

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN THE JOURNAL “A DEFESA NACIONAL” (1988-1992): Insights into the Imaginary of Army Officers

INDÍGENAS NA REVISTA “A DEFESA NACIONAL” (1988-1992): Nuances do Imaginário dos Oficiais do Exército

Alexandre Ataíde de Lima¹

Abstract: This article analyzes the category “*The Indigenous Peoples of the Past*” as presented in the journal *A Defesa Nacional* between 1988 and 1992. To this end, a content analysis methodology is employed to examine the historical narratives and stereotypes embedded within the journal’s texts. The analysis indicates that representations of Indigenous peoples are intertwined with a social imaginary that blends reality, social norms, and stereotypes with militaristic interpretations. Such perceptions shape officers’ understanding of the role of Indigenous peoples in Brazilian society and reflect a complex dynamic among history, culture, and military identity.

Keywords: Indigenous Peoples, Military Thought, Imaginary, *A Defesa Nacional*.

Resumo: Este artigo analisa a categoria “Os indígenas do passado” na revista “A Defesa Nacional” entre 1988 e 1992. Para isso, emprega-se a metodologia de análise de conteúdo com o intuito de explorar as narrativas históricas e os estereótipos presentes nos textos do periódico. A análise indica que as representações dos indígenas são marcadas por um imaginário social que mescla realidade, regras sociais e estereótipos com interpretações militaristas. Tais percepções moldam a compreensão dos oficiais sobre o papel dos indígenas na sociedade brasileira e refletem uma complexa dinâmica entre história, cultura e identidade militar.

Palavras-chave: Questão Indígena, Pensamento Militar, Imaginário, *A Defesa Nacional*.

Introduction

The Federal Constitution of 1988 established fundamental rights and basic guarantees for the indigenous peoples of Brazil, recognizing their ethnic and cultural diversity, as well as their right to the lands they traditionally occupy. These constitutional provisions represented a significant change in the State's relationship with indigenous peoples, overcoming the previous paternalistic approach (Cunha, 2012; Verdum, 2009). The Brazilian Army, whose activities are intertwined with indigenous territories and populations, has incorporated the indigenous¹ issue into its strategic vision. Thus, military institutions play an important role in the dynamics surrounding national indigenous policies (ISA, 2024).

¹ Master’s student in the Graduate Program in Military Sciences at Escola de Comando e Estado-Maior do Exército (ECEME), in the research area of “Peace and War Studies”. Bachelor’s degree in Military Sciences from Academia Militar das Agulhas Negras (AMAN). E-mail: alex_ataide@live.com. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0006-0037-7061>.

Given its relevance, this indigenous issue sparks debate in Brazilian society, especially in the field of human sciences. Relations between indigenous peoples and the Brazilian Army have taken various forms throughout history, becoming central in certain periods and fundamental to understanding the national political landscape and the military mindset. However, when we enter the field of military science studies, we notice a scarcity of analyses that address the indigenous issue. This gap leads us to question how indigenous identities and cultures are understood by Army personnel, especially officers.

In light of the above, after the promulgation of the Federal Constitution of 1988, what were the impressions expressed by the Brazilian Army officers regarding indigenous peoples? This article argues that representations of Brazilian indigenous peoples, emerging from historical narratives published by the journal *A Defesa Nacional* between 1988 and 1992, function as a platform that presents the public with perceptions of indigenous peoples, constructed and interpreted from a social imaginary inherent to Army officers.

In the second half of the 19th century and part of the 20th century, especially under the influence of evolutionary concepts that preceded social anthropology, there was a belief that an ethnic group could be defined by objectively identifiable racial criteria, whether through somatic or biological characteristics — a view that is still prevalent in common sense. From this perspective, a group would be considered indigenous if it were comprised of direct descendants of a pre-Columbian population. However, it is clear that no population could reproduce in isolation, without mixing with other groups, as was the case with Brazilian indigenous peoples (Cunha, 2012).

Indigenous identity transcends mere ties to one's place of residence and the sharing of an ancestral culture. It is formed in the reflective process of self-recognition — what the individual attributes to themselves, but which also depends on the validation of other members of the group. In general, this identity is continuously shaped and modified by interactions with other people, generating social representations that are based on both real and perceived differences. For indigenous peoples, this implies that identity is neither inert nor homogeneous, but is constantly changing, responding to different social and cultural categories (Harris; Poatha-Smith; Carlson, 2013; Pollak, 1992; Rosa *et al.*, 2021). Furthermore, culture is not seen as an intrinsic characteristic of an ethnic group, but as a result of the transformation and continued existence of that group. Thus, living among indigenous people does not imply living like them; likewise, being indigenous, living in the city, attending university, or owning a cell phone does not result in the loss of ethnic identity (Rosa *et al.*, 2021).

Thus, the overall objective of this study is to analyze the category “Indigenous peoples of the past,” as identified in the journal *A Defesa Nacional* (hereinafter abbreviated as ADN), from 1988 to 1992. In all, 21 texts were identified in this category. They represent 37.5% of the 56 articles published in ADN that mentioned Brazil's indigenous peoples during the specified period. During the period in question, 24 issues of the journal were published, examined on the basis of two important historical milestones: the promulgation of the Federal Constitution of 1988 (CF/88) and the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (Eco-92), held in Rio de Janeiro from June 3 to 14, 1992.

The period beginning in 1988 represents a milestone of significant social and political change, recognizing, for the first time in the history of national constitutionalism, the rights of indigenous peoples in an explicit manner. Thus, a new stage began in the relationship between these peoples and the Brazilian state, characterized by an intense effort by indigenous movements in the search for representation and direct political participation (Evangelista, 2004; Lopes, 2014; Verdum, 2009). The year 1992, when Brazil hosted Eco-92, brought to the fore international discussions on sustainable development, environmental preservation, and climate change (UN, 2017). The stance adopted by the Brazilian government, although predominantly nationalist, showed sensitivity to environmental issues and awareness of the importance of the Amazon rainforest as a vast reservoir of global biodiversity (Viola, 2002). These transformations introduced new normative and political guidelines, stimulating a reconfiguration of the Army's role in indigenous issues and demanding a revision of traditional narratives and stereotypes present in Brazilian military thinking.

Thus, choosing the period from 1988 to 1992 allows for a deeper understanding of a time when indigenous rights, sustainable development, and national sovereignty became topics of symbolic disputes within the Brazilian Army. Analyzing how these issues were addressed and represented in the ADN journal helps to elucidate the continuities and ruptures in the military imaginary and its connections with history during this period.

To understand how representations of indigenous peoples were constructed and disseminated within the Army, it is essential to recognize the importance of the ADN journal, which served as a channel for expression and intellectual debate among officers. Launched in 1913 by a group of twelve individuals, including eight Brazilian officers who had trained in the Imperial German Army and four other enthusiasts, the publication initially focused on technical texts about military maneuvers and new weapons. However,

it quickly began to include analyses of Brazil's political and economic situation (Luna, 2010), characteristics that remain to this day.

The journal brings together articles on a variety of topics important to Army officers, including technological innovations, military doctrines, and issues related to the Brazilian reality. Acting as an intellectual coordinating body, ADN promotes discussion on issues relevant to the military, which highlights its influence and representativeness in shaping a specific military and nationalist mindset for Brazil. In addition, the journal serves to disseminate this thinking, both internally and externally, enabling an exchange of ideas that can contribute to the establishment of new standards for knowledge construction over time (Nascimento, 2010; Wietchikoski, 2014). The political changes resulting from the end of the military regime and the reassessment of strategic priorities, driven by the end of the Cold War, required Army officers to reflect beyond the positivist mindset, incorporating new threats (Marques, 2007). Thus, throughout its history, the ADN journal has established itself as a relevant forum for the study of military thought, becoming an important source for analyzing how ideas and stereotypes — including those about indigenous peoples — are generated, disseminated, and appropriated in the military context.

Pivatto Junior (2024) refers to Brazilian military thinking as a set of ideas that outline priorities and strategies to be implemented by the Brazilian Armed Forces. This definition includes the way in which the military perceives and interprets national defense needs and strategic guidelines in an ever-changing domestic and international landscape. In turn, Pedrosa (2018) highlights the essence of military thinking as professional and doctrinal. This is characterized by conservatism derived from the extreme risks faced by military personnel in their profession and by the bureaucratic nature of the military institution. Therefore, it is worth noting that, in this article, the notion of military thinking does not necessarily correspond to the collective opinions of the military on issues such as politics, economics, culture, and society (Pedrosa, 2022). Furthermore, it also does not refer to the “military mentality” as it relates to the worldview of the military, based on its specific values and ethical principles (Garcia, 1997).

In summary, in this article, we address Brazilian military thinking as a set of ideas generally referred to as “the art of war,” with an emphasis on military strategy and tactics (Garcia, 1997). This thinking manifests itself in various forms, covering topics such as war theory, defense policies, military doctrine, and history, among others (Pedrosa, 2022). In this context, strategy refers to the application of military power to achieve political objectives, analyzing the dilemmas of the state in an interdisciplinary manner

(Baylis; Wirtz, 2002). Tactics refer to the deployment of troops on the battlefield, ranging from small units to entire armies, and involving the techniques, weapons, and maneuvers necessary to achieve the objectives established by strategy. Military doctrine, in turn, represents the systematized set of tactics, procedures, and equipment that guide coordinated actions during operations, shaped by experience and standardization within each armed force (Brasil, 2015; Friedman, 2023).

