent political perspectives within the Armed Forces and military command structures. From this model, Peixoto analyzes the conflicts in the Military Club during the 1945-1964 period to elucidate the military perspectives dispute for controling the institution.

Peixoto analysis dialogued with the analysis perspective proposed by the French Latin Americanist Alain Rouquié (1980) that there were real "military parties" in the Armed Forces. He said the military could be political forces able to perform the same basic functions of the parties by other means and they would have decision-making capacity and social articulation. In this way, there would be military groups within the Armed Forces related to different societygroups, which would establish political preferences. Military groups, in turn, would dispute the control of the institution, with the goal of determining

conduct and political action of the military apparatus[15].

Representative of the São Paulo group, Eliezer Rizzo de Oliveira's work (1976) aimed to understand the political divisions within the military regime from the analysis of these ideologies in the Armed Forces. He stressed the importance of the National Security Doctrine for military political action as well as the role of the Brazilian NationalWar College (ESG) in the coup execution and the political direction of the dictatorial regime.

Maria Cecilia Spina Forjaz, a researcher from the University of São Paulo and the Getúlio Vargas Foundation, worked specifically with the tenentismo phenomenon. Her three major works on the subject (1977, 1978 and 1989) sought to analyze the lieutenants within the context of oligarchic crisis and rise of Vargas regime, rejecting both purely classist and organizational explanations. For the author, the movement should be understood taking into account both the social origins of these officers and their position within the state and the Army.

Other works of the period, especially the ones from Brazilianists, discussed relations between the professionalization of Brazilian military and its impacts on political action. Among the main works one can certainly place Frederick Nunn's work (1983). He investigated the impact of foreign missions (particularly French and German) on the political behavior of Latin American Armed Forces, concluding that the professionalization of both Brazilian and Latin American military in the early twentieth century had an opposite effect to the one described by the Huntington model, politicizing the headquarters instead of strengthening civilian control. Other authors who have worked with this theme, specifically analyzing the Army, were McCann[16] (1982), Domingos Neto (1980), and Markoff & Baretta (1985).

TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY AND ITS IMPACTS ON ACADEMIC PRODUCTION

Since the beginning of General Geisel's government, in 1974, Brazilian military regime began a long process of political opening for reestablishing democracy. Geisel's successor, General Figueiredo, continued the political opening, decreeing amnesty early in his presidency in 1979. This change in the national political scene would have impacts on academic production of Political Science: democratization in Brazil entered the academic agenda, which inevitably would also question the military role in a new democratic regime. Finally, the end of the military regime and the historical distance of the 1964 coup allowed the emergence of new works about this period[17].

In 1981, the Uruguayan political scientist living in Brazil, René Armand Dreifuss, pub-

15 Rouquié's proposal was presented in a volume edited by himself (1980), which brought the two articles by Antonio Carlos Peixoto already cited, as well as a chapter by Manuel DomingosNeto on the influence of foreign missions and another one by Eliezer Rizzo de Oliveira on political-military conflicts during Geisel's government in Brazil.

16 McCann later wrote an excellent book (2009) about the history of the Army in the early republican period, which he discusses the professionalization and modernization of the force as well as its growing involvement in national politics.

17 One of the best balances on the academic production about the 1964 coup and the military regime is the one made by the historian Carlos Fico (2004).

lished "1964: A Conquista do Estado". This work, with a Gramscian approach, would have a great influence on subsequent work on the interpretation of the coup and the military regime still in course, which demonstrated the complicity and support of civil society groups with the dictatorship. The Dreifuss thesis would inaugurate a lasting debate on the role of civil society groups (especially the elite) in the political process and the nature of the regime inaugurated in 1964.

With the upcoming end of military regime, emerged studies that sought to take stock of the dictatorial period. One of the main references is the work of the Brazilianist Thomas Skidmore (1988), Brasil: de Castelo a Tancredo, which makes a historical overview starting from the early years of the military regime to the reestablishment of democracy in the country. Another classic work and reference on the subject is Estado e Oposição no Brasil written by Maria Helena Moreira Alves (1984), in which she reads the period of the military dictatorship from the relations between the State (changed by the precepts of the National Security and Development Doctrine) and civil opposition.

