

SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL, AND THE STRATEGIC INFORMATION OPERATIONS

Márcio Saldanha Walker



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The supreme art of war is to subdue the enemy without a fight.
Sun Tzu, 2,500 years ago.

The main motives for war are fear, honor, and self-interest.
Thucydides, 2,400 years ago.

ABSTRACT

This study highlights the importance of Argentina and Brazil in considering the incorporation of Information Operations into their national defense strategies. The analysis compares the relationship between military power and National Defense, based on the strategic planning structures of Argentina and Brazil in South America, making the connection with the possibilities of Information Operations. The U.K. and Russian strategies are analyzed to derive a relationship between the relevance of Information Operations in the ongoing competition of the world's leading countries. The article investigates whether the organizational strategic planning model of the South American countries Argentina and Brazil is adequate for the information strategy, as the great powers have adopted it. The conclusion points out that the organizational model of strategic planning in the South American countries of Argentina and Brazil needs to be revised to face the informational strategic trend.

KEYWORDS

Information Operations, strategic planning, Argentina strategy, Brazil strategy, South America strategies.

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INTRODUCTION.

Information Operations (IO) are pivotal actions of military power, yet they remain underexplored within the national defense doctrines of South American countries. Despite their continental geopolitical significance, nations like Argentina and Brazil have traditionally developed military strategies with a conventional focus on military power. Both countries share similar strategic environments and aim to align their military objectives. However, there are significant challenges in leveraging information power and considering a joint and cooperative strategy for South America.

This article underscores the necessity of integrating military and informational components within the DIME (Diplomatic, Information, Military, and Economic) strategic planning framework. While historical political issues

in the South Atlantic. At the same time, Brazil focuses on the Amazon Rainforest and the Blue Amazon region. Economic challenges further exacerbate the problem, with internal restrictions hindering defense expenditure.

International geopolitical developments, particularly those involving NATO, have underscored the increasing significance of informational aspects in military strategic planning. Technological advancements have blurred the lines of military engagement, complicating the recognition of conflict boundaries. NATO countries, including the United Kingdom, have integrated these developments into their doctrines, viewing the world as a continuous competition between powerful state actors. This evolving hybrid threat environment complicates strategic planning and international military cooperation. The ongoing competition, driven by technological advancements in information, poses a significant challenge.

“Information Operations (IO) are pivotal actions of military power, yet they remain underexplored within the national defense doctrines of South American countries”

influencing diplomatic and economic aspects must be considered, especially given the current constraints faced by Argentina and Brazil, this study specifically addresses the importance of incorporating military and informational perspectives to enhance national defense capabilities.

When viewed through the DIME framework, Argentina and Brazil's strategic military planning heavily emphasizes diplomacy aimed at regional cooperation and multilateralism to foster stability and peace. Both countries prioritize cyber defense and advanced communication systems within their military capabilities. However, their military strategies continue to focus on the modernization of armed forces and investments in traditional weaponry, revealing a disconnect from information capacity. Despite their geopolitical similarities, these nations' primary military strategic objectives differ: Argentina seeks to maintain a strong presence

This study analyzes the relationship between military power and national defense by comparing Argentina's and Brazil's structures and strategic planning processes. The methodology examines how these processes align with international strategic perspectives on military information operations. The geopolitical context of continuous competition between NATO and Russia serves as an exemplar, highlighting the importance of information operations at the strategic level. The UK's strategic location, advanced military capabilities, political influence, and commitment to defense spending underscore its significant role in NATO's military planning, as evidenced by its 2022 strategy emphasizing strategic information operations. Conversely, Russia's Gerasimov Doctrine reflects a substantial shift in military strategy, adapting to the evolving nature of modern warfare. Despite their traditional nuclear capabilities, the UK and Russia have adapted their

SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL, AND THE STRATEGIC INFORMATION OPERATIONS

strategy to the information environment, reflecting continuous competition with leading global powers.

This article aims to assess whether the strategic planning models of South American countries like Argentina and Brazil are appropriately aligned with the strategic-military approach to information operations. Through this comparative analysis, the study highlights the potential need for an updated strategic framework that integrates informational components into national defense doctrines.

I MILITARY POWER IN NATIONAL DEFENSE

In strategic decision-making, power signifies the ability to influence others. It lies in being understood effectively and conveying intentions and ideas. When power is robust, people grasp the rationale behind strategic choices and appreciate their impact. National defense, encompassing military preparedness, deterrence effect, strategic reviews, and collaboration with allies, ensures a country's sovereignty and security.

In Argentina, Law No. 23,554/1988, National Defense is the integration and coordinated action of all the Nation's forces to solve those conflicts that require the use of the Armed Forces, in a deterrent or effective manner, to confront aggressions of external states origin.¹ This means that all military and defense resources work together to address conflicts necessitating using the Armed Forces. The law specifies that these actions can be either deterrent (to prevent aggression) or effective (to confront aggression actively) and are aimed at dealing with threats from external states.

Decree No. 571/2020, with the Defense guidelines, changes the previous Law and considers that the "use of the Armed Forces to the set of the so-called 'new threats,' puts the doctrine in severe and inexorable crisis."² This shift in focus necessitates a critical reassessment of traditional military strategies and doctrines, as the Armed Forces are increasingly called upon to engage in

operations beyond conventional warfare. The decree brings an obstacle to the urgency of adapting to changes to ensure the effectiveness and relevance of the military in contemporary security landscapes.

In Brazil, the National Defense Policy plans actions for the country's defense, focused mainly on external threats, but allows interagency work on the internal border strip, establishing objectives for the expressions of National Power.³ This means that while the primary focus of Brazil's National Defense Policy is to protect the country from external threats, it also permits collaboration between different government agencies to address security issues along the internal borders. The policy sets clear goals for how various aspects of national power—such as military, economic, and diplomatic resources—should be utilized to ensure the country's defense and security.

