

International Journal of Human Sciences Research

MANAGERIALISM AND 4TH GENERATION WARS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE MILITARY THINKING OF THE BRAZILIAN ARMY

Heraldo Makrakis

Professor of Technical and Technological
Basic Education at: Instituto Federal de
Educação, Ciência e Tecnologia do Rio
Grande do Sul (IFRS)– Campus: Canoas
<http://lattes.cnpq.br/7568591353689496>
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2714-7112>

All content in this magazine is
licensed under a Creative Com-
mons Attribution License. Attri-
bution-Non-Commercial-Non-
Derivatives 4.0 International (CC
BY-NC-ND 4.0).



Abstract: Military thinking has served as a framework for theorizing and establishing models for questions about Civil-Military Relations. It is assumed that this knowledge has implications for the way military forces are commanded and conceived, which is fundamental for the effectiveness of the military apparatus. In the Brazilian case, a long tradition of military thinking of the Brazilian Army (EB) can be attributed, inspired by the positivist epistemological current. This thought went through several reconfigurations responding to historical contexts, adapting and being reinterpreted the priorities given for its mission. Recently, aspects of 4th Generation Wars and Managerialism (two sides of the same coin) have been observed in the EB's military ideology. This essay proposes to elucidate the permanence of positivist military thinking in the process of military transformation of the Brazilian Army that led to the adherence to Managerialism and the 4th Generation Wars (G4G), two sides of the same coin. The approach will be based on the evidence of doctrinal transformations, composition of military careers and their formative processes. The following topics are chosen as an argumentative script. 1) military thought and its currents; 2) the positivism of the Brazilian Army; 3) Managerialism and G4G in the transformations in the EB. As final considerations, we point out the perenniality of positivist military thought translated today with the double G4G and managerialism.

INTRODUCTION

Managerialism and 4th Generation Warfare are emerging scientific concepts. The first has Sociology as its object of study, and the second, Strategic Studies.

Managerialism involves the idea, the thought of the superiority of managerial technology and of those professionals who have mastered it, especially in business, over

other techniques such as noetics – those that attribute the possibility of changing people's behavior, such as Political Art and the Art of Command.

As far as the 4th Generation Doctrine of War is concerned, it is the idea that the evolution of War has an irreversible historical sense following an arrow in time. These generations would succeed each other like the first-generation war, which was a war of horses and muskets, like those “from the Peace of Westphalia to the Napoleonic Wars”. Second-generation warfare was the warfare of rifles and railroads that evolved from the American Civil War into World War I. Third generation warfare was that of Blitzkrieg, Maneuver Theory or Operational Art in World War II. The advent of 4th Generation Warfare (G4G) was perceived in the Cold War conflicts, in which the superpowers had difficulties to overcome the networks of Irregular Wars in their various formats such as Coup d'Etat, Terrorism, Revolution, Insurgency and Civil War. This way, it is proposed that the best way to beat a network is through a network (JORDAN et al., 2016). To operate the network, conflict would be characterized by a blurring of lines between war, politics, business, combatants and civilians.

Despite having origins in different environments of studies, Sociology and Strategic Studies, they connect in a common point. Both are ideologies that were produced to justify neoliberalism and are intertwined in the project from the perspective of a Political Economy.

In the case studied of the Brazilian Army (EB) we will seek to argue about the following premises and hypotheses: 1) the configuration of military thought and its currents; 2) the positivism of EB; 3) Managerialism and G4G in the process called “Transformation” in the EB.

MILITARY THOUGHT AND MILITARY DOCTRINE

MILITARY THOUGHT

The term Military Thought is a diffuse concept that can lead to the understanding that it is about epistemological currents, belief, ideology, culture, knowledge or doctrine. Thought can be seen from the individual perspective, studied by psychology; or a system of ideas or ideologies, object of sociology.

From the perspective of social constructivism and symbolic interactionism, which seeks to overcome this individual and social dichotomy, Moscovici's work on Social Representations is presented. Denise Jodelet defines this scientific field as *"a form of knowledge, socially developed and shared, with a practical purpose and contributing to the construction of a common reality to a social whole"*. Thus, the social representation is not an opinion but a common-sense theoretical system of how the world works. In the case of modern military society, it is also opportune to bring the concept of military doctrine to theorization.

In this case, the conceptualization given by (HOIBACK, 2013) is indicated: "institutionalized beliefs about what works in war and military operations". The author also explains his anatomy consisting of:

i) Theory that is based on assumptions about how warfare works and what leads to victory in a given context. The author distinguishes the epistemological approaches to the Doctrine into fundamentalists and "coherentists".

