

ROUTLEDGE GLOBAL SECURITY STUDIES

# Geopolitics and Security in the Arctic

Regional dynamics in a global world

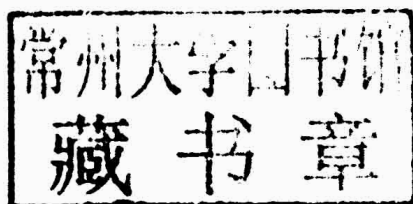
Edited by  
Rolf Tamnes and  
Kristine Offerdal



# **Geopolitics and Security in the Arctic**

Regional dynamics in a global world

**Edited by Rolf Tamnes and  
Kristine Offerdal**



First published 2014  
by Routledge  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge  
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

© 2014 Rolf Tamnes and Kristine Offerdal

The right of the editors to be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilized in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

*Trademark notice:* Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data*

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data*

Geopolitics and security in the Arctic : regional dynamics in a global world / edited by Kristine Offerdal and Rolf Tamnes.

pages cm – (Routledge global security studies)

1. Geopolitics–Arctic Regions. 2. Political geography–Arctic regions.

3. Security, International–Arctic regions. 4. Arctic regions–Foreign relations. I. Offerdal, Kristine, author, editor of compilation. II. Tamnes, Rolf, author, editor of compilation.

G593.G46 2014

355'.0330113–dc23

2013050064

ISBN: 978-0-415-73445-5 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-81345-5 (ebk)

Typeset in Times

by Wearset Ltd, Boldon, Tyne and Wear

# Geopolitics and Security in the Arctic

Written by a group of leading experts on Arctic affairs, this book offers a historically informed and comprehensive study of the geopolitics and security challenges of the Arctic.

The key aim of the work is to identify the conditions for cooperation, stability and peace in the Arctic and to reach beyond simple description and expectation in order to explore in depth some of the main factors that will determine the future of international relations in the region. Furthermore, it addresses key topics such as the geopolitical significance of the Arctic and the importance of oil and gas resources in the Arctic. The book also investigates what the main characteristics of governance in the Arctic are, and how institutions and regimes can promote stability and security in the region. The volume maintains two layers of focus. The first relates to the dynamics within the Arctic and the second to developments outside the region, highlighting that we cannot understand the Arctic in isolation from global developments such as energy markets, security conflicts and NATO–Russian antagonism.

This book will be of much interest to students of Arctic politics, security studies, geopolitics, Russian and Scandinavian politics, and international relations in general.

**Rolf Tamnes** is Professor at the IFS (Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies), Oslo, Norway.

**Kristine Offerdal** is Associate Professor and Research Coordinator at the IFS (Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies), Oslo, Norway.

## **Routledge Global Security Studies**

Series Editors: Aaron Karp and Regina Karp

### **Nuclear Proliferation and International Security**

*Edited by Morten Bremer Maerli and Sverre Lodgaard*

### **Global Insurgency and the Future of Armed Conflict**

Debating fourth-generation warfare  
*Terry Terriff, Aaron Karp and Regina Karp*

### **Terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction**

Responding to the challenge  
*Edited by Ian Bellamy*

### **Globalization and WMD Proliferation**

Terrorism, transnational networks, and international security  
*Edited by James A. Russell and Jim J. Wirtz*

### **Power Shifts, Strategy, and War**

Declining states and international conflict  
*Dong Sun Lee*

### **Energy Security and Global Politics**

The militarization of resource management  
*Edited by Daniel Moran and James A. Russell*

