Centre for Military and Strategic Studies CANADIAN ARCTIC SOVEREIGNTY: RAMIFICATIONS FOR NORTHERN

TRANSPORTATION

Developing a Northern Transportation Strategy

Van Horne Institute

Rob Huebert

Rhuebert@ucalgary.ca

Yellowknife: October 30 2013



Main Themes

- Canada has always had a strong "concern" about Arctic Sovereignty/Security
- Establishment and Protection of Canadian Arctic Boundaries
- But for who and for what?
- Transportation is the key issue

Why Care Now?

- The Arctic is a state of massive transformation
 - Climate Change
 - Resource Development (was up to a high \$140+ barrel of oil- now \$98WTI 109 Brent /barrel)
 - Geopolitical Transformation/Globalization

What is Sovereignty?

- Border, Population, Governance, Recognition by Others
- Ability to make the final authoritative decisions
- Is ultimately a means and not a end
- Is about control but is wrapped up in nationalism



Issue 1: The NWP

- Canadian position Internal Waters
- US/(EU position) Strait used for International Navigation
- Issue is over Control of Trans-Polar Shipping

The Nature of the Issue

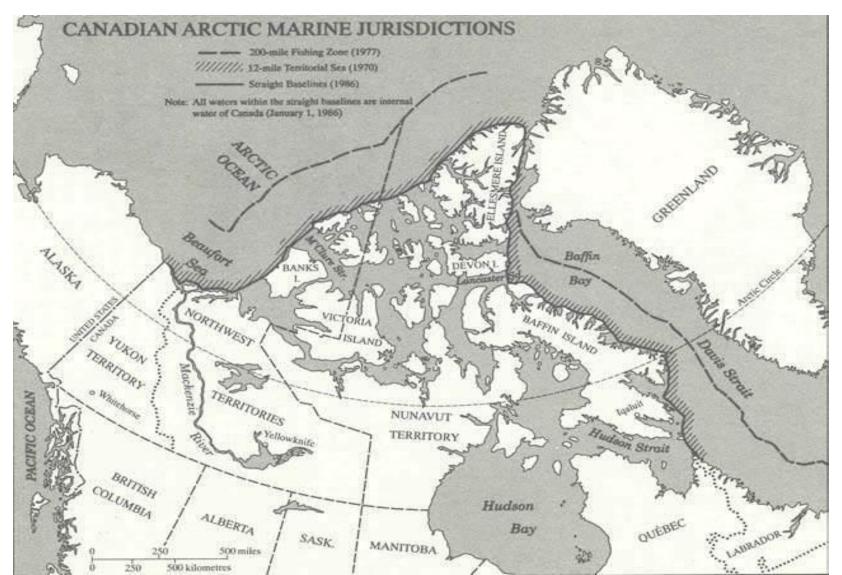
- 2 main incidents 1969/70; 1985
 - 1969 Manhattan was test run for Alaska Oil
 - 1985 *Polar Sea* was operational voyage
 - 1989 Grounding of Exxon Valdez







