

ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACTS OF NARCOTERRORISM ON BRAZIL'S NATIONAL DEFENSE AND PUBLIC SECURITY IN THE CURRENT GEOPOLITICAL CONTEXT

 <https://doi.org/10.63330/aurumpub.064-004>

Amadeu Robalinho Dantas da Gama Neto¹ and Tiago Luedy Silva²

Abstract

Narcoterrorism, a phenomenon that combines drug-trafficking practices with tactics of extreme violence and territorial control typical of terrorism, constitutes one of the principal hybrid threats to Brazil's sovereignty and security in the contemporary geopolitical context. Political and economic instability in South American countries, particularly in border regions, facilitates the activities of armed groups that cooperate or coordinate with Brazilian criminal organizations, thereby increasing vulnerabilities along transnational trafficking routes. Globalization and the use of emerging technologies—drones, encryption, and artificial intelligence—strengthen these illicit networks and challenge the state's response capacity. The impacts on National Defense include increased pressure on the Armed Forces to conduct border surveillance and control, requiring complex and legally sensitive operations, such as Law and Order Guarantee operations (Garantia da Lei e da Ordem—GLO). In Public Security, criminal organizations expand their capacity for institutional corruption, urban violence, and social control, overburdening the criminal justice system. An integrated analysis reveals that the hybrid nature of narcoterrorism renders fragmented responses ineffective: the boundary between National Defense and Public Security is becoming increasingly blurred. The study concludes that effective countermeasures require an Integrated National Strategy combining technology, intelligence sharing, international cooperation, financial

¹ He is an advisor to ADESG-PE. He holds a degree in Public Security Management from the University of Southern Santa Catarina (UNISUL-SC) and a postgraduate specialization in Policy, Strategy, Defense, and Security from the Venturo Institute, in partnership with ADESG Nacional

E-mail: engenheiroamadeurobalinho@gmail.com

² He is a professor of International Relations at the Federal University of Amapá. He holds a bachelor's degree in International Relations from the Bahia University Center, a postgraduate specialization in International Relations from the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA), a postgraduate specialization in Policy, Strategy, Defense, and Security from the Venturo Institute, in partnership with ADESG Nacional, and a master's degree in Regional Development, with a dissertation in the field of National Defense

E-mail: tiago.luedy@unifap.br

disruption, and preventive social policies. Only a multidimensional, sustained, and cooperative approach can mitigate the threat and protect Brazilian territory and citizens.

Keywords: Narcoterrorism, National Defense, Public Security.

INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, narcoterrorism has emerged as one of the most complex and challenging forms of hybrid threat in the contemporary international landscape. By combining practices typical of terrorism—such as indiscriminate violence, social intimidation, and territorial control—with the economic apparatus of drug trafficking, these organizations develop operational capabilities that enable them to act both within and beyond state borders, exploiting structural, political, and technological vulnerabilities. In Brazil, this problem assumes even more critical dimensions given the transformations in the global geopolitical context, marked by the increasing interconnectedness of transnational illicit networks, internal conflicts in neighboring countries, and the rapid dissemination of dual-use technologies that enhance the lethality and reach of criminal organizations.

The initial decomposition of the subject demonstrates that the international environment directly influences the dynamics of narcoterrorism in Brazil. Political and institutional instability in parts of South America—particularly in the border regions of Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, and Bolivia—creates gray zones in which insurgent groups, militias, and transnational criminal networks coordinate their activities and compete for strategic trafficking routes. This regional context is compounded by broader global trends, such as the expansion of illicit economies, the decentralization of drug supply chains, and the increasing use of advanced technologies, including encrypted communications, drones, and artificial intelligence tools, which enhance the efficiency and evasion capabilities of narcoterrorist groups.

In this context, understanding the concept of narcoterrorism is essential to distinguish this threat from traditional forms of criminality. Narcoterrorism is characterized by the combination of economic profit and the systematic instrumentalization of extreme violence for the purposes of social control,

territorial dominance, and institutional erosion. Whereas conventional drug trafficking tends to avoid direct confrontation with the state, narcoterrorism does not hesitate to openly challenge public authority, operate as a local power in vulnerable communities, and establish parallel structures of criminal governance.

