

**NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
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**SECURITY POLICY OF BRAZIL:
ASPIRING FOR THE STATUS OF A GREAT POWER**

**PhD dissertation
Author's Summary**

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1. INTRODUCTION

In my essay I wish to analyze the power status of Brazil, an ambitious lusophone state of the Latin-American region from the perspective of security policy. In this treatise I intend to pay particular heed to the changes that have taken place since the turn of the millennium, furthermore, to the power ambitions of the country, the claims they are based on and the opportunities inherent in the period to come.

Several changes have been induced in Latin-America by the influence of Washington, which markedly determined the post-war period in the region, moreover, partly owing to this, after several right-wing governments which rose/were raised to power due to the constant fear of communism, by the dissolution of the bipolar system and the consequently ensuing world political realignment in the 1990s. *The governments being unable to efficiently react to social problems and therefore suffering the loss of their supporters had not been able to consolidate their power, so the population disappointed by the failure of decade-long attempts turned to the left-wing which proposed a new approach and fresh solutions.* It was the populist party with left-wing rhetoric led by Hugo Chavez that first won the elections on the continent in 1998 in Venezuela, and after it several other parties with similar ideological affiliations triumphed, among them Lula da Silva's party in Brazil four years later. Because of the sweeping left-wing advance and the spectacular results of the past period, we can still find left-wing governments in most countries of the continent nowadays. The ideological similarities - even if we take into consideration the shades of difference among the governments - extending to several states *have called into being cross-border bi- or multilateral, or at times even regional initiatives and organizations, which in some cases can influence the power potential of certain countries or the region to a great extent.*

The aim of the dissertation is to provide a general idea of Brazil's present place, situation, moreover, of the attainability of its future goals by means of presenting the events taking place under the post-war right-wing governments and those after their fall in the period of democratic transition as a positioning. I intend to lay the main stress on the security policy analysis of the governments established around the turn of the millennium. I wish to particularly accentuate the power ambitions and role

extension objectives of the country, apropos of which I mean to separately analyze the security policy tools at its disposal, among others its armed forces, too. In connection with the Brazilian armament objectives I propose to discuss the concept of security dilemma by *John H. Herz*.

Finally, as a conclusion to the treatise, I wish to prognosticate a kind of vision for the middle-term position shift of the Federative Republic of Brazil both regionally and regarding its world political status. In the course of this, I mean to separately examine its system of alliances, moreover, its role in different organizations.

What makes my dissertation relevant is that I want to call sufficient attention to the Latin-American region and its decisive country, the unquestionably leading power of the continent, Brazil, whose security policy has excited little attention in Hungarian expert circles. Furthermore, I aspire to assign this country a position adequate to its significance in security research in a broader sense.

2. GOALS OF THE STUDY

Having concretized the topic of my study, I chose the following goals for my research:

- analyzing the security situation of Brazil according to Barry Buzan's sectoral approach of security on the basis of the presentation of Brazil's history as the starting point with a special focus on the twentieth century;
- presenting and analysing the performance and the achievements of the governments of the period following the democratization after the military dictatorship in the light of Brazil's ambition to become a great power;
- in connection with the *security's military sector*, demonstrating the country's international military engagements and the reform of its armed forces regarding the doctrines and the military equipments as well;

- concerning the *environmental aspect of security*, presenting Brazil's steps in environmental protection, its achievements and the dichotomy of the use of the renewable energy resources;
- regarding the *economic field of security*, expounding the country's economic performance, with a special highlight on the defence industry and the role of the international organizations;
- in the *social sphere of security*, analyzing the social and welfare measures taken by the two Lula- and the Rousseff-administrations as well as their current and predictable effects and weaknesses;
- on the topic of the *political sector of security*, examining the intentions and the effects of the almost three left-wing terms regarding the stabilization of internal relations and the building of foreign relations.

