

A ASCENSÃO DAS INSURREIÇÕES NA SEGURANÇA GLOBAL



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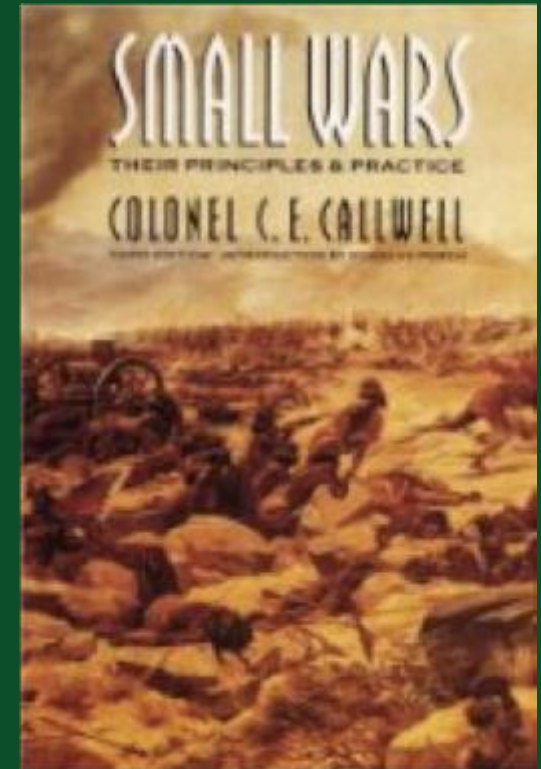
AGENDA

1. O QUE É UMA INSURREIÇÃO?
2. PREVALÊNCIA DE CONFLITOS ASSIMÉTRICOS
3. DEBATE – implicações para análise

O QUE É UMA INSURREIÇÃO?

- **Táticas de Guerrilha/Terrorismo + Propaganda política = Insurreiçã**
- **Qualquer tentativa por um grupo armado para desafiar com recurso à força, à legitimidade e ao controlo político do 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)



INSURREIÇÃO - TRAÇOS DEFINIDORES

- Estruturalmente assimétrica (Estado v. Não-Estatal)
- Híbrido e por Procuração (i.e. recurso a meios não-convencionais, também por Estados)
- De muito baixa a alta intensidade
- Prolongada
- Ataques surpresa (emboscadas, IEDs, atentados)



“a relação entre o insurreto e o povo deve ser como a do peixe com a água.”

“a insurreição será o pântano em que a pesada máquina do inimigo se irá afundar.

MAO ZEDONG, *Guerrilha Warfare*, 1936.

“Vocês, os franceses, têm tropa bem armada. Mas mesmo que nos matem na proporção de 10/1 isso não importa, nós somos muitos e não iremos desistir”.

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

DAVID v. GOLIATH

- Assimetria de Força v. Assimetria da Vontade (MACK)
- Democracias não podem usar toda a sua força militar (MEROM)
- Caos é barato e fácil v. Ordem é cara e difícil de consolidar e legitimar (KITSON)
- Organização clandestina (TRINQUIER)
- Ataques surpresa em terreno vasto, difícil, com populações pobres e heterogenias (FEARON e LAITIN)

GUERRAS CONVENCIONAIS CADA VEZ MAIS RARAS

- **SÓ 18% CONFLITOS DE 1945-2000 SÃO GUERRAS CONVENCIONAIS**
- **DESDE 1991 AINDA 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***
- **PORQUÊ?**
- **ARMADILHA TUCÍDIDES NÃO-CONVENCIONAL**

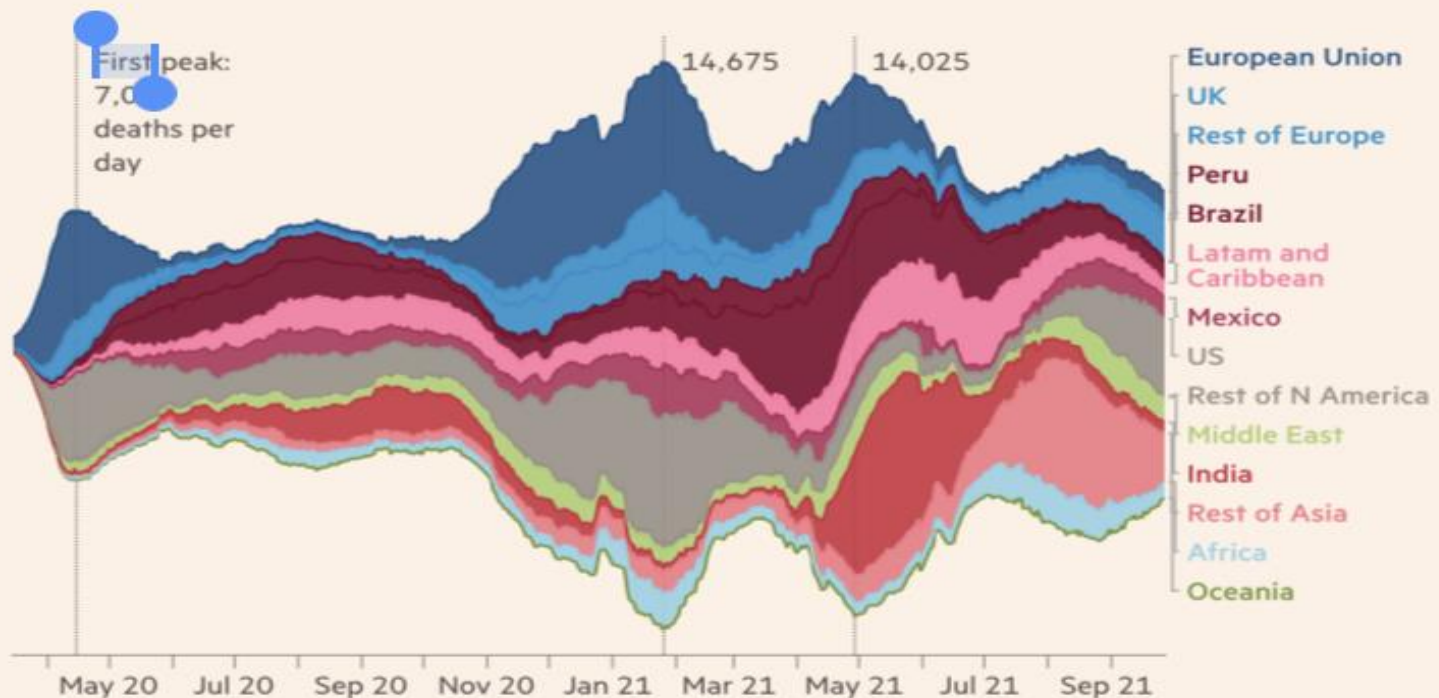
MUDANÇAS ESTRUTURAIS NO SISTEMA INTERNACIONAL LEVAM CONFLITOS ASSIMÉTRICOS

1. GLOBALIZAÇÃO DA INSEGURANÇA
2. DEMOCRATIZAÇÃO E MUDANÇA REGIMES
3. REVOLUÇÃO TECNOLÓGICA E DIFUSÃO
PODER
4. TRANSIÇÃO DE PODER – FIM UNIPOLARIDADE

