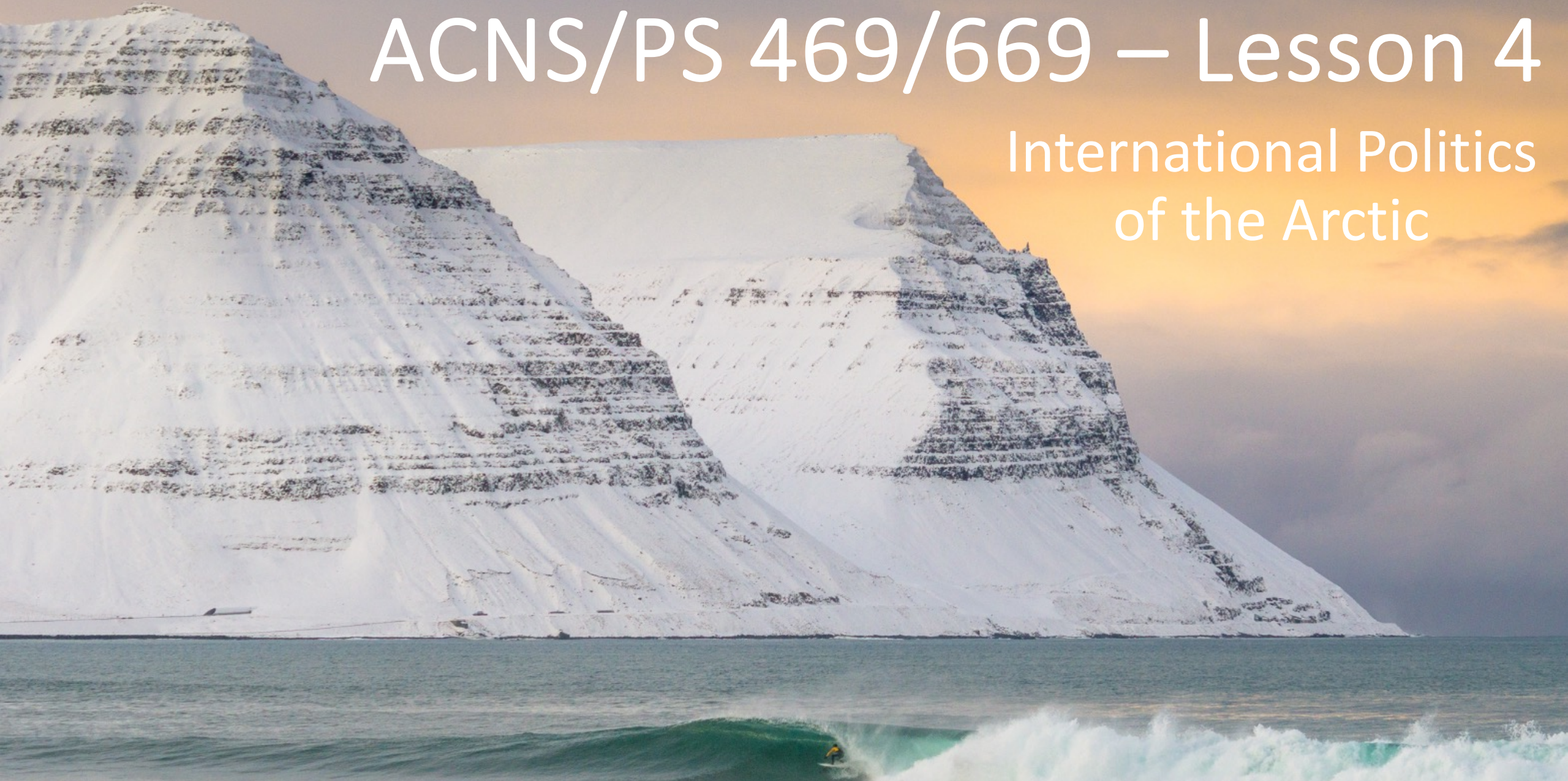


ACNS/PS 469/669 – Lesson 4

International Politics of the Arctic



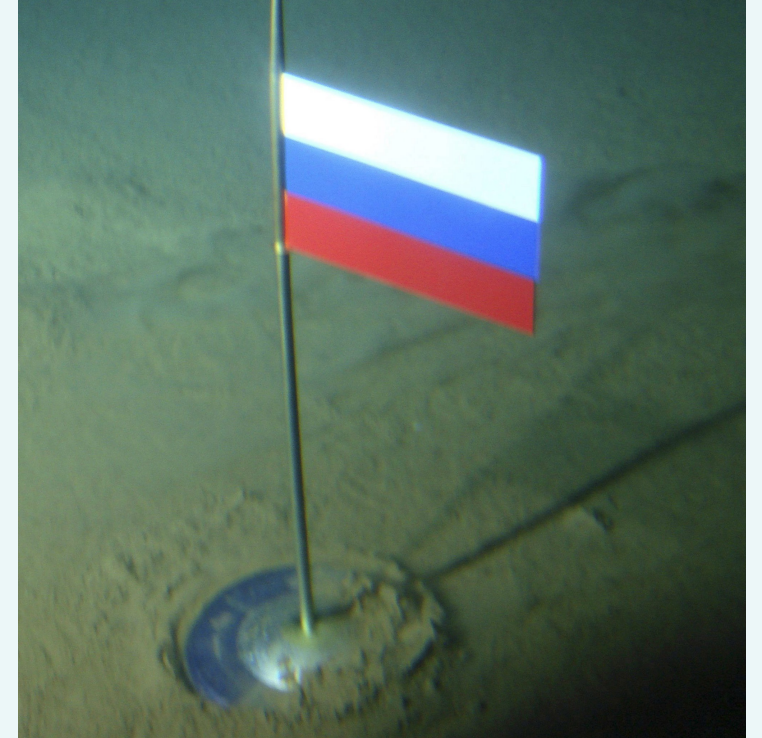
Imperialism

The last great territorial scramble?

Hough, Chapter 2

Imperialism

- Russian submarine North Pole Landing, 2007
- Arthur Chilingarov
 - Armenian-Russian explorer, writer, and politician
 - “Hero of the Russian Federation” (Led 2007 Russian sub expedition)
- Peter MacKay
 - Canadian Foreign Minister (2006), Defense Minister (2007)
 - Assertive Arctic policy, confronting U.S. sovereign claims



Russian flag planted on sea floor at North Pole, claiming 463,000sq. miles of Arctic seafloor.

Geopolitics of Arctic Resources

- USGS “Survey of Undiscovered Oil and Gas in the Arctic”
 - Est. 22% of world’s undiscovered fossil fuels (13% of oil and 30% of gas)
 - 33 geologically defined regions
 - 90% unclaimed hydrocarbons in just 8 fields (3 w/in Russian jurisdiction)
- Arctic Oil extraction develops (1920-1980s)
 - 2011 MNCs/state-owned energy companies explore further for more resources
- Northwest Passage opens (2007)
- Northern Sea Route



Northwest Passage & Northern Sea Route

Russia



- 1933 Construction of Belomorkanal (White Sea Canal) linking Baltic and Arctic
- 1937 Soviet plane lands at North Pole
- 1950s nuclear testing and development
- 1980s de-militarization & environmental strides (Gorbachev)
- Putin's centralization & energy security -> Chilingarov's expedition



First transpolar flight, 1937. (U.S. NPS)

Canada



- “Canadian Northwest Passage” (2004 House of Commons Vote)
- Northwest Passage dispute with U.S.
 - Resistant to U.S. claims that the seas of Northwest Passage are international versus internal waters
- Operation Nunaliut (The Land is Ours)
- *Comprehensive Northern Strategy* (2009)
 - Exercise Arctic sovereignty
 - Social and economic development
 - Environmental protection
 - “The North is central to the Canadian national Identity”