Fundamentalist doctrines attempt to solve epistemological puzzles with an Analytical approach to Aristotle. A logical chain in a closed system in which the correct organization of propositions results in a univocal conclusion. On the other hand, "coherentist" doctrines do not accept unquestionable epistemological

foundations outside the military discourse itself, however they do not take a particular opinion as truth. In other words, one does not adopt radical epistemological relativism; the syllogism adopted is that of Aristotelian and rhetorical dialectic, with the aim of reconstructing the phenomena to explain them through theories and models (MAZZOTTI et al., 2014). A coherent reasoning in its internal chain and based on ideas that reach an admissible conclusion, which allow for criticism and subject to refutation. In short, how do you think about War? Dogmas or Teaching (Bildung)?

ii) Culture or A-rational aspects. The abstract concept that the author indicates as "everything in human society is socially rather than biologically transmitted". Here we will adopt the definition a term used in sociology to denote the way of life of a society. The modes of communication of knowledge in rapidly changing societies and the symbolic objects produced by a society to convey values.

iii) Authority. The mandate aspects that societies lend the Forces for the use of violence. How is the mandate to constitute the military forces organized?

This way, military thought is a social representation of the military regarding military phenomena such as war, strategy, military theory, the way they perceive the State and how they think, elaborate and validate the Doctrine in a fundamentalist or coherentist epistemological perspective. As an organized and validated system of knowledge, military thought was influenced by Western philosophical and epistemological currents: The Enlightenment and Romanticism (GAT, 2001).

THE CURRENTS OF MILITARY THOUGHT

The Enlightenment is the epistemological current that proposes to understand the world through rationalism. The theorist that is taken as a reference is (JOMINI, 1838) with the work "Precis de L'Art de la Guerre". In the analysis (SHY, 1986), War was a phenomenon governed by invariable principles, underlying the laws of nature and universals and the validation criteria would be the same as those of the Natural Sciences. It is noted that from the Enlightenment is nascent in the military environment at the "École Polytechnique de Paris" (L'X), French Positivism, a current that considered that those of the time and that inspired the creation of military schools in the western world.

This philosophical current consolidated in military doctrines in World War I was formalized as Doctrine in the works of Marshal Ferdinand Foch. This doctrine proposed the Principles of War. A fundamentalist epistemological approach theorized by General Gamelin called "led battle" – the methodological battle as a process that outlined step by step geometrically calculated movements, positions and devices. This way, military positivism goes beyond the speculation of a theory of victory and becomes a dogmatic prescription known as the "Method".

Romanticism was an Enlightenment/Positivism countercurrent that had an understanding of what it means to know reality as distinct from Positivism. She sought to reveal an inescapable order of the Universe by establishing ways of understanding a changing and chaotic world.

In this current of military thought, the work of Clausewitz stands out. This is not based on universal laws but on argumentation (Dialectics and Rhetoric) through the modeling process, which is a process of

metaphorization, as they compare what is intended to be explained – the theme – with something known – the forum (BLACK, 1962) such as the triad with the fundamental elements of war such as: passion/People, creativity and randomness/Armed Forces and reason/Government (ECHEVARRIA-II, 2007 page 71 to 88), (STRACHAN; HERBERG-ROTHE, 2007 page 204)

Finally, War must be treated as an autonomous body of knowledge in which Kritik is a methodological apparatus (DUARTE, 2008) and Kriegsspiel (KIRSCHENBAUM, 2010), (WINTJES, 2017) a tool to reconstitute the phenomenon or create models.

This alternative constructivist-rhetoricist approach to the study of military thought, the concept of Doctrine and the processes of Transformation to the works of (POSEN, 1984) and (FARRELL; RYNNING; TERRIFF, 2013) that are sustained on an empirical historical basis. It will seek to understand discourses and practices through a rhetorical analysis and that military thought, social representations, assimilate (anchor) and adapt to historical social contexts.

POSITIVISM AND METHOD IN THE BRAZILIAN ARMY

The origins of military education in Brazil are based on Positivism, not moving away from this paradigm throughout its history. Curricular reforms focused on syllabus content and relegated epistemological issues and theoretical validation processes to the background. The literature on the evolution of military education in the Brazilian Army (BRASIL. MINISTÉRIO DO EXÉRCITO. EME, 1994), (MOTTA, 1998), (GRUNENVALDT, 2005), (LUCHETTI, 2006), (MARCUSO, 2012), (NOGUEIRA, 2013), (XAVIER, 2017) and (OLIVEIRA; MATHIAS, 2020) points to the conservation of positivist thought and consolidates with the

French Military Mission.

The MMF by the leadership of Gamelin, a modernizer of the EB (DOMINGOS NETO, 2007), has perennial influence on Brazilian military thinking until today. The French emulation was gradually replaced by the American one with a military thought that was equally Jominian-positivist and known as Methodical Battle (DOUGHTY, 1985) and that permeates American military thought until today (YANCY, 2012). After World War II, a geostrategic agreement was sealed with the United States for the defense of the free world (SVARTMAN, 2016).

