

Counterterrorism in the Southern American Cone: security assemblages beyond the regional-institutionalized framework

Contraterrorismo no Cone Sul-Americano: arranjos de segurança além do quadro regional-institucionalizado.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22456/2178-8839.141341>

Tadeu Morato Maciel

Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, Brasil

tadeummaciell@gmail.com



Karime Ahmad Borrasci Cheaito

Programa San Tiago Dantas, São Paulo, Brasil

karimecheaito@id.uff.br



Vinícius Armele dos Santos Leal

Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, Brasil

viniciusarmele@gmail.com



Mariana da Gama Janot

Programa San Tiago Dantas, São Paulo, Brasil

mariana.janot@unesp.br



Abstract

Historically, there has been a lack of institutionalized cooperative efforts within the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) to address terrorism, especially following its process of disintegration that began in 2018. However, is there a common "guiding line" between certain countries? This article examines South American responses to counterterrorism, with a particular focus on the Southern Cone, specifically Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. We argue that Critical Security Studies related to global security frameworks and Critical Terrorism Studies enable us to identify similarities in regional counterterrorism practices. Our analytical lens is focused on the counterterrorism legislation of these countries, highlighting the processes of mobilization and implementation of these laws. Through this approach, we aim to understand the perceptions and constructions surrounding terrorism and counterterrorism in each context. Methodologically, we propose a comparative historical analysis of responses to terrorism in the region after September 11, 2001. We conclude that the exercise of counterterrorism in these nations is driven by a confluence of internal security imperatives, financial considerations, and broader global security concerns. Thus, while cooperative efforts in forums such as UNASUR have been limited, there are elements of synergy in antiterrorism and counterterrorism legislation and practices.

Keywords: Counterterrorism, UNASUR, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Security Assemblages.

Resumo

Historicamente, tem havido uma falta de esforços cooperativos institucionalizados dentro da União das Nações Sul-Americanas (UNASUL) para lidar com o terrorismo, especialmente após o seu processo de desintegração iniciado em 2018. No entanto, existe uma "linha orientadora" comum entre certos países? Este artigo examina as respostas sul-americanas ao contraterrorismo, com foco particular no Cone Sul, especificamente na Argentina, Brasil e Chile. Argumentamos que os Estudos Críticos de Segurança relacionados aos marcos globais de segurança e os Estudos Críticos sobre o Terrorismo nos permitem identificar semelhanças nas práticas regionais de contraterrorismo. Nossa lente analítica está focada na legislação de contraterrorismo desses países, destacando os processos de mobilização e implementação dessas leis. Através dessa abordagem, buscamos compreender as percepções e construções em torno do terrorismo e do contraterrorismo em cada contexto. Metodologicamente, propomos uma análise histórica comparativa das respostas ao terrorismo na região após 11 de setembro de 2001. Concluímos que o exercício do contraterrorismo nessas nações é impulsionado por uma confluência de imperativos de segurança interna, considerações financeiras e preocupações globais de segurança mais amplas. Assim, embora os esforços cooperativos em fóruns como a UNASUL tenham sido limitados, existem elementos de sinergia na legislação e nas práticas de antiterrorismo e contraterrorismo.

Palavras-chave: Contraterrorismo, UNASUL, Argentina, Brasil, Chile, Arranjos de Segurança.

Received: 19 July 2024

Accepted: 09 December 2024

Conflicts of interest: The authors did not report potential conflicts of interest



This is an article published in open access and distribution under the terms of the [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International License \(CC BY-NC-SA 4.0\)](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/), which permits its use, distribution and reproduction in any medium as well as its transformation and creations from it, as long as the original author and source are credited. Also, the material cannot be used for commercial purposes, and in the case it is transformed, or serves as a basis for other creations, these must be distributed under the same license as the original.

Introduction

In the past two decades, terrorism and counterterrorism (CT) have risen as major research topics in International Relations and Security Studies (JACKSON; BREEN SMYTH; GUNNING, 2019). Even though inter-state conflict has re-entered the main concerns in international politics and the security debate, War on Terror and the mobilization of terrorism and counterterrorism are still present in contemporary discourse, and remain as an important topic of critical analysis in the field (JARVIS, 2019; FURTADO; AUCHTER, 2024).

In South America, contemporary debates on terrorism and CT have been mostly associated with the circulation of the new threats based on opinions. We added a denser literature review on the general topic, such as the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR, in Spanish) and multidimensional security agendas pushed by the Organization of the American States (OAS) (SAINT-PIERRE, 2011), accompanied by other major security concerns in the region, such as organized crime (RODRIGUES, 2012). For a brief period, South American countries had an important forum where common or shared issues – such as how to engage with the pressures, demands and expectations concerning terrorism – could be addressed to the UNASUR.

The South American institution was created in 2008 with the goal of strengthening regional integration and promoting cooperation in various spheres, but it began to disintegrate in 2018, when several member countries started to withdraw due to political disagreements and internal crises. The UNASUR has been strongly debated within regionalism and foreign policy studies (LIMA, 2013; VIGEVANI; RAMAZINI JR., 2014), but the organization's approach to terrorism and CT is somewhat scarce, possibly because UNASUR actually resisted – within its framework – to fully accommodate the fight against terrorism under the United States' terms and models and the overlaps between UNASUR and the OAS (WEIFFEN *et al.*, 2013). As Saint-Pierre (2011) and Vitelli (2016) identified, UNASUR's South American Defence Council (CDS, in Portuguese) had an important role in attempting to differentiate CT from *de facto* defense matters. Nevertheless, many South American countries did implement robust CT approaches in these past decades that do share some similarities, which invites us to interrogate this implementation process beyond the regional institutional forum.

In this regard, this article seeks to contribute to this field of study by investigating CT agendas in three specific cases – Brazil, Argentina, and Chile. This article will analyze the aforementioned strategies through the lenses of Critical Security Studies (CSS) and Critical Terrorism Studies (CTS), ultimately arguing that South American states' responses to terrorism are concomitantly defined by cooperation and each nation's self-interest.

The selection of these three Southern Cone cases is justified by the fact that, within this regional framework, they stand out particularly for their political influence and leadership, and they hold strategic relevance, as well as essential roles in steering regional agendas and discussions. Although there is a lack – or even an absence – of institutionalized regional cooperation regarding an antiterrorism and CT agenda, it is possible to observe the historical development of local policies with similar characteristics between Brazil, Argentina, and Chile, especially after 2001.

Critical approaches emphasize that concepts such as *national security*, *security policies*, and *security studies* are fundamentally shaped by intersubjective processes. In this investigation, as mentioned, we propose to analyze the laws and counter-terrorism practices in Brazil, Argentina, and Chile through the interconnection of two theoretical approaches: Critical Security Studies and Critical Terrorism Studies. Within the framework of Critical Security Studies, security agendas are viewed as complex outcomes of social and political constructs articulated by those who enunciate and perform them in a given conjuncture. As a result, the notion of security is taken as a derived concept: “the understanding of what ‘security’ is (or should be) derives from political and philosophical worldviews” (BILGIN, 2008, p. 90).

