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FROM COLD WAR TO NORTH POLE ALLIANCE: CANADA AND THE CHANGING FACE OF DEFENCE AND FOREIGN RELATIONS IN THE ARCTIC

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MASTER OF DEFENCE STUDIES – MAÎTRISE EN ÉTUDES DE LA DÉFENSE

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ARCTIC**

By Ian D.D. Livermore

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ABSTRACT

With the end of the Cold War and with growing international recognition of the impacts of climate change, Russia and its four Arctic Ocean NATO neighbours — Canada, Denmark-Greenland, Norway and the United States — have re-examined their interests in the polar region and come to the realization that they have a great deal in common, politically, militarily, and socio-economically. Motivated by a desire to protect their respective national interests as climate change opens the region to exploitation of its natural resources and to wider use by the commercial shipping industry, the “Arctic Five” states have worked steadily toward cooperation on a range of defence and foreign policy issues affecting the region. These issues include joint security with the apparent goal of keeping non-Arctic state interlopers, such as China and the European Union, out of their common backyard. When it comes to cooperation between the Arctic Five’s military organizations, the warming relations have centred upon the broader spectrum of “sovereignty, security, and safety,” particularly as they concern supporting civilian government agencies across the polar region. After a consideration of the Cold War period, post-Cold War period, and possibilities for future trends, this study will show that the Arctic Five’s security has been, and will continue to be, threatened by the impacts of climate change in the Arctic that sparked interest in this region from non-Arctic states, and that cooperation among the Five is their only recourse. When it is relevant to the understanding of multilateral issues, this paper will also discuss defence and foreign relations with the remaining Arctic states: Sweden, Finland, and Iceland.

1. INTRODUCTION

From 1945 to 2012, the very nature of security in the Arctic changed dramatically. In addition to the physical changes that accompanied global warming, key nations experienced a Cold War at the end of the Second World War, followed by a post-Cold War thaw in tensions that began with the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991. This research paper explores the history of the broader political transition in the region and considers the implications for defence and foreign relations among the *Arctic Five* states.¹ Further, it considers the likelihood for success of future bilateral and multilateral initiatives between them. After a consideration of the Cold War period, post-Cold War period, and possibilities for future trends, this study will prove that the Arctic Five's security has been, and will continue to be, threatened by the impacts of climate change in the Arctic that sparked interest in this region from non-Arctic states, and that cooperation among the Five is their only recourse.

By 2012, there was clear evidence of an understanding for greater cooperation between the Arctic states. On April 13, 2012, the chiefs of defence (CHoDs) from the eight Arctic Council states — Canada, Denmark-Greenland,² Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden, and the United States of America — agreed to cooperate more closely on disaster responses and search-and-rescue (SAR) operations in the Arctic. The announcement of this agreement followed two days of meetings held at Canadian Forces

¹ The Arctic Five refers to the five countries bordering upon the Arctic Ocean: Canada, Denmark (on behalf of Greenland), Norway, Russia, and the United States. Consideration of the remaining Arctic states Finland, Iceland, and Sweden, has been minimized due to the space limitations of this research paper.

² Greenland is part of the Kingdom of Denmark, however it has a home-rule government which is responsible for all matters of state, excluding defence and foreign relations. Hence, the combined name Denmark-Greenland shall be utilized throughout this research paper.

Base Goose Bay, Labrador, where the “Northern CHoDs”³ and other defence representatives discussed the sharing of knowledge and expertise on how to best manage the challenges posed by the Arctic’s geography, climate, and distances.



Figure 1.1 - Northern CHoDs in CFB Goose Bay: Russian General Nikolai Makarov (left) speaks with Canadian Chief of the Defence Staff, General Walter Natynczyk (right) through a translator.

Source: DND/Combat Camera

In announcing the agreement, the meeting’s host, Canadian Chief of the Defence Staff General Walter Natynczyk, highlighted the fact that the event marked the first occasion when all the Northern CHoDs had the opportunity to meet as a forum to discuss issues distinctive to the region. “We were able to gain an understanding of the unique challenges each [defence organization] faces with regards to emergency response and for

³ The term “Northern CHoDs” instead of “Arctic CHoDs” was applied by the event’s organizers within Canada’s Department of National Defence in an effort to downplay the possible misperception that the meeting was associated with, or formally sanctioned by, the Arctic Council. Department of National Defence, *Draft Media Response Line: CDS to host meeting of the Northern Chiefs of Defence in Iqaluit* (Ottawa: DND ADM(PA), 13 February 2012). **Note:** As per the title of the reference, the Northern CHoDs was originally planned to take place in Iqaluit, Nunavut instead of Goose Bay, Labrador.

support to our civilian authorities,” said General Natynczyk. “During our short time together, I believe we in the Canadian Forces enhanced our military-to-military relationships with our northern neighbours.”⁴

General Nikolai Makarov, Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Russia, led the Russian delegation to the Northern CHoDs meeting. A press release issued by the Russian Embassy in Ottawa after the forum characterized the event as collaborative and amiable, stating it laid the groundwork for future such meetings on an annual basis:

Both sides agreed that holding such multilateral Arctic meetings of high-ranked military officials is excellent evidence of the strong intention by all Northern states to bolster joint efforts in the region and consider the Arctic an area of cooperation rather than confrontation.⁵

The non-confrontational, pragmatic tone and outcomes of the Northern CHoDs meeting stand in sharp contrast to the alarmist reaction by Canadian politicians and media pundits five years earlier when a Russian miniature submarine planted a Russian flag on the seabed of the North Pole. At that time, Canada’s Foreign Affairs Minister Peter MacKay had lambasted Russia for its perceived unilateral assertion of sovereignty over the North Pole, stating, “This isn’t the 14th or 15th century; you can’t go around the world these days dropping a flag somewhere and say ‘We’re claiming this territory’.”⁶

The congeniality of the Northern CHODS is even further removed from the mutual

⁴ Nunatsiaq News (no author attributed), “Arctic emergency response tops Goose Bay defence talks,” *Nunatsiaq News*, 14 April 2012. For more on this see also: Department of National Defence, News Release 12.058, 13 April 2012.

⁵ Embassy of the Russian Federation in Canada, “Arctic Chiefs of Defence Staff Meeting,” Press Release, April 17, 2012. The press release also spoke to sidebar discussions that General Natynczyk and General Makarov held during the margins of the CHoDs meeting in which they touched upon the condition and prospects for future collaboration between the Russian and Canadian militaries on a broader range of issues, such as the military exchanges that had taken place concerning the provision of security to the Olympic Games.

⁶ CBC News, “Russia plants flag staking claim to Arctic Region,” last accessed 21 November 2012, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/story/2007/08/02/russia-arctic.html>.

mistrust and hostility at the height of the Cold War when the Arctic was, as described by Canadian political scientist and Arctic analyst Rob Huebert, a primary region of confrontation between the Soviet Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), regularly subjected to deterrence patrols by nuclear-powered ballistic submarines (SSBNs) and long-range aviation (LRA) strategic bombers.⁷

What changed the face of defence and broader foreign relations among the Arctic states, particularly between the NATO members and Russia, was their realization that they have had a great deal in common in the region — politically and socio-economically. Each state wanted to protect their respective national interests as global warming and other climate changes opened the region to exploitation of its natural resource potential⁸ and to wider use by commercial shipping. Cognizant that a united front was more effective than individual action, political and military leaders worked steadily towards cooperation on a range of defence and foreign policy issues broadly encompassing sovereignty, security, and safety. By all appearances, the pivotal goal of this cooperation was to prevent non-Arctic states, intergovernmental organizations, and non-state actors from intruding in their neighbourhood. The perceived interlopers included China, the European Union (EU), and, somewhat ironically, NATO, all of which sought access to the opening Arctic to benefit their particular national or multinational interests.

⁷ Rob Huebert, “Afterword: What can and cannot be said about Canadian Arctic Security,” in *The Canadian Forces and Arctic Sovereignty: Debating Roles, Interests and Requirements, 1968-1944*, ed. P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Peter Kikkert, 369-373 (Waterloo, ON: LCMSDS Press, 2010), 371. Throughout this research paper the term Soviet Union and USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) are used interchangeably.

⁸ Chiefly hydrocarbon reserves, rare earth metals and fish stocks.

For senior Arctic defence officials involved in the process, this newfound cooperation extended beyond purely military matters to supporting civilian agencies with their regulatory enforcement missions and safety programs. Accordingly, reinvestment in Arctic-capable defence infrastructure and training manoeuvres intended to renew the ability of soldiers, sailors, and air force personnel to operate effectively in polar climates presented little in the way of objective military threats, but rather spoke volumes to fulfilling domestic and regional constabulary responsibilities.

In researching the changing face of defence and foreign relations in the Arctic, very few peer-reviewed academic publications were found with a thesis similar to this study, let alone organized in a comparable fashion. While there is extensive literature available regarding the Arctic, much of what has been written regarding foreign relations concerns the legal arguments and negotiations pertaining to national sovereignty claims in the region. A prime example of this kind of narrative is Michael Byers' book *Who Owns the Arctic? Understanding sovereignty disputes in the North* (2010).⁹ Additionally, much of the writing on Arctic defence issues was found to be alarmist, making claims of growing militarization in the region and predicting a strong likelihood of future interstate conflict over natural resources. This includes multiple newspaper articles published in Canada and the U.K, as well as several journal articles by Canadian political scientist Rob Huebert.¹⁰

⁹ Other publications with a strong international law/sovereignty focus include, among others: Eva Keskitalo's book *Negotiating the Arctic: the Construction of an International Region* (2004), Elizabeth Elliot-Meisel's essay "Still Unresolved after Fifty Years: The Northwest Passage in Canadian-American Relations, 1946-1998" (1999), and Joël Plouffe's essay "Two Decades of Barents Dialogue: An Inspiration for the North American Arctic" (2013).

¹⁰ For example, see Rob Huebert's *Canada, the Arctic Council, Greenpeace, and Arctic Oil Drilling: Complicating an Already Complicated Picture* (CDFAI, March 2014) and *The Newly Emerging Arctic Security Environment* (Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute, March 2010). See also: Scott

Most of the literature arguing that cooperation is the preeminent paradigm in defence and foreign relations in the Arctic has been written within the past three years, and has generally been in the form of short essays, blogs, and other editorial opinion pieces. One of these documents is “Arctic Conflict Potential: Towards an Extra-Arctic Perspective,” a nine-page briefing paper written by Finnish researchers Juha Käpylä and Harri Mikkola for the Finnish Institute of International Affairs. Published in September 2013, Käpylä’s and Mikkola’s central argument is that Arctic states have little to gain by letting the Arctic dynamics slip into a conflict state that would create an unfruitful investment environment in the region.¹¹

Among the Canadian analyses that have drawn similar conclusions to this research paper are Heather Exner-Pirot’s “The relentless myth of an Arctic Cold War,” first published as a blog in *Eye on the Arctic* on March 14, 2013,¹² and Elizabeth Riddell’s “Neither Conflict nor “Use It or Lose It”” published on September 19, 2013.¹³ The focus of both authors’ arguments is that contrary to some pundits’ persistent predictions of impending armed conflict over Arctic seabed resources, cooperation between the Arctic states means the risks of hostilities are minimal and shrinking.

An American perspective consistent with mine is provided by Caitlyn L. Antrim in her article “Relocating the Reset: US-Russian Partnership in the Arctic,” published in

Borgerson, “Arctic Meltdown: The Economic and Security Implications of Global Warming” (*Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2008).

¹¹ Juha Käpylä and Harri Mikkola, “Arctic Conflict Potential: Towards an Extra-Arctic Perspective” (FIIA Briefing Paper 138, Finnish Institute of International Affairs, September 2013), 2-3.

¹² Heather Exner-Pirot, “The relentless myth of an Arctic Cold War,” last accessed 2 April 2013, <http://eyeontheartctic.rcinet.ca/blog/136-heather-exner-pirot/3244-the-relentless-myth-of-an-arctic-cold-war>.

¹³ Elizabeth Riddell-Dixon, “Neither Conflict nor “Use it or Lose It,”” last changed 19 September 2013, <http://opencanada.org/features/the-think-tank/essays/neither-conflict-no-use-it-or-lose-it/>.

the February 2012 edition of *World Politics Review*.¹⁴ Antrim argues that existing cooperation between the U.S. and Russia on fisheries, shipping, and environmental management issues in the Bering Strait and Chukchi Sea areas, can provide the base for broader Arctic cooperation, and thereby help reset strained relations between the two countries. Another American perspective is found in the October 2012 *Joint Force Quarterly* article “Improving U.S. Posture in the Arctic” written by Peter Ohotnicky, Braden Hisey, and Jessica Todd. In their article, Ohotnicky et al provide a U.S. military perspective on the same defence and foreign relations circumstances addressed in this study, with the apparent goal of informing operational commanders how to best organize their forces to respond to regional crises, military or civilian.¹⁵

Norwegian researcher Kristian Åtland has examined the conflict versus cooperation issue from a Russian perspective in his essay “Russia’s Armed Forces and the Arctic: All Quiet on the Northern Front?” Published in the journal *Contemporary Security Policy* in August 2011 with support from the Research Council of Norway Åtland opines that while Russia is indeed revamping its military capability along its Arctic frontier, the renewal is limited and pragmatic, designed primarily to support domestic and economic security requirements and to replace aging infrastructure and equipment at the end of its service life.¹⁶ Pavel Baev is another analyst who has examined the issue from a Russian perspective. In his essay “Russia’s Arctic Ambitions and Anxieties” published in the October 2013 issue of *Current History*, Baev provides an

¹⁴ Caitlyn L. Antrim, “Relocating the Reset: US-Russian Partnership in the Arctic” *World Politics Review*, 29 February 2012, <http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/11627/relocating-the-reset-a-u-s-russian-partnership-in-the-arctic>.

¹⁵ Peter Ohotnicky, Braden Hisey, and Jessica Todd, “Improving U.S. Posture in the Arctic” *Joint Force Quarterly* No. 67, (October 2012).

¹⁶ Kristian Åtland, “Russia’s Armed Forces and the Arctic: All Quiet on the Northern Front?” *Contemporary Security Policy* Vol.32, No.2 (August 2011): 267-285.

even-handed assessment of Russian government actions as it struggles to balance its desire for sovereignty with its recognition that peaceful cooperation among the Arctic states is in Russia's best interests. As he notes, this struggle has resulted in a "seriously incoherent pattern of relations with its Arctic neighbours."¹⁷

Indian Navy Commander Sarabjeet Singh Parmar brings a non-Arctic state perspective to the issue in his essay "The Arctic: Potential for Conflict amidst Cooperation" published in the journal *Strategic Analysis* in July 2013. Parmar provides a balanced assessment, observing that while the Arctic is considered a stable region due to "tacit understandings, mutual trust, and well-established mechanisms...based on international law," there are underlying stress points that cannot be ignored and could threaten the prevailing peace and stability.¹⁸

The only book-length publication to deal with defence policy and military security in the North, particularly the tasks of promoting cooperation and avoiding conflict, is *Arctic Security in an Age of Climate Change*, a 2011 compilation of essays edited by James Kraska of the U.S. Naval War College and Foreign Policy Research Institute. Authors whose original works grace the pages of this book are a veritable "Who's Who" of subject matter experts representing academic institutions and policy think tanks across the Arctic Council and observer states. Of the 15 authors featured in the work, Franklyn Griffiths' essay "Arctic Security: The Indirect Approach" and Whitney Lackenbauer's essay "Polar Race or Polar Saga?" bear the closest resemblance to this research paper in theme and content. Other essays within the book present several

¹⁷ Pavel K. Baev, "Russia's Arctic Ambitions and Anxieties," *Current History*, (October 2013): 265-270.

¹⁸ Sarabjeet Singh Parmar, "The Arctic: Potential for Conflict amidst Cooperation," *Strategic Analysis* Vol. 37, no. 4 (July 2013): 480.

of the same arguments as this study, albeit from a narrower focus of the individual Arctic Council states.¹⁹

Two other books have recently been published — *International Law and the Arctic* by University of British Columbia law professor Michael Byers, and *Ice and Water: Politics, Peoples and the Arctic Council* by University of Waterloo historian John English. While Byers' book is principally an academic analysis of various legal issues affecting continental shelf extension applications, outstanding boundary disputes, and the status of maritime straits in the Arctic region, his final chapter is devoted to security issues. Byers touches upon many of the same topics as this research paper, and often comes to the same conclusions.²⁰ English's focus is the Arctic Council; however, he also discusses several of the security issues that affected the region during the Cold War that aptly describes the political calculus of many of the cooperative initiatives afoot today.²¹

As suggested above, the majority of studies relating to national interests in the Arctic consider the post-Cold War period, after an understanding of the need for mutual support had been established. Some of the studies have offered a region-specific assessment of earlier concerns. This study focuses specifically on members of the "Arctic Five" from the 1940s to the 21st century to identify a period of transition in national interest, among the Five, from distrust to mutual support. Focussing specifically on this group helps identify how the impact of climate change in the Arctic created a security threat specific to the Arctic Five from non-Arctic states and makes clear that cooperation

¹⁹ Franklyn Griffiths, "Arctic Security: The Indirect Approach," in *Arctic Security in an Age of Climate Change*, ed. James Kraska, 3-19 (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2011). Other authors with essays in the collection include Caitlin Antrim, Lawson Brigham, Rob Huebert, Rolf Tamnes, Dave Titley, Oran Young, and Katarzyna Zysk.

²⁰ Michael Byers, *International Law and the Arctic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 245-279.

²¹ John English, *Ice and Water: Politics, Peoples, and the Arctic Council* (Toronto: Allen Lane, 2013), 1-18, 73-104.

was their only recourse. This study utilizes a range of primary and secondary sources including published books, newspaper and journal articles, publicly available government and think-tank reports, scientific studies, and internet blogs. It also utilizes a variety of unclassified policy and planning documents, records of discussion, and analytical reports produced by, but not generally accessible outside of, Canada's Department of National Defence (DND) and the Department of Foreign Affairs, International Trade and Development (DFATD). The paper also draws on first-hand experience in Arctic-related defence matters.²²

This study is laid out chronologically across five chapters, beginning with the Cold War Period. Chapter 2, "Cold War Dynamics" provides a synopsis of defence and foreign relations between the Arctic states from 1945 to the late 1980s. It identifies the numerous reasons for distrust during this period. The chapter covers the origins of the NATO and the North American Air Defence Command (NORAD), the Cold War's Arctic battlefront and defences, the short-lived *détente*, and resurgence in tensions.

Chapter 3, "Political Thaw and Global Warming — Impact on Relations," marks a shift in political alliances and examines the effects that the end of the Cold War and the international recognition of climate change had on Arctic interstate relations. Those effects included the degradation of NATO's and Russia's military operational capabilities in the region, the birth of the Arctic Council, and the environmental and political-economic consequences of melting sea ice and permafrost. The information contained in Chapter 3 draws from a mix of primary and secondary sources that include political analyses of Mikhail Gorbachev's Murmansk Initiative, scientific reporting on the cause

²² The first-hand experience is mostly my own, garnered through four years of employment as a DND analyst with primary responsibility for Arctic-related issues.

and effect of global warming in the Arctic, including its international security nexus, and foundation and policy documents of the Arctic Council.

Chapters 4 and 5 contain the core of the analysis. Chapter 4, “Quelling False Alarms about Renewed Militarization,” examines events transpiring between 2007 and 2012 that gave rise to widespread speculation that a race was on for Arctic resources, which would inevitably result in interstate conflict. The events in question include Canadian government announcements about enhancing the military footprint in the Arctic to protect its sovereignty, and hawkish statements by Russian officials regarding the need to be militarily prepared to defend their national interests in the region. Further, this chapter will utilize government policy documents and media reports to reveal political rhetoric that was often trumped up for domestic political purposes and to identify Arctic policy initiatives introduced between 2006 to 2012 that point toward a future Arctic characterized by compromise and cooperation.

Chapter 5, “Present Trends in Arctic Cooperation,” describes the substantive cooperation initiatives that evolved from new Arctic foreign and defence policies. Information and analysis in Chapter 5 is based almost exclusively on primary sources, including the Arctic Council SAR agreement, follow-on Arctic SAR exercise reports, and the Record of Discussion from the inaugural Northern CHoDs meeting. This chapter also examines sub-regional Arctic cooperative efforts that are underway and offers an assessment of their longer-term impact on circumpolar relations. These efforts include the bi-national defence of the North American Arctic by Canada and the U.S., Russian proposals for greater collaboration with Canada, the greater inclusiveness of the Arctic Council, initiatives by the Arctic Five to protect the region’s fisheries, and the release of

additional Russian and American Arctic policy documents. Also examined are events and activities undermining these cooperative trends, including the off-and-on interest of NATO in playing a greater role in the Arctic region, and international reaction toward Russia's 2014 intervention in Ukraine. Most of the sources used in the latter portion of Chapter 5 are news media reports.

The sixth and concluding chapter, contains an assessment of how the face of defence and foreign relations in the Arctic is likely to transform in the upcoming decade given the indicators presented previously. Included in Chapter 6 are wildcard factors that could disrupt the cooperative balance between the Arctic Five states.

It is important to the understanding of this study to note that despite the accumulation of facts over time, there is no universally accepted geographical definition of the Arctic region.²³ The map at Figure 1.2 illustrates some of the definitions available.

²³ Some climatologists and meteorologists consider the Arctic to include all areas north of the treeline — the northern limit of upright tree growth. Other researchers define it as locations in high latitudes where the average daily summer temperature does not rise above 10°C. The Arctic has also been defined as all lands inside the boundary of continuous permafrost, above which the soil remains frozen year round. Within marine environments, the Arctic is defined by the seawater having a temperature at or near 0°C, and a salinity of approximately 30 grams of salt per kilogram. The most commonly accepted geographical definition of the Arctic is “all” areas located north of the Arctic Circle. Located as 66°33'44" North latitude, the Arctic Circle is the lowest line of latitude where the disk of the sun is not visible for at least one day in the midwinter and where the sun does not totally disappear below the horizon for at least one night at mid-summer. Refining these physical and environmental definitions further, researchers and analysts have divided the region into the Sub-Arctic, Low Arctic and High Arctic zones, which have progressively colder temperatures, less precipitation, and fewer species of plants and animals the further north the zone is located. For the purposes of this study the term “Arctic” will refer to all areas north of the Arctic Circle, which is the area of greatest political, socio-economic, and defence interest to the Arctic Five states. Janine L. Murray, *et al.* “Physical/Geographical Characteristics of the Arctic,” in *AMAP Assessment Report - Arctic Pollution Issues* (Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme (AMAP): Oslo, Norway, 1998, 9-10. For more on this see also: Keskitalo, *Negotiating the Arctic...*, 30-32, 187n3, 188n.8 ; John E. Sater, “The Arctic Basin and the Arctic: Some Definitions,” in *Canada's Changing North*, ed. William C. Wonders, 3-7 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 4-7. National Snow and Ice Data Center, “What is the Arctic,” last accessed 26 January 2013. http://nsidc.org/arcticmet/basics/arctic_definition.html.



Figure 1.2 - The many definitions of the Arctic, showing the location of the Arctic Five states

Source: [http://wwf.panda.org/what we do/where we work/arctic/](http://wwf.panda.org/what_we_do/where_we_work/arctic/)

In addition to difficulties associated with an examination of physical geographic boundaries that change over time, this study is further complicated by the fact that the Arctic's distinct political boundaries have also transformed. In the present day context, it is generally considered to include all national territory and adjacent waters north of the Arctic Circle, a definition that was determined in large degree by the present voting membership in the Arctic Council. As noted by Eva Keskitalo in her book *Negotiating*

the Arctic: the Construction of an International Region, beyond its climatic and historical delineations the Arctic is a region that “has been discussed into being, and is largely contested.”²⁴

British geopolitics expert Charles Emmerson shares a similar opinion, commenting in the *Future History of the Arctic* that the Arctic is not a single place, fenced off from the world. Instead, “it is a fractured region, increasingly tied to economic and political interests outside it, in Asia and Europe, as well as in the Arctic countries themselves.”²⁵ Indeed, among and within the eight Arctic Council states there are dissimilarities in how Arctic territory is delineated for the purposes of government administration, regulatory enforcement, and national defence.

In Canada, for example, the federal government has amassed the geographic Arctic in with all territory north of 60° North latitude.²⁶ The government has done so for reasons of administrative ease and cost-effectiveness in national program management given the lower population densities and the diminishing volume of public infrastructure the further north one travels, and the associated logistical problems servicing remote communities. However, when it comes to defence and broader security issues, the Canadian government places the geographic marker for its “North” at 55° North latitude.²⁷ If one were to translate the Canadian defence definition of the “North” onto a

²⁴ Keskitalo, *Negotiating the Arctic...*, 2-4. Keskitalo’s central thesis is that the circumpolar Arctic has emerged as a policy-relevant region from the 1980s onward as a result of multiple factors, the main one being globalization in which states are pressured to cooperate on wide-ranging issues and extend their foreign policy scope. She argues that for the Arctic, the end of the Cold War in particular yielded the possibility to organize on a circumpolar basis and beyond traditional security concerns into the eight-state region it now is.

²⁵ Charles Emmerson, *The Future History of the Arctic* (New York: PublicAffairs Books, 2010), xvii.

²⁶ Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. *Canada’s Northern Strategy: Our North, Our Heritage, Our Future* (Ottawa: INAC, 2009), 6-7.

²⁷ Department of National Defence. *CDS/DM Directive For the DND/CF in Canada’s North* (Ottawa: Chief of the Defence Staff, April 12, 2011), 2-3.

global geopolitical scale, the range of countries that could legitimately claim a stake in the Arctic region would expand to include the United Kingdom of Great Britain (U.K), the Republic of Ireland, Germany, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Belarus. This study will show that in some instances, these muddled political definitions have emboldened states well removed from the Arctic to claim some level of Arctic or “near-Arctic” status.

2. COLD WAR DYNAMICS

The Cold War marked a period of intense international distrust. During this time the Soviet Union as well as other nations that would eventually become known as the Arctic Five saw no reason for cooperation, though all had a growing interest in the Arctic. From the late 1940s to the late 1980s, the Cold War impacted defence and foreign relations in a profound way; the cooperative alliance that the democratic powers of Western Europe and North America had forged with the Soviet Union during the Second World War ended in mutual suspicion that the other side's military and diplomatic actions were signals of pending aggression.

To defend themselves against potential Soviet aggression, Canada, the U.S., and 10 Western European countries — including Arctic states Denmark-Greenland, Iceland and Norway — formed NATO in 1949.²⁸ When West Germany joined NATO in 1955, the Soviet Union responded by forming the Warsaw Treaty Organization of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance (Warsaw Pact) with its fellow communist states in Eastern Europe.

The battlefronts for any future conflict between NATO and the Warsaw Pact quickly became apparent. In Europe, the fronts would be located along the borders between East and West Germany, between Norway and Soviet Russia, and between NATO member states in the Mediterranean and the communist Balkans. Meanwhile, the Arctic and the North Atlantic Ocean would be the principal avenues for any Soviet attacks on NATO countries in the Western Hemisphere and Iceland.

²⁸ The threat posed by the Soviet Union was not the only reason for the formation of NATO. According to the official NATO history, the creation of the Alliance was part of a broader effort to serve three purposes: deterring Soviet expansionism, forbidding the revival of nationalist militarism in Europe through a strong North American presence on the continent, and encouraging European political integration. NATO, "A Short History of NATO," last accessed 22 June 2013, <http://www.nato.int/history/nato-history.html>.

As a theatre of military operations, the Arctic was considered an unlikely route for a Soviet land invasion of North America due to the assessed difficulty in mounting a successful ground attack in the region's harsh natural environment. From the perspective of U.S., Canadian and Danish defence planners, whatever Arctic ground combat occurred in the region would likely involve special operations forces securing sites of importance for a transpolar air offensive, such as airfields and weather stations. Two factors shaped this reasoning. Firstly, combined military exercises in the Canadian North, such as Operation Musk Ox in 1946, had demonstrated the difficulty and expense involved in mounting a successful conventional land operation in the region's severe climate and terrain.²⁹ Secondly, with the advent of the atomic bomb and strategic long-range aircraft,³⁰ the geography that had formerly made the Arctic the shortest route for delivering aircraft and supplies from the U.S. and Canada to the Soviet Union when they were Second World War allies, now dictated the direction of potential nuclear attacks and air defences against them. Hence, any land operations that might be conducted in the Arctic were assessed as almost certain to occur in support of air missions across the polar

²⁹ The operational hazards presented by the Arctic's harsh climate and terrain are what General Natynczyk referred to as shared "unique challenges" following the first Northern CHoDs meeting. For example, weather conditions in the Arctic and High Arctic geographic zones are extremely unpredictable, with high winds, storms, and whiteout conditions that can dramatically slow the movement of ground troops and military land vehicles. These same conditions along with fog and widespread cloud cover can seriously impede air force operations. Extreme cold can cause equipment to freeze up and cause frostbite and hypothermia to troops exposed to the elements. The hazards posed by all of these climatic factors are greatest during the winter months. In topographical terms, the uneven rocky ground, bogs, marshes, lakes, snow, and ice that characterize most Arctic terrain are impediments to the rapid movement of ground troops and conventional military vehicles. In general, military ground transportation is easier during the winter when bodies of water and the surface layer of ground in areas of discontinuous permafrost freeze over. Winter also enables military ground transportation across the frozen straits and sounds in the assorted Arctic archipelagos and across the drifting ice pack. However, traveling on ice can be very dangerous due to floe movements, open water, ice crevasses, and ice ridges. Department of National Defence, *Canadian North: Detailed Operational Hazards Assessment* Canada Command J2 TA 04/11, (Ottawa: Canada Command, 5 July 2011), 2, 5-6. For more on this see also: Department of National Defence, *Canadian Forces Northern Employment and Support Plan* (Ottawa: Canadian Joint Operations Command, November 2012), 7-12.

³⁰ Including an aircraft capable of refuelling the bombers.

cap. This opinion was further entrenched by the development of intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) technology in the late 1950s.³¹

As for naval operations, the fact that most of the Soviet fleet was based on the Kola Peninsula³² guaranteed that the ice-free sections of the Arctic Ocean and its neighbouring seas would have been key battlegrounds had the Cold War suddenly turned hot.³³ In the event of hostilities, it was assessed that Soviet surface ships and submarines would depart their Northern Fleet (NORFLT) bases for the Barents and Norwegian Seas before heading to the North Atlantic. The task for NATO's naval forces — including

³¹ Emmerson, *The Future History of the Arctic*, 111-112. For more on this see also: Grant, *Polar Imperative...*, 298-299; E.C.H. Keskitalo, *Negotiating the Arctic...*, 34-35. Operation Musk-Ox involved Canadian Army tracked vehicles travelling from Churchill, Manitoba to Victoria Island in the Arctic Archipelago, before moving southwest to northern British Columbia. U.S. and British observers were involved in the operation. Other Canadian Army exercises occurred later that decade, including Exercise Moccasin (1947-48), and Exercise Igloo, Exercise Sundog I, and Operation Ennadai (1948-49). The U.S. staged its own Arctic exercises in Alaska during the 1940s and 1950s, including Operation Microwex and Operation Nanook.

³² For the location of the Kola Peninsula, refer to Figure 2.2 on page 14.

³³ For naval surface forces, Arctic waters are only accessible during the short summer shipping season, which generally occurs from July to October, and then only in the marginal ice zone. However, Arctic waters are rarely “ice free” in a literal sense, with patches of ice of varying age and density covering up to 10 percent of the surface in nominally open waters. This ice is a hazard to ship navigation. This problem is compounded by the fact that the overwhelming majority of surface naval ships in the world today lack ice-strengthened hulls. Most of the ice-capable warships that are in operations are small-to-medium-sized patrol vessels, vice major surface combatants. Submarines can operate in ice-infested waters, but only if they are ice-strengthened and have nuclear propulsion systems that enable them to stay submerged beneath the ice pack for extended periods. The number of submarines fitting this description is equally limited. Department of National Defence, *Canadian North: Detailed Operational Hazards Assessment*, 6. For more on this see also: Murray, et al. “Physical/Geographical Characteristics of the Arctic,” 23; Gareth Evans, “As the Arctic melts – who has the most formidable ice-going naval fleet?” last modified 3 January 2013, <http://www.naval-technology.com/features/featurearctic-ice-melting-naval-fleet-us-norway-vessel-russia/>; James Kraska, “The New Arctic Geography and U.S. Strategy,” in *Arctic Security in an Age of Climate Change*, ed. James Kraska, 244-266 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 262-264; David W. Titley, and Courtney C. St. John, “Arctic Security Considerations and the U.S. Navy’s Roadmap for the Arctic,” *Naval War College Review* Vol. 63, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 43; Naval-Technology.com, “Thetis Class, Denmark,” last accessed 3 April 2014, <http://www.naval-technology.com/projects/thetis/>; Doug Thomas, “Warship Developments: Arctic/Offshore Patrol Ships,” *Canadian Naval Review* Vol 3, No. 3 (Fall 2007): 36-37; United States Navy, Chief of Naval Operations, Submarine Warfare Division, “Fast attack submarines,” last accessed 3 April 2014, <http://www.navy.mil/navydata/cno/n87/today/ssn.html>; Naval-Technology.com, “Trafalgar Class Attack Submarines, United Kingdom,” last accessed 3 April 2014, <http://www.naval-technology.com/projects/trafalgarclass/>; Alexey Krivoruchek “Russian submarines outfitted to break thick Arctic ice,” last modified 16 December 2013, http://rbth.com/science_and_tech/2013/12/16/russian_submarines_outfitted_to_break_thick_arctic_ice_32611.html.

their maritime air arm and underwater sound surveillance (SOSUS) arrays — would be to contain the Soviet fleet within these waters and prevent it from proceeding south of the sea-lane chokepoints between Greenland, Iceland and the U.K., the so-called GIUK gap. Although naval capabilities were initially viewed as secondary in strategic value to air power in the Arctic, their importance soared with the development in the late 1950s of nuclear powered submarines with ice strengthened hulls that were able to operate under the polar icecap, and had the capability to break through the ice and launch their own variant of ICBMs (SLBMs) from anywhere in the Arctic basin with little likelihood of pre-launch detection.³⁴

In response to the Soviet threat, the Canadian and U.S. governments came to an agreement in 1947 to enhance continental air defences in the Arctic. Accordingly, the Permanent Joint Board on Defence ordered the construction of a string of early warning radar stations (the Mid-Canada and Distance Early Warning (DEW) Lines), weather stations, and air force forward operating bases (FOBs) across the north from Greenland to Alaska, much of it on sites previously developed to house Second World War defensive infrastructure (see Figure 2.1 below). Construction and upgrades progressed through the 1950s and early 1960s. The agreement was formalized as a treaty on May 12, 1958 with the establishment of the bi-national military command NORAD.³⁵

³⁴ Åtland, “Russia’s Armed Forces and the Arctic...,” 270. For more on this see also: Emmerson, *The Future History of the Arctic*, 113-114; Keskitalo, *Negotiating the Arctic...*, 34-35. Early Soviet submarine SLBMs had short ranges, meaning that submarine commanders needed to sail their vessels past NATO defences in the GIUK Gap if they wanted to strike targets in the centre of continental North America. As the range of missiles became longer, the Soviets could theoretically remain in their bastion areas under the Arctic sea ice and fire with relative impunity. Emmerson, *The Future History of the Arctic*, 114.

³⁵ NORAD. “A Brief History of NORAD.” Last modified 12 December 2012. <http://www.norad.mil/Portals/29/Documents/History/A%20Brief%20History%20of%20NORAD.pdf>. For more on this see also: Emmerson, *The Future History of the Arctic*, 112; Grant, *Polar Imperative...*, 299-307; Coates, et al, *Arctic Front...*, 67, 69-70.

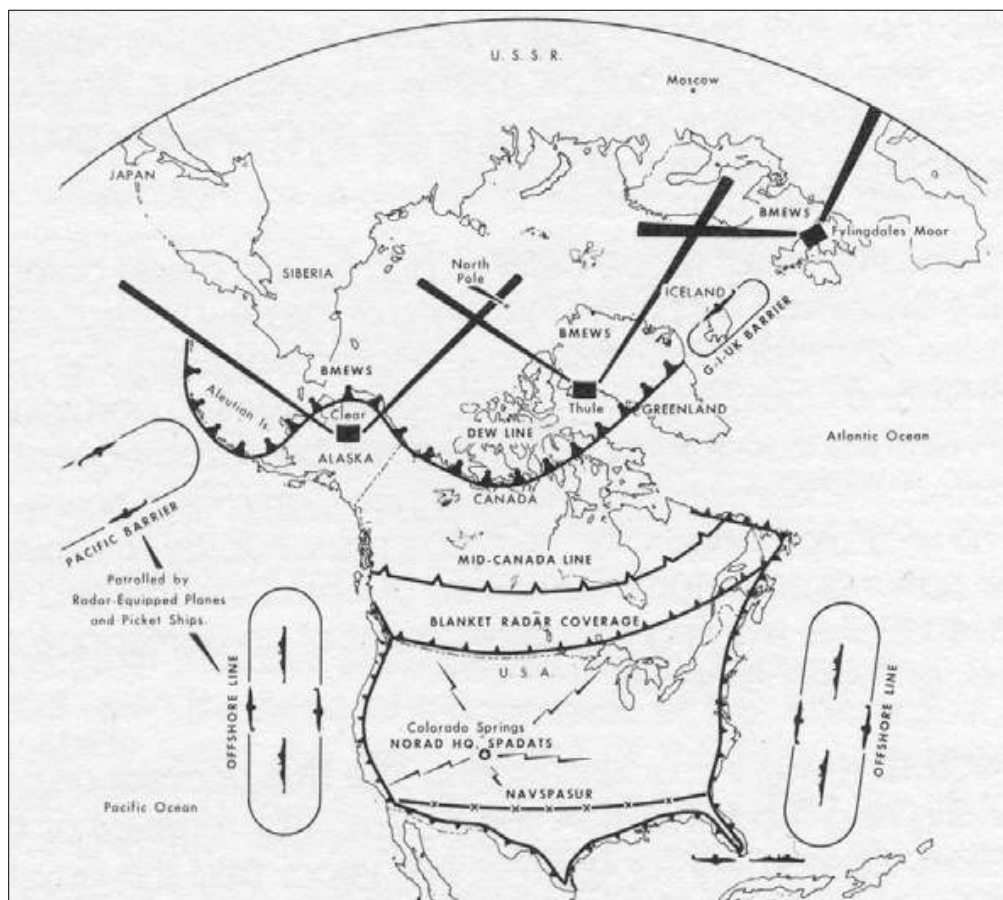


Figure 2.1 - North American air defence systems in the mid-1960s

Source: NORAD, "A Brief History of NORAD," last modified 12 December 2012, <http://www.norad.mil/Portals/29/Documents/History/A%20Brief%20History%20of%20NORAD.pdf>, 5.

