

# OMNIDEF ANALYSIS

Institute of Geopolitics and Strategic Studies

The **OMNIDEF ANALYSIS** is a monthly publication with analyses\* about themes addressed in the previous month of **OMNIDEF** and identified as the most relevant for the National Defense context.

## Highlights

PUBLIC DEFENSE POLICIES

*OPENING OF THE LAUNCH CENTER OF ALCÂNTARA (CLA) FOR THE PRIVATE INTERNATIONAL MARKET*

PUBLIC DEFENSE POLICIES

*POWER AND CT&I IN THE AEROSPACE INDUSTRY: THE PROJECTS FX-2 AND CBERS*

GEOPOLITICS, CONFLICTS AND COOPERATION

*THE SYRIAN WAR AND ITS GEOPOLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS*

BRAZIL AND THE STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT

*THE GROWING CHINESE INVOLVEMENT IN THE REGION ATTRACTS THE ATTENTION OF THE US AUTHORITIES.*

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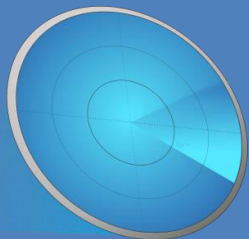
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## PUBLIC DEFENSE POLICIES

### Opening of the CLA for the private international market

**Author:** Sergio Kostin

**Co-author:** Beatriz Leal

The satellite market is estimated at US\$ 330 billion annual in revenues terms, not in net profit terms, what is an important distinction, being that The United States of America (USA) decrease currently about 70% around this market.

The Launch Center of Alcântara (CLA- acronyms in Portuguese) has a privileged geographic position due to proximity of the Equator line, which enables the economy about 30% of launching fuel, besides direct access to the Atlantic Ocean, facilitating the logistic of operations. However, the possible commercial use of the do CLA has been reason of complaint, in special concerning to the national wisdom, for being a military base.

It's valid the interest of the USA in safeguarding their technological knowledge and the most important is to see the USA as an important partner and not as an external enemy, in spite of every nation has its specific interests. The Spatial Center of Guiana does the satellite launch of several companies and countries, respecting the commercial safeguards. It's only a commercial space rent.

The USA already has a launch base for rocket in their territory. The interest in Alcântara is due to the characteristics previously described. The intention of the Brazilian Air Forced in commercial use of the CLA is a rational decision.

It's an economic potential that Brazil can explore in order to compensate the installation costs, maintenance and depreciation of the CLA, and to provide resources, especially in this chaotic fiscal landscape that we still live.

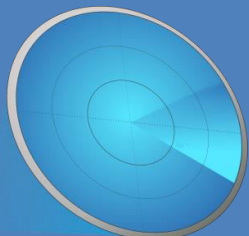
It's emphasized that CLA has about 940 people, between civilians and military. In function of the serious fiscal framework, several projects were postponed. But, even if the country fiscal situation was good, no sign of obstacles in the commercial use of the CLA. Brazil, in special the state machine, has several assets that eventually could be used for commercial purposes.

However, the creation of a new public Brazilian business, the Alada, it does not seem to be a rational decision. There is no idea of the demand not even the profit that the CLA can earn from the base rental for the launch.

A regulatory framework should be created to enable FAB, as the Armed Forces can explore their property, plant and equipment on a commercial basis, noting security issues in their installations and guaranteeing the legal certainty of the operation. There are other intrinsic advantages in relation to the rental of the Base that is an acquired experience with the launches that happen to occur in the CLA.

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As stated at the beginning of the text, it is not a market with a high net profit. Nevertheless, it is necessary that the country to be able to commercially exploit its economic potential. A mineral resource under the unexplored soil has no value until it is extracted. In case of the CLA, the facilities already exist and they are idles, depreciating over time, requiring resources to keep them operational. The commercial use of the CLA is a rational decision in economics terms, and the requests for technological safeguard by the USA are natural conditions in this kind of operation.