Closely aligned with CSS, the CTS places particular emphasis on examining how terrorism and CT are shaped (or assembled) within these security agendas. CTS scholars argue that terrorism is often “employed as a pejorative term by hegemonic actors to make a moral justification of their claim to legitimacy and moral condemnation of their opponents,

thus allowing the legitimate use of state violence and avoiding the necessity for negotiation and compromise” (FRANKS, 2009, p. 155).

This assertion presupposes an ontological stance wherein terrorism is perceived as socially and politically constructed, constituted, and enunciated by hegemonic actors within a context, often biased by vested interests (JACKSON; BREEN SMITH; GUNNING, 2009). This perspective within CTS encompasses various focal points, including: 1) Investigating the origins and evolution of the discourse of terrorism in societies in the Global North and the Global South; 2) Exploring how terrorism and counterterrorism, as discursive practices and forms of political violence, co-constitute and reinforce each other; 3) Examining how terrorism is culturally constructed in the popular imagination and how it functions in some societies and certain spheres as a social myth (in the anthropological sense); 4) Describing and analyzing the microphysics of terrorism discourse in different settings, social and bureaucratic, including media organizations and security agencies (JACKSON; BREEN SMITH; GUNNING, 2009).

From these two theoretical approaches, a comparative approach was adopted to carry out the selection and systematization of primary and secondary sources. Using this technique, the analysis of the sources was limited to the elements and variables specifically surrounding the anti and counter terrorism laws and practices of each case. A comparative historical analysis of security responses to terrorism in South America, specifically in the Southern Cone, involves combining different research strategies to build a comprehensive understanding that incorporates local, regional, and international issues. This approach highlights the analysis of anti-terrorism legislation in the selected cases (Brazil, Argentina, and Chile) and includes secondary sources that discuss UNASUR and regional security agendas. The historical-comparative component allows for an in-depth examination of the evolution and characteristics of anti-terrorism laws and practices in each country, facilitating the identification of patterns and “threads” that help identify points of convergence among the analyzed countries.

Critical Security Studies and the Institutionalized Cooperative South American Responses to Terrorism

The initial segment of the article is dedicated to contextualizing the subject matter and delineating the rationale behind our chosen approach. We commence with a concise overview of the UNASUR’s response to the “New Threats” agenda, illustrating the emergence of terrorism discourse within the policy-making forums of South America. Subsequently, we delve into the theoretical underpinnings and methodological framework adopted in this study. From then on, we present and analyze the observed practices in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile from the early 2000s to the present day, summarizing our insights in concluding remarks.

UNASUR and the New Threats

The countries of South America, although they have their cultural, political, social and economic particularities, share a similar colonial past and are geographically located in a relatively peaceful region regarding interstate wars. Regarding inter-country relations, a cyclical pattern is discernible, marked by periods of both rapprochement and distance between them. Notably, amidst the array of regional integration initiatives in the 21st century, the UNASUR emerged in 2008 as a pivotal manifestation of South American regionalism, particularly within the backdrop of the global liberal economic crisis (SÁNCHEZ, 2017).

According to Antunes (2021), the creation of UNASUR can be attributed to the regional leadership of Brazil, Venezuela, and Argentina. This initiative culminated in the successful integration of the twelve South American states, with the organization's Constitutive Treaty coming into effect in 2011. Among its main objectives, UNASUR prioritizes: 1) Fostering development and overcoming asymmetries between states; 2) Advancing social policies and minority protection;

3) Addressing continental infrastructure issues; 4) Promoting and upholding democratic principles; 5) Nurturing environmental sustainability; 6) Enhancing regional cohesion across political, economic, and security domains.

UNASUR emerged as a concerted effort aimed at bolstering regional cohesion, with the overarching goal of supplanting the OAS as a mechanism of hemispheric governance, particularly in light of the determinative influence exerted by the United States (USA) within the OAS framework. In addition to the aforementioned objectives, the nascent organization aimed to ensure the autonomy of regional leaderships and overcome the dependency ties that were in force in the OAS (ANTUNES, 2021).

One of UNASUR's organisms that acted towards this effort was the CDS. In the early 2000s, the CDS refrained from implementing the notion of multidimensional security that was being diffused within the OAS, and one of the main channels through which this agenda was being pushed was the Conference of Defense Ministers of the Americas (SAINT-PIERRE, 2011; DONADELLI; PEREIRA, 2018). Multidimensional security, argues Saint-Pierre (2011), evoked a shared range of multiple challenges in the hemisphere that ought to be tackled by multiple agents and approaches due to their diverse potential origins and outcomes. The "multidimensional" adjective that was used to frame the "new threats" in the 1990s – such as drug trafficking and organized crimes, institutional frailty, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, among others – was then extended to qualify the many aspects of security (economic, social, political, environmental etc.).

As the securitization debate (BUZAN; WARVER; WILDE, 1998) as also a significant component in the security/defense debate at the time, the major concern raises with "multidimensional security" was its operational danger (SAINT-PIERRE, 2011) because the term's imprecision facilitates the confusion between issues that are a matter of Defense and of Public/Domestic Security. A known consequence of this confusion is further entrenching the military in domestic-oriented activities, which is already a historical feature of military organizations in the region – with specific contours and characteristics depending on the country. The CDS did not adhere to the multidimensional security expression and tried to keep a more distinct boundary between Defense and Security by designating new-threats related topics such as organized crime/drug trafficking and terrorism to be tackled within UNASUR instead of framing them directly under the Defense Council's attributions - although it failed to provide a counter-conception on shared notions of what security and defense meant for the region (VITELLI, 2016).

In 2009 and 2010, UNASUR created the South American Council Against Drug Traffic. Terrorism was not as explicitly addressed, but there are two key documents produced by UNASUR to shed light on its approach to terrorism. Two key documents produced by UNASUR shed light on its approach to terrorism. Firstly, the "Special Communiqué in Support of the Fight against Terrorism in All its Forms and Manifestations", issued in 2012, underscores alignment with the United Nations Global Strategy against Terrorism and refers to the principles of International Law, albeit without explicit reference to military cooperation. Secondly, the Buenos Aires Commitment, signed in 2013, is primarily focused on financial cooperation, particularly in combating money laundering and terrorist financing.

The UNASUR and CDS experiences reveal that despite the significant pressure from the United States to push the fight against terrorism alongside a broader perspective on multidimensional security and the new threats, this was not extensively institutionalized within the defense-related regional forum (GOULART, 2017). Although in the *Reunión Extraordinaria del Consejo de Jefes y Jefes de Estado y Gobierno de Unasur* (2009), UNASUR reaffirmed its commitment to the fight and cooperation against terrorism and transnational crime, and rejected "the presence or action of armed groups outside the law" (Article 1), Sánchez (2017) argues that the intergovernmental and inter-presidential model that characterized the organization has weakened its institutional structure in the medium and long term. In this sense, the author highlights, for instance, the personalist approach taken by the Alvaro Uribe government in Colombia, which

attempted to insert the issue of terrorism into the organization's agenda, especially in relation to the treatment of the FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia), while Hugo Chávez of Venezuela opposed such a strategy.

