



EVALUACIÓN DE COMUNIDAD DE INTELIGENCIA NORTEAMERICANA DE LA AMENAZA MUNDIAL¹ 2014

Se ha publicado, este mes de enero (el año anterior vio la luz hasta marzo), el citado informe, que refleja la visión de la Comunidad de Inteligencia de Estados Unidos sobre los riesgos y amenazas actuales.

El interés del documento radica en su capacidad de sintetizar en apenas treinta páginas todo el complejo sistema de riesgos y amenazas actuales. Completa de esta manera otros documentos que tratan de listar los principales riesgos y amenazas en la actualidad, aunque se deben señalar varias limitaciones:

- La orientación absoluta hacia los intereses de Estados Unidos.
- La ausencia de una evaluación de los riesgos.
- El tratamiento desigual de las regiones. Por ejemplo no aborda tema alguno de América del Sur.

De esta manera queda lejos de otros estudios similares, como el denominado Global Risks 2014, del World Economic Forum, mucho más elaborado, más completo, y más metodológico.

La estructura, en parte, es similar a la de cualquier estrategia de seguridad nacional, pero no debemos confundir este documento con una estrategia. En este caso, el contenido, está centrado únicamente en un análisis de riesgos, con un mayor grado de detalle que en las estrategias, pero sin la determinación de políticas y medidas de actuación.

¹ CLAPPER, James R. "Worldwide Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community" 29/01/2014
Se adjunta anexo a esta reseña.

Se estructura en dos partes claramente diferenciadas, la primera dedicada a las amenazas globales, y la segunda a las de carácter regional. Esta organización facilita al lector una visión completísima, altamente recomendada para analistas, estudiantes o expertos en seguridad que quieran disponer de una fotografía más o menos fija, con las limitaciones ya señaladas, de nuestro mundo a día de hoy.

Riesgos globales

El documento identifica diez grandes grupos, continuando con la estructura anual. Hay que destacar el cambio en el orden de los mismos (que puede indicar la prioridad que se establece para cada grupo), la incorporación de un apartado de tendencias económicas, y la separación del terrorismo y el crimen organizado, que el año pasado se trataban en un mismo epígrafe.

Ciber
Contrainteligencia
Terrorismo
Proliferación de Armas de Destrucción Masiva
Riesgos en el espacio
Crimen Organizado Transnacional
Tendencias económicas
Recursos Naturales
Salud y Pandemias
Crímenes contra la humanidad

1. Ciberamenazas.

- La migración de muchos aspectos de nuestra vida a internet y redes digitales, incluyendo servicios del gobierno, industria o comercio, generan vulnerabilidades.
- Aunque las visiones de China y Rusia difieren de la de Estados Unidos, el informe del grupo de expertos de la ONU, en junio de 2013, puede suponer un importante paso adelante.
- Destaca dos hechos de 2013, el ataque al sistema comercial y de medios de comunicación sufrido por Corea en marzo, que dañó multitud de equipos, y el ataque a comienzos de ese año al sistema financiero de Estados Unidos, difícil y costoso de mitigar.
- Entre los actores estatales las mayores amenazas vienen de China (robo de propiedad intelectual) y de Rusia. Irán y Corea del Norte, representando una amenaza, son más imprevisibles. Como actores no estatales destacan los grupos terroristas, interesados en desarrollar capacidades ofensivas, pero centrados en funciones de propaganda, radicalización, financiación y reclutamiento. También los grupos de crimen organizado, que suponen una amenaza a la integridad de las instituciones financieras y las transacciones financieras de carácter personal.

- Destaca el informe cuatro cuestiones de máxima actualidad, y elevada preocupación:
 - La protección de infraestructuras críticas, y los sistemas ICS y SCADA, utilizados en la gestión de oleoductos, agua, o plantas eléctricas.
 - “Internet de las cosas”. Multitud de dispositivos, muchos de carácter personal, están conectados a la red, haciendo a los mismos especialmente vulnerables a robos de información o ataques. Destacan en este sentido el sistema de salud del país.
 - Monedas virtuales, como Bitcoin, medio usado para operaciones financieras de grupos criminales.
 - Tecnologías emergentes. Avances como las impresoras 3D tienen impactos sociales, económicos y también en la seguridad.

2. *Contrainteligencia.*

- Tanto los actores estatales como los no estatales disponen cada vez de medios más sofisticados para los ataques.
- Sin mencionar el caso Snowden, destaca las amenazas internas (*insiders*), y los accesos no autorizados a información, por motivos ideológicos o por servicio a un Estado extranjero, como uno de los mayores riesgos.
- Los principales intentos de accesos no autorizados a información se dirigen a la información militar, industria militar, energía, sistema financiero, medios de comunicación, o tecnología de doble uso. Rusia y China son el origen fundamental de dichos ataques.

3. *Terrorismo*

- La inestabilidad en el Norte de África y Oriente Medio ha acelerado la descentralización de Al Qaeda, emergiendo nuevos grupos y centros de poder.
- Al Qaeda Central se ha degradado, tendría dificultades para lanzar un gran ataque, aunque permanece el deseo, y quizás espere su momento tras la retirada de las tropas norteamericanas de Afganistán en 2014. Al Qaeda en la Península Arábiga es a día de hoy la facción más preocupante, puesto que ya ha puesto de manifiesto su capacidad para idear atentados.
- Preocupa el extremismo violento interior, inspirado por Al Qaeda, como los atentados de Boston, y que se materializan en la acción de individuos o pequeños grupos.
- En el exterior, la atención se centra en los intereses de Estados Unidos en diferentes países, como las embajadas, los centros militares y los ciudadanos de dicha nacionalidad en Asia del Sur, Oriente Medio, y África.
- Finalmente, obligada es la mención a Siria, al enfrentamiento entre chiíes y suníes, y al papel desempeñado por Irán y Hezbollah.

4. *Proliferación de armas de destrucción masiva.*

- Los materiales químicos y biológicos, en ocasiones de doble uso, así como las tecnologías, se mueven fácilmente en un mundo globalizado, así como las personas con especialización para usar los mismos.

- Irán, acuciado por la presión económica, se ha visto obligado a realizar concesiones, accediendo el 24 de noviembre a un plan con los países P5 +1 y la Unión Europea. Irán ha avanzado en diversas áreas, como el enriquecimiento de uranio, los reactores nucleares, o los misiles balísticos. Dispone, probablemente, de todos los medios para construir armas nucleares.
- Corea del Norte exporta misiles balísticos y materiales relacionados a países como Irán y Siria. Llevó a cabo su tercer test nuclear el 12 de febrero de 2013
- Siria accedió, el 14 de octubre, al desmantelamiento de su programa de armas químicas. Hasta el momento de su destrucción existe el riesgo de caer en manos de grupos o individuos.

5. Riesgos en el espacio.

- Los sistemas espaciales posibilitan multitud de servicios, como las comunicaciones, posicionamiento y navegación, inteligencia y vigilancia, meteorología. Otros estados pueden buscar contrarrestar las ventajas de Estados Unidos en esta área. Las amenazas se incrementarán en 2014.
- Rusia señala que dispone de armas contra satélites. China también desarrolla capacidades en dicho área.

6. Crimen organizado.

- El crimen organizado es una amenaza de primer nivel, que erosiona el sistema económico, los gobiernos, favorece la corrupción, facilita la actividad terrorista, etc.
- El tráfico de drogas se mantendrá como uno de los mayores riesgos para Estados Unidos, destacando en el informe a los carteles mexicanos. Pero las drogas también desestabilizan América Central, y el Norte y Oeste de África, mientras que siguen siendo una fuente de financiación de los talibanes en Afganistán.
- Las drogas sintéticas se convierten en un problema de salud pública tras su rápido crecimiento.
- El blanqueo de capitales, y los riesgos de nuevos servicios financieros, suponen amenazas para el sistema financiero internacional.
- Otras tipologías delictivas a considerar son los tráfico ilícitos de animales o partes de los mismos, y recursos marinos.

7. Tendencias económicas.

- La crisis económica internacional ha supuesto una reducción del crecimiento global, cifrada en un 3% en los últimos cinco años, cuando en el periodo 2004-2007 llegó a suponer un 5,1%.
- Riesgos a considerar en 2014 serían el incremento en tipos de interés, o la deflación en economías con bajo crecimiento, así como el desempleo.
- La moderación de precios (positiva para países importadores como China, India o Japón, y desde el punto de vista de la seguridad alimentaria), puede producir desajustes en las balanzas de pagos de exportadores como Brasil, Nigeria, Rusia, Sudáfrica y Venezuela.

8. Recursos naturales.

- Escasez y competencia en el acceso a los recursos, así como catástrofes naturales, son riesgos crecientes, que pueden generar tensiones regionales, grandes migraciones, protestas y revueltas, vandalismo, desobediencia civil.
- Los precios de los alimentos son un factor de tensión. Tensión generada por factores naturales (como inundaciones) o humanos (políticas), que hacen que los precios sean volátiles. La explotación de reservas marinas seguirá siendo foco de tensión, por ejemplo en los mares del sur de China. Situaciones de inestabilidad que siempre pueden ser utilizadas por organizaciones terroristas o criminales para minar la autoridad de gobiernos.
- Muchas naciones no disponen de los mecanismos de gestión, recursos financieros, o capacidades tecnológicas para tratar la escasez de agua. Históricamente este tipo de problemas han llevado a soluciones a través de acuerdos más que a través de conflictos violentos, lo que no supone que en el futuro siga siendo así.
- En materia de energía, el incremento de producción de gas de esquisto (*shale gas*) en Estados Unidos, además de avances en eficiencia energética, garantizan una mayor estabilidad para el país. A países productores de energía les preocupa que este hecho contribuya a un desinterés y falta de compromiso de Estados Unidos en Oriente Medio, y que genere una menor protección de rutas críticas de suministro.
- Cada vez son más frecuentes, la evidencia es empírica, fenómenos naturales como inundaciones extremas, incendios, tornados, elevación del nivel del mar, olas de calor.
- Finalmente, el Ártico se configura como una zona de competencia estratégica entre países, con preocupaciones de carácter económico y de seguridad, y lucha por el acceso a rutas y recursos naturales.

9. Riesgos para la salud.

- Existen riesgos impredecibles, en base a cinco fuentes diferentes:
 - La existencia y expansión de nuevos, o viejos, microbios.
 - La globalización de los viajes y de la cadena de suministro de alimentos.
 - La resistencia a los antibióticos.
 - Los avances de la ciencia biológica y el riesgo de una no intencionada difusión de patógenos.
 - El acceso o desarrollo de armas biológicas por adversarios.
- Los científicos continúan descubriendo patógenos en los humanos originados en los animales.
- Una de las situaciones disruptivas posibles, señalada en el informe como no demasiado hipotética, al igual que en el año anterior, sería la aparición de un patógeno respiratorio, altamente transmisible, que produjera la muerte o incapacitación de más de un 1% de sus víctimas (cita como ejemplo la gripe aviar H7N9).

10. Crímenes contra la humanidad.

- El informe señala que este tipo de crímenes crecerá en 2014 y más allá. Las tendencias apuntan a un incremento en movilizaciones sociales, conflictos violentos, tensiones étnicas y religiosas.
- Por otro lado, la comunidad internacional cada vez tendrá menos deseos y capacidades para prevenir o mitigar este tipo de masacres. Acaba esta parte del informe señalando que parte del mundo pedirá a Estados Unidos ejercer liderazgo en la cuestión.

Riesgos regionales

1. Oriente Medio y Norte de África



Figura 1: Puntos de conflicto en Oriente Medio y Norte de África
(Elaboración propia)

Comienza este apartado del informe con referencias a la llamada “Primavera Árabe”, destacando la incertidumbre y violencia en lugares como Siria o Egipto, y la pérdida de apoyo popular a los gobiernos que accedieron al poder tras dichas revoluciones, lo que invita a próximas revueltas.

El informe destaca las tres cuestiones que más afectarán a Estados Unidos, que coinciden con las del informe de 2013:

- Los espacios sin gobierno son una oportunidad para el extremismo.
- Problemas económicos.
- Percepciones negativas sobre Estados Unidos en la zona. Nuevos gobiernos de transición más escépticos que los anteriores sobre la cooperación con Estados Unidos.

