

DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR EXTERNAL POLICIES  
POLICY DEPARTMENT



# EU Arctic policy in regional context

AFET



## STUDY

# EU Arctic policy in regional context

### ABSTRACT

EU Arctic policy has evolved significantly in recent years, culminating in the April 2016 Joint Communication from the European Commission and the HRVP for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. The Communication focuses on the environment and climate change, sustainable development, and peaceful international cooperation, with overarching support for scientific research. This coincides with most of the priorities of the EU's Arctic Member States, Denmark, Finland and Sweden. The Communication does not focus on security issues or on hydrocarbon development. Arctic oil and gas are not the primary keys to EU energy security, but do play a role, and are important for the EU's two main suppliers, Norway and Russia – sustainable management of these resources is in the EU's interest. While the region has been a model for cooperation – Arctic collaboration with Russia continues via multiple mechanisms, despite wider tensions. That it will remain so cannot be taken for granted. The EU supports peaceful Arctic cooperation via multiple mechanisms, including the Arctic Council, the Barents-Euro Arctic Council, and via multiple cross-border collaboration platforms. As the EU becomes increasingly engaged in Arctic issues, continued focus on policy coherence, engagement with other Arctic stakeholders, and the priorities of the region's citizens will be essential.

---

This paper was requested by the European Parliament's Committee on Foreign Affairs.

English-language manuscript was completed on 6 July 2016.

Printed in Belgium.

Authors: Gerald STANG, European Union Institute for Security Studies, France

The author would kindly like to thank Martin BREITMAIER and Annelies PAUWELS for their valuable help with this paper.

Official responsible: Fernando GARCÉS DE LOS FAYOS

Editorial Assistant: Györgyi MÁCSAI

Feedback of all kind is welcome. Please write to: [fernando.garces@europarl.europa.eu](mailto:fernando.garces@europarl.europa.eu).

To obtain copies, please send a request to: [poldep-expo@europarl.europa.eu](mailto:poldep-expo@europarl.europa.eu)

This paper will be published on the European Parliament's online database, '[Think tank](#)'.

*The content of this document is the sole responsibility of the author and any opinions expressed therein do not necessarily represent the official position of the European Parliament. It is addressed to the Members and staff of the EP for their parliamentary work. Reproduction and translation for non-commercial purposes are authorised, provided the source is acknowledged and the European Parliament is given prior notice and sent a copy.*

ISBN: 978-92-823-9520-2 (pdf)

ISBN: 978-92-823-9519-6 (paper)

doi:10.2861/371516 (pdf)

doi:10.2861/259271 (paper)

Catalogue number: QA-04-16-558-EN-N (pdf)

Catalogue number: QA-04-16-558-EN-C (paper)

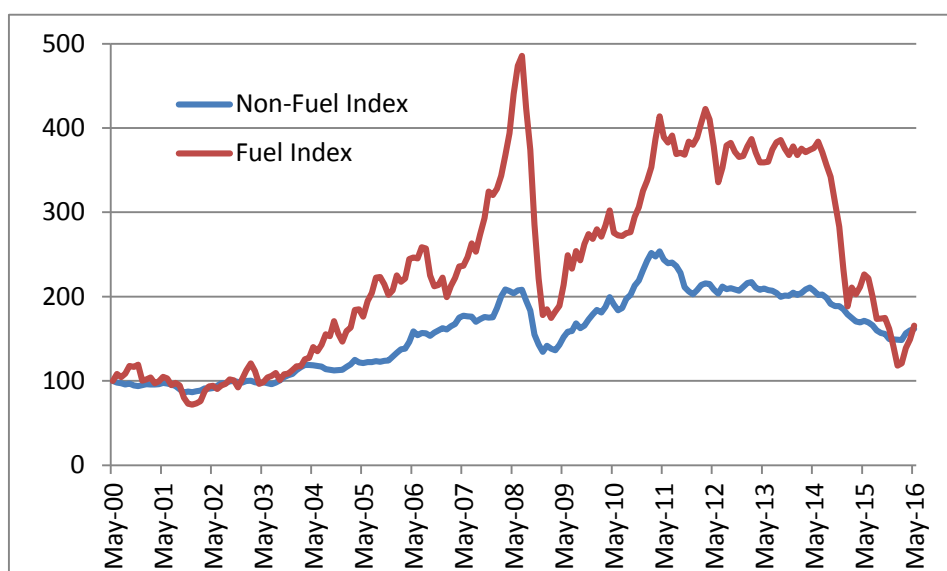
## Table of contents

1	Introduction	4
2	The EU and the Arctic	5
3	EU Arctic policy	7
4	Unity in action?	9
5	Circumpolar governance	10
6	EU bilateral relations in the Arctic	14
7	Arctic security	15
	7.1 Cooperation or conflict?	15
	7.2 Defense issues	17
	7.3 International security cooperation	19
	7.4 Human security	20
	7.5 A role for the EU?	21
8	Arctic energy	22
9	Next steps	27
	Annex 1 – Priorities in national Arctic strategies	29
	Annex 2 – Main EU Arctic policy documents	34
	References	35

# 1 Introduction

The Arctic is a region in flux. Over the last decade, greater evidence and awareness of the impacts of climate change have driven talk about the region opening up as the ice retreats. Over the same period, rising global demand for natural resources has pushed up expectations about what role the Arctic can play in meeting this demand. Together, these trends have driven a narrative of transformation and opportunity. There is plenty of truth to this narrative, but it does not capture the complete picture. This is partly because neither of these two driving trends – climate change and a resource boom – have predictable and evenly distributed impacts on the region. Climate change is indeed causing a retreat of the sea ice, raising possibilities for more shipping or offshore resource exploration, but it is also upsetting ecosystems, disrupting traditional livelihoods, and adding significant uncertainty about future prospects across the Arctic. And the global resource boom has brought new exploration and investment, but has varied greatly across the vast region, has had uneven benefits for the local population, and may already be receding as dropping oil and mineral prices make Arctic projects appear less promising. So while climate change is already having serious impacts on the lives of people and animals, the expected economic benefits of a warmer climate may not be so quick to materialize – or at least not in the way that many had expected.

**Figure 1 – IMF Commodity Price Index (May 2000 = 100)**



And these two trends have not played out in isolation. At the same time, changing demographics, increasing urbanization, deepening regional governance frameworks, and shifting international politics have all contributed to the idea of a region in flux. This has been compounded by important shifts towards greater self-determination for the peoples of the Arctic that have facilitated deeper political participation.<sup>1</sup> This can be seen in Greenland,<sup>2</sup> Nunavut,<sup>3</sup> and across Nordic Europe.<sup>4</sup> These trends have been central to the flurry of policy making related to the Arctic in the last decade, as governments try to

<sup>1</sup> Larsen, Joan Nymand and Gail Fondahl (eds.) 'Arctic Human Development Report - Regional Processes and Global Linkages.' Nordic Council of Ministers, 2014.

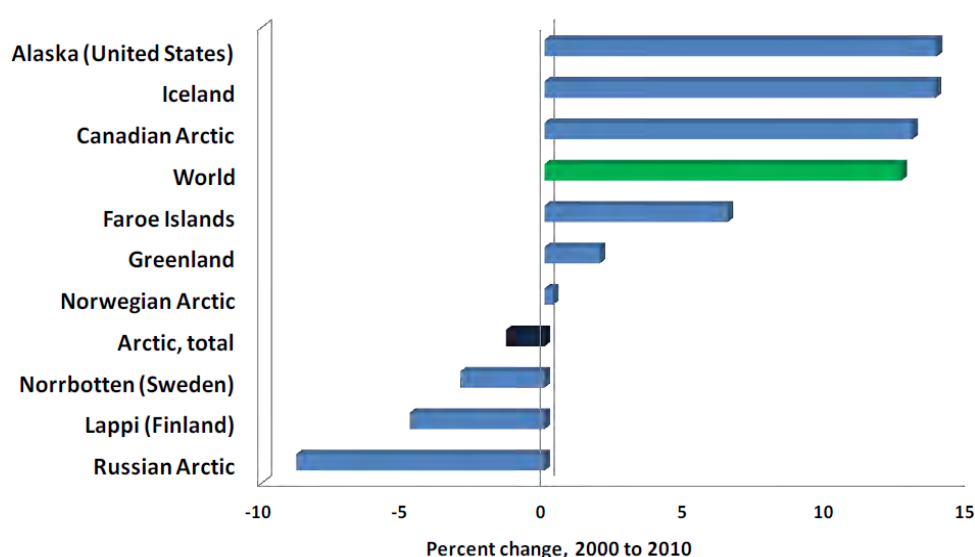
<sup>2</sup> Garcés de los Fayos, Fernando, 'Greenland: The challenge of managing a key geostrategic territory,' European Union, 2014. DG EXPO/B/PolDep/Note/2014\_16. [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/briefing\\_note/join/2014/522332/EXPO-AFET\\_SP\(2014\)522332\\_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/briefing_note/join/2014/522332/EXPO-AFET_SP(2014)522332_EN.pdf)

<sup>3</sup> Hicks, Jack and Graham White, *Made in Nunavut: An Experiment in Decentralized Government*, UBC Press, 2015.

<sup>4</sup> Josefsen, Eva, 'The Saami and the national parliaments: Channels for political influence,' Inter-Parliamentary Union and United Nations Development Programme, 2010. <http://www.ipu.org/splz-e/chiapas10/saami.pdf>.

understand the trends taking place, and shape them (or ride them out) in a way that works best for all their citizens. Increased investment and engagement has also arrived from governments paying new, or renewed, attention to the region, including those that do not have territorial connections to the Arctic. Due to the divisions of the Cold War, the Arctic did not develop as a coherent geopolitical region until into the 1990s and early 2000s. Most of the main institutions involved in Arctic governance today have all been developed since that time, built during a period of relative openness and cooperation among stakeholders in the region. It was also during this period that the EU came into its own as a major actor on the world stage. And it is even more recently that the EU has become an active stakeholder in the Arctic.