The impacts of this phenomenon extend beyond the strictly law-enforcement sphere and affect essential dimensions of National Defense. The permeability of Brazil's borders, combined with the presence of foreign armed groups and domestic factions linked through cross-border networks, requires a more active stance in territorial surveillance and protection not only from the state police forces—both those of Rio de Janeiro and those of other states, particularly states located along the border—but especially from the Armed Forces. Recurrent instances of weapons, drugs, and mercenaries infiltrating the country demonstrate that narcoterrorism poses a direct threat to sovereignty, requiring integrated action among defense, intelligence, and public security institutions, as well as an ongoing debate regarding the legal and operational limits of employing military forces in Guarantee of Law and Order operations (GLO operations).

Within the sphere of Public Security, the effects are equally profound. Brazilian criminal organizations have transformed urban centers and peripheral regions into sites of high-intensity territorial conflict, adopting tactics inspired by international insurgent groups, such as the use of heavy weapons, coordinated attacks, and assaults against state institutions. These dynamics place pressure on the criminal justice system, hinder local governance, facilitate the corruption of public officials, and undermine public confidence in the state's ability to guarantee security.

Against this multifaceted backdrop, the central question of this study emerges: how can Brazilian strategic leaders effectively prevent, mitigate, and counter the hybrid threats represented by narcoterrorism, while protecting national sovereignty and the security of citizens in a complex and interconnected international environment? To answer this question, the study adopts the Analytical Method, structured into stages of decomposition—comprising Topics 1, 2, and 3, which address the

global geopolitical context, the concept of narcoterrorism, and its impacts on National Defense and Public Security, respectively—deduction (the topic entitled “Deduction and Integration of Ideas”), and synthesis (the final section of the text, entitled “Conclusions”). This structure enables the development of an in-depth understanding of the threat and the formulation of robust strategic recommendations. The analysis that follows seeks not only to map the impacts of narcoterrorism on National Defense and Public Security, but also to provide a basis for state action in response to a constantly evolving phenomenon.

GLOBAL GEOPOLITICAL CONTEXT

The contemporary geopolitical environment is characterized by the convergence of regional instability, shifts in power configurations, and growing interdependence among states and non-state actors. Although historically removed from major global conflicts, South America has become increasingly integrated into international security dynamics associated with transnational organized crime, the expansion of armed groups, and the growing hybridization of threats (Kilcullen, 2020; Kaldor, 2012).

The political environment in countries neighboring Brazil has direct effects on national security. The Venezuelan crisis—marked by weakened institutions, economic collapse, and the proliferation of irregular armed groups—has transformed the country's territory into a hub for the circulation of weapons and drugs and for forced migration, encouraging the activities of criminal networks along Brazil's northern border. Recent reports indicate that strategic areas in Venezuela are controlled by “syndicates,” militias, and guerrilla dissident groups, creating a mosaic of parallel governance (Bunker, 2015). In Colombia, even after the 2016 Peace Agreement, the reorganization of illicit economies and the lack of a consistent state presence allowed FARC dissident groups to reconstitute themselves, the ELN to expand, and “private armies” connected to drug trafficking to emerge (Borda; Holmes, 2020). This context reinforces the cross-border nature of the risk, as armed groups migrate to less-controlled areas, bringing with them trafficking routes, arsenals, and illicit capital.

Peter Andreas (2013) argues that volatility in South American border regions creates “gray spaces” in which the state operates intermittently or symbolically, thereby creating openings for illicit actors to establish hybrid regimes of authority. It is precisely within this “fringe of limited sovereignty” that Brazilian factions—such as the *Primeiro Comando da Capital*—PCC [First Capital Command] and *Comando Vermelho*—CV [Red Command] —have found opportunities to expand their logistical networks and tactical alliances.

The process of economic globalization, which has increased connectivity among societies, has also facilitated the internationalization of crime. In his analysis of “global illicit trade,” Moisés Naím (2006) emphasizes that criminal organizations are now global actors as sophisticated as transnational corporations. Such groups adapt rapidly, exploiting regulatory loopholes and disparities in oversight to sustain highly profitable illicit markets. They are structured as decentralized networks supported by technological capabilities that include the use of artificial intelligence—for encrypted communication and logistical planning—drones—for ground reconnaissance and surveillance—and even cryptocurrencies—for money laundering. These tools make the organizations more resilient and adaptable, enabling them to operate at a pace incompatible with the response capacity of many Latin American states.