## News published by OMNIDEF

*Força Aérea Brasileira – 17/09/2018*

### **Acordo de salvaguardas tecnológicas é necessário para abertura do CLA ao mercado global**

Nesta sexta-feira (14), o Presidente da Comissão de Coordenação de Implantação de Sistemas Espaciais (CCISE), Major-Brigadeiro do Ar Luiz Fernando de Aguiar, visitou o Centro de Lançamento de Alcântara (CLA), no Maranhão, e ressaltou a importância do Programa Estratégico de Sistemas Espaciais (PESE), em termos de desenvolvimento para o país e geração de recursos. A explanação ocorreu durante apresentação do CLA a veículos de imprensa nacionais e internacionais. [...] De acordo com o Presidente da CCISE, foi criado grupo técnico com a atribuição de tratar a viabilidade de acordos de salvaguardas tecnológicas com estados estrangeiros, principalmente os Estados Unidos, como forma de potencializar as ações de fortalecimento do Programa Espacial Brasileiro. “O Brasil pretende fechar um acordo de salvaguardas tecnológicas com os Estados Unidos que pode viabilizar para a utilização comercial do CLA até o próximo ano. Os EUA dominam plenamente a área de espaço e queremos começar com boas parcerias”, disse.

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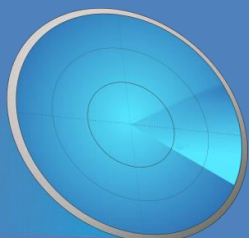
*Agência Efe Brasil – 17/09/2018*

### **Brasil aposta em acordo com EUA para retomar programa espacial**

O Brasil aposta em um acordo que negocia com os Estados Unidos para retomar seu programa espacial e entrar no clube "de nações" com capacidade de colocar satélites em órbita, um mercado de cerca de US\$ 330 bilhões anuais. As negociações com os EUA, que se aceleraram neste ano, apontam para um acordo de salvaguardas tecnológicas que permita a esse país utilizar a Base de Alcântara, no Maranhão, e cuja posição geográfica privilegiada gera uma grande economia de combustível em cada lançamento. O brigadeiro Luiz Fernando de Aguiar, presidente da comissão que coordena os programas espaciais do Brasil, disse aos jornalistas durante uma visita à base que o acordo negociado os EUA pode ser a porta de entrada do país no negócio global de lançamento de satélites. No entanto, o país está em pleno processo eleitoral, o que pode atrasar a aprovação. Aguiar acrescentou [...] que as autoridades do programa espacial já trataram sobre o assunto com os principais candidatos à Presidência e garantiu que "a maioria" apoia as negociações.

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PUBLIC DEFENSE POLICIES

## Power and CT&I in the aerospace industry: the Projects FX-2 and CBERS

**Author:** *Guilherme Lopes da Cunha*

**Co-author:** *Luis Manuel Costa Mendez*

**Co-author:** *Beatriz Leal*

The autochthonous technological development, it always been in permanent reflection. The decision to deal with production or acquisition of technologies in order to enhance the functioning of defense and security, it is an important ingredient in the thinking of those who manager and architect the country's future. However, the needs are higher than the availability, what commonly constrains the administrator. In this context, some strategies are contemplated, considering cooperation based on technology transfer or co-production. In terms of power relations between Member States, authors of different matrices underline the role of field of Science, Technology and Innovation (CT&I –Acronyms in Portuguese) in the capacity of power, including we can mention Susan Strange and John Mearsheimer. While Strange considers knowledge as one of the faces of tetrahedral-shaped structural power (defense, production, finances and knowledge), Mearsheimer observes it as a hidden power, a significant socioeconomic element for the projection of power in the interstate context. It is in this context that the technologic dependence creates fragilities.

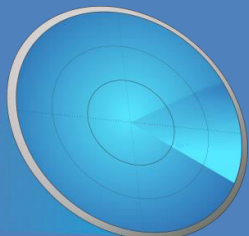
The dilemma between create and obtain CT&I intertwines with budgeting capabilities and long-term planning, because the formation of industrial complexes requires a great deal of effort, from the promotion of a "braid", as Ennio Candotti argues in Amazonian subjects, to the verification of viability and efficiency of the products created. Therefore, thinking about the acquisition associated with the transfer of technological knowledge, stand out two strategies of obtaining and elaborating (partially) autonomous: i) the Swedish Gripen airplane, related to the Project FX-2 of the Brazilian Air Force (FAB – Acronyms in Portuguese), and ii) the satellites of the Program CBERS, initials in English of (China-Brazil Earth Resources Satellite).