On the other hand, we understand that military thinking is also based on socially constructed notions, which are grounded in an identity shaped by historical, cultural, and social elements (Adler, 1999; Hacking, 1999). In Brazil, the Army values the study of history and its connection to the art of war, promoting its inclusion in the curriculum of military educational institutions. As with the armed forces of other countries, the Brazilian Army considers historical research crucial for military leaders, as it provides a deeper understanding of the nature and future trends of warfare (Murray, 2006). Therefore, we believe it is essential to analyze the role of social imaginary in the interpretation of “historical facts” by the contributors to the ADN journal. For we recognize that “historical facts” are constructed by giving meaning to events, reflecting choices that are not only observable but also questionable through critical analysis. After all, the very relativity of history highlights the diversity of individual perspectives among researchers (Certeau, 1982).

Although there is extensive academic literature exploring military issues related to various topics, dialogue on indigenous issues is often relegated to the background. This highlights an important gap in understanding military impressions of indigenous peoples. With this study, we seek to investigate this point, reflecting on the differences between the historical interpretation conveyed by the ADN journal and those presented by other references and social groups involved with indigenous issues.

Next, we address the theoretical and methodological references that underpin our research. Subsequently, the development of this article is divided into two main parts. First, we explain the category “Indigenous peoples of the past,” seeking to understand how representations of indigenous peoples of the past were actively constructed in the articles of the ADN journal. Next, we explore and problematize the subcategories defined during the methodological treatment of the source, which enables us to answer the research question.

Thoughts on the social imaginary

From the end of the 20th century onwards, with the decline of scientific and rationalist approaches in historiography, the study of the social imaginary gained centrality (Pesavento, 1995), acting as a key to understanding the construction of collective meanings and the processes of legitimization of institutions such as the Armed Forces. With this approach, we analyze the ADN journal in light of the notion of representations and social imagery, as proposed by Baczko (1985), who highlights the importance of representations in the configuration of power and the organization of collective life. He also mentions that the concept of social representation refers to the process by which a group develops and shares interpretations about the world around them. These representations are created from images, beliefs, and values, which help individuals understand their identity, their social relationships, and the structure of society.

The social imaginary manifests itself through ideologies, symbols, allegories, rituals, and myths (Moraes, 1997). As clarified by Stoppino (2004), we understand ideology in its broadest sense — as a set of ideas and values directed at the public sphere, capable of guiding collective behavior and marked by convictions and emotional appeal. According to Fidalgo and Gradim (2005), symbols are signs that, by convention, represent something beyond their physical appearance, illustrating values and identities, as is the case with emblems and insignia. The imaginary is not limited to replicating reality, but creates meanings through images and expressions. This allows the imagination to transcend the present and explore different possibilities of reality. Therefore, what is considered real is not restricted to a sequence of events, as it can be transformed and reach new heights. Similarly, institutions are not confined to the symbolic sphere, but exist within it, since their legitimacy derives from the meanings accepted by communities (Baczko, 1985; Moraes, 1997). In short, the imaginary and the real are not opposites; on the contrary, the imaginary shapes reality while also being shaped by it (Espig, 1998, 2003).

Baczko (1985) argues that, in situations of war, representations of adversaries can inspire men to fight, guide their actions, shape their behavior, and legitimize violence. He believes that symbolic goods do not generate false illusions of power, but rather strengthen and ensure obedience through relationships of meaning and authority. These goods represent more than just the image of an isolated object, since this image is selected to influence behavior. Thus, Baczko (1985) suggests that there is a relevant link between collective representation and social behavior. He argues that it is symbols, not things themselves, that shape people's behavior.

Furthermore, representations act as guides for our actions, shaping behaviors and validating attitudes. Each society establishes a system of representations that not only interprets but also legitimizes its structure, appointing guardians for this system. Therefore, social imaginary and their representations are fundamental for a community to consolidate its identity and assign different social roles to its members. As a result, society is perceived as an orderly system, where each person has their place and defined purposes. This occurs through the establishment of behavioral norms based on archetypes, such as the exemplary leader, the courageous warrior, the dedicated employee (Baczko, 1985), or the one that is of particular interest to this research: the indigenous person.

Considering the above, the notions of social imaginary, as proposed by Baczko (1985), prove valuable for understanding the impressions of Army officers regarding indigenous peoples. These impressions manifest themselves in representations that articulate reality, stereotypes, and social rules — understood as guidelines that standardize behavior and anticipate consequences for deviations (Onuf, 2015) — filtered through a militaristic lens. This militarism can be interpreted both as a set of practices and thoughts associated with war and as the belief that the Armed Forces are indispensable to the nation, prioritizing military values over civilian interests (Pasquino, 2004; Pion-Berlin, 2018).

Sources and methodology

In order to investigate military officers' impressions of indigenous peoples, it is essential to clearly define the sources and methods used in this research. Therefore, reviewing the results of research on military journals (Arias Neto, 2001, 2013, 2014; Morais, 2007; Nascimento, 2010; Roesler, 2018; Wietchikoski, 2014), we find that they are effective platforms for the expression of military thought, without direct interference from institutional filters. Although these periodicals are not the only platform capable of capturing this thinking, we believe that, due to their specific characteristics—regularity, varied columnists, receptivity, and longevity—they are privileged vehicles. This allows authors, both military and civilian, to express their ideas on a variety of topics considered important to military institutions.

In this sense, the ADN journal is important for disseminating new ideas, both within the military and outside it. Its articles fuel discussions about the needs of the Brazilian Armed Forces, with an emphasis on the Army, providing a valuable space for

the exchange of multiple perspectives on the history and indigenous peoples of Brazil. Furthermore, these social networks have the potential to integrate military officers with other social segments interested in defense and national security issues (Pivatto Junior, 2024).

For an adequate study of the texts, we used the content analysis methodology established by Laurence Bardin. We used categorical analysis to identify and explore the themes² found in the texts. This technique works like compartments, categorizing relevant parts of the message to organize fragments that previously seemed disordered, according to specific criteria (Bardin, 2011). With this, we intend to go beyond the simple argumentative structure of the articles, analyzing not only their explicit content, but also their underlying characteristics and information (Bett, 2015; Moraes, 1999).

On the other hand, Sampaio and Lycarvão (2021) point out that the limitations of Laurence Bardin's manual lie in the simplification of the design and content analysis process. Therefore, in this study, we adopted these authors' recommendations for an improved categorical content analysis based on three main stages: conceptualization and purpose, design, and analysis. In addition, studies on military-indigenous relations were consulted to support the formulation of research questions. Preliminary category tests were also conducted and detailed classification rules were defined during the individual coding process³ (Sampaio; Lycarvão, 2021).

In this article, we used issues of the ADN journal available for consultation online via the EB Revistas portal, maintained by the Brazilian Army. This portal hosts several periodicals published by this military institution. The ADN samples are scanned at an appropriate resolution in PDF format, thus facilitating our data collection.

To conduct an efficient evaluation of the ADN texts, this research uses MAXQDA software, which specializes in qualitative data analysis, enabling the incorporation of Grounded Theory techniques into the coding process (Woolf; Silver, 2018). Similar to Bardin's approach (2011), this method uses systematic yet flexible guidelines that enable the separation, classification, and synthesis of information through qualitative coding. Thus, our study can more effectively connect the notion of social imaginary proposed by Baczko (1985) to the impressions of military officers identified in the articles analyzed (Charmaz, 2009).

Grounded Theory represents an alternative methodological approach to content analysis, whose main focus is the construction of medium-range theories based on empirical data (Woolf; Silver, 2018). During the theoretical design process, concepts and categories are extracted directly from the collected data, and then described and

correlated. The MAXQDA software supports analyses that employ this approach (Rädiker, 2023).

Thus, content analysis, according to Bardin (2011), allowed us to identify and organize the units of record in the journal's texts. The application of Grounded Theory principles, in turn, allowed for a more detailed analysis of these records and the formulation of categories and theoretical constructs based on the data (Charmaz, 2009; Woolf; Silver, 2018). This articulation between systematization and interpretive flexibility provided a solid understanding of the discursive patterns present in the corpus.

