


INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM AS AN INSTRUMENT OF POLITICAL STRUGGLE AND OF INJURY TO INTEGRATIONAL LAW

 <https://doi.org/10.56238/arev6n3-053>

Date of submission: 07/10/2024

Date of publication: 07/11/2024

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ABSTRACT

Debate international terrorism, that occurs since old ages, when it was committed against the monarch, has been classified in modern age as a political crime that is committed against the State. However, even if it had occurred since ancient times, only after the international repercussion of the attacks on September 11th, 2001, the issue gained practice importance in the International Agenda. Such evolution took many researches to describe the economic aspect, which tends to be directly affected, especially considering the State intervention is usually taken to avoid economic chaos and to make the State able to reach its function of Social Welfare keeper. This has a great clamor on populist governments, that want to demonstrate force and competence against Terrorism. Such a practice instils in people's minds the association of terrorism with specific ethnic and religious groups, indirectly building a nationalist mentality that tends to be exploited by populists deeply. This creates a bad view over resistant movements from the Third World Countries, as TWAIL. Thus, a stronger State tends to be formed, and the consequences of this are dangerous and unknown.

Keywords: International Terrorism. Political Struggle. International Law. Legal Integrity Violations.

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INTRODUCTION

Terrorist practices have not begun so recently. Souza (2008) points out, during the Roman Empire, that there was a change of attitude regarding the stability of different beliefs and cultures. According to her, since the emergence of monotheistic religions, there was a denial in accepting religious plurality, what led to the emergence of persecution and the Empire's decline due to the increasement in the number of conflicts.

Political offense was brought in the French Revolution and persists until today as the main cause of Terrorism, involving crimes against State security and aggression against internal and external national security. Only after the creation of the political crime concept and once it was separated from common crimes, according to Ferreira (1982, p. 18), the victim of such crime changed from the monarchy to the Modern State.

This highlights the need to emphasize the character of terrorism stemming from the political struggle, in which some actors fail to gain control or approve their views on the domestic scene and thus end up using terrorist practices in order to achieve certain status and space within the political environment.

But this is not the only way terrorist cells operate. After long years of European colonialism in several countries of the globe and the new facet of national domination expressed by Imperialism, some resistance groups resolved no longer to accept the scenario of domination and to attempt of cultural control over their beliefs and ways of life, acting clandestinely and violently, putting at risk other actors who are not involved in this conflict.

Thus, the present work focus on the research question: has Terrorism been increased because it is seen as a form of political struggle? If so, it is also necessary to supplement the question from the analysis of why the main element of global social appeasement, International Law, has not reached its objective, and whether there is still a possibility of reversing this situation. It, which proved itself to be free of external influences and to be a promoter of material equality among nations, in fact did not accomplish what was set out to do.

Indeed, it is necessary to emphasize that the main aim of this paper is to describe how terrorism reached the status of political struggle. In order to facilitate understanding, TWAIL - Third World Approaches in International Law - was chosen, a movement born at Harvard University in which several theorists contest institutes of International Law and International Organizations in promoting a plural and democratic global society. For them,

Eurocentrism was adapted to this new scenario and an effective rupture of the secondary character of the Third World countries has not yet been achieved.

Unfortunately, International Law and the organization of global society have not yet been shown to be able to prevent phenomena such as Terrorism, highlighting the urgency and relevance of the topic. The universal peace model, which at times justifies the use of force, does not represent the conflicting character of society, reducing the voice of some social groups, and indirectly collaborating to the search for alternative solutions by them.

Thus, the article has been divided into sections that touch on the main points of the discussion. The first of them is the relation of terrorism to political struggle. In continuity, the influence of the Eurocentric paradigm on International Law is highlighted, removing the idea of exemption and neutrality of it.

After the complete understanding that international law is still vain with various colonialist and imperialist elements, it is urgent to make clear the perspective of resistance groups - how they face international law in pursuit of its objectives, and which are the possible improvements.

In the final stretch of the paper, the TWAIL movement is presented - its birth and main theoretical elements. Its importance in the understanding of terrorism is crucial because it seeks to highlight the importance of peripheral countries in the international arena, meeting the objectives of some terrorist organizations, despite the use of completely antagonistic means.

Finally, the connections between terrorism and globalization are presented in order to explain that it will be hard to have a different result in relation to terrorism if there is no break with what has been experienced until now, leading to the adoption of State Interventionism legalized by Law.

TERRORISM IN A STRUGGLE PERSPECTIVE

Guimarães (2007) understands that the main objective of Terrorism is to create Terror due to determined motivations, that may be politico-social, or cultural-religious. It is possible to reach a political objective, but it is not determinant to characterize a terrorist act, because its aspiration is to cause Terror, threat and fear in the community.

The growing number of terrorist attacks, as those which occurred on 11 September, 2001, in the United States; and the massacre of journalists of the Charles Hebdo Magazine in France on 7 January, 2015, led to a different approach to the subject, taking into account

important issues on International Politics, and that sets nations in contrast with very different realities.

It must be noted that Terrorism can be executed for a variety of reasons and that it can be practiced by one individual or a group of people. It can also be encouraged by a State that uses this practice as an instrument to impose its political and economic interests (State Terrorism), with disrespect to the political, diplomatic and economic regulations established and consolidated as results of States relations and discussions in the level of Multi-national Organizations.