**Figure 2 – Population change in the Arctic, 2000 to 2010**



*Source: Larsen and Fondahl, based on data from national statistical offices and UN Population Division*

## 2 The EU and the Arctic

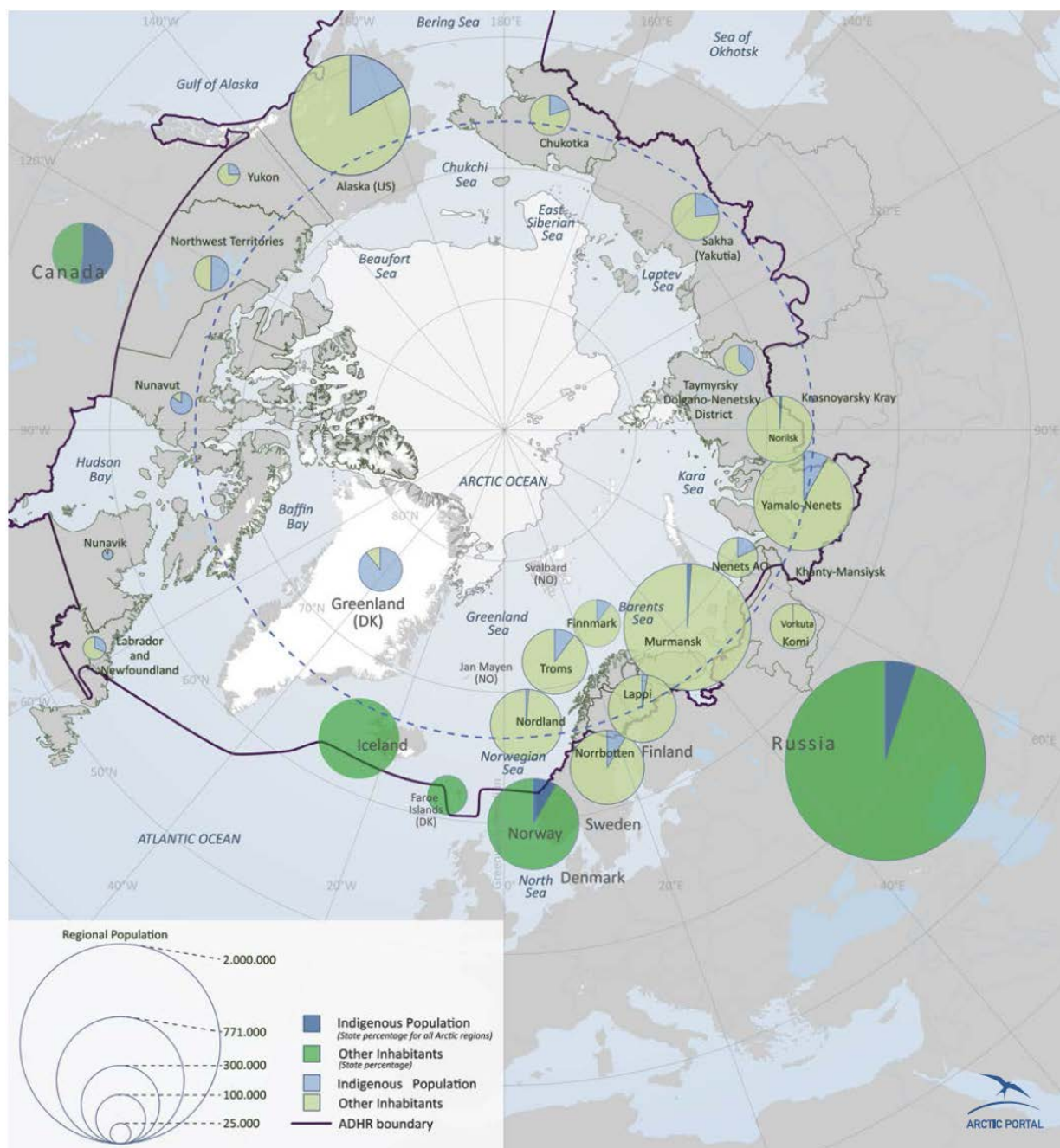
The European Union has evolved significantly as an Arctic actor, both in terms of engagement and in terms of policy. With only 0.1 % of its 500 million citizens living within the Arctic Circle, the EU has been involved in a process of becoming an Arctic actor by building understanding of, and connections with, its own Arctic citizens and the institutions and communities across the region. Though the EU accounts for only a minority of the total Arctic population (see Figure 2 below), and the northern parts of Sweden and Finland are the only parts of the European Union that are within the Arctic Circle, its policies and people have a significant impact on the region.<sup>5</sup> The evolution in Arctic policy-making for the EU has not been simply the result of increased interest in a changing region. The EU itself has changed and gained new competences, particularly after the signing of the Lisbon Treaty, and these changes are reflected in its evolving engagement.

The complex nature of the Arctic and the EU's relationship with it means that Arctic policy involves a multifaceted web of policies in multiple fields, from fisheries, to natural resources, to sustainable development and both internally and externally. In this context, working with Arctic states, both inside

<sup>5</sup> For detailed analysis for relevance of EU competences see Koivurova, Timo, Kai Kokko, Sebastien Duyck, Nikolas Sellheim, and Adam Stepien, 'The present and future competence of the European Union in the Arctic,' *Polar Record*, Vol. 48 (4) 361-371. <http://www.arcticcentre.org/loader.aspx?id=a9db8fc6-feaa-4caf-8f5e-6528148c7b84>

and outside the EU, requires careful management of national sovereignty issues to ensure that wider progress does not stumble over smaller disagreements. There has been a careful process of partnership-building, learning and interaction with Arctic stakeholders (internal and external) to shape future policies. While the EU has much to contribute to the region in its specific areas of competences, there is the potential for pushback against EU regulatory spreading from other Arctic actors. Norway, for example, chooses not to apply the Directive on Safety of Offshore Oil and Gas Operations, and Russia may resist what it sees as the encroachment of EU regulations on shipping and resource production into the Arctic, or along the Northern Sea Route.

**Figure 3 – Arctic populations**



Source – Stępień, Koivurova and Kankaanpää<sup>6</sup> based on Arctic Portal and Arctic Centre

<sup>6</sup> Stępień, Adam, Timo Koivurova and Paula Kankaanpää (eds), 'Strategic Environmental Impact Assessment of Development of the Arctic - Assessment conducted for the European Union,' Arctic Centre, University of Lapland, 2014. <http://www.arcticinfo.eu/en/sada>



In the Arctic, the EU has consistently prioritized environmental protection, sustainable development, peaceful international cooperation and support for the local population. This has translated into significant support for a range of programmes via multiple funding mechanisms, such as financial support to civil society organisations working on indigenous issues through the EIDHR funding mechanism, and cross-border cooperation programmes, such as the Kolarctic programme focused on cooperation among municipalities, regions, civil society, indigenous peoples and the private sector, including with Russia.<sup>7</sup> Through funding mechanisms FP6, FP7 and Horizon 2020, the EU has supported research projects, infrastructures, observatory networks and the facilitation of information sharing. The EU is a major contributor to Arctic research, committing €200 million since 2002, in addition to funding from Member States. Research topics have included climate change, contaminants and health, environmental technologies, water and wastewater services, and civil protection and emergency prevention and response. With regards to promoting the sustainable management and use of resources, EU policies have addressed activities in a wide range of sectors, such as hydrocarbons and minerals, fisheries, and transport, though this focus has evolved significantly, as discussed below.

### 3 EU Arctic policy

The 2016 Communication retained the overall division of three main policy areas that had been used in the 2008 and 2012 Communications, namely climate change and environmental issues, sustainable development and use of resources, and international relations.<sup>8</sup> But though the division of subject matter has been consistent, there has been an evolution in the way in which the 2008, 2012 and 2016 Communications have approached these issues. For example, a focus on science and research runs through all three documents, but with extra emphasis in the 2016 Communication, which talks of science as a catalyst and devotes a subsection in each of the three document sections to science, research and innovation.

With regards to the first main policy field, climate and environment, the 2016 Communication prioritises support for Arctic research, climate mitigation and adaptation, and a range of measures for pollution control and environmental protection. It reflects the international developments in the field of the fight against climate change that occurred in recent years, with engagement in the Arctic overarched by the EU's 2030 and 2050 emission reduction commitments. There is particular emphasis on the need to cut emissions of methane and black carbon because of the accelerating effect that the carbon has on Arctic snow and ice melting. One difference from the 2008 and 2012 Communications is the reduced focus on environmental NGOs in the consultation process and outreach to the broader public on the policy and energy saving processes. The focus on the challenge between protecting traditional livelihoods and respecting animal welfare (in particular whale and seal hunting), as addressed in the 2008 Communication and already less present in the 2012 Communication, is abandoned in the 2016 document as a result of the developments regarding the ban on trading seal products. In the 2008 document, discussion of indigenous people generally fits the theme of "protection" (of their way of life), while in the subsequent documents the language is of respecting their rights and supporting their development activities.

With regards to the second main policy area, sustainable development, a major evolution can be seen. While there is a major focus on fisheries, hydrocarbon production and tourism industries in the 2008 and 2012 Communications, including on raw materials diplomacy with relevant Arctic states, the new Communication emphasises sustainable innovation (in particular cold-climate technologies and support for

<sup>7</sup> European Commission, 'The Kolarctic CBC Programme 2014–2020,' 18 December 2015.

[http://www.kolarcticenpi.info/c/document\\_library/get\\_file?folderId=2222874&name=DLFE-25316.pdf](http://www.kolarcticenpi.info/c/document_library/get_file?folderId=2222874&name=DLFE-25316.pdf)

<sup>8</sup> The 2012 Communication, though summarising the focus areas under the three key words (knowledge, responsibility and engagement), does not deviate from this division with regards to content.



small and medium enterprises (SMEs)), investment (funding initiatives, coordination of EU funding programmes through a European Arctic stakeholder forum), infrastructure projects (including transport, telecommunications and energy efficiency projects) and the development of land transport networks. The expanded focus on space technologies, first fully developed in the Staff Working Document 'Space and the Arctic' with the 2012 Communication, was further developed in the latest Communication. In the 2016 Communication, the sustainable development chapter mentions "resources" only once, and apart from mentioning that hydrocarbons exist, does not discuss what role they may play in European energy security or that the EU has an interest in them except to minimize any associated detrimental environmental impacts. Where energy is discussed, the focus is on wind power, ocean energy, geothermal energy, hydropower, and sustainable multi-source energy systems. Opportunities in the 'Green Economy', are highlighted, such as eco-tourism and low-emission food production, as well as in the 'Blue Economy', such as aquaculture, fisheries, maritime tourism and marine biotechnology.

The third policy area focuses on international cooperation. The EU has increasingly sought to be a constructive partner for other Arctic actors, and this has been reflected in the evolution of its policy documents. The initial 2008 proposal of a proactive role of the EC in Arctic governance was abandoned in the 2012 and 2016 Communications. In the 2016 Communication, the fields of international cooperation are expanded beyond environmental and marine protection, safety at sea and sustainable management of resources (as in the 2008 and 2012 documents) to include more focus on climate change (building on COP21), fisheries management (including a call for a new Regional Fisheries Management Organisation or arrangement), and scientific cooperation. Also in the 2016 document, dialogue with and support to indigenous peoples was shifted to this section on international cooperation (the 2008 document addressed this mainly under the first policy area – climate and environment). Other changes reflect the developments in international relations over the last 8 years, such as the EU-Greenland Partnership, the changing relationship with Iceland, the crisis with Russia, and the EC's provisional observer status at the Arctic Council. With regards to EU-Russia relations, the 2016 document barely mentions cooperation with the Russian Federation (e.g. neither the EU-Russia Partnership for Modernisation nor the raw materials diplomacy with Russia are mentioned), in stark contrast with the 2012 Communication that included a whole annex on EU financed joint EU-Russia projects in the energy sector.

In terms of consultation and partnership with European Arctic stakeholders, the 2016 Communication calls for the creation of a temporary European Arctic stakeholder forum to "bring together EU institutions, Member States, and regional and local authorities to contribute to identifying key investment and research priorities for EU funds in the region". There is no mention of an EU Arctic Information Centre, but the Communication calls for a pilot project to bring together managers of regional development programmes, and for an annual stakeholder conference. There is no mention of any permanent cooperation mechanism for programme cooperation across the full range of Arctic themes. While such a mechanism might prove helpful in ensuring that intra-EU Arctic cooperation becomes a continuous process, any new mechanism may provide only limited value, considering the existing cross-hatch of programmes and mechanisms dedicated to specific themes or geographies throughout the EU.

Although the 2016 Communication addresses many of the issues touched upon in the 2014 European Parliament Resolution, it does not address the Parliament's concerns regarding maritime safety, resource development, security during offshore oil and gas operations (since oil and gas are largely absent – discussed further below), specific regulatory mechanisms for high seas fishing, the establishment of an Arctic conservation areas, or potential geopolitical tensions in the region. The 2016 Communication is referred to as an integrated policy, but not as a strategy, as the Parliament had suggested was needed. The Commission and the EEAS have been generally reluctant to use the term "strategy" in too many

policy documents, and when used, may be qualified, as in “Towards a Space Strategy”<sup>9</sup> which suggests that the document is not a strategy, but a discussion about a potential strategy. While much ink may be spilled debating the definition and merits of policy versus strategy, the near absence of security and geopolitics in the 2016 Communication is a clear limitation in scope which prevents it from becoming a strategy. For the EU, the marshalling of support from Member States and the EP behind a common strategy would be a major challenge. While all five Nordic states have pro-EU wording in their Arctic policies, there has been a lack of enthusiasm in some corners about the EU becoming a major Arctic player, notably in areas touching on sovereignty and security (discussed further below).

