



**DANGER
THIN ICE**

**On Thin
Ice: Arctic
Peace**

**Will conflict
create a Third
Arctic Tragedy?**

The Third (potential) Tragedy....

- Climate Change
- Resource exploitation
- Conflict

Stepping back.....New Global Geopolitics: How is conflict and security perceived in the post Cold-War, Post 9/11 world?

- three mega-trends that affect global stability
 - First, a return to multipolarity, where new poles, such as India, Russia, and China, will rise and US power will fall.
 - The key question here is whether the US will accept this fall
 - Second, The breakdown of order in key states.
 - Finally, the integration of rising states and new shareholders in global system will be crucial, if the world is to remain stable.
- In the end, this a matter of adapting existing institutions to these overall changes: The UN, the IMF, World Bank, UNCLOS, etc.
- Given these trends, will the US oppose a division of the Arctic that might benefit Russia?

Problems that defy military solutions

- Climate change
- Computer hackers
- Global resource depletion
- Cascading financial crises.....

Military solutions to problems resulting from Climate Change?



A Toxic Brew in the Arctic

- new shipping routes,
- trillions of dollars in possible oil and gas resources,
- poorly defined borders defining who owns and controls what.....

The Arctic as a strategic region....



The European Union

- "The rapid melting of the polar ice caps, in particular the Arctic, is opening up new waterways and international trade routes. The increased accessibility of the enormous hydrocarbon resources in the Arctic region is changing the geostrategic dynamics of the region."
- ***The European Union should boost its civil and military capacities to respond to "serious security risks" resulting from catastrophic climate change expected this century, according to a joint report from the EU's two top foreign policy officials.***



- --Javier Solana and Benita Ferrero-Waldner

NATO concern....



Arctic Anarchy?

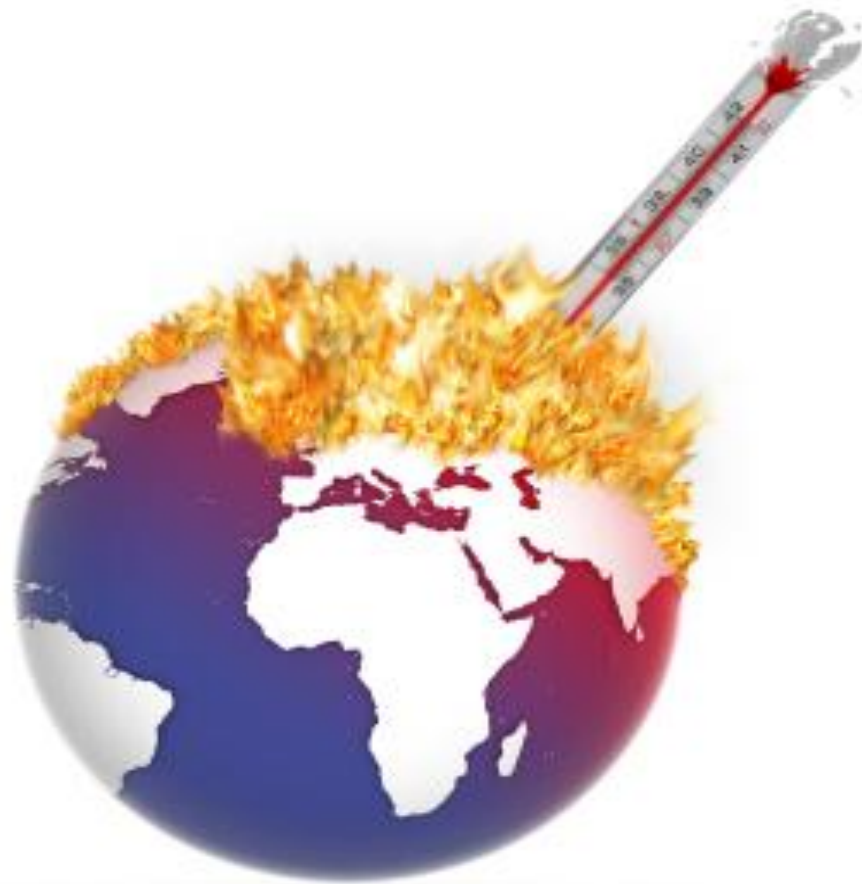


Exacerbating conflict: Politics vs. Planetary Health.....