The airplane Gripen is a deal object of cooperation with transfer of technology. Different from initiatives as the KC-390 (Embraer), multi-mission jet for tactical-logistic transport, still testing, and the hypersonic vehicle Swcramjet 14-X (IEAV), in development, which represent technological creation in the state of the art, the Project FX-2, agreed in 2014 with company SAAB, through a bidding process outlines cooperation associated to offset acquisition, which establishes rules for technology transfer. This parameter provides participation of Brazil as protagonist in the accomplishment of part of the enterprise, encouraging the endogenous formation of a specific knowledge. Being a purchasing modality that requires associated development, Brazil's participation in this task enables an alternative strategic architecture, facilitating compliance with the stages of the plan and reducing weaknesses.

Composing a diverse modality, the CBERS resulted in the first space program conceived through cooperation among developing countries. An audacious cooperation platform built in 1984 made the 1988 agreement

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cementing the satellite-building partnership. Facing adversities of different natures, mainly financial ones, the overcoming of obstacles provided not only the launching of the satellites, being the first post in orbit on October 14, 1999, through the Taiyuan Launch Center, but also contributed to consolidate the bases Sino-Brazilian relations that resulted in the Strategic Partnership (1993) and the Global Strategic Partnership (2012). In this context, among other effects, the CBERS encouraged developed countries to facilitate access to space technologies to less developed countries. This is a basic element for the formation of a political culture of development, identified in a common behavior of developing countries facing restrictions, fears and intemperance in the relationship with more powerful nations

The ability to strengthen Defense and Security mechanisms through CT & I will continue to be a priority. Both the improvement of cooperation agreements with SAAB and the celebration of the 30th anniversary of the Sino-Brazilian Partnership in the production and launch of satellites, the sixth with a forecast for 2019, demonstrate the Brazilian effort to implement effective strategic planning in the face of restrictions. Spatial capacity, understood as structural or latent power amplification, encourages public administrators and strategists to deal with resource scarcity without neglecting the duty to increase and protect strategic assets. The production and acquisition of Defense products must meet the specific needs of each society, as technologies built on the needs of other peoples or under pressure from private interest groups can result in expenditures that are expendable and ineffective. Therefore, it remains the understanding that not only the KC-390 and the Scramjet 14-X are examples of successful proposals for overcoming technological dependence: the FX-2 and CBERS Projects corroborate a daring engineering to expand Brazil's deterrent capacity.

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## News published by OMNIDEF

*AEB – 03/09/2018*

### **Parceria Brasil-China é exemplo de sucesso para o mundo**

Os 30 anos de parceria entre Brasil-China na área de satélites de sensoriamento remoto foram comemorados por autoridades brasileiras e chinesas, profissionais e especialistas da área espacial, além de empresas que contribuíram para o desenvolvimento dos satélites do Programa Sino-Brasileiro de Recursos Terrestres (CBERS), e também para o desenvolvimento socioeconômico do Brasil. A parceria Brasil-China firmada em 1988 já desenvolveu seis satélites, cinco deles já lançados. [...] O CBERS-4A encontra-se na fase de integração e teste no Laboratório do INPE, com previsão de lançamento para 2019.

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*Folha de São Paulo – 06/09/2018*

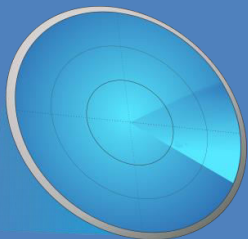
### **Cooperação entre Brasil e China para inovação requer estímulo à educação**

A criação do Brics foi fundamental para a aproximação entre Brasil e China nos últimos anos, inclusive no ramo da inovação. Para que haja um aprofundamento da parceria é preciso alinhar o sistema brasileiro de educação com novos objetivos. No campo técnico das universidades, o interesse pela cooperação entre os dois países é crescente, mas faltam estímulos, segundo Gilberto Kassab, ministro da Ciência, Tecnologia, Inovações e Comunicações. Discutiu-se também a necessidade de articular ciência e tecnologia com políticas públicas e sistemas produtivos.