According to Law No. 11,631/2007, the State is empowered to intervene and complement the deficiencies of any military expression of the National Power.⁴ It allows the government to take necessary actions, such as reallocating resources, requisitioning private assets, and mobilizing both civilian and military personnel, to address any gaps or weaknesses in the nation's defense capabilities. The National Defense Strategy guides the country in using the means at its disposal to overcome threats to its objectives.⁵ This strategy, part of Brazil's broader defense policy, outlines how it plans to protect its national interests and ensure security. It includes measures for modernizing the armed forces, developing advanced technologies, and enhancing cooperation between the military and civilian sectors.

Considering Argentina and Brazil's national defense strategies, evaluating the role of military power within the broader DIME framework is crucial to determine its suitability for the defense effect needed and for cooperative military planning between these nations. Additionally, this assessment should explore the relevance of military power in the context of great powers' tendencies to exert indirect

¹ Gobierno de Argentina. "Ley N° 23.554 de Defensa Nacional." Sancionada el 13 de abril de 1988 y promulgada el 26 de abril (1988).

² Gobierno de la República Argentina. "Decreto 571/2020." Boletín Oficial de la República Argentina, 29 de junio (2020).

³ Brazil. "Política Nacional de Defesa. Estratégia Nacional de Defesa" (2020d)

⁴ Brazil. "Law No. 11631/2007." (2007)

⁵ Brazil. "MD30-M-01: Doutrina de Operações Conjuntas - 1º volume" (2020b, 1.5)

influence through diplomatic, information, and economic means.

There needs to be a more apparent boundary between policy and strategy.¹ Brazil's doctrine allows military reaction against non-state threats, considered other actors. In contrast, the Argentine doctrine allows military reaction only against state threats. In this relationship, it is inferred that there is an original incompatibility when establishing military methods and means in establishing strategies against hybrid threats. This scope includes the problem of considering the non-kinetic modes used by Information Operations strategies, a possibility for higher levels of planning that consider using means that are not strictly military.

Although academics like Buzan² say that "the standard unit of security is then the sovereign territorial state," he also says that the threats are not only military but also political, economic, environmental, and social. Krasner³ emphasizes that "there is still the implication of international legal sovereignty and Westphalian sovereignty" in the relations of States. However, in both cases, the principles of innovation are constantly disregarded. When looking at future wars, you must consider both the political-military conditions in which they will occur and the tactics each will choose. It would be best to see how one level of war will shape or direct the other.⁴ Those possibilities arise from the need to recognize that non-military means are essential factors of imbalance and pressure for power in a world with constantly competing powers. Dispute relations between states involve non-military elements in a gray area, challenging establishing an environment of war or peace.

Usually, the traditional defense strategy is based on the deterrence effect. In the realist view of conflicts, "the most important weapons are, of course, nuclear weapons."⁵ However, it is not the only strategy of power because "over the past forty-five years, it would be difficult to point to a single instance in which a nuclear-weapon state was able

to change the status quo by threatening its use."⁶ In other words, the strategy of deterrence effect by nuclear means is only effective through efficient means of influence and strategic communication, which are considered in an Information Operations campaign at the political and strategic levels.

Even one of the most traditional strategists in history, Clausewitz, the strategy of military power must consider that "social relations shape war."⁷ This is because in Clausewitz's triad, comprised of the government, army, and people, the latter stands out as an essential support for the will of the State and power. Clausewitz's approach considers not only the physical strike but also the end of the state connected with the information effects. Power relations are a constant exchange of social components "independent of the size of the conflict, the environment in which it takes place, the means with which it is fought, and even the amount of violence involved."⁸ That is why, in a globalized world, economic, environmental, or pandemic problems must be considered threats, as they can influence the military information environment.

There is a great dilemma in the continuous competition of power struggle. States are guided by the minimum interest in protecting themselves and the maximum interest in increasing their power in the international system.⁹ The essence of the dilemma is that the measures a state takes to improve its security generally diminish the security of others.¹⁰ However, National Defense needs to be increasingly integrated, as threats are transnational and expected, such as cyberattacks, and challenge military power. The enemy's source of military power, the center of gravity, may not be at the level of military leadership. "They generate freedom of action and the will to fight; They can be physical or abstract and vary as it changes substantially."¹¹

According to McFate¹², war has gone beyond lethality. Today, all instruments of national power must be used, not just those that fire. Non-kinetic weapons can be very effective in warfare, and shrewd

¹ *Ibid.* (1,2)

² Barry Buzan. "People, States and Fear: an Agenda for International Security" (1991)

³ Stephen D. Krasner. "Soberanía, hipocresía organizada." (2001)

⁴ Evergisto de Vergara. "Estrategía, Métodos & Rutinas." (2009, 15)

⁵ Martin Van Creveld "La transformación de la guerra: La más radical reinterpretación del conflicto armado desde Clausewitz." (2007, 18)

⁶ *Ibid.* (2007, 28)

⁷ *Ibid.* (2007, 62)

⁸ Martin Van Creveld. "La transformación de la guerra: La más radical reinterpretación del conflicto armado desde Clausewitz." (2007, 166)

⁹ Kenneth Waltz. "Theory of International Politics." (1979)

¹⁰ John Mearsheimer. "Anarchy and the struggle for power." (2001, 36)

¹¹ Argentina. "Libro Blanco de la Defensa." (2015a, 18)

¹² Sean McFate. "Las nuevas reglas de guerra. Victoria en la era del desorden permanente." (2020, 188)

SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL, AND THE STRATEGIC INFORMATION OPERATIONS

strategists can weaponize almost anything. "Military violence no longer needs to play a preponderant role as it did in the great wars."¹ War is a hybrid of intangible and tangible domination of battlefield variables that manifests itself broadly indirectly.²

That is why it is essential, at the strategic level - using capabilities that cover the spectrum of information, particularly in intelligence, surveillance and control, electronic warfare, cyber defense, and space - to have the possibility of being able to detect, identify and adopt strategic actions that allow the adequate management of risks and threats to National Defense.³

This means that at the strategic level, possessing a comprehensive range of capabilities across various aspects of the information domain is essential for

“Military violence no longer needs to play a preponderant role as it did in the great wars; war is a hybrid of intangible and tangible domination”

effective national defense. The Informational aspect extends beyond traditional nation-states to include non-state actors, aiding in identifying suspicious activities. Military capabilities encompass intelligence, surveillance, control, electronic warfare, cyber defense, and space operations, ensuring a holistic approach to safeguarding a nation's security and interests.