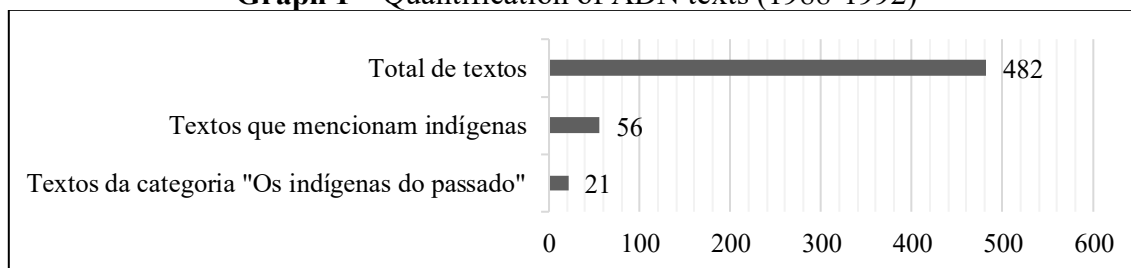
In summary, we began analyzing the texts in the ADN journal by skimming through them, obtaining a first impression of the material (Bardin, 2011). Next, we identified all instances of the word “indigenous” and its semantic variations to assess how often authors refer to Brazilian indigenous peoples in their texts. We chose the theme as the unit of record and the paragraph as the unit of context⁴, according to Bardin's proposal (2011). Throughout the analytical process, we documented the information and justifications that led to the creation and naming of the codes in a database linked to the electronic file generated by MAXQDA itself. Due to the breadth of the content, the category “Indigenous peoples of the past” has been subdivided into subcategories to facilitate interpretation of the material (Carlomagno; Rocha, 2016; Kolling, 2022). We conclude by relating the impressions of Army officers about indigenous peoples to the notion of social imaginaries (Charmaz, 2009).

In this way, we seek to carry out a thorough categorization of the representations of indigenous peoples present in the ADN journal's texts, allowing for a deeper interpretation of the meanings that shape the social imaginary of Army officers.

“The indigenous peoples of the past,” in the pages of A Defesa Nacional journal

In this article, within the specified time frame, we note that the ADN journal presents a varied set of texts. These include editorials, informative excerpts added by editors with diverse content and no specific authorship, book recommendations, reproductions of articles from newspapers and other widely circulated journals in Brazil, as well as comments made by military personnel and civilians on various topics. In addition, the journal also contains the main articles that form its core, with their authors — whether military or non military — featured prominently. We emphasize that few ADN texts mention Brazilian indigenous peoples. Graph 1 shows the distribution of texts in the 24 issues of the journal analyzed during the period:

Graph 1 – Quantification of ADN texts (1988-1992)



Source: The Author, 2025.

The records classified under the category “Indigenous peoples of the past” offer insights into the complex interaction between Europeans, indigenous peoples, and Africans in Brazil. The narratives emphasize the oppressive practices of European colonizers, who introduced labor practices foreign to the local culture, resorting to enslavement when convenient, in the face of resistance from the indigenous peoples. Paradoxically, the same narratives glorify Portuguese leaders, claiming that they were the architects of the nation. The descriptions also portray indigenous peoples as primitive, dangerous inhabitants who carry serious tropical diseases. According to categorized records, the “Indians” were pacified and incorporated into the military forces, even acting in defense of the national territory at times. In particular, studies on Brazilian history published by ADN, in which indigenous peoples are mentioned, repeatedly emphasize the miscegenation of the three races—whites, Indians, and blacks—affirming that this constitutes the true essence of the Brazilian people.

Just as there were two dominant types of leadership, there were also two cultures in Brazilian society. The majority, although forced to submit to a formal and procedural, legal and political culture of a Western European nature, imposed by the minority, fabricated substantially from the contradiction between the Portuguese thesis and the antithesis of nature, of the Indians, blacks, and mestizos, a new and original synthesis. For it is not only the victors who determine the content of the historical process, and despite the apparent dominance of Europeanism and Lusitanism in social forms, the substrate was new: it was Brazil that was being born (Rodrigues, 1991, p. 39).

The ADN journal adopts a historical approach aligned with the historiographical tradition of the 19th century. This perspective promotes a unified and inseparable view of fact, time, and historical subject. According to those who write for the journal, a historical event was considered unique and restricted especially to great military achievements and their political repercussions. They see time in a linear way and follow a chronology of these achievements. As a result, the historical subject is often portrayed

as a decisive and central figure in events, a true hero in the classical sense of the term (Teixeira, 1991).

ADN columnists keep a close eye on the sociopolitical role played by history, an element that has always been emphasized by traditional historiography. For these authors, historical narrative serves as a mechanism for legitimizing the state. Therefore, studying history strengthens national identity, transmitting the values and traditions of a people through an understanding of their past. Conflicts, conquests, and their respective heroes play a crucial role. They serve as landmarks in the country's history and have become the true founding myth of the nation. This narrative is fundamental not only for military professional training, but also for the development of leadership among military commanders (Teixeira, 1991).

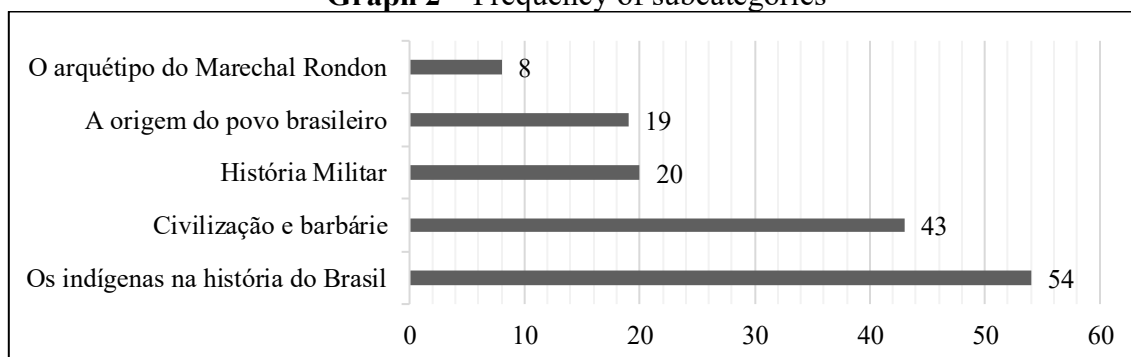
In the section “Historical, Legal, and Social Studies” of ADN, a markedly positivist interpretation of Brazilian history is evident. Although Auguste Comte wanted positivism to spread quickly throughout the world, he perhaps did not anticipate that Brazil would become so receptive to his ideas that it would become home to the only temple dedicated to his doctrines. Benjamin Constant, a fervent defender of positivism in its political and scientific aspects, also had a significant impact on the Brazilian Army elite in the late 19th century, influencing several generations of military personnel with his principles (Soares, 1998).

Positivism unifies the scientific research process with the methodologies of the natural sciences to decipher the social world. Its supporters believe in the existence of regularities in both the social and natural spheres, arguing that genuine research can be verified or refuted empirically (Adler, 1999). In Brazil, positivism stands out for its adaptation to the social, political, and cultural particularities of the country, generating currents that go beyond a single interpretation. In contrast to countries such as France, where Comte's positivism was characterized by a more dogmatic approach and an emphasis on science as the sole source of knowledge, in Brazil it became an instrument of social and political criticism, promoting the idea that science could guide national modernization (Alonso, 1996).

Comte's positivism added the principle of order to the Enlightenment ideal of social evolution, aiming at class reconciliation. Nineteenth-century positivists drew an analogy between society and a living organism, considering the industrial elite as the brain and the working class as the limbs. This analogy suggested that all the “organs” of society should function in harmony (Barros, 2010). Although less prevalent in Brazilian historiography since the 20th century, these perspectives continue to manifest themselves

in historical studies published by ADN between 1988 and 1992. In this context, Graph 2 illustrates the frequency of the subcategories established during our analysis of the journal:

Graph 2 – Frequency of subcategories



Source: The Author, 2025.

The stereotypes associated with indigenous peoples, clearly present in the texts examined, reflect the dichotomous worldview of the military (Castro, 2021). However, they also highlight the pressures that society in general places on military institutions and their members. Homogeneous representations of indigenous peoples are not exclusive to the military environment, as they are also reproduced by civilian authors in some of the texts analyzed. The problem lies in the fact that these representations have the potential to shape social behaviors within the military environment, serving as a parameter for understanding the role and relevance of indigenous peoples in the social structure (Baczko, 1985). After all, we believe that the perceptions present in the discourses conveyed by the journal contribute to the incorporation of stereotypes into the military imaginary, considering its influence and credibility.

Indigenous peoples in the history of Brazil

This subcategory is the most significant in our analysis corpus. The topics covered by its records include: wars, violence, and repression against indigenous populations; social and political interactions between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples; considerations regarding the working capacity of indigenous peoples; aspects of economic circulation during the colonial period; participation in the conquest and exploration of Brazilian territory; the spread of disease among indigenous peoples; and studies on native peoples. These themes form the basis of the historical narrative developed by the columnists, who offer a teleological perspective on the history of Brazil

and the events they consider transformative. Apparently, these authors aim to educate their readers through the study of “historical facts.”

ADN writers highlight the injustices committed by those who interacted with indigenous peoples living in villages or as scattered nomads. They highlight the supremacy of the colonizers and the brutality imposed on the indigenous peoples, illustrated in descriptions of massacres committed by the Portuguese colonizers. On the other hand, there is a positive view of the actions of the colonial authorities. They aimed to make local populations useful for agricultural, mining, and commercial activities, inspiring them through their development model. However, such practices were incompatible with the culture of the first inhabitants of Brazilian territory.

