



Wilson
Center

Navigating the Arctic 7Cs

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Woodrow Wilson International Center For Scholars
Established by the U.S. Congress in 1968

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars



**#10 Think Tank
Worldwide**



**#6 Think Tank
in the United States**



**#1 Regional Studies
Think Tank**

**#1 Best Institutional Collaboration
Involving Two or More Think Tanks**

2019 Global Think Tank Index Report
University of Pennsylvania



Dr. Mike Sfraga

The Great Geopolitical Game Board



Russia plays *Survivor*



China plays *Go*

The US plays *Twister*



A New Ocean



The Global Arctic is 5.4 M Sq. Mi

Roughly 1.5 times the size of the United States

Nearly half the size of the Continent of Africa.

Navigating the Arctic's Seven Cs

- Climate
- Commodities
- Commerce
- Connectivity
- Communities
- Cooperation
- Competition



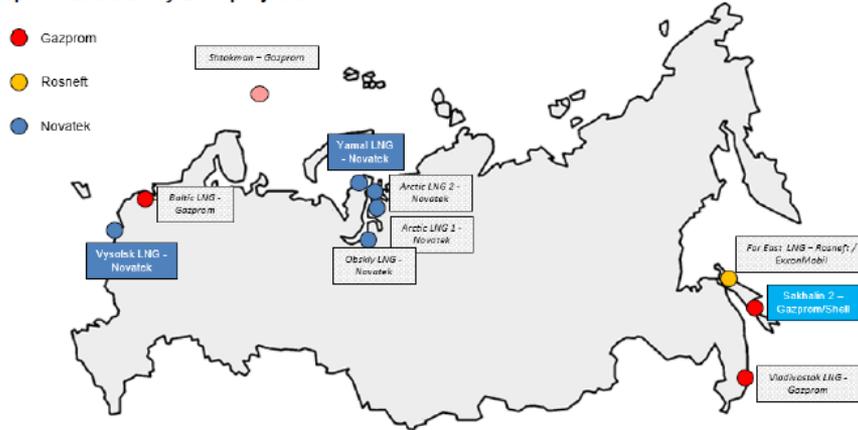
Climate



NASA/Goddard Space Flight Center Scientific Visualization Studio.
The Blue Marble data is courtesy of Reto Stockli (NASA/GSFC).

