

Aviation in Campo dos Afonsos in the period between wars: French military mission, instruction and dispute for the Brazilian air market

La Aviación en Campo dos Afonsos durante el periodo de entreguerras: misión militar francesa, instrucción y disputa para el mercado aéreo brasileño

A Aviação no Campo dos Afonsos no período entreguerras: missão militar francesa, instrução e disputa pelo mercado aéreo brasileiro

Adriana Iop Bellintani¹

ABSTRACT

This work deals with the beginnings of the aviation school in Campo dos Afonsos, in Rio de Janeiro between 1920 and 1940, and aims to present international competition for the Brazilian aeronautical market from the analysis of the documentary scope of the French official archives. Military aviation in Brazil, during this period, was part of the Navy and the Army. The aviation school in Campo dos Afonsos developed with the instruction of the French Military Mission (MMF), contracted by the federal government to provide instruction to the Brazilian Army. In this way, the Military Aviation Mission instructed Brazilian pilots, sold war material and competed in the international market for the sale of airplanes to Brazil, mainly with the United States, Italy, Germany and England. The aviation school of Campo dos Afonsos was the mainstay of the national military aviation and represents the framework of the technical and doctrinal training of pilots of the Brazilian Air Force.

Keywords: Aviation. Instruction. Military Mission.

ABSTRACT

Este trabajo versa sobre los inicios de la escuela de aviación en Campo dos Afonsos, en Rio de Janeiro entre 1920 y 1940, y tiene como objetivo presentar la competencia internacional para el mercado

aeronáutico brasileiro a partir del análisis del alcance documental de los archivos oficiales franceses. La aviación militar en Brasil durante este período hacía parte de la Armada y el Ejército. La escuela de aviación en Campo dos Afonsos se desarrolló con la instrucción de la Misión Militar Francesa (MMF), contratada por el gobierno federal para instruir al Ejército brasileño. De esta manera, la Misión de Aviación Militar instruyó a los pilotos brasileños, vendió equipo militar y compitió en el mercado internacional para la venta de aviones a Brasil, principalmente con Estados Unidos, Italia, Alemania e Inglaterra. La escuela de aviación Campo dos Afonsos fue el pilar de la aviación militar nacional y representa el marco para el entrenamiento técnico y doctrinal de los pilotos en la Fuerza Aérea Brasileña.

Palabras Clave: Aviación. Instrucción. Misión. Militar.

RESUMO

Este trabalho versa sobre os primórdios da escola de aviação no Campo dos Afonsos, no Rio de Janeiro entre 1920 e 1940, e tem por objetivo apresentar a concorrência internacional pelo mercado aeronáutico brasileiro a partir da análise do escopo documental dos arquivos oficiais franceses. A aviação militar no Brasil, neste período, fazia parte da Marinha e do Exército. A escola de aviação no Campo dos Afonsos se desenvolveu com a instrução da Missão Militar Francesa (MMF), contratada pelo governo federal para

I. Universidade Federal de Roraima (UFRR) – Boa Vista/RR – Brazil. Doctor Degree in Social History by Universidade de Brasília (UnB). Email: adrianaiopb@yahoo.com.br

Recebido: 03/07/19

Aceito: 03/27/19

The acronyms and abbreviations contained in this article correspond to the ones used in the original article in Portuguese.

dar instrução ao Exército Brasileiro. Desta forma, a Missão Militar de Aviação instruiu os pilotos brasileiros, vendeu material bélico e competiu no mercado internacional pela venda de aviões para o Brasil, principalmente com Estados Unidos, Itália, Alemanha e Inglaterra. A escola de aviação do Campo dos Afonsos foi o esteio da aviação militar nacional e representa o arcabouço da formação técnica e doutrinária dos pilotos da Força Aérea Brasileira.

Palavras chave: Aviação. Instrução. Missão. Militar.

1 INTRODUCTION

This article is part of my doctoral research, defended at the University of Brasília (BELLINTANI, 2009). The thesis deals with the French Military Mission of Instruction with the Brazilian Army, in the period between wars. In its analysis it emphasizes the French and Brazilian military doctrine before and after instruction from the French officers and, mainly, the importance of the Brazilian Army for the installation of the Estado Novo, in 1937, by President Getúlio Vargas.

