

Asociación de Colegios de Defensa
Iberoamericanos (ACDIA)

idn Instituto
da Defesa Nacional - PORTUGAL

XI Seminario ACDIA 21 de marzo de 2023

Concepto de frontera en um contexto multidominio: tierra, mar, aire, espaço e cybernético

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Índice

- Reflexiones básicas sobre "frontera"
- Transformaciones en la seguridad internacional con implicaciones en la frontera y la soberanía estatal
- Caracterización del sistema de seguridad internacional
- Principales transformaciones de la geopolítica mundial
- ¿Qué noción de frontera y qué fronteras en el nuevo orden?

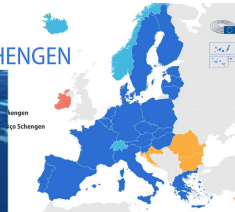
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Frontera

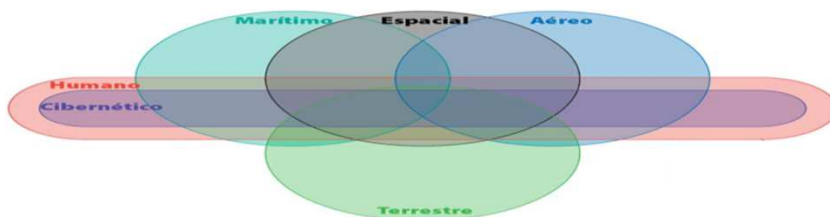
- Línea real o artificial que separa zonas geográficas
- Las fronteras definen el control del poder político + el espacio de soberanía + delimitan la seguridad interior vs a la internacional; y los movimientos internacionales y transnacionales
- Fronteras más abiertas (p. ej., UE y Schengen) o totalmente cerradas y militarizadas (p. ej., Península de Corea)
- Fronteras geográficas vs fronteras culturales (lengua, religión, etnia, diásporas)
- Fronteras nacionales vs fronteras de seguridad y defensa, economía, cultura



ESPAÇO SCHENGEN



Frontera (y combate) Multidominio

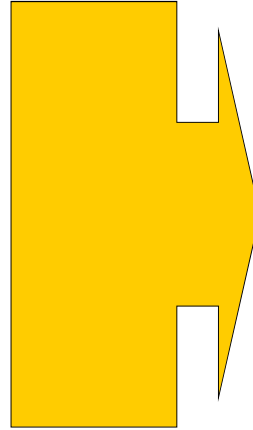


- Las fronteras son dinámicas y para muchos su ampliación es sinónimo de mayor poder
- La **"securitización de las fronteras"**, vigilancia y control de los flujos de personas, bienes, servicios, capitales... >>> importancia de la territorialidad, la autoridad y la seguridad
- Fronteras y zonas de soberanía en disputa
- Debates sobre la violabilidad de las fronteras y la soberanía
- **Bienes comunes mundiales/global commons**
- As distintas fronteiras no espaço e ciberespaço?



Transformaciones en la seguridad internacional

Nuevos actores
 Nuevas referencias
 Nueva tipología de conflictos
 Nuevos riesgos y amenazas
 Nuevos instrumentos
 Nuevos enfoques
 Multilateralismo



**DILUCIÓN DE LOS
 CONCEPTOS
 TRADICIONALES DE
 FRONTERA Y
 SOBERANÍA**

Erosión de la dicotomía entre las
 dimensiones interna y externa de la seguridad

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«... Somos un estado soberano, así que todo lo que dijo este individuo no le concierne... Hacemos lo que queremos con nuestros socialistas, nuestros pacifistas, nuestros judíos y *no tenemos que someternos al control ni de la humanidad ni del SDN*» (Joseph Goebels, SDN, [1933](#))

Erosión de la soberanía del Estado

«(...) *ninguna potencia estatal puede volver a dejar de respetar los derechos de sus ciudadanos y de sus minorías porque la comunidad internacional reaccionaría (...) la soberanía del individuo estaría en juego frente a la soberanía del Estado*»!

(Koffi Annan, AG-ONU, [Set. 1999](#))

Derecho a la intervención humanitaria (Kosovo, 1999)

Corte Penal Internacional-CPI / Tribunal Penal Internacional-TPI (2002)

Responsabilidad de proteger (AG de la ONU, septiembre de 2005)

Derecho de injerencia antiterrorista (invasión de Afganistán, 2002; muerte de Bin Laden, 2011; coalición estadounidense en Siria, 2014-20 + incursión armada de Turquía en Siria, 2015-20)

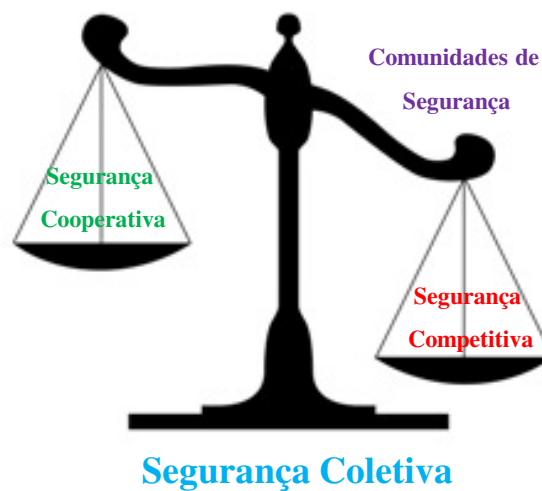
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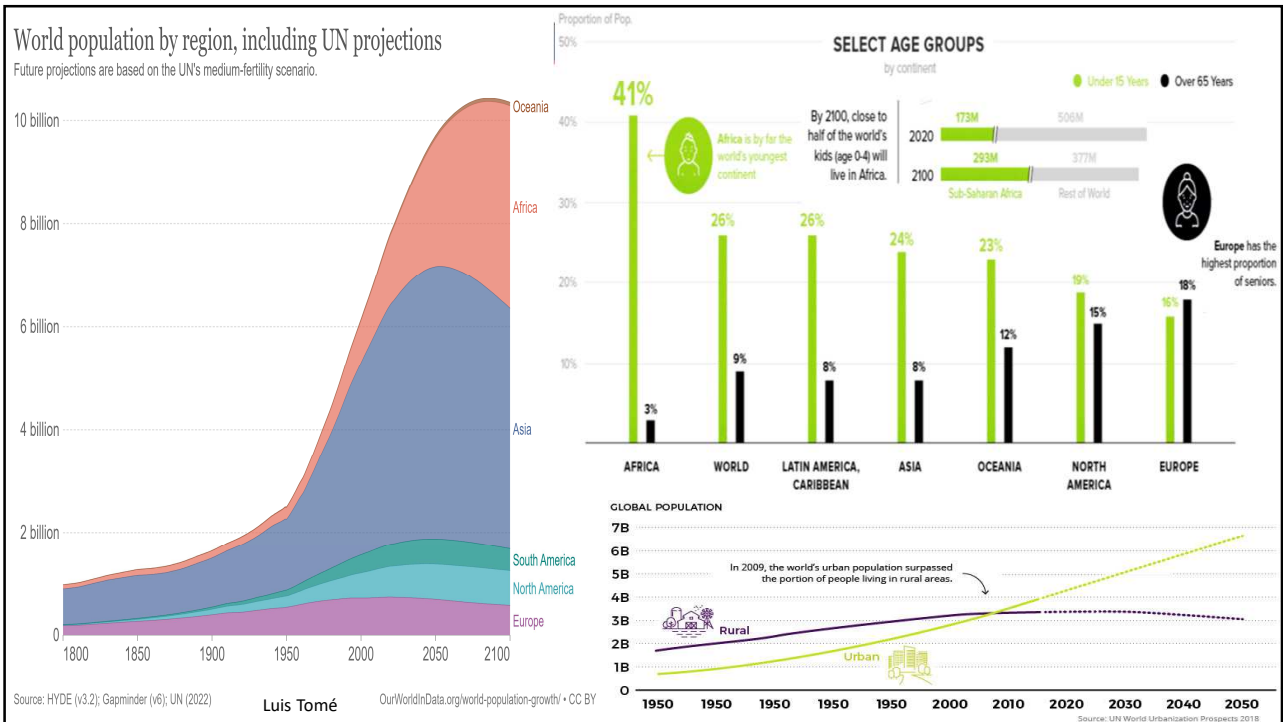
Sistemas de Seguridad Internacional