Tension between

- the short-term perspective of policymakers, and
- Long-term political commitment required to address climate change

.....Is a “Tragedy of the Commons”





What's There to Fight Over?

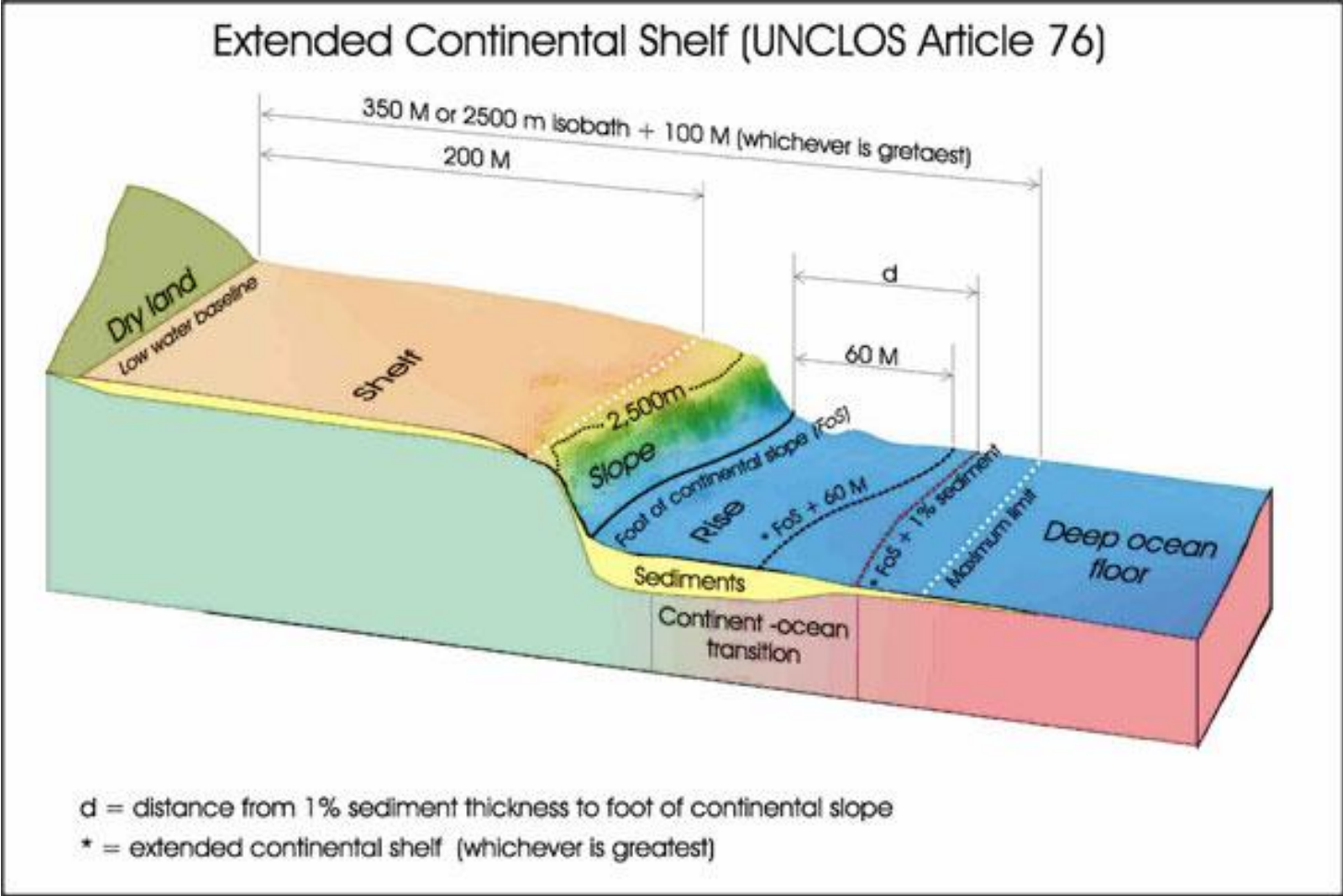
Unsettled borders



Are there really no rules to live by here?

