

**Hizballah in the Triple Frontier: How Political Discourse and National Identity Can
Augment How We Understand Counterterrorism Efforts**

Harleigh Bean

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**On my honor, I pledge I have neither given nor received unacknowledged aid on this
project.**

Harleigh Bean

Abstract:

This paper analyzes primary sources in the form of political discourse to demonstrate the link between discourse, national identity, and political action. I employ theoretical frameworks regarding national identity and political discourse in conjunction with linguistic frameworks such as Critical Discourse Analysis as presented by Fairclough in 2016. Through this analysis, I propose that political discourse analysis, specifically of discourse directly produced by Heads of State or their representation, should be used to analyze counterterrorism efforts. For this paper, I used the current Hezbollah presence in South America, more specifically in the Triple Frontier of Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay, as a vehicle to examine the relationship between political discourse and national identity.

Introduction:

Between 1992 and 1994, Argentina lost 144 people to international terrorist attacks. These attacks, both carried out by Hizballah, targeted the Jewish population present in Buenos Aires. In 1992, Hizballah detonated a car bomb located near the Israeli embassy (Costanza). The organization executed a similar attack outside the Argentine Israeli Mutual Association (AMIA) in 1994. Since the early 1990s, Hizballah has, seemingly, shifted its primary focus in the Tri-Border Area from committing terrorist attacks against Jewish communities to fundraising for the organization in its entirety. Between 1999 and 2003, Hizballah operative Assad Barakat allegedly transferred about \$6 million per year to Hezbollah. (Costanza) Though the threat posed by Hizballah sleeper cells in the region might not be violent in nature, fundraising

missions for the organization supported by illicit activity in the Tri-Border Area still poses a credible threat to regional security.

Current analysis attributes the presence of Hizballah in the Triple Frontier to regional factors such as corruption, established organized crime centers, and loosely monitored borders. Following this analysis, these factors hinder both regional and national counterterrorism efforts. While it is necessary to examine these physical determinants, this analytical structure can be augmented to better evaluate the situation. In this project, I argue that political discourse analysis should be incorporated into current, and future, examination of counterterrorism efforts in the region. The analysis of political discourse can reveal the relationship between how states construct and maintain a national identity, in this specific case a national identity with regards to international terrorism or international security, and the propensity for action. The political discourse analyzed in this project reveals a lack of congruency between the constructed national identities of the nations of the Triple Frontier. As national identity influences political action, this analysis suggests that tenuous tri-national counterterrorism efforts will continue until these identities align.

Literature Review:

To conceptualize the causes of the various vulnerabilities of the region, political actors allude to factors such as lack of counterterrorism infrastructure, an absence of regional cooperation, and inadequate border security. It goes without saying that the United States transformed into the driving force within the international “war on terror.” Due to this status, the annual report, titled “Country Reports on Terrorism,”

produced by the United States Department of State serves as a model of this phenomenon. The most recent report, 2016, is further analyzed below.

To describe counterterrorism efforts present both regionally in the Tri-Border Area and nationally in Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay, the report focuses on various challenges in the region; these challenges primarily focus on interagency cooperation, dense borders, and financial support. To provide a quick summary of hindrances to counterterrorism efforts in the region, the report states: “Many countries in Latin America have porous borders, limited law enforcement capabilities, and established smuggling routes. These vulnerabilities offered opportunities to local and international terrorist groups and posed challenges to governments in the region” (United States). This analysis is further echoed throughout the report, particularly within the analysis of counterterrorism structures present in each country. The report continues to summarize counterterrorism initiatives in Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay. The analysis provided for Argentina focuses on the diminishing results produced by strategies to fight the financing of terrorism (United States). With regards to Brazil, the report highlights the apparent lack of interagency cooperation, noting, “Brazil maintains its own watchlist, but it is not fully digitized and is not widely shared across all the relevant screening authorities” (United States). Furthermore, “Brazilian states maintained individual criminal records databases, and information sharing between the states is unwieldy” (United States). Finally, examination into Paraguayan counterterrorist strategy elicited a summary of the effort, or lack thereof, Paraguay dedicated to counterterrorism efforts: “Paraguay’s efforts to provide more effective law enforcement and border security were hampered by a lack of interagency cooperation and information sharing, as well as

pervasive corruption within security, border control, and judicial institutions” (United States).

While examination of factors such as the tri-national cooperation, border control, and funding, provides useful analysis, this structure can be augmented through analyzing differing perceptions of national identity and responsibility. The political discourse presented in government documents, specifically the language used in presidential speeches, reflects perceptions of national identity. As the language employed by the governments of Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay differ, so do official perceptions of national identity.

Theoretical framework:

In “Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field,” Pierre Bourdieu analyzes the state, specifically its construction and impact on society. According to Bourdieu, states are socially constructed entities as “one of the major powers of the state is to produce and impose...categories of thought that we spontaneously apply to all things of the social world—including the state itself” (Bourdieu 1). This societal construct, following Bourdieu, is the “culmination of a process of concentration of different specifies of capital” (Bourdieu 4): physical capital, economic capital, cultural or informational capital, and symbolic capital. While physical and economic capital are easier to understand, symbolic capital and informational capital require further explanation. In short, the term symbolic capital signifies any species of capital—whether it be physical, economic, or informational—that is recognized and given value by other social agents (Bourdieu 8). Informational capital “is correlated with the cultural market” (Bourdieu 7). Bourdieu further develops this

concept by examining the notion of culture. According to Bourdieu, the relationship between culture and the state goes as follows:

The state contributes to the unification of the cultural market by unifying all codes, linguistic and juridical, and by effecting a homogenization of all forms of communication...the state molds mental structures and imposes common principles of visions and division...And thereby contributes to the construction of what is commonly designated as national identity...By universally imposing and inculcating (within the limits of its authority) a dominant culture thus constituted as legitimate national culture. (Bourdieu 8)

Here, Bourdieu argues that through calculated decisions, the state is able to establish a homogenous national identity; this national identity is then manifested in the dominant national culture. Following this perspective, society both constructs and is constructed by the state. While this article provides important insight to the malleable nature of the state as a societal construct, it does not provide analysis into the linguistic or discursive strategies the state employs to establish its national identity.