The table reveals a notable contradiction in the speeches presented in ADN. Although not all accounts depict violent interactions between whites and indigenous peoples, Europeans, particularly those of Portuguese origin, emerge as protagonists in eloquent and apologetic narratives. At the same time, wars, exploitation, and the extermination of indigenous peoples are the most frequent themes in this subcategory, as illustrated in the excerpt written by then Army Colonel José Fernando de Maya Pedrosa:

In Ltatins, Mato Grosso, which they claimed for themselves, the Indians were massacred until 1718, when Pascoal Leme expelled them definitively from there. The offensive methods, terror, and cruelty of the bandeirante troops left a mark on the peaceful souls of the indigenous villagers, a feeling that spanned generations (Pedrosa, 1989, p. 52).

What ADN contributors express is in line with how Jurandyr Carvalho Ferrari Leite (1987) described the treatment of indigenous issues from a positivist political perspective. This approach, based on an evolutionary view, advocated compassion for disadvantaged populations, considered victims in need of state assistance. According to Leite (1987), positivists viewed Black and Indigenous people both as part of the Brazilian nation, alongside the Portuguese, and as less developed groups that required special attention. This attention was intended to compensate for the historical usurpation of indigenous lands and the enslavement of African blacks, acts of selfishness that contrasted with national altruism. However, the state's responsibility was not limited to protection; it also had the task of educating indigenous peoples, preparing them to integrate as workers into the national economy (Leite, 1987), as we see below:

The fact is that, around 1800, there was such a shortage of workers and settlers for the formation and development of new settlements that the

authorities sought ways to make these Indians useful for agriculture and mining. And they needed to be informed in detail (Mello, 1989, p. 21).

This is how ADN articles express their views on the role of indigenous peoples in Brazilian history. Often relegated to the role of unskilled laborers or portrayed as subjugated, enslaved, assimilated, or eliminated insurgents, their actions were rarely considered relevant to understanding national history. The marginalization of indigenous peoples and the erasure of their identities occurred in parallel with the glorification of the colonizers' achievements. These accounts favored a Eurocentric interpretation of history, in line with the historiographical trends and indigenous policies of the 19th century and most of the 20th century (Almeida, 2017).

It is worth noting that several authors featured in the “Historical, Legal, and Social Studies” section of the ADN journal, such as José Honório Rodrigues⁵, Silvio Augusto de Bastos Meira⁶ and Army Colonel Cláudio Moreira Bento⁷, are members of the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute (IHGB). The renowned study by Guimarães (1988) points out that the IHGB was founded in 1838, during a crucial period for the consolidation of the Brazilian National State, playing an important role in the formation of national identity. Furthermore, the author points out that the historiography produced at this Institute, widely referenced in the articles addressed in the subcategory “Indigenous peoples in the history of Brazil,” tends to omit the presence of native peoples and Black people in its idealized view of Brazil. Furthermore, the IHGB does not distance Brazil from the former Portuguese metropolis, but sees it as the successor to the civilizing mission begun by the colonizers.

Ultimately, various ADN texts portray indigenous peoples as savages and inferior to Europeans. Given that the publication is widely circulated among Army officers, the perpetuation of stereotypes of indigenous people as naive and easily manipulated may negatively influence the attitudes of these military personnel toward indigenous issues. Furthermore, as indigenous history begins to claim its relevance in Brazilian society, new interpretations of Brazilian history are emerging, recognizing indigenous peoples as active agents and historical subjects, capable of fighting for their rights and the preservation of their historical and cultural heritage (Almeida, 2017).

Civilization and barbarism

The content in this subcategory explores the contrasts between indigenous peoples and the emerging Brazilian civilization. As defined by columnists, during the colonial

period, it was strongly influenced by European traditions. Topics covered in this subcategory include: incivility, savagery, and violence; humanization and unification led by whites; settlements, sedentarization, and organization of indigenous populations; enlightenment and development under religious tutelage; and indigenous communities.

Reflecting on the great achievements of patrons of the Brazilian Army⁸, such as Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra and Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, the narratives highlight the challenges faced by the expeditions that explored the interior of Brazilian territory. These accounts highlight the hostility of certain indigenous tribes, such as the Bororós and the Guaicurus, who rejected Jesuit education. These communities, considered remote and primitive, are intentionally contrasted with others that were in the process of structuring and civilization under the tutelage and example of the Portuguese colonizers. This discursive contradiction contrasts European-inspired civilization, seen as an ideal of progress, with the supposed barbarism and primitivism of the “forest dwellers,” seen as a symbol of backwardness, as pointed out in the article by Army Colonel Luiz Gonzaga de Mello:

He proposed that the settlement be built in the Miranda region, where the Indians would find it easy to move their animals to new pastures. The forest dwellers could also be encouraged by the example of the Portuguese who had settled there and devote themselves to agriculture in the same way, since the land was fertile. He suggested sending families of agricultural settlers to settle on the land. Their work habits and economy would be living examples for the Indians (Mello, 1989, p. 21).

According to Rodrigues (2013), the concept of civilization was developed within a European evolutionary theory that emerged during the 19th century. This concept was used to distinguish the European elite from population groups considered backward, establishing a dynamic of exclusion that categorized non-Europeans as barbarians. The author points out that ethnology was used in a biased way, based on the idea that Europe was at the “pinnacle of civilization,” while the populations of Africa, America, and Oceania were seen as being at earlier stages of this supposed evolutionary scale. In this context, during the 19th century, the IHGB promoted the idea of Brazil as an extension of European civilization in the tropics. The institute produced a historiography inspired by historical accounts of interactions between Jesuits and indigenous peoples, seeking to promote a “process of civilization” that also included these peoples, while reflecting on the roots of national identity in the effort to unify the territory (Guimarães, 1988). In 1991,

the ADN journal published articles that were still faithful to this historiographical perspective:

And, in the end, in the Empire, it could be said that civilizing processes dominated the primitive ones, both in leadership and among the people, and both could be proud of some indisputable victories, such as political unity, territorial integrity, representative government, and the guarantee of individual freedoms (Rodrigues, 1991, p. 49).

In the context of the contrast between civilization and barbarism, the themes in this subcategory support the argument that colonization resulted in the expansion of indigenous settlements in the Amazon, highlighting a systematic and lasting occupation of the region. As the Jesuits converted and settled the indigenous peoples, they were assimilated into Western culture. However, it is intriguing to note the contradiction presented in an article in which the disappearance of the stereotypical indigenous person is seen as a reason why the Amazon has become sparsely populated. This point highlights the concern about the so-called “demographic void” in the region, which is common among Army officers:

When the Treaty of Madrid was negotiated, three-quarters of the Amazon basin was permanently occupied by indigenous settlements that recognized Portuguese sovereignty. With the decline of these villages and the replacement of the Jesuits by lay settlers, the repopulation of the Amazon became one of the most serious problems of the late colonial period, the solution to which is still felt to be necessary today (Silva, 1992, p. 104).

In the end, portraying the Amazon as a hostile environment reinforces the idea that it is home to Indigenous communities in need of supervision, leading them to abandon their traditional way of life. From this perspective, indigenous peoples, considered naive and underdeveloped, could easily be influenced by foreigners offering them modest advantages of civilization. Due to their apparent vulnerability, they could even threaten national sovereignty (Rodrigues, 2013), especially if foreigners with hidden agendas were interested in the riches of the Amazon.

Military History

In ADN articles that address topics related to military history, we note the lack of a beneficial skepticism that could shed light on the ambiguous and uncertain world to which the military belongs (Murray, 2006). Given this context, the subcategory

encompasses the following themes: the composition of different military forces; the presence of indigenous peoples in armed conflicts that occurred in Brazilian territory; the mixing of races in the land military force; and the protection of borders and colonies by indigenous peoples.

American historian Williamson Murray (2006), in demonstrating his interest in the period between the two World Wars, emphasized that military institutions tend to avoid honest examination of their past experiences. According to Murray (2006), lessons learned from previous conflicts are often ignored or distorted to please military leaders. To illustrate his point, the author points out that, from the Germans' detailed study of the First World War and the lessons learned from these analyses, the myth of the “stab in the back” fueled misinformation among German analysts. This myth was used to mask political and strategic errors that, to a large extent, culminated in Germany's defeat in 1945. In this sense, the records in the subcategory “Military History” present themes whose characteristics share several similarities with the historiography criticized by Murray (2006).

The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Military History (IGHMB) has a significant influence on military history studies published by the ADN journal. This relevance is demonstrated through the contributions of authors associated with the Institute, as well as through the use of its historiographical references, which are frequently cited throughout various editions of the journal. Oliveira (2014) highlights strong evidence of a connection between the IGHMB and the Brazilian Army, although the Army does not confirm the existence of a subordinate relationship between the two institutions. The same historian points out that, in addition to the significant involvement of active-duty Army personnel in the founding of the IGHMB, the commemorative edition of the Institute's journal, published in 1996, acknowledged this close connection.

