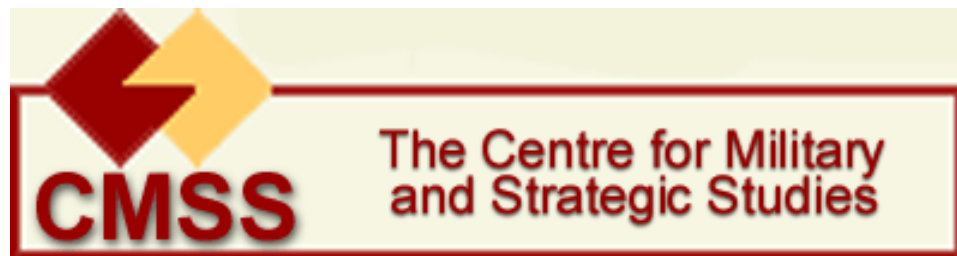




UNIVERSITY OF
CALGARY

Department of Political Science



Cooperation or Conflict in the Arctic

Changes in the Arctic Environment
And *the United Nations Convention of the Law of the Sea*
33rd COLP Conference
May 21, 2009

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Main Themes; What is the Problem?

- Changing nature of Arctic Geopolitical Security
- Evolving Northern Relationship between circumpolar states – Canada, US, Norway, Denmark, Iceland; Russia, Finland and Sweden; with Northern people; with outside world (EU; Japan, China, South Korea)
- Is a cooperative or conflictual international regime developing?

Cooperation vs Conflict

- Factors leading to Cooperation
 - i) Existing Political Good Will
 - ii) Good Cooperation between operators (those in the field)
 - iii) Acceptance of Science-based Understanding of the Region
 - iv) Existence of UNCLOS and Arctic Council
 - v) nearly two decades of non-conflict

Conflict vs Cooperation

- Factors leading to Conflict
 - i) weak international institutions
 - ii) undetermined borders
 - iii) potential huge resource base
 - iv) involvement of major powers
 - v) new technologies