Los países que preocupan especialmente son:

- Egipto. La designación de los Hermanos Musulmanes como grupo terrorista es una limitación hacia la estabilidad y un gobierno inclusivo. Está en juego su nuevo papel y reputación internacional. La península del Sinaí se ha convertido en un espacio descontrolado. A pesar de todo no se considera que las protestas y violencia sean un inconveniente para las elecciones legislativas y presidenciales.
- Siria. Dadas las capacidades de los combatientes y el apoyo exterior a cada bando, no se considera que existan alteraciones sustanciales en el curso de este conflicto, al menos en los próximos 6 meses. Assad se aferra al poder y pretende ganar un nuevo mandato de 7 años en las elecciones presidenciales. Mientras tanto la situación humanitaria se sigue degradando, con más de 2,4 millones de refugiados.
- Irán. Se enfrenta a una economía deteriorada, que ha hecho abrirse a la negociación. Seguirá apoyando el régimen sirio de Assad, con armas a los grupos palestinos, a los rebeldes huthis en Yemen, a los chiíes en Bahrein. Buscará influencia en los gobiernos de Irak, así como en Afganistán, mientras mantendrá, a la vez, el apoyo a grupos insurgentes afganos.
- Irak. Al Qaeda en Irak ha aumentado sus acciones en 2013, llegando a los niveles de 2007-2008 (cerca de 80 ataques al mes). El conflicto sirio afecta directamente, habiendo generado una doble vía de combatientes de uno al otro país, y a la inversa. Las elecciones de abril serán un evento trascendente.
- Yemen. Se han producido avances, aunque se enfrenta al resurgir de Al Qaeda en la Península Arábiga. Ha completado también una Conferencia para el Diálogo Nacional, aunque sin acuerdo sobre la estructura de estado federal, y ha estabilizado la economía, aunque sigue precisando asistencia externa.
- Líbano. La violencia sectaria del terrorismo suní (generalmente en los bastiones de Hezbollah, con más de 75 fallecidos y 500 heridos) golpea Líbano. También se han producido asesinatos políticos. Líbano se enfrenta también al continuo flujo de refugiados sirios, con un frágil sistema de salud y de educación.
- Libia. Tres años después de la revolución, Libia es un país fragmentado con instituciones muy débiles. Minorías, milicias, y grupos tribales buscan su beneficio a través de la violencia y ataques a las instalaciones energéticas. El riesgo del terrorismo permanece en un nivel elevado, especialmente en el este. Las fronteras incontroladas y las enormes cantidades de armas en circulación convierten a Libia en un centro de desestabilización del Magreb y del Sahel.
- Túnez. Se enfrenta a una importante transición en 2014, aunque hasta el momento la voluntad de acuerdo y consenso está llevando a adoptar importantes decisiones.

2. Sur de Asia

- Afganistán. La firma de un Acuerdo Bilateral de Colaboración con Estados Unidos, apoyado por la Loya Jirga, es una de las claves del futuro. Las elecciones a celebrar en 2014 serán otro evento fundamental. Y la acción de los talibanes, en conjunción con las capacidades de contención del ejército y policía, marcarán otro de los desafíos del año. Sin olvidar el ámbito económico, tras la caída del crecimiento de PIB de un 12% en 2012 hasta un 3,1% en 2013.
- Pakistán. El primer ministro Sharif busca como objetivo mejorar la economía y dotar de un mayor protagonismo a los civiles, en áreas generalmente controladas por el Ejército, lo que pondrá a prueba su relación con el nuevo Jefe del Estado Mayor. Tratará también de restablecer las relaciones con Estados Unidos, incluso alguna aproximación comercial con India que ayude a ese objetivo económico, al margen del mantenimiento de las tensiones históricas entre ambos países (territorio y terrorismo).
- India. Por un lado, se destacan los aspectos políticos, con las elecciones de 2014, y las necesidades de coaliciones (desde 1984 ningún partido ha obtenido una mayoría clara). Por otra parte, es posible una contracción en el crecimiento (del 8% entre 2005-2012 hasta el 5% previsto en 2014). India colaborará con Estados Unidos en el futuro de Afganistán, con la preocupación de un resurgir talibán que pueda afectar a la región. Con China, a pesar de la continua desconfianza, se han producido algunos avances para reducir las tensiones fronterizas.

3. África.



Figura 2: Puntos de conflicto en África
(Elaboración propia)

- África Subsahariana se ha convertido en un centro para el extremismo y la proliferación de grupos rebeldes, que actúan a través de ataques asimétricos. Juventud sin esperanzas, expectativas políticas y económicas incumplidas, competencia por tierra y agua, y la existencia de grupos de crimen organizado transnacionales, son algunas de las amenazas a la estabilidad.
- Sahel. El riesgo de atentados terroristas afecta a Chad, Níger, Mali, Mauritania. La fragilidad de los Estados, la corrupción, el contrabando y la mala gobernanza limitan el desarrollo y el adecuado aprovechamiento de la ayuda internacional.
- Sudán. Las condiciones económicas se han deteriorado desde la independencia de Sudán del Sur en 2011, al tomar el control de la mayoría de reservas de petróleo. Movimientos rebeldes y extremistas islamistas también amenazan a la estabilidad y a los intereses de Estados Unidos en la zona.
- Sudán del Sur. Continúan las disputas étnicas, que desestabilizan un gobierno débil y sin experiencia. El autoritarismo del presidente ha generado importantes conflictos étnicos en 2013. Las instalaciones petrolíferas pueden ser atacadas por fuerzas contrarias al gobierno, con objeto de desestabilizar el poder.
- Somalia. Asiste desde 2012 a una transición política, protagonizada por nuevos actores. Al Shabaab continua en retirada, pero ha adoptado una táctica de ataques asimétricos.
- Nigeria. Según se acercan las elecciones de 2015, los conflictos internos aumentan. Corrupción, bajos niveles de sanidad y educación, enfrentamientos étnicos, son algunos de los problemas del país, que también se enfrenta a la amenaza de Boko Haram, y a grupos insurgentes en el delta del Níger, que atacan instalaciones de petróleo. La economía del sur, centrada en Laos, presenta uno de los mayores crecimientos del mundo, lo que contrasta con la pobreza estructural del norte.
- República Centroafricana. Tras el acceso al poder del grupo Seleka (musulmanes del noreste del país), la violencia se desató. Milicias cristianas están igualmente sembrando el horror. Naciones Unidas autorizó el despliegue de una fuerza de paz, al igual que Francia, con objeto de estabilizar el país.
- República Democrática del Congo ha asistido a duros enfrentamientos con el grupo rebelde M23, apoyado por Ruanda, que han acabado con su derrota. Ello no impide que desde ese país, u otros, se siga apoyando a otros grupos de los múltiples existentes. Violencia e inestabilidad continuarán.
- Continúa la búsqueda, de momento infructuosa de Joseph Kony, líder del Ejército de Resistencia del Señor, que sigue en retirada.

4. Este de Asia.

- China. Tiene prioridades internas, que se manifiestan en recientes reformas económicas y sociales. Continuarán las disputas marítimas con sus vecinos, como la de

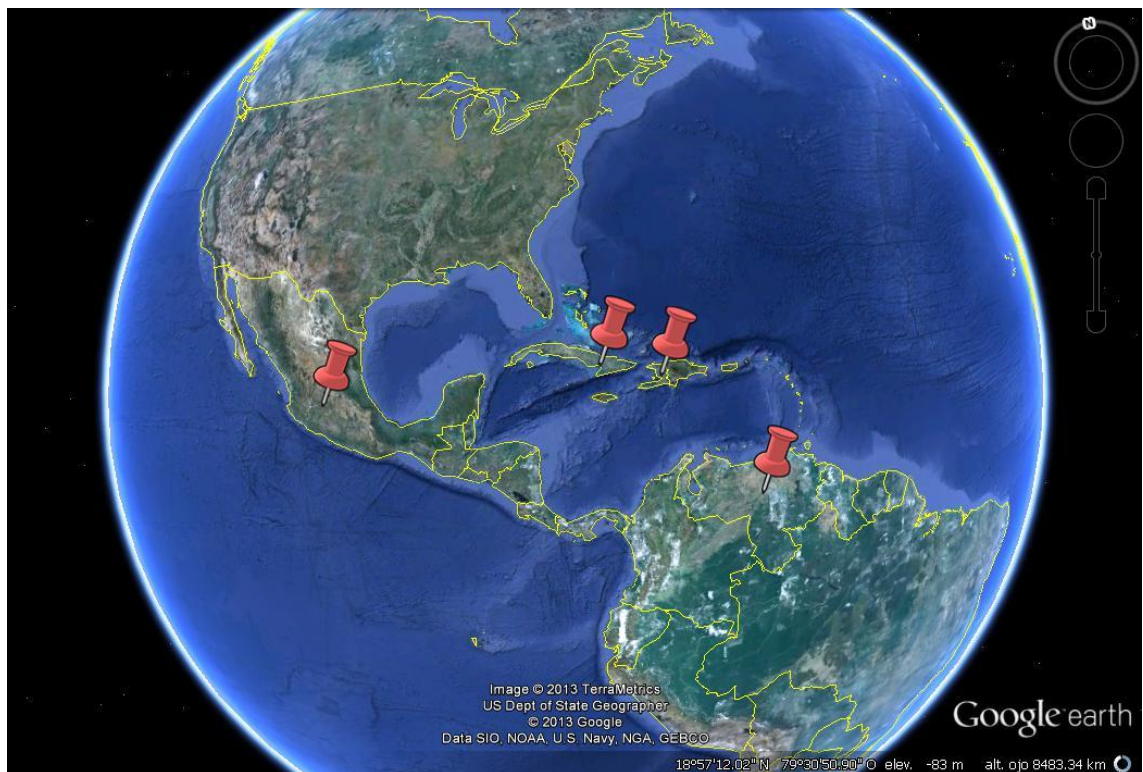
las islas Senkaku con Japón. Una actividad regional marcada también por la respuesta de Estados Unidos, reequilibrando su peso geoestratégico hacia esta región. Continúa con su proceso de modernización militar, avanzando en armamento, aviones de transporte (Y-20), misiles y balística. El informe cita las maniobras “Mission Action 2013”, desarrolladas en septiembre y octubre de 2013.

- Corea del Norte. Kim Jong Un ha consolidado rápidamente el poder, logrando lealtades a través de la imposición del terror, con la ejecución de su propio tío como ejemplo. Sus prioridades son la mejora económica y el avance en armamento nuclear.

5. Rusia y Eurasia.

- Rusia. Deberá gestionar el creciente descontento social, y una oposición interna importante, al igual que tensiones etno-religiosas por el incremento de la población musulmana. El limitado crecimiento en 2014, de un 2,3%, pondrá en peligro muchos proyectos ambiciosos. A nivel internacional los dos logros de 2013 han sido el acuerdo para eliminación de armas químicas en Siria, y el logro de impedir el acuerdo de Ucrania con la Unión Europea. Aun así, en 2014, seguirá teniendo que competir con la Unión Europea, en búsqueda de influencia hacia occidente, y con China en Asia Central. En el ámbito militar Rusia continuará su proceso de modernización y profesionalización.
- Cáucaso. El nuevo gobierno de Georgia ha generado expectativas de mejora, también se han limado tensiones con Rusia, aunque existe un riesgo de inestabilidad y polarización política. No se percibe una mejora en el conflicto entre Armenia y Azerbaiyán, a causa de la ocupación del primero de la región de Nagorno-Karabakh.
- En Asia Central preocupa la situación de Afganistán, tras la salida de las fuerzas de la coalición. La corrupción endémica en la zona, las tensiones étnicas, las políticas represivas, y las disputas por recursos (agua y energía), son los factores estructurales de la zona.
- Bielorrusia. En situación de crisis económica permanente. La represión hacia la sociedad civil hace que sea un país muy aislado internacionalmente.
- Ucrania. Con unas elecciones previstas en 2015, el presidente Yanukovich ha virado hacia el autoritarismo y el abuso de poder. Las tensiones y protestas continuarán durante el año. Moscú evitó la firma del Acuerdo de Asociación con la UE ofreciendo a Ucrania e apoyo financiero inmediato que precisa el presidente para tratar de llegar a 2015 con opciones de reelección.
- Moldavia. Tratará de profundizar en su integración en la UE, aunque el gobierno pro-europeo tiene un bajo nivel de apoyo tras una serie de escándalos. La preocupación la centra el conflicto de Transnistria.

