

VII

Lisbon International Arctic Conference and Workshop

13 December 2019 | ISCS Sala Lisboa

What if the Arctic Region Could Speak?
Multidimensional Security Changes in the Arctic:
Global Geopolitics and Geostrategy

VII Lisbon International Arctic Conference and Workshop
Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas (ISCS)
Universidade de Lisboa (ULisboa)
December 13, 2019

17:30 | Arctic Security and Defense: From Past to Present and into the Future

Arctic Security: A Global Challenge

Marco Marsili

FCT Fundação
para a Ciência
e a Tecnologia

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The Increasing Importance of the Arctic

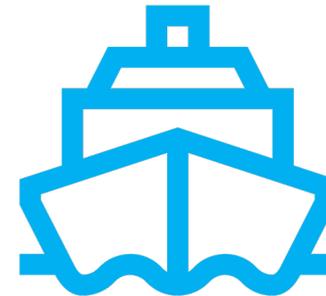
- The Arctic region has become an arena for power and for competition, and the Arctic nations must adapt to this new future.
- Offshore resources are the subject of renewed competition: the Arctic region holds the greatest concentration of the world's undiscovered oil and gas, uranium, gold, diamonds, rare earth minerals – phosphate, bauxite, iron ore, copper, and nickel – and fish.
- Nowadays, environmental and economic issues are broadly considered to be threats to security and stability.
- Therefore, the protection of these resources is a security issue, which involves the use of force or military means.
- This is an issue that concerns the traditional domains of operations – land, sea, and air.
- The maritime domain – i.e. the Arctic Ocean – is predominant, due to the allocation of resources, and the operating environment.
- Sea routes are the 'liquid' highways along which goods travel across the world, and therefore play a strategic economic role – a global one.