## 4 Unity in action?

It has not only been the European institutions that have been updating their Arctic policies. The eight Arctic states themselves have been updating strategies and policies for the region (see Annex 1). In 2006, no EU Member States had dedicated Arctic policies, while today, all three Arctic states do, as well as the United Kingdom, Germany, the Netherlands, and soon France and Poland will as well. Each of these non-Arctic states has also been accepted as an observer by the Arctic Council.

A comparison of the national Arctic strategies of Denmark (2011)<sup>10</sup>, Finland (2013) and Sweden (2011) suggests that the three Arctic states’ conceptions of the EU’s regional role vary. All three countries envision the EU as important for environmental security and regional research. However, while Sweden and Finland both refer to the EU as a vital Arctic partner and support a strengthening of its role in the region, Denmark, while calling for a broad and close relationship with the EU, emphasises the importance of Denmark to influence the shaping and implementation of EU policies in the region. The strategy expresses reservations as to the EU’s respect of ‘the laws, traditions, cultures and needs of Arctic societies’ and lists the EU as one of several legitimate stakeholders in the region, including China, Japan and South Korea. This framing of the EU role may partly have been in response to the 2009 ban on seal products, and the Commission and Parliament policy positions from 2008 which caused blowback among several Arctic states but have since been adjusted in subsequent EU documents. Furthermore, the strategies of Finland and Sweden highlight the EU’s function as a source of structural funding for regional development. Finland, moreover, considers the EU a platform for the development of international legislation on the Arctic and regional maritime security. The Swedish and Danish documents, finally, emphasise the importance of EU investment in regional higher education.

The priorities outlined in the April 2016 Communication largely converge with the national Arctic objectives of the Denmark, Finland and Sweden. First, the EU focus on sustainable development, research, environmental protection and maritime security are reflected in the national strategies. Moreover, the Communication gives special importance to increasing investment in the Arctic region, a priority of Finland and Sweden. Finally, the EU has addressed Denmark’s Arctic priorities by highlighting the importance of strengthening cooperation with Greenland, building the 2015 joint declaration of the EU, Greenland and Denmark<sup>11</sup> and highlighting EU support for Greenlandic education and vocational training.<sup>12</sup> The Communication also gives high importance to dialogue and cooperation with indigenous communities, a prominent issue in the national strategies as well.

<sup>9</sup> European Commission, ‘Towards A Space Strategy for the European Union that Benefits its Citizens,’ 4 April, 2011, COM(2011) 152 final. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52011DC0152>

<sup>10</sup> The main themes of the national strategies of all eight Arctic states are listed in Annex 1, along with links to the documents.

<sup>11</sup> European Commission, ‘Joint declaration by the European Union, on the one hand, and the Government of Greenland and the Government of Denmark, on the other, on relations between the European Union and Greenland,’ 19 March 2015. [https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sites/devco/files/signed-joint-declaration-eu-greenland-denmark\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sites/devco/files/signed-joint-declaration-eu-greenland-denmark_en.pdf)

<sup>12</sup> European Commission, ‘Further EU support for sustainable development of Greenland,’ 28 October 2014. [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_IP-14-1207\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-14-1207_en.htm)

However, unlike in the Communication, all three national strategies address hard security issues, even if the Sweden and Finland strategies note that armed conflict in the Arctic is unlikely. Denmark emphasises its need to defend national sovereignty and to prevent conflict and a militarisation of the Arctic, including with the help of NATO. Denmark's strategy also announces the creation of the 'Arctic Command' and an 'Arctic Response Force'. Both Denmark and Finland raise the significance of regional military exercises as well as the deployment of armed forces for civilian safety purposes. Finland points to 'NORDEFCO' and the 'Arctic Security Forces Roundtable' as important regional security fora. Sweden, finally, proposes the institutional and political strengthening of the Arctic Council and the addition of 'joint security' to its responsibilities.

As the EU has become more engaged with Arctic matters over the last decade, another European institution has played a prominent role in shaping the policy debate: the European Parliament. Various parliamentary committees have been involved in Arctic issues, including "Foreign Affairs", "Environment, Public Health and Food Safety", "Transport and Tourism", "Fisheries", "Development", and "Industry, Research and Energy". Particularly since the adoption of the Lisbon Treaty, the European Parliament has an enhanced legislative, budgetary and supervisory role, including with respect to foreign affairs. In its supervisory role, the European parliament has been broadly supportive of the main themes of EU policy for the Arctic (environment, sustainable development, international cooperation), and has consistently called for coherence and comprehensiveness in EU Arctic policy.

This parliamentary engagement reflects a wider trend of parliamentary engagement across the Arctic, from policy input to the shaping of innovative governance arrangements both at domestic and international levels. The European Parliament, for example, has been a member of the Conference of Arctic Parliamentarians (CPAR) since its founding in 1993, and contributes to multiple cross-border parliamentary forums in the Arctic (see Table 1 below). These parliamentary forums are important parts of the multi-level governance arrangements that are becoming central to Arctic political life.<sup>13</sup> The central role played by parliaments and other representative institutions have helped ensure that policy-making remains citizen-centred.

## 5 Circumpolar governance

Contrary to the perception of many from outside the region, the Arctic is neither ungoverned nor empty. Until the end of the Cold War, the paucity of governance institutions matches the scarcity of the population. With the thawing of relations between East and West, a multitude of organisations and mechanisms have been created over a range of different geographies and thematic areas of focus. In addition to bilateral relations with all the Arctic States and Arctic-interested partners in Europe and further afield, the EU is involved in several multilateral initiatives of relevance to the Arctic.

Despite not having a legal personality or, until recently, a permanent secretariat (they now have a 5-person office in Tromsø, Norway) the leading body for arctic cooperation is the Arctic Council. It is composed of eight states, three of which are also Member States of the EU: Denmark (Greenland), Finland, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Canada, Russia and the United States. The Council also has six Arctic indigenous organizations as permanent participants – they can propose agenda items but cannot vote.<sup>14</sup> The Council operates by consensus and its decisions are non-binding. It has six working groups: Arctic Contaminants Action Programme, Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme, Conservation of Arctic

<sup>13</sup> Poelzer, Greg and Gary N. Wilson, 'Governance in the Arctic: Political Systems and Geopolitics,' in Joan Nymand Larsen and Gail Fondahl (eds.) 'Arctic Human Development Report - Regional Processes and Global Linkages.' Nordic Council of Ministers, 2014.

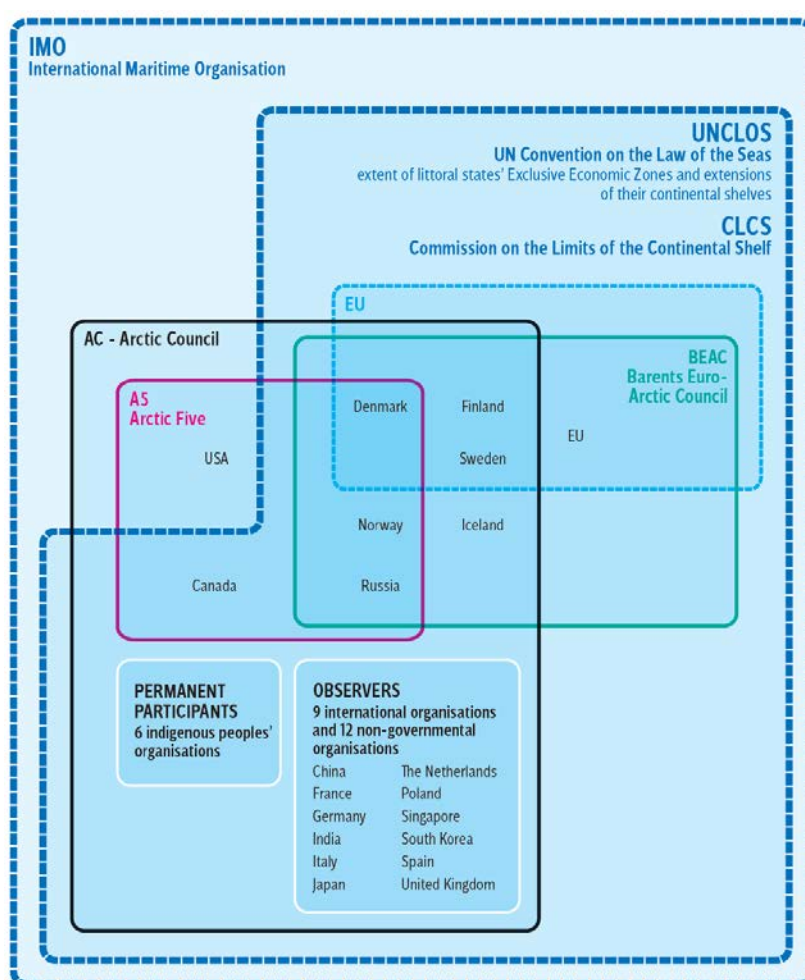
<sup>14</sup> They are: The Inuit Circumpolar Council; The Saami Council; The Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North; The Aleut International Association; The Arctic Athabaskan Council, and The Gwich'in Council International.

Flora and Fauna, Emergency Prevention, Preparedness and Response, Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment, and Sustainable Development.

The only two treaties negotiated within the Council, the Arctic Search and Rescue agreement (2009) and the Arctic Marine Oil Pollution Preparedness and Response agreement (2013), are not enforced or administered by the Council, but are left up to the participating states to implement.<sup>15</sup> The EU applied to become an observer in 2008, but this was blocked by Canada in response to the EU's ban on seal products. Though the disagreement over the seal ban was essentially resolved and Canada dropped its opposition to the EU becoming an observer, the topic was deferred again at the most recent ministerial meeting of the Arctic Council in April, 2015 with the expectation that Russia would veto the application. The EU remains a provisional observer but contributes research and expertise in support of the different working groups.

The Conference of Arctic Parliamentarians is a biennial conference for delegations elected by the parliaments of the eight Arctic states and the European Parliament, and includes representatives of indigenous peoples and international observers. The standing committee meets multiple times per year and participates as an observer in Arctic Council meetings. The first conference was held in 1993, three years before the formal creation of the Arctic Council itself, and addresses topics such as maritime transport, education and research, human development and climate change.

**Figure 4 – Arctic Cooperation Frameworks**



Source: Jokela, EUISS 2015

<sup>15</sup> Jokela, Juha, 'Arctic Governance' in Juha Jokela (ed.) 'Arctic Security Matters,' EU Institute for Security Studies, 2015. [http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/Report\\_24\\_Arctic\\_matters.pdf](http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/Report_24_Arctic_matters.pdf)

Canada chaired the Arctic Council from 2013 to 2015 and focused its chairmanship on human development, ushering in the new Arctic Economic Council, and developing a framework for action on black carbon and methane emissions. The current chair, the USA, has focused on economic conditions for Arctic communities, Arctic Ocean safety and stewardship, and addressing the impacts of climate change. The priorities of both countries fit easily within the historic interest framing of the Council and mesh well with EU priorities.