The end of the government of General Figueiredo and the beginning of the presidency of José Sarney, in March 1985, represented the end of the military regime started in 1964 and the beginning of the democratization process in Brazil concluded with the promulgation of the 1988 Federal Constitution. As pointed out by Zaverucha & Teixeira (2003), from that moment started the division, in the academic field, about the continuation or not of military autonomy in the new political system arising. While some believed that the military had returned to the headquarters and focused only on professional issues, some others talked about the existence of military enclaves within the State where the civil power had little or no penetration.

The first work on the subject is written by Alfred Stepan (1986), in which the author analyzes the détente process and the political transition from the perspective of the military. In the work, a classic on the subject, he also highlights the authoritarian legacy and future prospects of civil-military relations. The continued existence of military prerogatives within the new Brazilian political system was later a Stepan's work subject (1988), in which he also compared the Brazilian case with the Argentinian, Uruguayan, and Spanish case[18].

One of the first Brazilian authors to address the issue was Aguiar (1986), which warned of the significant degree of autonomy that the military held during the country's constitutional process and that could create the possibility of a new military intervention in the new democracy. Other works made in that historical moment that discussed the military influence on the nascent democracy and on the transition to democracy, as well as the autonomy and the role of the Armed Forces were the ones by Dreifuss (1986) and the collections organized by Quartim de Moraes, Costa and Oliveira (1987)[19] and Oliveira et al (1987).

Although themes about military regime, political transition and the role of the military in the new democracy dominated the agenda of the civil-military relations, during the 1980s emerged studies on other perspectives of relations between politics and the mili-

18 Stepan's work (1988) is inserted in the collection volume edited by himself that also features articles by renowned social scientists and Brazilian economists exposing their findings on different aspects of the political transition.

19 In addition to the works on the military's role in the New Republic, the collection features an article written by Wilma Peres Costa on military trusteeship at the beginning of the First Republic.

tary, especially about military political thinking[20]. Figueiredo (1980) investigated Castelo Branco's government ideology. Oliveira (1987a) also studied the military political thought, but focused his work on the National Security Doctrine. Fiorin (1988), from the discourse analysis perspective, sought to understand the legitimacy of the military regime from the Armed Forces officers' speech. Drummond (1986), in turn, studied the tenentista movement, interpreting the phenomenon as a form of political action of the Army. We can still mention Miyamoto's works on geopolitics and the Brazilian National War College (1981; 1988; 1995).

THE 1990S: FROM THE CONSOLIDATION OF DEMOCRACY TO THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE

With the promulgation of the Constitution of 1988 and the first free and direct presidential elections, after decades, in 1989, the transition to democracy seemed to consolidate in Brazil. However, within the first years, the New Republic experienced one of its most serious political crises during the impeachment crisis of President Fernando Collor de Mello. The president's actions to establish his authority over the Armed Forces (who took the ministerial status of the military units) as well as the relative silence of the headquarters during the crisis that led to his resignation, expounded a new chapter of civil-military relations in the country. Finally, the end of the Cold War along with the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the emergence of a globalized world imposed new challenges and redefined the roles of the Armed Forces in Brazil.

One of the main works that deal with civil-military relations from the transition until the fall of the Collor Government was "De Geisel a Collor: Forças Armadas, transição e democracia" by Eliézer Rizzo de Oliveira. In this work, Oliveira (1994) analyzes the distension project from his own perspectives and conflicts within the military apparatus, as well as alliances between civil and military society groups to carry out the transition process and definition of roles for the military institution concerning the new constitutional charter, as well as the role of neutrality before the Collor impeachment crisis, which for the author represented the apex of the opening process and the new paradigm of civil-military relations in Brazil.