The American positivist influence was relevant due to the adoption of the "Method" that was consolidated as the *raison d'être* in the ideas and military thinking in the various military schools. The Method gained strength with the introduction of behaviorist didactics and pedagogy in military schools, where it ceased to be a problem-solving technique and became the foundation that identifies the profession. The pedagogy of Herbart, Bloom and Perrenaud is a deductive technique that promises to form an ideal type, that of the professional profile with its skills and abilities focused on the evaluation process. Evaluation process of unambiguous answers that require the application of the Method and that is decisive in the organization of the career and choice of leaders. ECEME, the school that prepares the generals, identifies itself as the School of Methods (NUNES et al., 2017). The mastery of the Method of preparation and approach to themes and discursive issues of history, geography and geostrategy (CASTRO, 2010) is the fundamental criterion for admission, to the detriment of the critical capacity of analysis of the contents.

It is noteworthy that the professional profile, which was intended by the military, did not allow civilian control over the pedagogical political projects that define the

contents, pedagogical approaches and the desired profiles of graduates.

Finally, the military thought of the EB of the positivist tradition of the Method continues to be re-elaborated until the present day, being engendered by internal political processes with an international context. Still, the transformation and reforms that took place during the process of the end of the Cold War did not go unnoticed by the EB.

REFORMS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY SYSTEM

The International System at the end of the 20th century had profound changes in a succession of events having its process started with the Nixon Doctrine. The process went through the defeat in the Vietnam War, which signaled the need for reforms in the American defense system. The reforms and responses of the US Army were studied by (JENSEN, 2016) based on neo-institutionalism, where he analyzed TRADOC and signaled about an organizational learning system, in which internal and external factors are considered.

It must be noted that the transformation of TRADOC was not just a change in Doctrine, but also in the way of thinking about War and producing Doctrine. The developed Doctrine was the Air Land Battle designed for use in the European theater, being applied with great success in the Gulf War (1991). However, it was a very asymmetric conflict and in the context of digitization.

With the collapse of the USSR and the dramatic event of September 11, 2001, Strategic Studies (EE) began to be seen as a thing of the past, a dinosaur (BAYLIS; WIRTZ; GRAY, 2019). In this context, Security Studies that seek to expand the scope of the EE become relevant. This would include questions of how the state protects itself against internal threats.

We can highlight the works of (CHUTER,

2006), (FARRELL; RYNNING; TERRIFF, 2013) and (EDMUUNDS, 2013). They reveal aspects of Security Studies with the reconfiguration of the international system that became known as Security Sector Reform (RSS). In line with the texts on RSS, from a rhetorical perspective, it is noted that points of arguments are presented that support the new form of mainstream military thinking:

a) be in line with the neoliberal mode of production, in which dismantling of welfare and socialist economy systems took place;

b) they were political transformations conditioned by economic proposals assisted by transnational institutions and agencies such as the UN, OECD and World Bank, which reconfigured the international division of labor;

c) reproduce the values of liberal democracy with regard to democratic parliamentary control of the armed forces;

d) treat Security and Defense issues holistically and not differentiate between them. The term holistic implies a totalizing vision, a cosmology in which there is an order in the world and that nothing happens by chance, everything is in its proper place and is in opposition to an atomistic vision (Capra,);

e) the holistic approach implies Toffler's historical determinism (TOFFLER; TOFFLER, 1995), the end of history (FUKUYAMA, 1992) and the overcoming of the State (VAN CREVELD, 1999). This cosmology was very well synthesized as the Shock Doctrine by (KLEIN, 2017). In the Brazilian case, implying two appropriations of making the unfamiliar familiar – Managerialism and G4G. Each of them will be presented.

THE IDEOLOGY OF MANAGERIALISM

According to (KLIKAUER, 2015) managerialism combines management knowledge and ideology to systematically establish itself in organizations and society, while depriving employees (organizational-economic) and civil society (political-social) of all decision-making powers. Managerialism justifies the application of managerial techniques to all areas of society on the basis of superior ideology, specialized training, and exclusive possession of the managerial knowledge necessary to efficiently manage corporations and societies.

In the political world, this can take the form of asserting that many conflicts and arguments are unnecessary to solve problems. All that is required is a rational assessment of the problem, and this involves gathering and comparing information, listing the options, costing each, weighing the consequences, and choosing the best course of action. In this sense, Managerialism ends up reinforcing the Method as an idealization in the way of thinking about War, incorporating itself into the figurative nucleus.

Managerialism is not something new, but an idea that already permeates the armed forces. The professional activity of modern and scientific managerialism can be found in the US Army Corps of Engineers (O'CONNELL-JR, 1985). For (LINN, 2007) constitutes the group of Managers together with Heroes and Guardians. It has appeal in the military literature, highlighting the work of (SOETERS, 2020) who argues that there is no differentiation between managing, which is presumed to be the optimization of limited resources in a context of competition, and commanding that is understood in a context of conflict. The presence of managerialism in the military environment is contested by (MCCANN, 2017) in which he makes a critical

analysis associating managerialism with mathematical models; in short, Jominians-Fochians-Lanchesterians of body counting.