Commodities

Map 1: Russia's key LNG projects



Source: OIES

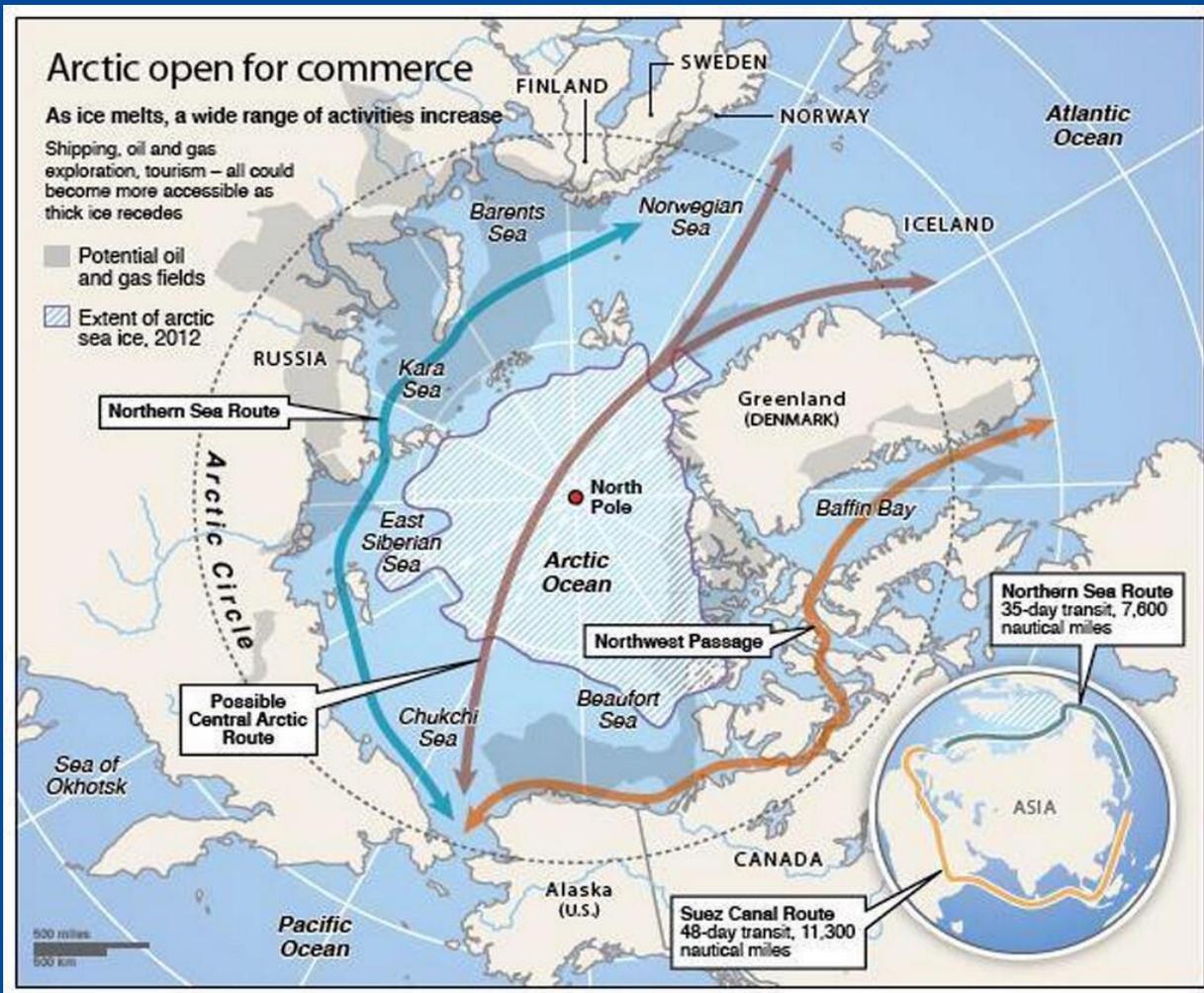
• Alaska's Arctic Seafood industry averaged \$3 billion annually over the past decade

Alaska Resource Development Council



- 13% Undiscovered Oil
- 30% Undiscovered Natural Gas
- 20% Undiscovered Natural Gas Liquids

Commerce



Suez Canal 2018:

- 18,174 (vessels)
- 983.4 million tons of freight

Panama Canal 2018:

- 13,795 (vessels)
- 442.1 million tons

Northern Sea Route 2018:

- 22,022 voyages
- 20.1 million tons

Commerce – Northern Sea Route



THE NORTHERN SEA ROUTE (NSR)
is the shortest sea route between the European part of Russia and the Far East

14000 km

от Санкт-Петербурга до Владивостока

23700 km

via the Suez Canal

THE NORTHERN SEA ROUTE

ALTERNATIVE ROUTE via the Suez Canal



Dikson is a marine rescue and coordination center and a depot for emergency and rescue forces

MAJOR PORTS

NSR 2017:

- 10.4 million tons of freight

NSR 2018:

- 20.1 million tons of freight

NSR (Jan-Sept) 2019:

- 23.37 million tons of freight

NSR 2024:

- 80 million tons of freight (estimated)



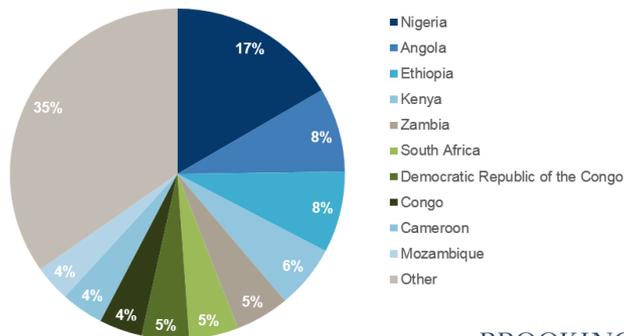
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China's Investment Abroad