The Transforming Arctic

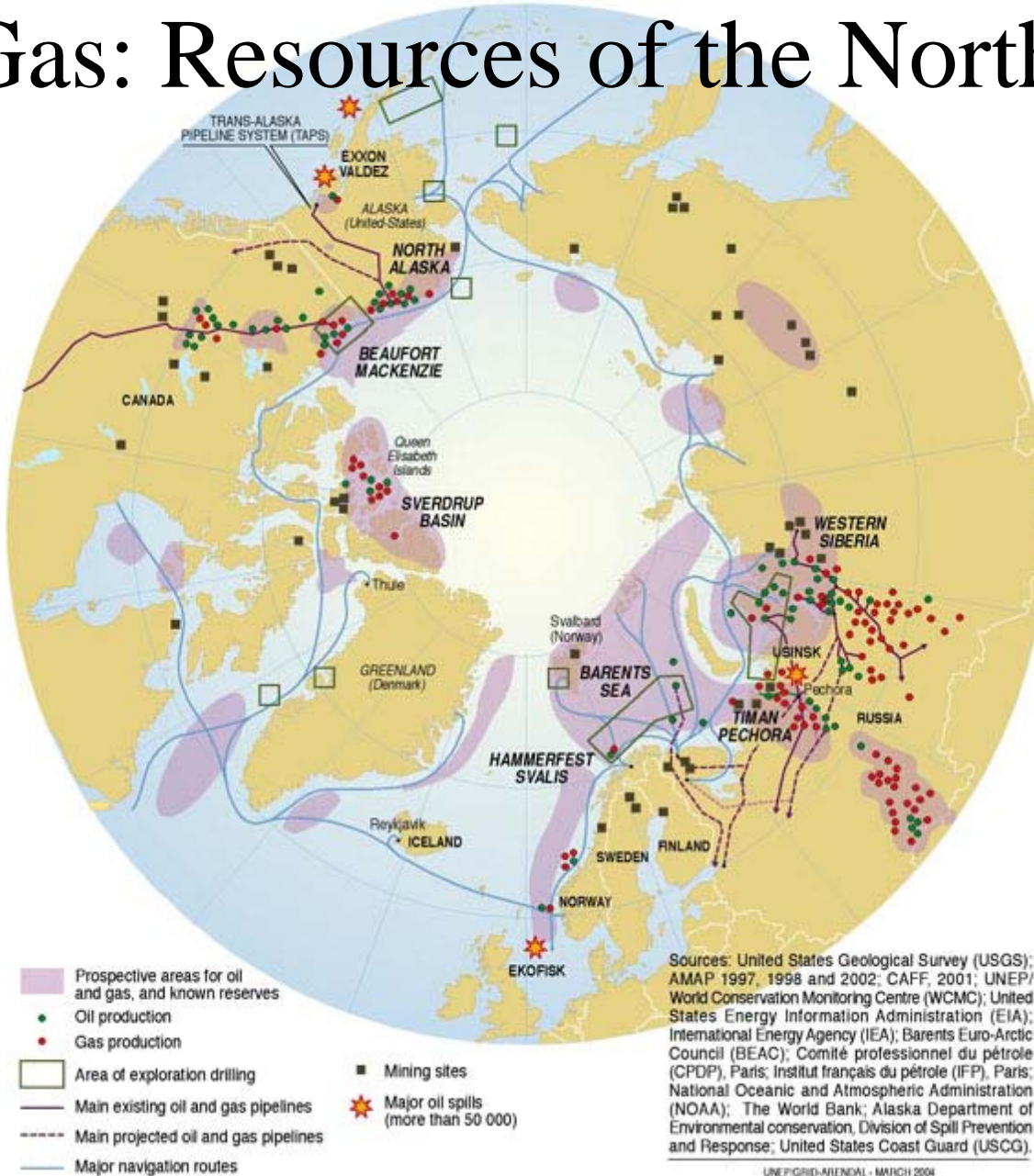
- The Arctic is a state of massive transformation
 - Climate Change
 - Resource Development – (was \$140+ barrel of oil – now \$40-50)
 - Geopolitical Transformation/Globalization
- Transformation is Leading to Increased Activity – Whose Interest and Control?
- Perceptions and Reality are driving the Process
- Arctic Security Forces are now being prepared

Why the Interest is Developing: Movement of Ice Sept 2007-April 2008



Source: Canadian Ice Service

Motivation for Interest: Oil and Gas: Resources of the North



Source: AMAP

US Geological Survey Arctic 2008

- To determine the sources of traditional energy supplies
- No consideration of non-traditional energy
 - E.g. gas hydrates
- Main Findings
- 30% of undiscovered Natural Gas in Arctic
- 13% of undiscovered Oil in Arctic

Developing Geo-political Environment

- Current geo-political threat level is nebulous and low.
- Expanded Definition of Threat – Environmental; Military; Economic
- Issue is the uncertainty as Arctic States and Non-arctic states begin to recognize the significance of the Arctic
 - 1) Arctic as a Geopolitical Transit Point
 - 2) Arctic as a New Source of Resources