THE IDEOLOGY OF 4TH GENERATION WARFARE

It will be taken as G4G (LIND; THIELE, 2015), operational concepts without any strategic foundation, which sheds little light (ECHEVERRIA II, 2005) and arising from Tofflerian, Fukuyan and Creveldian ideas. It is the counterpart of how to think the War of Managerialism. In this set we can add Military Affairs Revolution, Non-War Operations, Full Spectrum Operations, Interagency Operations, Hybrid Warfare, Shock and Awe. To some extent, the G4G Doctrines for Transformation organize the international Security and Defense system – taking it as an indivisible unit. G4G is expanded in the concept of Hybrid War as studied by (LEINER, 2020) who analyzes the phenomenon from the perspective of structuralist Anthropology. The idea of War as a perennial phenomenon of society.

Military transformation comprises adapting an Armed Force to the Revolution of Military Affairs. With a Project of Force, proposed by Donald Rumsfeld (2001-2006), Secretary of Defense of the US President G. W. Bush, indicates how to prepare for the combat of the future and includes even broader understandings of transformation, such as national defense, maintaining unhindered access to space and new approaches to defense and deterrence (SLOAN, 2008). A transformation that identifies three targets for cultural change: departmental business practices, interagency and coalition operations, and how the military fights (CZELUSTA, 2008).

TRANSFORMATION PROCESSES IN THE BRAZILIAN ARMY – MANAGERIALISM AND G4G

The transformation processes in the Brazilian Army begin with the process of slow and gradual democratization and a positioning in relation to external factors in the case of the Malvinas War, which signaled that the hemispheric arrangements of solidarity were fragile. Externally, too, the growing pressure from the environmental agenda places the Amazon as a strategic priority. In 1984, the Army Planning System (SIPLEX) was implemented (VIEGAS-DA-SILVA, 2009) as a response to internal demands and external positioning.

SIPLEX is a methodology that reproduced the Doctrine of the Superior School of War, of the Security and Development binomial, which calls for the Method, giving unity of strategic thinking in the EB and that could be revised periodically. In this context, the Minister of the Army Leônidas Pires Gonçalves undertakes the force project known as Task Force 90 (FT-90) in which the military means would initially be sought to increase the number of troops and reorganize the Force.

In the 1990s, the General Staff of the Army, based on its interpretation of Article 142 of the Federal Constitution (BRASIL, 1988) and using SIPLEX as a tool, established its autochthonous Strategy and conceived the Doctrines ALFA (Guarantee of Law and Order), DELTA (Conventional Combat) and GAMA (Amazon or Resistance Combat). They were a tropicalized version of the G4G and each deserves further study; i) the experiences of urban repression and Peace Forces in ALFA; ii) DELTA was an adaptation of Air Land Battle and iii) GAMA studies of eastern military doctrines (Sun Tzu and Giap) that became of interest to the military, in addition to the experiences of EB action against

insurrectionary movements of the Franco-American tradition (MARTINS FILHO, 2008). Patrol exercises that were practiced were considered ideal in combat in military training schools and troop instruction. Anyway, it was a reverse movement. The practices of the instruction camps served to give form and meaning to what was elaborated in the doctrinal bureaus.

About the ideal Soldier, this would be the Special Operations, especially for Officers trained in the 70/80 generation and who had instructors with experience in repression. Which promotes the importance for holders of courses of this nature such as Jungle Warfare, Parachuting, Special Forces. Considered the practical military in the theoretical/practical double studied by (CASTRO, 1990).

In AMAN, the instruction of the Special Instruction Section is discarded, and in the troop the prevalence given to the fractions of the Special Operations Platoons (Pelopes) and military organizations of special operations. An idealization of war in which conflicts are reduced to patrol operations, the decision-making process carried out by the Order, the Patrol and "Rambo", the archetypal soldier of G4G.

This way, the adoption of the Doctrine served as a double confirmation bias - the role of the military in the State and its self-image. The first as the guardian institution of CF - Federal Constitution/88; and the second, expressed in the slogan "Strong arm" and "Friendly hand".

If, on the one hand, "Strong arm 1" prepares the military for combat like a "Rambo", there is an understanding that an asymmetric war cannot be won without the fight for "hearts and minds", with the need to develop the "Friendly Hand".

The Transformation process of the Brazilian Army was immune to civilian control until the middle of the 21st century. The lack of priority

for Defense issues, budget restrictions and the discredit imagined by the military in the first post-dictatorship democratic governments led to the following movements: the search for alternatives to obtain budgetary resources and the search for recognition and accreditation of the profession.

The alternative to deal with the budgetary problem, especially of the FHC Government, was achieved through isolated initiatives of what would come to be known as Subsidiary Operations. These actions were a way to raise funds for the operation of military organizations obtained through troop training for future combat.