Since its founding, the IGHMB has maintained the preservation of national memory as one of its main objectives, demonstrating a special dedication to preserving collective representations that are important to the institution. This strategy is essential to ensure that historical references endure over time, thereby contributing to the formation of identities. ADN contributors approach military history in a manner similar to that advocated by the IGHMB, which extols the patriotism of the nation's founders and inspires Brazilian citizens to act in defense of their country (Oliveira, 2014).

In the meantime, it is worth noting that the content of the ADN journal highlights the diverse origins of the ground troops present in Brazilian territory, especially during

the colonial period. These forces would have incorporated many indigenous people and Black people, groups that were marginalized by society:

This is based mainly on J.B. Magalhães, in *A Evolução Militar do Brasil* [The Military Evolution of Brazil], where he wrote: The Brazilian Land Forces engaged in military service, through forced recruitment, a large contingent of blacks and Indians and their descendants, as they constituted the bulk of the population (Bento, 1988, p. 8).

Although the journal's historical narratives rarely delve deeply into the context and developments surrounding the participation of indigenous peoples in defending the territory of the Portuguese colony in Brazil, one article highlights this aspect. The text refers to a speech given by General Octávio Costa⁹ at the Military Engineering Institute in 1989. On that occasion, he emphasized the presence of indigenous people, blacks, and mestizos in the colonial military forces. This inclusion is seen as a symbol of Brazil's ethnic diversity. Thus, according to ADN writers, while the union of different races under a single military institution represents the origin of the Brazilian Army, it is also an essential factor in the emergence of a unified national identity:

Since there were too few colonists to meet the challenges of construction work and armed defense, the Portuguese did not exclude the less privileged classes from the ranks of combatants: lawbreakers, exiles, mazombos [descendants of settlers from Portugal], indigenous people, and later, black slaves. Hence, the Brazilian Army was born, in its deepest roots, eminently popular, an amalgam of different racial and social strata, since racial integration and the nationalist motivation of the restoration's combatants give Guararapes the status of a fundamental milestone in our Land Force (Costa, 1989, p. 81).

At the same time, in her analysis of the IGHMB program, Oliveira (2014) suggests that the studies carried out by the institute used history as a tool to promote cohesion among the ranks of the Army, as well as to unify society around the project of building and developing Brazil. The author also argues that the founders of the Institute considered military history to be an essential component for the improvement of military doctrine at all hierarchical levels. Similarly, excerpts from the subcategory “Military History” indicate that the ADN journal perceives military history as a useful resource in the development of new doctrines.

Hoiback (2013) identifies two distinct groups of military doctrine researchers. The first group can be called evidentialists. These scholars argue that for a doctrine or theory to be recognized as valid, it must be supported by adequate evidence. Such confirmations

may include historical data, battle results, statistical analyses, and other forms of verifiable information. Furthermore, evidentialists value logic and reason, recognizing that theories must be coherent and derived from logical principles that can be tested and validated. Therefore, the tactics and strategies suggested by evidencialists must be based on evidence that proves their effectiveness in real-world scenarios.

Høiback (2013) goes on to explain that the second group, known as non-evidentialists, accepts doctrines based on sources that do not necessarily rely on rigorous empirical evidence. This may include beliefs based on subjective experiences that cannot be quantified or verified, but are still considered valid by those who experience them. This also includes approaches based on traditions, intuitions, or practices that are considered reliable, even without empirical data to support them.

Non-evidentialism provides flexibility in the justification of doctrines. This allows scholars to endorse theories based on philosophical, ethical, or cultural principles, even in the absence of a robust empirical basis. Some theories may be accepted for their internal consistency, cultural relevance, or acceptance within a specific community. In the context of military doctrine, non-evidentialism can be applied in situations where practical experience, tradition, or intuition are important in the formulation of strategies and tactics. This may include accepting principles that have proven effective in specific historical contexts, even if they cannot be rigorously tested in current circumstances (Høiback, 2013).

In summary, based on the time frame analyzed in this article, the ADN journal uses the study of military history with the main objective of assisting in the creation and improvement of military doctrines. At the same time, his articles present an approach in which the non-evidentialist perspective, as defined by Høiback (2013), predominates. Thus, the perpetuation of stereotypical impressions of indigenous peoples in the subcategory “Military History” can result in distortions in the interpretation of indigenous issues in various aspects of military doctrine. This, therefore, may influence Army officers' understanding of various elements related to national security.

The origin of the Brazilian people

We believe that Darcy Ribeiro's (2015) ideas on the formation of the Brazilian people resonated in certain intellectual circles linked to the military, revealing an unexpected conceptual convergence. Although he was exiled and faced political repression during the military regime (Ribeiro, 2011), Darcy Ribeiro (2015) argued that

Brazil is a nation established on its own territory, forming a single national ethnicity, a cohesive people consolidated by the assimilation of various immigrants and other groups who became Brazilian, which distinguishes our country from states fragmented by ethnic conflicts. Thus, Ribeiro (2015) and the military value the notion of a Brazil shaped by a mixture of peoples, a convergence that reflects the influence of Rondon's thinking on the anthropologist, who considered himself an admirer of Marechal's work in defense of indigenous peoples, although he suggested a critical expansion of his work (Mattos, 2007).

Given this context, the subcategory covers the following topics: miscegenation between indigenous peoples, blacks, and whites; the myth of the union of the three races that gave rise to the Brazilian nation and the Brazilian Army; the prevalence of Europeans over national identity; and the mixing of cultures in Brazilian territory.

The writers of the ADN journal explore the formation of the Brazilian people through the myth of the three fundamental races: whites, blacks, and Indians. The interaction between these groups is seen as the cornerstone of the nation and, by extension, of the Brazilian Army. Within this vision, the contribution of the indigenous peoples in the resistance against the Dutch invaders in Guararapes stands out, an episode in which the union of the three races was characterized by a spirit of civic-mindedness and conciliation, as we note below:

It is widely agreed among most historians and interpreters of Brazilian history that the victorious First Battle of Montes Guararapes awakened the spirit of the Army and the Nation in Brazil.

White, black, and indigenous people, as well as other Brazilians resulting from the fusion of representatives of these three races after intense mixing in Brazil for almost 150 years, contributed to this fundamental moment with sacrifice, blood, lives, and heroism (Bento, 1988, p. 112).

Furthermore, the texts emphasize that both indigenous peoples and Black people played important roles in the formation of Brazil, even though they were under Portuguese colonial rule for approximately three centuries. The narratives point out that, despite adversity, subjugated indigenous peoples and enslaved Africans were essential. In harmony with nature and with the support of a conciliatory European minority, they helped build a unique and authentic Brazilian national identity:

In the first phase, the contradictions between the Portuguese thesis and the antithesis of the environment, the Indians, and the blacks are such that the synthesis of the old and the new is an entirely new and original

creation, despite the dominant Europeanization and the apparent victory of Lusitanism in social forms (Rodrigues, 1991, p. 41).

In short, the ADN journal highlights indigenous contributions to the formation of national identity, revisiting the historiography produced by the IHGB, especially that inspired by the positivist ideas of the 19th and early 20th centuries. For the thinkers at the Institute, it was essential to describe the customs, language, catechesis, and use of indigenous peoples as laborers, with the aim of reinforcing the symbolic construction of the nation, a priority during that historical period. Thus, the subcategory “The origin of the Brazilian people” presents impressions of the reality of indigenous peoples, indicating that their integration into the nation is essential, and that trade and education are important in interacting with these communities. Furthermore, the state plays a central role in the process of acculturation and assimilation of these peoples (Guimarães, 1988).

The archetype of Marshal Rondon

Although this subcategory is not as representative as the others, it is noticeable that the ADN journal's writers articulate precise descriptions, in different contexts, of an ideal model for interaction with indigenous communities. This model is inspired by the conduct of Marshal Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, whose exemplary actions are seen as an ideal to be followed. In this sense, the topics covered in this subcategory are: evidence of Rondonian positivism and the protection of indigenous peoples.

Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, born on May 5, 1865, in the interior of Mato Grosso, was a competent military engineer, in addition to having a background in mathematics and physical and natural sciences. After leaving active service in the Army at the age of 65, Rondon devoted himself to promoting scientific knowledge about the Amazon region and its inhabitants. During his training at the Military Academy, Rondon met Benjamin Constant and, like his instructor, remained faithful to positivism throughout his life. He attended a positivist temple inaugurated in 1897 in Rio de Janeiro, and the principles of Comte's philosophy guided his behavior and decisions as a public servant. It is important to note that he strove to apply positivist principles in his interactions with indigenous peoples during the numerous expeditions he led throughout Brazil (Rohter, 2019).