Souza (2008) argues that State Terrorism consists in the disrespect of individual or collective rights by the State based on institutional arguments of maintaining its governmental regime using systematically Terror as a pattern, creating an environment of instability to benefit from it. The author also points out that the protective legitimacy against terrorist acts or undeclared wars does not exempt countries from carrying out the practice of State Terrorism, because threatening their population with dignity and caution it's a compulsory action.

When an attack occurs at a specific location, the Media and the Academy often discuss the political effects that such event will promote. They try to figure out whether the States involved will impose sanctions against one or another; how this will impact the diplomatic relations among countries allied with this kind of practice; and, in more extreme situations, if this will lead to an State intervention in order to dismiss a government regime to support a new political model.

However, in general, there is not made an economic analysis in order to ascertain until which level the diplomatic commercial relations of those States have been affected, either directly, with the closure of commercial relations; either indirectly, after trade weakening promoted by a group or group of countries linked to the parts involved on Terrorism.

In addition, Terrorism has been fought as the worst crime that can happen in a cosmopolitan environment. Often, historical traits, disruptions of State sovereignty and genocides are ignored as the possible sources of it, even if, in many cases, it is associated with new means of political struggle that rises due to the lack of force to dismissing regimes or systems using democratic precepts or inclusive participation.

In a microeconomic scenario, the project outlines how terrorist attacks affect people's lives. Gremaud and Fernandes (2003) consider that they cause a growth of contestation

and repulsion to what is considered as cultural enemies. At the same time, a macroeconomics analysis involves State economic policies chosen after Terrorist events in favor of economic expansion or contraction in order to reestablish the status quo.

According to Gremaud and Fernandes (2003), once the State enemy is found, fundamentalist practices tend to grow linked to nationalism, especially when terrorist attacks cause invasions in the country, that can be migratory flows or military inspection. In that direction, moderate and West-related groups tend to lose space in politics and the country starts to act in opposition to globalization, closing themselves and strengthening internally, which already causes a change in the macroeconomic scenario.

The current possibility of defensive war acceptance by the United Nations only legitimizes the invasion, but does not decharacterize the act from the State that is taking this measure. Once it is approved and carried out by an International Organization, the enemy faced by terrorists will be depersonalized. This promotes confusion and dispersion of attention that leads an easier combat against them.

Indeed, political offense, as it is described before, reached the modern world and the 21st century. Quijano (2000) explains that, when modernity started to rise, the creation of races played a form of domination, and the dichotomy East and West had the same racist pattern between white and black people that segregates the society.

Because Europeans did not succeed on imposing Eurocentrism to the East, Quijano (2000) states that the solution found by them was to use the production of knowledge as a form of marginalization, with non-European scientific theories and experimental constructions considered as non-science. This marginalization was also perceived in other areas, such as religious, political, economic and environmental.

This was the difference brought by Quijano (2000) between the European model of domination and other forms of social organization that existed before, such as the Egyptian and the Mesopotamian ones. The first one imposed its own concepts of domination to the rest of the world and did so through the Coloniality of Power, the Capitalism system and the Eurocentric Paradigm; while the others did not have domination as an objective, using to respect the relationship of men with the universe.

Quijano (2000) also adds the paradoxical feature of the practice of European marginalization, once the most developed region during the Roman Empire was the Muslim-Jewish, birthplace of various modern practices, such as salary wages.

The constant polarization between Eastern and Western led to conflicts and insubordination that, after the development of more sophisticated forms of control and the use of force, led individuals and groups to use more violent and burdensome devices, even against civilian targets, what outlined the practice of Terrorism in modernity and postmodernity eras.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE EUROCENTRIC PARADIGM ON INTERNATIONAL LAW

Eslava, Fakhri and Nesiah (2017) point out that, among historical events, the Westphalian Treaties, known as the Westphalian Peace, were the hallmark of separation between modern State and the Catholic Church, giving birth to the Modern International Legal Order marked by the coexistence of multiple territories defined by autonomous units.

Although conferring the right to self-determination, Eslava, Fakhri and Nesiah (2017) also point negative aspects of this historical moment, mainly the fact that this separation came from rational and modern perspectives. According to the authors, International Law and the Modern State are in a mutual support that not ensure material equality among different people.

In this context, Quijano (2000) elucidates the ambiguous and contradictory character of modernity, considering that, at the same time that it preaches the reduction of hierarchies and the equality among people, it gives to the market the role to regulate the limits of social equality and of the modernization process.

In this sense, Anghie (2005) affirms that International Law is a colonial product, and that the international juridical structure does not know how to incorporate different perspectives, problem that produces exclusion. Only at the Bandung Conference, in 1955, the oppressive character of the concepts of Nation-State and of International Law became evident according to Eslava, Fakhri and Nesiah (2017). At that time, became evident that political and legal structures related to social differences and to racism were not apart from these concepts.

Eslava, Fakhri, and Nesiah (2017) mark the Bandung Conference as the meeting of those who have been rejected by the Western World – it started an anti-hegemonic movement claiming national sovereignty and cultural resurgence of these excluded nations.

In addition, after the Bandung Conference, Eslava, Fakhri and Nesiah (2017) point out that some positions emerged in opposition to the interests of the Security Council in official Assemblies of the United Nations. Alvarez (2010), talking about the United Nations

Security Council, criticizes it for turning the war on Terrorism as one of the main discussed themes, what he considers a symbol of restraining the movements of resistance in general.