6. Latinoamérica y Caribe.



*Figura 3: Puntos de conflicto en América
(Elaboración propia)*

- Haití. Existe riesgo creciente de protestas sociales debido a las bajas expectativas sobre una mejora de las condiciones de vida y el precio creciente de los alimentos, y los riesgos de catástrofes naturales. Pobreza y gobierno frágil afectan a la estabilidad. Absolutamente dependiente de la ayuda exterior.
- Centroamérica. Países sometidos a crisis de deuda, bajo crecimiento económico, y alta criminalidad y violencia. En El Salvador, tras un acuerdo, se ha reducido el número de homicidios, pero no los secuestros o extorsión. En Guatemala, amplias zonas fronterizas son controladas por traficantes de droga. Las tasas de homicidios en Honduras son las más altas del mundo.

7. Europa.



*Figura 4: Puntos de conflicto en Europa
(Elaboración propia)*

- Acuerdo Transatlántico. Las negociaciones sobre el acuerdo EEUU-UE de comercio e inversión, la retirada aliada de Afganistán, y las elecciones europeas, y la cumbre de la OTAN y la elección de nuevo Secretario General en 2014, crearán nuevas dinámicas en 2014.
- Crisis de la Eurozona. Crisis y bajo crecimiento suponen un apoyo a movimientos nacionalistas y populistas, de extrema izquierda y derecha, que tendrán una gran oportunidad para obtener o incrementar su representación en las elecciones del Parlamento Europeo de mayo de 2014.
- Turquía. A nivel interno se enfrenta a los escándalos de corrupción, alentados por el movimiento de Fetullah Gulen, y a las protestas sociales. Continuarán los acercamientos hacia una paz con el PKK. Turquía asiste a un incremento de presencia extremista, como vía de paso de muyahidines que se dirigen a combatir a Siria.
- Balcanes. Las divisiones políticas y étnicas son el gran riesgo en la región en 2014. Fragilidad de los Estados, estancamiento económico, alto desempleo, corrupción, hacen difícil la solución. Algunas de las situaciones son: la inestabilidad en Bosnia-Herzegovina, que difícilmente se reducirá tras las elecciones de 2014, o las acciones del gobierno de Macedonia para promover un nacionalismo que genera riesgos de tensiones étnicas.

En respuesta al lanzamiento por parte de Corea del Norte de un satélite el 12 de diciembre de 2012, el Consejo de Seguridad de la ONU aprobó, el pasado martes, 22 de enero, la Resolución 2087, para condenarlo e imponer nuevas sanciones al régimen de Pyongyang, incluyendo la congelación de activos y prohibiciones de viaje de altos cargos, claves en el programa espacial norcoreano y empresas relacionadas con su desarrollo. Además, la Resolución 2087 refuerza y amplía el alcance de las sanciones existentes por las resoluciones 1718 y 1874, haciéndolas más eficaces y de mayor alcance, imponiendo un régimen de sanciones más robusto y riguroso a Pyongyang.

Al limitar la capacidad de Corea del Norte para obtener fondos, intercambio de información en el extranjero de sus científicos, transferencia de productos de doble uso o el contrabando de otros bienes, se dificultará la continuación de su programa nuclear y de misiles.

La Resolución 2087:

- Condena el lanzamiento de Corea del Norte en la que se utiliza tecnología de misiles balísticos como una violación de las resoluciones anteriores del Consejo de Seguridad, reiterando dichas resoluciones, exigiendo que no lleve a cabo ningún otro lanzamiento y que cumpla plenamente con sus obligaciones con respecto a su programa nuclear y de misiles balísticos.
- Impone nuevas sanciones a varias empresas y agencias gubernamentales, incluyendo la agencia espacial responsable de la puesta en marcha, así como en el Banco de Tierras del Este. Las seis entidades y cuatro personas físicas listadas en los anexos I y II tendrán sus activos congelados y se les prohibirá participar en transacciones financieras. Las personas físicas estarán sujetas a una prohibición de viajar, lo que limita su capacidad de suministro de tecnología y conocimiento, o llegar a acuerdos comerciales en el exterior.
- Enumera las actualizaciones de la tecnología nuclear y de misiles balísticos prohibidos para la transferencia desde y hacia Corea del Norte, ayudando a asegurar que no pueda obtener o proliferar la tecnología más sensible.
- Aborda las actividades financieras ilícitas de Corea del Norte, incluso mediante la mejora de la vigilancia y el seguimiento de personas y una amplia gama de actividades financieras, así como, poniendo de relieve el problema del contrabando de grandes cantidades de dinero.
- Establece que el Comité de Sanciones de las Naciones Unidas para Corea del Norte publique las instrucciones a seguir en el caso de que buques sospechosos rehúsen la inspección de su carga.
- Proporciona una guía adicional a los estados sobre cómo aprovechar y disponer de elementos ilícitos descubiertos durante las inspecciones de carga.
- Aclara las sanciones existentes para asegurar que los estados prohíban la transferencia de cualquier artículo en la que participe los individuos y entidades designados por la ONU.

- Subraya la importancia de la acción de los Estados para evitar la transferencia de productos de doble uso que podrían contribuir a violación de las sanciones.
- Pide a los Estados limitar las relaciones con funcionarios de Corea del Norte, muchos de los cuales están involucrados en actividades ilegales en el extranjero.
- Amplía la capacidad del Comité de Sanciones para imponer restricciones a los infractores.
- Incluye un nuevo lenguaje para mejorar la aplicación de sanciones, incluyendo una cláusula de fuerza mayor para facilitar la interceptación legal de las mercancías por los Estados; insta a los Estados a informar sobre la aplicación; y alienta a los organismos internacionales para asegurarse de que sus actividades no violen las sanciones.

Esta resolución reafirma el deseo del Consejo de conseguir una solución pacífica, diplomática y política a la situación, y reafirma su apoyo a las conversaciones de las "Seis Partes". También expresa la disposición del Consejo para reforzar o modificar las sanciones impuestas y, en este sentido, expresa su determinación de tomar "medidas significativas" en el caso de un nuevo ensayo nuclear o lanzamiento.

A esta resolución le siguió inmediatamente, miércoles 23 de enero, una declaración del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores norcoreano que rechazaba, como injusta, la resolución, con amplias alusiones a los Estados Unidos como instigador de la misma, calificando al Consejo de Seguridad como su marioneta. Así, declaraba su derecho, de acuerdo con el derecho internacional, a la utilización del espacio para fines pacíficos.

En la declaración, se afirma que la desnuclearización de la península coreana es imposible hasta que se produzca la desnuclearización a nivel mundial, volviendo a reiterar la política hostil de los Estados Unidos. En este sentido declara que la declaración conjunta de las conversaciones de las "Seis Partes" está en vía muerta y que las conversaciones debían tener como objetivo la paz y estabilidad en la zona.

Finalmente, y con la retórica que caracteriza estas declaraciones, confirma la decisión de incrementar su capacidad de disuasión nuclear. A lo que un editorial del "Global Times", considerado como una expresión oficialista de Partido Comunista Chino, contesta, considerando que su posición en el Consejo de Seguridad no debería dudar en reducir su asistencia a Corea del Norte si continua con las pruebas nucleares, aunque también, se opondrá a los intentos de los Estados Unidos, Japón y Corea de Sur sin quieren extremar las medidas contempladas por las Resoluciones, dejando claro que China debería proteger en primer lugar sus intereses nacionales.

- Resolución 1718 (2006) Aprobada por el Consejo de Seguridad en su 5551ª sesión. Celebrada el 14 de octubre de 2006.
- Resolución 1874 (2009) Aprobada por el Consejo de Seguridad en su 6141ª sesión. Celebrada el 12 de junio de 2009

- Resolución 2087 (2013) Aprobada por el Consejo de Seguridad en su 6904a sesión. Celebrada el 22 de enero de 2013
- Declaración del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores Norcoreano. DPRK FM Refutes UNSC's "Resolution" Pulling up DPRK over Its Satellite Launch. 23.01.2013
- Not all Peninsula issues China's problem. 25.01.2013

Statement for the Record

**Worldwide Threat Assessment
of the
US Intelligence Community**

Senate Select Committee on Intelligence



James R. Clapper

Director of National Intelligence

January 29, 2014

STATEMENT FOR THE RECORD

US INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY WORLDWIDE THREAT ASSESSMENT

January 29, 2014

INTRODUCTION

Chairman Feinstein, Vice Chairman Chambliss, Members of the Committee, thank you for the invitation to offer the United States Intelligence Community's 2014 assessment of threats to US national security. My statement reflects the collective insights of the Intelligence Community's extraordinary men and women, whom I am privileged and honored to lead. We in the Intelligence Community are committed every day to provide the nuanced, multidisciplinary intelligence that policymakers, warfighters, and domestic law enforcement personnel need to protect American lives and America's interests anywhere in the world.

Information available as of January 15, 2014 was used in the preparation of this assessment.

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GLOBAL THREATS

CYBER

Critical Trends Converging

Several critical governmental, commercial, and societal changes are converging that will threaten a safe and secure online environment. In the past several years, many aspects of life have migrated to the Internet and digital networks. These include essential government functions, industry and commerce, health care, social communication, and personal information. The foreign threats discussed below pose growing risks to these functions as the public continues to increase its use of and trust in digital infrastructures and technologies.

Russia and China continue to hold views substantially divergent from the United States on the meaning and intent of international cyber security. These divergences center mostly on the nature of state sovereignty in the global information environment states' rights to control the dissemination of content online, which have long forestalled major agreements. Despite these challenges, the United Nations Group of Governmental Experts concluded in a June 2013 report that international law and the UN Charter apply to cyberspace. This conclusion represents a substantive step forward in developing a legal framework and norms for cyber security.

Threat Environment

We assess that computer network *exploitation* and *disruption* activities such as denial-of-service attacks will continue. Further, we assess that the likelihood of a *destructive* attack that deletes information or renders systems inoperable will increase as malware and attack tradecraft proliferate. Many instances of major cyber attacks manifested themselves at home and abroad in 2013 as illustrated by the following examples.

- In March 2013, South Korea suffered a sizeable cyber attack against its commercial and media networks, damaging tens of thousands of computer workstations. The attack also disrupted online banking and automated teller machine services. Although likely unrelated to the 2012 network attack against Saudi Aramco, these attacks illustrate an alarming trend in mass data-deletion and system-damaging attacks.
- In early 2013, the US financial sector faced wide-scale network denial-of-service attacks that became increasingly difficult and costly to mitigate.

In response to these and similar developments, many countries are creating cyber defense institutions within their national security establishments. We estimate that several of these will likely be responsible for offensive cyber operations as well.

Russia presents a range of challenges to US cyber policy and network security. Russia seeks changes to the international system for Internet governance that would compromise US interests and values. Its Ministry of Defense (MOD) is establishing its own cyber command, according to senior MOD officials, which will seek to perform many of the functions similar to those of the US Cyber Command. Russian intelligence services continue to target US and allied personnel with access to sensitive computer network information. In 2013, a Canadian naval officer confessed to betraying information from shared top secret-level computer networks to Russian agents for five years.

China's cyber operations reflect its leadership's priorities of economic growth, domestic political stability, and military preparedness. Chinese leaders continue to pursue dual tracks of facilitating Internet access for economic development and commerce and policing online behaviors deemed threatening to social order and regime survival. Internationally, China also seeks to revise the multi-stakeholder model Internet governance while continuing its expansive worldwide program of network exploitation and intellectual property theft.

Iran and North Korea are unpredictable actors in the international arena. Their development of cyber espionage or attack capabilities might be used in an attempt to either provoke or destabilize the United States or its partners.

Terrorist organizations have expressed interest in developing offensive cyber capabilities. They continue to use cyberspace for propaganda and influence operations, financial activities, and personnel recruitment.