The surge of interest in recent years among non-Arctic states has raised questions about their intentions and the value they may add to Arctic discussions, most notably as observers in the Arctic Council. While states such as China have expressed a clear interest in the Arctic Council, the limited remit of the Council is widely understood and it is not becoming the repository of all ambitions in the region. External states are also pursuing bilateral energy deals with Arctic states, and working through the UN and the IMO on other issues. There is a debate about how much benefit these non-Arctic actors bring to the table as observers. While they can bring resources and expertise to support the Council's work, and can in turn be influenced by the priorities and thinking of the Arctic Council members, there are worries that the presence of too many observers can impede the work of the Council or its working groups.<sup>16</sup>

The Arctic Council is far from the only cooperation body in the Arctic. The Northern Dimension was created by the EU in 1999, and in 2007 was upgraded to a joint policy framework for regional cooperation between the EU, Iceland, Norway and Russia. It aims to promote dialogue, strengthen regional stability, foster economic integration, and improve competitiveness and sustainable development in northern Europe – in Iceland, and across the European Arctic and sub-Arctic, including North-West Russia. It involves regular meetings of foreign affairs ministers, deputy ministers as well as senior officials and includes a parliamentary body — the Northern Dimension Parliamentary Forum — of which the European Parliament is a founding member. Cooperation focuses on four sectors (environment, public health and social wellbeing, transport and logistics) each with separate decision making body. Separate mechanisms have also been created to include academia and business communities into Northern Dimension cooperation. The Northern Dimension has evolved into an umbrella structure encompassing EU cooperation and development efforts in the Baltic and Barents regions (discussed below). Despite the wider challenges of relations with Russia, the Northern Dimension remains an active mechanism – it is a good example of selective engagement by the EU, recognising Russia as an equal partner in order to keep it engaged. It also provides a valuable common policy framework for different formats of cooperation in the region.

The Barents Euro-Arctic Council (BEAC) and the Barents Regional Council promote cooperation in the Barents region, covering a wide range of cross-border environmental, economic and home affairs issues. Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden and the European Commission are members of the BEAC, while the Barents Regional Council is composed of 13 sub-national bodies in the region. A Barents Parliamentary Conference is convened every two years by the chair of the BEAC, bringing together representatives from regional, national and indigenous assemblies, including the European Parliament. The Working Group of Indigenous Peoples has an advisory function in both councils. The BEAC is a participant in the Northern Dimension.

The Northern Forum, established in 1991, is an active platform for sub regional cooperation, led by local and regional governments of eight northern countries and works on common political, environmental and economic issues. In the similar spirit of sub-regional cooperation, the Kolarctic cross-border

<sup>16</sup> Garcés de los Fayos, Fernando, 'The outcome of the ninth Arctic Council ministerial meeting,' European Union, May 2015, DG EXPO/B/PolDep/Note/2015\_171.

[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2015/549036/EXPO\\_ATAG\(2015\)549036\\_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2015/549036/EXPO_ATAG(2015)549036_EN.pdf)



program, co-financed by the EU, coordinates regional and national policies in Finland, Norway, Russia and Sweden.

Other important cooperation bodies include the Nordic Council, founded in 1952 and the Nordic Council of Ministers, established in 1971, which bring together Finland, Iceland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Greenland, Iceland and the Faroe Islands cooperate on Arctic policy in the West Nordic Council, founded in 1985. The Nordic Council and the West Nordic Council have close relationships with the EU; the European Parliament is invited to the Annual Plenary of the Nordic Council and holds annual joint meetings with the West Nordic Council. Both cooperation bodies regularly discuss Arctic policy and Arctic issues.

Separately, the five littoral states of the Arctic Ocean, Canada, Denmark, Norway, Russia and the USA, have developed as an informal grouping, the Arctic 5, holding two ministerial meetings in 2008 and 2010 to discuss matters of common concern. The 2008 meeting resulted in the Ilulissat Declaration, in which the Arctic 5 emphasized their sovereign rights in large areas of the Arctic and declared that there is “no need to develop a new comprehensive legal regime to govern the Arctic Ocean.” The Arctic 5 meetings led to tensions with other Arctic Council Member States, notably Iceland, and indigenous groups, who felt that they were unnecessarily being excluded from discussions of relevance to their interests. While no high level meetings have been held in the A5 format since 2010, they did come to an agreement in 2015 on a declaration concerning the prevention of unregulated high seas fishing in the central Arctic Ocean.

While none of these cooperation and governance forums are security focused or involve enforcement or dispute resolution mechanisms, they collectively create an important and robust cooperation ecosystem.

**Table 1 - Regional parliamentary cooperation bodies**

Cooperation Body	Representation
<b>Conference of Parliamentarians of the Arctic Region</b>	The European Parliament, the national parliaments of the Arctic Council states (Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden, U.S.A) and representatives of indigenous peoples;
<b>Northern Dimension Parliamentary Forum</b>	The European Parliament, the national parliaments of Iceland, Norway, Russia (plus participation from the Baltic Assembly, the Baltic Sea Parliamentary Conference, the Canadian Parliament, the Conference of Parliamentarians of the Arctic Region, the Nordic Council, the Parliamentary Assembly for North West Russia and the West Nordic Council
<b>Barents Parliamentary Conference</b>	The European parliament, the national parliaments of Finland, Norway, Russia and Sweden, the regional parliamentary bodies of the Barents region, the Nordic Council, the Baltic Sea Parliamentary Conference, the Conference of Arctic Parliamentarians, the Parliamentary Association of North-West Russia, the Saami Parliamentary Council
<b>Nordic Council</b>	National parliaments of Denmark (including representatives from Greenland and Faroe Islands), Finland (including representatives from Åland), Iceland, Norway and Sweden
<b>West Nordic Council</b>	Parliaments of Greenland, the Faroe Islands and Iceland



## 6 EU bilateral relations in the Arctic

The EU's external action on the Arctic includes extensive bilateral cooperation with all non-EU Arctic states, primarily pursued through engagement on individual thematic issues rather than through comprehensive Arctic dialogues.

Norway and Iceland are both members of the European Economic Area and engage deeply and regularly with the EU both bilaterally and through multilateral mechanisms such as the Barents Euro-Arctic Council. They adopt most legislation related to the single market, save for fisheries and agriculture, and generally align with EU positions on most foreign policy matters. Both are NATO members and both support the inclusion of the EU as an observer in the Arctic Council. Norway contributes to and supports the development of CSDP, and has called for improved EU-NATO cooperation. Norway has referenced the importance of the Arctic 5 Ilulissat Declaration and highlighted UNCLOS as an important legal framework for EU maritime engagement in the Arctic.<sup>17</sup>

Bilateral Arctic cooperation with the United States is generally pursued through work on individual themes such as climate change, marine safety or energy. For the United States, with its Arctic territory physically separated from the rest of the country, and with significant global responsibilities in political and security matters, the Arctic has not always been a high policy priority. However, it published a new Arctic strategy in 2013, and a former Coast Guard commandant was appointed as the first U.S. Special Representative for the Arctic in 2014. The US has expressed openness to EU partnership on scientific and environmental issues in the Arctic, as well as to arctic participation from other non-traditional Arctic actors.<sup>18</sup> Like the EU, the US also prioritises selective engagement with Russia; at the 2016 US-Nordic Summit in Washington, the Joint Statement had a heavy focus on Russia as a security challenge, but in the subsection on the Arctic, Russia was called a "partner" and the Statement focused on the same Arctic priorities that are expressed in the Arctic policies of the EU and its Member States: sustainable development, environmental protection, peaceful cooperation, work with indigenous partners.<sup>19</sup>

Arctic relations with Canada have improved significantly since the disagreement over the trade in seal products was resolved following a 2014 decision from a WTO dispute resolution panel. As with the USA, Canada and the EU discuss Arctic issues on an individual basis rather than as part of any broad Arctic dialogue. Canada is now positive toward the admittance of the EU to the Arctic Council as an observer, and is itself an observer in the Northern Dimension. Canada retains, however, a strong "sovereignty" focus in its Arctic rhetoric and policies; for example, it continues to claim the Northwest Passage sea route through its northern archipelago to be internal waters, which is contested by the US.<sup>20</sup>

Russia, not unlike Canada, also has a strong emphasis on sovereignty protection in its Arctic policies, including the claim that the Northern Sea Route is largely through internal Russian waters. Even before the partial freeze in relations between the EU and Russia over the last two years, there was no overarching Arctic cooperation agenda or high-level Arctic dialogues. Yet despite claims that Russia

<sup>17</sup> Norway Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'EU global strategy on foreign and security policy: Norwegian perspectives and contributions,' <https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/departementene/ud/vedlegg/europapolitikk/norways-perspectives-and-contributions-to-the-eu-global-strategy-160314.pdf>

<sup>18</sup> Kobza, Piotr, "Civilian Power Europe in the Arctic: How Far can the European Union go North," College of Europe, EU Diplomacy Paper 01, 2015. <https://www.coleurope.eu/research-paper/civilian-power-europe-arctic-how-far-can-european-union-go-north>.

<sup>19</sup> The leaders of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden met with US leaders in May 2016 in Washington. Joint statement: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2016/05/13/us-nordic-leaders-summit-joint-statement>

<sup>20</sup> Byers, Michael, 'Canada can Help Russia with Northern Sea Route,' *The Moscow Times*, 9 June 2012. <http://www.themoscowtimes.com/opinion/article/canada-can-help-russia-with-northern-sea-route/460127.html>; Huebert, Rob, 'Climate Change and Canadian Sovereignty in the Northwest Passage,' *Isuma*, Vol. 2, 2001.

continues to see the EU as an “inconvenient” entity, more an obstacle than a partner,<sup>21</sup> Arctic cooperation continues through multiple local, regional and multilateral venues. And while the sanctions have interrupted oil and gas cooperation in the Arctic, the EU is still by far Russia’s most important trading partner (just under 50% of all trade in 2015, barely changed from 2014).<sup>22</sup>

Greenland is associated with the EU as one of the Overseas Countries and Territories. Cooperation is shaped via the EU-Greenland Partnership, which focuses particular support to Greenland for sustainable economic diversification and strengthening its administrative capacity.<sup>23</sup> The EU provides budget support to Greenland with the aim of strengthening the education sector as a driver for sustainable development. While the 2012 Commission Communication proposed enhanced dialogue with Greenland specifically on Arctic issues, the 2016 Communication more broadly encourages policy dialogue at appropriate levels on various issues, including the Arctic.