However, the overall ideas of multidimensional aspects of security and the need to adapt military/ security forces and legal systems to jointly tackle these challenges did circulate and had an impact in the regional scene. For example, even though the CDS did not abide by the multidimensional security and designated the separated forum to deal with Drug Traffic, it did set a path towards coordination, integration/jointness to tackle multiple challenges in its action plans. Even more prominently in the domestic-scenes, many South American military forces spent the last two decades performing subsidiary and police roles to face natural disasters, provide socioeconomic support and humanitarian assistance, fight organized crime and terrorism – all the aspects emphasized by the OAS' multidimensional security and new threats agenda. Brazil is a known case of routinizing military roles in broad subsidiary and public security missions (CASTRO *et al.*, 2022). Colombia went through a major reform in its military and security system fostered by (Plan Colombia) that also promoted these all-encompassing military activities which are conceptualized as necessary measures to face contemporary challenges (FILHO; CARREÑO, 2021). The Uribe administration was pivotal in framing the FARC as a terrorist group, and the term “narcoterrorism” became a buzzword in defense and security fields (BJORNHEAD, 2004; RODRIGUES, 2012).

Hence, UNASUR and CDS are important regional forums in which the defense and security debate has been produced in South America, but they do not account for the specific circulation of CT. This is why we turn to the perspectives of security assemblages and an international circulation of punitive legal regimes.

Security Assemblages and The International Circulation of Punitive Legal Regimes

As presented, CSS analyzes security as a process. In alignment with numerous scholars in the field of international political sociology, we contend that these processes are better understood through the lens of practices. In simple terms, practices encompass both discursive and non-discursive performances, behaviors, and historically connected acts within the many fields of power produced by a myriad of agents: police and military forces of all shapes and sizes, border and intelligence agents, private security and military companies, and all their interconnections (BIGO; TSOUKALA, 2008; BALZACQ *et al.*, 2010).

This approach invites an alternative framing concerning social phenomena that focuses less on explaining why certain issues are turned into threats and are institutionalized or not, and more on the how. Central to this approach is an examination of how the groups of individuals that are *professionally socialized* around security – the professionals responsible for administrating, organizing, and implementing violence – diffuse and circulate the sense of risk and danger in their activities. This circulation happens domestically, regionally, and globally. Moreover, this process is transversal, and the more it takes shape, the more globalized a threat becomes.

Due to this multitude of connections within shared *expertise* born out of socialization and intense bureaucratization – that is not an equivalent to homogeneity – this sociological field is heavily inspired by Bourdieu's classical triad (*habitus*, field, capital). However, scholars have been expanding its notion towards more nuanced and heterogenous accounts on how power plays and shifts in different contexts, while still being part of an identical “part”. This conceptualization is often illustrated topologically by the Moebius strip (or the Klein bottle): the confounding geometrical object in which apparent internal and external sides are part of a one-dimensional infinite loop (BIGO; TSOUKALA, 2008; LOUGHLAN; OLSSON; SCHOUTEN, 2015).

Another helpful way of describing this phenomenon is through the idea of assemblages. Drawing from the Deleuzian concept of rhizome, the assemblage approach stresses that security may be seen as multiple and dispersed heterogeneities brought together (ARADAU *et al.*, 2015). Within this framework, security assemblages would be the many

multi-sited orders of competition and interactions between security agents of all sorts structuring local and global forms of governance (ABRAHAMSEN; WILLIAMS, 2011). Indeed, both approaches are often complementary in critical security methods (LOUGHLAN *et al.*, 2015).

We propose that, in South America, regional responses to terrorism are best understood in terms of assemblages, precisely because it accommodates heterogeneity, wherein the low or absence of institutionalized regional action is not an impediment. Quite the opposite, it stimulates investigation of differences and commonalities around the topic by following the security practices. Military and police actions are often a central feature of analyzes in this regard, as they account for intelligence, surveillance, technological development, arms, operations, and all the most prominent aspects of security. However, these actions are also highly informed by and informative of strategic planning, doctrinal formulation, and legislation, which are all forms of security practices themselves (BALZACQ *et al.*, 2010).

Jurisdiction lies at the heart of debates concerning the rule of law and exceptional measures, particularly in the realm of policy-making and governance, especially when tackling terrorism is concerned. Standard operating procedures also have global circulation processes promoted by specific interest agents and organizations of different areas. One example that has directly influenced South America is the Financial Action Task Force (FATF). Through the establishment of international standards, the FATF has significantly influenced global efforts to combat money laundering and disrupt the financial resources of terrorist groups.

Another set of expected rules and procedures to be followed is related to international events, such as World Cups and Olympic Games, in which terrorist attacks are high-placed within security concerns expressed by a) the organizers and sponsors, b) the nations involved, and c) the host country. What contemporary experience has shown us is that hosting events of this magnitude requires significant adjustments for host countries to assure security and adapt to the organizers' standards, which includes internal anti-terrorist legislation and procedures changes that are, in many cases, harmful to democracy itself as they may overlook human rights and labor rights (FREIXO; ARMELE, 2021).

From the lenses of CTS, it is observed how the legal development of an anti- and counterterrorist agenda in South American countries is articulated by national issues and by pressures from the international agenda. Both are shaped and influenced by the hegemonic actors in the system – and by financial and security actors. The theoretical fuzziness that permeates the concept of terrorism does not result in a fuzziness of policy decisions regarding counterterrorism (MACIEL; VIEIRA, 2020). Raphael (2009) describes that over the past thirty years, a small and politically significant group of US academics, notably from the field of terrorism studies that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, have been active in setting research agendas and consolidating their positions in security studies. Of particular note about this community is its significant influence on United States government policymaking through work with the Pentagon, or research contracts with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), State Department, and other government agencies.

In order to analyze the policies of prevention and the fight against terrorism developed in and for South America, it is necessary to differentiate between two terminologies. Anti-terrorism refers to creating and conducting defensive measures that aim to prevent and reduce a country's vulnerability to terrorist attacks. On the other hand, counterterrorism comprises the conduct of offensive measures that target the various organizations and individuals designated as terrorists, intending to deter, attack, and punish these groups or individuals.

Anti-terrorism and counterterrorism can be understood as interrelated policies which articulate the complex of defense and security at the theoretical-legal and practical levels. In this sense, counterterrorist practices – fundamentally based on the “problem-solving” approach – appear supported by the developed anti-terrorism laws. In other words, counterterrorism is backed by pages of texts, words, and symbols that support the foundations that legitimize governmental actions. Henceforth, we mention the anti-terrorist legal framework developed by Argentina, Brazil and Chile and briefly analyze its practical effects and debates in the next section.

