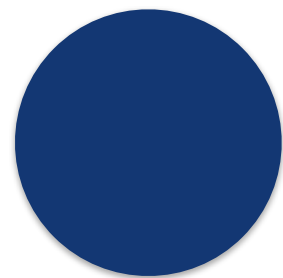


Política Internacional e Geopolítica a era da imprevisibilidade

**INSTITUTO CULTURAL
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José Pedro Teixeira Fernandes
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PARTE I – TEMA PRINCIPAL

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (1)

[FONTE: Time, 4/04/1983]



O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (2)

[FONTE: Politico, 23/03/2017]

President Reagan calls for launching 'Star Wars' initiative, March 23, 1983



O regresso da “guerra das estrelas?” (3)

[FONTE: Politico, 23/03/2017]

If SDI worked as advertised and had been adopted, it would have moved the nation's strategic defenses away from mutual assured destruction, or MAD. While MAD served as the long-standing mantra of preventing the Cold War from becoming a hot one, Reagan viewed it as a dual suicide pact.

A partisan debate ensued in Congress. Democrats questioned the feasibility and strategic wisdom of such a program, while Republicans talked about its strategic necessity and offered several technical experts who argued that it was feasible — including Edward Teller, the “father” of the hydrogen bomb. The advocates prevailed; research funding began in fiscal 1984.

In his 1991 State of the Union address, President George H.W. Bush shifted the focus of SDI from defense of North America against large-scale strikes to a system focusing on theater missile defense — which he dubbed Global Protection Against Limited Strikes. In 1993, President Bill Clinton changed the name to the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization and narrowed its thrust to regional coverage. BMDO is now called the Missile Defense Agency.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (4)

[FONTE: Aaron Batman / Arms Control Association, Setembro 2023]

The Enduring Impact of Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative

September 2023

By Aaron Bateman

This year marks the 40th anniversary of President Ronald Reagan's unexpected call for U.S. scientists to use their talents to develop a capability that would make nuclear weapons “impotent and obsolete.”



President Ronald Reagan, in a March 1983 speech, unveils his Strategic Defense Initiative that was intended to develop missile defense systems that would make nuclear weapons obsolete.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (5)

[FONTE: Aaron Batman / Arms Control Association, Setembro 2023]

Immediately after Reagan’s call for an alternative to nuclear deterrence, the very prospect of a missile defense program became the source of intense controversy around the world. Experts questioned its technical feasibility and debated its potential impact on the superpower strategic balance. Moreover, SDI exacerbated anxieties about the arms race moving into outer space.

With growing access to thousands of relevant documents in the United States, western Europe, and the former Soviet Union, it is now possible to analyze more fully the origins and evolution of SDI and its relationship with arms control in the last days of the Cold War. In key respects, SDI emerged out of the intensifying militarization of space in the 1970s. Nevertheless, the prospect of space-based missile defense in the 1980s quickly became the primary obstacle to progress in the U.S.-Soviet strategic arms dialogue. Despite the fact that SDI never came to fruition, it was one of the most significant impediments to the establishment of new arms control limits in space. Four decades later, SDI continues to shape the international dialogue on strategic stability, and it is a key part of the genealogy of the present anxieties about spiraling insecurity in the cosmos.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (6)

[FONTE: Aaron Batman / Arms Control Association, Setembro 2023]

Seizing the High Ground

After his inauguration, Reagan began making space technologies a prominent part of his national strategy. His administration maintained that space projects would elevate U.S. prestige on the international stage and strengthen U.S. military power. In contrast to prior administrations, Reagan overtly highlighted the growing role of U.S. military activities in space. His first space policy, released to the public in 1982, discussed the need to deploy an ASAT weapons capability as soon as possible that would be used to “deter threats to space systems of the United States and its allies.”²



O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (7)

[FONTE: Aaron Batman / Arms Control Association, Setembro 2023]

SDI After the Cold War

When President George H.W. Bush came into office, the Soviet-U.S. relationship was in a remarkably different place than when SDI was established, and the changing geopolitical environment forced the program's advocates to come up with a new justification for strategic defense. Significantly, as the Soviet threat diminished, it became difficult to continue spending billions of dollars on SDI.

In the late 1980s, SDI program managers adopted a new concept for space-based missile defense system called Brilliant Pebbles. Rather than housing interceptors in garages that were sitting ducks for ASAT weapons, Brilliant Pebbles comprised individual interceptors with sensors onboard that would allow them to track and destroy ballistic missiles. They were cheaper and more survivable than the original concept, at least in theory. Cost and survivability aside, deploying these weapons would still require revisions to or the elimination of the ABM Treaty.

The Soviet-U.S. arms control negotiations reached new heights after a September 1989 announcement that the Soviet Union would drop its requirement that an agreement be reached concerning SDI and the ABM Treaty before making progress on START. Moscow stressed, however, that if Washington moved ahead with space-based missile deployment in the future, it reserved the right to withdraw from START. Regardless, SDI was no longer an impediment to progress in nuclear arms reductions.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (8)

[FONTE: NYT, 8/03/1985]

'STAR WARS' AND MANKIND: UNFORESEEABLE DIRECTIONS

March 8, 1985

By Philip M. Boffey, Special To the New York Times

President Reagan's proposal for a vast system of space defense against ballistic missiles appears to be gaining strong momentum, even as members of Congress and experts outside the Government ask whether it is hurling the nation onto a new strategic course before the future implications can be fully considered.

Critics fear that the President's search for a defense that would render nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete" will fail and yet is already driving the world's military competition in new directions.

Although the Soviet Union is believed to be substantially behind in the technology needed to put effective weapons in space, its leaders have said privately that they will have to accelerate their own research in this area. The Russians have said publicly that they will expand their production of offensive weapons in response to President Reagan's plan.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (9)

[FONTE: NYT, 8/03/1985]

The Strategic Balance

Experts on strategy disagree sharply on whether the world will become safer or more dangerous as this new missile- defense research program goes forward.

Top officials of the Reagan Administration now say that next Tuesday, when arms talks open in Geneva, the United States will try to keep a focus of discussion on how the two superpowers could put space defense systems into effect - not on whether research and development programs could or should be limited in any way.

In Congress, the proposed new defensive system and its potential implications are raising questions and causing tempers to flare as debate proceeds on the President's proposal to more than double the current annual spending on research, spending \$30 billion on the research program over the next five years.

Both Republican and Democratic members of Congress expect the President's Strategic Defense Initiative, known popularly as "Star Wars," to become controversial in Congress. How soon this will happen is open to question, but the fiery nature of what is to come was foreshadowed by an exchange during a hearing last year when Administration officials appeared on Capitol Hill to explain the fundamentals of "Star Wars."

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (10)

[FONTE: Foreign Affairs, Inverno de 1984/85]

McGeorge Bundy
George F. Kennan
Robert S. McNamara
Gerard Smith

THE PRESIDENT'S CHOICE: STAR WARS OR ARMS CONTROL

The reelection of Ronald Reagan makes the future of his Strategic Defense Initiative the most important question of nuclear arms competition and arms control on the national agenda since 1972. The President is strongly committed to this program, and senior officials, including Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger, have made it clear that he plans to intensify this effort in his second term. Sharing the gravest reservations about this undertaking, and believing that unless it is radically constrained during the next four years it will bring vast new costs and dangers to our country and to mankind, we think it urgent to offer an assessment of the nature and hazards of this initiative, to call for the closest vigilance by Congress and the public, and even to invite the victorious President to reconsider. While we write only after obtaining the best technical advice we could find, our central concerns are political. We believe the President's initiative to be a classic case of good intentions that will have bad results because they do not respect reality.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (11)

[FONTE: Foreign Affairs, Inverno de 1984/85]

There is simply no escape from the reality that Star Wars offers not the promise of greater safety, but the certainty of a large-scale expansion of both offensive and defensive systems on both sides. We are not here examining the dismayed reaction of our allies in Europe, but it is precisely this prospect that they foresee, in addition to the special worries created by their recognition that the Star Wars program as it stands has nothing in it for them. Star Wars, in sum, is a prescription not for ending or limiting the threat of nuclear weapons, but for a competition unlimited in expense, duration and danger.

We have come this way before, following false hopes and finding our danger greater in the upshot. We did it when our government responded to the first Soviet atomic test by a decision to get hydrogen bombs if we could, never stopping to consider in any serious way whether both sides would be better off not to test such a weapon. We did it again, this time in the face of strong and sustained warning, when we were the first to deploy the multiple warheads (MIRVs) that now face us in such excessive numbers on Soviet missiles. Today, 15 years too late, we have a consensus that MIRVs are bad for us, but we are still deploying them, and so are the Russians.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (12)

[FONTE: Lee Edwards / Newsweek, 9/05/2016]

How Star Wars Went From Fantasy to Fact

By Lee Edwards



Thirty-three years before there was [Star Wars: The Force Awakens](#), there was a real Stars Wars program that changed the course of history. Here's the remarkable and true story.

The most dramatic recommendation was for the development of a multi-satellite ballistic missile defense system capable of knocking out enemy nuclear missiles aimed at the United States.

"High Frontier," explained General Graham, would change U.S. strategy "from the bankrupt and basically immoral precepts of MAD (Mutually Assured Destruction) to a stable and morally defensive strategy of assured survival."

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (13)

[FONTE: Lee Edwards / Newsweek, 9/05/2016]

And so, on March 23, 1983, the president announced that the development and deployment of a comprehensive anti-ballistic missile system would be his top defense priority—his "ultimate goal." He called it the Strategic Defense Initiative, although it was derided as "Star Wars" by detractors. *The New York Times* called the initiative "a pipe dream, a projection of fantasy into policy."