China in Africa

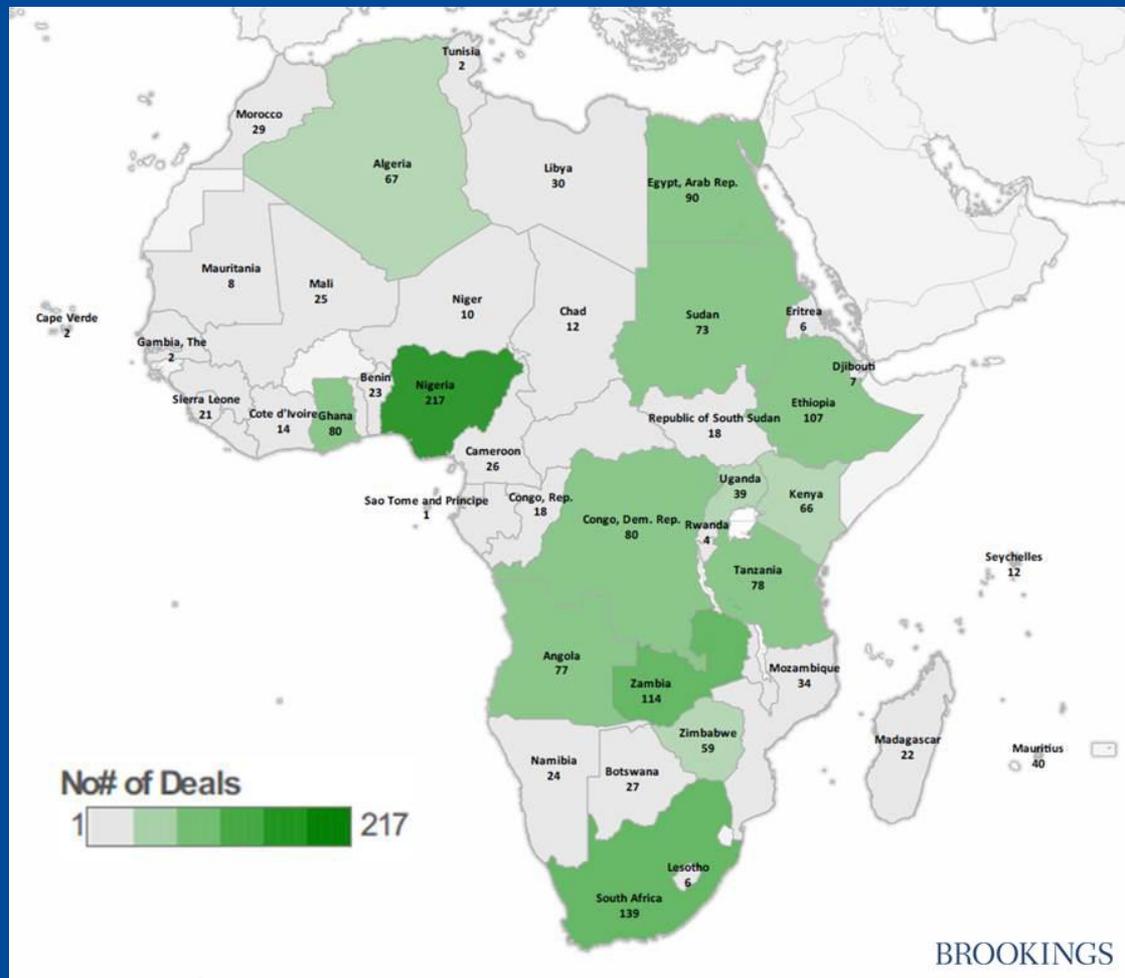
Locational distribution of Chinese investment in Africa (2018)



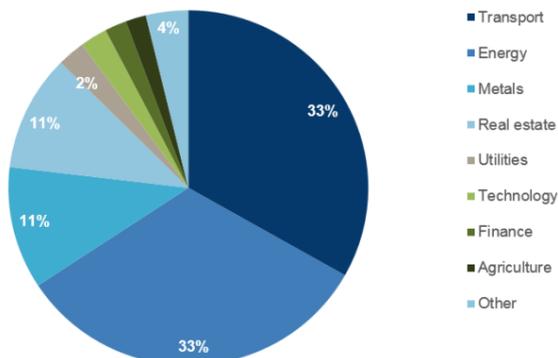
Source: Chinese Investment Tracker, AEI

BROOKINGS

CHINESE INVESTMENT IN THE CONTINENT (2015)



Sectoral distribution of Chinese investment in Africa



Source: Chinese Investment Tracker, AEI

BROOKINGS

BROOKINGS

Connectivity



USCG Air Station, Kodiak, AK



“Arctic peoples require access to affordable connectivity of sufficient quality in order to participate in today’s digital economy.” – Arctic Council Task Force on Improved Connectivity in the Arctic (TFICA)

