

TRUE NORTH

Ted Stevens Center for Arctic Security Studies Monthly Bulletin

NOVEMBER 2024



ICE-PPR Situational Awareness Working Group Strengthens Arctic Collaboration

Focusing on advancing Arctic research and defense, the International Cooperative **Engagement Program for Polar** Research (ICE-PPR) Situational **Awareness Working Group** (SAWG) held its quarterly meeting on Nov. 18 in Anchorage, Alaska. This gathering, which coincided with the Anchorage Security and Defense Conference, brought together Allies and partners across the High North to discuss key advancements in Arctic research, situational awareness, and technology.

ICE-PPR is a collaborative agreement among seven partner nations' defense departments and government agencies, working to advance polar science and technology. Nations participating in this Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) include the United States, Canada, Denmark, Finland, New Zealand, Norway, and Sweden.

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Anchorage Security and Defense Conference shapes future of Arctic security cooperation

The inaugural Anchorage Security and Defense Conference concluded Thursday, Nov. 21, after three days of discussions about the Arctic's growing importance in global security. The theme of the event, "The 'Decisive 2020s' in Allied North Perspective," drew from the U.S. National Security Strategy, offering a critical midpoint examination of geopolitical, environmental, and economic shifts in the Arctic, North Atlantic, and North Pacific regions.

Nearly 350 security practitioners, including military members, Ambassadors, policymakers, Indigenous leaders, government officials, researchers, scholars, community leaders, and international Allies and partners gathered in Anchorage to address issues and opportunities in the Arctic region. Discussions focused on the Arctic's rapidly changing environment, the growing strategic

competition in the region, and pathways toward collaboration and resilience.

"At NORAD and USNORTHCOM, we recognize that defending the Arctic is central to securing our homeland, and we are committed to safeguarding this region," said Gen. Gregory M. Guillot, Commander of North American Aerospace Defense Command and United States Northern Command. "I appreciate this forum which will foster your best ideas and most innovative strategies. Securing the Arctic is fundamental to the security of the U.S. and our Allies, and this task requires our full focus and determination. As the Arctic continues to shape global security, our combined approach in this region will define our ability to ensure the safety of our nations."

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The Arctic's Strategic Shift

As receding sea ice opens new trade routes and grants access to valuable resources, the Arctic has become a focal point of international interest. This surge in activity has sparked concerns over jurisdictional disputes, environmental degradation, and the militarization of the region.

The Arctic's strategic importance as NATO's western flank was a recurring theme during the event. One panelist noted, "Everyone in this room is a member of NATO and supports the NATO mission. That shared commitment should guide our collaboration." These discussions emphasized that Alaska, often perceived as geographically isolated, is, in fact, a vital component of NATO's strategic considerations—particularly as cooperation between Russia and China intensifies.

Panelists explored the shifting geopolitical dynamics, analyzing the implications of growing collaboration between Russia, China, and aligned

states. The Arctic was highlighted as a central element in their shared ambitions, posing challenges to the rules-based international order. Experts agreed on the critical need for security professionals to innovate and adapt, acknowledging Alaska's pivotal role as an operational hub for Arctic security.

Alaska's geographic proximity to both Russia and the Asia-Pacific region further underscores its strategic value for NATO. Serving as a crucial position for defense and security operations, Alaska is uniquely positioned to address evolving challenges in the Arctic. Participants stressed the importance of fully embracing this reality, especially as the deepening partnership between Russia and China reshapes Arctic affairs. This emerging alliance has heightened the strategic stakes, demanding close coordination and vigilance among NATO members to safeguard regional security.

The discussion also highlighted how the impacts of climate change on Arctic infrastructure—such as melting permafrost and erratic weather

patterns—are creating vulnerabilities that could undermine operational readiness. Highlighting the need to create adaptive strategies to maintain resilience.

Partner Regional Centers and Academic Contributions

The conference highlighted the essential role of partner Regional Centers and academic institutions in advancing Arctic security through cross-sector collaboration. Notable contributors included the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies and the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, whose insights brought a global dimension to discussions on security challenges. Their participation in two panels underscored the interconnected nature of Arctic security, drawing parallels with transatlantic and Indo-Pacific issues to emphasize the need for cohesive, multinational strategies.