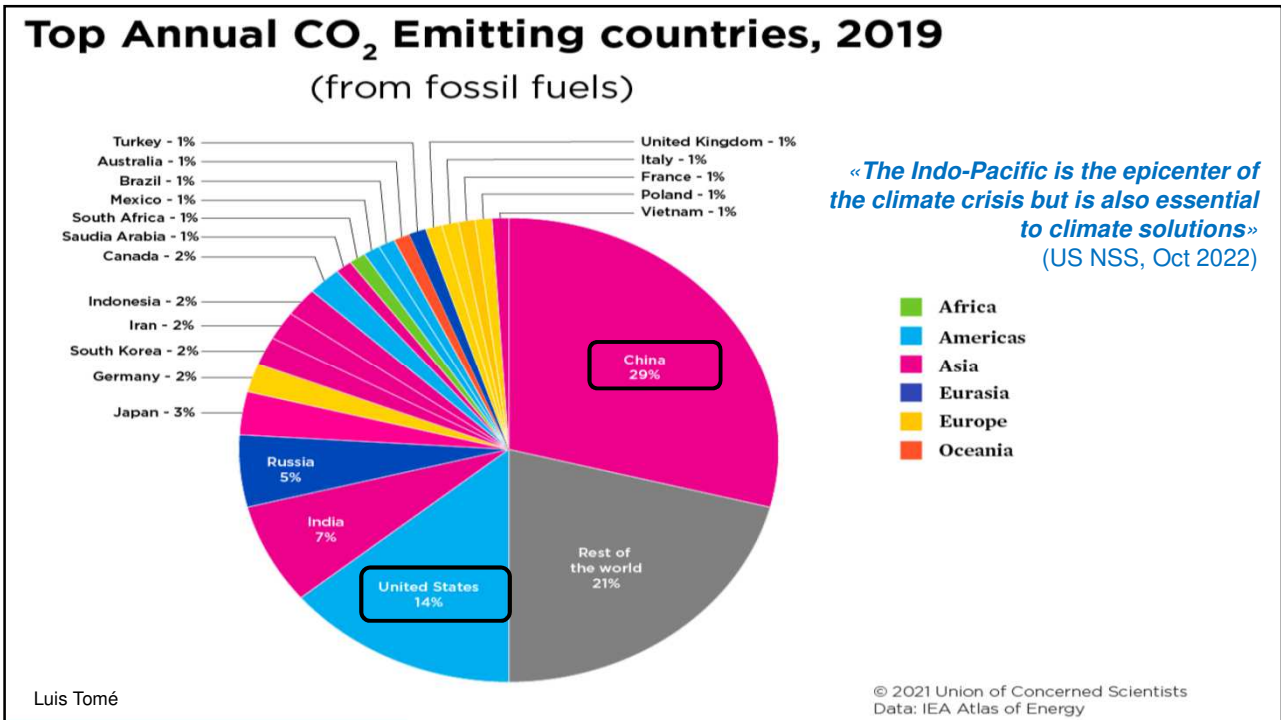
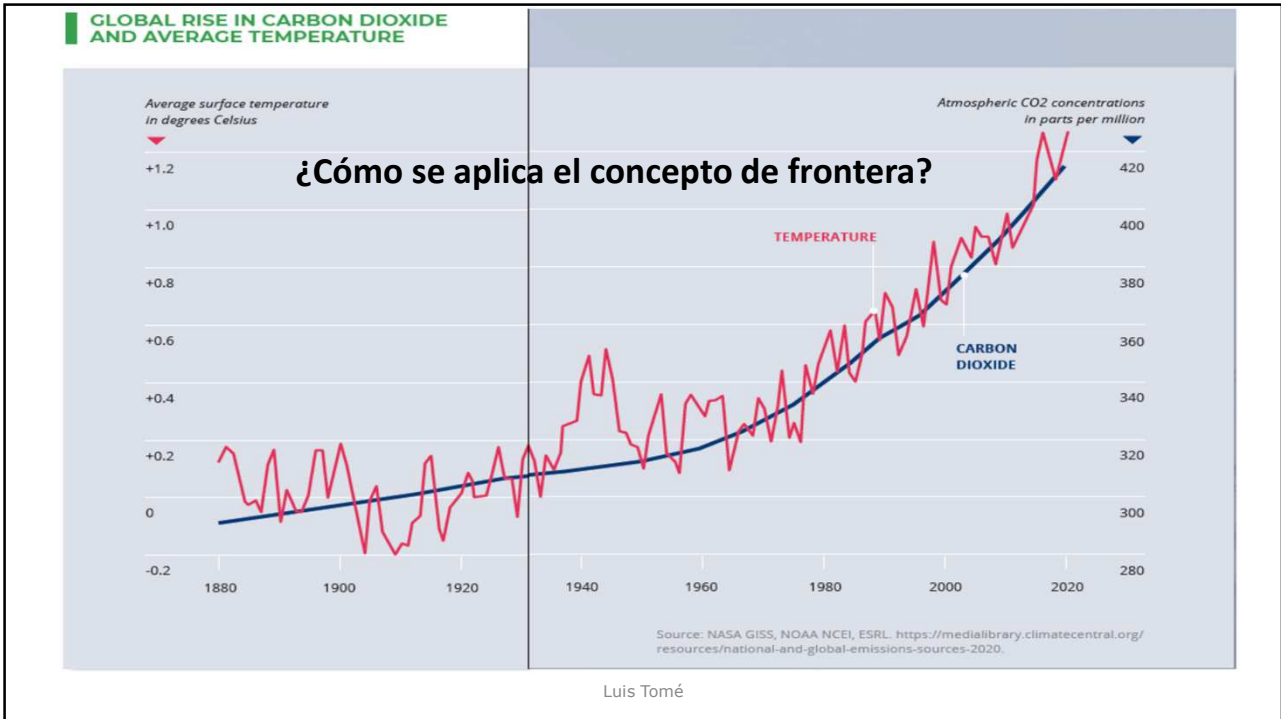
- Seguridad Competitiva
- Seguridad Colectiva
- Seguridad Cooperativa
- Comunidad de Seguridad

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COMPLEJO DE SEGURIDAD INTERNACIONAL