Less than 5% of the US maritime Arctic is charted to modern international standards

No deep-water ports for shipping or SAR

Communities

31 communities identified for urgent relocation by Army Corps of Engineers in 2009



FLOODING AND EROSION IN ALASKA



Source: Government Accountability Office

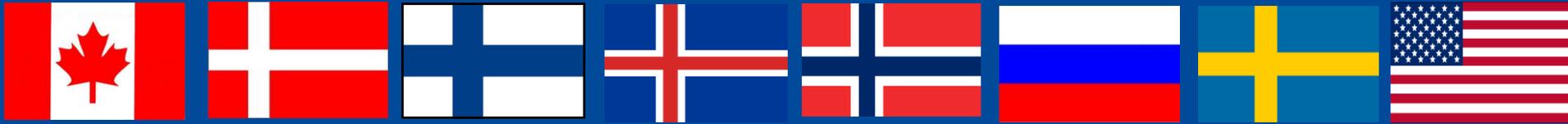
“We have to serve *all* Americans.... You deserve every mission the Department owes you, period.”
–Sean Moon, DHS



Dr. Mike Sfraga

Cooperation: Arctic Council

Members



Canada Denmark Finland Iceland Norway Russia Sweden USA

Permanent Participants

The Aleut International Association
The Arctic Athabaskan Council
Gwich'in Council International
The Inuit Circumpolar Council
Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North
The Saami Council

Working Groups

Arctic Contaminants Action Program (ACAP)
Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Program (AMAP)
Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna (CAFF)
Emergency Prevention, Preparedness, and Response (EPPR)
Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment (PAME)
Sustainable Development Working Group (SDWG)

Observer Nations



France Germany Italy Japan The Netherlands China Poland India



South Korea Singapore Spain Switzerland UK



Dr. Mike Sfraga

Total Arctic Council Observers: 39

“New Era of Great Power Competition”



Source: Task & Purpose

- SECDEF Mattis: The US needs to “up its game” in the Arctic
- Exercise Trident Juncture, October 2018 (NATO exercise)/ Vostok 2018 (Russia/ China exercise)
- Revival of the 2nd Fleet
- Icebreaker funding for US (Russia has 53, China has 4 and is working on two more, including 1 nuclear-powered, US has 2)