### **US Nuclear Weapons Policy after the Cold War**

Russians, 'rogues' and domestic division  
*Nick Ritchie*

### **Security and Post-Conflict Reconstruction**

Dealing with fighters in the aftermath of war  
*Edited Robert Muggah*

### **Network Centric Warfare and Coalition Operations**

The new military operating system  
*Paul T. Mitchell*

### **American Foreign Policy and the Politics of Fear**

Threat inflation since 9/11  
*Edited by A. Trevor Thrall and Jane K. Cramer*

### **Risk, Global Governance and Security**

The other war on terror  
*Yee-Kuang Heng and Kenneth McDonagh*

### **Nuclear Weapons and Cooperative Security in the 21st Century**

The new disorder  
*Stephen J. Cimbala*

**Political Economy and Grand Strategy**

A neoclassical realist view

*Mark R. Brawley*

**Iran and Nuclear Weapons**

Protracted conflict and proliferation

*Saira Khan*

**US Strategy in Africa**

AFRICOM, terrorism and security challenges

*Edited by David J. Francis*

**Great Powers and Strategic Stability in the 21st Century**

Competing visions of world order

*Edited by Graeme P. Herd*

**The Globalisation of NATO**

Intervention, security and identity

*Veronica M. Kitchen*

**International Conflict in the Asia-Pacific**

Patterns, consequences and management

*Jacob Bercovitch and Mikio Oishi*

**Nuclear Proliferation and International Order**

Challenges to the Non-Proliferation Treaty

*Edited by Olav Njølstad*

**Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation**

Towards a nuclear-weapon-free world?

*Sverre Lodgaard*

**Nuclear Energy and Global Governance**

Ensuring safety, security and non-proliferation

*Trevor Findlay*

**Unipolarity and World Politics**

A theory and its implications

*Birthe Hansen*

**Disarmament Diplomacy and Human Security**

Regimes, norms and moral progress in international relations

*Denise Garcia*

**Causes and Consequences of Nuclear Proliferation**

*Edited by Robert Rauchhaus, Matthew Kroenig and Erik Gartzke*

**Why Did the United States Invade Iraq?**

*Edited by Jane K. Cramer and A. Trevor Thrall*

**Regional Powers and Security Orders**

A theoretical framework

*Edited by Robert Stewart-Ingersoll and Derrick Frazier*

**A Perpetual Menace**

Nuclear weapons and international order

*William Walker*

**Iran's Nuclear Programme**

Strategic implications

*Joachim Krause*

**Arms Control and Missile Proliferation in the Middle East**

*Edited by Bernd Kubbig*

**The National Politics of Nuclear Power**

Economics, security and governance

*Benjamin Sovacool and Scott Valentine*

**Arms Controls in the 21st Century**

Between coercion and cooperation

*Edited by Oliver Meier and*

*Christopher Daase*

**Reconceptualising Deterrence**

Nudging toward rationality in Middle Eastern rivalries

*Elli Lieberman*

**Psychology, Strategy and Conflict**

Perceptions of insecurity in

International Relations

*Edited by James W. Davis*

**Nuclear Terrorism and Global Security**

The challenge of phasing out highly enriched uranium

*Edited by Alan J. Kuperman*

**Ballistic Missile Defence and US National Security Policy**

Normalisation and acceptance after the Cold War

*Andrew Futter*

**Economic Statecraft and Foreign Policy**

Sanctions, incentives and target state calculations

*Jean-Marc F. Blanchard and*

*Norrin M. Ripsman*

**Technology Transfers and Non-Proliferation**

Between control and cooperation

*Edited by Oliver Meier*

**Northern Security and Global Politics**

Nordic-Baltic strategic influence in a post-unipolar world

*Edited by Ann-Sofie Dahl and*

*Pauli Järvenpää*

**Geopolitics and Security in the Arctic**

Regional dynamics in a global world

*Edited by Rolf Tamnes and*

*Kristine Offerdal*

# Figures

1.1	The Arctic	4
2.1	Attack on the town of Novitska on the White Sea, 1854	17
2.2	Flight paths across the Arctic	24
3.1	Marine boundaries	54
3.2	Marine boundaries in North America	55
3.3	Marine boundaries in Northern Europe	56
3.4	The Norwegian–Russian delimitation line	57
4.1	Arctic sea routes	77
5.1	Main Arctic oil and gas basins	104
5.2	Petroleum discoveries in the Barents Sea	116
6.1	The Fisheries Protection Zone and the Norwegian–Russian delimitation line	130
7.1	Military installations north of, or near, the Arctic Circle	156