Eslava, Fakhri and Nesiah (2017) argue that national development was understood as economic progress acquired in political independence, overcoming the rhetoric present in International Law that insists to defend the sense of union acquired through the collectivist consciousness of nation, made possible after adapting the international jurisdiction to local contexts, maintaining the colonial thought and the centrality of the European legal heritage.

Eslava, Fakhri and Nesiah (2017) also bring problems arising from the conclusions reached at the Bandung Conference: determinism of sovereignty, granting wide freedom to national governments that culminated in internal political distortions and excesses, accumulation of debts, environmental degradation and exploitation of domestic economy.

Indeed, even this change on international treatment of Law did not necessarily give greater freedom or participation to local populations, favoring the disbelief on the emancipatory and transformative role of International Law. Abraham (2014) argues that this situation reinforced the understanding of postcolonial States as dominant national majorities over cultural and ethnic minorities, what favored the occurrence of violence.

Eslava, Fakhri and Nesiah (2017) agree with Abraham (2014) and assert that the fetishization of the Nation-State as the only form that can make changes leads to the repression of internal minorities and to an extension of the colonialist and neocolonialist narrative. Even though the Nation-State was important in self-determination, it provided a limitative approach to it, once the elites subdued the minorities, maintaining the colonialist tradition.

In order to propose a new context to the Third World project, Eslava, Fakhri and Nesiah (2017) defend a re-reading of the paradigm that arose in Bandung to a construction more distant from the State, but that remains anti-imperialist, questioning constantly the State role. The authors use the period of the Arabic Spring as an example to strengthen their argumentation, when progressive and revolutionary movements were valued by this logic.

Finally, Eslava, Fakhri and Nesiah (2017) point that using solidarity against imperialism and violence sanctioned by the State is a matter of choice. They assume that alliances, although do not construct the best solutions, are mechanisms that have a transformative power.

Despite the pacificatory speech of Eslava, Fakhri and Nesiah (2017), it is not clear if eventual terrorists with the feeling of oppression will accept this solidarity approach and, only because of it, will feel integrated. But, because of the lack of empirical results, this may be an alternative to alleviate the problem of Terrorism.

In accordance, Chimni (2006) mentions the pressure made by economic relations in order to break country borders, even not taking into consideration the needs of Third World countries. At the same time, this break confers economic sovereignty to international institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Chimni (2006) says that these institutions intervene on these countries incisively using the speech of financial and economic management inadequacy and inefficiency on controlling internal conflicts, intensifying national aversions to imposed standards by them, both by Post-Colonialist or Imperialist perspectives.

In this sense, Quijano (2000) proposes, as an alternative to the concept of modernity coming from Eurocentrism - Transmodernity, which is marked by the construction of the individual ego in all parts of the world, and not only in Europe, birth place of modernity. The assumption of this idea incorporates respect for what is different and contributes to the affirmation of national identities using methods other than the use of violence.

Through this concept, Quijano (2000) states that the inclusive way of thinking recognizes the importance of integration of new peoples into the new World System and of building a new standard of world power, answering demands of resistance movements.

Ordinarily, Law review is listed as the main activity to guarantee the success of resistance movements. However, not only this needs to be reviewed. Rajagopal (2002-2003) argues that Liberal and Marxist theories are also insufficient to ensure the inclusion of non-state actors in the decision-making process and in the construction of the national will.

According to Rajagopal (2002-2003), political liberal theory assumes the unity of social actors and the creation of formal spaces where the interests of these actors can be defended. The critique of it involves the fact that, in Third World countries, there is perceived a plurality and heterogeneity of actors, but the model of representativeness does not demonstrate it. In other words, the unity created after the union of individual wills do not create a result that fits everybody's participation. Some authors are excluded and marginalized in this process.

In addition, the criticism of Liberalism encompasses the harmonic economic growth ruled by the State. This, according to Rajagopal (2002-2003), led to the colonization of civil society, urging social movements as a way to liberate them from State domination.

On the other hand, according to Rajagopal (2002-2003), Marxism is incomplete because it also defends an unified political arena and the State as the main change-maker on social and economic realities, being the mass mobilization way of granting power to the State.

Social movements, as Rajagopal (2002-2003) alludes, disagree with the changes conducted done by the State. They wish to build their own political spaces. Added, Rajagopal (2002-2003) points that Marxism lost connection with new economic arrangements after the incorporation of labor and natural resources in the production model, being necessary a theoretical update.

Due to all that was discussed, this paper links to the research "Fundamentals of Legal Integration" because Terrorism urges as a phenomenon that opposes to legal integration, mainly after the start of an Interventionist Economic Agenda, always regarding the rebirth of nationalism, especially in countries marked by historical periods where this configuration led to social catastrophes and genocides.

In addition, the tightening of anti-terrorist measures has been discussed in countries such as France, Austria, Germany and England, with regard to the closure of borders and controlling migratory flows. In this direction, national solutions found individually by each nation do not collaborate with the maintenance of integration within the European Union. The issue of Terrorism has been faced as one of the most controversial ones in Europe nowadays, being able to contribute to the split of the bloc, which began with the departure of England - Brexit.