GLOBALIZAÇÃO INSEGURANÇA 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

MUDANÇA REGIME E CONFLITO



GLOBALIZAÇÃO INSEGURANÇA 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

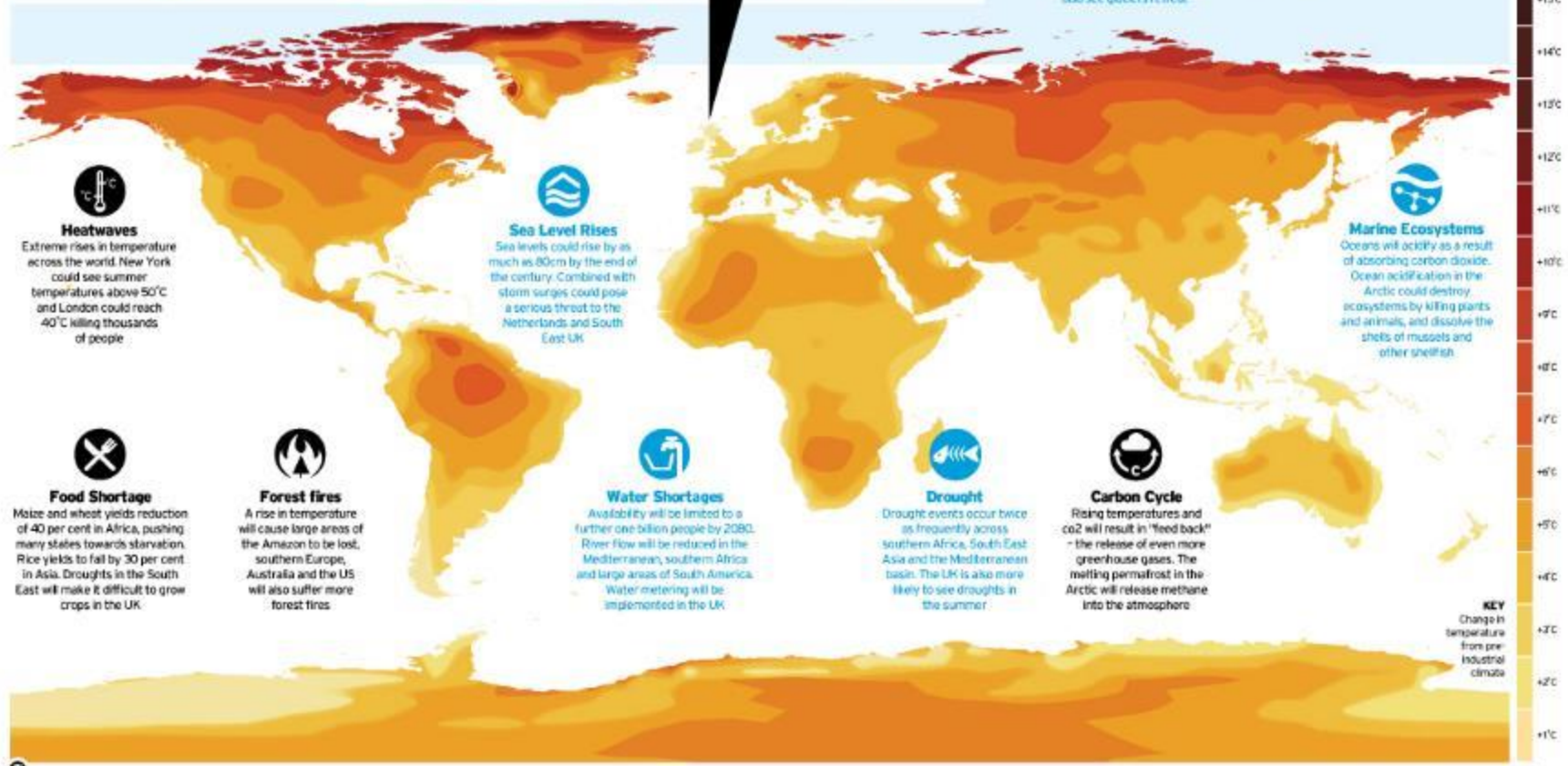
2°C

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.



Heatwaves

Extreme rises in temperature across the world. New York could see summer temperatures above 50°C and London could reach 40°C killing thousands of people.



Sea Level Rises

Sea levels could rise by as much as 80cm by the end of the century. Combined with storm surges could pose a serious threat to the Netherlands and South East UK.



Marine Ecosystems

Oceans will acidify as a result of absorbing carbon dioxide. Ocean acidification in the Arctic could destroy ecosystems by killing plants and animals, and dissolve the shells of mussels and other shellfish.



Food Shortage

Maize and wheat yields reduction of 40 per cent in Africa, pushing many states towards starvation. Rice yields to fall by 30 per cent in Asia. Droughts in the South East will make it difficult to grow crops in the UK.



Forest fires

A rise in temperature will cause large areas of the Amazon to be lost, southern Europe, Australia and the US will also suffer more forest fires.



Water Shortages

Availability will be limited to a further one billion people by 2082. River flow will be reduced in the Mediterranean, southern Africa and large areas of South America. Water metering will be implemented in the UK.



Drought

Drought events occur twice as frequently across southern Africa, South East Asia and the Mediterranean basin. The UK is also more likely to see droughts in the summer.



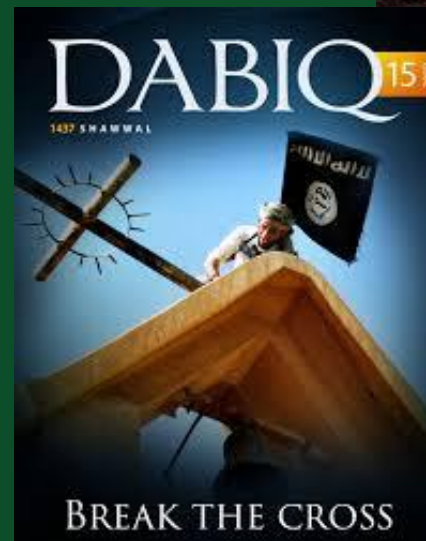
Carbon Cycle

Rising temperatures and CO2 will result in 'feed back' - the release of even more greenhouse gases. The melting permafrost in the Arctic will release methane into the atmosphere.

KEY
Change in temperature from pre-industrial climate

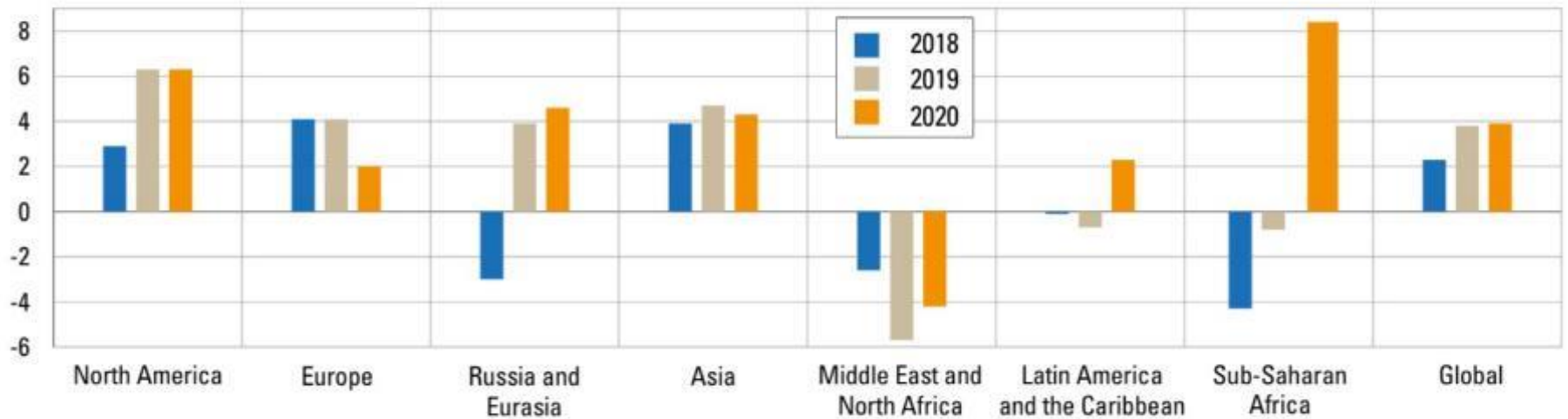
+16°C
+15°C
+14°C
+13°C
+12°C
+11°C
+10°C
+9°C
+8°C
+7°C
+6°C
+5°C
+4°C
+3°C
+2°C
+1°C

REVOLUÇÃO TECNOLÓGICA, DIFUSÃO PODER E CONFLITO



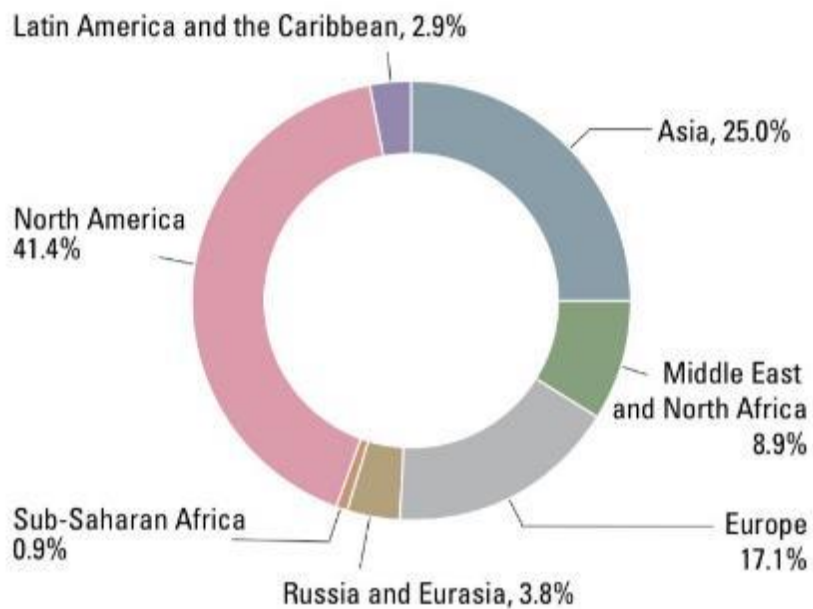
TRANSIÇÃO DE PODER MILITAR?