To the east, Iceland played a vital strategic role as the allied hub at the centre of the GIUK gap. Accordingly, Iceland served as a heavily defended base of operations for NATO ships, submarines, and maritime patrol aircraft conducting anti-submarine warfare (ASW) operations against Soviet Northern Fleet (NORFLT) submarines, and for NATO fighter aircraft intercepting Soviet LRA. SOSUS arrays were established along the GIUK Gap as additional defences against the Soviet submarine threat.³⁶ At the same time however, many Icelanders deeply mistrusted defence organizations in general, and called for the country to be a demilitarized zone. Subsequent efforts by Icelandic governments

³⁶ Grant, *Polar Imperative...*, 289-290.

during the 1950s to close the USAF air base at Keflavik as well as USSR economic campaigns to lure Iceland closer to the Soviet fold, led American officials to regard the island country as “an alarmingly unreliable ally.”³⁷

In northern Norway, the situation was more intense. As the only NATO country to border directly on the USSR, Norway faced the constant threat of Soviet land forces storming over its borders from the Kola Peninsula. The area around Kirkenes became a fortified camp, subjected to intensive electronic surveillance and undermanned in relation to Red Army forces across the border throughout the entire Cold War period. Had the Soviets ever invaded Europe, Kirkenes would likely have been one of the first cities to fall. The best that the Norwegian forces staged near Kirkenes could have done would have been to slow the Soviets down long enough to allow fellow NATO forces to intercede.³⁸

Cold War tensions eased from the late 1960s to the mid-1970s in response to a diplomatic charm offensive initiated by U.S. President Richard Nixon and the strategic arms reduction agreements it elicited.³⁹ This so-called *détente* ended in 1979 with the Soviet’s invasion of Afghanistan, an act that followed quickly on the heels of the Soviets’ expansion and renewal of its submarine fleet⁴⁰ complete with longer-range ballistic

³⁷ Emerson, *The Future History of the Arctic*, 293, 381n.47. As noted by Emerson, similar sentiments during the Second World War had prompted the U.S. military in 1945 to scale back some of its plans for a post-war presence in Iceland, whereby the island country avoided becoming the North Atlantic “battleship” it might have become.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 101-102.

³⁹ Robert J. Art, “America’s foreign policy,” in *Foreign Policy in World Politics* 6th Edition, ed. Roy C. Macridis, 114-169 (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1985), 145-149. For more on this see also: Encyclopedia of the New American Nation, “Cold War Evolution and Interpretations - *Détente*,” last accessed 8 July 2013, <http://www.americanforeignrelations.com/A-D/Cold-War-Evolution-and-Interpretations-D-tente.html>.

⁴⁰ The submarine renewal included SSBNs, nuclear powered attack (or general purpose) submarines (SSNs and SSGNs), and conventionally powered diesel submarines (SSKs).

missiles, and the equipping of LRA bombers with air-launched cruise missiles.⁴¹ The U.S. responded with accelerated military procurement of its own, the forward staging of U.S. submarines in the Barents Sea just outside the Soviet's SSBN *bastion areas*,⁴² and renewal of its northern continental air defences with Canada. The latter included replacing the DEW line with the North Warning System radar sites from the Aleutian Islands in Alaska to the east coast of Greenland, the establishment of FOBs in the Canadian Arctic, and the testing of U.S. cruise missiles in regions of the Canadian northwest that closely resembled the geography of northern Russia.⁴³

The Canadian government issued a White Paper on Defence in 1987 that proposed additional measures to counter the elevated Soviet risk. These included the procurement 10 to 12 nuclear powered attack submarines (SSNs) capable of patrolling all three of Canada's coasts, and the laying of a SOSUS array in the Canadian Arctic seabed to monitor against foreign intruders. These proposals had the added peacetime benefit of enabling the enforcement of Canada's claim that the Northwest Passage (NWP) is an internal waterway, vice an international strait.⁴⁴ Simultaneous with these developments, researchers at the Norwegian Institute for International Affairs began studying satellite imagery of the Soviet Union's Kola Peninsula and noted with alarm the tremendous build-up of military infrastructure that had occurred over the preceding decade. The scale

⁴¹ W. Harriet Critchley, "Defence and Policing in Arctic Canada," in *Politics of the Northwest Passage*, ed. Franklyn Griffiths, 200-215 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), 209. For more on this see also: Emmerson, *The Future History of the Arctic*, 115-116.

⁴² "Bastion area" refers to the patrol areas under the polar icecap where Soviet SSBNs conducted their nuclear deterrence patrols. They are nicknamed bastions due to the fortress-like defensive capabilities afforded by thick polar ice above which make it difficult for NATO to detect and/or destroy them.

⁴³ Critchley, "Defence and Policing in Arctic Canada," 210. For more on this see also: Grant, *Polar Imperative...*, 336-337; Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada* (Hurtig Publishers: Edmonton, 1985), 264-265.

⁴⁴ Adam Lajeunesse, "Sovereignty, Security and the Canadian Nuclear Submarine Program," *Canadian Military Journal* 8, no. 4, (Winter 2007-2008): 75, <http://www.journal.forces.gc.ca/vo8/no4/lajeunes-eng.asp>. For more on this see also: Coates, et al, *Arctic Front...*, 119-122. Further information on international challenges to sovereign Canadian control of the NWP is provided in Chapter 4.

of these developments led the Norwegian defence establishment to deduce that the Arctic would be a certain and key battlefield in any future war between NATO and the Soviet Union.⁴⁵

Meanwhile, Soviet paranoia about NATO's intentions was running at an all time high, with many government and military officials believing an attack by the Western alliance was imminent. This belief was driven by multiple factors including faulty Soviet intelligence regarding recent U.S. military exercises, psychological operations conducted by the U.S. intelligence agencies, the rhetoric from U.S. President Ronald Reagan regarding the Strategic Defence Initiative and his repeated oratorical depiction of the Soviet Union as an "evil empire,"⁴⁶ and by the aforementioned USN strategy of forward deploying attack submarines in the Barents Sea. In summary, by the midpoint of the 1980s, the East-West détente that had characterized the 1960s and 1970s was dead and the Cold War was back in full swing and threatening to escalate. As described by Charles Emmerson, "a mood of confrontation and mutual suspicion had descended across the Arctic."⁴⁷ Hence while the Soviet Union and the Arctic NATO states had clear interests in the region, it was for the purposes of defence against one another, not to safeguard shared national interests.

⁴⁵ Emmerson, *The Future History of the Arctic*, 116. Those Soviet military developments in the Kola Peninsula included multiple submarine and LRA bases, 22 fighter air bases, nine major army bases, and enough pre-positioned material for an entire army.

⁴⁶ Benjamin B. Fischer, "A Cold War Conundrum: The 1983 Soviet War Scare," last accessed 7 July 2013, <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/books-and-monographs/a-cold-war-conundrum/source.htm#HEADING1-12>.

⁴⁷ Emmerson, *The Future History of the Arctic*, 116.

3. POLITICAL THAW AND GLOBAL WARMING – IMPACT ON RELATIONS

The shift from Cold War to Post-Cold War accompanied a global warming trend in the Arctic and a new political understanding of the need for cooperation amongst

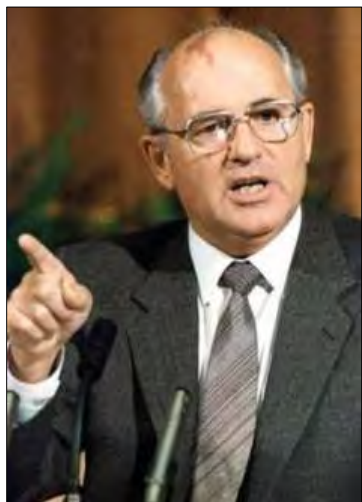


Figure 3.1 - Mikhail Gorbachev
Source: Ria Novosti

Canada, Denmark-Greenland, Norway, Russia, and the United States. Cold War tensions continued to rise until Mikhail Gorbachev became the President of the Soviet Union in 1985 and called for a de-escalation of military activities in the Arctic region. Once in power, Gorbachev ushered in an era of glasnost (openness) and perestroika (political and economic restructuring) within the state's domestic affairs and foreign relations. Two prominent goals of these policies were to improve relations with the Western liberal democracies and ease tensions between the Warsaw Pact and NATO.⁴⁸

In October 1987, Gorbachev delivered his “Murmansk Initiative” speech in which he called on all parties to lower the level of military confrontation in the Arctic region and to “let the North Pole be a pole of peace.”⁴⁹ To achieve this, Gorbachev proposed a six-point program of dialogue that contained military arms reduction and civilian environmental and economic elements. He also suggested that the non-aligned Arctic

⁴⁸ Archie Brown, “Perestroika and the End of the Cold War,” *Cold War History* 7, no. 1 (2007): 1–17.

⁴⁹ Emmerson, *The Future History of the Arctic*, 116-117. For more on this see also: Dan Hayward, “Gorbachev’s Murmansk Initiative: New Prospects for Arms Control in the Arctic?” *Northern Perspectives* Vol. 16, no. 4, (July-August 1988), <http://www.carc.org/pubs/v16no4/4.htm>. An alternate translation of Gorbachev’s phraseology quoted in Hayward has the Soviet leader saying “Let the North of the globe, the Arctic become a zone of peace.”

states Sweden and Finland be included in the discussions. More details on Gorbachev's proposal are provided in Annex A.⁵⁰

Leaders in most NATO capitals greeted the arms control aspects of the Murmansk Initiative with scepticism, particularly the proposal to establish a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe and restrict naval activities in Arctic waters. NATO leaders considered the items a repackaging of previous proposals intended to give the Soviets a unilateral advantage.⁵¹ The civilian aspects were better received, and ultimately paved the way for the establishment of the Arctic Council.⁵²

Over the next three years, Communist rule in Russia and Eastern Europe declined.⁵³ On December 31, 1991, the Soviet Union ceased to exist and dissolved into its component republics. With that, the Cold War was pronounced dead⁵⁴ and the Arctic's strategic significance fell into sharp decline. NATO began to shift its focus away from the former Soviet Russia to conduct smaller and more flexible operations in the Balkans, Afghanistan, and Africa. Throughout the 1990s, the U.S., Canada, Norway and Denmark took advantage of the "peace dividend" in the Arctic by closing bases, downsizing troop levels, cancelling military procurement projects, and reducing air and maritime patrols in

⁵⁰ Keskitalo, *Negotiating the Arctic...*, 42-43. For more on this see also: Hayward, "Gorbachev's Murmansk Initiative..."; Lassi Heininen, "The Murmansk Speech of 1987," *Barents Encyclopedia* online, last accessed 29 July 2013. <http://bar-enc.didaktekon.se/Editor/Sample-articles/Ex-Murmansk-Speech-S-Heininen-2011-09.pdf>. More information about these six proposals is provided in Annex A.

⁵¹ Hayward, "Gorbachev's Murmansk Initiative..." For more on this see also: Emerson, *The Future History of the Arctic*, 118; English, *Ice and Water*, 11-12.

⁵² Heininen, "The Murmansk Speech of 1987."

⁵³ By 1989, the permeating influence of glasnost and perestroika had eroded the strength of Communist rule in Eastern Europe and spawned a series of peaceful revolutions across the region. Gorbachev declined to send in Red Army troops to suppress the revolts, unlike Soviet leaders during similar uprisings in 1956 and 1968. As a result, the Soviet Union's influence on the Warsaw Pact states crumbled and the Cold War military threats against Western Europe dissipated along with it. CIA, "Preface" in *At Cold War's End: U.S. Intelligence on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe 1989-1991*, last modified 5 February 2013, <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/books-and-monographs/at-cold-wars-end-us-intelligence-on-the-soviet-union-and-eastern-europe-1989-1991/art-1.html#rtoc1>.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

the region. For example, the Americans stopped their heavy bomber patrols, an action that was mirrored by the Russians. In relation to these, the U.S. ceased operations at the Keflavik airbase in Iceland. Canada dropped its plans to procure SSNs and dramatically cut other defence expenditures in the North. In Norway and Denmark, the governments began shifting military concerns in the north to constabulary duties in support of civilian agencies.⁵⁵

In Russia, the decline of military capabilities was more pronounced and less controlled than the other Arctic states. As the Soviet Union fell apart and the new Russian leadership struggled to get a grip on state management, military salaries went unpaid and funding available for equipment and infrastructure maintenance dried up. NORFLT, in particular, was ravaged with its serviceable nuclear submarine fleet shrinking from 180 vessels to fewer than 30 by the end 2010.⁵⁶

As old rivalries began to dissipate in the shift from Cold War to post-Cold War, new alliances were forged with an initial emphasis on environmental issues in the Arctic. These alliances expanded thereafter to address political and socio-economic issues. As stated, the Murmansk Initiative met with mixed reaction among the Arctic states. The most enthusiastic support came from Finland,⁵⁷ which focussed on Gorbachev's call for collaboration in polar scientific research and joint efforts to protect the region's

⁵⁵ Emerson, *The Future History of the Arctic*, 118. For more on this see also: Nikolai Sokov, "Russian Strategic Aviation Begins Regular Long-Range Flights: Putin Announces "Enhanced Air Patrols,"" *WMD Insights* (Oct 2007), last accessed 1 Aug 2013, <http://cns.miis.edu/other/wmdi071008b.htm>; Rob Huebert, *The Newly Emerging Arctic Security Environment* (Calgary: Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute, March 2010), 3; Coates, *et al*, *Arctic Front...*, 124-125.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* For more on this see also: Åtland, "Russia's Armed Forces and the Arctic?" 267-285. 273. To add insult to the injury to Russian pride, much of the decommissioning of former Soviet nuclear submarine fleet and other nuclear infrastructure required Western funding and technical assistance to complete.

⁵⁷ This is not particularly surprising given the fealty relationship Finland has had with Russia and the Soviet Union over the centuries

environment.⁵⁸ Finland's efforts benefited greatly from growing media and public interest in scientific reporting on global warming and related climate changes in the Arctic.⁵⁹

In September 1989, the Finnish government invited officials from the eight Arctic countries to Rovaniemi, Finland to discuss cooperative measures for protecting the Arctic environment. Subsequent meetings followed⁶⁰ during which numerous technical and scientific reports were prepared with the assistance of observers representing Arctic indigenous peoples' organizations and several non-Arctic states in Europe.⁶¹ These efforts culminated in June 1991 with the eight Arctic states signing the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy (AEPS) and the subsequent establishment of the Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme (AMAP) to implement strategy components.⁶² In recognition of the Arctic indigenous groups' significant contributions, the Arctic states granted them permanent participant status in future AEPS/AMAP activities.⁶³

Two months after the Rovaniemi meeting, the Canadian government initiated a diplomatic campaign to establish a more broadly focussed intergovernmental

⁵⁸ Walter & Duncan Gordon Foundation, "A Brief History of the Creation of the Arctic Council," last accessed 10 September 2013, http://gordonfoundation.ca/sites/default/files/publications/Axworthy.2010-12-02_ArcticCouncilHistory_Summary.pdf, 1.

⁵⁹ Andrew C. Revkin, "1988-2008: Climate Then and Now," *The New York Times* (blog) 23 June 2008, http://dotearth.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/06/23/1988-2008-climate-then-and-now/?_r=0. As will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter, these signs included high rates of melt on Greenland's glacial icecap, the shrinking volume and thickness of sea ice in the Arctic Ocean, the thawing of permafrost and subsequent soil erosion along the Arctic coastline, as well as changes in vegetation and wildlife patterns in the region.

⁶⁰ These later meetings were held in Yellowknife (Canada), Kiruna (Sweden) and again in Rovaniemi.

⁶¹ The indigenous groups were the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, Nordic Saami Council, and USSR Association of Small Peoples of the North. The non-Arctic state observers were Germany, Poland, and the U.K. The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, United Nations Environment Program, and the International Arctic Science Committee also participated.

⁶² Arctic Council, "History," last accessed 12 September 2013, <http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/about-us/arctic-council/history>. For more on this see also: Grant, *Polar Imperative*..., 391.

⁶³ John English, "Arctic Ambitions," *Canada's History* on-line extension, December 2013/January 2014, last accessed 17 September 2013, <http://www.canadahistory.ca/Magazine/Online-Extension/Articles/Arctic-Ambitions>. For more on this see also: English, *Ice and Water*..., 105-140.

organization for the Arctic region. The Canadian government's actions were precipitated by the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 and the ensuing opinion of its Department of External Affairs⁶⁴ that Gorbachev's Murmansk proposals then warranted a general endorsement. External Affairs Minister Joe Clark and his staff prepared a speech calling for the creation of an Arctic Council to deal with the region's political, environmental, social, and security concerns. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney delivered the speech on November 24, 1989 during a state visit to Leningrad, Russia.⁶⁵

The Canadian proposal failed to gain traction with the Soviet government, which had started to collapse amid domestic turmoil. It also failed to earn the support of the U.S. government, which opposed any security role for the Council. While the superpowers stepped away from the Arctic Council issue, Canada, the other Arctic states and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) continued to pursue it.⁶⁶

In 1994, the new Canadian government under then Prime Minister Jean Chrétien created the position of Ambassador for Arctic and Circumpolar Affairs. Prominent Inuit leader Mary Simon was appointed to the job and tasked to champion the Arctic Council concept. Simon's diplomatic efforts continued to advocate the Mulroney/Clark position that the Arctic Council be a unified voice for circumpolar nations on a broad range of foreign policy issues, including security and the environment.⁶⁷ Regarding security, the

⁶⁴ Now called the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development (DFATD).

⁶⁵ English, "Arctic Ambitions." For more on this see also: English, *Ice and Water...*, 141-177.

⁶⁶ Ibid. In Canada, the most active NGO was the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, which in 1991 developed a functional model for an Arctic Council. A report detailing the model was presented to the Mulroney government with the recommendation Canada enter formal negotiations to establish the organization. However, before agreement could be reached on how to advance the proposal, Mulroney's government was defeated in the 1993 general election. Walter & Duncan Gordon Foundation, "A Brief History of the Creation of the Arctic Council," 2.

⁶⁷ English, *Ice and Water...*, 193-201.

Arctic Council proposal expanded beyond traditional military and defence matters, to include the emerging concept of human security.⁶⁸

The idea of an Arctic Council continued to meet strong resistance from U.S. leaders who wanted to limit the role of the AEPS/AMAP permanent participants and exclude any discussion of security. In response, Ambassador Simon floated the idea of forming a council without U.S. membership. The other Arctic states said no. Turning to personal diplomacy, Prime Minister Chrétien persuaded U.S. President Bill Clinton to endorse the Council, however, the U.S. support was conditional on the organization excluding any discussion related to defence or military issues, regardless of whether they were relevant to environmental questions.⁶⁹

A key individual involved in these negotiations was Lloyd Axworthy, Chrétien's Minister of Foreign Affairs. During a September 27, 2012 conference on Arctic international relations, Axworthy recounted that while the U.S. was the main obstacle to establishing the council, the Russian government also resisted, albeit to a lesser extent,

⁶⁸ English, "Arctic Ambitions." For more on this see also: English, *Ice and Water...*, 141-177. The human security concept was rather vague, but essentially argued that states faced limitations on what they could do within their own boundaries and in the treatment of their own people. Those limitations included "sustainable development," by which the essential needs of the world's poor are given priority over resource and industrial development projects, and the state of technology and social organization would not be permitted to impede the natural environment's ability to meet present and future needs. This argument appealed strongly to indigenous peoples, especially in the Arctic. The AEPS, at Canada's suggestion, incorporated a sustainable development component in 1993. International Institute for Sustainable Development, "What is sustainable development?" last accessed 18 September 2013, <http://www.iisd.org/sd/>.

⁶⁹ English, "Arctic Ambitions." For more on this see also: Grant, *Polar Imperative...*, 391; English, *Fire and Ice...*, 188-193. Security and the participation of indigenous permanent participants were not the only reasons the Americans were reticent about the creation of the Arctic Council. According to John English in *Fire and Ice*, the Americans also had concerns about the use of the concept of sustainable development in the negotiations, and the vagueness about what it meant when applied to the Arctic. The final reason for the Arctic's lack of political appeal among American officials, apart from those from Alaska and some with a military focus, was that Americans generally do not feel a historical or cultural attachment to the Arctic.

the other Arctic states' ambitions to insert rules pertaining to weapons and warfare in the founding agreements of the organization.⁷⁰

The Arctic Council officially came into being on September 19, 1996 with the signing of the *Declaration on the Establishment of the Arctic*

Council in Ottawa.⁷¹ The Ottawa Declaration, as it is commonly referred to, encourages continuous dialogue among scientists, policy planners, Arctic residents, and political level decision-makers. All

actionable decisions are to be by consensus and based closely on the scientific work conducted by the AEPS programs and influenced by the traditional knowledge of indigenous peoples.⁷²

The Ottawa Declaration defined three categories of involvement on the Arctic Council. The first is for *Members*, the eight sovereign states whose national boundaries encompass some territory north of the Arctic Circle. The second category is for *Permanent Participants*, consisting of Arctic organizations of indigenous peoples, who



Figure 3.2 - Canadian Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy (left) at first Arctic Council meeting in 1996 conferring with U.S. Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs Timothy Wirth.

Source: Canadian Press/Fred Chartrand as presented at <http://www.ipolitics.ca/2012/09/28/canadas-upcoming-arctic-agenda-gets-some-unsolicited-advice/>

⁷⁰ James Munson, "Canada's upcoming Arctic agenda gets some unsolicited advice," last accessed 28 September 2012, <http://www.ipolitics.ca/2012/09/28/canadas-upcoming-arctic-agenda-gets-some-unsolicited-advice/>.

⁷¹ Arctic Council, *Declaration on the Establishment of the Arctic Council*, 19 September 1996.

⁷² Ibid. For more on this, see also: Inuit Circumpolar Council, "The Arctic Council and the Indigenous Peoples of the Arctic," last accessed 24 September 2013, http://www.inuit.org/fileadmin/user_upload/File/ac/2005/2005-06-AC-Structure.pdf.

are to be fully consulted by the Member states on all matters.⁷³ The final category of involvement is *Observer*, which is open to non-Arctic states, inter-governmental and inter-parliamentary organizations, and NGOs. Observer status is accredited at the discretion of the Member states in consultation with Permanent Participants, if it is determined that the entity can contribute to the Arctic Council through its subsidiary bodies. Accredited Observers have no decision-making authority, but may propose projects.⁷⁴

During the first decade of its existence, the Arctic Council was politically handicapped as it struggled for relevance. According to a recent article written by historian John English, while some Members, including Canada, wanted the Council to set out a definitive program focussed on sustainable development, the U.S. favoured a more limited vision of individual projects. The U.S. also questioned the Canadian definition of sustainable development. The organization was seriously understaffed, with only three people assigned to work directly for its secretariat. There was also controversy regarding the role of Observers, with the Permanent Participants being particularly wary of environmental NGOs whose anti-hunting and trapping campaigns were regarded as a threat to the indigenous peoples' way of life.⁷⁵

⁷³ Arctic Council, *Declaration on the Establishment of the Arctic Council*.

⁷⁴ Ibid. For more on this see also: Arctic Council, "Observers," last accessed 20 September 2013, <http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/about-us/arctic-council/observers>. Observers are permitted to make financial contributions to any given project, but the amount may not exceed the financing from Arctic states, unless otherwise decided by the senior Arctic officials (SAOs). Furthermore, in meetings of the Council's subsidiary bodies to which observers are invited to participate, observers may, at the discretion of the Chair, make statements after Arctic states and Permanent Participants, present written statements, submit relevant documents and provide views on the issues under discussion. Observers may also submit written statements at Ministerial meetings. More details on the mandate, membership and organization of the Arctic Council, are provided in Annex B. Ibid.

⁷⁵ English, "Arctic Ambitions." For more on this see also: Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, "Indigenous Peoples and Sustainable Development in the Canadian Arctic," Last modified 15 September 2010, <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100037493/1100100037495>; English, *Fire and Ice...*, 239-284.

Not surprisingly, observes English, expectations for the Arctic Council's success were modest. By the time the U.S. assumed the chairmanship from Canada in 1998, the organization's fate seemed to be in doubt. Working groups continued to conduct valuable scientific research and issue reports, but politicians generally ignored them. Government ministers avoided council meetings, leaving decisions in the hands of appointed officials who lacked any real authority. In addition, the costs of Permanent Participant involvement in the Council often exceeded their financial capability to do so.⁷⁶

Consequently, when the 21st century dawned, the Arctic Council was a sideshow of little consequence that had become "a disappointment to its promoters and an irritant to some officials eager to work on matters they thought were more significant."⁷⁷ Nonetheless, it persevered and gradually began to prove its worth. Council working groups took the research and moral lead on several key issues of global concern, including persistent organic pollutants, the impacts of climate change, and the governance of Arctic shipping. By the beginning of 2010, for the first time since its creation, the Arctic Council started to be relevant to its Member governments and the international community at large, and appeared destined to become a mechanism of political influence and change.⁷⁸ This new spirit of cooperation was fostered in large part by the impact of the changing physical environment of the Arctic under global warming.

As early as the late 1970s, there had been growing interest in the affects of climate change in the Arctic region. Studies expressed concern over melting ice and new security threats in the Arctic of particular interest to the Arctic Five. Several non-Arctic states began scrambling to take advantage of the melting ice, which affords new potential

⁷⁶ English, "Arctic Ambitions."

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid. For more on this see also: English, *Fire and Ice...*, 239-284.

economic benefits in areas such as shipping, fishing, and hydrocarbon resource extraction. During the post-Cold War period, the Arctic Five sought to maintain their sovereignty in this region amidst emerging, shifting notions of entitlement beyond the political definition based on borders.

Satellite surveillance of polar ice conditions first began in the late 1970s and research revealed significant melting. Since then, researchers have continued to watch climate conditions in this region. The most influential of these research studies was the 2004 *Arctic Climate Impact Assessment* (ACIA), which was commissioned by the Arctic Council. It revealed the Arctic is warming twice as fast as the rest of the planet.⁷⁹ The ACIA forecasts that the associated climate change impacts, including the accelerated melting of Arctic Ocean sea ice⁸⁰ and the Greenland glacial cap,⁸¹ will spawn socio-

⁷⁹ Arctic Climate Impact Assessment (ACIA), *Impacts of a Warming Arctic: Arctic Climate Impact Assessment* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 25, 28, 30. Comprehensively researched, fully referenced, and independently reviewed, the ACIA predicts that by the end of the 21st Century, atmospheric greenhouse gases will increase the mean summer temperatures across the Arctic by 3-5°C over land and up to 7°C over the ocean, while average winter temperatures will increase by 4-7°C over land and 7-10°C over the ocean. The release of methane gas from thawing permafrost, where massive quantities lay trapped, is predicted to drive temperatures even higher. The ACIA was implemented by two of the Arctic Council's scientific working groups, the Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme (AMAP) and the Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna (CAFF), in conjunction with the International Arctic Science Committee (IASC). While well respected among the international scientific community, the ACIA findings were downplayed by the Canadian and American governments. Influenced by lobbyists for their respective oil and natural gas industries in the wake of the report's release, the two governments refused to commit to a major reduction of greenhouse gases as set out in the Kyoto Protocol. The line of argument of those groups opposed to the ACIA findings was that global cooling is just as likely given that any man-made impact on climate is trivial compared to the impact of cloud cover, sunspot activity, ocean currents, weather patterns, and surface and subsurface volcanic activity. For more on this, please see English, *Fire and Ice...*, 273-283; James Astill, "The melting north," *The Economist*, 16 June 2012; Grant, *Polar Imperative...*, 392-394; Department of National Defence, *The Arctic: Key Factors Shaping the Arctic Operating Environment* (Ottawa: Canada Command Headquarters, 2010), 9-11; Francis Latreille, *White Paradise...*, 151-152.

⁸⁰ Arctic Climate Impact Assessment (ACIA), *Impacts of a Warming Arctic: Arctic Climate Impact Assessment*, 25, 30. For more on this see also: David Jackson, "What's going on in the Arctic?" (Canadian Ice Service briefing to the 2013 Arctic Intelligence Forum, Canadian Security Intelligence Service Headquarters, Ottawa, ON, April 30, 2013), with permission. The ACIA predicts that as global temperatures rise, the annual summer melt of the drifting ice pack will become more extensive. In September 2012, for example, the summer minimum sea ice extent reached a new record low with an area measuring 51 percent the size of the 1979-2000 average. At present, the annual average extent of Arctic sea ice has lost more than eight percent of its surface area and 40 percent of its thickness compared to 1979

economic changes that increase human activity in the Arctic region.⁸² The ACIA's predictions are of particular interest to the Arctic Five states, all of which back onto the central Arctic Ocean. Some of these socio-economic changes, according to the ACIA, have the potential to threaten the national interests of Arctic states in the areas of sovereignty, security, and safety. Two of the changes predicted by the ACIA are of particular importance. These are expansion of marine shipping in Arctic waters and the increased access to Arctic natural resources.⁸³

Climate change has spurred a high level of international interest in the Arctic among non-Arctic states, NGOs, and corporate businesses, giving rise to new threats for the Arctic Five. Some of the most active interest stems from China, Japan, India, South

when satellite surveillance of polar ice conditions first began. The ACIA forecasts additional declines in the years ahead. For example, the averaged results of five climate-change models examined in ACIA estimates summer sea ice will decline by a further 50 percent by the year 2100, while some models forecast its complete disappearance.

⁸¹ ACIA, *Impacts of a Warming Arctic: Highlights*, 3-4, 15. For more on this see also: Astill, "The melting north," 4. The thaw of the Greenland icecap and other Arctic glaciers will cause massive volumes of melted fresh water to flow into the Arctic Ocean and neighbouring seas where it will change salinity levels and the corresponding marine ecological balance. Moreover, the melting glacier water will cause a net rise in sea levels, inundating coastal communities throughout the world. For example, were the entire Greenland ice cap to melt, models reported by the ACIA predict sea levels will rise about seven metres. The melting of the glacial and sea ice coverage will also speed up melting of whatever ice remains on the surface due to the Albedo Effect. Albedo is an indicator of how well a surface reflects solar energy. Dark open ocean and land surfaces have very low reflectivity and absorb most of the sun's energy. Bare ice on the other hand, reflects about 50-70 percent of the energy back into the atmosphere, while snow covered ice reflects back as much as 90 percent of the energy. Hence, as more ocean surface and dark ground are exposed because of global warming, the faster their temperatures will rise accelerating the melt of remaining snow and ice in their vicinity. National Snow and Ice Data Centre, "All About Sea Ice - Thermodynamics: Albedo," last accessed 10 November 2013, <http://nsidc.org/cryosphere/seaice/processes/albedo.html>.

⁸² ACIA, *Impacts of a Warming Arctic: Arctic Climate Impact Assessment*, 8, 10-11.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 11-12, 16-17. The ACIA also forecasts ecological changes that will affect the capability of Arctic militaries and civilian industry to operate in the region. The first is the disruption of transport on land caused by the shortened periods when ice roads and tundra are frozen enough to permit travel. The second is the degradation and destabilization of ground infrastructure. As permafrost thaws and the ground becomes less stable, many existing buildings, airfields, pipelines, and communications towers built on top of it will fracture and/or collapse. Predicted increases in precipitation and storm activity over land could further degrade the stability of these structures. Any damage to infrastructure used to process, store, or transport toxic substances carries an additional risk to human health and the environment. All these socio-economic changes were subsequently identified by Canadian and U.S. defence analysts as key factors likely to affect both countries' future military operations in the Arctic. Department of National Defence, *The Arctic: Key Factors Shaping the Arctic Operating Environment*, 9-11.

Korea, and the European Union (EU). Driving this interest are genuine fears about the negative environmental effects of global warming and, conversely, a desire to cash in on the economic opportunities those effects present.

On the environmental front, highly populous and already living space-stressed coastal states, such as China and India, are concerned that melting glacial ice in the Arctic will raise sea levels, potentially inundating their shores with water and forcing human migration inland.⁸⁴ Similarly, global warming in the Arctic will affect temperature and precipitation levels throughout the planet, both of which could drastically affect domestic agricultural production and the ability of these countries to feed their citizens.⁸⁵ Affected states desire a voice in future Arctic policy-making to protect their national interests.

On the economic front, long-term global warming in the Arctic presents the potential for profit-making in three key sectors identified by the ACIA. The first sector is oil and natural gas development. In August 2008, the much-publicized *Circum-Arctic Resource Appraisal* (CARA) released by the United States Geological Survey (USGS) assessed that “about 22 percent of the undiscovered, technically recoverable hydrocarbon resources in the world” resides beneath the Arctic tundra and seabed.⁸⁶ The melting of the

⁸⁴ Tang Guoqiang, Chinese Ambassador to Norway (speech, Arctic Frontiers Conference, Tromsø, Norway, January 25, 2010). For more on this see also: Neil Gadihoke, “Arctic Ocean: Strategic implications of melting polar ice cap for India and South Asia,” *Vancouver DESI* on-line, last accessed 19 March 2013, <http://www.vancouverdesi.com/news/arctic-ocean-strategic-implications-for-india-and-the-region-comment/521004/>.

⁸⁵ Linda Jakobson, “China Prepares for an Ice-free Arctic.” *SIPRI Insights on Peace and Security*, No. 2010/2, March 2010. 6.

⁸⁶ Specifically, the USGS stated the area north of the Arctic Circle has an estimated 90 billion barrels of oil, 1,670 trillion cubic feet of natural gas, and 44 billion barrels natural gas liquids in 25 geologically defined areas thought to have potential for petroleum. USGS, “90 Billion Barrels of Oil and 1,670 Trillion Cubic Feet of Natural Gas Assessed in the Arctic,” News Release dated 23 July 2008, last accessed 8 August 2013, http://www.usgs.gov/newsroom/article.asp?ID=1980&from=rss_home. For more on this see also: U.S. Geological Survey, “Circum-Arctic Resource Appraisal,” last modified 19 July 2013, <http://energy.usgs.gov/RegionalStudies/Arctic.aspx>.

drifting icepack, glacial icecap, and permafrost provides easier access to these oil and gas resources, and to the estimated nine percent of global coal reserves thought to be located in the region. Other mineral resources are known, or are assessed to abound, in the region as well; these include iron ore, nickel, uranium, and rare-earth minerals.⁸⁷

Many non-Arctic countries desire these resources to feed their growing energy and manufacturing needs, among which China has shown the strongest interest.

Unfortunately for them, the USGS CARA study assessed that the probability of finding energy resources in the north is highest inside the territorial limits, the 200 nautical-mile oceanic economic exclusion zones (EEZs), and/or the extended continental shelf areas of the Arctic Council states as defined in international law by the United Nations Convention of the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS).⁸⁸ In other words, if there is a hydrocarbon bonanza to be had, Arctic states will have sovereign legal claim to most of it.⁸⁹ The potential locations of the oil and gas resources,⁹⁰ including existing production and test wells, are shown in Figure 3.3 below.

⁸⁷ David Curtis Wright, "The Dragon Eyes the Top of the World: Arctic Policy Debate and Discussion in China," *China Maritime Study No. 8* (Newport, RI: Naval War College, August 2011), 2. For more on this see also: Heather Conley, Terry Toland, and Andreas Østhagen. *A New Security Architecture for the Arctic: An American Perspective* (Washington D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, January 2012), 5-6.

⁸⁸ USGS. *Circum-Arctic Resource Appraisal: Estimate of Undiscovered Oil and Gas North of the Arctic Circle* USGS Fact Sheet 2008-3049. (USCG: Menlo Park, CA, 2008), 2. For more on this see also: United Nations, "United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea of 10 December 1982 - Parts V & VI," last accessed 2 September 2013, http://www.un.org/Depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/closindx.htm.

⁸⁹ Costanza Caputi, *The Wider North: Opportunities and Challenges* Issue Brief 27. (Paris: European Union Institute for Security Studies, 15 July 2013), 2. For more on this see also: Emmerson, *The Future History of the Arctic*, 95, 97; Grant, *Polar Imperative...*, 457-458; Astill, "The Melting North," 10.

⁹⁰ What is seldom understood is that the CARA was not based on proven seismic survey results, but rather upon "a probabilistic methodology of geological analysis and analog modelling." Hence, there is no guarantee that hydrocarbon deposits actually reside where the report contends they will. This weakness was underscored in 2010 and 2011 when the British company Cairn Energy failed to find commercially-viable volumes of oil when it conducted test drilling in Greenlandic waters of the Baffin Bay, areas of seabed that the CARA claimed had a 50 to 100 percent probability of containing 1-10 billion barrels. For more on this see: USGS, *Circum-Arctic Resource Appraisal: Estimate of Undiscovered Oil and Gas North of the Arctic Circle* USGS Fact Sheet 2008-3049, 1; Tim Webb, "Cairn Energy fails to find enough oil off the coast of Greenland," *The Guardian* on-line, last modified 28 October 2010, <http://www.theguardian.com/business/2010/oct/26/cairn-energy-greenland-venture-fails>.