Furthermore, while physical military power can be formidable, it does not always guarantee strategic and lasting victory. Nations with nuclear capabilities often employ alternative methods to gain an edge in the ongoing power struggle between states. Information, as a critical factor, can create significant advantages. Therefore, a military strategy that adapts its means and methods to incorporate the strategic potential of informational efforts is essential for achieving political objectives.

In short, the strategies of Argentina and Brazil need to adapt to today's military power by using an expansive approach, changing the physical view of targets, including the effects of the human and technological environment connecting with information. Since Argentina and Brazil's strategic methodology is based on state elements, it is necessary to consider how they will be used in a new strategy adapted to the information age. War is going underground in the gray zone, where it is not declared⁴, or it is shadow wars, armed conflicts in which credible denial, not firepower, forms the center of gravity.⁵ Military power must be seen more broadly by the strategist to meet the objectives of National Defense in a comprehensive approach with information strategic power.

2 MILITARY STRATEGIC PLANNING IN ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL

2.1 Strategic Military Planning in Argentina

In Argentina, the mission (ends) of the National Defense System is to avert and repel military aggressions by other states using its armed forces.⁶ The National Defense System has a crucial mission to overarching goal aligns with the strategic level of warfare. At this level, national objectives are defined, and decisions are made to safeguard the country's security and territorial integrity.

The levels of warfare are divided into strategic, operational, and tactical. Levels of warfare allow commanders to determine responsibilities, distribute resources, and assign tasks to the appropriate command. These levels serve as analytical frameworks linking tactical actions to

¹ Gustavo Trama; Evergisto de Vergara. "Estrategia militar: de lo lineal a lo complejo." (Trama y Vergara 2021)

² Andrew Korybko. "Guerras Híbridas: De las revoluciones de colores a los golpes." (2018, 22)

³ Gustavo Trama; Evergisto de Vergara. "Estrategia militar: de lo lineal a lo complejo." (2021, 4)

⁴ Josep Baqués. "Grey Zone: Towards a definition of the Gray Zone (GZ) concept." (2017)

⁵ Sean McFate. "Las nuevas reglas de guerra. Victoria en la era del desorden permanente." (2020, 154)

⁶ Argentina. "Libro Blanco de la Defensa." (2015a)

achieving national objectives. While there are no rigid boundaries between these levels, they help commanders design and synchronize operations, allocate resources, and assign tasks to the appropriate command. In essence, the levels of warfare provide a structured approach for translating strategic goals into actionable plans at the operational and tactical levels.

In Argentina, the Strategic level of warfare is divided into National Strategic and Military Strategic levels of leadership. This division of strategic objectives results from internal historical issues and limits military possibilities for action. At the national strategic level, Argentina's political leaders and policymakers make decisions that impact the overall security and well-being of the nation. Their objectives encompass a wide range of issues, including territorial defense, economic stability, and diplomatic relations.

Historical context significantly influences these objectives, reflecting Argentina's experiences during democratic periods and under dictatorship. For instance, Argentina's military strategies are shaped by its experiences in the Falklands War and its period of military rule, leading to a focus on sovereignty and territorial integrity. These historical experiences constrain military operations, often limiting them to defensive and peacekeeping roles rather than offensive actions. Argentina's recent military history, including elements of past conflicts and new political dynamics, shapes its current defense strategies and capabilities. This historical context often restricts the scope and nature of military operations.

In Argentina, the level of the national strategy brings together the factors of national power that consist of the sectoral strategies: political, economic, military, social, and scientific-technological, for the national strategic desired final state.¹ The national strategy should establish the strategic objectives for using military power. The level of military strategic leadership brings together all the military means and, eventually, those others coming from the

National Power to achieve the military end of the state in a war.²

The division between national and military strategic levels ensures a clear delineation of responsibilities, preventing military actions from exceeding their intended scope and aligning them with broader national interests. The military leadership translates national strategic goals into actionable plans. They consider military capabilities, resources, and constraints. Sectoral strategies will correspond to power factors. "The State, as a politically organized entity, has recourse, or may have recourse, in addition to the Military Instrument, to the use of any of those which constitute the totality of its available power resources."³

Short- and medium-term military planning, as part of military strategic planning, is carried out under the responsibility and coordination of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, which will include the provisions for using the Military Instrument.⁴ "This implies determining deficiencies in material, human resources, infrastructure, organization, training, doctrine, and any other factor of military power."⁵ The transformation and renewal of the military instrument implies obtaining autonomy over developments that provide a strategic advantage.⁶

Integrating definitions, the military strategy identifies the ends to be achieved, conceives how to reach them, and determines objectives and means to achieve those ends.⁷ The military-strategic conception is a "general concept of the use and orientation of the development and evolution of the nation's military power to contribute to the achievement of the objectives set by the military strategy."⁸ In other words, in Argentina's strategic planning method, military means are only used when in conflict and against another State, at the military strategic level of defense, not acting nationally in times of peace. However, as already noted, the strategy needs to address issues relating to the power of information.

