# BOLETIM

# **GEOCORRENTE**

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# BOLETIM

# **GEOCORRENTE**

Boletim Geocorrente is a fortnightly publication written by the Conjuncture Assessment Group (NAC), which is part of the Department of Research and Post-Graduation (SPP) at the Naval War College (EGN). NAC studies the International Conjuncture from a geopolitical framework, in order to supply the global demand for information, making it more accessible for the general public. Moreover, it seeks to provide articles on defense and security issues to the society, and to disseminate updated knowledge of international conflicts and crisis to meet the Naval Staff's demands.

The research group responsible for this Boletim is composed of members from different areas of expertise, whose multiple backgrounds and experiences provide a comprehensive approach to the latest international issues. It seeks to analyse the major themes, motivational factors and the main actors regarding the escalation of conflicts, ongoing crises and its outcomes.

Thus, this journal aims to publish short articles concerning current issues about ten macro-regions in the globe: South America, North and Central America, Sub-Saharan Africa, Middle East and North Africa, Europe, Russia and former USSR, South Asia, East Asia, Southeast Asia and Oceania, Arctic and Antarctic. Furthermore, some editions feature the "Special Topics" section.

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# **TOP GLOBAL RISKS**

**Disregarding the COVID-19 pandemic** 

By Bruno Gonçalves Political crisis and tensions with the European bloc **ARMENIA AND AZERBAIJAN CENTRAL MEDITERRANEAN** Expressive increase in the crossing of migrants **TUNISIA** Parliament frozen by the President MEXICO 🗲 HAITI Structural crisis **NICARAGUA** LYBIA Civil war and **GUINEA** humanitarian crisis Coup d'état **COLOMBIA** NIGER Electoral and humanitarian crisis Escalation of terrorist activity in the region **VENEZUELA MYANMAR** High Risk THAILAND GULF OF GUINEA Medium Risk flict between government and insurgent forces Monitoring MOZAMBIQUE New on the Conflict between government and insurgent forces

For more information on the criteria used, see page 19.

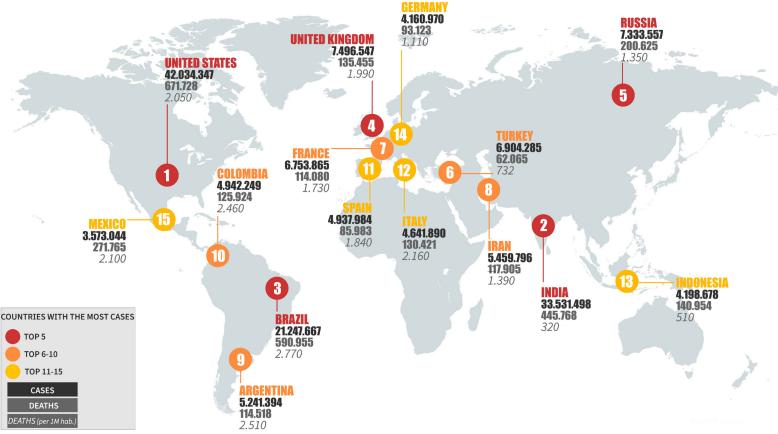
Risk Maps.....



# **COUNTRIES WITH THE MOST CASES**

Data according to the "WHO COVID-19 Dashboard", published on September 23rd, 2021.

By Bruno Gonçalves



# **VACCINE MONITORING**

/accination arc	ound the world			
anking of countries			corresponding to the	e vaccinated populati
Countries	Doses adr (millions)	ninistered* (per 100 people)	Vaccinated population (%)	Vaccines
China	2.186,5 (1st)	156	79 (7th)	CanSino Sinopharm/Beijing Sinopharm/Wuhar Sinovac
India	827,2 (2nd)	61	45 (77th)	Covaxin Oxford/AstraZenec Sputnik V
United States	387,4 (3rd)	117	64 (43rd)	Johnson&Johnso Moderna Pfizer/BioNTech
Brazil	224,9 (4th)	107	70 (30th)	Johnson&Johnson Oxford/AstraZened Pfizer/BioNTech Sinovac
Japan	154,9 (5th)	123	67 (35th)	Moderna Pfizer/BioNTech
Indonesia	128,6 (6th)	48	30 (101st)	Moderna Oxford/AstraZene Sinopharm/Beijin Sinovac
Turkey	106,4 (7th)	128	64 (46th)	Pfizer/BioNTech Sinovac
Germany	106,3 (8th)	128	67 (34th)	Johnson&Johnson Moderna Pfizer/BioNTech Oxford/AstraZeneo
Mexico	96,7 (9th)	76	49 (73rd)	CanSino Johnson&Johnso Moderna Oxford/AstraZenee Pfizer/BioNTech Sinovac Sputnik V
United Kingdom	93,2 (10th)	139	73 (24th)	Moderna Oxford/AstraZened Pfizer/BioNTech

# **SOUTH AMERICA**

# The impact of climate change on the Andes Mountains

Victor Cabral

According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, South America will be affected by global warming in multiple ways. The region will face rising sea levels, floods, droughts, and desertification, with socioeconomic consequences. The Andes Mountains will be in evidence in this process, for being a source of water, food, and energy resources, in addition to regulating the regional climate. In this way, what geopolitical developments can climate change trigger in the Andes?