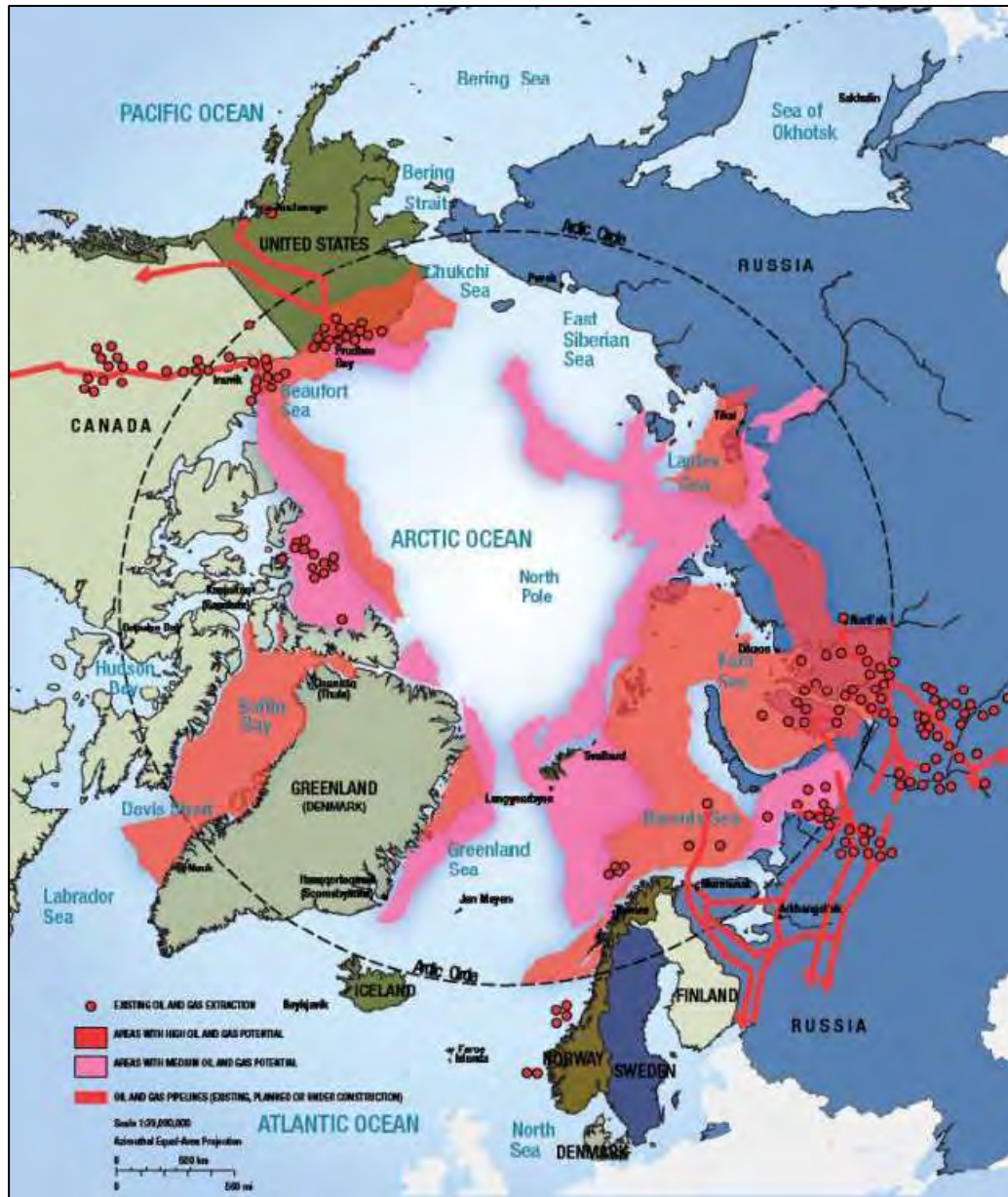


Figure 3.3 - Arctic oil and gas potential, including production and test wells

Source: Chris Berkouwer, et al. *Future Issue - The Arctic: Promise and Peril in a Melting Ocean*. The Hague: The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies, October 2009.

The second potential source of profit from Arctic climate change comes from commercial shipping. Because of shrinking sea ice coverage both the NWP and NSR have been navigable in their entirety for at least a few days in each of the past four

summer shipping seasons.⁹¹ In both 2011 and 2012, the NSR was navigable for five months to ships with ice-strengthened hulls and to ships without ice-strengthened hulls sailing under icebreaker escort.⁹² If ACIA predictions hold true, these shipping lanes will become open for longer and more predictable periods each summer enabling increased shipping traffic. Conceivably, a third route directly over the North Pole or near to it, the Transpolar Route, could open if the melt is severe enough. Indeed, according to some recent studies of changing sea ice conditions in the north, all three of the passages (shown in Figure 3.4 below) could be ice-free in the summer sometime between 2020 and 2054.⁹³

Each of the Arctic shipping routes are thousands of nautical miles shorter than southerly trade routes between Asia and Europe and between Asia and the East Coast of North America.⁹⁴ This could potentially translate into billions of dollars annually in saved fuel costs and canal fees for shipping companies, thus increasing profit potential. These Arctic routes would also lessen the vulnerability for states and businesses in the event of disruptions at geopolitical chokepoints, such as the Suez and Panama Canals. Finally, use

⁹¹ Jackson, "What's going on in the Arctic?" For more on this see also: National Snow and Ice Data Centre (NSIDC), "Arctic Sea Ice News & Analysis Monthly Archives: October 2010," last accessed 19 August 2013, <http://nsidc.org/arcticseaicenews/2010/10/>; NSIDC, "Arctic Sea Ice News & Analysis Monthly Archives: October 2011," last accessed 19 August 2013, <http://nsidc.org/arcticseaicenews/2010/11/>; NSIDC, "Arctic Sea Ice News & Analysis Monthly Archives: October 2012," last accessed 19 August 2013, <http://nsidc.org/arcticseaicenews/2012/10/>.

⁹² Northern Sea Route Information Office, "NSR Transits 2012," last accessed 19 Aug 2013, http://www.arctic-lio.com/docs/nsr/transits/Transits_2012.pdf. For more on this see also: James Astill, "The melting north," 15; Clive Schofield, "Cold Rush: Exploring Arctic Myths and Misconceptions," *Current Intelligence* Vol. 5 Issue 1 (Winter/Spring 2013): 10.

⁹³ These include studies conducted by Dr. Jiping Liu at the State University of New York at Albany, and Canadian ArcticNet researchers Dr David Barber of the University of Manitoba and Dr. Louis Fortier of the University of Laval. John Roach, "Ice-free Arctic may come as soon as 2054, study says," *NBC News.com*, last accessed 22 July 2013, <http://www.nbcnews.com/science/ice-free-arctic-may-come-soon-2054-study-says-6C10641282>. For more on this see also: Rob Huebert, "2013: A decisive year for Canadian Arctic Ambitions," *Starshell*, Vol 7, no. 63 (Summer 2013): 3-4.

⁹⁴ For example, the NSR would cut 39 percent of the shipping distance between Yokohama and Rotterdam compared to using the traditional southern route passing through the Straits of Malacca, Indian Ocean, Suez Canal, and the Mediterranean Sea.



Figure 3.4 - Arctic shipping routes, showing position relative to 2012 minimum ice extent

Source: Clive Schofield, "Cold Rush: Exploring Arctic Myths and Misconceptions," *Current Intelligence* 5 Issue 1 (Winter/Spring 2013): 10.

of Arctic shipping routes enables vessels to bypass pirate-infested waters of the Strait of Malacca and the Gulf of Aden.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Berkouwer, *et al*, *Future Issue - The Arctic: Promise and Peril in a Melting Ocean*, 7. For more on this see also: Astill, "The melting north," 15; Andreas Raspotnik and Bettina Rudloff, *The EU as a shipping actor in the Arctic: Characteristics, interest and perspectives* SWP Working Paper FG 2, 2012/Nr. 4 (Berlin: Stiftung, Wissenschaft und Politik - German Institute for International and Security Affairs, December 2012), 6-7, 32-38; United States Naval Institute News, "Report: Arctic Route could be Alternative if Suez Closes," last accessed 23 August 2013, <http://news.usni.org/2013/08/22/report-arctic-route-could-be-alternative-if-suez-closes>.

The country with the most to gain from Arctic shipping is Japan, which has the largest commercial fleet in the world. Other non-Arctic maritime nations with the potential to profit from the shorter shipping routes are Greece, Germany, China, and South Korea.⁹⁶ China, South Korea and Japan also stand to commercially gain from the construction of new ice-hardened commercial vessels capable of sailing safely through nominally ice-free waters in the opening Arctic Ocean. Ranked sequentially as the top three shipbuilding countries in the world, they collectively account for more than 80 percent of global vessel construction.⁹⁷ South Korea already possesses an extensive capability in building ice-capable ships.⁹⁸ Finland will also reap financial benefit from this because it is the world leader in the design of ice-capable cargo ships and icebreakers.⁹⁹

While extended shipping seasons along the NWP and NSR hold the promise of economic benefits, it may not be as pronounced, or as near term, as some enthusiasts believe or are hoping. According to David Jackson, the Director of the Canadian Ice Service, fragments of first-year ice and highly dense multi-year ice will continue to be present in nominally ice-free shipping lanes well into the future, creating hazards to

⁹⁶ International Maritime Organization. Maritime Knowledge Centre, *International Shipping Facts and Figures – Information Resources on Trade, Safety, Security, Environment* (London: International Maritime Organization, 6 March 2012), 12. These four countries respectively possess the second, third, fourth and eighth largest commercial shipping fleets. Looking at Arctic Council states in comparison, the U.S. commercial shipping fleet ranks fifth in the world, Norway seventh, Denmark, ninth, Russia 14th, and Canada 15th. The shipping statistics quoted here are based on total gross tonnage controlled by parent companies located in these countries and territories, vice the flag of registry. The statistics were valid as of 31 December 2010.

⁹⁷ Munk-Gordon Arctic Security Program and National Capital Branch of the Canadian International Council, *Interests and Roles of Non-Arctic States in the Arctic: Background Brief* (Toronto: Walter & Duncan Gordon Foundation, October 2011), 4.

⁹⁸ South Korean shipyards Daewoo Shipbuilding and Marine Engineering and Samsung Heavy Industries have produced several icebreakers, as well as ice-capable oil and liquefied natural gas (LNG) tankers and freighters for the global market, including for Russia. Bae Hyun-jung, “Samsung, Daewoo vie for \$5.6b Russian order,” *The Korea Herald*, 25 June 2013.

⁹⁹ Raspotnik and Rudloff. *The EU as a shipping actor in the Arctic...*, 20-21.

navigation. Also, as the amount of open water expands over time, so will the number of related weather events including cyclonic storms. These factors will serve as a deterrent for some shippers.¹⁰⁰

The third economic issue of interest is industrial commercial fishing, particularly within the 2.8 million square kilometre area beyond the EEZs of the Arctic Five states.¹⁰¹ Arctic waters show great promise as a relatively untapped fishery. According to a 2011 University of British Columbia study of the Arctic fisheries, the harsh climate in the Amerasian Arctic (covering northern Siberia, Arctic Alaska, and the Canadian Arctic) has previously limited the fisheries to small-scale commercial and subsistence operations conducted mainly in estuaries and river deltas. Catches in these Arctic waters represent a small percentage of the fish protein consumed by the general population of the respective coastal states.¹⁰²

Climate change threatens to alter this small-scale fisheries pattern. China is by far the world's top consumer of fish protein, with its 1.35-billion citizens eating 34.5 percent of the global catch according to the most recent United Nations statistics. Japan is ranked second in fish consumption at 5.5 percent, narrowly ahead of the U.S. and India at 5.4 and 5.3 percent respectively.¹⁰³ Access to the Arctic fisheries will not only ensure

¹⁰⁰ David Jackson, "What's going on in the Arctic?" (lecture, Canadian Security Intelligence Service Headquarters, Ottawa, ON, April 30, 2013), with permission.

¹⁰¹ Munk-Gordon Arctic Security Program, *Interests and Roles of Non-Arctic States in the Arctic: Report*, 7.

¹⁰² Dirk Zeller, *et al*, "Arctic fisheries catches in Russia, USA, and Canada: baselines for neglected ecosystems" (Vancouver, B.C: Fisheries Centre, University of British Columbia, 29 January 2011), 1, 8-10, 14-16. Until the 1950s, a significant portion of the catch in Canadian and Alaskan Arctic communities was used to feed sled dogs. With the increasing use of fuel-powered snowmobiles starting in the 1960s this requirement declined as did the catch.

¹⁰³ Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, "2009 World By-Continent Food Balance Sheet of Fish and Fishery Products in Live Weight and Fish Contribution to Protein Supply," last accessed 4 September 2013, [ftp://ftp.fao.org/FI/STAT/summary/FBS_bycontinent.pdf](http://ftp.fao.org/FI/STAT/summary/FBS_bycontinent.pdf).

China's, Japan's, and India's ability to feed their citizens, but will also help keep their large fishing fleets in business.¹⁰⁴

In an effort to stake claims to the potential economic bonanza in the Arctic and simultaneously voice their environmental concerns relating to climate change in the region, non-Arctic states have engaged in a range of unilateral and multilateral initiatives. These include developing their own national Arctic policies (or intergovernmental policies in the case of the EU), appointing Arctic ambassadors, and seeking accredited observer status on the Arctic Council in order to influence future Arctic policy direction.¹⁰⁵

Many non-Arctic states have provided financial and research assistance to the Arctic Council's scientific and environmental working groups and to the broader international Arctic scientific community.¹⁰⁶ In parallel with this, most of these states have established their own national programs and institutes dedicated to Arctic science and policy research. Some of these organizations, such as the Polar Research Institute of China (PRIC) and Korean Polar Research Institute (KOPRI) own and operate their own

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. Although a statistically smaller consumer of fish protein, South Korea (2.3 percent) also looks to the Arctic as a possible source of food security. For more on this see also: Munk-Gordon Arctic Security Program and National Capital Branch of the Canadian International Council, *Interests and Roles of Non-Arctic States in the Arctic: Background Brief*, 3-5.

¹⁰⁵ Oran R. Young, "Arctic Futures: The Politics of Transformation," in *Arctic Security in an Age of Climate Change*, ed. James Kraska, xxi-xxvii. (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2011), xxiv. For more on this see also: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), "29 Nov. 2012: The Arctic Council in Transition: Nordic to North American Leadership (SIPRI Workshop)," last accessed 22 March 2014, <http://www.sipri.org/research/security/arctic/arcticevents/the-arctic-council-in-transition-nordic-to-north-american-leadership>.

¹⁰⁶ Rob Huebert, *et al*, *Climate Change & International Security...*, 21. For more on this see also: Munk-Gordon Arctic Security Program, *Interests and Roles of Non-Arctic States in the Arctic: Background Brief*, 3-5; Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. *Norwegian FM Engages Chinese Think Tank on Arctic Issues*, WJGR-1343. (Ottawa: DFAIT, 6 September 2010); Wang Zhenghua, "China to build research center for Arctic region," *China Daily* on line, last accessed 5 September 2013, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2013-06/06/content_16573293.htm.

icebreakers for conducting independent oceanographic and sea ice research in the Arctic.¹⁰⁷

There has also been a swelling of foreign investment in Arctic oil and gas development projects, including large-scale share purchases and corporate takeovers of energy companies based in Arctic states, particularly those with existing leases to drill in the region. Most of the investment from non-Arctic states has come from state-owned enterprises and their subsidiaries. Examples include the 2012 purchase of Canadian-owned Nexen Energy by the Chinese National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC) that gave it ownership of oil and natural gas wells in Yukon. CNOOC also collaborated with Iceland's Eykon Energy in 2013 to apply for a license to explore and produce oil and gas off Iceland's coasts.¹⁰⁸

Several non-Arctic states have increased their unilateral and multi-lateral diplomatic overtures to Arctic states in forums other than the Arctic Council. A recent example is the *Arctic Circle*, a new assembly for international cooperation on Arctic

¹⁰⁷ Jakobson, "China Prepares for an Ice-free Arctic," 3-5. For more on this see also: Kyle D. Christensen, "China in the Arctic: China's Interests and Activities in an Ice-Free Arctic" (DRDC Centre for Operational Research and Analysis (CORA) Letter Report 2010-210, Defence and Research Development Canada, October 2010), 9, 11-18; KOPRI, "Researches," last accessed 5 September 2013, http://www.kopri.re.kr/english/eng_research/eng_yearResearchTasks/eng_research/reportList.do. The research is not all scientific. Some of it focuses on international law in order to determine loopholes for challenging Arctic states' authority and regulatory control in the region, and hence, advance the non-Arctic states' own interests. Some of the legal research investigates Arctic states' claims to historic title over remote, under populated territory.

¹⁰⁸ CBC News, "Government OK's foreign bids for Nexen, Progress Energy," last accessed 6 September 2013, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/business/story/2012/12/07/cnooc-nexen-takeover.html>. For more on this see also: Offshore Technology, "CNOOC teams with Eykon Energy to explore Arctic oil and gas," last accessed 12 September 2013, <http://www.offshore-technology.com/news/newscnooc-eykon-energy-explore-oil-gas-arctic>; Nexen, "Conventional Oil & Gas," last accessed 6 September 2013, <https://www.nexeninc.com/en/Operations/Conventional.aspx>. The CNOOC-Eykon application was approved in January 2014.

issues established in April 2013 in the immediate lead-up to the most recent Arctic Council ministerial meeting.¹⁰⁹

Finally, several non-Arctic states are conducting widespread influence activities outside traditional diplomatic channels. This includes media relations and marketing campaigns to convey their Arctic policy messages, and their funding and participation in international conferences and academic think tanks relating to Arctic issues. For example, the Chinese government proclaims the People's Republic to be a "near-Arctic state" in its official communications.¹¹⁰ The European Union has hosted and co-hosted multiple academic conferences on the EU's role and interests in the Arctic.¹¹¹ The Germans have done likewise.¹¹²

Chinese state officials and academics have frequently made the public relations pitch that the Arctic is the "Common Heritage of Mankind" vice the private domain of the Arctic states, adding that because China contains 20 percent of the world's

¹⁰⁹ Arctic Circle, "The Arctic Circle, New Assembly for International Cooperation on Arctic Issues To Be Held in Reykjavik, Iceland, October 12-14, 2013," Press Release, last modified 10 April 2013, <http://www.newswire.ca/en/story/1143833/the-arctic-circle-new-assembly-for-international-cooperation-on-arctic-issues-to-be-held-in-reykjavik-iceland-october-12-14-2013>. For more on this see also: Paul Koring, "New Arctic group gives Canada political competition," *The Globe and Mail*, 16 April 2013. The Arctic Circle proclaims itself an open venue where non-Arctic states and other interested parties can hold their meetings or events "without surrendering their independence or decision-making abilities." In doing so, it has come under criticism as an irksome challenge to the Arctic-state-centric focus of the Arctic Council. In view of this, it is somewhat ironic that it was the leader of one of the Arctic Council states, Iceland's President Olafur Ragnar Grimsson, who made the announcement introducing the Arctic Circle and he currently serves as its honorary chairman.

¹¹⁰ SIPRI, "China defines itself as a 'near-arctic state', says SIPRI," Press Release: 10 May 2012, last accessed 10 September 2013, <http://www.sipri.org/media/pressreleases/2012/arcticchinapr>;

¹¹¹ GeoPolitics in the High North, "Defining an interest: the European Union and the High North - Conference: The EU as an Arctic actor," last accessed 14 October 2014, www.geopoliticsnorth.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=62&Itemid=73&limitstart=1. For more on this see also: Ian D. D. Livermore, *Conference Report: The European Union, Canada, and the Arctic, 22-23 September 2011*, Carleton University, Ottawa. (Department of National Defence, Canada Command Headquarters: file 2000-1 (J2 Ops 4-2), 2 February 2012), 1-6.

¹¹² Mia Bennett, "Germany to Host Arctic Conference," *Foreign Policy Association* (blog), 9 March 2009, <http://foreignpolicyblogs.com/2009/03/09/germany-to-host-arctic-conference/>.

population, it is entitled to 20 percent of the Arctic's riches.¹¹³ Pundits in India, including former senior ranking government officials, have also published editorials advocating that the Arctic be considered a "global commons" accessible to all states.¹¹⁴ The EU had made pronouncements along a similar vein as well, advocating that the Arctic should be managed in the same manner as continental Antarctica. However this changed in 2009 when the EU Council of Ministers issued an Arctic policy that recognized UNCLOS as the primary governance mechanism for the region that, unlike Antarctica, is centered on an ocean.¹¹⁵

Of all the non-Arctic states, China evokes the greatest sovereignty and security concerns for the Arctic Five. One of the more disconcerting Chinese actions regarding the Arctic was the March 5, 2010 media statement by prominent People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) researcher Yin Zhou, a retired rear admiral. Yin opined that in addition to China being entitled to one-fifth of the Arctic's resources proportional to its share of the world's population, the government had "to make short and long-term ocean strategic development plans to exploit the Arctic because it will become a future mission for the [PLA] Navy."¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Jakobson, "China Prepares for an Ice-free Arctic," 10, 13. For more on this see also: Gordon C. Chang, "China's Arctic Play: An admiral stakes a territorial claim - and it looks like there's more to come," *The Diplomat* On-line, last modified 9 March 2010, <http://thediplomat.com/2010/03/09/china%E2%80%99s-arctic-play/>; Joseph Spears, "A Snow Dragon in the Arctic," *Asia Times* On line, last modified 8 February 2011, <http://www.atimes.com/atimes/China/MB08Ad01.html>; Wright, "The Dragon Eyes the Top of the World," 6-10; Kit Dawnay, "China's Ambitions in the Arctic," *Current Intelligence* (19 March 2013), <http://www.currentintelligence.net/analysis/2013/3/19/chinas-ambitions-in-the-arctic.html>.

¹¹⁴ Shyam Saran, "India's stake in Arctic Cold War," *The Hindu* on-line, 1 February 2012, last accessed 10 September 2013, <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/indias-stake-in-arctic-cold-war/article2848280.ece>. For more on this see also: Arun Prakash, "The Arctic Gold Rush: a poisoned chalice?" last accessed 11 September 2013, <http://maritimeindia.org/article/arctic-gold-rush-poisoned-chalice>.

¹¹⁵ Council of the European Union, 2985th Foreign Affairs Council meeting, *Council Conclusions on Arctic Issues*, December 8, 2009.

¹¹⁶ Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *China's Interest in the Arctic: a Swedish Report Illicits [sic] China's Own Internal Contradictions*, WJGR-1244. (Beijing, China: Embassy of Canada, 9

The efforts by non-Arctic states to secure a piece of the polar pie present challenges and potential threats to the sovereign national interests of the Arctic states. However, Arctic states also face potential challenges from one another in the determination of their offshore geographical boundaries beyond the 200 nm EEZ.¹¹⁷ The potential for offshore challenges between Arctic states arises out of Articles 76 and 77 of UNCLOS. As per Article 76, all coastal states can apply to have some of their sovereign EEZ rights extended to a maximum distance of 350 nm if they can prove through validated scientific research that their continental shelf extends that far off shore. The exceptions to this limit are submarine elevations that are natural components of the continental margin, such as its plateaus, ridges, caps, banks, and spurs. In these instances, there is no maximum limit.¹¹⁸ Article 77 of UNCLOS grants coastal states exclusive rights to exploit mineral and other non-living resources of the seabed and subsoil within these extended continental shelf areas, as well as living organisms that are members of sedentary species.¹¹⁹ Fish stocks in the waters above the extended continental shelf may be harvested by any state.

March 2010). For more on this see also South China Morning Post - author not attributed, "Admiral Urges Government To Stake Claim in the Arctic," *South China Morning Post*, 6 March 2010. A more detailed discussion and analysis of Chinese interests in the Arctic and the implications they have for the sovereignty and security of the Arctic Council states is provided in Annex F. Further information about the Arctic foreign policies of the other non-Arctic states and intergovernmental organizations is provided in Chapters 4 and 5, and Annex H.

¹¹⁷ The Arctic EEZs are firmly established with the exceptions for the maritime boundaries between Canada and Alaska in the Beaufort Sea and between Alaska and Russia in the Bering Sea. The affected countries are quietly negotiating an equitable solution to these boundary disputes. Russia signed the Bering Sea Maritime Boundary Agreement with the U.S. in 1990, but it has yet to be ratified by the Russian Duma (parliament). In the case of the Beaufort Sea dispute, the introduction of the extended continental shelf into the equation would mean the U.S. position would benefit Canada beyond the 200 nm EEZ while the Canadian position would benefit the U.S. inside the EEZ due to the projected volume of hydrocarbon resources in each area. For more on this see: Byers, *International Law and the Arctic*, 56-91; Conley, Toland, and Østhagen, *A New Security Architecture for the Arctic...*, 10.

¹¹⁸ United Nations, UNCLOS, Article 76 (4-6). One such feature in the Arctic is thought to be the Lomonosov Ridge.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, Arctic 77 (1-4).

The UN established the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (CLCS) to review these submissions and to issue recommendations on the establishment of the continental shelf outer limits.¹²⁰ As the Arctic Five states submit their bids to extend their continental shelves, it is highly likely that some of the claims will overlap giving rise to potential legal challenges against one another. If these disputes cannot be settled equitably through negotiation, arbitration or other diplomatic means, the possibility exists that states could turn to more assertive measures to secure their interests, including resort to military force. Concern about the latter possibility has been bolstered by the periodic provocative statements by Russian hardliner officials, including Deputy Prime Minister Dmitry Rogozin, that a strong military is the only guarantor that continental shelf claims will be respected.¹²¹

States are granted 10 years after becoming UNCLOS signatories to submit their applications to the CLCS. Since UNCLOS came into being in 1982, Russia, Norway, and Canada are the only Arctic states to have done so. Russia submitted its application in December 2001 for large sections of the Central Arctic Ocean between the Lomonosov and the Mendeleev Ridges, sections of the Bering Sea, and to an area in the Barents Sea known as the Loop Hole. In June 2002, the CLCS accepted the Bering Sea and Loop Hole submissions, but noted that the final delineation of the areas' outer limits would be subject, respectively, to bilateral agreement with the U.S. and Norwegian governments that were expected to make submissions for the same tracts of seabed. However, the

¹²⁰ Ibid, Article 76 (8).

¹²¹ Interfax, "Rogozin: active development of Arctic shelf to cause conflict of interest, sabotage," last accessed 2 October 2013, <http://www.interfax.com/newsinf.asp?pg=5&id=426673>. For more on this see also: RT Network, "Battle for Arctic key for Russia's sovereignty – Rogozin," last accessed 2 October 2013, <http://rt.com/politics/arctic-sovereignty-rogozin-resources-250/>; Open Source Centre, *Analysis: Russian Fear of US Arctic Activities Spurs Calls for Military Buildup*, 6 September 2012.

Commission rejected the Russian's submission for the Central Arctic Ocean due to insufficient scientific and technical proof.¹²² Since then Russian authorities have conducted extensive seismic and hydrographical research, and are likely to reapply again before the end of 2014.¹²³

Norway submitted its application in November 2006 for two areas in the Arctic: the Loop Hole in the Barents Sea and the Western Nansen Basin in the Arctic Ocean north of Svalbard. The submission was accepted in March 2009.¹²⁴ Consistent with its direction to Russia, the CLCS advised the Norwegian government that the final delimitation of the continental shelf in the Loop Hole would be subject to bilateral agreement with Russia. The CLCS also agreed with Norway's delimitation in the Western Nansen Basin, but noted that the final settlement may depend on delimitation between Denmark and Russia who were likely to submit similar claims.¹²⁵

On September 15, 2010, the foreign ministers of Norway and Russia signed a treaty on maritime delimitation and cooperation in the Barents Sea and the Arctic Ocean.

¹²² Mel Weber, "Defining the Outer Limits of the Continental Shelf across the Arctic Basin: The Russian Submission, States' Rights, Boundary Delimitation and Arctic Regional Cooperation," *The International Journal of Marine and Coastal Law* Vol. 24 (2009): 660, 665.

¹²³ Interfax News Wire, "Moscow expects UN to start examining Russian bid for extending seabed borders," last accessed 23 August 13, <http://www.interfax.co.uk/russia-business-and-financial-news/moscow-expects-un-to-start-examining-russian-bid-for-extending-seabed-borders/>. Although the Russian government has announced its intention to resubmit its application before the end of 2014, it would be to its advantage to postpone resubmission until other Arctic states with potentially competing claims submit their information to the UN. That way the Russian government will be able to see what challenges (if any) are forthcoming against their bid thus enabling them to prepare a scientific case to counter them.

¹²⁴ Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (CLCS), "Outer limits of the continental shelf beyond 200 nautical miles from the baselines: Submissions to the Commission: Submission by the Kingdom of Norway," last modified 20 August 2009, http://www.un.org/Depts/los/clcs_new/submissions_files/submission_nor.htm.

At the same time, the Norwegian government filed a submission for an area in the Northeast Atlantic called the Banana Hole, which overlaps areas expected to be claimed by Denmark (due to the proximity of the Faroe Islands) and Iceland. *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ CLCS, *Summary of the Recommendations of the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf in Regard to the Submission Made by Norway in Respect of Areas in the Arctic Ocean, the Barents Sea and the Norwegian Sea on 27 November 2006* (New York: United Nations Division for Ocean Affairs and the Law of the Sea, 27 March 2009), 9, 15-16.

The treaty defines a single maritime boundary that divides the continental shelves of the two countries and EEZs in the Barents Sea, and obliges Norway and Russia to continue their cooperation in the sphere of fisheries. It also contains provisions on the coordinated development of trans-boundary hydrocarbon resources.¹²⁶ The signing of the treaty was widely hailed as a great diplomatic achievement that foreshadowed the harmonious development of Arctic resources by the littoral states and reduced the risk of territorial disputes becoming a cause for military confrontation.¹²⁷

Canada submitted its extended continental shelf claim application in December 2013. Contrary to what many Canadian politicians and a wide cross-section of the Canadian public had expected, the submission that was initially prepared did not claim seabed all the way to the Geographic North Pole (GNP).¹²⁸ The reason for the limited claim was that the seabed survey work conducted by Canadian scientists provided insufficient evidence to prove the continental shelf extended that far. The failure to stake a claim to the GNP conflicted with the Harper government's nationalist Arctic vision. Consequently, the government ordered the application be revised to declare it was a

¹²⁶ Thilo Neumann, "Norway and Russia Agree on Maritime Boundary in the Barents Sea and the Arctic Ocean," *The American Society of International Law Insights* Vol 14, No. 34 (November 9, 2010): 1.

¹²⁷ Astill, "The Melting North," 10. For more on this see also: Vladimir Isachenkov, "Russia, Norway OK Barents Sea border in Arctic," *The Seattle Times*, 15 September 2010; Guelph Mercury (author not attributed), "Norway urges Canada to settle Arctic disputes with Russia, touting new pact," *The Guelph Mercury*, 16 September 2010; Lotta Numminen, "Cool Hunting: Mapping Arctic Stakeholders," *Current Intelligence* 5, no 1/2 (Winter/Spring 2013): 16.

¹²⁸ Possibly also caught by surprise were Russian government officials who appear to have anticipated Canada would claim all the way to the GNP. The evidence of this is a map published by the state run news agency RIA Novosti in 2011 that provides the Russian government's perspective on where the other Arctic coastal states would claim. The map shows Canada, Denmark and the U.S. anticipated claims merging with Russia's at the GNP. This map can be viewed at <http://en.ria.ru/infographics/20111005/167347167.html>. If Canada, the U.S. and Denmark claim all the way to the GNP to meet the Russian claim, and if subsequent negotiations can resolve any overlaps, all countries stand to benefit, not only by enlarging their own continental shelf areas, but by reducing the size of the unclaimed "donut hole" in the Central Arctic Ocean where non-Arctic states can operate beyond the regulatory control of the Arctic states.

preliminary submission only, and that further research would be conducted to try to prove the Canadian continental shelf extended to the top of the world.¹²⁹

Denmark has until 2014 to submit its continental shelf bid.¹³⁰ The U.S. meanwhile, is ineligible to apply for an extension to its continental shelf limits because the country has not yet ratified the UNCLOS treaty. The U.S. government's failure to ratify the UNCLOS treaty is due to opposition by a minority of federal senators from the lower 48 states who believe ascension to the treaty will weaken the U.S. government's ability to exercise its rights and national authority on the international stage.¹³¹

It has been speculated that Canada, Russia, and Denmark-Greenland will eventually submit overlapping claims to the continental shelf near the Lomonosov Ridge. Canada, Russia and the U.S. (upon its signing of the UNCLOS Treaty) are also likely to

¹²⁹ Ron Macnab, "Canada sparks Cold War over Arctic," *Halifax Chronicle Herald*, 21 December 2013. For more on this see also: Shanghai Daily (author unattributed), "Canada plans to take claim for North Pole," Shanghai Daily, 11 December 2013; Mia Bennett, "Canadian and Russian claim to the Arctic: The allure of the North Pole," *Foreign Policy Association* (blog), 31 December 2013, <http://foreignpolicyblogs.com/2013/12/31/canadian-and-russian-claims-to-the-arctic-the-allure-of-the-north-pole/>; Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada, "Canada's Extended Continental Shelf." Last modified 15 May 2013. <http://www.international.gc.ca/arctic-arctique/continental/index.aspx?lang=eng>; Michelle Zilio, "Shelf watch 2013: Canada set to claim massive new seabed territory," last accessed 20 September 2013, <http://www.ipolitics.ca/2013/01/05/shelf-watch-2013-canada-set-to-claim-massive-new-seabed-territory/>; Huebert, Rob. "2013: A decisive year for Canadian Arctic Ambitions," 3.

¹³⁰ Weber, "Defining the Outer Limits of the Continental Shelf across the Arctic Basin..." 656.

¹³¹ Ironically, this opposition exists despite fervent support for UNCLOS by every American President since Bill Clinton, the U.S. Navy (USN), the U.S. Coast Guard (USCG), the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and Alaska's two senators. Conley, Toland, and Østhagen, *A New Security Architecture for the Arctic...*, 24. For more on this see also: Office of President of the United States, *National Strategy for the Arctic Region* May 2013, 9-10; United States Navy Chief of Naval Operations, *U.S. Navy Arctic Roadmap* (Washington, DC: Department of the Navy, October 2009), 11-12; United States Coast Guard, *USCG Arctic Strategy* (Washington D.C: United States Coast Guard, May 2013), 27; Mia Bennett, "Alaskan Senators Push for Creation of U.S. Arctic Policy," *Foreign Policy Association* (blog), July 26, 2012. <http://foreignpolicyblogs.com/2012/07/26/alaskan-senators-push-for-creation-of-u-s-arctic-policy/>; Francesco Femia and Caitlin Werrell, "The Law of the Sea Treaty: Strong Support for U.S. Ratification," last accessed 1 October 2013, <http://climateandsecurity.org/2012/05/24/the-law-of-the-sea-treaty-strong-support-for-u-s-ratification/>;

submit overlapping claims to areas in the vicinity of the Alpha and Mendeleev Ridges.¹³² Other potential areas of geographical contention are sections of the Beaufort Sea (Canada and the U.S.) and the previously mentioned Western Nansen Basin (Norway, Denmark-Greenland and Russia). While claims may overlap, they are unlikely to surprise any of the affected states due to the widespread cooperation that exists among them. From 2006 through 2013, Canada has conducted joint continental shelf survey work in the Arctic Ocean with both the U.S. and Denmark. In addition, Canadian, Russian and Danish scientists have met annually since 2007 to discuss issues related to the continental shelf. During the 2011 and 2012 meetings, scientists and officials from all Arctic Five states were represented. As per the terms of the Ilulissat Declaration, which will be discussed in the next chapter, it is expected that any overlaps will be resolved through discussions, negotiations, and/or arbitration in accordance with international law, including UNCLOS.¹³³

Overall this post-Cold War period marked the start of a political transition. Commencing in 1987, geopolitical circumstances in the Arctic progressively changed to enable greater cooperation between the Arctic Five states. Whether it was through collaborative efforts on the Arctic Council and its scientific and environmental working groups, or through bilateral and multilateral meetings to de-conflict future extended continental shelf submissions under UNCLOS, the former Cold War foes began to develop trust and formal linkages. As the new century dawned and the ACIA and CARA

¹³² Byers, *International Law and the Arctic*, 104-107. For more on this see also: Mia Bennett, "Canadian and Russian claim to the Arctic..." Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada, "Canada's Extended Continental Shelf."

¹³³ Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada, "Canada's Extended Continental Shelf," last modified 15 May 2013, <http://www.international.gc.ca/arctic-arctique/continental/index.aspx?lang=eng>. For more on this see also: Bjorn Rutten, *Security in Canada's North: Looking Beyond Arctic Sovereignty*, (Ottawa: Conference Board of Canada, November 2010), 6-7.

revealed the relatively untapped economic potential in the Arctic Five's backyard, southern non-Arctic states began to look northward to advance their own national interests in the region. At times, the outsiders claimed rights they did not possess under international law. In other instances, they manoeuvred to gain influence over Arctic governance and economic instruments through more legitimate means. For the Arctic Five to preserve their sovereign rights in the region in the face of this non-Arctic state activism, they need to remain united, and not get distracted by internal differences.

4. QUELLING FEARS OF RENEWED ARCTIC MILITARIZATION

With the USGS's CARA and the Arctic Council's ACIA serving as the combined backdrop for the global political consciousness, a series of events and policy initiatives occurred between 2007 and 2011 that provoked widespread speculation that a "rush" or "scramble" for Arctic resources had begun that would someday lead to interstate conflict. Earlier prospects for peaceful cooperation in the Arctic came under fire because of these incidents, particularly the political grandstanding and ensuing sensationalist news coverage associated with the planting of a Russian flag on the seabed of the Geographic North Pole (GNP) and the Canadian government's reaction to it. Subsequent defence procurement and military operational activities across the region served to exacerbate the media hype, which at its worst portrayed the Arctic to be on the brink of war over natural resource rights. In May 2008, the Danish government convened a meeting of the Arctic Five foreign ministers in Ilulissat, Greenland in an effort to lay these sovereignty concerns to rest. Despite a commitment by the foreign ministers of all the states to resolve any differences between them through international legal regimes, conjecture about the likelihood of a "new Cold War" has since haunted the halls of government throughout North America, Europe, and Asia, particularly inside the capitals of the Arctic Five states. In some cases, it has persisted in spite of the governments' own analyses to the contrary.