These actions intensified during the Lula government. Actions that are no longer restricted to the provision of services given by a Military Organization to an institutional dimension, with UN Peacekeeping Operations and participation in Major Events. With the National Defense Strategy, military thinking was translated into the Army Transformation Manual and PROFORÇA (BRAZIL. MINISTRY OF DEFENSE. BRAZILIAN ARMY, 2011).

A rhetorical analysis of the documents clarifies that the "Army of the future" uses the discourses of the new era, for the era of knowledge, and for the strategy of "*paralysis, recommends the use of military power in an intense way, in a short period of time and in a wide spectrum, with the purpose of immobilizing the opponent*" the same as Shock and Awe. Tactically this would be possible with "*the achievement of superiority in Combat Information, integrating the activities of Combat Intelligence, Electronic Warfare, Psychological Operations, Deception, Operations Security, Cyber Defense, Civil Affairs and Communication*". The fight for the passion/people component of the Clausewitzian triad.

In addition, it must develop hybrid tactics

such as seeking “the activation, in the general staffs of the Great Operational Commands and Great Units acting in isolation, of organizations or elements of Public Information and Civil-Military Cooperation (Civil Affairs) for dealing with the media, with the population and with international and non-governmental agencies in the area of operations”.

Currently, the Transformation is taking shape with the publication (about several doctrinal manuals guiding how to develop paralysis strategy activities and hybrid tactics. It adds “the rationalization of operational and support structures, adapting them to budgetary restrictions, without prejudice to operational capacities”.

In order to conduct the projects of the Army of the Future, a new professional profile was necessary, that of the Manager, which was redesigned with several measures:

i) The inclusion of Administration disciplines in the curricula of military schools with a managerial bias (PAIVA, 2004) with content on Managerial Excellence. Administration disciplines are founded on the Managerialism of the Business Management discipline, distinct from the scientific areas of Public Administration or Public Policies that are instrumented in Political Sciences. The need to make curricula with a managerial perspective is recurrent, as verified in (COSSA, 2014) and (MAGALHÃES, 2019).

ii) The acceptance of the equivalence of the diploma of Military Sciences with the bachelor's degree in Administration and the possibility of registration and attributions by the Federal Council of Administration goes under this idea (CONSELHO FEDERAL DE ADMINISTRAÇÃO, 2018).

iii) Institutionally, it is relevant to highlight the Managerial Excellence Program by Force Commander Gen Albuquerque, which involved the entire Brazilian Army. The PEG would be a tool to improve the managerial

capacity in the Army's operations, aiming at optimizing processes, managing projects and motivating all its members. The program placed as a priority activity in all military organizations (EQUIPE EDITORIAL ADN, 2005) which in his words “The development of management practices within the Army will bring excellent results to the Country.

Managerial thinking is more evident in the Force Commander's lecture given in March 2003 to the Garrison Officers of Brasilia, from which the following slides are shown:

iv) The managerial proposals were supported by the Getúlio Vargas Foundation of the São Paulo Business Administration School and the Public Service Quality Program participated. The partnership ended up creating bonds and a lasting agreement with ECEME to prepare the “General Managers.”

v) The priority given to functions with a Business Management profile has increased. The EB, which in the 1960s had a training system for Officers in which Scientific Weapons Officers – the “Engineers” or “bachelors” - had unexamined access to the IME. Priorities have been supplanted by Administrators and the like. An empirical study on the transformations of technical careers, their importance in the Brazilian Army and in the developmentalist State Project can clarify this prevalence of the neoliberal Manager to the detriment of the developmentalist Engineers.

vi) Recently, society was surprised by the presence of the military in the government of President Jair Bolsonaro and by the Project Nation 2035, in which the Military School Method was combined with prospective analysis techniques such as the Delphi technique and (MARCIAL; GRUMBACH, 2002) proposing a National Strategy that confirms the theses of this text - the ideology of Managerialism and G4G in which the Brazilian military proposes to Govern, Manage and Command everything and everyone.