¹ Argentina. "Libro Blanco de la Defensa." (2015a)

² Argentina. "PC 00-02: Glosario de términos de empleo militar para la acción militar conjunta." (2015c)

³ Argentina. "ROB-00-01: Conducción para las Fuerzas Terrestres" (2015b)

⁴ Argentina. "PC 10-04: Planeamiento para la Acción Militar Conjunta-Nivel Estratégico Militar (Proyecto)" (2018, 29)

⁵ *Ibid.* (2018, 35)

⁶ *Ibid.* (2018, 39)

⁷ *Ibid.* (2018, 1)

⁸ Argentina. "PC 00-02: Glosario de términos de empleo militar para la acción militar conjunta." (2015c, 23)

SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL, AND THE STRATEGIC INFORMATION OPERATIONS

The transformation and renewal of the military instrument, aimed at securing a strategic advantage, necessitates gaining autonomy over relevant developments. It's essential to recognize that the current strategy fails to address critical aspects of information power. To enhance the effectiveness of this transformation, a clear target must be defined—whether it's achieving technological superiority, operational agility, or intelligence dominance. Furthermore, understanding the effects of information dissemination, psychological operations, and cyber capabilities is crucial for achieving strategic success.

2.2 Strategic Military Planning in Brazil

In Brazil, the National Defense Policy (PND)¹ defines national security as allowing the country to preserve its sovereignty and territorial integrity, promote its national interests to be free from pressures and threats, and guarantee that citizens exercise constitutional rights and duties. In its complete cycle, the Conception of Joint Employment of the Armed Forces crosses the political, strategic, operational, and tactical levels.

Brazil also has historical restrictions on using the strategic power of information across a broad spectrum. During the military regime (1964–1985), the Brazilian armed forces played a significant role in governance. They passed laws, repressed political groups, and aimed to modernize industry and infrastructure. Therefore, Brazil's focus on internal security and regional stability is influenced by its military period and subsequent democratization history. This historical backdrop shapes its defense strategies, emphasizing non-intervention and peacekeeping roles. Understanding how this history influences the nation's approach to security is essential. The emphasis on non-intervention and regional stability reflects this historical backdrop.²

In Brazil, the Political Level of the leadership establishes the political objectives (ends) to achieve the Desired Political Final State (effects), provides

guidelines, and defines the limitations that apply to the different areas of National Power. The military recognizes that security and development are interconnected. Efforts to enhance security contribute to overall development and vice versa. For instance, ensuring stability in conflict-prone regions facilitates economic growth and social progress.

The Strategic Level transforms the political conditions and guidelines into strategic actions aimed at the external and internal spheres to be developed by the sector by the different ministries in a coordinated manner with actions of military expression. This level unfolds the desired strategic end state in all expressions of national power.³ According to the MD30-M-01 2V⁴, the Joint Employment Planning System of the Armed Forces (SisPECFA) Includes a) at the political level: guidelines under the responsibility of the Supreme Commander (SC); b) at the strategic level: guidelines and plans under the responsibility of the Ministry of Defense (MD).

Per the manual MD 30-M-01 IV⁵, military power will be used according to the following cases: a) war situation - exploring the fullness of violence: Defense of the Homeland. (b) non-war situation - when military power is used in a limited manner or without involving combat action: guarantee of constitutional powers; ensuring law and order (GLO); subsidiary powers; preventing and combating terrorism; actions under the aegis of international organizations; employment in support of foreign policy in times of peace or crisis; and other non-war work.

By integrating the definitions, the policy elaborates the goals, guiding the direction of strategic actions. The Strategy, as an instrument of the Policy and, therefore, underlying it, is responsible for defining the means and actions to be adopted to achieve the established objectives.⁶ In other words, in Brazil's strategic planning method, the military defense strategy can be integrated with

¹ Brasil. "Política Nacional de Defesa. Estratégia Nacional de Defesa." (2020d)

² John Doe. Brazil's Defense Strategies: Historical Perspectives. *Journal of International Relations* (2023)

³ Brasil. "MD30-M-01: Doutrina de Operações Conjuntas - 1º volume." (2020b, 16)

⁴ Brasil "MD30-M-01: Doutrina de Operações Conjuntas 2º Volume." (2020c, 15)

⁵ Brasil. "MD30-M-01: Doutrina de Operações Conjuntas - 1º volume." (2020b, 19)

⁶ Brasil. "Estratégia." (2020a, 1.8)

other non-military elements of State defense, establishing a National Defense Policy.

However, when examining Brazil’s strategy, there seems to be a gap in comprehensive emphasis. Brazil’s National Defense Policy could benefit from a more integrated approach that considers all dimensions of the DIME framework. While the military defense strategy is crucial, it should not operate in isolation. Diplomatic efforts, information dissemination, and economic considerations play equally vital roles. By harmonizing these elements, Brazil can enhance its strategic posture and better safeguard its national interests. Brazil’s strategic planning should go

distinct objectives and methods for each country’s military capabilities.

In Argentina, the highest level of planning is called the National Strategy. In Brazil, this level corresponds to what is defined as National Politics. At this level, both countries consider how to employ their national power. However, there is a critical distinction in the planning process. In the Argentine doctrine, the National Strategic Level encompasses the means and actions of national power. In contrast, in Brazil, the Political Level provides only planning guidelines, which serve as the objectives for the Strategic Level.

“Las estrategias de Argentina y Brasil necesitan adaptarse a hoy día militar power por usando un enfoque expansivo, cambiando la visión física de objetivos”

beyond military-centric perspectives and embrace a holistic information approach.