The work is essentially based on French documentary sources, researched in the following archives: Archive of the Army, Navy and Aeronautics of the Château de Vincennes, and Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France. In this way, we approached the French Military History and arrived at the French Military Aviation Mission that took place in the Campo dos Afonsos.

In the mid-1900s, France is one of the richest countries in the world. The 1889 law establishing mandatory three-year military service provides the French army with a staff of 479,000 men in peacetime, in contrast to the 556,000 men in the German army. The French doctrinal ideas come from the teachings of Napoleon, and involve issues such as the economy of forces, the division of the army into bodies or large units, the use of trains to supply the troop, the use of espionage service, the maintenance of secrecy in operations, the division of theaters of operations into main and secondary, the principle of immutable strategy, freedom of action, among others.

The Treaty of Versailles, signed after the first War, carries, under the influence of France, heavy losses to Germany, because, at the time when this agreement is signed, the military and political forces were on the side of France. But, as Poidevin points out: “the deep and potential, demographic and economic forces were on Germany’s side.

This imbalance was very dangerous” (POIDEVIN, 1977, p. 238). Germany is then disarmed, loses possessions and has its territory inspected by a military commission headed by a French general.

But in the period between wars, with the increase in pacifist tendencies, the French army reduces its staff, due to the devaluation of the salaries, which encourages layoffs. According to Girardet, there are 35,222 officers in the army in 1924; 31,483, in 1930; and 28,000 in 1936. The situation of the French military only improves in the 1930s due to the Nazi threat:

From the years 1937 to 1938, faced with an increasingly distressing international situation, the Army then seems to occupy the center of French concerns. Official advertising is about enhancing its popularity and prestige. (GIRARDET, 2000, p. 207).

Military life in France is centered on regulations that must be obeyed. The members of the army then make up a completely isolated and closed type of society to any foreign influence. The officer is essentially defined by a well-determined concept of honor and duty, by a complete submission to a certain kind of moral ideal.

The French ideals of freedom, equality and fraternity apply only to the civilian population, because for the military, democracy is antagonistic to the military spirit. The army, from Girardet’s view, represents a hierarchical pyramid with a supreme chief at the apex and subordinates at the base. In the Third French Republic, the military now have no political rights or the power to run for office; they even lose their right to vote in elections.

From 1872 to 1945, the military did not have the right to vote, and the constitutional law of 10.11.1875 deprives them of the right to participate in political activities. Honor and virtue come from military deeds, allied to bravery, intelligence, and physical ability.

2 THE SENDING OF THE FRENCH MILITARY MISSION (MMF) TO BRAZIL

France, at the beginning of the 20th century, began a policy of sending military missions to countries that needed to organize their armed forces. In the 1920s, France, in its desire for expansion, sent military missions to Brazil, Uruguay, Guatemala and Peru, as well as aviation missions to Brazil, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela.

According to Blay’s analysis, the French military presence in other countries promotes and assists the influence of France: “it was essential to maintain the

fragile preponderance of France in the world” (BLAY, 1995, p. 97).

Germany is also interested in sending military missions; hence the dispute between the two countries, as France wants to conquer consumer markets, facing German expansion.

Brazil, since the government of Hermes da Fonseca, wants to hire a foreign military mission, because it already sends young Brazilian military to take courses in the German Army. But although the Brazilian Army is interested in hiring the mission, it does not want it to interfere with the Army's General Staff.

The initial Brazilian inclination is for the hiring of the German mission. In September 1908, an entourage of Brazilians embarks for Berlin for this purpose. Composed of Marshal Hermes da Fonseca, President of the Republic, General of Division Luiz Monde de Moraes, Major Tasso Fragoso, and Captain Deschamp Cavalcanti, they believe in German military superiority.