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GEOPOLITICS, CONFLICTS AND COOPERATION

## The Syrian War and its geopolitical developments

**Author:** Antonio dos Santos

**Co-author:** Marcos do Vale Araujo

The current situation in the Syrian state derives from multiple factors: historical alliances, influence of distinct ethnic groups and, above all, the presence of large states of the international system. What the literature on international security points out is that this scenario materializes a proxy war, a phenomenon already known since Cold War times and characterized mainly by a confrontation in which there is the indirect clash of other players under the "disguise" of an internal conflict in a specific region or state.

Great powers such as Russia, historical ally of the Assad regime, are seen with great clarity, directing large flows of capital to strengthen the Syrian regime. This influence can be exemplified by Putin and Assad's recent official communiqué, predicting an attack on the town of Idlib (the last major checkpoint of rebel forces) in northern Syria, near the southern border from Turkey. In short, Russia has played an aggressive role in this phase of restoration of the world order, and acted alongside Syria, defying US proposals for that region.

The Trump government, after learning of the joint Russian-Syrian statement, said it would not accept a new chemical-based attack in Syria. In addition, a point to mention about the US performance in the region is the dispute generated with Iran, a traditional country allied with the Syrian government and that aims to consolidate its regional influence. It is a fact that the events in Syria contribute to the deterioration of relations between the US and Iran, already damaged by the nuclear treaty. The convergence between Iran, Syria and Russia in pursuit of control of regions like Idlib and the fight against Kurdish forces directly challenges the US, because tensions have already been generated due to US support for the Kurds. In general terms, this crack opposes another coalition composed of the USA, Israel and Saudi Arabia regarding the consolidation of regional influences.

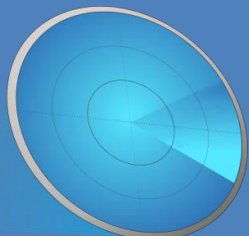
The Turks play a key role because of their strategic location, receiving pressures and influences from the European Union, Russia and the USA. In this specific issue, Turkey represents the last obstacle to the access of immigrants / war refugees to Europe. It is important to mention that after a meeting between Presidents Erdogan and Putin, in which the Turkish president presented the consequences of an attack on Idlib as a likely mass escape of refugees, the attack was postponed / suspended, at least provisionally.

In addition, according to the international news, Turkey aims to act east of the Euphrates River in Syria, in order to establish safe areas and contain the Popular Protection Units, Kurdish militia present in the region.

President Erdogan's domestic authoritarian attitudes had no retaliatory counterpart, either from the European Union or from the United States, because of the central role that Turkey plays in terms of its privileged

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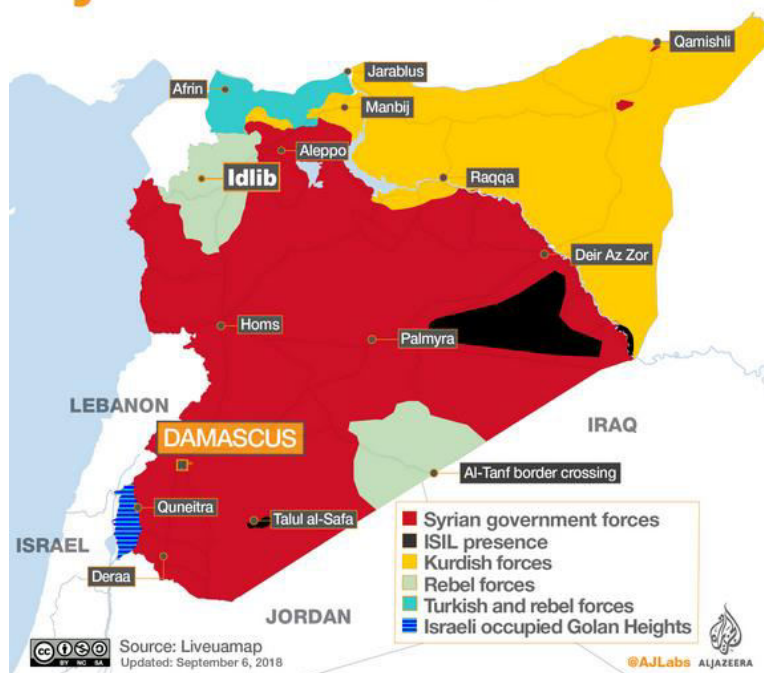
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geographic location. However, the consequences of a Turkish military expansion with a focus on the territory controlled by the Kurds, mainly for directly threatening the interests of OTAN and USA, are obscure.