Cyber criminal organizations are as ubiquitous as they are problematic on digital networks. Motivated by profit rather than ideology, cyber criminals play a major role in the international development, modification, and proliferation of malicious software and illicit networks designed to steal data and money. They will continue to pose substantial threats to the trust and integrity of global financial institutions and personal financial transactions.

Other Potential Cyber Issues

Critical infrastructure, particularly the Industrial Control Systems (ICS) and Supervisory Control and Data Acquisition (SCADA) systems used in water management, oil and gas pipelines, electrical power distribution, and mass transit, provides an enticing target to malicious actors. Although newer architectures provide flexibility, functionality, and resilience, large segments of legacy architecture remain vulnerable to attack, which might cause significant economic or human impact.

Physical objects such as vehicles, industrial components, and home appliances, are increasingly being integrated into the information network and are becoming active participants in generating information. These "smart objects" will share information directly with Internet-enabled services, creating efficiencies in inventory supervision, service-life tracking, and maintenance management. This so-called "Internet of Things" will further transform the role of information technology in the global economy and create even further dependencies on it. The complexity and nature of these systems means that security and safety assurance are not guaranteed and that threat actors can easily cause security and/or safety problems in these systems.

The US health care sector, in particular, is rapidly becoming networked in ways never before imagined. As health care services become increasingly reliant on the cross-networking of personal data devices, medical devices, and hospital networks, cyber vulnerabilities might play unanticipated roles in patient outcomes.

Virtual currencies—most notably Bitcoin—are fast becoming a medium for criminal financial transfers through online payment companies. In May 2013, Costa Rica-registered Liberty Reserve—no longer in operation—processed \$6 billion in suspect transactions and sought to evade enforcement action by moving funds into shell companies worldwide prior to being indicted by US authorities.

Emerging technologies, such as three-dimensional printing, have uncertain economic and social impacts and can revolutionize the manufacturing sector by drastically reducing the costs of research, development, and prototyping. Similarly, they might also revolutionize aspects of underground criminal activity.

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE

Threats posed by foreign intelligence entities through 2014 will continue to evolve in terms of scope and complexity. The capabilities and activities through which foreign entities—both state and nonstate actors—seek to obtain US national security information are new, more diverse, and more technically sophisticated.

Insider Threat/Unauthorized Disclosures

In addition to threats by foreign intelligence entities, insider threats will also pose a persistent challenge. Trusted insiders with the intent to do harm can exploit their access to compromise vast amounts of sensitive and classified information as part of a personal ideology or at the direction of a foreign government. The unauthorized disclosure of this information to state adversaries, nonstate activists, or other entities will continue to pose a critical threat.

Priority Foreign Intelligence Threats

Attempts to penetrate the US national decisionmaking apparatus, defense industrial base, and US research establishments will persist. We assess that the leading state intelligence threats to US interests in 2014 will continue to be Russia and China, based on their capabilities, intent, and broad operational scope. Sophisticated foreign intelligence entities will continue to employ human and cyber means to collect national security information. They seek data on advanced weapons systems and proprietary information from US companies and research institutions that deal with energy, finance, the media, defense, and dual-use technology.

TERRORISM

Terrorist threats emanate from a diverse array of terrorist actors, ranging from formal groups to homegrown violent extremists (HVEs) and ad hoc, foreign-based actors. The threat environment continues to transition to a more diverse array of actors, reinforcing the positive developments of previous years. The threat complex, sophisticated, and large-scale attacks from core al-Qa'ida against the US Homeland is significantly degraded. Instability in the Middle East and North Africa has accelerated the decentralization of the movement, which is increasingly influenced by local and regional issues. However, diffusion has led to the emergence of new power centers and an increase in threats by networks of like-minded extremists with allegiances to multiple groups. The potential of global events to instantaneously spark grievances around the world hinders advance warning, disruption, and attribution of plots.

Homeland Plotting

Homegrown Violent Extremists. US-based extremists will likely continue to pose the most frequent threat to the US Homeland. As the tragic attack in Boston in April 2013 indicates, insular HVEs who act alone or in small groups and mask the extent of their ideological radicalization can represent challenging and lethal threats.

Al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula. Operating from its safe haven in Yemen, al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) has attempted several times to attack the US Homeland. We judge that the group poses a significant threat and remains intent on targeting the United States and US interests overseas.

Core al-Qa'ida. Sustained counterterrorism (CT) pressure, key organizational setbacks, and the emergence of other power centers of the global violent extremist movement have put core al-Qa'ida on a downward trajectory since 2008. They have degraded the group's ability to carry out a catastrophic attack against the US Homeland and eroded its position as leader of the global violent extremist movement. It probably hopes for a resurgence following the drawdown of US troops in Afghanistan in 2014.

Terrorist Activities Overseas

Persistent Threats to US Interests Overseas. We face an enduring threat to US interests overseas. Most Sunni extremist groups will prioritize local and regional agendas, but US embassies, military facilities, and individuals will be at particular risk in parts of South Asia, the Middle East, and Africa.

Syria's Impact. Syria has become a significant location for independent or al-Qa'ida-aligned groups to recruit, train, and equip a growing number of extremists, some of whom might conduct external attacks. Hostilities between Sunni and Shia are also intensifying in Syria and spilling into neighboring countries, which is increasing the likelihood of a protracted conflict.

Iran and Hizballah are committed to defending the Assad regime and have provided support toward this end, including sending billions of dollars in military and economic aid, training pro-regime and Iraqi Shia militants, and deploying their own personnel into the country. Iran and Hizballah view the Assad regime as

a key partner in the “axis of resistance” against Israel and are prepared to take major risks to preserve the regime as well as their critical transshipment routes.

Iran and Hizballah

Outside of the Syrian theater, Iran and Lebanese Hizballah continue to directly threaten the interests of US allies. Hizballah has increased its global terrorist activity in recent years to a level that we have not seen since the 1990s.

Counterterrorism Cooperation

As the terrorist threat is becoming more diffuse and harder to detect, cooperation with CT partners will take on even greater importance. The fluid environment in the Middle East and North Africa will likely further complicate already challenging circumstances as we partner with governments to stem the spread of terrorism.

WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND PROLIFERATION

Nation-state efforts to develop or acquire weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and their delivery systems constitute a major threat to the security of the United States, deployed troops, and allies. We are focused on the threat and destabilizing effects of nuclear proliferation, proliferation of chemical and biological warfare (CBW)-related materials, and development of WMD delivery systems. The time when only a few states had access to the most dangerous technologies is past. Biological and chemical materials and technologies, almost always dual use, move easily in the globalized economy, as do personnel with scientific expertise to design and use them. The latest discoveries in the life sciences also diffuse globally and rapidly.

Iran and North Korea Developing WMD-Applicable Capabilities

We continue to assess that **Iran’s** overarching strategic goals of enhancing its security, prestige, and regional influence have led it to pursue capabilities to meet its civilian goals and give it the ability to build missile-deliverable nuclear weapons, if it chooses to do so. At the same time, Iran’s perceived need for economic relief has led it to make concessions on its nuclear program through the 24 November 2013 Joint Plan of Action with the P5+1 countries and the European Union (EU). In this context, we judge that Iran is trying to balance conflicting objectives. It wants to improve its nuclear and missile capabilities while avoiding severe repercussions—such as a military strike or regime-threatening sanctions. We do not know if Iran will eventually decide to build nuclear weapons.

Tehran has made technical progress in a number of areas—including uranium enrichment, nuclear reactors, and ballistic missiles—from which it could draw if it decided to build missile-deliverable nuclear weapons. These technical advancements strengthen our assessment that Iran has the scientific, technical, and industrial capacity to eventually produce nuclear weapons. This makes the central issue its political will to do so.

Of particular note, Iran has made progress during the past year by installing additional centrifuges at the Fuel Enrichment Plant, developing advanced centrifuge designs, and stockpiling more low-enriched uranium hexafluoride (LEUF₆). These improvements have better positioned Iran to produce weapons-grade uranium (WGU) using its declared facilities and uranium stockpiles, if it chooses to do so. Despite this progress, we assess that Iran would not be able to divert safeguarded material and produce enough WGU for a weapon before such activity would be discovered. Iran has also continued to work toward starting up the IR-40 Heavy Water Research Reactor near Arak.

We judge that Iran would choose a ballistic missile as its preferred method of delivering nuclear weapons, if Iran ever builds these weapons. Iran's ballistic missiles are inherently capable of delivering WMD, and Iran already has the largest inventory of ballistic missiles in the Middle East. Iran's progress on space launch vehicles—along with its desire to deter the United States and its allies—provides Tehran with the means and motivation to develop longer-range missiles, including an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM).

We assess that if Iran fully implements the Joint Plan, it will temporarily halt the expansion of its enrichment program, eliminate its production and stockpile of 20-percent enriched uranium in a form suitable for further enrichment, and provide additional transparency into its existing and planned nuclear facilities. This transparency would provide earlier warning of a breakout using these facilities.

North Korea's nuclear weapons and missile programs pose a serious threat to the United States and to the security environment in East Asia, a region with some of the world's largest populations, militaries, and economies. North Korea's export of ballistic missiles and associated materials to several countries, including Iran and Syria, and its assistance to Syria's construction of a nuclear reactor, destroyed in 2007, illustrate the reach of its proliferation activities. Despite the reaffirmation of its commitment in the Second-Phase Actions for the Implementation of the September 2005 Joint Statement not to transfer nuclear materials, technology, or know-how, North Korea might again export nuclear technology.

In addition to conducting its third nuclear test on 12 February 2013, North Korea announced its intention to "adjust and alter" the uses of existing nuclear facilities, to include the uranium enrichment facility at Yongbyon, and restart its graphite moderated reactor that was shut down in 2007. We assess that North Korea has followed through on its announcement by expanding the size of its Yongbyon enrichment facility and restarting the reactor that was previously used for plutonium production. North Korea has publicly displayed its KN08 road-mobile ICBM twice. We assess that North Korea has already taken initial steps towards fielding this system, although it remains untested. North Korea is committed to developing long-range missile technology that is capable of posing a direct threat to the United States. Its efforts to produce and market ballistic missiles raise broader regional and global security concerns.

Because of deficiencies in their conventional military forces, North Korean leaders are focused on deterrence and defense. We have long assessed that, in Pyongyang's view, its nuclear capabilities are intended for deterrence, international prestige, and coercive diplomacy. We do not know Pyongyang's nuclear doctrine or employment concepts.

WMD Security in Syria

Syria acceded to the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) on 14 October 2013 and is in the preliminary phases of dismantling its offensive CW program. Previously, we had assessed that Syria had a highly active chemical warfare (CW) program and maintained a stockpile of sulfur mustard, sarin, VX, and a stockpile of munitions—including missiles, aerial bombs, and artillery rockets—that can be used to deliver CW agents. Until the CW materials are completely destroyed or removed from country, groups or individuals in Syria might gain access to CW-related materials. The United States and its allies are monitoring Syria's chemical weapons stockpile through the inspection and destruction process of the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW).

We judge that some elements of Syria's biological warfare (BW) program might have advanced beyond the research and development stage and might be capable of limited agent production, based on the duration of its longstanding program. To the best of our knowledge, Syria has not successfully weaponized biological agents in an effective delivery system, but it possesses conventional weapon systems that could be modified for biological-agent delivery.

COUNTERSPACE

Threats to US space services will increase during 2014 and beyond as potential adversaries pursue disruptive and destructive counterspace capabilities. Chinese and Russian military leaders understand the unique information advantages afforded by space systems and are developing capabilities to disrupt US use of space in a conflict. For example, Chinese military writings highlight the need to interfere with, damage, and destroy reconnaissance, navigation, and communication satellites. China has satellite jamming capabilities and is pursuing antisatellite systems. In 2007, China conducted a destructive antisatellite test against its own satellite. Russia's 2010 military doctrine emphasizes space defense as a vital component of its national defense. Russian leaders openly maintain that the Russian armed forces have antisatellite weapons and conduct antisatellite research. Russia has satellite jammers and is also pursuing antisatellite systems.