This chapter chronicles the events and policy initiatives that gave rise to this doom-saying opinion and rhetoric, and offers an alternative perspective on their significance. It also identifies diplomatic and military initiatives during the same period that point toward a future Arctic characterized by compromise and cooperation.

On August 2, 2007, the *Arktika* scientific expedition placed a titanium replica of a Russian flag on the seabed at the GNP using two Russian owned-and-operated miniature submarines. It also took samples of the seabed to aid with Russia's continental shelf



Figure 4.1 - Artur Chilingarov shows photo of Russian Flag on the Arctic Seabed

Source: Alexander Zemlianichenko, AP, published on http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/tech/science/2007-08-08-russia-arctic-flag_N.htm.

submission. The expedition leader was Artur Nikolayevich Chilingarov, a prominent Russian polar explorer and the Deputy Chairman of the parliamentary Duma. Also onboard were Frederik Paulsen, the Swedish pharmaceuticals millionaire who had funded the expedition, Australian entrepreneur Mike McDowell, a promoter for the expedition, and the mini-sub's Russian pilots.¹³⁴ Despite the expedition's international financing and the tri-national composition of the crews,

the flag planting made the event 100 percent Russian in the opinion of politicians and news media around the world.¹³⁵

¹³⁴ Emerson, *The Future History of the Arctic*, 81-83. For more on this see also: Tom Parfitt, "Russia plants flag on North Pole seabed," *The Guardian*, 2 August 2007; CNN, "Russia plants flag on Arctic floor," last modified 4 Aug 2007; www.cnn.com/2007/WORLD/europe/08/02/arctic.sub.reut/index.html. Mike McDowell was one of two original promoters for the expedition. The second promoter was retired American submarine captain Alfred S. McLaren. McLaren, who had developed the original dive plan, ceased to be part of the project in 2005 when differences emerged between him and McDowell over marketing the initiative. William J. Broad, "Russia's Claim Under Polar Ice Irks American," *New York Times*, February 19, 2008.

¹³⁵ Among the many news organizations to carry the story were the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *China Daily*, *Al Jazerra*, *The Hindu Times*, *Canberra Times*, *USA Today*, BBC, and CNN. The phrase "Russia Plants Flag" was a commonly used phrase in most of the story headlines. The perception that the expedition was entirely Russian was kindled by Chilingarov's boastful remarks upon resurfacing from the dive that: "If a hundred or a thousand years from now someone goes down to where we were, they will see the Russian flag. Our task is to remind the world that Russia is a

As cited in the introduction, the Canadian reaction was swift with Foreign Affairs Minister MacKay accusing the Russians of laying claim to the Arctic in the style of 15th century imperialists. The flag planting also infuriated opposition parliamentarians who criticized the Conservative government of Prime Minister Stephen Harper for not taking the Russians' actions seriously enough.¹³⁶ The U.S. government position was that the flag planting had no legal bearing.¹³⁷ The Danes dismissed the Russians' actions as a media stunt. Much of the news coverage in the West was alarmist. The most sensationalist article appeared in the British newspaper *The Independent*, under the front-page headline "The North Pole, A New Imperial Battleground."¹³⁸

The international reaction was not what the Russian government had expected and it took immediate action to dispel Western concerns. Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov informed the international press that the flag planting was a publicity stunt that did not have pre-approval by the Kremlin. He added it was not a "land grab," but rather was akin to the Americans planting a flag on the Moon during the Apollo space

great Arctic and scientific power." This statement was driven largely by Chilingarov's personal and nationalistic pride in the achievement, but was likely also calculated to bolster his political campaign for re-election to the Duma that was then underway. C.J. Chivers, "Russians Plant Flag on the Arctic Seabed," *New York Times*, 3 August 2007. For more on this also see: Byers, *International Law and the Arctic*, 93. CNN, "Russia plants flag on Arctic floor."

¹³⁶ Doug Struck, "Russia's Deep-Sea Flag-Planting at North Pole Strikes a Chill in Canada," *The Washington Post*, 7 August 2007. New Democratic Party Leader Jack Layton said the government's response was little more than rhetoric to threats to Canadian sovereignty in its frozen backyard. Layton's comments themselves may have been largely rhetorical in an attempt to score cheap political points against the government by appealing to the nationalistic sentiments that many Canadians hold toward the North, sentiments captured symbolically in the national anthem line "True North, strong and free" and fanciful things, such as proclaiming the North Pole the Canadian home of Santa Claus complete with its own postal code H0H 0H0.

¹³⁷ CNN, "Russia plants flag on Arctic floor." U.S. State Department deputy spokesman Tom Casey was demonstrably sarcastic in his remarks stating: "I'm not sure whether they've put up a metal flag, a rubber flag, or a bed sheet on the ocean floor. Either way, it doesn't have any legal standing or effect on this claim."

¹³⁸ Coates, *et al*, *Arctic Front: Defending Canada in the Far North*, 163.

mission.¹³⁹ Lavrov's efforts to smooth things over with Russia's Arctic neighbours were undercut a few days later by Chilingarov's angry reply to the international criticism.

I don't give a damn what all these foreign politicians there [*sic*] are saying about this. If someone doesn't like this, let them go down themselves... and then try to put something there. Russia must win. Russia has what it takes to win. The Arctic has always been Russian.¹⁴⁰

Chilingarov's statement led to widespread mistrust about Russia's intentions in the Arctic. It continues to do so to whenever it is repeated in news media articles and academic analyses in the present. What these reports fail to acknowledge is that Chilingarov has adopted a more diplomatic approach following his 2008 appointment as the president's special envoy for international cooperation in the Arctic and Antarctic.¹⁴¹

It should have come as no surprise that there was public outrage in Canada regarding Russia planting a flag in the North Pole seabed. Canadians have a long history of doubting the strength of the country's Arctic sovereignty claims and being riled at perceived challenges. In 1969 and 1970, for example, the government of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau was thrown into a tizzy when the U.S. flagged oil tanker *S.S. Manhattan*

¹³⁹ Byers, *Who Owns the Arctic?...*, 88. For more on this see also: Mike Eckel, "Russia defends North Pole flag-planting," *USA Today*, 8 August 2007; CNN, "Russia plants flag on Arctic floor," Chivers, "Russians Plant Flag on the Arctic Seabed;" Emmerson, *The Future History of the Arctic*, 82. Lavrov did acknowledge, however, that the drawing of seabed samples was deliberate in support of Russia's revised submission of its extended continental shelf claim.

¹⁴⁰ Eckel, "Russia defends North Pole flag-planting."

¹⁴¹ For example, in October 2012, while trying to drum up interest for a bilateral Arctic friendship summit between President Putin and Prime Minister Harper, Chilingarov made light of his earlier actions on the North Pole seabed, and disavowed his corresponding belligerent, nationalistic rhetoric. "The North Pole belongs to everyone," he told Canadian Postmedia News. "Since the dive to the bottom of the ocean at the North Pole was a great achievement, and since I am a Russian citizen, I took a Russian flag," As for continental shelf claims, Chilingarov acknowledged that some elements in Russian society still consider the Arctic seabed to be all theirs, however he said that was up to the UN to decide based on scientific evidence. Matthew Fisher, "Russian explorer proposes leaders meeting at north pole," *Vancouver Sun*, 5 October 2012. For more on this see also: Gabriela Baczynska, "Veteran explorer stakes Russia's claim over the Arctic," *Reuters*, 27 February 2013; Arctic Info, "Artur Chilingarov reappointed special envoy of President of the Arctic and Antarctic," last modified 3 August 2012, <http://www.arctic-info.com/News/Page/artur-chilingarov-reappointed-special-envoy-of-president-of-the-arctic-and-antarctic>. Arctic Info, "Chilingarov proposed organizing a meeting between Putin and the Prime Minister of Canada at the North Pole," last modified 8 October 2012, <http://www.arctic-info.com/News/Page/chilingarov-proposed-organizing-a-meeting-between-putin-and-the-prime-minister-of-canada-at-the-north-pole>.

made two voyages from Prudhoe Bay, Alaska to the U.S. east coast via the NWP. Although the ship's owners had consulted with the Canadian government about the voyage beforehand, the news media claimed Canadian sovereignty was under direct threat from the Americans. After initially trying to downplay the incident, the Canadian government sent a diplomatic note to the U.S. Embassy in Ottawa expressing its concerns. The government also took legislative measures to strengthen its control over the Arctic waterway.¹⁴²

In 1985, concerns over Canada's Arctic sovereignty created a minor crisis for the Mulroney government when federal opposition parties and nationalist media pundits mounted an angry protest to the voyage of the *USCGS Polar Sea* through the NWP to supply the U.S. Airbase at Thule, Greenland. However, the voyage had been coordinated from the onset with the Canadian government. In fact, three Canadian observers were onboard the ship and it was escorted along its route by a Canadian Coast Guard icebreaker. Nevertheless, in the wake of the public fury, the Canadian government formally declared the waters within the archipelago to be an internal waterway. The government also promised to beef up its military's presence in the North to enforce sovereignty.¹⁴³ More pragmatically, Mulroney succeeded in placing the NWP status dispute with the U.S. on a long-term pause by convincing his good friend, U.S. President

¹⁴² Keskitalo, *Negotiating the Arctic...*, 133-134. . For more on this see also: Grant, *Polar Imperative...*, 348-351; Emmerson, *The Future History of the Arctic*, 95-96.. These legislative measures included unilaterally extending the width of Canada's territorial sea from three nautical miles to 12, and passing the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act (AWPPA). The latter provided for Canadian environmental regulation of Arctic seas up to one hundred nautical miles from the country's coastline. In 1988, the coverage of the AWPPA was extended to 200 nm.

¹⁴³ Grant, *Polar Imperative...*, 386-378. For more on this see also: Emmerson, *The Future History of the Arctic*, 96. The Mulroney government promised to build an armed Polar Class 8 icebreaker and purchase nuclear powered submarines. These promises were included in the 1987 White Paper on Defence. As discussed in Chapter 4, these Defence White Paper commitments were also a reaction to perceived Soviet submarine threats at the time.

Reagan, to negotiate the *1988 Arctic Cooperation Agreement* whereby the two countries agreed to disagree on the status of the waterway.¹⁴⁴

Then on July 9, 2007, four weeks prior to the Russian flag planting, Prime Minister Harper announced that his government was firmly committed to defending Canada's Arctic frontiers. Following up on a 2006 election campaign promise to make defence of Canadian Arctic sovereignty a significant part of his new government's agenda, and buoyed by public opinion polling (Leger Marketing, February 2007) that showed 70 per cent of Canadians favoured increased action to protect Northern interests,¹⁴⁵ Harper stated his government would acquire eight armed Polar Class 5 Arctic Offshore Patrol Ships (AOPS) for the navy that could patrol the length of the NWP during the summer navigation season and its approaches year-round. He also announced that the government would establish a deep-water port in the far North where the AOPS and coast guard icebreakers could fuel.¹⁴⁶ In making these announcements, Harper famously proclaimed that:

Canada has a choice when it comes to defending our sovereignty over the Arctic. *We either use it or lose it* [emphasis added]. And make no mistake, this Government intends to use it. Because Canada's Arctic is central to our national identity as a northern nation. It is part of our history. And it represents the tremendous potential of our future.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ Byers, *International Law and the Arctic*, 139-140. For more on this see also: Byers, *Who Owns the Arctic?* 56-57; Grant, *Polar Imperative...*, 378. The crux of the 1988 Arctic Cooperation Agreement was that the U.S. promised "all navigation by U.S. icebreakers within waters claimed by Canada to be internal will be undertaken with the consent of the Government of Canada," while Canada promised to "facilitate navigation" by those vessels. The two countries also agreed that nothing in the Arctic Cooperation Agreement, or any practices there under, prejudiced their respective long-standing positions on the status of the waterway.

¹⁴⁵ Coates, *et al*, *Arctic Front...*, 173-174. Interestingly, only 20 per cent favoured a build-up of military forces to achieve this aim.

¹⁴⁶ Prime Minister's Office, "Prime Minister Stephen Harper Announces New Arctic Offshore Patrol Ships," News Release, 9 July 2007, last accessed 12 November 2013, <http://pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2007/07/09/prime-minister-stephen-harper-announces-new-arctic-offshore-patrol-ships>. The announcement said the AOPS would be capable of operating in first year ice up to one metre thick and cost \$3.1-billion.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

When Harper made this announcement, the parliamentary opposition criticized him for not going far enough to protect Canada's interests.¹⁴⁸ Given this criticism and the history of similar censure to previous governments, Foreign Affairs Minister MacKay's condemnation of the Russian flag planting was entirely predictable. MacKay's comments also reflect a recent shift in the government's perspective on where the real threats to Canadian sovereignty lay. While the U.S. had traditionally been viewed as the principal "bogeyman" threatening to intrude on Canada's northern rights, the decidedly pro-American Harper government shifted the public's focus onto the Russians.¹⁴⁹ In particular, Harper zeroed in on President Vladimir Putin's commitment to renewing and expanding Russia's Arctic infrastructure.¹⁵⁰ Harper's concerns regarding potential Russian threats in the Arctic were given credence two weeks following the flag-planting incident when Putin signed a decree authorizing the resumption of LRA strategic bomber patrols over the Pacific, Atlantic, and Arctic oceans, a practice that had been suspended

¹⁴⁸ Victoria Times Colonist (author not attributed), "Harper on Arctic: 'Use it or lose it'," *Victoria Times Colonist*, 10 July 2007. Liberal Party defence critic Denis Coderre said the AOPS were insufficient for surveillance purposes, and were a poor substitute for the three major navy icebreakers the government had pledged in the lead up to the last election. NDP leader Layton said Harper's proposal represented "a serious abandoning of a commitment he made to northern sovereignty." These criticisms, as so many other official opposition comments in the history of the Canadian parliamentary system, must be regarded cynically as having been opportunistic and potentially disingenuous to score polling points and other short-term gains with voters, and were not reflective of the true sentiments of the politicians.

¹⁴⁹ Prime Minister Harper spoke to this shift in focus being integral to his government's Arctic nationalism during an interview he did with the *Globe and Mail* in January 2014. "...What I saw happening in the decade or so that preceded our government coming to office was a kind of notion of Canadian nationhood that was becoming nothing more than anti-Americanism..." stated Harper. "But, given that Americans are our best friends, closest neighbours and the most crucial allies and customers, defining ourselves as anti-American is really...not a true Canadian nationalism...And so I had been concerned about how we really can work to revive a robust and positive vision of Canadian nationalism. And one of the many things...was...a renewed emphasis on Canada's fundamental northern nature..." Steven Chase, "Q&A with Harper: No previous government has delivered more in the North," *Globe and Mail*, 17 January 2014.

¹⁵⁰ Coates, *et al*, *Arctic Front...*, 174-175. Harper is quoted here as stating: "I'm less concerned with the U.S., who...while not formally acknowledging our claim, at least acknowledges that we make the claim and [*sic*] cooperates with us on the defence of North America. I think the greater worry is some of the other nations that we believe have been paddling around up there and not necessarily acknowledging their obligations to communicate with the government of Canada."

since 1992. Putin claimed the decision to resume LRA patrols was forced upon his government by unspecified security threats. Although those threats were not spelled out, media and other analysts speculated that it was related to a recent chill in relations with the U.S. government.¹⁵¹ They may also have been prompted to some degree by recent Arctic defence measures taken by Canada and other Arctic states.¹⁵²

Shortly before and soon after the AOPS announcement, the Harper administration took other steps to enhance sovereignty and security in Canada's North. In the early spring of 2007, the government launched Operation Nunavut, a ground-based expedition in which Canadian Army personnel, including the Canadian Rangers, conducted a cross-country surveillance patrol in the northernmost islands of the Arctic Archipelago. The government followed this up in July and August 2007 with Operation Nanukput, an interagency surveillance and presence operation in the Western Arctic involving members of the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF), RCMP, and Fisheries and Oceans Canada. In August 2007 the military conducted Operation Nanook, a joint force sovereignty enforcement exercise in the vicinity of Baffin Island near Iqaluit and Kimmirut. All three operations have since become annual events, with Operation Nanook

¹⁵¹ CNN, "Russia restores bomber patrols," last modified 17 August 2007, <http://www.cnn.com/2007/WORLD/europe/08/17/russia.airforce.reut/index.html>; *China Daily*, "Russia resumes long-range bomber patrols," last modified 17 August 2007, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2007-08/17/content_6032595.htm. In April 2008, the Russian Air Force commander announced that the number of LRA flights would be substantially increased over all the world's oceans to between 20 and 30 per month. Ria Novosti, "Russian strategic bombers fly over the Arctic on routine patrol," last modified 21 November 2008, <http://en.ria.ru/russia/20081121/118443925.html>.

¹⁵² According to the 2010 Russian military doctrine, expansion of any foreign military presence in proximity to Russian territory constitutes a principal "military threat" and possesses a real possibility of escalating into an armed conflict. Because all other Arctic coastal states are members of NATO, which is still perceived as having an anti-Russian bias, Russia is the more intent on keeping a close eye on their military plans for the region. Katarzyna Zysk, "Military Aspects of Russia's Arctic Policy," in *Arctic Security in an Age of Climate Change*, ed. James Kraska, 85-106 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 98.

expanding to include representation from several other government departments and military units from allied Arctic states.¹⁵³

Prime Minister Harper, accompanied by an entourage of senior military staff, government officials, and news media, attends Operation Nanook activities annually to remind Canadians and the international community of his government's ongoing

commitment to the

sovereignty and security of

Canada's North. During

Operation Nanook 2007,

Harper announced that the

government would

establish a Canadian Forces

Arctic Training Center in

Resolute Bay, Nunavut, and that the Canadian Rangers would be re-equipped and

expanded in strength by 900 personnel. He also named Nanisivik, Nunavut as the site of

the previously announced deepwater Arctic port.¹⁵⁴ Arctic commitments announced

during subsequent Operations have included the procurement of an Arctic heavy



Figure 4.2 – Prime Minister Harper visits Op Nanook 2010.

Source: Sean Kirkpatrick, Canadian Press posted on www.cbc.ca.

¹⁵³ National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces, "Operation NANOOK," last modified 12 August 2013, <http://www.forces.gc.ca/en/operations-canada-north-america-recurring/op-nanook.page>. For more on this see also: National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces, "Operation NUNALIVUT," last modified 3 September 2013, <http://www.forces.gc.ca/en/operations-canada-north-america-recurring/op-nunalivut.page>. Operation Nanook is the largest of the three exercises. In 2007, it included drug-interdiction and oil-spill scenarios involving about 650 CAF personnel from the army, navy and air force, two surface warships, a submarine, and four types of aircraft.

¹⁵⁴ David Pugliese, "Canadian Armed Forces Arctic Training Centre Opens in Resolute Bay While Chinese Cargo Ship Sets Sail On Transit of Northern Sea Route," *Ottawa Citizen* on-line, 16 August 2013, last accessed 13 November 2013, <http://blogs.ottawacitizen.com/2013/08/16/canadian-armed-forces-arctic-training-centre-opens-in-resolute-bay-while-chinese-cargo-ship-sets-sail-on-transit-of-northern-sea-route/>. For more on this see also: Prime Minister's Office, "Prime Minister announces expansion of Canadian Forces facilities and operations in the Arctic," last modified 10 August 2007, <http://pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2007/08/10/prime-minister-announces-expansion-canadian-forces-facilities-and-operations-arctic>.

icebreaker for the Canadian Coast Guard (2008)¹⁵⁵ and the construction of the Canadian High Arctic Research Station in Cambridge Bay (2012). To date, the military training centre is the only commitment to be fulfilled. The official opening was on August 16, 2013 during Operation Nanook.¹⁵⁶

The Harper government introduced its current National Defence white paper, the *Canada First Defence Strategy (CFDS)*, on May 12, 2008. While the CFDS defined the government's vision for the DND and the CAF across the broad spectrum of operations, it paid special attention to the employment of military resources in the Arctic theatre. Contrary to much of the sovereignty and security rhetoric bantered about in media and political circles following the 2007 Russian flag planting, the sections of the CFDS regarding the military's role in the Arctic were moderate and constructive. Contents of those CFDS sections would be repeated, sometimes verbatim, in the Arctic operational doctrine publications it inspired.¹⁵⁷

The CFDS first mentions the Arctic in its discussion about domestic security and safety concerns that might necessitate a military response “in support of emergency management partners across Canada.” Accordingly:

...changing weather patterns are altering the environment, making it more accessible to sea traffic and economic activity. Retreating ice cover has opened the way for increased shipping, tourism and resource exploration and new transportation routes are being considered, including through the Northwest Passage. While this promises substantial economic benefits for

¹⁵⁵ Richard Brennan, “‘Diefenbreaker’ to patrol Arctic,” *Toronto Star*, 28 August 2008.

¹⁵⁶ Prime Minister's Office, “The Canadian High Arctic Research Station,” last modified 23 August 2012, <http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2012/08/23/canadian-high-arctic-research-station>. The general failure by the Canadian government to follow through on many of these Arctic commitments has not gone unnoticed by the fellow Arctic states, including the U.S., Canada's declared preferred international partner in the region. In January 2010 the American Ambassador to Canada, David Jacobson observed the self-righteous defenders-of-the-Arctic rhetoric voiced by Harper and his ministers lacked sincerity and was a calculated ploy to garner electoral support. John English, *Ice and Water*...5. For more on this see also: Campbell Clark, “Harper's tough talk on the Arctic less stern in private,” *Globe and Mail*, 12 May 2011.

¹⁵⁷ Information on those Arctic operational doctrine publications is provided in Annex E.

Canada, it has also brought new challenges from other shores. These changes in the Arctic could also spark an increase in illegal activity, with important implications for Canadian sovereignty and security and a potential requirement for additional military support.¹⁵⁸

The Arctic also figures prominently in the CFDS section defining the three roles of the CAF. In order of priority, these roles are: defending Canada, defending North America, and contributing to international peace and security. The CAF's capacity to exercise control over and defend sovereignty in the Arctic is described as a core mission requirement in the defence of Canada:

...As activity in northern lands and waters accelerates, the military will play an increasingly vital role in demonstrating a visible Canadian presence in this potentially resource-rich region and in helping other government agencies, such as the Coast Guard respond to any threats that may arise.¹⁵⁹

The CFDS also cited planned investments, which while not explicitly identified as being Arctic related, would later result in spending with a northern focus. These included increasing the size of the Primary Reserve.¹⁶⁰ On August 17, 2009, Defence Minister MacKay stood up the Yellowknife Company, an Army Reserve subordinate unit of the Loyal Edmonton Regiment and the only active reserve unit north of 60. To date the Yellowknife Company musters fewer than 40 personnel.¹⁶¹ The Canadian Army also created the Arctic Response Company Group (ARCG) comprised of approximately 480 reservists from five units across southern Canada: the Royal Winnipeg Rifles, the Lake Superior Scottish Regiment, the Grey and Simcoe Foresters, Les Voltigeurs de Quebec, and the Royal New Brunswick Regiment. The ARCG meets at least twice a year in the

¹⁵⁸ Department of National Defence. *Canada First Defence Strategy* (Ottawa: DND, 12 May 2008), 10.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 8. The Arctic is a key component of the first of six core missions the CFDS assigns to the CAF: "Conduct daily domestic and continental operations, including in the Arctic and through NORAD."

¹⁶⁰ Department of National Defence. *Canada First Defence Strategy*, 12.

¹⁶¹ CBC News, "MacKay makes Arctic army reserve unit official," last modified 17 August 2009, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/mackay-makes-arctic-army-reserve-unit-official-1.780272>.

north to conduct cold weather training, and is on standby to support the Regular Force and Canadian Rangers in their defensive roles.¹⁶²

On May 27-29, 2008, the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Per Stig Møller, hosted his Arctic Five counterparts at a meeting in Ilulissat, Greenland held to discuss regional sovereignty issues and the international legal regime available to resolve them.¹⁶³ On the second day of the conference, the Arctic Five foreign ministers adopted a joint statement known as the *Ilulissat Declaration*, confirming their governments' commitment to work together within the existing framework of international law, principally UNCLOS, and through international forums, such as the Arctic Council, Barents Euro-Arctic Council, and International Maritime Organization, to resolve any differences through negotiations, rather than force of arms.¹⁶⁴ Less than a month later, Russia appeared to back pedal on its Ilulissat Declaration commitment to tone down aggressive rhetoric in the Arctic.

On June 24, 2008, Lieutenant-General Vladimir Shamanov, head of the Russian army's combat training directorate, told the military daily newspaper *Red Star* that the

¹⁶² Robert Smol, "When will we get serious about Arctic defence?" *CBC News* 11 May 2011, last modified 11 May 2009. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/when-will-we-get-serious-about-arctic-defence-1.813981>; . For more on this see also: David Pugliese, "The Army's Arctic Response Company Group On the Ground for NANOOK 11," *Defence Watch* (blog), August 13, 2011, <http://blogs.ottawacitizen.com/2011/08/13/the-armys-arctic-response-company-group-on-the-ground-for-nanook-11/>. Cold Weather Operations Journal, "Reservists and Regulars Build Komatiks for Ex NORTHERN BISON," last accessed 20 January 2014, <http://cwojournal.wordpress.com/tag/arctic-response-company-group/>. Since its inception, the ARCG has participated in several training manoeuvres. These manoeuvres include annual Operation Nanook exercises and biannual Arctic Ram exercises. The latter are 38 Canadian Brigade Group exercises conducted in the month of February.

¹⁶³ Byers, *International Law and the Arctic*, 93. Danish Foreign Minister Møller's decision to call the meeting was driven by anxiety in the Arctic state capitals, where leaders feared the potential impact that a misplayed Arctic sovereignty card could have on global international relations. Once the Ilulissat Declaration was signed, Møller expressed his hope that he and his peers had "once and for all, killed all the myths of a 'race to the North Pole.'" For more on this see: Andrew C. Revkin, "Countries agree to talk over the Arctic," *New York Times*, 29 May 2008.

¹⁶⁴ OceanLaw.org, "The Ilulissat Declaration," last accessed 13 February 2013, http://www.oceanlaw.org/downloads/arctic/Ilulissat_Declaration.pdf. A copy of the Ilulissat Declaration is attached as Annex C to this research paper.

country was moving to bolster its presence in the Arctic after a negative international response to the previous year's flag planting on the North Pole seabed. As Shamanov explained:

After the reaction of a certain number of heads of state to Russia's territorial claims to the continental plateau of the Arctic, the training division has immediately set out training plans for troops that could be engaged in Arctic combat missions.¹⁶⁵

He added that the deployment of 5,000 American soldiers to Exercise Northern Edge in Alaska the month prior was another cause for Russian concern.¹⁶⁶ While some commentators in the West, such as Michael Byers dismissed the general's comments as an aberration likely aimed at procuring defence funding without regard for current diplomatic realities, others pundits, including Rob Huebert, spun the incident as a pointed warning from Russia to other Arctic states that their potential claims over the seabed territory should go no further than the North Pole.¹⁶⁷

In June and early July 2008, for the first time in 17 years, two NORFLT surface warships were sent on patrols well north of the Arctic Circle. While the patrols were principally sovereignty enforcement and training missions inside Russia's EEZ, they caught the West's attention as indicators of renewed Russian militarization in the Arctic.

¹⁶⁸ Additional Russian activities in the Arctic in 2008 caused further anxiety in the West.

¹⁶⁵ Canwest News Service, "Russian general fires Arctic warning," last modified 24 June 2008, <http://www.canada.com/topics/news/story.html?id=ac0d24df-dc10-43da-89f3-b3c3c0928ae7>; Alan W. Dowd, "Trying times with Moscow," *Fraser Forum* (November/December 2010): 25.

¹⁶⁶ Juneau Empire (author not attributed), "Russia plans Arctic training exercises," *Juneau Empire*, 25 June 2008.

¹⁶⁷ Canwest News Service, "Russian general fires Arctic warning."

¹⁶⁸ Defence Update, "Russia Extends its Arctic Navalpower Base," last accessed 2 January 2014, http://defense-update.com/newscast/0808/070802_russian_navy_in_the_arctic.html. In June and early July 2008 the Russian Udaloy class anti-submarine ship *Severomorsk* entered the Arctic Circle for about a month long deployment, replaced by the Slava class missile cruiser *Marshal Ustinov* in mid July. As *Severomorsk* left the area it paid a visit to the Norwegian port of Haakonsværn to continue the traditional spirit of cooperation with participation in 'Northern Edge 2008' - a tri-national exercise involving the Russian Fleet, US Navy and Norwegian Navy, taking place in the Norwegian and Barents seas.

Those activities pertained to Iceland's request for a Russian loan to bail it out of financial crisis, and rumours that Iceland was prepared to lease the former USAF base at Keflavik to the Russians in gratitude. These concerns were largely misrepresented at the time.¹⁶⁹

Moving ahead to February 2009, two Russia bombers conducted a LRA patrol into the Canadian Air Defence Identification Zone (CADIZ). Although the aircraft remained well away from Canadian territorial airspace, the timing of the patrol less than 24 hours before U.S. President Barack Obama's first visit to Canada caused the Harper government to thump its chest in protest. The Prime Minister declared his deep concern "with increasingly aggressive Russian actions around the globe" and vowed that Canada would defend its airspace. Harper's tough talk was largely overblown given that the flights had been scheduled months in advance and elicited no protest from the U.S. Government or undue concern by NORAD.¹⁷⁰ Russian embassy officials appeared before a House of Commons Defence Committee to refute the government's accusation, calling the flights routine training. With a great touch of irony, one of Harper's Conservative caucus members, Laurie Hawn, the parliamentary secretary to the Minister of National Defence, downplayed the whole incident. Hawn, a former CF-18 fighter pilot who had retired as a lieutenant-colonel, told the Canadian Press that Russian LRA flights like the ones in question were routine and had occurred in international air space.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ Valur Ingimundarson, "Territorial Discourses and Identity Politics: Iceland's Role in the Arctic," in *Arctic Security in an Age of Climate Change*, ed. James Kraska, 174-189 (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2011) 179-180. For more on this see also: Yuri Zarakhovich, "Why Russia is bailing out Iceland," *Time*, 13 October, 2008.

¹⁷⁰ P. Whitney. Lackenbauer, "Polar Race or Polar Saga" in *Arctic Security in an Age of Climate Change*, ed. James Kraska, 218-243 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 236. The aggressive Russian actions to which Harper referred included the August 2008 invasion of Georgia during the South Ossetia War.

¹⁷¹ CBC News, "Russia bomber on routine training flight, diplomat tells MPs," last modified 24 March 2009, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/russian-bomber-on-routine-training-flight-diplomat-tells-mps-1.802243>.

During the summer of 2010, Russian Tu-95 BEAR bomber aircraft conducted two LRA patrols into the northern CADIZ. The second of these missions, which flew to within 56 km of the Northwest Territories (although still within international airspace), occurred in August while Prime Minister Harper was in the north observing the annual Operation Nanook Arctic sovereignty exercise. Operation Nanook 2010 marked the first occasion that foreign military units from the U.S. and Denmark participated in the exercise. Authorities at NORAD downplayed the incidents as routine exercises of the Russian's capability to operate in the North that were no cause for alarm.¹⁷² However, several analysts, including Rob Huebert, assessed that the Russians may have deliberately timed those LRA flights to occur during Operation Nanook as a form of strategic messaging that Russia was the leading power in the Arctic and that Canada and its allies should not forget it.¹⁷³

In late March 2009, the Kremlin publicly released the full text of its new Arctic strategy, which had been approved by the Russian Security Council the previous September. The document, titled *The Foundations of Russian Federation Policy in the Arctic until 2020 and Beyond*, specified the main objectives, tasks, challenges, and strategic priorities for implementing state policy in the Arctic. It also prescribed the means for strategic planning of socio-economic development¹⁷⁴ of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation and maintenance of Russia's national security. The strategy identified Russia's four main national interests in the Arctic; namely, to utilize the Arctic Zone as a

¹⁷² CBC News, "NORAD downplays Russian bomber interception," last modified 25 August 2010, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/norad-downplays-russian-bomber-interception-1.929222>; Brian Lilley, "Canadian jets repel Russian bombers," *Toronto Sun*, 30 July 2010; Dowd, "Trying times with Moscow," 25.

¹⁷³ Murray Brewster, "Russia's Arctic policy no cause for alarm, MacKay told," *Globe and Mail*, 25 August 2010.

¹⁷⁴ The Russian government approved a subsequent socio-economic development strategy for the Arctic in February 2013. Information about this strategy will be provided in Chapter 5.

strategic resource base to support the country's socio-economic development tasks; preserve the region as a zone of [international] peace and cooperation; protect the Arctic's unique ecological system; and use the NSR as a unified, integrated transportation link connecting all of Russia with the Arctic.¹⁷⁵

One of the main goals of the state policy vis-à-vis the Arctic Zone is national security, and through that, the protection and defence of Russia's national boundaries in the region. The Strategy proclaims that the state must provide the "necessary operational wherewithal"¹⁷⁶ to do the job, including the maintenance of a basic fighting capability among "general purpose units" of the Russian Armed Forces in the region, as well as other troops and military formations and "agencies" assigned responsibilities there.¹⁷⁷ These other agencies are identified as the Russian Border Guard and Russian Maritime Border Guard (Coast Guard) divisions of the civilian Federal Security Service (FSB).¹⁷⁸

Consistent with the Ilulissat Declaration, another main goal and strategic priority for state policy in the Arctic is guaranteeing "mutually beneficial bilateral and multilateral cooperation" between Russia and other Arctic states based on international treaties and agreements. The Russian Arctic Strategy recommends pursuing this cooperation through the Arctic Council and the Barents Euro-Arctic Region [Council] with a focus on economic, scientific, technological, and cultural issues. International

¹⁷⁵ Russian Federation Security Council, *The Foundations of Russian Federation Policy in the Arctic until 2020 and Beyond*, trans by Maxim Rusnak and Ilan Berman for the American Foreign Policy Council, 18 Sept 2008, Art. II, III, and IV. An alternate translation by Philip Burgess is available on-line at http://icr.arcticportal.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1791:foundations-of-the-russian-federations-state-policy-in-the-arctic-until-2020-and-beyond&catid=45_news-2007&Itemid=111&lang=sa.

¹⁷⁶ The two translations of the original Russian Arctic strategy I have read respectively call it "favourable operating environment" and "favourable operating conditions." I have instead opted for the word "wherewithal" in the phrase – by which I mean financial, political, and social support – to avoid potential confusion with operational conditions/environment wrought by climate and topography, etc.

¹⁷⁷ Russian Federation Security Council, *The Foundations of Russian Federation Policy in the Arctic...*, Art. III. 6, b.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Art. IV 8 b. The FSB is the successor organization to the Soviet KGB.

cooperation in safety and security matters is also cited as a state priority, including the coordination of SAR and cooperation in border control.¹⁷⁹ In short, the Russian government openly declared its willingness to engage in cooperative constabulary enforcement of national and international regulations governing these matters. It is clear in the strategy that the para-military Russian coast guard vice the Russian Army Forces would be the lead security agency in the Arctic. Actions taken by the Russian government within its Arctic zone and the greater global Arctic to date have been consistent with the strategy.¹⁸⁰

When the Russian Arctic Strategy became public knowledge in 2009, it was widely interpreted by Western news media and policy hawks to signal a probable Russian military build-up in the region, particularly in view of their goal to create general-purpose units. This perception was exacerbated by additional LRA activity and some bellicose, anti-Western statements by a few of Russia's hard-liners¹⁸¹ shortly before the Strategy document's public release. The rhetorical flames were dampened only when Russia's foreign minister Lavrov and several Western military advisors pointed out that the FSB would be the principal state actor in charge of future Arctic security and defence. As Norwegian defence analyst Kristian Åtland has commented, the publication of the Russian Arctic strategy "spurred much unnecessary concern among Russia's Arctic

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., Art. III 7 b and c; Art. IV 8 b. Highlighted under border cooperation was the need for Russia to work together with its fellow Arctic states to effectively develop natural resources and protect the environment in adjoining areas, as well as coordinate the coast guards of the coastal states in fighting terrorism at sea, and stopping smuggling activity and illegal migration.

¹⁸⁰ Although some specific projects have been delayed due to budgetary constraints.

¹⁸¹ Such as Nikolai Patrushev, the Secretary of the Security Council, and Dmitry Rogozin, Russia's ambassador to NATO.

neighbours, and apparently a round of inter-agency discussions in Moscow” as the military and civilian agencies competed for Arctic-related security funding.¹⁸²

To elaborate, in the months following the international release of its Arctic Strategy, the Russian government publicly reiterated many of the document’s points and issued amplifying details. For example, it announced plans to establish a special military ground force to protect its Arctic interests. This force was to be in addition to existing naval infantry units and an army brigade based on the Kola Peninsula, which while trained for winter warfare in Northern Russia, were not organized and equipped for the Arctic operating environment. Few other details about the new formation were announced at the time, which caused considerable speculation about Russian intentions. It was not until May 2011 that the world learned the first Russian Arctic “special forces brigade” would most likely be based at Pechenga on the Kola Peninsula, and would in fact be comprised of existing units re-tasked and retrained to operate in severe Arctic conditions. The Russian government said the units would help “balance the situation” of ground forces in the Arctic as the U.S. and Canada had already begun establishing similar brigades.¹⁸³

In 2012, it was announced that there would be two brigades vice one, with the first located in either Murmansk or Archangelsk, and the other in a yet to be determined location. The Arctic brigades would be mechanized infantry units, with possible airborne

¹⁸² Åtland, “Russia’s Armed Forces and the Arctic...,” 275-277.