Ed Feulner saw it differently. He said the "Star Wars" epithet backfired because the *Star Wars* films—two of the seven had then been produced—were among the most popular movies ever produced and reflected the American penchant for amazing technological feats.

Most Americans, Feulner suggested, reason that "if we can put a man on the moon in a decade, why can't we put an anti-missile defense in space in the same time?"

The Soviets thought we could. A top Soviet scientist recalled that SDI put the Soviet military "in a state of fear and shock." The head of Soviet strategic analysis told the Politburo that "not only could we not defeat SDI, SDI defeated all our possible countermeasures."

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (14)

[FONTE: Or Rabinowitz / Wilson Center, 25/02/2021]

The Gulf War's Impact on Israel's Arrow Missile



O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (15)

[FONTE: Or Rabinowitz / Wilson Center, 25/02/2021]

When the 1991 Gulf War ended on 28 February 1991, now 30 years ago, the Israel that emerged from the conflict was a profoundly different country than the one that had entered it. For the first time in its history, the Israeli public was faced with a sustained barrage of 39 ballistic missiles aimed at Israeli cities, launched from a hostile country that did not share a border with it. One of the key impacts of this trauma was the change of course for Israel's controversial Arrow missile defense program, proving for many its relevance and reducing domestic objection to it.

Throughout the 1980s, the top political-military echelons of the Israeli leadership were [mostly against the notion of developing an Israeli missile defense system](#). It was seen as strategically unnecessary and financially burdensome, in part because the missile threat was simply not viewed as a strategic reality. First, it was assumed that Arab leaders would be deterred from launching missiles at Israel due to fear of Israeli retaliation. Second, it was assumed that Arab missiles would be mostly inaccurate and ineffective. A third assumption was that the Israeli Air Force (IAF) was adequately prepared to handle the rise of such a threat, by taking offensive measures to strike at its source. This assumption was founded on the successful IAF strikes against the Iraqi Osirak nuclear reactor in June 1981, and against Syrian SAM systems in the Lebanon Valley in June 1982.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (16)

[FONTE: Or Rabinowitz / Wilson Center, 25/02/2021]

Furthermore, as Israel was going through a financial downturn in the mid-1980s, a massive investment in an expensive defense project was not attractive to the government. When the Arrow program started its life as a joint US-Israel project in June 1986, many in the Israeli establishment were against it.

The Reagan administration viewed it differently. For the administration, co-operation on Arrow, an off shoot of the 1983 Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), had some political potential, in addition to its strategic prospective. When Reagan first introduced SDI, he envisioned a system of space-based lasers which would intercept Soviet ICBMs. But by 1985 it became clear that such a system was not technically feasible in the short term. The Pentagon began [contemplating](#) the development of simpler, ground-based, Theatre Missile Defense (TMD) systems. These would intercept short and medium range missiles and would thus also be better tailored to address the strategic concerns of US allies.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (17)

[FONTE: Arnon Gutfeld (2017) From ‘Star Wars’ to ‘Iron Dome’: US support of Israel's Missile Defense systems, Middle Eastern Studies]

From ‘Star Wars’ to ‘Iron Dome’: US support of Israel’s Missile Defense systems

Arnon Gutfeld

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Israel is the largest cumulative recipient of U.S. foreign assistance since World War II. To date [2016], the United States has provided Israel \$127.4 billion (current, or non-inflation-adjusted, dollars) in bilateral assistance. Almost all U.S. bilateral aid to Israel is in the forms of military assistance, although in the past Israel also received significant foreign assistance.¹

A major manifestation of the ‘Special Relationship’ that characterizes American–Israeli relations is the cooperation and the vast American investment in Israeli security. A central chapter in this relationship is the American contribution to the development and the establishment of the Israeli defense industries, one of the world’s leading defense industries and especially to the development of the Israeli multi-level anti-missile systems. The Reagan administration’s foreign policy viewed Israel as a strategic partner, not just as an ally or a burden. Israel’s inclusion in the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) programme helped propel Israel into becoming one of the world’s leading technology developers and top-tier defense manufacturers in the world. The relationship between Israel and the United States that has evolved since the Reagan administration’s change in strategy in the 1980s, influenced and aided in creating a highly sophisticated defense industry in Israel. Since then, that industry has produced numerous technologically advanced defense products with special emphasis on the indigenously developed, and now cooperatively produced, Iron Dome Missile Defense (MD) system.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (18)

[FONTE: Arnon Gutfeld (2017) From ‘Star Wars’ to ‘Iron Dome’: US support of Israel's Missile Defense systems, Middle Eastern Studies]

While the SDI and the Arrow MD system faced their fair share of opposition, they encountered several other problems along the way. One such problem was during testing when the Arrow missile continued to fail during its flight phase. In response to these failures, the United States sent a ‘blue ribbon’ program team comprising US Army scientists and engineers to help troubleshoot and solve the problems that the Israeli team encountered with the Arrow anti-tactical ballistic missile.⁴⁸ The collapse of the Soviet Union was another stumbling block with which the programme had to contend. Many viewed an initiative for a missile defense system that was initiated to protect against Soviet ballistic missiles as superfluous and an unnecessary expenditure. Fortunately for the US and the Israeli MD programs, the failure of the Patriot missile system to counter ballistic missiles during the first Gulf War in 1991 demonstrated to the Pentagon and to Congress that a more advanced system was still needed to counter the growing ballistic missile threats across the globe.⁴⁹

The collaborative efforts and financial assistance continued into 2000, as the Arrow I became the world’s first operational MD system.⁵⁰ The research and development continued with the Arrow II and III systems, as well as their spin-off mid-tier and lower tier MD systems. The short-range anti-rocket Iron Dome entered operational service in 2011 and David’s Sling, a cooperative endeavour to counter long-range rockets and cruise missiles between Rafael Advanced Defense Systems and Raytheon, entered the production phase in 2015.⁵¹ In February 2016, the Israeli Navy successfully tested the C-Dome system, a naval version of the Iron Dome.⁵²

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (19)

[FONTE: Rafael Advanced Defense Systems]



RAFAEL'S IRON DOME™
COMBAT PROVEN 10 YEARS RIGHT ON TARGET

2500+ Interceptions	90% Success Rate	10 Years of Saving Lives
1 Israel Defense Award	2.5 Years of Development	2 Batteries delivered to the U.S Army

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (20)

[FONTE: Rafael Advanced Defense Systems]

2012

Over 400 interceptions during operation "Pillar of Defense"

Awarded the Israel Defense Prize

2017

The naval version C-DOME is deployed by the Israeli Navy

2014

Over 700 interceptions during operation "Protective Edge"

2019

US Army purchases two IRON DOME batteries

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (21)

[FONTE: Rafael Advanced Defense Systems]



O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (22)

[FONTE: The White House, 24/05/2025]

PRESIDENT DONALD J. TRUMPThe WHITE HOUSE

VIDEOS

The Golden Dome Missile Defense Shield

May 20, 2025

The Golden Dome Missile Defense ShieldPartilhar



O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (23)

[FONTE: Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation]



“Golden Dome”

How Many?

The “Golden Dome” missile defense system is a still mostly theoretical initiative [announced](#) by President Donald Trump in January 2025. Framed as a visionary plan to shield the entire United States from all missile attacks, Golden Dome has been compared rhetorically to the Reagan-era [Strategic Defense Initiative](#) known as “Star Wars” and invokes a comparison to the “Iron Dome” system that protects Israel. If realized, the system would represent the most expansive (and expensive) homeland missile defense concept in history.

Origins

Trump first previewed the concept during his 2024 campaign and [unveiled](#) an initial plan in May 2025. According to Trump administration officials, the goal is to create an impenetrable shield over the homeland capable of intercepting threats from competitors like Russia, China, North Korea and Iran.

The Department of Defense has since begun exploratory work, and both the Senate and House Armed Services Committees debated preliminary funding requests. Initial [cost estimates](#) exceed half a trillion dollars, though Trump has argued the system will be far cheaper and ready much quicker, and the fiscal year 2026 congressional budget reconciliation plan provides [\\$25 billion](#) for early development.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (24)

[FONTE: Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation]

Concept and How It Would Work

The Golden Dome envisions a layered missile defense architecture covering the continental United States. Theoretically, it would combine multiple interceptor systems, space-based sensors, directed energy weapons, and potentially future technologies not yet operationally viable.

Key components under discussion include:

- Constellations of satellite-based tracking and discrimination platforms to detect missile launches in real time.
- Kinetic interceptors based in space, at sea and on land.
- Directed energy systems, such as high-powered lasers, for boost-phase intercepts.
- Artificial intelligence integration for faster sensor-to-shooter linkages.

As currently articulated, Golden Dome would require major advances in sensor coverage, battle management and interceptor reliability, not to mention substantial new infrastructure investment on a scale that has yet to be seen.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (25)

[FONTE: Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation]

Progress to Date

While no hardware has been deployed and the program remains in its conceptual phase, Congress has already begun allocating funds for research, studies and classified development tracks.

The Department of Defense has characterized Golden Dome as a “[big team effort](#)” requiring coordination across the entire acquisition community. The Missile Defense Agency (MDA) is expected to play a central role in shaping the system’s architecture and recently previewed a [\\$151 billion contract proposal](#) to support initial development efforts.

The U.S. Space Force is also expected to [contribute](#) to sensor integration, space-based architecture planning and orbital communications required for the envisioned system’s early-warning and tracking layers, although its precise role remains undefined at this stage.

Despite Trump’s assertion that the Golden Dome system would be fully operational before the end of his term, the Pentagon’s [implementation plan](#) suggests otherwise. By the end of 2028, only a demonstration under ideal conditions is expected.