Competition - Icebreakers



China

In service = 4
Developing = 2
Nuclear = 1



Russia

In service = 53
Developing = 6
Planned = 12



United States

In service = 2
Planned = 6

Canada

In service = 10
Developing = 3
Planned = 6

Finland

In service = 11

Sweden

In service = 4
Planned = 3

Norway

In service = 2

Denmark

In service = 7

Germany

In service = 1
Planned = 1

South Korea

In service = 1
Planned = 1

Japan

In service = 1

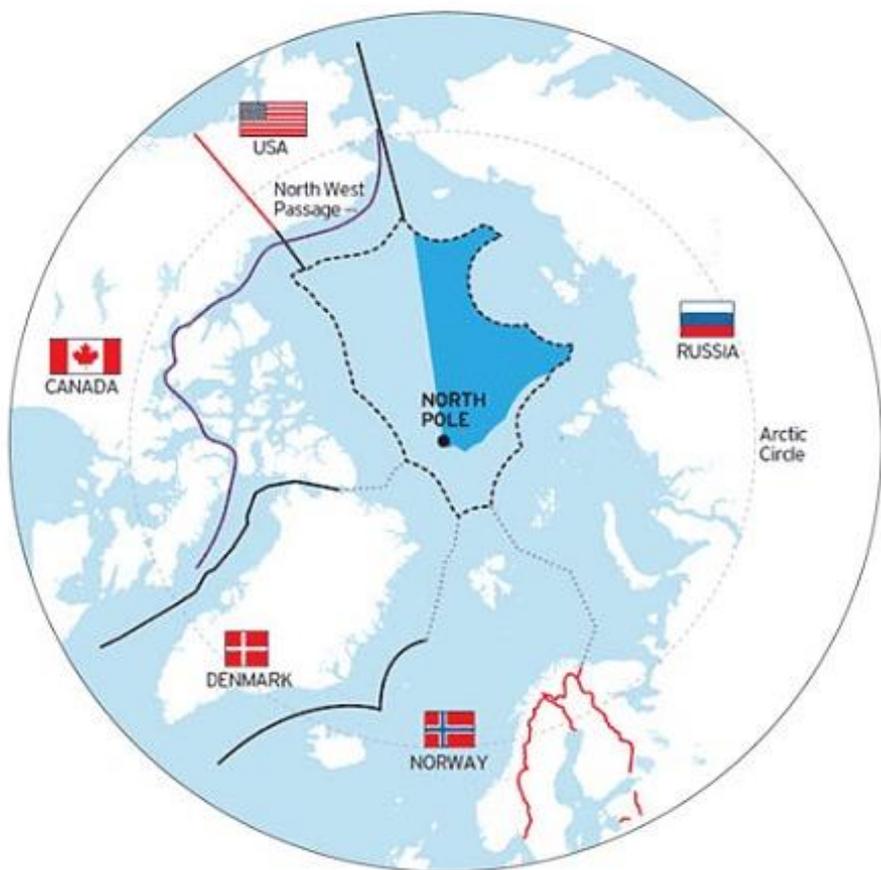


Russia in the Arctic



The Arctic is an important component of Russian identity, economic development, security buffer, and projection of force and influence

Russian Continental Shelf Claims in the Arctic



Source: Division for Ocean Affairs and the Law of the Sea, Office of Legal Affairs, United Nations, "Outer limits of the continental shelf beyond 200 nautical miles from the baselines: Submissions to the Commission: Submission by the Russian Federation," at www.un.org/depts/los/clcs_new/submissions_files/rus01/RUS_CLCS_01_2001_LOS_2.jpg.

Russia's Arctic expansion

Six military bases which are either brand new/upgrades of existing or abandoned facilities are at the heart of Russia's Arctic expansion, with plans to set up a third Arctic Brigade as well as a coastal defence division.

BASES

- New ● Missiles ● Military ● Airfield to be modernised



Russian nuclear ice-breaker fleet base

Based in Murmansk

CURRENT

Civilian only



ON ORDER/BEING BUILT

Civilian



Military*



*One diesel-powered, two ice-class corvettes with cruise missiles

Source: Reuters

Staff, 27/01/2017

The **Northern Sea Route** is around 10–15 days faster than the traditional route. Depending on weather and ice it is navigable without icebreakers for two–four months of the year. Russia wants to make it possible year-round by 2030



Source: [Financial Times](#)



FRANZ JOSEF LAND

SVALBARD

○
Alexandra Land

Barents Sea

RUSSIA



The **Northern Sea Route** is around 10–15 days faster than the traditional route. Depending on weather and ice it is navigable without icebreakers for two–four months of the year. Russia wants to make it possible year-round by 2030





