



Ludovika University of Public Service, Hungary

IV. South America International Conference

*Defense and Security in South America:
Theoretical Frameworks and Practice*

March 7-9, 2024

Budapest, Hungary

**BOOK OF ABSTRACTS
2024**



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Onsite Session: English 1.

Security Dynamics



Onsite Session: English 1. – Security Dynamics

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Kenyan Police Operation in Haiti from a South American Perspective – Something New under the Sun?

The island of Haiti has seen several peace operations over the last decades, yet it remains one of the most dangerous countries in the region. With a negative record in terms of gun violence and political assassinations, coupled with an ailing economy and egregious healthcare and education system, the international community does not seem able to find an adequate solution for the myriad problems, nor can the state itself remedy the situation on its own. Amid such turmoil, Kenya has volunteered to send a unique police operation to the country which has obtained the legal backing from the United Nations, funding from the United States and support from the Organization of American States and its constituent member states. It is unclear however how a relatively novel and small operation manned by a country from another continent can alter local conditions for the better. It is also yet to be seen how previous stakeholders such as Brazil will react to an operation and will it take up the mantle of regional leader in order to highlight its role in the shaping of the wider region.

Keywords: *Peace operation, United Nations, Kenya, Haiti, Police*



Onsite Session: English 1. – Security Dynamics

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Reflections on Territorial Cleansing: Lessons from Bosnia & Herzegovina and Colombia

This small-N cross-regional comparative analysis explores the link between extreme but far from isolated massacres perpetrated during the Bosnian War (1992-1995) and an interval in the Colombian armed conflict (1997-2003) with their motives and outcomes applying the 'territorial cleansing' framework. Indeed, the territories subject to this type of violence experienced a reconfiguration in the demographics through mass killings, forced disappearances, evictions, and displacement. Today, despite condemning these acts of political violence in ad hoc international courts and national tribunals, the question of the returnees remains unsolved or at least stagnating. This presentation employs Egbert et al. (2016) and Lichtenheld (2020) to unveil the practices and strategies undertaken in the selected cases and contribute to the scholarly work bridging a geopolitical perspective within episodes of mass political violence.

Keywords: *Bosnian War, Colombian armed conflict, 'Territorial cleansing' framework, Mass political violence, Comparative analysis*



Onsite Session: English 1. – Security Dynamics

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Nuclear Ambitions in a Changing International Order – the Case of Brazil

When it comes to nuclear ambitions, the possession of nuclear weapons remains a prominent topic in the field of International Relations (IR), given that nuclear weapon states (NWSs) and non-nuclear weapon states (NNWSs) are primary categories in the Non-Proliferation Treaty and other components of the non-proliferation regime. However, in recent decades, the ambition to develop nuclear power plants has gained traction, particularly in the Global South. Traditionally, nuclear energy has been associated with industrialized states; however, the increasing interest in nuclear energy is now being driven by emerging economies, with their demands for technological expertise and financial support being increasingly met by other emerging and newly industrialized states. China and India are key players and the resulting partnerships are likely to endure over time.

This presentation contributes to the analysis of these emerging connections within the context of the global power shift. Brazil serves as a case study, illustrating how nuclear ambitions impact external relations and diplomatic activities.

Keywords: *Nuclear ambitions, International Relations, Non-proliferation, Emerging economies, Brazil*



Onsite Session: English 1. – Security Dynamics

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Is the Bolívar Dream Alive Again?! - Venezuela in the Sea of World Politics

Its geography, potential natural resources and geopolitical location could make Venezuela a key player in the South American region and on the international level too. A complex set of factors explains why the modern left-wing model state became a country hit with serious political and economic crisis by the end of the 2010s. The most important in its recent history was the presidency of Hugo Chávez, the impact of the associated 'Bolivarian Revolution', and the period of crisis that culminated under his successor Nicolás Maduro. The change of leadership and the economic challenges exposed the weaknesses caused by the excessive leadership and political clientelism. The aim of this presentation is to analyze how the changes in the global security system have brought new opportunities and challenges into the life of the South American country, and what the impacts of the Russian-Ukrainian military conflict are on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. Although the easing of sanctions may have boosted the Venezuelan economy, now the question is whether 2024 could bring a turnaround in the Latin American country's life, allowing the long-awaited development to really take off. Is there a chance of restoring its international reputation and domestic democracy? Will Venezuela seize the opportunity offered by international events or will it continue to add fuel to the fire and remain a country of unfulfilled dreams for the next decade?

Keywords: *South America, Venezuela, Russian-Ukrainian war, Crisis, Geopolitics*



Onsite Session: English 2.

Security: Transnational Links



Onsite Session: English 2. – Security: Transnational Links

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Traitor, Spy, Revolutionary, or Adventurer? A Remarkable Czech-Cuban Life Story in the Midst of the Cold War

The paper deals with the fate of the Czechoslovak refugee Zdeněk Matoušek (1928-1982), who joined a group of anti-communist resistance at the turn of 1948/1949. After being exposed, he fled to the American occupation zone in Germany, and then continued to Latin America. There he came into contact with representatives of the Cuban opposition, who soon returned to Cuba as exponents of the new revolutionary regime. Matoušek followed them in February 1959 and took a prominent position among the bodyguards of the first revolutionary president Manuel Urrutia. After the victory of the Cuban Revolution, Prague and Havana established intensive relations and Matoušek's story developed in close connection with and interdependence on them. While in Czechoslovakia he was convicted in absentia for attempting an armed coup d'état, in Cuba he was regarded as a model revolutionary. The differing views of the secret services of the newly allied countries about him resulted in an interesting dispute. The paper is based on materials from Czech archival collections and on information from direct relatives who today live both in US and Cuba. From a global perspective, the story is an extremely interesting example of the relationship between the individual and power across the Atlantic space and suggests the possibility of rethinking the role of smaller actors and actions beyond the bipolar view.

Keywords: *Cold War, Communism, Cuban-Czechoslovak relations, Individual and power, Smaller actors*

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Ordering and Evolution of Strategic and Military Alliances in a Changing World: A Comparative Analysis between Cuba and Chile

The rise of dissident powers that question both US military hegemony and Western values, as well as a growing tendency towards volatility in international relations, are factors that seem to indicate that the world could move from a unipolar order to a non-polar one. In such a context, countries' military alliances can be considered a key element to identify their position regarding this geopolitical diatribe between a liberal democratic global order and dissident approaches. However, military alliances are also conditioned by path dependence derived from internal politics and the international balance of power. In this study we carry out a comparative analysis between Cuba and Chile, countries of similar size and importance in the international arena and known for being ideologically and developmentally opposite to each other within the Ibero-American region. Our analysis confirmed that States tend to deepen their already established military alliances, however, the possibility of breaking with them is not null and will depend on the will of governments as long as the evolution of the international balance of power offers them favourable incentives to do so.

Keywords: *Strategic alliances, Military alliances, Chile, Cuba, Non-polarity*

Abstract in Spanish (Presentation Language):

Ordenamiento y evolución de las alianzas estratégicas y militares en un mundo cambiante: un análisis comparativo entre Cuba y Chile

El encumbramiento de potencias disidentes que cuestionan tanto la hegemonía militar estadounidense como los valores occidentales, así como una tendencia creciente a la volatilidad en las relaciones internacionales, son factores que parecen indicar que el mundo podría transitar de un orden unipolar a uno apolar. En tal contexto, las alianzas militares de los países pueden considerarse un elemento clave a la hora de identificar su postura particular respecto de esta diatriba geopolítica entre un orden global liberal democrático y aproximaciones disidentes. Por otra parte, las alianzas militares también están condicionadas por la dependencia de la trayectoria (*path dependence*) derivada de la política interna y del equilibrio de poder internacional. En este estudio realizamos un análisis comparativo entre Cuba y Chile, países de tamaño e importancia similares en el concierto internacional y conocidos por encontrarse en antípodas ideológicas y de desarrollo entre sí dentro de la región iberoamericana. Nuestro análisis confirmó que los Estados suelen profundizar sus alianzas militares ya establecidas, sin embargo, la posibilidad de romper con ellas tampoco es nula y dependerá de la voluntad de los gobiernos en tanto la evolución del equilibrio de poder internacional les ofrezca incentivos favorables para ello.

Palabras clave: *Alianzas estratégicas, Alianzas militares, Chile, Cuba, Apolaridad*



Onsite Session: English 2. – Security: Transnational Links

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Diplomacy and Drug-related Violence

In the summer of 1986, Enrique Parejo González, Minister of Justice (May 1984 - August 1986), Nazly Lozano Eljure, Deputy Minister of Justice (1982-1986) and General Víctor Alberto Delgado Mallarino, Director General of the Colombian Police (August 1983 - August 1986) were relieved of their duties and sent abroad. All of them were appointed ambassadors in Europe, in Hungary, Norway, and Romania, respectively. The reasons for their departure were grounded in the unleashed violence in Colombia connected to drug trafficking, and the principal objective was most probably to save their lives. Ambassadors, however, are public figures, and the location of the embassies and the residences are not a secret. Would the distance and / or the Iron Curtain – in case of the Socialist countries – be able to protect them? The lecture will begin with providing a brief overview of the internal situation of Colombia in the mid-1980s and then analyse the trajectories of these three people after 1986, shedding also some light on patterns of late Cold War dynamics. The investigation is based on archival sources as well as contemporary Hungarian, Romanian and Norwegian press.

Keywords: *Cold War, Socialist countries, Colombia, Drug trafficking*



Onsite Session: Hungarian 1. Geopolitics and Migration

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Syrian-Lebanese Immigrants and their Descendants in Brazilian Politics from the First World War to the Present Day

From 1880 until Getúlio Vargas came to power, a significant number of Arab immigrants came to Brazil from the Ottoman Empire, mainly from the area of the Lebanon Mountains and Syria. The first generation of Syrian-Lebanese immigrants did not play a prominent role in Brazilian politics until the period between the two world wars. The Arab diaspora was primarily interested in events in their homeland (the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, aspirations for independence in Syria, etc.). Thanks to the political changes that took place in Brazil, an increased number of the highly educated descendants of immigrants chose a political career. Nowadays, compared to its size, the community is overrepresented in Brazilian public life. Fernando Haddad, for example, is currently the Minister of Finance of the left-wing government led by the Workers' Party (PT). The purpose of the presentation is to show how the Arab diaspora living in Brazil gained more and more political influence, and what impact the Syrian-Lebanese community has on the country's current foreign policy and its relations with Arab countries.