# Tables

3.1	Boundaries in the Arctic	54
5.1	Arctic share of world conventional oil resources	102
5.2	Arctic share of world conventional natural gas resources	103
5.3	Arctic petroleum activity by country	106
5.4	Initial hydrocarbon resources on the Russian continental shelf	108
7.1	Military installations north of, or near, the Arctic Circle	157

# Contributors

**Dag Harald Claes** is Professor and Director of the Department of Political Science at the University of Oslo. He is also Adjunct Professor at Molde University College. He specializes in international relations, in particular international energy politics. Among his publications are studies of oil-producer cooperation, energy relations between Norway and the EU, the role of oil in Middle East conflicts, and Arctic oil and gas. He led the working group on energy in the *Geopolitics in the High North* programme.

**Paal Sigurd Hilde** is Associate Professor at the Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies. Prior to joining the IFS in 2008, he was a senior adviser at the Norwegian Ministry of Defence (2004–2008) and served simultaneously as secretary for the Norwegian Defence Policy Commission (2006–2007). His main research interests include Norwegian security and defence policy, NATO and Arctic security affairs. Within *Geopolitics in the High North* he led the research on Norway's interests in the region.

**Alf Håkon Hoel** is Research Director at the Institute of Marine Research. He was previously Professor and Director of the Department of Political Science at the University of Tromsø. His research revolves around international marine resource management, with an emphasis on Arctic issues. Recent publications address ecosystem-based oceans management, Norway's Arctic policy and Norwegian–Russian cooperation in marine science. He led the work on the law of the sea and ocean governance in the *Geopolitics in the High North* programme.

**Sven G. Holtsmark** is Professor and Director at the Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies (IFS). Among his main research interests are the foreign and security policy of the Soviet Union/Russia and Norway and the Nordic countries, as well as Arctic issues past and present. He headed the work on Russia and Norway in the Arctic as part of the programme *Geopolitics in the High North*. He is editor of a volume of the Russo-Norwegian research programme *Neighbourly Asymmetry. Norway and Russia 1814–2014*.

**Arild Moe** is Deputy Director and Senior Research Fellow at the Fridtjof Nansen Institute in Oslo. Most of his research has been devoted to Russia,

particularly the Russian energy sector. He is also engaged in studies of broader Arctic policy issues as well as Norwegian policy in the High North. He participated in studies of the Arctic as an energy region for the *Geopolitics in the High North* programme. He is currently participating in a long-term project on the interests of Asian countries in the Arctic – *AsiArctic*.

**Kristine Offerdal** is Associate Professor and Research Coordinator at the IFS (Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies). She served as programme manager of *Geopolitics in the High North*. She holds a PhD in political science from the University of Oslo. Her main research interests lie in international relations in the Arctic, with a particular emphasis on Norwegian High North policy and diplomacy, EU Arctic policy, and the politics of energy. As a contributor to the *Geopolitics in the High North* programme, she studied the Arctic as an energy region, EU Arctic policy and relations with Norway.

**Olav Schram Stokke** is Professor at the Department of Political Science at the University of Oslo and Research Professor at the Fridtjof Nansen Institute. He has directed numerous projects under international and national research financing institutions. His area of expertise is international relations with special emphasis on institutional analysis, resource and environmental management, and regional cooperation. Stokke led the work on climate change and environmental protection for the *Geopolitics in the High North* programme.

**Rolf Tamnes** is Professor at the IFS (Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies). He chaired the research programme *Geopolitics in the High North*. He was Director of the IFS 1996–2012, adjunct professor at the University of Oslo 1995–2009, public policy scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center 2005–2006, and visiting fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies 2006. He has published extensively on Norwegian defence, security and foreign policy.

## Editors' preface

This book is the product of an international research effort carried through within the framework of the five-year research programme *Geopolitics in the High North*. The programme was funded by the Research Council of Norway under the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Barents 2020 grant scheme. It brought together leading Norwegian and international partner institutions as well as a large number of associated individuals to create a first-class international arena for research and debate on Arctic affairs.

All the contributing authors to the book have participated actively in the programme and provide analyses based on years of systematic research on Arctic affairs in general and within their specific fields of expertise in particular.