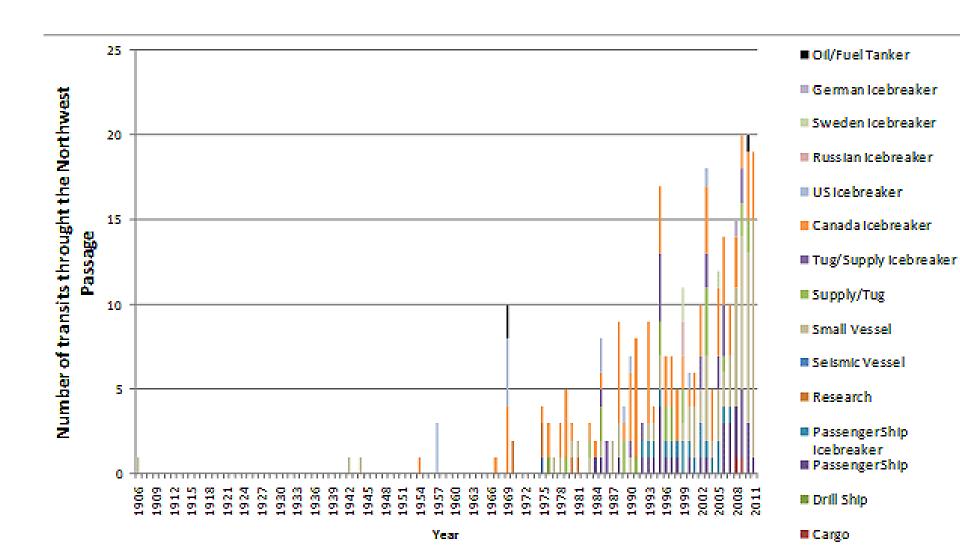
The Canadian Position – Internal Waters



The American (EU) View: Straits Used For International Navigation

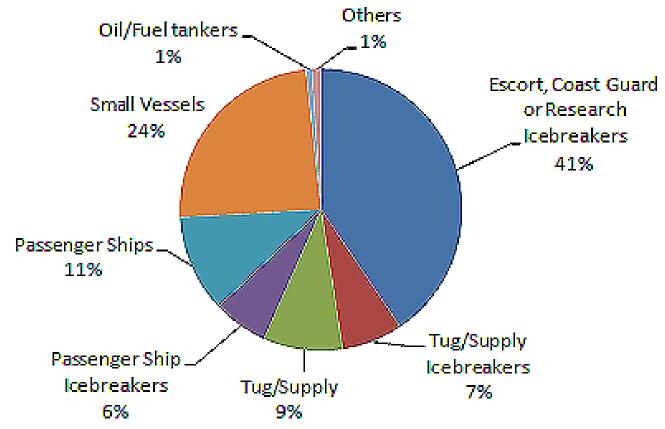


Transits of NWP



Type of Vessels

Type of ships in the Northwest Passage



Promised Canadian Enforcement Capability





Voyage of Berserk II – NWP 2007

Lack of Enforcement Capability

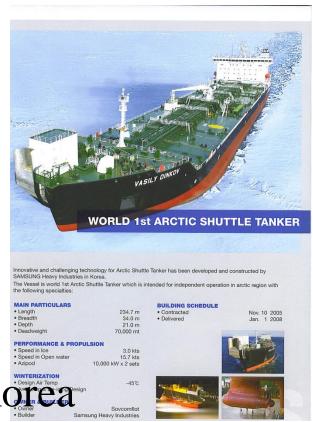


Polarstern 2010 Sovereignty and Lands Claim



New Technologies: Arctic LNG/Ice-Capable Oil Tankers





- Role played by South Korea
- Increasing Importance of non-Arctic States

Passage of the Nordic Orion

- Sailed NWP Sept 6-Oct 3, 2013
- Sailed from Vancouver to Pori Finland
- Carried a load of metallurgical coal
- 75,603 DWT



The Geopolitical Dimension

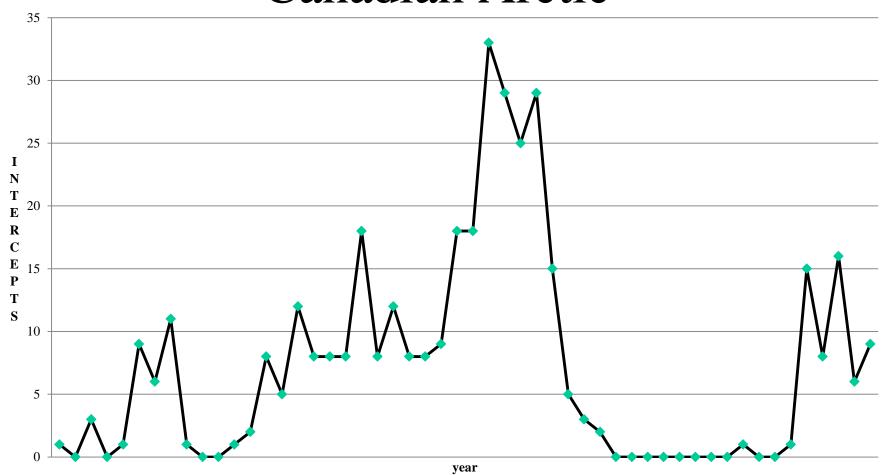
- The core US position on NWP is based on concern with precedent Strait of Hormuz
- But US knows if Northwest Passage is an International Strait there will be security outputs; also International Right of Overflights
 - Possible future security maritime threat
 Freedom of Navigation
 - Existing Aerospace Threat

Resumption of Russian TU-95 (Bear) Arctic Flights, August 18, 2007

• If US/EU position on Northwest Passage is correct then these aircraft have the right of over-flight