¹⁸³ Siemon T. Wezeman, “Military Capabilities in the Arctic,” *SIPRI Background Paper*, March 2012, 9. For more on this see also: Trude Pettersen, “Russian Arctic brigades put off to 2015,” *Barents Observer Online*, last modified 22 February 2012, <http://barentsobserver.com/en/topics/russian-arctic-brigades-put-2015>. The claim that their special force brigades for the Arctic were to counter balance the establishment of Canadian Arctic brigades reveals a fundamental lack of understanding by the Russians or an outright manipulation of the facts. Whereas troop numbers in a single Russian brigade are approximately 4,400 officers and men, the total strength of the ARCG numbers less than 500. Russian Defence Policy, ““New Profile” Brigades,” last modified 3 December 2011, <http://russiandefpolicy.wordpress.com/tag/brigades/>.

elements, operating in specially designed, multi-role armoured transport and towing vehicles.¹⁸⁴ In the end, however, due to personnel, funding, and equipment problems, the Russian Defence Ministry announced it would need to postpone creating the Arctic brigades until 2015. Some clarity was also provided on the overall defensive measures to be taken in the Arctic region. The plan, said officials, was to deploy a “combined-arms force” by 2020 to protect Russia’s political and economic interests in the Arctic region, and to guarantee Russia’s military security in diverse military and political circumstances. This force would include military, border control, and coast guard units.¹⁸⁵

The Russian government also announced plans to upgrade or replace several of its NORFLT naval assets and construct a string of bases along its northern frontier. These bases would include a series of 10 dual-use facilities along the NSR extending from Murmansk in the east to Anadyr on the Bering Sea. These facilities would house FSB border guard outposts, search and rescue stations, and support naval operations. As of March 2014 only three outposts were constructed, those being at Naryan Mar, Dudinka, and Arkhangelsk.¹⁸⁶ The Russians subsequently announced that other bases would be opened on the sites of abandoned Soviet Era airbases and forward operating locations along the Siberian coast and Arctic Islands. During the fall of 2013, the Russians opened the first of these in the New Siberian Islands, at the site of the old Tempa Airfield. In

¹⁸⁴ Pettersen, “Russian Arctic brigades put off to 2015.” . For more on this see also: Alexander Chuikov, “Northern Dreams of the Defense Ministry,” *Argumenty Nedeli* No. 37 (Sept. 27-Oct 2, 2012): 14.

¹⁸⁵ Chuikov, “Northern Dreams of the Defence Ministry,” 14. For more on this see also: BarentsNova, “Mixed soldiers for Arctic Brigade,” last modified 18 September 2012, <http://barentsnova.com/node/2054>; Ria Novosti, “Russia to Field First Arctic Brigade in 2015,” last modified 21 February 2012, http://en.ria.ru/military_news/20120221/171440711.html; Ria Novosti, “Russia to Reopen Arctic Airbases,” last modified 30 may 2012, http://en.ria.ru/military_news/20120530/173757083.html.

¹⁸⁶ Mark Admonis, “Russia plans massive Arctic Expansion,” *USNI News*, 9 August 2012. The other dual use facilities will be built at Arkhangelsk, Vorkuta, Nadym, Dudinka, Tiksi, Pevek, Provideniye. A separate border guard outpost was opened at Nagurskoye on the Franz Josef Archipelago in 2012.

2014, the Russians will be reactivating the old airfield on Graham Bell Island in the Franz Josef Archipelago.¹⁸⁷ These locations will support domestic civilian security activities along the NSR, military sovereignty operations, and training exercises in the region. The reactivated Arctic airbases may also be the site of early warning radars and air defence batteries in support of Russia's strategic nuclear forces, which the government considers to be under potential threat by U.S. Aegis-equipped anti-missile warships and other NATO ballistic missile defence technologies.¹⁸⁸

Russia's leadership is strongly opposed to any NATO involvement in the Arctic beyond the activities of Canada, Denmark-Greenland, Iceland, Norway, and the United States. In 2010, then President Dmitry Medvedev stated, "The Arctic can manage fine without NATO." In early 2013, Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov affirmed this position, stating, "We believe that such a move would be a very bad signal to the militarization [*sic*] of the Arctic, even if NATO wants to just go there and get comfortable."¹⁸⁹ President Putin has been more direct in his warning that NATO's continued pursuit of a greater role in the Arctic, including increased military cooperation between the Alliance and neutral Finland and Sweden, posed risks to regional and global stability. In a February 2013 address to the Defence Ministry Board in Moscow, Putin said:

¹⁸⁷ Ria Novosti, "Russia to Reopen Arctic Airbases;"

¹⁸⁸ Global Security Newswire Staff, "Russia's Reopening of Arctic Base May Be Response to NATO Missile Defense," 17 September 2013, <http://www.nti.org/gsn/article/russias-decision-reopen-arctic-base-may-have-impact-nato-missile-defense/>. The America Aegis and other ballistic missile defence (BMD) systems that are perceived by the Russians to pose a security threat in the Arctic are discussed in detail by James Kraska in his essay "The New Arctic Geography and U.S. Strategy" in *Arctic Security in an Age of Climate Change*. The Aegis equipped ships, including the *Arleigh Burke*-class guided missile destroyers, can readily deploy to the ice-free waters of the Norwegian and Barents Sea, while land-based BMD systems such as the upgraded early warning radars and Cobra Dane radars stretch in the Aleutians to Greenland. James Kraska, "The New Arctic Geography and U.S. Strategy," in *Arctic Security in an Age of Climate Change*, ed James Kraska, 244-266 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 253-255.

¹⁸⁹ Mia Bennett, "Why NATO isn't establishing an Arctic presence," *Alaska Dispatch* On-line, last accessed 7 June 2013, <http://www.alaskadispatch.com/article/20130606/why-nato-isnt-establishing-arctic-presence>.

Methodical attempts are made to rock the strategic balance one way or another. The U.S. has practically started the second stage of its plan to set up a global missile defence system and there are probes into the possibility of NATO's further eastward expansion. *The danger of militarization of the Arctic exists* [emphasis added].¹⁹⁰

While numerous academics, politicians, and media pundits throughout the West were of the opinion that the Kremlin was remilitarizing the Arctic to the peril of the other polar states, Russia expert Katarzyna Zysk of the Norwegian Institute of Defence Studies offers a temperate and more probable assessment of all these Arctic military developments. Firstly, Zysk points out that the ship procurement announcements for the NORFLT are not explicitly Arctic military enhancements, because while the fleet is based above the Arctic Circle, its missions are global. Secondly, providing a credible military presence in the Arctic region is driven in part by the need to protect the country's strategic nuclear forces. This necessitates the acquisition of new ASW frigates and destroyers, and surface-to-air missile systems to replace aging Soviet Era platforms. The Arctic brigades could be seen in a similar light, as ground forces capable of defending mobile strategic rocket forces staged throughout northwest Russia.¹⁹¹ Finally, as is the case in Canada and other Arctic coastal states, the Russian military must be ready to support other government departments and civilian agencies, including the FSB Border Guard Branch with surveillance, search and rescue, policing and other regulatory enforcement relating to the expected increase in human activity in the Arctic region brought about by climate change. Given the Russian government's concerns that this activity may include maritime terrorism, drug smuggling, illegal migration, and poaching,

¹⁹⁰ Thomas Nilsen, "Danger of militarization of the Arctic exists," *Barents Observer*, last updated 27 February 2013, <http://barentsobserver.com/en/security/2013/02/danger-militarization-artic-exists-27-02>.

¹⁹¹ Zysk, "Military Aspects of Russia's Arctic Policy," 101-102.

an increased military presence aimed at support and protection of economic activity in the Russian Arctic is completely justified.¹⁹²

Further to Zysk's analysis, unless the ships constructed under the new Russian procurement programs are ice-strengthened, they are not Arctic assets in the truest sense. There are no indications thus far that any of the new vessels will be ice-strengthened except for lightly armed ships being built for the FSB's maritime border guard service.¹⁹³ Additionally, many of the aircrew who flew regular missions against North America and Western Europe during the latter years of the Cold War are now approaching retirement age. Before those pilots, air navigators, and bombardiers can start collecting their pensions, they need to train their replacements. The volume and increased frequency of LRA patrols, and the more provocative flight patterns over the CADIZ and American Air Defence Identification Zone (ADIZ), can likely be attributed to the Russian strategic air command ensuring existing expertise is maintained for the next generation. Thus, the LRA patrols do not constitute an increased threat level, but rather the maintenance of the status quo.

On July 26, 2009, the Harper government unveiled its new overarching Arctic policy titled *Canada's Northern Strategy: Our North, Our Heritage, Our Future*. Far more temperate in tone than the government's rhetoric of the previous three years, the Northern Strategy paid respect to the principles of international cooperation as described

¹⁹² Ibid., 102-104.

¹⁹³ The FSB has introduced two new classes of ice-strengthened vessels for its Coastal Border Guard Service, the Project 22460 *Rubin* Class patrol ship and Project 22120 *Purga* Class corvette. There are currently four of each in service, all operating in the Northern Pacific. On November 6, 2013, Russian Defence Minister General Sergei Shoigu announced that the Russian Federation Navy would develop a new ice-class formation built around these classes of vessels. Despite Shoigu's announcement that these vessels will be part of a 20 ship naval formation, it is probable they would remain under the operational control of the FSB's Maritime Border Guard service and would only be seconded to the Navy in the event of a crisis. Interfax AVN, "Russian plant expected to build 20 patrol boats for Arctic Formation," Interfax-AVN Military News Agency, 6 November 2013.

in the Ilulissat Declaration. It also reiterated several of the security concerns for the region presented in the CFDS, and refined the government's intentions for the region going forward.¹⁹⁴ Through its Northern Strategy, the Canadian government seeks to exert leadership both at home and abroad to promote a prosperous and stable region based on Canadian interests and values. To achieve this vision, the government has committed itself to an integrated strategy based on four equally important and mutually reinforcing priorities: exercising Canada's Arctic sovereignty, promoting social and economic development, protecting the country's environmental heritage, and improving and devolving northern governance.¹⁹⁵ The first priority, exercising Arctic sovereignty, envisioned a significant role for DND and the CAF.

The Northern Strategy declares that Canada's Arctic sovereignty is longstanding, well established,¹⁹⁶ and based on historic title, including the presence of Aboriginal peoples since time immemorial. It goes on to say, however, that Arctic sovereignty is not static and requires continuous effort to maintain a strong government presence in the region. The Strategy identifies the CAF as the principle instrument of state in achieving presence in the Arctic,¹⁹⁷ adding that the government will ensure the military has the ongoing capability and capacity to protect and patrol the land, sea, and sky. Accordingly,

¹⁹⁴ While the Northern Strategy was conciliatory, it nonetheless contains several nationalist motherhood statements that speak to Canadians' identity and their sense of pride in their northern heritage.

¹⁹⁵ Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, *Canada's Northern Strategy: Our North, Our Heritage, Our Future* (Ottawa: INAC, 2009), 1-2, 17.

¹⁹⁶ While stating Canada's Arctic sovereignty is well established, Canada's Northern Strategy fully acknowledges the "managed disagreements" with Denmark over the ownership of Hans Island and the maritime boundary in the Lincoln Sea, and the similar condition of its relations with the United States vis-à-vis the maritime boundary in the Beaufort Sea and the legal status of the Northwest Passage. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, *Canada's Northern Strategy...*, 13.

¹⁹⁷ Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, *Canada's Northern Strategy...*, 9-10. The Northern Strategy identifies the Canadian Coast Guard as another government agency that will be responsible for exercising and strengthening presence in the Arctic. In addition to "presence" the documents states that sovereignty will be exercised by enhancing stewardship of the region, and by better defining the government's domain and advancing its knowledge of the region.

the CAF will continue to undertake operations in the North, and will do so in cooperation with other federal departments and agencies.¹⁹⁸

The Strategy also makes allowances for international cooperation in the protection of Canada's Arctic interests, singling out the U.S. as "an exceptionally valuable partner in the Arctic" that shares a number of interests in common in the region, including security.¹⁹⁹ The Strategy also identifies Arctic related Memorandums of Understanding (MoUs) on non-defence matters that the Government of Canada signed with Russia and the U.K. and the annual Northern Dialogue with Norway.²⁰⁰

Further clarification of Canadian willingness to cooperate with other states on Arctic related matters came on August 20, 2010, when Foreign Minister Lawrence Cannon released the *Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy*. Subtitled *Exercising Sovereignty and Promoting Canada's Northern Strategy Abroad*, the Statement recast the priorities spelled out in the Northern Strategy as pillars upon which to build relations with Canada's Arctic neighbours and with which to engage in a broad range of international efforts in the region.²⁰¹

The Arctic Foreign Policy Statement envisioned 13 areas of focus for international effort that included engaging with the U.S. and Denmark-Greenland to resolve existing boundary issues, securing international recognition for the full extent of

¹⁹⁸ Ibid. To emphasize this point, the Strategy identified several of the government's most recent military investment announcements for the North including the expansion and modernization of the Canadian Rangers, and the funding of Polar Epsilon — DND's space-based wide area surveillance and support program using RADARSAT II satellites. The Northern Strategy also reiterated older procurement announcements about the AOPS and the Army Arctic training centre.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 11, 33-35. Other references to the close cooperation with the U.S. on Arctic matters included the key role of bilateral defence arrangements with the Americans for conducting regular air patrols to monitor and control northern airspace under the NORAD umbrella.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 33-35.

²⁰¹ Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy, Exercising Sovereignty and Promoting Canada's Northern Strategy Abroad*. (Ottawa: DFAIT, 20 August 2010), 3-5.

Canada's extended continental shelf, and addressing Arctic governance and related emerging issues, such as public safety.²⁰² These three focus areas rest on the foreign policy pillar of exercising Arctic sovereignty. Hence, in accordance with the Northern Strategy, the focus areas presented an opportunity for military engagement and diplomacy on the world stage.²⁰³

As per the Arctic Foreign Policy, Canada would continue to exercise its Arctic sovereignty daily through a range of governance actions, including CAF operations. The Arctic Foreign Policy reiterated the point made in the Northern Strategy that the U.S. will be a key defence partner in the region through NORAD. The document also cited Operation Nanook as a mechanism for international defence cooperation in the Arctic and noted that the 2010 edition of the annual sovereignty operation would include the collaborative participation of the U.S. and Denmark "in order to increase interoperability and exercise a collective response to emerging cross border challenges."²⁰⁴

Although the Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy defined a supportive role for the CAF in achieving the Government of Canada's overall sovereignty objectives in the region, it did not identify any foreign threats that might necessitate a kinetic

²⁰² Ibid., 4. For a complete list of these areas of focus, please refer to Annex D at the conclusion of this paper.

²⁰³ A critical enabler of Canada's Arctic diplomacy is the Canadian International Centre for the Arctic Region (CICAR) in Oslo, Norway with additional staff in Washington D.C., Anchorage Alaska, and Moscow. CICAR was an initiative of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT, now DFATD) to coordinate and improve diplomatic efforts on the Arctic. Established between the release of the Northern Strategy and the Arctic Foreign Policy, CICAR's primary function is to conduct strategic regional analysis in order to improve the Canadian government's ability to make informed decisions on Arctic-related foreign policy issues. Kristofer Bergh, "The Arctic Policies of Canada and the United States: Domestic Motives and International Context." *SIPRI Insights on Peace and Security*, No. 2012/1, July 2012, 7.

²⁰⁴ Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy...*, 6-7. While it may seem contradictory to invite the militaries of other states to participate in a sovereignty exercise, Canada's Defence Minister Peter Mackay, defended the action stating: "It's entirely consistent with sovereignty to invite people to come here. If you invite somebody in your house, you're not giving up any ownership or giving up any control of your home." Bennett, "Harper on Arctic Tour..."

military response. Rather, it downplayed the possibility. For example, when discussing the need to resolve boundary issues with the U.S. and Denmark, arguably the most contentious Arctic foreign policy issues for Canada at the time, the document was careful to note that:

All disagreements are well managed, *neither posing defence challenges for Canada* [emphasis added] nor diminishing Canada's ability to collaborate and cooperate with its Arctic neighbours.²⁰⁵

Cooperation was also the catchphrase used to discuss public safety challenges in the region. Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy noted that regional solutions, supported by robust domestic legislation in the Arctic states, would be critical to meeting challenges posed by increasingly accessible Arctic shipping routes. Particular challenges cited in the policy included search and rescue, emergency response to environmental contamination), and illegal trafficking in drugs and people.²⁰⁶

Although the Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy did not identify any foreign threats that might necessitate a kinetic military response and downplayed the potential for future threats, the Harper government remained concerned about Russian military activities in the region, particularly the planned creation of two new Arctic brigades. Accordingly, Defence Minister MacKay requested an official assessment of the nature and extent of the Russian threat. The assessment was presented to the government in a briefing note dated July 12, 2011. A censored version of the briefing note was

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 8. Canada's then Foreign Affairs Minister, Lawrence Cannon, made this point clear in a speech he delivered to Russian diplomats in Moscow on September 15, 2010, during which he underscored both the need and opportunities for all Arctic states to work together "to advance shared priorities and to address common challenges." Lawrence Cannon (speech, Diplomatic Academy of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moscow, Russian Federation, September 15, 2010).

²⁰⁶ Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy*..., 10.

obtained by the Canadian news media a year later under an Access to Information Act request.²⁰⁷

The briefing note said that socio-economic development is the Russian government's premier goal in the Arctic, and that security was second. The briefing note highlighted the fact that the Russian border guard service, vice their military, had primary responsibility for Arctic regional security. It recapped Russian activities in the Arctic that had caught the attention of the Canadian government.²⁰⁸ The briefing note also cited other considerations that needed to be kept in mind when judging Russian activities in the Arctic. For example, Russia was on the verge of a presidential election when the Arctic Brigade announcement was made. The Arctic brigade announcement was also consistent with other lofty announcements that the Russians had made about the region in recent months. Most importantly, the briefing note stated that:

Notwithstanding disagreements with NATO surrounding the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty, Russia has the sovereign right to station its troops where it wants on Russian territory.²⁰⁹

Given all these points, the analysts concluded, "While many observers have commented in the media on Russia's perceived provocative actions in the Arctic, there has yet to be any serious cause for alarm." Moreover, given common challenges that Canada and Russia share relating to policy-making in the Arctic, the analysts noted there

²⁰⁷ Department of National Defence, *Briefing Note for the Minister and Associate Minister: Russia's Activities in the Arctic* (Ottawa: ADM(Pol), 12 July 2011), redacted copy posted on line at http://www.ceasefire.ca/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/0188_0011.pdf.

²⁰⁸ Ibid. Among the Russian activities cited in the briefing note were LRA flights near the Canadian Arctic, efforts to modernize and sustain strategic nuclear forces based in northern Russia, the conclusion of the Russia-Norway maritime boundary agreement, and Russia's compliance with international law in its continental shelf claim actions.

²⁰⁹ Ibid. These considerations were heavily censored in the copy of the briefing note released under the Access to Information Act, including their significance. However, it is probable the issue of presidential election was mentioned to point out that the timing and assertive rhetoric associated with the activities was intended for the domestic political consumption of nationalistic Russian voters, rather than to provoke other international audiences.

are several opportunities for cooperation between the two countries' governments going forward, including on defence issues:

From a Defence perspective, in spite of disagreements over LRA flights, there is mutual interest with regard to cooperation in SAR and Arctic domain awareness. Defence is continuing to explore the potential for further cooperation with Russia in these fields.²¹⁰

After the government received this report, it toned down its anti-Russian rhetoric in the media. The government backed down further once the report was made public by the media.

Like Russia and the Canadians, the Norwegian government has been actively expanding its military capabilities in the Arctic region during the opening decade of the 21st Century. It has purchased Aegis-capable frigates,²¹¹ is modernizing its air force through the purchase of the new F-35 joint strike fighter aircraft, and has relocated its armed forces Joint Operational Headquarters and army staff from the southern city of Stavanger to Bodø, just north of the Arctic Circle. The government's motivation in taking these actions has been the desire to maintain robust border security²¹² and readiness against possible sovereignty challenges, including the potential of future Russian aggression,²¹³ while also maintaining a collaborative relationship with Russia's border security forces.²¹⁴

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ The Aegis Combat System (ACS) is an advanced command-and-control and weapon control system that tracks and guides weapons to destroy enemy targets, including ballistic missiles. The Russian military has expressed increasing concern about ships with this capability operating in proximity to its shores because it decreases the deterrent effect of their strategic nuclear missile program.

²¹² In relation to this, Norway's High North Strategy highlighted the requirement for a strong armed forces presence in the Arctic region to support the Norwegian coast guard. It stated that "most of the security challenges in the High North are cross-sectoral, and require close cooperation between the civilian and military authorities." The High North Strategy envisioned that a key role of the Norwegian armed forces would be the provision of surveillance and intelligence to guide national decision-making. Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *The Norwegian Government's High North Strategy*, 19-20.

²¹³ The Norwegian government stated in a 2011 White Paper that it did not consider Russia's increased level of military activity in the High North to be directed toward Norway, but rather saw it as a reflection of

The Norwegian government's 2006 *High North Strategy* highlighted the need to work with the Russians on issues of overlapping interest and mutual concern:

Norway's policy toward Russia is based on pragmatism, interests, and cooperation. We can only ensure sustainable use of resources and sound environmental management in the Barents Sea with Russia's engagement and Norwegian-Russian cooperation. The government therefore intends to strengthen cooperation with Russia on ecosystem-based management of the whole Barents Sea... This cooperation includes measures to combat illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing... It is [also] the Government's ambition that Norway should develop close cooperation with Russia on sound exploitation of the petroleum resources in the Barents Sea.²¹⁵

Military cooperation with the Russians is another cornerstone of Norway's High North Strategy. Since 2001, the two countries have drawn up an annual bilateral military activity plan, which helps facilitate military cooperation between the Norwegian and Russian armed forces, and includes high-level meetings between senior commanders, junior officer conferences, naval ship port visits, and bilateral training events, such the annual POMOR joint maritime exercise.²¹⁶

The Norwegian government published an update to its High North Strategy in 2009 titled *New Building Blocks in the North: The next step in the Government's High North Strategy*. Published in the wake of the Ilulissat Declaration, the update addressed

Russia's strategic objectives in the region. Nevertheless, the White Paper's authors said Norway is following the developments closely. Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *The High North - Visions and strategies* Report to the Storting (White Paper) (Oslo: Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011), 70.

²¹⁴ Conley, Toland, and Østhagen, *A New Security Architecture for the Arctic...*, 10.

²¹⁵ Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *The Norwegian Government's High North Strategy* (Oslo: Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2006), 18-19.

²¹⁶ Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *The High North - Visions and strategies*, 70-72. The POMOR joint maritime exercise series began in June 2010. It is conducted in an area extending from Bergen in northern Norway to the Russian port of Severomorsk. The Norwegians and Russians also participate in annual joint combined search and rescue exercise in the Barents Sea. Exercise BARENTS 2013, for example, involved Norwegian Coast Guard and Russian naval air asset conduct a simulated recovery of 20 crew of a sunken vessel and clean up the oil slick from the wreck. ITAR-TASS World Service, "Russian-Norwegian rescue exercise Barents 2013 ends," 6 June 2013.

the critical importance of international cooperation in regional management and governance:

In order to regulate activities, protect traditions and distinctive characteristics, and ensure that developments take place for the benefit of all inhabitants of the High North, it is important that we cooperate well in international and regional organizations, as well as bilaterally with our neighbours and countries that border the Arctic.²¹⁷

Two of the international organizations specifically mentioned by the New Building Blocks document were the EU and NATO.²¹⁸ The Norwegian government spoke further to the issue of NATO involvement in the High North in a 2011 White Paper entitled *The High North - Visions and strategies*. The White Paper asserted that if NATO conducts exercises in the High North in a transparent and predictable manner, it will not increase the level of military tensions; rather, it is compatible with the development of good and close neighbourly relations between Norway and Russia.²¹⁹

Norway also expanded its defensive cooperation with its fellow Nordic countries, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, and Sweden in 2009 to create the Nordic Defence



Figure 4.3 - NORDEFECO's official logo

Source: <http://www.nordefco.org>

Cooperation (NORDEFECO) arrangement. NORDEFECO merged three pre-existing cooperative defence arrangements between the countries: NORDAC, NORDCAPS, and

²¹⁷ Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *New Building Blocks in the North: The next step in the Government's High North Strategy* (Oslo: Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2009), 50.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 52. The Norwegian government saw the EU contributing to the High North through the extensive funding and other resources it could bring to Arctic initiatives, such as scientific and technical resources. The value of NATO cooperation, on the other hand, was its continued presence in the region "to help in maintaining stability and predictability and to preserve the low level of tension that has traditionally characterized the region." There has been a change of government in Norway since these two policy documents were written, however analysis conducted by Canada's CICAR suggests they will stay generally the course on both of them. Bjorn Petter Hernes, "RE Norwegian High North Strategy update of March 2009," E-mail to author, 16 January 2014.

²¹⁹ Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *The High North - Visions and strategies*, 70

NORDSUP.²²⁰ The main aim and purpose of the new cooperative arrangement is “to strengthen the participating nations’ national defence, explore common synergies, and facilitate efficient common solutions.”²²¹ Although NORDEFECO is not specifically an Arctic-oriented organization, the mere fact that all of its members are Arctic states makes it a forum for advancing cooperation in the Arctic.²²²

Unlike Canada, Russia, and Norway, the U.S. national identity has never been closely associated with its Arctic territory. U.S. government officials in Washington D.C. and the public of the lower 48 states have paid little attention to what happened in Alaska since it was purchased from Russia in 1867.²²³ Among the few issues to draw national interest in Alaska in recent decades were the *Exxon Valdez* oil tanker accident in 1989 and the U.S. vice-presidential candidacy of former Alaska governor Sarah Palin in 2008.

²²⁰ Nordic Armaments Cooperation (NORDAC) was established in 1994 to coordinate development and procurement programmes between the five Nordic countries. The Nordic Coordinated Arrangement for Military Peace Support (NORDCAPS) was established in 1997 to offer joint training for peace support operations, as well as coordinate Nordic contributions to capacity building and security sector reform. Nordic Supportive Defence Structures (NORDSUP) was established in 1998 to enable their militaries to retain the full range of military capabilities and increase cost-efficiency through greater coordination and cooperation. NORDEFECO, *Military Coordination Committee 2012 Annual Report*, (Copenhagen: Danish chairmanship of the Nordic Military Coordination Committee, February 2013), 4.

²²¹ Northern Defence Cooperation, “Facts about NORDEFECO,” last accessed 10 March 2013, <http://www.nordefco.org/>. While NORDEFECO promotes mutually reinforcing cooperation in defence capability development, it does not amount to an alliance and in no way negatively influences the participating countries’ distinct foreign and security policy orientations and membership obligations in NATO, the EU, and the UN. On the contrary, closer practical cooperation in capability development between the five Nordic states constitutes a “supplemental approach in providing the capabilities and forces required by these [international] organisations,” and for security-related work within the framework of broader Arctic foreign relations. A key motivation for establishing the closer relations was to prospects of harmonizing defence capacities and consequently reducing costs. *Ibid.*

²²² Northern Defence Cooperation, “Facts about NORDEFECO.” When Denmark assumed the rotating chairmanship of NORDEFECO’s Military Coordination Committee (MCC) in January 2012, it made strengthening the political dialogue on cooperation in the Arctic region one of its top four priorities. It did so in reaction to growing international interest in the region. As explained in the MCC’s 2012 annual report, as the number of commercial ships and tourists increases, so will the need for adequate emergency response by the national authorities responsible for the region. NORDEFECO, *Military Coordination Committee 2012 Annual Report*, 21.

²²³ Rob Huebert, *United States Arctic Policy: The Reluctant Arctic Power* SPP Briefing Papers Vol 2, No 2 (Calgary: School of Public Policy, University of Calgary, May 2009), 1-2. Dr. Rob Huebert aptly described this sentiment, when he wrote the history of U.S. Arctic policy can be best summarized as “reactive, piecemeal, and rigid.” For more on this see also: Huebert, *The Newly Emerging Arctic Security Environment*, 19; English, *Fire and Ice...*, 192.

However, neither of these events were perceived as being Arctic issues. Ironically, many Alaskans do not view their state in Arctic terms, let alone in a global Arctic context. For example, in a recent opinion poll conducted by the U.S.-based Institute of the North, only 51 percent of Alaskans had heard of the Arctic Council.²²⁴

It is not surprising, therefore, that when President George W. Bush signed the U.S. Arctic Region Policy (National Security Presidential Directive-66 / Homeland Security Presidential Directive-25) on January 9, 2009, his action attracted little coverage in the mainstream national news media, and that it failed to capture the public's imagination. The new Arctic policy did however catch the attention of U.S. foreign policy think tanks, Arctic special interest groups, and bloggers across the country, as well as the international press in Europe and Canada. Under development for two years, NSPD-66/HSPD 25 marked a significant departure from previous U.S. policy actions regarding the Arctic in that it dealt with that region alone, rather than in conjunction with the Antarctic. It was also more open and direct than any previous policies on the Arctic, the last one having been issued in 1994.²²⁵

NSPD 66/HSPD 25 proclaims that it is the policy of the United States to:

- Meet national security and homeland security needs relevant to the Arctic region;
- Protect the Arctic environment and conserve its biological resources;
- Ensure that the natural resource management and economic development are environmentally sustainable;
- Strengthen institutions for cooperation among the eight Arctic nations;
- Involve the Arctic's indigenous communities in decisions that affect them;
- and

²²⁴ Institute of the North, "Arctic Opinion Poll," last accessed 23 Feb 2013, https://www.institutenorth.org/programs/arctic-advocacy-infrastructure/Arctic_Policy_Forum/arctic-public-opinion-poll/. On the positive side, when informed about its mission statement — for the eight Arctic nations to work together on common issues — 81.7 percent of respondents supported or strongly supported the Council. Ibid.

²²⁵ Huebert, *United States Arctic Policy: The Reluctant Arctic Power*, 2, 8, 10-13.

- Enhance scientific monitoring and research into local, regional, and global environmental issues.²²⁶

Additionally, the Arctic Region Policy declares that the U.S. has broad and fundamental national security interests in the region that it is prepared to safeguard independently or in conjunction with other states. It declared that the Arctic Council should remain the principle high-level international forum for managing the Arctic's affairs and that no Antarctic-like treaty arrangement was necessary.²²⁷ Consistent with U.S. foreign policy elsewhere in the world, the Arctic Region Policy also stated that freedom of navigation on the High Seas was a top national priority, and as such, it considered the NWP and NSR to be international straits.²²⁸ The inclusion of this last point affirmed that the U.S. government would remain at odds with the two largest Arctic states, Russia and Canada, even though the remainder of the American Arctic policy was highly compatible with its neighbours' own Arctic strategies.

The Presidential Directives identified several general avenues of approach for implementing the Arctic Region Policy, but they lacked specific details. The Directives left the coordination of concrete measures to the Secretary of State and the other heads of executive departments and agencies that had responsibilities relating to the region.²²⁹ The first of these departments and agencies to take action were the U.S. Navy and the U.S. Coast Guard.

Published in October 2009, the *U.S. Navy Arctic Roadmap* provides a chronological list of navy action items, objectives, and desired effects for the Arctic

²²⁶ Office of the President of the United States, *National Security Presidential Directive (NSPD) 66 and Homeland Security Presidential Directive (HSPD) 25 - Arctic Region Policy* (Washington DC: The White House, 9 January 2009), Art. III, A, 1-6.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, Art. III, C, 2-3.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, Art. III, B, 1, 5.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, Articles III, B 6 a-e, C 5 a-d, D 4 a-c, E 5a-f, F 4 a-d, G 4 a-g, H 6 a-e, IV, A.

region between the years 2010-2014. The action items and objectives within the Arctic Roadmap were intended to achieve multiple effects, the principle one being the development of strong cooperative partnerships with interagency and international Arctic stakeholders.²³⁰ The Arctic Roadmap declares that while the U.S. currently has “stable relationships with other Arctic nations,” the changing environment brought about by global warming and the resultant competition for resources in the Arctic region could either contribute to increasing tension, or, conversely, provide opportunities for increasingly cooperative solutions. Acknowledging the importance that other nations have placed upon their Arctic regions in their respective strategic guidance documents, the Arctic Roadmap considers the requirement for the governance framework provided by the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS).²³¹

Six months after the USN published its Arctic Roadmap, it released a companion document titled *U.S. Navy Climate Change Roadmap*. Prepared in response to the U.S. Secretary of Defence’s *2010 Quadrennial Defense Review* — which identified climate change as one of several key geopolitical trends that may influence future conflict — the

²³⁰ United States Navy Chief of Naval Operations, *U.S. Navy Arctic Roadmap* (Washington, DC: Department of the Navy, October 2009), 3 11, 17-18. To that end, Action Item 1.8 calls for the expansion of cooperative partnerships with joint, interagency, and international Arctic stakeholders to provide capability and contribute to achieving the USN’s objectives and desired effects in the region. The recommended process to develop and strengthen these partnerships will include: evaluating existing agreements with the U.S. Coast Guard (USCG), U.S. Air Force (USAF), U.S. Army, foreign militaries, and foreign government agencies/organizations that operate in the Arctic; initiating discussions with the USCG, USAF, U.S. Army, and foreign militaries to expand existing, or form new agreements concerning interoperability and collaborative efforts in the Arctic (topic areas will include operations, training, and common investments to achieve economies of scale); and formalizing new or revised agreements with the USCG, USAF, U.S. Army, and foreign militaries concerning interoperability and collaborative efforts in the Arctic. Further along in the document, Action Item 4.2 calls for the USN to develop an Arctic engagement and outreach plan. This plan will identify organizations that the USN will inform, be informed by, and collaborate with for achieving the objectives and desired effects of the roadmap. A key element of this plan called for establishing and maintaining consistent outreach with, and providing information related to the USN Arctic Roadmap, to international offices, agencies, governments, and militaries involved in the Arctic. These will include, but not be limited to the: Canadian Navy and Canadian Coast Guard; Royal Navy and UK Hydrographic Office; Russian Navy and Russian Border Guard Service; Danish Navy; Norwegian Navy; Icelandic Coast Guard; and the Japanese Maritime Self Defense Force (JMSDF).

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

Climate Change Roadmap outlined the USN's approach to observing, predicting, and adapting to climate change.²³² Formatted in the same manner as the Arctic Roadmap, the Climate Change Roadmap provided a chronological list of naval associated action items and objectives intended to achieve specific effects.²³³

What is readily apparent in the two USN Roadmaps is that they are not dominated by the requirements of so-called "hard security" matters, such as strategic nuclear deterrence, missile defence, ASW, or other warfare disciplines. As observed by Canadian Arctic geopolitical analyst Franklyn Griffiths, they appear to be informed "by the view that the Arctic will not gain new life as an arena for strategic military interaction anytime soon," and hence, convey a strong commitment to cooperation with foreign militaries on non-military matters, such as SAR, maritime domain awareness, and disaster relief.²³⁴ Griffiths adds that by proposing to channel the Arctic region's future naval interaction toward issues of safety, security, and stability, the two Roadmaps hold the promise of consensual, step-by-step improvement in assuring Russia that its Arctic interests are secure within the context of bilateral relations with the U.S. and the larger Arctic state community.²³⁵

²³² United States Navy Chief of Naval Operations. *U.S. Navy Climate Change Roadmap* (Washington, DC: Department of the Navy, April 2010), 3, 6.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 3. The desired effects are: that the USN is fully mission-capable through changing climatic conditions while actively contributing to national requirements for addressing climate change; Naval force structure and infrastructure are capable of meeting combatant commander requirements in all probable climatic conditions over the next 30 years; The USN understands the timing, severity, and impact of current and projected changes in the global environment; That domestic and international audiences understand how and why the USN is effectively addressing climate change; and Domestic and international partners recognize the USN as a valuable partner in responding to climate change.

²³⁴ Franklyn Griffiths, "Arctic Security: The Indirect Approach," 16.

²³⁵ *Ibid.* The U.S. Navy released an update to its Arctic Roadmap at the end of February 2014. The update includes an implementation plan that outlines the Navy's strategic approach to developing capabilities to operate in the Arctic Ocean. In announcing the update, Vice Admiral Michelle Howard, the Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for Operations, Plans and Policy, said the U.S. Navy's goal was to have the Arctic continue to unfold peaceably: "Working with our maritime and inter-agency partners, and by investing smartly in future capabilities, we can contribute to a secure and stable Arctic region." MarineLink.com,

Development of the USCG's Arctic strategy began with the release of its *Arctic Strategic Approach* in April 2011. This concise, four-page document laid out the Coast Guard's Arctic Strategic vision. The vision noted that the USCG must have the capability to perform the Service's statutory missions in the demanding Arctic maritime environment to ensure the Arctic remains a safe, secure and environmentally sustainable region. The Arctic Strategic Approach identified cooperation with other Arctic states as a key requirement to developing that capability, particularly in addressing safety and security issues likely to result from the increase in international shipping in the region.²³⁶

These considerations were incorporated in the 48-page *USCG Arctic Strategy* published in May 2013. This document describes the major dynamics shaping the region and articulates the Coast Guard's three key strategic objectives: improving awareness of maritime activity, modernizing governance, and broadening partnerships across the public and private sectors. The strategy stipulates that fulfillment of the objectives will require a collective effort both on the domestic and international level.²³⁷

Amidst what seemed like a growing spirit of cooperation, the U.S. government suddenly demonstrated resistance to the Arctic Five. At the end of March 2010, Canada's Foreign Affairs Minister Lawrence Cannon hosted a meeting of his Arctic Five counterparts in Chelsea, Quebec to discuss issues relating to mapping the Arctic continental shelf under UNCLOS Article 76, economic development, and environmental protection matters. Cannon limited the meeting invitation to Arctic Five participants

"Navy Updates Plans for a Changing Arctic," last modified 25 February 2014, <http://www.marinelink.com/news/changing-updates-arctic364620.aspx>.