Keywords: *Brazil, Immigration, Syrian-Lebanese immigration, Arab diaspora, Arab-Brazilian relations*

Abstract in Hungarian (Presentation Language):

Szíriai-libanoni bevándorlók és leszármazottaik a brazil politikában az első világháborútól napjainkig

1880-tól Getúlio Vargas hatalomra jutásáig Brazíliába jelentős számú arab bevándorló érkezett az Oszmán Birodalomból, elsősorban a Libanoni-hegység területéről, illetve Szíriából. A szíriai-libanoni bevándorlók első generációja nem játszott kiemelkedő szerepet a brazil belpolitikában, az arab diaszpórát a két világháború közti időszakig elsősorban a szülőföldjükön történő események kötötték le (Oszmán Birodalom szétesése, függetlenségi törekvések Szíriában stb.). A bevándorlók leszármazottai, képzettségüknek, illetve a brazil belpolitikában végbement rendszerszintű változásoknak köszönhetően, már egyre nagyobb számban választották a politikai pályát. A közösség létszámához képest napjainkban felülreprezentált a brazil közéletben, Fernando Haddad például jelenleg is a munkáspárti kormány pénzügyminisztere. Az előadás célja bemutatni hogyan tett szert a Brazíliában élő arab diaszpóra egyre nagyobb politikai befolyásra és ennek milyen hatása lett az ország külpolitikájára és az arab országokkal való kapcsolatára.

Kulcsszavak: *Brazília, Bevándorlás, Szíriai-libanoni bevándorlás, Arab diaszpóra, Arab-brazil kapcsolatok*

Onsite Session: Hungarian 1. –Geopolitics and Migration

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The Development of China's and Brazil's External Relations over the Past Decade

The presentation will focus on the evolution and development of foreign policy and foreign economic relations between the People's Republic of China (China) and the Federative Republic of Brazil (Brazil) over the past decade. Today, China is (once again) a major economic, political, and military power. It has the world's second largest gross domestic product (GDP) in nominal terms and the largest in terms of purchasing power parity. Brazil has traditionally been one of the leading countries in South America and is projected to become the 9th largest economy in the world by 2023 (based on nominal GDP).

Since 2012/2013, China's paramount leader has been President Xi Jinping; however, in Brazil, the period under review spans several presidential terms. The simultaneous tracing of these two parallel (political) historical threads offers an exciting analytical opportunity to explore and present the main features and figures of the two countries' external relations, foreign trade and capital flows.

The cooperation between China and Brazil in the BRICS framework is also of particular interest. Although the BRICS initiative was launched before 2010, its evolution and the strengthening of its international role can be traced back to the last decade.

Today, the goals, relations and institutions of the BRICS system are key elements of the foreign policy strategies of both China and Brazil, especially with regard to their plans for the so-called Global South. In the second half of the presentation, this multilateral forum will provide the framework for an overview and analysis of China's and Brazil's foreign relations priorities.

Keywords: China, Brazil, Foreign relations, Foreign trade & FDI, BRICS

Abstract in Hungarian (Presentation Language):

Kína és Brazília külkapcsolatainak fejlődése az elmúlt évtized során

Az előadás tárgya a Kínai Népköztársaság (Kína) és a Brazil Szövetségi Köztársaság (Brazília) közötti külpolitikai és külgazdasági kapcsolatok alakulása, fejlődése az elmúlt bő egy évtized során. Kína napjainkra (ismét) gazdasági, politikai és katonai nagyhatalommá vált, nominálisan mérve a 2., vásárlóerő-paritáson számolva pedig a legnagyobb bruttó hazai össztermékkel (GDP-vel) rendelkező állam a világon. Brazília hagyományosan Dél-Amerika meghatározó országa, és az előrejelzések szerint 2023-ra immár a 9. legnagyobb GDP-vel rendelkező nemzet.

2012/2013 óta Kína első számú vezetője Xi Jinping államelnök; ugyanakkor Brazíliában a vizsgált időszak több elnöki ciklust is felölel. Izgalmas elemzési lehetőséget jelent ezen két, párhuzamosan futó (politika)történeti szál egyidejű nyomon követése, ezek mentén feltárva és bemutatva a két ország külkapcsolatainak, külkereskedelmének és tőkeáramlásának főbb jellegzetességeit és számadatait.

Kérdéskörünk szempontjából kiemelt figyelmet érdemel továbbá Kína és Brazília együttműködése a BRICS keretei között. Bár a BRICS kezdeményezés már 2010 előtt elindult, valódi kibontakozása és nemzetközi szerepének megerősödése az elmúlt egy évtizedhez köthető.

Napjainkban a BRICS-hez tartozó cél-, kapcsolat- és intézményrendszer kulcsfontosságú eleme mind Kína, mind Brazília külpolitikai stratégiájának, különös tekintettel az ún. Globális Délhez kapcsolódó terveikre. Az előadás második felében ezen multilaterális fórum ad keretet Kína és Brazília külkapcsolati prioritásainak áttekintéséhez és elemzéséhez.

Kulcsszavak: Kína, Brazília, Külkapcsolatok, Külkereskedelem és FDI, BRICS

Onsite Session: Hungarian 1. –Geopolitics and Migration

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Prospects for Venezuela: Oil or Democracy?

Observing the situation of Venezuela that is struggling with a serious internal political, economic and humanitarian crisis, it was possible to speculate about the fall of socialism of the 21st century, however Chavismo still holds its position, finding new ways to survive. Neither the U.S., which calls for intervention and "maximum pressure", nor the terrible economic crisis burdening the country, nor the Covid pandemic could bring the regime in Caracas to its knees. The study deals with issues such as the Maduro regime's current foreign and domestic policy measures, geopolitical prospects in the midst of the Russian invasion and the United States' sanctions policy, as well as it takes into account the possibilities of the so-called new "pink tide" that has been unfolding again in the region. The course of the upcoming elections also greatly affects the legitimacy of the government and the future of the citizens - within and beyond the borders. The latter is important in relation to the massive migration crisis, as more than 7.7 million people, a quarter of the population, have already left the country. The number of migrants is a sad indicator of the conditions in Venezuela. The effects of negotiations with the Venezuelan opposition and the easing of Washington's sanctions on the oil and gas sector are already being felt and, according to optimistic scenarios, may bring about a change in the conditions and perception of Venezuela. However, as a matter of fact, the direction of change will be determined by the 2024 presidential election. Based on the events of the past few years, the study concludes that by taking advantage of the energy crisis, Venezuela can emerge stronger from the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, as its relationship with the U.S. is forced to move forward, and as a result of the left-wing turn in Latin America, the authoritarian government can gain strength again.

Keywords: *Venezuela, Latin America, Geopolitics, Energy crisis, Elections*

Abstract in Hungarian (Presentation Language):

Venezuela kilátásai; Olajat vagy demokráciát?

A súlyos belpolitikai, gazdasági és humanitárius válsággal küzdő Venezuela helyzetét figyelemmel kísérve a közelmúltban a 21. századi szocializmus bukásáról lehetett spekulálni, a chavismo azonban még mindig tartja pozícióját, újabb utakat találva a fennmaradásra. Sem az intervenciót és "maximális nyomásgyakorlást" szorgalmazó Egyesült Államok, sem az országot súlytó rettenetes gazdasági válság, de a Covid világjárvány sem tudta térdre kényszeríteni a caracasi rezsimet. A tanulmány olyan kérdésekkel foglalkozik, mint a rezsim aktuális kül-, és belpolitikai intézkedései, geopolitikai kilátásai az orosz invázió és az USA szankciós politikája közepette, valamint számba veszi a térségben újra kibontakozó úgynevezett új „rózsaszín dagály” (pink tide) lehetőségeit. A közelgő választások menetrendje is nagyban befolyásolja a kormány legitimitását és az állampolgárok jövőjét - határon belül és határon túl. Utóbbi az óriási mértékeket öltő migrációs válság vonatkozásában lényeges, ugyanis már több mint 7,7 millió ember, a lakosság egynegyede elhagyta az országot. A migránsok száma a venezuelai körülmények szomorú indikátora. A venezuelai ellenzékkel történt egyeztetések és a washingtoni olaj- és gázszektort érintő szankciók mérséklésének hatásai már érezhetőek, és optimista forgatókönyvek szerint változást hozhatnak Venezuela körülményeit és megítélését illetően. A változás irányát azonban a 2024-es elnökválasztás fogja igazán meghatározni. A tanulmány az elmúlt év eseményei alapján arra a következtetésre jut, hogy az energiaválságot kihasználva Venezuela megerősödve léphet ki az orosz-ukrán konfliktusból, ahogy az USA-val való viszonya kényszerülten előremozdul, valamint a latin-amerikai baloldali fordulat következtében az autoriter kormányzat újra erőre kaphat.

Kulcsszavak: *Venezuela, Latin-Amerika, Geopolitika, Energiaválság, Választások*



Onsite Session: English 3.

Migration and Security Challenges



Onsite Session: English 3. – Migration and Security Challenges

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Security Issues on the Suriname - French Guiana Border and Their Impact on the European Union

Cocaine production has been on the rise in recent years on the South American continent. Traffickers are no longer supplying the United States market exclusively, but are also shipping increasing quantities to Europe and Asia. Drug trafficking to the Old Continent has also increased the role of countries such as the Caribbean and other Atlantic coastal states in the supply chain. The border between the former Dutch colony of Suriname and French Guiana, which is still an integral part of France and therefore the European Union, is of particular interest. The Maroni River and its rainforest landscape make it one of the EU's most vulnerable external borders, where trafficking of various illicit goods, including drugs, is commonplace. To understand the growing scale of drug trafficking affecting Europe, it is essential to have an in-depth knowledge of one of its main entry points.

Keywords: *Suriname, French Guiana, Border, Smuggling, European Union*



Onsite Session: English 3. – Migration and Security Challenges

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Protection of Items of Cultural and Historical Value in South America: Current Problems

The international legal market of items of cultural and historical value is a traditional phenomenon. Its rules and mechanisms are well known for all the participants. Unfortunately, there is also a parallel phenomenon: the illicit market of treasures of all historic periods. In difficult times - during and after political and economic crisis - the illegal trade of treasures is almost a common form to satisfy even basic needs like food. Under such conditions transactions are performed by mostly individual parts, institutional vendors or buyers are not necessarily involved. Recently, besides the traditional places of cultural property, new countries of origin have also appeared from all continents. Their situation shows several similar patterns. The present study tries not only to highlight the evolution of the illicit trade of items of cultural heritage but also intends to examine the common challenges of protecting cultural property in South America.

