

LA CRECIENTE IMPORTANCIA DE LAS INSURRECCIONES EN LA SEGURIDAD GLOBAL



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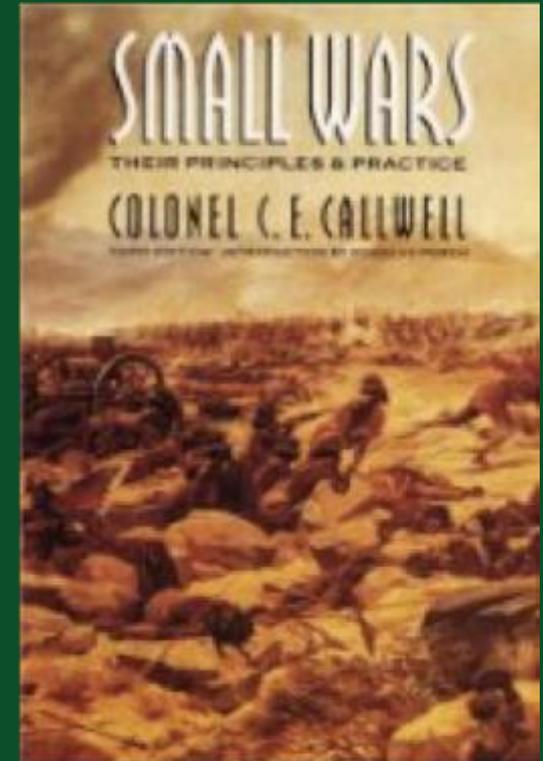
AGENDA

1. ¿QUÉ ES UNA INSURRECCIÓN?
2. PREVALENCIA DE CONFLICTOS ASIMÉTRICOS
3. DEBATE - implicaciones para análisis

¿QUÉ ES UNA INSURRECCIÓN?

- **Tácticas de guerrilla / terrorismo + Propaganda política = Insurrección**
- **Cualquier intento de un grupo armado de desafiar por la fuerza la legitimidad y el control político del Estado.**
- “Operations of regular armies against [...] comparatively speaking **irregular forces**.”
- The conduct of small wars is in fact in **certain respects an art by itself**, diverging widely from [...] regular warfare’.

CHARLES CALLWELL (1906)



INSURRECCIÓN – CARACTERÍSTICAS QUE LO DEFINEN

- Estructuralmente asimétrico (estatal contra no estatal)
- Híbrido y por poder (es decir, recurso a medios no convencionales, también por parte de los Estados)
- De muy baja a alta intensidad
- Extendido
- Ataques sorpresa (emboscadas, artefactos explosivos improvisados, ataques)



“la relación entre el insurgente y el pueblo debe ser como la del pez y el agua”.

“La insurrección será el pantano en el que se hundirá la maquinaria pesada del enemigo”.

MAO ZEDONG, *Guerrilha Warfare*, 1936.

“Ustedes, los franceses, tienen tropas bien armadas. Pero aunque nos maten a razón de 10/1 no importa, somos muchos y no nos daremos por vencidos”.

HO CHI MINH to Gen.SALAN, *Memoirs de Fin d'Empire I*, 1965.

DAVID vs. GOLIATH

- **Asimetría de fuerza v. Asimetría de voluntad (MACK)**
- **Las democracias no pueden usar toda su fuerza militar (MEROM)**
- **El caos es barato y fácil v. El orden es cara y difícil de consolidar y legitimar (KITSON)**
- **Organización clandestina (TRINQUIER)**
- **Ataques sorpresa en terrenos extensos y difíciles con poblaciones pobres y heterogéneas (FEARON y LAITIN)**

GUERRAS CONVENCIONALES CADA VEZ MÁS RARAS

- **SOLO EL 18% DE LOS CONFLICTOS DE 1945-2000 SON GUERRAS CONVENCIONALES**
- **DESDE 1991 INCLUSO MENOS 5 (Geórgia, Eritreia, Kargil, Arménia-Azerbaijão.)**
- **Michael Brown (ed.), *Grave New World : Security Challenges in the Twenty-First Century* (Washington DC : Georgetown UP, 2003), 2-3; SIPRI Yearbooks in www.sipri.org/contents/publications/yearbooks.html; IISS, *Armed Conflict Survey***
- **¿POR QUÉ?**
- **TRAMPA DE TUCÍDIDES NO CONVENCIONAL**

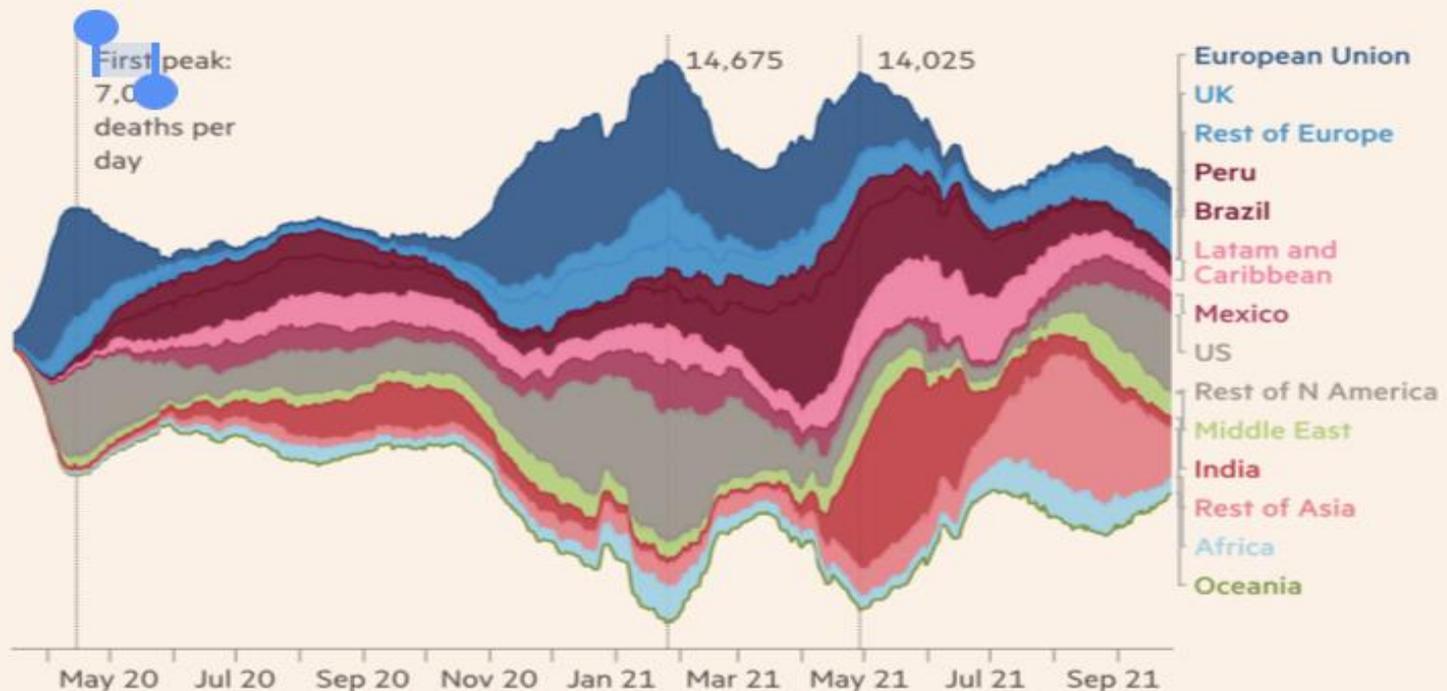
LOS CAMBIOS ESTRUCTURALES EN EL SISTEMA INTERNACIONAL LLEVAN A CONFLICTOS ASIMÉTRICOS

1. GLOBALIZACIÓN DE LA INSEGURIDAD
2. DEMOCRATIZACIÓN Y CAMBIO DE RÉGIMEN
3. REVOLUCIÓN TECNOLÓGICA Y DIFUSIÓN DE PODER
4. TRANSICIÓN DE PODER - FIN DE UNIPOLARIDAD

GLOBALIZACIÓN INSEGURIDAD SANITÁRIA

As the death toll eases in India, the rest of Asia is in deadliest phase of the pandemic

Daily deaths attributed to Covid-19 (7-day rolling average)



Source: Johns Hopkins CSSE, WHO, national sources, FT research
FINANCIAL TIMES • N America includes Canada, Bermuda, Greenland and St Pierre and Miquelon