The ADN journal, in its articles, emphasizes Marshal Rondon's pacifist stance and celebrates indigenous peoples as the true owners of Brazilian land. In ADN, the principle of love for humanity, championed by Rondon, is constantly reaffirmed. True to the motto

“die if necessary, never kill,” the Marshal led his expeditions guided by this humanitarian ideal, an aspect always emphasized as part of his great legacy. In 1988, the journal published an article exclusively dedicated to the historical figure of Marshal Rondon. This text praises his adherence to positivism, which, through its pacifist and humanitarian approach, promoted respect for indigenous cultures:

Based on Rondon himself (Rondon Conta sua Vida [Rondon Recounts His Life], by Ester de Viveiros), we attempt to show scholars and, above all, Brazilians only with the “Sertanista Campaign,” what was the cyclopean work carried out by Rondon amid countless hardships, hostile terrain and climate, preaching the apostolate of love for humanity and respect and consideration for the Indian, whom he considered the true lord of the land (Pondé, 1988, p. 57).

In contrast, Leite (1987) points out that the positivist perspective was dogmatic and authoritarian, seeking to resolve social conflicts through a predetermined conception of the common good and assigning the state the role of provider of benefits. According to this researcher, this view resulted in social stagnation, in which the political participation of the population was disregarded and indigenous issues were left under the complete control of the State. Similarly, the idea of protecting indigenous peoples became ambiguous, oscillating between defense against violent actions and assimilation that denied their ethnic identities.

Furthermore, as discussed by Tadeu Morato Maciel and Thiago Moreira de Souza Rodrigues (2024), even though the Orthodox Positivist Apostolate attributed to Rondon the merit of pacifying hostile indigenous peoples, the methods he employed to establish friendly contact with indigenous populations, acting as a trustworthy and kind mediator, had already been used by the Jesuits in the 16th century. The authors argue that, although there was no declared war against the indigenous peoples or forced conversion to Christianity, the Rondonian commissions only allowed indigenous peoples to exercise their rights if they adopted positivism and its model of guardianship. Following this logic, Rondon's pacification method became the state's main contribution to the survival of Brazilian indigenous communities.

Thus, when examining the exceptional efforts of Marshal Rondon, described in the articles in the ADN journal, we note the use of stereotypes of indigenous peoples that deny indigenous communities the possibility of playing an active role in the history of Brazil. These stereotypes help us understand the process by which the imaginaries of Army officers influence the construction of meanings, the establishment of norms, and

the adoption of practices with colonial characteristics in relation to Brazilian indigenous communities.

Final considerations

Through a careful analysis of the impressions expressed in relation to indigenous peoples in the historical narratives published by the ADN journal, this article explored the relationships between Brazilian military thinking and the imaginary of Army officers. We therefore seek to understand how officers incorporate indigenous issues into their worldview.

Based on a broad conception of military thinking, which encompasses the production of knowledge related to military strategy and tactics (Garcia, 1997; Pedrosa, 2022), we believe it is crucial to understand how officers perceive indigenous peoples and how these impressions may influence their conduct. The social imaginary and representations play an important role in this process, as stereotypes tend to shape how officials deal with indigenous issues. Therefore, questioning such representations is essential to foster a more in-depth and empathetic dialogue between these two social groups.

The ADN journal recognizes the contribution of indigenous peoples to the formation of Brazil. However, it is based on traditional historiography that glorifies national heroes and their great deeds (Teixeira, 1991), which permeates the imaginary of officers and results in biased interpretations of history. Similarly, we see a connection between the study of military history and the development of military doctrine, which not only guides the officer corps but also reflects the identity and values of this group. As a result, indigenous peoples, portrayed in ADN as primitive, disorganized, and naive, end up representing a distorted view of Brazilian history. From a military doctrine perspective, this view leads institutions to underestimate the ability of indigenous peoples to contribute effectively to the occupation and defense of national territory.

However, it is important to note that the representations of indigenous peoples presented by the ADN journal are discursive constructions of a specific social group — Brazilian Army officers — with their own interests. The discourse on indigenous peoples published in the journal reflects not only the worldviews and values prevalent among the military, but also responds to institutional interests related to the defense of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the legitimacy of the Army itself in the national context. Thus, recurring debates such as civilization, assimilation, and the image of indigenous peoples

as agents of instability or as a strategic resource for territorial protection are selected because they serve specific symbolic functions for the military. Adopting this critical perspective allows us to understand both the limitations and objectives of these discourses and their potential effects on the military imaginary and Brazilian indigenous policies.

Positivist ideas, originating from the philosopher Auguste Comte, had a profound influence on the military's perception of society and the construction of its historical narrative (Leite, 1987; Rohter, 2019). The ADN journal reflects this perspective when interpreting Brazilian history, placing the agency of indigenous peoples within a strictly defined context. This view, embedded in the military mindset, alienates indigenous peoples from political life and fosters a relationship marked by mistrust.

On the other hand, on January 16, 2023, the Army published Ordinance EME/C Ex 946, approving the Guidelines for the Brazilian Army's Relationship with Indigenous Communities. This document signals important changes in stance, highlighting the Army's interest in establishing close ties with indigenous communities across the country. In addition to recognizing the social organization, language, and responsibility of the Federal Government in the demarcation of indigenous lands, the guideline also encourages military personnel and their families to understand and respect indigenous customs and traditions. This paves the way for new studies that can analyze the relationship between the Army and indigenous communities, investigating whether perspectives from indigenous history and new military history have influenced the way officers study the past and the impact of these changes on the officer corps' perception of indigenous peoples.

Ultimately, the relationship between the military and indigenous peoples is complex and requires ongoing study and dialogue that is open and tolerant. Only through mutual understanding, overcoming stereotypes, and valuing the history and cultural heritage of indigenous peoples will it be possible to promote a more equitable coexistence and an effective approach to this complex issue.

References

- ADLER, Emanuel. O construtivismo no estudo das relações internacionais. *Lua Nova: revista de cultura e política*, p. 201-246, 1999.
- ALMEIDA, Maria Regina Celestino de. A atuação dos indígenas na História do Brasil: revisões historiográficas. *Revista Brasileira de História*, v. 37, p. 17-38, 2017.

ALONSO, Angela. De positivismo e de positivistas: interpretações do positivismo brasileiro. *BIB – Revista Brasileira de Informação Bibliográfica em Ciências Sociais*, n. 42, p. 109-134, 1996.

ARIAS NETO, José Miguel. A Marinha Brasileira no início do século XX: tecnologia e política. *Antíteses*, v. 7, n. 13, p. 84-112, 2014.

ARIAS NETO, José Miguel. *Em busca da cidadania: Praças da Armada Nacional – 1867-1910*. 2001. 385 p. Doctoral Dissertation – University of São Paulo, Faculty of Philosophy, Languages and Literature, and Human Sciences, São Paulo, SP, 2001. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.11606/T.8.2001.tde-20062023-124441>. Access on: Sep 29, 2024.

ARIAS NETO, José Miguel. Imprensa Militar no século XIX. *Navigator*, v. 9, n. 18, p. 55-64, 2013.

BACZKO, Bronislaw. Imaginação social. *Enciclopédia einaudi*, v. 5, p. 296-332, 1985.

BARDIN, Laurence. *Análise de conteúdo*. São Paulo, SP: Edições 70, 2011.

BARROS, José D'Assunção. Objetividade e subjetividade no conhecimento histórico: a oposição entre os paradigmas positivista e historicista. *TEL Tempo, Espaço e Linguagem*, v. 1, n. 2, p. 73-102, 2010.

BAYLIS, John; WIRTZ, James J. Introduction. In: BAYLIS, John *et al.* (org.). *Strategy in the contemporary world: an introduction to strategic studies*. London: Oxford University Press, 2002. p. 1-14.

BETT, Ianko. *Catolicismo e cruzada: revistas católicas e o imaginário anticomunista no Brasil e Argentina (1960-1967)*. 2015. 409 p. Doctoral Dissertation – Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, RS, 2015. Available at: <http://tede2.pucrs.br/tede2/handle/tede/5996>. Access on: Aug 26, 2024.

BRAZIL. *Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil [Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil]* 1988. Available at: https://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/constituicao/constituicao.htm. Access on: Mar. 25, 2024.

BRAZIL, Ministry of Defense. *Glossário das Forças Armadas [Armed Forces Glossary] (MD35-G-01)*. 5. ed. Brasília, DF: Ministério da Defesa, 2015.

BRAZIL, Ministry of Defense. *Ordinance – EME/C Ex 946, dated January 16, 2023. Approves the Guideline for the Brazilian Army's relationship with indigenous communities (EB20-D-07.095)*. Approves the Guideline for the Brazilian Army's relationship with indigenous communities (EB20-D-07.095). Jan 16, 2023. Available at: <https://www.sgex.eb.mil.br>. Access on: Nov. 15, 2024.

CARLOMAGNO, Márcio C; ROCHA, LC da. Como criar e classificar categorias para fazer análise de conteúdo: uma questão metodológica. *Revista Eletrônica de Ciência Política*, v. 7, n. 1, p. 173-188, 2016.

CASTRO, Celso. *O espírito militar: um antropólogo na caserna*. Ed. 3. Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Editora Schwarcz – Companhia das Letras, 2021.

CERTEAU, Michel de. *A escrita da história*. Translation: Maria de Lourdes Menezes. Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Forense Universitária, 1982.

CHARMAZ, Kathy. *A construção da teoria fundamentada: guia prático para análise qualitativa*. Translation: Joice Elias Bryant. Porto Alegre, RS: Artmed, 2009.

