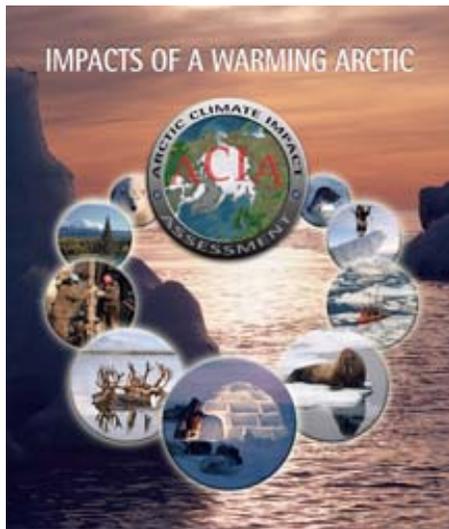


SIS 495 Arctic Sovereignty Task Force – Winter Quarter 2009
Pre-Quarter Readings – Compiled by Instructors Nadine Fabbi and Vincent Gallucci

Climate Change – know the unique impact of climate change on the Arctic region

The reason why there is increased international attention on the Arctic today, in fact the sole reason a course such as Arctic Sovereignty even exists, is due to climate change. As a result of climate change the polar ice cap is melting and this is causing two major impacts.

First, a wealth of natural resources that were formerly “buried” under the ice, are becoming accessible including significant oil and gas reserves. This is causing a “Cold Rush” for Arctic resources. Second, as the ice melts the Northwest Passage (Canada) and North Sea Passage (Russia) could become viable shipping routes in the not-so-distant future taking thousands of miles off of the current routes through the Panama or Suez Canals.



While this course is not about climate change, it is important to understand the root causes of all that we will discuss and research in the course. One of the most accessible and interesting guides to climate change in the Arctic is the report put out by the Arctic Council (mentioned below). This report can be ordered from Amazon.com for a few dollars or accessed on-line.

Climate Change Assignment

Read the Arctic Climate Impacts Assessment – *Impacts of a Warming Arctic*. Know and be able to articulate why and how it is that the Arctic is being impacted by climate change more significantly than anywhere else on earth. Though the report is 140-pages, don't be overwhelmed – at least half is photos and maps, it is easy to read, and we think you will find it very interesting.

<http://www.acia.uaf.edu/>

Natural Resources – know what natural resources are becoming available, their value, and which nations are racing to gain access

The US Geological Survey (US government agency that studies natural resources in the US among other things) has estimated that up to 25% of the world's undiscovered oil and gas reserves lie under the polar ice. This has caused governments and businesses to scramble for ownership and access. Fish stocks are also moving North sometimes from one jurisdiction to another. “Russia contests Norway's claims to fish-rich waters around the Arctic Svalbard Islands, and has even sent warships there to underscore its discontent with the Norwegian Coast Guard boarding Russian trawlers there” (“Technology, climate change spark race to claim Arctic resources,” by Doug Mellgren, Associated Press, *USA Today*, 3/24/07).



Natural Resources Assignment

The following three articles will give you a solid sense of what the potential resources are in the Arctic. Know exactly what resources are coming available, what their value is to the world, and why jurisdictions are contested.

Vanity Fair – not a bad magazine – just dedicated one of its issues to the race for Arctic resources. See “The Arctic Oil Rush,” by Alex Shoumatoff at http://www.vanityfair.com/politics/features/2008/05/arctic_oil200805

