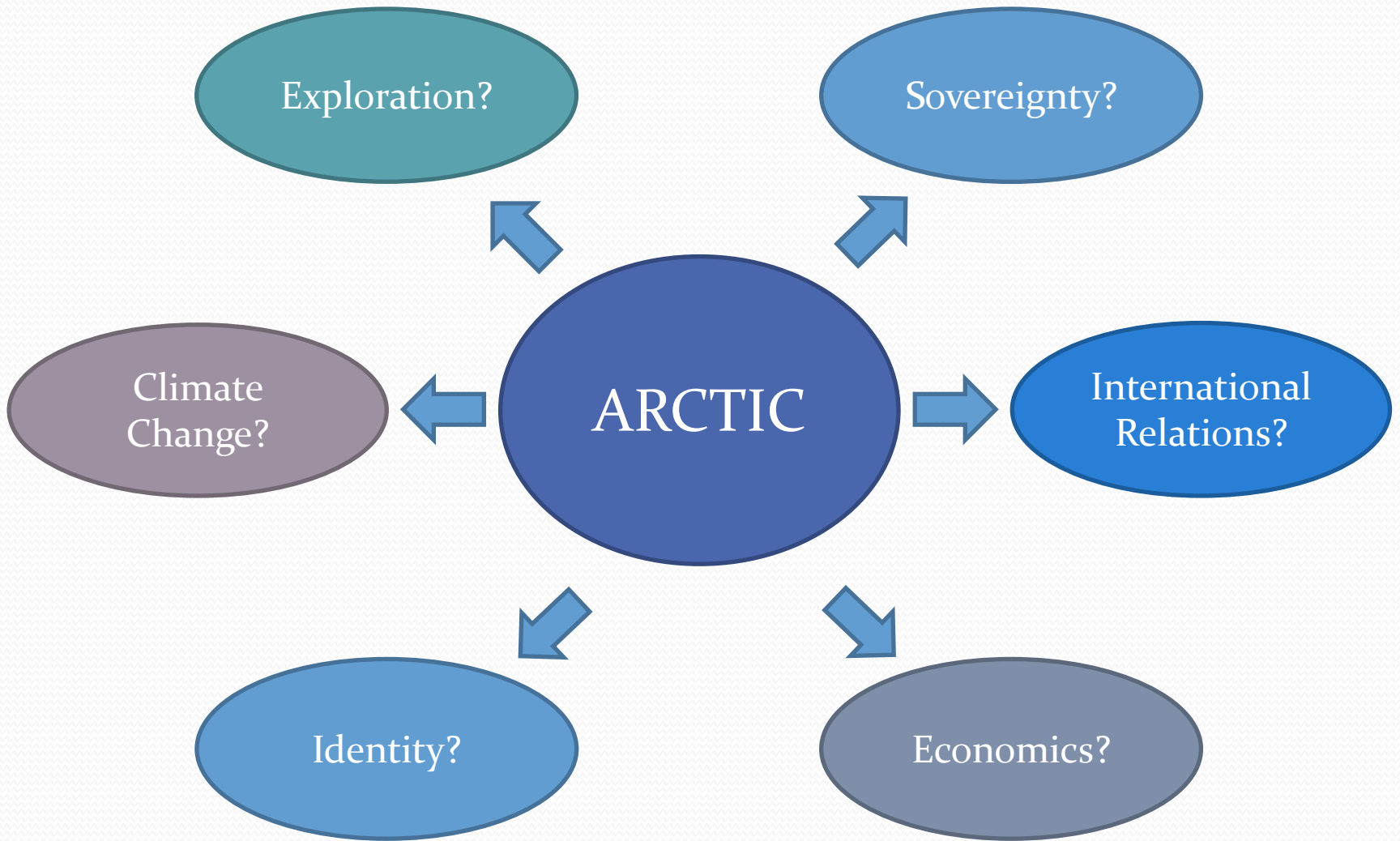


Melting Point: Unlocking the Arctic's Potential





ARCTIC



Exploration?

Sovereignty?

Climate
Change?