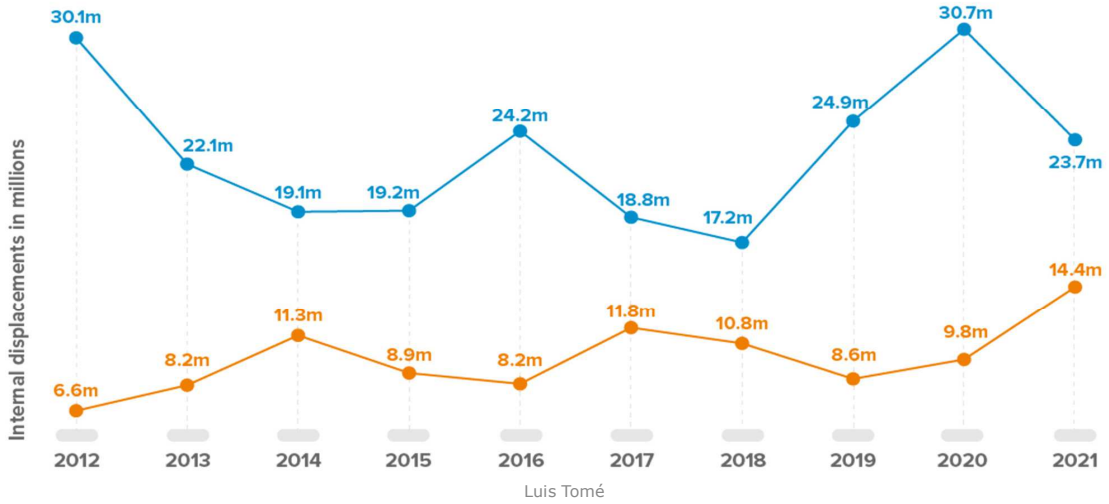


Internal displacements breakdown by conflict and disasters in 2021



● Conflict and violence ● Disasters

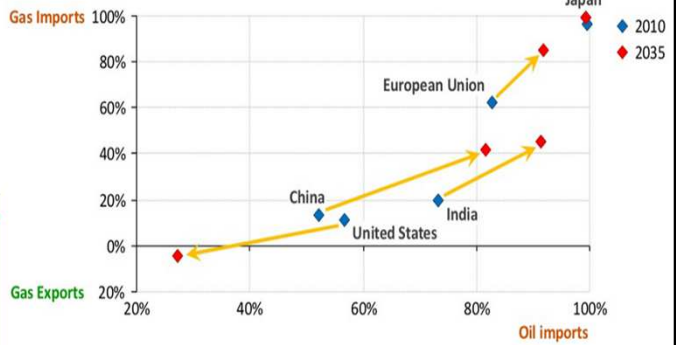
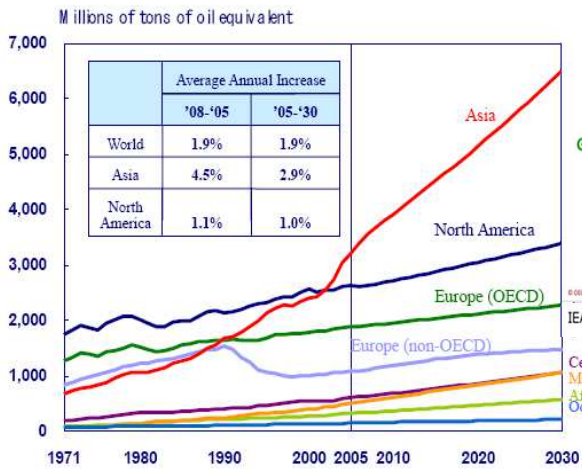
Presión migratoria en las fronteras terrestres + marítimas y aéreas...



Interdependencias que generan dependencias...

Net oil & gas import dependency in selected countries

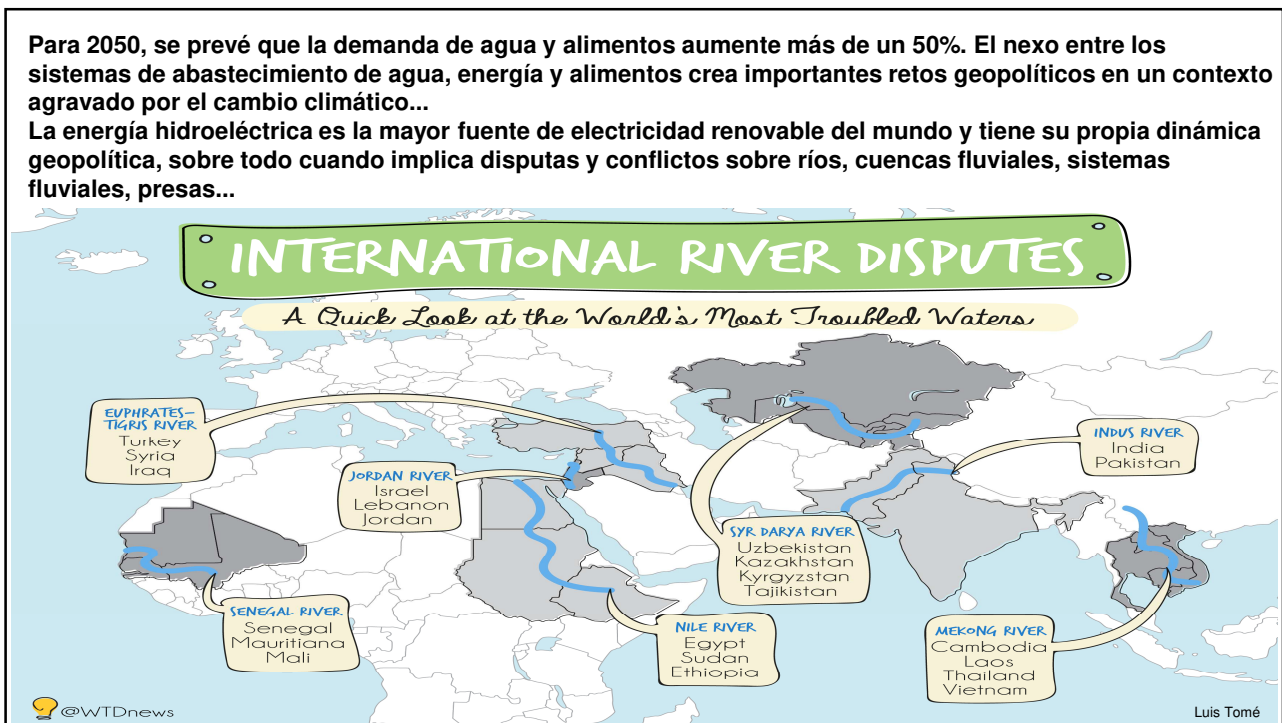
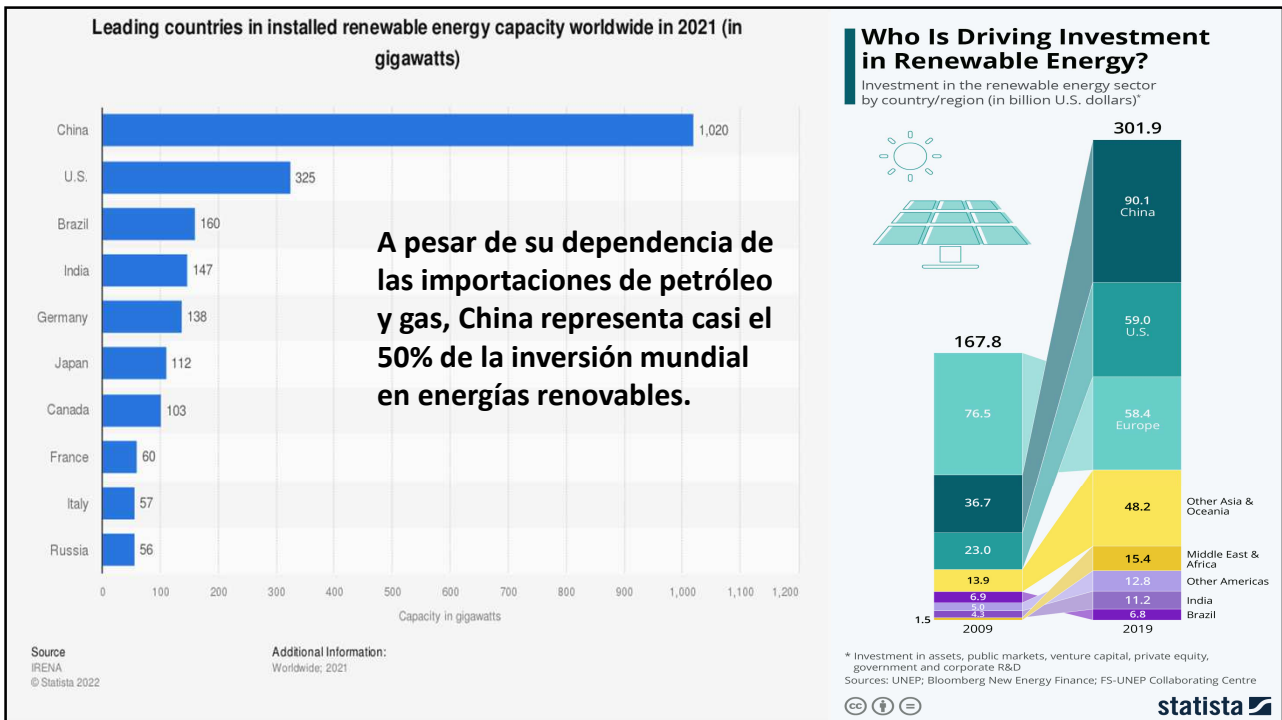
Figure 2-1 Global primary energy demand (by region)