The French representatives, seeing danger in the German advance towards the instruction of the Brazilian military, began, in 1910, to open precedents with a view to allowing the entry of Brazilians into the barracks of France. French Foreign Minister Stéphen Pichon announces the decision in favor of the French Minister of War: “the Minister of War has exposed to me the considerations that are favorable to the organization of a new process for admitting foreign officers in our different military schools” (PICHON, 1910). Two years later, the French government offers the Brazilian government greater admission of the military to its schools.

France wants to expand its influence in Brazil, even in times of war, and one of the best means to achieve this goal is the offer of instruction to the military, even if, to this end, it is necessary to receive Brazilian officers in French schools. Although it is not a country that receives receptively foreigners within military instruction, it begins to ponder this unusual possibility, with a view to raising Brazil's trust and exerting its influence in the country.

With the outbreak of World War I, European countries lose the conditions to compete for military missions in Latin America, and this issue is on hold until the end of the conflict that, in its outcome, puts France in global evidence, therefore altering the initial Brazilian decision to hire the German military mission.

The French victory is thus a decisive factor in the Brazilian option for the military mission from France. Among other reasons are the fact that the Brazilian bourgeoisie is focused on France and knows the language; that the Germans lost prestige with defeat

in World War I; and the European economic axis at the time to focus on the France and England axis, countries that can help Brazil financially.

France impresses Brazil after its four years of fighting in World War I. Moreover, as soon as the conflict ends, France is concerned with restoring its economy, thereby prioritizing the sending of instructional missions to countries that need to develop its army. According to Salkin, five functions are entrusted to these military:

Representation: [...] symbolized the victory of our weapons; Information: research on the local armed forces; Instruction [...]; Organization: undoubtedly the most delicate [...]. How to make such a Latin American general admit, without losing the honor, to adopt all possible measures proposed by a French colonel situated next to him as chief staff or as technical adviser; Promotion of sales of materials: In 1919 France had the concern to drain as fast as its stockpile of weapons, ammunition and various material that it constituted over the previous years. It had the conviction that by getting rid of this trade, it would foster its stalled economy for four years. (SALKIN, 1983, p. 34).

The Brazilian Minister of War, when negotiating the hiring of MMF, has as its first objective the instruction, through the organization and/or reorganization of schools. While Brazil is concerned with the education and professionalization of its military personnel, France intends to obtain surplus in its trade balance, selling scrap that it no longer makes use of.

Brazil, in 1919, already has three French military missions in its territory: the São Paulo State Mission, contracted by the São Paulo government; the Aviation Mission, and MMF, both contracted by the federal government. These missions have independent action from each other and with different leaders.

The French aviation mission contracted in 1918 was intended to instruct the pilots and was initially composed, according to Malan, “of three officers, an assistant sergeant, and specialist in aerial photography, and five mechanical sergeants.” (MALAN, 1988, p. 16). The first head of this mission, in 1918, is Captain Magnin and, in 1920, a new head, Captain De Séguin, takes over.

On the basis of the expansion plan of its influence, first comes the selling of war material for Brazil: this is the main motivation of France to sign the contract for sending the mission. And as part of the expansionist strategy, in 1918, Brazil received France's first military attaché: Ploton.

Among the difficulties of the MMF is the lack of chiefs trained to be sent as mission commanders,

which is due to the role that this officer will play in the foreign country, because it is expected more than military command and instruction. A head of mission must play with dexterity the functions of diplomatic representative, be able to garner local sympathies and have sufficient suitability to, without friction, undo any resistance against the presence of foreigners with the military force.

The head of mission must also have a deep knowledge about the Brazilian officers who hold senior positions in the army. Thus, for example, all the main members of the Brazilian Army have their professional record thoroughly examined by the French government.

3 FRENCH MILITARY AVIATION MISSION IN THE CAMPO DOS AFONSOS

The plane becomes a powerful weapon of war, but in its early days it is manufactured and used as a vehicle of fun. The Europeans and Americans soon realize the superiority of the plane over the cavalry, and in 1914 Germany is the first power in aviation with its Fokker fighters. Noteworthy is the pilot Manfred Von Richthofen, known as the Red Baron, who performs eighty successful missions.