²³⁶ United States Coast Guard. *USCG Arctic Strategic Approach*, Commandant Instruction 16003.1 (Washington D.C., United States Coast Guard, 26 April 2011), 1.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 7. This document is a theatre strategy for the USCG's operations in the Arctic region, not an implementation plan. Hence, it is intended guide efforts to accomplish organizational objectives in the region by leveraging the Coast Guard's unique capabilities, authorities, and partnerships.

because the issues pertained only to them as coastal states on the Arctic Ocean, and had no bearing on Iceland, Sweden, or Finland. In the aftermath of the meeting, U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton publicly criticized Cannon for excluding the broader membership of the Arctic Council. “Significant international discussions on Arctic issues should include those who have legitimate interests in the region,” Secretary Clinton said as she left the meeting. “And I hope the Arctic will always showcase our ability to work together, not create new divisions.” Clinton’s public rebuke was in response to appeals by indigenous groups and complaints from the sidelined Nordic states.²³⁸ It also conformed closely to the dictates of NSPD 66/HSPD 25 which the Obama administration endorsed.

Cannon refuted Clinton’s public charge that his actions were divisive. Coming to Cannon’s defence on the issue, was his Russian counterpart Sergei Lavrov who vigorously defended the Arctic Five gathering as fully justified by the need of the coastal states to consider how their differing claims to the Arctic might be resolved. Far from undermining Arctic collaboration, said Lavrov, the Chelsea meeting had instead supported that important purpose.²³⁹

In the weeks and months that followed that meeting, other U.S. government officials echoed Secretary Clinton’s comments with varying degrees of intensity.²⁴⁰ The

²³⁸ Mike Blanchfield, “Clinton rebukes Canada on Arctic meeting,” *Globe and Mail*, 29 March 2010. For more on this see also: Alan Woods, “Canada gets cold shoulder at Arctic meeting,” *Toronto Star*, 29 March 2010; NBC News, “Clinton rebukes Canada on Arctic meeting,” last modified 29 March 2010, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/36085624/ns/world_news-americas/t/clinton-rebukes-canada-arctic-meeting/#Uw9iGMqPJMs/. Comments made by Minister Cannon in the wake of Secretary Clinton’s criticism suggest her statements in the media advocating the supremacy of the Arctic Council over the Arctic Five may have been more for show than a true reflection of American public policy. According to NBC News, Cannon said he thought all the participants in the meeting had made a clear distinction about the role of the Arctic Council and the responsibilities of Arctic coastal states, adding that the meeting was not meant to replace or undermine the Arctic Council.

²³⁹ John English, *Ice and Water...*, 1-2.

²⁴⁰ For example, during an April 2010 conference on U.S. Strategic Interests in the Arctic co-hosted by U.S. Center for Strategic and International Studies and Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies, keynote speaker and Alaskan Republican Senator Lisa Murkowski said she agreed with Secretary Clinton’s

following year, the U.S. demonstrated similar resistance to a Russian proposal to host an Arctic Five coast guard forum to discuss new threats resulting from climate change, illegal immigration, narcotics trafficking, and other public security threats. In proposing the meeting, the head of the Russian Coast Guard, Colonel General Viktor Trofimovich Trufanov, had stated there is a practical necessity of cooperation in the Arctic region, but added that he considered there were only five nations that could legitimately be called Arctic states. Julie Gourley, the Senior Arctic Official (SAO) at the U.S. State Department, kyboshed American participation in the forum, reiterating Secretary Clinton's previous statements that the U.S. would henceforth not participate in Arctic Five events unless there is a legitimate need that prevents inclusion of the other three Arctic states, and only if such meetings are held at the working level, not at high [ministerial] levels. Gourley also took Trufanov to task for claiming that only the coastal states had a legitimate voice in Arctic Affairs:

We absolutely do not subscribe to Russia's "legitimacy" argument. They are correct that the five coastal states have certain rights that non-coastal states don't have, but labelling such rights as "legitimate" and thereby putting the coastal states into some other (higher) category is illegitimate. Indeed if there were an incident in the Arctic Ocean requiring Coast Guard assets from a non-coastal state, we would all want to avail ourselves of the opportunity to use them. We have absolutely no national or foreign policy interest in excluding the other three from any Arctic issue except in the rarest of circumstances (one example of a legitimate A-5 gathering would be extended continental shelf delimitation activities.) There is nothing beneficial in creating a bifurcated system of "A-5" vs. "A-8."²⁴¹

criticism of Canada regarding the Arctic Five ministerial meeting. In Murkowski's view, Arctic cooperation should go beyond the Arctic Five and even the Arctic Council, noting the EU's request for observer status in the latter. Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *CSIS Conference: US Strategic Interests in the Arctic*, UNGR0212 (Ottawa: DFAIT, 29 April 2010).

²⁴¹ Lt(N) Michelle James, NORAD-USNORTHCOM HQ J22 Analyst, "FW: Russia's proposed meeting of "Arctic 5,"" e-mail thread forwarded to author, 7 March 2011. Note: This forwarded email thread commenced with direction from Julie Gourley in the U.S. State Department (15 February 2011), with subsequent comments by Colonel Daniel R. Neuffer USEUCOM to Rear-Admiral Mark C. Montgomery, Deputy Director, Plans, Policy and Strategy, United States European Command (17 February 2011), and additional forwarding remarks by NORAD-USNORTHCOM and USCG District 17 (Alaska) personnel.

The U.S government's willingness to take a more active role in global Arctic affairs was most evident during the May 2011 Arctic Council ministerial meeting. There, for the first time since the Arctic Council's creation in 1996, the Secretary of State represented the United States.²⁴²

In August 2011, the Danish government released its national Arctic strategy. The *The Kingdom of Denmark's Strategy for the Arctic 2011-2020* is primarily a domestic development policy to benefit the inhabitants of self-governing Greenland. It states that cooperation between Denmark and Greenland helps in creating new opportunities for the Arctic indigenous peoples, and that these two territories of the Kingdom will continue to work together constructively "to strengthen indigenous people's rights to control their own development and their own political, economic, social and cultural situation."²⁴³ The international aspects of the Strategy stem from Arctic Council declarations and the commitments made in the Ilulissat Declaration "to give negotiation and cooperation pride of place in handling disputes, challenges, and opportunities in the Arctic and thus hopefully once and for all dispelling the myth of a race to the North Pole."²⁴⁴

Collectively, the desired end-state for the Strategy is a peaceful, secure, and safe Arctic,

The e-mail thread is part of the author's archival collection of unclassified Arctic policy documents used in the course of his analytical work for DND.

²⁴² CBC News, "Arctic 'superpower' leaders meeting in Greenland," last modified 11 May 2011, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-superpower-leaders-meeting-in-greenland-1.1072917>. U.S. Secretary of the Interior Ken Salazar, also attended the Arctic Council ministerial meeting to promote an American proposal to develop an Ecosystem-Based Management (EBM) initiative for protecting the Arctic's environment and to negotiate measures for oil spill preparedness and response throughout the region. U.S. Department of the Interior, "Salazar: Arctic Nations call for Marine Oil Spill Response Plan, Integrated Management to Protect Natural Resources," Press Release, last modified 12 May 2011, <http://www.doi.gov/news/pressreleases/Salazar-Arctic-Nations-call-for-Marine-Oil-Spill-Response-Plan-Integrated-Management-to-Protect-Natural-Resources.cfm>.

²⁴³ Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Kingdom of Denmark Strategy for the Arctic 2011-2020* (Copenhagen: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, August 2011), 10. While the strategy acknowledges that Greenland is the only part of the Kingdom that is Arctic, it takes care to acknowledge that the Faroe Islands, being the third part of the realm will have an equal role in addressing Arctic issues.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

characterized by self-sustaining growth and development, respect for the Arctic's fragile climate, environment and nature, and which has been achieved through close cooperation with the Kingdom's international partners.²⁴⁵ It is, therefore, highly compatible with the Arctic strategies and foreign policies of the other coastal states.

The Kingdom of Denmark's approach to security policy in the Arctic is based on the overall goals of preventing conflicts, avoiding militarization of the region, and actively fostering trust, cooperation, and mutually beneficial partnerships. While the Strategy advocates peace, cooperation, and the avoidance of militarization, it states there will be an ongoing necessity to utilize the military to enforce Danish sovereignty in the Arctic in light of anticipated increases in human activity in the region, much of it foreign. As per the Strategy, enforcement will be exercised by Denmark's armed forces through a visible presence and surveillance patrol mission in the region. In addition, the armed forces will be required to play a significant role in performing a range of more civilian-related duties. To ensure these military activities do not upset Denmark's Arctic neighbours, the strategy places great importance on the need for confidence-building measures and broad cooperation with neighbouring armed forces.²⁴⁶

In the wake of Denmark's Arctic strategy, government officials renewed negotiations with Canada to settle the long-standing dispute over the maritime border in the Lincoln Sea, and ownership of tiny Hans Island. In November 2012, Danish Foreign Minister Villy Søvndal and his Canadian counterpart John Baird announced that negotiators had reached a tentative agreement on the location of the Lincoln Sea

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 11.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 20. More information on Denmark's Arctic's security and defence policies is provided in Annex G.

boundary.²⁴⁷ As of mid-2012, two main options were under consideration for Hans Island. The first was shared jurisdiction of the island. The second was to run the border down the middle of the uninhabited, 1.3-square-kilometre knoll.²⁴⁸

In general this period is characterized as one in which a real understanding was reached between Russia, Canada, Denmark-Greenland, Norway, and to a lesser extent, the United States, of the need to work together to advance their respective interests in the Arctic region. Faced with the challenges presented by non-Arctic state interests, a sensationalist and often-hawkish international press corps, and hyperbole from within their own ranks, the Arctic Five have persevered to become a generally cohesive political bloc.

²⁴⁷ Byers, *International Law and the Arctic*, 54.

²⁴⁸ Adrian Humphreys, "New proposal would see Hans Island split equally between Canada and Denmark," *National Post*, 11 April 2012. For more on this see also: John Ibbitson, "Dispute over Hans Island nears resolution. Now for the Beaufort Sea," *Globe and Mail*, 26 January 2011; Byers, *International Law and the Arctic*, 10-16.

5. PRESENT TRENDS IN ARCTIC COOPERATION

Arctic state governments and other stakeholders currently accept and employ broad cooperation as the best way forward in dealing with Arctic related issues. The enabling effects of the new Arctic foreign and defence policies previously discussed, combined with ongoing sovereignty, security, and safety concerns about increasing human activity in the region, have resulted in the establishment of tangible cooperation initiatives over the past four years. Annual joint-combined military exercises are helping Arctic states develop the skills required to operate in the region and to coordinate their planning. New regional treaties, fishing regulations and shared responsibilities for SAR and oil pollution prevention are strengthening existing bonds and building new relationships. So too is the addition of six new Observer states to the Arctic Council. Collectively, all of these initiatives are building trust. Despite these positive moves, the cooperation is fragile and highly vulnerable to challenges from outside the region.

The *Arctic Security Forces Roundtable (ASFR)* was the first of these tangible cooperation initiatives, having been established in 2010 as a joint effort of U.S. military's European Command (USEUCOM) and the Norwegian Defence Staff. This highly informal roundtable includes security force representatives from France, Germany, the U.K., the Netherlands, and the eight Arctic Council states primarily at the general officer and flag officer (GOFO) level.²⁴⁹ The ASFR evolved from the recognition by all parties involved that they shared operational challenges in the Arctic and could hence benefit

²⁴⁹ Canada did not join the ASFR until 2011.

from the sharing of information and best practices. The Roundtable meets semi-annually, with staff level working group sessions held in between them.²⁵⁰

The ASFR has recently experienced some functional difficulties. For example, during its December 2013 working group meeting in Oslo, Norway, participants expressed concern that due to recent overlapping initiatives by the Northern CHoDs, the Roundtable seemed less relevant to them today than when it was established.²⁵¹ The resultant challenge for the group going forward will be to complement the efforts of the Northern CHoDs, not compete with it. The effectiveness of the ASFR is also constrained by limited Russian participation. In protest to the group's inclusion of four non-Arctic NATO states, the Russians have chosen to attend ASFR meetings as observers only, not as active participants. Additionally, their delegates are exclusively civilian, not military.²⁵² With the absence of more active Russian involvement in the ASFR, the forum's usefulness is lessened. The next ASFR GOFO meeting is scheduled for August 2014.

²⁵⁰ Department of National Defence, *Briefing Note For DCOMD Continental: Arctic Security Forces Roundtable*, (Ottawa: Canadian Joint Operations Command, 24 June 2013), 1. For more on this see also: Vice-Admiral Haakon Bruun Hanssen, "The role of the armed forces in a changing Arctic," (Speech by Commander Norwegian Joint Headquarters to Arctic Frontiers 2013 Conference), last accessed 27 June 2013, http://www.arctic-frontiers.com/index.php?option=com_docman; Major-General Mark O. Schissler, USEUCOM, "Arctic Nations Meet to Discuss Communication, Maritime Domain Awareness Strategy," last accessed 27 June, 2013, <http://www.eucom.mil/blog-post/24109/arctic-nations-meet-to-discuss-communication-maritime-domain-awareness-strategy>. At the beginning of 2013, the two principal topics under consideration by the ASFR were establishing common all-domain situational awareness of activity in the Arctic region, and establishing a common communications system to enable cooperation between the different nations and agencies that operate there. A key area of discussion has been the coordination of standard operation procedures across all Arctic security stakeholders. In addition to the GOFO meeting, two staff officer working group meetings occur annually.

²⁵¹ Comment from the floor during *Arctic Security Forces Roundtable Working Group Planning Session*, in Oslo Norway on 5 December 2013. The author was present at the meeting as a member of the Canadian delegation.

²⁵² Comment from Russian Federation representative attending *Arctic Security Forces Roundtable Working Group Planning Session*, in Oslo Norway on 5 December 2013.

On May 12, 2011, during the bi-annual ministerial meeting of the Arctic Council in Nuuk, Greenland, foreign affairs ministers and other senior government officials signed the *Agreement on Cooperation on Aeronautical and Maritime Search and Rescue in the Arctic*. This new binding treaty requires Arctic Council nations to co-ordinate with each other in the event of a major maritime or aeronautical disaster in the region, such as a plane crash or cruise ship sinking. The treaty also obliges them to conduct regular joint training exercises and to exchange information on capabilities. The Arctic SAR treaty was the first legally-binding agreement reached by the intergovernmental forum,²⁵³ and it was widely hailed by foreign affairs analysts as a model for future co-operation among the circumpolar nations.²⁵⁴



Figure 5.1 - Logo for SAREX Greenland Sea 2013

Source: Commander Joint Arctic Command, *SAREX Greenland Sea 2013 Exercise Specifications* (Nuuk: Commander Joint Arctic Command, 15 March 2013).

As explained by the host Danes, establishing a SAR agreement had become a practical necessity in recent years as the shrinking sea ice opened up Arctic waterways to increased vessel traffic. “As the ice melts and will continue to melt, we can expect

²⁵³ Arctic Council, *Agreement on Cooperation on Aeronautical and Maritime Search and Rescue in the Arctic*, 12 May 2011, downloadable from <http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/document-archive/category/20-main-documents-from-nuuk#>.

²⁵⁴ CBC News, “Arctic Council leaders sign rescue treaty,” last updated 12 May 2011, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-council-leaders-sign-rescue-treaty-1.1049847>. For more on this see also: Paul Koring, “Arctic treaty leaves much undecided,” *Globe and Mail*, 11 May 2011.

increased human activity at sea, with the increased risks that accidents may happen,” said Danish Foreign Affairs Minister Lene Espersen during a press conference.²⁵⁵

Since the Arctic Council SAR Agreement was signed, several regional exercises have occurred to test the states’ ability to coordinate their national assets in the event of a real emergency. The first of these occurred October 5-6, 2011, when Canada hosted a tabletop training exercise (TTX) in Whitehorse, Yukon.²⁵⁶ Subsequently, Greenland has played host to two live training exercises involving ships and aircrafts from the eight signatory states. Dubbed SAREX Greenland Sea, these exercises took place in September 2012 and 2013.²⁵⁷ Other exercises are being planned.

During the inaugural meeting of the Northern CHoDs in April 2012, the respective delegations formally acknowledged the Arctic Council as the primary forum for Arctic issues. They further decided that the meetings of the Northern CHoDs, while separate and distinct from the Arctic Council, should complement and maintain

²⁵⁵ CBC News, “Arctic Council leaders sign rescue treaty.” The high profile of the officials who signed the document, including U.S. Secretary of State Clinton and Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov, underscored the international significance of the event. This was the first time the U.S. government had sent its Secretary of State to an Arctic Council ministerial meeting. The Secretary of the Interior, Ken Salazar, also represented the U.S. at the Nuuk meeting to work on an oil pollution response treaty. Canada was represented by Health Minister Leona Aglukkaq because former Foreign Affairs minister Lawrence Cannon, had lost his seat during a recent election. Aglukkaq has since assumed in the position of Environment Minister and is the sitting chair of the Arctic Council.

²⁵⁶ Department of National Defence, *Arctic SAR TTX – Post Exercise Report* (Ottawa: Canada Command Headquarters, 25 November 2011), 1-6. During the TTX four SAR scenarios were examined, a simple and a complex aircraft incident, and a simple and complex maritime incident taking place respectively in the U.S., Canadian, Norwegian, and Russian areas of responsibility. Over the course of the two-day exercise participants identified several practical coordination problems that would need to be resolved in advance of a real incident.

²⁵⁷ Denmark, Commander Joint Arctic Command, *Minutes of the SAREX Greenland Sea 2012 Post Exercise Discussions in Nuuk, Greenland 16-17 Oct 2012* GLK CH-O300/00-174/12, (Nuuk: Commander Joint Arctic Command, 2012). For more on this see also: Denmark, Island Commander Greenland, *SAREX Greenland Sea 2012 Final Exercise Report, Version 2*, (Nuuk: Command Denmark, 31 October 2012), 17-19; Commander Joint Arctic Command, *SAREX Greenland Sea 2013 Exercise Specifications*. (Nuuk: Commander Joint Arctic Command, updated 15 March 2013). Many of the lessons learned during the Yukon TTX were applied during the live SAREXs and several new coordination problems — including inadequate radio communications and the need for standardized logs for recording information — were identified for subsequent resolution.

situational awareness of the efforts of the Council. All agreed “human activity and economic development are rapidly increasing in the Arctic region and present a range of complex challenges for government,” challenges that are exacerbated by the region’s difficult operating environment. Consequently, they concluded that international cooperation is increasingly important, and that bringing the Northern CHoDs together was a key step in facilitating transparent and collaborative approaches to operating in the Arctic region.²⁵⁸

The Northern CHoDs agreed that “military presence in itself is not a sign of tension” and that ongoing dialogue between the militaries of the eight Arctic states, including at the CHoDs level, will ensure the Arctic continues



Figure 5.2 - Northern CHoDs receive Canadian Ranger training

Source: DND/Combat Camera

as a region of peace and cooperation. They further agreed that safety and security challenges will drive the agenda in the Arctic for the foreseeable future. To that end, the Northern CHoDs identified the four key areas for further discussion: developing a common operating picture; mapping each country’s roles, capabilities, and ability to

²⁵⁸ Department of National Defence, *Record of Discussion: Meeting of Northern Chiefs of Defence, Hosted by Gen. W. Natynczyk, 5 Wing Goose Bay, 12-13 Apr 2012* (Ottawa: DND, 7 May 2012), 1. The delegations from Canada, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Russia and Sweden were each represented by their Chief of Defence. The United States was represented by General Charles Jacoby, the commander of NORAD-USNORTHCOM, while Iceland was represented by Mr. Jörundur Valtýsson, the civilian Director of the Department for Security and Defence within the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and External Trade. The delegations of each country save for Iceland included the commander responsible for the northern operations.

deploy in the Arctic; identifying joint training opportunities; and exploring enhanced cooperation in supporting civilian authorities.²⁵⁹

On June 11-12, 2013, the Northern CHoDs met again, this time in Illulissat, Greenland, under the chairmanship of Denmark's defence chief, General Peter Bartram.²⁶⁰ The third annual Northern CHoDs meeting is tentatively scheduled for June 10-11, 2014 in Iceland, however it may be postponed due to a broad global boycott on international engagements with Russia in protest against its March 2014 annexation of Crimea from the Ukraine.²⁶¹

As previously discussed, Canada and the U.S. have shared national interests and a long tradition of continental defence in the Arctic region. However, the two nations are not perfectly aligned, with the Beaufort Sea boundary dispute and disagreement over the international legal status of the NWP remaining unresolved. Despite these two major outstanding issues and the occasional petty irritant, bilateral cooperation in the Arctic is proceeding in step with both states' Arctic foreign and defence policies.²⁶²

²⁵⁹ Department of National Defence, *Record of Discussion: Meeting of Northern Chiefs of Defence...*, 2.

²⁶⁰ Gerald O'Dwyer, "Arctic Nations Set Cooperation Guidelines," Defence News on-line, 27 June 2-13, <http://www.defencenews.com/article/20130627/DEFEG01/306270013/Arctic-Nations-Set-Cooperation-Guidelines>. Discussions at the second annual CHoDs meeting centred on maintaining peace, stability, and constructive cooperation in the Arctic as the international community moves forward in managing maritime trade, economic development and other impacts of climate change in the region. In the week's leading up to the meeting, General Bartram had articulated defence leaders' perspective on their roles in this management process, stating: "We do not want to militarize the Arctic. Quite the opposite. We have invested money to produce an analysis of what is needed and how best to organize ourselves. Once this is done we will move forward to find ways to increase our situational awareness and our ability to deploy troops if needed." Gerald O'Dwyer, Greenland Meeting Highlights Arctic's Growing Importance," *International Defense News e-Newsletter*, last accessed 2 June 2013, <http://www.defensenews.com/article/20130602/DEFREG01/306030009/Greenland-Meeting-Highlights-Arctic-s-Growing-Importance>.

²⁶¹ CBC News, "Ukraine crisis leads to Canada expelling Russian soldiers," last updated 7 March 2014, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/ukraine-crisis-leads-to-canada-expelling-russian-soldier-1.2563620>. For more on this see also: Cdr Kevin Luke, CJOC Deputy J2, "FW: Canada-Russia defence engagements," E-mail thread forwarded to author, 7 March 2014.

²⁶² As noted by the Fraser Institute in its April 2010 policy paper "Skating on Thin Ice: Canadian-America Relations in 2010 and 2011" bilateral cooperation in this region should be a priority for the Canadian government lest its citizens be left to wonder whether the U.S. is a friend or rival in the Arctic as

On December 11, 2012 the general officers commanding CJOC, NORAD and U.S. Northern Command signed the *Framework for Arctic Cooperation*. The Framework had the immediate goal of promoting enhanced military cooperation to prepare for and conduct defence, security, and safety operations in the Arctic.²⁶³ In doing so, the document acknowledged that the Arctic is not a region of conflict, and that the Canadian and U.S. militaries will support other departments and agencies in response to threats and hazards whenever they are tasked to do so.²⁶⁴

The Tri-Command Framework for Arctic Cooperation deals primarily with operational level military-to-military activities, but also serves to identify further challenges and emerging issues that may require resolution at a more strategic level.²⁶⁵ Among the current initiatives taking place under the Framework are the identification of all intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) capabilities in the continental North, both military and civilian, and the development of a shared all-source Arctic information database.²⁶⁶

Canada assumed the rotational chairmanship of the Arctic Council in May 2013, and will turnover its responsibility to the U.S. in 2015. With the countries holding back-

international interest and competition in the region grows in the coming decades. Alexander Moens, "Skating on Thin Ice: Canadian-American Relations in 2010 and 2011," *Fraser Institute, Studies in Canada-US Relations Paper* (April 2010), 7-8.

²⁶³ Department of National Defence, *Framework for Arctic Cooperation among North American Aerospace Defense Command, United States Northern Command, and Canadian Joint Operations Command* (Ottawa: Canadian Joint Operations Command Headquarters, 11 December 2012), 1-2.

²⁶⁴ Department of National Defence, "Canadian and U.S. Commanders Sign Arctic Cooperation Framework" News Release, last updated 10 December 2012, <http://news.gc.ca/web/article-en.do?nid=712179>.

²⁶⁵ Department of National Defence, *Framework for Arctic Cooperation...*, 1-2. Accordingly, the agreement highlighted areas where the three commands can collectively overcome operational challenges in the region, including: planning, operations, all-domain awareness, information sharing, exercises and training, and capability development. An action plan later developed by the three commands generates tasks to resolve shared operational challenges. These plans are reviewed regularly during tri-command staff talks alternately held in Ottawa and Colorado Springs.

²⁶⁶ Personal knowledge of author based on his participation in the Arctic syndicate at the most recent tri-command staff talks held March 26-27, 2014 in Ottawa.

to-back chairmanships, the opportunity exists to promote a united North American vision and agenda.²⁶⁷ The Canadian Chair, Leona Aglukkaq is taking steps toward that end, promoting cooperation with the U.S. on Arctic environmental issues. On February 3 and 4, 2014, she travelled to Washington D.C. to promote the Arctic Council's planned program during Canada's chairmanship and to discuss environmental priorities and achievements.²⁶⁸ Aglukkaq also engaged with the U.S. officials about integrating Aboriginal traditional knowledge into Arctic science, stating that she "looks forward to continued work on this priority under future chairmanships."²⁶⁹

Canada and Russia have many long-standing common interests in the Arctic, but until quite recently have seldom addressed them on a unified, bilateral basis. On matters of international maritime law, the countries share the legal position that their respective Arctic straits constitute internal waters. They collaborated in negotiating the inclusion of Article 234 in the UNCLOS,²⁷⁰ and more recently, on the exchange of scientific data

²⁶⁷ There was widespread speculation about this possibility in the lead-up to Canada taking over the chairmanship from Sweden at the May 2013 Kiruna ministerial meeting . Certainly, a common policy vision would not be unique to the Council, with the Nordic countries having done so during the previous three terms. For more on this see: Kristofer Bergh, "The Arctic Policies of Canada and the United States: Domestic Motives and International Context." *SIPRI Insights on Peace and Security*, No. 2012/1, July 2012, 1, 15-19; Munk-Gordon Arctic Security Program, *Canada as an Arctic Power: Preparing for the Canadian Chairmanship of the Arctic Council (2013-2015)* (Toronto: Walter & Duncan Gordon Foundation, May 2012), 20-21; Jöel Plouffe, *Towards a North American Arctic Region* (Calgary: Canadian Defence & Foreign Affairs Institute, May 2013), 1-5; Carl Bildt, Swedish Foreign Minister (speech, SIPRI Conference: The Trans-Arctic Agenda, Reykjavik, 18 mars 2013); Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), "29 Nov. 2012: The Arctic Council in Transition: Nordic to North American Leadership (SIPRI Workshop)."

²⁶⁸ Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development, "Canada Promotes Cooperation with United States on Arctic and Environmental Issues," News Release, last updated 6 February 2014, <http://news.gc.ca/web/article-en.do?nid=814159>. Aglukkaq conducted key bilateral meetings with the U.S. Secretary of Energy, the Administrator of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, U.S. State Department representatives, Alaska senators Lisa Murkowski and Mark Begich, and Alaska congressmen Doc Hastings and Don Young.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Article 234 of UNCLOS grants Arctic coastal states additional exclusive rights to adopt and enforce non-discriminatory national regulations aimed at preventing pollution within ecologically sensitive ice covered EEZ waters. "United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea of 10 December 1982," Article

regarding their respective continental shelf extension submissions. Canada and Russia shared common reservations about China's, NATO's and the EU's role in Arctic foreign relations. They have a long history of trade via the Murmansk-Churchill Arctic Bridge. In a similar regard, they are slowly forging a new Northern Air Bridge linking Winnipeg, Manitoba and Krasnoyarsk in central Siberia.²⁷¹ At a cultural level, Canadians and Russians are in a virtual tie for having the strongest sense of national identity with their northern territories and all the symbolism that goes along with it. In summary, if the Arctic could be considered in isolation of other foreign relations, and if the lingering socio-psychological impacts of the Cold War could be set aside, Canadians, with their inherent, historical distrust of Americans, might embrace the Russians as their best allies going forward.

Anton Vasiliev, Russia's Arctic Ambassador-at-Large has promoted a perspective similar to this over the past three years. Ahead of a visit to Ottawa in May 2011 to attend the Canada/Russia/Norway: Dialogue and Cooperation in the Arctic Conference, Vasiliev wrote an editorial in Canada's foreign policy newspaper *Embassy*, that challenged the wisdom of Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy position that the U.S. will be Canada's principal partner on all matters pertaining to the region. After highlighting several of the previously cited bonds that link Canada and Russia in the Arctic, Vasiliev suggested

234. For more on this see also: Byers, *International Law and the Arctic*, 56-91. For more on this see also: Conley, Toland, and Østhagen, *A New Security Architecture for the Arctic...*, 10.

²⁷¹ Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade, and Development, *Canada-Russia Arctic Relations* (Backgrounder) (Oslo: Canadian International Centre for the Arctic Region, 19 December 2013), 1-3. For more on this see also: Natalia Loukacheva, "Canada and Russia: Natural partners," *National Post*, 8 May 2013.

Canada abandon the U.S. in favour of Russia. At the very least, he recommended Canadian government officials consider entering into a three-way partnership.²⁷²

On November 1, 2013, Vasiliev made similar remarks in an opinion article he submitted to the *Calgary Herald* newspaper. In it, he said the national interests of the Arctic states can be realized only in collaboration with others in the region. He added that Russia sees no issues between Arctic states that cannot be solved peaceably in accordance with national, regional, and international laws. “Russia’s obvious priority in the Arctic is cooperation with our regional partners...,” wrote Vasiliev. “There is even a place for military cooperation, not only in bilateral, but also multilateral format[s]”²⁷³

Separate from Vasiliev, the Russian government has made other overtures to Canada during the past two years to deepen bilateral Arctic relations. In February 2012, Russia proposed that the two countries release a joint statement on Arctic cooperation on the margins of the 2012 Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) leaders’ meeting in Vladivostok. While a statement was never issued, Prime Minister Harper and President

²⁷² Anton Vasiliev, “Russia: A Natural Arctic Partner for Canada,” *Embassy*, 5 May 2011. Vasiliev’s wrote that when he read Canada’s Arctic Foreign Policy: “... I was struck by the closeness of strategic Canadian and Russian thinking on the Arctic — to the extent that I found one logical flaw in it. The paper stated that the key Canadian partner in the Arctic is the United States. But I believe it should be Russia or at least “and also Russia.”...I am not of course trying to undermine the U.S.-Canadian relationship. But climate change and the thawing of Arctic ice are in fact removing past clichés and hurdles, and revealing that Russia and Canada share so much in the High North. The basic fact is that the Arctic is our [shared] home and future. And we both want this home to be safe, clean, cozy and prosperous.” Vasiliev reiterated many of these points during the ensuing conference held at Carleton University and a follow-on interview with the Canadian Press. For more on this see: Mike Blanchfield, “Canada stuck in Arctic time wart Russia says; ‘Lack of knowledge of reality,’” *Halifax Chronicle Herald*, 27 May 2011; Ian D. D. Livermore, *Conference Report: Canada/Russia/Norway Dialogue and Cooperation in the Arctic Conference, 26-27 May 2011, Carleton University, Ottawa*. Department of National Defence, Canada Command Headquarters: file 2000-1 (J2 Ops 4-2), 21 June 2011.

²⁷³ Anton Vasiliev, “Co-operation between Canada and Russia warm the Arctic’s future,” *Calgary Herald*, 1 November 2013. What is most interesting about this editorial is the target newspaper. Calgary is, after all, the home riding of Prime Minister Harper. It is also corporate home to most of Canada’s the oil and gas industry with which Russia is trying to partner to develop its own hydrocarbon production in the far North. In addition, it is home to the University of Calgary’s Centre for Military and Strategic Studies where Dr. Rob Huebert — arguably the leading academic/intellectual opponent of trusting the Russians on Arctic-related issues — is the associate director.

Putin did discuss Arctic issues. On the margins of the G20 Leaders Summit in St. Petersburg from September 5-6, 2013, Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov, in his meeting with Canadian Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird, recalled the APEC conversation and underlined the fruitful prospects for Arctic cooperation.²⁷⁴

While it is difficult to measure the influence that Russia's efforts have had on Canadian opinion, the Harper government has demonstrated increased willingness to work with them. The most dramatic example of this was the invitation that Canada extended to Russia, together with other Arctic Council states, to send military observers to Operation Nanook 2013. Russia accepted the offer sending a naval captain and a rear-admiral from the NORFLT.²⁷⁵ Plans were underway to invite Russia to Operation Nanook 2014, potentially as an active participant; however these plans were cancelled in response to Russia's annexation of the Crimea in early 2014.²⁷⁶

On February 20, 2013, Russia expanded upon its 2008 Arctic strategy by approving *The Development Strategy of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation and National Security for the Period up to 2020 and Beyond*. The 2013 document defines the "basic mechanisms, ways and means" for achieving the strategic goals and priorities for the sustainable socio-economic development of the Russian Arctic and for protecting

²⁷⁴ Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade, and Development, *Canada-Russia Arctic Relations* (Backgrounder), 1.

²⁷⁵ Personal knowledge of the author through his work as the senior Arctic analyst at CJOC, the organization that was responsible for planning Operation Nanook 2013. For more on this see also: Trude Pettersen, "Northern Fleet observers in Canadian exercise," *Barents Observer*, 9 August 2013; Heather Exner-Pirot, "Canadian PM's Arctic tour conceals shift in circumpolar politics," *Alaska Dispatch*, 2 September 2013.

²⁷⁶ Personal knowledge of the author through his work as the senior Arctic analyst at CJOC, the organization that is currently planning Operation Nanook 2014. For more on this see also: CBC News, "Ukraine crisis leads to Canada expelling Russian soldiers," last updated 7 March 2014, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/ukraine-crisis-leads-to-canada-expelling-russian-soldier-1.2563620>.

national sovereignty and security interests in the region.²⁷⁷ The central focus of socio-economic development is upon mineral production, organization of an integrated transportation system, and raising the standard of living for residents in the northern territories.²⁷⁸ On issues of national security, the Strategy identifies the need for dual use technologies and facilities whenever possible, and the need to maintain the appropriate level of combat and mobilization readiness.²⁷⁹

The document proclaims that implementation of the Development Strategy will strengthen Russia's competitive position while increasing international cooperation and forging greater international security, peace and stability.²⁸⁰ Article 17 of the Development Strategy identifies specific means to improve international cooperation and the preservation of the Arctic as a zone of peace.²⁸¹ Thus far, the actions taken by the Russian government in the Arctic region have been consistent with these commitments.

In May 2013, just prior to the biannual Arctic Council ministerial meeting, U.S. President Obama signed a National Strategy for the Arctic Region. The strategy announcement was more symbolic than substantive, given that it shared the same objectives as the 2009 Bush presidential directives and signalled no significant change in policy.²⁸² Within the strategy, the Obama administration outlines its plan to ratify the

²⁷⁷ Russian Federation Security Council, *The Development Strategy of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation and National Security for the Period up to 2020 and Beyond*, trans. International Expert Council on Cooperation in the Arctic, 20 February 2013, Art. 1-2.

²⁷⁸ Art. 10-12.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, Art. 18.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, Art. 33.

²⁸¹ For example, it says Russia must combine its efforts with the other Arctic states to create a single regional system for SAR. It calls for the intensification of economic, scientific, technical, and cultural cooperation in the effective management of natural resources and the preservation of the environment. It also commits Russia to work with the other northern states in the organization and efficient use of land transit and cross-polar air routes in the Arctic, and the use of the NSR for international shipping. *Ibid.*, Art. 17 (c), (d), and (e).

²⁸² Office of the President of the United States, *National Strategy for the Arctic Region*, May 2013, 9. The National Strategy for the Arctic Region focused on advancing America's national security, pursuing

UNCLOS. It proclaims that accession to the Convention would protect U.S. rights, freedoms, and uses of the sea and airspace throughout the Arctic region, “and strengthen our arguments for freedom of navigation and over flight through the Northwest Passage and the Northern Sea Route.”²⁸³ With the exception of the latter point regarding freedom of navigation through the NWP, the Strategy is very much in line with Canada’s general objectives in the Arctic,²⁸⁴ hence reinforcing the argument in favour of a continental approach to Arctic security and regulatory enforcement.

In late November 2013, the U.S. Secretary of Defence Chuck Hagel released the much-anticipated Department of Defence (DoD) Arctic Strategy. The Strategy identified the Department’s desired end-state for the Arctic as “a secure and stable region where U.S. national interests are safeguarded, the U.S. homeland is protected, and nations work cooperatively to address changes.”²⁸⁵ The DoD Arctic Strategy also articulates the main supporting objectives, which are to ensure security, support safety, and promote defence cooperation, and prepare to respond to a wide range of challenges and contingencies in order to maintain stability in the region, and wherever possible, doing so in conjunction with other nations.²⁸⁶

responsible stewardship, and strengthening international cooperation. This strategy sets forth the U.S. Government’s strategic priorities for the Arctic region, and is intended to position the U.S. to respond effectively to challenges and emerging opportunities arising from significant increases in Arctic activity due to the diminishment of sea ice and the emergence of a new Arctic environment. It is designed to meet the reality of a changing Arctic environment, while simultaneously pursuing the United States’ global objective of combating the climatic changes that are driving these environmental conditions.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development, *Arctic Foreign Policies / Strategies of Arctic States*.