ARCTIC

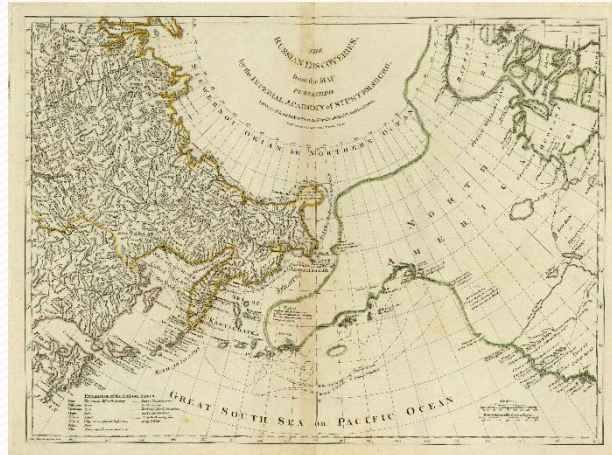
International
Relations?

Identity?

Economics?

History & Exploration

- First occupied by aboriginal & indigenous groups
- Later supplanted by Western explorers
- Eurasia: Far East and Siberia charted & claimed for the Russian Empire during the Great Northern Expedition (1733)



Thomas Jefferys: *The Russian Discoveries*, from the Map Published by the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg. London, Printed for Robt. Sayer, Map & Printseller, No. 53 in Fleet Street. Published as the Act directs March 2d, 1775., London 1776

- North America: Vikings colonized Iceland, Greenland, and Newfoundland between the 9th and 15th centuries.
- 15th century: European explorers arrive looking for the Northwest Passage
- Early 17th century: establishment of first permanent European settlements in North America by the British & French (Jamestown, 1607; Quebec, 1608)
- Colonial competition and the race for resources & territory fueled exploration.
 - British Hudson's Bay Co. vs. French North West Co.
 - 1789: Alexander Mackenzie reaches the Arctic Ocean

Goals of exploration

- Search for the Northwest Passage continued into the 19th century.
 - 1845: Sir John Franklin's last expedition.
 - Northwest Passage finally charted during the search.
- Arctic territory claimed for its resources, to increase national prestige, and to prevent other European states from claiming it, not out of a desire to colonize it.



Canada & the US: Fight for the West

- 1867: Alaska purchased by the US from Russia.
 - Goal was to encircle British Columbia and pressure it to join the United States.
- 1868: US attempts to buy Greenland from Denmark.
- Sir John A. Macdonald persuades Britain to purchase Rupert's Land (1869), and cede it and the Northwestern Territory to Canada. (1870)
- 1871: British Columbia joins Canada.
- 1880: Arctic islands ceded to Canada.

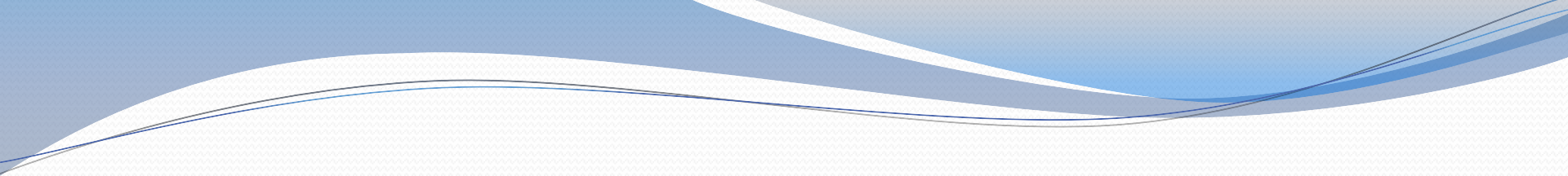


Sovereignty

- Definition?

Sovereignty

- Definition: the ability of the state to exercise jurisdiction over a given territory without outside interference.
- *De jure* sovereignty: internationally-recognized political or legal claim to a territory.
- *De facto* sovereignty: control of a territory “in reality”: who controls the resources, whose laws are enforced, who provides defence and law enforcement, etc.
 - Sometimes subjective
 - Examples?