- Until very recently the deep ocean—more than 600 feet deep—which makes up 90 percent of the world's oceans, was considered as the high seas.
 - Piracy was common.
 - England got rich by preying on the Spanish galleons bringing bullion back from the New World.
 - The coastal states' territorial sea extended only 3 nautical miles, as far as a cannonball shot,
- until the Law of the Sea Treaty of 1982 (UNCLOS)
 - extended it to 12 miles in 1982;
 - the treaty also granted to its signatories 200 miles of their continental shelf as an E.E.Z. (exclusive economic zone).

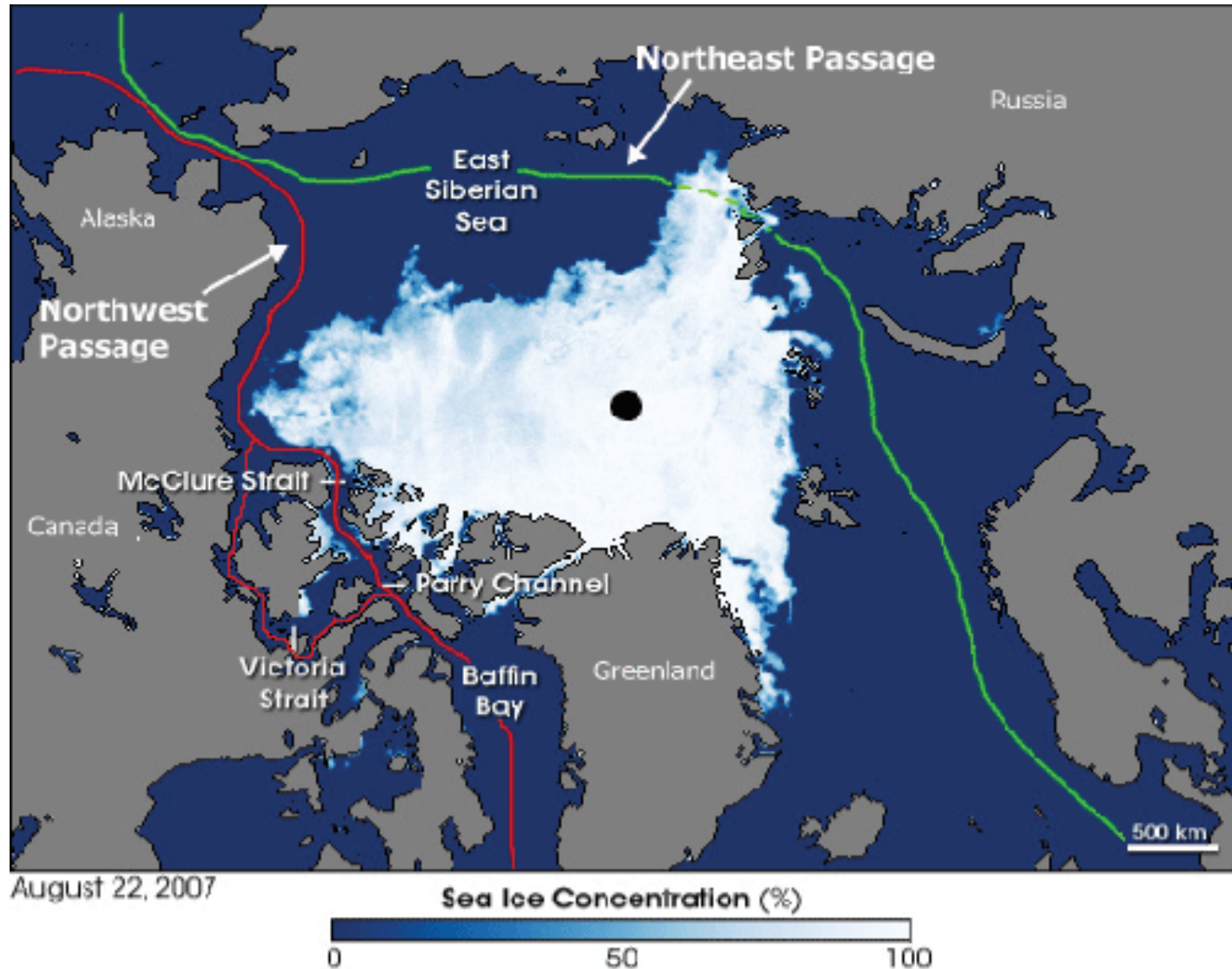
LOST on the Continental Shelf?