The Homeland Defense Institute (HDI) led one panel that focused on critical expertise on infrastructure resilience and adaptive security strategies for the Arctic's unique challenges. Its work on risk-based approaches to protecting vital systems was particularly relevant, as infrastructure remains a linchpin for

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operational and societal resilience in the region.

Meanwhile, ADAC-ARCTIC and University of Alaska Anchorage, showcased their research on enhancing Arctic domain awareness and addressing the region's pressing security needs. Their focus on technological innovation and interdisciplinary education is equipping the next generation of security professionals to navigate the Arctic's complexities. Their work bridges theoretical research with practical solutions, making them key partners in fostering a resilient Arctic.

Indigenous Perspectives and Knowledge

Indigenous leaders had a critical role in the conference. They emphasized the importance of including traditional knowledge alongside scientific research in addressing regional challenges. Their presentations underscored the need for Arctic security policies to reflect the realities of Indigenous communities and the importance of protecting the Arctic's unique ecosystems and cultural heritage.

One panel emphasized the vital contributions of the Canadian Ranger program and how meaningful and inclusive partnerships with Indigenous communities are essential for Arctic security. Speakers highlighted the critical role of Indigenous Knowledge in areas such as disaster resilience, climate adaptation, and sustainable development.

Calls for Cooperation and Innovation

The conference repeatedly underscored the necessity of international collaboration in tackling Arctic challenges. Delegates stressed

that Arctic security is a shared responsibility, requiring coordination among Arctic and non-Arctic nations alike. Existing frameworks, such as the Arctic Council, were presented as models for balancing national interests with regional stability.

Technological innovation also featured prominently in the discussions. Advances in satellite surveillance, autonomous vehicles, and artificial intelligence are transforming Arctic operations, offering new tools for monitoring and securing the region. However, panelists cautioned against over-reliance on technology without careful consideration of its potential environmental and long-term implications.

Fireside Chat and Forward Momentum

As the conference drew to a close, a fireside chat brought together three influential leaders shaping a whole-of-government approach to Arctic security in Alaska: Randy "Church" Kee, Director of the Ted Stevens Center; Dr. Michael Sfraga, Ambassador-at-Large for Arctic Affairs; and Julie Kitka, Federal Co-Chair of the Denali Commission.

Moderated by Matthew Hickey, Associate Director for Strategic Engagement at the Ted Stevens Center, the discussion embodied the conference's collaborative and forward-thinking spirit under the theme of "What's Next?"

The panel focused on actionable strategies to sustain and build on the momentum generated by the conference. Reflecting on the event's discussions and their broader implications, "It's clear allies and partners must consider the Arctic a

dynamic, integrated security landscape, stretching from the Bering Sea to the Barents Sea, to the Baltic Sea, with inherent connections to the Indo-Pacific, North Pacific, North Atlantic, and Euro-Atlantic regions," US Ambassador-at-Large for Arctic Affairs Mike Sfraga said. Underscoring the unique relationship among like-minded Arctic nations, Ambassador Sfraga noted, "It's critical we strengthen this trans-Arctic alliance which in turn strengthens the Transatlantic Alliance."

Kee reinforced this perspective, emphasizing the importance of maintaining the progress achieved: "As we move forward, I encourage each of you to carry the momentum of this conference into your respective fields. Let the insights and connections forged here inspire new initiatives, stronger partnerships, and continued engagement with the challenges and opportunities of the Arctic. Together, we have the expertise and determination to make a meaningful impact."

Looking Ahead

The Anchorage Security and Defense Conference served as a vital platform for addressing the challenges and opportunities of Arctic security in this transformative decade. By fostering dialogue among security practitioners, it highlighted the Arctic's strategic importance and the critical need for collective action. At its conclusion, leaders announced plans to make the conference an annual event, solidifying its role as a cornerstone of Arctic dialogue. The inaugural event has set the stage for a new era of collaboration, ensuring that the Arctic's future is guided by security cooperation between Allies and partners.



Continued from ICE-PPR SAWG story on Page 1

The U.S. involvement in ICE-PPR is coordinated by the Office of Naval Research. This international effort focuses on driving research and technology development to ensure safe, stable, and secure Arctic environments, while enhancing interoperability and partnerships.

Matthew Schell, Deputy Associate Director of the Research and Analysis Division at the Ted Stevens Center for Arctic Security Studies, emphasized the importance of ICE-PPR's role in fostering cooperation among Arctic nations. "ICE-PPR is an important opportunity for Arctic nations to collaborate without the need for further coordination through Ministries of State or other international agreements," he said in an interview. "It allows countries to come together to share data, researchers, and projects that improve defense posture in the region."