The Arctic Highways



The Arctic Maritime (Shipping) Routes

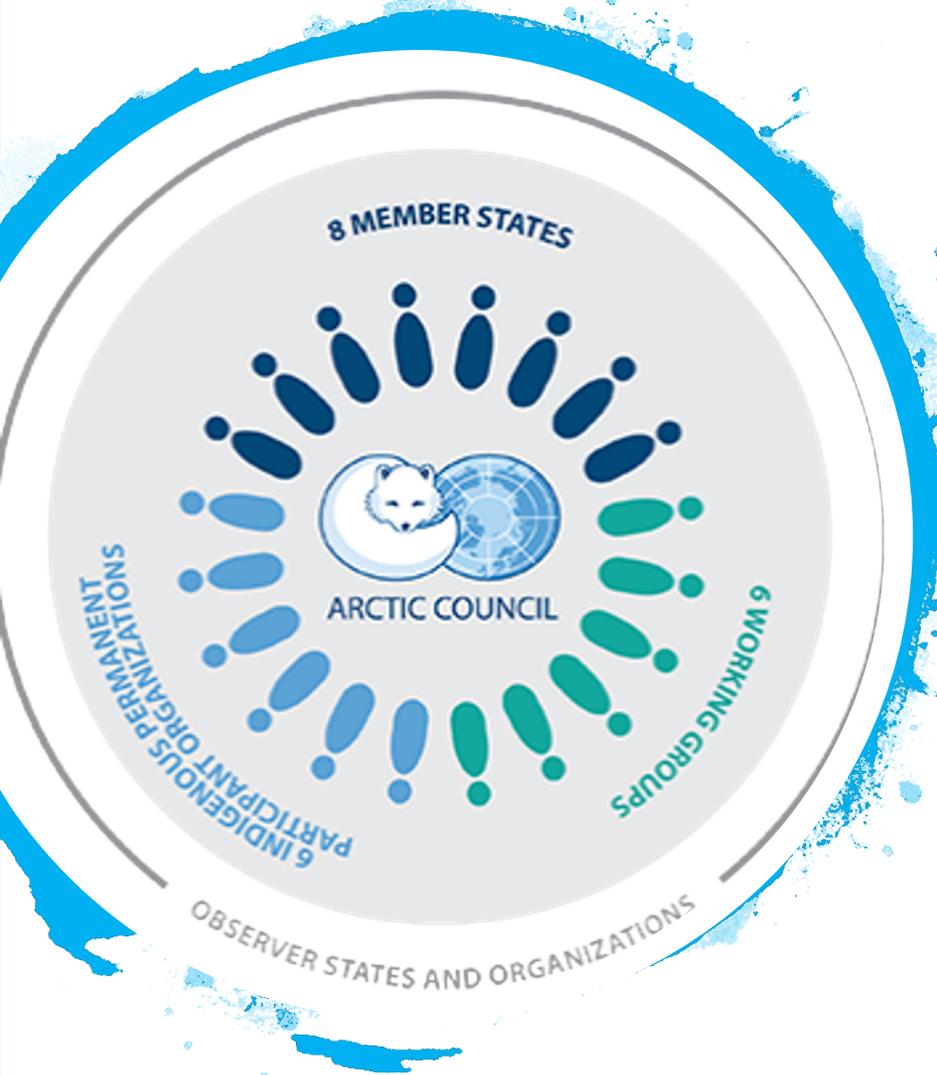
- The **Northeast Passage (NEP)** is the overall route on Russia's side of the Arctic between North Cape and the Bering Strait; it traverses (from west to east) the Barents Sea, Kara Sea, Laptev Sea, East Siberian Sea, and Chukchi Sea, and it includes the Northern Sea Route (NSR).
- The **Northern Sea Route (NSR)** is a portion of the NEP that lies in Arctic waters and within Russia's exclusive economic zone (EEZ); it is defined in Russian law. While the NEP includes all the East Arctic seas and connects the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, the NSR does not include the Barents Sea, and it therefore does not reach the Atlantic.
- The **Northeast Passage (NEP)** is, from the European and northern Atlantic point of view, the shipping route to the Pacific Ocean, along the Arctic coasts of Norway and Russia.
- The **Northwest Passage (NWP)**, going through the Canadian Arctic Archipelago and the coast of Alaska.
- The **Transpolar Route (TSR)**, going through the North Pole.
- The **Arctic Bridge Route (ABR)**, a seasonal route, enabled by the retreat of ice, linking Russia to Canada, currently is only easily navigable about four months a year. If developed (along with the NWP) it could serve as a major trade route between Eurasia and North America.