In ancient history, disputes were solved through declarations of war, the use of force, and alliances that led to victories and to the share of the power conquered among the victors. Thus, for Mearshmeier (2007), the constant possibility of war did not generate a permanent state of war, but a constant preparation for it. Duarte (2012, p.07) points out that "the activity of preparing the national defense of a country is an intrinsic necessity as a consequence of the anarchic condition of the international system".

However, after the damage caused by World Wars, the International Community moved towards the promotion of peace. It mediated the creation of institutions that

guarantee peacekeeping, either through the regulation of the United Nations or through International trade rules protected by the World Trade Organization.

With similar opinion, Mazzuoli (2011) argues that, since 1815, International Solidarity began a change on international scenario through the creation of multilateral courts and of permanent International Organizations, which had the capacity to conclude treaties with/on the side of States.

Nowadays, power is consolidated and protected no longer by the use of force, but by the threat of technological warfare devices with very high lethal power. In this sense, Gilpin, 1983; Jervis, 1978; Macneill, 1982 (apud Duarte, 2012, p.07) argue that new technologies generate expectations of military superiority in international relationships, generating different perceptions of vulnerability or protection.

The universality of rights brought by International Law and apparently positive for the inclusion of marginalized people in the process of globalization can also be dangerous. Galindo (2016) points out that, although universal, International Law emphasizes civil and political rights, but do not universalize economic, social and cultural rights. The universality of rights serves also as a problem to its applicability - oppression of the universality of rights (GALINDO, 2016, p. 12).

Rajagopal (2002-2003) explains that the focus of legal research on finding conflicts and gaps in Law, rather than building an ideology, gives a static aspect to the legal system, as well as contributes to the weakening of the authority of Law.

If an ideology were attempted to be built, the rule of Law would have a better understanding on resistance groups, and they would be able to participate in this construction, discouraging them from pursuing their goals in other ways as through Terrorism. Escobar (2007) says that, in this scenario, Transmodernity is a central concept, encompassing the ethics of liberation through the action of subaltern groups.

Galindo (2016), however, does not use a total criticism on International Law. He recognizes that it has a transformative power. In order to achieve that mission, therefore, it must find an adequate way to employ resistance, which must take place both in transnational level and in social movements.

THE RESISTANT MOVEMENTS PERSPECTIVE

Gathii (2011) holds a more radical position and asserts that the power of Europe and the United States produced structures of domination that persist until today (dominant

languages and religions) as a result of the replication by the former colonies of the Western State model. Such structures are rooted in the core of the States, what is hard to be overcome and, sometimes, has been already added to the cultural path of these societies.

Rajagopal (2003b) argues that some forms of resistance are legitimated, while others are not, and that this decision comes from those who are in the exercise of power. Under this view, Terrorism could be a form of resistance not legitimized, being widely criminalized and serving as a scapegoat to demonstrate to other forms of resistance that, if they are not legitimized, they would receive equivalent treatment.

Among the legitimized resistance forms, Rajagopal (2003b) states that Human Rights are filters that gives legitimacy to those forms perceived in the Third World. The author also states that Human Rights are the main form of resistance accepted by Colonialism and Imperialism.

Rajagopal (2003b, p. 05) concludes his digressions highlighting the necessary elements for building of a theory of resistance: the exercise of power rearticulation within the International; the nature of human liberalization aimed; the relationship between reformist and radical resistance; and the plurality and fragmentation of diverse States.

To go further in the discussion, Rajagopal (2002-2003) shows the role of social movements in proposing multiple spaces in politics, being the community their main agent. A multiplicity of arenas allows more distorting voices to take over and exert their space of influence, democratizing societies and attenuating the sense of external exploitation/oppression.

Thus, Rajagopal (2002-2003) values political culture being a decentralized phenomenon that brings together struggles for power in the private, social, economic and cultural arenas. There, decisions are taken collectively, below the State level and above the individual level.

Rajagopal (2002-2003) argues that conflict is at the heart of Politics, and that the model of class harmony from Liberalism must be denied, once conflict adds social justice on the analysis of institution and international economic law norms. In addition, the author points that identities are not derived from individual choices, but from the dynamic relational activity of different groups in pursuing a common goal.

This paradigm shift is very interesting to the struggle on Terrorism. When the International Community perceive that the universal peace model is inefficient, it will may be appropriate to assume that there are conflicts inherent in societies, and, at that moment,

politicians will seek alternatives that do not have peace as an objective (but as consequence of social harmonization), and that aims to conciliate interests of different groups.

Nowadays, the new balance of power is legitimized by institutions as the United Nations Organization and the World Trade Organization. In this level, it is harder for those who wish to gain power to achieve their goals, as the power struggle does not occurs in a regional level anymore.

According to this new distribution of power, new forms of struggle for ideals and ideas have emerged. In this perspective, Allenby (2015, p.71) preached that "the wars of militaries are over; the wars of civilizations have begun" since they involve not only political and military disputes, but also lifestyles and areas of influence.

In this direction, Rajagopal (2003a, p. 408) returns his analysis of resistance movements to social movements. Beginning his digressions, the author brings the requirements for a group to be considered a social movement: to involve informal networks of interaction among the plurality of actors; to be involved in political or cultural conflicts; and to organize itself based on common beliefs and collective identities.