## 7 Arctic security

### 7.1 Cooperation or conflict?

In introducing the new 2016 Communication, the HRVP said that ‘Our concern for the Arctic is not only an environmental one. Our own security and prosperity are at stake.’<sup>24</sup> Similarly, in its largely approving conclusions in response to the new Communication, the Council of the EU indicated that “reinforcing the EU’s engagement in the Arctic is also important from a foreign and security policy point of view.” However, as in the 2012 Communication, the 2016 Communication itself barely touched on security. The EU obviously has a strong interest in peace, stability and cooperation in the Arctic, as do all the states with a foothold or an interest in the region. Fortunately, the themes of peace and cooperation have long been strongly integrated into the institutions of the region. It is important to understand what have been the drivers of these dominant themes and how to ensure that they endure for years to come. It can be difficult to identify any real potential for conflict in a region where there are no land border disagreements, the sea border disagreements are far north of the current scope of human activity (and being handled via all-around cooperation with a UNCLOS process), and there are few strategic or tactical advantages to be won by military means.<sup>25</sup>

The Arctic has been exceptional model for regional governance in that there is no specific security architecture or forum for the region, yet it has long been an area of peaceful cooperation. There is debate over whether this success has been a direct result of the delinking of different thematic cooperation areas (economics, environment, cultural) from security ones. The main cooperation body, the Arctic Council, has been explicitly designed to exclude security questions. But given the current geopolitical challenges involving Russia, particularly since its annexation of Crimea, it is worth asking what impact these challenges may have in the Arctic region. While it is important to plan cautiously for an uncertain future,

<sup>21</sup> Depledge, Duncan and Dmitriy Tulupov, ‘EU-Russia relations in the Arctic on ice,’ European Council on Foreign Relations, 17 May, 2016. [http://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary\\_eu\\_russia\\_relations\\_in\\_the\\_arctic\\_on\\_ice](http://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary_eu_russia_relations_in_the_arctic_on_ice)

<sup>22</sup> European Commission, ‘Trade in goods with Russia,’ Directorate-General for Trade, 21 June 2016. [http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2006/september/tradoc\\_113440.pdf](http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2006/september/tradoc_113440.pdf)

<sup>23</sup> A new joint declaration between the EU, Denmark and Greenland was agreed in 2015. See European Commission, ‘Joint declaration by the European Union, on the one hand, and the Government of Greenland and the Government of Denmark, on the other, on relations between the European Union and Greenland,’ 19 March 2015. [https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sites/devco/files/signed-joint-declaration-eu-greenland-denmark\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sites/devco/files/signed-joint-declaration-eu-greenland-denmark_en.pdf)

<sup>24</sup> Mogherini, Federica and Karmenu Vella, ‘Why the Arctic matters to Europe. An EU policy for sustainable development and cooperative security,’ European Commission blog post, 28 April 2016. [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/2014-2019/vella/blog/why-arctic-matters-europe-eu-policy-sustainable-development-and-cooperative-security-federica\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/2014-2019/vella/blog/why-arctic-matters-europe-eu-policy-sustainable-development-and-cooperative-security-federica_en)

<sup>25</sup> Exner-Pirot, Heather, ‘Put up or shut up with your Arctic Conflict Theory,’ High North News, 2 November 2015. <http://www.highnorthnews.com/put-up-or-shut-up-with-your-arctic-conflict-theory/>

Arctic cooperation has been largely able to continue, despite major problems in wider relations between the Arctic states.

Russia annexed Crimea in March 2014. Soon after, the EU and others imposed sanctions on Russia. Thus one member of the Arctic Council (Russia) is under sanctions from the other seven, with the EU playing an important role in the sanctions process. In March 2016, the Foreign Affairs Council accepted five principles to guide policy toward Russia:<sup>26</sup>

- Full implementation of the Minsk Agreements as the key element for any substantial change in relations with Russia
- Stronger relations with Eastern Partners and other neighbours
- Strengthening internal EU resilience, notably with respect to energy security, hybrid threats and strategic communications
- Selective engagement on areas of clear EU interest
- Support for Russia civil society and people-to-people contacts

The idea of selective engagement is far from new; only a few months after Russia's annexation of Crimea, the European Council called for cross-border cooperation to be treated independently of other bilateral issues, ensuring that local cooperation programmes such as the Kolarctic programme could continue.<sup>27</sup>

Because Russia is the Arctic state most invested in, and dependent on, its Arctic regions for economic and strategic reasons, it has sometimes been designated as the "status quo" power for the region, uninterested in causing disruptions because it has the most to lose. Based on this assumption, it can be argued that no upset to Arctic security affairs is likely and thus no changes are needed in managing the issue. But though it seems highly unlikely that any Arctic issue could be the source of conflict with Russia, continued cooperation in the region may not continue to progress if the wider relationship between Russia and the West continues to deteriorate. Differences with Russia are not just about any particular situation in Ukraine or Georgia, but about the entire shape of the European security order and any threats to this order may be seen as a threat for all regions of the continent, including in the Arctic. This creates an onus to understand the potential scope for security problems in the Arctic and to determine the best mechanisms for handling them.

The current impasse with Russia makes it unlikely that Russia will accept the EU's acceptance as a formal observer in the Arctic Council any time soon. And it also raises the possibility that broader Arctic cooperation could be derailed, though so far this has not been the case. In fact, since the start of the Crimea crisis, cooperation has continued, including with Russia, on a remarkable range of mechanisms and activities:

- Approval of the Polar Code by the IMO
- Submissions from Denmark (Dec 2014) and Russia (Aug 2015) to UNCLOS regarding their undersea territorial claims
- The Declaration on Fishing In The Central Arctic Ocean by the Arctic 5 (July 2015)
- Inauguration of Arctic Coast Guard Forum (Oct 2015)
- Inauguration of Arctic Economic Council (Sept 2014)

<sup>26</sup> Council of the EU, Conclusions on Russia, Foreign Affairs Council meeting, 14 March 2016.  
<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/fac/2016/03/14/>

<sup>27</sup> European Council, 'European Council conclusions on external relations (Ukraine and Gaza)', 16 July 2014.  
[http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/143990.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/143990.pdf)

And the list above describes only part of the regional success, highlighting new breakthroughs. In addition to these advances, Russia and the EU have continued to work together, along with other partners, within the Northern Dimension, the Barents Euro Atlantic Council, the Northern Forum and specific projects such as on EMODnet and EU PolarNet. Apart from one task force meeting skipped by the US and Canada, there has been continued participation in Arctic Council meetings, including at the April 2015 ministerial meeting in Iqaluit, Canada.

Finland, however, has indicated that it may not host an Arctic ministerial meeting as part of its chairmanship beginning in 2017 due to the difficult geopolitical situation.<sup>28</sup> Thus while not all is positive, the Arctic is clearly a region where the use of selective engagement is successfully facilitating dialogue and cooperation. This continued cooperation has been taking place at the same time as other avenues of cooperation with Russia have been disappearing and Western observers have been ringing alarm bells at the expansion of Russian military activities in the region.

## 7.2 Defense issues

While the end of the Cold War resulted in a significant decrease in Russian military spending<sup>29</sup> and the abandonment of numerous bases in the Arctic, Moscow has recently engaged in a build-up of its Arctic capabilities and resumed patrols of combat vessels and strategic bombers. Though the Arctic receives only the barest mentions in Russia's latest national security strategy<sup>30</sup> Russia created a new Arctic Joint Strategic Command in late 2014, and has been busy reactivating and fortifying northern bases and conducting exercises across the north. Russia is planning to build four new Arctic bases<sup>31</sup> and raise the number of regional airfields from four to 14<sup>32</sup>. In 2014, a Joint Strategic Command Centre was established in Murmansk<sup>33</sup> while troops have been moved to Novaya Zemlya, the New Siberian Islands, and Franz Josef Land, among others<sup>34</sup>. An Arctic Brigade was established in 2015 with bases in Alakurtti (near the Finnish border) and Pechenga,<sup>35</sup> and in 2014 and 2015, Russia carried out large-scale military exercises in the Arctic involving up to 40000 troops.<sup>36</sup> The Russian Defence Ministry recently reinforced the Russian Arctic Flotilla by deployment S-300 and S-400 surface-to-air missile systems.<sup>37</sup> Though there are hints that this northern focus has been reduced since the start of Russia's intervention in Syria,<sup>38</sup> the Arctic is still clearly a much more active region for the Russian military than it was 15 years earlier.

This renewed militarization may have several drivers: First, heightened international activity in the region entailed by the increasing accessibility of the Arctic Ocean raises the incentive for Russia to strengthen its

<sup>28</sup> Arctic ministerial meetings are hosted every second year by the outgoing Chair of the Arctic Council. The next ministerial meeting is scheduled for spring 2017 in Alaska.

<sup>29</sup> Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 'SIPRI Military Expenditure Database'.

[http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex\\_database/milex\\_database](http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex_database/milex_database)

<sup>30</sup> Russian National Security Strategy, December 2015 – Full-text Translation,

<http://www.ieee.es/Galerias/fichero/OtrasPublicaciones/Internacional/2016/Russian-National-Security-Strategy-31Dec2015.pdf>

<sup>31</sup> Staalesen, Atle, 'Russian military builds four more Arctic bases,' *Independent Barents Observer*, 23 Oct, 2015.

<http://www.thebarentsobserver.com/2015/10/russian-military-builds-four-more-arctic-bases>

<sup>32</sup> Russel, Martin, 'Russia's armed forces - Reforms and challenges,' European Parliamentary Research Service, April 2015.

[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/IDAN/2015/554213/EPRS\\_IDA%282015%29554213\\_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/IDAN/2015/554213/EPRS_IDA%282015%29554213_EN.pdf)

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Przelomiec, Maria, 'Dlaczego Rosja militaryzuje Arktykę?' Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM), 1 February, 2016.

[https://blog.pism.pl/blog/?p=1&id\\_blog=35&lang\\_id=12&lang\\_id=12&id\\_post=722](https://blog.pism.pl/blog/?p=1&id_blog=35&lang_id=12&lang_id=12&id_post=722)

<sup>35</sup> Staalesen, Atle, 'Arctic Brigade on snow,' *Independent Barents Observer*, 22 February 2016.

<http://thebarentsobserver.com/security/2016/02/arctic-brigade-snow>

<sup>36</sup> Klimenko, Ekaterina, 'Russia and the Arctic: an end to cooperation?' Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 26 March 2015. <http://www.sipri.org/media/newsletter/essay/mar-15-russia-and-the-arctic>

<sup>37</sup> Staalesen, Atle, 'Russia deploys S-300 in Novaya Zemlya,' *Independent Barents Observer*, 9 December 2015.

<http://www.thebarentsobserver.com/security/2015/12/russia-deploys-s-300-novaya-zemlya>

<sup>38</sup> Baev, Pavel and Tim Boersma, 'With Russia overextended elsewhere, Arctic cooperation gets a new chance,' Brookings, 2016.

capacities to exercise sovereignty over its waters, notably along the Northern Sea Route. The melting Arctic ice will open up Russia's northern coast for economic opportunity, but this melting may also be seen as the disappearance of a line of defence against potential state and non-state interlopers.<sup>39</sup> In addition to new weapons and bases, there has also been investment in maritime infrastructure along the route, with military capacities being made useful for search and rescue and disaster preparedness.<sup>40</sup> Second, the Arctic developments are part of a broader process of revitalization for Russia's armed forces, much of it accompanied by anti-Western and anti-NATO rhetoric. As implied by Russia's 2015 Maritime Doctrine, Moscow disapproves of a further NATO enlargement<sup>41</sup> and is attempting to discourage Finland and Sweden from joining NATO. Finally, the fortification of Arctic capabilities, together with the renewal of bomber patrols and improved missile detection systems, are part of a process of improving and protecting and exercising Russia's strategic deterrent, including the nuclear submarines based in Arctic ports, notably in the Kola Peninsula.<sup>42</sup>

During the Cold War, both superpowers used the Arctic for strategic air defence, early warning, and the operations of submarines armed with nuclear ballistic missiles.<sup>43</sup> While the geopolitical situation has evolved significantly, the military balance in the Arctic today retains the imprint of the Cold War situation with the Arctic eight split into three categories: Russia, the five NATO states, and the neutral states of Finland and Sweden.

Though Norway has moved its military headquarters into the Arctic, the Nordic states generally do not have a heavy military presence in the region. In fact, no NATO state does, relative to Russia. Canada has only a light military presence across its vast Arctic territories, and limited naval capabilities for operating in the region. The United States military continues to treat the Arctic as a "strategic" theatre, surveyed by northern air squadrons and ballistic missile defence systems, but without any naval bases dedicated to operations in the region. The US Coast Guard operates a few unarmed icebreakers off Alaska, but the US Navy has no ships specifically adapted for Arctic ice operations.<sup>44</sup> Apart from the strategic submarines and aircraft, US defence activities focus primarily on the American part of the Arctic, limiting efforts to "outreach, planning, and small-scale summer deployments."<sup>45</sup>

In the current tense climate regarding Russia, it may be argued whether official Swedish and Finnish (2 of the 3 EU Arctic states) neutrality has played a factor in continued Arctic peace and cooperation. Russia is not thrilled with Finland and Sweden's good working relationships with NATO, having signed host nation support agreements, joined a NATO foreign ministers meeting for the first time in May 2016, and took part in Baltic exercises with NATO members. The other three Nordic states, Iceland, Denmark and Norway are part of NATO. All five are part of NORDEFCO, founded in 2009 as an evolution of earlier Nordic programmes, seeking cooperation on capacity development and training. Participation in NORDEFCO also means that Sweden and Finland are engaged in closer cooperation with NATO states Denmark and Norway.

