

Centre for Military and Strategic Studies

**Security & Sovereignty Issues and
Challenges:**

A Circumpolar Snapshot

**Fifth Northern Transportation Conference:
*Circumpolar Challenges and Opportunities***

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**CENTRE FOR MILITARY
AND STRATEGIC STUDIES**



Main Themes

- The Arctic is a state of massive transformation
 - Climate Change
 - Resource Development – (was up to a high \$140+ barrel of oil- now \$85 barrel)
 - Geopolitical Transformation/Globalization
- A Transformation of Perception and Reality

Geo-Political Transformation

- Current geo-political threat level is currently nebulous and low – Two Countervailing Forces
 1. Political and public will/hope to maintain region as a zone of peace and cooperation
 2. But uncertainty is developing as Arctic States and Non-arctic states begin to recognize the geo-political/economic significance of the Arctic because of Climate Change

Arctic Pressure Points

- Arctic as a Geopolitical Maritime and Aerospace Transit Point
- Arctic as a New Source of Resources
- Rise of New Powers in Asia
- Geographic Reality of US; China: Russia



Uncertain Maritime jurisdiction & boundaries in the Arctic

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



Click on map for high resolution
PDF version plus briefing notes

Co-operation in the Arctic

- Multi-lateral and Bilateral Exercises
- Ilulissat Declaration May 2008
- Russia-Norway Maritime Boundary Agreement
- Arctic Council - *Agreement On Cooperation On Aeronautical And Maritime Search And Rescue In The Arctic*

New Geopolitics of the North

- Russia
 - Renewed Assertiveness/ Petrodollars
- United States
 - Multi-lateral reluctance/emerging concern to act
 - International Role as remaining Superpower
- Norway
 - Refocus on North/ Growing Interest (Concern?) with Russia
- Denmark
 - Issues with Greenland – social; energy
 - Rebuilding Armed Forces
- Iceland
 - Economic melt-down/Volcano melt-down
 - Developing relationship with China
- Finland/Sweden
 - Closer cooperation with NATO
- Canada
 - Re-examining its Arctic capabilities
 - Renewed Assertiveness

Policy Statements

- United States
 - National Security Presidential Directive 66 Arctic Region Policy (January 9 2009)
 - USN Arctic Roadmap
- Russia
 - Russian State Rearmament Programme 2007-2015
 - *Principles of State Policy in the Arctic to 2020*, (September, 2008)[
- Norway
 - The Soria Moria Declaration on International Policy,”(April 2007)
 - *Norwegian Defence 2008* (June 2008):
- Canada
 - *Northern Strategy* (July 2009)
- Denmark
 - *Danish Defence Agreement 2010-2014* Copenhagen (June 2009)
 - Kingdom of Denmark -*Strategy for the Arctic 2011– 2020*

Source: <http://cmss.ucalgary.ca/foreignpolicy>

New and Developing Arctic Force Capabilities

- Russia
 - 6 - Borey SSBN; 2- Yasen SSN; 5-6 Carrier Groups; New Bomber 2020; 2 + more? Misteal Assault Vessels;
- United States
 - F-22, Virginia class; ABM
- Norway
 - Fridtjof Nansen Frigates; F-35; *Svalbard*
- Canada
 - Arctic Offshore Patrol Vessels, F-35
- Denmark
 - Navy: Thesis; Knud Ramussen; Flyvefisken classes, F-35?

Exercises

- Russia
 - 8-9,000 troops 11; 2 Delta's IV 09; 16 Bomber Patrols 2010; 12 naval operations 2010
- United States
 - Northern Edge – 1993-11; 8-10,000 troops
- Norway
 - Cold Response -2006-2010; 7-9,000 troops
 - 2010 in Norway and Sweden
- Canada
 - Op Nanook 2002-2011 – 1000-750 troops
- Finland/Sweden
 - Loyal Arrow 2009 3000 troops

Russia

- Resumption of Northern Fleet Operation
- Commitment to have 5-6 Carrier Battle-groups by 2025/30 - Admiral Vladimir Vysotsky
- Resumption of Russian TU-95 (Bear) Arctic Flights, August 18, 2007
- Purchase of 4 Mistral



United States

- Air Force
 - 186 F-22 to be built; 36 deployed to Alaska; 20%
- Submarine Forces:
 - Seawolf and Los Angeles Class; Virginia Class
- Missile Development
 - Missile Defence – Ft Greely



USS Texas 2009

US -Fort Greely – Delta Junction



“New” US Concerns

- National Security Presidential Directive 66/ - Arctic Region Policy (January 9 2009)
- “The United States is prepared to operate either independently or in conjunction with other states *to safe-guard these interests*”

Norway

- The High North is the most important priority area of the Norwegian Defence
- 5 New Ice-Capable Aegis capable Frigates
- Helicopters stationed north
- Purchase 48 F-35s November 2008



Denmark

- Substantial Re-building Northern and General purpose surface fleet post 1989
- 4 Thesis – ice-capable
- 2 Knud Ramussen – ice capable
- 12 Flyvefisken - multi role/some ice capable
- 2 Abasalon/3 Iver Huitfeldt – multi role
- Decision expected in 2-3 years F-35 purchase
- Deployments of F-16s to Greenland

Finland/Sweden

- Arctic Exercise - *Loyal Arrow* – June 2009
- 200 aircraft; 2000 troops; 50 vessels
- Finland developing closer links with NATO



HMS *Ark Royal*
in Swedish
Waters

France

- Special Ambassador for the Arctic
- Annual French Arctic submarine missions
- 27th mountain infantry brigade – Arctic Operations
- Air Force operations in Sweden, Finland, Norway, Alaska
- All surface naval units must carry out Arctic deployment
 - Ministry of Defence June 22, 2010