Anti-Terrorism and Counterterrorism Assemblages in South America

We have presented the UNASUR as an example of an initiative for a cooperative effort to tackle contemporary security challenges such as terrorism. However, the region remains primarily characterized by a lack of cooperative institutionalized frameworks. Thus, we propose this analysis of the security assemblages of Argentina, Brazil and Chile to gain further insight into how the region has been responding to the international agenda of counterterrorism.

One approach taken by South American countries has been to cooperate with international partners in the fight against terrorism. For example, Brazil, Argentina, and Chile are members of the UNASUR. However, cooperation on counterterrorism within UNASUR has been limited, especially since 2018. While the organization has established a South American Counter-Terrorism Council (CASC), this body has struggled with difficulties to coordinate regional efforts to combat terrorism effectively.

Recent research into the anti- and counterterrorism strategies of South American countries, most notably Brazil and Argentina, has found that the strategies employed by these countries often focus on the collaboration of western governments and lack innovation from either the eastern or western countries involved (MILLAR; ROSAND; IPE, 2008). While they seek to build coalitions and partnerships with other Latin American countries to combat terrorism, they have also passed several broad anti-terrorism laws. These actions have been criticized as implementing heavy-handed measures without considering alternative approaches or courses of action that could be taken with less severity. As observed by Armele (2018, p. 132):

The Anti-Terrorism Act has the potential to be used as a gigantic conceptual umbrella that allows framing any form of social demonstration as if it were an act of terrorism. All it takes is political will to do so. The use of vague terms allows the typification to be applied to manifestations of any nature in accordance with the interest of the State. The Act does not, therefore, actually address the problem, but allows other things to be defined as a terrorist threat, thus gaining legitimacy for its confrontation. Thus, we can conclude that the Act is not in fact an anti-terrorism act, it is an Act aimed at typifying social behaviours that may threaten not only the political regime, but also the social-political order.

In other words, it works as a legal-discursive instrument for the repressive state apparatus, with endless possibilities. This reliance on a uniform, western approach has been seen as a consequence of their extensive ties with the West. As Armele (2018, p. 99-100) shows:

During the Cold War, the figure of the enemy was constructed for the West through the “amorphous” communist, a category that could be applied both internationally and mainly internally. With September 11, a new figure established itself as this central image in the collective imagination. At first it was Osama Bin Laden and Al-Qaeda, but later the “amorphous” figure of the Islamic “fundamentalist” terrorist became established.

A vital practice adopted by South American countries has been the involvement in regional and international partnerships, such as the cooperation of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile with the USA and the European Union in training to improve their counterterrorism capabilities. However, these partnerships have often been criticized for lacking transparency and accountability. They have raised concerns about the role of external actors in shaping South American countries' anti-terrorism agendas. For example, Cunha (2009) points out how, during the War on Terror, the USA demanded anti- and counterterror policies from Argentina and Brazil, in the Triple Border, and from Chile, in the Free Zone of Iquique. These regions have a large population of Lebanese and Palestinians.

A central practice taken by South American countries has been to adopt domestic anti-terrorism legislation and establish specialized counterterrorism units within their security forces. Brazil and Argentina have established a specialized counterterrorism unit within its Federal Police, known as the *Força Nacional de Segurança Pública* (National

Public Security Force, FNSP) and *Gendarmería Nacional* (National Gendarmerie, GN), respectively. In Chile, there is an expansion of training on counterterrorism by the *Policía de Investigaciones de Chile* (Investigative Police of Chile, PDI). These units have faced criticism for their lack of transparency and accountability and have been accused of violating human rights.

Argentina, Brazil, and Chile's response to broader anti- and counterterrorism agendas has been marked by a focus on domestic efforts to address the issue. This situation contrasts with other South American countries, such as Colombia and Peru, which have tackled terrorism through regional efforts and cooperation. Argentina, Brazil, and Chile's choice has resulted in a largely independent approach to counterterrorism, with both focusing on domestic efforts such as improving intelligence gathering and law enforcement capabilities rather than working closely with other countries in the region. The history of authoritarian regimes in these countries also contributed, at varying levels, to their limited involvement in regional efforts to prevent and combat terrorism. As a result, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile still show great difficulties in working in effective cooperation on issues such as terrorism after the re-democratization process in the 1980s.

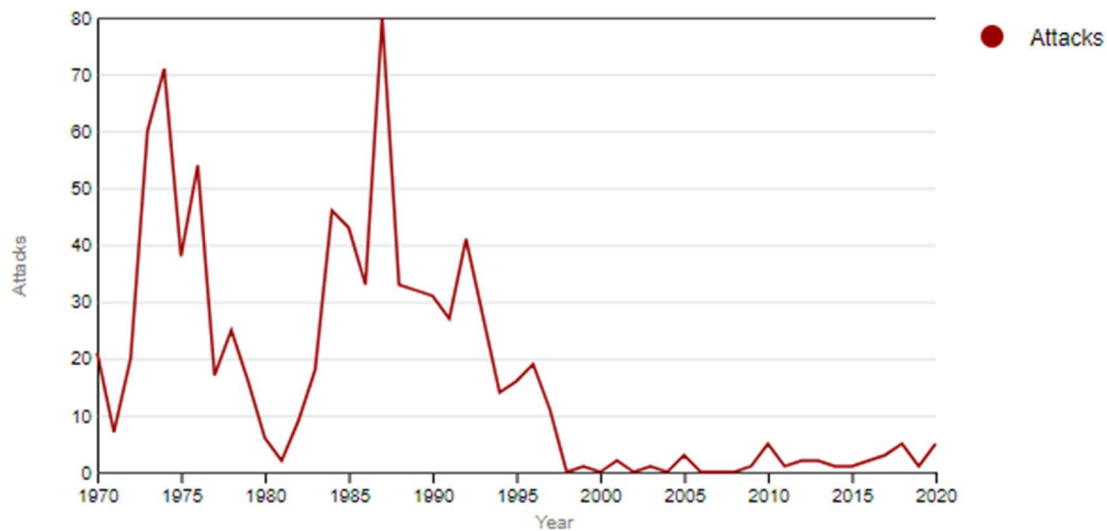
Historically, Brazil has not been a significant target of terrorism, contributing to the country's relatively limited engagement with regional counterterrorism efforts. There have been isolated incidents of terrorism in Brazil, compared to Argentina and Chile, as the following graphs show, respectively 295, 826 and 2,499 incidents.