The book's main question is what contributes to cooperation and conflict in the Arctic. We are confident that this unique group of scholars is exceptionally well qualified to shed light on that question and also to contribute to the broader scholarly debate on cooperation and conflict in international affairs. Hopefully, the book also presents a counterweight to the wealth of simplistic analyses of contemporary Arctic politics.

In addition to the contributing authors, a number of persons deserve special mention for their assistance and guidance: Andreas Østhagen for his assistance with ensuring coherence, finding suitable illustrations, checking references and commenting on draft chapters; Petra Dolata for comments on the book outline and draft chapters; Franklyn Griffiths for his comments on the historical analysis; Chris Saunders for enhancing the clarity of our language and arguments; Andrew Humphrys for having faith in our idea, and last but not least, Annabelle Harris for invaluable support throughout the publishing process.

*Rolf Tamnes and Kristine Offerdal*  
Oslo

# Abbreviations

ACIA	Arctic Climate Impact Assessment
AEPS	Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy
AMAP	Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme
AMEC	Arctic Military Environmental Cooperation
ANWR	Arctic National Wildlife Refuge
bbo	billion barrels of oil
bboe	billion barrels of oil equivalent
bcm	billion cubic metres
b/d	barrels per day
BEAR	Barents Euro-Arctic Region
BMEWS	Ballistic Missile Early Warning System
CARA	Circum-Arctic Resource Appraisal
CAST	Canadian Air-Sea Transportable Brigade Group
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CTR	Cooperative Threat Reduction
DEW Line	Distant Early Warning Line (Canada)
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
EPPR	Emergency Prevention, Preparedness and Response working group
EU	European Union
GIUK	Greenland–Iceland–United Kingdom
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IASC	International Arctic Science Committee
ICNAF	International Commission for the Northwest Fisheries
IEA	International Energy Agency
IMO	International Maritime Organization
IPY	International Polar Year
LNG	liquefied natural gas
LRA	Long Range Aviation (Soviet Union)
MNEPR	Multilateral Nuclear Environmental Programme in the Russian Federation
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDEP	Northern Dimension Environmental Partnership

NEAFC	North-East Atlantic Fishery Commission
NEP	Northeast Passage
NGO	non-governmental organization
NORAD	North American Air Defence Command
NPR-A	National Petroleum Reserve-Alaska
NSR	Northern Sea Route
NWP	Northwest Passage
NWS	North Warning System (Canada)
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
OSPAR	Convention for the Protection of the Marine Environment of the North-East Atlantic
PAME	Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment
SAC	Strategic Air Command (United States)
SACEUR	Supreme Allied Commander Europe
SACLANT	Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic
SAOs	Senior Arctic Officials
SDAG	Shtokman Development AG
START	Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty
TACIS	Technical Aid to the Commonwealth of Independent States programme
TAPS	Trans-Alaskan Pipeline System
tcf	trillion cubic feet
toe	tons of oil equivalent
UAV	unmanned air vehicles
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
USGS	United States Geological Survey

# Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	viii
<i>List of tables</i>	ix
<i>Notes on contributors</i>	x
<i>Editors' preface</i>	xii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xiii
<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
ROLF TAMNES AND KRISTINE OFFERDAL	
<b>2 The geopolitics of the Arctic in historical perspective</b>	<b>12</b>
ROLF TAMNES AND SVEN G. HOLTSMARK	
<b>3 The legal-political regime in the Arctic</b>	<b>49</b>
ALF HÅKON HOEL	
<b>4 Interstate relations: the complexities of Arctic politics</b>	<b>73</b>
KRISTINE OFFERDAL	
<b>5 Arctic petroleum resources in a regional and global perspective</b>	<b>97</b>
DAG HARALD CLAES AND ARILD MOE	
<b>6 International environmental governance and Arctic security</b>	<b>121</b>
OLAV SCHRAM STOKKE	
<b>7 Armed forces and security challenges in the Arctic</b>	<b>147</b>
PAAL SIGURD HILDE	
<b>8 Conclusion</b>	<b>166</b>
ROLF TAMNES AND KRISTINE OFFERDAL	
<i>Index</i>	<b>178</b>

# 1 Introduction

*Rolf Tamnes and Kristine Offerdal*

## Setting the scene

During the Cold War, the strategic rivalry between East and West also played out in the Arctic. This changed dramatically from the early 1990s. The Arctic entered a period marked not by rivalry but cooperation founded on common interests and a sense of shared purposes. At the same time, the Arctic was marginalized in the new global geopolitics and overshadowed by emerging threats and crises, notably the wars in the Balkans and Afghanistan, and the fight against international terrorism.