Swedish/Baltic Response to French Sales to Russia

- Nordic-Baltic Summit Jan 2011 – UK, Norway, Sweden, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania plus Finland, Sweden
- Swedish FM - Submarines

Mistral



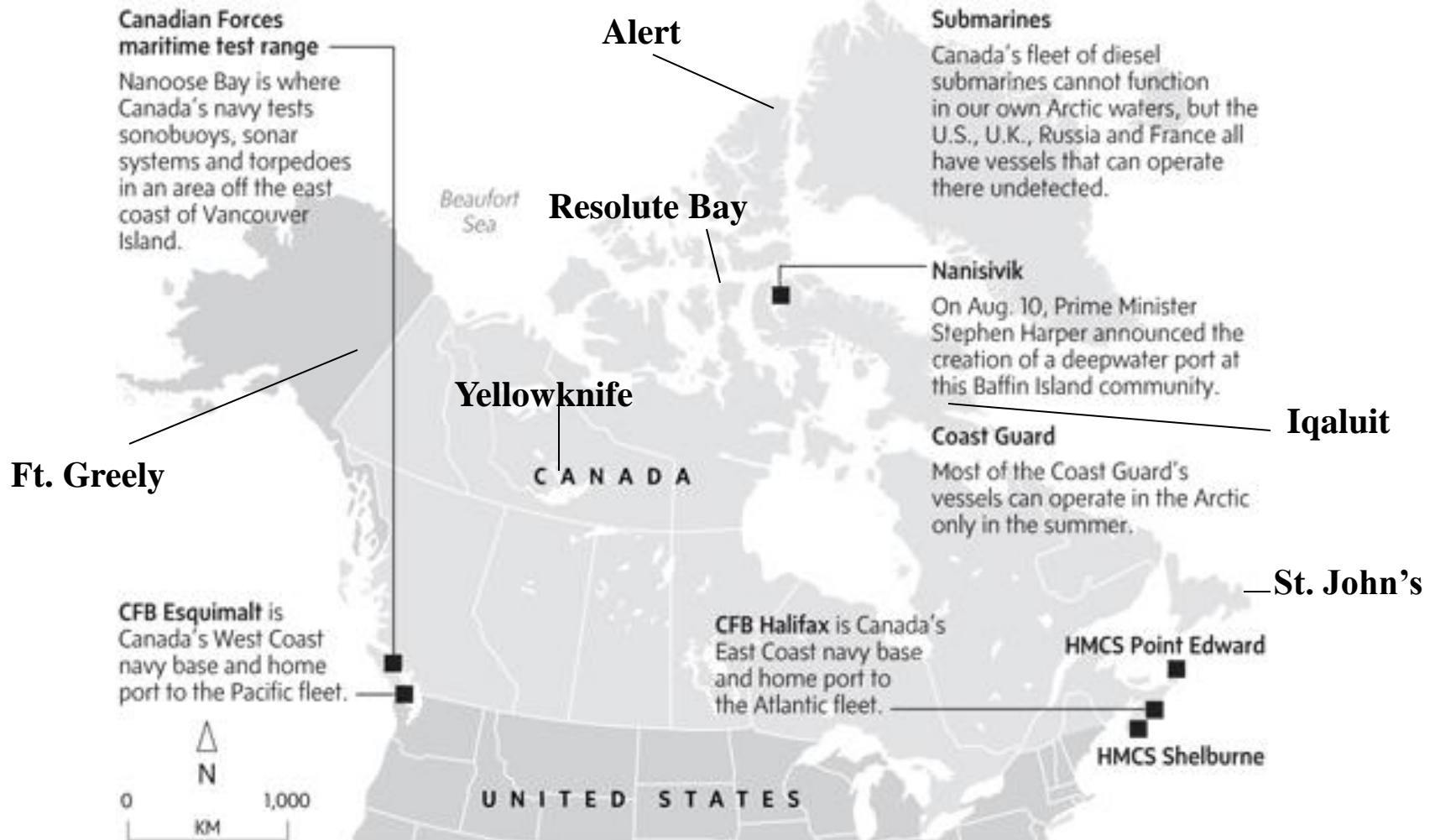
Iceland

- Closure of the US Air Station Keflavik in September 2006
- Economic and Volcanic Impacts of Iceland GDP
- "China and India lent Iceland a helping hand in many constructive ways whereas Europe was hostile and the US was absent," Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson – President Sept 2011

Canada

- New Military Operations since 2002
- 6-8 Arctic Offshore Patrol Vessels
- Northern Watch
- Feb 2008 Budget – \$720 Million Icebreaker
- June 2008 Canada First Defence Strategy (Harper White Paper)
- Purchase of F-35, C-17, Chinooks
- Arctic Strategy July 2009
 - One of four pillars on Arctic Sovereignty and Security

Canadian Base Location



China

- Was not detected by Canada until arriving in Tuk



- 1st Arctic Voyage: July-Sept 1999
- 2nd Arctic Voyage: July-Sept 2003
- 3rd Arctic Voyage Summer 2008

- Polar Research Institute of China



New Chinese Icebreaker

Where are we Headed?

- Circumpolar states have called for cooperation
- Circumpolar states are building up their combat capable force for the Arctic
 - New Equipment – Ice and Combat Capable
 - New Policies – Unilateral “concern”
- Focus is Maritime/Aerospace
- Will provide Background of Cooperation/Stability or Tension/Conflict

Conclusion

- Geopolitics Concerns reduced immediately after end of Cold War
- New concerns are arising as Arctic is perceived/becoming more accessible
- Arctic issues will become more interconnected with global affairs
- Issues will be Maritime/Aerospace