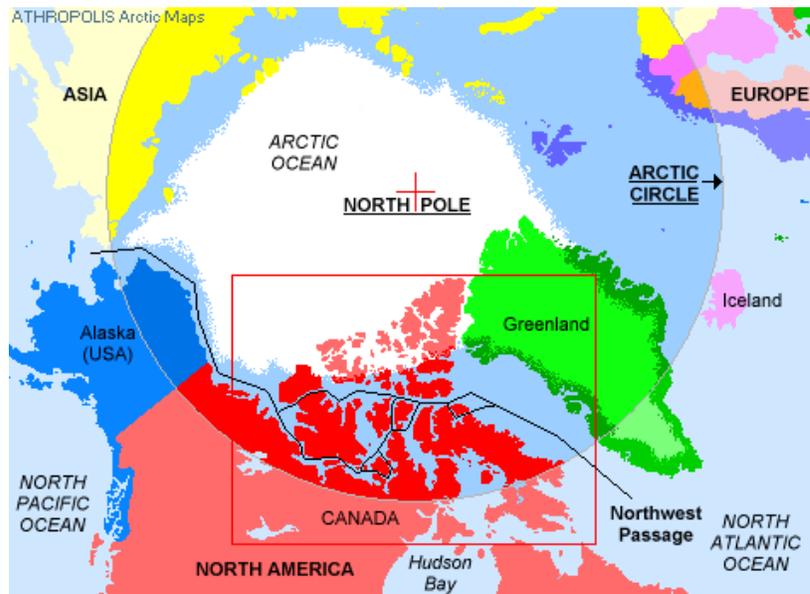
From a US perspective, read the article “Arctic Meltdown,” by Scott G. Borgerson from the March/April 2008 *Foreign Affairs* publication.
<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080301faessay87206/scott-g-borgerson/arctic-meltdown.html>

Finally, there is an excellent piece by Barry Zellen from the Center for Contemporary Conflict at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey. Zellen will be our guest lecturer on 13 February. His article mentions the work of at least two other important people in your course – Oran Young, another visiting lecturer, and your expert evaluator, Rob Heubert. Zellen’s article is very accessible and thorough in its coverage of the issues.

Viewpoint: Cold Front Rising – “As Climate Change Thins Polar Ice, a New Race for Arctic Resources Begins,” by Barry Zellen.
<http://www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/si/2008/Feb/zellenFeb08.asp>

The Northwest Passage – *be able to succinctly articulate the basis for the dispute over the Northwest Passage between Canada and the US and what argument each country employs to make its case*

The search for the Northwest Passage began over 400 years ago when Western European nations were looking for a shorter route to Asia in an effort to bring down the costs of trade. It wasn’t until the early 20th century that a Norwegian explorer finally made it through the Passage and it took him almost 4 years. This hardly constituted a viable shipping route.



Today, as a result of climate change, it is estimated that the Northwest Passage will be open for at least a couple of months during the summer by the end of this century, perhaps even in your lifetime. This would take at least 5,000 miles off the freight routes through the Panama Canal – a considerable savings in time and fuel costs. Given the potential economic

importance of the Northwest Passage, the US (and other countries) argue that it an “international strait” that joins two high seas and must remain open for international shipping. Canada claims that the Passage is part of the country’s “internal waters” and therefore under Canadian jurisdiction.

The issue is highly contentious as indicated by a statement made in 2006 by then Prime Minister-elect, Stephen Harper. In response to US Ambassador David Wilkins’ comment that the Northwest Passage was an international strait, Harper, in his first news conference asserted, “*The United States defends its sovereignty and the Canadian government will defend*

our sovereignty. It is the Canadian people we get our mandate from, not the ambassador of the United States."

Canadian Perspective

Read "The Need to Defend Our New Northwest Passage," by Michael Byers. Byers is the Canada Research Chair in Global Politics and International Law at the University of British Columbia and one of the foremost voices on Arctic sovereignty in Canada. The article is slightly dated – 2006 – but provides an easy-to-read understanding of the issue from a Canadian perspective.

<http://theyee.ca/Views/2006/01/30/DefendNorthwestPassage/>

US Perspective

This is an excellent article by James Kraska, Oceans Policy Adviser, Joint Chiefs of Staff, The Pentagon, Washington, DC. "The Law of the Sea Convention and the Northwest Passage," *The International Journal of Marine and Coastal Law* (2007) suggests that Canada can best achieve widespread global support for managing its maritime Arctic by acknowledging that the passage constitutes an international strait and then working through the International Maritime Organization to develop a comprehensive package of internationally accepted regulations. Attachment

Arctic Council – know what it is, know why its activities are critical

We've now covered the impact of climate change in the Arctic and the subsequent race for resources and shipping that are occurring as a result. How does the world deal with these emerging issues? The Arctic Council is *the* intergovernmental forum that deals with issues in the Arctic region. Each of the Arctic nation states has a seat on the Council – Denmark (Greenland), Canada, Russia, the US (Alaska), Norway, Sweden, Finland and Iceland. Look at the map and note how each of these countries has landmass above the Arctic Circle (or in Iceland's case, on the border).