The Andes Mountains are responsible for the regional climatic balance because some of its glaciers are the cradle of the Amazon River's headwaters, besides redirecting the humidity coming from the Amazon. Climate change intensifies snow melting in the Andes, causing flooding in the seven countries crossed by the mountain range. On the other hand, changes in rainfall patterns and the rise of regional temperatures above the global average accelerate drought and desertification. As water evaporates quickly, rivers and lakes are depleted and cease to exist. In other words, it is a risk to local water and energy security.

Chile, for example, already faces the effects of climate change due to constant droughts and advancing desertification in regions such as Coquimbo and Biobío. Energy resources are the first to be on the alert, as the

inability to produce hydroelectric power has been frequent, forcing the government to use coal-fired plants to make up for the energy deficit, even though such a measure is counterproductive in mitigating global warming. It is worth mentioning that Chile inaugurated in June 2021 the first photovoltaic (PV) energy plant in South America: *Cerro Dominador*, budgeted at USD 1.4 billion. More PV power plants must be opened to reduce energy dependence on non-renewable resources, although there is a lack of political and economic incentive from states to do so.

In this way, climate change already impacts the Andes and can affect the entire subcontinent. It will not be possible to maintain the current energy production system due to droughts and desertification, directly impacting society. Food and water insecurity will drive economic crises due to food price inflation, increased hunger, will promote disputes over resources still in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and drive forced migrations, producing environmental refugees. Therefore, it is crucial that political leaders develop contingency plans and funds to execute them before crises become daily and promote socio-environmental chaos on the subcontinent.



# NORTH & CENTRAL AMERICA

# The Canadian AOPS participation in the Operation Nanook

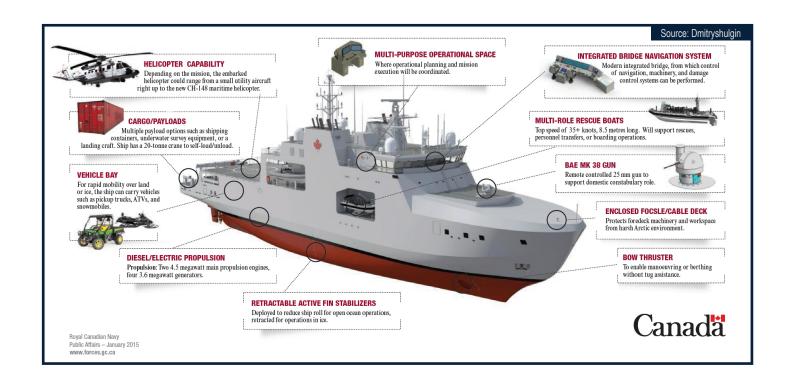
Jéssica Barreto

For the first time in more than 60 years, a Canadian-built ship has sailed through the Northwest Passage in the Canadian Arctic. It is the HMCS *Harry DeWolf* that was delivered to the Canadian Navy on July 31<sup>st</sup>, 2020, being the largest vessel built in the country in the last 50 years. It is noteworthy that, in 2010, the Harper government officially launched the National Shipbuilding Strategy (NSS), considered the largest naval replacement and modernization plan in the country's history, during peacetime. To deliver around 55 vessels over the next 30 years, the strategy highlights the *Arctic and Offshore Patrol Ship* (AOPS) construction program. Therefore, the importance of the AOPS for Canadian Naval Power should be questioned.

The vessel's first mission, which will last four months, began with its participation in Operation Nanook 2021, which took place between August 12<sup>th</sup> and September 12<sup>th</sup> and featured several activities in the region. The AOPS plans to increase the country's presence in the Arctic so that it carries out surveillance operations in the open sea. The Arctic is a crucial region to Canada's

national identity and sovereignty. In 1971, concern about the region officially appeared in the country's Canadian White Paper on Defence as a need for economic and social development to further integrate the region with the rest of the country. In the early 2000s, the discourse focused on the defense and security spectrum, with the development of war operations such as Operation Nanook and official documents for infrastructure development and investments in the sector.

Despite the region's importance and a shipbuilding sector developed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were several cuts in the defense budget and unfulfilled attempts to re-equip the Armed Forces after the 1990s. This left the Navy with scrapped equipment and limited capacity to act, especially in the Arctic, and depending on friendly forces for surveillance in the area. Even though it does not allow the country to act in the Arctic during the harsh winter months, the AOPS increases Canada's presence and ability to act without depending entirely on allies, enhancing its naval power, besides providing economics benefits and creating jobs in the province.



On August 14th, 2021, Haiti was hit by a 7.2-magnitude earthquake, followed by other tremors throughout the same week. Although the damage is still being assessed, according to the Haitian government, the number of dead, injured, and homeless has probably reached the thousands. Additionally, the country was hit by Storm Grace, which caused flooding throughout the region. It is necessary to consider that Haiti undergoes a structural crisis, strengthened by the murder of President Jovenel Moïse on July 7th of the same year. Therefore, how do these natural disasters weaken the already shaken Haitian society?