2.3 Comparison – Planning Structure in Argentina And Brazil

Level	Ends	Means		Information Planning
		Argentina	Brazil	
Use of Military Power		War against other states		No
			War and non-war	Yes
National Strategy	National Strategic Desired End State	All the means and actions of the National Power		No
National Politics	Political Desired End State		All the means of the National Power	with restrictions ¹ ²
Strategic	Military Strategic Desired End State	Military Means and Actions		No
	Strategic Desired End State		Means and Actions of All Expressions of National Power	with restrictions

Fig. 1 – Ends, Means, and Information Planning.¹

In the context of military planning, Brazil and Argentina stand out as two distinct examples. The divergence in military planning approaches can be traced back to the utilization of military power. This divergence arises from historical decisions made at the political level, leading to establishing

The strategic power of information plays a crucial role in shaping national security policies. However, its implementation faces distinct constraints in different countries. In Argentina, military power is predominantly associated with a conventional interpretation of war between states. This perspective limits the use of information as a strategic asset to support military operations during armed conflicts. In contrast, Brazil adopts a broader approach, recognizing that military power extends beyond traditional warfare scenarios. Here, the interpretation of strategic information incorporates elements of non-warfare contexts, such as diplomacy, intelligence sharing, and cooperation with non-state actors.

Brazil’s unique perspective on information power reflects its historical context and regional dynamics. Unlike Argentina, which has experienced fewer armed conflicts, Brazil has grappled with internal security challenges, transnational criminal networks, and environmental threats. Consequently, Brazilian policymakers recognize that information can be wielded in traditional war scenarios and address asymmetric threats, cyber warfare, and transboundary issues. This nuanced understanding

¹ Author’s elaboration.

SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL, AND THE STRATEGIC INFORMATION OPERATIONS

allows Brazil to leverage information strategically across a spectrum of security challenges, fostering cooperation with neighboring countries and international partners.

At the Brazilian political-strategic level, the focus on information power is restricted because policies only apply cybersecurity and cyber defense measures. These policies address information security, data protection, and digital threats. However, they do not encompass the broader scope of Brazil's national information strategy, which may include other strategic elements beyond cybersecurity.

The Brazilian National Information Security Policy (PNSI) was approved by Decree No. 9,637/2018. It covers cybersecurity, cyber defense, physical security, and organizational data protection. Its goal is to ensure information availability, integrity, confidentiality, and authenticity. The PNSI is implemented through the National Information Security Strategy (ENSI) and national plans. ENSI addresses topics such as cybersecurity, cyber defense, security of critical infrastructure, and data leak prevention. The National Cybersecurity Policy (PNCiber) was established by decree. It guides cybersecurity activities in the country. Its principles include national sovereignty, protection of fundamental rights (such as freedom of expression and data protection), prevention of cyber incidents, and international technical cooperation in cybersecurity.

In Brazil, strategic planning plays a pivotal role in determining the means and actions of all expressions of National Power. This comprehensive approach begins with strategic planning for the other sectors. In contrast, the Military Power's actions are scheduled for the Strategic Military level in Argentina. However, none of the countries conceive the planning of information power in broad understanding, as great powers have used it in the strategy of continuous competition. To completely understand strategic planning, it is essential to incorporate comprehensive strategic information. Thus, a holistic understanding of strategic planning encompasses the means and the

power of strategic information that guides informed decisions.

Comparing the different structures between Argentina and Brazil, aligning the decision-making levels that establish the means and ends of planning and strategic actions is complex. Furthermore, strategic planning in both countries is focused on traditional physical threats in the military field, making it challenging to adapt to the needs of strategic evolution for threats of an informational nature.

2.4 The Dime Framework: a Key to Understanding Argentina and Brazil's Security Strategies

Applying the DIME framework to Argentina and Brazil provides a comprehensive perspective on their security challenges and strategies:

a. Argentina

Diplomatic: Diplomacy is essential as a constitutive element of national power. It is the means of foreign policy and, as such, helps it achieve better results through judicious work and persuasion in international relations.¹ Argentina is a proactive player in regional diplomacy, actively engaging through organizations like the UNITED NATIONS, MERCOSUR (Southern Common Market), and the Organization of American States. This commitment to stability and cooperation in South America is a reassuring sign of Argentina's diplomatic strength.

Information: There is no reference in Argentina's military doctrine concerning national power that considers the Information factor in its planning. In 2005, debates by rights commissions on the military use of psychological operations against the population by the Armed Forces during the military period became public. One of the documents banned by the government was Regulation RC 5-I '*Operaciones psicológicas del Ejército Argentino*,' which was in force until 1997, written by General Lanusse in 1968.² This action generalized conceptual confusion regarding the term Information Operations. Thus, Argentina

¹ Argentina. Ministerio de la Defensa. "PC 00-01: Doctrina Básica para la Acción Militar Conjunta." (2018)

² Pamela Verónica Morales. "Reglamento RC5-I 'Operaciones psicológicas' del Ejército Argentino." (2011)

focuses only on cybersecurity to protect its information infrastructure.

Military: Due to economic and social priorities, the country has substantial restrictions on investment in retooling, and the National Security Law prohibits its use in actions within the government itself. This is reflected in the structure of the Forces in terms of equipment and personnel maintenance problems. While not involved in significant conflicts, Argentina maintains a capable military for defense and participates in international peacekeeping missions. This helps to ensure national defense and contributes to global peace efforts.

Economic: Economic instability and inflation are significant concerns for Argentina, impacting social stability and security. Addressing these financial challenges is essential for maintaining overall national security.

b. Brazil

Diplomatic: Brazil plays a crucial role in regional and global diplomacy, being a member of UNITED NATIONS, MERCOSUR, BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa), and other international organizations. This involvement helps to foster regional and global stability and address security challenges through cooperative efforts.