Another important author who addressed the theme is Jorge Zaverucha. In both his works "Rumor de Sabres: tutela military ou controle civil?" (1994) and "Frágil democracia: Collor, Itamar, FHC e os militares (1990-1998)" (2000), the author pointed out the difficulties in establishing civilian control over the Armed Forces, emphasizing the maintenance of significant military prerogatives, which are areas where civilian control is, at best, limited. Finally, the author considers that almost all the presidents of the post-transition period did little to ensure the military subordination.

Still on this period, we can mention the work "Eroding military influence in Brazil: politicians against soldiers" by Hunter (1997). The author believes that the electoral competition in Brazil stimulated politicians to reduce the military political power. They would argue against the military power to obtain electoral support and, once elected, would have legitimacy to challenge the military.

20 The collection organized by Oliveira (1987b) has several articles on different perspectives of the Defense Studies in this period.

The military perspective concerning the political transition, the military regime and the 1964 coup would be the focus of extensive research conducted by researchers named Maria Celina D'Araújo, Gláucio Ary Dillon Soares and Celso Castro (CPDOC/FGV), by the use of interviews[21]. All this extensive research has resulted in three works on the coup, repression and transition organized by D'Araújo, Soares, and Castro (1994a, 1994b, 1995). They are: "Visões do golpe: a memória militar sobre 1964", "Os anos de chumbo: a memória militar sobre a repressão" and "A volta aos quartéis: a memória militar sobre a abertura".

Still under the CPDOC researchers, we should also mention the work of "Ernesto Geisel" by D'Araújo and Castro (1997) about General Geisel, study produced from interviews with the official himself, and collections coordinates by D'Araújo and Castro, "Militares e políticana Nova República" and "Democracia e forças armadas no Cone Sul", regarding the transition and role of the militaries in the Southern Cone and in Brazil.

Due to the 30th anniversary of 1964 military coup, several works and collections were carried out which sought to analyze, make statements and new approaches towards the most diverse aspects of the dictatorial period. Among the major works such as the ones at that moment, we can highlight the collection organized by Soares and D'Araújo, "21 anos de Regime Militar: balanços e perspectivas" (1994) and also the work "1964: Visões Críticas do Golpe" organized by Navarro (1997), studies that had the collaboration of renowned social scientists, economists and historians.

Other studies focused on certain periods of military regime. Among the main at the time, we can point to "O palácio e a caserna" by Martins Filho (1995), "Distensão no Brasil: o projeto military" (1973-1979) by Mathias (1995) and "Sistema estatal e política econômica no Brasil pós-64" by Codato (1997). The work of Martins Filho analyzes the internal crises in the Brazilian armed forces during the early years of the military dictatorship that would originate divisions between the "hard" and "moderate" lines. The author included a chapter of theoretical discussion in his book, in which he criticized some of the classic Political Science interpretations of the military regime. Mathias's work focused on the Geisel government distension process by analyzing the speeches of the then president general. According to the author, the distension process made by Geisel aimed to ensure institutional stability of the armed forces to assure a slow and gradual transition from authoritarian regime. The Geisel government was also Codato's research subject, where he investigated the institutional framework and the decision-making process of the military state, which aimed at ensuring a level of economic development compatible with the safety requirements according to the military project.

In addition to works on the military regime, some authors returned to the military theme and its relations with politics in other historical periods. In this sense, we can highlight the book "A espada de Dâmocles: o Exército, a Guerra do Paraguai e a crise do Império" by Costa (1996) on the crisis between the army and the imperial regime in the late nineteenth century. The work "O Exército na consolidação do Império: um estudo histórico sobre a política militar conservadora" by Souza (1999) also examined the Army during the imperial period, but focused his study on the consolidation of the monarchical regime. Corrêa's work in "A ingerência militar na República e o positivismo" (1997) examined the influence

21 Another author who works with the military memory is Contreiras (1998). However, as remind Zaverucha and Teixeira (2003), this work has no major methodological concerns, being properly aggregated to the statements obtained by various media.

of positivist thought in military training in a chronological cut covering the First Republic until the coup of 1964. In "À sombra dos carvalhos: Escola Superior de Guerra e política no Brasil, 1948-1955" (1997) by Ferraz, the focus was on the Brazilian National War Colleague and its political influence in the first half of the Populist Republic. The works "A esquerda militar no Brasil: da conspiração republicana à guerrilha dos tenentes" and "A esquerda militar no Brasil: da Coluna à Comuna" by Quartim de Moraes (1991, 1994) deal on the military political left during the Empire crisis until the Intentona Comunista[22] of 1935. Castro's work: "Os militares e a República: um estudo sobre cultura e ação política" (1995), in turn, is an ethnographic study of the military in the early years of the republic, emphasizing their social daily life and intellectual environment in which they were involved[23].