Since 2010, Haiti has been trying to recover from a seismic tremor of magnitude 7.0 on the Richter Scale, killing 300,000 people and destroying the local infrastructure, especially in the capital Port-au-Prince. The reconstruction was supported by the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), which had been in the country since 2004 and maintained its activities until 2017. Despite MINUSTAH's important initiatives, especially the development of a democratic regime and the fight against internal armed groups, the country's socio-economic structure has changed little,

maintaining one of the worst Human Development Indexes in the world. It is noteworthy that, due to the August 2021 earthquake and subsequent events, the achievements of MINUSTAH may be affected or even lost.

The country still struggles with the consequences of the assassination of the Haitian president, such as political instability (Boletim 143). To deal with this situation, Prime Minister Ariel Henry has suggested holding elections in November 2021, but the natural disasters in August may further delay the selection of a new head of state and members of the legislature. Furthermore, the government's Ministry of Justice was dismissed by Henry on September 15<sup>th</sup>, 2021, for having accused him of involvement in the Jovenel Moïse murder, which impacts the credibility and legitimacy of the new administration.

Therefore, recent events in Haiti can worsen the country's political and socio-economic situation, causing further instability in the Caribbean region. The international community must be attentive to the Haitian people to help them recover from the catastrophes and support structural change, enabling greater development of Haiti and its people.

DOI 10.21544/2446-7014.n148.p07.

# SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

# The structural impacts of illegal fishing in Ghana

Vanessa Bandeira

Considering the piracy in the Gulf of Guinea (GoG), initiatives such as the Deep Blue Project (Boletim 144) and the military exercise with the United States (Boletim 146) have been established to increase maritime security in the region. Thus, another threat has been escalating: Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated (IUU) fishing. Besides impacting the sustainability of fish stocks, this problem contributes to unemployment, the impoverishment of coastal populations, and threatens neighboring countries' food security, sovereignty, and economy. What are the impacts of this activity for Ghana, which is dependent on fishing for the nutrition of its population and whose fish consumption represents about 60% of animal protein volume?

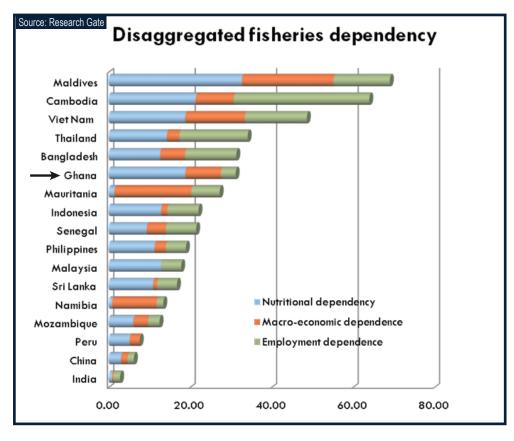
Ghana has the 18<sup>th</sup> highest GDP per capita in Africa, mainly composed of services (57.2%), where around 40.9% of the population works. It is also the 13<sup>th</sup> most populous country on the continent, with 23.4% of the population living below the poverty line. In a country with an economy based on resource extraction, fishing

sustains approximately 10% of the population. However, artisanal fishermen have suffered from declining catches due to IUU fishing.

This predatory extraction is executed by vessels usually flagged by African countries but are mostly owned and operated by foreign states, mainly China and European countries. Without meeting effective resistance, these actions have caused the decline of income and the increase of poverty in coastal communities. With few alternatives, many fishermen are attracted to work with piracy and other illegal practices, enabling IUU fishing to impact the increased incidence of attacks in the GoG directly.

Despite the broad scope of the problem, there is no UN Security Council resolution on the issue. Existing policies are limited only to safeguarding the marine ecosystem and managing climate change. Implementing regulations to address this issue is vital to avoid a collapse in GoG fisheries and to sustain Ghana's economy. The same coordinated and comprehensive response to piracy »

needs to be extended to other maritime illicit activities so that investments from foreign partners effectively enable a particular context on the African coast. Thus, increased attention and discussion of IUU fishing is crucial, as it is increasingly detrimental to GoG's maritime security.



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#### **EUROPE**

# Operation Atalanta and the Italian presence off the coast of Somalia

Melissa Rossi

The Italian Navy's multi-purpose frigate *Martinengo* (FREMM) joined in August the European Union Naval Force Somalia (EUNAVFOR Somalia), also known as Operation Atalanta. The Italian frigate will support the Spanish flagship *Navarra*, already present in the Somali Basin. Last year, the *Martinengo* frigate participated in an antipiracy mission in the Gulf of Guinea, accumulating thus extensive experience in multinational missions.

Operation Atalanta is the first naval mission of the European Union (EU) approved by the Council of the European Union in 2008. Its main goal is to combat piracy in the Gulf of Aden and the Somali Basin, protecting the great flux of maritime traffic that crosses those waters daily. As such, besides protecting vessels from the World Food Programme (WFP), a United Nations (UN) humanitarian program that helps to deliver food to vulnerable populations in Somalia, the Martinengo frigate will also help to guarantee the free passage of commercial vessels that navigate between Asia and Europe through the Suez Canal.

It is important to point out that Operation Atalanta

does not act alone in this vast area. Other maritime security operations that aim at combating piracy, such as the Combined Taskforce 151 (CTF 151) — a taskforce under the Combined Maritime Forces (CMF), which count on the support of 34 countries, including Brazil — also patrol the region. At the moment, CTF 151 is under the command of a Brazilian Admiral.