From the above it is lawful to state that the conflict in the Syrian state will have an unpredictable outcome because of a multi-stakeholder game affecting not only regional stability but also the world order. One can see the influence and relevance of geopolitics as an explanatory factor and guiding the attitudes of the actors involved, especially with regard to Turkey, which, based on the geopolitical foundation of the geographic location mentioned above, becomes a central player in the scenario the Middle East.

## Syria: Who controls what?



### News published by OMNIDEF

**ABC News – 21/09/2018**

#### **Syria's Idlib province may be spared a mass slaughter, but for how long?**

There are hopes that a feared mass slaughter in the Syrian province of Idlib could be averted, after a de-escalation plan was agreed to between the Assad regime's ally Russia and Turkey. The announcement of the deal this week provided some hope that President Bashar al-Assad's planned massive, final push to retake the province could be staved off. But one senior US Army War college expert, with long experience in the region and in advising the US Government, says it's probably just a temporary reprieve.

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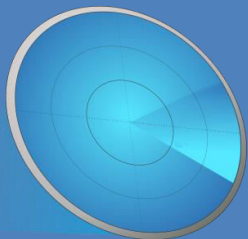
**Reuters – 24/09/2018**

#### **Turkey's Erdogan vows to impose secure zones east of Euphrates in Syria**

Turkey will take action east of the Euphrates river in Syria and impose secure zones as it has done in the northwest of the country, President Tayyip Erdogan said in comments broadcast on Turkish media on Monday. Earlier this year, Turkey carried out a military operation to seize control of Syria's Afrin region from the Syrian Kurdish YPG militia, which Ankara considers a terrorist organization. The YPG also controls the Syrian region east of the Euphrates.

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## BRAZIL AND THE STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT

### **The growing Chinese involvement in the region attracts the attention of the US authorities.**

**Author:** Danilo Marcondes de Souza Neto

**Co-author:** Thaís Fernandes Pereira

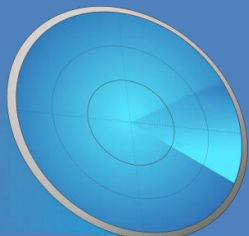
The increasing presence of the People's Republic of China (RPC- Acronyms in Portuguese) in the Latin American and Caribbean region has increasingly aroused the interest of US government authorities. In the recent years, the countries of the region have increased their economic relation with the RPC, but there are also advances in the defense and military cooperation, diplomatic relations and in China's direct foreign investment in the region. This growing involvement positions China as an actor capable of offering Latin American and Caribbean countries an alternative to the role of the United States as a preeminent actor in terms of security and defense, trade and investment in the region. Thus China's interest in the region has been accompanied by US officials seeking to highlight the historical ties and shared values that unite the US with Latin American countries as a way to reduce China's growing influence in the region. For example, on visit to South America in August 2018, the US Secretary of Defense James Mattis, visited Brazil and emphasized values shared between the US and Brazil, including democracy. Mattis also highlighted the performance of the two countries during World War II. The visit of Mattis, the first of a Secretary of Defense to the region since 2014, included, besides Brazil, Argentina, Colombia and Chile.