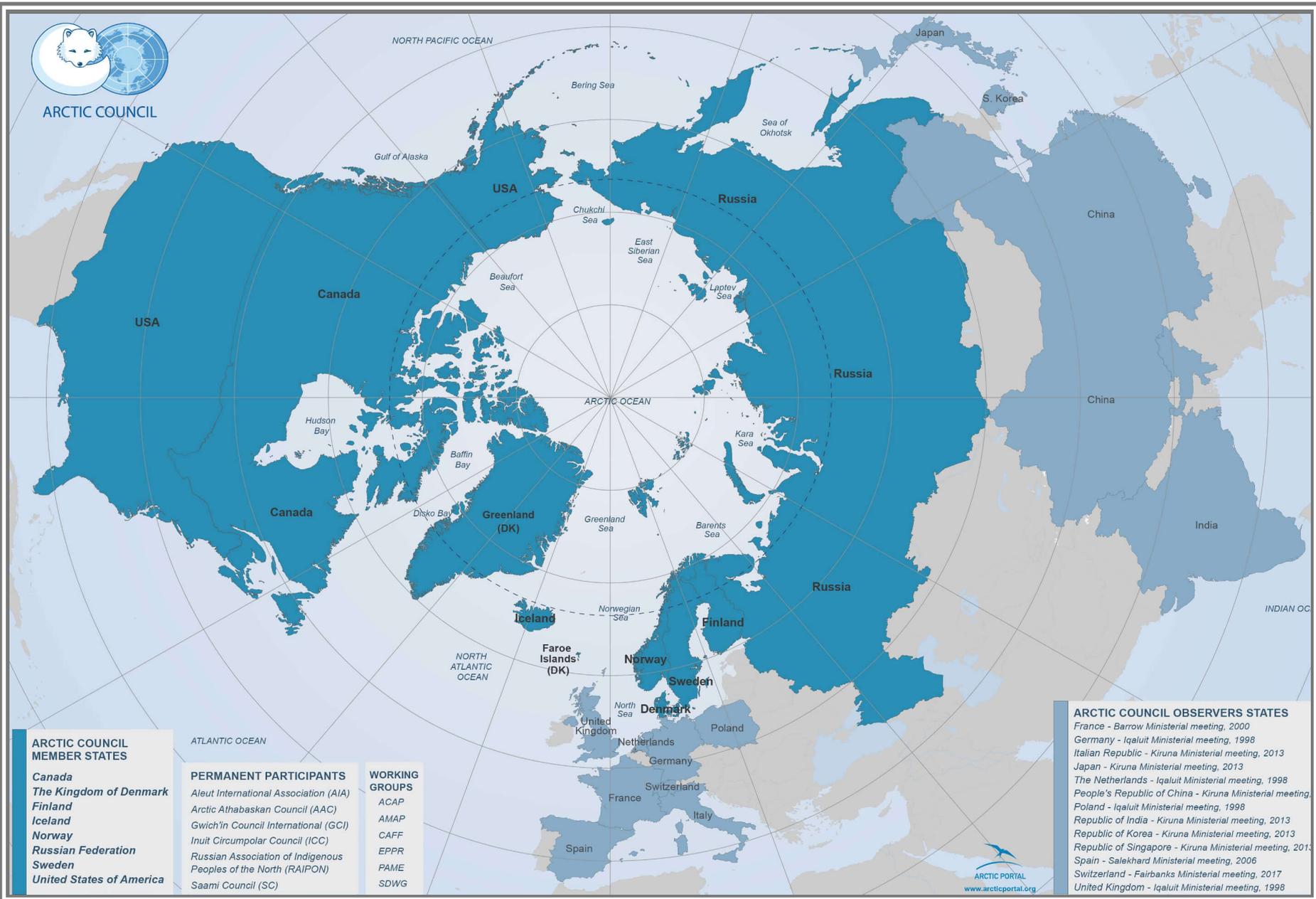
ARCTIC COUNCIL



- The Arctic Council consists of the eight Arctic States: U.S., Canada, Denmark (including Greenland and the Faroe Islands), Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Russia.
- Six international organizations representing Arctic Indigenous Peoples have permanent status.
- Thirteen Non-Arctic States have observers status: France, Germany, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands, Poland, India, Korea, Singapore, Spain, Switzerland, UK, China.
- The EU applied twice as observer: 2009 (blocked by Canada) and 2013 (decision pending).
- AC's mandate explicitly excludes military security (Footnote to Art. 1(a) of the *Ottawa Declaration* of 1996).



ARCTIC COUNCIL



LAW OF THE SEA CONVENTIONS

Upon ratification of the UNCLOS, a country has a ten-year period to make claims to an extended continental shelf which, if validated, gives it exclusive rights to resources on or below the seabed of that extended shelf area. Norway (1996), Russia (1997), Canada (2003), and Denmark (2004) have ratified the Convention. The United States has signed it, but not yet ratified.

UNCLOS



United Nations

The Scramble for the Arctic

The sovereignty of large parts of the Arctic region is contested, and this could trigger conflicts.