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

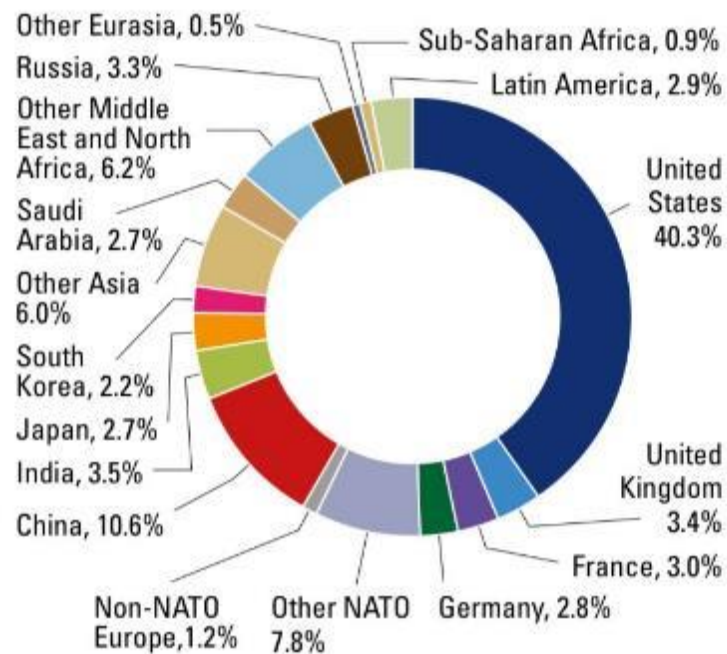


* Excludes states for which insufficient data is available

Planned global defence-spending by region 2020†

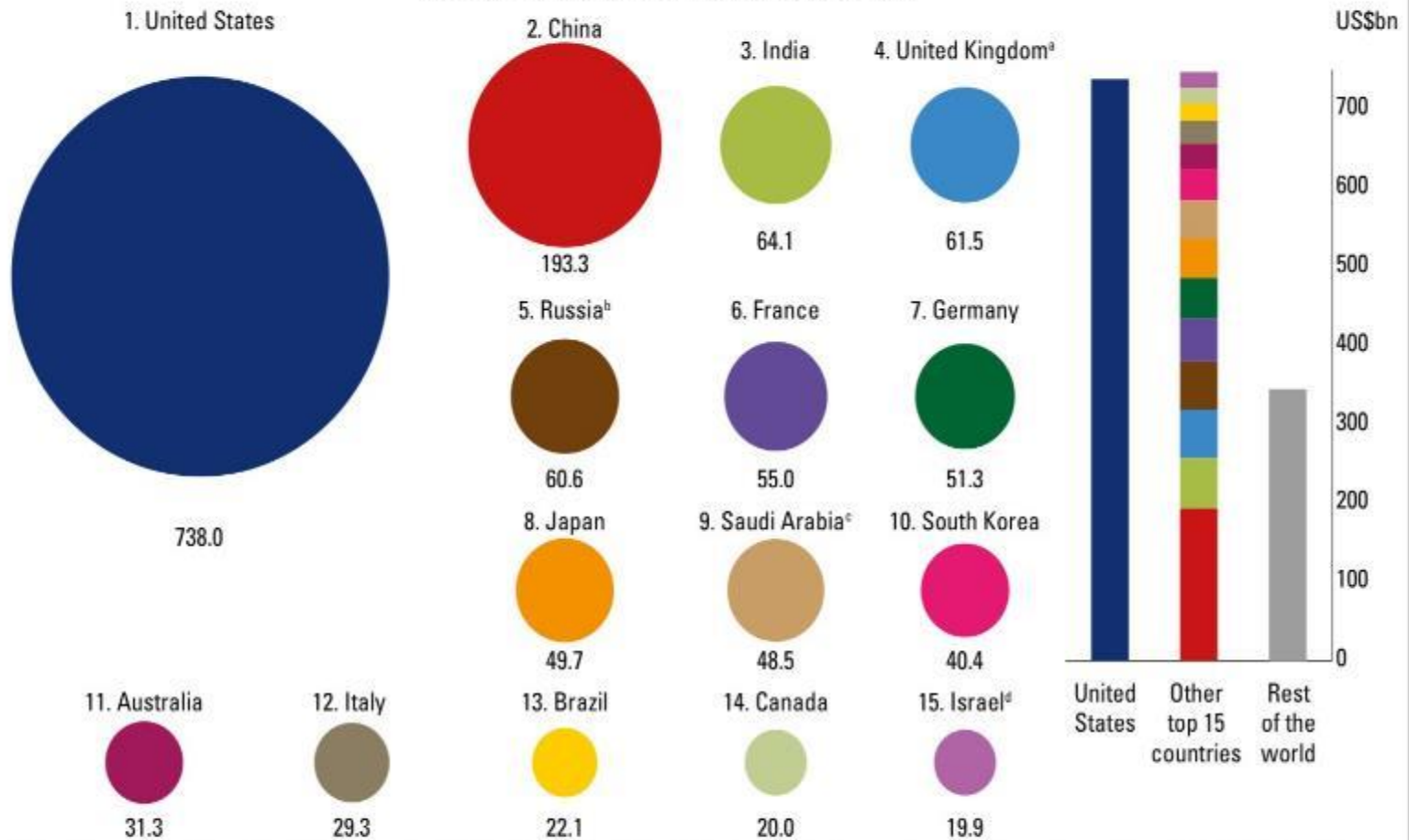


Planned defence-spending by country 2020†



† At current prices and exchange rates

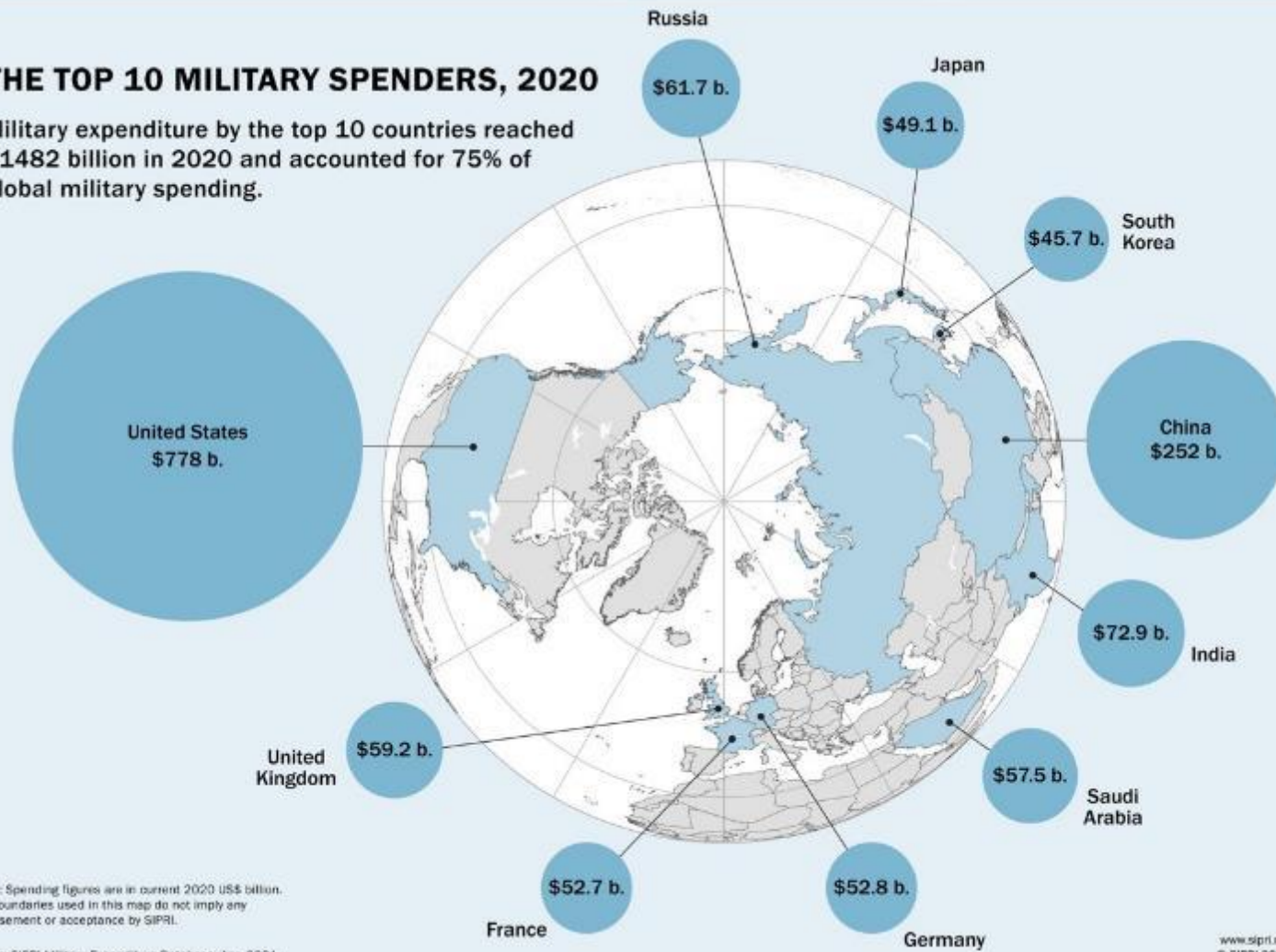
Defence budgets: top 15 in 2020[†] US\$bn