CAMBIO, RÉGIMEN Y CONFLICTO



GLOBALIZACIÓN INSEGURIDAD CLIMÁTICA

CLIMATE DESTABILISATION

The average temperature rise across the globe

4°C

The arctic rise will be as much as

16°C

Coastal areas of Britain and New Zealand will see temperatures rise by

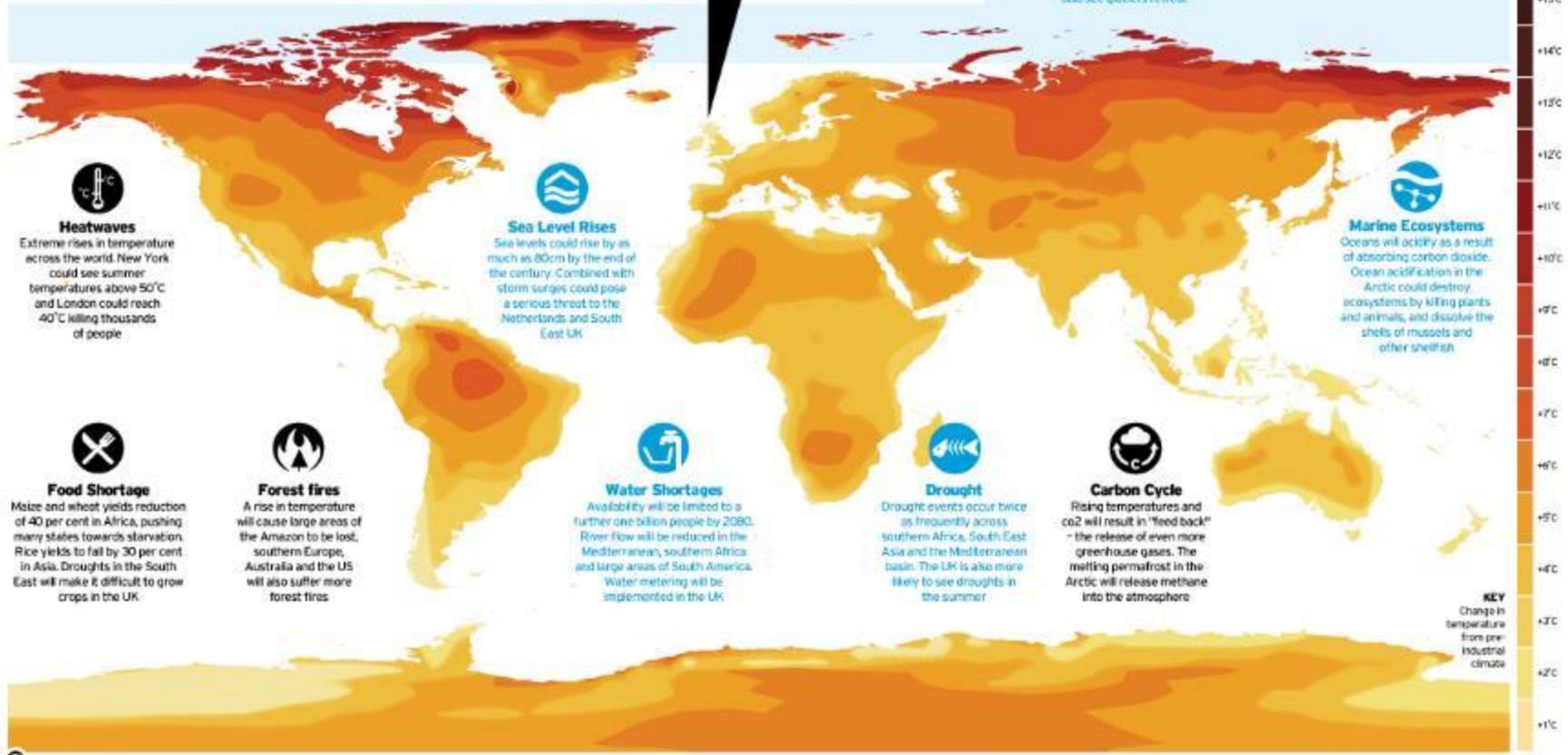
2°C

Affects on the UK

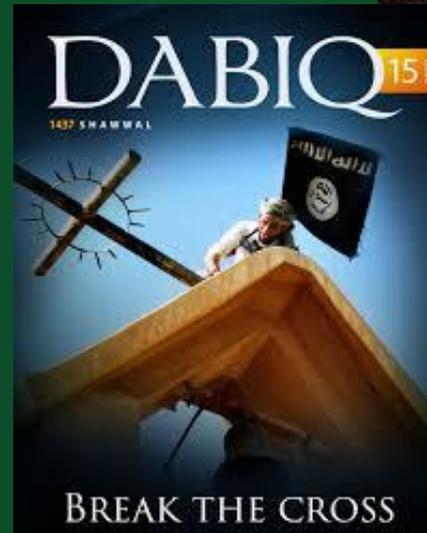
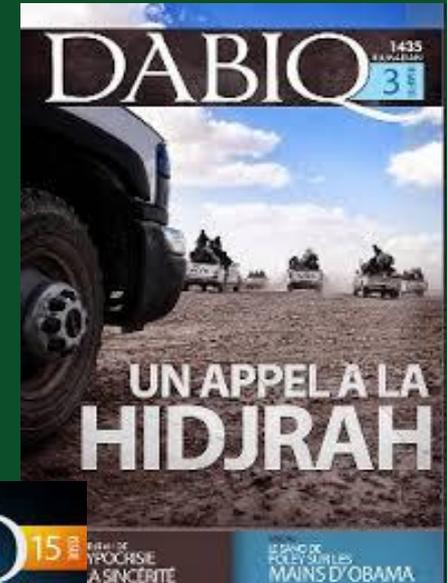


Melting Glaciers

Himalayan glaciers will be significantly reduced by 2050 putting the water source of billions of people at risk. South America and the Alps will also see glaciers retreat.

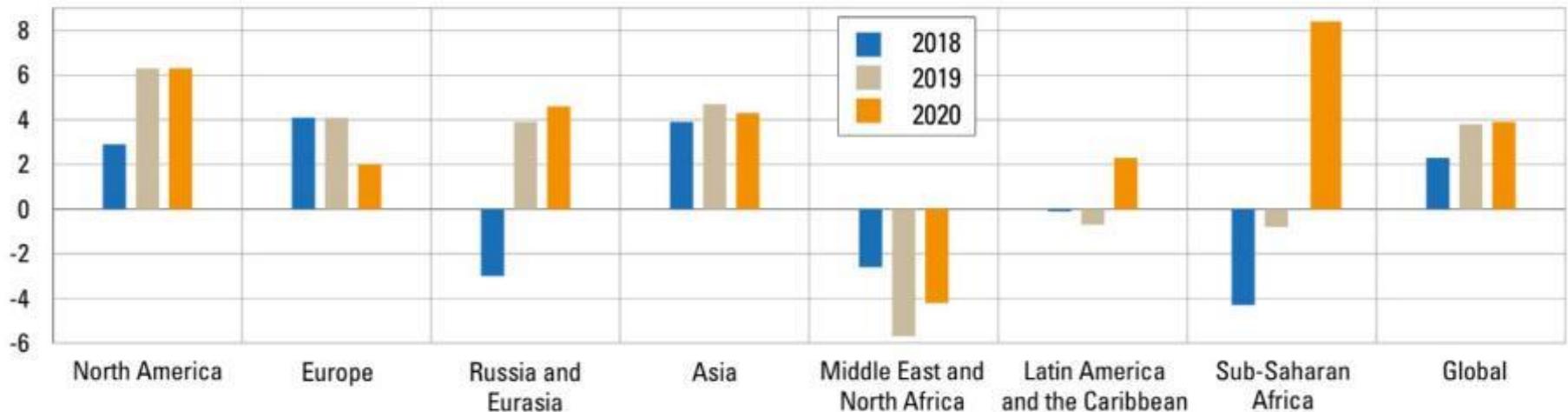


REVOLUCIÓN TECNOLÓGICA, DIFUSIÓN DE PODER Y CONFLICTO



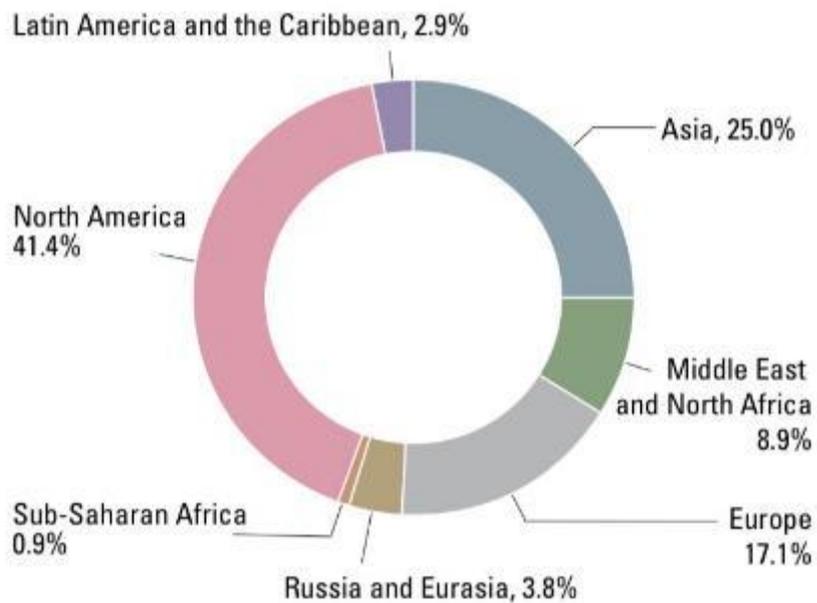
¿TRANSICIÓN DEL PODER MILITAR?