Keywords: *Treasure, Legal trade, Illicit activities, Organized crime, Terrorism*



Onsite Session: English 3. – Migration and Security Challenges

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Still an 'Under-conflictual Anomaly'? - The South American Regional Security Complex in the 21st Century

In the beginning of the 21st century, the two prominent scholars of the Copenhagen School, Barry Buzan and Ole Waever referred to the South American regional security complex (RSC) as an 'under-conflictual anomaly' in their influential work called *Regions and Powers* (2003). South America has been free from inter-state conflicts since the second half of the 20th century and has remained so for the past two decades. However, it did not mean that security challenges, inter-state tensions or penetration by extra-regional powers, and securitization processes have disappeared in the region. The aim of the presentation is to provide an overview of the 21st century history of the South American RSC, applying the four-level analysis of the regional security complex theory (RSCT) developed by Buzan and Waever. As the lecture places special emphasis on the significance of political and power dynamics in South America, the analysis will divide the last more than two decades into three periods: the first pink tide (1998-2015), the temporary right-wing wave (2015-2019/20) and the currently ongoing new pink tide (2019/20-). By assessing the main security trends and challenges on this time spectrum, the presentation aims to get closer to answering whether South America is still an 'under-conflictual anomaly'.

Keywords: *South America, Regional security complex theory, Pink tide, Security regime, Transnational security challenges*



Hybrid Session: English 4.

Paraná and Danube Basins I.



Hybrid Session: English 4. – Paraná and Danube Basins I.

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Comparative (and Participative) Geopolitics: A Methodological Proposal Applied to a Dialogue between the Danube and the Paraná Basins

Classical Geopolitics has had, since its origins, some rigor problems. These have been sufficiently underlined and worked on, since the 1990s, by Critical Geopolitics. However, at an epistemological level, there is still work that could be done, both in terms of position and research focus and techniques. This proposal takes on the challenge and begins from an unlikely comparison between two big river basins: the Danube in Central Europe and the Paraná in South America. They are two far-away but strategic areas that, due to their common 'peripheral' condition, are not used to attracting the attention of geopolitical 'experts'. In this cross framework, the first assumption is that only from heterodox comparisons, that work from the dialectic and the 'otherness', is possible to find original solutions to common structural issues. This experimental methodology will be worked on through a dialogue between researchers from each basin. This should allow us to overcome the usual tendency of geopolitical analysis to 'objectify' its studies. To make it operational, we will work based on three common axes (governance, sustainability and security) that each researcher will study in its area. During the Conference the results will be shared, collated, discussed, and problematized, etc.

Keywords: *Comparison, Danube Basin, Europe, Geopolitics, Latin America, Methodology, Multipolarity, Paraná Basin*



Hybrid Session: English 4. – Paraná and Danube Basins I.

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Between Anvils and Hammers: The Danube Basin Security Environment in the 21st Century

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and in most cases of the communist dictatorships, the security environment of the Danube basin states has changed. Some of the states on the Eastern part of the basin ceased to exist, civil wars started, and an overall economic depression threatened the newly forming republics. Yet, with time, most of the nations in the region joined the EU and/or the NATO and could more or less build a stable democracy and achieve respectable economic growth. Therefore, after two decades, it seemed that the future of the region would be hopeful. However, global security environment underwent drastic deterioration after 2014, making the future precarious. It was not just – but of course considerably – because of the Russian aggression against Ukraine, which started in 2014 and is still going on, but also because of the so-called Arab Spring in 2011, and other crises related to the Global South. That is why the Danube basin became a busy migration route to the European Union. Additionally, a considerable part of the young generation of the regional population chose to move to the West because of higher salaries and chances of better life which further aggravate the problems.

Keywords: *Danube basin, Security environment, Russian aggression, Migration*



Hybrid Session: English 4. – Paraná and Danube Basins I.

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Paraná Basin Institutions: Strengths and Weaknesses

The Paraná River basin, one of the largest basins in South America, is home to more than 75 million people, being the most urbanized basin in South America, covering several of the most populated cities such as São Paulo, Buenos Aires, Curitiba, Campinas and Rosario. Its lower section in Argentine territory involves 154 municipalities belonging to the 12 provinces it runs through. Endowed with great biodiversity, its waters provide a source of daily income and sustenance for thousands of artisanal fishermen, facilitate river trade and hydroelectric generation.

The management of this extensive basin has required the coordination and multilateral cooperation of the States involved in its delimitation, which, in the case of Argentina, also implies attending to the particularities inherent to its status as a federal state, by virtue of which the Argentine Nation has concluded international treaties with the neighboring countries with which it shares the course of the Paraná River and its tributaries in which the provinces bathed by its waters must necessarily be represented.

All these factors, together with an analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of its institutions, present economic, social and environmental conflicts and future risks, will be the object of this research.

Keywords: *Basin, Paraná, Institutional, Strengths, Weaknesses*



Hybrid Session: English 4. – Paraná and Danube Basins I.

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The Status of the Danube Basin in a Changing Geopolitical Environment

The Danube basin can be considered one of the most international regions in the World, as it connects many European countries and forms a link between East and West. In the past three decades, the area it demarcated was about economic development and overcoming the burdensome legacy of the past; however, nowadays it is considered much more like a security gap area in the science of international relations. Although the guns fell silent after the South Slavic war, the tension in the Balkans never disappeared completely. The migratory pressure generated by the Arab Spring and subsequent conflicts have already affected the entire Danube Basin region, while the outbreak of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict in 2014 and its escalation into war in 2022 is now fundamentally questioning the stability of the continent as a whole. The aim of my research is to find out how these direct challenges affect Central Europe, including the Visegrád region and to what extent are the four states concerned – Czechia, Poland, Hungary and Slovakia – able to cooperate in overcoming common difficulties. I am also examining whether, despite the obvious different world views of the leading politicians, it is possible to talk about common minimums in the field of foreign and security policy with respect to the above-mentioned actors.

Keywords: *Danube basin, Migration, Cooperation, Nationalism, Political values, Russian-Ukrainian war, Visegrad Cooperation*



Hybrid Session: English 5. Paraná and Danube Basins II.



Hybrid Session: English 5. – Paraná and Danube Basins II.

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Threats to Security in the Paraguay – Brazilian Border along the Parana River

The paper's objective is to underline the centrality of the eastern border between Paraguay and Brazil in economic, political, social, and cultural terms. With that background as a starting point, we would present a literature review of articles and chapters on the threats to security in that region. We would be particularly interested in organized crime and its operations facilitating the smuggling of drugs, cigarettes, and other products, as well as human trafficking. Although it is difficult to pin down the exact amount of illicit merchandise moving from this area to Brazil, the local Federal Police seized 195 tons of drugs in 2023, 46% more than the previous year. In addition, other forces also made seizures, which could bring the annual total to 400 tons.

The paper would also underline the connections between organized crime and Paraguayan politics, bringing to the forefront the increasing amount of information on the participation of municipal, departmental, and national political representatives in actual criminal actions. The most salient feature of this phenomenon has been the designation of former president Horacio Cartes - suspected of covering money laundering operations -, as significantly corrupt by the US State Department.

Keywords: *Organized Crime, Illicit merchandize, Paraguay, Brazil*



Hybrid Session: English 5. – Paraná and Danube Basins II.

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Montenegro and the Danube: Possibilities of Expanding Montenegrin Geo-economic and Geopolitical Interest

The main priorities of Montenegro's foreign policy are usually aligned with the national interests and strategic priorities of the state. This policy aims to strengthen the security, stability, and prosperity of Montenegro, as well as to promote its interests on the international scene.

Since 2016, Montenegro has directed significant attention towards strengthening cooperation with countries in the Danube region in order to enhance economic, political, and cultural ties with that region. The Danube region represents a significant geopolitical and economic space for Montenegro, and the proximity to countries such as Serbia, Croatia, Hungary, and Romania has a crucial influence on the country's foreign policy.

Montenegro has participated in various regional initiatives and projects taking place in the Danube region, such as the European Union's Danube Strategy and the Southeast European Cooperation Process. Additionally, Montenegro is a signatory to the Convention on the Protection of the Danube River and its Tributaries, demonstrating its commitment to environmental protection and the preservation of the region's water resources.

In terms of economic cooperation, Montenegro is focused on strengthening trade relations and investments with Danube region countries. Exchanges in the fields of tourism, energy, transportation, and infrastructure are priorities in this area.

One of the key issues in Montenegro's foreign policy towards the Danube region is support for the European integration of the countries in the region. As a member of NATO since 2017 and a country aspiring to EU membership, Montenegro actively supports the European integration processes of Danube region countries.

Keywords: *Montenegro, Danube basin, Geopolitics, Interregional cooperation*



Hybrid Session: English 5. – Paraná and Danube Basins II.

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Water Resources and Sustainability in the La Plata Basin: Challenges for Transboundary Environmental Education and Training

The La Plata Basin area, with 3,100,000 km², five countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay) and 110 million inhabitants, has been facing successive water crises, often attributed to the lack of rain by the media and political speeches. It is known, however, that the lack of rain is not the only cause of a water crisis. Considering the importance of involving more voices in sustainable water management, this work aims to discuss the challenges of environmental education and training for water resources in the La Plata Basin, attending to international cooperation. The La Plata Basin countries established the Cuenca del Plata System in 1967, culminating in the La Plata Basin Treaty, managed by the Intergovernmental Coordinating Committee of the La Plata Basin Countries (CIC, in Spanish). This committee aims to promote multinational actions and the integrated development of the basin area. However, despite significant governmental status and highlighted references to education and training for water resources in CIC publications - among them the Cultivating Good Water Program -, the Framework Program for the Sustainable Management of Water Resources in the La Plata Basin and the Mercosur Programs and Action Plans, their effective implementation is limited and faces financial challenges.

Keywords: *Geopolitics of water, Transboundary waters, Sustainability, Water resources, Training*



Hybrid Session: English 5. – Paraná and Danube Basins II.

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Danube and Paraná: Is there a Potential for Initiating a Model of Interregional Cooperation?

In the initial hypothesis on the justification for starting a future multiple interregional dialogue and cooperation between the Danube and Paraná basin, the author is based on the theory of complex interdependence, which was considered by a group of distinguished experts of international relations as the most appropriate analytical framework. In reality, when the countries of a region reach a high degree of homogeneity in accordance with the principles of this theory, they also become potentially interesting partners for other similar regions of the world. In this way, a model of interregional dialogue is to be generated which is in line with the suggestions of the convenor and coordinator of this session. However, there are many elements that can promote this type of initiatives, and especially in this case having the same natural resource is strategically and geopolitically very important: the river and the basin that generate different development and cooperation possibilities in the broadest sense of the term.

It is also important to highlight that these cooperation models are new and very flexible in nature, which allows the rapid identification of areas of cooperation of common interest, representing an additional stimulus in the current international geopolitical and geoeconomic circumstances. In this context, the author will present the results of his research that will point to certain topics that could form part in the future of the aforementioned interregional dialogue at different levels and types of participants in them. Finally, all this will be complemented at the beginning of the presentation by a brief introduction in which the basic contextual characteristics of the Danube will be presented. This is consistent with the author's view that the exchange of knowledge about contextuality in both regions is a prerequisite for successful interaction in the dialogue.