According to the requirements presented by Rajagopal (2003a), terrorist groups or associations could also be considered as social movements. This discussion is rather difficult and was raised in Brazil during the debates on the Anti-Terrorism Law – it had too general paragraphs defining Terrorism – allowing interpreters to consider certain organized movements as terrorists and to legitimize the use of Law as a form of political persecution against social movements.

In this sense, Rajagopal (2003b) argues that Law continues to ignore the dynamics of resistance movements and to consider them bodies of legal rationality that need repression. Therefore, Law and Institutions seem to be depend on resistance, having a limited scope of action if it did not exist.

Historical scenarios explain the stronger treatment given by Law to resistance movements. Rajagopal (2003b) affirms that International Law prioritized resistance on the scope of self-determination, creating States, granting sovereignty to the dominant and allowing international jurisdiction to be used in the combat of anticolonialist movements. This allowed, according to Rajagopal (2003b), colonial authorities to consider resistance as a criminal act and to combat it with the tightening of legal rules.

In addition, Gramsci (1971) adds the conclusion that social movements led to a discussion of various issues, such as Human Rights and Democracy, and have resisted to government decisions, but have not been able to oppose international affairs, usually decided by consensus.

Areas of influence are not exercised only within States, but also between States. Usually, those who are more powerful influence the weakest ones due to their greater bargaining power on the international scene, enabling decision-making by consensus.

In this context, the ideological struggle is positive, because when men stop to dream and to seek a better quality of life, living loses it meaning and becomes survival. The problem arose when these legitimate and positive struggles overcame the limits of what was acceptable within a society and began to affect people completely unrelated to them, who only want to lead their lives in a quiet, dignified and safe way.

The thought that it is through struggling that personal and collective goals are achieved comes since Maquiavel (1515, p.86): "a prince must therefore have no other purpose. (...) But the war and its organization and discipline. (...) it is of such virtue that it not only keeps those who were born princes, but also (...) makes men of private condition ascend to that post".

Over the years, the absence of dialogue and fundamentalism intensified conflicts and caused the growth of terrorist organizations that do not care about their victims, as it could be seen after some executions of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS), with the purpose of beating political targets.

Such an event, according to Visacro (2009), has created an abstract and confused enemy for internal and international public opinion, making it harder to determine him - controversial response. However, in the construction of a fair and socially balanced society, it is needed conciliation of different interests that allows a pacification of social conflicts to achieve a stage of peace, one of the principles of the Federative Republic of Brazil in International Relations - 4th article of its Constitution (BRASIL, 1988, w.p.) - and of United Nations - 1st purpose, Chapter I: Purposes and Principles (UNITED NATIONS, 1945, w.p.): "to maintain international peace and security".

Terrorism has many facets. Rezende (2013) highlights it as a historical phenomenon, marked, initially, by the State use of force with no limits instead of guaranteeing the security of its population.

Indeed, Rezende (2013) affirms that groups that question the legitimacy of a national authority or its independence based on cultural aspects cannot be considered terrorists, but guerrillas, separatist movements or insurgents, even though they use violence as an instrument. In this way, the author considers situations in which violent practices aimed at reaching a political target are not considered as Terrorism.

THIRD WORLD APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL LAW

Galindo (2016) points one of these practices of national authority defense based on cultural aspects that are not Terrorism, but a theoretical and academic movement: the Third World Approaches to International Law (TWAIL).

In communication, Gathii (2011) suggests that TWAIL arose from a group of graduate students at Harvard University who highlighted new challenges and models for International Law marked by criticisms of formalism, of neoliberal policies and of sovereignty that gravitated around international jurisdiction.

In addition, Gathii (2011) highlights the paradoxical aspect of International Law, because, while guaranteeing sovereignty, equality and self-determination, it bears imperialistic and colonial influences, giving little participation to Third World countries.

Galindo (2016) affirms that the movement was influenced by post-colonialist studies – that mark historical facts of decolonization and the conquest of sovereignty, as well as new imperialist context of economic and political domination. TWAIL was marked by three phases.

Before getting to the specific phases of TWAIL, it is important to list the goals of this movement. Among them, the first one brought by Mutua (2000, p. 31) is the understanding and deconstruction of the use of International Law as means to create and to perpetuate a rationalized hierarchy of international norms and institutions.

To achieve this goal, Mutua (2000) shows the desire to construct and to present an alternative legal system to international governance, in order to eradicate underdevelopment conditions in the Third World. Okafor (2005) adds equity and fairness to TWAIL's goals, highlighting the ethical aspect of opposing forms of inequality and injustice in the international level.

Gathii (2011) argues that the aim of the TWAIL is to challenge International Law to offer participation to Third World countries in the international scene and to criticize policies

of marginalization and domination without hierarchy. In this sense, TWAIL is an encounter of academics who converged on the need to include these countries in the international arena.

Once these considerations have been made, the study of TWAIL phases should be started. In the first phase, according to Galindo (2016), colonial international law that subjugated the oppression suffered by Third World populations was discussed and the conclusion achieved was that non-European people tried to identify themselves with international jurisdiction, demonstrating ideas of cooperation and emancipation using norms of International Law in their favor.

In addition, Galindo (2016) emphasizes the priority given to the principles of sovereign equality of States and noninterventionism was not enough to guarantee the independence of these countries because economic structures needed to be changed - creation of the New International Economic Order (NOEI). The focus was the Nation-State and on how the most powerful ones used International Law to maintain their hegemonies.