In the article “The discursive construction of national identities,” authors Rudolf de Cillia, Martin Reisigl, and Ruth Wodack investigate the relationship between discourse and national identity. De Cillia et al. employ Austria, specifically interview with Austrian citizens regarding nationalism and national identity, to analyze the connection between expressed discursive strategies and perceptions of national identity. According to de Cillia et al., nations are “imagined communities,” (de Cillia et al., 154) or symbolic communities that are constructed discursively (de Cillia et al. 155). De Cillia et al., offer what they call five basic assumptions to frame this argument:

- (1) nations are imagined communities
- (2) national identities are constructed discursively
- (3) national identity is a sort of habitus
- (4) the construction of national identities depends on the construction of difference/distinctiveness and uniqueness
- (5) national identities are pluralistic in nature as there is no such thing as the only and only national identity (de Cillia et al. 153-4).

To demonstrate how national identity is a discursive construct, de Cillia et al. present the linguistic strategies expressed in their studies.

In addition to offering a theoretical analysis of the relationship between the nation, identity, and discourse de Cillia et al. outlines the linguistic choices that reveal the existence of this relationship. Following de Cillia et al., “the designers of national identities and national cultures aim at ‘linking membership within the political state and identification with a national culture so that culture and state become identical (de Cillia et al. 155). To accomplish this goal, de Cillia et al. argue that actors participate distinctive methods of discursive construction (de Cillia et al. 160). These methods can be divided into four types of macro-strategies:

- (1) constructive strategies
- (2) perpetuation and justification strategies
- (3) transformation strategies
- (4) dismantling or destructive strategies

Constructive strategies involve the process of othering. According to de Cillia et al., this strategy constructs a “national ‘we-group’ through particular acts of reference” such as the use first person pronouns like “we” (de Cillia et al. 160). These strategies are all persuasive in nature as the goal is to “invite identification and solidarity with the ‘we-group” (de Cillia et al. 160). Perpetuation and justification strategies strive to “maintain, support and reproduce national identities” through highlighting continuity, or the need for everyone (i.e. those in the ‘we-group’) to be in the same boat (de Cillia et al. 161). Transformation strategies, however, aim to revitalize or reinvent national identity or an aspect of it. Lastly, dismantling or destructive strategies “Serve to de-mythologize or demolish existing national identities or elements of them” (de Cillia et al. 161). Of these

presented linguistic strategies, the structure of constructive strategies is most important to this analysis.

Linguistic Framework:

“Where does identity come from?” (Chilton 205) In “Analysing Political Discourse: Theory and Practice,” author Paul Chilton examines the connection between political action and language ability. Following Chilton, the human language maintains unique communicative, reflective, and cultural properties (Chilton 198); these properties can be further divided into subcategories encompassing the role power, language, conflict, and cooperation (Chilton 198). Chilton introduces and summarizes Aristotle’s theories in *Politics* regarding the relationship between human language and the *polis* to provide a theoretical backdrop for political discourse analysis. According to Chilton, Aristotle’s views can be summarized into three main points:

- (1) Language has the function of indicating to members of the group what is harmful or useful.
- (2) Language has the function of indicating what is good and evil or just unjust.
- (3) The producing and sharing of a common view regarding these concepts is an intrinsic part of constituting a social or political group. (Chilton 199)

Chilton emphasizes the importance of the last point, further developing the idea of “sharing a common view.” Arguing that “sharing a common view” represents the pillar of politics, Chilton declares, “at the heart of what we call ‘politics’ is the attempt to get others to ‘share a common view’ about what is useful—harmful, good—evil, just—unjust” (Chilton 199). Language, he says, is the only method to achieve this goal (Chilton 199). Through seemingly simple linguistic choices such as accents, words, and pronouns, humans can convey political ideologies, express distance or solidarity, and facilitate bonding (Chilton 201). Chilton argues that these linguistic choices enable “us to assign

semantic roles to referring expressions.” (Chilton 203). With regards to the context of political discourse, this analysis suggests that actors can employ various linguistic choices to express opinions about certain places, events, and/or groups; these groups can be understood to include both the group the speaker belongs to or other groups they interact with. To sway others into sharing common values through calculated linguistic choices is to encourage others into adhering to a similar, or identical, set of values; these values serve as a reflection of identity. In response to the question “where does identity come from?”, Chilton offers this response: “Identity unfolds in discourse by positioning others on the axes of space, time and rightness, presuming the centrality and the fixity of self” (Chilton 205). In short, actors strategically express linguistic choices to assign certain attributes to the subject of their discussion; from these assignments, actors construct realities based on one principal attribute: identity.

Whereas Chilton outlines the history of language theory, Isabela and Norman Fairclough provide a method of analyzing discourse in the book *Political Discourse Analysis: A Method for Advanced Students*. Published in 2013, this book strives to update or expound upon the principals of critical discourse analysis (CDA) outlined by Norman Fairclough periodically from 1989 to 2010. Of this book, two chapters, in particular, provide a detailed account of the linguistic framework for critical discourse analysis: chapter 2: “Practical reasoning: A framework for analysis and evaluation” and chapter 3: “Critical discourse analysis and analysis of argumentation.” As both chapters delve into similar subjects—CDA and practical argumentation—I will separate the summary along the lines of thematic concepts instead of chapters. Following Fairclough and Fairclough, critical discourse analysis is a framework for linguistic analysis that aims to apply the critical nature of social science to discourse. Defined as the “social use