Real global defence-spending changes by region, 2018–20*

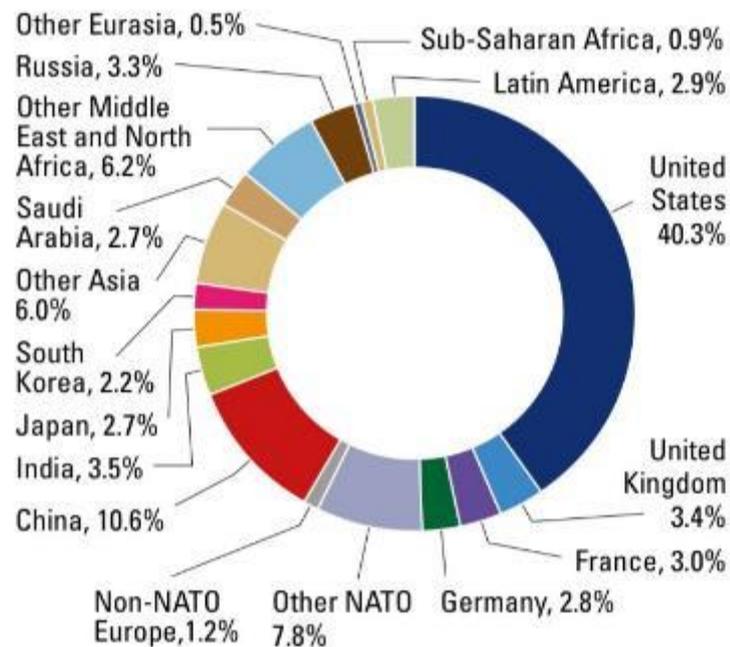


* Excludes states for which insufficient data is available

Planned global defence-spending by region 2020†

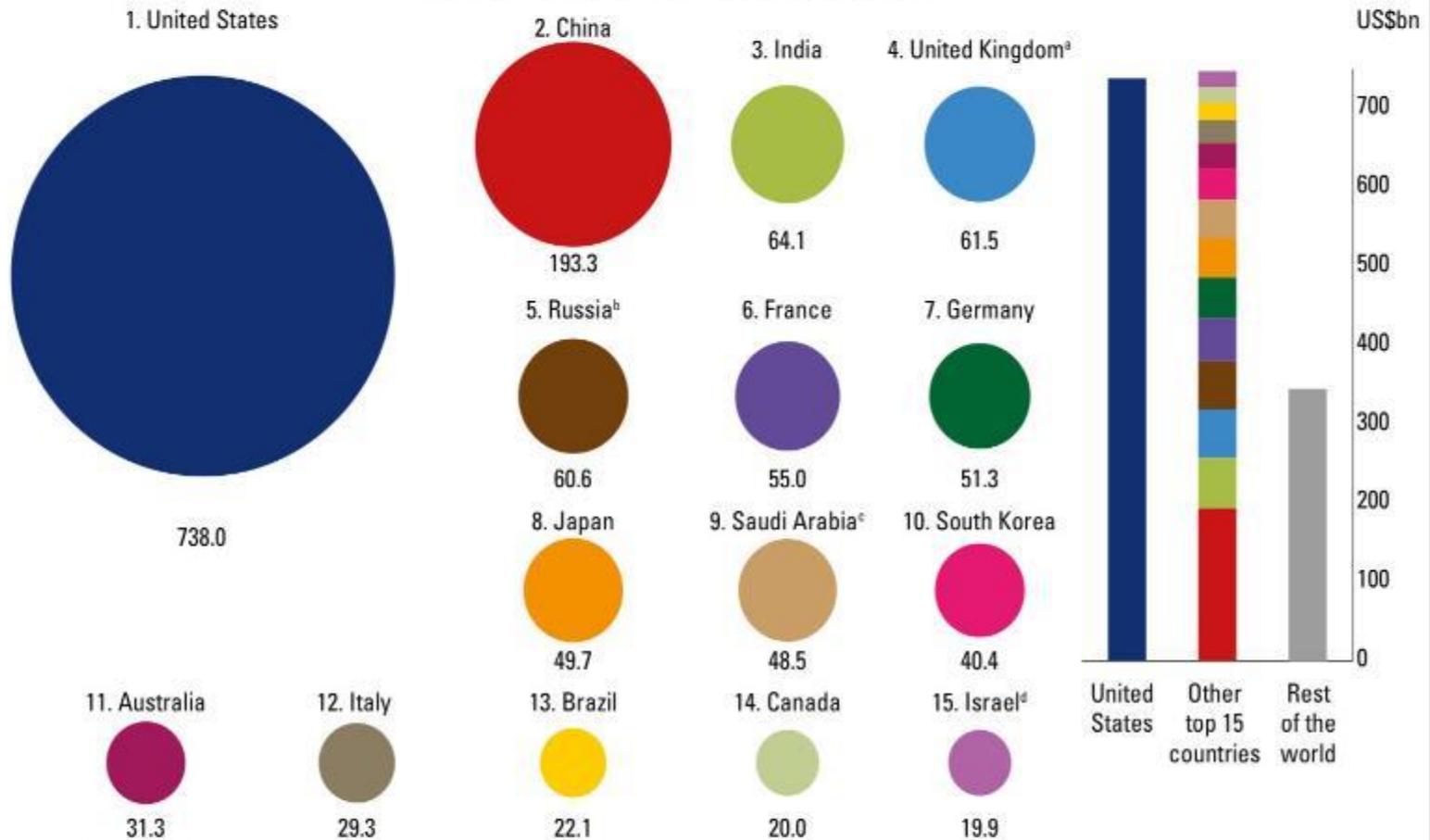


Planned defence-spending by country 2020†



† At current prices and exchange rates

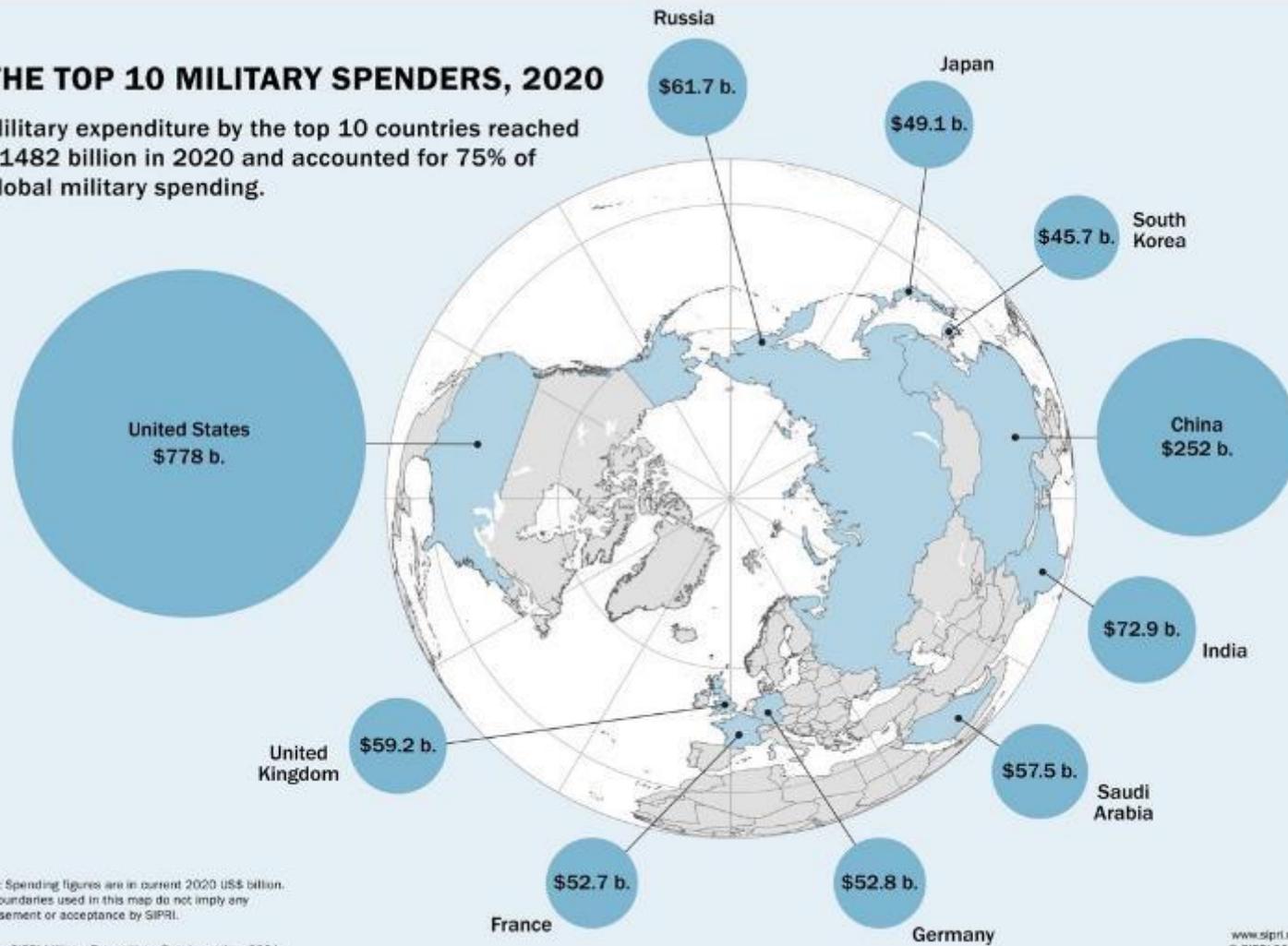
Defence budgets: top 15 in 2020[†] US\$bn



[†] Includes Armed Forces Pension Scheme; [‡] Total defence expenditure including National Guard, Federal Border Service and military pensions; [‡] Excludes security expenditure; [‡] Includes US Foreign Military Assistance. Note: US dollar totals are calculated using average market exchange rates for 2020, derived using IMF data. The relative position of countries will vary not only as a result of actual adjustments in defence spending levels, but also due to exchange-rate fluctuations between domestic currencies and the US dollar. The use of average exchange rates reduces these fluctuations, but the effects of such movements can be significant in a