

THE

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BRIDGE

The Official Magazine of the Naval War College Foundation

THE ARCTIC

Why the Arctic Matters

Changing Strategic
Geography in the GIUK Gap

Students Conduct Contested
Passage Tabletop Exercise



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FEATURE: THE ARCTIC

While it might be well known for its northern lights and polar bear residents, the Arctic is emerging as a major factor in national security policy discussions as it becomes the focal point for geopolitical issues such as climate change and maritime law.

This issue of *The Bridge* covers a variety of topics related to the Arctic, brought to you by the faculty of the U.S. Naval War College who represent some of the foremost experts on the region.

At the Helm



I AM HONORED to take the helm as Chairman of our Foundation at an exciting time in our organization's 51-year history. Our Foundation has never been better prepared than we are today to support the U.S. Naval War College mission.

Yet 2020 has been challenging for our Nation, and non-profit organizations have been hard hit. Our Foundation has been impacted, and we will need your continued support.

Our outstanding staff and Board of Trustees have faced these unprecedented challenges head-on to support our future military leaders. Our mission is long term and will persist beyond challenging times as we focus on four key strategic initiatives:

PROFESSIONALIZATION

We have strengthened our Board of Trustees, which is among the highest quality governing body of any 501(c)(3) organization in the Nation. Our 26 Trustees and 49 Trustee Emeriti bring professional governance and generous financial support to our Foundation.

We have recruited an exceptional professional staff to execute our mission. Led by our CEO, CAPT George Lang, USN (Ret.), our team has professionalized our organization, infrastructure, and business processes to better serve our members and our mission.

MEMBERSHIP ENGAGEMENT

You, our members, are the Naval War College Foundation. Our Foundation leadership aims to be relevant in your patriotic philanthropic interests as you support our military, national security, and educational institutions.

We seek to communicate more effectively with you and

offer unique access to thought leaders in national security through our numerous lectures and speakers at the Naval War College.

We are committed to serving you and expanding our membership ranks and alumni graduates into a national force for good. We greatly value your annual membership support which is vital to our operations. I would ask you to invite your friends, family, and fellow servicemen and women to join you as members in our great Foundation.

FUNDRAISING FOR FINANCIAL STRENGTH

Our mission is to financially support the Naval War College to educate our nation's future leaders. Fundraising is our life-blood – and it must flow continuously. We are fortunate to have generous benefactors on our Board of Trustees who have funded most of our programs and operations.

We were fortunate to recruit our former Trustee, Carla Knorowski, to professionalize and lead this effort as President & Chief Development Officer. I ask you to support Carla's efforts knowing that your donations have impact. Our financial resources have been exceptionally well-managed under the steady stewardship of our Vice Chairman and Finance Committee Chairman, Dan Holland. We ensure that every dollar counts toward our mission of educating the Nation's future leaders today to secure our national security tomorrow.

STRATEGIC IMPACT IN NATIONAL SECURITY

Our Foundation has financially supported the Naval War College over 51 years – from research and scholarship support, endowed chairs, capital improvements, achievement awards, conferences & events, and regional studies. We have funded programs when the Navy did not have the budget or agility to fund it in time for impact.

We endowed academic professorships, such as the van Beuren Chair for Asia Pacific Studies. We led the Navy's investment in policy and strategy areas, ranging from

“You, our members, are the Naval War College Foundation.”

China Maritime, Russia Maritime, and Cybersecurity. Last year, we surpassed \$10 million to fund the ADM James R. Hogg Cyber and Innovation Policy Institute – a Foundation initiative that began several years ahead of Navy funding.

This year, our Trustee, Joe Nicholas, generously endowed an academic chair in Maritime Irregular Warfare and Maritime Special Operations. We are grateful to Joe for his major gift to launch this impactful initiative highly relevant to our U.S. Joint Forces operational concepts.

We also established a NWCF Senior Advisory Committee of recently retired flag officers committed to the naval education enterprise. We are grateful to ADM Scott Swift, USN (Ret.), former Pacific Fleet Commander, for chairing this strategic initiative with his distinguished retired Admirals.

Looking over the horizon into 2021 and beyond, I am confident that your Foundation leadership team is professionally equipped to engage our members nationally and strengthen our financial resources for strategic impact. We are grateful for your support. What you do matters to our national security.