Russian Claimed Territory in Arctic Ocean

- 2001 - Moscow makes an official submission into the UN Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (CLCS), pursuant to UNCOLOS Art. 76(8), asking to set new outer limits of the continental shelf of Russia beyond the previous 200 mile zone, but within the Russian Arctic sector. The territory claimed by Russia is a large portion of the Arctic, including the North Pole.
- One of the arguments is a statement that the Lomonosov Ridge, an underwater mountain ridge underneath the Pole, and the Mendeleev Ridge are extensions of the Eurasian continent.
- 2002 - The CLCS neither rejects nor accepts the Russian proposal, recommending additional research.
- 2015 - Russia resubmits its application, fostered by new arguments based on "ample scientific data collected in years of Arctic research". Through this request, Russia is claiming 1.2 million km² (over 463,000 sq mi) of Arctic sea shelf extending more than 350 NM (about 650 km) from the shore.





The North Pole: A Disputed Domain

- Due to the increasing decline of Arctic sea ice extent, the TSR may emerge as a major Arctic shipping route.
- The route, that is currently only navigable by heavy icebreakers, largely avoids the territorial waters of Arctic states and lies in international high seas.
- The passage outside the exclusive economic zones of Arctic coastal states makes the TSR of special geopolitical importance, and triggers disagreements about maritime boundaries.



**Arctic is
nobody's lake.**

An International Domain?

- No country possesses the North Pole and the region of the Arctic Ocean surrounding it – the five surrounding Arctic countries (Russia, U.S., Canada, Norway and Denmark) are limited to an EEZ of 200 NM (370 km) adjacent to their coasts.
- In Apr. 2019 Adm. James G. Foggo III, commander of the U.S. Naval Forces Europe and Africa and Allied Joint Forces Command Naples, characterized the Arctic region as "nobody's lake", and called to limit Russian sovereignty over that "international domain".
- His remarks were particularly aimed at the Northern Sea Route (NSR) – a portion of the Northeast Passage (NEP).



Arctic Security

Arctic Council (AC)

U.S., Canada, Denmark,
Finland, Iceland, Norway,
Sweden, Russia

European Union (EU)

Iceland, Norway, Denmark
(excluding Greenland)

North Atlantic Treaty Alliance (NATO)

U.S., Canada, Denmark,
Iceland, Norway

Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC)/Partnership for Peace (PfP)

Finland, Sweden, Russia
(suspended in 2014)