As a conclusion of this paper, we point out FHC's government marked important changes in Brazilian civil-military relation standards. Even though, at the same time, there were some problematic setbacks such as the use of the Brazilian armed forces for public security missions and repression of social movements, his government took a decisive step towards the establishment of military subordination to a civilian government with the creation, in 1999, of the Ministry of Defense (Portuguese: Ministério da Defesa - MD).

The creation of the MD meant an important milestone in civil-military relations and it caused impact on the academic production of defense studies in a short period of time - a reason that led us to have the timeframe in our analysis during the year of 1999. However, we cannot avoid mentioning the important authors and works that have addressed this issue and that may constitute future academic subjects in the same scope of this text.

Among the main authors who deal with this subject, we can point the following work: "Democracia e Defesa Nacional: a criação do Ministério da Defesa na presidência de FHC" by Oliveira (2005), "A fragilidade do Ministério da Defesa brasileiro" by Zaverucha (2005) and "Democracia e questão militar: a criação do Ministério da Defesa no Brasil" by Fuccille (2006). Oliveira's work is a classic, in which he analyzes the MD creation process and, for the author, it meant the effective military subordination to the Republican power. Others topics addressed were the adaptation of the Brazilian armed forces to the new democratic regime, the importance of the elaboration and the role of the Legislative and Executive powers in the formulation of the National defense policy and a comparative study between the defense policies of various countries, besides bringing interviews with key characters of the MD creation.

Zaverucha's perspective, on the other hand, is more pessimistic. In his work in which he analyzes the MD at the end of the FHC government and beginning of the first Lula government, the author points out the weaknesses of this institutional mechanism, exposed by the resistance and military insubordination during this period as well as the difficulty of the ministry being able to implement their own policies. Finally, Fuccille analyzed the MD creation process seeing it as an important effort for democratic consolidation and redesign

22 The Intentona Comunista was a communist uprising against the Getúlio Vargas government conducted in November 1935 by the military on behalf of the Aliança Nacional Libertadora (National Liberation Alliance) with support of PCB (the Brazilian Communist Party) and the Comintern.

23 During this period, there was also some important work about the military by an anthropological perspective. Among the main ones, we can mention Castro's (1990) work regarding training of officers in the Military Academy of Agulhas Negras (Portuguese: Academia Militar das Agulhas Negras), and Leiner's (1997) regarding the military hierarchy.

of the post-authoritarian Brazilian State.

REFERENCES:

ADERALDO, Vanda Maria Costa. (1978), A Escola Superior de Guerra: um estudo de currículos e programa. Dissertation (Mastery in Political Science). Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro.

AGUIAR, Roberto. (1986), Os militares e a constituinte. São Paulo, Alfa-Ômega.

ALVES, Maria Helena Moreira. (1984), Estado e oposição no Brasil (1964-1984). Petrópolis, Vozes.

BARROS, Alexandre de Souza Costa. (1978), The Brazilian Military: Professional Socialization, Political Performance and State Building. Thesis (PhD in Political Science). Chicago University, Chicago.

CARVALHO, José Murilo de. (1977), "As Forças Armadas na Primeira República: o poder desestabilizador", in B. Fausto (ed.), História geral da civilização brasileira, Rio de Janeiro/São Paulo, Difel, t. III, v. 2.