The impact of China's growing involvement in the region can also be identified when we consider specific countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, in particular those that have experienced political and economic crisis, closely followed by the US government. In the case of the recent economic and political crisis in Venezuela, China's growing involvement as an alternative to the isolation suffered by the government of Nicolás Maduro (Venezuela was suspended from Mercosur in August 2017 due to a rupture of the democratic order). China and Venezuela have been cooperating for more than 10 years, but due to the crisis affecting the South American country, this cooperation has intensified recently. The Venezuelan head of state visited China in September 2018, and the same month saw the first visit of a Chinese navy ship (PLA-Navy) to Venezuela. It is noteworthy that the ship that visited was the hospital ship Arca da Paz (Daishan Dao in Mandarin) and that the visit included the provision of humanitarian aid by the Chinese Navy. One of the sectors most affected by the current Venezuelan crisis is precisely the health sector, Venezuela has been experiencing a shortage of medicines and other medical and hospital supplies, and has also been affected by the immigration of professionals working in the health sector. Although the situation in Venezuela has become more urgent due to the crisis in the country, the visit of the Chinese ship, which began in June 2018, also included other Latin American and Caribbean countries such as Colombia, the Dominican Republic and Ecuador.

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China's interest in Latin America and the Caribbean is also focused on the search for diplomatic recognition. Taiwan has been losing diplomatic allies in the world in recent times, for example, in 2018 Burkina Faso, Sao Tome and Principe and El Salvador have decided to establish relations with the PRC, but the Latin American and Caribbean region still concentrates the largest number of diplomatic Taiwan (nine out of a total of 17 States). In the case of the countries of the region that recognize Taiwan, the case of Paraguay stands out (diplomatic relations were established in 1957). The implications of this relationship translate into impediments to the advancement of negotiations between Mercosur and the People's Republic of China.

## Notícias veiculadas pelo OMNIDEF

*The New York Times – 08/09/2018*

### **U.S. Recalls Top Diplomats From Latin America as Worries Rise Over China's Influence**

The United States has recalled three chiefs of mission from Latin American nations that cut diplomatic ties with Taiwan in favor of recognizing China. The move comes as American officials have expressed growing unease over China's rising influence in the region. The diplomats, who represent the United States in the Dominican Republic, El Salvador and Panama, will meet with leaders in Washington "to discuss ways in which the United States can support strong, independent, democratic institutions throughout Central America and the Caribbean," a spokeswoman for the State Department, Heather Nauert, said in a written statement on Friday. For decades, Taiwan and China have competed for recognition. In 1979, the United States switched its support and officially established sovereign relations with China, and many other countries followed. But Washington has supported any decisions by nations to continue recognizing Taiwan, a self-governing island that China wants to bring under Communist Party rule.

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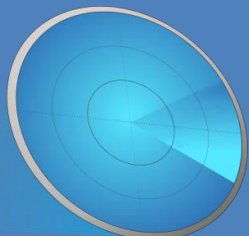
*El Tiempo – 20/09/2018*

### **Las relaciones China-América Latina y el Caribe, en la nueva era**

Apartir del XIX Congreso Nacional del Partido Comunista de China, las relaciones entre China y América Latina y el Caribe, guiadas por un nuevo rumbo, ya han logrado flamantes avances. En enero de este año se celebró con éxito la Segunda Reunión Ministerial del Foro China-Celac (FCC). El presidente Xi Jinping envió una carta de felicitación y lanzó la iniciativa de plasmar juntos, entre China y América Latina y el Caribe, el nuevo plan maestro de la construcción conjunta de la Franja y la Ruta, el cual recibió una positiva acogida de los países latinoamericanos y caribeños. En esta reunión también se publicó la 'Declaración especial sobre la iniciativa de la franja y la ruta', que simbolizó la extensión formal de esta iniciativa a América Latina y el Caribe. Hasta la fecha, China ha firmado con 9 países de la región el memorándum de entendimiento de cooperación sobre la Franja y la Ruta. Además, China viene ampliando su círculo de amigos en América Latina y el Caribe. Después de Panamá, República Dominicana y El Salvador han establecido relaciones diplomáticas con China [...].

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