²⁸⁵ United States Department of Defence, *Arctic Strategy*, 22 November 2013, 2.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

Until last year, NATO's leadership expressed strong interest in playing a greater role in Arctic security.²⁸⁷ However, on May 7, 2013 Secretary-General Anders Fogh Rasmussen announced NATO was reversing course, saying:

At this present time NATO has no intention of raising its presence and activities in the High North...The Arctic is a harsh environment. It rewards cooperation, not confrontation.²⁸⁸

Although five of the Arctic Council states are NATO members with the authority under Articles 4 and 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty to call upon their non-Arctic NATO allies to defend their northern territories in the event of an attack,²⁸⁹ there is significant disagreement among them regarding NATO's role in the region in any circumstances short of a crisis. Norway is the strongest advocate for allowing NATO to participate in Arctic training exercises, in part as a symbolic bulwark against Russian military renewal in the region. Neutral Sweden and Finland, which are associated with NATO through its Partnership-for-Peace Program, support Norway in this.²⁹⁰ Canada on the other hand, is strongly opposed to broader NATO involvement, in part to appease concerns from

²⁸⁷ For example, during a joint NATO/Icelandic conference in January 2009 to discuss security prospects in the High North, then NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer said the Alliance could aid the Arctic states with information and intelligence gathering, supporting the protection of critical infrastructure, and advancing regional and international cooperation. Pointing to the many security challenges precipitated by climate change, including the opening of Arctic sea routes and access to new energy resources, Scheffer was careful to include Russia in his delineation of potential areas for NATO collaboration. "I think we need to ensure transparency, build trust, and work towards co-operation when it comes to these issues and that includes with Russia," he said. In 2010, NATO's parliamentary Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Defence and Security Cooperation tabled a report making the case for greater involvement in the High North. The report pointed out "the Nordic area ... was, is and will remain of crucial importance for NATO." Gerrard Cowan, "Polar Scares," *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 24 March 2010, 26-27. For more on this see also: NATO Parliamentary Assembly, *Security at the Top of the World: Is There a NATO Role in the High North?* (Committee Report 213 DSCTC 10 E), last accessed 12 December 2013, <http://www.nato-pa.int/default.asp?SHORTCUT=2082>.

²⁸⁸ Gerald O'Dwyer, "NATO Rejects Direct Arctic Presence," *Defence News*, last accessed 29 May 2013, <http://www.defensenews.com/article/20130529/DEFREG/305290022/NATO-Rejects-Direct-Arctic-Presence>.

²⁸⁹ NATO, The North Atlantic Treaty, last accessed 3 February 2013, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_17120.htm.

²⁹⁰ Gerald O'Dwyer, "NATO Rejects Direct Arctic Presence." For more on this see also: Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *The High North - Visions and strategies*, 70

Russia, which considers NATO activity in the region to be provocative.²⁹¹ Canada also has concerns that NATO involvement in Arctic security affairs would serve as a backdoor mechanism for non-Arctic members of the European Union to gain a policy foothold in the region, something Canada has been consistently opposed to for other political reasons.²⁹²

While not angering the Russians is a valid strategic concern, denying NATO any role in the Arctic is inherently problematic. As observed by a French defence attaché attending a January 2013 think tank roundtable discussion in Ottawa, if NATO is not allowed at least a training role in that environment, Canada cannot rightfully expect its allies to develop the operational expertise required to defend Canadian interests in the Arctic if future circumstances ever demand it.²⁹³

On May 15, 2013, during the Arctic Council's bi-annual ministerial meeting held in Kiruna, Sweden, six new states were accepted as accredited Observers — China, India, Italy, Japan, Singapore, and South Korea.²⁹⁴ The EU was left wanting on the sidelines as an ad hoc observer due to the standing objection from Canada over EU anti-sealing

²⁹¹ As observed by Norwegian defence analyst Kristian Åtland, any movement by NATO in that direction could reverse current positive trends: "Russia's foreign policy in the Arctic will largely depend on – and influence – the nature of Russia's relationship with NATO and the policies adopted by other Arctic rim states. The pragmatism that marks Russia's current relationship with NATO may be replaced by a more confrontational stance, particularly if Russia and NATO fail to reach agreement on a pan-European missile defence system. Similarly, there is no guarantee that the progress that has been made in Russia's relations with its Arctic neighbour in recent years will continue through the 21st century." Åtland, "Russia's Armed Forces in the Arctic," 281.

²⁹² Jorge Barrera, "While Harper talked tough with NATO on Arctic..." For more on this see also: Clark, "Harper's tough talk on the Arctic less stern in private."

²⁹³ Comment from the floor by defence attaché attending "The Canadian Forces in the North" roundtable presentation hosted by the Canadian Defence Associations Institute on 30 January 2013, Ottawa.

²⁹⁴ They join existing accredited Observer states France, Germany, the Netherlands, the U.K., Poland, and Spain.

policies. However, Arctic Council members agreed the EU will be admitted once it resolves its differences with Canada.²⁹⁵

Based on the criteria for admission of accredited Observers updated by the Arctic Council in 2011, the new entries had to accept and support the objectives of the Arctic Council defined in the Ottawa Declaration, and recognize the sovereignty, sovereign rights, and jurisdiction of all of the Arctic Council Member states. They also had to recognize the supremacy of the rule of international law as governed by UNCLOS as the best framework for managing the Arctic region's affairs.²⁹⁶ Speaking on the issue, Norwegian Foreign Minister Espen Barth Eide said the inclusion of the Arctic resource-hungry Observer states at the Arctic Council would force them to uphold the diplomatic panel's core goals of safeguarding the region.²⁹⁷

In addition to admitting new Observers, the Arctic ministers announced the

Agreement on Cooperation on Marine Oil Pollution Preparedness and Response in the

²⁹⁵ Arctic Council, *Kiruna Declaration*, Kiruna, Sweden: Arctic Council Secretariat, 15 May 2013.

²⁹⁶ Arctic Council. "Observers." Last updated 27 April 2011. <http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/about-us/arctic-council/observers>. Additional criteria approved in 2011 are: respect the values, interests, culture and traditions of Arctic indigenous peoples and other Arctic inhabitants; have demonstrated a political willingness as well as financial ability to contribute to the work of the Permanent Participants and other Arctic indigenous peoples; have demonstrated their Arctic interests and expertise relevant to the work of the Arctic Council; have demonstrated a concrete interest and ability to support the work of the Arctic Council, including through partnerships with member states and Permanent Participants bringing Arctic concerns to global decision making bodies. These points were encapsulated in the *Arctic Council Observer Manual for Subsidiary Bodies* adopted during the May 2013 ministerial in Kiruna. The Observer Manual also reiterates earlier Arctic Council pronouncements that accredited observer status is not permanent, stating: "Any observer that engages in activities that are at odds with the Ottawa Declaration or with the Council's Rules of Procedure will have its Observer status suspended." Arctic Council, *Arctic Council Observer Manual for Subsidiary Bodies*, May 2013, 2.

²⁹⁷ Patricia Zengerle, "Sweden: Arctic Council vote to admit China, India," *The Scotsman* on-line, last accessed 16 December 2013, <http://www.scotsman.com/news/world/sweden-arctic-council-vote-to-admit-china-india-1-2931520>. The host of the Kiruna ministerial meeting, Swedish Foreign Minister Carl Bildt, said the addition of the new observer states strengthened the Arctic Council's position on the international scene. Danish Foreign Minister Villy Soevndal echoed these sentiments telling the news media: "It signals openness, and it reflects the fact that many countries outside the Arctic area also have legitimate interests in the development of the region." For more on this see also: Mia Bennett, "Asian States Admitted to Arctic Council, EU Forced to Wait, and Greenland Boycotts," *Foreign Policy Association* (blog), May 16, 2013, <http://foreignpolicyblogs.com/2013/05/16/asian-states-admitted-to-arctic-council-eu-forced-to-wait-and-greenland-boycotts/>; Chris Irvine, "China granted permanent observer status at Arctic Council," *The Telegraph*, 15 May 2013.

Arctic, the second legally binding agreement negotiated under the auspices of the Arctic Council.²⁹⁸ Finally, the Arctic ministers issued a separate declaration — the *Vision for the Arctic* — that confirmed that the Arctic Council is the “pre-eminent high-level forum” for dealing with Arctic issues that has made the region “into an area of unique international cooperation.”²⁹⁹ As Norwegian Foreign Minister Eide explained to journalists covering the event, the *Vision for the Arctic*:

... confirms that the basic principles of the Arctic Council are to lead the way for all decisions concerning the Arctic. It confirms that all nations will focus on preserving the environment of the Arctic and it also confirms that this organisation will have Indigenous Peoples as active participants.³⁰⁰

In December 2013, the Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC) hosted an Arctic Five conference to consider the need for an international Arctic fisheries agreement to prevent the start of unregulated commercial fishing on the high seas of the Central Arctic Ocean outside the coastal states’ EEZs.³⁰¹ One of the Russian delegates, Vyacheslav Zilanov, the head of the commercial fisherman’s association for northern Russia, commented that based on his country’s experience it would be much easier to put

²⁹⁸ Arctic Council, *Kiruna Declaration*. For more on this see also: MarineLink.com, “Arctic Council Sign Oil Spill Agreement,” last updated 21 May 2013, <http://www.marinelink.com/news/agreement-council-arctic354728.aspx>; Andrew Quinn, “Arctic nations step up cooperation on safety, oil,” *Reuters News Agency*, last accessed 13 May 2011, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/05/12/us-arctic-idUSTRE7490UD20110512>. Related to this, the Arctic ministers commended the International Maritime Organization for its continued work in establishing a unified Polar Code on shipping, which will include pollution prevention safeguards. Further, on the topic of broader pollution prevention, the ministers also publicly acknowledged that all the Arctic states, along with other major emitters, contribute substantially to global greenhouse gas emissions. Accordingly, they confirmed their commitment under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change to establish a set of rules by the end of 2015 that will provide legal force to the reduction of emission. Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Arctic Council, *Vision for the Arctic* (Kiruna, Sweden: Arctic Council Secretariat, 15 May 2013) 1.

³⁰⁰ Jonas Karlsbakk, “Arctic Council’s international breakthrough,” *Barents Observer* On-line, last accessed 15 May 2013, <http://barentsobserver.com/en/arctic/2013/05/arctic-councils-international-breakthrough-15-05>. For a detailed analysis of the Arctic Council’s *Vision for the Arctic*, see Mia Bennett, “Analysis: The Arctic Council’s Kiruna Vision,” *Foreign Policy Association* (blog), May 20, 2013, <http://foreignpolicyblogs.com/2013/05/20/analysis-the-arctic-councils-kiruna-vision/>.

³⁰¹ Pew Charitable Trusts, “Talking About Arctic Fisheries in Moscow,” last updated 20 December 2013, <http://www.pewenvironment.org/news-room/other-resources/Talking-About-Arctic-Fisheries-In-Moscow-85899528548#>.

a regulatory regime in place now to prevent over-fishing, than to wait until after the foreign fishing fleet have arrived. David Benton, a commissioner on the U.S. Arctic Research Commission and former chairman of the North Pacific Fisheries Management Council, supported Zilanov's perspective, explaining how the Bering Sea between the U.S. and Russia was over-fished by other countries. "Because fishing fleets can move faster than countries can act, Russia and the United States must take advantage of this rare opportunity to get ahead of the curve in the Central Arctic Ocean," stated Benton.³⁰²

On February 24-26, 2014, representatives from the Arctic Five met again, this time in Greenland, to review a draft fisheries agreement for the Central Arctic Ocean prepared by the United States.³⁰³ The meeting concluded with a decision to establish a moratorium on fishing in the Arctic until an appropriate regulatory system is enacted based on scientific research into the region's ability to sustain a commercial fishery. The Arctic Five moratorium on fishing in the Arctic basin has received the support of the World Wildlife Federation.³⁰⁴ Once a regulatory system is in place, it is likely that the Arctic Five will cooperate in its enforcement.

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ Andrea Hill, "Melting ice opens Arctic Ocean to potential fishing concerns," *Ottawa Citizen*, 24 February 2014.

³⁰⁴ Prior to going into the meeting Canada and Denmark/Greenland were on record as supporting the U.S. accord. Norway was neutral on the subject while Russia had not yet declared a position. Lisa Gregoire, "Five Arctic coastal states stop short of total fishing moratorium," *Nunatsiaq Online*, 27 February 2014 http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674five_arctic_ocean_nations_stop_short_of_fishing_moratorium/. For more on this see also: Pew Charitable Trusts, "Talking About Arctic Fisheries in Moscow." *Arctic Journal*, "WWF encouraged by Arctic fishing agreement," last updated 5 March 2014, <http://arcticjournal.com/opinion/wwf-encouraged-arctic-fishing-agreement>; *Arctic Journal*, "Finished business (for now)," last updated 4 March 2014, <http://arcticjournal.com/climate/finished-business-now>.

While present trends favour growing peace and cooperation in the Arctic, it is not without its distractions. Two challenges stand out in particular, both affecting Russia's relations with the other Arctic states, particularly the Arctic Five. The first of these

challenges is ongoing

Nordic lobbying,

particularly from Norway,

for NATO to play a greater

role in Arctic defence.³⁰⁵

As discussed in Chapter 4,

Russia continues to have

zero tolerance for expanded

NATO involvement in the

region. The conciliatory statement by NATO Secretary General Rasmussen in May 2013

that the Alliance would not be seeking to raise its profile in the Arctic was likely a direct

response to the Russians' concerns.³⁰⁶ However, if Norway is successful in convincing



Figure 5.3 - NATO Soldiers on Norwegian Exercise Cold Response 2014.

Source: Barents Observer

³⁰⁵ For example, on February 27, 2013, Norway's Defence Minister, Anne-Grete Strom-Erichsen, met with her British counterpart, Phillip Hammond, at the site of a combined Norwegian Army-Royal Marines training exercise in Harstad in northern Norway. During the meeting, the defence ministers agreed on the need for more allied joint training, including in the High North. Also at this time, an article was posted on the Norwegian Defence Ministry's website under the headline "Wants more NATO-exercises in the north," in which Strom-Erichsen was quoted as saying the U.K. and other countries with increased interests in the North were looking at Norway as "a natural choice for allied training and exercise." Thomas Nilsen, "Wants more northern NATO-exercises," *Barents Observer*, last updated 28 February 2013, <http://barentsobserver.com/en/security/2013/02/wants-more-northern-nato-exercises-28-02>.

³⁰⁶ All that said, however, a Russian military response to growing NATO involvement in the Arctic region is neither imminent nor guaranteed. As pointed out by defence analyst Kristian Åtland, Russia has more pressing security concerns on its plate elsewhere, including in the Caucasus (especially Chechnya and Dagestan), in Syria (due to its support of the Assad regime), and along its Far East frontier with China. Moreover, because national economic interests and private businesses closely associated with the Russian state are increasingly the driving forces behind Russia's Arctic policy in the early 2010s, the prospects for widespread militarization in the region are unlikely. The simple reason is that militarization will increase political tensions, and that is bad for business prosperity. For more on this see: Åtland, "Russia's Armed Forces in the Arctic," 282.

NATO to renege on Rasmussen's earlier statement, relations between the Arctic Five and Russia are likely to suffer. The chances of this happening may receive a boost when Norway's former Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg takes over as the new NATO Secretary-General in October 2014.

The second challenge results from Russia's March 18, 2013 annexation of the Crimean Peninsula.³⁰⁷ The Russian government's actions spurred diplomatic protests and assorted sanctions against Russia from throughout the West, including by the governments of Canada, Denmark-Greenland, Norway, and the United States.³⁰⁸ Senior Arctic Officials (SAOs) from all Arctic Council states have attempted to prevent the diplomatic crisis in Ukraine and the Crimea from spilling over into their bilateral and multilateral relations on Arctic regional issues. They have achieved some success at the broadest Arctic Council levels. For example, the Arctic Council SAO meeting in Yellowknife in March 2014 proceeded as planned with all Member states represented,³⁰⁹ and no one is officially proposing, at least for the moment, to expel Russia from the Arctic Council.³¹⁰ However, Canada boycotted an Arctic Council working group meeting

³⁰⁷ BBC News, "Ukrainian crisis timeline," last updated 21 March 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-26248275>. For more on this see also: Alan Yuhas and Raya Jalabi, "Crimea's referendum to leave Ukraine: how did we get here?" *The Guardian*, 13 March 2014.

³⁰⁸ The sanctions included the decision by the U.S., U.K. France, Germany, Italy, Canada, and Japan to oust Russia from the Group of Eight (G8) economic and political forum. For more on this see: Matthew Fisher, "G8 ousts Russia over Crimea crisis," *Ottawa Citizen*, 25 March 2014.

³⁰⁹ CBC News, "Russia's Ukraine moves not yet spilling into Arctic Council," last updated 14 March 2014, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/russia-s-ukraine-moves-not-yet-spilling-into-arctic-council-1.2573194>. For more on this see also: CBC News, "Canada continues talks with Russia as part of Arctic Council," last updated 26 March 2014, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/canada-continues-talks-with-russia-as-part-of-arctic-council-1.2587566>.

³¹⁰ Kevin McGwin, "Arktik Politik," *The Arctic Journal*, last updated 6 March 2014, <http://arcticjournal.com/politics/472/arktik-politik>. Ousting Russia from the Arctic Council would be the height of ridiculousness given Russia's rich Arctic history and the fact it accounts for almost half of the region's geographical territory.

in Moscow in April 2014 in protest against the Crimean annexation.³¹¹ Outside the Arctic Council, Norway has suspended all bilateral military cooperation activities with Russia that were scheduled through the end of May 2014, including Exercise POMOR.³¹² Canada has indefinitely suspended all bilateral military cooperation with Russia including dropping plans to invite Russian observers to attend Operation Nanook 2014.³¹³ The U.S. has taken similar steps.³¹⁴ The only positive note is that Norway's Border Commissioner has said his agency will continue to work cooperatively with the FSB Border Guard Service as planned.³¹⁵

The concern of many diplomats, scientists, business officials, and academics who deal extensively with Arctic issues is that these punitive measures being taken against Russia in response to the Ukraine/Crimea crisis are not taken to an extreme, lest it severely damage long-term cooperative relations between the parties. As opined by several Canadian and Russian speakers at a DFATD-sponsored academic seminar on the "Future of Russia" held March 19, 2014 in Ottawa, maximum effort needs to be made to insulate Arctic relations from the impacts of the current crisis.³¹⁶

³¹¹ CBC News, "Canada boycotts Arctic Council Moscow meeting over Ukraine," last updated 16 April 2014, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/canada-boycotts-arctic-council-moscow-meeting-over-ukraine-1.2611964>. For more on this see also: Nunatsiq News (no author attributed), "Canada boycotts Arctic Council meetings in Moscow to protest Russian moves in Ukraine," *Nunatsiq News*, 16 April 2014.

³¹² Trude Pettersen, "Norway suspends all bilateral military activities with Russia," *Barents Observer*, 25 March 2014.

³¹³ CBC News, "Ukraine crisis leads to Canada expelling Russian soldiers," last updated 7 March 2014, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/ukraine-crisis-leads-to-canada-expelling-russian-soldier-1.2563620>.

³¹⁴ Thomas Nilsen, "Crimea crisis puts Barents naval exercise on hold," *Barents Observer*, 14 March 2014.

³¹⁵ Trude Pettersen, "Our cooperation continues as planned," *Barents Observer*, 26 March 2014.

³¹⁶ Comments from the floor at The Future of Russia, Academic Seminar hosted by Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development, in Ottawa on 19 March 2013. Seminar was conducted under Chatham House Rules. Publication of written proceedings from the seminar was still pending at the time this research paper was submitted.

6. CONCLUSION

While the Cold War period witnessed a sharp geopolitical divide in the Arctic between Soviet Russia and NATO members Canada, Denmark-Greenland, Norway, and the United States, the 1990s and opening decade of the 21st century saw a transition to a more conciliatory relationship. During this 20-year span, the Arctic Five states, together with their Arctic Council brethren Finland, Iceland, and Sweden, came to understand that political and military cooperation amongst them was a growing necessity to respond effectively to climate change and its socio-economic impacts. Cooperation was especially important to the Arctic Five in order to meet the challenges of non-Arctic states and intergovernmental organizations seeking unbridled access to shipping routes and the potential natural resource riches in the Central Arctic Ocean — the Arctic Five’s proverbial “backyard.”

However, as the 2010s ended, the combined impacts of international grandstanding, domestic political intrigue, and sensationalist news media reporting threatened the Arctic Five’s fledgling resolve to collaborate on sovereignty, security, and safety issues. Amidst this, political leaders struggled at times to suppress their nationalist rhetoric that had shaped onlookers’ opinion that the Arctic region was on the verge of war over rivaling resource claims. It was often only through the efforts of key bureaucrats within the respective states’ foreign relations and defence departments that the collaboration efforts remained on track.

Following the subsequent ratification of two Arctic Council-sponsored treaties, the conduct of two successive meetings of the Northern CHoDs, and the adoption of Arctic foreign and defence policies that acclaimed international cooperation as a

cornerstone principle, there was by the end of 2013, a consensus among the Arctic Five that no military threat existed within the region and that the likelihood for conflict was low. The Arctic Five further agreed that should such a situation arise it would be adverse to their national and collective interests. Politicians, diplomats, government bureaucrats, and senior military officials from across the region have stated this, publicly and privately, during the past few years. Among the notables to do so have been Russia's President Vladimir Putin,³¹⁷ his Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov,³¹⁸ and Arctic Ambassador-at-Large Anton Vasiliev;³¹⁹ Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper³²⁰ and his former Chief of Defence Staff General Walter Natynczyk; the former U.S. Commander of NORAD General Victor Renuart; and former Norwegian Secretary of State for Defence (now Foreign Minister) Espen Barth Eide.³²¹

Accordingly, the coming years are likely to see the Arctic Five states continue their cooperation on Arctic-specific issues regardless of political conflicts and distractions elsewhere in the world. Confidence in this assessment is bolstered by the collective decision by the Arctic states to keep working together on the main body of the

³¹⁷ Luke Harding, "Vladimir Putin calls for Arctic claims to be resolved under UN Law," *The Guardian*, 23 September 2010.

³¹⁸ Xinhua News Agency, "Russia sees no reasons for NATO involvement in Arctic affairs," last modified 29 November 2011, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/world/2011-11/29/c_131277799.htm.

³¹⁹ Anton Vasiliev, "Co-operation between Canada and Russia warm the Arctic's future," *Calgary Herald*, 1 November 2013. For more on this see also: China.org.com, "Russia's return to Arctic bears no military threat to neighbors: official," last modified 19 September 2013, http://www.china.org.cn/world/Off_the_Wire/2013-09/19/content_30076090.htm.

³²⁰ Clark, "Harper's tough talk on the Arctic less stern in private." For more on this see also: Jorge Barrera, "While Harper talked tough with NATO on Arctic, U.S. believed PM all bark no bite," *APTN National News* on-line, 11 May 2011, <http://aptn.ca/news/2011/05/11/while-harper-talked-tough-with-nato-on-arctic-u-s-believed-pm-all-bark-no-bite/>; Byers, *International Law and the Arctic*, 155-156.

³²¹ Michel Comte, "Canadians prepared to fight for Arctic: survey," *Agence France Presse*, 25 January 2011. For more on this see also: Terra Daily, "Northwest Passage shipping could lead to trade rows: panel," last modified 21 November 2009, http://www.terradaily.com/reports/Northwest_Passage_shipping_could_lead_to_trade_rows_panel_999.html. General Natynczyk told a Halifax defence summit in 2009 that "There is no conventional military threat to the Arctic. If someone were to invade the Canadian Arctic, my first task would be to rescue them."

Arctic Council despite strong differences over Russia's annexation of the Crimea. Should disagreements arise over conflicting resource rights or other regional interests, they are likely to be referred to arbitration or international courts for settlement, and will not be resolved by gunboat diplomacy or stronger tactics.

However, political realism dictates that none of the Arctic states can completely discard the possibility of limited tensions with a potential for escalation, especially when conducting their defence planning. Any number of wildcard factors could trigger these tensions, including:

- Future Russian interventions abroad that more deeply offend the sensitivities of neighbouring Arctic Five states than did the Crimean annexation;
- The decision by Chinese or other Asian leaders to abandon their Arctic Council Observer vows to respect the sovereign rights of the Arctic states;
- A significant political falling out between Arctic Five interests on one side, and Sweden, Finland, and Iceland on the other;
- The independence of Greenland under a government radically opposed to the existing Arctic Council agenda;
- Significant advances in drilling and/or mining technologies that make it easier to extract Arctic resources;
- Global shortages in resources that spike demand for Arctic reserves; and
- A profound and unexpected acceleration or deceleration in the pace of climate change.³²²

Ultimately, what transpires in the Arctic in the future will hinge on essential enablers, without which no state action can occur. Often called the strategic “centre of gravity” in military planning terms, the first enablers are the political will and economic incentive to maintain the peace, or, if necessary, militarily defend the national interests in the region. At the operational military level, the centre of gravity will be the logistical capability to mount and sustain military operations in the harsh Arctic environment.

³²² For more information regarding how present-day and future climate change trends could provoke crises in intra- and inter-state relations through the midpoint of the 21st century, see Gwynne Dyer's book *Climate Wars* (Toronto: Random House Canada, 2008).

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ANNEX A

Details of the Murmansk Initiative Six-Point Program

On October 1, 1986, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev made a foreign policy speech that has become known as the Murmansk Initiative. In it, he proposed a six-point program for political-economic talks on limiting and reducing military activity in the region. The following is a summary of those points written by Dan Hayward, a research assistant with the Canadian Centre for Arms Control and Disarmament in Ottawa, for a 1988 article in the journal *Canadian Arctic Resources Committee Northern Perspectives*.³²³

1. The Soviet government would act as a guarantor of a Nordic nuclear-weapons free zone, and would discuss “possible measures applicable to Soviet territory” as part of such a zone, including withdrawal of SSBNs from the Baltic Fleet. Gorbachev noted that medium-range missile launchers on the Kola Peninsula had been unilaterally dismantled, many shorter-range missiles redeployed, and military exercises in border areas restricted to demonstrate Soviet willingness to explore opportunities for “military detente” in northern Europe.
2. Gorbachev welcomed suggestions made previously by Finnish President Mauno Koivisto on restricting naval activities in the seas adjacent to Northern Europe, and proposed talks between NATO and the Warsaw Pact on extending confidence-building measures to the Baltic, North, Norwegian, and Greenland Seas. These measures could include the limitation of anti-submarine weapons, prior notification of major naval exercises, and invitation of observers to exercises. A meeting of interested countries, he suggested, could be held in Leningrad (now St. Petersburg) to discuss prohibiting naval activity in mutually agreed-upon zones of international straits and in high traffic shipping lanes in general. Gorbachev also referred to the Novaya Zemlya nuclear test-site, saying that an agreement by the U.S. government to end or restrict nuclear tests would “resolve once and for all” the problem of Soviet nuclear tests in the Arctic.
3. Gorbachev proposed the peaceful co-operation in resource development in the Arctic, including a single energy program for Northern Europe and joint exploration of resources on the Kola Peninsula. Canada and Norway were mentioned as possible partners for oil and gas development in northern waters.

³²³ Hayward, Dan. "Gorbachev's Murmansk Initiative: New Prospects for Arms Control in the Arctic?" *Canadian Arctic Resources Committee Northern Perspectives* 16, no. 4, (July-August 1988). <http://www.carc.org/pubs/v16no4/4.htm>.

4. Gorbachev stated that the Soviet Union placed a great deal of importance on scientific exploration of the Arctic and would continue to do so. He therefore proposed a conference of circumpolar nations for 1988, possibly to be held in Murmansk, to co-ordinate scientific study and examine the creation of an international scientific council for the Arctic.
5. Gorbachev proposed drafting a comprehensive environmental protection plan for the Arctic. As an example, he mentioned a northern European agreement on monitoring the state of the environment and “radiation safety,” a reference to the effect on Scandinavia of the Chernobyl nuclear accident.
6. Finally, depending on the progress of normalization of international relations between the West and Eastern Bloc, the Soviets could open the Northern Sea Route to foreign ships escorted by Soviet icebreakers.

ANNEX B

The Arctic Council Mandate, Membership, and Organization

The Arctic Council officially came into being with the signing of the *Declaration on the Establishment of the Arctic Council* in Ottawa on September 19, 1996. The so-called Ottawa Declaration laid out a four-point mandate for the organization as follows:

- Provide a means for promoting cooperation, coordination, and interaction among the Arctic states, with the involvement of the Arctic indigenous communities and other Arctic inhabitants on common Arctic issues, with particular focus on issues of sustainable development and environmental protection, and excluding matters related to military security;
- Oversee and coordinate the programs established under the AEPS, which at that time consisted of the AMAP, Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna (CAFF), Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment (PAME) and Emergency Prevention, and Preparedness and Response (EPPR);
- Adopt terms of reference for, and oversee and coordinate a sustainable development program; and
- Disseminate information, encourage education, and promote interest in Arctic related issues.³²⁴

With this mandate, the approach of the Council was to encourage continuous dialogue among scientists, policy planners, Arctic residents, and political level decision-makers.

Accordingly, all decision-making by the Council was to be based closely on the scientific work conducted by the AEPS programs and influenced by the traditional knowledge of indigenous peoples.³²⁵

³²⁴ Arctic Council, *Declaration on the Establishment of the Arctic Council*, 19 September 1996.

The four Arctic Council programs mentioned here were later designated as working groups, a status they retain to this day. Two additional working groups have been created since 1996: the Sustainable Development Working Group (SDWG) and the Arctic Council Action Plan (ACAP). Working Group Management Boards are typically comprised of representatives of national governmental agencies of the Arctic Council Member States and representatives of the Permanent Participants. Observer States and Observer Organizations are likely to attend Working Group meetings and participate in specific projects. In addition, Working Groups regularly have invited guests, or experts attending their meetings. It is the responsibility of the Working Groups to execute the programs and projects mandated by the Arctic Council Ministers. These mandates are stated in the Ministerial Declarations, the official documents that result from Ministerial Meetings. Arctic Council, "Working Groups," last accessed 20 Sept 2013, <http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/about-us/working-groups>.

³²⁵ Inuit Circumpolar Council, "The Arctic Council and the Indigenous Peoples of the Arctic," last accessed 24 September 2013, http://www.inuit.org/fileadmin/user_upload/File/ac/2005/2005-06-AC-Structure.pdf.

The Ottawa Declaration defined three categories of involvement on the Arctic Council. The first is for *Members*, the eight sovereign states whose national boundaries encompass some territory north of the Arctic Circle. The Declaration specified that all actionable decisions of the Arctic Council were to be “by consensus of the Members,” thus preventing any single state or group of states from running roughshod over the interests and concerns of another. The second category is for *Permanent Participants*, consisting of Arctic organizations of indigenous peoples. Permanent Participants were expected to be actively involved in all Arctic Council initiatives and to be fully consulted by the Member states on all matters.³²⁶

The final category of involvement is *Observer*, which is open to non-Arctic states, inter-governmental and inter-parliamentary organizations, and NGOs. Observer status is accredited at the discretion of the Member states, in consultation with Permanent Participants, if it is determined that the entity can contribute to the Arctic Council through its working groups, task forces, expert groups or any other such subsidiary body subsequently created. Accredited observers have no decision-making authority, but may propose projects through an Arctic state or a Permanent Participant.³²⁷

³²⁶ Arctic Council, *Declaration on the Establishment of the Arctic Council*.

To qualify for involvement under this category, the majority of the organization’s constituents had to be indigenous and representative of a single indigenous people resident in more than one Arctic state, or represent multiple indigenous peoples resident in a single state. On the Arctic Council’s inception, three indigenous organizations were granted Permanent Partnership status. These were the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, the Saami Council, and the Association of Indigenous Minorities of the North, Siberia, and the Far East of the Russian Federation. The latter group has since been renamed Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON). Three additional Permanent Participants groups have joined the Arctic Council since 1996. These are the Arctic Athabaskan Council, Aleut International Association, and the Gwich’in Council International. Arctic Council, “Permanent Participants,” last accessed 20 September 2013, <http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/about-us/permanent-participants>.

³²⁷ Arctic Council, *Declaration on the Establishment of the Arctic Council*; Arctic Council, “Observers,” last accessed 20 September 2013, <http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/about-us/arctic-council/observers>. Observers are permitted to make financial contributions to any given project, but the amount may not exceed the financing from Arctic states, unless otherwise decided by the senior Arctic officials (SAOs). Furthermore, in meetings of the Council’s subsidiary bodies to which observers are

Accredited Observers are often referred to as “Permanent Observers.” This term was developed to distinguish these observers from the so-called “ad-hoc Observers” who are required to request permission to attend each separate meeting of the Arctic Council, and are not permitted to participate in its subsidiary group activities.³²⁸ However, characterizing Observers as “permanent” is misleading, because the accredited status continues only so long as Ministers of the Arctic states agree to it.

The Ottawa Declaration also specified that the Arctic Council should meet on a biannual basis with ministerial representation from the respective Member governments. Meetings by subordinate Senior Arctic Officials (SAOs) should occur more frequently to provide liaison and coordination of work by the Council’s subsidiary bodies. Responsibility for hosting all these meetings, including provision of secretariat support functions, should rotate sequentially among the Arctic States.³²⁹ Canada chaired the council for the first two years under the direction of Mary Simon.³³⁰ The Chairmanship then rotated to the U.S. followed by a different member every two years thereafter. In May 2013, the first cycle of chairmanship terms were completed with Canada resuming the reins under Leona Aglukkaq, an Inuit Member of Parliament from Gjoa Haven, Nunavut and a long-time federal government cabinet minister.³³¹

invited to participate, observers may, at the discretion of the Chair, make statements after Arctic states and Permanent Participants, present written statements, submit relevant documents and provide views on the issues under discussion. Observers may also submit written statements at Ministerial meetings. Ibid.

³²⁸ Jim Bell, “Aglukkaq stresses “people-first” approach to Arctic Council,” *Nunatsiaq News* On-line, last accessed 16 November 2012, http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674aglukkaq_stresses_people-first_approach_to_arctic_council/%22%20%5C1%20%22.Ul_rp6KPjd8.twitter#UJ19VQdbDAE.twitter.

³²⁹ Arctic Council, *Declaration on the Establishment of the Arctic Council*.

³³⁰ Grant, *Polar Imperative*..., 391.

³³¹ Stephanie Levitz, “Harper names Aglukkaq as Canada’s chief at Arctic Council,” *The Globe and Mail*, 23 August 2012. For more on this see also: Ron Wallace, “A proud moment for Canada,” *National Post*, 10 May 2013.

ANNEX C

The Ilulissat Declaration, May 28, 2008 ³³²

The Arctic Ocean stands at the threshold of significant changes. Climate change and the melting of ice have a potential impact on vulnerable ecosystems, the livelihoods of local inhabitants and indigenous communities, and the potential exploitation of natural resources.

By virtue of their sovereignty, sovereign rights and jurisdiction in large areas of the Arctic Ocean the five coastal states are in a unique position to address these possibilities and challenges. In this regard, we recall that an extensive international legal framework applies to the Arctic Ocean as discussed between our representatives at the meeting in Oslo on 15 and 16 October 2007 at the level of senior officials. Notably, the law of the sea provides for important rights and obligations concerning the delineation of the outer limits of the continental shelf, the protection of the marine environment, including ice-covered areas, freedom of navigation, marine scientific research, and other uses of the sea. We remain committed to this legal framework and to the orderly settlement of any possible overlapping claims.

This framework provides a solid foundation for responsible management by the five coastal States and other users of this Ocean through national implementation and application of relevant provisions. We therefore see no need to develop a new comprehensive international legal regime to govern the Arctic Ocean. We will keep abreast of the developments in the Arctic Ocean and continue to implement appropriate measures.

The Arctic Ocean is a unique ecosystem, which the five coastal states have a stewardship role in protecting. Experience has shown how shipping disasters and subsequent pollution of the marine environment may cause irreversible disturbance of the ecological balance and major harm to the livelihoods of local inhabitants and indigenous communities. We will take steps in accordance with international law both nationally and in cooperation among the five states and other interested parties to ensure the protection and preservation of the fragile marine environment of the Arctic Ocean. In this regard, we intend to work together including through the International Maritime Organization to strengthen existing measures and develop new measures to improve the safety of maritime navigation and prevent or reduce the risk of ship-based pollution in the Arctic Ocean.

The increased use of Arctic waters for tourism, shipping, research, and resource development also increases the risk of accidents and therefore the need to further strengthen search and rescue capabilities and capacity around the Arctic Ocean to ensure an appropriate response from states to any accident. Cooperation, including on the sharing of information, is a prerequisite for addressing these challenges. We will work to

³³² This document is available on line at OceanLaw.org, “The Ilulissat Declaration,” last accessed 13 February 2013, http://www.oceanlaw.org/downloads/arctic/Ilulissat_Declaration.pdf.

promote safety of life at sea in the Arctic Ocean, including through bilateral and multilateral arrangements between or among relevant states.

The five coastal states currently cooperate closely in the Arctic Ocean with each other and with other interested parties. This cooperation includes the collection of scientific data concerning the continental shelf, the protection of the marine environment and other scientific research. We will work to strengthen this cooperation, which is based on mutual trust and transparency, inter alia, through timely exchange of data and analyses.

The Arctic Council and other international fora, including the Barents Euro-Arctic Council, have already taken important steps on specific issues, for example with regard to safety of navigation, search and rescue, environmental monitoring and disaster response and scientific cooperation, which are relevant also to the Arctic Ocean. The five coastal states of the Arctic Ocean will continue to contribute actively to the work of the Arctic Council and other relevant international fora.

ANNEX D

Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy (2010) — Areas of Focus³³³

- Engaging with neighbours to seek to resolve boundary issues;
- Securing international recognition for the full extent of our extended continental shelf;
- Addressing Arctic governance and related emerging issues, such as public safety;
- Creating the appropriate international conditions for sustainable development;
- Seeking trade and investment opportunities that benefit Northerners and all Canadians;
- Encouraging a greater understanding of the human dimension of the Arctic;
- Promoting an ecosystem-based management approach with Arctic neighbours and others;
- Contributing to and supporting international efforts to address climate change in the Arctic;
- Enhancing our efforts on other pressing environmental issues;
- Strengthening Arctic science and the legacy of International Polar Year;
- Supporting Indigenous Permanent Participant organizations; and
- Providing Canadian youth with opportunities to participate in the circumpolar dialogue.

³³³ Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy, Exercising Sovereignty and Promoting Canada's NORTHERN STRATEGY abroad* (Ottawa: DFAIT, 20 August 2010), 4-5.

ANNEX E

Military Operational Doctrine for the Canadian North

The Canada First Defence Strategy's direction on military requirements for Canada's North stimulated the development of subordinate policy documents aimed at converting strategic direction into operational doctrine and plans. Subsequent doctrine made it clear that CAF missions in the North pose no threat to other Arctic states, and are rather deliberately and unfalteringly defensive in nature with a primary focus of fulfilling distinctly domestic operations.