[†] 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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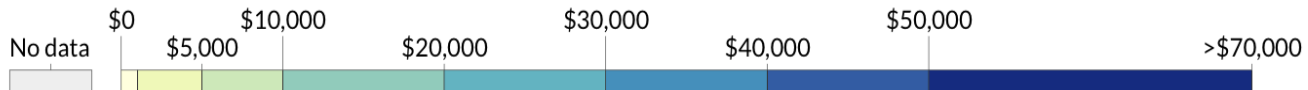
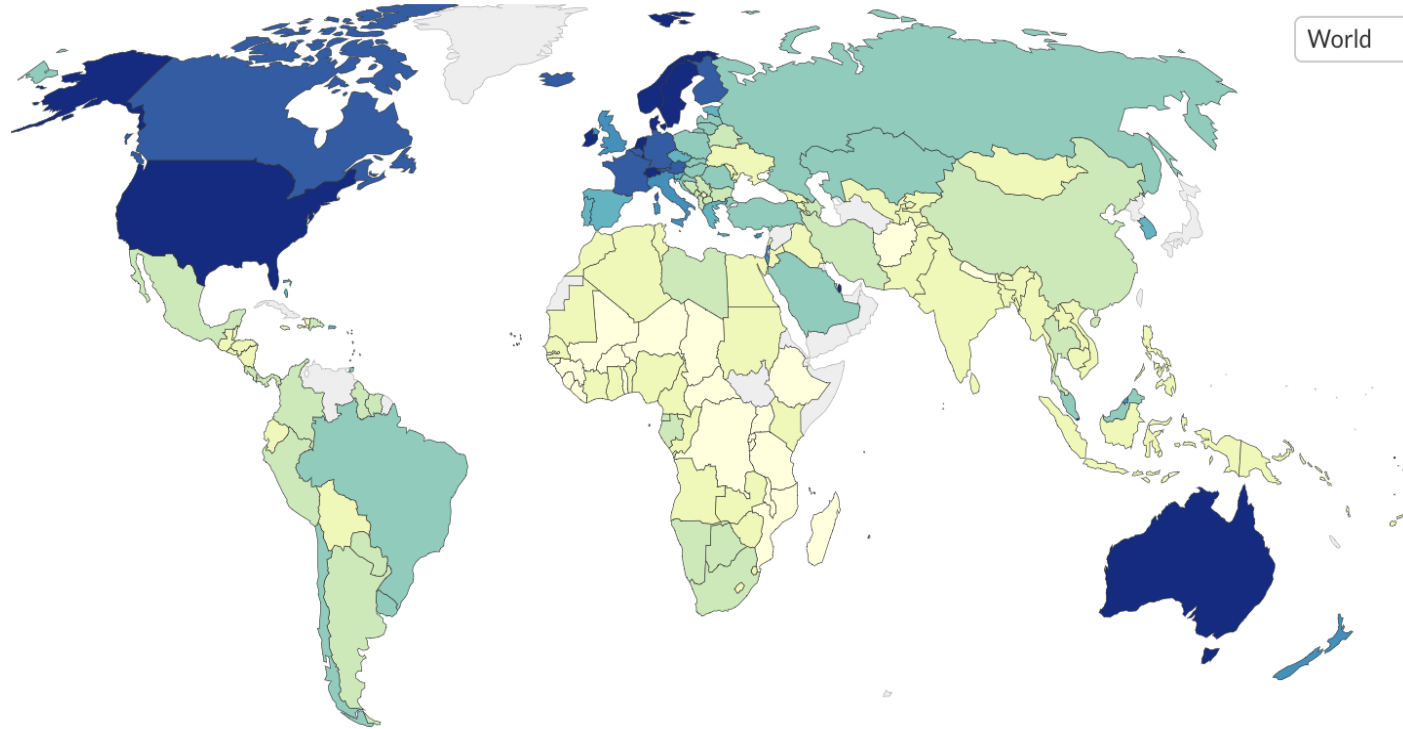
TRANSIÇÃO PODER ECONÓMICO?

GDP per capita in US\$, 2020

Measured in constant US-\$.

Our World
in Data

World



Source: World Bank and OECD

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.

OurWorldInData.org/economic-growth • CC BY

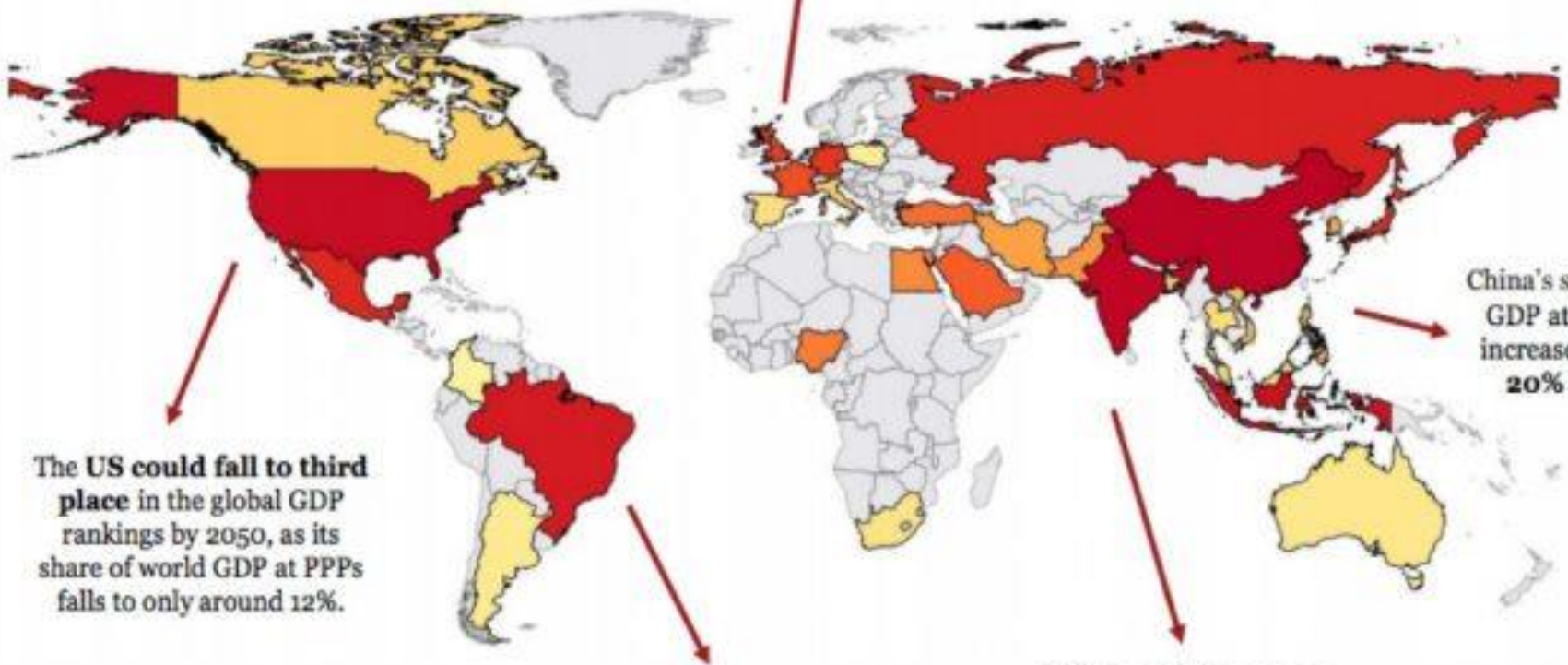
▶ 1960

○ 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%.