The Arctic Council was formally established by the Ottawa Declaration of 1996. The mandate of the new body was to provide a means of coordination, cooperation and interaction among the Arctic states *and* their indigenous peoples. Six Arctic indigenous organizations, while not members, have status as Permanent Participants on the Council. We will visit one of these in Ottawa – the Inuit Circumpolar Council.

Two critical contributions made by the Council:

In 2001 the Council endorsed the creation of University of the Arctic, a network of institutions. The UW was voted in as a member in 2008 – Canadian Studies is the Council Representative for the UW. The mandate of UArctic is to provide education in the North, for the North, by the North – a new and innovative focus in global education.

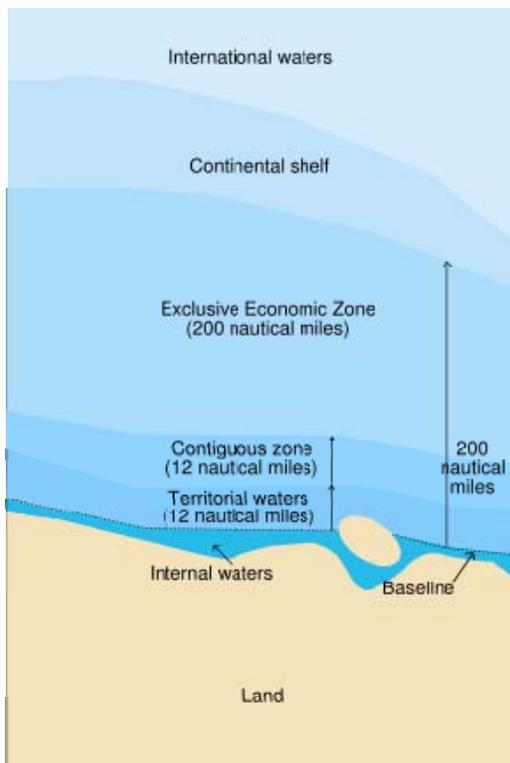
In 2004, at the guidance of the Council, the first comprehensively researched and fully referenced report on Arctic climate change and its impacts on the circumpolar region and world was released (*Arctic Climate Impact Assessment* that you read above). This was the report that brought the world's attention to the impact of climate change in the Arctic for the first time.

Arctic Council Assignment - <http://www.arctic-council.org/>

Visit the Arctic Council website and familiarize yourself with it. Be able to articulate what the Council is and how it is contributing to international cooperation, research, and knowledge about the Arctic. Read the following sections:

- "About" the Arctic Council
- Declaration on the Establishment of the Arctic Council (under "About")
- Norwegian, Danish, Swedish common objectives for their Arctic Council chairmanships 2006-2012 (under "About")

United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea – *be able to articulate how and why the Law of the Sea developed and what its role is in international law*



The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea defines the rights and responsibilities of nations in their use of the world's oceans, the environment, and the management of marine resources. Law of the Sea came into force in 1994 – it defines "internal waters" and "international straits," mentioned above, and the continental shelf. Over 150 countries have joined the Convention. The US has not yet joined the Convention arguing that Law of the Sea is not favorable to either security or US economic interests.

Law of the Sea is *the* guiding convention for all maritime disputes and issues in the Arctic primarily have to do with ownership over the oceans and continental shelf. A legal expert on the continental shelf will be one of our guest visitors (Ted McDorman, University of Victoria) and, you will meet at least four legal experts on the UN Convention of the Law of the Sea at the University of Ottawa.