Information: The country has an Information Operations doctrine for Military Operations at the operational and tactical levels under the authorization of Brazilian constitutional limits. The doctrine does not consider using IO at national political or strategic levels, restricting actions to the military field. Brazil invests in cybersecurity and countering misinformation, crucial for maintaining public trust and national security. These efforts help to protect the country's information infrastructure and prevent the spread of harmful misinformation. It established the National Policy on Cybersecurity, instituted on December 27, 2023; this policy aims

to guide and oversee cybersecurity activities in Brazil. It also established the National Cybersecurity Committee.¹

Military: Brazil's robust military presence in border defense, which focuses on internal interagency security and humanitarian affairs and participates in international peacekeeping efforts, is a strong pillar of the country's national defense and global peace and stability efforts. The country has a National Defense Policy², structuring technology development programs like cyber capabilities. For the Amazon, the Brazilian military is involved in operations to combat illegal activities such as logging, mining, and drug trafficking. The "Blue Amazon" strategy is more extensive and includes Surveillance and Monitoring, Naval Presence, and International Cooperation.³

Economic: Brazil faces significant financial challenges, including inequality and poverty, which affect overall security and social cohesion. Addressing these economic issues is vital for maintaining national stability and security.

3 THE STRATEGIC POWER OF INFORMATION OPERATIONS

"Today's conflicts favor Information Operations."⁴ In the case of Brazil, the Strategic Level of Information Operations designs the framework of actions guided by political conditions and guidelines. These actions may be related to the country's internal and external environment.⁵ In the case of Argentina, there is no doctrine for Information Operations.

The military strategy brings together ends and means to produce effects. This is related to the military power of capabilities in the information environment and the ongoing competition of the strategies of leading Western countries and Russia. The analysis of the strategic power of Information Operations will be used as a reference for changing strategic thinking, which is a multidimensional

¹ Government of Brazil. "Decreto Nº 11.856, de 26 de dezembro de 2023." Diário Oficial da União, 27 de dezembro de 2023. (2023)

² Brasil. "Política Nacional de Defesa. Estratégia Nacional de Defesa" (2020d)

³ Nathan Thompson. "The Blue Amazon: Brazil Asserts Its Influence Across the Atlantic." (2015)

⁴ Brasil. "MD30-M-01: Doutrina de Operações Conjuntas - 1º volume." (2020b, 43)

⁵ Brasil. "Política Nacional de Defesa. Estratégia Nacional de Defesa." (2020d, 193)

SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL, AND THE STRATEGIC INFORMATION OPERATIONS

operational strategy: human, informational, and physical.

Strategic campaigns in the information environment use the study of the science of language and demonstrate the difficulty of controlling information's internal and external factors. According to Chomsky¹, "The difficulty of interpretation begins with the indefiniteness of the functions of things." The different mission policies of the armed forces have made it difficult for strategists to adapt to types of warfare, such as composite warfare, unrestricted warfare, legal warfare, hybrid warfare, complex irregular warfare, asymmetric warfare, fifth- and sixth-generation warfare, or conflict in the gray zone.²

"Information is power"

The informational environment has different vectors depending on senders and receivers. Efficient and effective driving is in effect in an information-saturated context. Correct perception is an advantage for intangibly and decisively attaining the desired end state.³ The senders are the military power, and the receivers are the targets. Controlling the flow of information will determine the destructive potential of the effects. In the case of strategic effects, the expected end depends on the perception of the desired end state.

Antagonistic views of countries on the global information environment, such as those of Western countries and Russia, nuclear powers that can directly or indirectly influence the national defense strategies of South American countries, have declared themselves enemies. These countries are developing large strategic Information Operations campaigns, as in the case of the United Kingdom and its extraterritorial beyond the seas, and in the case of Russia in the case of Russia with the war with Ukraine and its projections on common spaces such as open oceans to Antarctica.

3.1 United Kingdom's Strategy for Information Operations

In one glaring example of Western strategy, the UK's Information Operations power goes beyond military might. The choice of this country as a Western example of analysis is because the United Kingdom's Information Operations strategy was publicly expressed in its defense strategy. Therefore, it became widely known worldwide. Furthermore, the United Kingdom is an important North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) member and strongly influences the strategy implemented throughout the bloc. NATO is currently heavily engaged with the threat of advancing Russia's strategy that was implemented in the war with Ukraine.

The UK military doctrine incorporates the DIME framework, which stands for Diplomatic, Information, Military, and Economic instruments of national power. This framework is essential for strategic military planning and is detailed in various UK Defence Doctrine publications. The diplomatic component involves using diplomacy to manage international relations and alliances, emphasizing the importance of diplomatic efforts in preventing conflicts and fostering international cooperation.

The information component focuses on using information and communication to influence perceptions and behavior, highlighting the role of information operations in shaping the strategic environment and supporting military objectives. The military instrument involves using armed forces to achieve strategic goals, outlining the principles of employing military power, including the maneuver approach and mission command. Lastly, the economic component involves using economic measures to influence the behavior of other states or non-state actors and discussing integrating financial tools with other instruments of power to achieve strategic goals.⁴

The information component of the DIME framework is crucial because it involves the strategic

¹ Noam Chomsky. "A ciência da linguagem: conversas com James McGilvray." (2014)

² Trama; Guerrero, & Vergara. "Los ciegos y el elefante: el ambiente operacional híbrido." (2019, 3)

³ Luiz Arcadio Zarza. "Estrategia militar y su transfiguración en la era de la información." (2016, 5)

⁴ Ministry of Defence, UK Defence Doctrine (JDP 0-01) (2022)

use of information and communication to influence perceptions and behaviors. Information operations are essential for shaping the strategic environment in the UK Defense Doctrine context. This includes propaganda, cyber operations, and public diplomacy, which can be used to support military objectives, counter adversary narratives, and maintain public support. By effectively managing information, the UK can enhance its strategic position, disrupt enemy plans, and ensure that its operations are understood and supported domestically and internationally. Information is a powerful tool for achieving broader strategic goals without using military force.

As shown in Fig. 2 of the United Kingdom's Strategy, "CP 411: defense in a competitive age," the intensity of Information Operations increases with the escalation of competition between States and the emergence of crises and conflicts. This progressive advancement of means in the informational dimension demonstrates that the expected effects involve actions that begin at the political level, with the establishment of strategic actions and guidelines, and transform into operational and tactical actions.