Currently there are 5 Maritime Disputes in the Arctic:

- two disputes involve navigation issues;
- the other three center around continental shelf disputes.

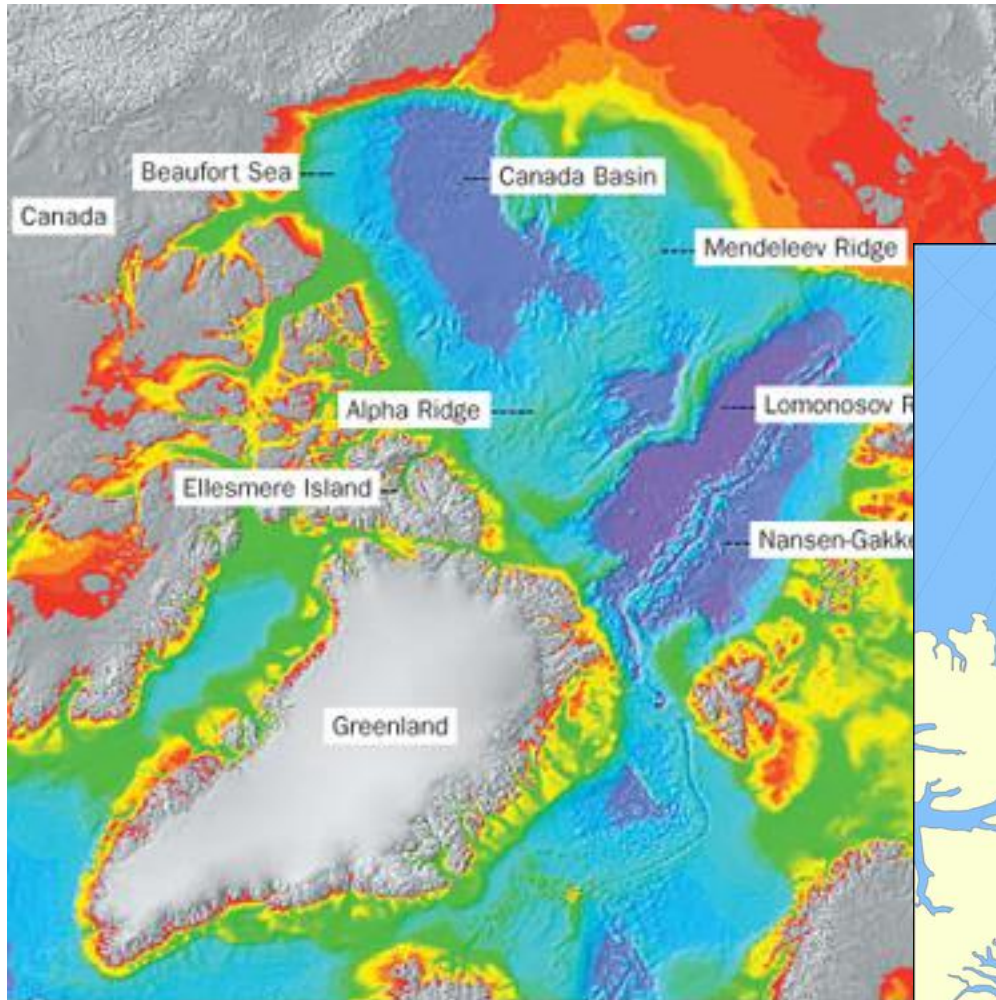
Disputes over Waterways



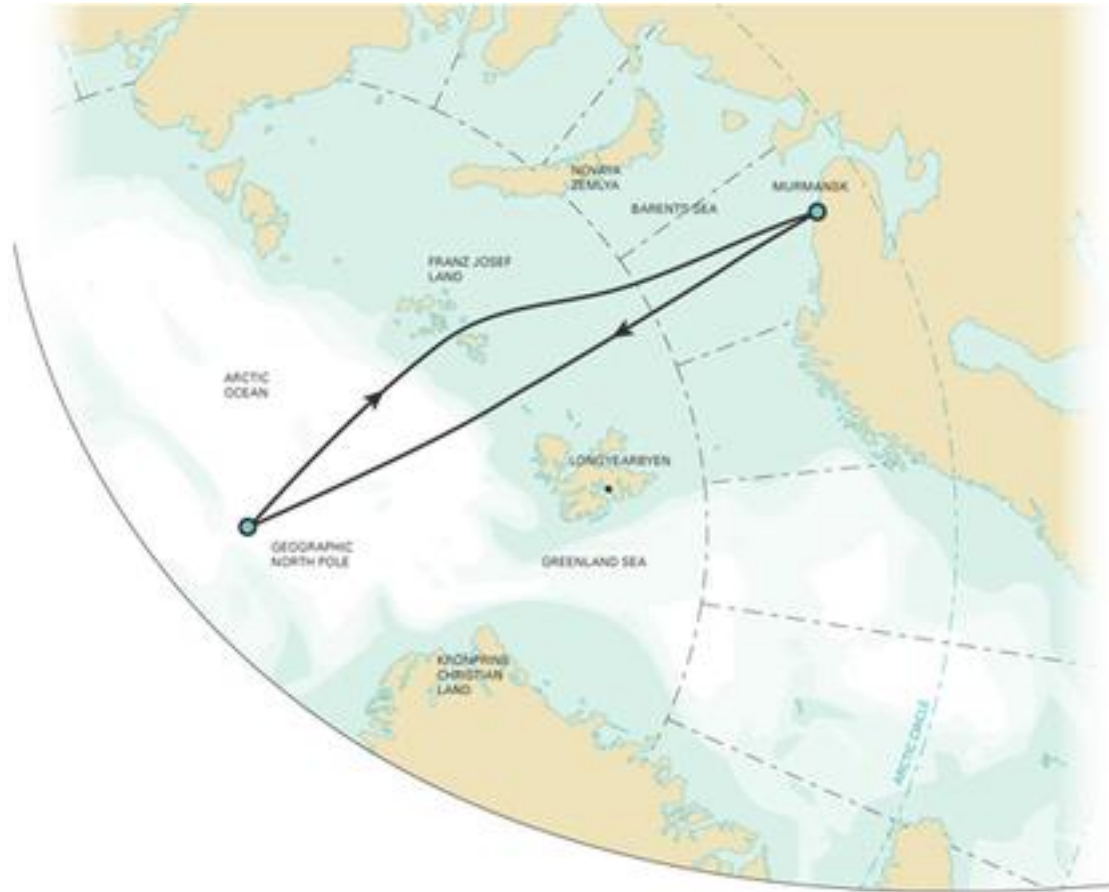
Northeast Passage.....