Go to the official web site for the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea and click on "The Convention – a Historical Perspective" on the left side of the page. It is a well-written and

interesting document that will give you a solid foundation in the history and impact of the Convention.

http://www.un.org/Depts/los/convention_agreements/convention_overview_convention.htm

Northern Dimension of Foreign Policy – *be able to summarize in a few sentences the key and distinct aspects of each country's and Inuit Arctic policy*

New to international foreign policy is what might be called "northern dimensions" of foreign policy, Arctic policy or northern strategies. All of the Arctic nations have developed new aspects to foreign policy that simply did not exist 10 years ago. These policy statements tell us a great deal about how a particular nation views its Arctic regions, what role the Arctic plays in national identity, and how a nation is positioning itself to benefit from resources/shipping. Below are the Arctic policy statements by each of the major "players" in this dispute. Attempt to get a sense of each nation/region's particular interests and concerns while gaining an

overall sense of the enormous impact the Arctic is now playing in foreign policy. After reading through these official policies, one might come to believe that the world is truly being understood from a new perspective – a circumpolar perspective.

Canada

The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada (the department that is hosting your visit to Ottawa) produced its northern policy statement in 2000. *Northern Dimension of Foreign Policy* provides a framework to promote the extension of Canada's interest, values and responsibilities in the North. It is an easy to read and very interesting document.

<http://www.international.gc.ca/polar-polaire/assets/pdfs/ndcftp-en.pdf>

United States

This past fall the US Arctic Policy statement was to have been released. It is an over 18-month effort that included input from all departments involved in the Arctic. As a class we can watch for its release. In the meantime, read the announcement made by Margaret Hayes, Director of the Office of Oceans Affairs in Alaska in August 2008. Go to the US Department of State, Arctic Policy website and in the far left column, click on Margaret Hayes remarks:

<http://www.state.gov/g/oes/ocns/arc/>. Also read the second document in the same column by Evan Bloom, Deputy Director for Polar and Scientific Affairs. Bloom addressed a Canadian audience last spring and attempted to articulate US Arctic Policy.



Norway

From the Norwegian government's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "The High North will be Norway's most important strategic priority area in the years ahead. The Government will intensify efforts to exercise Norwegian sovereignty and ensure sustainable management of the rich fisheries and energy resources in the region. Norway's High North policy is intended to protect the environment, maintain settlement patterns and promote business development. The Government will further develop cooperation with Russia and our other partners in the north."

Click on Strategy for the High North just under the introduction:

<http://www.regjeringen.no/en/dep/ud/selected-topics/High-North.html?id=1154>

European Union, Iceland, Norway and the Russian Federation

In 2006 the EU, Iceland, Norway and the Russian Federation created a cooperative framework entitled, *Northern Dimension*. *Northern Dimension* focuses on specific relevance in the North, such as the environment, social issues, and indigenous peoples' issues.

At the European Commission website, read the opening page and then click on "Political Declaration on the Northern Dimension Policy" (less than 2 pages) and the "Northern Dimension Policy Framework" (8 pages) to get a sense of how these four partners are identifying their Arctic interests and strategies.

http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/north_dim/

European Union

This fall a very interesting report was released. The European Commission produced *The European Union and the Arctic Region* that states the European Union's interests in the Arctic and constitutes the first steps towards creating an Arctic policy. This is the first time that primarily non-Arctic states are defining Arctic foreign policy.

Go to the European Commission, Maritime Affairs page given here. On the right side of the page is a sidebar entitled, "The EU and the Arctic Region" – click through the chapters of this 13-page report – http://ec.europa.eu/maritimeaffairs/arctic_overview_en.html

Inuit

We are going to end your reading assignment with a speech given by Sheila Watt-Cloutier an Inuk from Northern Québec who was the former president of the international Inuit association, the Inuit Circumpolar Council. In this speech Watt-Cloutier, who is presently writing a book entitled, *The Right to Be Cold*, expresses some of the arguments of the Inuit regarding Arctic sovereignty. See the 2006 speech, "Inuit, Climate Change, Sovereignty, and Security in the Canadian Arctic" at:

<http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/index.php?ID=91&Lang=En>