3. HYPOTHESES

My research hypotheses are the following:

- Despite the centralised and controlled leadership, the military dictatorship could not find a sustainable solution for the economic problems and in spite of the military orientation of the regime, it could not turn Brazil into a great power recognised by the international community, could not step beyond the borders of the continent, and could only position itself as a competitor of Argentina and Chile.
- Despite the fact that Brazil is a classical "soft power", during the last ten years, since the inauguration of the first Lula government, it could organize a strong network of allies around itself.
- John Herz's theory of security dilemma based on a given country's perception of security in respect to the start-up of an arms race among nations has lost its relevance during the time since its birth, although instead of this, an also spiral but more

peaceful process can be seen regarding the building of a network of international allies.

4. METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

In order to reach the above-mentioned goals *I have applied the following research methods:*

I have used the publications of the most influential workshops and researchers of the field while compiling the academic references analyzed in the course of quantitative data collection, whereby I have always aspired to present the findings of the most recent studies. This is why – beside printed reference books – electronically published writings also represent a significant part of the references. The academic core material of the study has been provided firstly by Hungarian researchers, lecturers, moreover, by the research material of Latin-America-specialized academic workshops at *Eötvös Loránd University*, the *University of Pannonia*, the *University of Pécs* and the *University of Szeged* as well as by the lecturers and researchers of the *National University of Public Service* and secondly, by the publications of the lecturers of great American universities and the associates of regional research institutes dealing with security policy and international relations. Regarding foreign academic literature, I have primarily used English- and Spanish-language field-related analyses of research institutes as the basis of my treatise. The primary reason for this is that the competent institutes dealing with security and foreign policy research mainly publish their findings in these two languages.

In order to complete the list of research institutes, two Hungarian academic workshops also researching the fields of foreign and security policy need to be mentioned: the *Hungarian Institute of International Affairs* (MKI) and the *Centre for Strategic and Defense Studies* (SVKK).

Beside the predominance of art-related (mainly literature, dance, music and ethnography) works created in the field of Hungarian academic literature, we can also find sociology-, political science-, economy- and naturally also history-related writings. A significant part of the latter works study the region and Brazil in it from a socialist pre-regime change perspective. Several research-relevant studies were created in this period;

among others by still actively publishing authors such as Ádám Anderle, Ferenc Fischer, Iván Harsányi, Gyula Horváth or István Szilágyi. In the course of their several-decade-long oeuvre, hundreds of studies, articles and books have been published in the field, besides, they have been lecturing and researching at several foreign universities and been invited to international conferences. Nowadays we can also find – apart from the above-mentioned universities – courses at other institutions of higher education dealing with the region. The representatives of the younger generation, among them Bernadett Lehoczki, Viktória Semsey, Mónika Szente-Varga or Ágnes Szilágyi have joined the above-mentioned professors in teaching and doing academic research into fields relevant to the profiles of the majors at the given institution. Their writings and the thematic areas of research treated at their institutes are primarily created in the framework of the above-listed academic areas, security policy-related studies are scarcely represented, therefore one of the objectives of the present dissertation is to call the attention of researchers and others interested in security policy studies to not yet disclosed security policy relations and the versatility of the region.

The central element of my research method is document analysis; I am to obtain research goals by means of evaluating relevant research findings and formulating predictions. I have primarily applied the methods of analysis and induction, which is justified by the descriptive and analytic nature of the treatise.

While writing the dissertation, I often depended upon my earlier research findings and my publications written as their summaries, furthermore, regarding the historical section, I relied on the findings of my thesis written when majoring in international studies at the University of Pannonia.

5. SUMMARIZED CONCLUSIONS

At the beginning of the dissertation, I have analyzed the relevant issues emerging in certain security segments in addition to presenting the events on a historical level; based on this procedure the following *summarized conclusions* can be formulated.