Franz Josef Land

Sredny

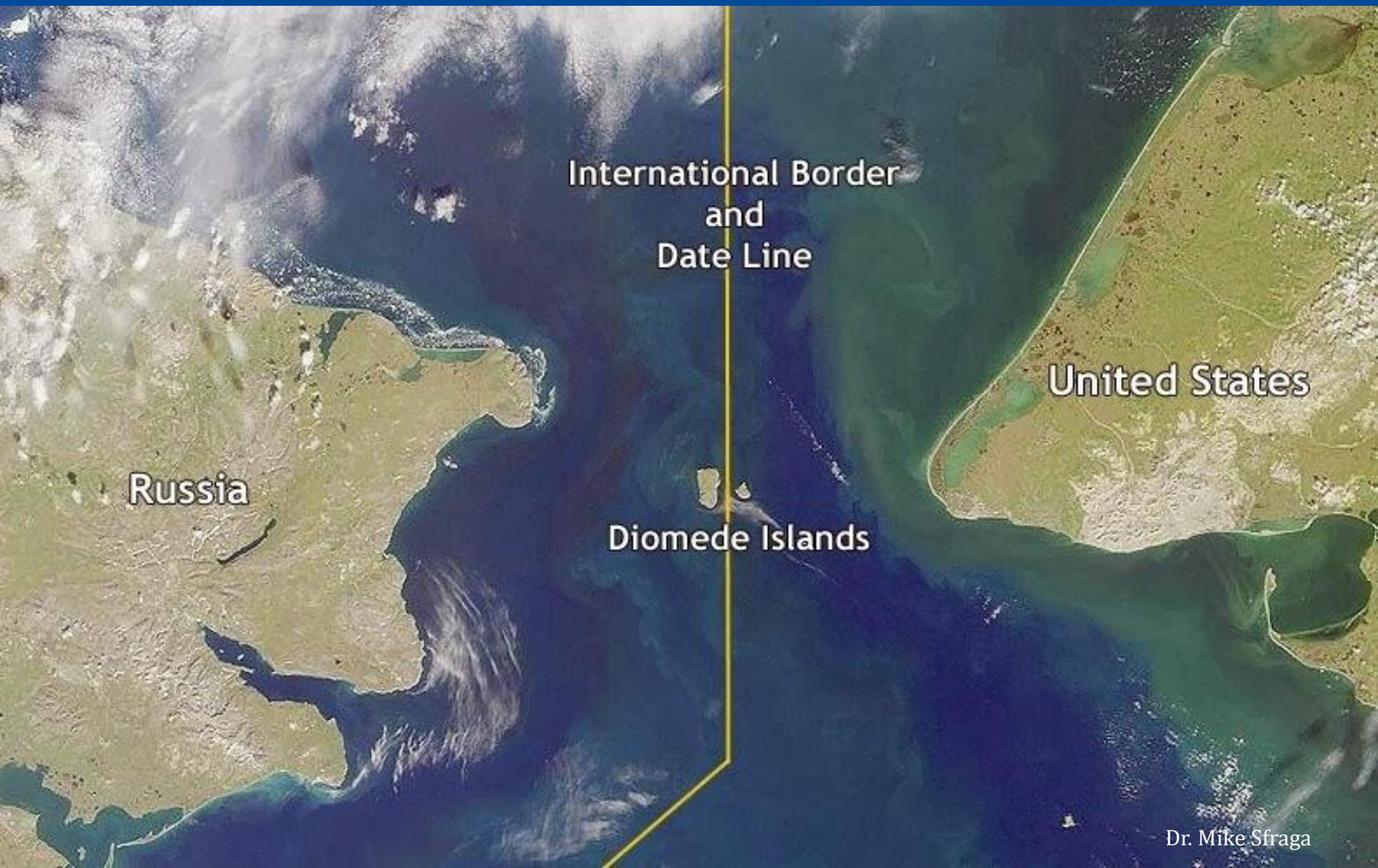
Novaya Zemlya

Kotelny

Wrangel Island

Cape Shmidt

The US, RUSSIA and the Arctic



WRANGEL ISLAND, RUSSIAN ARCTIC
AUGUST 31, 2018

Elevated cable run for communications, and power cables

Radomes for satellite antennas

Fuel storage

Probable power and steam plant

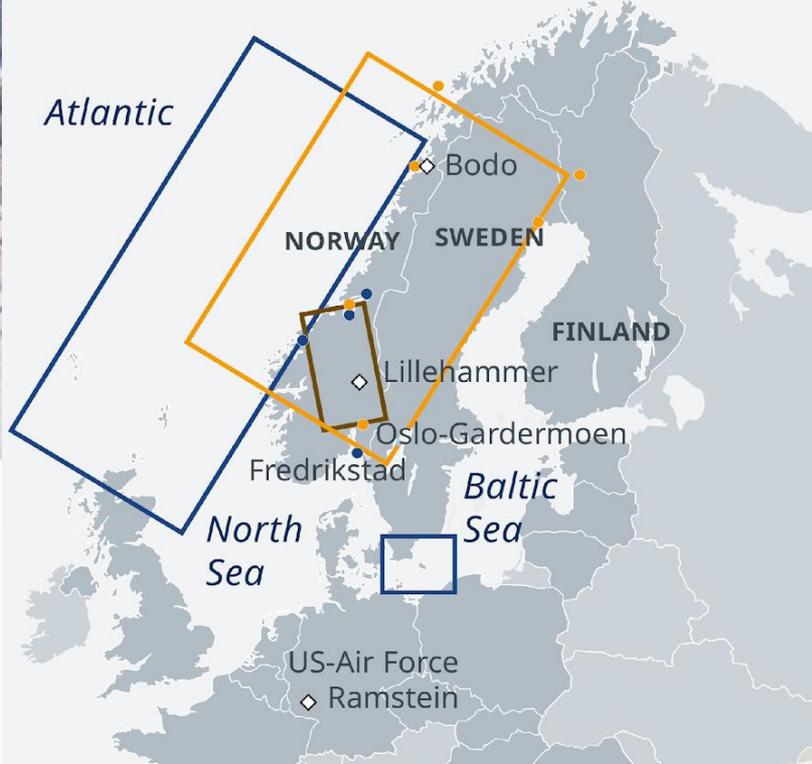
Communications tower

Communications installation

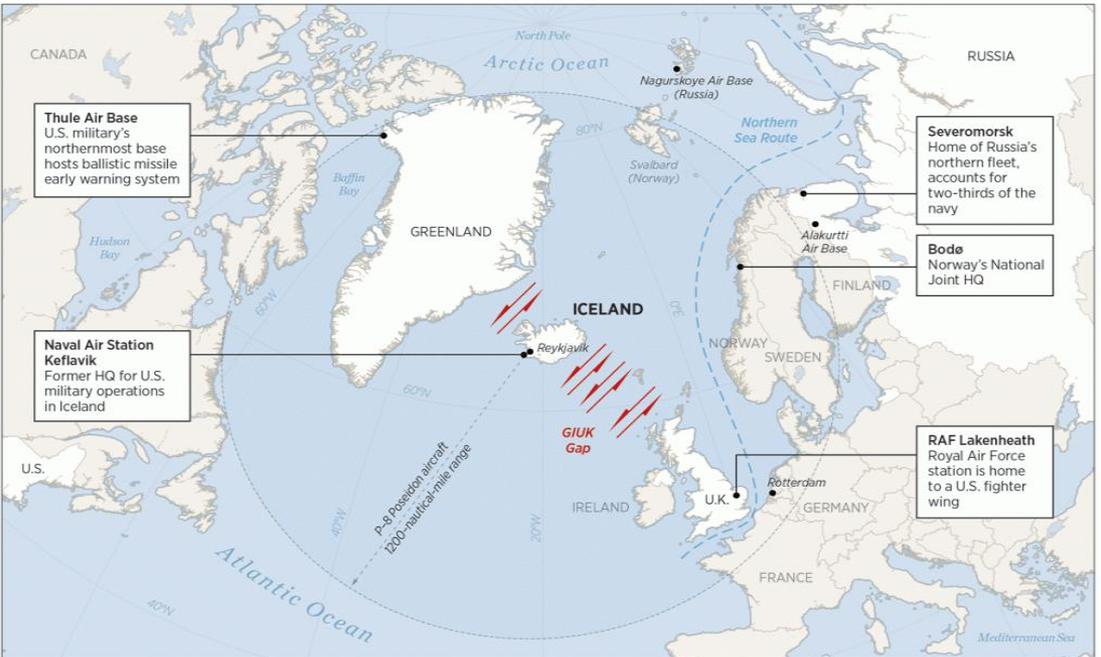


NATO's Trident Juncture

Biggest NATO war games since the Cold War



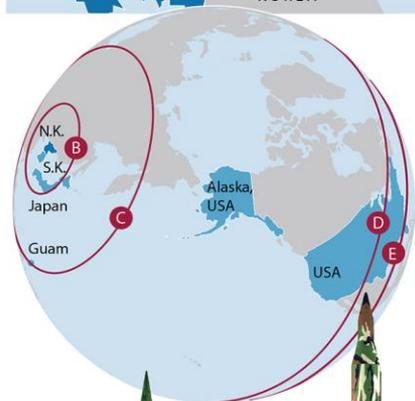
MAP 1
Iceland's Strategic Location in the North Atlantic



- Land and amphibian
- Sea
- Air
- Headquarters
- Harbor
- Air Base
- Runs **October 25 to November 7**
- Includes **50,000** participants from **31** countries
- Involves **250 aircraft**, **65 vessels** and **10,000 vehicles**

SOURCE: Heritage Foundation research. BG 3121 heritage.org

North Korea's Strategic Threat



In September 2016, North Korea tested a nuclear warhead that it claimed will arm the country's strategic ballistic missiles.

The claim is unverified but some experts find it credible based on North Korea's five nuclear tests.



Note: North Korea may have additional missiles.