On the other hand, the second phase of TWAIL, according to Galindo (2016), began in 1997, disregarding the centrality of the State and of sovereignty. At that time, emphasis was given to the violence within the post-colonial States and the consequent importance of their internal actors, which also influenced the increasement of terrorist attacks.

Galindo (2016) states that, at this stage, the role of International Institutions was questioned, because: 1) their agendas produced domination over internal state actors; and 2) colonialism was recognized as one source of International Law, a paradox that still exists today in the immigration policies of countries like the United States and France - comprehension that foreigners are people who need to be taught culturally and behavioral in order to be part of their societies.

Finally, Galindo (2016) concludes the second phase describing its interdisciplinary character and the maintenance of civilizing ideals even in proposals that seem to be humanitarian, such as good governance, Human Rights and Democracy. The marginalized groups and the treatment on them played by International Institutions to maintain social hierarchies were discussed, showing the ability collapse of international organizations to work with minorities and the consequent failure to deal with Terrorism.

Related to the topic, Gathii (2011) argues that liberal models usually affirm that authoritarian governments can be questioned by the attribution of civil and social rights, but this does not promote a profound governmental reform. The policy of interests exchange also rules International Law, allowing authoritarian and totalitarian governments to be

acquitted of condemnation requiring them only to fulfill the Agenda determined by International Law.

The third phase of TWAIL, started after the terrorist attack of September 11, 2001, in the United States, according to Galindo (2016), brought back the State centrality, as well as its relation with Terrorism, in order to combat it or to support it. One criticism highlighted by the author was the fact that, only after the explosion of airplanes in one of the most powerful nations in the world, it was given attention to rewriting norms of International Law to legalize the legitimate preventive defense using force, while Third World countries have been dealing with Terrorism for much longer.

One of the criticisms received by Galindo (2016) is that TWAIL's periodization in phases can subvert its International Law project, since the construction of a new paradigm discourages the study of previous paradigms and thus interrupts the evolutionary cycle that was reached until then, favoring the relations of domination.

However, there is no evidence of the previous assertion because there is no direct relation, because the relations of domination can be externalized in different ways, and may have different levels of intensity. Due to this dynamism, new relations can lead to new paradigms that keep the importance of the previously constructed paradigm. The possibility of movement change is extremely important to keep the proximity of it with its object of analysis.

Indeed, in reason of the absence of a propositional model, Alvarez (2010) attributes a nihilistic character to the TWAIL movement, stating that it does not have a positive Agenda for change and reform of International Law norms. This would weaken people's belief in the emancipatory character of international jurisdiction, making other resistance possibilities, like Terrorism, be used to confront imperialist power.

Alvarez (2010), in spite of the criticism added to his comments, recognizes that colonial patterns of thought continue to structure primordial concepts of International Law; that racism and conceptions of cultural superiority continue to weaken the contributions of non-European peoples; that the economic and commercial concept of class remains central to understanding legal regimes; and that contemporary forms of globalization have taken geographic notions of imperialism and hegemony into forms of collaboration, all theoretical constructs from the TWAIL movement.

Gathii (2011), in opposition, argues that TWAIL has an Agenda for transforming International Law from a language of oppression to a language of emancipation that reflects Third World struggles, guaranteeing global justice.

Alvarez (2010) proposes that TWAIL movement also incorporate minorities and subalterns from developed countries. It would not be fair, or it would not take away the oppression suffered by these people, just looking to the nation-state, with lack of attention to internal structures of the States, mainly because there are powerful elites in Third World countries that are part of the Dominant cosmopolitan class.

However, Gathii (2011) emphasizes that the reform on International Law defended by TWAIL does not necessarily pass through the use of the power by countries, because it can bigger losses than the benefits obtained in the short term period, as it was perceived during the colonization process. This statement, however, does not put the use of force totally apart, being necessary some situations.

This opening rhetoric regarding the use of force when necessary is very dangerous, which does not allow expressing an opinion on the position of TWAIL related to Terrorism. The analysis of its necessity runs through subjective elements, which are also taken into account, for example, when a terrorist attack is planned. In the view of Terror agents, the act is necessary in order to achieve some objective that would not be possible using peaceful instruments.

In addition, it would be a contradiction to stand against the use of force by small groups that, according to TWAIL, are subjugated by the International Order, whereas powerful nations would be able to use it when necessary, sometimes with obscure or undeclared interests, enshrouded by developmentalist and evolutionist discourses. The use of force should be avoided, whether at the national or international levels.

In fact, Rajagopal (2002-2003) points developmentalism as undemocratic because it aimed to contain resistance movements, and contaminated by a devastating modernity - it had a negative impact on environment and people's lives.

Almost in response to the previous discussion, Gramsci (1971) offers a peaceful solution: the passive revolution. It would be effective when one could not directly address the regime using force, through an efficient and interpersonal way of articulation between groups.

For a better understanding, Gramsci (1971) brings the difference between war of movement and war of position. The first states that the victory would occur, initially, in civil

society and only later at the State level; whereas the second one points a frontal attack against institutions of hegemony to guarantee control over them.

In this sense, terrorist attacks would be more linked to the idea of war of movement, while acting in Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) would be driven by passive revolution and war of position.