number of cases. Security spending removed from Middle East estimates (including Saudi Arabia and Iraq). Armed Forces Pension Scheme and Special Appropriations (pensions) added to UK and Australia budgets respectively.

THE TOP 10 MILITARY SPENDERS, 2020

Military expenditure by the top 10 countries reached \$1482 billion in 2020 and accounted for 75% of global military spending.



Notes: Spending figures are in current 2020 US\$ billion. The boundaries used in this map do not imply any endorsement or acceptance by SIPRI.

Source: SIPRI Military Expenditure Database, Apr. 2021.

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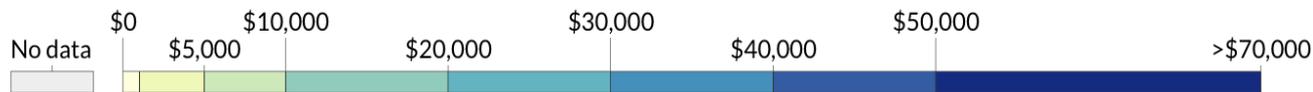
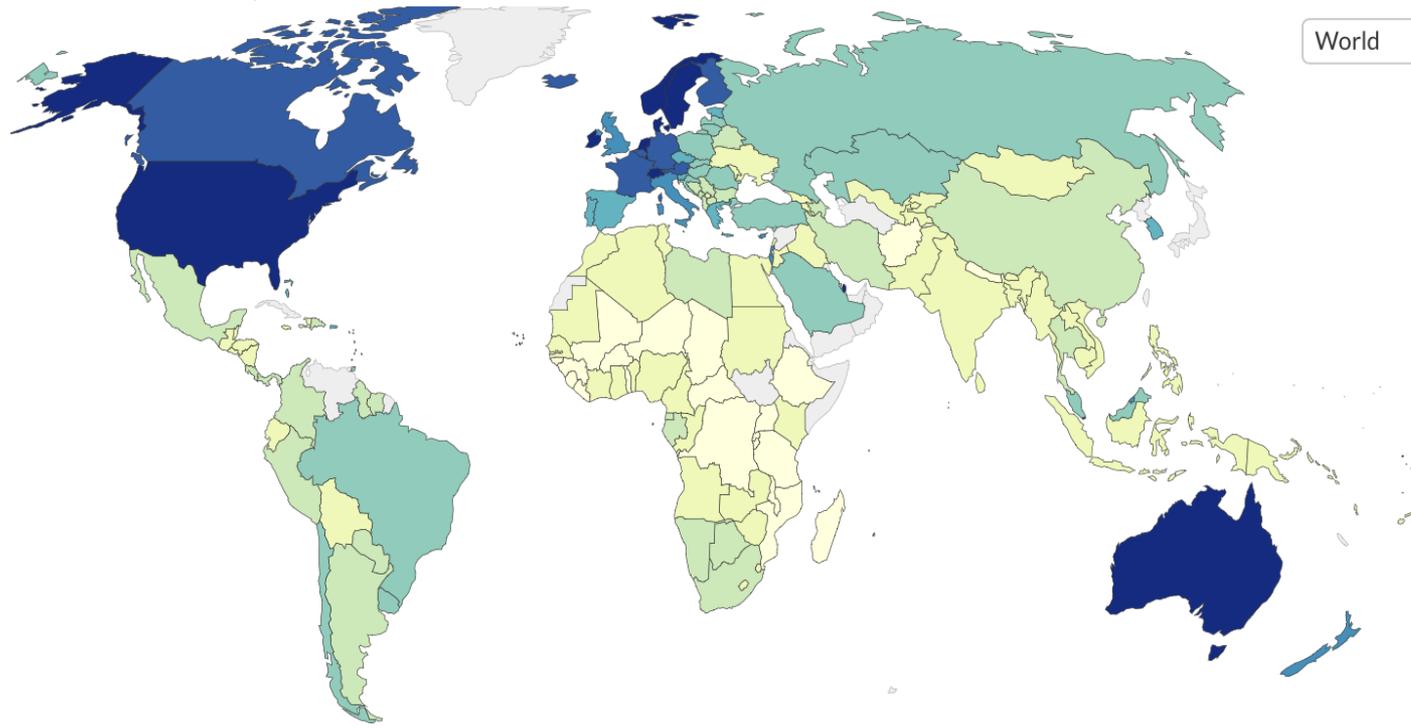


¿TRANSICIÓN DEL PODER ECONÓMICO?

GDP per capita in US\$, 2020
Measured in constant US-\$.

Our World
in Data

World



Source: World Bank and OECD

OurWorldInData.org/economic-growth • CC BY

Note: Figures are given in constant US-\$. This means it is adjusted for inflation to allow for comparison over time, but not for price differences between countries.