David Kilcullen (2020) describes this new environment as a “zone of diffuse conflict,” in which threats move rapidly between the physical and digital domains. For Brazil, this means that border security is not confined to terrestrial territory, but also involves monitoring information flows, financial transfers, and digital networks linking domestic groups to international cartels. Against this backdrop, Brazil is situated within a regional environment characterized by institutional weakness in neighboring countries, the expansion of transnational armed groups, illicit routes crossing the Amazon, the Pantanal, and the Southern Cone, the technological evolution of criminal organizations, and greater international pressure for cooperation and strategic surveillance. As a result, drug trafficking ceases to be a strictly criminal activity and becomes part of a hybrid-threat ecosystem with significant impacts on National Defense and

Public Security. Understanding the geopolitical context is essential to assessing Brazil's vulnerabilities and anticipating integrated response strategies.

THE CONCEPT OF NARCOTERRORISM

The term “narcoterrorism” is relatively recent in the vocabulary of International Relations and Security Studies. It emerged in the early 1980s to describe the activities of Colombian criminal organizations that employed terrorism as a means of political pressure and social intimidation. The initial conceptualization has been attributed to then-Peruvian President Fernando Belaúnde Terry, who used the term in 1983 when referring to violent actions by the Shining Path against counternarcotics institutions (Betancourt, 2010). The concept subsequently evolved and expanded to encompass complex phenomena combining organized crime, insurgency, and irregular-warfare strategies.

Authors such as Phil Williams (2012) and John P. Sullivan (2016) maintain that narcoterrorism should be understood as a hybrid phenomenon situated at the intersection of transnational organized crime, terrorism, and insurgency. It involves not merely the financing of terrorist groups through drug trafficking, but also the structural integration of illicit activities, territorial control, political violence, and struggles for power. It is this combination that distinguishes narcoterrorism from traditional forms of either drug trafficking or terrorism considered separately.

One of the defining features of narcoterrorism is the ability to occupy and control territory, replacing or competing with state institutions. David Kilcullen (2020) notes that these groups establish “insurgent microgovernments,” imposing rules, regulating local economies, dispensing informal justice, and exploiting natural resources. This phenomenon occurs frequently along Amazonian borders, where FARC dissident groups, ELN cells, and Brazilian factions operate as genuine parallel authorities in areas with a limited state presence. In Brazil, this dynamic can be observed both in border regions and in peripheral urban areas, where factions such as the PCC and Comando Vermelho establish informal

systems of justice, security, and taxation (MISSE, 2020). Although not all such practices constitute narcoterrorism, they create environments conducive to its consolidation.

Narcoterrorism directly challenges the ability of states to exercise control over their territory and population. As Moisés Naím (2006) argues, the erosion of traditional borders, combined with the economic power of illicit networks, enables these groups to influence political processes, corrupt institutions, and finance conflicts. Furthermore, authors such as Paul Rexton Kan (2016) observe that narcoterrorist groups do not seek profit alone: they use their economic power to sustain private military structures, acquire sophisticated weapons, integrate advanced technologies, and form alliances with insurgent groups and foreign cartels—thereby creating internationalized threat ecosystems.

In South America, this logic manifests itself through coordination among guerrilla dissident groups, Mexican cartels, and Brazilian factions, forming networks that simultaneously challenge state sovereignty, border integrity, law-enforcement capacity, and regional stability. The growing proximity between Brazilian factions and foreign armed groups demonstrates the relevance of the concept to the national context. In border regions, factions provide logistical services to foreign guerrilla groups, while in urban centers they adopt increasingly violent and coercive tactics. Moreover, the activities of groups such as the PCC, the CV, and the Northern Family (Família do Norte) across the territories of Peru, Bolivia, Colombia, and Paraguay demonstrate that the phenomenon extends beyond the domestic sphere and requires integrated defense and security responses, reinforcing the need for a rigorous conceptual understanding of narcoterrorism.