Keywords: *Danube basin, Paraná basin, Geopolitics, Geoeconomics, Interregional cooperation*



Online Session: English 1.

Security Landscape



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The Impact of Major Nuclear and Radiological Incidents on Primary Intervention

One-tenth of the world's energy production is generated by nuclear power plants. A few European and South American governments have committed themselves to invest in modern nuclear power plants. The fire and accident protection of nuclear power plants poses significant challenges to the national system of disaster protection, the regional and local authorities and the organization carrying out the primary intervention and major-accident management at nuclear power plants. The most important requirement for nuclear energy is safety, which must be a priority in all circumstances. The events that can be classified according to the Ines scale in the past decades of nuclear power generation provide important experience not only in nuclear safety technology, but also in first response, firefighting and severe accident management procedures. In my presentation I will explain the major nuclear accidents at Chernobyl, Fukushima nuclear power plants, and the severe radiological incidents at Yanango and Goiânia which I intend to reinterpret in terms of modern radiological safety – first intervention and major-accident management procedures applied in Hungary.

Keywords: *Major nuclear incidents, Nuclear and radiological safety, First response, Firefighting, Severe accident management*



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Self-imposed Nuclear Apartheid or Effective Unarmed Deterrence? An Overview of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean

Objective/context: The article proposes an updated evaluation of the effectiveness of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean as an instrument for the prevention of nuclear threats to the continent. All 33 state parties have largely complied with the Treaty. However, the Nuclear-Weapon States (NWS), which undertook to respect it through the Additional Protocols, maintain interpretative declarations that cast doubt on the application of the Treaty in a war scenario. *Methodology:* This study determines its findings through the introduction of qualitative criteria of treaties' effectiveness and by contrasting specialized bibliography, archival documents such as resolutions of the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean (OPANAL), and other national and international primary sources. *Conclusions:* The Treaty's limited mandate, aimed above all at preventing intracontinental nuclear proliferation, altogether with the persistence of NWSs' nuclear deterrence doctrine, explain the Treaty's restrictive effectiveness for preventing the introduction of nuclear weapons by extra-continental means, for example, via bilateral military agreements with an NWS. *Originality:* Considering the current generalized deterioration of the disarmament and non-proliferation regime, this study offers a prospective diagnosis of the main limits to the optimal effectiveness of the first regional non-proliferation treaty applied to a populated area.

Keywords: Latin America, Caribbean, Non-proliferation treaties, Nuclear weapons, International security



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Terrorist Threat of South America in the New Millennium – Patterns and Tendencies from a Comparative Perspective

In our planned presentation we wish to introduce some results from our research activities regarding the terrorist threat in South America with an emphasis on the characteristics in the new millennium, including main patterns, temporal tendencies, as well as types of attacks and key players.

The investigation is based on a twofold approach: from a conceptual perspective the interpretative frame on the one hand rests on the concept and terms of security studies, complemented by – on the other hand – some of the mechanisms from the standpoint of regional security complex and asymmetric operations. As for the operational aspect of the investigation, a comparative social science approach is applied in order to contextualize the patterns of South America and explore both common features and specialities. Accordingly, the study applies the method of secondary data analysis based on the source of Global Terrorism Database. In the course of data analysis different statistical methods and network analysis are utilized.

The outcomes of the data analyses imply that some terrorist organizations operating in South America seem to emerge as significant players in global context as well as in the formation of the regional security complex, and their activities prove to be rather diverse.

Keywords: *Terrorist organizations, South America, Asymmetric threat, Empirical investigation, Comparative data analysis*



Online Session: English 1. – Security Landscape

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Russia's Strategic Interests: Focus on South America

The presentation will explore the multifaceted historical relationship between Russia and South America, tracing its evolution from the ideological confrontations of the Cold War to the current narrative of strategic partnerships and economic imperatives. In the post-Cold War era, Russia has actively reassessed its global role, and South America has become a key arena for diplomatic and economic renewal. The first unit of reflection reviews the seminal moments that shaped the geopolitical landscape, such as the Cuban Revolution. It examines Russia's conscious engagement with nations such as Brazil, Venezuela and Bolivia, exploring the nuanced interplay of economic cooperation and strategic engagement. Particular emphasis will be placed on complex relationships such as harmonious cooperation with Brazil and a symbiotic alliance with Venezuela that includes economic, military and diplomatic ties. It also underlines Russia's strategic interest in Bolivia's lithium resources, which unfolds in the broader context of the global clean energy transition. The success of these collaborations is examined in the context of internal strife, environmental concerns and the challenges posed by geopolitical complications. This presentation will provide insights into the adaptability and durability of modern geopolitical cooperation, highlighting the need for a strategic sense to navigate the complexities of international relations.

Keywords: *Russia, South America, Lithium war, Geopolitics, Russian-South American relations*



Online Session: Spanish 1. Cooperation and Conflict



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Conflict and Privatization of Violence

This article addresses the evolution that “mercenaryism” has experienced, from what we identify as “individual mercenaryism” to “collective mercenaryism”. Additionally, it exposes the main background that characterizes two private military organizations, Academi (formerly Blackwater) of the United States of America and the Wagner group, of the Russian Federation. It also explains what International Law establishes regarding the recruitment, usage, financing and training of mercenaries. Furthermore, it explains what happened in Chile regarding mercenaryism, with emphasis on the Report of the United Nations Working Group referring to the use of national mercenaries. Finally, some preliminary reflections are made regarding the urgent need to regulate private violence by the International Community.

Keywords: *Mercenaryism, Private armies, Privatization of violence*

Abstract in Spanish (Presentation Language):

Conflicto y privatización de la violencia

El presente artículo aborda la evolución que ha experimentado el “mercenario”, a partir de lo que identificamos como “mercenario individual” hasta el “mercenario colectivo”. Adicionalmente, expone los principales antecedentes que caracterizan a dos organizaciones militares privadas, Academi (ex Blackwater) de Estados Unidos de América y el grupo Wagner, de la Federación Rusa. Por otra parte, da a conocer lo que establece el Derecho Internacional respecto al reclutamiento, utilización, financiación y entrenamiento de mercenarios. También, presenta lo ocurrido en Chile respecto al mercenario, con énfasis en el Informe del Grupo de Trabajo de Naciones Unidas referido a la utilización de mercenarios nacionales. Finalmente, se efectúan algunas reflexiones preliminares relativas a la urgente necesidad de regular la violencia “privada” por parte de la Comunidad Internacional.

Palabras claves: *Mercenario, Ejércitos “privados”, Privatización de la violencia*



Online Session: Spanish 1. – Cooperation and Conflict

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Colombia's Trajectory as a Security Benchmark: Exporting Security Know-how as a State Strategy

My doctoral research centers on understanding Colombia's legitimization as a security expert and how this has allowed it to export its security expertise and practices. The export of security is based on a new emerging model that surged in the mid-2000s, based on a triangular international cooperation between Colombia, the United States and the requesting country. Between 2005 and 2018, this triangular cooperation trained 51,752 people. With a higher concentration (57%) in a group of countries with problems of violence and criminality linked to illicit drugs, such as Honduras, Guatemala, Ecuador and Mexico.

The export of Colombian security know-how has developed at both state and private levels. For this conference I will focus on the State level, since it has become a fundamental strategic component of Colombia's policy, influenced by its relationship with the United States. I will explain the state mechanisms for its operation, such as the portfolio of security services by the Ministry of Defense and the actions and commitments of the actors involved.

Through a critical approach supported by state-of-the-art data, this presentation will provide a comprehensive overview of the export of security know-how by the Colombian government.

Keywords: *Triangular cooperation, Export of security know-how, Colombia, United States*

Abstract in Spanish (Presentation Language):

Trazando la trayectoria de Colombia como referente en seguridad: La exportación de saber-hacer en materia de seguridad, una estrategia estatal

Mi investigación de doctorado se centra en comprender la legitimación de Colombia como experto en seguridad y cómo esto le ha permitido exportar sus conocimientos y prácticas en la materia. La exportación de seguridad está basada en un nuevo modelo emergente surgido a mediados del 2000, basado en una cooperación internacional triangular entre Colombia, Estados Unidos y el país demandante. Entre 2005 y 2018, esta cooperación triangular capacitó a 51.752 personas. Con mayor concentración (57%) en un grupo de países que tienen problemas de violencia y criminalidad ligada a las drogas ilícitas, como Honduras, Guatemala, Ecuador y México.

La exportación de saber-hacer en seguridad de Colombia se ha desarrollado tanto a nivel Estatal, como a nivel privado. Para esta conferencia me centraré en el Estatal, puesto que se ha convertido en un componente estratégico fundamental de la política de Colombia, influenciada por su relación con Estados Unidos. Adicionalmente, presentaré los mecanismos estatales para su funcionamiento, como el portafolio de servicios en seguridad por parte del Ministerio de Defensa y las acciones y compromisos de los actores involucrados.

Mediante un enfoque crítico respaldado por datos actualizados, presentaré una visión exhaustiva de la exportación del saber-hacer en seguridad por parte del Gobierno de Colombia.

Palabras claves: *Cooperación triangular, Exportación del saber-hacer en seguridad, Colombia, EE.UU.*

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Geopolitics of Security at Sea: The Oceanopolitical Approach of Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Ecuador

This proposal aims to analyze the geopolitics of maritime security at sea in the context of the 21st century, through a comparative study on Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Ecuador to establish similarities and differences in terms of ocean security. The concern of States, NGOs and IGOs in ocean matters due to climate change and the role they play in its mitigation is undeniable. All this has generated that States at the international level have built an important multilateral agenda in this area, Sustainable Development Goal 14 (UN, 2016), the Conference of the Parties (COP), the ocean summits and recently the United Nations agreement on the Law of the Sea on the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity in areas beyond national jurisdiction (BBNJ), which has yet to be ratified by the States. South America is a pioneer in the field of the Law of the Sea, so that approaching the issue from its perspective can be an enriching contribution to knowledge and academic debate.

Keywords: *Security, Geopolitics, Oceans, Oceanopolitics, South America*

Abstract in Spanish (Presentation Language):

Geopolítica de la seguridad en el mar: la aproximación oceanopolítica de Brasil, Chile, Colombia y Ecuador

La presente propuesta pretende analizar la geopolítica de la seguridad marítima en el contexto del siglo XXI, mediante un estudio comparado Brasil, Chile, Colombia y Ecuador, para establecer similitudes, diferencias y aportes, en materia de seguridad de los océanos. Es innegable la preocupación de los Estados, ONGs y OIGs, en materia oceánica a raíz del cambio climático y el rol que juegan en su mitigación. Lo anterior, ha generado que los Estados a nivel internacional hayan construido una importante agenda multilateral en este ámbito, el Objetivo Desarrollo Sostenible 14 (ONU, 2016), las Conferencia de las Partes (COP), las cumbres de los océanos y recientemente el acuerdo de Naciones Unidas sobre el Derecho del Mar sobre la conservación y el uso sostenible de la biodiversidad de las zonas situadas fuera de la jurisdicción nacional (BBNJ) que aún debe ser ratificado por los Estados. A su vez, los Estados en forma particular también han construido sus propias agendas y aproximaciones. América del Sur es un pionero en materia de derecho del mar, por lo que abordar la mirada desde su perspectiva puede ser un aporte importante al conocimiento y debate académico en esta materia.