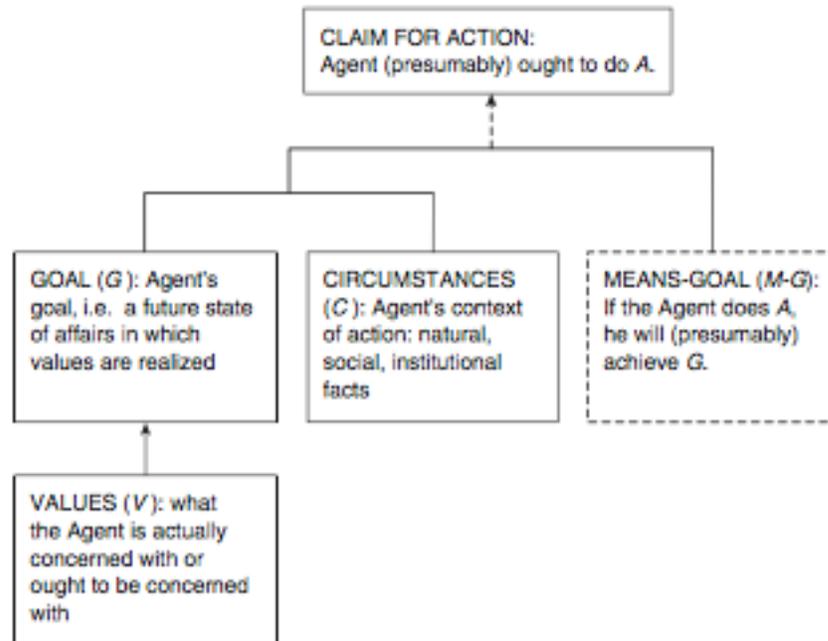
of language in social contexts,” discourse is typically considered to maintain three connotations: (1) an element of social practices (2) language associated with a particular field and (3) a way to express a particular social perspective (Fairclough and Fairclough 81). The term “political discourse” fits into the second category. The main goal of CDA is to analyze the “relations between discourse and other elements of social life, including social relations, ideologies, social institutions and organizations, and social identities” through critical examination (Fairclough and Fairclough 78). There is a symbiotic relationship between the society, denoted through the term “social” and discourse: ideas and concepts in social life are manifested in discourse (Fairclough and Fairclough 79). Fairclough argues that this interdependent relationship requires that discourse be social explained and that social life be explained in terms of the effects of discourse (Fairclough and Fairclough 79). CDA serves as the means to satisfy this request. As the term “critical discourse analysis” denotes a larger body of linguistic research, Fairclough offers a new analytical method to this field: practical argumentation.

Fairclough and Fairclough propose two principal concepts to augment critical discourse analysis: practical reasoning and argumentation. In short, practical reasoning is “reasoning concerning what to do” (Fairclough and Fairclough 35). In contrast to theoretical reasoning, practical reasoning focuses on the establishment of an appropriate course of action necessary to achieve a goal (Fairclough and Fairclough 35). These necessary actions and desired goals are influenced by circumstances and supposed consequences and expressed through discourse; discourse, in this case, signifies argumentation. Fairclough and Fairclough define an argument as “a set of statements (explicit or implicit), one of which is the conclusion (claim) while the others are the premises” (Fairclough and Fairclough 36). Argumentation is a social activity.

Fairclough and Fairclough expand on this point, arguing, argumentation “is also understood as a social and rational *activity* of attempting to justify or refute a certain claim, and aiming to *persuade* an interlocutor (a *reasonable* critic) of the acceptability (or unacceptability) of a claim” (Fairclough and Fairclough 36). In short, argumentation is a social activity in which agents strive to convince interlocutors to accept certain set of shared common values.

Combined, these two concepts—practical reasoning and argumentation—produce practical argumentation, which is, according to Fairclough and Fairclough, a more robust approach to critical discourse analysis. Practical argumentation, then, is a subset of argumentation that employs practical reasoning as a method to convey a problem-solution type of argument (Fairclough and Fairclough 40). According to Fairclough and Fairclough, practical reasoning the “primary activity that is going on in political discourse” (Fairclough 86). To analyze this discursive activity, Fairclough and Fairclough propose this model¹:

¹ Figure 1.1: Fairclough and Fairclough, 45



The model represented in Figure 1.1 is comprised of five principal factors: the claim, the goal, the circumstances, the means-goal, and the values. The claim statement represents what the agent believes to be the solution to the problem expressed as circumstances, or premises concerning the context of the situation (Fairclough and Fairclough 43). Goals, following Fairclough and Fairclough, represent a desired future state of affairs in which present desires, future values, or moral/institutional norms are realized (Fairclough and Fairclough 44). The means-goal factor, or premise, is the proposed action(s) that presumably would lead the agent from their circumstances to their goals Fairclough and Fairclough 43). Finally, values answer the question “what does the agent care about or believe they ought to care about? Fairclough and Fairclough summarize this analytical structure, insisting:

practical argumentation is therefore saying that, in the arguer’s view, given what the circumstances are and given what our goals are, underlain by our concerns and values, the proposed action or policy is necessary and sufficient to address the circumstances and meet our goals. (Fairclough and Fairclough 89)

When applied to political discourse, specifically political speeches, the analytical model can reveal the expressed goals and values of actors, or agents, which, in turn, can reflect perceptions of national identity.

Methods:

Although this paper is retrospective in nature, the data selected for this project aims to represent the most recent discourse available. Figure 1.2 describes the data analyzed in this examination.

	Argentina	Brazil	Paraguay
Number of Speeches	6	3	4
Years (Time-Frame)	2007-2011	2015-2016	2010-2013
Number of Words	18, 096	8, 024	12, 014

The data selection process followed in this manner: I identified the most recent counterterrorism legislation passed in each country and used this information to temporally frame the discourse I chose. The second row of Figure 1.2 depicts this time frame. I then located speeches delivered by the Heads of State, or their representation, of Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay at the General Debate of the UN General Assembly. I chose the General Debate of the UN General Assembly for three primary reasons: (1) all three countries of the Triple Frontier are UN member states therefore (2) they give speeches every year (3) which are officially translated into English. Although I do speak Spanish, I chose to analyze all the speeches in English in order to ensure that each piece of discourse received the same level of analysis as I do not speak Portuguese. After acquiring the speeches, I then applied the practical argumentation structure outlined by

Isabela and Norman Fairclough in CDA and related my findings to the discursive strategies summarized by de Cillia et al.