United States

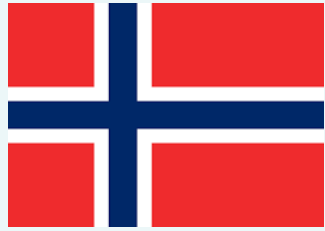


- U.S. offers to buy Greenland from Denmark (1946) – rejected
- Truman Doctrine (1947) expressed in the North
- National interests > national identity
- *Homeland Security Directive for the Arctic Region (2009)*
 - **Energy Security**
 - Freedom of the Seas
 - No “Arctic Treaty”
 - Ratify UNCLOS
 - Active & influential presence
- U.S. still not party to UNCLOS



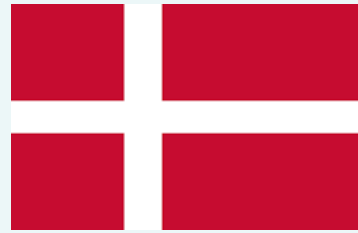
U.S. Coast Guard Cutter Healy patrolling 100 miles north of Barrow, AK. (Arctic Institute, 2014)

Norway



- National identity
- *High North Strategy (2006)*
 - Environmental protection
 - Sustainable development of resources
 - Rights of Indigenous Peoples
 - Develop transport
 - Cooperation with Russia
- *New Building Blocks in the North (2009)*
- National military headquarters shift north (2009)

Denmark



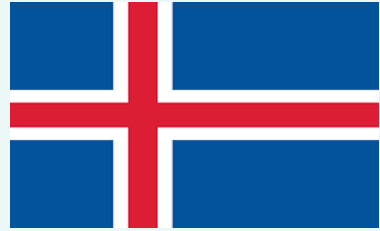
- *Strategy for Activities in the Arctic Area (2008)*
 - Intensified Arctic strategy
- Establishment of Joint Arctic Command (2012)
- 2008 Ilulissat Declaration -> more exclusive “A5”
 - Sidestepped Sweden, Finland, and EU
- *Strategy for the Arctic 2011-2020*
 - Peaceful cooperation based on UNCLOS
 - Maritime safety
 - Sustainable development and resource extraction
 - Climate change and biodiversity
 - Rights of Indigenous Peoples
 - Arctic and Nordic cooperation

Finland



- Stress centrality of Arctic Council in regional governance
 - Advance the EU's role in emerging political landscape
- Establishment of Arctic EU Information Center (2007)
- Advisory Board on the Arctic Affairs (2010)
- Finland's Strategy for the Arctic Region (2010)
 - Environmental Protection
 - Research to aid Finnish exports in the region
 - Develop northern transport routes
 - Promote role of Indigenous Peoples
 - Emphasize Arctic Council as primary cooperation forum
 - Importance of EU developing own Arctic Policy

Iceland



- Marginalized by the Ilulissat Summit
- Closure of U.S. military base in Keflavik -> vulnerability
- NATO member, defense pact of 1951 still intact
- *Parliamentary Resolution on Iceland's Arctic Policy (2011)*
 - Secure Iceland's position as coastal state w/in Arctic region
 - Resolve conflicts via UNCLOS
 - More cooperation w/ Faroe Islands and Greenland
 - Environmental protection and cooperation
 - Resist militarization of the Arctic

Sweden



- Reinforce importance of the Arctic Council
- No Arctic foreign policy strategy prior to 2011
- *Sweden's Strategy for the Arctic Region (2011)*
 - Environmental sustainability
 - Respect for the culture of the indigenous peoples
 - “More active” Arctic Council, reduce the need for coastal states to drive forward issues in the A5 format