- 
- Methods of claiming sovereignty over a territory: discovery, cession, subjugation.
 - Discovery is insufficient to establish a permanent claim to a territory. The territory must be “effectively occupied” by the discoverer or their claim will lapse.
 - Effective occupation: permanent settlement, providing government services, enforcing laws.
 - Basically, convincing other states that the territory is yours.

Sovereignty in the Arctic

- How have the Arctic states claimed sovereignty over their territories?
 - Europe: unquestioned occupation
 - Russia: discovery, military presence, lack of interest from others
 - United States: purchase of Alaska seen as legitimate after its land border with the Yukon was established through negotiations with the United Kingdom
 - Canada?

Canadian sovereignty

- Last challenge to terrestrial sovereignty in 1946.
- Challenges to maritime sovereignty are ongoing.
- 1985: Canadian government considers the Northwest Passage and the waters inside the Archipelago as internal.
- Russia considers the Northeast Passage to be internal as well.
- US & EU dispute that claim, believe it's an international waterway instead.
 - Transit passage & right of innocent passage

US & Canada disputes

- 1969: Humble Oil Co. requests permission to transit the Northwest Passage. Canada agrees and provides an icebreaker. The US sends its own icebreaker without asking.
- 1985: US icebreaker *USCGC Polar Sea* traverses the Passage. The US government notifies Canada but does not ask permission.
- 1988: Canada-US Cooperation Agreement: US ships must ask permission, Canada must accept.

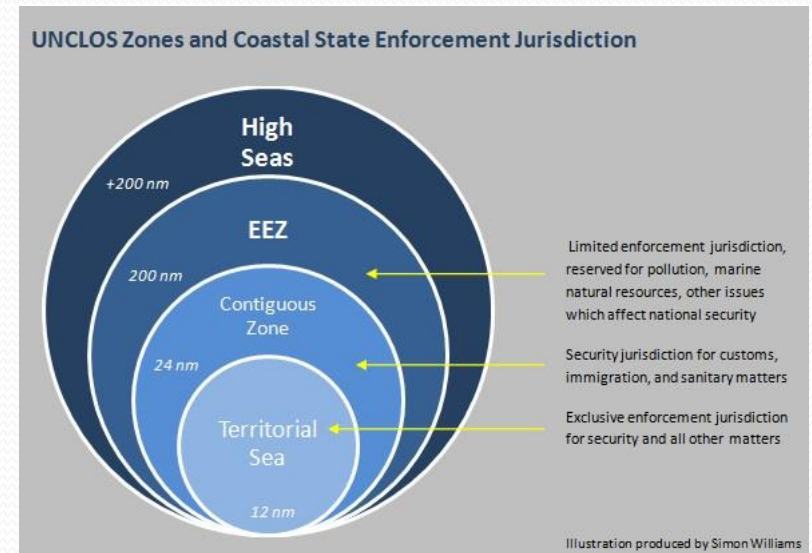


Source: National Oceanic & Atmospheric Administration.

http://oceanexplorer.noaa.gov/explorations/10ecs/media/two_ships.html

UN Convention on the Law of the Sea

- Defines the boundaries of territorial waters and determines use of maritime resources.
- Signed & ratified by all Arctic states except the US.
- This chart does not include continental shelves.
- With evidence, states can claim sole access to the resources under the sea bed up to 350 nm from baselines.