ICE-PPR was formed to support Arctic research that can inform defense strategies and foster interoperability among Allied and partner nations. The program is organized into four working group platforms: environmental, human, performance, and situational awareness. The SAWG, which convened for this meeting, is focused specifically on the critical

issue of situational awareness in the Arctic.

During the meeting, Randy "Church" Kee, Director of the TSC, and Chair of the ICE-PPR SAWG, opened the session with a warm welcome. He underscored the significance of the discussions, highlighting the need for continued innovation in the face of evolving Arctic challenges. John Woods, representing the Office of Naval Research, provided an overview of ICE-PPR's strategic goals, emphasizing ongoing projects and future priorities.

The meeting's agenda featured presentations from various experts in the field. Dr. Phil McGillivary, the Science Advisor for ICE-PPR, shared insights into scientific advancements in polar research, while Andy Glen from Sandia National Laboratories discussed high-altitude balloons, measurements, and modeling. Leslie Canavera of PolArctic showcased advancements in sea-ice modeling, particularly with the use of artificial intelligence technologies.

One of the key goals of ICE-PPR is to facilitate connections and collaboration among diverse stakeholders, ranging from academic institutions to military research labs and private industry. Schell explained that these collaborations are vital for advancing research and enhancing security cooperation in the Arctic region. "Through ICE-PPR, we've been able to foster relationships that lead to real-world projects, such as the collaboration between the European Space Agency and Sandia National Laboratories on space weather sensors," Schell said.

The SAWG meetings, which occurs quarterly, provide a platform for sharing knowledge and identifying

opportunities for joint projects. While most of the meetings are held virtually, the in-person sessions, like the one in Anchorage, offer invaluable opportunities for researchers and military professionals to exchange ideas face-to-face.

The collaborative nature of ICE-PPR allows nations to contribute to research efforts without the need for complex international agreements, which makes it a highly effective platform for fostering innovation and security in the Arctic. "We're focused on building connections with Allies and partners in the Arctic to ensure that we're working together to address emerging challenges," said Schell.

For anyone interested in participating in ICE-PPR, Schell emphasized that the program is open to a broad range of stakeholders. "Academic institutions, scholars, military research labs, federally funded research organizations, and industry partners are all welcome to participate," he said. "The goal is to facilitate cooperation and ensure that everyone has a seat at the table."

For more information about ICE-PPR, interested individuals can visit the Ted Stevens Center's website or the Office of Naval Research's dedicated ICE-PPR page.

As the Arctic continues to grow in strategic importance, the work of ICE-PPR remains crucial in shaping a secure, stable, and collaborative future for the region. By bringing together experts and leaders from diverse sectors, the program helps ensure that the challenges of the Arctic are met with innovation, cooperation, and shared knowledge.

ICE-PPR

International Cooperative Engagement Program for Polar Research

Nav/ISR WORKSHOP

Navigation, Intelligence, Surveillance, & Reconnaissance Workshop

The ICE-PPR Nav/ISR Research Workshop will bring together researchers, operators, and planners from the US joint force and partner nations to share current research, identify research priorities, and examine proposed international project arrangements for Arctic situational awareness challenges at the tactical, operational, and strategic levels.

29 APRIL - 1 MAY 2025



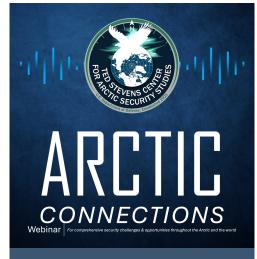
Co-hosted by the Ted Stevens Center for Arctic Security Studies and the Cold Regions Research and Engineering Laboratory (CRREL) at the CRREL facilities in **Hanover, New Hampshire**

Please direct questions to **matthew.schell.6@us.af.mil** or **john.p.nugent15.mil@us.navy.mil**.

Get ready for the ICE-PPR Navigation, Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance Workshop—an exciting opportunity to collaborate with experts from the U.S. and partner nations to address Arctic security challenges! Taking place from April 29 to May 1, 2025, in Hanover, New Hampshire. Join us as we work together to share knowledge, foster innovation, and explore the unique opportunities and challenges in Arctic research.