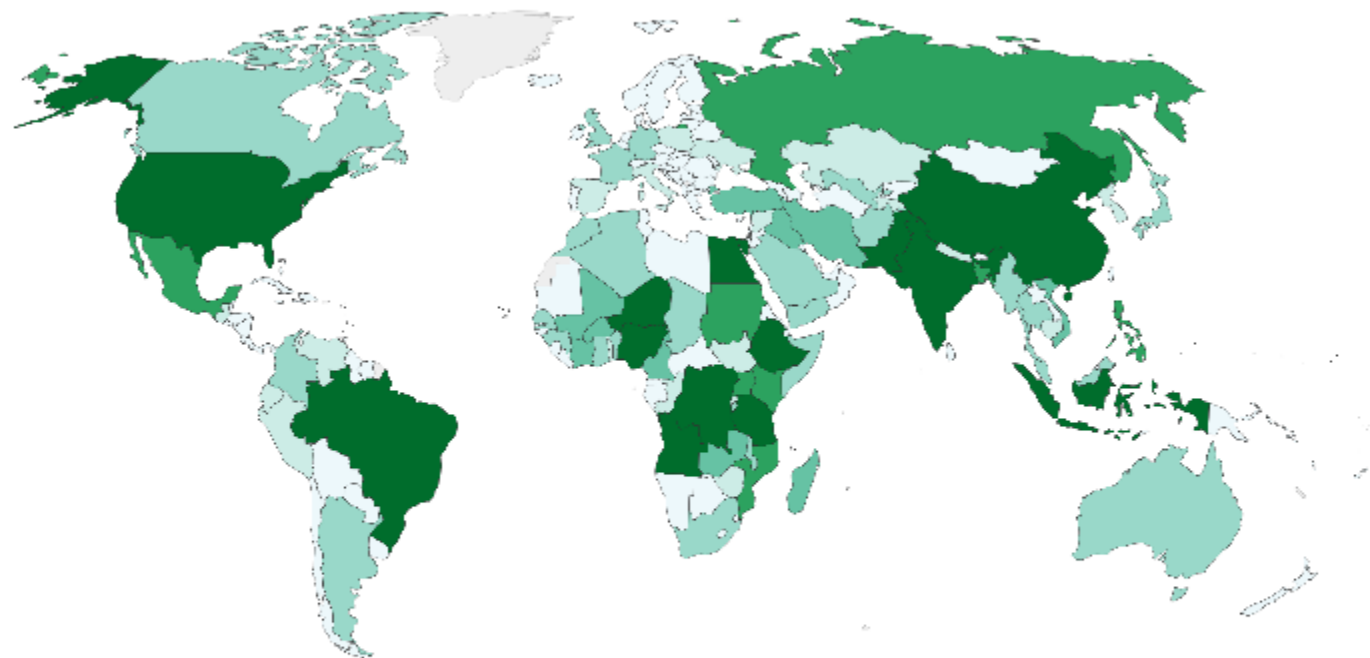
Brazil and Mexico could be larger than Japan and Germany by 2050.

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.



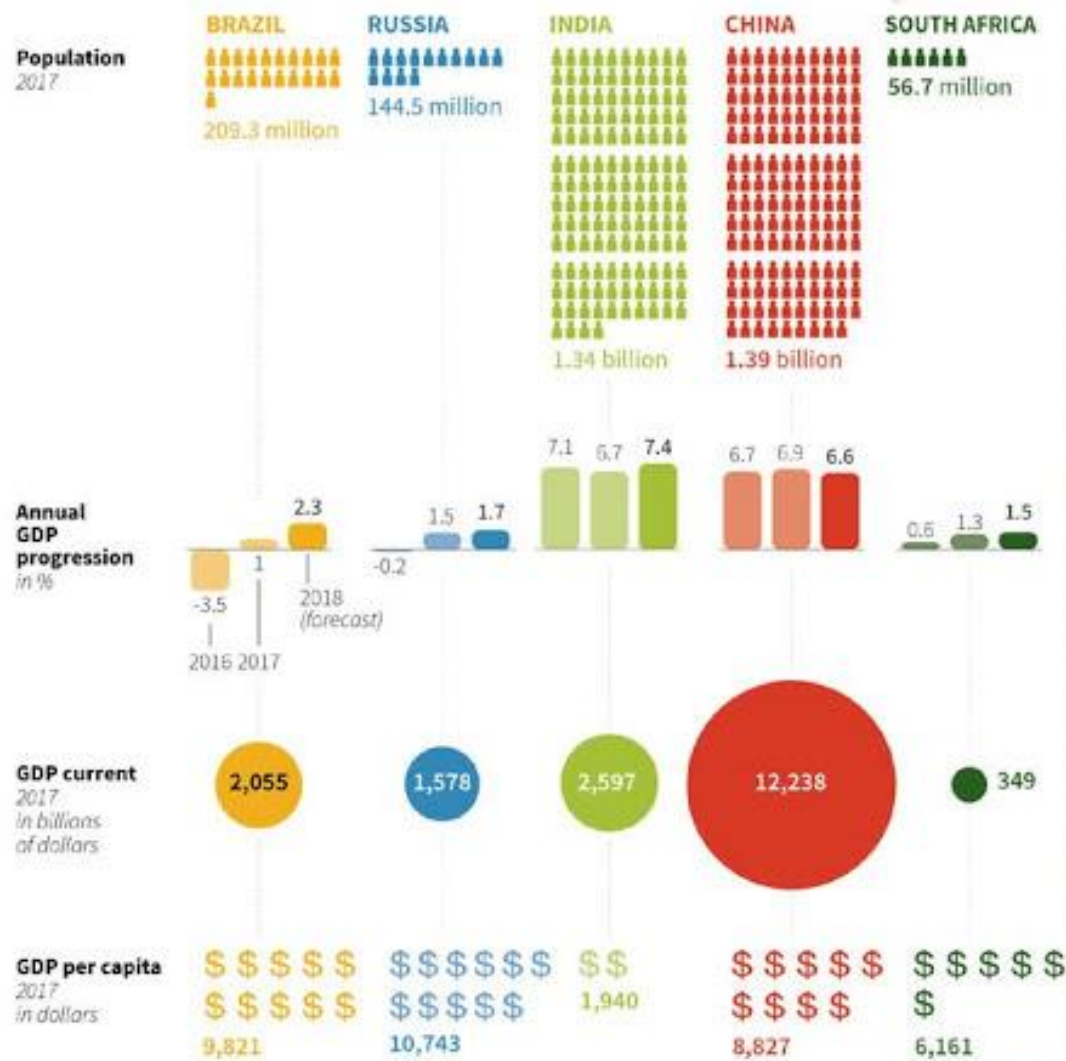
Source: Gapminder (v6), HYDE (v3.2), UN (2019)

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

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

MULTIPOLARIDADE?