_____. "Forças Armadas e política, 1930-1945". (1982) in A Revolução de 1930. Seminário internacional, Brasília, UnB.

_____. Forças Armadas e Política no Brasil (2005). Rio de Janeiro, Jorge Zahar.

_____. "Vargas e os militares: aprendiz de feiticeiro". (1999), in M. C. D'Araújo (Ed.), As instituições brasileiras na era Vargas, Rio de Janeiro, Eduerj/FGV.

CATRO, Celso. (1990), O espírito militar. Rio de Janeiro, Zahar.

_____. (1995), Os militares e a República: um estudo sobre cultura e ação política. Rio de Janeiro, Zahar.

_____; IZECKSOHN, Vitor; KRAAY, Hendrik. (2004), "Da história militar à "nova" história militar", in C. Castro, V. Izecksohn, H. Kraay (Eds.). Nova História Militar Brasileira, Rio de Janeiro, Editora FGV.

CODATO, Adriano Nervo. (1997), Sistema estatal e política econômica no Brasil pós-64. São Paulo, Hucitec.

COELHO, Edmundo Campos. (1985), "A instituição militar no Brasil: um ensaio bibliográfico", Revista Brasileira de Informação Bibliográfica em Ciências Sociais, São Paulo, n. 19, p. 5-19.

_____. (2000), Em busca de identidade: o Exército e a política na sociedade brasileira. Rio de Janeiro, Record.

CONTREIRAS, Hélio. (1998), Militares. Confissões: histórias secretas do Brasil. Rio de Janeiro, Mauad.

CORRÊA, Arsênio. (1997), A ingerência militar na República e o positivismo. Rio de Janeiro, Expressão e Cultura.

COSTA, Wilma Peres. (1996), A espada de Dâmocles: o Exército, a Guerra do Paraguai e a crise do Império. São Paulo, Hucitec.

D'ARAÚJO, Maria Celina; CASTRO, Celso (Eds.). (1997), Ernesto Geisel. Rio de Janeiro, Editora FGV.

_____. (2000), Democracia e forças armadas no Cone Sul. Rio de Janeiro, Editora FGV.

_____. (2001), Militares e política na Nova República. Rio de Janeiro, Editora FGV.

D'ARAÚJO, Maria Celina; SOARES, Gláucio Ary Dillon; CASTRO, Celso (Eds.). (1995), A volta aos quartéis: a memória militar sobre a abertura. Rio de Janeiro, Relume-Dumará.

_____. (1994a), Os anos de chumbo: a memória militar sobre a repressão. Rio de Janeiro, Relume-Dumará.

_____. (1994b) Visões do golpe: a memória militar sobre 1964. Rio de Janeiro, Relume-Dumará.

DREIFUSS, René Armand. (1981), 1964: A conquista do Estado. Petrópolis, Vozes.

_____. (1986), "Nova República. Novo Exército?", in F. Koutzii (Ed.), Nova República: um balanço, Porto Alegre, L&PM.

DRUMMOND, José Augusto. (1986), O movimento tenentista: a intervenção política dos oficiais jovens (1922-1935). Rio de Janeiro, Graal.

DOMINGOS NETO, Manuel. (1980) "Influência estrangeira e luta interna no Exército (1889-1930)" in A. Rouquié (Ed.), Os partidos militares no Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, Record.

FAUSTO, Boris. (1978), "A Revolução de 1930", in C. G. Mota (Ed.), Brasil em Perspectiva. Rio de Janeiro/São Paulo, Difel.

_____. (2011), A Revolução de 1930: historiografia e história. São Paulo, Companhia das Letras.

FERRAZ, Francisco César Alves. (1997), À sombra dos carvalhos: Escola Superior de Guerra e política no Brasil, 1948-1955. Londrina, UEL.

_____. (1998), "Relações entre civis e militares no Brasil: um esboço histórico", História & Ensino. Londrina, vol. 4, p. 115-137.

FICO, Carlos. (2004) Além do golpe: versões e controvérsias sobre 1964 e a ditadura militar. Rio de Janeiro, Record.

FIGUEIREDO, Eurico de Lima. (1980), Os militares e a democracia: análise estrutural da ideologia do Presidente Castelo Branco. Rio de Janeiro, Graal.

