

March 18, 2010

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/ Canada’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

Russia

Russian Polar etiquette

- Arctic water patrols, strategic bomber missions along the Norwegian coastline
- Investing \$1 billion in Murmansk port, doubling capacity by 2015
- Already built reactor vessel for the first floating nuclear power plant
- Submitted claims to Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (CLCS)

Canada

Periodic Obsession

- \$61 million (new training sites)
- \$3 billion (Arctic patrol ships)
- Claims the Northwest Passage to be Canadian and not an international strait
 - Rename it “the Canadian Northwest Passage”
- Claims the Lomonosov Ridge, ownership of Hans Island, Ellesmere Island, and the boundary delimitation of Beaufort

B. Non-Arctic actors

Cautious approaches

NATO

- Focus on non-military related problems
- Surveillance, search and rescue, crisis-prevention and management
- “Cold Response” in 2007, 2008, 2009

EU

- 200 mn euros to polar-related issues
- Arctic Council (permanent observer seat)
- Demands freedom of navigation in the Northwest Passage
- Main focus should be Greenland - window to the Arctic
- EU must take onboard the concerns of Greenland (sealskin and shrimp exports)

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

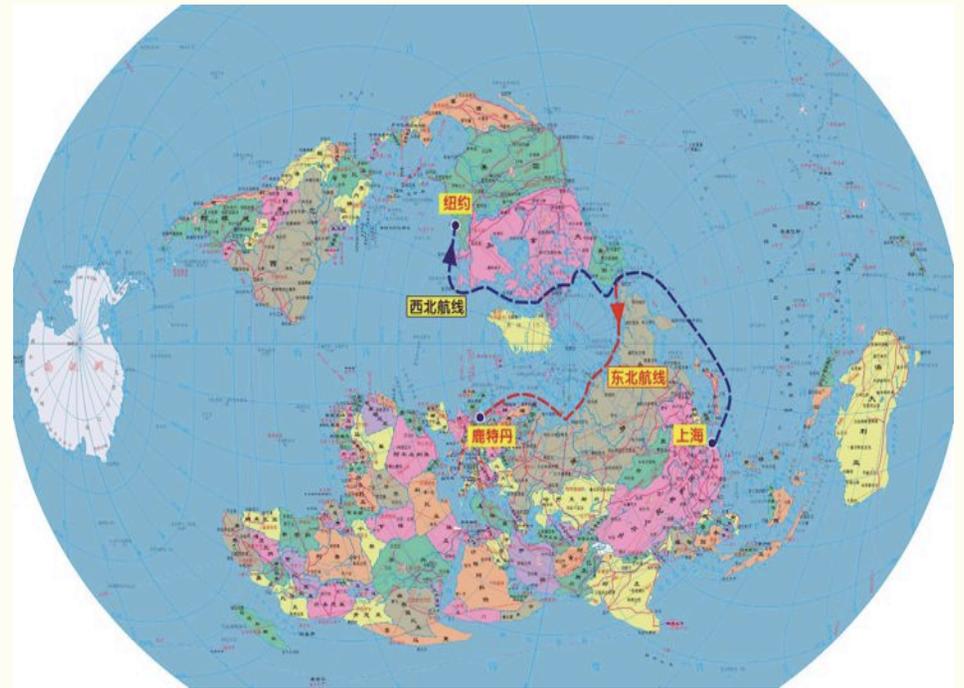
At first glance - fast lanes opening up

- 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*



Source: Chinese Arctic and Antarctic Administration, in: SIPRI Insights on Peace and Security, 2010/2.

D. Industry

The Arctic storehouse - periphery or center stage?

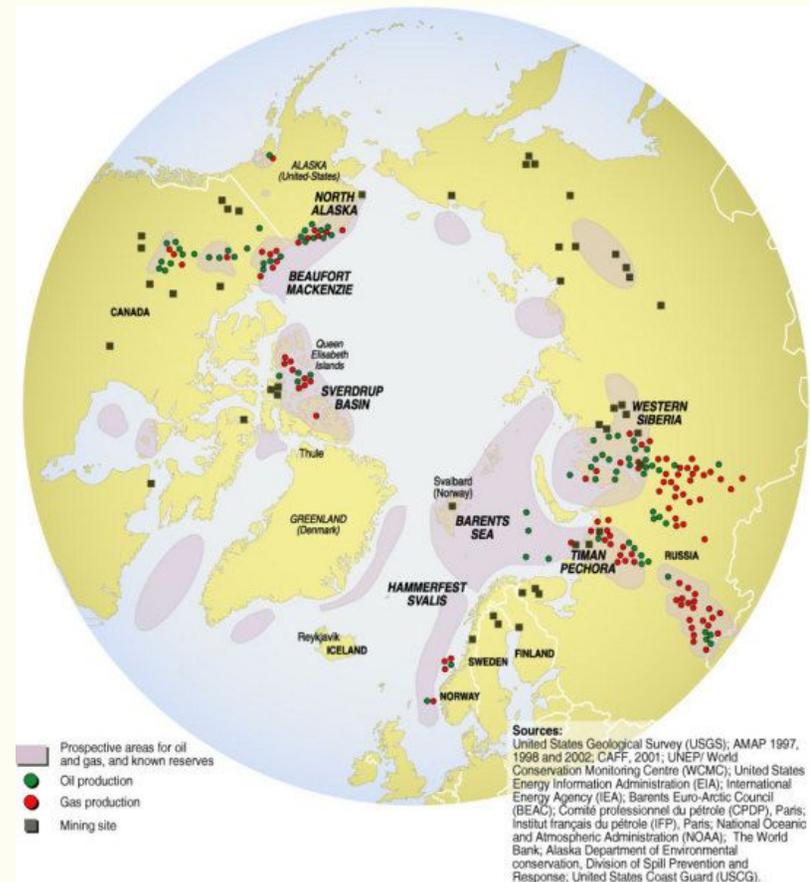
2/ Resource development

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