When treating the history and security policy of Brazil in the different chapters of the study, my aim was to present the Federative Republic of Brazil, a country preparing for its 3rd millennium super power status, in its complexity by means of showing its present state and pursuit of its objectives. The continent-sized country featured among the states of the *semi-periphery* in the *centre-periphery* division elaborated in the 70s in the framework of Wallerstein's world-system theory and its adaptations (among others in the works of *Cristopher Chase-Dunn*, *Yukio Kawano* and *Benjamin Brewer*). According to Wallerstein's definitions, the category of semi-periphery states is constituted by countries which are placed between core countries (centre), characterized by the accumulation of capital, exploitation and a high level of technological development, and the countries typically having underdeveloped economies, low wages and being exploited by others (periphery). Semi-periphery states combine the characteristic features of both categories. However, it is rather questionable, if a country with economic indicators and technological development like Brazil's – which at present occupies the seventh place in the world's largest economies rankings - can still be referred to as semi-periphery in 2013, since the criteria of the category are not fully applicable. It can at least be queried in global terms, since the presence of industrial development – the possession of sophisticated technologies is solely attributed to centre states - is emphasized among others beside the roles played in the accumulation of capital in the Wallerstein theory. The presence of industrial development can also be stated in Brazil's case without further consideration. On the other hand, we may well take into consideration a centre-periphery set-up on regional level, in which Brazil's centre role is unquestionable. The hierarchical relationship between Brazil and the other countries of the region also seems justifiable to some extent, when we consider the investments of the defence industry, in the course of which – in case other countries have also been involved from the region – the other states can only participate in the manufacturing process as suppliers or subsidiaries. Although both globally and regionally the exploitative role is absent, it would not be justifiable anyway in the case of a country of this size and in possession of such resources, since most of the time it possesses everything that is necessary. Brazil's role as a regional centre can only be challenged by Mexico, which has however become a “has-been”, as the country has forfeited its autonomous power status in several respects. Mexico, which is situated in the immediate proximity of an unquestioned super power, the United States of America, and has signed several treaties subordinating itself to its neighbour

(NAFTA and drug control co-operations), “has not played smartly” strategically speaking, as close association with the USA is counterproductive in the long run and it devalues its position in the region, whereby it contributes to the increasing influence of the rival Brazil at the same time. The growing role of Brazil is even further aided by the strengthening of Venezuela, which also cherishes ambitious dreams of becoming a regional power. The position gain of a Venezuela - which did not rise over playing second fiddle to Brazil even under the leading of the late president Chávez - hatching ambitious plans for the future, indirectly meant Brazil's ascent.

This situation seems to be justified by some foreign affairs-related events of the past period, which may not be of significance taken separately, but examined together, they may shed a different light on certain happenings. From 2006 to 2013 two prominent ALBA member states, Venezuela, which disposes of huge oil reserves and left the Andean Community of Nations (CAN), and Bolivia, which also possesses significant natural gas resources, requested admittance and then were admitted to the Mercosur. In 2012 the *Pacific Alliance (Alianza del Pacífico)* was formed, which intends to establish commercial relations with the Asian-Pacific region overcoming regional barriers. In April 2013 the American foreign secretary *John Kerry* referred to Latin-America as the USA's “backyard” in a statement and in May president Rouseff's visit to Washington in October was officially announced. Finally, the Mexican president recalled his ambassadors for briefing with the unconcealed aim that after it the diplomatic corps should be able to unfold even more dynamic activity in order to strengthen the country's international position. When placing the event in the context of Brazil's role growth course, we can observe that the policy which makes overtures towards Brazil, but at the same time intends to build relation systems in order to counterbalance the increasing power of Brazil proves the neighbouring countries have also noticed that Brazil has been gaining ground and realizing the purport of the situation they are taking certain measures to secure and improve their position.

However, in my opinion, the above-explained realignment is not just interesting in itself, but the account can gain a whole new interpretation, if we contrast the above-mentioned foreign political reactions with John H. Herz's security dilemma theory discussed earlier, which has been proved to be unjustifiable in modern Brazil's case. We can

draw the conclusion that the Federative Republic of Brazil – making use of the term introduced by Joseph Nye in 1990 – functioned as a “*soft power*” until the appearance of the 2008 National Defence Strategy and increased its influence and strengthened its system of external relations with the assistance of the all tools at its disposal – i.e. in the areas of politics, economy and culture. However, by this - even though it acted peacefully, as a power proclaiming the rejection of the application of coercive power - Brazil compelled a lot of neighbouring states or those with vested interests in the region to react to its measures and to at least cement their near status quo position. Despite the fact that the security dilemma does not seem to have had a decisive effect on the sphere of defence in the classical sense, it has probably played a role in the field of international relations inducing certain processes in the foreign policy of countries observing Brazil's power expansion from different perspectives.