The first of these policy documents is the *Arctic Integrating Concept* (AIC) published by the DND's Chief of Force Development on September 23, 2010. The AIC outlined the broad military effects that DND needed to deliver to satisfy the Government of Canada's overall Arctic policy within the context of the global Arctic environment.³³⁴ On April 12, 2011, the Chief of the Defence Staff (CDS) and the Deputy Minister of National Defence (DM) issued their *Directive for the DND/CF in Canada's North*. The CDS/DM Directive supported implementation of the government's Northern Strategy within the requirements of the CFDS, calling upon the DND/CF to "leverage its capabilities" to demonstrate sovereignty, provide surveillance, enhance presence, and help ensure the security of Canada's North while concurrently improving its abilities to respond to crises and aid OGDs and agencies in fulfilling their mandates. Incorporating several key elements of the AIC, the CDS/DM Directive aimed to initiate permanent

³³⁴ Department of National Defence, *Arctic Integrating Concept* (Ottawa: Chief of Force Development, 23 September 2010), 1-2. In DND Force Development terminology, "Military Effect" is defined as the physical, functional, or psychological outcome, event, or consequence that results from the execution of specific military or non-military tasks.

planning for increased DND/CF engagement in the North in line with whole-of-government policy.³³⁵

The CDS/DM Directive contained three key assumptions for military operations in the North. The first was that there is no direct military threat to Canada's security in the region.³³⁶ The second assumption was that climate change would continue to affect the Northern environment, creating both economic development opportunities and challenges for the government and indigenous people. The last assumption — stemming from the assessed absence of a military threat and the likelihood of law enforcement challenges — was that in most cases, DND would not be the lead department responding to developing situations or incidences in Canada's North.³³⁷ The one major exception would be in the realm of air and sea SAR for which DND was the national authority.

Two days following the release of the CDS/DM Directive, the CDS approved the *CF Employment and Support Concept for the North*. The intent of the Employment and Support Concept was to provide a framework for DND/CF domestic operations and support activities in Canada's North that would guide detailed planning, resource allocation, force generation, and capability development.³³⁸ The Concept formed the skeleton for the final follow-on policy document concerning Arctic operations, the

³³⁵ Department of National Defence, *CDS/DM Directive For the DND/CF in Canada's North* (Ottawa: Chief of the Defence Staff, April 12, 2011), 1-2, 8. The principle OGDs and agencies that the DND/CF were expected to work with were identified in Annex B of the Directive. These included Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (now Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development), Environment Canada, Public Safety, the RCMP, Department of Fisheries and Oceans, Canadian Coast Guard, Canadian Security Intelligence Service, Transport Canada, Canadian Border Services Agency, Natural Resources Canada, Privy Council Office, the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, and the Canadian Space Agency.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 6, A-1.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

³³⁸ Department of National Defence, *CF Employment and Support Concept for the North* (Ottawa: Chief of the Defence Staff, 14 April 2011), 2-3.

Canadian Forces Northern Employment and Support Plan (NESP), which was published in November 2012.

The NESP assigned operational authority for CAF activities in the North to the Canadian Joint Operations Command (CJOC). Drawing upon all aforementioned Canadian foreign and defence policy documents relating to the North, the NESP describes the CJOC's concept of operations for the region and outlines the capabilities and effects necessary to employ forces within the region. It covers both routine operations, such as presence and surveillance missions, and crisis/contingency operations in response to requests for assistance from OGDs and territorial government authorities.³³⁹ It also defines the operational limitations commanders must abide by.³⁴⁰ The NESP identified U.S. defence agencies as the CAF's principal international partner, but added the military forces of "other regional states" would also be engaged.³⁴¹

³³⁹ Canada. Department of National Defence. *Canadian Forces Northern Employment and Support Plan*, (Ottawa: Canadian Joint Operations Command, November 2012), 2-3, 27-30. The NESP stated that the CAF would work with strategic and operational mission partners to achieve a comprehensive approach to completing its defence, safety, and security missions. Given the vast distances that the Northern operating environment spans, and the unique operational and training challenges presented by its fragile ecosystem, harsh climate, sparse population, limited infrastructure, and connectivity problems with electronic communications in high latitudes, the NESP considers the North to be an expeditionary type operating theatre, wherein military forces need to be uniquely equipped and trained for the environment, deployable, scalable and as self-sufficient as possible. Accordingly, the operational planning process for military activities in the North, particularly when it comes to logistical considerations, more closely resembles the preparations for missions the CF mission has conducted in Afghanistan, the Balkans and Libya, than it does domestic operations elsewhere in Canada.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 22-26. Among the limitations cited in the NESP are legal restrictions limiting the CAF's collection of information and intelligence within Canada, the need to be culturally sensitive to local customs and traditions in the North, refraining from placing an unnecessary burden on local resources in communities where the CAF operates, and to not assume responsibilities beyond the mission mandate.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 17-18. For more on this see also: Department of National Defence, *CF Employment and Support Concept for the North*, 11, 15-16.

ANNEX F

China's Uncertain, but Growing Arctic Interests

An Unsettling Sense of Entitlement to Arctic Resources

While the threat of conflict between Arctic Council states has been widely exaggerated, there are grounds for concern that the pursuits of economic rewards in the region by some non-Arctic states may lead them to engage in aggressive or outright hostile actions. Of specific concern is the People's Republic of China.³⁴²

China has several legitimate national interests that explain its government's desire to be an active player in Arctic policymaking. These interests include, ecological concerns for agriculture production, the impact of rising sea levels stemming from climate change, and the economic benefits of having unrestricted access to Arctic shipping routes, hydrocarbon and mineral resources, and fish. In order to better position itself in determining the political framework and legal foundation for future Arctic activities, China actively lobbied to become an accredited observer on the Arctic Council. It achieved this status on May 15, 2013, despite the reservations expressed by Russia and Canada about further opening the council to observers, and the more generalized apprehension by Russia, Canada, Norway, and the U.S. regarding China's true intentions in the region.³⁴³

³⁴² Lee Willett, "Afterword: A United Kingdom Perspective on the Role of Navies in Delivering Arctic Security," in *Arctic Security in an Age of Climate Change*, ed. James Kraska, 281-298 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 295-296. For more on this see also: Kyle D. Christensen, *China in the Arctic: Implications of China's Arrival in an Ice-Free Arctic* DRDC Centre for Operational Research and Analysis (CORA) Technical Memorandum 2011-196. (Ottawa: Defence and Research Development Canada, November 2011), 66-68; Jakobson, "China Prepares for an Ice-Free Arctic," 12-13.

³⁴³ Richard Milne, "Arctic Council to rule on observer status for China," *Financial Times*, 14 May 2013; CBC News, "Arctic Council grants China, Japan observer status," last updated 1 May 2013, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-council-grants-china-japan-observer-status-1.1375121>. For more on this see also: Mia Bennett, "China wins Swedish support for Arctic Council permanent observer status," *Foreign Policy Association* (blog), 19 April 2012, <http://foreignpolicyblogs.com/2012/04/19/china->

Despite all of its interests, the Chinese government has not yet published a formal Arctic strategy, nor is expected to do so within the next decade. Chinese officials have been wary that active overtures would cause alarm in other countries due to China's size and status as a rising global economic and military power. These officials are therefore cautious when formulating comments on the state's Arctic interests and have essentially adopted a wait-and-see approach to Arctic developments. Their tendency is to emphasize that China's Arctic activities and interests are focused primarily on research into the climatic and environmental consequences of the ice melting in the Arctic.³⁴⁴ A reason for this approach often-cited by foreign policy analysts, including diplomatic staff within Canada's DFATD, is that the Arctic is not a high priority for the Chinese government.³⁴⁵ However, in recent years the actions of some Chinese officials, academics, and researchers indicates otherwise, particularly as they have assessed the commercial, political, and security implications that a seasonally ice-free Arctic region poses for China.

Some of these assessments have aroused suspicions regarding China's future intention to deploy military assets in the Arctic region to protect its national interests. For example, in 2008, a senior officer in the People's Liberation Army (PLA), Senior Colonel Han Xudong, warned that the possibility of the use of force in the Arctic could not be ruled out due to complex sovereignty disputes. In a 2009 national journal article

[wins-swedish-support-arctic-council-permanent-observer-status/](#); Chase, "Q&A with Harper: No previous government has delivered more in the North;" Daniel Proussalidis, "Canada skeptical of non-Arctic nations trying to join Arctic Council," *Toronto Sun*, 14 May 2014.

³⁴⁴ Jakobson, "China Prepares for an Ice-Free Arctic," 1-2. For more on this see also: Linda Jakobson and Syong-Hong Lee, "The North East Asian States' Interests in the Arctic and Possible Cooperation with the Kingdom of Denmark", SIPRI Report prepared for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, April 2013, 11; Christensen, *China in the Arctic: Implications of China's Arrival...*, 37-39.

³⁴⁵ Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *China Report: China and the Arctic: Assessing China's Arctic Interests and Capabilities*, WJGR-1754 (Ottawa: DFAIT, 23 October 2012).

published by the China Association for Science and Technology, Dalian Maritime University professor Li Zhenfu wrote, “whoever has control over the Arctic route will control the new passage of world economics and international strategy.” Li has also pointed out that the Arctic has significant military value.³⁴⁶ In this and related articles that Li published in 2009, he advocated that China play an active, pre-emptive, and vigilant role in Arctic affairs.³⁴⁷

On March 5, 2010 another prominent military official, People’s Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) researcher Yin Zhou, a retired rear-admiral, declared that the Arctic and its resources belong to the entire world and that China is entitled to one-fifth of it proportional to its share of the world’s population. His comments were consistent with other Chinese officials at the time, such as China’s Ambassador to Norway, Tang Guoqiang, that the Arctic resources are the “common heritage of mankind.”³⁴⁸ Rear-Admiral Yin also asserted that China had “to make short-term and long-term ocean strategic development plans [sic] to exploit the Arctic because the Arctic will become a future mission for the [PLA] Navy.”³⁴⁹

Rear-Admiral Yin’s comments prompted a strong reaction in Russia. On March 17, 2010, during a session of the Russian Security Council to discuss the environmental,

³⁴⁶ Jakobson, “China Prepares for an Ice-Free Arctic,” 6-7.

³⁴⁷ David Curtis Wright, “The Dragon Eyes the Top of the World: Arctic Policy Debate and Discussion in China,” *China Maritime Study No. 8* (Newport, Rhode Island: Naval War College, August 2011), 15.

³⁴⁸ Gordon G. Chang, “China’s Arctic Play.” For more on this see also: Kit Dawnay, “China’s Ambitions in the Arctic;” Raul Pedrozo, “Arctic Climate Change and U.S. Accession to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea,” *USN International Law Studies* Vol 89 (2013): 767; Tang Guoqiang, Chinese Ambassador to Norway (speech, Arctic Frontiers Conference, Tromsø, Norway, January 25, 2010); Kraska, “The New Arctic Geography and U.S. Strategy,” 257-258.

³⁴⁹ Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *China’s Interest in the Arctic: a Swedish Report Illicits [sic] China’s Own Internal Contradictions*, WJGR-1244. (Beijing, China: Embassy of Canada, 9 March 2010). For more on this see also South China Morning Post - author not attributed, “Admiral Urges Government To Stake Claim in the Arctic,” *South China Morning Post*, 6 March 2010.

economic, and social consequences of global climate change, then President Dmitry Medvedev stated:

We must not forget either that climate change can give rise not only to physical change, change in the nature around us, but can also see the emergence of disputes between countries over energy exploration and extraction, the use of marine transport routes, bioresources, and shortages of water and food resources. The countries bordering the Arctic region are already actively engaged in expanding their research, economic and even military presence in the Arctic. Unfortunately, in this situation we are seeing attempts to limit Russia's access to exploring and developing Arctic energy deposits, which is inadmissible from a legal point of view and unfair in terms of our country's geographical location and very history.³⁵⁰

While some Canadian news outlets labelled Medvedev's comments as incendiary toward Canada, officials at the Canadian Embassy in Moscow interpreted things differently. They opined that Medvedev's statements may have been a response to Rear-Admiral Yin's and other recent Chinese expressions of interest in the Arctic, rather than a veiled warning to Canada or other Arctic coastal states.³⁵¹

In October 2010, the commander of the Russian Navy, Admiral Vladimir Vysotsky, was widely quoted in the Russian and international news media warning about China's growing economic interests in the Arctic region, including China's business linkages with Norway and Iceland. The Russian naval chief also stated that while at present there were no obvious opponents or allies for Russia in the Arctic region, he believed that the most problematic relations might occur with states outside of the Arctic

³⁵⁰ Dmitry Medvedev (speech, Security Council Meeting on Climate Change, Moscow, Russia, March 17, 2010) available at http://archive.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2010/03/17/1931_type82913_224806.shtml.

³⁵¹ Erik Bjornson, "FW: Medvedev's Arctic Comments," e-mail message to the author, 18 March 2010.

Council, specifically, China. In the face of any such challenges, he said, Russia “would not give up a single inch.”³⁵²

One could also interpret recent Russian naval exercises as strategic messaging aimed at China to contain its Arctic enthusiasm and permanently shelve any notions of military adventurism to assert its interests. For example, during the late summer of 2012, the Russian Navy deployed a large task group to the New Siberian Islands on the eastern side of the NSR. The deployment occurred on the heels of the transit by the Chinese research icebreaker *Xue Long* westward along the NSR en route to Iceland. The naval task group deployment, led by the NORFLT flagship *Petr Viliy*, was publicized as a combined sovereignty patrol, proof of capability, and training mission. It marked the first time in more than 30 years since the Russian Navy had sent any surface combatant vessel east of the Kara Straits. On reaching its destination, the task group conducted amphibious assault training and reconnaissance on Kotelnny Island, the site of former Soviet era Tempa Airfield.³⁵³

The Russian Navy repeated the NORFLT task group deployment the following year, this time coinciding with the westward transit of the Chinese Offshore Shipping Company (COSCO) cargo ship *Yong Sheng*, which was testing the Arctic waters for future commercial shipping use. On reaching Kotelnny Island this time, the naval task group offloaded cargo and personnel to help reactivate the Tempa Airfield, which will serve as a dual purpose civil-military outpost to maintain security in the region as human

³⁵² RT Network, “China seeks piece of Arctic Pie,” last modified 8 Oct 2010, <http://rt.com/politics/arctic-region-china-vysotsky/>. For more on this see also: Reuters, “Russian navy boss warns of China’s race for Arctic,” last updated 4 Oct 2010, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/10/04/russia-arctic-idUSLDE6931GL20101004>.

³⁵³ RT Network, “Russian military resumes permanent Arctic presence,” last updated 15 September 2013, <http://rt.com/news/russian-arctic-navy-restitution-863/>.

activity along the NSR increases.³⁵⁴ A couple of weeks prior to the 2013 NORFLT deployment to Kotelniy Island, a Pacific fleet (PACFLT) surface action group conducted an amphibious assault exercise in Provideniye Bay, 200 km south of the Bering Strait. This marked the first time PACFLT surface vessels had deployed in the Arctic region. More than a dozen ships and 3,000 personnel were involved in the landing exercise.³⁵⁵ From a strategic messaging perspective, these exercises may have been intended to demonstrate that while Chinese-flagged shipping along the NSR is welcome, the Russian Navy is fully capable of intervening to stop them if China does not play by Russia's rules.³⁵⁶

China was forced to publicly backtrack on its "common heritage of mankind" position regarding Arctic resources as a condition of being granted accredited Observer status on the Arctic Council.³⁵⁷ Chinese officials have since further repudiated international concerns generated by the comments of Li, Yin, Tang, and Han. "It is misunderstanding and making mischief," said Qu Xing, head of the China Institute of International Studies, in the aftermath of China being granted its Arctic Council observer status. "China has no sovereignty claims in the region at all, nor intentions to initiate

³⁵⁴ Ria Novosti, "Russia Reopens Military Base to Control Key Part of Arctic – Putin," last updated 16 September 2013, <http://en.ria.ru/russia/20130916/183501749/Russia-Reopens-Military-Base-to-Control-Key-Part-of-Arctic--Putin.html>. For more on this see also: Stratfor, "Russia's Arctic Ambitions," last updated 18 September 2012, <http://www.stratfor.com/video/russias-arctic-ambitions>; Aleksandr Bondar, "We have Returned to the Arctic in Earnest and For a Long Time," *Severomorsk Na Strazhe Zapolyarna*, 1 February 2014; Atle Staalesen, "In remotest Russian Arctic, a new Navy base," last updated 17 September 2013, <http://barentsobserver.com/en/security/2013/09/remotest-russian-arctic-new-navy-base-17-09>; RT Network, "Russian military resumes permanent Arctic presence".

³⁵⁵ Regnum News Agency, "First ever Pacific Fleet amphibious landing took place in the polar region," last updated on 3 September 2013, www.regnum.ru/news/society/1701885.html; Roman Martov, "Amphibious Assault Beyond the Arctic Circle," *Vladivostok Boyevaya Vakhta*, 17 September 2013.

³⁵⁶ This strategic messaging may well have had a broader intended audience than China alone. However the timing and location of the Russian naval deployments lends credibility to the assessment that China was, at the various least, the primary target.

³⁵⁷ The other five states granted accredited observer status at the same time as China also had to agree to this. For more on this, refer to Chapter 5 in the section dealing with the Kiruna Declaration.

military activities.” Another Chinese official, Foreign Ministry spokesman Hong Lei reiterated this, stating China recognizes the Arctic countries’ sovereignty, sovereign rights and jurisdiction in the Arctic area, as well as their leading role in the Arctic Council.³⁵⁸ Since late 2011, there has also been a conscious and deliberate effort by China to tone down the rhetoric in publicly espoused opinions on its Arctic rights and interests in relation to the Arctic states. This self-censorship is due in large measure to the assessment by Chinese officials that previous aggressive postulations by academics and military officials had cost China its accredited Observer status up to that point.³⁵⁹

Despite China’s efforts to ease international concerns, the Middle Kingdom’s intentions in the region remain widely mistrusted in many Arctic capitals, particularly Moscow. In a recent article in the online magazine *The Diplomat*, Stephen Blank of the U.S. Army War College’s Strategic Studies Institute, opined that China may attempt to use its new foothold on the Arctic Council to demand a voice in resolving the regional continental shelf boundaries issue to its own advantage. Blank asserted that the prospect of China attempting to do so is unnerving for the Russian government and that Russia regards cooperation with the other Arctic states as the best defence against such a move. To support this opinion, he quoted a June 4, 2013 statement to the Norwegian media made by Russian Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev. “China is trusted,” stated Medvedev guardedly. “But it is you and us who draw up the rules of the game, that is to say the Arctic states...This is natural, this is our region; we live here. This is our native land.”³⁶⁰

³⁵⁸ Xinhua News Agency, “Xinhua Insight: Arctic Council observer status guarantees China’s legitimate rights,” last updated 16 May 2013, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/indepth/2013-05/16/c_132387742.htm .

³⁵⁹ Linda Jakobson and Jingchao Peng, “China’s Arctic Aspirations,” *SIPRI Policy Paper* 34, November 2012, 14-16.

³⁶⁰ Stephen Blank, “China’s Arctic Strategy,” *The Diplomat*, last accessed 25 June 2013, <http://thediplomat.com/2013/06/20/chinas-arctic-strategy/?all=true>.

China's Icelandic Courtship Deepens International Suspicions

China conducted extensive lobbying to secure an accredited Observer position on the Arctic Council. A significant portion of this lobbying effort targeted the Nordic countries, particularly Iceland which was vulnerable.³⁶¹ Since establishing diplomatic relations with Iceland in 1971, China has lavished that country with state visits and economic support disproportionate to the island state's international stature. Among foreign governments with embassies in Iceland, China has the largest diplomatic presence by far, numbering 500 staff. By comparison, the largest European embassy in Iceland belongs to the French with less than 20 people, while the U.S. embassy has about 70 staff.³⁶² In 2008, China supported Iceland in its failed bid for a two year-term position on the UN Security Council. Then following the collapse of the Icelandic private banking sector, China was among several foreign governments to step in with aid to help bail Iceland out. To that end, on June 9, 2010, China offered Iceland a three-year bilateral currency swap between their central banks valued at more than \$500-million USD. The currency swaps relieved pressure on Iceland's foreign currency reserves. They also helped the country stave off the threat of bankruptcy, and enabled an increased volume of trade with China. Subsequently, Chinese and Icelandic officials agreed to further expand their relationship in other fields, including polar area development, clean energy development, education, and science and technology.³⁶³ At the end of September 2013, the currency swap was extended for another three years.³⁶⁴

³⁶¹ Mikå Mered, "How China Became an 'Arctic State' - The story behind China's permanent observership status in the Arctic Council," *Beijing Review* on-line, 23 May 2013, last accessed 10 September 2013, http://www.bjreview.com.cn/world/txt/2013-05/20/content_543476.htm.

³⁶² Didi Kirsten Tatlow, "China and the Northern Rivalry," *New York Times*, 5 October 2012.

³⁶³ Andrew Ward, "Iceland secures China currency swap deal," *Financial Times*, 9 June 2010.

³⁶⁴ Xinhua News Agency, "China, Iceland extend currency swap deal," last updated 30 September 2013, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2013-09/30/c_132765149.htm.

In April 2013, Iceland became the first European country to sign a free trade agreement with China, a step that deepened its dependence on the Asian economic tiger's largesse. China's negotiation of the free trade agreement met with cynical commentary from many Western analysts who suspected it was an effort to further advance Chinese interests in the Arctic. Andrew Trotman of the London Telegraph wrote:

Iceland has unique importance to China as it attempts to gain a foothold in the Arctic, where melting ice is opening passages for shipping and could create a boom in extraction of resources such as gas, oil diamonds, gold and iron.³⁶⁵

An op-ed article in the New York Times written by former Icelandic Ambassador to the U.S. Einar Benediktsson, and by former U.S. Undersecretary of State and UN Ambassador Thomas Pickering was more pointed. Framing the free-trade agreement in the context of other recent Chinese initiatives targeting Iceland, they wrote:

China has also begun to court Iceland to help get access to the Arctic Council. Last year, Iceland was the first stop on an official European tour by Prime Minister Wen Jiabao and a large Chinese delegation. And when the Chinese icebreaker Xue Long paid call on Iceland, the crew was received by President Olafur Ragnar Grímsson at his residence. The colossus China and tiny Iceland, half a world apart, are now discussing a bilateral free-trade agreement.³⁶⁶

One could assess that China's diplomatic initiatives toward Iceland are part of its undeclared Arctic strategy, whereby in the immediate to short-term, China gains a steadfast, beholden ally on the Arctic Council. In the long-term, it will give China access

³⁶⁵ Andrew Trotman, "Iceland first European country to sign free trade agreement with China," *The Telegraph*, 15 April 2013.

³⁶⁶ Einar Benediktsson and Thomas R. Pickering, "China Knocks on Iceland's Door," *New York Times*, 12 March 2013. For more on this see also: Kit Dawnay, "China's Ambitions in the Arctic," *Current Intelligence* (19 March 2013), <http://www.currentintelligence.net/analysis/2013/3/19/chinas-ambitions-in-the-arctic.html>. Benediktsson and Pickering also made passing reference to a 2011 attempt by Chinese businessmen Huang Nubo to purchase a massive plot of land along Iceland's east coast that accounted for approximately 0.3 percent of the country's landmass. Huang claimed to want the land to develop a leisure resort, however the sheer scale of the land area, prompted some geo-political analysts to suggest the site might be developed in the future as a deep water port serving Chinese maritime interests in the Arctic. Some went so far as to suggest it was part of a long term strategy to turn Iceland into a Nordic Singapore.

to Icelandic ports when navigation routes open up through the Arctic. When that happens, Iceland could become an important site for the transshipment of cargo, which will greatly benefit China's large commercial shipping fleet. It could also provide China with a base where it can refuel and maintain a future Arctic fishing fleet and any PLAN vessels it chooses to send into the Arctic Ocean.

ANNEX G

Danish Defence Agreements in the Arctic

Several international military cooperation initiatives had already been put in place before the Kingdom of Denmark's Strategy for the Arctic 2011-2020 was published. For example, in May 2010, the Canadian and Danish Chiefs of Defence Staff signed a MoU on Arctic Defence, Security, and Operational Cooperation. The MoU enabled Canada and Denmark to deepen cooperation in their respective Arctic regions, through enhanced consultation, information exchange, visits, and exercises. Following the MoU signing, Canada's Chief of Defence Staff General Natynczyk, said working together to enhance the two countries' ability to respond to emergencies through cooperative exercises in the Arctic is key to safety and to strengthening interoperability in the Arctic. Danish chief of defence, General Knud Bartels said the MoU clearly showed that both Denmark and Canada see deepened collaboration and teamwork as the key to address the countries' joint challenges in the Arctic region.³⁶⁷

The MoU built upon a joint visit by the Canadian and Danish Chiefs of Defence to the Canadian Arctic and Greenland in August 2009, and Danish participation in Operation Nunalivut the month before. Since signing the MoU, Denmark has been a regular participant in the annual Operation Nanook exercises.³⁶⁸

To enable additional security enforcement and international confidence building measures in the Arctic, the Danish government drew up the *Danish Defence Agreement*

³⁶⁷ Department of National Defence, "Canada And Denmark Sign Arctic Cooperation Arrangement" DND News Release 10.042, 14 May 2010. For more on this see also: Department of Foreign Affairs Trade and Development, *Canada-Denmark Arctic Relations* (Briefing Note), 19 July 2013; Mia Bennett, "Canadian and Danish militaries build closer ties in Arctic," Foreign Policy Association (blog), last modified 25 May 2010, <http://foreignpolicyblogs.com/2010/05/25/canadian-and-danish-militaries-build-closer-ties-in-arctic/>.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

2010-2014 that strengthens the Danish Armed Forces focus in the region. The agreement contained four initiatives. First, the Armed Forces North Atlantic command structure would be streamlined by the amalgamation of the Greenland Command and the Faroe Command into a joint service Arctic Command.³⁶⁹ This merger occurred on October 31, 2012 with the Royal inauguration of the new joint command headquarters in Nuuk, Greenland. A smaller liaison unit was established in Tórshavn in the Faroe Islands.³⁷⁰ The second initiative was to strengthen the ability of the Danish military to conduct operations in the Arctic environment through the establishment of an Arctic Response Force. The Defence Agreement stipulates that the response force would not be established permanently, but rather be designated from existing armed forces and emergency preparedness units with an Arctic capacity or the potential to develop one. Accordingly, this initiative has parallels in the Russian Arctic Brigade and Canadian Arctic Response Company Group concepts. The third initiative was to conduct a risk analysis of the maritime environment in and around Greenland in light of the anticipated expansion in shipping traffic and human activity in the Arctic. The final initiative was to conduct a comprehensive analysis of potential future Arctic tasks for the Danish armed forces, including opportunities and potential for closer cooperation with partner countries in the Arctic, including in the area of surveillance and all domain awareness.³⁷¹

Relating to the final Defence Agreement initiative, Denmark's Arctic strategy addresses several of bilateral and multilateral partnerships that the country needs to enhance. It observes that Canada, the U.S., Norway and Iceland will remain key partners

³⁶⁹ Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Kingdom of Denmark Strategy for the Arctic 2011-2020*, 20.

³⁷⁰ The Danish Monarch, "Inauguration of Arctic Command" News Release, last modified 30 October 2012, <http://kongehuset.dk/english/Menu/news/inauguration-of-arctic-command>.

³⁷¹ Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Kingdom of Denmark Strategy for...*, 20.

for close cooperation in areas such as the exploitation of resources, maritime safety, climate and environment, indigenous peoples, research, education, health care and defence. Furthermore, the strategy calls for Denmark to “maintain close contact” with Finland and Sweden on Arctic issues. Additionally, the Kingdom wants “to further expand and develop cooperation with Russia, which has been increasingly engaged in international cooperation in the Arctic.” The strategy highlights safety of navigation issues and increased scientific research collaboration as potential avenues for Russo-Danish partnerships.³⁷²

³⁷² Ibid., 52-54.

ANNEX H

Survey of Other States' Arctic Policies

In the five years following the Ilulissat Declaration, leaders of the Arctic Five and other Arctic Council states set pen to paper to draft, revamp and/or clarify their domestic, foreign and defence policies affecting the North. The Arctic Five policies were discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, and Annexes E and G. China's non-policy was discussed in Chapter 3 and Annex F. In this annex the contents of the policy documents not previously discussed are summarized, including those of the remaining Arctic Council states — Finland, Iceland, and Sweden — and key non-Arctic states and intergovernmental organizations cited in the main body of the research paper. The information provided below was sourced, largely verbatim, from backgrounders and briefing notes produced by DFATD's Canadian International Centre for the Arctic Region in Oslo, Norway.

Finland

- In June 2010, Finland's Cabinet Committee on European Union Affairs adopted the country's "Strategy for the Arctic Region." The four main themes of the strategy are: fragility of the Arctic environment; economic activities and expertise; transport and infrastructure; and indigenous peoples. Finland is a proponent of the European Union playing an active role in the Arctic region and is also a supporter of the European Union's Northern Dimension policy. An update to the Arctic strategy was released in August 2013. The update reflected the increased significance of the region and a growing perception of the whole of Finland as an Arctic country. Finland possesses diversified Arctic expertise and it is very much in its interests to be involved in the development of the region. The new strategy is a reflection of the drive to pursue these ambitions.³⁷³
- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland also published a workplan in December 2011 entitled "Finland and Canada: Northern Partners." It covers a

³⁷³ Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development. *Arctic Foreign Policies / Strategies of Arctic States* (Backgrounder Briefing Note). Oslo: Canadian International Centre for the Arctic Region, 16 May 2013.

broad range of themes including security, commercial and economic cooperation, climate change and education. Its overall goal is to deepen the bilateral relations and strengthen cooperation between Finland and Canada. It also expresses a desire to promote closer and wider cooperation between the EU and Canada in Arctic issues. Finland has particular expertise in technology suited for the Arctic environment, including environmental monitoring, oil spill prevention, and Arctic shipping, which holds potential for increased commercial cooperation.³⁷⁴

Iceland

- In March 2011, the Icelandic Parliament unanimously passed a Parliamentary Resolution on Iceland's Arctic Policy. The priorities of Iceland's Arctic policy include: promoting closer political, security and cultural cooperation among Arctic states and regions; securing recognition of Iceland as an Arctic Ocean coastal state; strengthening the Arctic Council; recognizing the international legal frameworks governing the Arctic; promoting the rights of indigenous peoples in the Arctic; and working against any kind of militarization in the region. Iceland is vehemently opposed to meetings of the "Arctic Five" countries (Canada, Denmark, Norway, Russia, U.S.). On April 15, 2013 President Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson launched a new circumpolar forum entitled "The Arctic Circle." Its aim is to facilitate dialogue and strengthen the decision-making process by bringing together as many Arctic and international partners as possible under one large "open tent."³⁷⁵

Sweden

- Sweden adopted its Arctic strategy immediately prior to assuming the Chairmanship of the Arctic Council in May 2011. Three main priorities were identified; climate and the environment, with an emphasis on the protection of biodiversity; economic development, which expresses a desire to pursue opportunities in the Arctic and Barents Sea region; and the human dimension, which includes the preservation of Saami and other indigenous languages, as well as encouraging young people to participate in the political process. In 2011, the Swedish Constitution recognized the Saami as a "people," distinguishing them from other minority groups in Sweden (there are approximately 20,000 Saami in Sweden).³⁷⁶
- When it assume the Chairmanship of the Arctic Council in 2011, Sweden promoted environmental protection through the development of safety standards and best practices in industry, and through negotiations aimed at developing an international instrument on Arctic marine oil pollution preparedness and response. In addition to environment and climate issues, the Swedish Chairmanship has

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ Ibid.

focused on the human dimension issue of the Arctic and institutional issues, such as the establishment of the Arctic Council's permanent secretariat.³⁷⁷

European Union

- The EU began developing its policy for the Arctic region in 2008. In July 2012, the European Commission (EC) and the European External Action Service (EEAS) released a policy statement, “Joint Communication on Developing a European Union Policy towards the Arctic Region: progress since 2008 and next steps,” in part to support its application for AC observer status. The Communication reviews the EU's contribution to the Arctic since 2008, and sets a path for future engagement focusing on three areas: support for research and knowledge to address future environmental challenges in the Arctic; the need to ensure economic development is based on sustainable use of resources; and the importance of intensifying its engagement with Arctic States, indigenous peoples and other partners. It is anticipated that the Council of the EU and the European Parliament will respond to the 2012 Joint Communication to provide the Commission with additional policy guidance.³⁷⁸
- On behalf of the EU, the European Commission applied to become an observer at the AC in 2008. Three EU Member States — Denmark, Finland and Sweden — are members of the AC. Seven non-Arctic EU States are currently accredited observers at the AC (France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain, and the UK). Ministers received the EU's application for observer status affirmatively, but deferred a final decision until all agree that the concerns of Council members regarding the EU application are resolved. In the meantime, the EU may continue to observe Arctic Council proceedings. In response, the EU issued a press release committing to working with Arctic Council members to address the outstanding issues of concern. In this regard, Canada will review options on how to work with the EU to address the negative impact of their seal products ban, including on hunts conducted by Inuit and other indigenous communities.³⁷⁹

United Kingdom of Great Britain

- The UK formally released its Arctic policy document, *Adapting to Change: UK Policy towards the Arctic*, on October 17, 2013. The first part of the document establishes a vision that will guide UK policy: “The UK will work towards an Arctic that is safe and secure; well governed in conjunction with indigenous peoples and in line with international law; where policies are developed on the basis of sound science with full regard to the environment; and where only responsible development takes place”. Accompanying the vision are three principles: respect for the sovereign rights of the Arctic states; the people who

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development. *Canada-EU Arctic Relations* (Backgrounder Briefing Note). Oslo: Canadian International Centre for the Arctic Region, July 2013.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

live there and the environment; leadership of the Arctic States but also of the UK where it can lead, (e.g. on climate change); and co-operation with Arctic States and indigenous peoples. Finally, underpinning all of this is the undertaking of and use of high quality science.³⁸⁰

- In the section on governance the UK's often repeated position on the greater involvement of state observers to the Arctic Council is restated: "The UK believes that those aspects of Arctic policy that are either affected by or contribute to wider global impacts are best discussed by open dialogue with a broad range of actors. The UK will actively encourage the Arctic Council and other regional fora to further engage non-Arctic countries in Arctic matters of global importance." In the next section, it is stated that "the UK will respect the views, interests, culture and traditions of Arctic indigenous peoples and promote the participation of indigenous peoples in decision-making". In the Commercial Development chapter, it states quite unequivocally that Her Majesty's Government supports economic development in the Arctic and what is more, will facilitate "responsible business activity" by UK companies.³⁸¹

Germany

- Germany's main interest in the Arctic region is scientific research and the country has a significant science and research capacity. Other areas of interest in the Arctic are climate change, protection of the environment, transportation (e.g. potential new navigation routes and increased reliance on German ports) and other opportunities for German industry. Germany has the third largest merchant shipping fleet and the world's largest container fleet. It also has industry capacity relevant to the Arctic, such as in the area of cold climate technology. The country's population has a significant interest in environmental protection, as well as Arctic tourism, and to a lesser extent, exploration of mineral resources.³⁸²
- Germany has released its Arctic policy in October 2013, led by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which reflects these interests. Germany recognizes the unique situation of indigenous peoples in the Arctic and their right to a free and self-determined life. Germany views Arctic policy as being first and foremost the concern of the Arctic states, with the Arctic Council as the central forum for cooperation. Germany has been an observer at the Arctic Council since 1996. Germany and France have a joint Arctic Research Station in Spitsbergen, Norway.³⁸³

³⁸⁰ Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development. Analysis of UK Arctic Policy (Backgrounder Briefing Note). Oslo: Canadian International Centre for the Arctic Region, 17 October 2013.

³⁸¹ Ibid.

³⁸² Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development. Germany and the Arctic (Backgrounder Briefing Note). Oslo: Canadian International Centre for the Arctic Region, November 2013.

³⁸³ Ibid.

South Korea

- Two months after its admission as an accredited observer to the Arctic Council, South Korea has announced an ambitious “Comprehensive Arctic Policy Implementation Plan,” setting out its vision of becoming an “Advanced Polar State Opening the Door to a Sustainable Arctic” and presenting a whole-of-government approach to achieve this goal. The Plan is the ‘Arctic blueprint’ promised by the government earlier this year, and was jointly developed by six government ministries and one agency, with strong support from President Park Geun Hye. The Plan focuses on strengthening Arctic partnerships, increasing science and technology capacity, and developing new business opportunities for Korea. For now, local business industries are less enthusiastic about potential opportunities in the Arctic; however, the Korean government believes that it needs to start laying the foundations now, so that it is competitively placed to participate fully and immediately in Arctic development when it becomes more viable in five to ten years.³⁸⁴
- While South Korea is further articulating the details of the Implementation Plan and identifying required resources, this first comprehensive Arctic policy document provides a good overview of Korea’s Arctic aspirations and interests, as well as the organizations that will be centrally involved in delivering South Korea’s Arctic policy. On July 25, 2013, Minister Yoon Jin Sook of the Ministry of Oceans and Fisheries presented the Government of Korea’s Comprehensive Arctic Policy Implementation Plan. The Plan listed three policy objectives: establishing Arctic Partnerships; strengthening science and technology; and developing new business models. The Plan presented a number of specific areas where concrete efforts will be made over the next few years to enhance Korea’s Arctic presence and build its Arctic-related economic potential. A Task Force Team has been established at the working level to review progress and oversee the Plan’s implementation. The Task Force is also charged with drafting a more detailed Arctic Policy Master Plan, which is expected to be released by the end of the year reflecting further inter-ministry consultation regarding implementation details.³⁸⁵

³⁸⁴ Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development. SEOUL-102: Korean Arctic Policy (Backgrounder Briefing Note), Oslo: Canadian International Centre for the Arctic Region, November 2013.

³⁸⁵ Ibid.