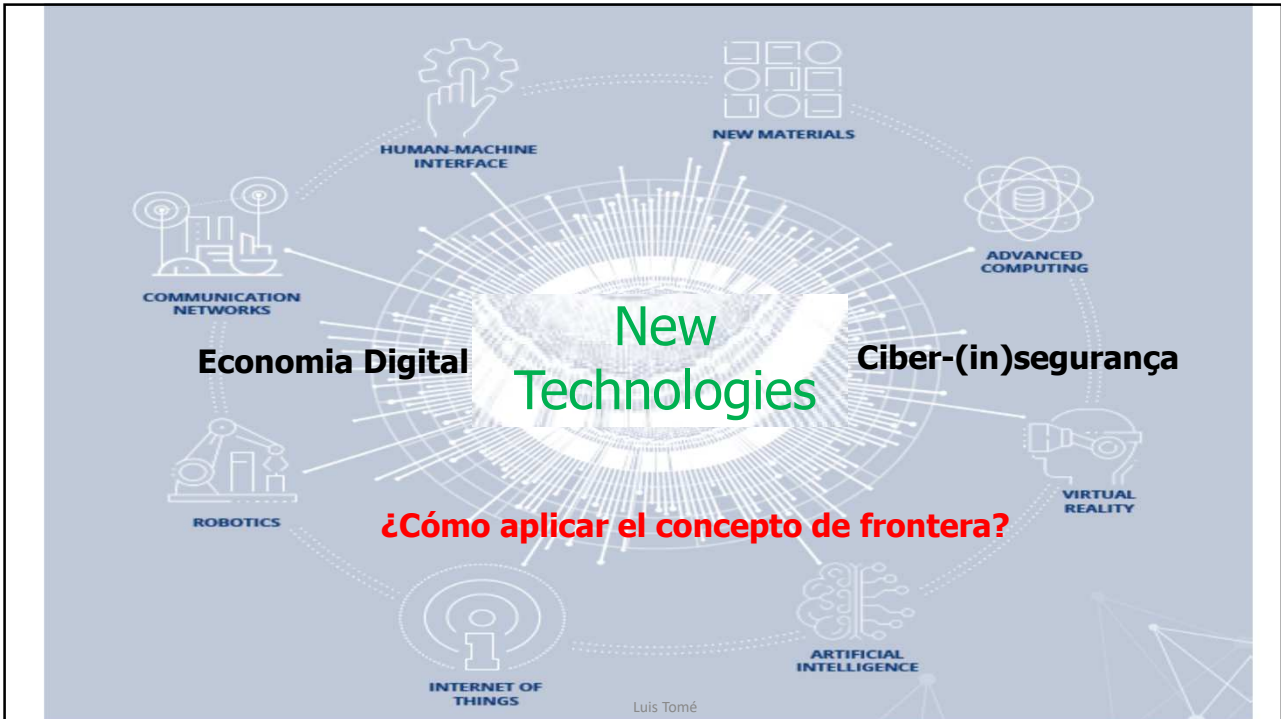


While dependence on imported oil & gas rises in many countries, the United States swims against the tide

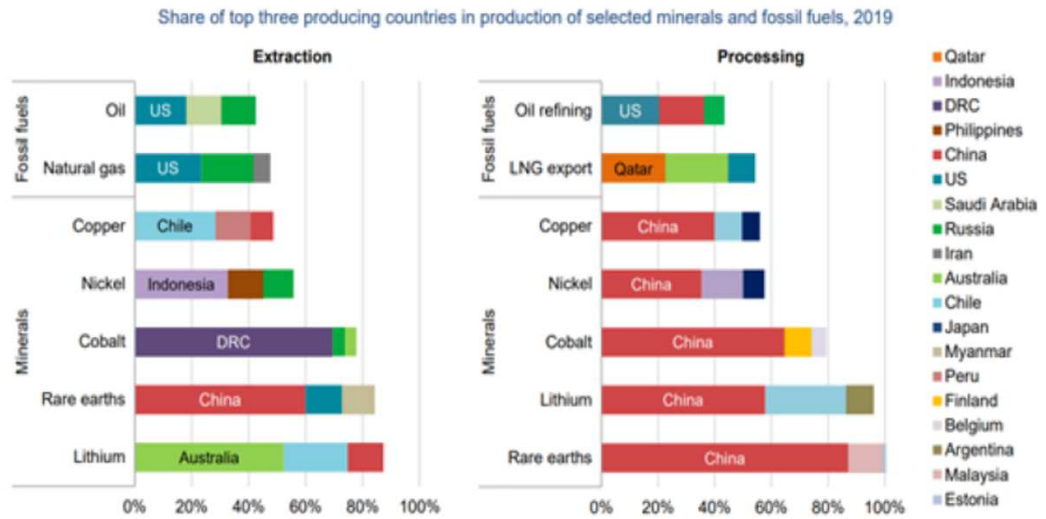
IEA, World Energy Outlook
Central and South America
Middle East
Africa
Oceania

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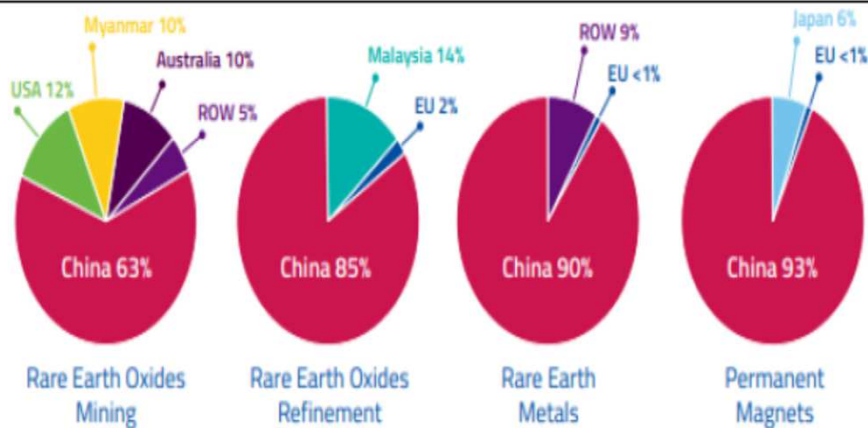
Concentration production of raw materials vs fossil fuels



Source: European Commission, *EU strategic dependencies and capacities: second stage of in-depth reviews*, 22.2.2022

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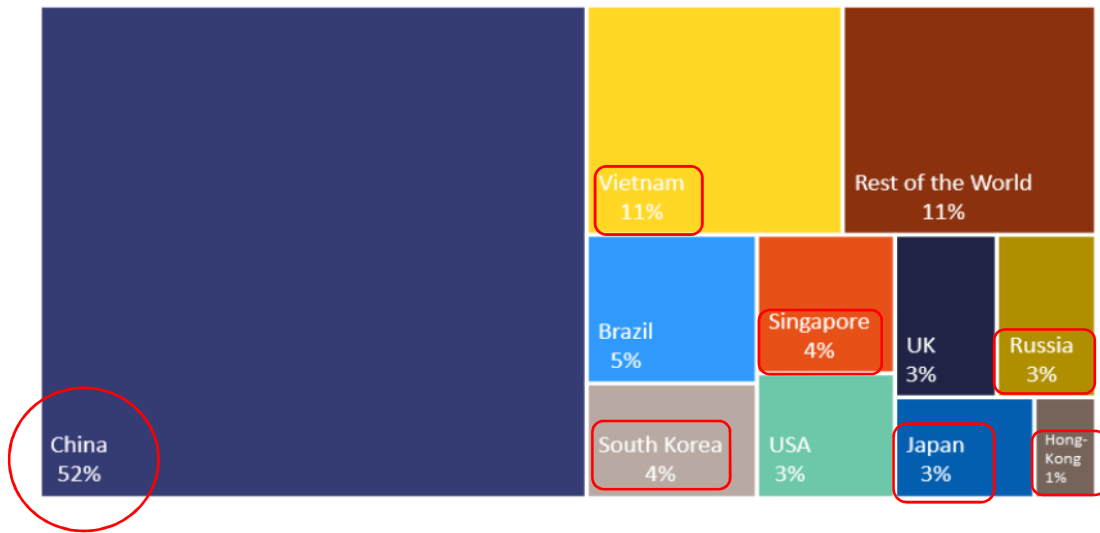
Chinese dominance over the rare earth permanent magnets value chain



Source: European Commission, *EU strategic dependencies and capacities: second stage of in-depth reviews*, 22.2.2022

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Graph 8: Share of EU imports value of dependent products