<sup>39</sup> Zysk, Katarzyna, 'Russia's Arctic strategy: ambitions and constraints,' *Joint Force Quarterly*, 2010, no. 57, 103-110.

<sup>40</sup> Pettersen, Trude, 'Lavrov: Russia to increase safety on Northern Sea Route,' *Independent Barents Observer*, 15 April 2016. Available at <http://www.thebarentsobserver.com/arctic/2016/04/lavrov-russia-increase-safety-northern-sea-route>

<sup>41</sup> Kremlin.ru, 'Maritime Doctrine of the Russian Federation,' 26 July 2015. Available (in Russian) at <http://static.kremlin.ru/media/events/files/ru/uAFi5nvux2twagiftS5yrlZUVTJan77L.pdf>

<sup>42</sup> Przełomieć, 2016.

<sup>43</sup> Le Miere, Christian and Jeffrey Mazo, 'Arctic Opening: Insecurity and Opportunity,' The International Institute for Strategic Studies, *Routledge*, 2013.

<sup>44</sup> Wezeman, Siemon T., 'Military Capabilities in the Arctic,' Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, March 2012.

<sup>45</sup> Papp, Admiral Robert, quoted in Wezeman (2012).



### 7.3 International security cooperation

Despite a real surge in attention to the region from non-Arctic actors such as China in recent years, the translation of this attention into vital economic and security interests remains hypothetical. The number of actors with essential Arctic security interests, then, remains limited to those with territory and coastlines in the region, all of which, except for Russia, subscribe to the Euro-Atlantic security order. In this framing, any potential hard security problems in the region boil down to the challenge of managing Russia – understanding it, engaging it, containing it. What mechanisms are currently in place that may play a role in mitigation, preventing or responding to potential hard security problems?

- Arctic Council – Though the founding declaration of the Arctic Council states that the Council should not deal with matters related to military security, discussions continue at the ministerial level on other issues.
- Arctic Coast Guard Forum was established in October, 2015 in the USA, with participation from all eight Arctic states.<sup>46</sup>
- Northern Chiefs of Defence Forum, the only circumpolar platform for discussing security cooperation, has discontinued its meetings since 2014.
- Arctic Security Forces Roundtable held annually since 2011, including in 2015 in Reykjavik (11 nations, but not Russia)
- Bilateral military cooperation – Norway emphasized their positive cooperation with Russia in the past, including annual Norwegian-Russian military exercises POMOR or BARENTS, but cancelled after the annexation of Crimea

Each of these mechanisms suffers some limitations in managing hard security problems in the Arctic. Either its scope of activity excludes military issues (Arctic Council and Coast Guard Forum) or it excludes Russia in times of crisis, limiting its usefulness in managing problems with that state. None of these are open to the EU. Other alternatives to the existing structures have been put forward for managing hard security.

One idea that receives regular attention is the idea of providing the Arctic Council with a security mandate. This could potentially involve the simple addition of a security working group to the Council, or it could involve the more ambitious transformation of the Council into a governing organisation with a legal mandate. Such a transformation may result in an organisation that excludes indigenous groups, which are currently seen as essential for the legitimacy and functioning of the Council. Convincing the eight members of the Arctic Council to adopt either type of change would be a difficult and potentially counterproductive diplomatic challenge. The Arctic Council was founded with the explicit agreement that it would not have a security remit and resistance to changing this situation remains very strong, particularly in the five Arctic Ocean coastal states.<sup>47</sup> The success of the Arctic Council in pursuing cooperation within its chosen themes has been ascribed to its structure, which allows it to avoid security issues and focus on other items.<sup>48</sup> The expertise of the people who contribute to the Council and its Working Groups is also generally focused on the issues that are within the Council's current remit. It has been argued that if the Arctic Council had had a security mandate during the last two years when the

<sup>46</sup> Osthagen, Andreas, 'The Arctic Coast Guard Forum: Big Tasks, Small Solutions,' The Arctic Institute, 2 November 2015. <http://www.thearcticinstitute.org/2015/11/the-arctic-coast-guard-forum-big-tasks.html>

<sup>47</sup> Wilson, Page, 'Society, steward or security actor? Three visions of the Arctic Council,' *Cooperation and Conflict*, 2016, Vol. 51(1).

<sup>48</sup> Depledge, Duncan, 'Hard security developments,' in Juha Jokela (ed.) 'Arctic Security Matters,' EU Institute for Security Studies, 2015. <http://www.iss.europa.eu/publications/detail/article/arctic-security-matters-1/>



Ukraine crisis has been underway, that the entire work of the Council and its working groups may have ground to a halt since military cooperation mechanisms are likely to be closed down in times of crisis anyway, as NATO has done with Russia since 2014.<sup>49</sup>

Would a new security architecture allow positive trends in regional cooperation to be institutionalized and made more durable? The key challenge in creating such an institution would be defining its role and powers in such a way as to gain buy-in from all Arctic states, without having the resulting product become irrelevant. If the body is ignored or splits apart at the first signs of trouble, then it will have limited value. The US, Russia, and Canada, in particular, use sovereignty as a key organising principle for the Arctic and may balk at the idea of a body with any significant powers. Both Russia and the US can be uninterested in subjecting themselves to international regimes.

The idea of having NATO play a larger role in the Arctic has also been raised, though unsurprisingly, such a move may not play well in Russia. The role of a convening security forum would be a difficult one for an exclusive military alliance. Support for further NATO involvement in the region has also been limited in Canada.<sup>50</sup> And NATO itself has been lukewarm to the idea.<sup>51</sup>

## 7.4 Human security

Human security challenges also exist in the Arctic. Though much of the human security discussion that takes place in international relations does not currently apply to the Arctic (or only in a limited fashion – piracy, organised crime, violent conflict, fragile states), the economic, social and environmental security of the region will require effective management.<sup>52</sup> Protecting the economic security will involve working to ensure that economic change is done sustainably and that there is a focus on the livelihoods of local citizens. In the social sphere, human security can cover a very broad agenda, including health, livelihoods, migration, minority rights and stewardship issues. Concerns over environmental security are focused on the impacts of local pollution, as well as climate change impacts that will cause a rise in the sea level and change ecosystems, disrupting livelihoods, transport routes, hunting patterns and threaten to displace populations or even create pockets of fragility.<sup>53</sup> The key factors for managing environmental security are resilience and uncertainty – despite improved modelling of climate change impacts, the specific local effects cannot be predicted with any accuracy, but resilient societies will be better equipped to manage them. A review of the Arctic policies and activities of both the EU and the eight Arctic states, however, serves to highlight that these key human security themes (economic, social and environmental) are already the focus of great effort and investigation. Using the human security rubric, therefore, may not serve for more than to re-frame the language of existing efforts.

<sup>49</sup> Keil, Kathrin, 'An Arctic Security Forum? Please, no!' The Arctic Institute, 26 May 2016. <http://www.thearcticinstitute.org/an-arctic-security-forum-please-dont/>

<sup>50</sup> Haftendorn, Helga, 'NATO and the Arctic: Is the Atlantic alliance a Cold War relic in a peaceful region now faced with non-military challenges?' *European Security*, 2011, vol. 20, no.3.

<sup>51</sup> Le Miere and Mazo, 2013.

<sup>52</sup> Bailes, Alyson J.K., 'Wider security angles,' in Juha Jokela (ed) 'Arctic Security Matters,' EU Institute for Security Studies, 2015. <http://www.iss.europa.eu/publications/detail/article/arctic-security-matters-1/>

<sup>53</sup> Ruttinger, Lukas et al, 'A New Climate for Peace – Taking action on climate and fragility risks,' adelphi, International Alert, Woodrow Wilson Center, EU Institute for Security Studies, 2015. <https://www.newclimateforpeace.org/>

## 7.5 A role for the EU?

The security relationships that the Member States have with the EU are divergent, as Denmark holds opt-outs from EU security and defence policies. EU Member States have expressed support for EU engagement in Arctic affairs including in the Arctic Council but there has been no clear support, however, for the idea of the EU being more active on security issues in the region. In Eastern Europe, conflict with Russia over the Ukraine conflict, energy relations and other issues has led Member States to push for solidarity and EU engagement on multiple issues in order to limit the likelihood of any one state suffering from bilateral Russian pressure. In the Arctic, however, Russian activities have not become such a driving force which to shape a similar discussion. There has only been the vague, and non-Arctic-specific issue of militarization and the potential for tension to overflow from other regions.

The EU's role in defence cooperation has been slow to progress, but the EU still can play an important role in promoting effective multilateral arrangements, political stability, and building civilian security mechanisms. The EU continues to evolve as a security actor, notably since the Lisbon Treaty, expanding its capacities for crisis management and comprehensive security planning in recent years. The Treaty includes mutual assistance and solidarity clauses, and has facilitated the development of CSDP. Though it can be difficult to forge consensus among Member States with regard to the EU's security role, more than 30 civilian and military operations have been launched under the CSDP. These missions, however, have been launched primarily to the east and south of the EU, notably all in areas where fragility and political instability are not uncommon – which is very different from the situation in the Arctic.

None of the primary EU security or foreign policies mention the Arctic.<sup>54</sup> But the new EU Global Strategy for Foreign and Security Policy is due to be released by the HRVP this summer, and several themes of importance for the Arctic, such as resilience, conflict prevention, and global governance, seem likely to form part of that Strategy, potentially opening the way for further discussion of these themes within the realm of Arctic-specific policy making. EU interests and contributions in the Arctic itself may be directly addressed in the document, with a likely focus on the same primary themes that form the core of EU Arctic policy documents to date – environmental protection, sustainable development, and international cooperation. Regardless of the content of the new Global Strategy, shaping any potential security role for the EU in the Arctic will require patient and constructive work with the Member States who must take the lead in this area.

<sup>54</sup> European Council, 'A secure Europe in a better world - European security strategy,' 2003.

<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>;

European Council, 'Report on implementation of the European Security Strategy - Providing Security in a Changing World,' 2008.

[http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/reports/104630.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/reports/104630.pdf);

European Council, 'Internal Security Strategy for the European Union - Towards a European security model,' 2010.

[https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms\\_data/librairie/PDF/QC3010313ENC.pdf](https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/librairie/PDF/QC3010313ENC.pdf);

European Commission, 'The European Agenda on Security,' 2015, COM(2015) 185 final.

<https://www.cepol.europa.eu/sites/default/files/european-agenda-security.pdf>.

## 8 Arctic energy

In 2008, the US Geological Survey produced a famous study in which they estimated that the Arctic may contain 13% of the world's undiscovered oil (nearly half of which in American territory) and 30% of its undiscovered gas (mostly in Russian territory).<sup>55</sup> Interest in the Arctic, already high due to elevated oil and gas prices, was piqued further. While there was some public discussion about the potential for conflict over control of these resources<sup>56</sup> the lack of territorial disagreements in most of the areas where the reserves are predicted to be makes such conflict highly unlikely.<sup>57</sup> In the Arctic Ocean regions where there are still disagreements over continental shelves and territorial seas, far from land and close to the North Pole, no resource production will be technically feasible this century. Even if all the ice were to disappear, no production would be possible until long after we should have already decarbonised our economies, so the question is moot. Much of the oil and gas that is closer to shore and technically recoverable may also need to be left undeveloped for climate reasons, just as in other parts of the world.