Figure 1 – Brazil's terrorist incidents over time



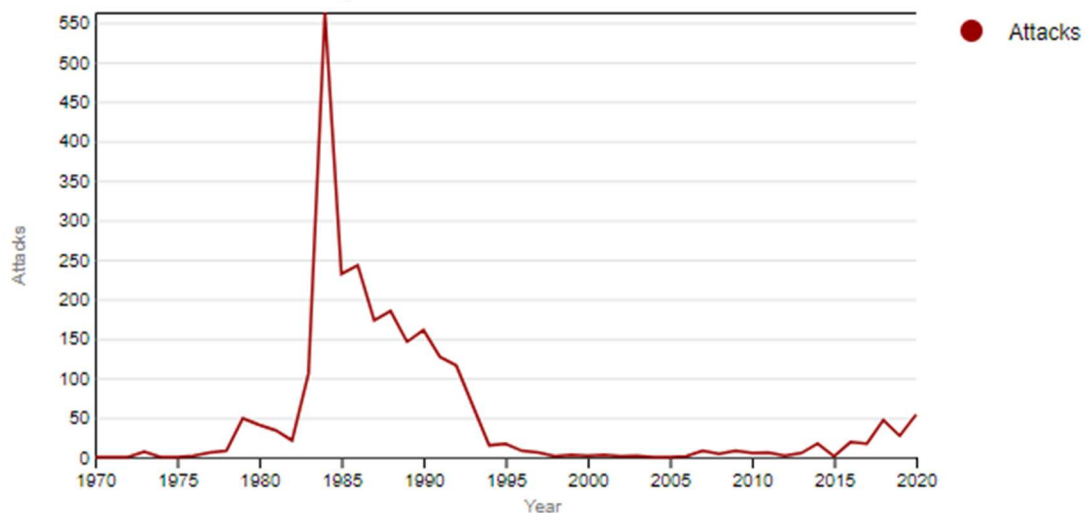
Source: Global Terrorism Database, 2024.

Figure 2 – Argentina's terrorist incidents over time



Source: Global Terrorism Database, 2024.

Figure 3 – Chile's terrorist incidents over time



Source: Global Terrorism Database, 2024.

However, these have been relatively rare compared to other countries in the region, which has meant that the issue of terrorism has not been a major priority for the Brazilian government. The Act related to this issue was only enacted in 2016 (13.260/2016) by the left-wing government of President Dilma Rousseff, which typified the crimes of terrorism and a terrorist organization. This legislation was motivated by the social demonstrations during the June 2013 Journeys, the 2013 Confederations Cup, and the 2014 World Cup. Additionally, there were international and national demands for creating a legal instrument to contain violent actions by some groups that would jeopardize the social order and the safety of athletes and spectators of different nationalities present at the 2016 Olympic Games.

This Act reformulates the concept of terrorism and terrorist organization, establishing the imprisonment of 12 to 30 years, in addition to the sanctions corresponding to the threat or violence, to persons who carry out acts with the aim of provoking social or generalized terror, exposing the person, patrimony, public peace or public safety. This legislation provided a legal basis for the arrests of 10 suspects in July 2016, whom the Brazilian Federal Police accused of having planned attacks during the 2016 Olympic Games. It is also noteworthy, in the Brazilian case, that these processes have a strong military component to it as they are part of the Armed Forces' production of domestic deployment towards public security (CASTRO *et al.*, 2022). Security operations for these events were planned and coordinated with the Armed Forces,

who were able to further experiment with counterterrorism courses and measures, increasing surveillance practices, while boosting jointness and command and control capabilities that are deemed necessary to anticipate and preemptively act in contexts of potential threats.

The United Nations, international NGOs (such as Greenpeace), and internal social movements warned that Law 13.260 could silence human rights defenders and social demonstrations, among other forms of organization, in favor of constitutionally guaranteed rights (CRUZ; PEIXOTO, 2021). These organizations pointed out that Brazilian law, as it occurred in several countries after the 9/11 attacks, is characterized by comprehensive concepts. This phenomenon also occurs in Argentina and Chile, in which the vagueness of its central definitions marks the anti-terrorism legislation of these South American countries. In addition, especially in the Brazilian and Chilean cases, attempts to reinforce these laws are marked by reactions from parties on the right of the political spectrum, linking their application to legitimate manifestations of internal social groups.

The Chilean case is quite symptomatic in this regard. During the 2000s, the Anti-terrorism Law (18.314/1984), introduced by the dictator Augusto Pinochet during the Chilean military regime (1973-1990), was used against *Mapuche* activists or those engaged in the “*Mapuche* conflict”, who claimed for the effective right of access to land in Chile. The *Mapuches* are an indigenous population from the central-southern region of Chile and southwestern Argentina, whose territories were invaded after the independence of these countries by republican military forces. The *Mapuche* movement has carried out protests for the recovery of their ancestral territory, for constitutional changes in favor of indigenous rights, and recognition by the states of their cultural specificities (MACIEL; MARREIRO; MARTINS, 2024).

In the context of the War on Terror, after the 9/11 attacks, governments elected by the Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia (Coalition of Parties for Democracy, Concertación), an electoral coalition of center-left Chilean political parties, retaken the Anti-Terrorism Law of the military regime. A clause was inserted that characterizes crimes against property as terrorist acts, in contradiction with the international legal definition of terrorism. Although the Chilean government emphasizes that there is no terrorism in Chile, the *Mapuche* protests were constantly framed as terrorist acts, allowing these activists to be tried by military courts. At the same time, crimes of arson or sabotage unrelated to the *Mapuche* cause were not classified as terrorist acts, being tried by civil courts and receiving half the prison sentence. “The government’s ambiguous position on terrorism points to the politicization of the courts in their efforts to dismantle organizations perceived as threats” (HAUGHNEY, 2007, p. 153-154).

Both the Human Rights Committee and Human Rights Watch believe that the use of anti-terrorism law is inappropriate in land conflicts and deprives defendants of several legal procedural guarantees. Both organizations are concerned that the definition of terrorism allowed members of the *Mapuche* community to be accused of terrorism for acts of protest or social demand related to the defense of the rights over their lands (BEAUDRY, 2009). In 2014, the Chilean State was condemned by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights for classifying *Mapuche* indigenous people as terrorists.

Crow (2014) points out that some opinion articles accuse *Mapuche* rebels of using children as human shields and mobilize allegations of links between this movement and international terrorist organizations, such as the FARC, the Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (Basque Homeland and Liberty or Basque Country and Freedom, ETA), and al-Qā’idah (Al Qaeda). The Argentine case also observed this relationship between the consolidation of anti-terrorist laws and the alleged association with international groups.

The debate on terrorism, anti-terrorism, and counterterrorism in Argentina in the 21st century was primarily based on the eight articles of Act 26,734 of 2011, which revoked the Act 26,268 of 2007. The 2007 Act had introduced articles 213-ter and 213-quater in the Argentine Penal Code. The first normative provision typified the crime of “illicit terrorist

association”, while the second criminalized “terrorist financing”. Based on that 2007 Act, such crimes were classified as offenses against public order, but with the 2011 Act there was a review and reformulation of these criminal offenses.

The Argentine Act of 2011 adopted an incrimination technique without direct classification, with increased penalties for individuals involved in terrorist activities, without concretely defining them. In other words, any crime contained in the Penal Code has its penalty applied twice if the purpose is to terrorize the population or to oblige national public authorities, a foreign government or agents of an international organization to carry out an act or refrain from doing so. Its broad and ambiguous text allows any crime to be understood as a terrorist act without any effective restriction, allowing arbitrary applications by state authorities since the interpretation of what is considered a terrorist threat is left to the discretion of justice.