In January 2011, at the height of piracy attacks, nothing less than 32 vessels and 736 people had been kidnapped off the coast of Somalia. These numbers have diminished consistently thanks to the swift actions of these antipiracy missions. No kidnappings took place in 2020.

Besides counter-piracy activities, the *Martinengo* frigate's crew will also be involved in Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC), mainly aimed at intercepting illegal fishing off the coast of Somalia and giving humanitarian support to the local population.

All in all, due to the unrelenting efforts of these international crews and missions, such as those from the Martinengo frigate and EUNAVFOR Somalia, the »

success of antipiracy operations in the Gulf of Aden and Somali waters continue contributing to the maintenance of peace and stability in the region.



DOI 10.21544/2446-7014.n148.p08-09.

# MIDDLE EAST & NORTH AFRICA

# Turkish power projection in Azerbaijan

Dominique Marques

In July, Turkish President Recep Erdogan met with Ilham Aliyev, President of Azerbaijan. Both visited the city of Shusha, conquered by Azerbaijan in the 2020 conflict with Armenia in Nagorno-Karabakh, in which Turkey colaborated with arms for Aliyev. To strengthen this military cooperation, the presidents signed a declaration. How does the partnership between these states represent the Turkish power projection in this area of Russian influence?

With the motto of "Two States, one Nation", cooperation between Turkey and Azerbaijan gets increasingly more robust. Erdogan will seek to modernize the Azeri military capability, and both have already been carrying out bilateral military operations. In 2021, *MiG-29 Fulcrum* fighter jets and *Su-25 Frogfoot* attack planes from the Azerbaijani Air Force flew to Turkey and participated in the Anatolian Eagle Air Force exercise in Konya. The declaration signed in July pledges, among other actions, to establish an armed drone factory for joint production. During the meeting, Erdogan also did not exclude building a military base in the country.

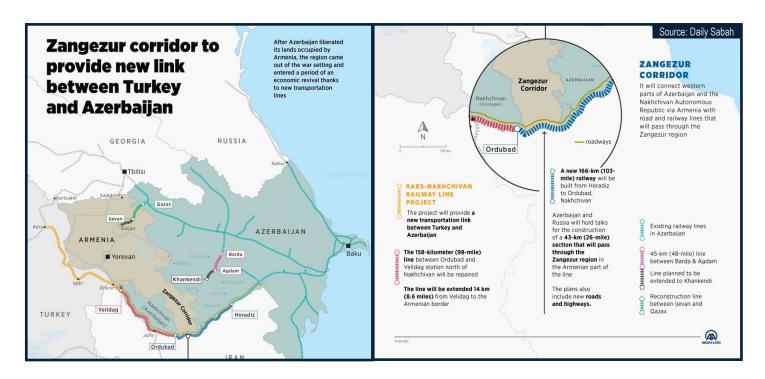
Another initiative involving these actors is the Zangezur corridor. After the recent conflict with the

Armenians, Aliyev started discussions with Putin and Erdogan to construct the venture that will connect Russia and Turkey through their territory. Scheduled to be completed in two and a half years, this connection can strengthen the new partnership and become part of the Chinese Belt and Road, increasing the Asian power projection in the region, which frights not only the neighboring countries but also the West (Europe and the United States).

Apparently, the Turkish power projection currently takes advantage of the Russian non-interference. However, it is noteworthy that Turkey is still part of NATO, a rival Western military alliance to Russia, and that Azerbaijan was one of the former Soviet states fought heavily by the organization. Considering this past, as Erdogan seeks to strengthen Turkish geopolitics, if his moves are perceived as expansionist by Moscow, this recent and unprecedented collaboration between Russia and Turkey could end at any time. This could profoundly unbalance the regional balance of power and trigger damaging conflicts to countries with lower military expression, such as Azerbaijan.

Therefore, Turkish power projection in the country >>>

has apparently been restricted to the diplomatic sphere through military-technical cooperation. However, strengthening these relations through the eventual construction of military bases and other joint activities can generate more noise.



DOI 10.21544/2446-7014.n148.p09-10.

## **RUSSIA & FORMER-USSR**

# Army 2021: Defense Industry, Naval Power and Russian International Projection

Pérsio Glória de Paula

The Russian defense industrial complex is a historically essential component for Moscow's international projection. Besides supporting the country's military capabilities, the defense industry has also served as a tool for its foreign policy. Thus, events such as the International Military-Technical Forum (Army 2021) are important for understanding these trends. How does this event make the role of the Russian naval industry more visible?