IMPACTS ON NATIONAL DEFENSE AND PUBLIC SECURITY

As a hybrid phenomenon combining transnational crime, insurgent violence, and territorial control, narcoterrorism has direct and growing effects on both Brazilian National Defense and Public Security. In a geopolitical environment characterized by regional instability, border permeability, and the reconfiguration of threats, Brazil faces the strategic challenge of protecting its sovereignty and ensuring

territorial security in a context in which the boundaries between National Defense and Public Security are becoming increasingly indistinct (Mathias; Zaverucha, 2014).

The growing complexity of threats has led the Brazilian Armed Forces to perform functions traditionally associated with public security, particularly in so-called Guarantee of Law and Order operations (GLO operations). Although legally authorized and intended to be temporary, these operations have generated debate regarding the militarization of domestic security and the suitability of military training for operations in dense and asymmetrical urban environments (Zaverucha, 2010; Almeida, 2019).

Narcoterrorism places pressure on the deployment of the Armed Forces in three principal areas: a) border patrol and surveillance (military operations along the borders, such as Operation Ágata, and the use of the Integrated Border Monitoring System—SISFRON—have sought to expand detection and response capabilities; however, budgetary and logistical limitations restrict their strategic reach); b) operations in complex urban environments (the infiltration of heavy weapons and paramilitary tactics into major cities—particularly Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and cities in Brazil's Northern Region—confronts the Armed Forces with challenges typical of irregular warfare, such as combat in densely populated areas, the presence of civilians, and mediation between police forces and vulnerable populations); and c) international cooperation to contain the hybrid threat (in view of the transnationalization of narcoterrorist organizations, Brazil's defense establishment has expanded cooperation with neighboring countries, but political differences, institutional asymmetries, and variations in operational capacity among regional states hinder this process).

Narcoterrorism also has profound effects on Brazilian Public Security, reshaping patterns of violence, institutional structures, and the dynamics of territorial control in urban areas. Its expansion—driven by the integration of domestic factions, foreign cartels, and armed groups of insurgent origin—creates an environment in which organized crime ceases to be merely a law-enforcement issue and assumes the characteristics of a systemic threat capable of eroding institutions, subjugating populations, and directly challenging the state (Sullivan; Elkins, 2019; Shelley, 2018).

In Brazil's major urban centers, the growing circulation of military-grade weapons and high-caliber ammunition associated with transnational drug-trafficking networks has intensified confrontations among rival factions and between these factions and the security forces. Narcoterrorist logic introduces paramilitary tactics, ambushes, the use of grenades—including drone-dropped grenades, as recently observed during the large-scale operation in the Complexo da Penha in Rio de Janeiro—improvised explosive devices, and road blockades: practices previously confined to insurgent conflicts in Latin America (Bunker, 2015).

Narcoterrorism consolidates the expansion of criminal organizations beyond drug markets to include the provision of basic services and a form of “social regulation,” such as charging protection fees against violence perpetrated by other factions—or by the same faction imposing the fee. As Enrique Desmond Arias (2017) argues, factions operate as “parallel territorial administrators,” and the criminal governance they impose may involve measures such as enforcing curfews, regulating commercial activities, collecting protection “fees,” providing illegal services—clandestine internet access, gas, and informal transportation—and even managing community disputes. The consolidation of this parallel authority weakens the state's institutional presence, reduces public confidence in the police, and hinders security operations.

Among the countless challenges, several may be identified for both the Armed Forces and the police forces. The Armed Forces' efforts to confront narcoterrorism are hindered by logistical limitations—particularly along the porous borders of the Amazon—operational limitations—they are trained for conventional warfare, notwithstanding the doctrine developed since the conflict in Araguaia, whereas narcoterrorism operates through asymmetrical irregular warfare, characterized by a diffuse presence, clandestine methods, and close integration with local populations, thereby requiring specific doctrine and preparation—and legal limitations—particularly questions regarding the limits of military action within national territory and the use of lethal force. The obstacles confronting the security forces, which bear primary responsibility for the daily response, include, in the case of state police forces, limited

training for combat against paramilitary groups, insufficient equipment to respond to military-grade weapons, and difficulties operating in territories controlled by criminal organizations—not to mention the lack of integration with federal intelligence. For Brazil's Federal Police (Polícia Federal), which plays a strategic role in combating transnational crime, the principal difficulties lie in the expansion of clandestine air routes and sophisticated money-laundering networks.