SCAN
TO WATCH
ARCTIC
CONNECTIONS
EPISODE 3





In case you missed it, Arctic Connections is back with a brand-new episode! Episode 3, titled "Arctic Climate Change & Defense," is now available for streaming. As Arctic sea ice continues to melt and new shipping lanes open, nations around the world are increasing their presence in the region, vying to secure their strategic interests in this once-remote part of the world. The episode explores how this shift in dynamics is leading to a rise in military activity and infrastructure investments by Arctic nations.

In this episode, Dr. Kelsey Frazier, Associate Director for Research and Analysis, joins host Matthew Hickey to discuss the rapidly evolving Arctic landscape and its implications for global security. With the region's geopolitical importance growing, this conversation sheds light on how changes in the Arctic environment are influencing defense strategies and the broader global security picture. Tune in to learn more about the challenges and opportunities presented by these developments.

Join us for our next Alumni Event: "Russia, China, and the Geopolitics of the Arctic"

The TSC is thrilled to invite Alumni to an engaging and thought-provoking virtual event, "Russia, China, and the Geopolitics of the Arctic." Taking place on Tuesday, Dec. 3, 2024, from 11 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. AKST (3 p.m. to 4:30 p.m. EST), this event will feature Mr. Alexander Dalziel, a distinguished Canadian Geopolitical Analyst and TSC alumnus. Mr. Dalziel will explore critical issues such as Arctic cooperation, relationship building, geoeconomic factors, and how global events influence Arctic security. Moderated by Dr. Matt Rhodes, Professor of International Security, and Dr. Kate Friedman, North American Arctic Policy Advisor, this discussion promises to be an essential conversation for anyone invested in the future of the Arctic.

This event is not only an opportunity to deepen your understanding of Arctic geopolitics but also a chance to connect with other members of the TSC alumni community. Stay inspired and informed as we navigate the complex challenges and opportunities shaping the Arctic region today. To ensure you don't miss out, mark your calendars and prepare for an engaging session with insights from leading experts.

The TSC Alumni Program is committed to strengthening connections and providing meaningful opportunities for engagement. Alumni can stay informed about upcoming events like this through the GlobalNet Alumni page, the True North monthly bulletin, social media, and the Ted Stevens Center website. For more information about the event, feel free to reach out to Doug Hulsey, the TSC's new Alumni Specialist, or contact the Public Affairs Office at TSC.Arctic.PublicAffairs@group.af.mil. Join us as we explore the Arctic's strategic future together!



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UPCOMING COURSES

Arctic Regional Security Orientation Course (ARSOC)

- Virtual, December 9-13, 2024
- Virtual, February 10-14, 2025

Arctic Multi-Domain Law Course (AMLC)

Virtual, March 4-6, 2025



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New research is now available on the Ted Stevens Center website! This month, the research team has released two special reports: "An Evolution in Arctic Collective Defense" and "Colonel Bernt Balchen: Polar Aviator, Arctic Innovator."

These reports represent a collaborative effort to explore Arctic history and address the region's evolving security challenges. Scan the QR code to access these comprehensive studies and explore the latest research.

Colonel Bernt Balchen: Polar Aviator, Arctic Innovator

Norwegian-American Bernt Balchen's Arctic aviation expertise, innovative approaches to Arctic challenges, and development of successful Arctic search and rescue procedures significantly advanced Arctic security, Arctic aviation safety and Arctic operations from the 1920s through the 1960s. This contribution rested on Bernt's pursuit of both formal and experiential learning and training, his keen observation skills, analytical approach and applied solutions to problems, his successful partnerships and engagement with an international array of aviation and Arctic enthusiasts as well as the general public, and his continuous passion for the Arctic, cherishing its beauty, respecting its challenges and envisioning its potential.

An Evolution in Arctic Collective Defense

Evolution is inevitable – whether it be technology, economic development, weapons systems, geopolitics, or international agreements. It is increasingly clear that the Arctic region is facing an accelerated evolutionary trend that is dramatically impacting the security environment. Unprecedented climate change has converged with Russian belligerence and strategic competition to shatter the previous 'High North, Low Tension' adage.