The British created the Royal Air Force in 1918. In France, aviation is, for many years, subordinated to the army, which slows its use effectively and better. The plane gains considerable importance as a combat weapon after World War I. According to Fay:

[...] the main warring powers began to invest in the sector; owning airplanes, knowing how to build, arm and use the new machines has become a matter of asserting sovereignty for nations. (FAY, 2001, p. 02).

At the beginning of the 20th century, in Brazil, there is a Military Aviation School on the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro, in Campo dos Afonsos, and a small airline that depends on this school. But while Brazil presents this precarious picture in the air, some units of the federation are able to develop the sector. The autonomy that regionalism grants, then, to the states, allows São Paulo to develop its aviation and, in 1917, the state already has airplanes in the Campo de Marte, under the direction of Orton Hoover. Paraná, in 1918, has a plane at the State Police Aviation School.

Gino San Felice founded the Campo dos Afonsos aviation school in 1914, but remained in operation for only one year. In 1918, it was reopened with the arrival of the French military aviation mission that instructed Brazilian pilots until 1924. The following year, two more

civil aviation schools opened, one in Rio de Janeiro and the other in São Paulo, which offer rapid services for the supply of the material.

The Brazilian government, to develop and expand aviation, which initially belonged to the Army and navy, advocates the emergence of squadrons for observation, fight, bombing and mixed. The military aeronautics, subordinated to the Ministry of War, is composed of the School of Aviation in Campo dos Afonsos and an aviation group in Rio Grande do Sul. The southern aviation group consists of an observation squadron, a bombing and a fighter squadron, all in the city of Alegrete, on the western border of the Rio Grande; there is also an aviation park in the city of Santa Maria, in the center of the state.

Aviation in its early days lacked personnel, with a total staff in 1923 of thirty-nine pilots, fourteen observers and three hundred men responsible for the land service. But as soon as the airline industry begins its first steps, it is abruptly interrupted by the budget cut made by the government of Artur Bernardes, as Kammerer (1932) explains: "he did stop the recruitment, instruction and purchases of material. His Minister of War did not want to hear about aviation, did destroy the existing material and decided to say goodbye to the French Aviation Mission." Aviation resumed in the government of Washington Luis, in 1926.

The military aviation mission operated independently of the MMF and had the following heads: Cap. Magnin (1918-1920), Capt. De Séguin (1920 to 1924), and Cap. Jaunaud (1924). In 1919 the school makes 121 hours of flight and makes 456 landings; all students fly alone. After 1924, the French continue to assist the Aviation School, but as members of MMF, because the Military Aviation Mission ceased to exist due to the constant criticism of Brazilian pilots.

The Aviation Mission is composed of a senior officer, technical director of instruction, to whom all aviation matters are referred; a deputy officer, to whom instructions and conferences are required; and two mechanical petty officers. From its inauguration to 1930, the School of Aviation is run by two military, a Brazilian, Lt. Colonel Amílcar Pederneiras, and a Frenchman, Col. Andre De Séguin.

Initially, military aviation was part of the navy and army staff and, in 1927, began to make up the fifth branch of the Army, expanding the credits available for investment in the sector. Thus, aviation would consist of an aviation directorate, a military aviation school, a central aviation depot and aviation units.

During this period, graduates also fly and officers and aviator sergeants can engage in technical activities in civil aviation. Also, in 1927 was created the aviation directorate that operated with the Ministry of War, being endorsed with powers over military and civil aviation.

After the cuts made by Artur Bernardes, the reorganization of aviation only occurs with the coming to power of Washington Luis. But, as a result of the revolution of 30, the aviators, imbued with tendencies of independence, begin to stand against their boss, Lt. Colonel Jauneaud, technical director of the School, and against all the French of MMF, in general.

Jauneaud is the military responsible for organizing the Aviation School, for which he establishes statutes and regulations. In the French view, he is a head responsible for the progress of the Brazilian aviation. But the Brazilians vehemently reject him and want to answer alone the questions related to aviation, without the interference of the French, positioning themselves contrary to all technical education projects of the mission.