TRANSNATIONAL ORGANIZED CRIME

Transnational Organized Crime (TOC) is an abiding threat to US economic and national security. Criminals can play a significant role in weakening stability and undermining the rule of law in some emerging democracies and areas of strategic importance to the United States.

Drug trafficking will remain a major TOC threat to the United States. Mexican drug cartels are responsible for high levels of violence and corruption in Mexico. Drugs contribute to instability in Central America, erode stability in West and North Africa, and remain a significant source of revenue for the Taliban in Afghanistan.

- Synthetic drugs, notably new psychoactive substances (NPS), pose an emerging and rapidly growing global public health threat. NPS were first reported in the United States in 2008 and have emerged in 70 of 80 countries that report to the UN Office on Drugs and Crime. Although most global markets for drugs such as cocaine and heroin are stable or declining, the use and manufacture of synthetic drugs are rapidly rising.

The Department of State's 2013 Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report notes that an estimated 27 million men, women, and children are trafficking victims. Virtually every country in the world is a source, transit point, and/or destination for individuals being trafficked.

Worldwide, money laundering totals more than a trillion dollars annually. Criminals' reliance on the US dollar exposes the US financial system to these illicit financial flows. Financial transfers and vehicles designed to obscure beneficial ownership, inadequate and uneven anti-money laundering enforcement and regulations, and new forms of digital financial services have the potential to undermine the international financial system.

Illicit trade in wildlife, timber, and marine resources constitutes an estimated \$8-10 billion industry annually, endangers the environment, threatens rule of law and border security in fragile regions, and destabilizes communities that depend on wildlife for biodiversity and ecotourism.

ECONOMIC TRENDS

Global economic growth rates entered a marked slowdown with the global financial crisis that began in 2008. From 2008 to 2013, the global growth rate averaged less than 3.0 percent, well below its 30-year average of 3.6 percent. The lengthy global slowdown has meant lower job creation, income growth, and standards of living that many came to expect before 2008. Although worldwide economic growth will likely strengthen in 2014 to 3.7 percent, it will fall well short of its 2004-2007 peak when it averaged 5.1 percent.

Although emerging and developing economies will continue to grow faster than advanced economies, the gap between their respective growth rates will probably narrow to 3 percentage points in 2014, its lowest level since the cascade of emerging-market financial crises in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Combined with faster population growth in the emerging and developing economies, the pace at which per capita incomes in that group converges to those in developed countries is slowing considerably, potentially fueling resentment of Western leadership on global issues. Growth will probably be particularly slow among some of the emerging economies of Central and Eastern Europe, as well as Latin America and the Caribbean.

Stronger economic growth in certain advanced economies might mean a general tightening of global monetary conditions in 2014. Although such growth will benefit the global economy broadly, higher interest rates might pose new challenges to countries that rely heavily on global capital markets to service existing debt. Destabilizing outflows of international capital from emerging markets to advanced ones are possible in response to rising US interest rates and sustained recoveries in the United States and Europe. Tighter monetary conditions might also increase the risk of deflation in economies with slow growth, high

unemployment, and low aggregate demand. Numerous European countries, in particular, have seen annual inflation rates fall below 1.0 percent and even intermittent periods of deflation. Such deflation might worsen the fragile finances of indebted households, corporations, and governments.

Declines in many commodity prices will probably continue through 2014. Although the moderation in prices is welcome from the perspective of major commodity importers, such as China, India, and Japan, and from the humanitarian perspective related to food security, it can pose balance-of-payments problems for commodity exporters, such as Brazil, Nigeria, Russia, South Africa, and Venezuela, especially those that depend on commodity export revenue to finance their governments. Forecasts in the past year project global trade volume to grow moderately in 2014 at roughly 5 percent; the World Trade Organization (WTO) notes that its growth projections are down from earlier in 2013, however.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Competition for and secure access to natural resources (e.g. food, water, and energy) are growing security threats. Rapidly increasing unconventional energy production and ample water and agricultural resources mitigate the impact of global scarcity on the United States. However, many countries important to the United States are vulnerable to natural-resource shocks that degrade economic development, frustrate attempts to democratize, raise the risk of regime-threatening instability, and aggravate regional tensions. Demographic trends, especially increasing global population and urbanization, will also aggravate the outlook for resources, putting intense pressure on food, water, and energy. Extreme weather will increasingly disrupt food and energy markets, exacerbating state weakness, forcing human migrations, and triggering riots, civil disobedience, and vandalism. Criminal or terrorist elements can exploit these weaknesses to conduct illicit activity, recruit, and train. Social disruptions are magnified in growing urban areas where information technology quickly transmits grievances to larger, often youthful and unemployed audiences. Relatively small events can generate significant effects across regions of the world.

Food

Increased global supplies of grain have pushed global food prices downward in recent months, easing the risk of a price spike in the coming year. However, natural food-supply disruptions, due to weather, disease, and government policies, will stress the global food system and exacerbate price volatility. Policy choices can include export bans, diversions of arable lands for other uses, and land leases to and acquisitions by foreigners. Lack of adequate food will be a destabilizing factor in countries important to US national security that do not have the financial or technical abilities to solve their internal food security problems. In other cases, important countries to US interests will experience food-related, social disruptions, but are capable of addressing them without political upheaval.

Although food-related, state-on-state conflict is unlikely in the next year, the risk of conflict between farmers and livestock owners—often in separate states—will increase as population growth, desertification, and crop expansion infringe on livestock grazing areas, especially in sub-Saharan Africa and Central Asia. Shrinking marine fisheries—for example, in the South China Sea—will continue to spark diplomatic disputes as fishermen are forced to travel farther from shore. Terrorists, militants, and

international criminals can use local food insecurity to promote their own legitimacy and undermine government authority. Food and nutrition insecurity in weakly governed countries might also provide opportunities for insurgent groups to capitalize on poor conditions, exploit international food aid, and discredit governments for their inability to address basic needs.

Water

Risks to freshwater supplies—due to shortages, poor quality, floods, and climate change—are growing. These forces will hinder the ability of key countries to produce food and generate energy, potentially undermining global food markets and hobbling economic growth. As a result of demographic and economic development pressures, North Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia particularly will particularly face difficulty coping with water problems. Lack of adequate water is a destabilizing factor in developing countries that do not have the management mechanisms, financial resources, or technical ability to solve their internal water problems. Other states are further stressed by heavy dependence on river water controlled by upstream nations with unresolved water-sharing issues. Wealthier developing countries will probably face increasing water-related, social disruptions, although they are capable of addressing water problems without risk of state failure.

Historically, water tensions have led to more water-sharing agreements than to violent conflicts. However, where water-sharing agreements are ignored or when infrastructure development for electric power generation or agriculture is seen as a threat to water resources, states tend to exert leverage over their neighbors to preserve their water interests. This leverage has been applied in international forums and has included pressuring investors, nongovernmental organizations, and donor countries to support or halt water infrastructure projects. In addition, some local, nonstate terrorists or extremists will almost certainly target vulnerable water infrastructure in places to achieve their objectives and use water-related grievances as recruiting and fundraising tools.

Energy

Increasing US production of shale gas and tight oil in combination with ongoing energy efficiency gains will almost certainly provide the United States with a more secure energy future. Decreasing reliance on energy imports will reduce the economic impact on the United States of disruptions in global energy markets but will not insulate the United States from market forces. With a shrinking reliance on energy imports, an oil disruption will have a diminished impact on the US Gross Domestic Product (GDP), the current account deficit, and value of the dollar. The greater availability and lower price of natural gas and natural gas liquids will sustain the country's competitive edge in petrochemicals and energy-intensive production processes. However, some key energy-producing and consuming countries, which link US policy interests and energy imports, are concerned that greater US oil production will reduce US engagement in the Middle East and diminish US protection of critical oil supply routes.

Oil from deepwater deposits, tight oil, and oil sands will be the principal sources of new global oil supplies in 2014 and beyond. Oil extraction is trending toward production that is farther offshore in deeper waters, which might lead to increasing competition for desirable areas. Conventional oil production will continue to supply the majority of the world's oil, although discoveries are slowing and prospects for new sources are diminishing. However, conventional oil reservoirs also have the potential to supply significant increases in oil with the improvement of extraction methods. The exploitation of unconventional oil

resources in the Western Hemisphere has the potential to reduce US, European, and Asian reliance on imports that pass through vulnerable choke points, such as the Straits of Hormuz and Malacca, or originate from less stable regions in the Middle East and Africa.

Extreme Weather Events

Empirical evidence alone—without reference to climate models—suggests that a general warming trend is probably affecting weather and ecosystems, exacerbating the impact on humans. This warmer atmosphere, wetter in some areas, drier in others, is consistent with increasing atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases. In recent years, local food, water, energy, health, and economic security have been episodically degraded worldwide by severe weather conditions. These include more frequent or intense floods, droughts, wildfires, tornadoes, cyclones, coastal high water, and heat waves. Rising temperatures, although greater in the Arctic, are not solely a high-latitude phenomenon. Scientific work in the past few years has shown that temperature anomalies during growing seasons and persistent droughts have hampered agricultural productivity and extended wildfire seasons. In addition, intense storms—including typhoons, hurricanes, tornadoes, cyclones, and derechos—when exposed to growing human infrastructure, contribute to greater damage and threaten ever-increasing urban populations and economic development. This trend will likely continue to place stress on first responders, nongovernment organizations, and militaries that are often called to provide humanitarian assistance.

The Arctic

Harsh weather and relatively low economic stakes have enabled the countries bordering the Arctic to cooperate in pursuit of their interests in the region. However, as polar ice recedes, economic and security concerns will increase competition over access to sea routes and natural resources. Some states see the Arctic as a strategic security issue that has the potential to give other countries an advantage in positioning in their military forces.

HEALTH RISKS

Health security threats arise unpredictably from at least five sources: the emergence and spread of new or reemerging microbes; the globalization of travel and the food supply; the rise of drug-resistant pathogens; the acceleration of biological science capabilities and the risk that these capabilities might cause inadvertent or intentional release of pathogens; and adversaries' acquisition, development, and use of weaponized agents. Infectious diseases, whether naturally caused, intentionally produced, or accidentally released, are still among the foremost health security threats. A more crowded and interconnected world is increasing the opportunities for human, animal, or zoonotic diseases to emerge and spread globally. Antibiotic drug resistance is an increasing threat to global health security. Seventy percent of known bacteria have now acquired resistance to at least one antibiotic, threatening a return to the pre-antibiotic era.

In addition to the growing threat from resistant bacteria, previously unknown pathogens in humans are emerging and spreading primarily from animals. Human and livestock population growth results in increased human and animal intermingling and hastens crossover of diseases from one population to the

other. No one can predict which pathogen will be the next to spread to humans or when or where this will occur. However, humans remain vulnerable, especially when a pathogen with the potential to cause a pandemic emerges. For example, we judge that the H7N9 influenza in China that emerged from birds in early 2013 is not yet easily transmissible from person to person. However, it bears watching for its extreme severity, high death rates, and potential to mutate and become more transmissible. Between late March 2013, when the virus was first recognized, and the following May, when it was brought under control, H7N9 influenza killed over 20 percent of those infected and caused severe disease with long-term hospitalization in nearly all other cases. If H7N9 influenza or any other novel respiratory pathogen that kills or incapacitates more than 1 percent of its victims were to become easily transmissible, the outcome would be among the most disruptive events possible. Uncontrolled, such an outbreak would result in a global pandemic with suffering and death spreading globally in fewer than six months and would persist for approximately two years.

MASS ATROCITIES

The overall risk of mass atrocities worldwide will probably increase in 2014 and beyond. Trends driving this increase include more social mobilization, violent conflict, including communal violence, and other forms of instability that spill over borders and exacerbate ethnic and religious tensions; diminished or stagnant quality of governance; and widespread impunity for past abuses. Many countries at risk of mass atrocities will likely be open to influence to prevent or mitigate them. This is because they are dependent on Western assistance or multilateral missions in their countries, have the political will to prevent mass atrocities, or would be responsive to international scrutiny. Overall international will and capability to prevent or mitigate mass atrocities will likely diminish in 2014 and beyond, although support for human rights norms to prevent atrocities will almost certainly deepen among some non-government organizations. Much of the world will almost certainly turn to the United States for leadership to prevent and respond to mass atrocities.