The same Act promoted the incorporation of article 306 in the Penal Code and reformulated the crime of financing terrorism. This decision was due to the country's intention to comply with previously assumed international standards, such as the United Nations Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism (1999) and the Inter-American Convention Against Terrorism (CICT/2002), in addition to following the recommendations from The Financial Action Task Force (FATF) (FERNANDES, 2016).

The anti-terrorism legislation in Argentina was greatly influenced by the effects of the attacks suffered by the country in the 1990s. The first case occurred in March 1992, against the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires, with the explosion of a car bomb which left 29 dead and about 350 injured. The second attack occurred at a Jewish community center in Buenos Aires in July 1994, when a car bomb exploded in front of the Asociación Mutual Israelita Argentina (Argentine Israelite Mutual Association, AMIA), leaving 85 dead and around 300 injured (HUDSON, 2003). Special Prosecutor of the AMIA case, Alberto Nisman, released in 2013 the results of his investigations into this terrorist attack, concluding that there was substantial evidence that pointed to the government of Iran as planner and financier of the attack. The report also indicated the participation of Hizbu'llah (Party of Allah or Party of God, Hezbollah) as an operational supporter of the attacks (LASMAR, 2015).

Saad-Ghorayeb (2002), as a counterpoint, presents the contradictions and problems involved in the investigation of the case, which was never recognized by Hezbollah. Barata (2022) also highlights the suspicion that CIA agents in Buenos Aires had prior information that pointed to Syria's participation in the terrorist attack. Finally, Barata (2022) points to the hypothesis that the intelligence services of Argentina, the USA and Israel would have acted to cover up the traces that could incriminate the Syrian government in the attack, seeking ways to blame Iran, the Islamic Jihad and Hezbollah for carrying out the attacks.

In 2019, on the 25th anniversary of the attack against AMIA, in the presence of the then US Secretary of State, Mike Pompeo, Argentine authorities determined the freezing of assets in the country of members of Hezbollah and the organization itself and designated the Lebanese Islamic group as a terrorist organization. According to Argentina's Financial Intelligence Unit, Hezbollah continues to represent an active threat to national security and to financial integrity and economic order of Argentina. Another highlighted argument was that Hezbollah would operate in the so-called Triple Border between Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay, where an illicit economy would finance its operations (REUTERS, 2019).

Castro (2015) points out that, from 2009 to 2012, the Triple Border region was included in the list of Terrorist Safe Havens by the Country Reports on Terrorism, a US report on terrorist activities worldwide. According to the author, by including the triple border in this list, the US Department of State equated the region with other countries, such as Afghanistan, which appeared with the same status in the report, characterizing regions whose reach of the government would be very limited or even absent, favoring the development of terrorist activities. In a report produced by the State Department on terrorism in 2014, the US authorities considered that South America had taken few actions to combat terrorism and control money. According to the document, governments provided modest improvements in their

counterterrorism abilities and securing their borders. Corruption, weak institutions, insufficient cooperation between agencies, non-existent or weak legislation, and lack of resources would continue to be the leading causes for the absence of significant progress in the region (AITA, 2016).

Despite all the accusations, Amaral (2009) points out that none of the individuals already captured on suspicion of involvement with international terrorism in the Triple Frontier was arrested on charges of financing terrorism, but rather for involvement with organized crime. That speculation about suspect's relationship with groups such as Hezbollah and al-Qaeda has never been effectively proven. In this sense, there would be a strategy for countries in the region to avoid assuming the presence of terrorist activities in their territories, which would not prevent the intensification of punishment through criminal legislation. This perception is even reinforced by Matthew Levitt (2022), one of the greatest advocates of classifying Hezbollah as a terrorist organization:

Although many countries are reluctant to cooperate with the United States on counterterrorism for fear of admitting that terrorists operate on their soil, they are less hesitant to work with the country on criminal law enforcement. This has been evident in U.S. efforts to counter Hamas and Hezbollah activity in Latin America's so-called Tri-Border Area, where Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay meet. In December 2006, the U.S. Treasury Department designated a number of prominent Lebanese expatriates in the area as terrorists for their ties to Hezbollah. Immediately after it did so, Buenos Aires, Brasília, and Asunción issued a joint statement exculpating the suspects and rejecting U.S. claims about terrorist activity in the region. [...] The countries of the Tri-Border Area are thus more willing to cooperate with the United States if it frames its efforts as anticrime and antidrug rather than counterterrorism (LEVITT, 2022, s.p).

Finally, given the various versions of the motivation and authorship of the 1992 and 1994 attacks, the Corte Suprema de Justicia de la Nación Argentina (Supreme Court of Justice of the Argentine Nation, CSJN) found Hezbollah guilty. However, no one was arrested or prosecuted, indicating the high complexity of these cases and their implications for the actors involved. In October 2022, Argentina recognized in the Inter-American Court of Human Rights that it violated the fundamental rights of victims and relatives of the 1994 attack. The Argentine State admitted that agents under its responsibility – prosecutors, judges, and members of the Executive – knew of the risk of the attack and did not act to prevent it. The country also recognized that, after the crime, the same agents hid evidence, bought witnesses, and disappeared with documents, making it difficult to effectively identify those responsible for the attacks (GIMENES, 2022).

Such attacks were essential for generic anti-terrorism legislation in the country, similar to what happened in other South American countries. This did not mean Argentine participation in a coordinated way with other countries in the region for a regionalized counterterrorism reaction. Therefore, from a policy perspective, there are various issues concerning cooperation against terrorism, such as: regional divisions, high levels of distrust among state actors and different threat perceptions, which impede the ability to coordinate effectively and make it difficult to share intelligence (crucial to combating terrorism).

Conclusions

Argentine professor Matías Bailone (2022) highlights the consideration of his fellow countryman Eugenio Zaffaroni, a vital minister of the Argentine Supreme Court and current judge of the Inter-American Court of Human rights. For them, in the 21st century, in Latin American countries in particular, there is a tendency towards a resurgence of criminal laws that stop authoritarianism, recycling the discourses of the doctrine of national security. The Argentine, Brazilian and Chilean cases would not be an exception to this dynamic.

Despite the international demands and pressures – mainly led by the USA after the 9/11 episode – South America has yet to forge a unified approach to combat terrorism within a structured regional framework. Prompted by this research problem, we seek to analyze in this investigation that the absence of a unified approach does not mean that the region has not responded to terrorism. In this paper, we argue that the specific cases of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile serve to illustrate

how the region has been actively engaged in crafting a set of practices and policies to address terrorism, with both divergent and similar points.