According to the French reports, the opposition is directed mainly against Lt. Colonel Jauneaud. So, Gen. Huntziger, taking advantage of the expiration of the contract on December 31, 1931, understands that it is time for him to return to France. Jauneaud's return calms the mood at the Aviation School, and the Mission remains in charge only of the discipline of aerial tactics.

The Military Air Mail (CAM) is created shortly after the revolution of 1930. According to Fay: "The CAN came to be from the merger of the Military Air Mail created in 1931, with the Naval Air Mail, and was born in Campo dos Afonsos (...) (2005, p. 237).

The French, after the withdrawal of the instructors from the School of Aviation, consider Brazilian aviation in a moral and discipline crisis, which, in their opinion, can be measured, as has already been mentioned, by the frequency of accidents: "after April 10, military aviation recorded five serious accidents with five dead and five injured" (KAMMERER, 1932). The accidents, according to the French opinion, are a consequence of the lack of discipline in flight and from the lack of professional experience of pilots.

4 FOREIGN COMPETITION FOR ARMS SALES

France has two major objectives with sending military missions abroad. The first is the sale of material and the second is the expansion of its cultural

and military influence, precisely to continue raising markets. Magnin, head of MMF Aviation in 1919, is concerned about the onslaughts of British, American and Italian competitors in relation to the sale of aviation material to Brazil.

The French consider some societies as pseudo-Brazilian, because behind the façade of a national firm is international capital. They use cheap Brazilian labor, raw materials and still enjoy the advantages that the country offers for the development of the war industry, such as the law of tax exemption to war plants.

France's situation in Brazil is privileged, but it is hampered by competition between its own companies - Creusot and Saint Chamond - which leads the French authorities to break their neutrality and support the Creusot firm, although they keep the matter discreetly.

MMF members often advise armies under their instruction on the best materials to be purchased, which causes them to go to French manufacturers to place their orders.

According to Salkin's analysis, one of MMF's weaknesses is precisely the war material for export, because French factories do not properly strive to beat international competitions and, on top of that, dispute the market among themselves:

the rivalry between the Schneider and Saint-Chamond societies that dispute the mountain cannon market; [...] the ineffectiveness of the local representative of the firm Hotchkiss, where machine guns are appreciated [...](SALKIN, 1983, p. 39).

Foreign competition is becoming increasingly intense and the French feel the need for a serious effort on the part of the builders to continue holding, in the aeronautical industry, their place in the Brazilian market. The War effort entails the need to dispose of the remaining military material from the First War; the same occurs later in 1945.

5 GERMANY, ITALY, ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES: IN SEARCH OF THE BRAZILIAN MARKET

A plan for the organization and acquisition of weapons is required, with special credits for the purchase of material. There is a bill, drafted by Congressman Lindolpho Collor, which provides for the inclusion in the war budget for 10 years, that is, from 1931 to 1940, an annual credit of 25,000 contos de réis, destined to the modernization of Brazilian armaments.

In 1930, Brazil received an excellent proposal from the U.S. anti-aircraft battery factory Driggs Ordnance and Enginery Company, which manages to beat French competition by using lower prices and offering shorter delivery times. Gen. Spire insists that Schneider lower prices and delivery time of the material, otherwise it would effectively lose competition to the Americans. There's still time, warns, since the contract is not signed. Legally, he could not take any action to curb this initiative of the Brazilian government, because, according to the Minister of War, the French industry had been consulted, having been respected the art. 9 of the contract, but it is entirely in his right to choose the most advantageous offer.

Brazil imports from France at the time not only airplanes, weapons and ammunition, but many other materials necessary for the operation of the Army. These included: combat gas masks, car for water sterilization in campaigns, combat gas clothing, wound dressing material, fracture appliances, complete nursing cases, etc.

Even after the Disarmament Conference in Geneva, Brazil decides to continue with its weapons import program and with the development of its military potential. Brazil participates in the Conference for Limitation and Reduction of Armaments with the following delegation: Macedo Soares, chief ambassador of the delegation; Colonel Leitão de Carvalho, of the Army; Maj. Ferraz and Castro, from the Navy; Cap. Altayr Rozsanyl, aviator, and Cap. Soares, secretary of the commission.