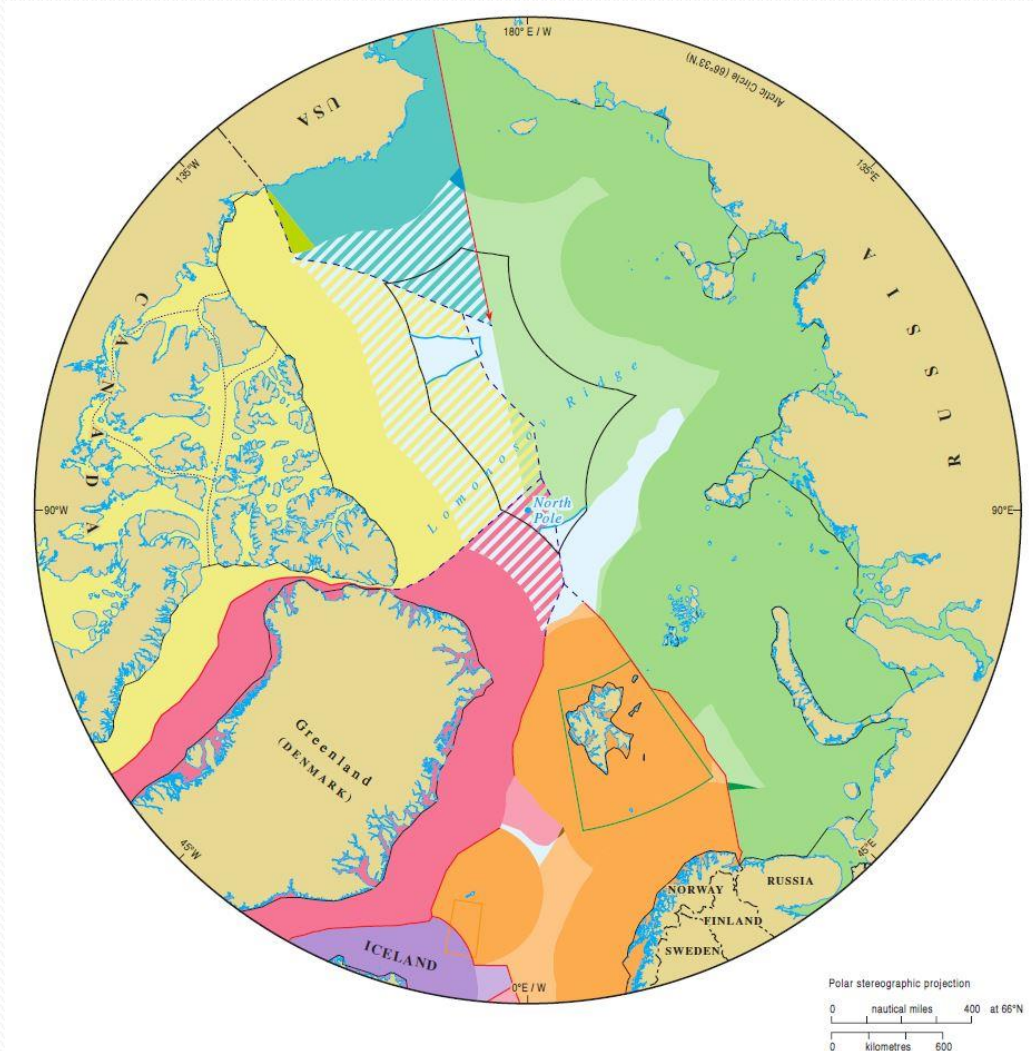


Source: Center for International Maritime Security, <http://cimsec.org/offshore-installations-practical-security-legal-considerations/7872>

Sector theory



Source: Philippe Rekacewicz, UNEP/GRID-Arendal,
http://www.grida.no/graphicslib/detail/arctic-topography-and-bathymetry_0bco



Source: IBRU, Durham University,

<http://www.durham.ac.uk/ibru/resources/arctic>

Claiming the continental shelf

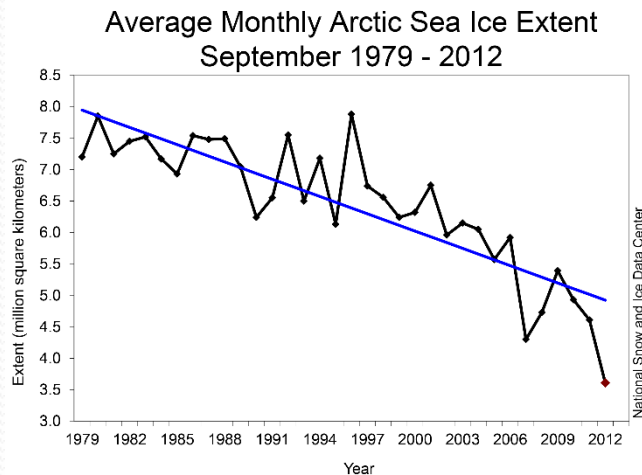
- States must prove the sea bed they're claiming is part of their continental shelf. (based on bathymetry, sediment composition, etc.)
- Claim must be submitted within 10 years of ratifying UNCLOS to the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf for review and a final decision.
 - Norway's deadline in 2006, Russia's in 2007 (submitted a claim in 2001, but a final decision was deferred for lack of evidence), Canada's in 2013, Denmark's in 2014.