_____. (Ed.). (1979), Os militares e a Revolução de 30. Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra.

FINER, Samuel. (2006), The man on horseback. New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers.

FIORIN, José Luis. (1988), O regime de 1964: discurso e ideologia. São Paulo, Atual.

FORJAZ, Maria Cecília Spina. (1997), "A emergência da Ciência Política no Brasil: aspectos institucionais", Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais, São Paulo, vol. 12, n. 35. Available in: <http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0102-69091997000300007&lang=pt>. Access February 10th, 2016.

_____. (1978), Tenentismo e Aliança Liberal (1927-1930). São Paulo, Polis.

_____. (1989), Tenentismo e Forças Armadas na Revolução de 1930. Rio de Janeiro, Forense Universitária.

_____. (1977), Tenentismo e Política. Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra.

FUCCILLE, Luís Alexandre. (2006), Democracia e questão militar: a criação do Ministério da Defesa no Brasil. Thesis (PhD in Political Science). Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Campinas.

HAHNER, June. (1975), Relações entre civis e militares no Brasil (1889-1898). São Paulo, Pioneira.

HUNTER, Wendy. (1997), Eroding military influence in Brazil: politicians against soldiers. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press.

HUNTINGTON, Samuel. (2002), The soldier and the State. Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

JANOWITZ, Morris. (1967), O Soldado Profissional. Rio de Janeiro, Edições GRD.

JOHNSON, John. (1964), The Military and Society in Latin America. Stanford, Stanford University Press.

LEINER, Piero. (1997), Meia volta volver. Rio de Janeiro, Editora FGV.

LEMOS, Renato Luís do Couto Neto e. (2013), "Militares e política: uma discussão de paradigmas", in L. C. C. Paula, et al (Eds), A Guerra e a formação dos Estados Nacionais Contemporâneos. Rio de Janeiro, Multifoco.

LIEUWEN, Edwin. (1965), Arms and Politics in Latin America. New York, Praeger Paperbacks.

MARKOFF, John; BARETTA, Silvio. (1985), "Professional ideology and military activism in Brazil", Comparative Politics, vol. 17, n. 2.

MARTINS FILHO, João Roberto. (1995), O palácio e a caserna. São Carlos, EdUFSCar.

MATHIAS, Suzeley Kalil. (1995), Distensão no Brasil: o projeto militar (1973-1979). Campinas, Papirus.

McCANN, Frank. (1982), "A influência estrangeira e o Exército brasileiro, 1905-1945" in A Revolução de 1930. Seminário internacional. Brasília, UnB.

_____. (1979), "Origins of the new professionalism of the Brazilian military", Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, v. 21, p. 505-522.

_____. (2009), Soldados da Pátria: História do Exército Brasileiro, 1889-1937. Rio de Janeiro, Companhia das Letras/Biblioteca do Exército.

MIYAMOTO, Shiguenoli. (1988), "Escola Superior de Guerra: mito e realidade", Revista de Ciências Sociais, Porto Alegre, vol. 2, n. 1.

_____. (1995), Geopolítica e poder no Brasil. Campinas, Papirus.

_____. (1981), "Os estudos geopolíticos no Brasil: uma contribuição para sua avaliação", Perspectivas. São Paulo, vol. 4, p. 75-92.

NAVARRO, Caio Toledo (Ed.). (1997), 1964: Visões críticas do golpe. Campinas, Unicamp.

NUNN, Frederick. (1983), Yesterday's Soldiers: European military professionalism in South America, 1890-1940. Lincoln, Universityof Nebraska Press.

OLIVEIRA, Eliézer Rizzo de. (1987a), "A Doutrina de Segurança Nacional: Pensamento Político e Projeto Estratégico", in E. R. Oliveira (Ed.), Militares: Pensamento e Ação Política, Campinas, Papirus.

_____. (1980), "Conflitos militares e decisões políticas sob a presidência do general Geisel (1974-1979)" in A. Rouquié (Ed.), Os partidos militares no Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, Record.