REGIONAL THREATS

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

Arab Spring

In the three years since the outbreak of the Arab Spring, a few states have made halting progress in their transitions away from authoritarian rule. Nevertheless, political uncertainty and violence will probably increase across the region in 2014 as the toppling of leaders and weakening of regimes have unleashed ethnic and sectarian rivalries that are propagating destabilizing violence.

- In Syria, the ongoing civil war will probably heighten regional and sectarian tensions. Syria has become a proxy battle between Iran and Lebanese Hizballah on one side and Sunni Arab states on

the other. Fear of spillover has exacerbated sectarian tensions in Iraq and Lebanon and will add to the unrest. The influx of over two million Syrian refugees into neighboring countries will continue to impose hardships, particularly on Jordan and Lebanon.

- The turmoil associated with government transitions has prompted political backsliding in some cases, most notably Egypt, where the military ousted the democratically elected Muslim Brotherhood-dominated government in summer 2013.
- Public support for the governments that came to power across the region in 2011 is dissipating, a dynamic which will likely invite renewed unrest, increase the appeal of authoritarian or extremist solutions among Arab publics, and reduce the likelihood of the implementation of needed but unpopular economic reforms.

The following three regional trends will pose a challenge to US interests in the Middle East in 2014 and beyond.

- **Ungoverned Spaces.** The ongoing struggles for new governments in places like Tripoli and Cairo to extend their writ countrywide and worsening internal conflict in Syria have created opportunities for extremist groups to find ungoverned spaces from where they can try to destabilize new governments and prepare attacks against Western interests.
- **Economic Hardships.** Many states in the region are facing economic distress that will not likely be alleviated by current levels of Western aid. The failure of governments in the region to meet heightened popular expectations for economic improvement might prove destabilizing in vulnerable regimes. Gulf States provide assistance only incrementally and are wary of new governments' foreign policies as well as their ability to effectively use outside funds.
- **Negative Views of the United States.** Some of the transitioning governments are more skeptical than before the Arab Spring about cooperating with the United States. They are concerned about protecting sovereignty and resisting foreign interference, which has the potential to hamper US counterterrorism and other efforts to engage transitioning governments. Additionally, the unhappiness of some Arab Gulf States with US policies on Iran, Syria, and Egypt might lead these countries to reduce cooperation with the United States on regional issues and act unilaterally in ways that run counter to US interests.

Egypt

The interim Egyptian Government has for the most part completed transition tasks on time, but Cairo's crackdown on dissent, including designating the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) as a terrorist group, has dampened prospects for stability and an inclusive government. Egypt faces a persistent threat of militant violence that is directed primarily at the state and exploits the interim government's lack of control over the Sinai Peninsula. Since 2011, the Sinai has emerged as a growing staging ground for militants—including terrorists—to plan, facilitate, and launch attacks. The level of protests and militant violence probably will not delay Egypt's progress toward legislative and presidential elections.

Syria

We assess that the Syrian regime and many insurgents believe that they can achieve a military victory in the ongoing conflict. However, given their respective capabilities and levels of external support, decisively altering the course of the conflict in the next six months will prove difficult for either side.

President Asad remains unwilling to negotiate himself out of power. Asad almost certainly intends to remain the ruler of Syria and plans to win a new seven-year term in presidential elections that might occur as early as mid-2014.

Humanitarian conditions in Syria in the next year will almost certainly continue to deteriorate. Ongoing fighting is driving internal displacement as well as flows of refugees into neighboring countries. The UN, as of January 2014, estimated that 9.3 million Syrians are in need of humanitarian assistance in the country—including 6.5 million internally displaced persons (IDPs)—and that at least 2.4 million Syrian registered refugees are in the region out of a July 2012 population estimate of 22.5 million. International aid agencies consistently face challenges accessing parts of Syria because of checkpoints, road closures, Syrian Government restrictions, and violence.

Iran

President Ruhani has heralded a shift in political momentum in Iran toward the center, but we do not know whether he heralds a reversal of the authoritarian trend in Iranian politics during the past many years. Iran's economy will continue to struggle without comprehensive sanctions relief, which drives Ruhani and his team of technocrats to pursue nuclear negotiations. Since his election, Ruhani has had the support of the Supreme Leader, which has silenced some conservative critics. Hardliners, however, have consistently argued that sanctions fatigue will eventually break the international sanctions coalition and are wary of Ruhani's engagement with the West, as well as his promises of social and political moderation. Ruhani must maintain the backing of the Supreme Leader in order to continue to advance his political agenda. (Information on Iran's nuclear weapons program and intentions can be found above in the section on WMD and Proliferation.)

Iran will continue to act assertively abroad in ways that run counter to US interests and worsen regional conflicts. Iranian officials almost certainly believe that their support has been instrumental in sustaining Asad's regime in Syria and will probably continue support during 2014 to bolster the regime. In the broader Middle East, Iran will continue to provide arms and other aid to Palestinian groups, Huthi rebels in Yemen, and Shia militants in Bahrain to expand Iranian influence and to counter perceived foreign threats. Tehran, which strives for a stable Shia-led, pro-Iran government in Baghdad, is concerned about the deteriorating security situation in Iraq. Tehran is probably struggling to find the balance between protecting Shia equities in Iraq and avoiding overt actions that would precipitate greater anti-Shia violence. In Afghanistan, Tehran will probably seek its own additional security agreements with Kabul, promote pro-Iranian candidates in the 2014 presidential election to increase its influence at the expense of the United States, and maintain its clandestine aid to Afghan insurgent groups. Iran sees rising sectarianism as a dangerous regional development, but we assess that Iran's perceived responsibility to protect and empower Shia communities will increasingly trump its desire to avoid sectarian violence. Hence, Iran's actions will likely do more to fuel rather than dampen increasing sectarianism.

Iraq

Iraq's trajectory in 2014 will depend heavily on how Baghdad confronts the rising challenge from al-Qa'ida in Iraq (AQI) and manages relations with the country's disenfranchised Sunni population. A pivotal event will be the national elections slated for 30 April. The Sunni population in particular must be convinced that the elections will be fair in order to keep them committed to the political process and help check Iraq's rising violence.

Iraq is experiencing an increase in the total number of attacks countrywide to levels not observed since the departure of US forces in 2011. Although overall level of violence remains far lower than in 2007, high-profile suicide and vehicle-borne improvised explosive device (VBIED) attacks initiated by al-Qa'ida in Iraq (AQI) in 2013 returned to 2007-2008 levels, roughly 68 to 80 per month.

The protracted civil war in Syria is destabilizing Iraq, hardening ethno-sectarian attitudes, and raising concerns about the spillover of violence. The Syrian conflict has also facilitated a greater two-way flow of Sunni extremists between Syria and Iraq that has contributed to AQI's increased level of high-profile attacks.

Yemen

We judge that Yemen has achieved provisional success in the early stages of its transition from the regime of Ali Abdallah Salih. However, it still faces threats to its stability from a resurging al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) and disputes over the future structure of the state. The government of Abd Rabbih Mansur al-Hadi has completed an inclusive National Dialogue (ND) Conference, but the parties have not reached an agreement on how to implement the federal state structure called for by the Dialogue.

- The Yemeni military's willingness to sustain pressure on AQAP will be critical to preventing its resurgence.
- Yemen's economy has stabilized since Hadi took office in 2012, but substantial foreign assistance will remain important to alleviate the country's serious economic and humanitarian problems.

Lebanon

Lebanon in 2014 probably will continue to experience sectarian violence among Lebanese and terrorist attacks by Sunni extremists and Hizballah, which are targeting each others' interests. The conflict in neighboring Syria is the primary driver of the sectarian unrest and terrorist attacks in Lebanon; already this year, sectarian fighting and political assassinations in Tripoli, Beirut, and Sidon have killed more than a hundred Lebanese. Increased frequency and lethality of violence in Lebanon could erupt into sustained and widespread fighting.

- Hizballah's secretary general, Hasan Nasrallah, has framed the conflict as an act of self-defense against Western-backed Sunni extremists who he claimed would target all Lebanese if the Asad regime fell.

- Sunni extremists have conducted multiple bombings in Beirut in 2013 and early 2014 in the Shia-dominated areas of southern Beirut that killed 75 and injured more than 500 people. Sunni extremists claimed responsibility for the suicide bombings in November 2013 against the Iranian Embassy in Beirut.
- Sunni Salafist leaders are calling for supporters to back the Syrian opposition, which threatens to escalate sectarian tensions.

Lebanon is facing increased challenges in coping with the continuing influx of numerous Syrian refugees. As of early January 2014, over 800,000 Syrian refugees were residing in Lebanon—roughly 25 percent of Lebanon’s population prior to the Syrian conflict. Syrian refugees are straining Lebanon’s fragile economy and burdening its weak healthcare and education systems. Refugees almost certainly will not return to Syria, given the continued violence and lack of economic prospects.

Libya

Nearly three years since the revolution that toppled Qadhafi, Libya’s political, economic, and security landscape is fragmented and its institutions are weak, posing an ongoing threat to stability and cohesion of the Libyan state. Libya’s democratically elected government struggles to address the many competing challenges that threaten to undermine the transition.

- Efforts by various regional, minority, and tribal groups to seek redress of grievances through violence and disruption of oil facilities are weakening national cohesion.
- Since the end of the revolution, federalist groups have declared autonomy for the east or south at least four times. The federalist-led takeover of eastern oil facilities in July 2013 has been the most sustained and aggressive pursuit of self-rule.
- Libya’s numerous quasi-governmental militias often demonstrate little loyalty to Tripoli and challenge central government authority.
- The terrorist threat to Western and Libyan Government interests remains acute, especially in the east of the country, where attacks against government officials and facilities occur nearly daily. Regional terrorist organizations exploit Libya’s porous borders and massive amounts of loose conventional weapons, further destabilizing the country and the Maghreb and Sahel region.
- To the benefit of the government, most Libyans oppose violence by federalists, militias, and extremists and generally support government efforts to usher in a successful democratic transition, including the drafting of a constitution and holding elections for Libya’s first post-revolution permanent government.

Tunisia

Tunisia’s long-suppressed societal cleavages and security and economic challenges will remain impediments to the country’s political transition in 2014. The political environment since the ouster of President Ben Ali in 2011 has exposed sharp divisions over the role of religion in the state and the

separation of powers. However, the Constituent Assembly's late January 2014 passage of a new constitution by a wide majority suggests an increased willingness among the parties to compromise.

SOUTH ASIA

Afghanistan

The status of the Bilateral Security Agreement (BSA) remains unresolved despite its endorsement by Afghan leaders during the mid-November 2013 Loya Jirga. Regardless of the status of the BSA, the bilateral relationship still might be strained if Afghan officials believe that US commitments to Afghanistan fall short of their expectations.

- The International Monetary Fund (IMF) estimated that Afghanistan's GDP growth rate fell from 12 percent in 2012 to 3.1 percent in 2013. It forecasts 4 to 6 percent growth in 2014 and beyond, largely because of reduced ISAF spending.

Afghan elections in 2014 will be an important step in Afghanistan's democratic development. President Karzai has stated that he will step down after the election; eleven candidates are currently competing to succeed him.

The Taliban, confident in its ability to outlast ISAF and committed to returning to power, will challenge government control over some of the Pashtun countryside, especially in the south and east. The Taliban senior leadership will maintain a structured and resilient leadership system. The Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF), however, will probably maintain control of most major cities as long as external financial support continues.

Pakistan

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's primary focus will be on improving the economy, including the energy sector, and countering security threats. Sharif probably won the May 2013 election primarily because the previous government failed to improve either the economy or the generation of electricity.

Islamabad secured an IMF program in September 2013. Pakistan satisfied IMF conditions for fiscal and energy reforms under its three-year, \$6.7 billion Extended Fund Facility, paving the way for a second disbursement of \$550 million in December. However, continued use of scarce foreign exchange reserves by the State Bank of Pakistan (SBP) to prop up the Pakistani rupee might make future disbursements difficult.

Sharif seeks to acquire a more central policymaking role for civilians in areas that the Army has traditionally dominated. His push for an increased role in foreign policy and national security will probably test his relationship with the new Chief of Army Staff (COAS), particularly if the Army believes that the civilian government's position impinges on Army interests. However, Sharif has publically stated that the Army and the civilian government are "on the same page."