Palabras claves: *Seguridad, Geopolítica, Océanos, Oceanopolítica, Sudamérica*



Online Session: Spanish 1. – Cooperation and Conflict

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Colombia's Experience with International Investment Arbitration: An Analytical Framework

This lecture returns to the past to analyze Colombia's experience with international arbitration in its disputes with foreign investors (previously protected by home states, but currently enabled to sue host states directly at ISDS fora). Three periods of roughly 30 years were chosen. (1) Imperialist rivalry in the last decades of the 19th and early years of the 20th century, with diplomatic protection (sometimes featuring naval interventions) to sustain a minimum standard of treatment for foreigners, and its countercurrent, the Calvo doctrine. (2) Interregnum between the 1960s and 1980s, with Calvo prevalent in Latin America, and reincarnated in a post-colonial emancipation drive at the United Nations, but defeated in the World Bank where the ICSID Convention was adopted despite a collective No vote by Latin American members. (3) Expansion of ISDS arbitration under international investment agreements from 1990 (with most Latin American states abandoning Calvo), followed by several countercurrents from the mid-2000s to present, including treaty clarifications, procedural reforms, recent withdrawals of North American and European states, and growing calls to abolish ISDS altogether. This periodization allows for comparing Colombia's international arbitration agreements and cases, as well as highlighting changes in relevant legislation and jurisprudence over time.

Keywords: *International investment arbitration, Sovereign consent, Minimum standard of treatment, Calvo doctrine, Investor-state dispute settlement*



Online Session: Spanish 2.

South America and the United States

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The U.S. Notion of Integrated Deterrence: Reality or Fantasy for Latin America?

During the XV Conference of Defense Ministers of the Americas, held in July 2022 in Brazil, 21 countries of the Western Hemisphere agreed to study the proposal made by the United States to implement the concept of "Integrated Deterrence" since it would provide a framework for maintaining peace and stability in the Western Hemisphere, giving priority to regional cooperation in all areas of defense and security in a broad spectrum.

In this context and taking into account the diversity of problems faced by the region, it is necessary to determine the scope of this new concept based on its objectives as well as the feasibility and effects of its application at the regional level and particularly in Chile.

Consequently, the paper will seek to highlight the positive and negative factors that, for hemispheric security and defense, with emphasis on Chile, would imply assuming the aforementioned proposal, since, in addition to addressing multidimensional security problems, it could have a clear sense of opposition to the interference in the area of certain extra-continental powers.

Keywords: *Integrated Deterrence, Security, Defense, Latin America, Cooperative Security*

Abstract in Spanish (Presentation Language):

La noción de Disuasión Integrada de Estados Unidos: ¿Realidad o fantasía para Latinoamérica?

Durante la XV Conferencia de Ministros de Defensa de las Américas, desarrollada en el mes de julio de 2022, en Brasil, 21 países del hemisferio occidental acordaron estudiar la propuesta hecha por Estados Unidos, en cuanto a implementar el concepto de "Disuasión integrada" toda vez que esta proporcionaría un marco para mantener la paz y la estabilidad en el Hemisferio Occidental, dando prioridad a la cooperación regional en todos los ámbitos de la defensa y de la seguridad en un amplio espectro.

En dicho contexto y atendiendo la diversidad de problemas que enfrenta la región, se hace necesario determinar los alcances de este nuevo concepto a partir de sus objetivos así como de la viabilidad y efectos de su aplicación a nivel regional y particularmente en Chile.

Consecuentemente, la ponencia buscará poner en relevancia los factores positivos y negativos que, para la seguridad y la defensa hemisférica, con énfasis en Chile, implicaría asumir la propuesta antes señalada, toda vez que ésta, además de atender problemas de seguridad multidimensional, tiene un claro sentido de oposición a la injerencia, en la zona, de ciertas potencias extracontinentales.

Palabras clave: *Disuasión integrada, Seguridad, defensa, Latinoamérica, Seguridad cooperativa*

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Foreign Policy, Defense and Security: Impacts of the U.S.-Colombia Relationship (1999- 2022)

Foreign assistance - for security and development - has been a mechanism of intervention to realize U.S. interests in the Western Hemisphere, from which we seek to analyze the link between the militarization of U.S. foreign policy and the process of capital accumulation in the 21st century. Using Critical Theory and in particular the center-periphery dimension, this paper exposes the mechanisms through which Plan Colombia was implemented to combat insurgencies and drug trafficking, and how it led to a process of modernization and reengineering of the so-called Military Instrument through technical and technological transfer. The development of the Military Instrument impacted the installation of a public-private industrial complex around the Defense and Security Sector in Colombia, articulated to the strategy of economic expansion of the U.S. government-private sector complex in the region. This lecture also examines the variations of the strategic environment, the setback of the transformation process of the Armed Forces after the Peace Agreement with the FARC-EP, as well as the challenges to achieve Total Peace.

Keywords: *Plan Colombia, Foreign assistance, Defense and Security Policy, Military industry, Peace Agreement*

Abstract in Spanish (Presentation Language):

Política exterior, Defensa y Seguridad: impactos de la relación entre Estados Unidos y Colombia (1999- 2022)

La asistencia extranjera – para la seguridad y el desarrollo – ha sido un mecanismo de intervención para realizar los intereses estadounidenses en el hemisferio occidental, a partir del cual se busca analizar el vínculo entre la militarización de la política exterior de Estados Unidos y el proceso de acumulación de capital en el siglo XXI.

Recurriendo a la Teoría Crítica y en particular a la dimensión centro-periferia, esta ponencia expone los mecanismos a través de los cuales se implementó el Plan Colombia para el combate de las insurgencias y el narcotráfico, cómo condujo un proceso de modernización y reingeniería del denominado Instrumento Militar mediante la transferencia técnica y tecnológica, cuyo desarrollo impactó en la instalación de un complejo industrial público-privado en torno al Sector Defensa y Seguridad en Colombia, articulado a la estrategia de expansión económica del complejo gobierno-sector privado estadounidense en la región. Así mismo, la ponencia presenta las variaciones del entorno estratégico, el revés del proceso de transformación de las Fuerzas Armadas post Acuerdo de Paz con las FARC-EP, y los desafíos para alcanzar la Paz Total.

Palabras clave: *Plan Colombia, Asistencia extranjera, Política de defensa y seguridad, Industria militar, Acuerdo de Paz*

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“Soft” Imperialism: US Assistance and Lawfare in Latin America

The height of US imperialism was at the beginning of the Cold War, when various expansion strategies were articulated, including development assistance (as part of psychological warfare) coordinated with hemispheric security strategies. We understand "soft imperialism" as a continuity of these strategies, which materializes in processes of destabilization such as lawfare. This war by judicial means against governments and sectors that question the neoliberal order, is especially concrete in the assistance destined for judicial apparatuses, projected also in strategic sectors through sanctions, or including covert operations in embassies, in continuity with psychological warfare. The article proposes to identify the institutions, dynamics and processes that account for the presence of US government agencies and its private sector in specific lawfare cases, focusing on assistance for judicial reform initiated in the 1980s. To this end, a content analysis of WikiLeaks texts, US government documents, secondary sources and press materials is carried out. It is concluded that assistance for judicial apparatus, as well as its projection in strategic sectors, functions as a factor of pressure, within States, to resume or reinforce the neoliberal path. This process also aims at a standardization of the judicial apparatus complementary with the standardization of the armed forces, according to the interests and needs of US national security, core of imperial expansion.

Keywords: *Lawfare, Latin America, Assistance for development, Judicial apparatus, Destabilization*

Abstract in Spanish (Presentation Language):

Imperialismo “soft”: asistencia de Estados Unidos y lawfare en América Latina

El momento más álgido del imperialismo estadounidense se registra al inicio de la Guerra Fría, cuando se articularon diversas estrategias de expansión, incluida la asistencia para el desarrollo (como parte de guerra psicológica), articulada con las estrategias de Seguridad Hemisférica. Entendemos el “imperialismo soft” como una continuidad de esas estrategias, que se materializan en procesos de desestabilización como el *lawfare*. Esta guerra por la vía judicial contra gobiernos y sectores que cuestionan el orden neoliberal, se concreta especialmente en la asistencia destinada para aparatos judiciales, proyectándose también en sectores estratégicos a través de sanciones, o incluyendo operativos encubiertos en embajadas, en continuidad con la guerra psicológica. El trabajo propone identificar las instituciones, dinámicas y procesos que dan cuenta de la presencia de agencias del gobierno de EE.UU. y su sector privado en casos concretos de *lawfare*, focalizando en la asistencia para la reforma judicial iniciada en la década de los '80. Para ello se realiza un análisis de contenido de diversas fuentes del gobierno de EE.UU., documentos de WikiLeaks, fuentes secundarias y material de prensa. Se concluye que la asistencia para aparatos judiciales, así como su proyección en sectores estratégicos, funciona como factor de presión, dentro de los Estados, para retomar o reforzar la vía neoliberal. Este proceso apunta también a una estandarización de los aparatos judiciales complementaria con la estandarización de las FFAA, según los intereses y necesidades de la seguridad nacional de EE.UU., núcleo de la expansión imperial.

Palabras clave: *Lawfare, América Latina y el Caribe, Asistencia para el desarrollo, Aparatos judiciales, Desestabilización*



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Current Asymmetric Conflicts in South America

Within the discipline of International Relations, South America is usually considered a peaceful subcontinent, with few inter-state wars and disputes that could lead to armed conflict. However, the region presents phenomena related to violence that affect South American states and society. South America is a region with a high level of organised crime, as well as political problems that certain groups seek to resolve through violence against the rule of law, either by attacking state institutions or private citizens.

This violence develops as a conflict in which these non-state actors use irregular means to confront states, in a context of asymmetric warfare, which states must confront through the rule of law and international law. Therefore, the paper aims to analyse the impact of asymmetric conflicts on regional security.