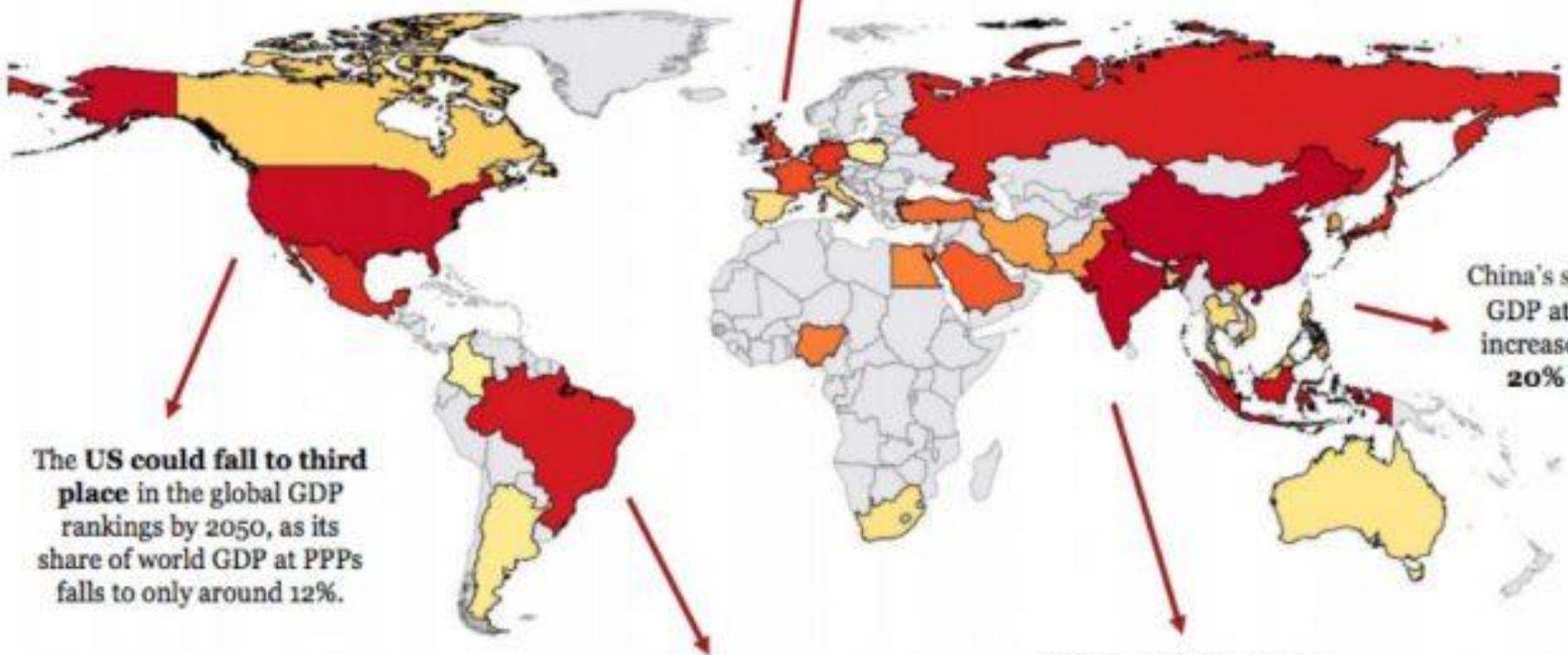
▶ 1960

○ 2020

US and Europe will steadily lose ground relative to the Asian giants

Projected GDP (PPP terms) in 2050

Europe's share of the world economy at PPPs could fall from around 15% to 9% over the next 34 years.



The US could fall to third place in the global GDP rankings by 2050, as its share of world GDP at PPPs falls to only around 12%.

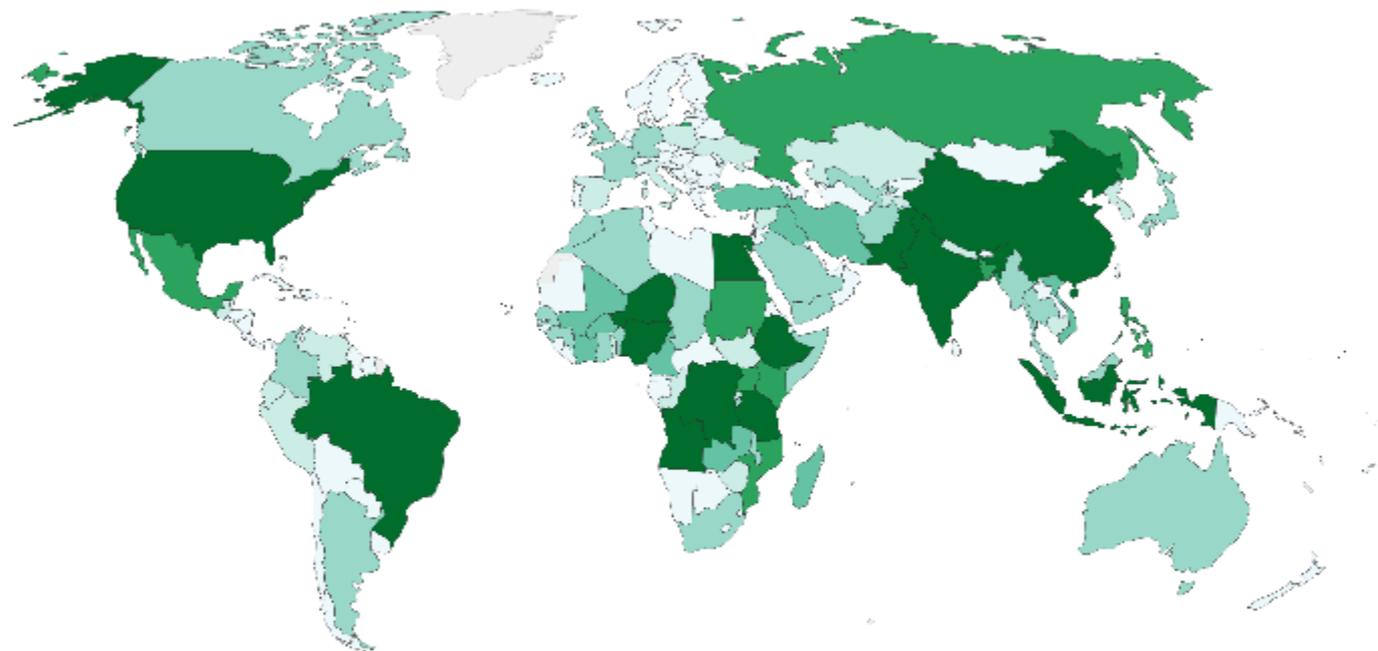
Brazil and Mexico could be larger than Japan and Germany by 2050.

India could increase its share of world GDP at PPPs by 8 percentage points to 15% by 2050.

China's share of world GDP at PPPs could increase to around 20% by 2050.

Population, 2100

Historical estimates of population, combined with the projected population to 2100 based on the UN's medium variant scenario.



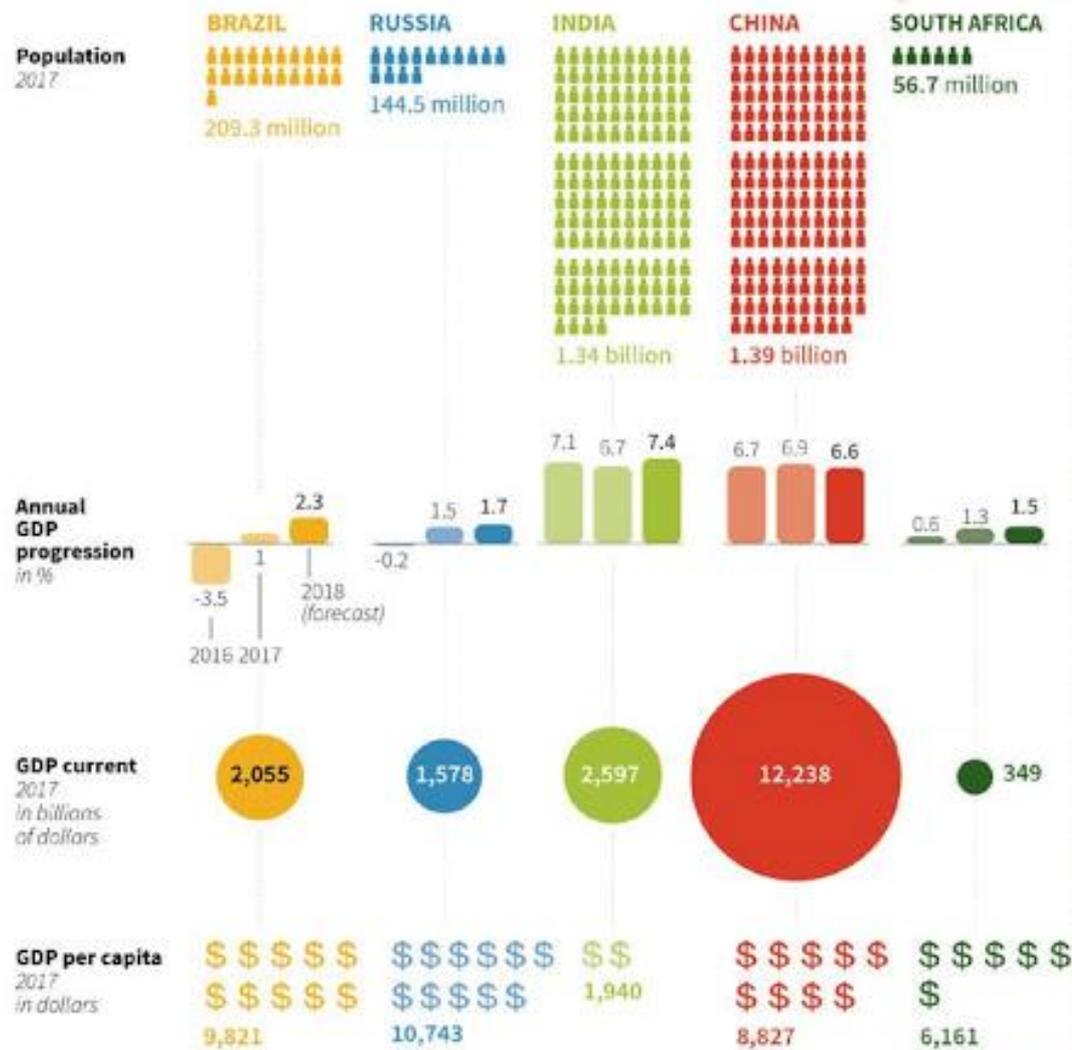
Source: Gapminder (v6), HYDE (v3.2), UN (2019)