European Union



- EU developed northern position through Sweden, Iceland, & Finland
- *The European Union and the Arctic Region (2008)*
 - EU intrinsically linked to the Arctic & needs to respond to issues related in a coordinated manner
 - Protect the environment & exploit resources in a sustainable manner
 - Improve multilateral governance
 - Right of passage in newly opened shipping routes
 - Not support arrangements that exclude EU Arctic States or Arctic EEA (European Economic Area), Arctic EFTA (European Free Trade Association) countries

NATO



- First NATO Arctic Seminar held in 2009
 - Provides a forum for 4 of the 5 Arctic coastal states to inform, discuss, and share any concerns about the region
 - NATO-Russia Council provides forum for all 5 of the A5 states
- Exercise Cold Response 2012
 - Bolstered NATO's role as an intergovernmental player in Arctic Policy

China



- Polar expeditions beginning in 1980s, est. presence on Spitsbergen, Svalbard
- *Xue Long* (Snow Dragon) – world's largest non-nuclear icebreaker
Growing interest in shipping and energy resources
- No official proclamations on the Arctic
- Diplomacy in the north (Iceland, Sweden Norway)



Other Actors

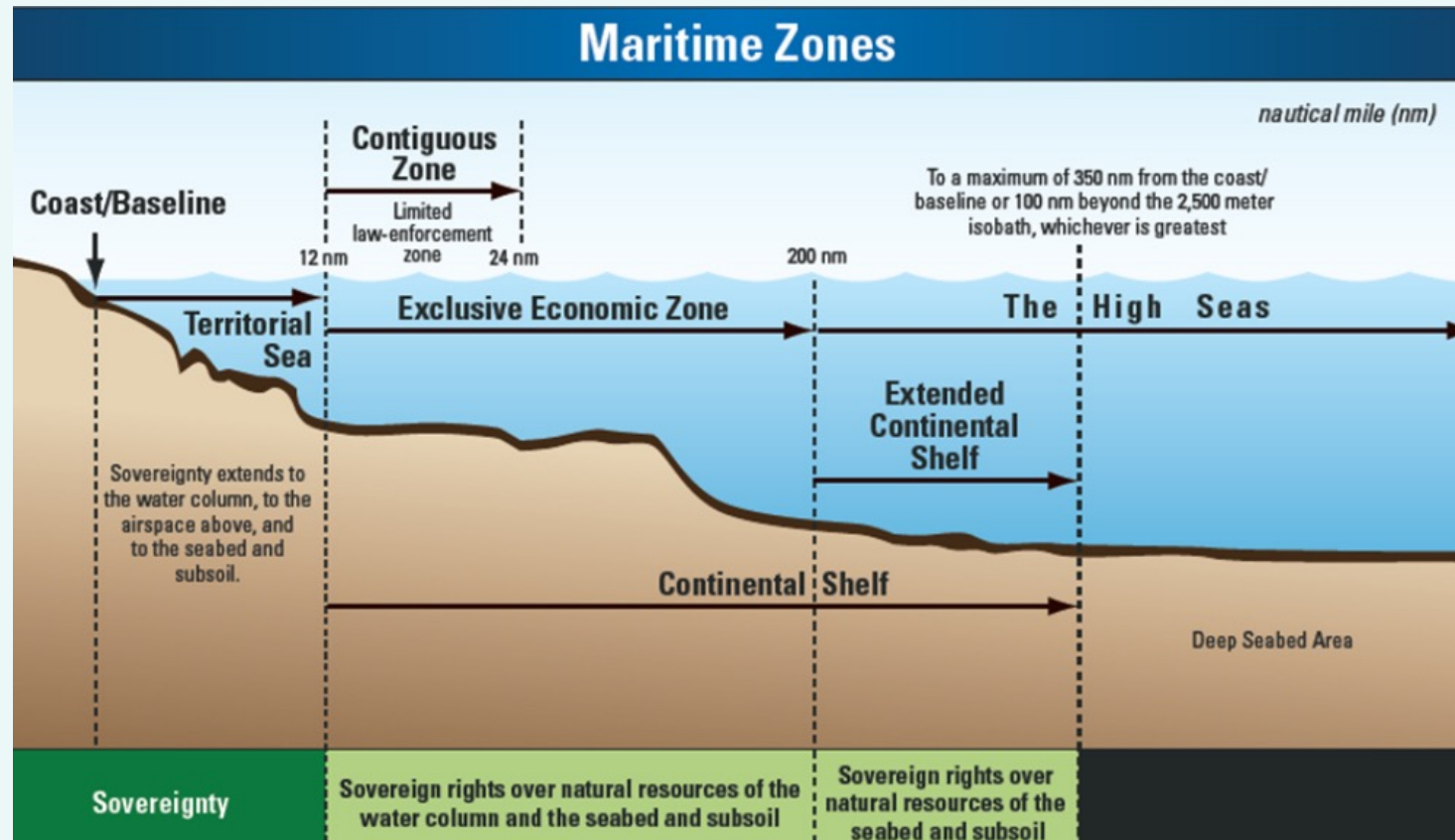
- Non-Nordic European states
 - 2010 UK, Germany, Netherlands & Poland initiated Northern Dimension Group of Defense Ministers
 - UK issued *Protecting the Arctic* strategy (2012)
 - Germany's courtship of Iceland
- Japan
 - Applied for Arctic Council permanent observer (approved 2013)
 - Established Arctic Task Force (2010)
- South Korea
 - Established station on Spitsbergen (2002)
 - Sought permanent observer on Arctic Council (approved 2013)