Confounding Nature of Arctic Security

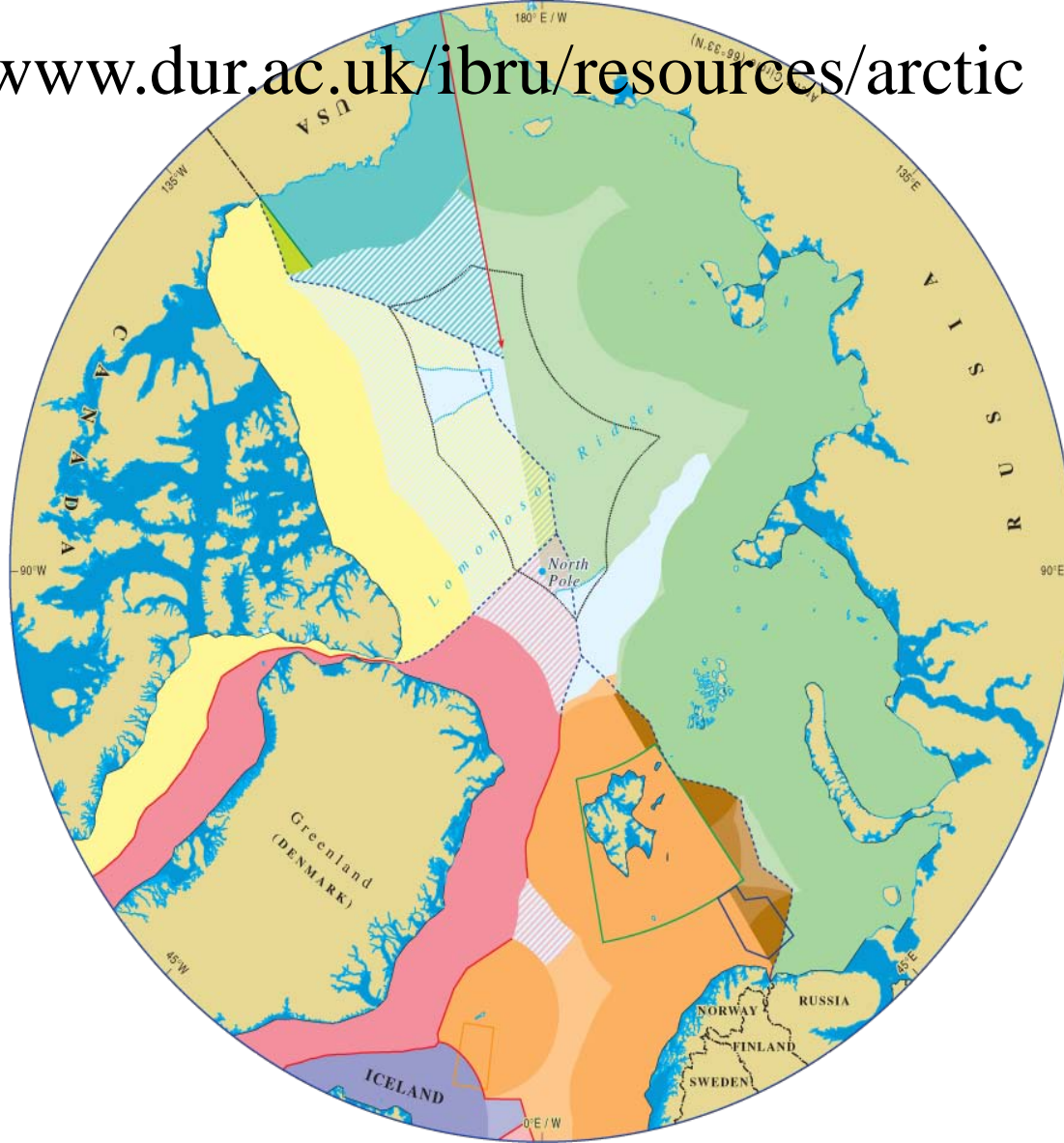
- Non-linear Progression of Factors
 - Difficulty of understanding interaction of changes
 - Events can occur very quickly eg. Economic crisis
 - Tendency to believe if things are going well now they will continue to go well
- Complexity of North
 - Will remain a very expensive and difficult region to operate in
- Long-Term Impacts of Current Policy not Clear
 - EU Policy Statement/US Arctic Policy
 - Current naval construction

The Changing International Legal Regime

- New way of Dividing/Managing Arctic Ocean
- Issue is Ultimately Maritime
 - (exception Hans Island; Svadlands Island)
- United Nation Convention Law of the Sea
 - Article 76
 - Article 234
 - International Straits/ Internal Waters

Maritime jurisdiction & boundaries in the Arctic

www.dur.ac.uk/ibru/resources/arctic



New Geopolitics of the North

- Russia
 - Renewed Assertiveness
 - Petrodollars
- United States
 - Multi-lateral reluctance/emerging concern to act
 - International Role as remaining Superpower
- Norway
 - Refocus on North
 - Growing Interest (Concern?) with Russia
- Denmark
 - Issues with Greenland – social; energy
- Iceland
 - Economic melt-down
- Canada
 - Re-examining its Arctic capabilities
 - Renewed Assertiveness

Renewed Russian Strengths

- 1990's Period of Extreme Reduction
- 2000's Renewal
- Russian State Rearmament Programme 2007-2015
- 6 SSBN 995 Borey
- 2 SSN 885 Yasen
- 6 Diesel 677 Lada



Yury Dolgoruky

The New Russian Northern Fleet?