Held at the end of August 2021, Army 2021 was attended by delegations from more than 40 countries and 680 exhibiting companies. The opening ceremony was inaugurated by Russian President Vladimir Putin himself. At the event, Putin ordered the construction of six more warships for the Russian Navy and signed a contract to purchase 3M22 Tsirkon naval launch hypersonic cruise missiles (Boletim 111). Army 2021 was also marked by the introduction of new naval weapons, such as the underwater drone for detecting mines and depth charges, under development by Gidropribor — a state-owned company specialized in unmanned underwater weapons. Thus, the growing relevance of naval power and

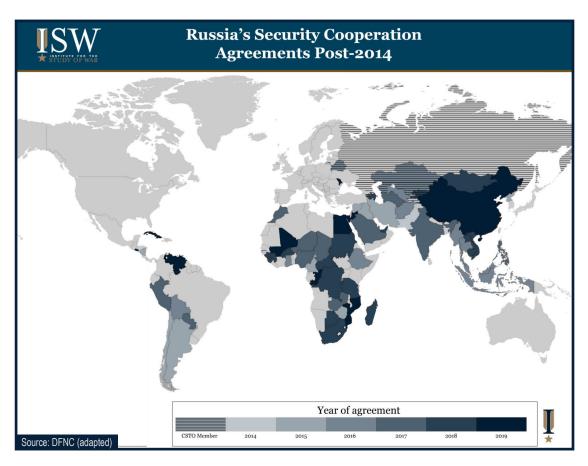
technologies in the Russian defense ecosystem is visible.

Besides highlighting the importance of the event, the participation of the Russian president also points to the relevance of hard power in Russian foreign policy. This can be seen in Russia's international strategy for partnership diversification, designed to circumvent both isolation in the face of Western sanctions and a possible Sino-dependence. Thus. international agreements for defense cooperation and arms exports help the rapprochement with countries of the Middle East, Africa and Latin America. This generates economic gains, closer diplomatic ties and consolidates the idea of Russia as a global power, as Moscow effectively acts in all regions of the planet.

Naval power has become essential for maintaining Russia's international position, as it is necessary to solidify gains in influence in distant regions, such as Africa and Latin America (Boletim 134). This fundamental necessity is also present in the Arctic, a region of growing strategic and economic prominence due to climate change and the opening of new maritime routes, and in the Black Sea, the stage of growing disputes with Western countries.

In this way, it is noted the use of the defense industry's capabilities in accordance with Russian foreign policy objectives. Likewise, the development of the naval sector

is also in line with the needs of international projection and with future trends, such as climate change.



DOI 10.21544/2446-7014.n148.p10-11.

# Belarus and the migration deterrent tool

Vitória França

One year after Aleksander Lukashenko's reelection as president of Belarus (Boletim 124), the political crisis in the country has escalated mainly because of two main elements: the volatile domestic political situation and the relationship with the European Union (EU) — especially with Poland and Lithuania. Over the last year, Belarus has been struggling with the tightening of sanctions from the bloc. Determined to move in the European context, Lukashenko has acted, according to the EU, with "aggressive behavior in organizing illegal border crossings with migrants into Latvia, Lithuania and Poland". That said, it is essential to analyze how Lukashenko's measures impact the European Union and how they may affect the geopolitical chess of Eastern Europe.

The number of asylum seekers at the Belarus border to the EU increased 50-fold in 2021 compared to 2020. Poland and the Baltic states — Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia — accuse Lukashenko of attracting and sending migrants across their borders, which are also part of the EU's eastern border, in what they call a "hybrid war". The

increase in migrants has been seen as Minsk's response to sanctions against Belarus, and that the migration issue may be being used to trigger a destabilizing crisis and exert pressure against the bloc.

With the escalating border tensions, Poland signed a decree last September 2<sup>nd</sup> declaring a state of emergency on the border with Belarus that will last until November, a situation that has not happened since the existence of the Soviet Union. Additionally, Lithuania and the Polish government have announced the construction of fences and the increase of troops on their borders. Migrants currently cannot enter EU territory or even return to Minsk, being stuck in border areas. In this sense, Lukashenko would not only be using people as a hybrid weapon against the European Union but seeking to provoke an internal political crisis in neighboring states to test the bloc's limits of tolerance.

Therefore, it is evident that regional stability will hardly prevail as long as there is a policy of mutual pressure among regional neighbors, ignoring the interdependence of the different actors. Belarus' actions »

affect the European geopolitical context, creating a focus of tension on the European Union's eastern border. The warning lies with the escalation of small events sponsored

by such actors, which may cause greater stalemates, contributing to more disputes.



DOI 10.21544/2446-7014.n148.p11-12.

## EAST ASIA

# Sea, land, air and space: "Global Korea" goes beyond

Marcelle Torres

South Korea looks forward to developing itself strategically and safeguarding its maritime and economic interests as a middle power. In 2021, it has become the only country to be upgraded from a developing economy to a developed one, according to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). According to President Moon Jae-in, South Korea yearns for self-reliant national defense. He has witnessed the country's naval force evolve from patrol boats and rusted battleships abandoned by the Japanese military to an oceangoing navy that has commissioned approximately 150 ships, including 19 submarines and 09 destroyers. The present text will address some aspects of South Korean development toward its defense self-reliance.

The Ministry of National Defense (MDN) recently announced the Mid-Term Defense Plan 2022-2026 with an expenditure of USD 271.5 billion, considering Pyongyang's growing nuclear threat and the military development of countries in the region. Considering this budget, 66.15% will be used for military operations and 33.85% for modernization of forces, including procurement and research and development (R&D). Additionally, the MDN aims for 80% of the modernization

funds to be with local products, technologies and industries.