Boundary disputes

- Lomonosov ridge claimed by Denmark, Russia, and Canada as part of their continental shelves.
- 2010: Norway-Russia dispute in the Barents Sea resolved.
- Hans Island: ongoing negotiations between Denmark & Canada.
- Beaufort Sea: dispute between the maritime median line and continuing the land border.
- Who should own the North Pole?

Climate change

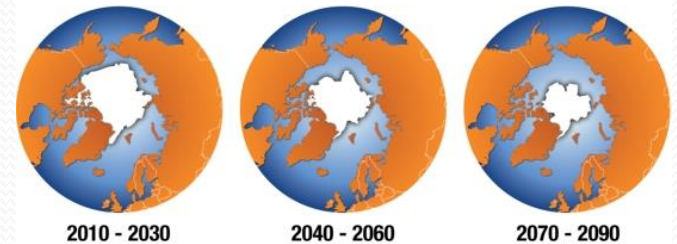
- IPCC evidence suggests the Arctic & Antarctic are warming faster than the rest of the planet.
- Summer ice extent has decreased by 40% since 1979, with record lows in 2007 and 2012.



Source: National Snow and Ice Data Center,
University of Colorado, Boulder



National Snow and Ice Data Center, 2007



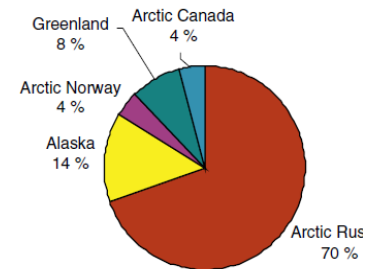
Arctic Climate Impact Assessment, 2004

Source: Hugo Ahlenius, UNEP/GRID-Arendal,
http://www.grida.no/graphicslib/detail/the-decrease-of-arctic-sea-ice-minimum-extent-in-1982-and-2007-and-climate-projections_acef#

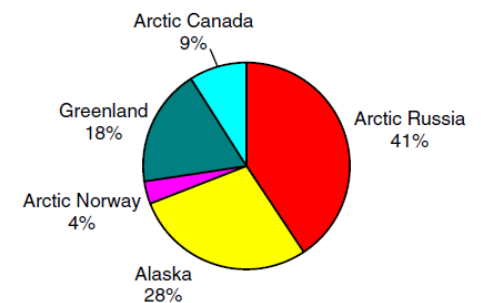
Economic benefits – Oil & Gas

- Arctic home to $\frac{1}{4}$ of the world's undiscovered petroleum reserves – 413 billion barrels of oil.
- Russia is facing declining production in existing fields.
- Offshore drilling is expensive, particularly in the Arctic environment (\$115-\$700/barrel).
- Crude oil prices down 30% this year due to increased supply and reduced demand.