The need to decarbonise has led to increased focus on the need to improve renewable energy development, including in the Arctic. Though developments have been limited so far, all of the leading renewable energy formats, from geo-thermal energy (especially in Iceland), to solar, hydro and wind power have been developed in different Arctic communities.<sup>58</sup> Pursuit of renewable energy projects may make extra sense in the Arctic, as the long distances that separate many Arctic communities mean that production from small-scale local sources can be cost competitive. However, these long distances also make it less likely that renewable energy production in the Arctic can be made available for export in a cost-effective manner.

While renewable energy in the Arctic is still in its infancy, the region has long been a major oil and gas producer, accounting for a tenth of global oil production and a quarter of global gas production in 2004,<sup>59</sup> and there is significant potential to expand production further within the decarbonisation window. Current production takes place in the “workable” Arctic, primarily onshore Alaska, onshore Russia, and offshore Norway. These resources provide royalties for governments as well as important economic benefits for both local communities and across economically interconnected regions. With the recent plunge in fossil fuel prices, investors, energy companies and governments have shifted their thinking on the time frames for large-scale Arctic energy development away from the present and into the medium term. With the boom in shale oil and gas production in North America, coupled with aggressive efforts by energy exporters from Saudi Arabia to Australia to push for greater share of their respective markets, oil and gas prices may be very slow to recover. The shift toward longer time frames has also been driven by a string of difficult news from existing exploration and development projects which have highlighted the cost and technical difficulty of Arctic development.<sup>60</sup> Costs and lag times for Arctic oil and gas development remain much larger than in most other parts of the world due to limited

<sup>55</sup> Bird, Kenneth J. et al., ‘Circum-Arctic Resource Appraisal: Estimates of Undiscovered Oil and Gas North of the Arctic Circle,’ US Department of the Interior, US Geological Survey, 2008. <http://pubs.usgs.gov/fs/2008/3049/fs2008-3049.pdf>.

<sup>56</sup> See, for example, ‘Arctic Resources: The fight for the coldest place on Earth heats up,’ RT, 15 April, 2014. <https://www.rt.com/news/arctic-reclamation-resources-race-524/>

<sup>57</sup> Wong, Ernest, ‘Geopolitics of Arctic Oil and Gas: the Dwindling Relevance of Territorial Claims,’ *New Voices in Public Policy*, 2013, vol 7.

<sup>58</sup> The Circle, ‘Renewable Energy in the Arctic,’ WWF Global Arctic Programme, Vol 3, 2015.

[http://d2ouvy59p0dg6k.cloudfront.net/downloads/thecircle0315\\_web.pdf](http://d2ouvy59p0dg6k.cloudfront.net/downloads/thecircle0315_web.pdf)

<sup>59</sup> Łuszczuk, Michał, Debra Justus, Jennie Thomas, Chris Klok and Federica Gerber, ‘Developing oil and gas resources in arctic waters,’ in Stępień, Koivurova and Kankaanpää (eds), 2014.

<sup>60</sup> Schaps, Karolin, ‘Royal Dutch Shell pulls plug on Arctic exploration,’ Reuters, 28 September 2015.

<http://www.reuters.com/article/us-shell-alaska-idUSKCN0RS0EX20150928> ;

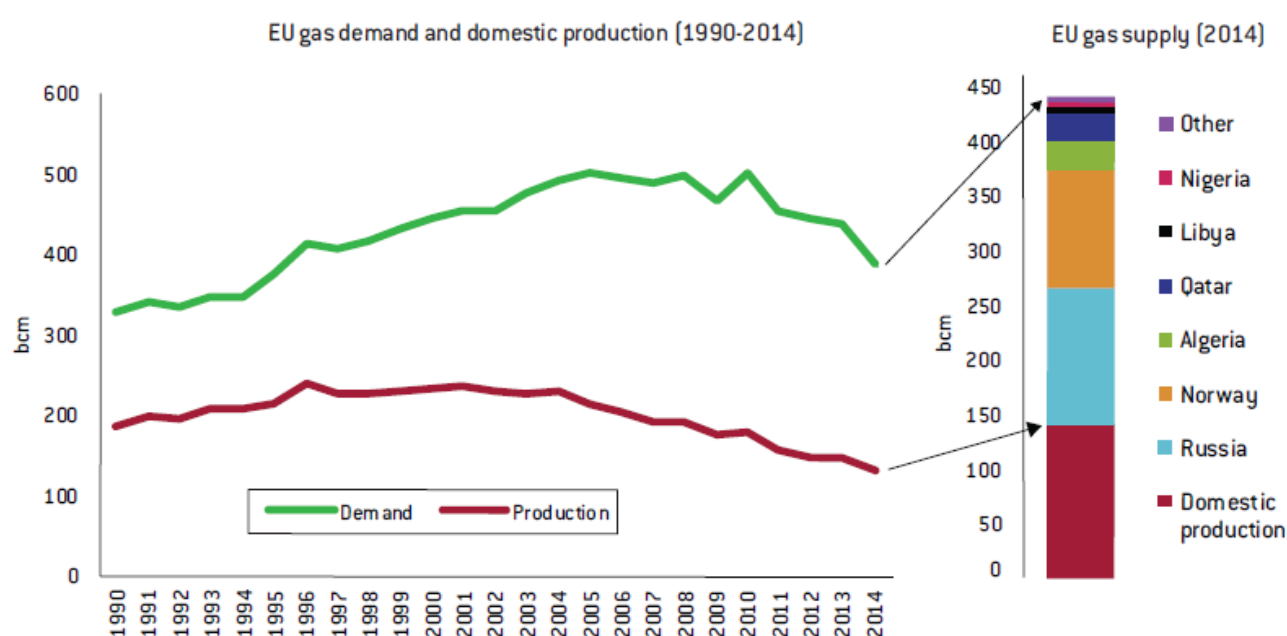
Calcuttawala, Zainab, ‘Repsol To Adandon All Remaining Leases in Chuckchi Sea,’ OilPrice.com, 8 June 2016.

<http://oilprice.com/Latest-Energy-News/World-News/Repsol-To-Adandon-All-Remaining-Leases-in-Chuckchi-Sea.html>

infrastructure, seasonal restrictions, high labour costs, extreme weather conditions, tough environmental regulations, and the technological requirements for overcoming these other challenges.<sup>61</sup> These limitations have served to make oil and gas development a source more for cooperation than for competition in the region as consortiums and partnerships with companies from multiple countries have become common in the region for offshore developments (at least up until sanctions were imposed on Russia).<sup>62</sup> The International Energy Agency recently estimated that oil produced on the Arctic shelf (i.e. offshore) will account for less than 1% of global production by 2040.<sup>63</sup> The shift away from boom-time thinking of a few years ago may be a disappointment for those communities that had been expecting jobs and investment to flow into their regions, but it does allow space for reflection on how to shape future investment so that resource extraction is sustainable, provides maximum benefits to local populations, and protects the environment.

For importers of Arctic resources, especially the EU, these resources play a role in ensuring their energy security, particularly in the terms of natural gas. Oil and coal have each developed into liquid global commodities, with most buyers able to shift from one source of supply to other sources, refining specifications, notwithstanding. Gas, however, has historically been bought and sold on a limited regional basis, shaped by pipeline routes and the long term bilateral partnerships that made investment in these pipelines feasible. The gas market has begun to change in recent years with the expansion of international liquefied natural gas (LNG) trade, deeper and more interconnected regional markets, especially in North America and Europe, and the growth of short term contracts and spot trading. This has allowed importers more flexibility, providing options that can reduce their dependence on a limited number of local suppliers.

**Figure 5 – EU gas trends**



Source: Tagliapietra and Zachmann, 2016, based on BP

<sup>61</sup> Le Miere and Mazo, 2013.

<sup>62</sup> Morgunova, Maria and Kirsten Westphal, 'Offshore Hydrocarbon Resources in the Arctic,' SWP Research Paper, February, 2016. <http://www.swp-berlin.org/en/publications/swp-research-papers/swp-research-paper-detail/article/offshore-hydrocarbon-resources-in-the-arctic.html>

<sup>63</sup> International Energy Agency, 'World Energy Outlook 2015,' 2015. <http://www.worldenergyoutlook.org/weo2015/>

Russia has decades of experience with gas production in the Arctic, primarily onshore. Russia has the world's largest gas reserves, a large portion of which will likely remain permanently in the ground as the world decarbonizes in the decades ahead. Geography, geology and costs will play an important role in determining which Russian regions will see the most development in the decades to come. Today, most Russian gas is produced in West Siberia, with the majority of that shipped by pipeline to the EU. Russia has actively pursued Arctic gas projects in recent years, notable the Yamal and Shtokman projects, both of which are intended to produce LNG for the global market, with plans to ship the gas above Russia along the Northern Sea Route to Asia. Continued progress on Yamal was recently in doubt due to rising costs and the withdrawal of Western investment and technology. EU sanctions on Russia prohibit the export of offshore oil exploration technology, impacting the progress on offshore projects. In early 2016, Chinese state-owned banks provided USD12 billion in additional financing (Petro China owns a 20% stake) to save the project.<sup>64</sup> The prospects for more Arctic gas development in Russia hinge on the success of existing projects and the future demand/price situation; unlike most of Russia's current onshore production, offshore projects are more likely to incorporate LNG facilities, reducing the reliance on European demand to guarantee their future profitability.

Norwegian gas development has historically been concentrated in the North Sea and shipped to the EU via pipelines. The government estimates that about one-third of its gas reserves have already been produced, another third will be produced over the next 20 years, and the remainder will be produced over a longer time frame.<sup>65</sup> Much of this is expected to be found in the Arctic, in the Barents Sea. The Snøhvit field is Norway's first operating gas field in the Barents Sea, discovered in 1984, but only began producing in 2006, shipping out gas as LNG. Following the 2011 agreement that resolved the Norway-Russia maritime border in the Barents Sea, expectations for oil and gas development in the region have been raised. As with Russia, however, the future pace of Arctic gas development will be dependent on continued demand, particularly from their number one customer: the EU.

Among the other Arctic countries and territories, only the United States has significant oil and gas production in its Arctic areas. Alaska exports a significant amount of oil, mostly to the continental United States; though plans for a major LNG facility have long been discussed, Alaska has not become a major gas exporter. The waters off Greenland have been the subject to increased oil and gas exploration since the 2008 USGS survey estimated that the East Greenland Rift Basins may contain 31 billion BOE (barrels of oil equivalent) of oil and gas. As with earlier drilling efforts in the 1970s, however, offshore drilling in 2010 did not result in any major finds, and with the recent collapse in oil prices, activity has ground to a halt.<sup>66</sup> Hopes that oil income could help reduce Greenland's economic dependence on Denmark have thus been shifted toward the longer term. A short-lived moratorium on new exploration licences was ended in 2014. Should Greenland become an oil and gas producer in the future, the additional resources would increase its economic independence and it may consider moving toward full independence.<sup>67</sup>

The EU plays an important role in Arctic energy both as an importer seeking to improve its energy security and as a regulator shaping energy relations both within and outside its borders. An estimated one quarter of oil and gas produced in the Arctic ends up in the EU.<sup>68</sup> The EU's two most important external gas suppliers are its pipeline-connected neighbours Norway and Russia, with each supplying

<sup>64</sup> Farchy, Jack, 'Chinese lend \$12bn for gas plant in Russian Arctic,' *Financial Times*, 29 April, 2016. <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/4ca8886e-0e14-11e6-ad80-67655613c2d6.html#axzz4CULBb3jh>

<sup>65</sup> Crisp, James, 'Norwegian energy minister: We will drill until gas reserves run out,' EurActiv.com, 8 February, 2016.