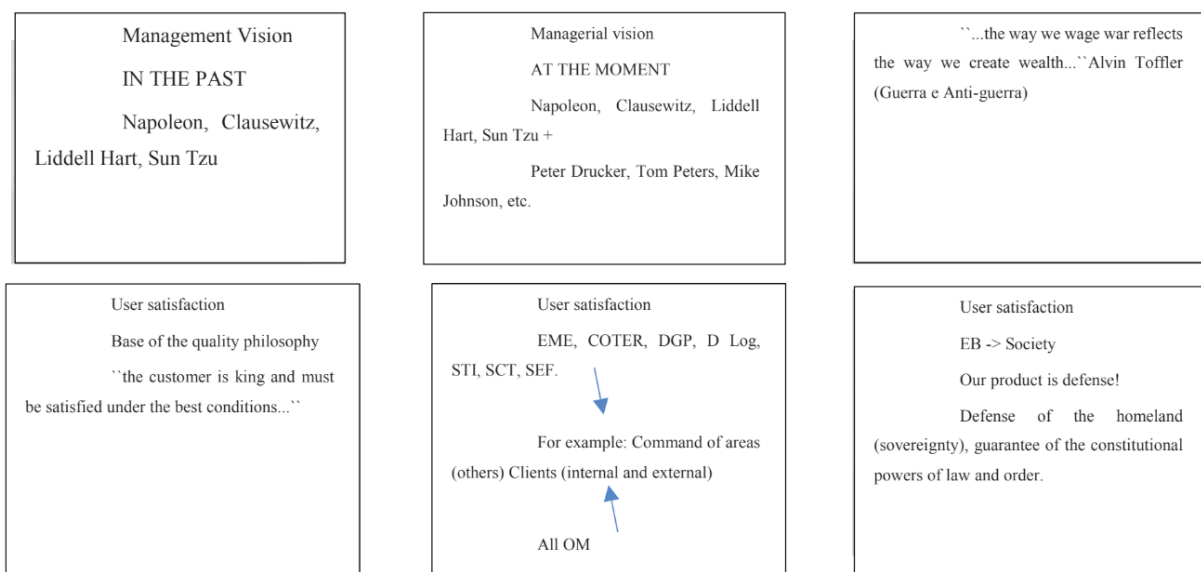


Figure 01 Slides presentation Commander of the Brazilian Army

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The purpose of the essay is to present the continuity of positivist thought translated today with the double G4G and Managerialism, the opposition that completes the deal with War and Peace. The essay made it possible to bring some issues to light and add other propositions.

The proposed constructivist-rhetoricist approach presented, despite not having a tradition in Strategic Studies, indicates a promising alternative. The Rhetoric Sciences, as explained by (MAZZOTTI, 2015) "the noetic techniques that have affective and cognitive functions as subject matter, as object of action, and as objective to maintain or modify beliefs, attitudes and values. An indicated methodology would be the Rhetoric Analysis in the ways of (DUARTE; MAZZOTTI, 2004).

This assumes a technique not only applicable to investigating military educational processes. It would be appropriate to add the study of military thought, the characteristic syllogisms of each current (Analytic or Rhetoric/Dialectic) and its revelation

(fundamentalism) or invention (coherentism) as a Doctrine.

In a first approach, it appears that the Brazilian Army's positivist military thinking has a historical legacy and has been reworked and adapted to internal and external political contexts. In World War I with the MMF, in World War II with the alliance with the USA, in the Cold War by joining the western bloc, the core of military thought was consolidated with the eternalized Method.

Currently, the EB develops the Transformation process, incorporating neoliberal perceptions and the minimal State – in line with the proposal of the new global order. An idea in which the State must summarize its two main functions, which is the maintenance of contracts: security and justice. Anyway, *l'état c'est moi*. The protagonism of the military in politics in the Jair Bolsonaro Government, the measures taken are enlightening to understand the positivist-Fochian military thought of Method, Managerialism and G4G and deserve a detailed study. Policy subsumed by the Governing General Managers who, with the mastery of the Method and

managerial techniques, set out to conceive a State Project, without any contradiction or dialogue mediation - the understanding of a Polis as a hierarchical organism and led by the Aristro - the class of citizens most prepared

to pilot the ship of the Republic. It remains to be seen whether this social representation of Polis guarantees Democracy – an object of investigation to be published.