Louise Shelley (2018) argues that, when confronting decentralized and technologically advanced organizations, police forces must adopt investigative methods based on intelligence, international cooperation, and the analysis of large volumes of data—practices that remain underdeveloped in several Brazilian states. The transnational and multifaceted nature of narcoterrorism also requires an interagency approach that includes the Brazilian Intelligence Agency (ABIN) for intelligence activities, the Ministry of Defense to coordinate military operations, the Federal Police to dismantle internationally connected criminal organizations, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Itamaraty) to conduct strategic negotiations with neighboring countries on regional cooperation. What is observed, however, despite the limited but valuable initiatives undertaken in various places, is a pattern of coordination failures and institutional fragmentation that hinders the development of a systemic and integrated response.

DEDUCTION AND INTEGRATION OF IDEAS

An analysis of the geopolitical context and the concept of narcoterrorism supports the conclusion that, although many vectors of the threat originate externally—including dissident armed groups, transnational cartels, and logistical systems extending across neighboring countries—their most significant effects manifest themselves within Brazil. This cause-and-effect relationship between the external environment and the domestic sphere operates through specific channels: trafficking routes, the movement of combatants and weapons, and illicit economic ecosystems rooted in territories where the state has a limited presence.

Border porosity thus emerges as the principal structural vulnerability. Extensive borders that are difficult to patrol function as risk multipliers: by facilitating the entry and transit of illicit goods and actors, they transform external shocks into domestic crises. Accordingly, any effective preventive strategy must prioritize reducing this porosity through integrated surveillance, an expanded state presence, and bilateral and multilateral cooperation with neighboring countries.

An examination of the impacts on National Defense and Public Security demonstrates that narcoterrorism is inherently hybrid, combining attributes typical of irregular warfare—territorial control and the use of systematic violence—with those of organized crime—market-oriented logic and money laundering. This hybridization blurs institutional boundaries: defense responsibilities, such as territorial control and deterrence, continually overlap with public-security responsibilities, such as investigation, community policing, and preventive social policies.

Consequently, sector-specific or isolated action by separate agencies proves inadequate. Fragmented responses—such as the Armed Forces operating without coordination with police intelligence, or police forces operating without appropriate logistical and legal support—create gaps that narcoterrorist actors can exploit. They are also subject to severe criticism from the media and from political and governmental sectors, although such criticism is often unfounded when ideological motivations are set aside and factual circumstances are considered. The central deduction is that an interagency framework is required to combine defense, intelligence, criminal-investigation, and social-policy capabilities under clear rules for coordination and appropriate legal safeguards.

By integrating the preceding deductions, it may be concluded that narcoterrorism in Brazil constitutes a multidimensional challenge: geopolitical, because of its transnational origins and networks; territorial, because it exploits borders and areas with a limited state presence; institutional, because it captures and erodes state capabilities; technological, because it uses artificial intelligence and drones; and social, because it reproduces itself in vulnerable communities and prison environments.

Effective responses must therefore be multifaceted and coordinated across three simultaneous dimensions:

1. Preventive-strategic (external → internal): strengthening the state presence along borders, establishing international cooperation programs, and implementing intelligent technological surveillance (SISFRON + intelligence sharing).
2. Operational-interagency: establishing permanent coordination mechanisms among Brazil's defense establishment, the Federal Police, state police forces, ABIN, and judicial authorities, supported by joint doctrines and limited GLO protocols.
3. Structural-socioeconomic: implementing regional development policies, reducing inequalities, promoting social reintegration, and undertaking prison reforms to address the conditions that enable criminal organizations to penetrate communities and acquire legitimacy.