Note: Historical country data is shown based on today's geographical borders.

OurWorldInData.org/future-population-growth • CC BY

¿MULTIPOLARIDAD?

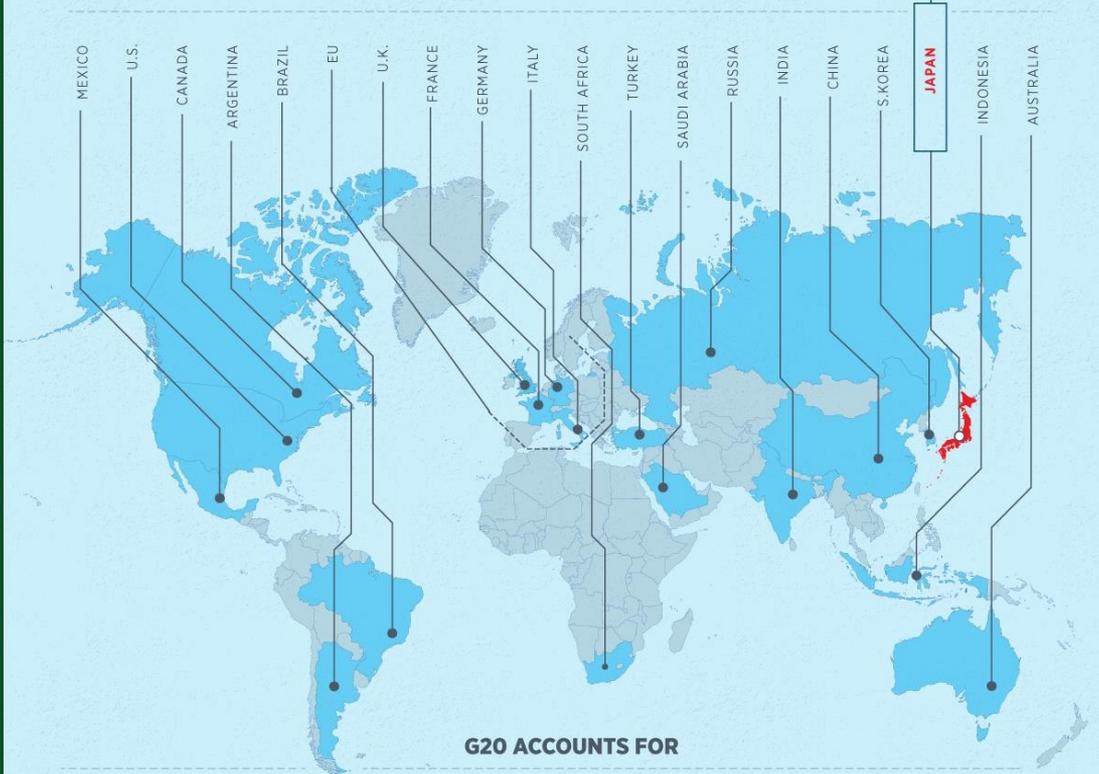
The BRICS group of countries



Sources: IMF, World Bank

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MEMBER STATES



G20 ACCOUNTS FOR



of world
economy



of all
global trade



of world
population

IMPLICACIONES; ANÁLISIS GLOBAL

- ASIMETRÍAS PODER v. NIVELADORES DE POTENCIA
- ¿SÓLO TIENEN SENTIDO LAS GUERRAS INDIRECTAS O LA INSURRECCIÓN?
- ¿MÁS IMPREDECIBLE?
- ¿MÁS DIFICULTAD PARA DISUADIR O DEFENDER?
- ¿PREVALENCIA CONTINUA DE GUERRAS HÍBRIDAS O NO CONVENCIONALES?

IMPLICACIONES; ANÁLISIS CONCRETA

- ¿Podemos mapear conflictos de proxy / híbridos?
- Podemos mapear conflictos no convencionales (mancha de aceite)
- ¿QUE HACER? ¿Intervenir (y en qué escala, forma)? ¿Contener y gestionar a distancia? ¿Empoderando a los socios? ¿Ignorar?