Keywords: *South America, Rule of Law, War, Asymmetrical Conflict*

Abstract in Spanish (Presentation Language):

Los conflictos asimétricos actuales en América del Sur

Dentro de la disciplina de las Relaciones Internacionales, generalmente se considera a América del Sur como un subcontinente pacífico, con pocas guerras interestatales, y pocos diferendos que puedan derivar en conflictos armados. Sin embargo, la región presenta fenómenos relacionados con la violencia que afectan a los Estados y a la sociedad sudamericana. América del Sur es una región con un alto índice de criminalidad organizada, además que presenta problemas políticos que ciertos grupos buscan resolver por medio de la violencia que ejercen contra el Estado de Derecho, ya sea a través del ataque a instituciones del Estado o a ciudadanos particulares. Esta violencia se desarrolla como un conflicto en el que estos actores no estatales se enfrentan por medios irregulares contra los Estados, en un contexto de guerra asimétrica, que estos deben confrontar por medio del Estado de Derecho y las leyes internacionales. En consecuencia, la ponencia tiene como propósito analizar el impacto de los conflictos asimétricos sobre la seguridad regional.

Palabras claves: *América del Sur, Estado de Derecho, Guerra, Conflicto asimétrico*



Online Session: Spanish 3. Security and the Armed Forces

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Knowledge and Appreciation of the National Defense, a Look at Disaffection with the Armed Forces in Chile

In Chile, the progressive increase in violence in the south-central zone and uncontrolled migration in the northern zone have led to the use of armed forces (FAs) as a tool to solve these and other problems associated with internal security. In parallel to this reality, a contradictory phenomenon can be observed: that of a certain disaffection towards the Armed Forces. In this context, a paradox can be observed: despite surveys that show a high level of citizen adherence to security and defense institutions, the questioning of a sector of the population about these institutions continues to generate tension over national defense decisions and, incidentally, putting at risk the different dimensions of security. This ultimately translates into decisions that affect their preparation, sustainment, and use of force. In the midst of the importance of institutions for social regulation, widespread distrust, evidenced by disinterest in political institutions, manifests itself as a complex phenomenon. In this regard, it is possible to observe a change in the roles and responsibilities attributed to the Armed Forces, inseparably linked to social transformations and progress marked by risks and diverse trends.

Keywords: *Defense, Disaffection, Armed Forces, Institutions, Society*

Abstract in Spanish (Presentation Language):

Conocimiento y valorización de la defensa nacional, una mirada sobre la desafección hacia las Fuerzas Armadas en Chile

En Chile el aumento progresivo de violencia en la zona centro sur y la migración descontrolada en la zona norte, han derivado en el empleo de fuerzas armadas (FAs) como herramienta para solucionar estas y otras problemáticas asociadas a la seguridad interior. En paralelo a esta realidad se observa un fenómeno contradictorio: el de cierta desafección hacia las FAs. En este contexto se observa una paradoja, a pesar de encuestas que muestran una alta adhesión ciudadana hacia las instituciones de seguridad y defensa, el cuestionamiento de un sector de la población sobre estas instituciones sigue generando tensión sobre decisiones de la defensa nacional y de paso, poniendo en riesgo las diferentes dimensiones de la seguridad, pública, ciudadana o estatal, que finalmente se traduce en decisiones que inciden en su preparación, sostenimiento y empleo de la fuerza. En medio de la importancia de las instituciones para la regulación social, la desconfianza generalizada, evidenciada por el desinterés en las instituciones políticas se manifiesta como un fenómeno complejo. Al respecto, es posible observar un cambio en los roles y responsabilidades atribuidos a las Fuerzas Armadas, inseparablemente ligados a las transformaciones sociales y progresos marcadas por riesgos y tendencias diversas.

Palabras clave: *Defensa, Desafección, Fuerzas armadas, Instituciones, Sociedad*



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Civil-Military Relations in Colombia during Gustavo Petro's Administration

After dispelling initial fears about the military obeying a president with an insurgent past, the government of President Gustavo Petro has implemented important security and defense changes in Colombia, beginning with the departure of more than 50 high-ranking officers from the military and police forces, many of them involved in human rights abuses. To this is added the implementation of the human security paradigm with the purpose of promoting its Total Peace policy and overcoming the national security doctrine that dates back to the Cold War and that has remained in force due to the persistence of the internal armed conflict.

The proposed paper explores, based on documentary sources and some interviews, the ruptures and continuities that show the relationship between the armed forces and civilian power in the current government in order to demonstrate to what extent the decisions from the national executive have counteracted or not, the militarization of security and politics stimulated during the governments of Álvaro Uribe and Iván Duque, strengthening the democratic civilian control in Colombia.

Keywords: Colombia, Military forces, Armed conflict, Human security, Democratic civilian control

Abstract in Spanish (Presentation Language):

Las relaciones civiles militares en Colombia durante el gobierno de Gustavo Petro

Tras disipar los temores iniciales sobre si los militares obedeciesen a un presidente con pasado insurgente, el gobierno del presidente Gustavo Petro ha implementado en Colombia importantes cambios en materia de seguridad y defensa comenzando con la salida de más de 50 altos oficiales de las fuerzas militares y de policía, muchos de ellos involucrados en abusos a los DDHH. A esto se suma la implementación del paradigma de la seguridad humana con el propósito de impulsar su política de Paz Total y superar la doctrina de la seguridad nacional que se remonta a la Guerra Fría y que se ha mantenido vigente por cuenta de la persistencia del conflicto armado interno.

La ponencia propuesta explora con base en fuente documental y algunas entrevistas, las rupturas y continuidades que muestran las relaciones entre fuerzas armadas y poder civil en el actual gobierno a efectos de evidenciar en qué medida, las decisiones desde el ejecutivo nacional han contrarrestado o no, la militarización de la seguridad y de la política estimulada durante los gobiernos de Álvaro Uribe e Iván Duque, fortaleciendo el control civil democrático en Colombia.

Palabras clave: Colombia, Fuerzas militares, Conflicto armado, Seguridad humana, Control civil democrático

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The Chilean-Argentine Peace Force: an Instrument for Regional Cooperation

The bilateral relationship between Chile and Argentina has been marked by different periods of tensions and border crises that, in 1978, were on the verge of unleashing a war between both countries. Within the framework of a broad process of rebuilding their bilateral relations, the both governments, in 2003, agreed to establish a combined and joint military force with the aim of increased cooperation and integration, overcoming the remnants of the crisis that still weighed on the bilateral relationship. This binational force, inspired by the example of the Franco-German Brigade, was made available to the United Nations to be deployed in peacekeeping missions, under the mandate of the Security Council. In the current political context, in which the defense (and/or security) mechanisms of the South American region do not work (or are not efficient), the combined and joint Chilean-Argentine military force constitutes a unique experience, which acquires special significance to enhance interregional cooperation.

***Keywords:** Peace, Chile, Argentina, Binational Peace Force, United Nations*

Abstract in Spanish (Presentation Language):

La Fuerza de Paz chileno-argentina: un instrumento para la cooperación regional

La relación bilateral entre Chile y Argentina ha estado marcada por diversos periodos de tensiones y crisis fronterizas que, en 1978, estuvo a punto de desencadenar un conflicto bélico entre ambos países. En el marco de un amplio proceso de recomposición de sus relaciones bilaterales, ambos gobiernos, en 2003, acordaron establecer una fuerza militar combinada y conjunta. Lo anterior, con el objeto de alcanzar niveles de cooperación e integración entre éstas, superando los resabios de la crisis que aun lastraba la relación bilateral. Esta fuerza binacional, inspirada en el ejemplo de la Brigada Franco-Alemana, fue puesta a disposición de las Naciones Unidas para ser desplegada en misiones de mantenimiento de la paz, bajo el mandato del Consejo de Seguridad. En el contexto político actual, en el cual los mecanismos de defensa (y/o seguridad) de la región de América del Sur no funcionan (o no resultan eficientes), la fuerza militar combinada y conjunta chileno-argentina, constituye una experiencia única en la región, la cual adquiere especial significancia para potenciar la cooperación interregional.

***Palabras clave:** Paz, Chile, Argentina, Fuerza de Paz Binacional, Naciones Unidas*

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Normalization of the Use of the Armed Forces in Matters Pertaining to the Multidimensional Security Approach in Post-Pandemic Chile

The research analyzes the case of Chile with respect to the increased use of the Armed Forces in matters pertaining to the multidimensional security approach after the 18 months of constitutional state of emergency under the COVID-19 pandemic, normalizing their deployment in the territory. Although the first Chilean Defense Book of 2002 was framed in a more traditional conception of defense, since 2010 the deployment of the Armed Forces in crises and disasters has been formalized. There has been a sustained increase in their use since the pandemic, not only in the face of catastrophes, but also in other areas more typical of internal and public security. Therefore, it is necessary to emphasize that the requirement arises from the democratic government, which through its discourse legitimizes the need to resort to the Armed Forces for tasks and functions that are originally subsidiary, but of high popular interest. This normalization of exceptionality may contribute to stress in the security and defense spheres and weaken the confidence and/or effectiveness of the democratic system, as it does not promote the strengthening of the State institutions that should be in charge.

Keywords: *Militarization, Pandemic, Security, Defense, Democracy*

Abstract in Spanish (Presentation Language):

Normalización del empleo de las fuerzas armadas en materias propias del enfoque de seguridad multidimensional en el Chile postpandemia

Analiza el caso de Chile respecto al aumento del empleo de las Fuerzas Armadas en materias propias del enfoque de seguridad multidimensional con posterioridad a los 18 meses de estado de excepción constitucional amparados en la pandemia del COVID-19, normalizando su despliegue en el territorio. Si bien el primer Libro de la Defensa de Chile del año 2002 se enmarcaba en una concepción más tradicional de la defensa, desde el año 2010 se ha formalizado el despliegue de las Fuerzas Armadas ante crisis y desastres, evidenciándose un aumento sostenido de su empleo desde la pandemia, ya no sólo frente a catástrofes, sino que, se ha ampliado a otros ámbitos más propios de la seguridad interior y pública. Por ello, resulta necesario destacar que el requerimiento surge desde el gobierno democrático, que mediante su discurso legitima la necesidad de recurrir a las Fuerzas Armadas para tareas y funciones que le son originalmente subsidiarias, pero de alto interés popular. Esta normalización de la excepcionalidad puede contribuir a tensionar los ámbitos de seguridad y defensa, pero también a debilitar la confianza y/o efectividad del sistema democrático, al no promover el fortalecimiento de las instituciones del Estado que deben hacerse cargo de ellas.