Our main finding from the investigation demonstrated that the exercise of counterterrorism in these countries is driven by a confluence of internal security imperatives, financial considerations, and broader global security concerns. Thus, while cooperative efforts in forums such as the Union of South American Nations have been limited, there are elements of synergy in the antiterrorism and counterterrorism legislation and practices. Hence, the issue of tackling terrorism in the region is embedded in the struggle of domestic issues: first, it catalyzes a diverse repertoire of security practices, from militarized responses from the State to private and local governance practices, all towards activities that are associated with terrorism, such as organized crime and widespread corruption and financial crimes. Also, these expand over social and political activity and tend to intensify the pursuit of social groups that are perceived as potentially disruptive.

Critical security studies and critical studies of terrorism provided an essential theoretical basis that allowed us to verify how domestic security concerns inform the exercise of counterterrorism in these South American countries and the pressure from international actors. Thus, the theoretical perspectives adopted in this article made it possible to understand the events classified as terrorism as phenomena of a political nature, which vary according to the interests and actors involved. In this sense, the Argentine, Brazilian and Chilean cases help to show the impossibility of establishing some “ontology” of terrorism, that is, some search for an essentialization of this phenomenon that would allow us to have a closed and universal concept about it.

References

- ABRAHAMSEN, Rita; WILLIAMS, Michael C. Security Privatization and Global Security Assemblages. **The Brown Journal of World Affairs**, v.18, n.1, 2011.
- AITA, Edson. A Tríplice Fronteira sul sob a ótica do terrorismo: uma análise da legislação antiterrorismo da Argentina, Brasil e Paraguai. **Estudos Internacionais**, v. 4, n. 2, p. 35-56, 2016.
- AMARAL, Arthur. Para além da Guerra ao Terror? Balanço atual e perspectivas futuras sobre a questão da Tríplice Fronteira. In: ZEBIT, A.; FRANCISCO, C. T. (Eds.). **Neoterrorismo: reflexões e glossário**. Rio de Janeiro: Gramma, 2009. p. 245-278.
- ANTUNES, Diego. O processo de declínio da Unasul: causas e consequências para o regionalismo sul-americano. **Estudos Internacionais**, v. 9, n. 1, p. 131-149, 2021.
- ARADAU, Claudia; HUYSMANS, Jef; NEAL, Andrew; VOELKNER, Nadine (Eds.). **Critical security methods: New frameworks for analysis**. London: Routledge, 2015.
- ARMELE, Vinícius. **Tempo suspenso para um E(e)stado provisório: a Lei Antiterrorismo Brasileira sob a ótica da teoria do E(e)stado de exceção**. 2018. Dissertação (Mestrado em Estudos Estratégicos) – Instituto de Estudos Estratégicos, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói, 198f., 2018.
- BAILONE, Matías. **Direito Penal Antiterrorista e o Estado Constitucional de Direito**. São Paulo: Tirant Lo Blanch Brasil, 2022.
- BALZACQ, Thierry; BASARA, Tugba; BIGO, Didier; GUITTET, Emmanuel-Pierre; OLSSON, Christian. Security Practices. In: DENEMARK, Robert A. (Ed.). **International Studies Encyclopedia Online**. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010, p. 1-17.
- BARATA, Paulo. Atentado à Embaixada de Israel em Buenos Aires: 30 anos de uma acusação conveniente. Blog Terra em Transe, **Revista Fórum**, 10 mai. 2022. Available at: <https://revistaforum.com.br/blogs/terra-em-transe/2022/5/10/atentado-embaixada-de-israel-em-buenos-aires-30-anos-de-uma-acusao-conveniente-blog-terra-em-transe-116184.html>. Accessed on: 10 jul. 2024.
- BEAUDRY, Jonas-Sébastien. La violencia policial hacia los mapuches en Chile. **Revista IIDH (Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos)**, v. 49, p. 363-381, 2009.
- BIGO, Didier; TSOUKALA, Anastassia (Eds.). **Terror, Liberty and Security: Illiberal practices of illiberal regimes**. London: Routledge, 2008.
- BILGIN, Pinar. Critical Theory. In: WILLIAMS, P. **Security studies: an introduction**. London: Routledge, 2008. p. 89-102.

- BJÖRNEHED, Emma. Narco-Terrorism: The Merger of the War on Drugs and the War on Terror. **Global Crime**, v. 6, n. 3–4, p. 305–324, 2004.
- BUZAN, Barry; WAEVER, Ole; WILDE, Jaap de. **Security: a new framework for analysis**. 1. ed. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998.
- CASTRO, Celso; MARQUES, Adriana; AZZI, Verônica; ACACIO, Igor. **Forças Armadas na segurança pública**. Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Editora FGV, 2022.
- CASTRO, Isabelle. **O governo Barack Obama, a Tríplice Fronteira e o terrorismo**: um estudo de caso. In: Anais do 39º Encontro Anual da ANPOCS, Caxambu, 2015.
- CROW, Jo E. From Araucanian warriors to Mapuche terrorists: contesting discourses of gender, race, and nation in modern Chile (1810–2010). **Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies**, v. 20, n. 1, p. 75–101, 2014.
- CRUZ, Danielle M.; PEIXOTO, Fábio C. Terrorismo, manifestações sociais e democracia: uma análise sobre a proposta de alteração da Lei nº 13.260/2016 no Brasil. **Sociologias**, v. 23, n. 57, p. 386–428, 2021.
- CUNHA, Ciro L. M. **Terrorismo internacional e política externa brasileira após o 11 de setembro**. Brasília: Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão, 2009.
- DONADELLI, Laura; PEREIRA, Matheus. Conferências de Ministros de Defesa das Américas (CMDA). In: VITELLI, Marina Gisela; SAINT-PIERRE, Héctor Luis (Orgs.). **Dicionário de segurança e defesa**. Editora UNESP Digital, 2018.
- FERNANDES, Ignácio N. **Estándares Internacionales de Represión al Terrorismo Internacional**: un Paradigma Político Criminal para Argentina y Brasil. Editorial Académica Española, 2016.
- FILHO, João Estevam Santos; CARREÑO, Alexander Arciniegas. Transformação das Forças Armadas da Colômbia no pós-conflito armado: mudanças no emprego doméstico e na atuação internacional. **Conjuntura Austral**, v. 12, n. 57, p. 81–94, 2021.
- FRANKS, Jason. Rethinking the Roots of Terrorism: Beyond Orthodox Terrorism Theory - A Critical Research Agenda. **Global Society**, v. 23, n. 2, p. 153–176, 2009.
- FREIXO, Adriano; ARMELE, Vinícius. A Lei Antiterrorismo brasileira e a circulação internacional de regimes jurídicos punitivos. **Passagens: Revista Internacional de História Política e Cultura Jurídica**, v. 13, n. 1, p. 105–128, 2021.
- FURTADO, Henrique; AUCHTER, Jessica. Terrorism as an aesthetic signifier: The afterlives of terrorism discourse in Western reactions to wartime suffering. **European Journal of International Security**, p. 1–20, 2024.
- GIMENES, Erick. Argentina reconhece culpa pelo maior atentado terrorista da história do país. **Jota**, Belo Horizonte, 18 out. 2022. Available at: <https://www.jota.info/justica/argentina-reconhece-culpa-pelo-maior-atentado-terrorista-da-historia-do-pais-18102022>. Accessed on: 10 jul. 2024.
- GOULART, Pedro M. **O impacto da UNASUL nas relações com os EUA**: uma análise das agendas de defesa e segurança no sistema interamericano. 2017. Dissertação (Mestrado em Estudos Estratégicos) – Instituto de Estudos Estratégicos, Universidade Federal Fluminense, 153f., 2017.
- HAUGHNEY, Diane. Neoliberal Policies, Logging Companies, and Mapuche Struggle for Autonomy in Chile. **Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies**, v. 2, n. 2, p. 141–160, 2007.
- HUDSON, Rex. **Terrorist and organized crime groups in the Tri-Border Area (TBA) of South America**. Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, 2003. Available at: <https://www.ojp.gov/ncjrs/virtual-library/abstracts/terrorist-and-organized-crime-groups-tri-border-area-tba-south>. Accessed on: 10 jul. 2024.
- JACKSON, Richard; BREEN SMYTH, Marie; GUNNING, Jeroen (Ed.). **Critical terrorism studies: A new research agenda**. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- JARVIS, Lee. Terrorism, counter-terrorism, and critique: opportunities, examples, and implications. **Critical Studies on Terrorism**, v. 12, n. 2, p. 339–358, 2019.
- LASMAR, Jorge. A legislação brasileira de combate e prevenção do terrorismo quatorze anos após 11 de Setembro: limites, falhas e reflexões para o futuro. **Revista de Sociologia Política**, v. 23, n. 53, p. 47–70, 2015.
- LIMA, Maria Regina Soares De. Relações interamericanas: a nova agenda sul-americana e o Brasil. **Lua Nova: Revista de Cultura e Política**, n. 90, p. 167–201, 2013.
- LOUGHLAN, Victoria; OLSSON, Christian; SCHOUTEN, Peer. Mapping. In: ARADAU, Claudia; HUYSMANS, Jef; NEAL, Andrew; VOELKNER, Nadine (Eds.). **Critical security methods: New frameworks for analysis**. Oxford: Routledge, 2015. p. 23–56.
- LEVITT, Matthew. Hezbollah: Party of Fraud - How Hezbollah Uses Crime to Finance Its Operations. **Foreign Affairs**, 2022. Available at: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/benin/2011-07-27/hezbollah-party-fraud>. Accessed on: 10 jul. 2024.