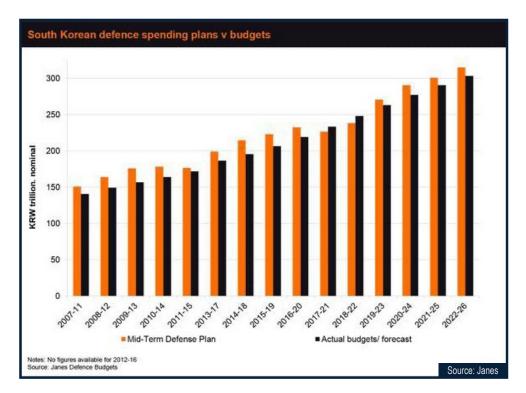
The Plan also comprises the development of long-range ballistic missiles, encouraged by the resumption of "missile program sovereignty" (Boletim 140), which also expanded South Korea's presence in the space sector and promoted its membership in the Artemis program. Now, Seoul will conduct its first lunar exploration mission in August 2022. Despite its late entry into the space development race, the country seeks to expose its space program for its economic development and its favorable status as a middle power.

Regarding the Navy, South Korea received the first 3,000t Dosan Ahn Changho submarine, built with about 80% local technology and capable of firing ballistic missiles, which could foster the basis for the development of nuclear-powered submarines. On September 15th, Seoul successfully tested a ballistic missile launched by the Ahn Changho, becoming the seventh country to possess this capability. Furthermore, in September, Hyundai Heavy Industries signed an agreement with Britain's Babcock, continuing the South Korean Navy's CVX Aircraft Carrier Programme (formerly LPX-II, Boletim 132). The CVX will focus on a traditional

aircraft carrier design, for fixed-wing and rotary-wing operations, with two islands similar to the Royal Navy's *Queen Elizabeth* class.

The tension between the United States and China has incited South Korea's quest for autonomy and

self-reliance. With the upcoming South Korean presidential election in March 2022, attention turns to the presidential candidates of what is currently the 6<sup>th</sup> largest military power on the planet, according to Global Firepower 2021.



DOI 10.21544/2446-7014.n148.p12-13.

# China and Big Tech: behind the regulations

#### Maria Cláudia Nunes

In 2021, considering several economic and security issues, the Communist Party of China (CCP) has been looking forward to creating regulations for its digital companies aiming to protect the Chinese middle class. However, during the last months until the next National Congress in 2022, Xi Jinping does not have a clear successor and apparently intends to stay in power indefinitely. In this sense, this article seeks to explore the relationship between these regulations in the private sector and the political environment for Xi's permanence in power.

In the Chinese political system, there was a consensus framed in law that limited the tenure of the General Secretary and President of the Republic to two terms. However, in 2018, Xi Jinping broke with the consensus and eliminated the law to remain in power indefinitely. Even so, his permanence in power is not certain because, although the Party is usually seen as extremely united, there are internal rivalries between various political currents, which could threaten the tenure of the current head of state. Occasions such as a leadership change imply the elimination of rivals from power, like the case with Bo Xilai in 2013 with his sentencing to life in prison.

In 2020, the CCP had promised strong regulations

on the private tech sector, which was fulfilled through four cases: the blocking of the Ant Group's IPO, the Didi platform inquiries, the billion-dollar fines from Tencent (a tech conglomerate), and the banning of profits on tutoring companies. Official memos for each new regulation claimed socioeconomic and security concerns, explaining that it is a necessary evil to prevent unbridled growth of corporate power, like in the United States.

The connections between the companies directly affected by the new regulations are relevant: one of those suspected of being a leader of Xi Jinping's opposition is Jiang Zemin. For example, Boyu Capital — an investment company led by Zemin's grandson — had strong investments in several institutions hit by the new regulations. Moreover, major investors in these affected companies have relationships with Zemin; others, such as Jack Ma, have previously criticized the government.

Therefore, it is notable that such connections demonstrate the possibility that the regulations in the industry were made to target Xi Jinping's political rivals, even though the official notes allege national concerns. Relations between the public and private sectors in China are likely to remain tense until the 2022 Congress.

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## **SOUTH ASIA**

### Indo-Russian commercial ties reached new horizons

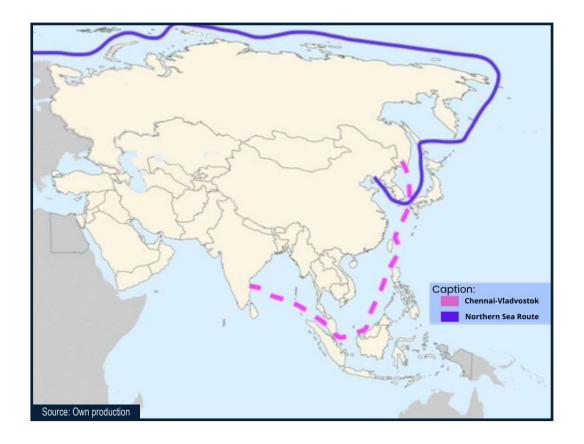
Marina Corrêa

India and Russia have been regional powers and major trading partners since the establishment of the "Declaration on the India-Russia Strategic Partnership". In 2010, the Former Russian President Dmitry Medvedev visited India, claiming that Indo-Russian partnerships would be elevated to a "special and privileged strategic partnership". In 2020, both countries began to seek new ways to increase their energy shares, making the Northern Sea Route (NSR) the solution. However, it is noticed that India's dependence on Russia is much greater than Moscow's on New Delhi. Therefore, are the new sea routes agreements beneficial to India?