Intercepts of Russian Aircraft in Canadian Arctic



Impact of the Northern Sea Route

- NSR is gaining in importance and significance
- 2010 6 transits
- 2011 18 transits
- 2012 46 transits
- 2013 40 transits



Impact of the Northern Sea Route

- Russia is moving to exert strong control
- Permission, ice-breaker escort, pilotage, fee
- Have refused permission
 - Greenpeace;
 - 547 application to operate in area, 461 granted
- Increasing military presence



Greenpeace and Opposition to Oil Drilling

- May 24, 2011 protest against Greenland Offshore Drilling
- Sept 18, 2013 protest against Russian Offshore Drilling
- Summer of 2014 Drilling is expected in Bueafort Sea Imperial, Exxon-Mobil, BP

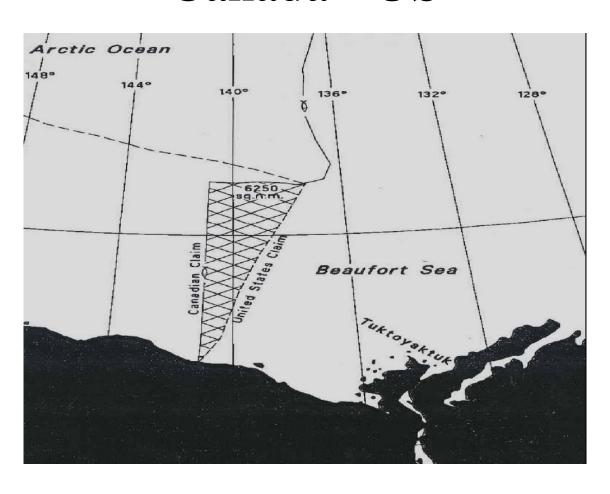
Coming Issues

- "Mandatory" Enforcement of NORDREG
 - Is it Canadian rules, or International rules dressed up like Canadian? Impact on Domestic Politics
- Use of Land Claims by communities to "enforce" Canadian claims of Internal Waters
- Growing assertiveness of EU on NWP/NSR
- China?
- Impact of Russia Security Actions

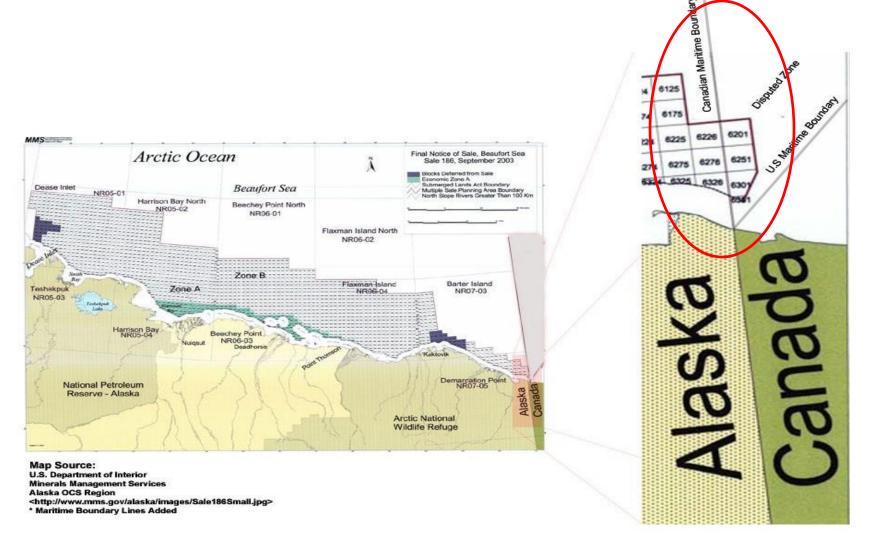
Issue 2: Beaufort Sea

- 1825 St. Petersburg Treaty UK/Russia
- Has been "managed" by Canada and US
- Overlaps with numerous issues of importance outside of Arctic
- Talks began between US-Canada summer 2011
- Impacts of Norway/Russia settlement