Islamabad wants good relations with the United States, but cooperation with Washington will continue to be vulnerable to strains, particularly due to Pakistani sensitivities toward perceived violations of sovereignty.

- Prime Minister Sharif entered office seeking to establish good relations with the United States, especially in areas that support his primary domestic focus of improving the economy. Sharif and his advisers were pleased with his late October 2013 visit to Washington. Pakistan was eager to restart a “strategic dialogue” and its officials and press have touted results of the initial meetings of several of the five working groups that comprise the dialogue.
- Sharif also seeks rapprochement with New Delhi in part in anticipation of increased trade, which would be beneficial to Pakistan’s economic growth. Sharif will probably move cautiously to improve relations, however, and India also will probably not take any bold steps, particularly not before the Indian elections in spring 2014.

India

In this election year in particular, coalition politics and institutional challenges will remain the primary drivers of India’s economic and foreign policy decisionmaking. Any future government installed after the 2014 election will probably have a positive view of the United States, but future legislation or policy changes that are consistent with US interests is not assured.

- Coalition politics will almost certainly dominate Indian governance. Since the 1984 national elections, no party has won a clear majority in the lower house of Parliament. We judge that this trend will continue with the 2014 election, and the proliferation of political parties will further complicate political consensus building.
- In 2014, India will probably attain a 5 percent average annual growth rate, significantly less than the 8 percent growth that it achieved from 2005 to 2012 and that is needed to achieve its policy goals.

India shares US objectives for a stable and democratic Pakistan that can encourage trade and economic integration between South and Central Asia. We judge that India and Pakistan will seek modest progress in minimally controversial areas, such as trade, while probably deferring serious discussion on territorial disagreements and terrorism.

India will continue to cooperate with the United States on the future of Afghanistan following the drawdown of international forces. India also shares concerns about a resurgent Taliban in Afghanistan, seeing it as a long-term security threat and source of regional instability.

India and China have attempted to reduce long-standing border tensions through confidence-building measures, such as holding the first bilateral military exercise in five years in November 2013 and signing a Border Defense Cooperation Agreement during Prime Minister Singh’s visit to China in October 2013. However, mutual suspicions will likely persist.

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Sub-Saharan Africa will almost certainly see political and related security turmoil in 2014. The continent has become a hothouse for the emergence of extremist and rebel groups, which increasingly launch deadly asymmetric attacks, and which government forces often cannot effectively counter due to a lack of capability and sometimes will. Additionally, a youth bulge will grow with unfulfilled economic expectations and political frustrations; conflict will increase for land and water resources; and strengthening transnational criminal networks will disrupt political and economic stability.

The Sahel

Governments in Africa's Sahel region—particularly Chad, Niger, Mali, Mauritania—are at risk of terrorist attacks, primarily as retribution for these countries' support to the January 2013 French-led international military intervention in Mali. Additionally, this region faces pressure from growing youth populations and marginalized ethnic groups frustrated with a lack of government services, few employment opportunities, and poor living standards. Limited government capabilities, corruption, illicit economies, smuggling, and poor governance undercut development and the region's ability to absorb international assistance and improve stability and security, which would impede terrorists' freedom of movement.

Somalia

In Somalia, al-Shabaab is conducting asymmetric attacks against government facilities and Western targets in and around Mogadishu. The credibility and effectiveness of the young Somali government will be further threatened by persistent political infighting, weak leadership from President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, ill-equipped government institutions, and pervasive technical, political, and administrative shortfalls.

East Africa

Security has increased and ongoing counterterrorism and policing partnerships with Western nations have strengthened in the wake of the September 2013 attack by al-Shabaab-affiliated extremists at the Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi, Kenya. Nevertheless, East African governments will have difficulty protecting the wide range of potential targets. Al-Shabaab-associated networks might be planning additional attacks in Kenya and throughout East Africa, including in Burundi, Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Uganda, to punish those countries that deployed troops to Somalia in support of its government.

Sudan and South Sudan

Sudan's President Bashir and the National Congress Party (NCP) will almost certainly confront a range of challenges, including public dissatisfaction over economic decline and insurgencies on Sudan's periphery. Sudanese economic conditions since South Sudan's independence in 2011 continue to deteriorate, including rising prices on staple goods, which fuel opposition to Bashir and the NCP. Khartoum will likely resort to heavy-handed tactics to prevent resulting protests from escalating and to contain domestic insurgencies. The conflicts in the Darfur region and in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile states (the "Two Areas") will likely continue. Sudan will likely continue an offensive military campaign in

the Two Areas that will lead to increased displacement and the continued denial of humanitarian access in the area. Darfur will likely remain unstable as militia forces and the government continue to skirmish, and as internal fighting among local armed groups, general banditry, and insecurity rise.

South Sudan will almost certainly continue to face ethnic conflict, resource constraints, and rampant corruption in 2014. Widespread clashes across South Sudan in late 2013 will make economic recovery difficult. Without a cessation of hostilities and a stable peace process, Juba will also struggle to rebound in 2014 because international partners will be more reluctant to invest after the emergency evacuation of foreign diplomats in December of 2013 and an increasingly precarious security environment across the country. Additionally, President Kiir will likely continue his authoritarian approach to running the country and dealing with opposition groups; any peace process will likely be slow and continue despite continued attacks by anti-government forces. Ethnic conflict in Jonglei will likely continue as the South Sudanese military faces internal divisions and threats from multiple rebel groups. We assess that Juba will continue to rely on assistance from the international community, but might lose donor funding following its heavy-handed approach to suppressing political opposition groups in late 2013 and it might be conditioned on any peace process. The oil fields, South Sudan's main source of revenue, might be threatened by anti-government forces, thereby decreasing or halting production. The South Sudanese government will also struggle to govern regions outside of the capital and provide basic public goods. South Sudan's economy suffered significant setbacks after Juba shut down oil production early in 2012.

Nigeria

Rising political tensions and violent internal conflict are likely in the leadup to Nigeria's 2015 election. Nigeria faces critical terrorism threats from Boko Haram and persistent extremism in the north, simmering ethno-religious conflict in communities in central Nigeria's "Middle Belt," and militants who are capable of remobilizing in the Niger Delta and attacking the oil industry. Abuja is in a reactive security posture, and its limited capability will hinder its ability to anticipate and preempt threats. Southern Nigeria's economy, centered in Lagos, is among the fastest growing in the world but presents a sharp contrast to northern Nigeria, where stagnation and endemic poverty prevail amid insecurity and neglect. Given these domestic challenges, Nigeria's ability to project leadership across Africa and deploy peacekeepers will probably wane.

Central African Republic

Civilian casualties and humanitarian needs in the Central African Republic (CAR) have been severe since the overthrow of former President Bozize in early 2013 by rebel forces from the largely Muslim northeast. Communal conflict—largely along Muslim-Christian lines—has included formation of Christian militias, reprisal killings, atrocities, burning of homes, and destruction of religious sites across the country. The former rebels have used their de facto political authority to violently monopolize the country's most lucrative resources and territory, eroding CAR's historically peaceful Muslim-Christian relations. New interim President Samba Panza is a more unifying figure, but the government has almost no presence outside the capital and much of the country has devolved into lawlessness. In December 2013, the UN Security Council authorized an African Union peacekeeping force, supported by French forces, to restore security and public order and stabilize the country.

Democratic Republic of the Congo

Conflict in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo has abated somewhat since the Rwandan-backed M23 rebels suffered a series of setbacks in 2013, gradually losing materiel support from Rwanda and control of its territorial strongholds. The conflict ended with M23's military defeat and the signing of an agreement with the DRC government in December 2013. We judge that M23 will probably not reconstitute and pose a significant threat to stability in Congo in 2014 without a substantial influx of troops and other military support from an external partner. However, Rwanda will probably consider supporting other armed groups in Congo to secure areas along the border, threatening attempts by the Congolese Government and UN forces to consolidate control of the territory. Other armed groups, such as the Allied Democratic Forces and the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda, continue to pose significant risks to civilians and contribute to instability and violence.

Lord's Resistance Army

Pursuit operations of the African Union Regional Task Force in central Africa, enabled by US military assistance, has the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) on the run and in survival mode, hindering LRA's recruiting and training. Increased cooperation between partners has facilitated information sharing and, combined with other efforts, enabled an increased operational tempo, leading to a significant number of defections. LRA still raids settlements in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and CAR and periodically abducts civilians. LRA leader Joseph Kony is often on the move and has long been able to elude capture. Getting a "fix" on his location will remain difficult in this very remote part of the world.

EAST ASIA

China

Chinese leaders will try to focus primarily on domestic priorities during 2014 while leveraging China's growing influence in the region. A new generation led by Xi Jinping is in place and its ambitious policy agenda is coming into focus: accelerate economic reforms, make governance more efficient and accountable, and tighten Communist Party discipline.

China will probably continue its increasingly proactive approach to maritime disputes, including a hardline stance toward Japan over the Senkaku Islands. More broadly, China's growing confidence, new capabilities, and other perceived challenges to China's interests or security will drive Beijing to pursue a more active foreign policy.

- Growing regional competition in territorial disputes and competing nationalist fervor increase the risk of escalation and constrain regional cooperation. Sovereignty concerns and resurgent historical resentments will generate friction and occasional incidents between claimants in the East and South China Seas and slow or stall bilateral or multilateral efforts to resolve the disputes.

Beijing has highlighted its pursuit of a "new type of major power relations" with Washington, but China is simultaneously working at least indirectly to counterbalance US influence. Within East Asia, Beijing

seeks to fuel doubts about the sustainability of the US “rebalance” and Washington’s willingness to support its allies and partners in the region.

China is pursuing a long-term comprehensive military modernization designed to enable its armed forces to achieve success on a 21st century battlefield. China’s military investments favor capabilities designed to strengthen its nuclear deterrent and strategic strike options, counter foreign military intervention in a regional crisis, and provide limited, albeit growing, capability for power projection. During 2013, the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) introduced advanced weapons into its inventory and reached milestones in the development of key systems. China’s first domestically developed heavy transport plane, the Y-20, successfully conducted its initial test flight. Additionally, China has continued to develop multiple advanced ballistic and cruise missiles.

- Developments in PLA capabilities support an expansion of operations to secure Chinese interests beyond territorial issues. For example, China is pursuing more effective logistical support arrangements with countries in the Indian Ocean region.
- Elements from China’s army, navy, air force, and strategic missile forces from multiple military regions participated in *Mission Action 2013* in September and October 2013. The exercise included two large-scale amphibious landings and coordinated long-range air force and naval air operations in a maritime environment.

North Korea

Two years after taking the helm of North Korea, Kim Jong Un has further solidified his position as unitary leader and final decision authority. He has solidified his control and enforced loyalty through personnel changes and purges. The most prominent was the ouster and execution of his uncle, Jang Song Thaek in December 2013. Kim has elevated the profile of the Workers’ Party of Korea (WPK) through appointments of party operatives to key leadership positions and the convening of party conferences and plenums. Kim and the regime have publicly emphasized his focus on improving the country’s troubled economy and the livelihood of the North Korean people while maintaining the tenets of a command economy. He has codified this approach via his dual-track policy of economic development and advancement of nuclear weapons. (Information on North Korea’s nuclear weapons program and intentions can be found above in the section on WMD and Proliferation.)

RUSSIA AND EURASIA

Russia

Putin’s 2012-2013 crackdown on the opposition defused the popular challenge to his hold on power; however, the Kremlin confronts a growing trend of opposition politicians taking their fight to the local ballot box. This trend was illustrated by the consolidation of support in Moscow around a single opposition leader—Aleksey Navalnyy—who finished second in Moscow’s mayoral election in September 2013.

The Kremlin also faces a rise in ethno-religious tensions—as underscored by the October 2013 riot in the outskirts of Moscow—which will probably grow as the Muslim population in Russia increases. Moscow must balance an increasing immigrant Muslim population needed to offset its shrinking labor pool against growing nationalist sentiment among the ethnic Russian population.