I believe that apropos of this concept, it is worth mentioning a thesis formulated by Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane as a criticism of realism. The two theorists recommended the theory of complex interdependence as an ideal alternative, whose practicability has however not been indubitably established as yet. The two political scientists meant to prove its applicability on concrete examples. The main criteria of the theory were formulated in three points:

- Societies are interconnected on different levels via multiple channels, among which we can find informal relations among government leaders, formal relations among external affairs organizations; personal and telecommunication connections among the leaders of non-governmental organs, furthermore, transnational relations via multinational banks and enterprises.
- The areas of interstate relations do not have a clarified hierarchical relationship to each other. The lack of hierarchy means apart from lots of other things that the issue of military security does not dominate. The differentiation between home and foreign affairs fades and external affairs do not solely appear on the agendas of government officials responsible for foreign affairs. Different issues can create diverse intra- and intergovernmental coalitions.

- States do not apply military force against each other within a given region, but it can be assigned an important role in intergovernmental relations outside the region. Apart from this, military force does not dominate in settling economic issues within the framework of an alliance system, but at the same time, it can become an important political and military instrument in the hands of the allied powers against a rival grouping.

In spite of the fact that the co-authors could not prove the omnipotence of their theory, I think that in connection with the study of Brazilian foreign policy, similarities with the regularities outlined by the theory can be discovered in several respects. As I have already demonstrated, the Brazilian foreign affairs are conducted on several organization levels, among others on the level of government and expert institutions as well as charity organizations. In this region integration organizations organized on the basis of different thematic areas play a decisive role, in which military force is of little account; nevertheless, the defence developments of Brazil bear witness to the fact that in other relations the Brazilian government considers its armed forces an important tool.

From a regional perspective and compared to the neighbouring countries, Brazil's situation can be said to be fortunate in several respects. It is not separated from the world oceans like Paraguay, it is not isolated in a political sense like Cuba; it is not characterized by strong social division like Bolivia; based on the Gini index published by *Corrado Gini* in 1912, the inequality in income and wealth even decreased significantly, by 11 percent between 1989 and 2009, besides, Brazil is not characterized by the activities of drug-trafficking and terror organizations like Columbia and it is not heavily indebted like its former rival Argentina.

In order to *socially* consolidate this seemingly well-arranged situation, president Rousseff set up the National Truth Commission with the aim to disclose the crimes committed by the military dictatorship. It is intended to help the country come to terms with its past and to ease still existing tensions. The social, health care and educational programs of the past decade also serve the purpose of consolidation, creation of social equality, moreover, adjustment. These programs help create a strong middle class by means of eliminating poverty and they have resulted in significant success, since in the period between 2003 and 2011 the stratum

called the “*new middle class*” grew by 30 million. A coherent, loyal and strong – furthermore, last but not least determined – social basis is absolutely necessary to provide the sufficient electoral support for the acceptance of the extra burdens which are needed to reach aims that are perhaps not so self-evident for the population.

The economic potential is available even with the present tendencies showing slower growth. Although the downgrading of the country from the 6th place in 2011 to the 7th in the world’s largest economies rankings modifies the situation to a certain extent, according to an end of May 2013 forecast by Lula, the country will have become the 5th largest economy in the world by 2016. Regarding the date, the *Goldman Sachs* forecast from a year earlier counting on a somewhat slower advance reckons that by 2050 four out of the world’s strongest economies will come from the developing world (Brazil, China, India and Russia). And this economic potential opens up unique opportunities for Brazil, but at the same time, it also burdens Brazil with huge responsibility, particularly in case it wants to participate in the life of the international community as a *responsible actor* in order to achieve its ambition of becoming a superpower - or later probably already in this role. And this role can be extremely costly, let us just take into consideration the UN peacekeeping missions in progress at present or the financing of different aid programs in several countries of the African continent, or spontaneous measures like the debt relief for 12 African countries totalling at 900 million US dollars in May 2013. Apropos of the countries receiving support, it is important to mention that the majority of the states concerned do not in any way have a close relationship – e.g. the membership of Community of Portuguese Language Countries – which could raise the question of a kind of “*expansion policy*”. With the help of such aid programs, funds promoting economic and social developments, by making use of the affiliations and amicable relations built in the framework of the earlier presented international organizations, Brazil's network of relations could even be established beyond Latin-America and Africa due to the good example.