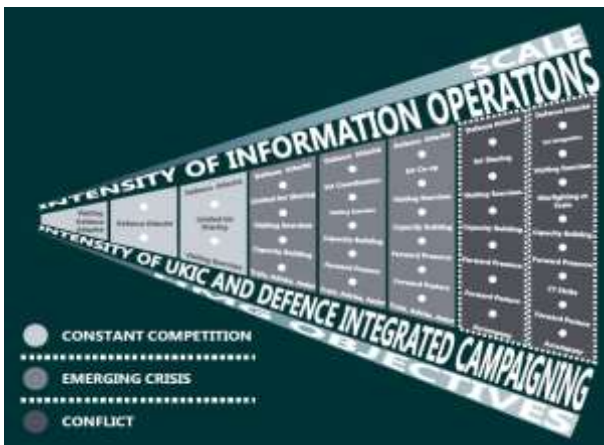


Fig. 2 - CP 411: defense in a competitive age.¹

In this strategy, the degree of involvement in information operations includes inter-ministerial actions in foreign relations, expanding strategic instruments according to the possibilities and needs for intensifying actions, according to the threat level. The strategic environment involves peacetime defense measures, with technological and doctrinal

development capable of understanding the enemy's strategic environment.

Furthermore, regarding the military doctrinal approach, the term information campaign was defined over twenty years ago by the UK Ministry of Defense manual, JWP 3-80, as: "coordinated information output of all government activity undertaken to influence decision-makers in support of political objectives, while protecting one's decision-makers."² There appears to be a historical doctrinal relationship in the United Kingdom between what was published in 2002 and the new publication in 2021, exemplifying the historical and evolutionary strategic option for using the informational medium. This strategic intention was updated with the 2021 document, being expanded according to the needs of continuous competition in the sphere of the information environment.

The United Kingdom's military strategy is adapted to the current need for the participation of non-military means to resolve conflicts in a constant environment of competition between countries and world leaders. It therefore appears that the UK is seeking to coordinate influencing activity at the highest level, beginning to plan its actions at the National Strategy level. In this way, the strategic level determines the necessary format for information operations, directing the effort to achieve the interests favorably.

National strategy directs the integrated use of national power to achieve policy ends. Doctrine has traditionally characterized three instruments of national power – diplomatic, military and economic – with information as the latest addition. (...) The information instrument of national power is the application of the UK's institutional narrative using information activities (including strategic communication) in support of national interests. Information technologies underpin information activity.³

In this information age, the United Kingdom made its intention clear in its publication by choosing information operations or campaign information as a strategy in conjunction with International Relations. This shows that the

¹ United Kingdom. "CP 411: defence in a competitive age." (2021, 19)

² United Kingdom. "JWP 3-80 Information Operations." (2002, 1.2)

³ United Kingdom. "Joint Doctrine Publication 0-01: U.K. Defence Doctrine." (2022, 12)

SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL, AND THE STRATEGIC INFORMATION OPERATIONS

proposed military communication actions can achieve the desired effects at the strategic and political levels. Thus, the United Kingdom synchronizes information operations from the military strategic level. All government activity was undertaken to influence decision-makers in support of political objectives while protecting the decision-makers themselves".¹

3.2 Russian's Information Warfare

The analysis takes Russia as a counterpart, a country with a military doctrine opposing Western intentions, especially considering NATO. In a non-ostensive example, Russian information warfare is not limited to wartime. "It's not even limited to the initial phase of the conflict." (Giles 2016, p. 15) Information warfare is the starting point of a new type of warfare, hybrid warfare, with extensive use of the media and, where possible, global computer networks (blogs, social networks, and other resources). Gen Gerasimov is the Russian military strategist who most influenced Russia's recent political strategy and stance. Gerasimov saw the need to use new technologies and all the means that the State had to develop a new military strategy. In another order of things, it indicates that there must be a close relationship between national strategy and military strategy. These relationships can be formal or informal but must have been continuity.

Russia's strategic approach in this indirect media domain is related to the strategic actions of war and its perspective concerning Information Operations. As Bartles (2016) points out, "The important thing is that while the West considers these non-military measures as a way of avoiding war, Russia considers these measures like war." These considerations must be reviewed to understand and not misinterpret the doctrine. The West characterized this Russian strategy as based on disinformation, with few facts based on legitimate actions and interests.

Information Operations plays a critical role in Russia's military doctrine. It encompasses deliberate actions to influence adversaries' views, attitudes, and behavior during military operations. Vital

components of IO include psychological operations (PSYOP), electronic warfare (EW), cyber operations, and the physical destruction of information infrastructure. By leveraging these tools, Russia aims to shape public opinion, disrupt adversary communication, and protect its information systems. Russia's strategic objectives align with its military doctrine. These include territorial security, maintaining military strength, and safeguarding critical infrastructure. IO contributes directly to achieving these goals. Whether through shaping narratives, disrupting enemy networks, or protecting information channels, Russia recognizes the importance of information as a powerful tool alongside traditional military capability.