Educate Today. Secure Tomorrow.

Respectfully,

Philip M. Bilden
Chairman
Naval War College Foundation



Why the Arctic Matters: From Climate Change to Geopolitics and Beyond

Lars Saunes and Walter Berbrick

THE ARCTIC IS UNDERGOING profound and historic physical and geopolitical changes – changes that will impact every nation and generation moving forward.

The United States, and most other nations, view the world through the Mercator projection – which has become the standard map for navigation. Today, these artificial lines on a map are collapsing and converging, especially in the northern navigable rim-land of Europe, Asia, and North America – stretching from the North Atlantic through the vast Arctic Ocean to the Bering Strait and North Pacific down to the southern tip of the Aleutian Island chain.

Temperatures across the Arctic region are increasing two to four times faster than the global average. Over the 42-year satellite record, the Arctic has lost over 640,000 square miles of sea ice in March – an area the size of Alaska. If this trend persists, the Arctic may have little or no ice in the summertime by the end of this decade, and mostly thin, young, and very unstable ice during its much warmer winters.

A Blue Arctic Ocean is emerging – offering new opportunities to transit, trade, and fish over historically frozen waters. The Northern Sea Route along Russia's coastline is the most navigable sea route, cutting as much as 40 percent off of distance traveled compared to the sea routes used today. The Northwest Passage, which weaves from the Davis Strait between Canada and Greenland to the Bering Strait, will likely remain a less viable option for regular commercial shipping because of its shallow depths, narrow features, and sparse infrastructure. But the real game changer, and the one often overlooked by sailors and scholars alike, is the transpolar route – which is more of a reality toward mid-century – opening maritime



traffic and trade right over the North Pole – the fastest, shortest, and cheapest east-west sea route of any by far. And still today ninety percent of all trade by volume travels across the world's oceans – with seaborne trade expected to double over the next 15 years.

The Arctic is also home to some of the world's largest oil and gas formations. Thirteen percent of the world's undiscovered oil and 30 percent of the undiscovered natural gas lies above the Arctic Circle – nearly 85 percent of which are offshore, with heavy concentrations off Alaska, Russia, Greenland, and towards the North Pole. An increased abundance of fish moving further north will attract global fishing fleets in search of protein for growing populations.

Forty different ethnic groups and indigenous communities call the Arctic home. No matter where you travel across the region, Indigenous groups face the same challenges: economic inequalities resulting from immigration, loss of traditional knowledge, along with high rates of substance abuse, suicide, and domestic violence. Lack of political participation, education, and capital are but a few of the major barriers impeding growth and opportunity.



(U.S. Navy photo by Mass Communication Specialist 2nd Class Kevin S. O'Brien/Released)

The regional challenges facing the Navy and the Nation – from the changing physical environment and greater access to sea routes and resources to increased military activity and attempts to alter Arctic governance – have grown more complex and more urgent, while the rapid advance of authoritarianism and revisionists approaches in the maritime environment undermine our ability to collectively meet them. In this new era of great power competition, China is moving vertically North while Russia is moving horizontally east and west across the Arctic.

Taken together, these challenges create a unique – but limited – window of opportunity to chart a new course for American naval power in the Arctic region. A Blue Arctic requires bold measures to

modernize our presence and partnerships to advance U.S. interests and preserve our advantage at sea. Professional Military Education, in depth research, and war gaming, and a variety of analytical tools drawn from public, private, and academic partners will help us anticipate and adapt to a Blue Arctic. This will ensure America's sea services – the Navy, Marine-Corps, and Coast Guard – remain the most ready, respected, and capable naval force in the world, which is what our nation expects and deserves.

Authors' note: The views in this article are our own and do not reflect the position of the USNWC, USN, or DOD.



RADM Lars Saunes (Ret.) finished his naval career as the Chief of Royal Norwegian Navy and is now is a professor, CNO Distinguished International Fellow, and Co-lead Scholar of the Newport Arctic Scholars Initiative at the U.S. Naval War College.



Dr. Walter Berbrick is a professor in the War Gaming Department, Director of the Arctic Studies Group, and Co-lead Scholar of the Newport Arctic Scholars Initiative at the U.S. Naval War College.