Beside the implicitly positive content of financial aid, Brazil's reception and acceptance could be further improved by the fact that it consequently maintains the policy of peaceful settlement of conflicts and supports intervention only in case it has been authorized by the UN Security Council. Being a former colony, Brazil did not participate in the colonization, therefore there are no shared painful memories of historical

events with other countries. The South-American country did not actively take part in the ideological-political opposition of the cold war period, therefore conflicts which could possibly influence its present are entirely absent from the country's history. Its international appearances are not characterized by either political or economic pressure or an exploitative role. These features set Brazil apart from almost all other superpowers of the world.

Regarding the military aspect of security, it can be stated that the policymakers of Brazil have always adhered to a peaceful approach; on the one hand, Brazil has not waged war for more than one and a half centuries for selfish, profit-oriented interests, it combats the proliferation of nuclear and chemical weapons undauntedly and abstained from the development and possession of nuclear weapons – despite having the sixth largest uranium reserves – on its own accord, furthermore, it has actively participated in half of the UN peacekeeping missions. On the other hand, this kind of moderate political approach is modified somewhat by the fact that, based on the latest strategic conceptions, Brazil is working on establishing an army which is modern, powerful and has high power projection ability. The country has soldiers who have got about in several war theatres during peacekeeping missions, have received field training at home in the framework of *internal peacekeeping* and therefore they are well-trained and ready for action. In case the country can realize its military technology developments – which are in progress despite the austerity measures – *Brazil can emerge as an unquestionable factor in its region, but also as a major global player.* Beside all this, being a responsible power, the Brazilian political and defence authorities issued earlier unknown strategic documents as a means of improving transparency and security and to clarify their intentions.

This deliberate and farseeing *political* conduct and the already realized reforms and successes are primarily the factors that can make Brazil a kind of *role model* for the region, Africa or in a broader sense, for the whole developing world. In case the wish to assimilate or follow Brazil's example is conceived by countries – supplemented by countries reached via already existing connections – then a significant *network of relations, or one surpassing all previous in size* can be formed. It will become important – among other possibilities – if the much-coveted UN reform takes place, particularly regarding the revision of the permanent membership of the UNSC also urged by the ad hoc coalition formed by

Brazil, Germany, India and Japan in 2004. Many people support the initiative according to opinion polls carried out in 23 countries of the world from South-Korea through Russia to China. However, the superpower, whose foreign secretary *Henry Kissinger* hailed Brazil as “*the world power of the future*” on his 1976 visit to the country and which power – perhaps implicitly, but in my opinion necessarily – should find new allies to complement the weakening European powers: this power does not support the reform initiative, despite the proposal made seven decades ago by one of its most influential presidents, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Thus, in the area of foreign affairs noteworthy positive changes have taken place in the past decade, nevertheless, they need to be efficiently continued in order to achieve the goals set earlier.

This statement also holds water concerning the state of Brazilian home affairs. The democratic institutional systems were unquestionably consolidated after the period of transition, the army reform has been implemented and apropos of this, the civilian and military leaderships have been separated and the framework for civilian control has been created. The institutional system is thus ready and even in its excessively bureaucratized form it is capable of attending to its tasks, however, in several areas it still faces significant obstacles. All governments of the past owe – so does the present Rousseff-administration as well – the voters efficient steps for the elimination of corruption and tangible results of its measures. This factor is doubly present in the political aspect of security. On the one hand, the manipulation of decision-making mechanisms endangers security in itself, since it overrides justifiable expert and financial considerations. On the other hand, the predictability of the political system is also endangered, since the political morale of the population - already dissatisfied with the anti-corruption measures of subsequent governments - can sink even more from time to time owing to ever-changing state leaders involved in almost incessant corruption scandals. In connection with this, it is not just the position – re-election – of the given cabinet and the political formation behind it that is endangered, but in an extreme case, even the democratic structures themselves, since dissatisfaction on a large scale can create a situation in which an extremist populist party can more easily obtain the support of the population and it could incidentally throw the country off its course when in government position.