Moscow helped New Delhi grow and develop economically. However, according to the OEC (Observatory of Economic Complexity), there is a discrepancy in the commercial relationship between the countries. During 24 years, the Indian exports to Russia increased at an annual rate of 4.73%, going from USD 1.04 billion (1995) to USD 3.15 billion (2019); while in the same period, the Russian exports to India increased at an annual rate of 9,64% — from USD 742 million to USD 6,76 billion. However, not even close to Russia's biggest trading partner, China, which reached USD 110 billion in 2019.

Concerning the Indo-Russian joint maritime projects, these offer greater connectivity between several countries, such as the International North-South Transport Corridor (passing through Central Asian countries) and the Chennai-Vladivostok Maritime Corridor (Boletim 125). Furthermore, the route crosses Southeast Asia, making India increase its geoeconomic presence in the region. On the other hand, the Northern Sea Route would make it possible to explore crude oil and liquefied natural gas (LNG) in the Arctic, besides facilitating the supply of metallurgical coal on the east coast of India. Hence, the Chennai-Vladivostok connection with the NSR also brings India's strategic presence in the South China Sea, counterbalancing Chinese expansion in this maritime space.

Then, it can be perceived that the new sea route agreements are beneficial to India because they should facilitate progress in Indo-Russian relations and a consequent approximation in the trade balance between countries. It is strategic for India to have Russia as a partner to strengthen ties with Central Asian economies, import energy resources, reduce trade differences with Russia, and offset the Chinese Belt and Road.



# **SOUTHEAST ASIA & OCEANIA**

# **AUKUS and Australia's Indo-Pacific Strategy**

Thayná Fernandes

On September 16<sup>th</sup>, a new strategic alliance launched by Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States (AUKUS) established cooperation in defense technology for the next 18 months. The main starting point is the construction of eight conventional nuclear-powered submarines by Australia from technologies shared by the British and the U.S. Thus, the previous contract of Australian submarine construction with the French company Naval Group in 2016 has been cancelled. Therefore, this article aims to question how this change contributes to Australian strategy in the Indo-Pacific.

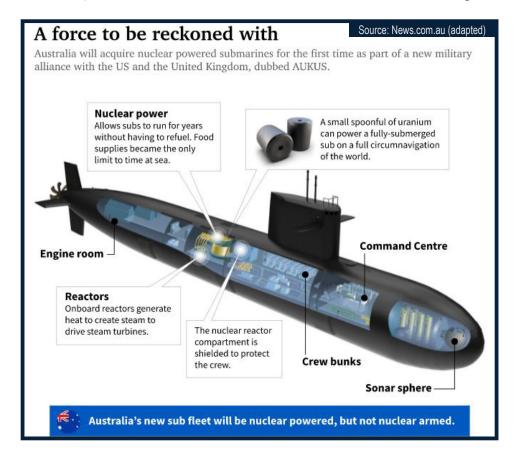
The termination of the contract has generated great diplomatic dissatisfaction in France. However, the contract for the construction of 12 conventional submarines that was initially planned to cost USD 35 billion by March 2021 came close to USD 75 billion, 17 months late (Boletim 135). In this regard, Scott Morrison's government was already speculating new partnerships so that the United States and the United Kingdom emerged as more reliable allies.

For the Americans, demonstrating influence in a disputed region with China is crucial to establish an assertive posture to Beijing's advances. To the British, it is an opportunity to establish themselves as a global power within the political-strategic perspective of a Global Britain (Boletim 146). To Australia, AUKUS

contributes in three aspects: greater sovereignty in its political positioning, deepening relations with important strategic partners and acceleration of independence in military deterrence capacity.

With important partners, Canberra can take a more active stance in its stalemates with Beijing, which has been applying constant economic sanctions since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, breaking or at least mitigating the submissive image. Being in a nuclear technology sharing agreement with the United States and the United Kingdom deepens relations with these countries who, since 1958, have had an agreement to share such technology only among themselves. Besides, a plan to develop nuclear submarine capability is extremely relevant, considering that the building of islands in the South China Sea and the increased circulation of Chinese vessels in the Indo-Pacific represents threats that Australia alone cannot currently contain.

Beijing did not view the partnership favorably, claiming that it would increase the "arms race" in the region. However, despite being an important step for Canberra, currently, AUKUS is a trilateral agreement on Defense technology development, with no outlines of being a "NATO in Asia". In any case, Australia is on its way to strengthening its military capacity and its strategic relevance as a Chinese counterpoint in the Indo-Pacific.