Palabras clave: *Militarización, Pandemia, Seguridad, Defensa, Democracia*



Online Session Spanish 4. Migration and Anthropology

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Legal Status, a Process where Ahistorical Categories are Discerned? An Analysis from Ethnic Theory and Anthropology

In this paper we will address the main questions that arose as a result of analyzing the requirements to obtain legal status in Argentina, a formalization that guarantees the recognition of indigenous communities by the government at the municipal, provincial and national levels, and which is important in order to be able to make requests and negotiate with state entities. This process will be used as a trigger in order to think about and question the analytical categories constructed by Argentine state institutions and placed upon indigenous populations. This will allow us to develop the theoretical debates in Social Anthropology and ethnic theory, especially those framed by the theoretical shift of the 1960s and 1970s. In this way, we will refer to the developed approaches on ethnic group, ethnic identity, ethnicity and genocide because they are key concepts for this research. Likewise, we will go into the ethnic emergence and ethno-political organization in urban spaces, which will allow us to analyze this problem at present and in relation to an indigenous community in the city of Carhué, province of Buenos Aires. Finally, we will detail the methodology of ethnographic work, which has been mainly influenced by the contributions of collaborative and extension theories.

Keywords: *Anthropology, Ethnic theory, Indigenous Peoples, Legal Status, Argentina*

Abstract in Spanish (Presentation Language):

La personería jurídica ¿un trámite donde se vislumbran categorías ahistóricas? Un análisis desde la teoría étnica y la antropología

En la presente ponencia abordaremos los principales interrogantes que surgieron a raíz de analizar los requisitos para la tramitación de la personería jurídica en Argentina, una formalización que avala el reconocimiento de las comunidades indígenas por parte del gobierno a nivel municipal, provincial y nacional, y que resulta importante para poder realizar pedidos y negociar con los entes estatales. Dicho trámite será utilizado como disparador para pensar y cuestionar las categorías analíticas construidas desde las instituciones estatales de Argentina sobre las poblaciones indígenas. Lo que nos permitirá desarrollar los debates teóricos en Antropología Social y la teoría étnica, sobre todo, los que se enmarcan en el giro teórico de las décadas de 1960 y 1970. Así nos referiremos a los enfoques elaborados sobre grupo étnico, identidad étnica, etnicidad y genocidio porque resultan conceptos claves para esta investigación. Asimismo, nos adentraremos en la emergencia étnica y la organización etnopolítica en espacios urbanos, que nos permitirá analizar dicha problemática en la actualidad y en relación a una comunidad indígena en la ciudad de Carhué, provincia de Buenos Aires. Finalmente, se detallará la metodología del trabajo etnográfico que ha tenido como principal influencia los aportes de las teorías colaborativas y de extensión.

Palabras clave: *Antropología, Teoría étnica, Pueblos Indígenas, Personería Jurídica, Argentina*

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The Andean Community: An Examination of the Impact of Integration Processes and their Impact on Migration

The profound impact that Venezuelan migrations have exerted across multiple dimensions and channels within the Andean region's countries includes noteworthy effects on economic, legal, political, and cultural facets, leading to the evolution of distinct public policies on migration that vary significantly from one country to another. The Venezuelan crisis stands out as the most severe migratory catastrophe in Latin America's history, driven by severe economic and humanitarian challenges.

The scale of this crisis has led to migration outflows comparable to the largest migration crises witnessed globally in the last fifty years. The Andean Community has consolidated itself in recent decades as an organization that has strengthened its local and regional integration processes in the economic and political spheres. However, the financial crises that these countries have gone through have led to a solid international migration trend in the last decade, which is manifested in a significant presence of migratory flows where cases of forced migration have stood out. Although there is emerging regional political coordination and several attempts by the Andean community to reach a unified decision, there are differences in the strategies adopted by each country, which are related to their historical trajectory in migration management and the political scenario. So far, the evidence points to a disintegration process which needs to be studied and analysed.

Keywords: *Regional security, Regional integration, Migration flow, Public policy, Push and pull, Reversed migration*

Abstract in Spanish (Presentation Language):

La Comunidad Andina: un examen del impacto de los procesos de integración y su repercusión en la migración

El profundo impacto que las migraciones venezolanas han ejercido en múltiples dimensiones y canales dentro de los países de la región andina incluye efectos notables en áreas económicas, legales, políticas y culturales, lo que lleva a la evolución de distintas políticas públicas sobre migración que varían significativamente de un país a otro. La crisis venezolana se destaca como la catástrofe migratoria más grave en la historia de América Latina, impulsada por graves desafíos económicos y humanitarios.

La magnitud de esta crisis ha provocado salidas migratorias comparables a las mayores crisis migratorias presenciadas a nivel mundial en los últimos cincuenta años. La Comunidad Andina se ha consolidado en las últimas décadas como una organización que ha fortalecido sus procesos de integración local y regional en el ámbito económico y político. Sin embargo, las crisis financieras que han atravesado estos países han propiciado una sólida tendencia migratoria internacional en la última década, que se manifiesta en una presencia significativa de flujos migratorios donde se han destacado casos de migración forzada. Si bien está surgiendo una coordinación política regional y varios intentos de la Comunidad Andina por llegar a una decisión unificada, existen diferencias en las estrategias adoptadas por cada país, las cuales están relacionadas con su trayectoria histórica en la gestión migratoria y el escenario político. Hasta ahora, la evidencia apunta a un proceso de desintegración que es necesario estudiar y analizar.

Palabras clave: *Seguridad regional, Integración regional, Política pública, Push and pull, Migración de retorno*

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Biometric Technologies, Security and Immigration Control in South America

For decades, migration has become one of the main challenges for receiving and sending countries, a situation that will undoubtedly continue in the rest of the 21st century, to the extent that migratory flows will continue to be one of the political, socioeconomic and humanitarian issues of great relevance on the agendas of countries. It is with irregular migration and its remarkable growth since the 1990s that the concepts and discourses were generated and nourished, from which policies to control borders were articulated.

In parallel with the significant transformation that has taken place in legislation and policy in the last two decades, we have seen that terms such as management, governance, governability, effectiveness, efficiency, maximization of costs and benefits, among others, started to form part of the language with which academics, politicians and intergovernmental organizations express themselves in relation to migrations and migrants.

One of the most crucial dilemmas of governments has been to move towards more effective States in this matter, and thereby promote more effective actions and policies. These, however, generate the concern of many social and political actors about the vulnerability of the human rights of the migrants, given the increase in security and border control mechanisms. In this sense, the objective of the presentation is to show the development of biometric technologies and their effects on the control, security and protection of migrants' data, as well as their impact on the issue of human rights.

Keywords: *Migration, Security, Immigration control, Borders, Data protection*

Abstract in Spanish (Presentation Language):

Tecnologías biométricas, seguridad y control migratorio en Sudamérica

Desde hace décadas la migración se ha convertido en uno de los principales retos para los países receptores y expulsores de población, situación que sin duda continuará en el resto del siglo XXI, en la medida que los flujos migratorios seguirán siendo uno de los temas políticos, socio-económicos y humanitarios de mayor relevancia en las agendas de todos los países. Es con la migración irregular y su notable crecimiento desde los años noventa, que se generaron y nutrieron los conceptos y discursos, desde los cuales se articularon políticas para controlar las fronteras.

En la medida que se dio una transformación significativa en materia de legislación y política en las dos últimas décadas hemos visto que términos como gestión, gobernanza, gobernabilidad, eficacia, eficiencia, maximización de costos y beneficios, entre otros, articulan parte del lenguaje con el que académicos, políticos y organizaciones intergubernamentales se expresan en relación con las migraciones y migrantes.

Uno de los dilemas más importantes de los gobiernos ha sido avanzar hacia Estados más eficaces en este asunto, y con ello promover acciones y políticas más efectivas, lo cual genera la preocupación de muchos actores sociales y políticos por la vulnerabilidad de los derechos humanos de los migrantes, ante el aumento de los mecanismos de seguridad y control fronterizo. En este sentido, el objetivo de la ponencia es mostrar el desarrollo de las tecnologías biométricas y sus efectos en el control, la seguridad y la protección de datos de migrantes, así como sus efectos en el tema de derechos humanos.

Palabras clave: *Migración, Seguridad, Control migratorio, Fronteras, Protección de datos*



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An Epistemological Journey through Anthropology

In this paper we seek to reflect on our ethical and methodological practices as social scientists. Emphasis will be placed on the analytical and methodological approaches that will allow us to guide the analysis and problematize on indigenous participation with its variables, edges and respective implications in the social, material and symbolic reproduction of indigenous peoples. At the same time, to identify the different actors involved in the spaces and instrumentalization of indigenous participation in the form of a repertoire of practices as well as the historical, normative and structural links whose participation requires to be recognized and/or "legitimized" by the State in order to claim and/or negotiate. The purpose of this paper is to make an epistemological review of anthropology through three cleavages: "Being the daughter of colonialism", "The return to democracy" and the "debate between formalists and substantivists" of the 1960s. These antecedents will allow us to understand the epistemic detachments that led to the current form of "processual and systematic" anthropological work.

Keywords: *Reflexivity, Extensive practice, Classical anthropology, Systematics, Coloniality*

Abstract in Spanish (Presentation Language):

Un recorrido epistemológico por la Antropología. Clausura y apertura, de las cenizas coloniales a una teoría contemporánea "sistemática"

En el presente trabajo buscamos reflexionar sobre nuestras prácticas éticas y metodológicas como cientistas sociales. Se hará hincapié en los enfoques analíticos y metodológicos que nos van a permitir guiar el análisis y problematizar a lo largo del recorrido doctoral sobre la participación indígena con sus variables, aristas y respectivas implicancias en la reproducción social, material y simbólica de los pueblos indígenas. A su vez, identificar los diversos actores involucrados en los espacios e instrumentalización de la participación indígena bajo la forma de un repertorio de prácticas como también las vinculaciones históricas, normativas y estructurales cuya participación requiere ser reconocido y/o "legitimado" por el Estado para reclamar y/o negociar. El propósito de dicha ponencia consiste en realizar un recorrido epistemológico de la antropología mediante tres clivajes "Ser hija del colonialismo", "El retorno a la democracia" y el "debate entre los formalistas y los sustantivistas" de la década del '60. Estos antecedentes nos van a permitir comprender los desprendimientos epistémicos que conllevaron a la forma actual del quehacer antropológico "procesual y sistemático".

Palabras clave: *Reflexividad, Práctica extensiva, Antropología clásica, Sistemática, Colonialidad*



Online Session: Spanish 5. Politics, Economy and Security Challenges

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Latin America and the League of Nations: Monroe Doctrine and Inter-American Conflicts in Chaco and Leticia (1932-1935)

The presentation will contrast two important instances related to the participation of Latin American countries as members of the League of Nations. Firstly, the support given by the Latin American subregion to the new international organization at the time of its creation and founding (1919-1920), a fact that to an important extent helped to legitimize its existence. This numerous —although incomplete— collaboration with the central and emblematic organization of the interwar period may have surprised those who considered that Latin American countries did not want to get involved in issues related to Europe, much less a postwar one; and even more to those who interpreted disadvantageously the mention and recognition of the Monroe doctrine by the Covenant of the League of Nations. The second moment that should be reflected on occurs a decade later and corresponds to a disturbing inter-American conflict determined by the parallel development of the Chaco and Leticia conflicts (1932-1935). The eventual discussion and action of the League of Nations before them would dispel the prevailing doubts about its interference in American affairs and the idea of consented self-marginalization on the part of these member countries.