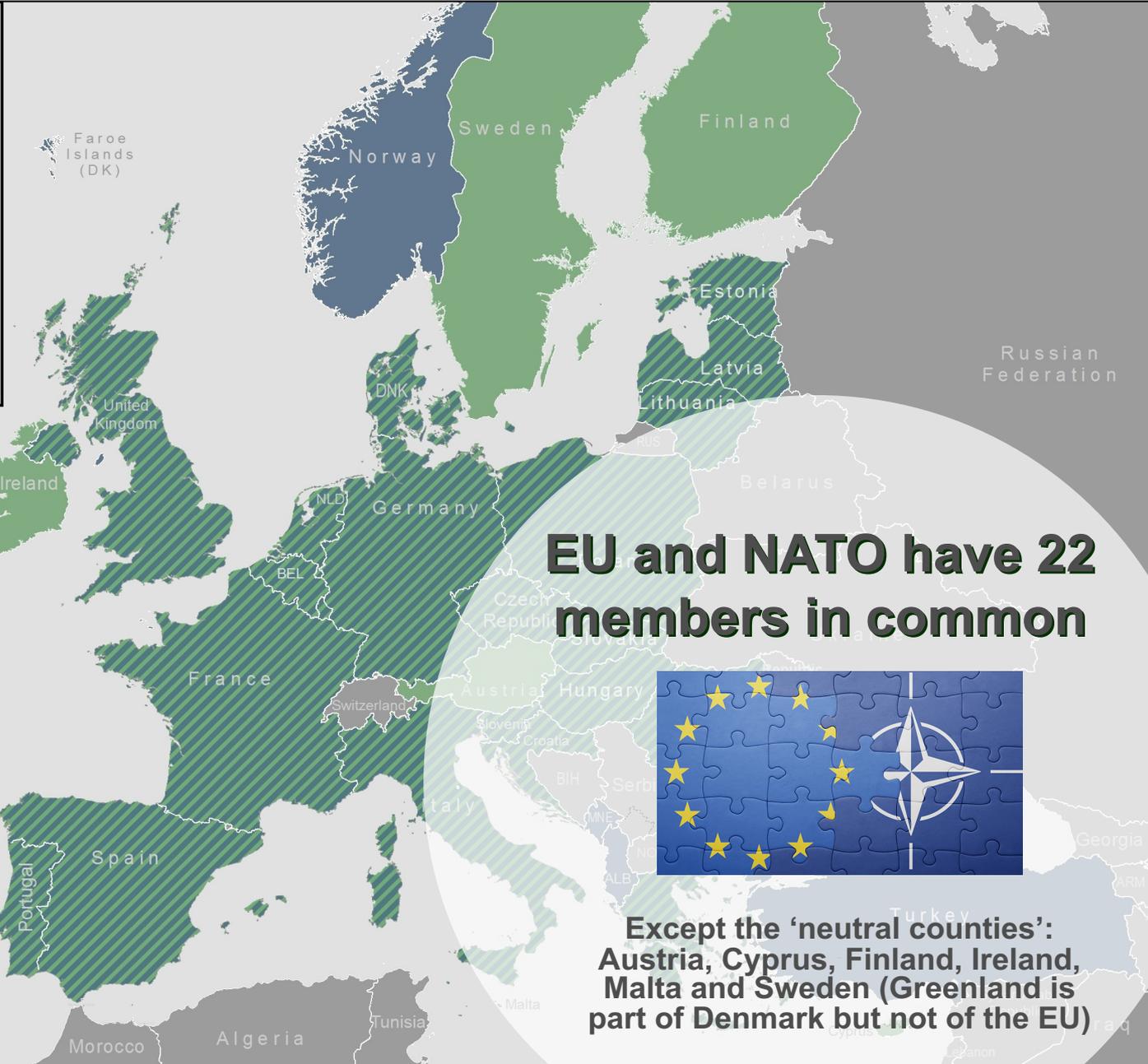
OSCE PA

56 member countries (all EU
members, U.S., Russia)
Special Representative
for Arctic Issues (est. 2015)

Barents Euro-Arctic Council (BEAC)

Denmark, Finland, Iceland,
Norway, Sweden, Russia





EU and NATO have 22 members in common

**Except the 'neutral counties':
Austria, Cyprus, Finland, Ireland,
Malta and Sweden (Greenland is
part of Denmark but not of the EU)**

- Legend**
- EU member
 - NATO member
 - NATO & EU Member





A Global Security Challenge

Marco Marsili - Arctic Security: A Global Challenge



**2013 China gains Non-Arctic State AC observer status.
2012-2017 China invests \cong US\$90 billion in Arctic.
2018 (Jan.) China publishes the Arctic Strategy that promotes a "Polar Silk Road", and claims to be a "Near-Arctic State".**

The Chinese Arctic Strategy

The Russian Arctic Strategy

- The Russian Federation claims over the international waters of the Northern Sea Route to be placed under the jurisdiction of Moscow .
- 2013 (Feb.) – The Russian President approves the Strategy for the Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation and National Security Efforts up to 2020.
- 2014 - Russia announces its intent to increase its military presence in the region, and re-opens a Cold War Arctic military base.
- 2017 (Sept.) - The new version of the Socioeconomic Development of the Arctic Zone program aims to ensure Russia's strategic interests and national security in the Arctic up to 2025.
- Moscow has been reported to have built 475 new military sites, including bases north of the Arctic Circle, as well as 16 new deep-water ports, secured through air defense systems and anti-ship missiles.





South China Morning Post
Illustration: Craig Stephens

The Emerging China-Russia Axis

Sept. 2019: Russia announces plans to connect the Northern Sea Route with China's Maritime Silk Road.