Concerning environmental consciousness, the management of *environmental* values and resources, significant progress has been made just like in the case of the earlier discussed areas; in certain cases Brazil exhibits exemplary behaviour bearing in mind the interests of future generations, nevertheless, we are treading on dangerous ground here, where there are several conflicting interests. The production of bioethanol is a subject of constant debate – among others -, which being a renewable source of energy is more environmentally friendly than using hydrocarbon derivatives as fuel, however, Brazil, as the dominant bioethanol producer of the world has been under constant attack for not growing crops on the available arable lands, whereby it could take steps against poverty. Another telltale example is the issue of dam and dam system construction on the bigger rivers – so primarily on the Amazon -, which, if we consider hydro energy as an environmentally friendly and renewable source of energy, deserves support, or it is even an example to be followed. However, another interpretation of these monumental projects is that these construction works usually involve significant environmental restructurings, which can influence the life of whole ethnic groups, villages, small communities, besides, they cause disturbance and in extreme cases destruction in the habitats of animals and plants. In certain extreme situations they can even fundamentally change dwellings and cultures or even destroy them. The government whose hand is forced is in no easy situation and presumably, they will not be able to find a solution equally acceptable for both parties, they will only be able to mitigate any negative impact of the decisions.

To sum up, I believe that Brazil underwent fundamental changes in the 20th century, and even today it is changing and developing by leaps and bounds. Entering the 20th century as a young and instable republic, the state left behind the turn of the millennium as a fledgling superpower after just a hundred years. The past period has naturally not been without hitches, and although no external power has threatened the integrity and sovereignty of the country, it has had to face sudden fundamental internal changes. However, the changes have not just made themselves felt in the political life, but also in all other segments of the economy and life.

Development is thus unquestionable. These are the changes that – complemented by its existing endowments - predestine Brazil to act a more decisive part in the life of the international community. One can only disagree about the extent of role increase and its manner. Taking all

factors and circumstances in consideration, we can state that there are problems and shortcomings to be eliminated on Brazil's side, but the South-American country has a place among the leaders of the international system in order for it to realize its motto globally as well: *Order and Progress*.

6. NEW SCIENTIFIC RESULTS

Based on my research of the topic and on the conclusions mentioned above, I consider the following as *new scientific results*:

- Studying the history and the current functioning of Brazil, the summarized facts prove that the country following a unique route during the military dictatorship could not ensure a sustainable and stable growth for the country despite the strict, centralized and authoritarian regime that lacked all the democratic institutions. This process did not change during the years of democratisation either. However, after democracy took roots, the opening and the economic liberalization could contribute to the broadening of the network of the international relations and the magnitude of the foreign direct investment thus the growth of the economy.
- Comparing Brazil's current situation and its achievements with the role as semi-periphery in Wallerstein's world system theory, it has been proven that the Latin American country does not show the characteristics of this category and is rather acting as a regional centre state.
- Having studied the National Defence Strategy and the White Paper of Brazil and having analyzed its defence expenditures and military technology developments then comparing these information with the corresponding sets of data of the other countries in the region, I justified that Herz's security dilemma cannot be applied in Brazil's case today and instead of the spiral of militarization, the other states broaden their networks of international relations, establish new regional organisations or bilateral relations in order to preserve the status quo.

- Having mapped the tools of the formation of Brazil's security policy and international relations, I proved that Brazil was capable of setting up a significant and diverse network of international relations and becoming a determinative player beyond the borders of Latin America, acting as a regional power even as a soft power, before the realization of the development programs of the military drawn up in the country's first National Defence Strategy.
- Having analyzed the decisions of the three decades following the end of the military dictatorship, I proved that Brazil's achievements, as well as the stability of the democratic institutions turned the country once used to be a colony to be a firm and strong power for 2010 and opened the way for the Latin American state to take a new position as a great power and become a significant player in world politics and to be a role model for the countries of the Third World.