It is time to reassess our collective defense frameworks in the region. We must not rely upon relics of a Cold War security architecture, but rather take an innovative approach that will enable peace, stability, and prosperity in a demanding future security environment. While the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is transforming to the realities of the current geopolitical situation – strengthened with the accession of Sweden and Finland – we must further assess defensive frameworks. The Arctic is a unique region that demands expertise in order to survive – let alone to fight and win. No longer a region focused predominantly on flight paths of ballistic missiles and strategic bombers or submarines lurking below the ice, NATO must reexamine its approach to the High North through more clearly defined command and control. cooperation, NATO should consider establishing a new Joint Forces Command dedicated to the security of the Northern Flank.



TSC contributes to UAF Geologic Hydrogen Workshop

The University of Alaska Fairbanks (UAF) Geophysical Institute hosted a Geologic Hydrogen Workshop in Fairbanks, Alaska, from Oct. 29-31, 2024, where experts gathered to explore Alaska's potential as a geologic hydrogen producer. Among the distinguished participants was Matthew Schell, TSC Deputy Director for Research and Analysis, who was invited to provide critical security and defense insights. The workshop hosted more than 100 scholars. government officials, and industry professionals, all discussing the scientific, regulatory, and economic aspects of developing geologic hydrogen as a primary energy source for Alaska and the broader U.S. energy landscape. Schell's participation underscored the importance of energy security in U.S. Arctic research, highlighting Alaska's critical role in ensuring the nation's future energy needs.

SCAN TO READ THE LATEST SPECIAL REPORTS





Journal of Arctic and Climate Security Studies, Special STEM Edition 2025 Call for Papers

The Ted Stevens Center for Arctic Security Studies announces an article submission deadline of **April 30, 2025,** for contributions to JACSS Vol. 5, a special STEM edition for release in spring 2025.

Increasing focus on meeting the strategic, operational, and tactical challenges of the Arctic operating environment has led to new and promising research. Foundational scientific research improves understanding of the remote and rapidly changing region while development and testing of emerging technologies promises to provide near term solutions. Researchers are invited to submit papers on Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math (STEM) solutions to Arctic challenges:

- 1. Climate Change and its Impacts: We welcome submissions that explore the accelerated impacts of climate change in the Arctic and their implications for national security. This includes, but is not limited to, studies on permafrost thaw, sea ice dynamics, and their global climatic effects. Papers may also cover advancements in climate modeling and the application of satellite data to Arctic environmental studies, highlighting their relevance to security strategies and policies.
- 2. Arctic Engineering: Submissions should focus on innovative engineering solutions tailored to the Arctic's extreme conditions with implications for national security. Topics of interest include the development of cold-resistant materials, ice-resistant structures, and the adaptation of infrastructure to the changing Arctic environment, which are critical for ensuring the safety and operational capabilities of national assets in the region.
- 3. Renewable Energy and Sustainability: This section seeks papers on the adaptation and implementation of renewable energy technologies in the Arctic, underscoring their strategic importance for energy security. Research on improving the efficiency, sustainability, and reliability of renewable sources such as wind, solar, and tidal energy in cold climates is particularly encouraged, with a focus on their role in reducing dependencies and enhancing the resilience of both military and civilian operations.
- 4. Marine Biology and Ecosystems: We invite research that addresses the shifting marine ecosystems within the Arctic Circle and their implications for national security. Studies may focus on changes in biodiversity, the effects of environmental stressors on marine organisms, and conservation strategies to protect Arctic marine life, considering their significance for sustaining fish stocks and maintaining ecological balance in strategic waters.
- 5. Telecommunications and Technology Development: We invite contributions that focus on enhancing communication technologies in the Arctic, emphasizing their strategic importance for national security. Papers may include the development of robust infrastructure, innovations in data transmission methods, and solutions for improving digital connectivity in remote and extreme environments, essential for secure and reliable communications for defense and emergency response.
- 6. Below Zero Medicine- Medical Research and Health Care in the Arctic: This section calls for papers on medical research, health care practices, and emergency response strategies specifically tailored to the harsh Arctic environment. Submissions should explore the unique medical challenges faced by inhabitants and transient populations in this region, such as issues related to hypothermia, frostbite, and vitamin D deficiencies. Papers could also discuss the development and adaptation of medical technologies and telemedicine solutions designed for remote and isolated communities, emphasizing their implications for national security by ensuring the health and readiness of military personnel and civilian populations in strategic Arctic areas.

Submissions of 4,000 – 6,500 words in APA Style with author's curriculum vitae will be accepted by the editorial staff at **TSC-JACSS@groups.af.mil**.