Beaufort Sea Dispute Canada - US

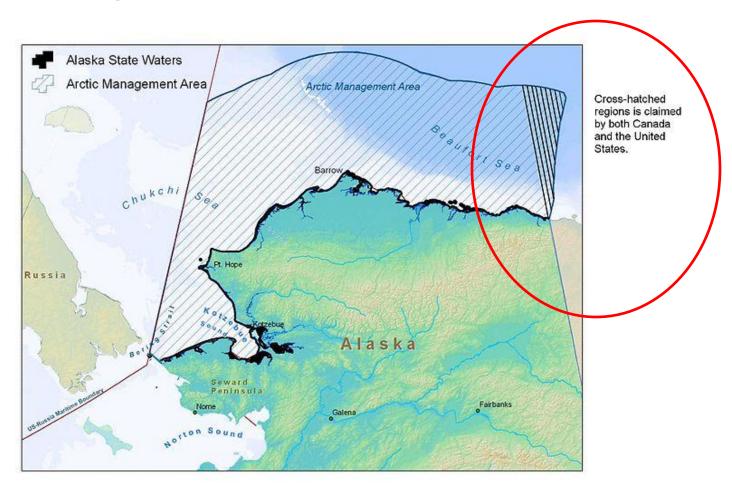


Maritime Boundary Issues: Oil and Gas Canada-US - Beaufort Sea Boundary Issue



Source: US Dept of Interior

US Moratorium on Commercial Fishing of the Beaufort Sea- 2009



1984 Western Arctic Claim Inuvialuit Agreement



Coming Issues

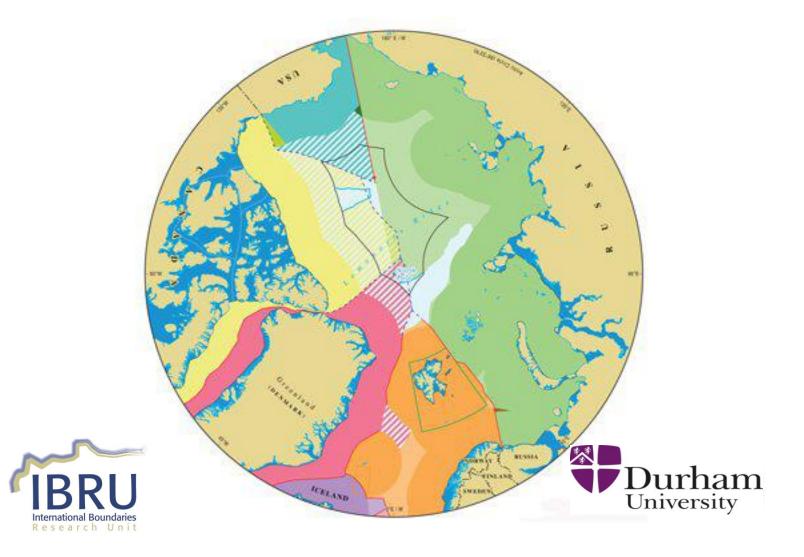
- Resource Use Fishing; oil, gas, gas hydrates; shipping
- Land Claims
- Relationships with local communities/northern peoples
- Defence Relations ABM
- Impact on Extended Continental Shelf Claims

Issue 3: Extended Continental Shelf

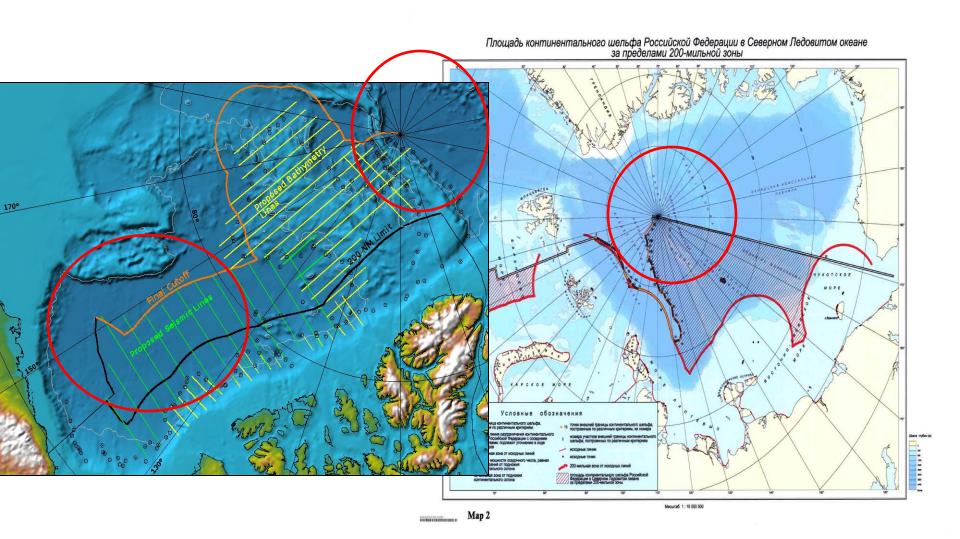
- UNCLOS article 76
 - finished mid 1970s/officially 1982
- Sovereign rights over soil and subsoil (oil and gas)
- Russia 2007+; Canada 2013; Denmark 2014; US?
- Must resolve differences peacefully
- Ilulissat Declaration May 2008