The Story Behind Our Rebranding

SINCE ITS FOUNDING IN 1969, the Naval War College Foundation (NWCF) has been steadfast in its dedication to the mission of the U.S. Naval War College (USNWC). And throughout the past fifty years, the NWCF has counted on the patriotic and philanthropic spirit of its members and donors to enrich and advance the educational excellence of the College.

Recently, we recognized the need to better align our brand – both our visual identity and our messaging – with the values that drive that patriotic and philanthropic spirit. So we embarked on a rebranding effort that would honor the legacy of the past while more effectively representing the modern day partnership that exists between the NWCF and the College.

To accomplish this goal, the NWCF partnered with ForwardPMX, a global brand performance agency. Working together, we began our research within the Foundation and then extended outward to partners, supporters, social media and beyond, gathering critical information on how to better communicate our mission in the current landscape.

Informed by months of research, we developed a brand structure based on three factors: why we act, where we focus, and how we follow through. We then added to it key messaging points and finalized it by defining a tone that helps us communicate with a unified voice.

Finally, we addressed the most visible elements of the brand identity: the logo and tagline. The visual identity that had been used since the Foundation's inception portrayed an eagle with an anchor, encircled with a roped seal and colored blue and bronze. The Naval War College, however, uses a completely different visual, with a shield and trident being its most distinctive and memorable elements. The College colors are also brighter, using a golden yellow with rich blue. By combining the College colors with the most distinctive elements of both logos – the eagle, anchor, and “trident shield” – we arrived at a contemporary mark that better represents the Foundation and its relationship to the College.

For the tagline, we knew we wanted something clear, memorable, and aligned with the Foundation's mission. That tagline is: *Educate Today. Secure Tomorrow.*



Throughout this effort, we were always focused on you, our generous members and donors, and why you support the Naval War College. With that support, you are protecting our leaders' ability to navigate conflict and negotiate for peace. You are investing in a nation and a world that is safer for everyone. We thank you for your commitment to the U.S. Naval War College and to the Naval War College Foundation.



The Naval War College Foundation, powered by its generous members and donors, provides critical funds needed to support the U.S. Naval War College's unique ability to develop military and civilian leaders who are:

- Skilled in the strategic and operational challenges of today and tomorrow.
- Dedicated to preserving national security and a global position of leadership.
- Adept at navigating the challenges of war and securing the prevention of war.

The Great Nightfall Descends on Hong Kong and Taiwan



J. WILLIAM MIDDENDORF, former Secretary of the Navy and NWCF Trustee Emeritus, recently published *"The Great Nightfall: How We Win the New Cold War,"* in which he examines the threats and challenges to America from a rising China and other adversaries. The following is an excerpt from the book.

On July 1, 2020, the 23rd anniversary of the turnover of Hong Kong to China from British colonial rule, was “celebrated” by tens of thousands of citizens in the streets protesting China’s newly approved national security laws that ban “any acts or activities that endanger China’s national security, including separatism, subversion and terrorism.” By the end of the day some 350 protesters had been arrested and could face years in prison under the new laws.

There is no question that the governing principal of “one country, two systems”, agreed to in 1997 allowing tenuous but celebrated democracy in the city of 7.5 million has ended. But a far larger question remains: Can one-country, two-systems continue for Taiwan, the only remaining democracy in the Chinese-speaking world? China, of course, makes no secret of its ambition to reabsorb Taiwan, lost when the remnants of the Chinese nationals under Chiang Kai Shek’s Kuomintang government fled there in 1949. The island has ever since been considered by the leadership in Beijing a renegade province, but in fact has become a thriving and enthusiastic democracy of 24 million just 112 miles of the coast of the mainland.

Democratic-ruled Taiwan poses an existential threat to China’s communist leaders because the island serves as a beacon of freedom for ethnically Chinese people everywhere. China considers reuniting the island with the mainland part of its goal of achieving global dominance.

The Chinese have sought to intimidate Taiwan with a growing

number of military exercises, including live-fire drills and bomber flights. In the absence of a strong American presence, it might be willing to go further. With their new firepower, including long range and extremely accurate missiles holding at risk key American weapon platforms and systems such as aircraft carriers, the Chinese seek to delay or even deter American intervention.

