Security on the Northern Frontier -
Defining environmental change and security -

A. Polar coastal states
B. Non-Arctic states and bodies
C. Indigenous Arctic peoples
D. Industry

2010 State of the Arctic Conference
Elizabeth Deheza and Elisa Burchert
From periphery to strategic center

Basic theoretical concepts of geopolitics

The Arctic as a choke point

- Naval, air, and land-based military power

From a political geography perspective

Mackinder and Spykman

- Arctic as periphery ("Arctic Wastes")

Renner and Roucek

- "Area of Decision"
A. Polar coastal states

Interests, perceptions, strategies

Evaluation of the current national strategies

1/ Russia in pole position
   • Chilingarov: “The Arctic is ours and we should manifest our presence.”

2/ Canadia’s periodical obsession
   • Sovereignty and security policies in the Arctic

3/ Norwegian active agenda
   • $10 bn to reinforce the High North defense

4/ Danish conceptual ambivalence
   • Greenland

5/ American freezing status quo
   • Must ratify UNCLOS
### A. Polar coastal states
Interests, perceptions, strategies

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<tr>
<th><strong>Russia</strong></th>
<th><strong>Canada</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Russian Polar etiquette</strong></td>
<td><strong>Periodic Obsession</strong></td>
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<td>- Arctic water patrols, strategic bomber missions along the Norwegian coastline</td>
<td>- $61 million (new training sites)</td>
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<td>- Investing $1 billion in Murmansk port, doubling capacity by 2015</td>
<td>- $3 billion (Arctic patrol ships)</td>
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<td>- Already built reactor vessel for the first floating nuclear power plant</td>
<td>- Claims the Northwest Passage to be Canadian and not an international strait</td>
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<td>- Submitted claims to Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (CLCS)</td>
<td>- Rename it “the Canadian Northwest Passage”</td>
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<td>- Claims the Lomonosov Ridge, ownership of Hans Island, Ellesmere Island, and the boundary delimitation of Beaufort</td>
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B. Non-Arctic actors
Cautious approaches

<table>
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<th>NATO</th>
<th>EU</th>
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<tr>
<td>• Focus on non-military related problems</td>
<td>• 200 mn euros to polar-related issues</td>
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<td>• Surveillance, search and rescue,</td>
<td>• Arctic Council (permanent observer seat)</td>
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<td>crisis-prevention and management</td>
<td>• Demands freedom of navigation in the</td>
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<td>• “Cold Response” in 2007, 2008, 2009</td>
<td>Northwest Passage</td>
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<td>• Main focus should be Greenland</td>
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<td>- window to the Arctic</td>
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<td>• EU must take onboard the</td>
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<td>concerns of Greenland (sealskin</td>
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<td>and shrimp exports)</td>
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C. Indigenous Arctic Peoples

Sense of belonging

Looking out: the Arctic as a homeland

Realities: Living in an environment of risk and at risk (Nuttall, 2007)

• Accelerated socio-political transformations and environmental pressures
• Different communities evaluate and adapt to AEC differently
• Recent gains in political autonomy despite persistent shortcomings

1/ Human security - from what?

• Multiple exposure: survival is tied to health and well-being of ecosystems
• Land and wildlife disturbances
• Cultural changes

2/ Human security - by what means?

• Combination of different ways of knowing
• Participation in development plans and policy-making processes
D. Industry

Arctic - periphery or center stage?

Interests and realities

A mixed picture...industry at the interface of multiple security agendas and concerns

- Resources and transportation systems critical to national and human security
- Increasing but fragile interest (Offerdal 2009)
- Numerous challenges remain: no certain projections can be made about the future of the Arctic as an energy and shipping region
- Need to distinguish between different sub-regions (Offerdal 2009)
D. Industry

The Arctic storehouse - periphery or center stage?

1/ Transportation systems

At first glance - fast lanes opening up
- Earlier and longer navigation seasons with enormous savings
- (Sovcomflot pilot voyage 2010)
- Diversification of trade routes

On closer inspection - big challenges
- Local navigation for general cargo
- Strong variability and risks remain
- Bulk shipping vs. container shipping
- Attention to environmental regulation

Traffic is unlikely to be heavy in short/medium term

D. Industry

The Arctic storehouse - periphery or center stage?

2/ Resource development

At first glance - from unviable to booming?

- New dawn for exploration
- Offshore lease sales in recent years (Statoil, Royal Dutch Shell, BP, Total)

On closer inspection - boutique not priority

- On-/offshore (high costs)
- Impacts of economic crisis
- High risks (CSR, reputation)
- Dependence on external factors
- Operations: extreme environment (permafrost, icebergs, etc.)

Source: UNEP/GRID (Hugo Ahlenius)
Natural resources.
Conclusion

Some tentative thoughts

• *Eroding isolation since the end of the Cold War:* Increasing density of relations among state and non-state actors
• *Increase in strategic value and accessibility:* New challenges and responsibilities
• *Distinctive northern approaches connect with existing legal frameworks:* Cooperation despite shortcomings and fragmentation of legal frameworks

For social scientists

• Integration of different ways of knowing
• Moving beyond rhetoric
• Differentiation: security, cooperation, and conflict