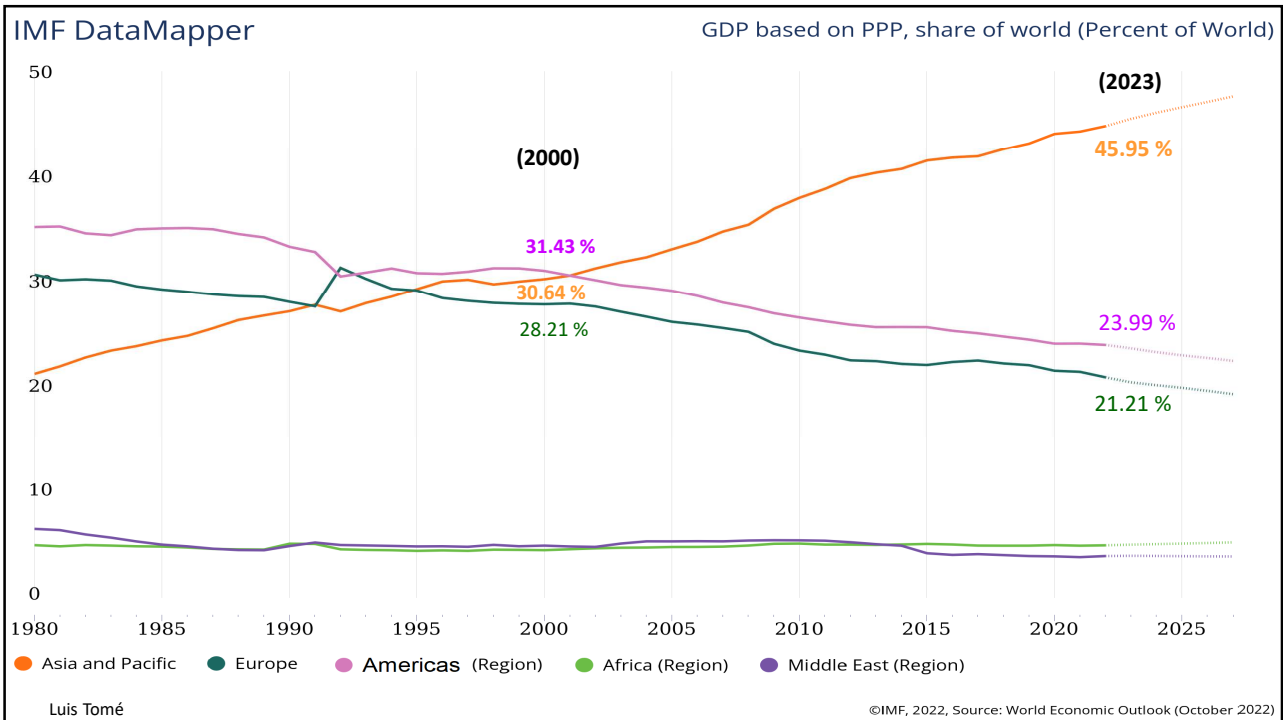
Source: European Commission, **Strategic dependencies and capacities**. Accompanying the Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. *Updating the 2020 New Industrial Strategy: Building a stronger Single Market for Europe's recovery*. Brussels, 5.5.2021

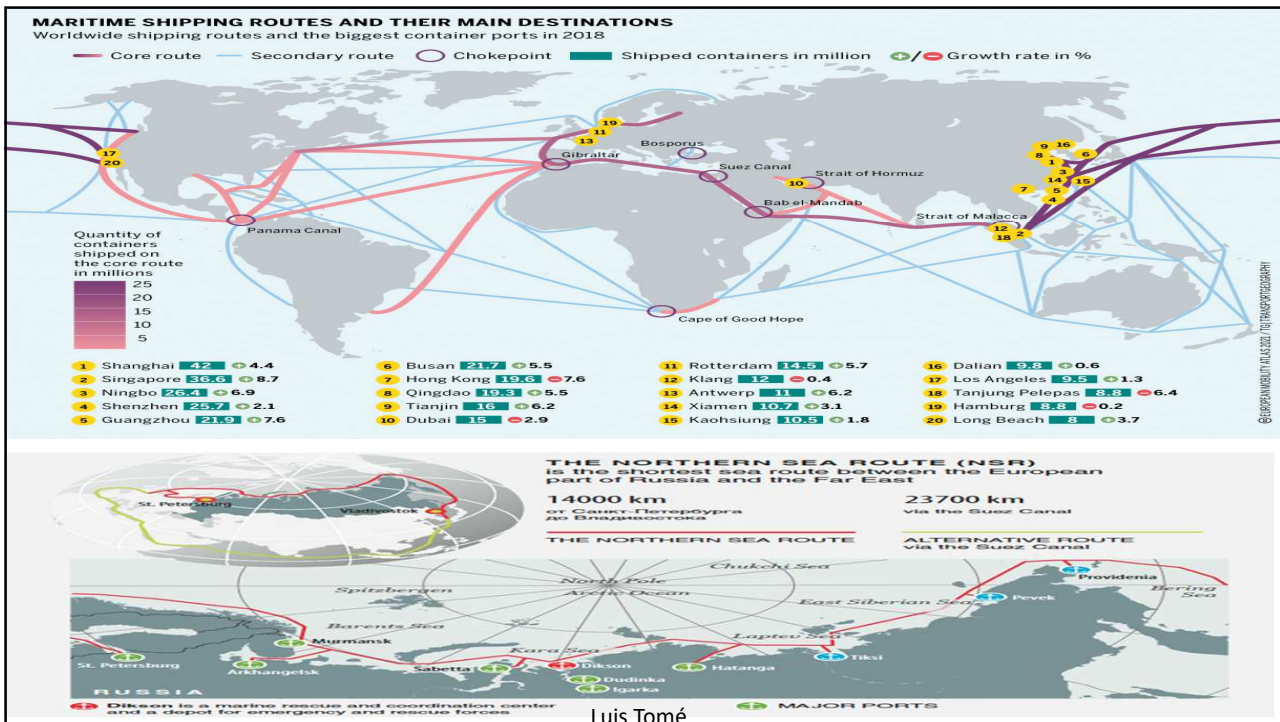
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Centralidad de Asia-Pacífico en la geopolítica mundial



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Military expenditure by region in constant US dollars © SIPRI 2022

in US\$ b., at constant 2021 prices and exchange rates

Region	1988	1998	2008	2018	2021
World total	1521,3	1064,2	1654,0	1859,0	2006,6
Africa	15,2	13,4	30,4	34,7	36,9
North Africa	3,1	4,9	8,8	16,4	18,0
Sub-Saharan Africa	12,1	8,6	21,7	18,4	18,8
Americas	726,3	505,3	849,4	778,8	845,8
Central A. & the Caribbean	3,9	4,0	5,0	7,6	10,0
North America	695,2	474,9	807,9	726,0	791,8
South America	27,2	26,3	36,5	45,2	44,1
Asia and Oceania	137,9	182,1	300,0	494,9	553,1
Central Asia	0,0	0,3	1,1	1,6	1,7
East Asia	83,8	112,3	190,9	336,8	385,7
Oceania	14,1	15,4	21,3	28,0	31,6
South Asia	25,6	33,1	56,1	87,8	90,8
South-East Asia	14,5	21,0	30,5	40,7	43,2
Europe	571,6	273,8	333,9	345,9	392,6
Central Europe	32,4	18,1	21,4	28,0	34,4
Eastern Europe	260,0	16,2	49,7	65,7	73,2
Western Europe	279,2	239,6	262,8	252,2	285,1
Middle East	70,4	89,6	140,3	204,7	178,2

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The 40 countries with the highest military expenditure in 2021

Rank 2021	Country	Spending (\$ b.), 2021	Change (%)		Spending as a share of GDP (%) ^b		World share (%), 2021
			2020-21	2012-21	2021	2012	
1	United States	801	-1.4	-6.1	3.5	4.5	38
2	China	[293]	4.7	72	[1.7]	[1.7]	[14]
3	India	76.6	0.9	33	2.7	2.6	3.6
4	United Kingdom	68.4	3.0	3.7	2.2	2.4	3.2
5	Russia	65.9	2.9	11	4.1	3.7	3.1
9	Japan	54.1	7.3	18	1.1	1.0	2.6
10	South Korea	50.2	4.7	43	2.8	2.5	2.4
12	Australia	31.8	4.0	42	2.0	1.7	1.5
21	Taiwan	13.0	1.4	7.9	1.7	2.1	0.6
23	Pakistan	11.3	-0.7	47	3.8	3.5	0.5
24	Singapore	11.1	7.1	24	3.0	3.1	0.5
29	Indonesia	8.3	-15	35	0.7	0.7	0.4
33	Thailand	6.6	-8.5	16	1.3	1.4	0.3