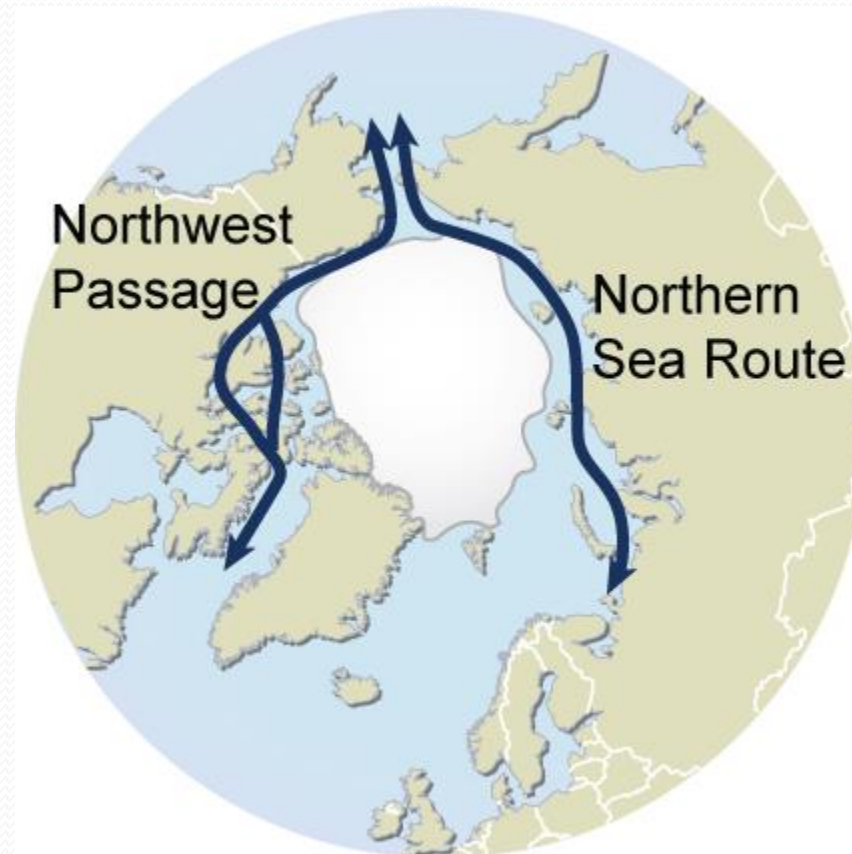
Total Arctic gas: 279 bboe
(30 percent of global conventional resour)



Total Arctic oil: 134 bboe
(15 percent of global conventional resources)

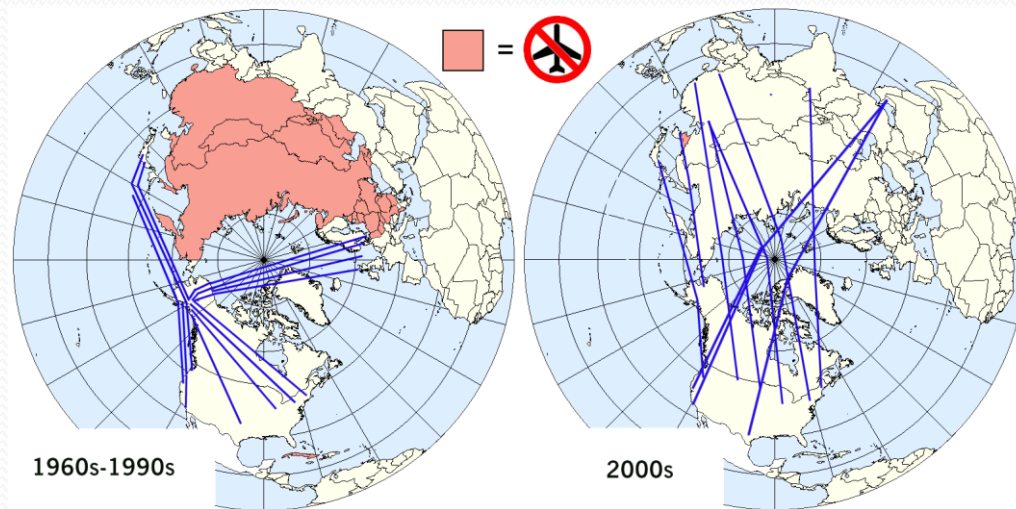


Shipping routes



Common problems...

- As use of the Arctic increases, the risk of an environmental disaster or commercial accident grows.
- The region is remote and isolated, which would makes crisis management, disaster relief, and search & rescue difficult.



...Multilateral solution

- The Arctic Council founded in 1991 as the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy.
- Goal of integrating Russia into the Arctic community.
- Security and defence were left off the table deliberately.
- Instead, the Arctic Council deals with “soft” issues such as environmental protection, human security, and sustainable development.
- Increasingly seen as *the* forum to discuss Arctic issues.
- 2011: Gained legitimacy by passing a legally-binding agreement on search and rescue practices.