States with armed violence: non-state actors and conflict levels

1 January 2018 - 31 August 2019

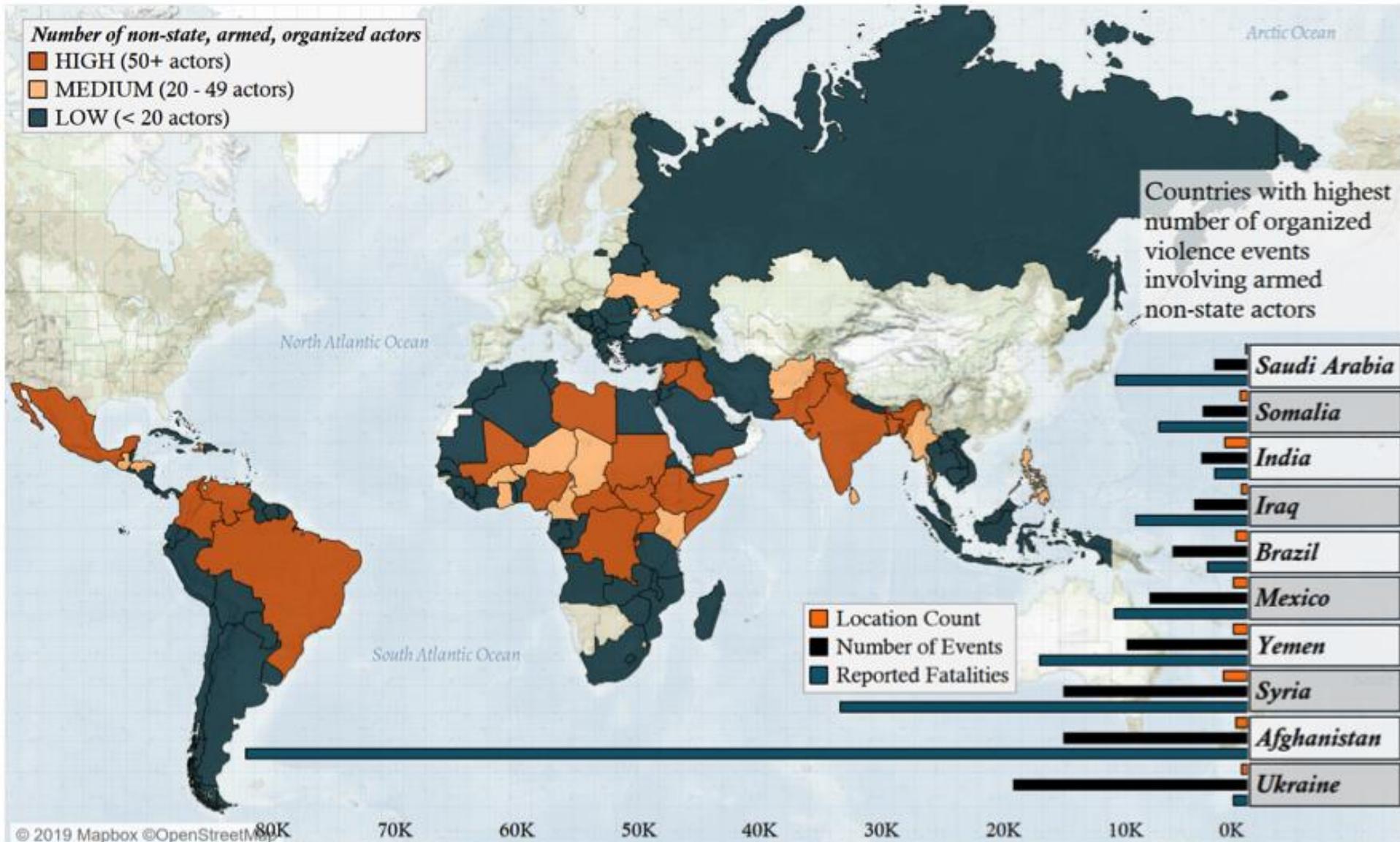
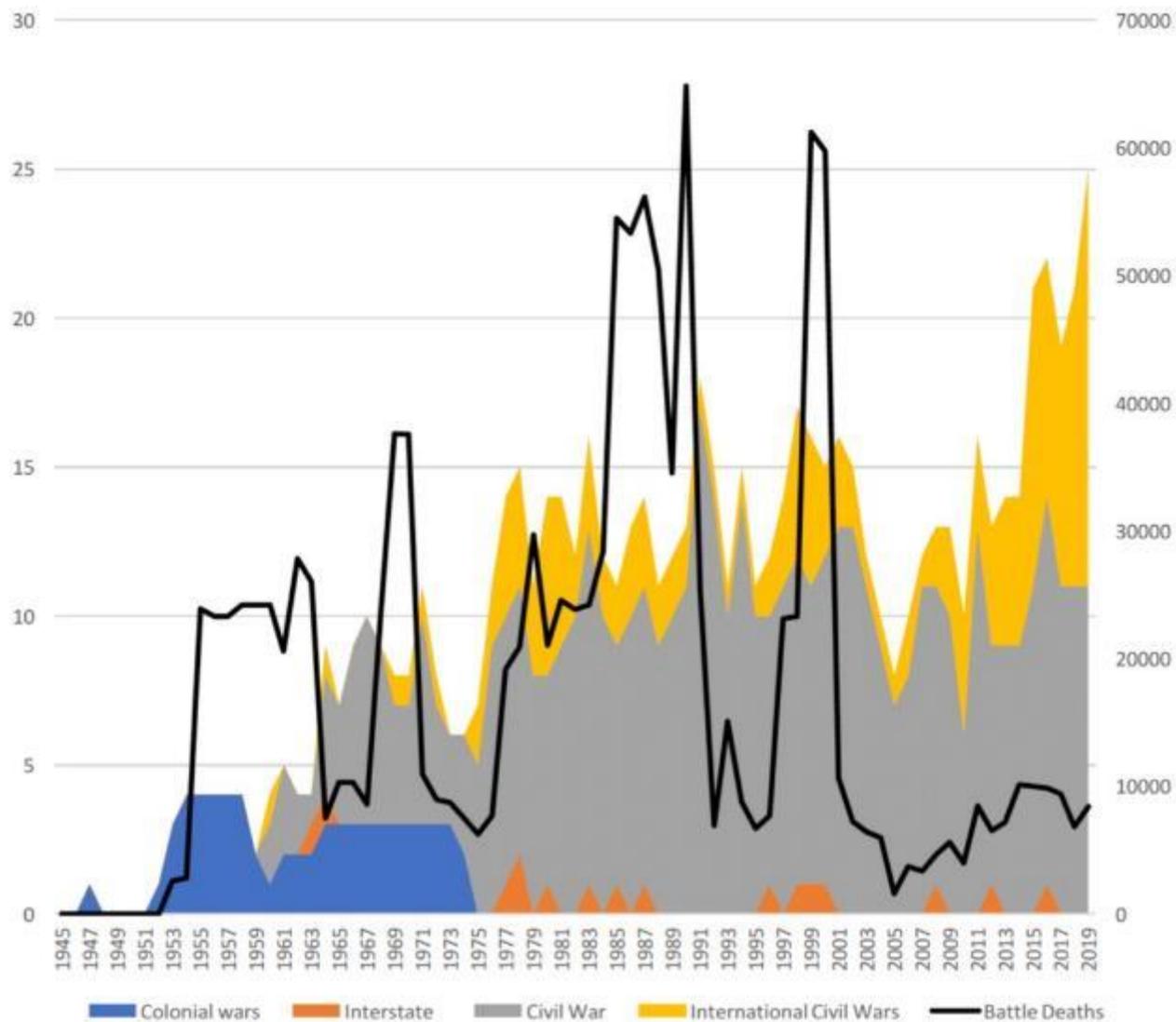
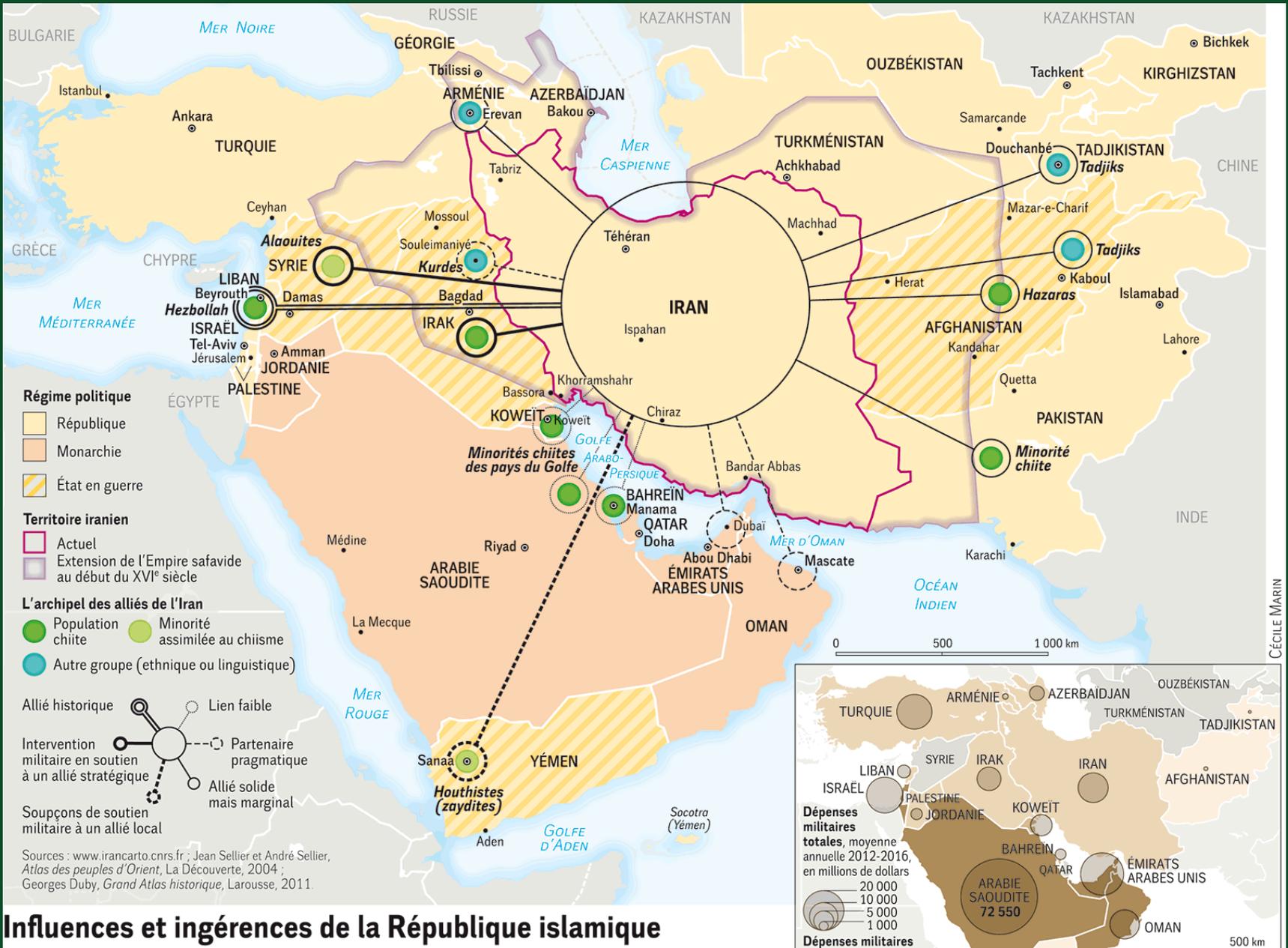