By the turn of the millennium, however, evidence emerged suggesting the north would experience fundamental change. Two main drivers of change may be identified. First, there were increasingly clear signs of the impact of global warming in the Arctic, notably the rapid reduction of the ice cap that would, at least seasonally, open new areas to human activity. Second, a reassessment of the oil and gas resource potential of the north held out the prospect of massive untapped resources at a time when pessimism over petroleum's finite nature – the “end of oil” argument – was prevalent. The Norwegian government was among the first to respond when, in 2005, it declared the High North to be Norway's most important strategic priority in the years ahead. We were told the world was at the threshold of a major transformation: “In the years to come,” the Norwegian foreign minister said, “the High North will be one of the most important strategic areas in the world.”<sup>1</sup> Other countries would soon follow, although they viewed the Arctic as a foreign policy issue with various degrees of urgency.

A further trigger of international attention to the Arctic was the planting of a small titanium Russian flag on the seabed at the North Pole in August 2007. This act by the Russian scientist Artur Chilingarov became the key symbol in the perception of the Arctic as a disputed region. Predictions abounded of impending conflicts over boundaries and rights to resources. There were numerous references to “the race for the Arctic”, “the scramble for the Arctic”, and “the great game in a cold climate”. This notion of conflict was nurtured by the emergence of a newly self-confident Russia under President Vladimir Putin – a Russia clearly moving in a more authoritarian, anti-liberal and anti-Western direction.



This book, written by a group of leading experts on Arctic affairs, is unique in providing a comprehensive scholarly analysis of contemporary geopolitics and international security in the north. It also traces the historical lines, helping us make sense of where we stand today. Many recent publications often hasten to conclude that the Arctic is experiencing a rush for resources and increased geopolitical rivalry.<sup>2</sup> We want to move beyond superficial assertions, which dominate current academic debates on international relations in the region. The key aim of this book is to identify the *conditions* for cooperation, stability and peace in the Arctic. We do so by exploring in depth some of the main factors that determine the character of international relations in the Arctic:

- What is the geopolitical significance of the Arctic, regionally and globally?
- What characterizes the maritime legal order, and how robust is it?
- What are the key states, and what are their interests and policies?
- How important are the oil and gas resources of the Arctic in a global and regional perspective?
- What are the main characteristics of governance in the Arctic, and how can institutions and regimes promote stability and security in the region?
- What are the security challenges in the region?

These are broad questions. We have found it appropriate to structure the analysis by assuming that conflict and instability in the north may erupt at two levels – the regional and the global. The first source of conflict relates to dynamics *within the Arctic*: what is the potential for regional conflict over issues to do with boundaries and resources? To what extent are the Arctic states militarizing the region? The second source of conflict relates to how *global developments* – or events in other parts of the world – impact interstate relations in the Arctic. To what extent should we expect security conflicts and tensions at the global level, or outside the north, to affect relations in the Arctic? At both levels, Russia plays a major role. Because of its size and stature, Russia is the biggest stakeholder in the north, but it is often perceived to be something of a “wild card” in Arctic affairs. Is it always in Russia’s interest to prioritize cooperation over confrontation? At both levels we also ask: can the potential for conflict be mitigated by shared interests and institutions? How can cooperation, peace and stability serve national and economic interests, and how can institutions help disagreement from emerging or escalating?

## The Arctic and the north

Where is the Arctic? What is the Arctic? When we study the region, we need to share the same understanding of its characteristics, location and extent. Many debates about the Arctic become confused because multiple definitions are applied – or no definition at all. There are essentially three ways of defining the north: by geography, by function and by narrative.<sup>3</sup>