Germany centralizes its investments in Brazil in commercial aviation, through the airlines. The American effort is directed to the sale of airplanes, using strong advertising and visitation to Brazil with their devices. England gets contracts to take aerial photos and Italy, a contract to trace the aerial topography of São Paulo. But, even with so many competitors, France's action is still ahead in the year 1930.

In the early 1930s, the French began to feel threatened to lose the Brazilian consumer market of airplanes to American industries, which offer better prices. The Brazilian government is about to order 20 French Morane planes, when it requests a significant drop in price, in view of the offer of the American aircraft Curtiss, for more affordable price.

The Americans want to compete in the aircraft and armaments market with France; they are also increasingly inserted in the military context, offering exchanges between Brazilian and American officers in their various schools and military academies.

U.S. officials say they are interested in learning Portuguese and Spanish, engaging in friendly relationships with members of the exchange country, and staying abroad for a year. This is the way the U.S. government finds it to

further strengthen ties with Latin countries. The French, dissatisfied with this measure, see in it an American opportunism for the knowledge of the organization, the doctrine and methods of instruction adopted by France, as well as the war material available to Brazil, in addition to the possibility of instruction of some Brazilian officers.

French aviation and war material, in general, are heavily criticized during the 1920s, touted as obsolete, disused and dangerous for the life of the military, especially with regard to aviation. Therefore, the French believe that this is the time to prove that their exported material is safe and efficient, and that the air accidents that occurred are caused by the recklessness and indiscipline of Brazilian pilots, as they rightly defend in their reports.

Thus, when accidents with the new American planes begin to occur systematically, the French are in the situation of injustice swelled by the strong criticism suffered by the press in the 1920s. The Brazilian press then turns against American suppliers.

The revolution of 32 leads Brazil to open a credit of 15,000 contos, about 30 million francs, destined for the purchase of war material. This initiative provokes an offensive by foreign factories with a view to the sale of their products. The neutrality of the French in the conflict of 1932 ends up angering the winning side, which did not obtain the expected support with the supply of weapons.

At the end of 1932, after the constitutionalist revolution, Brazil carried out a large import of airplanes, around 100 units, representing about 60 million francs, for a virtually reorganization of Brazilian aviation. Priority is given to English and American firms; France is completely excluded from the negotiation.

6 ITALIAN ONSLAUGHT

At the end of 1930, an intense effort began on the part of the Italians, with a view to the sale of airplanes to Brazil, with the arrival of the mission headed by Gen. Pellegrini, in charge of organizing a crossing of the Atlantic Ocean, with 11 *Savoia Marchetti aircraft*. In this operation, it is negotiated the purchase of 11 Savoia Marchetti aircraft, the acquisition of exchange material for the aircraft, the stay for six months of three Italian instructors and the sending to Italy of three Brazilian aviators for a four-month internship, free of charge.

In March 1931, a group of Brazilian aviators was invited by Gen. Balbo, to complete, free of charge, their instructions in Italy. This invitation leads the French Foreign Minister to suggest that Brazilian officials be offered serious advantages in entering French military schools and their stays in France.

Italy seeks to send instructors to Brazil, the Brazilian naval aviation imports Italian aircraft and the young Italian

Robilant proposes, together with the Italian embassy in Brazil, the creation of a Civil Aviation Society. But although the Italians succeed in the sale of airplanes, they do not have a strong influence like that of the French, due to the presence of the MMF, and not even later like that of the Americans, who have a Coast Military Mission in Brazil and already export aircraft to the Navy.

The Italians, with their Caproni aircraft, introduce themselves in Brazil under the name of Italian-Brazilian Society and offer river hydroplanes.

7 ENGLISH EFFORT

During the revolution of 1932, the French adopted the principle of non-export of arms to Brazil. And this attitude leads the Ambassador of France to England, Fleuriau, to question the British government about the offer of weapons made to the Brazilian government and also to the rebels of 1932.