FIGURE 5: Battle deaths and state-based armed conflicts in Africa, by conflict type, 1946-2019



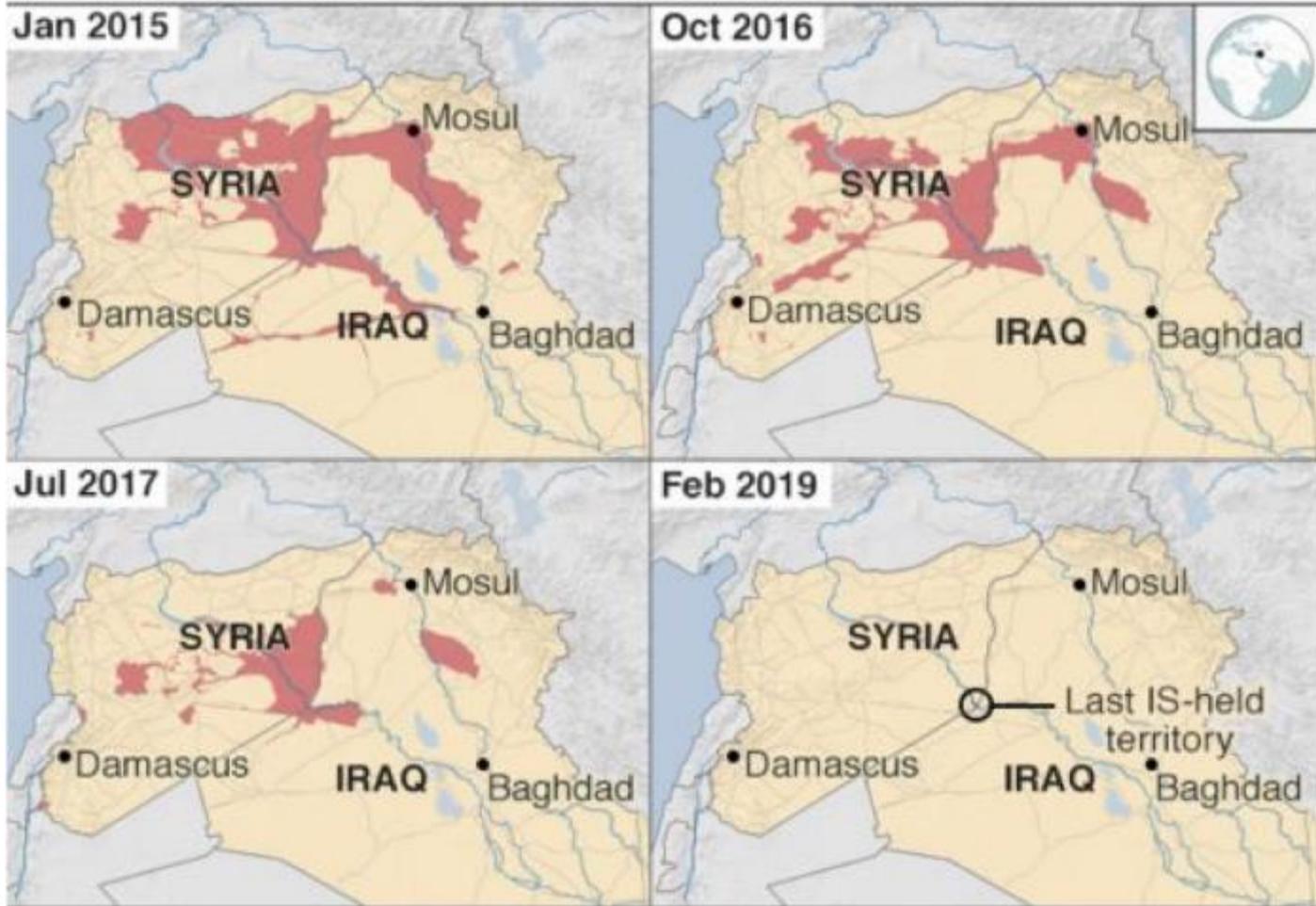
Data Source: Palik and Rustad (2020) – Data source: UCDP (2020)



Influences et ingérences de la République islamique

CÉCILE MARIN

How the area under IS control has shrunk



Source: Conflict Monitor by IHS Markit

BBC



Violent incidents involving Jihadist groups

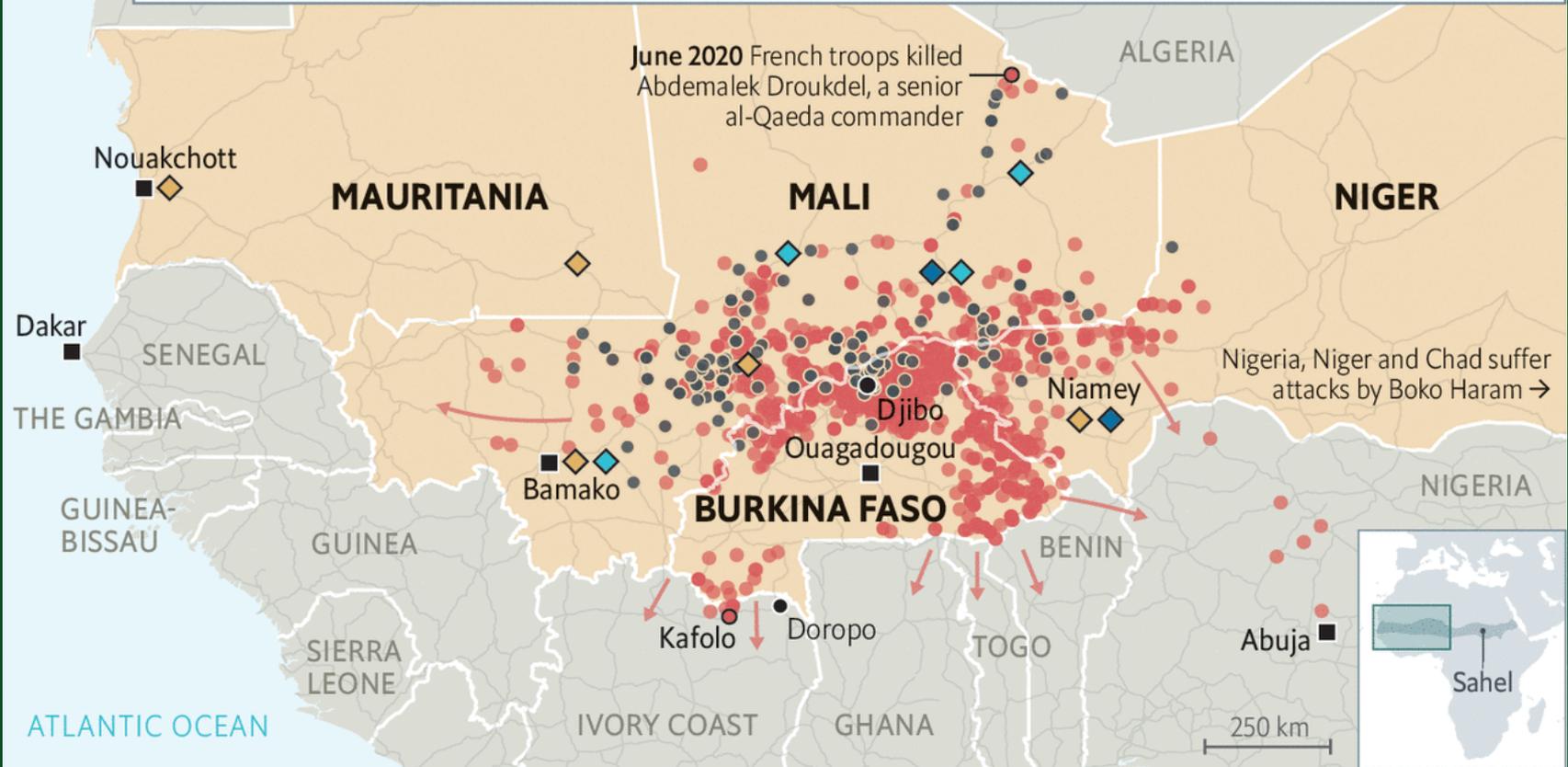
● 2017 ● 2019-20* → Possible expansion

Sources: Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project; Africa Centre for Strategic Studies

Security in the Sahel, permanent bases

◆ G5 Sahel (joint force) ■ Member country† ◆ United Nations
◆ Operation Barkhane (France)

*To July 4th †Includes Chad



Mozambique

Cabo Delgado