CUNHA, Manuela Carneiro da. *Índios no Brasil: história, direitos e cidadania*. Ed. 1. São Paulo, SP: Claro Enigma, 2012.

ARMY DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE. *Cadernos de Liderança Militar*. Rio de Janeiro, RJ: DECEX, 2022.

ESPIG, Márcia Janete. Ideologia, mentalidades e imaginário: cruzamentos e aproximações teóricas. *Anos 90*, v. 6, n. 10, p. 151-167, 1998.

ESPIG, Márcia Janete. O conceito de imaginário: reflexões acerca de sua utilização pela história (The Concept of Imaginary: Reflection on its Use by History). *Textura – Revista de Educação e Letras*, v. 5, n. 9, 2003.

EVANGELISTA, Carlos Augusto Valle. *Direitos indígenas: o debate na Constituinte de 1988*. 2004. 76 p. Doctoral Dissertation – Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Institute of Philosophy and Social Sciences, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, 2004. Available at: <http://biblioteca.funai.gov.br/media/pdf/TESES/MFN-14417.pdf>. Access on: Sep 16, 2024.

FRIEDMAN, Brett A. Tactics. In: CARROLL, Katherine; HICKMAN, William B. (org.). *Understanding the U.S. Military*. Abingdon; New York: Oxon; Routledge, 2023. p. 242-258.

GARCIA, Eugênio Vargas. O pensamento dos militares em política internacional (1961-1989). *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional*, v. 40, n. 1, p. 18-40, 1997.

GUIMARÃES, Manoel Luis Lima Salgado. Nação e Civilização nos Trópicos: o Instituto Histórico Geográfico Brasileiro e o projeto de uma história nacional. *Revista Estudos Históricos*, v. 1, n. 1, p. 5-27, 1988.

HACKING, Ian. *The social construction of what?* Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: Havard University Press, 1999.

HARRIS, Michelle; POATHA-SMITH, Evan; CARLSON, Bronwyn. Indigenous Identities and the Politics of Authenticity. In: HARRIS, Michelle; NAKATA, Martin; CARLSON, Bronwyn (ed.). *The politics of identity: Emerging indigeneity*. Sidney, Australia: UTSePRESS, 2013.

HØIBACK, Harald. *Understanding military doctrine: a multidisciplinary approach*. London, United Kingdom; New York, United States of America: Routledge, 2013.

ISA, Instituto Socioambiental. *Povos indígenas e soberania nacional – Povos Indígenas no Brasil*. Brazil, 2024. Available at: <https://pib.socioambiental.org>. Access on: Mar. 16, 2024.

KOLLING, Patrícia. *Notícias do movimento indígena brasileiro: análise de conteúdo da produção da Apib e Coiab na pandemia da Covid-19*. 2022. 227 p. Doctoral Dissertation – Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, School of Library Science and Communication, Graduate Program in Communication, Porto Alegre, RS, 2022.

LEITE, Jurandyr Carvalho Ferrari. Proteção e incorporação: a questão indígena no pensamento político do positivismo ortodoxo. *Revista de Antropologia*, p. 255-275, 1987.

LOPES, Danielle Bastos. O direito dos índios no Brasil: a trajetória dos grupos indígenas nas constituições do país. *Espaço Ameríndio*, Porto Alegre, RS, v. 8, n. 1, p. 83, 2014.

LUNA, Cristina. A Defesa Nacional. In: ABREU, Alzira Alves de (org.). *Dicionário Histórico Biográfico Brasileiro*. Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 2010.

MACIEL, Tadeu Morato; RODRIGUES, Thiago Moreira de Souza. O projeto indigenista de Rondon como manifestação do “dispositivo pacificação” no Brasil. *Revista Brasileira de Estudos de Defesa*, v. 11, n. 2, p.77-106, 2024.

MARQUES, Adriana Aparecida. *Amazônia: pensamento e presença militar*. 2007. 253 p. Doctoral Dissertation – University of São Paulo, Faculty of Philosophy, Languages and Literature, and Human Sciences, São Paulo, 2007. Available at: <http://www.teses.usp.br/teses/disponiveis/8/8131/tde-30112007-153256/>. Access on: Mar. 16, 2024.

MATTOS, Andre Luis Lopes Borges de. *Darcy Ribeiro: uma trajetória (1944-1982)*. 2007. 341 p. Doctoral Dissertation – State University of Campinas, Institute of Philosophy and Human Sciences, Campinas, SP, 2007. Available at: <https://repositorio.unicamp.br/acervo/detalhe/395040>. Access on: July 20, 2025.

MELLO, Luiz Gonzaga de. Coronel Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra – O Soldado, o Engenheiro e suas obras. *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 741, p. 7-41, 1989.

MORAES, Roque. Análise de conteúdo. *Revista Educação*, v. 22, n. 37, p. 7-32, 1999.

MORAES, Dênis de. Notas sobre o imaginário social e hegemonia cultural. *Revista Contracampo*, Niterói, RJ, v. 1, n. 1, p. 93-104, 1997.

MORAIS, Ronaldo Queiroz de. A Defesa Nacional e a coesão militar: normalização e relações de poder no interior da caserna. *Associação nacional de História (ANPUH), Anais do XXIV Simpósio Nacional de História*, 2007.

MURRAY, Williamson. Thoughts on military history and the profession of arms. In: WILLIAMSON, Murray; SINNREICH, Richard Hart (ed.). *The past as prologue – The importance of history to the military profession*. New York, United States of America: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

NASCIMENTO, Fernanda de Santos. *A revista A Defesa Nacional e o projeto de modernização do exército brasileiro (1931-1937)*. 2010. 240 p. Master's Thesis –

Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, Faculty of Philosophy and Human Sciences, Graduate Program in History, Porto Alegre, RS, 2010. Available at: <https://tede2.pucrs.br/tede2/handle/tede/2346>. Access on: Sep 24, 2024.

OLIVEIRA, Natalia Vial de. *O Instituto de Geografia e História Militar do Brasil e a invenção de uma tradição para o Exército Brasileiro (1937-1945)*. 2014. 128 p. Master's Dissertation – Federal Rural University of Rio de Janeiro, Institute of Human and Social Sciences, Seropédica, Rio de Janeiro, 2014.

ONU, As Nações Unidas no Brasil. *Conferências de meio ambiente e desenvolvimento sustentável: um miniguia da ONU*. 2017. Available at: <https://brasil.un.org/pt-br>. Access on: Sep 1, 2024.

ONUF, Nicholas. Constructivism: A User's Manual. In: KUBÁLKOVÁ, Vendulka; ONUF, Nicholas; KOWERT, Paul (ed.). *International relations in a constructed world*. London, United Kingdom; New York, United States of America: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2015. p. 58-78.

PASQUINO, Gianfranco. Militarismo. In: DICIONÁRIO DE POLÍTICA / NORBERTO BOBBIO, NICOLA MATTEUCI E GIANFRANCO PASQUINO; TRADUÇÃO CARMEN C. VARRIALE [ET. AL.]. 5ª d. Brasília-DF: Editora Universidade de Brasília, 2004. v. 2, p. 748-754.

PEDROSA, Jose Fernando de Maya. A Guerra da Tríplice Aliança: Aspectos Históricos. *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 745, p. 47-65, 1989.

PEDROSA, Fernando Velôzo Gomes. *Modernização e reestruturação do Exército brasileiro (1960-1980)*, 2018. 305 p. Doctoral Dissertation – Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Institute of Philosophy and Social Sciences, Graduate Program in Comparative History, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, 2018. Available at: <https://minerva.ufrj.br>. Access on: Sep 13, 2024.

PEDROSA, Fernando Velôzo Gomes. Pensamento Militar Brasileiro. In: SILVA, Francisco Carlos Teixeira da et al. (org.). *Dicionário de história militar do Brasil (1822-2022): volume II*. Rio de Janeiro: Autografia, 2022. v. 2, p. 383-401.

PESAVENTO, Sandra Jatahy. Em busca de uma outra história: imaginando o imaginário. *Revista brasileira de História*, v. 15, n. 29, p. 9-27, 1995.

PION-BERLIN, David. Militarismo. In: SAINT-PIERRE, Héctor Luis; VITELLI, Marina Gisela (org.). *Dicionário de Segurança e Defesa*. São Paulo, SP: Editora Unesp, Imprensa Oficial do Estado de São Paulo, 2018. p. 623-632.

PIVATTO JUNIOR, Dilceu Roberto. *A construção do pensamento naval brasileiro: formulações político-estratégicas e desenvolvimento tecnológico (1967-2008)*. 2024. 386 p. Doctoral Dissertation – Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, RS, 2024. Available at: <http://hdl.handle.net/10183/276354>. Access on: Sep 6, 2024.

POLLAK, Michael. Memória e identidade social. *Revista Estudos Históricos*, v. 5, n. 10, p. 200-215, 1992.

PONDÉ, Francisco de Paula e Azevedo. A Campanha Sertanista de Rondon. *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 738, p. 37-59, 1988.