Exporting weapons to any state of the Brazilian federation is considered an act of enmity by the federal government. There is, however, a significant difference between arms exports carried out by private industries or national industries. Under the circumstances at hand, the United Kingdom does not yet consider the state of São Paulo to be belligerent, which would prevent the sending of weapons.

The British want to establish more serious ties with Brazil to secure their arms trade and as soon as the American Naval Mission leaves in December 1930, the British begin to not measuring efforts to take their place in Navy aviation. It contributes to the increase in English prestige the coming from London of a financial expert, Otto Niemeyer, senior official of the Bank of England, to assist Brazil in the administration of its finances.

England wants to sell its old war material and goes on to send missions to the Navy. In 1931, when the Prince of Wales was in Brazil, an internship was offered to three aviation officers in English schools. England sells, at the time, ten Moth aircraft, a fact that is considered by the French as point gained, because Brazil, until then, had no tradition of importing English aircraft.

The English firms Handley Page and Aircraft Manufacturing Company Limited want the concession of airlines in Brazil and take the name of Companhia de Aviões e Aeronaves, aiming to obtain the greatest possible advantage in the sale and use of labor and land.

8 GERMAN EFFORT

Until 1931, German efforts in Brazil focused on civil aviation, with the availability of airlines: it is the Condor

Company who begins to make trips between Europe and South America. Germany nevertheless expresses interest in military aviation and offers the Minister of War the Junkers airplanes. Conferences are also held in Rio de Janeiro on the technical progress made by Germany and demonstrative flights of the Kiebitz and Focke-Wulf aircraft.

Germany focuses its sales on Dornier-Wall and Junkers seaplanes, and is more concerned about civil aviation. But, at the end of 1931, it offered the Brazilian government the Kiebitz aircraft, from the Focke-Wulf firm, to be used by the air force.

Germany obtains its military expansion through the action of diplomats who count on the help of German immigrants and the receipt of foreigners for internship in their schools which, then, start to propagate their teachings.

The French worry about the German danger, due to the pro-Hitler propaganda promoted in southern Brazil. There is a German military organization, based in São Paulo, to which the southern states obey. And the fact that about 15,000 immigrants are of pure German origin, and can be mobilized in two weeks, increases the degree of concern and supervision of the French in the south of the country.

9 AMERICAN EFFORT

Until 1930, the Americans export the Curtiss to the São Paulo police, and Panair, commercial aviation, makes the connection between Miami and Buenos Aires. With the advent of the revolution of 1930, the federal government bought 15 Curtiss and, in 1931, presents the Fleet aircraft. In 1932, Brazil bought 5 Wacco aircraft, type 240. Between 1933 and 1934, Brazil imported about 150 American aircrafts for military aviation.

During the revolution of 32, the Americans divide the sales payments to Brazil into 24 installments, but fail to deliver the material on time, which makes the Minister of Finance, Osvaldo Aranha, suspend part of the order and transfer the order of 20 planes to the English firm Fairrey, at the price of 535 contos each. In December 1932, Brazil imports from the United States 15 Vought Corsair aircraft, 8 Wacco aircraft, 20 Boeing, and 10 Bellanca.

The year 1933 begins with strong criticism of American aircraft, due to the large number of accidents that occurred at the Aviation School in July, August and September. The newspaper *Correio da Manhã*, in its edition of October 1, 1933, publishes an article *entitled Destitute Aviation*, which brings the following information:

[...] our crafts, specifically the flight crafts, have been acquired, in recent times, from old stocks, stored in the warehouses of the North American manufacturers, without, what is surprising, the most elementary guarantees of safety, quality, perfection, durability and efficiency. It is known - and we immediately use the language of frankness and loyalty in an issue of this nature - that the American crafts, of the "Waco F" kind, presented a fabrication so unscrupulous that the Aviation School had them put aside in their hangars, attending that they were useless and dangerous to the lives of the pilots. (AVIAÇÃO..., 1933, p. 3).

The Brazilian government, by decree of 10.24.1933, doubles the customs tariffs applied to the French market. This decree is interpreted by the French as a boycott of their trade; they are even more annoyed to realize that the Brazilian press supports the government's decision, launching articles with titles such as: *Legitimate defense, Energetic and Just Attitude*, among others.