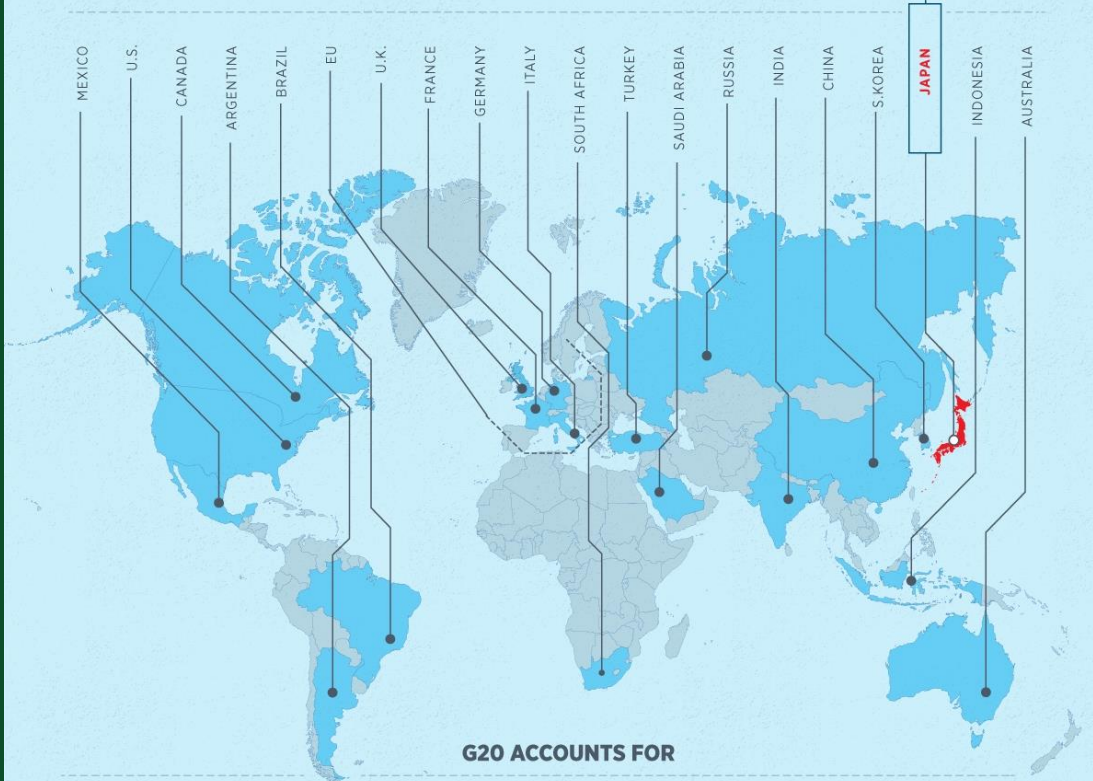
The BRICS group of countries



Sources: IMF, World Bank

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MEMBER STATES



G20 ACCOUNTS FOR



of world
economy



of all
global trade



of world
population

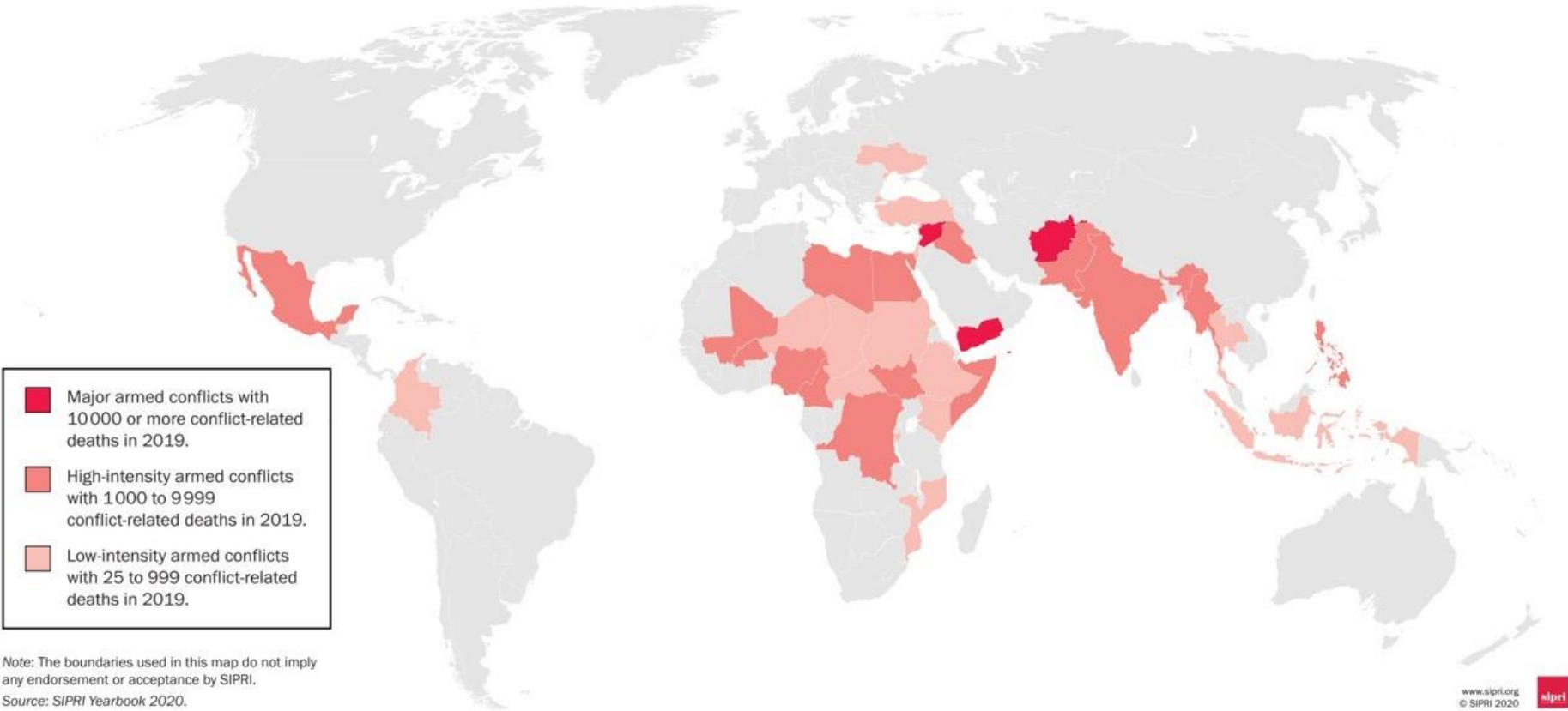
IMPLICAÇÕES; ANÁLISE GLOBAL

- ASSIMETRIAS PODER v. NIVELADORES DE PODER
- SÓ INSURREIÇÕES OU GUERRAS INDIRETAS FAZEM SENTIDO?
- MAIS IMPREVÍVEL?
- MAIS DIFICULDADE EM DISSUADIR OU DEFENDER?
- CONTINUAÇÃO PREVALÊNCIA DE GUERRAS HÍBRIDAS OU NÃO-CONVENCIONAIS?

IMPLICAÇÕES ANÁLISE CONCRETA

- Podemos mapear conflitos por procuração/híbridos?
- Podemos mapear conflitos não-convencionais (oil stain)
- O QUE FAZER? Intervir (e em que escala, forma)? Conter e gerir à distância? Capacitar parceiros? Ignorar?

ARMED CONFLICTS IN 2019



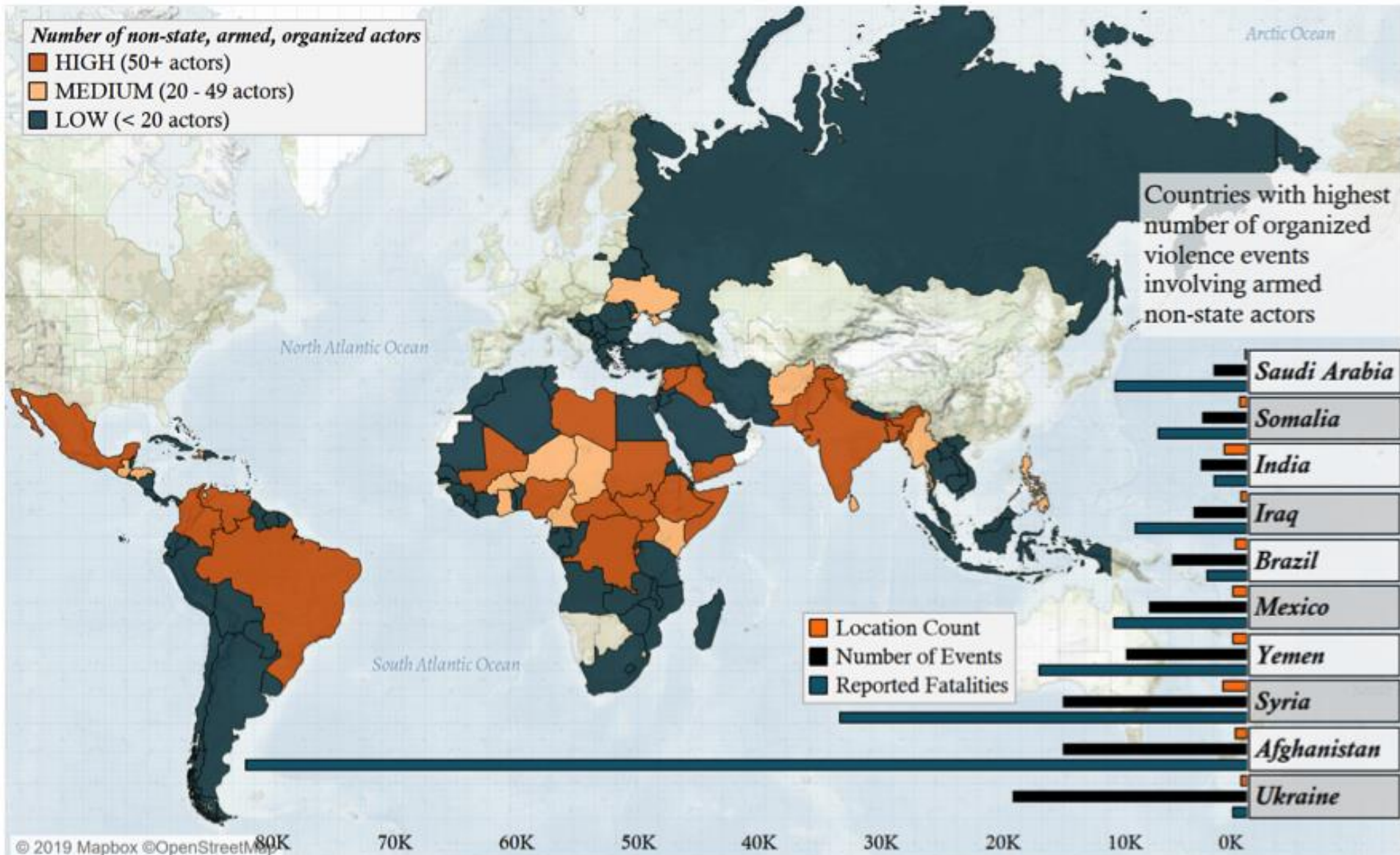
Note: The boundaries used in this map do not imply any endorsement or acceptance by SIPRI.

Source: SIPRI Yearbook 2020.