Keywords: *League of Nations, Chaco Conflict, Leticia Conflict, Monroe Doctrine*

Abstract in Spanish (Presentation Language):

América Latina y la Sociedad de Naciones: doctrina Monroe y conflictividad interamericana en el Chaco y Leticia (1932-1935)

La ponencia contrastará dos momentos importantes relacionados con la participación de los países latinoamericanos como miembros de la Sociedad de Naciones. En primer lugar, el respaldo otorgado por la subregión latinoamericana a la nueva organización internacional en el momento de su creación y fundación (1919-1920), hecho que en importante medida ayudó a legitimar su existencia. Esta numerosa —aunque incompleta— colaboración con la organización central y emblemática del periodo de entreguerras pudo sorprender a quienes estimaron que los países latinoamericanos no deseaban involucrarse en cuestiones relacionadas con Europa, mucho menos una posguerra; y aún más a quienes interpretaron desventajosamente la mención y reconocimiento por el Pacto de la Sociedad de Naciones de la doctrina Monroe. El segundo momento sobre el que cabría reflexionar se presenta una década más tarde y corresponde a una inquietante conflictividad interamericana determinada por el desarrollo paralelo de los conflictos del Chaco y Leticia (1932-1935). La eventual discusión y actuación de la Sociedad de Naciones ante los mismos despejaría las dudas prevalecientes sobre su injerencia en asuntos americanos y la idea de una auto marginación consentida de parte de estos países miembros.

Palabras clave: *Sociedad de Naciones, Conflicto del Chaco, Conflicto de Leticia, Doctrina Monroe*



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Frontier Conflicts in South America: Approaches of Mediation

Recently there have been news in the world press on rising conflict over the frontier territories between Venezuela and Guyana. This was not the first case of such tensions between neighbouring countries, and this time political messages seemed quite serious with the aim of supporting the claims with political instruments such as a controlled plebiscite. However, after those aggressive exchanges, we no longer have any news on how this frontier conflict has evolved. Nevertheless, from an academic point of view, it is necessary to examine the situation when aggressiveness is leashed on one's own neighbour. Furthermore, it is necessary to study what political forms the aggressor can use and to what level these instruments should not exceed their own limitations. And, finally, it is crucial to describe the ways of reaching a basis for combined negotiations in order to avoid a military development. Such an analysis will provide us with the know-how how to react in similar cases and what combined measures should be taken by the victim of the aggression, as well as shed light on what positions diplomatic deliberations can take to resolve the conflict.

Keywords: *Border conflicts, Venezuela, Guiana, Diplomacy*

Abstract in Spanish (Presentation Language):

Conflictos fronterizos en Sudamérica: Modos de mediación

Recientemente en la prensa mundial salieron noticias del conflicto por los territorios fronterizos entre Venezuela y Guyana. No fue el primer caso de tal actitud entre países vecinos, y esta vez los mensajes políticos parecían bastante serios con la finalidad de apoyar las pretensiones con instrumentos políticos como un plebiscito controlado. Desde este intercambio de agresividad, no tenemos noticias cómo se desarrolló la crisis fronteriza. Pero desde el punto de vista académico es necesario buscar la base de una situación cuando se abre agresividad al propio vecino. Además, es necesario estudiar qué forma política puede utilizar el agresor y hasta qué nivel estos instrumentos no deberían sobrepasar sus limitaciones. Y, por fin, relatar los modos de llegar a un fondo de negociaciones combinadas para evitar un desenvolvimiento militar. Tal análisis nos proporcionará cómo reaccionar en casos similares y qué medidas combinadas deberían tomarse no solamente por parte de la víctima de tal agresión, sino también dar luz a qué posturas deberían tomar las deliberaciones diplomáticas para resolver el caso.

Palabras clave: *Conflictos fronterizos, Venezuela, Guyana, Diplomacia*

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Subnational Economic Policy: The Coherence of National Fiscal Economic Policy and the Fiscal-Economic Performance of the District of Barranquilla, 2016 -2022

The 2008 global financial crisis had repercussions in Colombia, generating a recession in 2009. In response, the government implemented an expansionary fiscal policy in 2010, reducing unemployment but increasing inflation. However, in 2015, the policy shifted towards fiscal contraction, which decreased the deficit, reflected in a decrease in GDP and a slight decrease in unemployment, but with an increase in inflation. Barranquilla experienced a different economic behavior in the same period, with GDP growth, but with an increase in unemployment and inflation. From a theoretical point of view, it is supported by Keynesian theory, highlighting the crucial role of the state in income redistribution and the stimulation of aggregate demand to maintain economic stability and the progress of society, making clear the legacy of John Maynard Keynes in counter-cyclical policies. The research is relevant due to the lack of studies on local fiscal policy in Colombia. In this sense, the research describes and analyzes the behavior of fiscal policy through a qualitative approach and is expected to guide national authorities in the economic reactivation of the regions of the country.

Keywords: *Unemployment, Economic growth and development, Expansionary and contractionary fiscal policy, Economic reactivation*

Abstract in Spanish (Presentation Language):

Política económica subnacional: la coherencia de la política económica fiscal nacional y el desempeño fiscal-económico del distrito de barranquilla, 2016-2022

La crisis financiera global de 2008 tuvo repercusiones en Colombia, generando una recesión en 2009. En respuesta, el gobierno implementó una política fiscal expansiva en 2010, reduciendo el desempleo, pero aumentando la inflación. Sin embargo, en 2015, la política cambió hacia la contracción fiscal, lo que disminuyó el déficit, reflejándose en un decrecimiento del PIB y una leve disminución del desempleo, pero con un aumento de la inflación. Barranquilla experimentó un comportamiento económico diferente en el mismo período, con crecimiento del PIB, pero con un aumento del desempleo e inflación. Desde el punto de vista teórico la ponencia se apoya en la teoría Keynesiana, destacando el papel crucial del estado en la redistribución de ingresos y el estímulo de la demanda agregada para mantener la estabilidad económica y el progreso de la sociedad, dejando claro el legado de John Maynard Keynes en las políticas contra-cíclicas. La investigación es relevante debido a la falta de estudios sobre política fiscal local en Colombia. En tal sentido, la investigación describe y analiza el comportamiento de la política fiscal a través del enfoque cualitativo y se espera que oriente a las autoridades nacionales a la reactivación económica de las regiones del país.

Palabras Clave: *Desempleo, Crecimiento y desarrollo económico, Política fiscal expansiva y contractiva, Reactivación económica*



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Integration, Governance and Exploitation Model in the Lithium Triangle

This project proposes interdisciplinary research to analyze the national and international conditions that affect the exploitation, exportation and industrialization processes of lithium production in Argentina, Bolivia and Chile, called the Lithium Triangle. This raw material is central in a world that seeks to mitigate the consequences of decades of fuel-based energy generation. The presentation will provide an insight into the scope of trade in the largest lithium deposits in the world, found in the brines of the desert salt flats between the Republic of Chile, the Argentine Republic and the Plurinational State of Bolivia. This territory has approximately 68% of the known world reserves. The general objective of the presentation is to contribute to the understanding and systematized analysis of the domestic and external conditions that impact on lithium production in the three above-mentioned South American countries, and the possibilities of regional integration around this industry.

Keywords: *Lithium Triangle, South America*

Abstract in Spanish (Presentation Language):

Integración, Gobernanza y Modelo de Explotación en el Triángulo del Litio

Este proyecto propone una investigación interdisciplinaria para analizar las condiciones nacionales e internacionales que afectan los procesos de explotación, exportación e industrialización de la producción de litio en Argentina, Bolivia y Chile, o Triángulo del litio. Esta materia prima es central en un mundo que busca mitigar las consecuencias de décadas de generación de energía por combustibles. La ponencia permitirá adentrarse en los alcances del comercio de los mayores yacimientos de litio del mundo que se encuentran en las salmueras de los salares del desierto entre la República de Chile, la República Argentina y el Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia. Este territorio posee aproximadamente el 68% de las reservas mundiales conocidas. El objetivo general de la ponencia es contribuir a la comprensión y análisis sistematizado de las condiciones nacionales y externas que impactan en la producción de litio en los tres países sudamericanos, y en las posibilidades de integración regional en torno a esta industria.

Palabras clave: *Triángulo del Litio, Sudamérica*

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Political War and Ideological Conflict in South America

It is stated that Political War is as old as war itself. The evidence of this is in the book “On Political Warfare”, written by Paul A. Smith Jr., who, based on the conceptualization of the nature of Political Warfare, makes a historical journey from ancient times to the present day. Broadly speaking, political warfare includes actions that combine acts of violence, disinformation, cyber and intelligence operations, economic pressure, subversion, diplomacy, propaganda and psychological warfare, which governments or other international actors can use to shift the balance of power to their favour, without directly confronting them through the use of military means.

In South America, since 1990 to the present day, an ideological conflict has developed in which left-wing political parties and extreme insurrectional movements related to those political organizations, under the umbrella of the Sao Paulo Forum, participate. The strategies used obey ideas linked to Political War, which demonstrates the validity of a form of war that allows achieving objectives with minimal use of lethal force.

Keywords: *Political War, Power, Conflict, Ideology, Insurrection*

Abstract in Spanish (Presentation Language):

Guerra Política y Conflicto Ideológico en América del Sur

Se afirma que la Guerra Política es tan antigua como la guerra misma. La evidencia de ello está en el libro “Sobre la Guerra Política”, escrito por Paul A. Smith Jr., quién a partir de la conceptualización de la naturaleza de la Guerra Política, hace un recorrido histórico desde la antigüedad hasta nuestros días. En términos generales, la guerra política incluye acciones que combinan actos de violencia, desinformación, operaciones cibernéticas y de inteligencia, presión económica, subversión, diplomacia, propaganda y guerra psicológica, que gobiernos u otros actores internacionales pueden utilizar para cambiar el equilibrio de poder a su favor, sin enfrentarse directamente mediante el uso de medios militares.

En América del Sur, desde 1990 a nuestros días se ha desarrollado un conflicto ideológico en el que partidos políticos de izquierda y movimientos insurreccionales extremos afines a dichas organizaciones políticas, bajo el paraguas del Foro de Sao Paulo, participan. Las estrategias utilizadas obedecen a ideas vinculadas a la Guerra Política, lo que demuestra la vigencia de una forma de guerra que permite alcanzar objetivos con mínimo uso de la fuerza letal.

Palabras clave: *Guerra Política, Poder, Conflicto, Ideología, Insurrección*



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