At the same time, Secretary of Defense Pete Hegseth has [moved to dismantle or severely limit](#) the Office of the Director of Operational Test and Evaluation (DOT&E), a critical body responsible for independent testing and evaluation of defense systems. Such a move would significantly reduce oversight over the system’s technical performance and operational claims.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (26)

[FONTE: Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation]

Strategic Context and Historical Lessons

Golden Dome evokes parallels with past grand-scale defense programs, such as:

- The Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) of the 1980s, which promised space-based interceptors but failed to deliver a viable system and was ultimately abandoned.
- The [Ground-based Midcourse Defense](#) (GMD) program, which [cost more than \\$67 billion](#) and has struggled with reliability.
- Israel’s Iron Dome, which Golden Dome is rhetorically linked to, but which operates on a fundamentally different scale and context (short-range, limited-area defense).

Despite several decades of investment in homeland missile defense, [no system has proven capable](#) of consistently and reliably intercepting advanced ICBM threats under real-world conditions.

Cost and Feasibility

Estimates suggest the full Golden Dome could cost well over \$500 billion, with ongoing operational and sustainment costs pushing that figure [exceedingly higher](#). Critics have raised valid concerns about:

- [Technical feasibility](#): Key components such as boost-phase interception and space-based weapons remain unproven.
- [Strategic competition](#): Competitors may respond to perceived breakthroughs in U.S. defenses by expanding their offensive arsenals, as offensive missiles remain far cheaper to produce than defensive interceptors.
- [Difficulties defining scope](#): Missile defense requirements are constantly evolving alongside technological advancements and shifting adversary capabilities. Attempting to define and build a single system to defend against all present and future threats is likely to prove impossible in practice.
- [Opportunity costs](#): Large-scale investments in unproven technologies may come at the expense of conventional force readiness or diplomacy.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (27)

[FONTE: Atlantic Council, 21/05/2025]

New Atlanticist May 21, 2025

Golden Dome creates a new missile defense bargain with US partners

By **Léonie Allard** and **Jean-Loup Samaan**



O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (28)

[FONTE: Atlantic Council, 21/05/2025]

New details are emerging about the White House’s “Golden Dome” initiative, a missile-defense system intended to intercept long-range and hypersonic missiles fired at the United States. Even in its early stages, the initiative looks set to become the focal point of US missile defense policy. On Tuesday, US President Donald Trump **announced** an initial \$25 billion investment out of a total \$175 billion to start building Golden Dome with the aim of completing it within his term. US Secretary of Defense Pete Hegseth further laid out that Golden Dome will be a **layered system**, will draw from existing and future technologies as it is phased in over time, and will have an open architecture, allowing multiple companies to contribute to it.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (29)

[FONTE: Atlantic Council, 21/05/2025]

The announcement defied some of the policy discussions around Golden Dome so far, which have focused on its technical feasibility and relevance vis-à-vis **Chinese**, Russian, and North Korean missile arsenals. Golden Dome proponents seek to address challenges to homeland and extended deterrence as the United States faces what it describes as a **two-peer** or near-peer threat environment. However, less attention has been dedicated to how Golden Dome could impact US partnerships worldwide, potentially offsetting some of the political costs of a diminished US troop presence abroad.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (30)

[FONTE: Atlantic Council, 21/05/2025]

US missile defense has always involved **cooperation with regional partners**. The United States exercises broad influence in the production and planning of missile defense programs in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. The **executive order** that first outlined Golden Dome, which Trump signed in January, reiterated this international dimension of missile defense. The executive order called for increasing bilateral and multilateral cooperation on missile defense technology development, capacities, and operations. And in his address Tuesday, Trump explicitly cited Canada as a potential first partner for the implementation of Golden Dome.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (31)

[FONTE: Defense Intelligence Agency]



Golden Dome for America: Current and Future Missile Threats to the U.S. Homeland

DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Missile threats to the U.S. homeland will expand in scale and sophistication in the coming decade. **China** and **Russia** are developing an array of novel delivery systems to exploit gaps in current U.S. ballistic missile defenses, but traditional ballistic missiles—which are guided during powered flight and unguided during free flight—will remain the primary threat to the Homeland. **North Korea** has successfully tested ballistic missiles with sufficient range to reach the entire Homeland, and **Iran** has space launch vehicles it could use to develop a militarily-viable ICBM by 2035 should Tehran decide to pursue the capability. The majority of systems presented here have nuclear-capable variants.

Depicted are selected missile threats to the Homeland from notional launch points. Missiles from mobile platforms—aircraft, submarines and ships—can penetrate farther should the platform risk a closer approach to the United States. Numbers below are approximate inventory totals with the exception of submarine-launched ballistic missiles.

China Russia North Korea Iran

Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM)

A ground-based missile with a range exceeding 5,500 km that flies on a ballistic trajectory and is typically armed with a nuclear warhead or warheads. There is no part of the Homeland which cannot be struck by existing ICBMs.

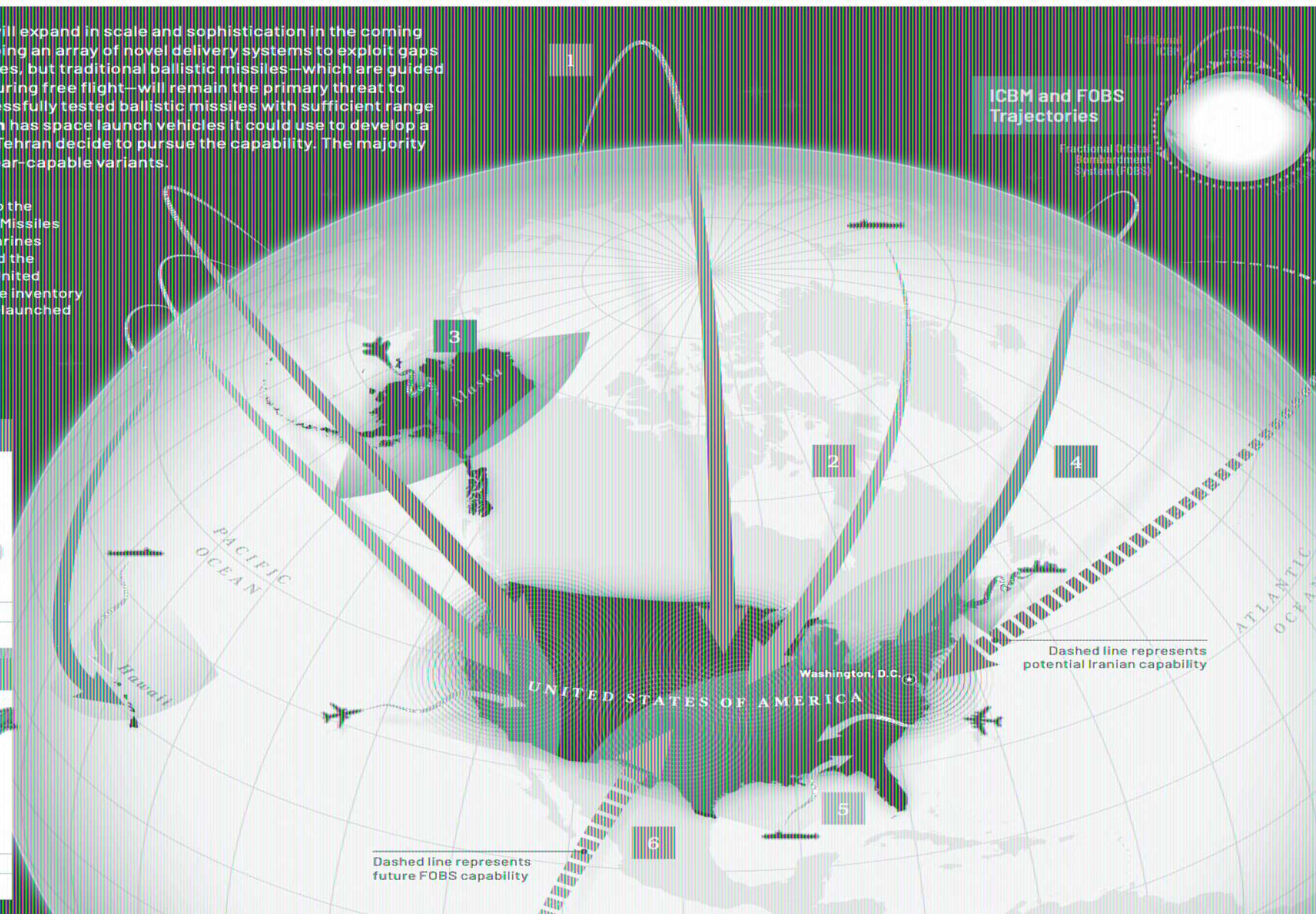
Country				
Current	400	350	10 or fewer	-
2035	700*	400*	50	60

Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missile (SLBM)

A ballistic missile, typically carrying nuclear warheads, launched from a submarine. There is no part of the Homeland which cannot be struck by existing adversary SLBMs. Included below are maximum loadout numbers for current and future submarine fleets.