Sovereignty

- Internal Sovereignty
 - Exclusive political control (ultimate source of legal and political power)
 - Exclusive right to uphold the law through enforcement agencies
- External Sovereignty
 - Right to non-interference (internal sovereignty)
 - Legal equality with other sovereigns
- 1933 Montevideo Convention prerequisites for sovereignty
 - Permanent population
 - Defined territory
 - Government capable of maintaining effective control
- *Terra Nullius* (1959 Antarctic Treaty) – beyond sovereign reach

Sovereignty for Coastal States

- 1982 UNCLOS – codified sovereign maritime claims



Maritime boundaries (NOAA)

Territorial Land Dispute

- Hans Island – claimed by Canada and Denmark
 - “Whiskey War” settled in 2022 (~60% to Denmark, 40% Canada)



Canadian flag raise
2005, Danish flag
raised 2002 on Hans
Island. (NYT 2016)

Territorial Water Disputes: Ice and a Slice

- Bering Sea (Russia v. U.S.)
- Beaufort Sea (U.S. v. Canada)
- Northwest Passage (U.S. and others v. Canada)
- Svalbard EEZ (Norway v. Russia and others)
- Lincoln Sea (Denmark v. Canada)
- Overlapping extended continental shelf claims
 - Russia, Norway, Denmark, & Canada

Arctic Energy Challenges

- USGS 2008 – estimates of energy resources w/o reference to exorbitant costs of exploration, extraction, and transportation
- 3-month long drilling season – could expand with warming temperatures
- Offshore drilling challenges and prohibitive costs
- Rising energy security concerns
- “Resource nationalism”
- Environmental and social costs



Greenpeace in the Barents Sea, 2017.

Making maps, not war

- Mutual interest in **peaceful** carve-up of the Arctic
- 2010 agreement on the Barents Sea partition
 - Amicable agreement between Russia and Norway, ending a 40-yr dispute
 - ~12% of the sea being claimed as a gray zone in which neither could prospect for oil
- Gorbachev's 1987 Murmansk speech
 - Signaled Russia's intention to prevent the Arctic region from becoming an arena of war
- F/V *Elektron* incident

Conclusions

- Recurring themes across states' Arctic strategies:
 - Promote rights of Indigenous Peoples
 - Environmental protection
 - Sustainable exploration and exploitation of resources
 - Overarching principle of cooperation
- Approach to Arctic policy centered on cooperative relations and diplomacy (realist theory)