China’s ambitions have only increased, and today the military situation is far different. Is the Seventh Fleet up to the challenges it now faces in the Pacific, from both a nuclear-armed North Korea and a strengthening China? The U.S. military acknowledges it lacks the money, manpower and weapons to ensure success. At a Congressional hearing into the series of fatal collisions at sea in recent years, naval officials acknowledged they were trying to do too much with too little.

“Is the Seventh Fleet up to the challenges it now faces in the Pacific, from both a nuclear-armed North Korea and a strengthening China?”

For the Chinese leadership, the failure to effect unification would reflect fundamental political weakness. China has modernized its military to support its goal of global hegemony. Two decades of double-digit increases in China’s defense budget have produced a significantly more modern Peoples Liberation Army and Navy, much of which remains focused on a Taiwan contingency.

Nor are Chinese efforts to reclaim Taiwan limited to overt military means. Chinese political warfare methods include legal warfare, public opinion, and psychological warfare. The PLA employs such approaches to undermine both Taiwan’s will to resist and our willingness to support Taiwan. The Chinese goal is to win without fighting, to take Taiwan without firing a shot.

If a new Taiwan crisis erupts, what will China’s President Xi do? He has many rivals and outright enemies within China’s power structure. Any sign of weakness on his part may even bring him down. This is a predicament that could even lead to nuclear conflict. Currently Xi does not have an answer, and neither do we.

For more information, please visit www.thegreatnightfall.com. Photo courtesy of The Honorable J. William Middendorf.

Dear NWCF Members and Friends:

Despite the many difficulties we all face due to the current global pandemic, the U.S. Naval War College (USNWC) continues to carry out its important and necessary mission ensuring our Nation is prepared and informed in all aspects critical to our national security.

Since the pandemic began, we at the Foundation have worked hard to not let sheltering in place orders keep us from delivering to you a steady stream of exceptional content. Thus far this year, we have offered three virtual events: the Newport Summer and San Francisco Symposia, as well as the Foundation’s annual members meeting. We have held five virtual lectures with USNWC faculty of note such as Hank Brightman, Dave Kohnen, Lyle Goldstein and Tom Creely. We have shared with you the USNWC “Issues in National Security” lectures, as well as one-on-one interviews with individuals such as comedian and veteran Tom Dreesen and Medal of Honor recipients Woody Williams and Hershey Miyamura. And we have linked to dozens of informative presentations and publications such as, “The Grippe Caught Us Quicker Than the U-Boats,” which told the story of WWI and the pandemic of 1918. There is much more to come before the end of the year. It is our way of saying “thank you” for your support.

As one of the world’s most respected institutions, the USNWC is at the forefront of developing global leaders in the areas of statesmanship, diplomacy, and military leadership, all of which promote unity among our allies and help deter threats such as cyber-attacks; prevent conflicts; and avoid war.

Philanthropy is wholly an American tradition, as is coming

together to face challenging circumstances. As a supporter of the NWCF, you keenly understand this. When you support the USNWC, you are not just preparing tomorrow’s leaders, you are protecting our leaders’ abilities to navigate conflict and negotiate for peace. You are investing in a nation and a world that is safer and more enriching for everyone.

Despite the turmoil caused by COVID, we are determined to finish 2020 strong. We need your continued support and invite you to make a gift to the Naval War College Foundation today.

Your continued investment helps the USNWC to continue its innovative, cutting edge research, teaching and training as it develops ethically-minded leaders, forms alliances, identifies threats, and works to both avoid and resolve conflicts around the globe – all things which contribute to the safety and security of our nation.

Thank you for all you have done and continue to do to advance our mission and safeguard our nation and its allies. We wish you and those you hold dear continued health, and look forward to your continued support as together we educate today; secure tomorrow.

Sincerely,

Carla Knorowski, PhD
President & CDO
Naval War College Foundation

When you support the U.S. Naval War College, you are not just preparing tomorrow’s leaders, you are protecting our leaders’ abilities to navigate conflict and negotiate for peace. You are investing in a nation and a world that is safer and more enriching for everyone.

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A gift can also be made online by visiting: www.nwcfoundation.org/give/
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