REFERENCES

- BAYLIS, John; WIRTZ, James J.; GRAY, Colin S. **Strategy in the Contemporary World; an introduction to strategic studies**. 6. ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2019.
- BLACK, Max. *Models and Metaphors: studies in language and philosophy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962.
- BRASIL. MINISTÉRIO DA DEFESA. EXÉRCITO BRASILEIRO. **PROFORÇA Projeto de Força do Exército Brasileiro**. Brasília: Estado Maior do Exército, 2011.
- BRASIL. MINISTÉRIO DO EXÉRCITO. EME. *A Política Educacional para o Exército Brasileiro: 2000 - Fundamentos*. Brasília, 1994.
- BRASIL. Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil de 1988 **Congresso Nacional**, Brasil, 1988. Disponível em: <http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/constituicao/constituicaocompilado.htm>. Acesso em: 17 jun. 2019.
- CASTRO, Celso. **O Espírito Militar - um antropólogo na caserna**. 2. ed. Rio de Janeiro: ZAHAR EDITORES, 1990.
- CASTRO, Tiago Castro De. **Método de preparação e abordagem de temas e questões discursivas**. Rio de Janeiro: Bibliex Editora, 2010.
- CHUTER, David. Understanding Security Sector Reform. **Journal of Security Sector Management**, EUA, v. 4, n. 2, p. 1–21, 2006.
- CONSELHO FEDERAL DE ADMINISTRAÇÃO. Resolução Normativa 547 de 31 de Outubro de 2018. Trata de Cursos de Formação de Oficiais e equivalência ao Bacharelado em Administração Brasil, 2018. Disponível em: <http://www.in.gov.br/materia/-/asset_publisher/Kujrw0TZC2Mb/content/id/48445993/do1-2018-11-05-resolucao-normativa-n-547-de-31-de-outubro-de-2018-48445970>
- COSSA, Antonio Fernando Adorno. **A Graduação em Administração na AMAN**. 2014. Escola de Aperfeiçoamento de Oficiais, Brasil, 2014.
- CZELUSTA, Mark G. *Business as Usual: An Assessment of Donald Rumsfeld's Transformation Vision and Transformation's Prospects for the Future*. Gernackerstraße: The George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, 2008.
- DOMINGOS NETO, Manuel. Gamelin, o modernizador do Exército. **Tensões Mundiais**, Brasil, v. 3, n. 4, p. 219–256, 2007.
- DOUGHTY, Robert A. *The Seeds of Disaster – The Development of French Army Doctrine, 1919-39*. Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 1985.
- DUARTE, Érico Esteves. A Análise Crítica de Clausewitz (Kritik): rigor epistemológico e potencial interdisciplinar. In: II ENCONTRO NACIONAL DA ASSOCIAÇÃO BRASILEIRA DE DEFESA NACIONAL 2008, Niterói. **Anais...** Niterói
- DUARTE, Mônica; MAZZOTTI, Tarso Bonilha. Análise retórica do discurso como proposta metodológica para as pesquisas em representação social. **Revista Educação e Cultura Contemporânea**, Brasil, v. 1, n. 2, p. 81–108, 2004. Disponível em: <<http://revistaadmmade.estacio.br/index.php/reeduc/article/viewArticle/2290#>>
- ECHEVARRIA-II, Antulio J. **Clausewitz and Contemporary War**. New Jersey: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- ECHEVERRIA II, Antulio J. **Fourth-Generation War and others myths**. Carlisle PA USA: Strategic Studies Institute, 2005.

EDMUNDS, Timothy. Security Sector Reform. In: BRUNEAU, Thomas C.; MATEI, Florina Cristiana (Eds.). **The Routledge Handbook of Civil – Military Relations**. New York: Routledge, 2013. p. 48–60.

EQUIPE EDITORIAL ADN. Programa Excelência Gerencial (PEG) no Exército Brasileiro; entrevista com o General-de-Exército Francisco Roberto de Albuquerque - Comandante do Exército. Brasília: A Defesa Nacional, 2005.

FARRELL, Theo; RYNNING, Sten; TERRIFF, Terry. Transforming Military Power since the Cold War: Britain, France, and the United States, 1912-2012. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

FUKUYAMA, Francis. **The End of History and the Last Man**. New York: Macmillan Press, 1992. Disponível em: <papers2://publication/uuid/FF695843-37D2-4A68-9C20-2AE2ACB7D1B8>

GAT, Azar. A History of Military Thought: from enlightenment to the Cold War. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

GRUNENVALDT, José Tarcísio. A educação militar nos marcos da Primeira República: estudo dos regulamentos do ensino militar (1890-1929). 2005. Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, Brasil, 2005.

HOIBACK, Harald. Understanding Military Doctrine: a multidisciplinary approach. Oxon: Routledge, 2013.

JENSEN, Benjamin M. **Forging the Sword: doctrinal change in the US Army**. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016.

JOMINI, Antoine Henri De. **The Art of War: restored edition**. Tradução G. H. Mendeell; W. P. Craighill. Kingston: Legacy Books Press Classics, 1838.

JORDAN, David et al. **Understanding Modern Warfare**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016. v. 4

KIRSCHENBAUM, Matthew. Kriegsspiel as Tool for Thought. In: DIGITAL HUMANITIES 2010: CONFERENCE ABSTRACTS 2010, Londres. **Anais...** Londres: Centre for Computing in the Humanities, King's College, 2010.

KLEIN, Naomi. A Doutrina do Choque: a ascensão do capitalismo de desastre. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 2017.

KLIKAUER, Thomas. What Is Managerialism? **Critical Sociology**, [s. l.], v. 41, n. 7–8, p. 1103–1119, 2015.

LEINER, Piero C. O Brasil no espectro de uma Guerra Híbrida: militares, operações psicológicas e política em uma perspectiva etnográfica. São Paulo: Alameda, 2020.

LIND, William S.; THIELE, Gregory A. **4th Generation Warfare Handbook**. Kouvola: Castalia House, 2015.

LINN, Brian McAllister. **The echo of battle: the army's way of war**. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007. v. 46

LUCHETTI, Maria Salute Rossi. **O Ensino do Exército Brasileiro : histórico, quadro atual e reforma**. 2006. Universidade Metodista de Piracicaba, Piracicaba, 2006.