TERRORISM AND GLOBALIZATION

Rezende (2013) places Terrorism as a probable result of globalization – it denotes cultural, ideological, political differences and social exclusion (people who faces prejudice and disrespect feel like they were less important). This feeling is a common, especially in the Western world, where there are seen manifestations of prejudice against Islamic, Jewish and Black peoples. Sometimes, this social issue makes Terrorism urge as a way to be respected and to impose ideas on a world-wide level. If not, at least it makes these groups feared, conferring a certain status to them.

In that direction, globalization, that has put territories closer and that has facilitated interconnections among countries to increase trade relations, also has a negative effect, once competition and domination seen at local and regional levels are now seen at a global level.

Quijano (2000) states globalization as the completeness of the process of American domination and modern world capitalism, reaching world hegemony after spreading the Eurocentric vision.

Thus, Quijano (2000) advocates the creation of the concept of race as a way of exercising control and domination, building structural and social differences among different categories of society. In this way, globalization would be the culmination of an oppressive and disrespectful process towards marginalized populations.

Having a different vision on the topic, Escobar (2007) brings the discussion about globalization to a different level – the stage of globalization. The possibility raised by the developmentalist movement argues that globalization is the last stage of capitalism. The antagonistic possibility treats globalization as the beginning of a new system. Escobar (2007) says that, if the first possibility is correct, legitimacy through international law confirms the oppressive character guided by it.

A breakthrough approach in overcoming the oppressive character of International Law is pointed by Eslava, Fakhri and Nesiah (2017) after the Bandung Conference.

According to the authors, the conference document, called Communiqué, brought a trans-civilizational perspective - cooperation among the multiple civilizations and religions – being marked as a start of a new paradigm, dubbed Spirit of Bandung.

Eslava, Fakhri and Nesiah (2017) argue that this Spirit was perceived in the following Conferences and has marked the decolonization movement. Its importance was mainly due to the union of formalism and subversion, bringing to the international political scene a theme that was previously treated in the margins of the Official Political Agenda.

However, for Galindo (2016), one of the negative points of the movement from Bandung was to highlight the term Third Worldism, promoting an homogenous character to the Global South that ignores the marginalized populations of the developed countries. According to him, the Southern states suffered differently from colonialism and postcolonial relations, having diverse structures that cannot be fought by a single Universalist front.

Chimni (2006) disagrees with the negative use of the term because its use would be necessary to show connections of those who had their histories marked by colonial subjection, therefore struggling hegemonic policies. In addition, the author points to the elites' attempt of deconstructing common roots of movements as a way of weakening them, which would be favored by Galindo's argument (2016), or to weaken the adherence to resistant movements for having a common claim.

This change of scope, according to Rezende (2013), brought a different treatment to Terrorism, since it passed, after the Geneva Convention, to receive an humanitarian approach – terrorists are now under regulations of International Law. Thus, the first parameter of struggling Terrorism in the internal scope of the States has been surpassed to reach an international regulation that binds anyone in anyplace, favoring punishments for this dangerous practice.

In the North-American case, Shapiro (2012) alludes to the fact that globalization, while brought greater economic development, also increased the possibility of U.S. security to be affected in more countries and regions, forcing the country to increase partnerships and to toughen security relations and policies. The author brought the speech of Hillary Clinton, former North-American Secretary of State, which stated that coalitions are becoming more complicated and, at the same time, crucial.

Therefore, the growing number of countries that want to celebrate security agreements with the United States, according to Shapiro (2012), means a unique strategic opportunity for the country to continue in the international centrality on security and military

issues. However, challenges on cutting the Department of State Budget in economic crisis periods tend to limit American ability over the years.

After that, the perception of a protectionist environment after a terrorist attack is confirmed, not only after American government treatment on the subject, but also because of the permanent State interventionism in the sector almost seventeen years after September 11th. In fact, it is perceived an economic policy extravasation to other State sectors, reaching even measures in the Foreign Policy Agenda.

Gould and Klor (2010) point out the increasing number of Terrorist attacks in the world. The authors explain this based on their supposed effectiveness over politics and economics – there are two antagonistic positions. The first one justifies the growth of Terrorism because it is effective, especially in democracies (PAPE, 2003, 2005). The main argument is that the electorate is sensitive to civilian casualties caused by terrorist acts, which makes the leaders give grant concessions to terrorist organizations, whereas in authoritarian regimes this concern is not given strongly, once the rulers only care to please the ruling elite.

For the other position brought by Gould and Klor (2010), there is little evidence that Terrorism is effective and, according to Abrahms (2006 apud GOULD; KLOR, 2010, p.1461), it is also ineffective against democracies because democracies have efficient mechanisms to combat it. They are also less likely to make territorial and ideological concessions than authoritarian regimes.

Abrahms (2006 apud GOULD; KLOR, 2010, p.1461) came to this conclusion after analyzing the 10 countries with the largest number of victims of Terrorism, among which only two are considered free countries (India and the Philippines); while the others are non-free (Iraq, Afghanistan, Russia and Pakistan); or partially free (Nigeria, Nepal, Colombia and Uganda).

By coincidence, almost all the countries mentioned above are considered Third World countries – subjected to the process of colonization and imperialism. Foucault (1991) points that, in relation to countries in this category, power does not necessarily come from the State, but rather from the government apparatus above and below it, as well as domestic and transnational private actors.