SIPRI, Trends in World Military Expenditure. 25 April 2022

Aumentos oficiales de los presupuestos de defensa en 2023 (en comparación con 2022)

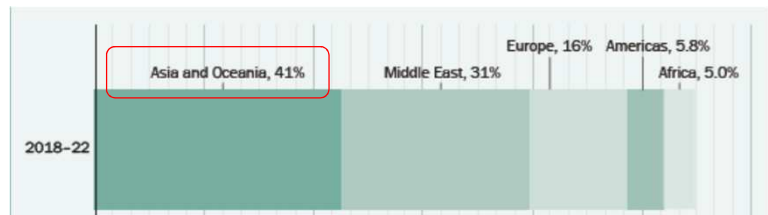
Japão: 26,3% (++ 2% do PIB até 2027)

Austrália: 14%

Índia: 13%

EUA: 8% (quase 4% do PIB)

China: 7,2% (1,7% do PIB; 5,5% despesas públicas)

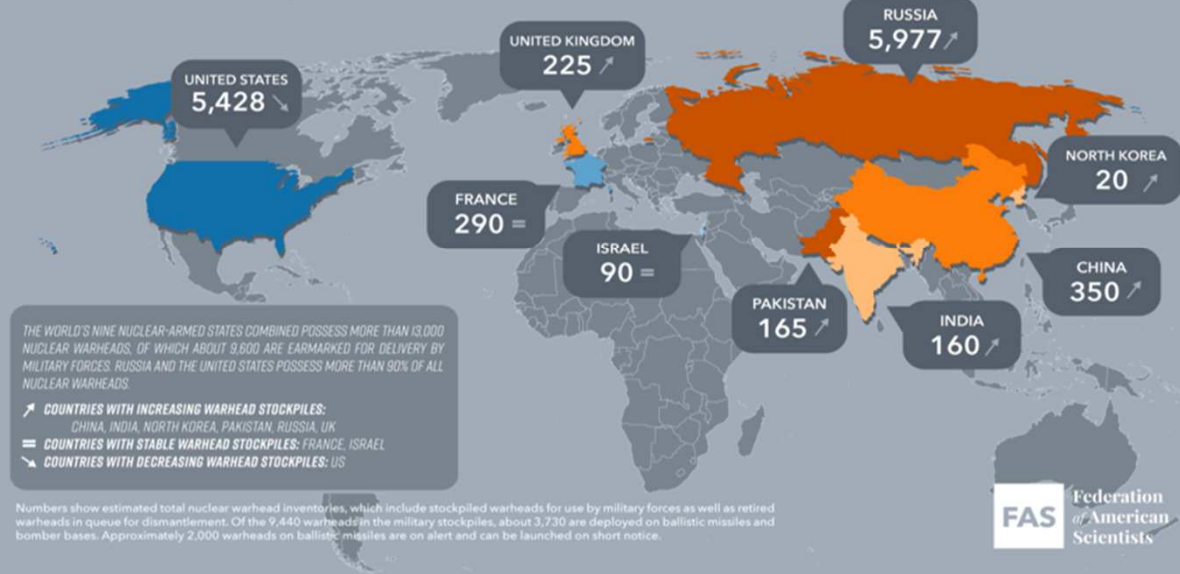


SIPRI, Trends in International Arms Transfers, 13 MAR 2023

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ESTIMATED GLOBAL NUCLEAR WARHEAD INVENTORIES, 2022

Hans M. Kristensen and Matt Korda, 2022



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10 Conflicts to Watch in 2023

1. Ukraine
2. Armenia and Azerbaijan
3. Iran
4. Yemen
5. Ethiopia
6. DR Congo and the Great Lakes
7. The Sahel
8. Haiti
9. Pakistan
10. Taiwan

INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP:
<https://www.crisisgroup.org/global/10-conflicts-watch-2023>

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WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM:

<https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2022/12/the-20-humanitarian-crises-the-world-cannot-ignore-in-2023-and-what-to-do-about-them/>

Selected Chinese Territorial Claims



— Chinese claim line, the so-called 'nine-dash line'
 ○ Disputed islands
 ... Exclusive economic zones based on the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea

CHINA TAIWAN
 VIETNAM PHILIPPINES
 MALAYSIA BRUNEI MALAYSIA
 South China Sea
 Paracel Islands
 Scarborough Shoal
 Spratly Islands

«**China's claims to historic rights, or other sovereign rights or jurisdiction, with respect to the maritime areas of the South China Sea encompassed by the relevant part of the 'nine-dash line' are contrary to the Convention [UNCLOS] and without lawful effect**»
 (PCA, 2016: 473, X.B.2)

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creating "a Sino-centric world"

BELT & ROAD INITIATIVE (2013)

Rotterdam Duisburg Venice Istanbul Athens Samarkand Tehran Dushanbe Bishkek Almaty Hubeiguosi Urumqi Lanzhou Xian Fuzhou Quanzhou Zhanjiang Haitou Beijing Hanoi Colombo Kuala Lumpur Jakarta

— Silk Road Economic Belt
 — Maritime Silk Road Initiative

Brazil - Russia - India - China - South Africa

Novo Banco de Desenvolvimento

- ++Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB)
- ++Silk Road Fund
- ++Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation
- Global Energy Interconnection (2016)**
- Global Development Initiative (2021)**
- Global Security Initiative (April 2022)**
- Global Civilization Initiative (March 2023)**

Shanghai Cooperation Organization (2001)

- Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC)
- China-Arab States Cooperation Forum
- Forum China - Community of Latin American and Caribbean States
- Boao Forum for Asia
- Conference on Dialogue of Asian Civilizations
- Macao Forum
- China + 16 CEE (Central and Eastern Europe) and Greece

RCEP
 Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership

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«After the collapse of the USSR, **Russia**, which was known as the **Soviet Union** or **Soviet Russia** abroad, lost 23.8 percent of **its** national territory, 48.5 percent of **its** population, 41 of the GDP, 39.4 percent of **its** industrial potential (nearly half of our potential, I would underscore), as well as 44.6 percent of **its** military capability due to the division of the Soviet Armed Forces among the former Soviet republics»

(President V. Putin, 2018)

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«Ukrainians and Russians are one people...

I am becoming more and more convinced of this: Kyiv simply does not need Donbas...

I am confident that true sovereignty of Ukraine is possible only in partnership with Russia.»

Putin's article "On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians", July 2021 published on the Kremlin's website in Russian, English and Ukrainian

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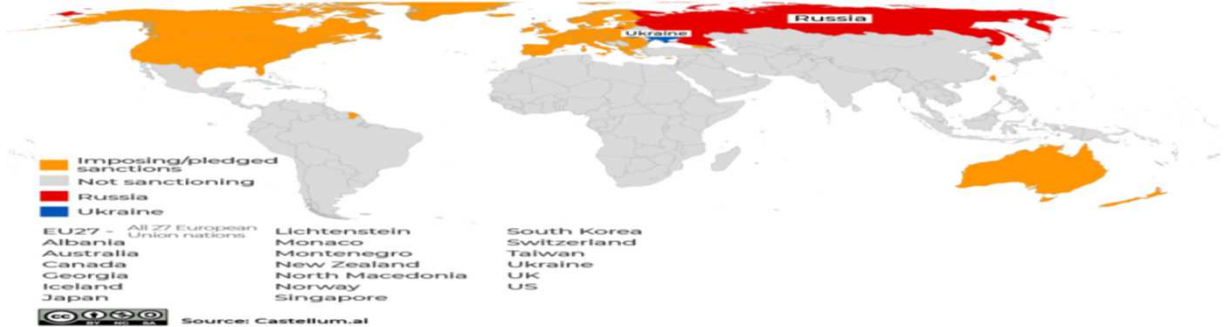


32 países forneceram armas e equipamentos militares à Ucrânia
40 países comprometeram-se com assistência militar, financeira e humanitária à Ucrânia
46 países impuseram sanções à Rússia ou adotaram sanções impostas pelos, EUA, G7 e UE

RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR

Which countries have sanctioned Russia?