RÄDIKER, Stefan. *Doing Grounded Theory with MAXQDA. Guidance and tips for your practice*. Berlin, Germany: MAXQDA Press, 2023. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.36192/978-3-948768164>. Access on: Sep 26, 2024.

RIBEIRO, Adelia Miglievich. Darcy Ribeiro e o enigma Brasil: um exercício de descolonização epistemológica. *Sociedade e Estado*, v. 26, p. 23-49, 2011.

RIBEIRO, Darcy. *O povo brasileiro: a formação e o sentido do Brasil*. 3. ed. São Paulo: Global, 2015.

RODRIGUES, José Honório. Características do Povo Brasileiro. *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 752, p. 36-58, 1991.

RODRIGUES, Fernando da Silva. Militares e Questões Indígenas: Estudo sobre Cultura e Civilização nas Fronteiras Norte do Brasil (1927-1930). *Semioses*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 7, n. 2, p. 1-7, 2013.

ROESLER, Rafael. Os periódicos como fontes de pesquisa. Uma experiência com a revista A Defesa Nacional. *Revista do Exército Brasileiro*, v. 154, n. 2, 2018.

ROHTER, Larry. *Rondon, uma biografia*. translation: Cássio de Arantes Leite. 1. ed. Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Objetiva, 2019.

ROSA, Marlise et al. *Os Warao no Brasil: Contribuições da antropologia para a proteção de indígenas refugiados e migrantes*. Brasília, DF: ACNUR Brasil – Agência da ONU para Refugiados, 2021.

SAMPAIO, Rafael Cardoso; LYCARIÃO, Diógenes. *Análise de conteúdo categorial: manual de aplicação*. Brasília, DF: Escola Nacional de Administração Pública (Enap), 2021. Available at: <http://repositorio.enap.gov.br/handle/1/6542>. Access on: Sep 11, 2024.

SILVA, José Lucas da. Os Ciclos Econômicos: Contribuições para o desenvolvimento do Brasil. *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 758, p. 91-114, 1992.

SOARES, Mozart Pereira. A influência de Augusto Comte no pensamento brasileiro. *Episteme, Porto Alegre*, v. 3, n. 6, p. 144-153, 1998.

SOUZA, Bruna Lacerda de. Questões indígenas: um percurso pela História Indígena como domínio. *Faces de Clio*, Juiz de Fora, MG, v. 8, n. 16, p. 168-185, 2022.

TEIXEIRA, Nuno Severiano. A história militar e a historiografia contemporânea. *Revista Nação e Defesa*, v. XVI, n. 59, 1991. Available at: <http://hdl.handle.net/10400.26/2697>. Access on: Mar. 4, 2025.

VERDUM, Ricardo. Povos Indígenas no Brasil: o desafio da autonomia. In: VERDUM, Ricardo (org.). *Povos Indígenas: Constituições e reformas Políticas na América Latina*. Brasília, DF: Instituto de Estudos Socioeconômicos, 2009.

VIOLA, Eduardo. O regime internacional de mudança climática e o Brasil. *Revista brasileira de ciências sociais*, v. 17, p. 25-46, 2002.

WIETCHIKOSKI, Luciana. *O pensamento militar brasileiro e os Estados Unidos: a revista A Defesa Nacional no final do regime militar (1979 a 1985)*, 2014. 65 p. Master's Thesis – Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, Institute of Philosophy and Human Sciences, Graduate Program in Political Science, Porto Alegre, RS, 2014. Available at: <http://hdl.handle.net/10183/114435>. Access on: Sep 24, 2024.

WOOLF, Nicholas H.; SILVER, Christina. *Qualitative analysis using MAXQDA: The five-level QDA® method*. Abingdon, United Kingdom; New York, United States of America: Routledge, 2018.

Sources

BENTO, Cláudio Moreira. General-de-Divisão Augusto de Tasso Fragoso (1867-1945). *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 750, p. 105-117, 1990.

BENTO, Cláudio Moreira. O Exército e a Abolição: Concurso Literário Tasso Fragoso. *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 743, p. 109-158, 1989.

BENTO, Cláudio Moreira. O Exército e a Abolição (Pensamento e Ação). *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 738, p. 7-16, 1988.

CASTRO, Sebastião José Ramos de. Da necessidade das FFAA. *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 754, p. 18-27, 1991.

COSTA, Octávio Pereira da. O Engenheiro e Soldado. *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 743, p. 80-98, 1989.

HERMES, Mário Jorge da Fonseca. Os Militares e a Política durante o Império. *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 752, p. 123-143, 1991.

HERMES, Mário Jorge da Fonseca. Os Militares e os Políticos durante o Império. *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 749, p. 83-105, 1990.

MARIOTTI, Francisco. O Militar e a Política na República. *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 746, p. 51-72, 1989.

MATHIAS, Herculano Gomes. A Inconfidência Mineira: Aspectos Militares. *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 748, p. 61-69, 1990.

MEIRA, Silvio Augusto de Bastos. A Amazônia e o Projeto Calha Norte. *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 756, p. 29-41, 1992.

MELLO, Luiz Gonzaga de. Coronel Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra – O Soldado, o Engenheiro e suas obras. *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 741, p. 7-41, 1989.

OLIVEIRA, José Lopes de. Descobrimento do Rio das Amazonas. *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 753, p. 21-34, 1991a.

OLIVEIRA, José Lopes de. Memória Institucional: Um caso concreto. *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 754, p. 94-100, 1991b.

PEDROSA, Jose Fernando de Maya. A Guerra da Tríplice Aliança: Aspectos Históricos. *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 745, p. 47-65, 1989.

PONDÉ, Francisco de Paula e Azevedo. A Campanha Sertanista de Rondon. *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 738, p. 37-59, 1988.

RODRIGUES, José Honório. Características do Povo Brasileiro. *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 752, p. 36-58, 1991.

SENA, Davis Ribeiro de. A Guerra das Caatingas. *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 747, p. 7-28, 1990.

SENA, Davis Ribeiro de. O Vendaval Republicano. Breve dissertação militar. *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 752, p. 59-70, 1991.

SILVA, José Lucas da. Os Ciclos Econômicos: Contribuições para o desenvolvimento do Brasil. *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 758, p. 91-114, 1992.

SOUTO, Claudio Heráclito *et al.* Ameaças à Soberania Nacional na Amazônia. Hipótese de Guerra. Estratégias para a Defesa da Região. *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 752, p. 11-35, 1991.

VIEIRA, João Paulo S. O perfil de Tiradentes. *A Defesa Nacional*, n. 737, p. 54-74, 1988.

Article received on 01/23/2025

Accepted for publication on 07/18/2025

Editor in charge: Sofia Rossi Menezes

¹ Considering the interdisciplinary nature of studies on Indigenous History, the term indigenous issues is used to encompass any type of discussion about the indigenous peoples of Brazil (Souza, 2022). This includes territorial conflicts, socioeconomic development, political representation, cultural preservation, autonomy, and self-determination of indigenous peoples, among others.

² The theme is a unit of meaning used in content analysis. It consists of a statement or summary on a given topic, which can be articulated through a simple or complex sentence. A theme can be expressed through various statements or insinuations, standing out in a text analyzed according to theoretical criteria established by the analyst himself (Bardin, 2011).

³ According to Sampaio and Lycarião (2021), to increase the reliability of coding performed by a single individual, we must conduct regular reviews of the material, implementing a reliability test at an intermediate stage. In it, the coder analyzes and compares the results obtained, identifying possible flaws or inconsistencies.

⁴ The record unit refers to the coded segment of text that is designated to aid in classification and counting. Its size may vary depending on the material and the objectives of the analysis. On the other hand, the context unit is a longer section of text that facilitates the understanding and coding of the record unit, such as a sentence that relates to a word or a paragraph that refers to a theme (Bardin, 2011).

⁵ José Honório Rodrigues was a member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters and a well-known historian in Brazilian academic circles in the 20th century. It can be said that his intellectual output is characterized by a traditional historiographical approach.

⁶ Silvio Augusto de Bastos Meira is considered a scholar of German language, literature, and culture. He was a lawyer and received the distinction of professor emeritus from the Federal University of Pará. He

played an active role in regional and national politics, contributing as a member of the 1946 Constituent Assembly.

⁷ Colonel Cláudio Moreira Bento has produced an extensive body of historical works covering a wide range of subjects, mainly related to the military sphere and the history of the Brazilian Armed Forces. In addition to being a member of the IHGB, he was also a member of the Army Historical and Geographical Institute, Director of the Army Historical Archives, and professor of military history at the Agulhas Negras Military Academy (AMAN).

⁸ Patrons are figures who embody military values and virtues, serving as a source of inspiration. They are selected based on their remarkable life stories, heroic acts, and significant contributions to the history of the Brazilian Army. Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra is the patron of Military Engineers, while Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon is the patron of the Communications Corps.

⁹ General Octávio Costa was a member of the Brazilian Expeditionary Force between 1944 and 1945, playing an active role in military operations in Italy. He is the author of two memoirs about World War II, and his contribution to Brazilian military thinking is valued by the Army (Army Department of Education and Culture, 2022).