Analysis²:

As per de Cillia et al., constructive strategies “encompass those linguistic acts which serve to ‘build’ and establish a particular national identity” (de Cillia et al., 160). These “linguistic acts” are primarily manifested through the deliberate and repeated use of first person, singular or plural, pronouns. The use of these pronouns to attribute certain characteristics or expressions to the “we” group incites solidarity while simultaneously creating distance from and the marginalization of the “other” (de Cillia et al., 160). When utilized in conjunction with critical discourse analysis, this linguistic strategy displays the interplay between othering, expressed values, and actions.

When applied to the selected discourse, the practical argumentation model reveals that each country, Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay expresses different goals and values. Fairclough argues that values represent the primary influence in the practical argumentation structure, arguing that each country’s expressed values are reflected in their claims, goals, and means-goals. As these goals and values reveal perceptions of national identity proposed by de Cilla et al., each country in the Triple Frontier seems to express varying representations of national identity which, then, suggests that each country maintains dissimilar propensities to act.

² With the hope of being more concise, I’ve presented my analysis of what I believe is the most representative speech for each country in this specific section. However, all of the analytical models I created for this project are included in the appendix at the end of this document.

Using the 2009 speech as reference, former President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner employs constructive strategies to explicitly dissociate Argentina as a nation from the “other,” or the Islamic Republic of Iran. The most common first-person pronouns used are “me” and “we.” According to President Kirchner, Argentina has “guarantees for freedom and the administration of justice,” is “not an imperialist country,” and has “suffered from the doctrine of national security” (Argentina 2009). It is implied that these attributes do not also apply to the “othered” nation, the Islamic Republic of Iran. However, President Kirchner, also, explicitly others the Islamic Republic of Iran, declaring “Surely, he will once again deny tragedies that occurred in the course of western history in the twentieth century. He will surely invoke the threat of other imperialisms. And he will also surely invoke God” (Argentina 2009). As “he” is previously defined as the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran, President Kirchner clearly distinguishes Iran from Argentina. In the face of international terrorism, Iran, as per President Kirchner, evades responsibility by alluding to both other injustices elsewhere and religion. This process of “othering” is further exhibited by the practical argumentation structure.

President Cristina Kirchner, clearly values justice. Figure 1.3 depicts the interplay between the expressed values and the other premises established by President Kirchner.

Claim (solution)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I humbly reiterate once again our appeal for the extradition of the officials whom Argentina’s justice system believes are responsible...
Circumstantial premises (problems, facts)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • My country and the United States are the only two countries to have experienced attacks of international terrorism. • Today, in this Assembly, I am joined by the head of AMIA, the entity that was bombed, as well as by family

	<p>members who have accompanied him.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nevertheless, that did not happen. Instead, this year, one of the officials whose extradition was sought by the prosecutor on the case was promoted to minister.
Goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [Presumably, to defend] democracy, whose unconditional defence Argentina has made part of its institutional and historical core.
Values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I would like to tell him that, like him, I believe in God. We may do so in different faiths but, in the end, I believe that neither of us believes that God could command us to prefer threats or to avoid justice from being done
Means-goal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • not to be found guilty, but to be judged and to be allowed to take advantage of all the rights and guarantees that every Argentine citizen and foreigner has in our country: guarantees under democracy...[Subject of this statement is previously defined as those the Argentine system believes are responsible for the terrorist attacks.]

The term “justice” is echoed in every speech analyzed for this project and is identified as a driving force, or principal value, for President Kirchner. The problem, as expressed in the goals premise, is the vulnerability of democracy. In the claim, President Kirchner presents the extradition of the Iranian citizens accused of participating, in some capacity, in the 1994 AMIA bombing as the solution to the problem. President Kirchner believes that once those accused of the crime are put through the judicial process in Argentina, the claim, or solution, will be satisfied. All of these premises are driven by the expressed value: justice.

The second speech delivered by President Temer in 2016 serves as the best representation of the use of constructive strategies in speeches delivered by Brazilian heads of state during the years 2015-2016. In short, President Temer employs first person pronouns such as “we” to distance the “we” group from the “other”: The United Nations. Whereas President Kirchner establishes the Islamic Republic of Iran as the “othered” nation, President Temer utilizes constructive strategies to distance Brazil from the United Nations as a whole. According to President Temer, Brazil is a nation that is built on diversity, that believes in the power of dialogue, and that does not relinquish its principles (Brazil 2016b). President Temer explicitly “others” the United Nations through statements such as “The system’s inability to react to conflicts further worsens cycles of destruction,” “We would like to have a results-oriented United Nations, capable of facing up to the major challenges of our time,” and “the Organization should assert itself as a source of effective solutions” (Brazil 2016b). These statements suggest that the United Nations is slow to react to global challenges, lacks a results-oriented approach to these challenges, and currently produces ineffective solutions. This process of othering transfers over to the practical argumentation structure where the United Nations is the subject of the speech and the attributes President Temer associates with Brazil are represented in the expressed values.

President Temer indicates that Brazil values diversity. Figure 1.4 demonstrates how the values of Brazil influence the other premises.

<p>Claim (solution)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The United Nations cannot be reduced to a mere observation post that condemns the world’s scourges. Instead, the Organization should assert itself as a source of effective solutions.
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<p>Circumstantial premises (problems, facts)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Today’s world shows signs of uncertainty and instability. • From outbreaks of regional conflicts to violent fundamentalism, we face both old and new threats that we have been unable to contain. • Hotbeds of tension show no signs of fading away. • The system’s inability to react to conflicts further worsens cycles of destruction.
<p>Goals</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is for that reason that Brazil has warned that is essential to make global governance structures more representative, many of which have by now aged and have become disconnected from reality. The Security Council must be reformed.
<p>Values</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We are a country that is built on and by the strength of diversity. We believe in the power of dialogue. • What we wish for the world is what we wish for Brazil — peace, sustainable development and respect for human rights. • We would like to live in a world in which law prevails over force. We would like to have rules that reflect the pluralistic nature of the community of nations. We would like to have a results-oriented United Nations, capable of facing up to the major challenges of our time.
<p>Means-goal</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The very safety of our citizens ultimately depends on the quality of our collective action.