MACIEL, Tadeu M.; VIEIRA, Paulo Roberto. O processo de verificação e governamentalidade planetária no combate ao terrorismo no governo George W. Bush. **Conjuntura Global**, v. 9, n. 2, p. 162-179, 2020.

MACIEL, Tadeu M.; MARREIRO, Matheus M. A.; MARTINS, Rafaela G. S. Problematicando o Estado como sinônimo de paz civil: uma genealogia da violência pacificadora contra os Mapuche no Chile. **Carta Internacional**, v. 19, n. 1, 2004.

MILLAR, Alistar; ROSAND, Eric; IPE, Jason. Implementing UN CT Strategy in Latin America and the Caribbean. **Fourth Freedom Forum**, September 2008. Available at: <https://www.fourthfreedomforum.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/2008-September-Millar-Rosand-Ipe-Implementing-UN-CT-Strategy-Latin-America-Caribbean.pdf>. Accessed on: 10 jul. 2024.

RAPHAEL, Sam. In the service of power: terrorism studies and US intervention in the global South. In: JACKSON, Richard; BREEN SMYTH, Marie; GUNNING, Jeroen (Eds.). **Critical terrorism studies: A new research agenda**. London: Routledge, 2009, p. 49-65.

REUTERS. Argentina ordena congelar activos de Hezbollah en aniversario atentado mutual judia. **Reuters**, 18 jul. 2019. Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/argentina-terrorismo-idLTAL2N24JOGY>. Accessed on: 10 jul. 2024.

RODRIGUES, Thiago. Narcotráfico e militarização nas Américas: vício de guerra. **Contexto Internacional**, v. 34, n. 1, p. 9-41, 2012.

SAAD-GHORAYEB, Amal. Hizbu'llah: Politics and Religion. London: Pluto Press, 2002.

SAINT-PIERRE, Héctor Luis. “Defesa” ou “segurança”? reflexões em torno de conceitos e ideologias. **Contexto Internacional**, v. 33, n. 2, p. 407–433, 2011.

SÁNCHEZ, Fabio. **UNASUR: poder y acción en Suramérica**. Bogotá: Universidad Sergio Arboleda, 2017.

“SEARCH RESULTS: 295 INCIDENTS.” 2024. **GTD Search Results**. Available at: https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?page=1&casualties_type=&casualties_max=&country=30&charttype=line&chart=overtime&ob=GTIDID&od=desc&expanded=yes. Accessed on: 11 jul. 2024.

“SEARCH RESULTS: 826 INCIDENTS.” 2024. **GTD Search Results**. Available at: <https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?country=11>. Accessed on: 11 jul. 2024.

“SEARCH RESULTS: 2499 INCIDENTS.” 2024. **GTD Search Results**. Available at: <https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?country=43>. Accessed on: 11 jul. 2024.

UNASUR. Reunión Extraordinaria del Consejo de Jefas y Jefes de Estado y Gobierno de Unasur, 2009. Available at: <http://www.unasursg.org/uploads/f5/3f/f53f4fb0a389ad84072a66d59d3a2214/Declaracion-Bariloche-Agosto-2009.pdf>. Accessed on: 05 jan. 2020.

VIGEVANI, Tullo; RAMANZINI Jr., Haroldo. Autonomia, Integração Regional e Política Externa Brasileira: Mercosul e Unasul. Dados - **Revista de Ciências Sociais**, v. 57, n. 2, 2014.

VITELLI, Marina. Comunidad e identidad en la cooperación regional en defensa: entendimientos en conflicto sobre pensamiento estratégico en el consejo de defensa sudamericano. **Revista da Escola de Guerra Naval**, v. 22, n. 2, p. 233–260, 2016.

WEIFFEN, Brigitte; WEHNER, Leslie; NOLTE, Detlef. Overlapping regional security institutions in South America: The case of OAS and UNASUR. **International Area Studies Review**, v. 16, n. 4, p. 370–389, 2013.

Authors' Contributor Roles	
Tadeu Morato Maciel:	Conceptualization; Methodology; Validation; Formal Analysis; Supervision; Writing (Review & Editing);
Karime Ahmad Borrascchi Cheaito:	Conceptualization; Methodology; Formal Analysis; Investigation; Writing (Original Draft Preparation);
Vinicius Armele dos Santos Leal:	Conceptualization; Methodology; Formal Analysis; Investigation; Writing (Original Draft Preparation);Writing (Review & Editing);
Mariana da Gama Janot	Conceptualization; Methodology; Formal Analysis; Investigation; Writing (Original Draft Preparation);

Information provided by the authors according to the [Taxonomy of author contributions \(CRediT\)](#)