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

1 January 2018 - 31 August 2019



SALAFI-JIHADI-TAKFIRI DRIVEN CONFLICTS IN AFRICA

The Salafi-Jihadi Movement in Africa: May 2020

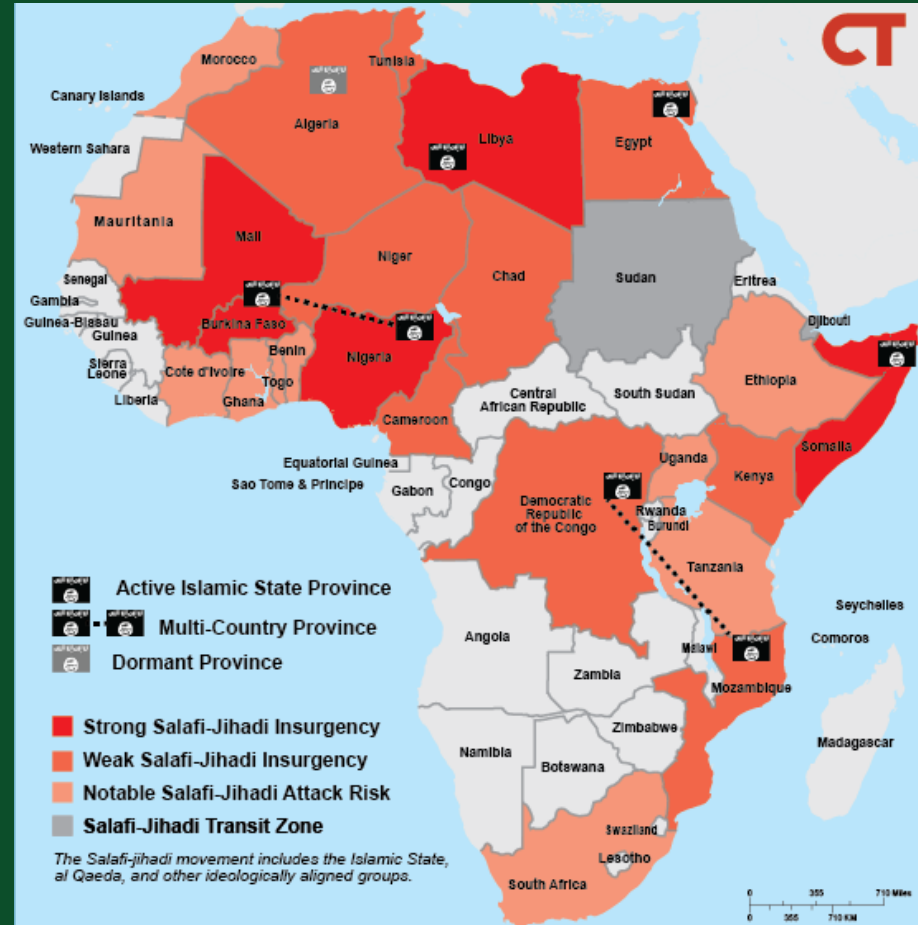
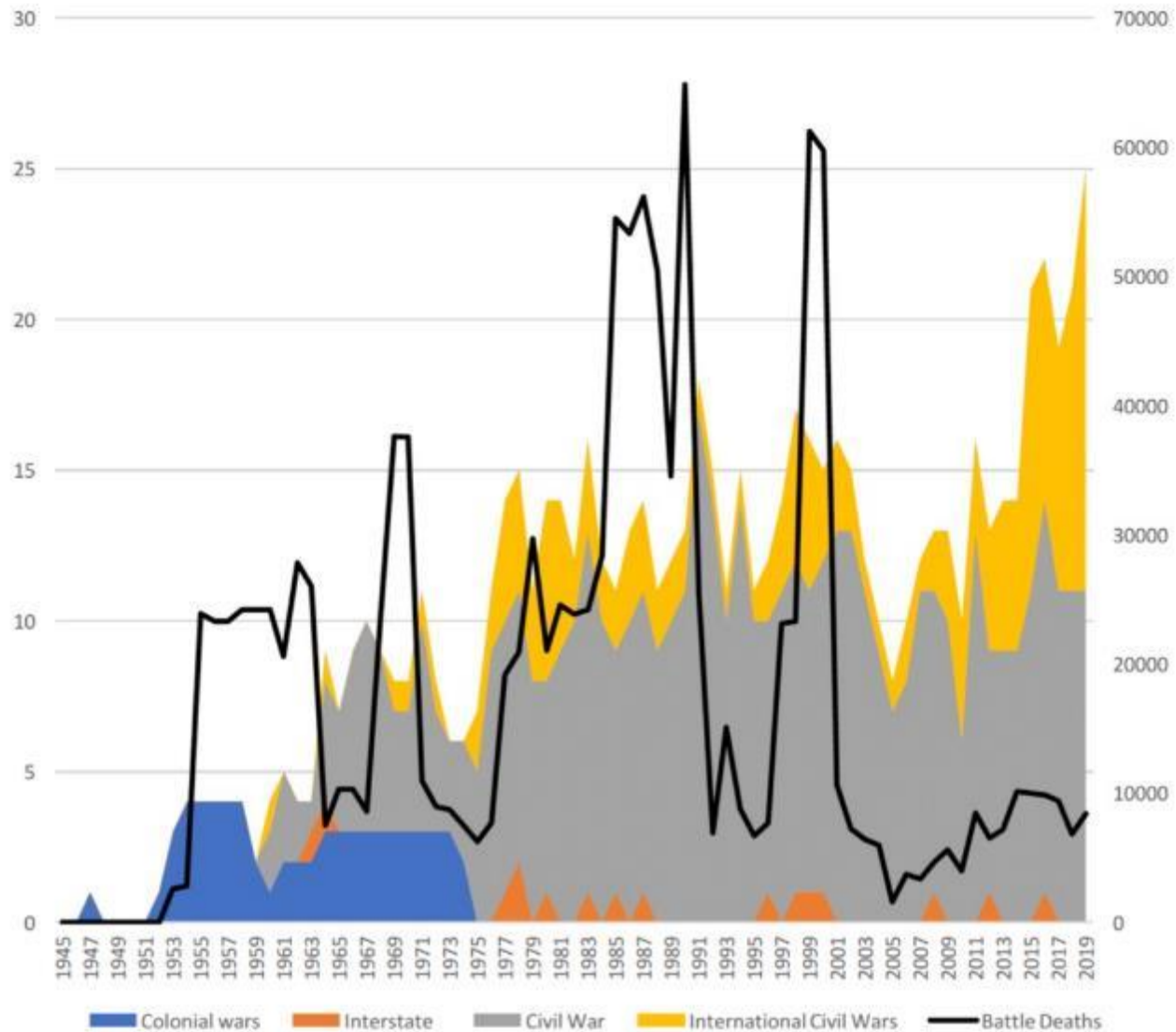
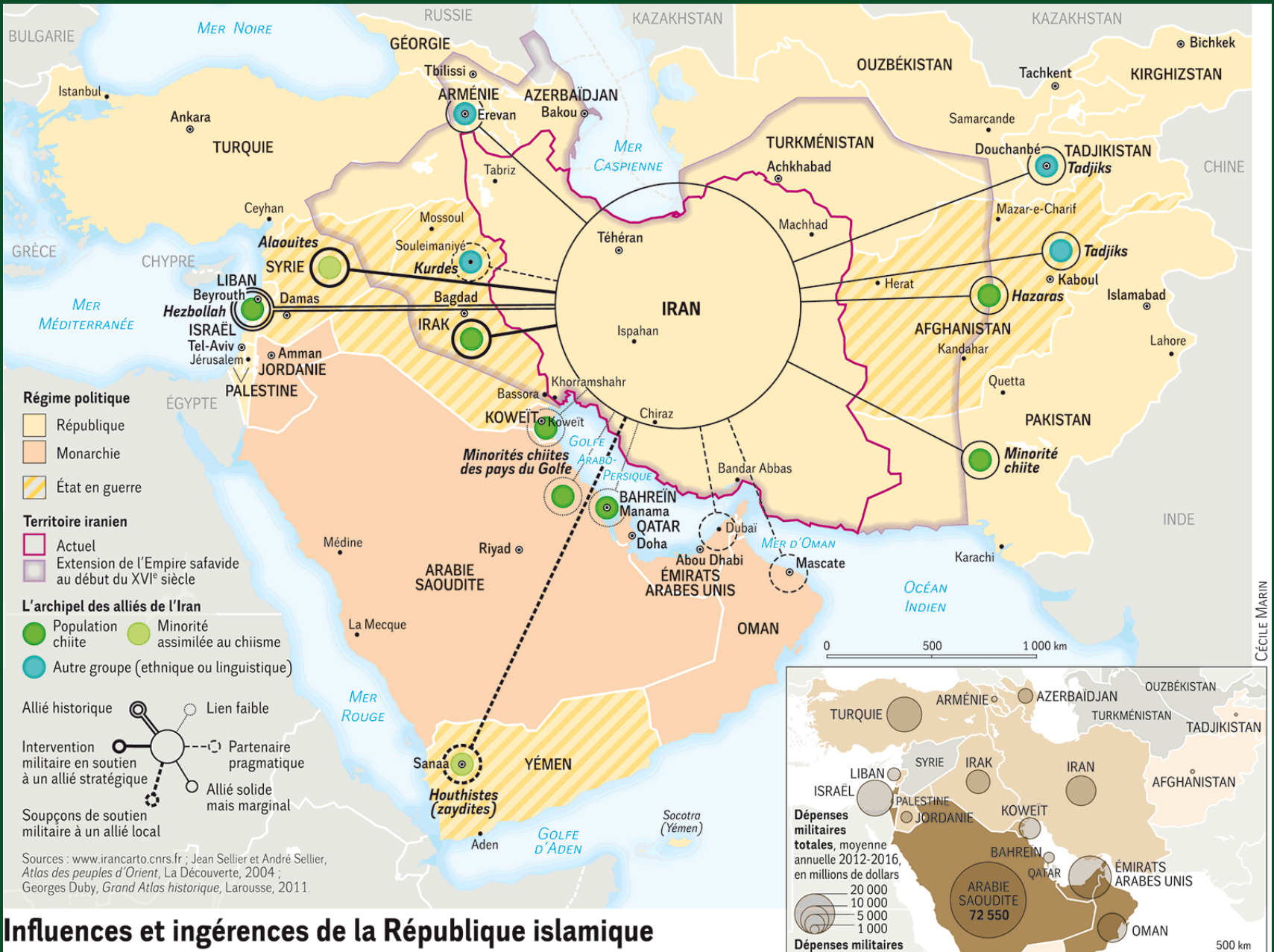