Maritime jurisdiction & boundaries in the Arctic

www.dur.ac.uk/ibru/resources/arctic



Canadian Effort/Expected Russian Claim: Article 76



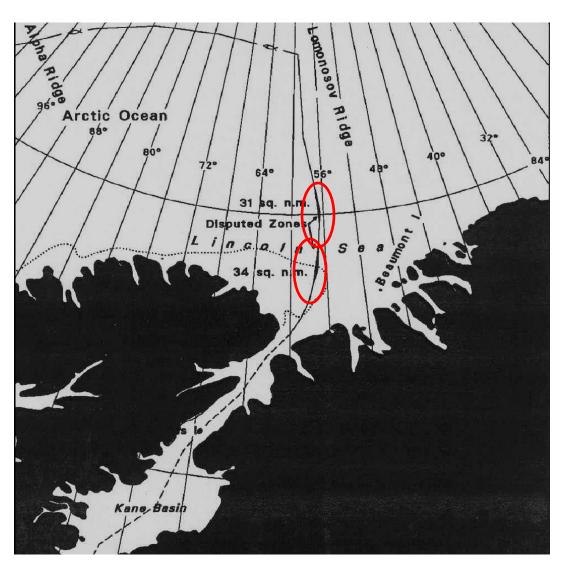
Coming Issues

- Impact on Oil and Gas Development
- Impact on Fishing Management
- Impact on Political Relationship Russia/Denmark/US – Canada
 - "Santa Claus nationality"
- Length of Time for Commission to evaluate submissions (10 years?)

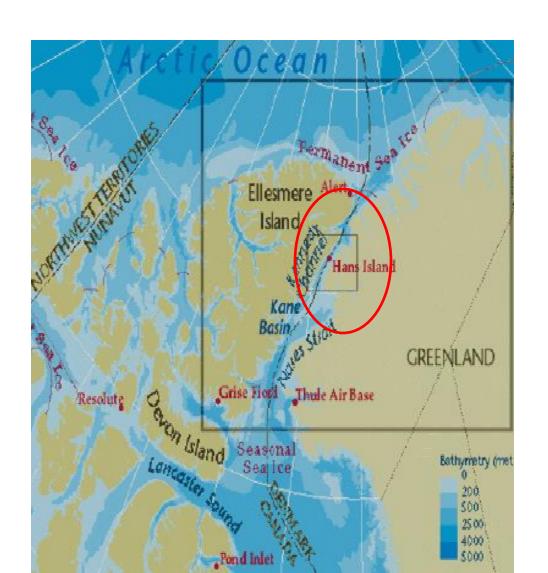
Issue 4: Hans Island and Lincoln Sea

- Lincoln Sea Dispute
 - Technical basis
 - minor impact
 - Resolved November 28, 2012
- Hans Island
 - Minor impact
 - Does not impact maritime Boundary
 - But illustrates the political and public nature of disputes
 - Canada and Denmark have de facto division

Lincoln Sea Dispute Canada - Denmark



Hans Island





Coming Issues

- Limited
- Possible Public Backlash if de facto agreement re-enters media attention

Issue 5: Denmark-Canada Davis Strait

- 1973 Boundary Agreement
 - (Except Hans Islands)
- Discovery of geological indicators of oil and gas

1973 Agreement



Cairn Oil Discovery





Coming Issues

- If oil is discovered; and if the find is substantial; and if geological province does extend to Canadian side what does Canada do
- Newfoundland vs Nunavut vs Federal
- Resource Development vs Conservation
- Independent Greenland

Conclusion

- New concerns are arising as Arctic is perceived/becoming more accessible
- Issues will be Maritime/Aerospace
- Canada has been preoccupied with resolution/determination of boundaries
- Canada will now need to deal with the real issues