Country		
Current	72	192
2035	at least 132	192

*Number includes FOBS



O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (32)

[FONTE: BBC, 34/05/2025]

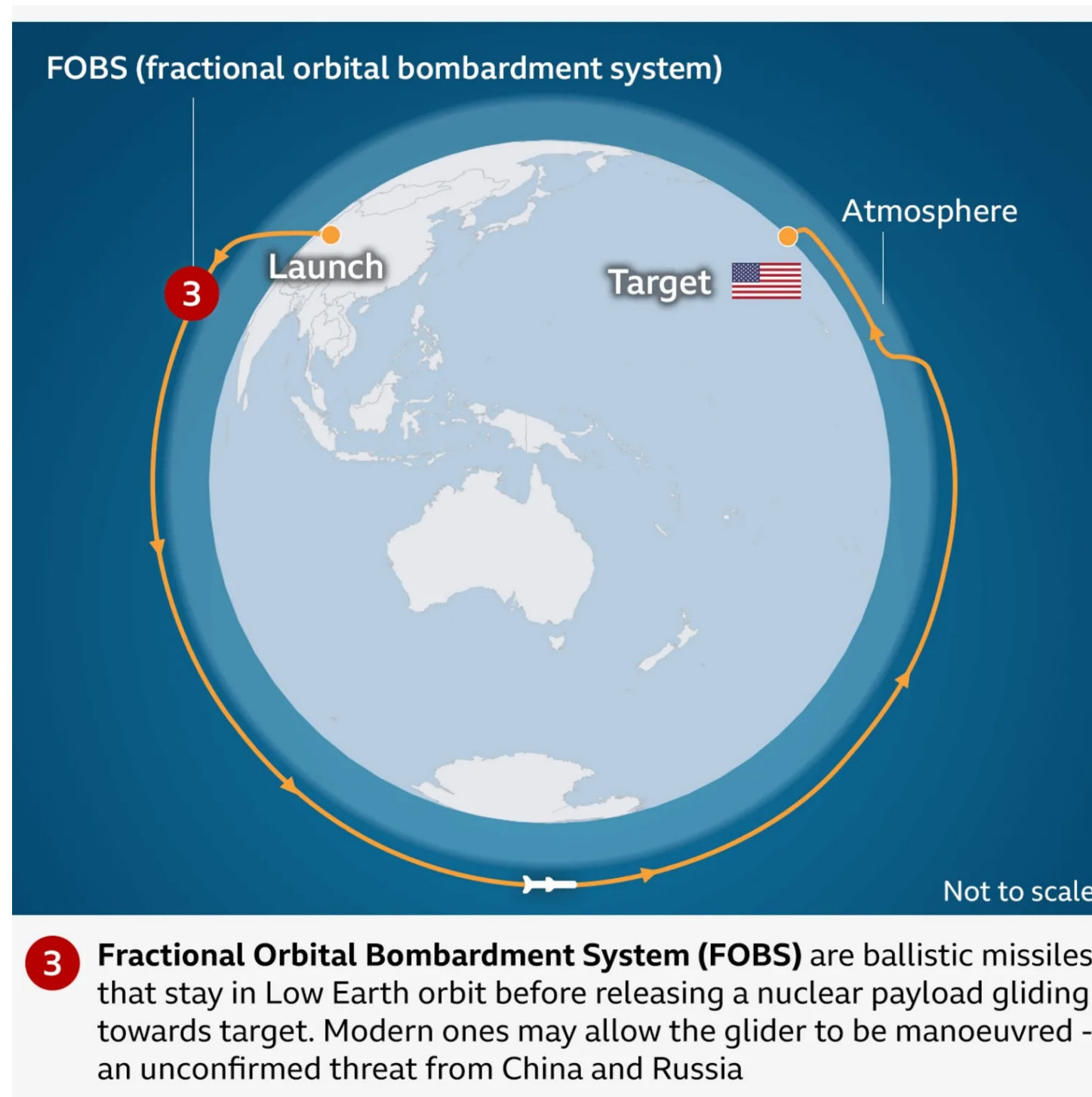
Threats US aims to counter with Golden Dome



- 1 Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs)** are launched from land, or submarines, and can carry nuclear or conventional warheads - widespread capability including China, Russia, North Korea and Iran
- 2 Hypersonic missiles** carry warheads more than five times the speed of sound and can be manoeuvred, making them harder to intercept - mainly from China and Russia

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (33)

[FONTE: BBC, 34/05/2025]



O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (34)

[FONTE: Keith B. Payne / Real Clear Defense, 9/05/2025]

The Twelve-Day War: Initial Lessons for Golden Dome

There are several basic lessons from the 2025 Israel-Iran Twelve-Day War regarding the likely value of missile defenses, particularly for, but not limited to, missile threats to U.S. allies. During the war, Israel's layered missile defenses reportedly intercepted some 90 percent of the 500-550 missiles Iran launched at Israel.[\[3\]](#) Apparently 36 of the Iranian missiles that penetrated Israeli defenses detonated in population centers, killing 28 persons, inflicting thousands of injuries, and displacing over 13,000 Israelis.[\[4\]](#)

While Iran pursued diverse offensive missile systems for decades, Israel focused on fielding multiple layers of missile defenses, including different defensive systems optimized to intercept incoming missiles at different altitudes, thereby increasing the odds of successful intercepts. In particular, a multi-layered defensive system can enable “shoot-look-shoot,” in which an initial defensive intercept, if unsuccessful, is followed by a second intercept shot that is aided by improved information regarding the location and likely destination of the attacking missile. Israel's considerable defensive success during the Twelve-Day War may have benefited from Israel's multiple layers of missile defenses and corresponding “shoot-look-shoot” opportunities.[\[5\]](#)

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (35)

[FONTE: Keith B. Payne / Real Clear Defense, 9/05/2025]

The effectiveness of Israel’s layered defenses demonstrates their potential value for the deterrence of aggression by decisively denying aggressors the expectation that their missiles will be of reliable military or coercive effect. This value of layered defenses is applicable to regional missile threats to allies and to intercontinental nuclear missile threats to the U.S. homeland. Russia, China and North Korea appear to anticipate that limited missile threats to the United States will enable them to coerce Washington away from coming to the aid of U.S. allies—thereby enabling their expansionist plans against U.S. allies.[\[6\]](#) Layered U.S. missile defenses provided by Golden Dome could usefully deny opponents’ confidence in such coercive threats to the United States and restore the effectiveness of U.S. extended deterrence for allies; they could also undercut their confidence in the potential military effects of even large-scale nuclear attacks—thereby helping to deter such attacks.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (36)

[FONTE: Keith B. Payne / Real Clear Defense, 9/05/2025]

Defense Production and Inventories

Finally, the Twelve-Day War demonstrated conclusively the importance of readily available interceptor quantities. The multiple waves of Iranian missile attacks apparently stressed the available inventory of U.S.

interceptors, particularly had they been needed elsewhere simultaneously.

[\[11\]](#) For example, given the rate of use in the Middle East, the U.S. Patriot missile defense system reportedly was reduced to only 25 percent of the number of interceptors needed to support broader Pentagon plans.[\[12\]](#)

Prior to the war, Iran reportedly possessed approximately 2,500 ballistic missiles and was producing 50 additional missiles per month.[\[13\]](#)

Had the war occurred months or years later, it could have been a contest between the greater number of Iranian offensive missiles and readily available defensive interceptors. Given the Iranian rate of missile production, this competition may have been disastrous for Israel given the limited production rate of interceptor missiles in Israel and the United States. The question of Iran’s nuclear potential, of course, likely was critical with regard to the timing of Israel’s attack. However, this question of competing inventories of Iranian missiles vs. available interceptors must also have driven Israeli considerations. This is an important lesson from the Twelve-Day War to be learned for the defense of the United States. The total number of deployed U.S. interceptor launchers for homeland defense now stands at 44—an absurdly low inventory given the much greater missile threats now facing the United States.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (37)

[FONTE: Lockheed Martin]



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Golden Dome for America

Revolutionizing U.S. Homeland Missile Defense

Golden Dome stands as a layered defense shield, safeguarding the American homeland with unwavering precision, ensuring the security and resilience of our nation.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (38)

[FONTE: Lockheed Martin]

Golden Dome for America is a revolutionary concept to further the goals of peace through strength and President Trump’s vision for deterring adversaries from attacks on the homeland. This next generation defense shield will identify incoming projectiles, calculate trajectory and deploy interceptor missiles to destroy them mid-flight, safeguarding the homeland and projecting American Strength.

THE CHALLENGE: Mobilize American industry and innovation to deliver the first Golden Dome for America defenses by the end of next year.

While we deploy that combat-proven foundation, we will bring in the best and brightest of American innovation to rapidly develop game-changing tech – like space-based interceptors and hypersonic defenses – that will ensure America’s Golden Dome stays well ahead of adversary threats.

THE APPROACH: The fastest, most efficient path to a Golden Dome for America is to bring the best of the defense and commercial industries together as a whole of industry approach.

This is a Manhattan Project-scale mission, one that is both urgent and crucial to America’s security.

Lockheed Martin is ready to partner with the best in industry, emerging and large technology companies together to safeguard our nation. We lead the MDA’s National Team for C2BMC and successfully built the world’s most powerful missile defense software network, which connects forces around the world 24x7. We’ve proven our ability to work across industry to bring the best of the best to the warfighter, and we have existing partnerships with defense, commercial tech companies and newer contractors to bring both proven and next-generation capabilities to the fight.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (39)

[FONTE: Lockheed Martin]

THE RISK: If a missile is coming over the horizon, that’s not the time to do beta testing. Build on a combat-proven foundation today, while you innovate for the future.

This mission is too vital to leave to chance. Missile defense requires more than just AI or software expertise. It’s about connecting a global array of complex systems that need to work at lightning speed and with pinpoint precision at the mission’s moment of truth.

THE SOLUTION: Lockheed Martin has the proven, mission-tested capabilities and track record of integration to bring this effort to life.