Quijano (2000) explains the existence of elements of domination in every States, once the modern construction of Nation-State tries to homogenize the population through citizenship, having an antagonistic result - it promotes a more or less democratic path in the

distribution of power control. The author states that citizenship is defined as legal, civil and political equality for unequal social agents who, therefore, do not have equal access to the spaces of power.

In addition, Foucault (1991) argues that the exercise of power has a bureaucratic aspect of monitoring and controlling the poor population of Third World States, what could explain the high number of Terrorist Attacks in the mentioned countries that have the main numbers of victims of them.

In conclusion, Foucault (1991) emphasizes the micropolitics of power and its analysis on how individuals and groups, who would be less important than State actors by the division of power, experience their own power relations. The author believes that government practices can become foci of resistance, and can also serve as substrate for creating a terrorist mentality in resistance groups.

Altvater (1972) affirms that the State cannot be understood only as a political instrument or as social institution established by capital, but as a guarantor of the social existence of capital along and beyond competition. As a mediator of interest conflicts, it must act to coordinate and assist people in their decisions and projects, benefiting them not only as individuals, but as a community.

Pereira (1989) argues that State control on Economy, historically, is a cyclical process - at different times there are interventionism expansions and contractions. Therefore, an inert State, that uses the same type of control in any situation would be not be accepted, being mandatory for it to consider the economic and social conjuncture in which it is inserted.

At the same time, Pereira (1989) confirms that State intervention based on equality and economic efficiency should be supported, and that it does not, by itself, differentiate a policy adopted by conservatives or liberals, since conservatives often adopt policies interventionist economic policies.

Schapiro (2009) points that market failures give reason for State interventionism, and thought it, exchange problems among private individuals are remedied. Economic interventionism promotes rearrangements that can promote or hinder certain groups or, in general, a country.

The types of State interventionism are not stagnant and fit the needs perceived in each period. Pereira (1989) shows the four forms of state intervention: macroeconomic regulation, limited by centralized planning; microeconomic regulation, with rules of

protection to the health and safety of consumers; managerial microeconomics, regulation on a case-by-case basis; and nationalization or direct production, aiming the abolition of private property above the means of production.

According to the relations of the State with the private companies, the intervention can be, according to Pereira (1989), limiting, when it imposes limitations, as taxation, regulation on health and environment; supporting, when it promotes tax breaks and subsidies; and neutral, considered almost impossible.

At the same time, intensity must also be taken into account when analyzing Interventionism. Pereira (1989) says that it is difficult to measure it, and that its analysis involves the participation of state expenses in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), excluding the production State companies.

LAW AND STATE INTERVENTIONISM

Schapiro (2009) refers to the use of Law as a tool of interventionism, happening through regulatory measures in the economic domain, either through the obligation to disclose information, to control market concentrations, to rule price stipulation or to determine property rights.

Schapiro (2009) also emphasizes interventionism through indirect and institutional regulations. In the first, the State stipulates rules and incentives for private activities, accrediting the results obtained to the limitations and incentives offered. In the second, the State acts as a direct and present intervening agent, acting in the markets and controlling several economic indexes.

All that discussed before raises doubts about the establishment of interventionist policies by States victims of Terrorism, despite the fact that some of its proclamations have met with the precepts of economic liberalism and the capitalist system.

In addition, this project seeks to understand if the protectionist stance is transient (regulating momentarily a bad economic scenario) or permanent (determining the State's performance). The conclusions may be given by an analysis of academic papers and of changes in economic indicators after a terrorist act. Once the scenario of Terror is set, it becomes paradoxical that the United States adopted the model of permanent interventionism, even being the main country in defense of free trade.

In this sense, Oliveira (2007) highlights the theoretical duality related to protectionism, which contrasts Johann Gottlieb Fichte and Georg Friedrich List. According

to the author, Fichte defends a state of optimum size and a nation managed through planning in purely commercial matters, convertibility of currencies and the necessity of a minimum territory to economic self-sufficiency. As can be seen, he believed in permanent protectionism, in which the State would be an active agent in economic scenario.

In contrast, Oliveira (2007) explains that Friedrich argues that protectionism works as an instrument to achieve the construction and development of a strong nation that can make businesses in an active free trade scenario. That is, for him, protectionism in a transient way. The author also said that protectionism works in an educative way, so countries, after getting the know-how using protectionist practices, will be able to act safely in international trade.

CONCLUSION

The resistant movements need to be on regard of the problematic of terrorism to avoid being treated by the International Community as insurgent or rebel groups. Instead of blaming the historical roots or exploitation for their poor realities, the Southern are trying to solve their differences and delays and to give dignity to people through legitimate movements that adds social justice to the Third World countries.

Even though the noble character of economic state intervention coming from terrorism, which can get a continuous character, it can be seen that it does not always achieve the social justice concept. And worse, may favor nationalist and xenophobic opinions.

This scenario calls attention to the need of caution of public managers to avoid a model that only serves as a catalyst of investments in the military sector and to gain votes, without an effective CounterTerrorism approach.

GREETINS

This work was published with resources from the National and International Academic Publications Support Program of the State University of Amapá (UEAP). I thank the Institution, which welcomes teachers, students and technicians, to perform and leverage the development of science

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