While President Temer mentions diversity in the context of racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic diversity, this value is reflected in his call to expand or reorganize the UN Security Council: President Temer calls upon the UN Security Council to become more diverse. This call for diversification is identified as the goals premise. It is through this lens President Temer contextualizes the situation, as represented by the circumstantial

premises. According to President Temer, the ineffectuality of the United Nations has resulted in international instability, regional conflicts, and the existence of violent extremism. The problem, also identified through this premise, is the apparent obsolescence of the United Nations with regards to international security. Collective action is identified as the immediate step necessary to achieve this goal, and thus solve the problem.

Of the four speeches selected for this analysis, the 2012 speech delivered by former President Franco Gómez is the only one that explicitly mentions international terrorism. Through the application of constructive strategies, President Franco Gómez creates distance between the “we” group, Paraguay, and the “other,” developed nations. To construct this separation, President Franco Gómez attributes the origins of transnational crime to developed nations, stating,

The Government of Paraguay reaffirms its unequivocal commitment to the fight against all activities of criminal organizations and calls for a stronger position on the part of developed countries, where most of the demand associated with those crimes originates. (Paraguay 2012)

In contrast to the developed nations, Paraguay, according to President Franco Gómez is committed to “the fight against money-laundering and the financing of terrorism” and complies with the “recommendations made by the international organizations charged with preventing and prosecuting crimes related to money laundering and the financing of terrorism” (Paraguay 2012). Practical argumentation analysis further illuminates this process of “othering.”

Paraguay values international peace. This value is reflected especially in the circumstantial premises expressed during President Franco Gomez’ 2012 speech as shown in Figure 1.5

Claim (solution)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [Paraguay] calls for a stronger position on the part of developed countries, where most of the demand associated with those crimes originates.
Circumstantial premises (problems, facts)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paraguay is increasingly concerned about the growth in transnational organized crime in its worst manifestations, namely, drug trafficking on a large and a small scale, arms trafficking and trafficking in migrants and in persons, among others. • The Government of Paraguay reaffirms its unequivocal commitment to the fight against all activities of criminal organizations • Paraguay also reaffirms its strong condemnation of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. • [Paraguay] has made a coordinated effort to bring its legal and normative framework in line with its commitments and with the recommendations made by the international organizations charged with preventing and prosecuting crimes related to money laundering and the financing of terrorism.
Goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to (the) fight against money-laundering and the financing of terrorism.
Values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paraguay wishes to reiterate here its commitment to international peace and security.
Means-goal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Those transnational crimes stem mainly the social and economic inequality of our peoples. Joint international efforts are needed, therefore, in order to fight such scourges head on.

President Franco Gómez frequently alludes to the importance of international peace and autonomy. This message, although not explicitly clear, seems to suggest that Paraguay values its sovereignty. The problem is expressed through the goals premise and

supported by the claim: money-laundering and the financing of terrorism which are two international security challenges catalyzed by developing nations. To resolve this issue, President Franco Gómez suggests that the developing countries step up to the plate and take charge of this situation. The immediate action necessary to achieve this solution is international cooperation, or international efforts. It is through these means that President Franco Gómez, and therefore Paraguay, believes the international community will achieve international peace.

Conclusion:

Although not all of these examples of political discourse explicitly mention Hezbollah or its presence in the Triple Frontier, the dual analysis provided by the examination of constructive strategies and the application of the practical argumentation method reveals that each country constructs a different “other” which then leads to the expression of different values. As these values influence their circumstantial, goal, and means-goal premises, each country views international terrorism, and therefore the presence of Hezbollah in the Triple Frontier a different way. This variance is also reflected in the claim to action, or proposed solution to the problems, made by each country.

Argentina directly challenges the Islamic Republic of Iran to allow citizens accused of participating in the 1994 AMIA bombing to undergo prosecution. Brazil, on the other hand, calls for a reformation of the UN Security Council in order to transform the international system in a way that will more readily handle international security challenges such as international terrorism. Finally, Paraguay challenges developed nations, presumably the “West,” to pioneer counterterrorism strategies. This variance shows that not only does each country contextualize the threat of international

terrorism differently, but each country also expresses differing solutions, or claims to action, to this problem. This situation questions the propensity for regional actions: If there is not consensus among the Triple Frontier nations, how can there be regional cooperation to eradicate the presence of Hezbollah?

As this study analyzes government discourse with a specific temporal focus—the most recent counterterrorism laws and the accompanying executive discourse, I encourage future studies to delve deeper into the history and linguistics of counterterrorism policy in each country. Furthermore, as I am not a native speaker nor student of Portuguese, I believe it would be beneficial to reexamine the chosen Brazilian documents in the native language. While credible translations/transliterations were chosen for this study, discrepancies may still exist due to the nature of words, terms, and phrases becoming “lost in translation.” Finally, as this study focuses on half of the societies in the Tri-Border Area—the official state identity/voice—I encourage further studies to examine the general public opinion and discourse on the presence of Hezbollah in the Tri-Border Area and state and regional counterterrorism policy.