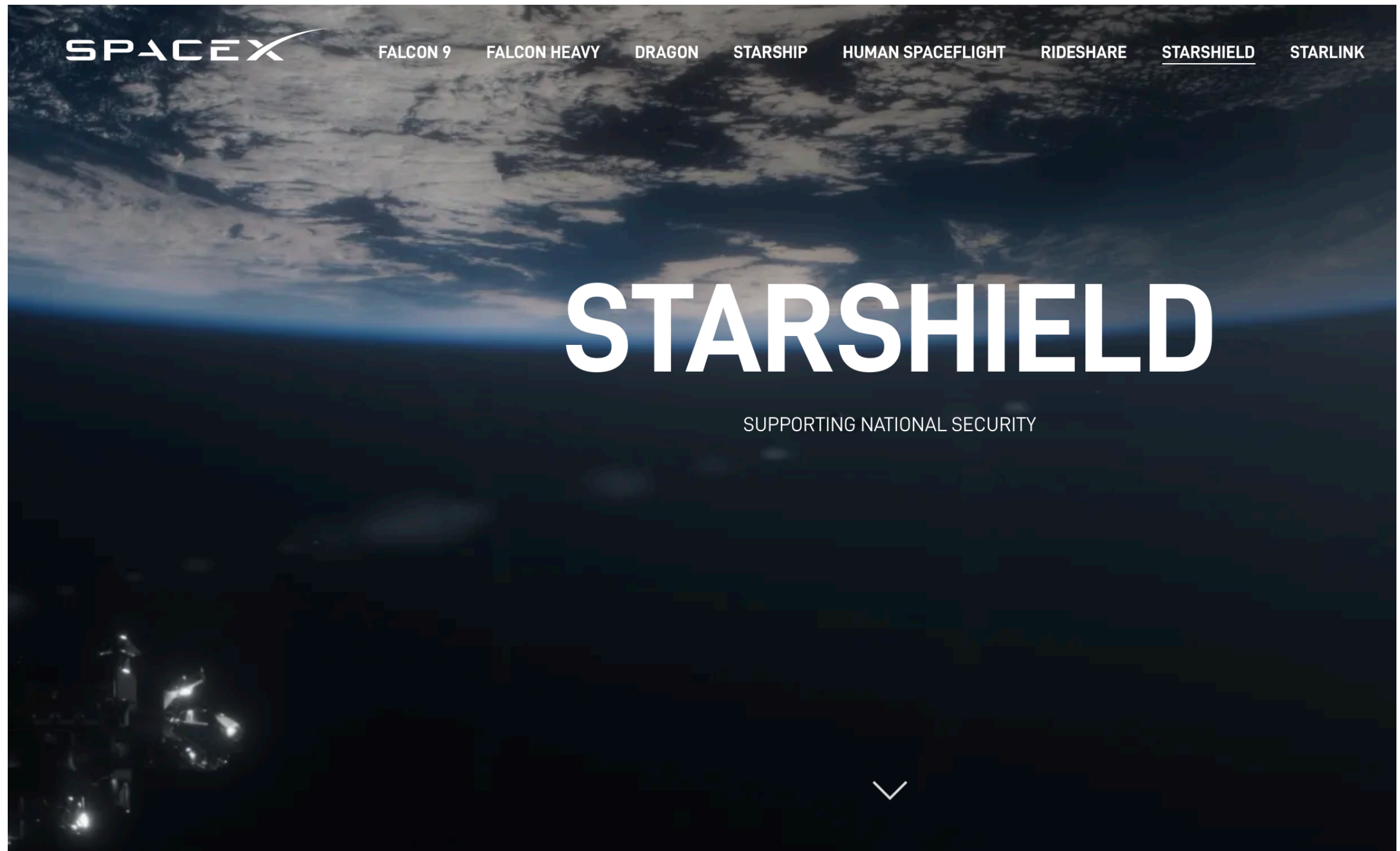
With that combat-proven foundation in place, our open architecture approach allows the best of commercial, defense and newer contractors to build game-changing innovations into the system as they become available, expanding range, territorial coverage, accelerating timelines, and strengthening deterrence.

This mission can’t be left to chance with unproven technology – the mission must be met with proven capability providers, who can deliver the greatest innovation, with high reliability, at scale, and ahead of need.

Focused on the mission and the partnerships needed to succeed, our innovative solutions will safeguard our homeland and ensure America’s continued security and prosperity.

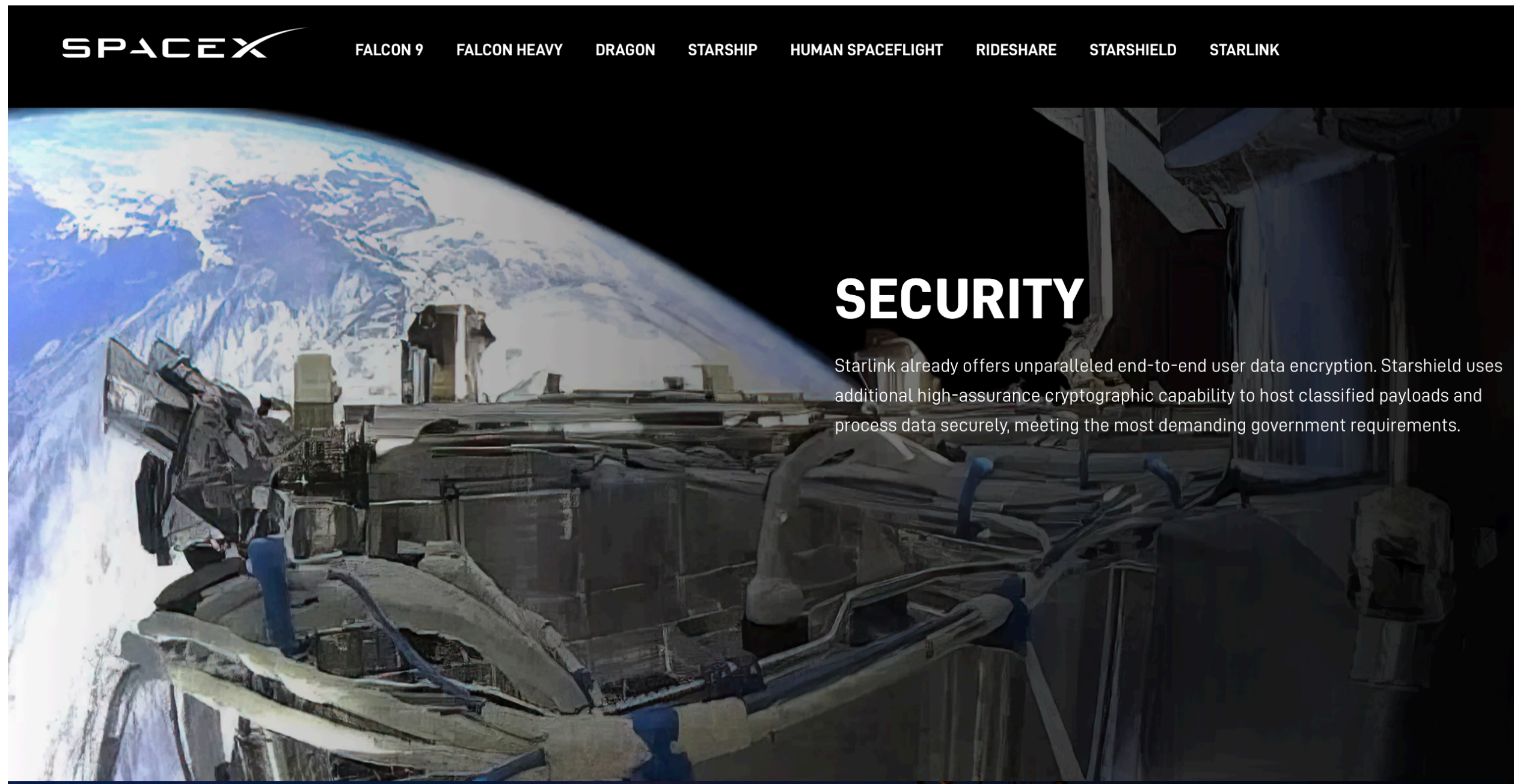
O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (40)

[FONTE: Space X]



O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (41)

[FONTE: Space X]



SECURITY

Starlink already offers unparalleled end-to-end user data encryption. Starshield uses additional high-assurance cryptographic capability to host classified payloads and process data securely, meeting the most demanding government requirements.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (42)

[FONTE: Reuters, 22/07/2025]

Exclusive: Trump's Golden Dome looks for alternatives to Musk's SpaceX

WASHINGTON, July 22 (Reuters) - The Trump administration is expanding its search for partners to build the Golden Dome missile defense system, courting Amazon.com's Project Kuiper and big defense contractors as tensions with Elon Musk threaten SpaceX's dominance in the program, according to three sources familiar with the matter.

It comes amid a deteriorating relationship between Trump and Musk, which culminated in a public falling-out on June 5. Even before [the spat](#), officials at the Pentagon and White House had begun exploring alternatives to SpaceX, wary of over-reliance on a single partner for huge portions of the ambitious, [\\$175 billion space-based defense shield](#), two of the sources said.

SpaceX did not respond to requests for comment. Responding to a post about the [Reuters story on X](#), Musk wrote, "Federal acquisition regulations require using the best provider at the best price. Anything else would be breaking the law."

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (43)

[FONTE: Reuters, 22/07/2025]

Due to its size, track record of launching more than 9,000 of its own Starlink satellites, and experience in government procurement, SpaceX still has the inside track to assist with major portions of the Golden Dome, especially launch contracts, sources say.

Project Kuiper, which has launched just 78 of a planned constellation of 3,000 low-earth orbit satellites, has been approached by the Pentagon to join the effort, signaling the administration's openness to integrating commercial tech firms into national defense infrastructure and going beyond traditional defense players.

Jeff Bezos, Amazon's executive chairman, told Reuters in January that Kuiper would be "primarily commercial," but acknowledged "there will be defense uses for these [low-earth orbit] constellations, no doubt."