# **ARCTIC & ANTARCTIC**

# Novatek's projects and Russia's Arctic projection

Raphaella Costa

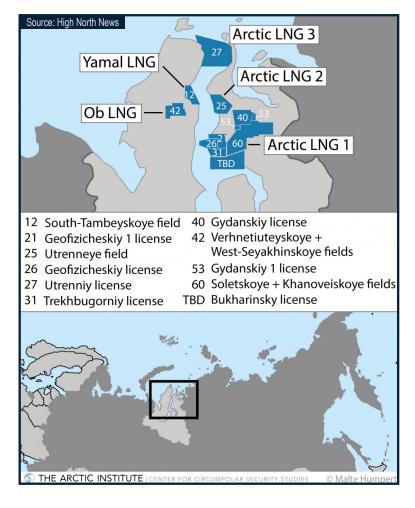
Investment in the Arctic is also visible through the exploitation of natural resources. One of the concepts that illustrate this race is the so-called "Geopolitics of Resources", an expression coined by Kattalin Gabriel-Oyhamburu, which characterizes the search for oil, gas and rare earth minerals, also in the Arctic, as essential for the consolidation of regional sovereignty. Based on this, the Arctic LNG 2 and Ob LNG projects, aimed at producing Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) and headed by the Russian Novatek, place the country in the spotlight in the field of this exploration in the high North. In this sense, how can the dispute for natural resources in the Arctic contribute to the geopolitical arrangement between regional actors?

In February 2021, Novatek of Russia and Shenergy of China signed a new gas agreement, highlighting the relevance of the ties between the countries. With this pact, Novatek will ship around 3 million tonnes per year of LNG to Shenergy terminals in Shanghai in the next 15 years. Therefore, the resource will be obtained through Novatek's Arctic LNG 2 project on the Yamal Peninsula in the Russian Arctic. However, for the Ob LNG project, planned as Novatek's third-largest initiative in the

region, the company has requested additional exploration licenses in the newly obtained areas of Arkticheskoye and Neytinskoye which are located in a natural reserve, although according to Russian law, industrial activities are prohibited in these areas due to potential environmental damage.

It should be perceived that these projects are important steps for the Kremlin in gas geopolitics and the development of its strategy for the region. Most of the LNG production is destined for the Asia-Pacific axis, benefiting from the potential growth of local gas consumption in the coming decades, which will allow Russia to take the lead in the gas production market, competing with other industry giants such as Australia and Qatar.

Projections announce that only Arctic LNG 2 will double production of Yamal LNG, becoming a central axis of Russia's Arctic Strategy Plan through 2035 and intensifying transit along the Northern Sea Route. Therefore, the exploitation of resources in the Arctic is a key point for intensifying relations between countries in the region and increasing the race for strategic resources.



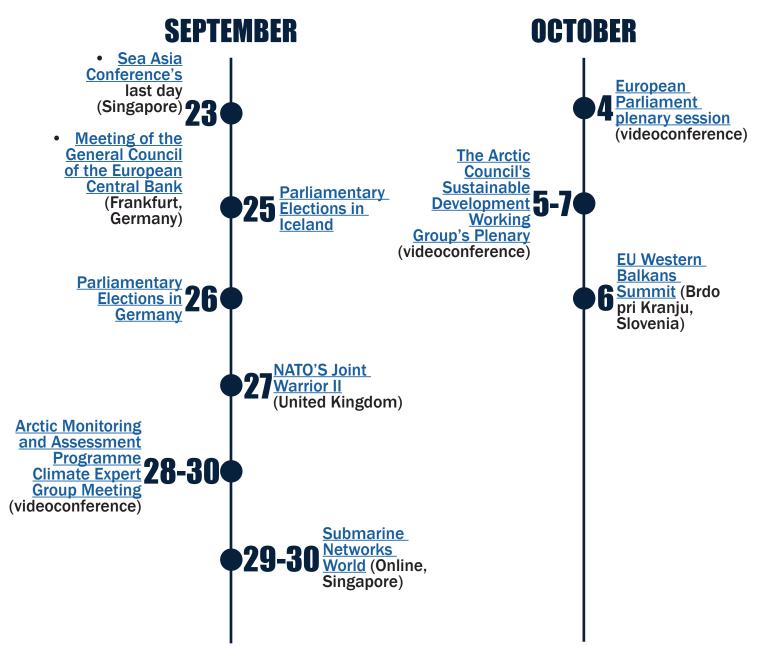
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By Isadora Jacques



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The initial maps (pages 03 and 04) of the Boletim were created with Mapchart and follow the guidelines of Creative Commons.

## RISK MAP

The map entitled "Top Global Risks" on the 3 rd page • of this Boletim was prepared by the Conjuncture Assessment Group (NAC) members of the Brazilian Naval War College (EGN). The appearance of the international phenomena on the map considers their relevance to Brazil, analyzed through criteria, namely the number of Brazilians living in the region, direct or indirect influence on the Brazilian economy, and their impact on the Brazilian Strategic Surroundings. Besides, the interests of the United Nations Security Council permanent members will be considered. After selecting the phenomena, they are categorized as high risk (red) or medium risk (orange), following parameters that reflect the severity of the risk, namely: number of victims, the relevance of the actors involved, impact on the global economy, and the possibility of tensions escalation. The countries painted in gray represent conflicts under analysis,

which may become red or orange, depending on the conflict's aggravation.

Due to the increase in the number of cases (infected, hospitalized and dead) of COVID-19, there was an adaptation in the analysis of the scenario. In this way, a separate map was drawn up, with the countries with the highest number of infected people, according to the latest WHO bulletin released until the publishing date of this bulletin. Thus, the countries were painted in red or orange according to the number of total cases.

The analyzes are reassessed at each Boletim edition, aiming to update the demarcated regions and the color used in each one. Therefore, the main phenomena are always observed, distributed at high and medium risk. Below are links to the risks indicated on the map:

By Bruno Gonçalves

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