JACSS is a peer-reviewed academic publication. Articles are unclassified, and readers can access articles from all over the world. Submissions will be accepted in English language, clearly written for an informed audience of defense and security affairs professionals and academics.

Scan the QR code to see the latest Journal and the JACSS Writer's Guide



Commander of Air Force Global Strike Command discusses **Arctic security with TSC leaders**

We were honored to welcome Gen. Thomas A. Bussiere, Commander of Air Force Global Strike Command, to the TSC for a visit on Oct. 18, 2024. During the visit, Bussiere met with TSC leaders to discuss the unique challenges and opportunities in the Arctic region and the center's growing network of like-minded Arctic security practitioners.





CDC's AIP Collaborates with TSC to Address Health Challenges in Arctic

Recently, Dr. Diana Bensyl, Director of the CDC's Arctic Investigations Program (AIP), and her team visited the TSC to engage with leaders from the TSC's Research and Analysis Division. Their goal was to explore ways the two organizations can collaborate on research addressing health challenges in the Arctic region. AIP is committed to improving the health of people in these regions, with a strong focus on promoting health equity, especially for indigenous populations. Through collaborative research and strategic engagement, AIP and TSC are working toward a healthier future for Arctic communities, using a whole-of-government approach outlined in the National Strategy for the Arctic Region.



Lt. Gen. Cunningham visits TSC to synchronize Arctic initiatives

This week, we were honored to host U.S. Air Force Lt. Gen. Case A. Cunningham, Commander, Alaskan Command, Alaskan North American Aerospace Defense Command Region and Eleventh Air Force, at the Ted Stevens Center. Cunningham engaged with our leadership team to deepen his understanding of the Center's mission and to explore collaborative opportunities. Together, we aim to align our efforts to advance the U.S. National Strategy for the Arctic Region and the Department of Defense's Arctic Strategy. Collaboration like this ensures we remain steadfast in addressing the strategic challenges and opportunities in the Arctic.

Engage o Experiment Analyze Innovate Educate



Dear and Distinguished Colleagues,

As winter settles in here in Alaska, the Ted Stevens Center for Arctic Security Studies continues its vital work to address the challenges and opportunities presented by the evolving Arctic landscape. November has been a month of progress, collaboration, and

reflection on the critical issues shaping this dynamic region.

This month, we hosted the inaugural Anchorage Security and Defense Conference, which brought together Arctic experts, policymakers, and senior leaders from across the globe. The discussions highlighted the importance of fostering partnerships to address pressing security challenges in the Arctic, from climate change to strategic competition. The insights gained throughout the week will help guide our future efforts in advancing a secure and stable Arctic.

As we approach the end of the year, I want to express my sincere gratitude for the exceptional professionals at the Ted Stevens Center. Their tireless commitment to our mission is nothing short of inspiring. I also want to extend my heartfelt thanks to our partners, contributors, and supporters. Your dedication and expertise are invaluable as we navigate the complexities of Arctic security together.

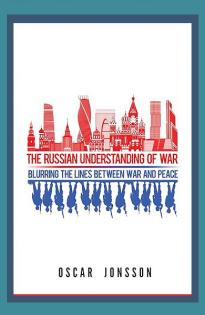
Very Respectfully,

Maj. Gen. (ret.) Randy "Church" Kee
Director, Ted Stevens Center for
Arctic Security Studies

DIRECTOR'S MONTHLY READING RECOMMENDATION

The Russian Understanding of War: Blurring the Lines between War and Peace

This book analyzes the evolution of Russian military thought and how Russia's current thinking about war is reflected in recent crises. While other books describe current Russian practice, Oscar Jonsson provides the long view to show how Russian military strategic thinking has developed from the Bolshevik Revolution to the present. He closely examines Russian primary sources including security doctrines and the writings and statements of Russian military theorists and political elites. What Jonsson reveals is that Russia's conception of the very nature of war is now changing, as Russian elites see information warfare and political subversion as the most important ways to conduct contemporary war. Since information warfare and political subversion are below the traditional threshold of armed violence, this has blurred the boundaries between war and peace. Jonsson also finds that Russian leaders have, particularly since 2011/12, considered themselves to be at war with the United States and its allies, albeit with non-violent means. This book provides much needed context and analysis to be able to understand recent Russian interventions in Crimea and eastern Ukraine, how to deter Russia on the eastern borders of NATO, and how the West must also learn to avoid inadvertent escalation.



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