MAGALHÃES, Luciano Allevato. A importância do conhecimento da Administração Pública na formação de militares do Exército Brasileiro: uma análise na Academia Militar das Agulhas Negras e na Escola de Sargentos das Armas. 2019. Escola de Formação Complementar do Exército/Centro Universitário do Sul de Minas, Brasil, 2019.

MARCUSSO, Marcus Fernandes. A Escola Militar do Realengo e a formação do Oficial do Exército Brasileiro (1904-1929). 2012. Universidade Federal de São Carlos, Brasil, 2012.

MARTINS FILHO, João Roberto. A influência doutrinária francesa sobre os militares brasileiros nos anos de 1960. **Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais**, [s. l.], v. 23, n. 67, p. 39–50, 2008.

MAZZOTTI, Tarso Bonilha et al. **Metodologia Científica**. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Universidade Estácio de Sá, 2014.

MAZZOTTI, Tarso Bonilha. Retórica, a ciência das técnicas noéticas. **Revista Educação e Cultura Contemporânea**, Brasil, v. 12, n. 28, p. 103–129, 2015.

MCCANN, Leo. 'Killing is our business and business is good': The evolution of 'war managerialism' from body counts to counterinsurgency. **Organization**, [s. l.], v. 24, n. 4, p. 491–515, 2017.

MOTTA, Jehovah. Formação do Oficial do Exército: currículos e regimes na Academia Militar 1810-1944. Rio de Janeiro: Bibliex Editora, 1998.

NOGUEIRA, Jefferson Gomes. Educação Militar no Brasil: um breve histórico. **Revista Brasileira de História Militar**, Brasil, v. IV, n. 12, p. 146–172, 2013.

NUNES, Richard Fernandez et al. ECEME — A Escola “dos Métodos”. Brasil, v. 1, p. 6–18, 2017.

O'CONNELL-JR, Charles F. The Corps of Engineer and the Rise of Modern Management, 1827-1856. In: SMITH, Merritt Roe (Ed.). **Military Enterprise and Technological Change**. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985.

OLIVEIRA, Ana Amélia Penido; MATHIAS, Suzeley Kalil. Profissionalização militar; notas sobre o sistema do Exército Brasileiro. **Tematicas**, [s. l.], v. 28, n. 56, p. 38–69, 2020.

PAIVA, Alexandre Duarte De. **A Excelência Gerencial na Formação do Oficial da Academia Militar das Agulhas Negras: Encontro Pedagógico do Ensino Superior Militar**. Rio de Janeiro.

POSEN, Barry R. The sources of military doctrine. France, Britan, and Germany between the world wars. Ithaca NY USA: Cornell University Press, 1984.

SHY, John. Jomini. In: PARET, Peter; CRAIG, Gordon A.; GILBERT, Felix (Eds.). **Makers of Modern Strategy: from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age**. 3. ed. Princeton: Princenton University Press, 1986. p. 159–206.

SLOAN, Elinor. Military transformation and modern warfare: a reference handbook. Westport: Praeger Security USA, 2008.

SOETERS, Joseph. **Management and Military Studies: classical and current foundations**. New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2020.

STRACHAN, Hew; HERBERG-ROTHE, Andreas. **Clausewitz in the twenty-first century**. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

SVARTMAN, Eduardo Munhoz. O exército brasileiro e a emulação dos modelos francês e estadunidense no século XX. **Revista da Escola de Guerra Naval**, [s. l.], v. 22, n. 2, p. 361–380, 2016.

TOFFLER, Alvin; TOFFLER, Heidi. **War and anti-war: making sense of today's global chaos**. New York: Wraner Books, 1995. Disponível em: <<https://archive.org/details/WarAndAntiWar-Toffler>>

VAN CREVELD, Martin. **The Rise and Decline of the State**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

VIEGAS-DA-SILVA, Carlos Eduardo de Melo. O sistema de planejamento estratégico do Exército Brasileiro (SIPLEx) : uma análise da doutrina militar terrestre do Exército Brasileiro e do seu planejamento (2002- 2007). 2009. Universidade Federal de Sao Carlos, [s. l.], 2009. Disponível em: <<https://repositorio.ufscar.br/handle/ufscar/947>>

WINTJES, Jorit. When a Spiel is not a Game. **Vulcan**, Netherlands, v. 5, n. 1, p. 5–28, 2017. Disponível em: <https://brill.com/abstract/journals/vulc/5/1/article-p5_5.xml>

XAVIER, Paulo Sérgio. O currículo da Academia Militar das Agulhas Negras e a formação profissional: das origens ao início do Século XXI. 2017. Universidade Federal de Mato Grosso do Sul, Brasil, 2017.

YANCY, Scott D. From Methodical Battle to Shock and Awe : How to Guard Against the Next Great Idea The “ Shock and Awe ”. 2012. Joint Forces Staff College, EUA, 2012.