7. PRACTICAL ADAPTIBILITY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The relevance of the dissertation is that it contributes to the understanding of the security policy related issues of Brazil and the Latin American region as well as of the historical events still having an influence on the current political happenings. Besides all these, it can serve as an aid in the education of Regional Studies or as a source of information for research in the field of regional security policy.

Regarding the field of research of the dissertation, the topic and the dissertation itself could be included in the education of the Security and Defence Policy MSc and the International Relations MSc at the National University of Public Administration, as well as in the course list of the Military Science Doctoral School. The dynamic progresses that continuously shape the region also raise the idea of establishing a research group that specializes in Latin America-related studies.

8. PUBLICATIONS

1. Emperador Maximiliano – A Habsburg on the Mexican Throne In. Grotius September 1, 2013
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2. Another victorious presidential election – Chávez and his Bolivarian Revolution. In. AARMS 2013/1 - Academic and Applied Research in Military Science. (accepted for publication)
3. Három ország – három út, Terrorszervezetek érvényesülése Latin-Amerikában (Three States - Three Ways – The Success of Terrorist Organisations in Latin America) In. Mediterrán Világ (accepted for publication)
4. Brazília – különutas politikával a nagyhatalmi státusz felé (Brazil – Unique Ways Towards the Position of a Great Power) In. Grotius, November 19, 2012
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6. A stabilizálódó Ecuador - „Erőm az Alkotmányban” (The Stabilizing Ecuador – “My Power Is in the Constitution”) In. Kitekintő Elemzések 7., July 27, 2011, p. 68-74.
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11. Venezuela a bolivari úton – Az elmúlt két évtized politikai történelme (Venezuela on the Bolivarian Way – The Political History of the Last Two Decades), January 2009,
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12. Dr. KAISER Ferenc – VOGEL Dávid: Egy huszadik századi Simon Bolivar – avagy Venezuela világméretű harca az Egyesült Államok ellen, az egységes Latin-Amerikáért (A Twentieth Century Simón Bolívar – Venezuela’s Struggle Against the United States for a United Latin America) In. Kard és Toll, 2007/2., p. 34-52.

9. CURRICULUM VITAE

Academics:

- 2010–2013: Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Law and Political Sciences, Political Science MA, electoral systems specialization (absolutorium)
- 2008–2012 : University of Pannonia, Faculty of Modern Philology and Social Sciences, International Relations MA (Latin America and semi-peripheral Europe specialization)
- 2007–2010: Zrínyi Miklós Defence University, Ph.D. School of Military Sciences (absolutorium, area of research: geopolitics of Latin America)
- 2002–2007: Zrínyi Miklós Defence University, Kossuth Lajos Faculty of Military Science, Security and Defence Policy MSc
- 1997–2002: Dual Language School, Balatonalmádi
- 2000–2001: Salina Central High School, Salina, Kansas, USA

Work experience:

- 2012–2013: NATO Kosovo Force (KFOR-7) NATO Kosovo Force (KFOR-7), JRD-C Liaison Monitoring Team, Deputy Team Leader
- 2011–: HDF Civil-Military Cooperation and Psychological Operations Centre, CIMIC Assessment and Public Affairs Cell, analyst
- 2011: NATO Reaction Force 16/17, Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear Joint Assessment Team, Public Affairs Officer
- 2008: Kitekinto.hu Foreign Affairs portal, Latin America Section, columnist
- 2008–2011: Zrínyi Miklós National Defence University, Chancellery, senior officer
- 2007–2008: Zrínyi Miklós National Defence University, Chancellery, senior fellow
- 2006: Republic of Hungary Military Intelligence Office, intern
- 2005: Zrínyi Miklós National Defence University Department of International Relations, intern

Language skills:

- English: Advanced Level State Language Exam
- French: Intermediate Level State Language Exam
- Spanish: basic level
- German: basic level