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (44)

[FONTE: Amazon / Project Kuiper]



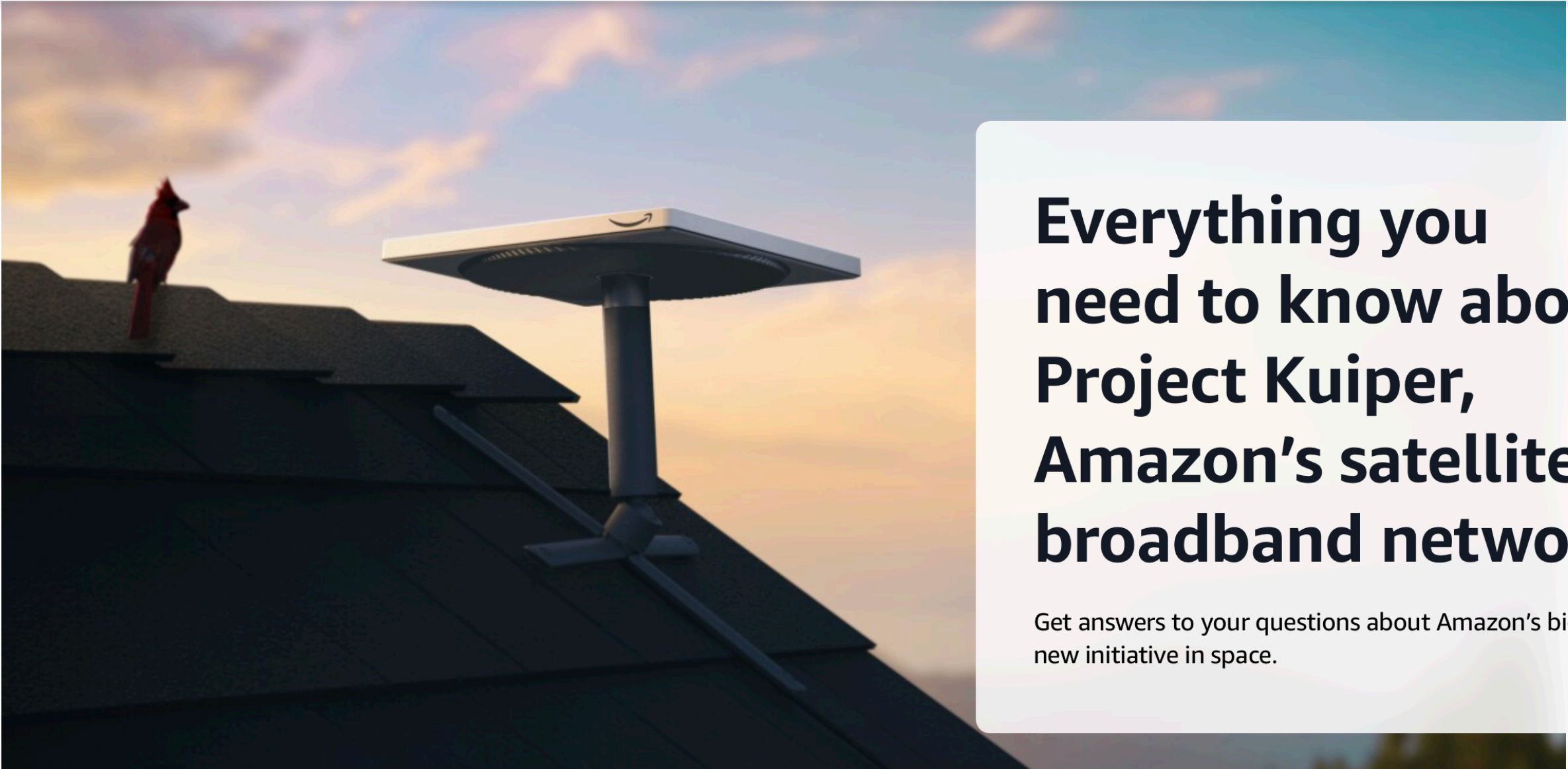
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A photograph of a Project Kuiper satellite dish mounted on a dark roof. A red cardinal is perched on the roof to the left of the dish. The sky in the background is a mix of blue and orange, suggesting a sunset or sunrise.

Everything you need to know about Project Kuiper, Amazon's satellite broadband network

Get answers to your questions about Amazon's big, new initiative in space.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (45)

[FONTE: Amazon / Project Kuiper]



Written by Amazon Staff

June 26, 2025

1 min read

[Project Kuiper](#), Amazon’s satellite internet network, signed an agreement with the U.S. National Science Foundation (NSF) to support both the expansion of global broadband access and the advancement of astronomical science.

The coordination agreement establishes clear protocols and processes to ensure [Project Kuiper's satellite constellation](#) can deliver on its mission to bring fast, reliable internet to customers and communities around the world, while also minimizing interference with astronomical observations. This balanced approach recognizes that both connectivity and scientific discovery represent crucial priorities for technological advancement and human knowledge.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (46)

[FONTE: Time 27/05/2025]

China, North Korea, and Russia's Response to Trump's 'Golden Dome' Proposal

China

After issuing the joint statement with Russia, China continued to criticize the U.S. over its Golden Dome plan, urging Trump to trash it.

“The project will heighten the risk of turning the space into a war zone and creating a space arms race, and shake the international security and arms control system,” Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Mao Ning [said](#) in a regular press briefing on May 21.

The Pentagon views China as a strong missile threat that's undergone considerable development over the past two decades. According to a [2024 report](#), China had “the world's leading hypersonic missile arsenal,” possessing more than 600 nuclear warheads and some 400 ICBMs.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (47)

[FONTE: Time 27/05/2025]

North Korea

North Korean state media on May 27 reported that the foreign ministry [condemned](#) Trump’s proposed “Golden Dome,” saying it was an “outer space nuclear war scenario supporting the U.S. strategy for uni-polar domination,” and added that it was a “typical product of ‘America first’, the height of self-righteousness, arrogance, high-handed and arbitrary practice.”

The nuclear-armed state boasts one of the world’s largest militaries with some 1.3 million active-duty personnel. It is known for regularly launching missile tests—47 in 2024 alone—including intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) that theoretically [can reach the U.S. mainland](#). North Korea also has an estimated 70-90 nuclear weapons, according to the D.C.-based [Arms Control Association](#), and the U.S. Defense officials have [said](#) it is continuing to expand its arsenal.

According to the state media report on the foreign ministry’s memorandum about the Golden Dome, the U.S. is using the pretense of a defensive project to “attempt to militarize outer space” and “preemptively attain military superiority in an all-round way.”

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (48)

[FONTE: Time 27/05/2025]

Russia

Earlier this month, before Trump announced the Golden Dome project from the Oval Office but after having discussed the idea for many months, Russia issued a [joint statement with China](#) in which they called the planned program “deeply destabilizing in nature.” In the statement, the two countries said the Golden Dome was “a complete and ultimate rejection to recognize the existence of the inseparable interrelationship between strategic offensive arms and strategic defensive arms.” It also opposed how countries are using space for armed conflict, saying that it will jointly counter security policies and activities aimed at using outer space as a “warfighting domain.”

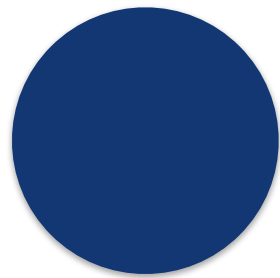
But after Trump spoke further about his plans for the Golden Dome at the Oval Office last week, the Kremlin offered a more muted response.

Russian presidential spokesman Dmitry Peskov [told local media](#) that the project was “a sovereign matter” for the U.S., adding: “If the United States believes there is a missile threat, then of course it will develop a missile defense system.” Peskov also said Russia will [not yet assess the threat](#) to nuclear parity with the U.S. as details of the project remained scant.

O regresso da “guerra das estrelas”? (49)

[FONTE: Rick McKee / Cagle Cartoons 24/05/2025]





PARTE II – NOTAS BREVES

A Síria e a opressão das minorias étnicas e religiosas (1) [FONTE: Encyclopedia Britannica]



A Síria e a opressão das minorias étnicas e religiosas (2) [FONTE: Encyclopedia Britannica]



A Síria e a opressão das minorias étnicas e religiosas (3) [FONTE: Deutsche Welle, 17/07/2025]

Syria: Who are the Druze?

Who are the Druze?

The Druze have a long history in the Middle East, with communities spread across several countries in the region.

The Druze community is a small Middle Eastern religious sect characterized by an eclectic system of doctrines. They practice a unique Abrahamic religion (the Abrahamic group includes [Christianity](#), [Islam](#) and [Judaism](#)) which developed from a branch of Shia Islam. However the Druze do not identify as Muslim. They believe in reincarnation and do not accept converts.

In Syria, they are estimated to number around 700,000 and make up about 3% of the country's population. The other main [groups in Syria](#) are Sunnis, who make up about 70% of the population, Alawites who make up about 10% and Shia, 3%. The Druze have pressed the new, interim Syrian government, which is Sunni-dominated, to uphold minority rights.

A Síria e a opressão das minorias étnicas e religiosas (4) [FONTE: Deutsche Welle, 17/07/2025]

The Druze relationship with Syria

Following the collapse of the authoritarian [Assad regime](#) in Syria, there have been mixed responses from the Druze community to the interim government headed by former rebel leader Ahmad al-Sharaa.