Appendix

Argentina:

Figure 1.6: 2007, President Nester Kirchner
Constructive Strategies:

We	Them
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Argentine Republic continues, year after year, tirelessly to condemn the serious threat of terrorism throughout the world. We believe that all acts of terror are criminal and unjustifiable and that no argument can justify them. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the Islamic Republic of Iran has to date failed to offer the required cooperation with the Argentine justice system to resolve those issues.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We cannot tolerate the actions of those responsible for terrorism or of those who defend, finance or protect terrorists, be they individuals or countries. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some 102 members of our community, some of whose relatives are here with us today, lost their lives. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> [They, previously identified as the victims of the bombings and their relatives,] impose upon us the moral mandate to respect their memories and to commit all our energies to hunting down, finding and prosecuting those responsible. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> our interest and the justice system continue to seek the truth, and we keep our memory of the horror alive so that it will not recur. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We do so with the sole aim of clarifying the facts and bringing those responsible to justice. Respect for the memory of our 102 victims requires justice to be carried out 	

Practical Argumentation:

Claim (solution)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Just as no nation of the world is beyond their reach, the response must be a joint effort of all nations,
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	and especially this Organization, to stop and eliminate this scourge. We cannot tolerate the actions of those responsible for terrorism or of those who defend, finance or protect terrorists, be they individuals or countries.
Circumstantial premises (problems, facts)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Argentine Republic continues, year after year, tirelessly to condemn the serious threat of terrorism throughout the world. • Argentina has twice suffered terrorist attacks.
Goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Despite the difficulties that have arisen through the passage of time, given that those attacks took place 13 and 15 years ago, respectively, and the subsequent cover-ups, our interest and the justice system continue to seek the truth, and we keep our memory of the horror alive so that it will not recur. • we hope that the Islamic Republic of Iran, in the context of applicable international law, will accept and respect Argentina's legal jurisdiction and cooperate effectively with Argentine judges to bring to justice those involved in these events.
Values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to respect their memories and to commit all our energies to hunting down, finding and prosecuting those responsible.
Means-goal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We call here for that recommendation to be ratified during the November session of the • INTERPOL General Assembly. • We call on the Secretary-General and on all the nations of the world to persuade the Islamic Republic of Iran to allow the judicial process to move forward.

Figure 1.7: 2008, President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner
Constructive Strategies:

We	Them
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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • My country, the Republic of Argentina, suffered two attacks, in 1992 and 1994: the 1992 bombing of the Israeli Embassy and the 1994 bombing of the Argentine Israelite Mutual Association (AMIA) building. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I would like to affirm that, in my country, those citizens will have a fair and public trial with their full participation, with all the guarantees afforded by Argentine law and by the oversight of the international community. [“Those citizens” are previously identified as Iranian citizens accused of having participated in the planning or execution of the AMIA bombing.] 	

Practical Argumentation:

<p>Claim (solution)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I call upon the Islamic Republic of Iran, in compliance with international law, please to agree that the Argentine justice system can bring to trial in public, transparent courts, and with the full guarantees given by a democratic system, those citizens who stand accused.
<p>Circumstantial premises (problems, facts)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • My country, the Republic of Argentina, suffered two attacks, in 1992 and 1994: the 1992 bombing of the Israeli Embassy and the 1994 bombing of the Argentine Israelite Mutual Association (AMIA) building.
<p>Goals</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Given the gravity of these events, this would guarantee to the Islamic Republic of Iran that there would be fairness, truth and justice in that trial.
<p>Values</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I would thus urge once again that, in compliance with international law and because ensuring access to justice is what truly shows how we respect truth, justice and freedom, this request from the Argentine justice system, accepted by INTERPOL, be respected.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • at a time when truth and justice are elusive values internationally.
Means-goal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I would like to affirm that, in my country, those citizens will have a fair and public trial with their full participation, with all the guarantees afforded by Argentine law and by the oversight of the international community.

Figure 1.8: 2009, President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner
Constructive Strategies:

We	Them
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • My country and the United States are the only two countries to have experienced attacks of international terrorism. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Surely, he will once again deny tragedies that occurred in the course of western history in the twentieth century. He will surely invoke the threat of other imperialisms. And he will also surely invoke God. [He is identified as the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran.]
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I said that there were constitutional guarantees in my country; that the principle that no one is guilty until proven guilty beyond a shadow of a doubt prevails from one end of my country to the other; and that we have guarantees for freedom and the administration of justice. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • my country, the Argentine Republic, is not an imperialist country — neither by way of belief nor as a reflection of our history. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ours is a country that suffered from colonial oppression at its founding. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • During the world's bipolar era, we also suffered from the doctrine of national security 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • like him, I believe in God. We may do so in different faiths but, in the end, I believe that neither of us believes that God could command us to prefer threats or to avoid justice from being done. 	

Practical Argumentation:

Claim (solution)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I humbly reiterate once again our appeal for the extradition of the officials whom Argentina's justice system believes are responsible...
Circumstantial premises (problems, facts)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> My country and the United States are the only two countries to have experienced attacks of international terrorism. Today, in this Assembly, I am joined by the head of AMIA, the entity that was bombed, as well as by family members who have accompanied him. Nevertheless, that did not happen. Instead, this year, one of the officials whose extradition was sought by the prosecutor on the case was promoted to minister.
Goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> [Presumably, to defend] democracy, whose unconditional defence Argentina has made part of its institutional and historical core.
Values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I would like to tell him that, like him, I believe in God. We may do so in different faiths but, in the end, I believe that neither of us believes that God could command us to prefer threats or to avoid justice from being done
Means-goal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> not to be found guilty, but to be judged and to be allowed to take advantage of all the rights and guarantees that every Argentine citizen and foreigner has in our country: guarantees under democracy... [Subject of this statement is previously defined as those the Argentine system believes are responsible for the terrorist attacks.]

Figure 1.9: 2010a, President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner
Constructive Strategies:

We	Them
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I say this by virtue of our experience as a country that has been a target 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> But I will propose to the Islamic Republic of Iran — even if it has no faith in Argentine justice, as it has

<p>and victim of international terrorist groups.</p>	<p>said, because of prejudgement and insufficient neutrality to carry out a trial</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I did so while emphasizing that mine is a leading country in respecting human rights and bringing to justice those who commit crimes against humanity. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I have also underscored that we have a system that ensures due process and the right to counsel and that does not permit anyone to be tried or convicted in absentia. It is for those reasons that we continue to make this request for extradition 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • we are party to international conventions 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Despite the fact that we have guaranteed that all these principles will continue to be respected in the Argentine Republic, we have not yet achieved results. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • we do not consider that attack as an attack on one community or one religion. For us, it was an attack on all Argentines. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I am President of a country where we can celebrate the Jewish New Year with the Jewish community, as I did this year in my capacity as leader of the country. We also celebrated the end of Ramadan at an Islamic centre 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We are a country of open-mindedness because of our immigrant heritage, which guarantees plurality and diversity for all. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All the Argentine Government seeks is justice. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We must do this if we wish to feel truly part of the international community. We must resolve this dispute in a framework of justice and legality. 	