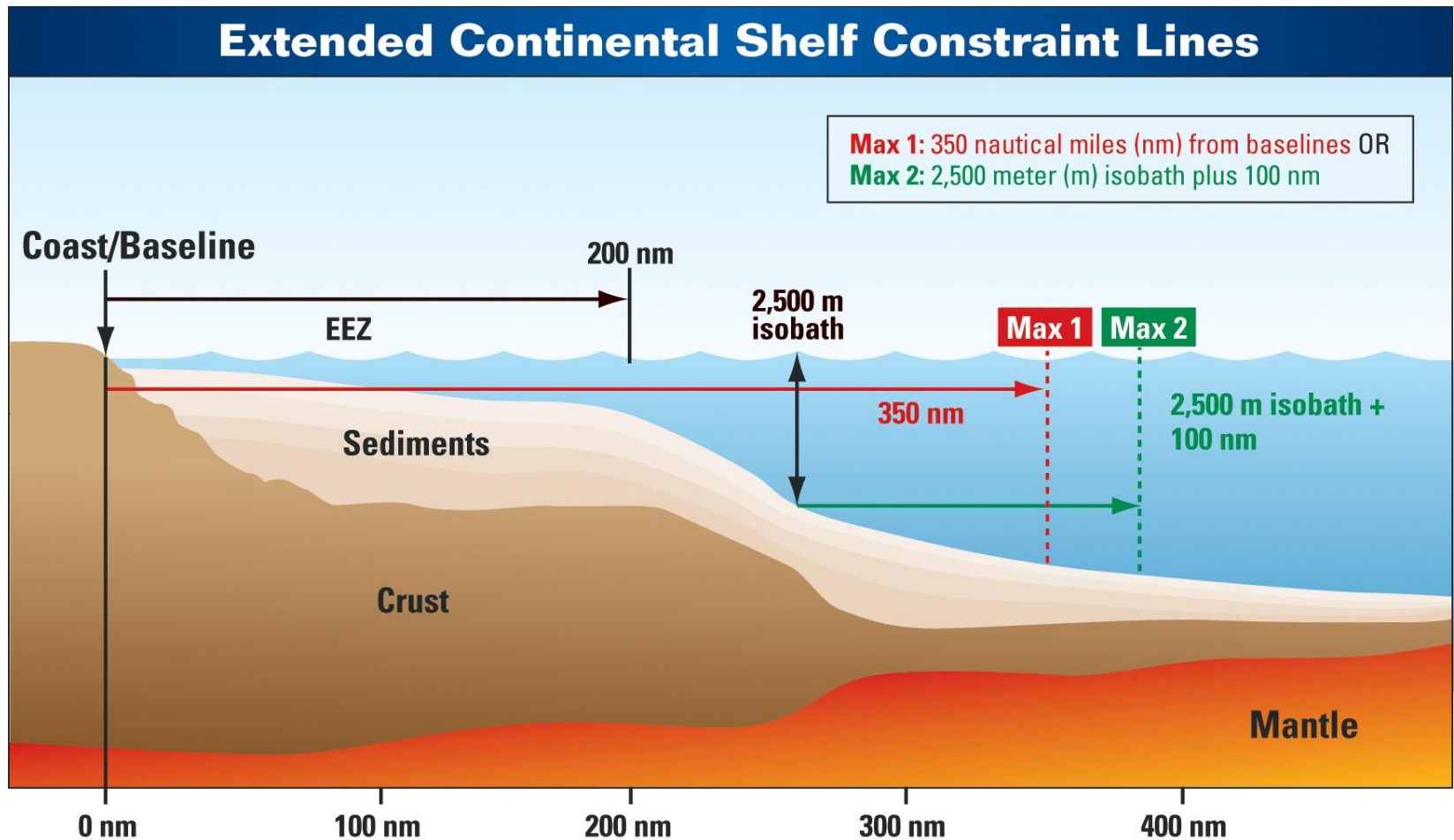
Current Legal Disputes



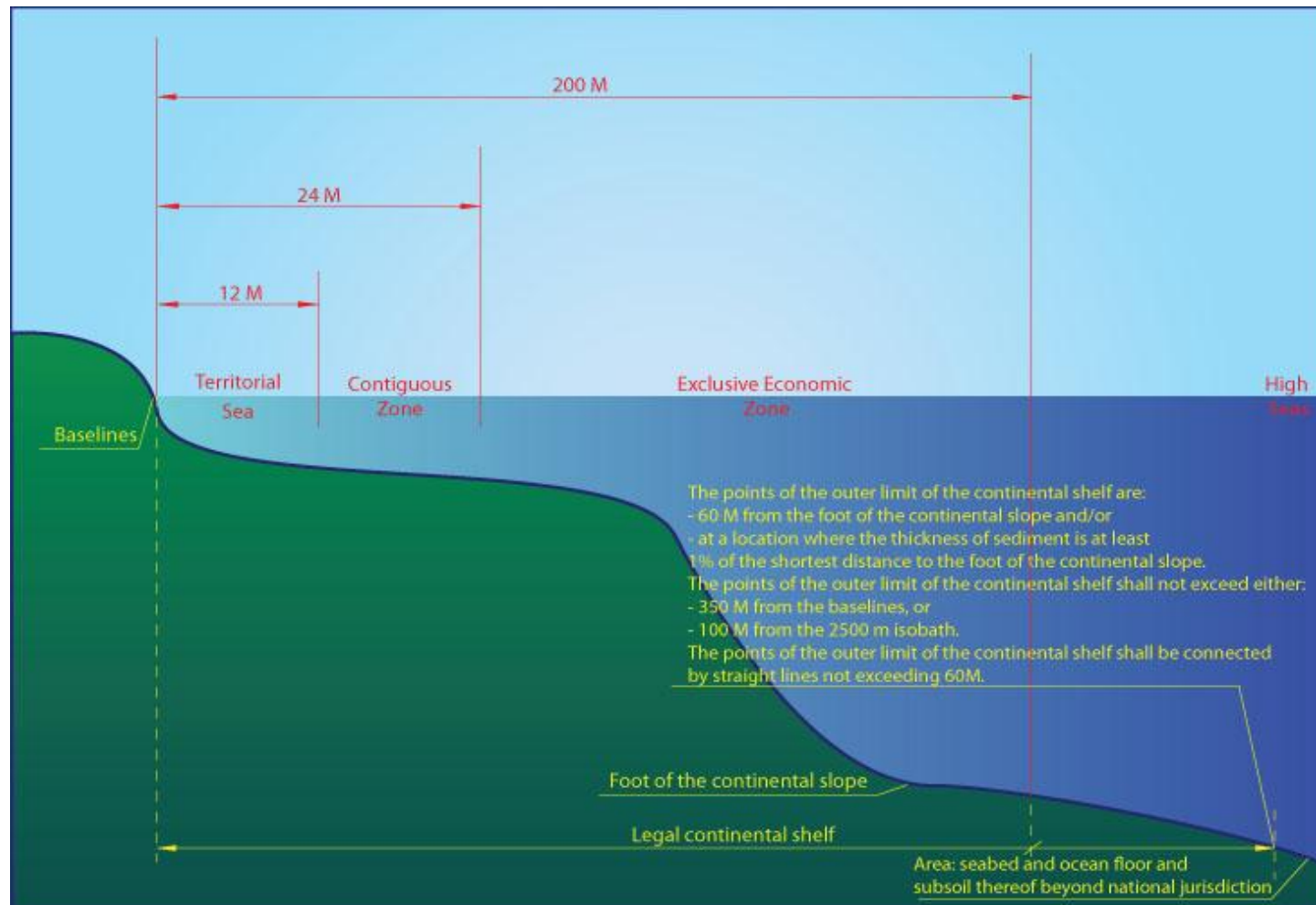
In the Barents Sea.....



Disputes over the Continental shelf



Commission on Limits of Continental Shelf.....



Fishing rights



What are the claims?



Russia: On August 2, 2007, two 26-foot-long Russian submersibles, *Mir-1* and *Mir-2*, descended through a hole in the ice at the North Pole.



Planting the Flag



Santa Claus as a “common good” could belong to Russia



Russian assertion of ownership

- “Our task is to remind the world that Russia is a great Arctic and scientific power.”
- “If a hundred or a thousand years from now someone goes down to where we were, they will see the Russian flag,” he said. The flag was made of titanium.

--Artur Chilingarov*

Why?

- **Russia argues** that a submarine elevation called the Lomonosov Ridge is a natural extension of the Eurasian landmass and that therefore approximately **half of the Arctic Ocean is its rightful inheritance.**
- While leading a mission to the North Pole last summer. Artur Chilingarov, a celebrated Soviet-era explorer and now a close confidant of Russian President Vladimir Putin, declared, **"The Arctic is ours and we should manifest our presence"**

Russia's Claim

- **Russia** has a strong claim:
 - half the Arctic's 4 million people live in Russia,
 - 20% of Russia's landmass lies above the Arctic Circle
 - and it has 6 major rivers that feed into the Arctic Ocean.
- the Lomonosov Ridge, is an extension of Russia's continental shelf and thus Russian territory.
- Moscow submitted a claim to the United Nations for 460,000 square miles of resource-rich Arctic waters, an area roughly the size of the states of California, Indiana, and Texas combined.
- The UN rejected this annexation,
- So.....The Russians ordered strategic bomber flights over the Arctic Ocean for the first time since the Cold War.

The Russian Party line on Global Warming

- Russian scientists say: “the interest in the oil will soon be decreasing, because of new information that global warming is almost over, and the Arctic ice pack will soon be refreezing.” **Say What?????**

Questioning Russia's claim

- No proof!

Canada



Canada: First principle of Arctic sovereignty is “use it or lose it”

- **Canada** claims Northwest Passage as its own internal **seaway**. They want to see passage open to trade, but under their control and possibly subject to Canadian taxes.
- Prime Minister Stephen Harper announced **funding for new Arctic naval patrol vessels, a new deep-water port, and a cold-weather training center** along the Northwest Passage.