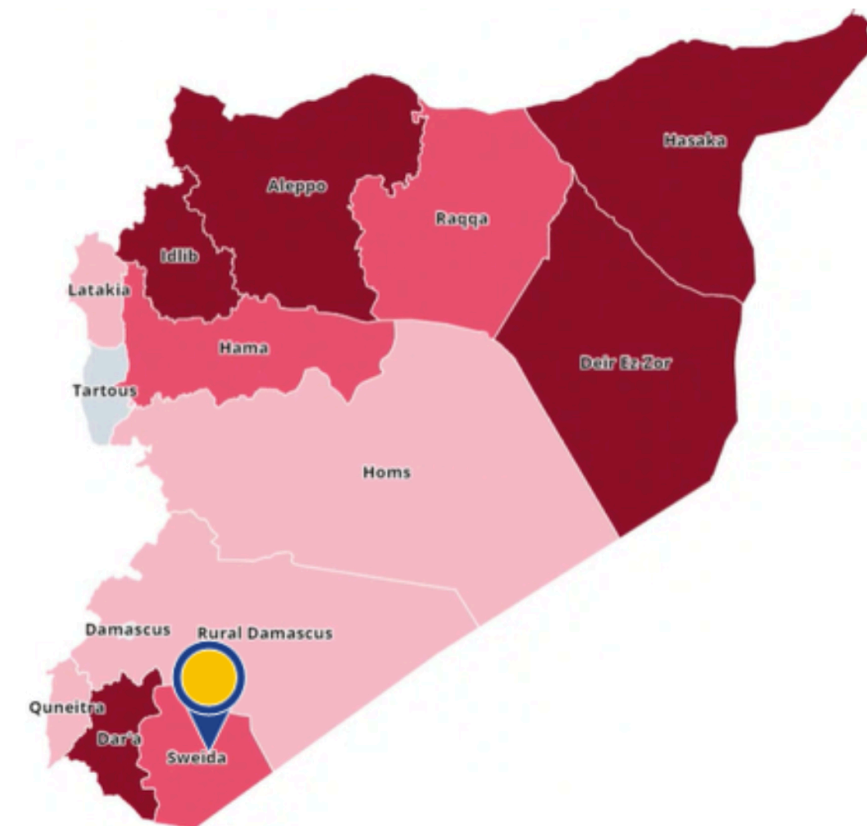
Some Druze leaders have voiced support for a unified and pluralistic Syria and have expressed willingness to work with the interim government. Others have taken a more confrontational stance. The Druze also operate their own security forces and have resisted centralization under the new government.

More than 100 Druze were killed in clashes with government forces [earlier in 2025](#), which also claimed the lives of some 1,700 people, most of them from the Alawite minority.

Following the withdrawal of government forces from Sweida this week, al-Sharaa [pledged to protect the Druze community](#) from violence, saying he would hold accountable "those who transgressed and abused our Druze people, as they are under the protection and responsibility of the state."

A Síria e a opressão das minorias étnicas e religiosas (5) [FONTE: European Union Agency for Asylum]

Sweida



General information

The governorate of Sweida is located in the southern part of Syria and has borders with the governorates of Dar'a and Rural Damascus and an international border with Jordan to its south. Sweida governorate comprises three districts: As-Sweida, Shahba and Salkhad. As of May 2022, UNOCHA estimated the population of Sweida at 379 223 inhabitants. The Druze community makes up 91 % of the governorate's total population.

A Síria e a opressão das minorias étnicas e religiosas (6) [FONTE: Kurdistan 24, 15/07/2025]

Syrian Forces Advance on Sweida Amid Deadly Clashes Between Druze and Bedouin Fighters

The fighting claimed at least 99 lives, including 60 Druze—among them four civilians—18 Bedouin fighters, 14 members of Syria's security forces, and seven unidentified individuals wearing military uniform, according to SOHR.

ERBIL (Kurdistan24) — Syrian government forces advanced toward the southern city of Sweida on Monday in an effort to suppress escalating violence between Druze fighters and Bedouin tribes, as talks aimed at brokering a truce reportedly began, according to AFP.

The fighting, which erupted on Sunday, has claimed at least 99 lives, the UK-based Syrian Observatory for Human Rights reported. The dead include 60 Druze—among them four civilians—18 Bedouin fighters, 14 members of Syria's security forces, and seven unidentified individuals wearing military uniforms.

A Síria e a opressão das minorias étnicas e religiosas (7) [FONTE: Kurdistan 24, 15/07/2025]

Fear of Massacres

The deadly violence is a major challenge for Syria's new interim leadership, headed by Ahmad al-Sharaa, whose Islamist-backed forces overthrew long-time President Bashar al-Assad in December following nearly 14 years of civil war.

Sweida, a stronghold of Syria's estimated 700,000-strong Druze population, has remained relatively autonomous during much of the conflict. The Druze—adherents of a distinct monotheistic religion rooted in Shiite Islam—are concentrated primarily in Syria, Lebanon, and Israel.

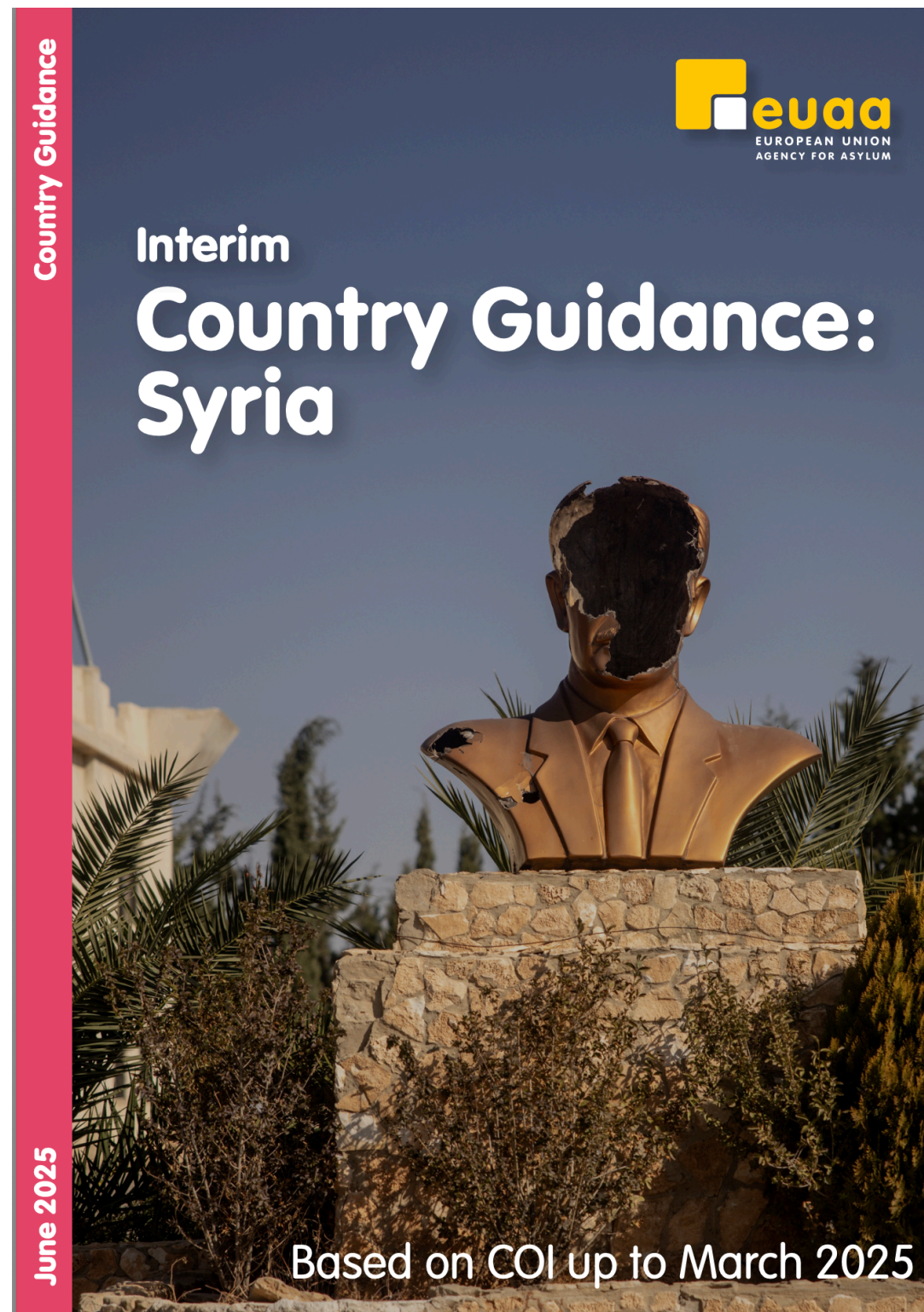
In recent months, Druze factions had reached an agreement with Damascus to assume local security responsibilities following clashes with state forces in April and May. But tensions resurfaced when Bedouin gunmen reportedly kidnapped a Druze vegetable seller on the Damascus highway Sunday, prompting retaliatory abductions.

Though the hostages were eventually released, the violence escalated, with mortar fire striking villages and dozens wounded, according to local news outlet Suwayda 24. Streets in Sweida city were largely deserted on Monday, and an AFP photographer reported hearing distant gunfire during funerals.

"We lived in a state of extreme terror—the shells were falling randomly," said 51-year-old resident Abu Taym. "Most shops are closed." Another resident, Amal, 46, expressed fears of a repeat of the "coastal scenario"—a reference to the March massacres of more than 1,700 mostly Alawite civilians in northwest Syria.