- Resumption of Northern Fleet Operation
 - 2 month Tour - Mediterranean & North Atlantic
 - Tour to Caribbean
- Commitment to have 5-6 Carrier Battlegroups by 2025/30
 - Northern based
 - Admiral Vladimir Vysotsky



Source: RIA Novosti

Resumption of Russian TU-95 (Bear) Arctic Flights, August 18, 2007

- If US/EU position on Northwest Passage is correct then these aircraft have the right of over-flight



Russian Surface Fleet Return to Arctic Waters



Severomorsk

Summer 2008



Marshal Ustinov

US Arctic Forces

- Submarine Forces:
 - US – Seawolf and Los Angeles Class; (Virginia Class?)
 - Cooperation with UK
- Missile Development

Missile Defence – Ft. Greely



USS Honolulu 2003



HMS Tireless 2007 after accident

Fort Greely – Delta Junction



US Military Capabilities in Alaska

- 3 wings of (22 aircraft) F-15
 - Air Sovereignty
- 1 wing of AWACS
- 26,000 troops
- New Basing for BMD
- Ongoing Concern about Ice-Breakers
 - 3 (2 reaching end of operational life)

Danish use of Arctic Seapower



Danish Military Troops on
Hans Island



HDMS *Vaedderen*

Norwegian Arctic Focus

- The High North is the most important priority area of the Norwegian Defence- Norwegian Minister of Defence Anne-Grete Strøm-Erichsen – April 2008
- 5 New Frigates
 - Very capable Aegis – weapon system
- Helicopters stationed at northern base of Bardufoss
- Nov 2008 purchase of 48 F-35 from US

New Norwegian Frigates

- Fridtjof Nansen class
- 5 built in Spanish Yards
- 3 delivered to date/2 building
- Aegis system



Roald Amundsen and Admiral Kuznetsov 2008

Source: RNoAF

Canadian Arctic Military/Security Actions/Promises

- New Military/Naval Operations since 2002
- 6-8 Arctic Offshore Patrol Vessels
- Nanisivik Refueling Facility
- Northern Watch - surveillance
- Throne Speech Oct 2007
 - Northern Strategy (Sovereignty/Security)
- Feb 2008 Budget – \$720 Million Icebreaker

Canadian Actions/Promises (cont.)

- June 2008 Canada First Defence Strategy (Harper White Paper)
 - Focus on Arctic Security
- Mandatory Reporting of Ship Traffic – Nordreg
- BUT
- Postponement (Cancellation?) of Joint Support Vessels
- No Announcement on AOPVs

Arctic Offshore Patrol Vessel



- "Be capable of operations in Canada's three oceans
- Be first year ice capable in the Arctic
- Contribute to maritime domain awareness
- Support other departments, agencies and ocean research
- Have a gun armament for constabulary missions "

- DND

Source JTFN

New Non- Arctic Interests in Arctic

- Chinese interest in Polar Science, Resource sources and Transportation
- Japanese funding of Canadian research in Gas Hydrates
- South Korean Polar Ship Building
 - Samsung; Daewoo
- EU Arctic Policy

Chinese Arctic Interest



-1st Arctic Voyage: July-Sept 1999

-2nd Arctic Voyage: July-Sept 2003

-3rd Arctic Voyage Summer 2008



Xue Long in Antarctica

Conclusion

- Geopolitics Concerns reduced immediately after end of Cold War
- New concerns, challenges, opportunities are arising as Arctic is perceived/becoming more accessible
- Issues will be Predominately Maritime/Aerospace
- Can the Arctic be a point of Cooperation and confidence Building? Or will the Arctic increasingly be a point of competition/conflict