This threefold approach demonstrates that merely repressive measures—rapid and localized—are insufficient to dismantle narcoterrorist ecosystems, although they remain important, since without military operations along the borders and police operations in territories controlled by organized crime, the state would already have definitively lost the struggle against criminal organizations. It is therefore imperative to combine coercive capabilities with measures that reduce the social and economic resilience of illicit networks.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis demonstrates that narcoterrorism constitutes a hybrid, transnational, and multidimensional threat whose center of gravity shifts among the spheres of National Defense, Public Security, Intelligence, and Social Development. The initial decomposition highlighted the interaction between external factors—regional instability, the activities of foreign armed groups, and cross-border routes—and their domestic impacts on territorial governance and urban violence. The subsequent deduction demonstrated that the border is the principal conduit through which the threat penetrates the

country and that a rigid separation between National Defense and Public Security limits the effectiveness of state responses. Integrating these conclusions makes it possible to affirm that narcoterrorism can be confronted only through an Integrated and Flexible National Strategy aimed at overcoming both the structural vulnerabilities and the institutional fractures of the Brazilian state.

This strategy must coordinate repressive, preventive, technological, and social dimensions, recognizing that merely eliminating criminal leaders, although operationally relevant, is insufficient to disrupt highly adaptive and resilient networks. Effective countermeasures require a systemic and sustained model capable of simultaneously targeting financing, criminal territorial governance, transnational flows, and the socioeconomic conditions that facilitate the recruitment and reproduction of criminal organizations.

Brazil's response to narcoterrorism must reconcile strategic vision, interinstitutional coordination, and long-term public policies. The analysis conducted here shows that the threat can be confronted effectively only through an integrated strategy coordinating National Defense, Public Security, Intelligence, and Social Development while leveraging state capabilities at multiple levels. Narcoterrorism is not merely a security problem; it is a structural phenomenon sustained by transnational networks, territorial vulnerabilities, and domestic inequalities. Thus, only a systemic, sustained, and adaptive approach will be capable of protecting Brazilian sovereignty and ensuring effective security for citizens in an increasingly complex and interconnected international environment.

REFERENCES

- ANDREAS, Peter. *Smuggler Nation: How Illicit Trade Made America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- ARQUILLA, John; RONFELDT, David. *Networks and Netwars: The Future of Terror, Crime, and Militancy*. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2001.

ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACTS OF NARCOTERRORISM ON BRAZIL'S NATIONAL DEFENSE AND
PUBLIC SECURITY IN THE CURRENT GEOPOLITICAL CONTEXT

- BAILEY, John. *The Politics of Crime in Mexico: Democratic Governance in a Security Trap*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2014.
- BARTOLOMÉ, Mariano C. *Ameaças Transnacionais: Um Estudo Estratégico* [Transnational Threats: A Strategic Study]. São Paulo: Unesp, 2016.
- DELLA PORTA, Donatella; DIANI, Mario. *Social Movements: An Introduction*. 2. ed. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.
- FELBAB-BROWN, Vanda. *Shooting Up: Counterinsurgency and the War on Drugs*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2010.
- FELBAB-BROWN, Vanda. *Narco Noir: Mexico's Cartels, Cops, and Corruption*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2021.
- GILLESPIE, Richard. *Negotiating Democracy and Human Rights: The EU, the US and Their Global Promotion*. London: Routledge, 2011.
- HOFFMAN, Bruce. *Inside Terrorism*. 3. ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 2017.
- KILCULLEN, David. *The Dragons and the Snakes: How the Rest Learned to Fight the West*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- KILCULLEN, David. *Out of the Mountains: The Coming Age of the Urban Guerrilla*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- KOLOSSOV, Vladimir; O'LOUGHLIN, John. Violence and borders: Borderlands as zones of conflict, contestation and cooperation. *International Political Sociology*, v. 5, n. 1, p. 1–17, 2011.
- NAÍM, Moisés. *Ilícito: O Ataque da Pirataria, da Lavagem de Dinheiro e do Tráfico à Economia Global* [Illicit: The Attack of Piracy, Money Laundering, and Trafficking on the Global Economy]. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 2006.
- NEWMAN, David. On borders and power: A theoretical framework. *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, v. 18, n. 1, p. 13–25, 2003.

SHELLEY, Louise. *Dark Commerce: How a New Illicit Economy Is Threatening Our Future*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018.

WILLIAMS, Phil. Illicit Trade and the Global Economy. In: CORNISH, Paul (ed.). *The Globalization of Crime*. London: Chatham House, 2012. p. 15–34.

ZACHARY, Daniel. *Hybrid Threats and U.S. National Security*. New York: Routledge, 2019.