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Practical Argumentation:

<p>Claim (solution)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • But I will propose to the Islamic Republic of Iran...that a third country be selected, through mutual agreement between our countries, in which there are guarantees of due process and where international observers and United Nations representatives may participate to bring full trial to the terrible attack on AMIA in our country.
<p>Circumstantial premises (problems, facts)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I say this as a virtue of our experience as a country that has been a target and victim of international terrorist groups. • I should also like to say that we do not consider that attack as an attack on one community or one religion. For us, it was an attack on all Argentines. • There is a precedent for what we are proposing. The precedent is not a capricious or fantastical legal construction: it is the Lockerbie case. That is an international precedent of a trial held in a third neutral country that would provide guarantees for those who fear they might not be judged impartially.
<p>Goals</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thus, we hope that the offer I make to the Islamic Republic of Iran today before the General Assembly will put an end to the pretext of non-neutrality and to accusations of our complicity in withholding impartial justice. • We must do this if we wish to feel truly part of the international community. We must resolve this dispute in a framework of justice and legality.
<p>Values</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All the Argentine Government seeks is justice.

Means-goal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is for those reasons that we continue to make this request for extradition. [Those reasons defined above concerning the democratic nature of the Argentine legal process.]
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Figure 2.0: 2010b, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs Alberto D’Alotto
Constructive Strategies: [2010b: no text specific to terrorism]
Practical Argumentation: [2010b: no text specific to terrorism]

Figure 2.1: 2011, President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner
Constructive Strategies:

We	Them
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • But allow me to say to Assembly members, on the authority we have as a country that has suffered from the scourge of international terrorism... 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • when I spoke of the question of Palestine, my authority to do so — if indeed it gives us authority, as such— is derived from the fact that we are one of the only two countries in the Americas that have been the target of international terrorism... 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I am demanding, on the basis of the requirements of Argentine justice, that the Islamic Republic of Iran submit to the legal authority and in particular allow for those who have been accused of some level of participation in the AMIA attack to be brought to justice. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Last year, we proposed here that if they did not trust our country’s justice system, we could take the approach that was taken for the Lockerbie case 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The message that we received from Iran, although signifying a change of attitude on the part of the Government, does not satisfy our demands, which, as I said quite clearly, are for justice. 	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What we would like to say, however, is that we think that this dialogue must be constructive... 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sometimes, I think of everything that has happened to Argentines. These things have happened to many countries at various times, but they have all happened to us, in our country, during our history. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International terrorism has twice made us the target of its attacks. So, if we think of it, it is as if all of the problems and all of the tragedies and miseries of this world decided to focus on one single country. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Our capacity to recover, in terms of the economy, our tireless and never-ending fight to recover what is ours, our never-ending demand for justice for the victims of the attacks, and the strength that we have drawn from all of these tragedies give me the confidence and certainty that this is the path we have chosen: that of achieving growth along with social inclusion for our fellow citizens. 	

Practical Argumentation:

<p>Claim (solution)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I am demanding, on the basis of the requirements of Argentine justice, that the Islamic Republic of Iran submit to the legal authority and in particular allow for those who have been accused of some level of participation in the AMIA attack to be brought to justice.
<p>Circumstantial premises (problems, facts)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • my authority do so...is derived from the fact that we are one of the only two countries in the Americas that have been the target of international terrorism. • I stress not that it is a Jewish association, but that it is an Argentina association. This was an attack on Argentina.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International terrorism has twice made us the target of its attacks.
Goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The message that we received from Iran, although signifying a change of attitude on the part of the Government, does not satisfy our demands, which, as I said quite clearly, are for justice.
Values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respect for human rights, with trials carried out for the sake of remembrance, truth and justice. • They have confidence that the Government will continue to do what it has always done, which is to defend the values of truth and justice. [They defined as family members of AMIA attack victims.]
Means-goal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • we could take the approach that was taken for the Lockerbie case: we could choose a court from a third country, by mutual agreement, in order for that court to be able to provide the only thing that we are demanding—that is, justice.

Brazil:

Figure 2.1: 2015, President Dilma Rousseff
Constructive Strategies:

We	Them
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brazil is a host country, a welcoming country, one that is made up of people from around the world. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the Organization has not achieved the same success in addressing collective security challenges, even though they were at the origin of the Organization and at the centre of its concerns.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We are an open society. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the United Nations is currently being severely tested.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We welcome refugees. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One cannot be complacent in the face of barbaric acts such as those perpetrated by the so-called Islamic State and other associated groups.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We are a multi-ethnic country, where differences coexist. We know all too well the importance of differences, which ultimately make us stronger, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A substantial proportion of the men, women and children who desperately brave the waters of the Mediterranean and wearily make

<p>richer and more diverse culturally, socially and economically.</p>	<p>their way along the roads of Europe come from the Middle East and North Africa, from countries whose State institutions have been dismantled by military actions undertaken in contravention of international law, thereby opening space for the proliferation of terrorism.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We need a United Nations that is capable of promoting lasting international peace and of acting swiftly and effectively during crises, regional and localized conflicts and in response to any crimes against humanity.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Security Council must be expanded in its permanent and non-permanent member categories in order to become more representative, legitimate and effective.