Denmark and Norway



Hans Island



Independence for Greenland?



Is Greenland seeking new allies and independence?



China

- The rapid melt is also attracting energy-hungry newcomers, such as **China**, to the region. China operates one icebreaker, despite its lack of Arctic waters.



Indigenous Peoples Claims

- the Inuit of Canada have gained a [substantial autonomous territory, known as Nunavut](#), and
- Yakutsk people in Russia also have a measure of self government
- One Inuit man quoted as saying: “The Arctic sea is ours. It’s where we go for our food, our seals and whales. It’s always been ours, it’s ridiculous for anyone to think otherwise.”

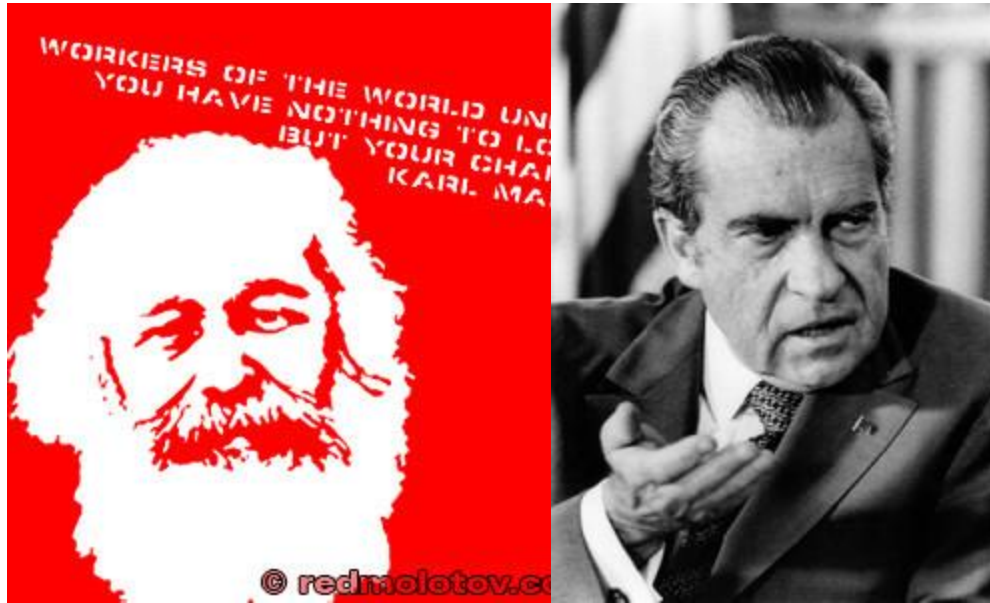
US Government stands on the sidelines

- The US hasn't even ratified the relevant international treaties that would give it a voice in deciding on competing claims,
- Congress opposes ceding any US sovereignty to international institutions.
- The U.S. hasn't even signed UNCLOS.
- Its ratification has been blocked for years by a few conservative Republican senators currently led by Oklahoma's James Inhofe, who is famous for dismissing the human contribution to global warming as "the greatest hoax ever perpetrated on the American people."

The problem of the “seabed authority”



Sea as Common Heritage of Mankind: Marx or Nixon?



A giveaway of American sovereignty?

- “is that signing UNCLOS would be ‘a vast giveaway of American sovereignty’ to the U.N?”

Or is the U.S. forfeiting its rights?



We don't do Treaties.....

- “In 2001 Bush100 or so treaties that had not been ratified from the Clinton administration.”

But even the Bush Administration had started to soften.....so something might happen....

- The administration concluded in 2004 that it's in the interest of the U.S. that the treaty be ratified,
- but only in 2007, was there been a big push. The navy wanted it. So do Exxon, Mobil, Chevron, and ConocoPhillips, two Alaska senators, the environmentalists, Alaskan fisherman, and fiber-optic-cable companies like Verizon, who can lay their lines in E.E.Z.'s.
- But it wasn't brought to the Senate floor
- Why not?

Conclusion

- Conflict is a possible third tragedy of the Arctic
- But there are solutions....
- Stay tuned.....