In February 2014, Russia will host the Winter Olympics in the Black Sea resort of Sochi—an area bordering the turbulent North Caucasus region where Russian security forces have battled a local insurgency for the past 20 years. We have seen an increase in threat reporting just prior to the Olympics, which is not unusual for a major international event, and have offered assistance to the Russian Government.

Putin's claim to popular support and legitimacy as head of the Russian state has rested in part on a record of economic growth and the promise of stability, increasing prosperity, and relative personal freedom. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) projects that the Russian economy will grow by 2.3 percent in 2014, putting at risk a number of ambitious Kremlin projects—including the \$700 billion defense modernization plan, the 2018 World Cup, and social welfare enhancements pledged by Putin during his 2012 election campaign.

Moscow has hailed its CW initiative in Syria as a major foreign policy accomplishment. It positions Russia to play a major role in any future settlement of the Syrian conflict and adds legitimacy to the Syrian regime. Russia also will almost certainly continue to seek to fill the vacuum it believes is developing between the United States and Egypt.

The campaign to keep Ukraine from signing an Association Agreement (AA) with the European Union (EU) underscores the importance the Kremlin continues to attach to its goal of Eurasian integration. Russia will have to compete for influence with the EU in the West and increasingly with China in Central Asia; both will pose challenges to its pursuit of Eurasian integration.

The bilateral relationship with the United States will remain a priority for Russian foreign policy. We assess that Russia will continue its engagement with the United States on issues that address its priorities—Syrian CW as well as Afghanistan, Iran, and North Korea.

The Russian military remains a symbol of Russia's national power. Following measured improvements to its capabilities in the past year, it is setting its sights on the long-term challenges of professionalization and rearmament. The new leadership that assumed command of the military last November has made many tactical adjustments to the sweeping reforms the military enacted in 2008, but has largely kept the military on the same strategic trajectory.

The military in the past year has taken an increasingly prominent role in out-of-area operations, most notably in the eastern Mediterranean but also in Latin America, the Arctic, and other regions, a trend that will probably continue. Moscow is negotiating a series of agreements that would give it access to military infrastructure across the globe. These bases are generally intended to support “show the flag” and “presence” operations that do not reflect wartime missions or a significant power projection capability.

The Caucasus and Central Asia

Georgia's new political leaders have inherited pressing domestic and foreign policy problems amid high public expectations for progress. The economy, which has slowed since the Georgian Dream Coalition was elected in October 2012, will be an area of greatest immediate concern. The new government will also continue to balance a series of high-profile legal cases against former government officials for past abuses. The cases, while popular inside Georgia, have generated concerns of political retribution abroad and risk polarizing Georgian politics. Tensions with Russia have eased over the past year, decreasing the risk of renewed conflict. Progress nonetheless remains unlikely on the core disputes between Tbilisi and Moscow.

The standoff between **Armenia** and **Azerbaijan** over Nagorno-Karabakh and adjacent territories will remain a potential flashpoint. Neither side will see advantages in deliberately renewing hostilities, but prospects for peaceful resolution are also dim. Azerbaijan is willing to bide its time and wait for stronger economic growth to enable increased military spending to give it a decisive advantage. Armenia has a strong interest in maintaining the status quo because ethnic Armenians already control the separatist region of Nagorno-Karabakh and much of the surrounding territory. Nevertheless, the close proximity of opposing military forces and recurring ceasefire violations along the Line of Contact (LOC) continue to pose a risk of miscalculation.

Central Asia continues to host US supply lines that support operations in Afghanistan, and its leaders remain concerned about regional instability after the Coalition drawdown in 2014. Central Asian militants fighting in Afghanistan and Pakistan will likely continue to pose a threat, but sources of potential internal instability in Central Asia will probably remain more acute than external threats. Unclear political succession plans, endemic corruption, weak economies, ethnic tensions, and political repression are long-term sources of instability in Central Asia. Relations among the Central Asian states remain tense due to personal rivalries and disputes over water, borders, and energy. However, Central Asian leaders' focus on internal control reduces the risk of interstate conflict in the region.

Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus

As **Ukraine** heads toward the presidential election scheduled to take place in 2015, political developments in Ukraine probably will continue to be shaped by opposition and public anger over the Yanukovich administration's abuse of power, the need for Yanukovich to maintain the loyalty of key elites, and his efforts to balance Ukraine's relationship with Russia and the West. Political developments in Ukraine will increasingly be shaped by public protests over Yanukovich's refusal to sign the Association Agreement (AA) and the presidential election scheduled to take place in 2015. Yanukovich backed away from signing the AA with the EU at the Eastern Partnership Summit in November 2013, probably because Moscow offered the only option for immediate financial support to avert a financial crisis that would threaten his reelection bid. Firmly intent on maintaining his hold on power, Yanukovich will probably resort to coercion, extralegal means, and other tactics to tilt the playing field in his favor and ensure his reelection, threatening a further erosion of democratic norms.

The first tranche of Russia's \$15 billion aid package that Kyiv and Moscow signed in December will allow Kyiv to stave off a fiscal crisis in the short term but risks increasing Ukraine's economic dependence on Moscow. Russia's aid package removes incentives for Kyiv to enact painful economic reforms necessary

to spur growth, and the ambiguous terms of the bailout leave Kyiv more vulnerable to Russian pressure, particularly on energy issues.

Moldova will continue to try to deepen its integration with the EU. Chisinau initialed an Association Agreement with the EU at the EU Eastern Partnership Summit in November 2013. It is working to formalize the AA, its associated free trade agreement, and an EU visa liberalization agreement before the scheduled November 2014 parliamentary election. However, both the EU and Moldova still need to sign the AA for it to come into full force. Moldova's pro-European coalition government suffers from low approval ratings after a series of political scandals and coalition infighting; its loss to the opposition Communist Party in the upcoming parliamentary election could delay or derail the country's EU integration course. A settlement of Moldova's conflict with its separatist region of Transnistria is highly unlikely during 2014 as they remain far apart on key issues and show no real willingness to compromise. Transnistria and its primary political and financial backer Russia oppose Moldova's EU integration; they also have little interest in resolving the ongoing conflict because that would remove a key obstacle to Moldova's European integration and risk reducing the influence Russia retains over Moldova.

In **Belarus**, the Lukashenko regime has managed to obtain the acquiescence of the Belarusian public, thanks largely to his regime's clampdown on civil society and also to Russian largesse which has enabled relatively stable standards of living. Lukashenko has done so despite a structurally flawed, centralized economy that leaves Minsk perpetually on the edge of economic crisis and in need of foreign financial assistance to stay afloat. Lukashenko's economic model has become increasingly unsustainable since his regime's crackdown on mass protests following the presidential election in December 2010. Continued repression of civil society has left him increasingly isolated from the West and with decreased leverage to resist Moscow's economic conditions.

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Haiti

Stability in Haiti will remain fragile due to extreme poverty and weak governing institutions. Meaningful long-term reconstruction and development in Haiti will need to continue for many years. Haiti remains vulnerable to setbacks in its reconstruction and development goals due to the possibility of natural disasters. Food insecurity, although improving, also has the potential to be a destabilizing factor. Periods of political gridlock have resulted due to distrust between President Michel Martelly, in office since May 2011, and opponents in Parliament. Martelly is generally still popular, but politically organized protests, possibly violent, might occur before the elections, scheduled for 2014.

During the next decade, Haiti will remain highly dependent on assistance from the international community for security, in particular during elections. Donor fatigue among contributors to the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), however, will likely lead to reductions in force, evident by the 2013 mandate which calls for consolidating and downsizing forces. Although the Haitian National Police is making progress on its plans to increase force size from 10,000 in 2011 to 15,000 by 2016, the larger force will probably still need support from MINUSTAH to provide for its own security.

Central America

Central America's northern tier countries—El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras—will likely struggle to overcome the economic and security problems that plague the region. All three countries are facing debt crises and falling government revenues because of slow economic growth, widespread tax evasion, and large informal economies. Entrenched political, economic, and public-sector interests resist reforms. Domestic criminal gangs and transnational organized crime groups, as well as Central America's status as a major transit area for cocaine from source countries in South America, are fueling record levels of violence in the region. Regional governments have worked to improve citizen security but with little-to-moderate success.

- The gang truce in effect in El Salvador since March 2012 has reduced the homicide rate there, mostly among gang members. However, other crimes such as kidnappings, robberies, and extortion are undermining security for many citizens.
- Guatemala still has one of the world's highest murder rates despite lessened impunity for violent crimes during the past several years. Many areas of the country, particularly along the borders, are under the direct influence of drug traffickers.
- The homicide rate in Honduras remains the highest in the world. New Honduran President Juan Orlando Hernandez will likely prioritize security policy and seek to build a coalition within the divided legislature to push his economic reform agenda. However, weak governance, widespread corruption, and debt problems will limit prospects for a turnaround.

EUROPE

Key Partnerships

Ongoing US-EU Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) negotiations, European Parliament (EP) elections, the withdrawal of Allied forces from Afghanistan, and new leadership in the EU and NATO will create new dynamics in the transatlantic partnership in 2014.

- Europeans likely recognize the need to isolate the TTIP negotiations from the other issue areas. The TTIP has high potential for generating economic growth for both the United States and Europe and for reinforcing the transatlantic link. However, data privacy will probably become a political issue in the runup to the May 2014 EP elections; some opponents of TTIP might use the unauthorized disclosures of NSA information as political cover for their opposition to the TTIP.
- The NATO Summit in September 2014 will be an opportunity to reinforce NATO's purpose, as well as announce a new Secretary General.

Imbalances in the euro zone and slow economic growth in Europe are changing the political economy in Europe, potentially spurring support for nationalist and populist political parties.

- Radical nationalist and populist political parties are gaining ground in several western and central European countries and will probably do well in the May 2014 EP elections. In November 2013, two far-right parties—the Dutch Freedom Party and France’s Front National—announced that they would cooperate in the EP elections and hope to form a new Euroskeptic bloc, probably linking up with similar parties in Central Europe. Public fears over immigration and Islam, alienation from EU policies, and perceptions that centrist parties are unable to deal with high unemployment and income inequalities will increase the resonance of the rhetoric of far-right and far-left radical parties.

Turkey

Turkey’s foreign and security policy will be shaped by domestic events, especially the ongoing corruption scandal. Furthermore, the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP), led by Prime Minister Erdogan, will be in election mode for municipal and presidential elections in 2014 and parliamentary elections in early 2015. The corruption allegations initiated in December 2013, allegedly by elements within the AKP associated with Muslim cleric Fetullah Gulen, represent the greatest challenge to Erdogan. Ankara will continue to pursue foreign policy objectives that maximize economic advantage for Turkey while proceeding with caution on issues that could alienate Turkey’s nationalist voters. Erdogan’s pursuit of a peace deal with the Turkish-Kurdish terrorist group Kurdistan People’s Congress (KGK, formerly PKK) also risks antagonizing Turkish nationalists and neighboring governments. Erdogan is pursuing a multifaceted strategy of promoting domestic reforms and engaging the Kurds to end the armed KGK insurgency in Turkey. The protracted Syrian conflict is generating an increased extremist presence in Turkey, the primary transit country for foreign militants seeking to join the fight in Syria. It is also raising the potential for unsanctioned or opportunistic attacks by supporters of the Bashir al-Asad regime.

The Western Balkans

Despite many positive developments in the Western Balkans in 2013, the region in 2014 will continue to be characterized by deep ethnic and political divisions. The situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) and ethnic cleavages in Macedonia are particularly volatile.

- In Bosnia-Herzegovina, different interpretations of the political framework, based on the 1995 Dayton Accords, as well as efforts by Bosniak, Croat, and Serb leaders to maintain control over their political and ethnic fiefdoms will continue to undermine BiH’s central state institutions. Elections in 2014 will not likely bridge these differences, diminishing hopes for BiH’s Euro-Atlantic integration that its neighbors have achieved.
- The Macedonian Government continues to push programs geared to promote ethnic Macedonian nationalism at the expense of the country’s Euro-Atlantic integration. The longer that Macedonia’s EU and NATO membership paths remain stalled over the country’s constitutional name dispute with Greece and poor bilateral relations with Bulgaria, the greater the risk that ethnic tensions will increase.