A Síria e a opressão das minorias étnicas e religiosas (8)

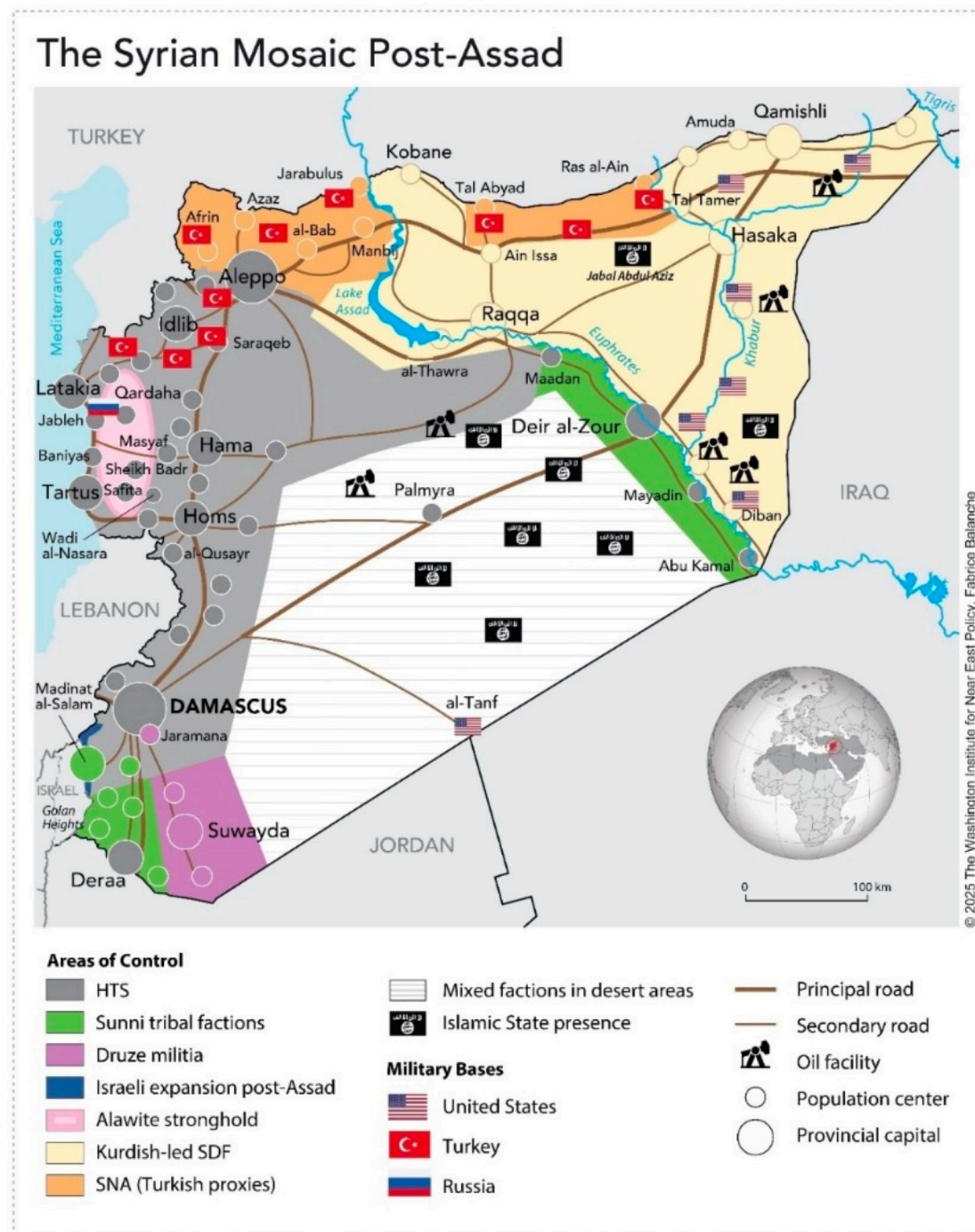
[FONTE: European Union Agency for Asylum - Country Guidance: Syria (Junho 2025)]



A Síria e a opressão das minorias étnicas e religiosas (9)

[FONTE: European Union Agency for Asylum - Country Guidance: Syria (Junho 2025)]

Figure 1. © The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Fabrice Balanche, Syria, Areas of control, 28 February 2025 [Country Focus 2025, 1]



A Síria e a opressão das minorias étnicas e religiosas (10)

[FONTE: European Union Agency for Asylum - Country Guidance: Syria (Junho 2025)]

The Transitional Administration

Last update: June 2025

This analysis is based on the following EUAA COI report: [Country Focus 2025, 1.2.1, 1.2.2, 1.3.1, 1.3.2, 2.1](#). Country Guidance should not be referred to as a source of COI. The section below should be read in conjunction with most recent COI available at the time of the examination.

For information on the human rights violations committed by HTS before the fall of the Assad regime, see 'EUAA, [3.4. Anti-government armed groups](#)' in *Country Guidance: Syria*, April 2024'.

For further information about the territorial control and the operational capacity of the Transitional Administration, see [Country Focus 2025, 4.1](#).

HTS and its allied factions formed the Military Operations Administration (MOA) in light of their offensive against the Assad regime. Following the overthrow of Bashar Al-Assad, troops comprising the MOA became the primary military force on the ground. On 24 December 2024, the MOA announced the dissolution of all military factions and their integration under the Ministry of Defence. HTS itself announced that it would lead by example, dissolve as an armed group and integrate into the armed forces.

HTS claimed they made efforts to avoid harming the civilian population during their offensive. Some areas that were previously held by the SDF were taken over based on agreements. Following its takeover of power, the Transitional Administration conducted extensive military operations targeting [\(Former\) members of Assad's armed forces and pro-Assad armed groups](#), which resulted in various human rights violations, including reported deaths in custody as well as allegations of torture. In early March 2025, summary executions of civilians, most of whom were [Alawites](#), were reported.



The fall of the Assad regime and the *de facto* rule of HTS and the Transitional Administration over Syria created an unexpected and unprecedented situation. At the time of writing, the intentions and mode of governance of the new authorities remain unclear.

A Síria e a opressão das minorias étnicas e religiosas (11) [FONTE: Times of Israel, 17/07/2025]

Netanyahu vows no Syrian forces south of Damascus, as Bedouins, Druze fight despite truce

Bedouin commander says ceasefire only applies to Damascus government, declares offensive with aim to free Bedouins held by Druze, after regime's retreat during IDF strikes



Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said Thursday that Israel will continue to use military means to enforce its two red lines in Syria — the demilitarization of the area south of Damascus, near Israel's border, and the protection of the country's Druze minority there.

Netanyahu said the Damascus regime, led by President Ahmed al-Sharaa, violated both those red lines in recent days.

A Síria e a opressão das minorias étnicas e religiosas (12) [FONTE: Times of Israel, 17/07/2025]

Israel attacked military facilities and operatives of the Syrian regime on Wednesday, demanding that regime troops withdraw from Sweida, to which they had deployed during sectarian fighting between Druze and Bedouins, which are reported to have initially broken out after a Druze vegetable vendor was assaulted by Bedouin gunmen on Sunday.



Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in a video released July 17, 2025. (Screenshot/GPO)

Israel's own Druze community had demanded that Jerusalem act to protect their brethren across the border, as videos emerged from Sweida showing regime forces shaving Druze clerics' mustaches, as well as stepping on Druze flags and pictures of religious clerics. Other videos showed Druze fighters beating captured government forces and posing by their bodies.

After the Israeli strikes on Wednesday, the [Syrian army withdrew](#), saying it had reached a ceasefire with local Druze forces, and Sharaa vowed to protect the minority group — though some Druze factions said they rejected the arrangement.

A Síria e a opressão das minorias étnicas e religiosas (13) [FONTE: Lazar Berman / Times of Israel, 17/07/2025]

Hopes for a quick deal with Syria are gone, but Israel needs a strategy beyond strikes

When PM visited DC last week, there was talk of normalization with the Sharaa regime; now, given the Sweida fighting and the IDF's attacks, the optimism is over but the door isn't closed

Only last week, optimism was swirling over the prospects of a formal truce agreement between longtime enemies Israel and Syria, designed to put an end to the strikes Israel had been carrying out on military assets of the new regime.

US President Donald Trump had [formally](#) dismantled American sanctions against Syria at the end of June, a watershed in the push to bring the regime in Damascus into Western acceptability.

Ahead of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's visit to Washington, both Israeli and Syrian officials spoke about the possibility of a ceasefire agreement at the very least.

Israel "will welcome Syria to the peace and normalization circle in the Middle East," [said](#) Foreign Minister Gideon Sa'ar in front of cameras.

"There is absolutely an aspiration to expand the Abraham Accords, and it's no secret that we want to see Syria in this," a senior Israeli official told The Times of Israel. "And there may be an opportunity."

A Síria e a opressão das minorias étnicas e religiosas (14) [FONTE: Lazar Berman / Times of Israel, 17/07/2025]

It's hard to imagine how Jerusalem and Damascus will resume talks, with Syria now much more suspicious of Israel and its purported aims.

"I hear a lot from Syrian officials about a real lack of trust in Israeli intentions," said Valensi, "that the real Israeli intentions are now being revealed with the attacks, which are to destabilize."

And Israel, which was already wary of a government led by individuals who rose to prominence as jihadist leaders, has even more reason to be skeptical of a regime that, in the best-case scenario, can't control what happens on the ground, and, in the worst case, is actively backing attacks on Druze.

"The civil war was won not by a cohesive, organized, and single-minded opposition with a clear vision of what comes next but by a patchwork of rivals who had nothing in common other than enmity towards Assad," said Blaise Misztal, vice president for policy at the Jewish Institute for National

Security of America.

"Sharaa might hope to cobble a state together out of these disparate factions, but he does not appear to have yet been able to make them disarm or follow his orders. Until he does, such paroxysms of violence by armed groups pursuing their own prejudices and agendas will likely remain common."

Sugestões de leitura