Arctic Council membership

- 8 Arctic states
- 6 Permanent Participants (aboriginal & indigenous bodies)
 - Ex: Inuit Circumpolar Council
- 9 intergovernmental organizations and 11 NGOs are observers.
 - Ex: Nordic Council of Ministers
- 12 non-Arctic states also sit as observers.

Confrontation?

- The Arctic Ocean was a front of the Cold War.
 - Soviet Northern Fleet prepared to strike the US across the North Pole; DEW Line and NORAD to counter.
- After the break-up of the Soviet Union, the Arctic was no longer a vital theatre of operations.
- Today, Arctic security among NATO members is guaranteed by NATO.
 - Presents a united front against Russia without provoking an arms race.
- 2008: Ilulissat Declaration commits Arctic coastal states to resolve boundary disputes through UNCLOS and diplomacy.

United States



- 2013 National Strategy for the Arctic Region
 - 3 priorities:
 - Advance security interests (including energy security & freedom of the seas)
 - Responsible environmental stewardship
 - Strengthen international cooperation (ratifying UNCLOS)
- Fleet of 5 icebreakers, but the 2 most powerful are at the end of their lifecycle.
- Also has up to 18 nuclear- and 53 diesel-powered submarines capable of Arctic operations.

European Union



- 1999 Northern Dimension Policy to promote economic integration, sustainable development in northern Europe (Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia).
- Current Arctic policy with 3 objectives:
 - Broaden knowledge of the impact of climate change in the Arctic
 - Promote sustainable economic development
 - Engage with other actors in the region
- Combined fleet of 28 icebreakers, but ½ classified as “Baltic” – not suitable for multiyear Arctic ice.
- 2009 ban on seal products angered many.

Russia



- Russia's Arctic policy demonstrates the desire of Russia to return to Great Power status, reclaiming the prestige of the Soviet Union.
- The Arctic is a resource to be exploited: heavy emphasis on economic development, promoting NSR, finalizing territorial claims.
- Security and sovereignty through remilitarization of the Arctic.
- 37 icebreakers, 6 nuclear-powered, and another 12 on the way.

Canada



- The Arctic is an important part of the Canadian identity. But Canada has rarely had a proactive Arctic policy. Instead, the Canadian government has usually reacted to outside events.
- 2009: Canada's Northern Strategy
 - 4 pillars: exercising sovereignty, environmental protection, social & economic development, devolution of Northern governance.
- By assuming the presidency of the Arctic Council in 2013, Canada is well-placed to pursue the last 3 pillars in a multilateral setting.

Canada (continued)



- 6 icebreakers in fleet, but 5 are used to clear ice in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence in the winter.
- Only 1 ship is on “Arctic duty” all year: the *CCGS Louis S. St-Laurent*, built in 1969, and at the end of its life.
 - The *CCGS John G. Diefenbaker* will replace it, but not before 2021 due to production delays.
 - 6-8 Arctic patrol ships to be built.
 - Deep-water port in Nanisivik to promote the Northwest Passage not yet built.
- Territorial claims under UNCLOS filed in December 2013, after last-minute changes.

Discussion questions

- How effective has Canada's Arctic policy been at promoting our interests? What are our interests? Do you agree with the government's focus?
- Do you think the EU's approach to the Arctic (based on sustainable development and environmental protection) can be a model for other states to follow?
- Given Russia's aggressive actions in Ukraine, is its Arctic policy threatening, or simply normal behaviour? Are the two connected? How should other Arctic states react?



The use of these slides is permitted for educational and classroom teaching purposes only.

We are grateful to Angus Wilson, Research Assistant, Centre for European Studies, who researched and organized the content of the slides.

Any viewpoints expressed in this slide presentation are solely those of the presenter, and do not reflect the views of the Centre for European Studies, the European Union, or Carleton University.

The EULearning project is funded in part by a grant from the European Union and supported by Carleton University.