At least 46 countries or territories have imposed sanctions on Russia, or pledged to adopt a combination of US and EU sanctions.



VER MAIS EM:

UK Parliament-House of Commons Library, *Military assistance to Ukraine since the Russian invasion*, 15 FEB 2023.

[url:https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-9477/](https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-9477/) ;

Kiel Institute, *Ukraine Support Tracker Data*: <https://www.ifw-kiel.de/publications/data-sets/ukraine-support-tracker-data-17410/>)

Castellum.Ai, url: <https://www.castellum.ai/russia-sanctions-dashboard>

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23 FEB 2023 UNGA's resolution

Voting Started		2/23/2023		3:38:56 PM	
Item 5 - draft resolution A/ES-11/L.7					
Principles of the Charter of the United Nations underlying a comprehensive, just and					
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> AFGHANISTAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> CAMEROON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> FINLAND	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> KUWAIT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NEPAL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SAUDI ARABIA
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ALBANIA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> CANADA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> FRANCE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> KYRGYZSTAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NETHERLANDS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SENEGAL
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<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ARGENTINA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> COLOMBIA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> GHANA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> LIBERIA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NORTH MAC...	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SLOVAKIA
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<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> AUSTRALIA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> CONGO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> GRENADA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> LIECHTENSTEIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> OMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SOLOMON IS...
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> AUSTRIA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> COSTA RICA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> GUATEMALA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> LITHUANIA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> PAKISTAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SOMALIA
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> AZERBAIJAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> COTE D'IVOIRE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> GUINEA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> LUXEMBOURG	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> PALAU	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SOUTH AFRICA
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> BAHAMAS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> CROATIA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> GUINEA-BISS...	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MADAGASCAR	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> PANAMA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SOUTH SUDAN
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> BAHRAIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> CUBA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> GUYANA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MALAWI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> PAPUA NEW ...	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SPAIN
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> BANGLADESH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> CYPRUS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> HAITI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MALAYSIA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> PARAGUAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SRI LANKA
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> BARBADOS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> CZECHIA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> HONDURAS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MALDIVES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> PERU	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SUDAN
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> BELARUS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> DEM PR OF K...	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> HUNGARY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MALI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> PHILIPPINES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SURINAME
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<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> BELIZE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> DENMARK	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> INDIA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MARSHALL IS...	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> PORTUGAL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SWITZERLAND
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<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> BHUTAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> DOMINICA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> IRAN (ISLAMI...	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MAURITIUS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> REP OF KOREA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> TAJIKISTAN
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> BOLIVIA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> DOMINICAN ...	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> IRAQ	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MEXICO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> REP OF MOL...	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> THAILAND
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> BOSNIA-HER...	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ECUADOR	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> IRELAND	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MICRONESIA...	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ROMANIA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> TIMOR-LESTE
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> BOTSWANA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> EGYPT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ISRAEL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MONACO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> RUSSIAN FED...	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> TOGO
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> BRAZIL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> EL SALVADOR	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ITALY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MONGOLIA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> RWANDA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> TONGA
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> BRUNEI DAR...	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> EQUATORIAL...	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> JAMAICA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MONTENEGRO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SAINT KITTS...	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> TRINIDAD-TO...
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> BULGARIA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ERITREA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> JAPAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MOROCCO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SAINT LUCIA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> TRINIDAD...
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> BURKINA FASO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ESTONIA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> JORDAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MOZAMBIQUE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SAINT VINCE...	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> TURKMENIST...
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> BURUNDI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ESWATINI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> KAZAKHSTAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MYANMAR	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SAMOA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> TUVALU
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> CABO VERDE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ETHIOPIA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> KENYA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NAMIBIA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SAN MARINO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> TURKEY
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> CAMBODIA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> FIJI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> KIRIBATI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NAURU	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SAO TOME-P...	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> UGANDA
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> IN FAVOUR: 141	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> AGAINST: 7	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ABSTENTION: 32			

Cinco resoluciones de la AGNU sobre Ucrania y Rusia 2022-23: cerca de un centenar de países votaron a favor de todas, entre ellos Afganistán o Myanmar; 47 países votaron a favor o se abstuvieron en al menos una de las resoluciones, entre ellos Angola, Brasil, Cabo Verde o México y Bahréin, Brunei, Yemen o Sudán del Sur; 19 votaron en contra o se abstuvieron en al menos una de las resoluciones; y 16 países se abstuvieron en las cinco resoluciones, entre ellos Sudáfrica, India, Mozambique, Mongolia y Pakistán.

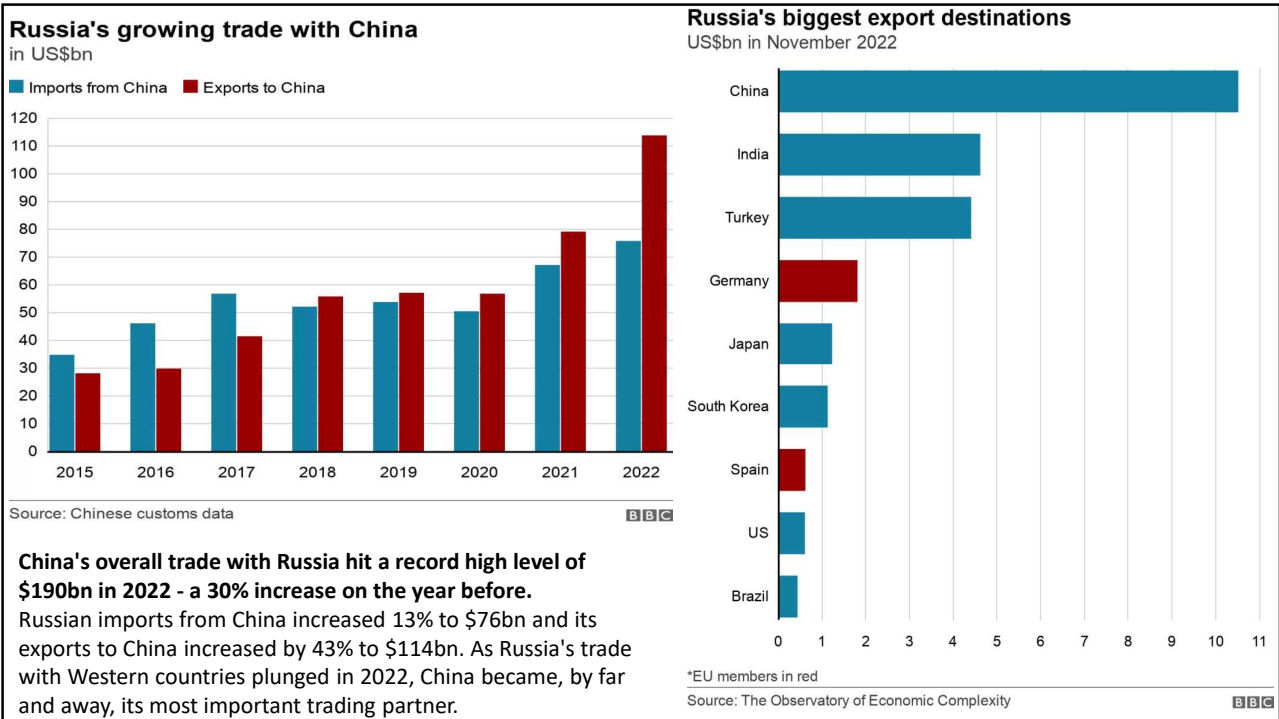


Table 2. The 40 largest importers of major arms and their main suppliers, 2018–22

Percentages below 10 are rounded to 1 decimal place; percentages over 10 are rounded to whole numbers.