In 1934, the firm Mayrink Veiga was able to sell 25 Waco aircraft to Brazil. The newspaper *O Brasil*, in its issue of March 1, 1934, states that most of the aircraft in service in the Army is Waco type. In 1934, Brazil signed a trade and reciprocity treaty with the United States and made a compensation agreement with Germany.

The French naval attaché in Argentina notes that the Americans are investing heavily in their influence in Latin countries through the Navy, with the creation,

in 1935, of the post of the naval attaché post in Rio de Janeiro, placing in charge Cap. Whitehead, with the Coast Artillery Mission in Brazil and offering internships in the United States to officers of all armed forces.

The Americans want advantages to set up a civil aviation school with the Curtiss planes. The Brazilian market becomes very disputed, and the United States develops a policy of military assistance, employing a system of exchange of officers; with this, they install some missions in Brazil, such as the Coast Artillery Mission.

10 CONCLUSION

Brazilian military aviation had its birthplace in the Campo dos Afonsos and initially received the instruction and doctrine of the French Military Mission. Since its inception, aviation has been the target of international disputes over the sale of equipment and the disposal of surplus war material. The military missions were international strategies to, among other purposes, enter the military environment and influence the Brazilian arms purchase market. In this way, Brazilian military and civilian authorities bargained for the best deals and developed military aviation in the 1920s and 1930s, and in the early 1940s, Brazil emancipates its Air Force and unties it from the Navy and Army.

REFERENCES

AVIAÇÃO desamparada. **Correio da Manhã**, ano XXXIII, n. 11.913, Rio de Janeiro, domingo, 1º de out. 1933, p. 3.

CORRESPONDÊNCIA do Ministro das Relações Exteriores da França, Pichon, para Gaillard Lacombe, embaixador da França no Brasil, Paris, 08.10.1910. Nantes: Arquivo MRE.

CORRESPONDÊNCIA de Kammerer para Aristide Briand, Ministro das Relações Exteriores da França, Rio de Janeiro, 15.01.1932. Paris: Arquivo MRE, dossiê 35, 174-3 e 174-5.

BELLINTANI, A. I. **O Exército Brasileiro e a Missão Militar Francesa: instrução, doutrina, organização, modernidade e profissionalismo (1920-1940)**. Brasília: UnB, 2009.

BLAY, J. P. La mission militaire française: son influence intellectuelle et technologique dans la formation des écoles militaires brésiliennes (1919-1940). In: **Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains: propaganda et conditionnement des esprits au XX siècle**. Paris: Revue Trimestrielle d'Histoire, 1995.

FAY, C. M. **Crise nas alturas: a questão da aviação civil (1927-1975)**. 2001. Tese (Doutorado). UFRGS, Porto Alegre, 2001.

GIRARDET, R. **A sociedade militar de 1815 aos nossos dias**. Rio de Janeiro: Bibliex, 2000.

MALAN, A. S. **Missão militar francesa de instrução junto ao Exército Brasileiro**. Rio de Janeiro: Bibliex, 1988.

POIDEVIN, R. L'Allemagne et la France au lendemain de la Premier Guerre Mondial. In: **Les relations franco-allemands (1815-1975)**. Paris: Armand Colin, 1977.

RELATÓRIO do Gen. Maurice Gamelin, chefe da Missão Militar Francesa, para o Gen. Mangin, membro do Conselho Superior de Guerra, sobre os resultados da Missão Militar Francesa, Rio de Janeiro, 19.08.1921. Paris: Arquivo SHAT, 7N3378.

RELATÓRIO do Cap. Magnin, chefe da Missão Militar Francesa de Aviação, Rio de Janeiro, 01.08.1919. Paris: Arquivo MRE, dossiê 35, 174-3 e 174-5.

SALKIN, Y. **Présence et influence militaires françaises en Amérique Latine de 1919 a 1940**. Tese. (Doutorado). Paris: Sorbonne I, 1983.