FIGURE 5: Battle deaths and state-based armed conflicts in Africa, by conflict type, 1946-2019



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

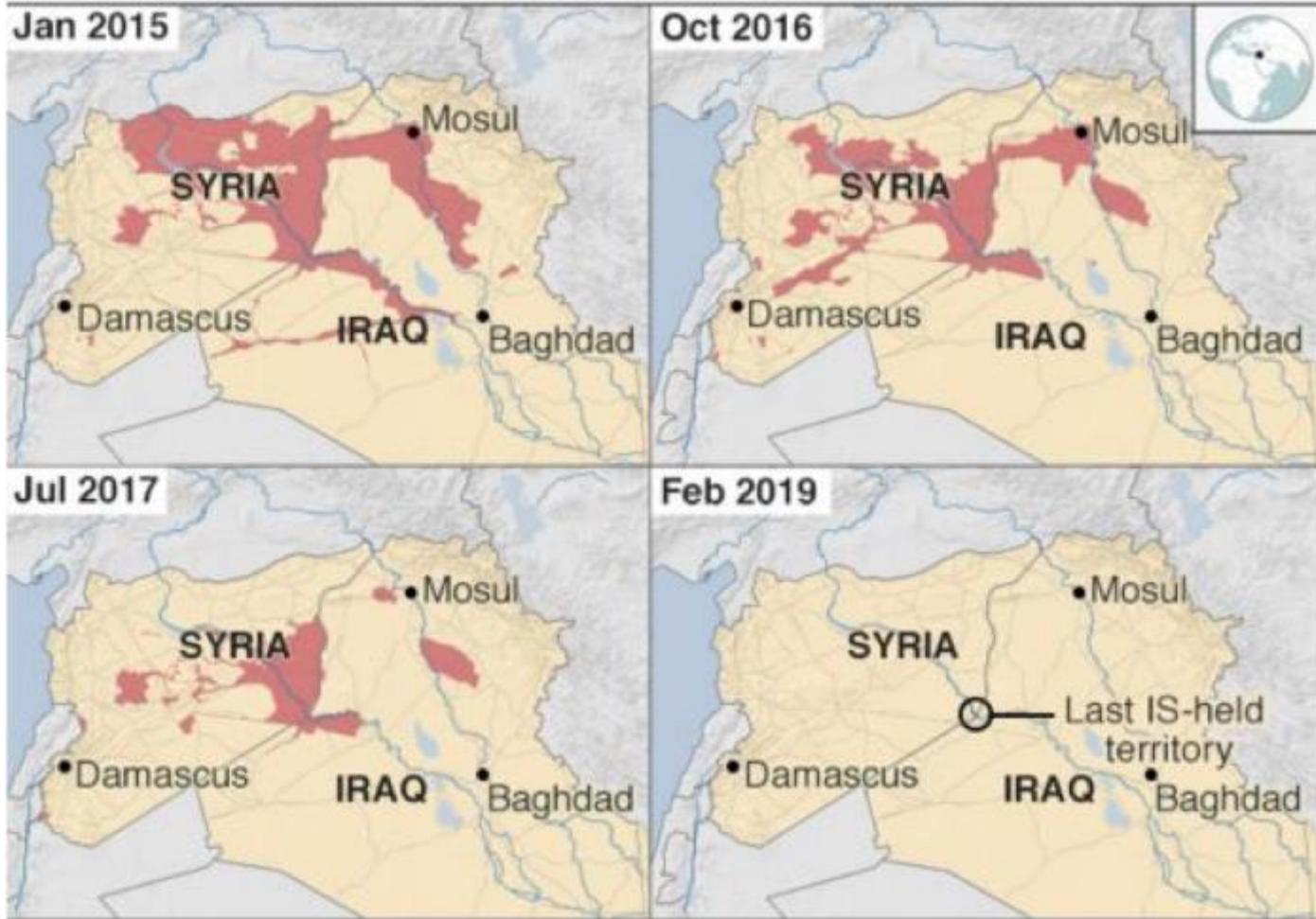


Influences et ingérences de la République islamique

Sources : www.irancarto.cnrs.fr ; Jean Sellier et André Sellier, *Atlas des peuples d'Orient*, La Découverte, 2004 ; Georges Duby, *Grand Atlas historique*, Larousse, 2011.

CÉCILE MARIN

How the area under IS control has shrunk



Source: Conflict Monitor by IHS Markit

BBC



Violent incidents involving Jihadist groups

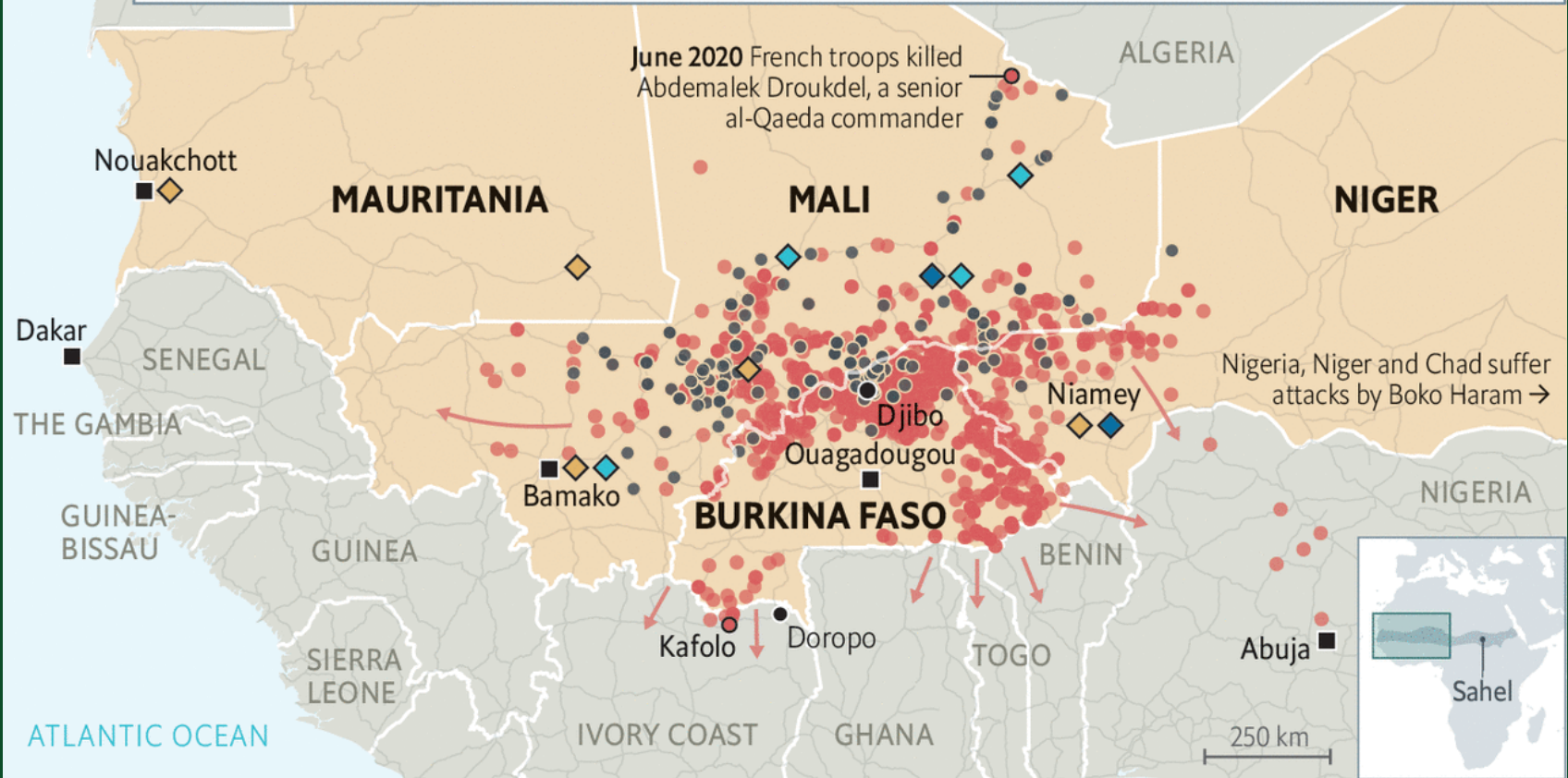
● 2017 ● 2019-20* → Possible expansion

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