Reflexive Control Theory Russia's Reflexive Control Theory, rooted in the Soviet era, aims to shape an adversary's decision-making processes by subtly manipulating their perceptions of reality. The objective is to lead opponents to make decisions against their interests. By skillfully controlling the information environment, Russia creates scenarios where its desired outcomes appear as the most favorable choices. Reflexive control operates across negotiations, battlefield deception, and deterrence operations, forcing adversaries to alter plans and make irrational decisions.²

Implications and Methods Within Russian military doctrine, reflexive control plays a strategic role. Unlike Western countries, Russia views warfare broadly, considering a state's population to achieve goals. Information superiority is critical for destabilizing geopolitical balance. Denial and deception operations, exemplified by using "little green men" in Ukraine, demonstrate the method's effectiveness. Russia intentionally controls combat environments to increase predictability and create desired conditions. Reflexive control's adaptability makes it a powerful tool in information warfare and strategic manipulation.³

Currently, in the era of globalization of information and the consequent weakening of the physical limits of borders between states, Russia is changing how to resolve conflicts between them,

¹ United Kingdom. "JWP 3-80 Information Operations." (2002, 1.2)

² Keir Giles; James Sherr; Anthony Seaboyer. "Russian Reflexive Control." (2018)

³ Ibid. (2018)

which has become an essential factor. In Russia's contemporary conflicts, the strategy has prioritized the joint use of non-military measures, such as political, economic, and informational. These would be used to complement, or even replace, what will be implemented with the support of military force.

Under today's conditions of Russia's war against Ukraine, winning information confrontations at the tactical level will result in the achievement of strategic and political goals and the defeat of an enemy's armed forces (and the capture of its territory, the destruction of its economic potential, and the overthrow of its political system). This is because Russia's information warfare is not only directed at Ukraine but also at all Western country's enemies that support Ukraine's war effort. Russia conducts information confrontation activities between states and other actors in the information space to cause damage to information systems, processes, resources, and critical structures and undermine political and social systems to destabilize the adversary state.¹

3.3 The Strategic International Information Warfare and Its Impact on Brazil and Argentina

With strategic globalization, in the case of continuous global power competition, Westphalian military power is maximized by technological advances, as can be identified between Western countries, like the U.K. and Russia's power projection. In South American realism, particularly in Argentina and Brazil, the threshold of state resistance can increase or decrease in the strategy that uses the information environment due to the relativity of boundaries in the communications, electromagnetic, and cybernetic space. It would be critical for any military force to control the influence of tangible and intangible external technologies, developing strategies to bolster the threshold of resistance.²

As seen in the analysis of the strategies of the United Kingdom and Russia, different strategic actions, means, and ends applied by Information Operations are at stake. The means and methods can serve as a doctrinal example of how the military

component can use non-kinetic actions, considered hybrid, to achieve desired effects and targets. Strategic actions and political purposes serve as a reference to the global impact and an alert to the possibilities of informational threats to South America.

Faced with the potential growth of strategic threats in the information environment, South American countries need to be prepared to benefit from the fact that the power of Information Operations goes beyond physical force. This can be used in favor of Argentina and Brazil, which have similar political and military interests in defending their populations, cultures, Atlantic-South-Continental positions, large territories, and natural resources. Argentina and Brazil also have a stage of technological development that can be easily affected by Information Operations.

In Brazil, the doctrinal state of Information Operations has yet to advance beyond the tactical level of employment. This is because the National Policy and National Defense Strategy do not include actions to integrate informational methods and means. Therefore, there needs to be more clarity between applying tactical means and the possibility of a broad strategy in means and ends for strategic levels. In Argentina, Information operations are not implemented at a practical level and, therefore, are far from being considered at a strategic and political level. The fact that there are different methodologies and policies between Argentina and Brazil to establish the role of their armed forces makes cooperative actions difficult, making it difficult to perceive the impact of Information Operations as a strategic and political threat.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of Argentina and Brazil's strategic models highlights a critical gap: the need for more incorporation of Information Operations to undermine their strategic potential in a continuously competitive global environment. The information strategic approach observed in ongoing competitions between significant powers, such as the United Kingdom and Russia, underscores the

¹ Nogovitzin, y otros. "Rivalry in the Information Sphere: Russian Conceptions of Information Confrontation." (2022, 12)

² Marcelo Gullo. "Relaciones internacionales: una teoría crítica desde la periferia sudamericana." (2018)

SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL, AND THE STRATEGIC INFORMATION OPERATIONS

importance of communication and cyberspace dominance in modern military strategy for the domain of information.

Argentina and Brazil leverage the DIME framework to address their multidimensional security challenges, aiming for a balanced approach to ensure national stability and security. By focusing on diplomatic engagement, information security, military readiness, and economic stability, both countries work towards a comprehensive strategy to address their unique security concerns. Regarding the role of military power, the study of the strategic conflict scenario allowed us to conclude that National Defense is not limited to military physical power. The uncertainty surrounding the world of international relations makes it difficult to plan and define the Armed Forces' leadership.

When comparing Argentina's and Brazil's strategic planning, distinct differences emerge. Brazil's strategy is more politically integrated, offering greater flexibility in military planning and action, whereas Argentina's approach remains more confined to conventional military power. This disparity poses challenges to cooperative strategic action between the two nations. A joint and collaborative strategy for South America hinges on adjusting strategic perceptions within the information environment.

Effective military strategic planning must adapt to evolving security challenges, requiring an accurate identification of trends, risks, and threats. In Brazil, the Armed Forces are integral to the National Strategy, while in Argentina, they are viewed primarily as a response to external military threats, limiting their current operational scope. The examples of the United Kingdom and Russia illustrate the necessity for military strategies to incorporate indirect information actions through non-military means to achieve objectives in the ongoing state competition.

Suppose the neighboring South American countries, Brazil and Argentina, want to collaborate on defense and security matters at the strategic level. In that case, both nations must recognize the significance of information warfare, cyber capabilities, intelligence sharing, and strategic communication to counter common adversaries

effectively. Leveraging their respective strengths to create a synergistic defense strategy is crucial in an increasingly interconnected world, where information power is as critical as traditional military might.

In this analysis, it becomes evident that Argentina and Brazil's strategic planning processes require revision to align with the informational strategic trends embraced by major powers. This complexity poses challenges for developing a cohesive national or joint strategy. Both countries must adapt their methods and doctrines to restore strategic equilibrium and effectively compete in the information environment. National strategists should recognize that failing to project power in this domain—given the growing importance of Information Operations—will result in strategic subservience and compromised national security.

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