Practical Argumentation:

<p>Claim (solution)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We need a United Nations that is capable of promoting lasting international peace and of acting swiftly and effectively during crises, regional and localized conflicts and in response to any crimes against humanity.
<p>Circumstantial premises (problems, facts)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • However, the Organization has not achieved the same success in addressing collective security challenges, even though they were at the origin of the Organization and at the centre of its concerns. • The proliferation of regional conflicts, some of which have the potential to be highly destructive, and the spread of terrorism, which kills men, women and children, destroys our common heritage and displaces millions of people from their long-established communities, demonstrate all too well that the

	<p>United Nations is currently being severely tested.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A substantial proportion of the men, women and children who desperately brave the waters of the Mediterranean and wearily make their way along the roads of Europe come from the Middle East and North Africa, from countries whose State institutions have been dismantled by military actions undertaken in contravention of international law, thereby opening space for the proliferation of terrorism.
Goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One cannot be complacent in the face of barbaric acts such as those perpetrated by the so- called Islamic State and other associated groups
Values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In a world where goods, capital, information and ideas flow freely, it is absurd to prevent the free flow of people. • We are an open society. We welcome refugees. We are a multi-ethnic country, where differences coexist. We know all too well the importance of differences, which ultimately make us stronger, richer and more diverse culturally, socially and economically.
Means-goal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In order to give the United Nations the central role it is rightfully entitled to, a comprehensive reform of its structures must be carried out. The Security Council must be expanded in its permanent and non-permanent member categories in order to become more representative, legitimate and effective.

Figure 2.2: 2016a, President Michel Temer
Constructive Strategies:

We	Them
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We value our diversity. 	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We are keenly aware of the fact that welcoming refugees is a shared responsibility. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We are engaged in refugee resettlement initiatives in our region, with special attention paid to the needs of women and children. 	

Practical Argumentation:

Claim (solution)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Let us be clear: the flows of refugees are the result of wars, repression and violent extremism, not their causes.
Circumstantial premises (problems, facts)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The images of children whose lives have been cut short by terror and conflict have appalled the world.
Goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [To ensure that] The legitimate concerns of Governments for the security of their citizens (must) [be] fully in line with the rights that are inherent to every human being.
Values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brazil is a country that built itself up on the strength of millions of people from all continents. We value our diversity.
Means-goal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If we forgo an uncompromising defence of these rights, we will by extension be forgoing our own humanity. [Presumably arguing for the opposite.]

Figure 2.3: 2016b, President Michel Temer
Constructive Strategies:

We	Them
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We are a country that is built on and by the strength of diversity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The system's inability to react to conflicts further worsens cycles of destruction.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We believe in the power of dialogue. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We would like to have a results-oriented United Nations, capable of facing up to the major challenges of our time.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We strongly advocate the principles that govern the Organization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The United Nations cannot be reduced to a mere observation post that condemns the world's scourges.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • That is how Brazil has conducted diplomacy both within our region and beyond as a country that has pursued its interests without ever relinquishing its principles. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the Organization should assert itself as a source of effective solutions.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What we wish for the world is what we wish for Brazil – peace, sustainable development and respect for human rights. Those are the values and aspirations of our society. Those are the values and aspirations that guide us on the international stage. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • it is essential to make global governance structures more representative, many of which have by now aged and have become disconnected from reality.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Security Council must be reformed.

Practical Argumentation:

Claim (solution)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The United Nations cannot be reduced to a mere observation post that condemns the world’s scourges. Instead, the Organization should assert itself as a source of effective solutions.
Circumstantial premises (problems, facts)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Today’s world shows signs of uncertainty and instability. • From outbreaks of regional conflicts to violent fundamentalism, we face both old and new threats that we have been unable to contain. • Hotbeds of tension show no signs of fading away. • The system’s inability to react to conflicts further worsens cycles of destruction.
Goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is for that reason that Brazil has warned that is essential to make global governance structures more representative, many of which have by now aged and have become disconnected from reality. The Security Council must be reformed.
Values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We are a country that is built on and by the strength of diversity. We believe in the power of dialogue.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What we wish for the world is what we wish for Brazil — peace, sustainable development and respect for human rights. • We would like to live in a world in which law prevails over force. We would like to have rules that reflect the pluralistic nature of the community of nations. We would like to have a results-oriented United Nations, capable of facing up to the major challenges of our time.
Means-goal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The very safety of our citizens ultimately depends on the quality of our collective action.

Paraguay:

Figure 2.4: 2010, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Paraguay He´ctor Lacognata

Constructive Strategies: [2010: no text specific to terrorism]
Practical Argumentation: [2010: no text specific to terrorism]

Figure 2.5: 2011, President Fernando Lugo Me´ndez

Constructive Strategies: [2011: no text specific to terrorism]
Practical Argumentation: [2011: no text specific to terrorism]

Figure 2.6: 2012, Luis Federico Franco Go´mez

Constructive Strategies:

We	Them
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [Paraguay] has made a coordinated effort to bring its legal and normative framework in line with its commitments and with the recommendations made by the international organizations charged with preventing and prosecuting crimes related to money laundering and the financing of terrorism. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [The Government of Paraguay] calls for a stronger position on the part of developed countries, where most of the demand associated with those crimes originates. [“Those crimes” defined as transnational crimes— drug trafficking, arms trafficking.]
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • our commitment to the fight against money-laundering and the financing of terrorism. 	

Practical Argumentation:

<p>Claim (solution)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [Paraguay] calls for a stronger position on the part of developed countries, where most of the demand associated with those crimes originates.
<p>Circumstantial premises (problems, facts)</p> <p>Importance of promises</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paraguay is increasingly concerned about the growth in transnational organized crime in its worst manifestations, namely, drug trafficking on a large and a small scale, arms trafficking and trafficking in migrants and in persons, among others. • The Government of Paraguay reaffirms its unequivocal commitment to the fight against all activities of criminal organizations • Paraguay also reaffirms its strong condemnation of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. • [Paraguay] has made a coordinated effort to bring its legal and normative framework in line with its commitments and with the recommendations made by the international organizations charged with preventing and prosecuting crimes related to money laundering and the financing of terrorism.
<p>Goals</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to (the) fight against money-laundering and the financing of terrorism.
<p>Values</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paraguay wishes to reiterate here its commitment to international peace and security.
<p>Means-goal</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Those transnational crimes stem mainly the social and economic inequality of our peoples. Joint international efforts are needed, therefore, in order to fight such scourges head on.

Figure 2.7: 2013, President Horacio Manuel Cartes Jara
 Constructive Strategies: [2013: no text specific to terrorism]

Practical Argumentation: [2013: no text specific to terrorism]

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