Rank	Importer	Share of global arms imports (%)		Per cent change from 2013–17 to 2018–22 ^a	Main suppliers and their share of importer's total imports (%), 2018–22		
		2018–22	2013–17		1st	2nd	3rd
1	India	11	12	-11	Russia 45	France 29	USA 11
2	Saudi Arabia	9.6	10	-8.7	USA 78	France 6.4	Spain 4.9
3	Qatar	6.4	1.5	311	USA 42	France 29	Italy 14
4	Australia	4.7	3.6	23	USA 73	Spain 19	Switzerland 3.0
5	China	4.6	4.2	4.1	Russia 83	France 8.1	Ukraine 5.6
6	Egypt	4.5	4.5	-5.3	Russia 34	Italy 19	France 19
7	South Korea	3.7	2.2	61	USA 71	Germany 19	France 7.9
8	Pakistan	3.7	3.0	14	China 77	Sweden 5.1	Russia 3.6
9	Japan	3.5	1.2	171	USA 97	UK 1.9	Sweden 0.3
10	United States	2.7	2.0	31	UK 24	Netherlands 13	France 11
19	Türkiye	1.3	2.4	-49	Italy 35	Spain 20	Russia 19
20	Singapore	1.3	1.4	-14	France 52	USA 26	UK 7.6
21	Thailand	1.0	0.9	-1.1	South Korea 33	China 14	USA 10
22	Brazil	0.9	0.6	48	France 39	UK 14	Sweden 13
23	Philippines	0.9	0.5	64	South Korea 42	Israel 22	USA 15
24	Indonesia	0.9	2.7	-69	South Korea 32	USA 26	France 12
25	Bangladesh	0.9	1.6	-48	China 74	UK 5.8	Türkiye 4.5
26	Poland	0.9	0.5	64	USA 56	South Korea 17	Germany 6.5
27	Viet Nam	0.8	2.8	-72	Russia 55	Israel 16	Belarus 10
28	Italy	0.8	1.3	-41	USA 92	Israel 4.4	France 2.0
29	Morocco	0.8	1.1	-30	USA 76	France 15	China 6.8
30	Myanmar	0.8	0.8	-3.0	Russia 42	China 29	India 14

SIPRI, Trends in International Arms Transfers, 13 MAR 2023

CHINA'S POSITION ON THE POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OF OF THE UKRAINE CRISIS

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China

- 1**
Respecting the sovereignty of all countries
- 2**
Abandoning the Cold War mentality
- 3**
Ceasing hostilities
- 4**
Resuming peace talks
- 5**
Resolving the humanitarian crisis
- 6**
Protecting civilians and prisoners of war
- 7**
Keeping nuclear power plants safe
- 8**
Reducing strategic risks
- 9**
Facilitating grain exports
- 10**
Stopping unilateral sanctions
- 11**
Keeping industrial and supply chains stable
- 12**
Promoting post-conflict reconstruction

GLOBAL TIMES

respect for sovereignty (for Ukraine)

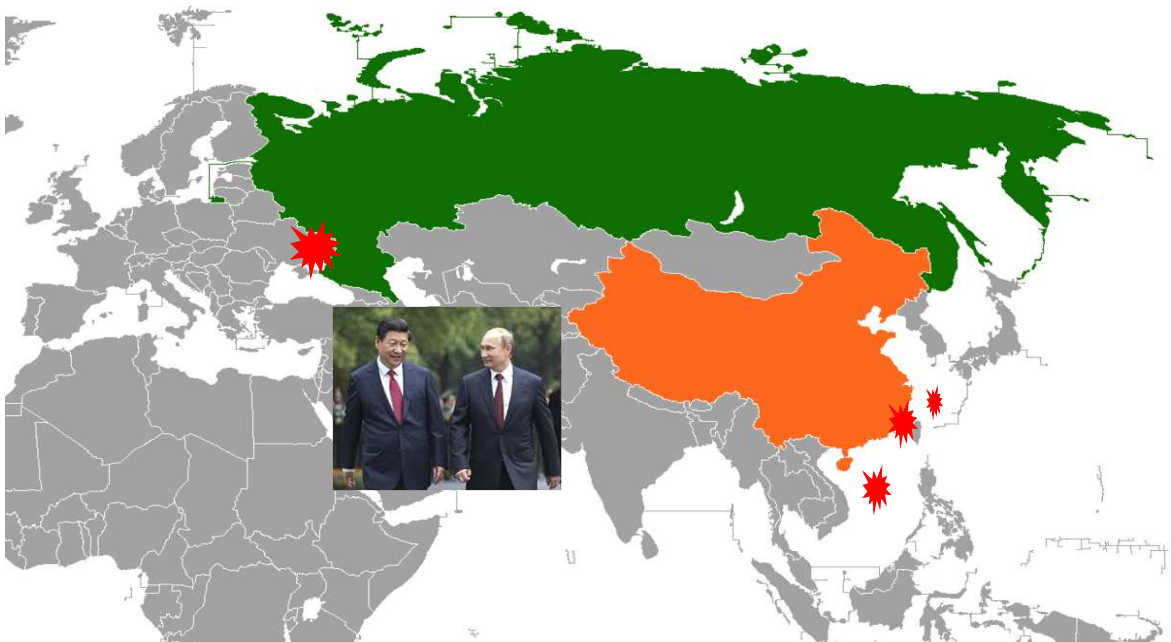
and

the protection of national security interests (for Russia)...

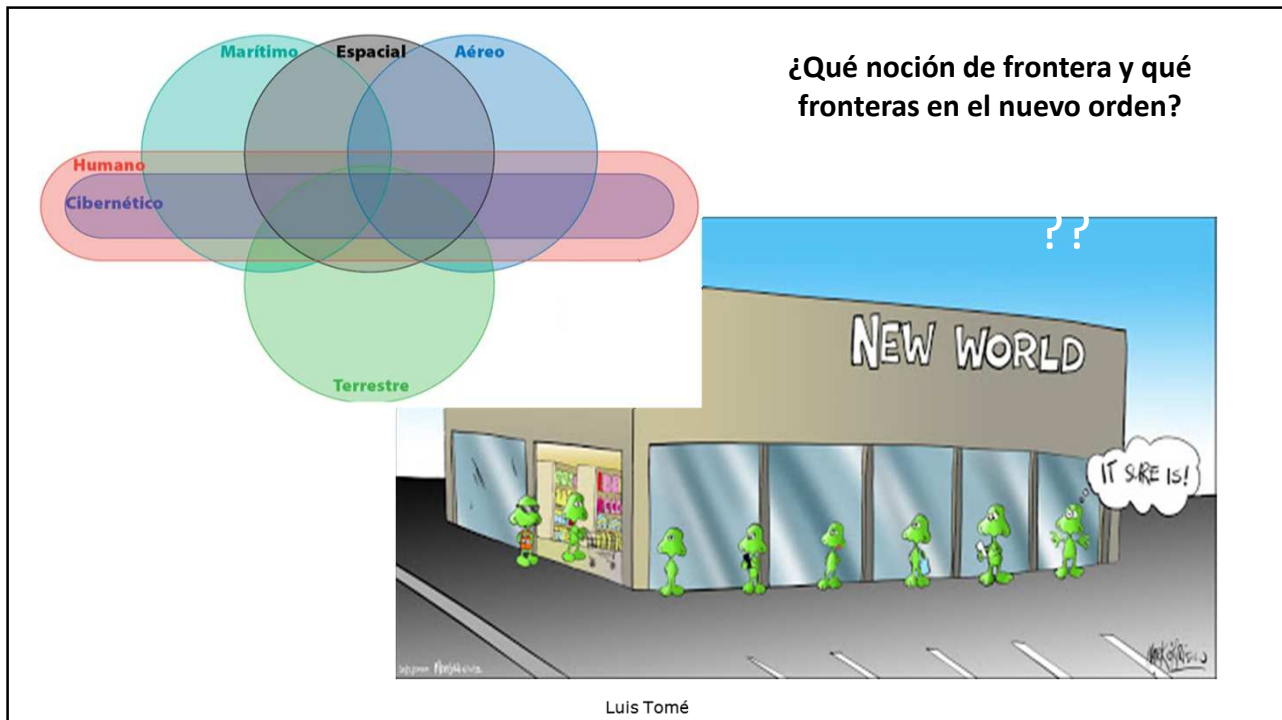
while opposing Cold War mentality and the use of unilateral sanctions (by the US).



Luis Tomé



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Asociación de Colegios de Defensa
Iberoamericanos (ACDIA)

idn Instituto
da Defesa Nacional - PORTUGAL

XI Seminario ACDIA 21 de marzo de 2023

Concepto de frontera en um contexto multidominio:
tierra, mar, aire, espácio e cybernético

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