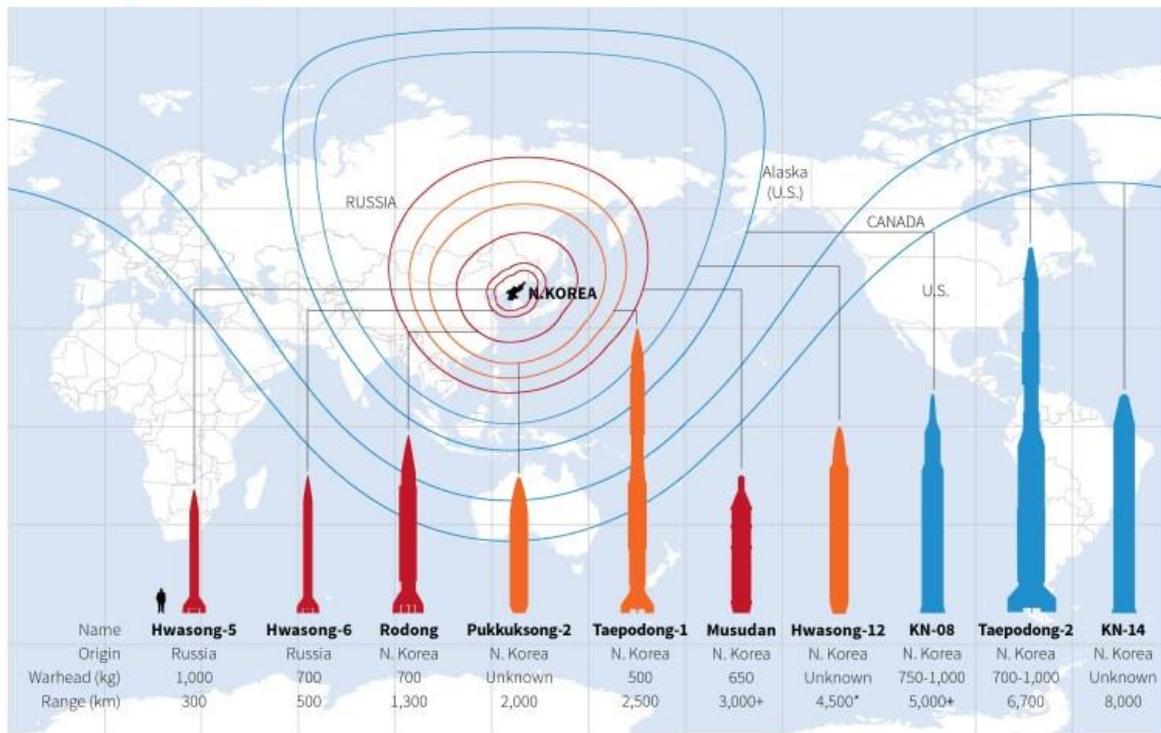
Estimates: Center for Nonproliferation Studies and Department of Defense Foreign Policy

Created by **CNS** Funded by **NTI**

North Korean missile range

Nuclear testing is part of a process that moves Pyongyang closer to miniaturising nuclear warheads to mount on intercontinental ballistic missiles. North Korea has well over 1,000 missiles of various ranges. Below is a comparison of North Korea's ballistic missiles' range and capabilities.

Operational Flight tested In development or untested



*Range estimated at around 4,500km, if flown on a standard trajectory.

Notes: Ranges of KN-08 and KN-14 show minimum estimates from CSIS; Taepodong-2 shows designed range but could travel further with lightened payload.

Sources: The Republic of Korea Ministry of National Defense; National Intelligence Service, South Korea; Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS); Reuters

C. Inton, W. Cai, 24/03/2017

REUTERS

Brookings

The Hwasong-14 missile, which was tested on July 4, 2017, is not pictured here. Its range would encompass Alaska.



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The Vanguard



Clear Air Force
Station SSPARS



Fort
Wainwright



Eielson
Air Force Base



Fort
Greenly



US Coast Guard Base
Kodiak



Joint Base
Elmendorf-Richardson



US Coast Guard
Sector Juneau



Adak Army-Navy
Operating Base



The Arctic Has Emerged

- Politically
- Socially
- Economically
- Physically
- Strategic Bering Strait
- Great Power Competition
- NATO, 2nd Fleet, GI-UK Gap...
- Sustainable Arctic communities
- SAR