Defense and Security Threats

- China and Russia are gaining advantage of the current situation and expanding their influence in the region.
- China's strategic defense thinking moved maritime security posture from a regional one to a global scale.
- Beijing may seek to influence Arctic governance via its economic power.
- China could use its civilian research presence in the Arctic to strengthen its military presence – including deployment of submarines to the region as a deterrent against nuclear attack.
- There are warnings about the Arctic Ocean to be transformed into 'a new South China Sea', militarized and with territorial claims.



Conclusions and Recommendations

- The Arctic region is at risk of conflicts over the dispute of its resources, and cannot be left without a governance shared by the international community. It is not a regional issue, but a global one, and should be treated as such.
- A fragmented governance – or *de facto* no governance – can be overcome by a governance entrusted to the United Nations, or to an international intergovernmental organization established or promoted by the latter. Collective security may be easier achieved through an international cooperation, rather than through a multilateral one.
- The AC lacks of legal means to address effectively the security challenges posed by Russia and China, nor it can rely on the UNSC because of the veto right of these two member States. The AC should adopt governance rules to overcome vetoes that can block majority decisions, such as the accession of the EU as observer.
- The EU should adopt a new Arctic policy that highlights the security and military challenges, and that opens to a more effective cooperation with the NATO. This thread would open the door to a debate within the five 'neutral' members of the EU, especially Arctic countries Finland and Sweden.



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Full paper will be published in a collective volume, following peer review.

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Event organized by Prof. Sandra Balão, with the support of the Political Science, Strategy and International Relations Unit at ISCSP

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10:00 | Opening Ceremony
Alice Trindade
 Vice-President of ISCSP
Maria de Fátima Amato
 Vice-President of CAPP's Executive Board
António de Sousa Lara
 Coordinator of the International Relations Unit at ISCSP
Pedro Moreira da Fonseca
 Deputy Coordinator of the Political Science Unit at ISCSP
Sandra M. Rodrigues Balão
 Deputy Coordinator of the Strategy Unit at ISCSP

Moderation: Lasse Holmoinen
10:30 | Arctic Cooperation, (Geo)Politics and Economy - Multidimensional Approaches
The Arctic Research Center of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona: First steps
 Edward Ariza - The Arctic Research Center of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain
 Niko Ekström - Director of the Stockholm Arctic Institute, Åkureyri, Iceland
The meaning of geopolitics and its application in the Arctic
 Carlos Mendes Dias - Instituto Superior de Ciências da Informação e da Administração, Portugal
The Arctic paradox of political (in)tolerance: how much does it differ in these societies?
 Vítor Queiroz - IGCE, Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, Portugal
Polar Silk Road - A new Geo-economics' challenge
 Mário Pontes - Centre for Public Administration and Public Policies / ISCSP / Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal

11:00 | Lunch Break

Moderation: Teresa Almeida e Silva
13:00 | Arctic Governance, Policy and Strategy
Canada and the evolution of its Arctic Policies and Strategies
 Vitor Cidelo - Institute of Social and Political Sciences / Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal
EU, NATO and USA Arctic Policies and Strategies in the XXI Century: Common Ground or Asymmetry?
 Sandra Balão - Centre for Public Administration and Public Policies / ISCSP / Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal
Bolstering Governance in the Arctic
 Maria de Ceu Pinto - School of Economics and Management / University of Minho, Portugal

13:00 | Networking Coffee

Moderation: Sandra Balão
17:30 | Arctic Security and Defense: From Past to Present and into the Future
Arctic Security: A Global Challenge
 Marco Marsili - Research Centre of the Institute for Political Studies / Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Portugal
Arctic Defense and Security in the Context of Hybrid Operations
 Carlos Gonçalves - IBM Certified Researcher; IBM Q Experience's network of expert users in quantum computation, Northwestern University; CCC's Heritage Modeling Commons network; Singularity Global and the Institute for Defense and Government Advancement, IntechOpen Editor, Portugal
Great power Rivalry or Cold War legacy - main features of military presence in the Arctic
 Lasse Holmoinen - Professor Emeritus and Research Director, Institute for Atmospheric and Earth System Research at University of Helsinki, Finland

19:30 | Closing Remarks

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