_____. (1994), De Geisel a Collor: Forças Armadas, transição e democracia. Campinas, Papirus.

_____. (2005), Democracia e Defesa Nacional: a criação do Ministério da Defesa na presidência de FHC. Barueri, Manole.

_____. (1976), Forças Armadas: política e ideologia no Brasil (1964-1969). Petrópolis, Vozes.

_____ (Ed.). (1987b) Militares: Pensamento e Ação Política. Campinas, Papirus.

_____. et al (Eds.). (1987), As Forças Armadas no Brasil. Rio de Janeiro, Espaço e Tempo.

PEIXOTO, Antônio Carlos. (1980a), "Exército e Política no Brasil: Uma crítica dos modelos de interpretação" in A. Rouquié (Ed.), Os partidos militares no Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, Record.

_____. (1980b), "O Clube Militar e os confrontos no seio das Forças Armadas (1945-1964)", in A. Rouquié (Ed.), Os partidos militares no Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, Record.

QUARTIM DE MORAES, João. (1994), A esquerda militar no Brasil: da Coluna à Comuna. São Paulo, Siciliano.

_____. (1991), A esquerda militar no Brasil: da conspiração republicana à guerrilha dos tenentes. São Paulo, Siciliano.

_____. (1985), "Alfred Stepan e o mito do poder moderador", Filosofia Política, Porto Alegre, n. 2, p.163-199.

_____; COSTA, Wilma Peres; OLIVEIRA, Eliézer Rizzo de (Eds.). (1987), A tutela militar. São Paulo, Vórtice.

ROUQUIÉ, Alain. (1980), "Os processos políticos nos partidos militares do Brasil: estratégia de pesquisa e dinâmica institucional" in A. Rouquié (Ed.), Os partidos militares no Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, Record.

SANTA ROSA, Virgínio. (1976), O sentido do tenentismo. São Paulo, Alfa-Omega.

SCHULZ, John. (1971), "O Exército e o Império" in S. B. Holanda (Ed.), História geral da civilização brasileira, São Paulo, Difel, t.2, v.4.

_____. (1994), O Exército na política: origens da intervenção militar, 1850-94. São Paulo, EdUSP.

SKIDMORE, Thomas. (1988), Brasil: de Castelo a Tancredo. Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra.

SOARES, Gláucio Ary Dillon; D'ARAÚJO, Maria Celina (Eds.). (1994), 21 anos de regime militar: balanços e perspectivas. Rio de Janeiro, Editora FGV.

SODRÉ, Nelson Werneck. (2010), História Militar do Brasil. São Paulo, Expressão Popular.

SOUZA, Adriana Barreto de. (1999), O Exército na consolidação do Império: um estudo histórico sobre a política militar conservadora. Rio de Janeiro, Arquivo Nacional.

STEPAN, Alfred. (1988), "As prerrogativas militares nos países pós-autoritários: Brasil, Argentina, Uruguai e Espanha", in A. Stepan (Ed.), Democratizando o Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra.

_____. (1986), Os militares: da abertura a nova república. Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra.

_____. (1975), Os militares na política. Rio de Janeiro, Artenova.

ZAVERUCHA, Jorge. (2005), "A fragilidade do Ministério da Defesa brasileiro", Revista de Sociologia e Política, Curitiba, n. 25. Available in: <http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0104-44782005000200009&lng=pt&nrm=iso>. Access February 10th, 2016.

_____. (2000), Frágil democracia: Collor, Itamar, FHC e os militares (1990-1998). Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira.

_____. (1994), Rumor de sabres: tutela militar ou controle civil? São Paulo, Ática.

_____; TEIXEIRA, Helder B. (2003), "A Literatura sobre as Relações Civil-Militares no Brasil (1964-2002): uma síntese", Revista Brasileira de Informação Bibliográfica em Ciências Sociais, São Paulo, n. 55, p. 59-72.

UNIVERSIDADE
FEDERAL
DE PERNAMBUCO

CFCH
CENTRO DE FILOSOFIA E CIÊNCIAS HUMANAS

Departamento de
Ciência Política

Programa de Pós-Graduação
em Ciência Política