<sup>66</sup> Euractiv.com, 'Oil firms cool over Greenland oil drilling,' 20 January 2014. <http://www.euractiv.com/section/sustainable-dev/news/oil-firms-cool-over-greenland-oil-drilling/>

<sup>67</sup> The Economist, 'Independence on ice,' 21 January 2015. <http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21640224-falling-crude-prices-are-forcing-greenland-put-plans-split-denmark-independence-ice>

<sup>68</sup> Cavalieri, S. et al., 'EU Arctic Footprint and Policy Assessment Report,' Ecologic Institute. <http://arctic-footprint.eu/>



around a third of EU imports in recent years. For the EU, it will be important to understand how important future Arctic development, primarily in Norway and Russia, will be for its own energy security; i.e. how much reliance these states will have on Arctic resources to continue supplying Europe the gas that it wants. This can be a difficult questions to answer, as the future of European gas demand as a subject of much debate. As Europe increasingly decarbonizes its economy over the coming decades, the role of fossil fuels in meeting Europe's energy needs will decline, but not all fuels will be treated equally. Gas has been described as a transition fuel, with lower carbon emissions than other fossil fuels, which can play an important role in the European fuel mix until such time as carbon-free energy sources are sufficiently developed. Others, however, argue that the CO<sub>2</sub> emissions from burning gas, together with the methane emissions associated with gas production and transport, are problematic enough that gas should be phased out as quickly as more carbon-intensive fuels like coal and oil.

A resolution to this conundrum will not arrive overnight, as European gas usage is affected by the slow development of the internal energy market, leaving a patchwork of national and European climate regulations and energy priorities that make prediction and planning difficult for gas producers, importers and users. And as seen in both Norway and Russia, LNG export facilities are being included in the development plans of Arctic gas fields, so any gas that is produced may not flow into pipelines to Europe but instead be sent made available to buyers from around the world, reducing the direct energy security benefits to Europe. The further north that development takes place, the less likely it will be that pipeline infrastructure will make sense. Thus, the role that Arctic gas will play in EU energy security remains unclear, with the level of European demand and the amount of Arctic gas that would be directed to Europe both up in the air.

The EU is also a shaper of the Arctic energy scene via the impact that its energy regulations have both inside and outside its borders. The example of the Third Energy Package is informative. The package was focused on unbundling energy suppliers from network operators and improving transparency and competitiveness within the European Union. But it also impacted exporters such as Russia, most famously via the unbundling requirements it imposed on Russia's South Stream gas project, and which likely contributed to its failure. European efforts at building internal energy and carbon markets have also begun to influence domestic energy planning in normally state-directed energy markets such as Russia and China.<sup>69</sup> Thus the EU, though highly dependent on energy imports, influences energy development in its neighbourhood. There are limits to its influence in the Arctic, however, as evidenced by Norway's response to the Commission's 2013 offshore oil safety directive.<sup>70</sup> The Directive aims to reduce the risk of accidents associated with offshore operations. As part of the European Economic Area, Norway applies most EU regulations related to the single market, but in this case prefers to apply its own safety regulations. Even within the EU, not all Member States have yet implemented the Directive into local legislation.

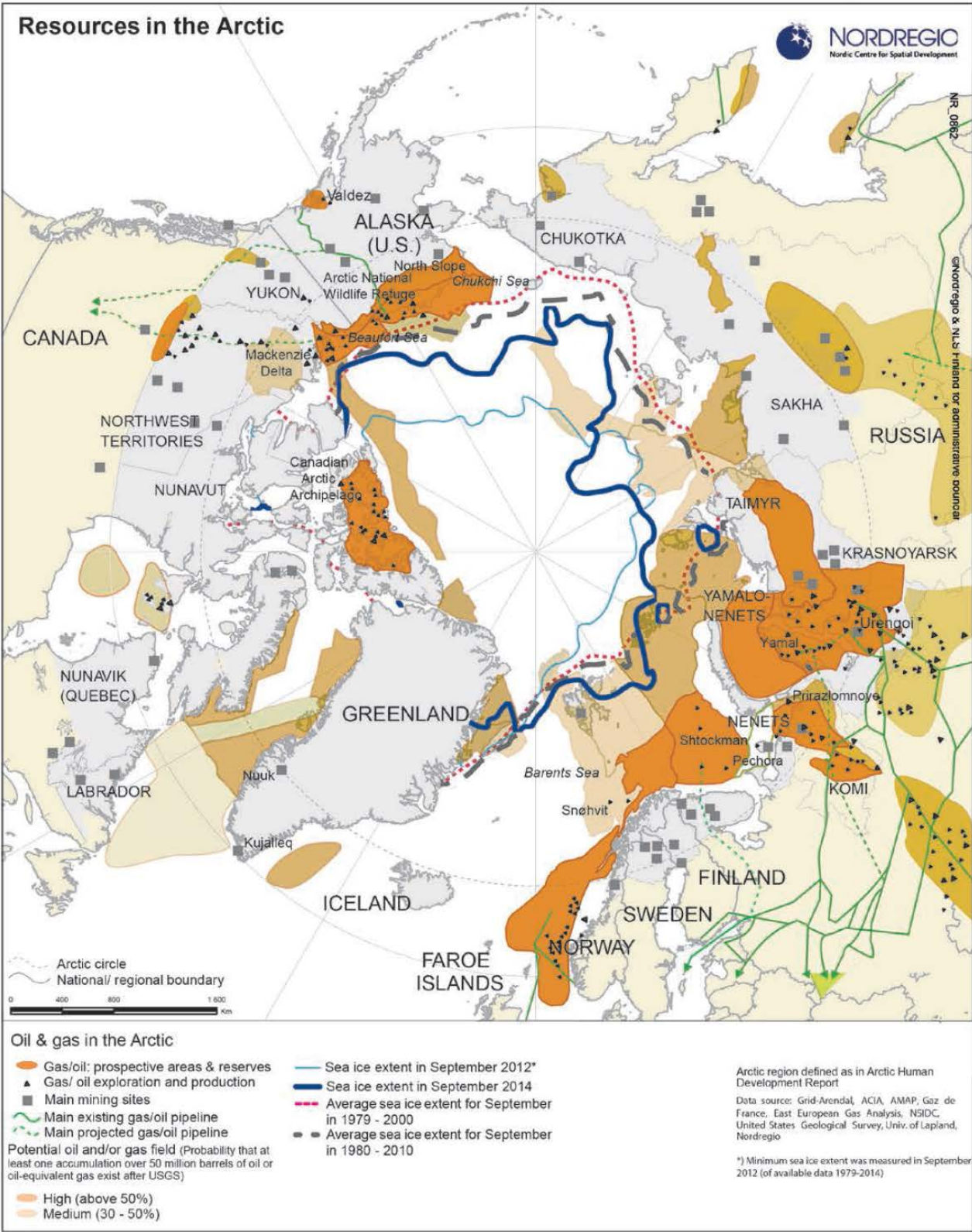
The European Commission has energy dialogues with the United States and Canada, but the Arctic has not been on the energy agenda. Energy dialogues with Russia have been blocked since 2014, along with other connections between the two powers.

<sup>69</sup> Henderson, James and Tatiana Mitrova, 'The Political and Commercial Dynamics of Russia's Gas Export Strategy,' Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, 2015. <https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/NG-102.pdf>

<sup>70</sup> European Commission, 'Directive 2013/30/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 12 June 2013 on safety of offshore oil and gas operations,' 2013. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX%3A32013L0030>



Figure 6 – Arctic resources



Source: Rispling and Roto, Nordregio, 2015

## 9 Next steps

For governments and citizens thinking about the future of the Arctic, themes of change, opportunity and risk come to the fore. But so do ideas of resilience and continuity. While natural resource demands and climate change impacts have brought new opportunities and risks to the region, there are important geographical, meteorological and cultural continuities that will continue to shape the lives of people in the region. Faced with this context, the positive evolution of EU Arctic policy over the last decades reflects its improved understanding of the Arctic. The latest Joint Communication is a positive step worth supporting, with important ideas for shaping EU action in the region. Based on the analysis above, some themes may be worth addressing further:

Citizen-focused – Arctic policy should continue to prioritise the needs of the people who live in the region today. This is important for shaping both the economy and the forms of governance in the Arctic.

In terms of the economy, further investments in education, research, and innovation are all essential for building for the future, ensuring that Arctic citizens can shape their own destiny. But many parts of the Arctic economy are based on natural resources, and sustainable development of these resources will continue to be the backbone of the economy while the process of economic diversification progresses. Fortunately, there are good opportunities for investment that can pay dividends in both the short term and the long term, including investment in physical and cyber connectivity.

In terms of governance, the EU has become a positive force in supporting the wider trend toward improved local ownership and political engagement. Continued support for this trend need not require new institutions, but should involve the type of transparent engagement and consultation that builds permanent processes for cooperation rather than just one-off projects. The European Parliament can play a central role in this by maximizing opportunities for engagement with European citizens on Arctic matters and with other representative bodies working on Arctic affairs.

Environmental leadership – As laid out in the 2016 Communication, the EU will continue to be active and engaged on the environmental and climate issues where the EU has clear competences. This could also include more active efforts in managing the concerns of climate laggards within Europe so that EU can build and enhance climate ambition. Also, under no scenario will human activities within the Arctic become a major contributor to global climate change. Thus, while all communities will need to pursue climate mitigation, especially with respect to black carbon emissions, the greening of Arctic energy use may not be as important a funding priority as investment in adaptation. Helping to improve the socioeconomic resilience of northern communities in the face of a changing climate will be an important challenge.

Arctic energy matters – The boom times rhetoric may be misplaced, and Arctic gas may not be the immediate solution to the EU's energy security challenge, but hydrocarbon development is an important part of the Arctic economy in several areas, and continues to be an essential area of cooperative policy-making across the continent. While the focus on renewable technologies and high tech innovation is to be applauded and supported, the time frames for development and rolling out these new alternatives will be slow enough that continued management of hydrocarbon production and use will be needed for years to come. In this context, Arctic issues may also be introduced into the EU's bilateral energy dialogues.

Further integration of EU into existing cooperation frameworks - The Arctic Council remains the central body for international cooperation in the Arctic, and is worthy of engagement and support based on its current model. While formal acceptance as an Arctic Council observer may not occur without a significant thaw in wider relations with Russia, the EU can still act in its current role as provisional observer by supporting the Working Groups and Task Forces of the Council and encouraging the strengthening of the Arctic Council's permanent secretariat. As the EU seeks to be a constructive partner

in Arctic affairs, there will be a continuing need for engagement with other Arctic actors, notably Russia but also other Arctic states, which are adjusting to the EU's growing role. This will take time. Most of the current discussion fora and governance structures are young. Arctic governance may look very different in 20 years – there is an opportunity to shape it, in full partnership with other Arctic stakeholders.

Security matters – Security challenges may take many forms, and few are resolvable through the use of military means. It is thus important, even for non-military actors, to understand potential security challenges and be prepared to contribute to their resolution. The EU is increasingly a security actor with capacity to contribute in multiple ways, from its CSDP operations to managing geopolitical challenges on the international stage, all done in partnership with its Member States. For example, its policy of selective engagement with Russia is paying dividends, maintaining connections and helping reduce tensions, while maintaining sanctions in the face of Russian intransigence over Ukraine.

Though it can be difficult to shape consensual responses to the potential security challenges in the Arctic, European security efforts work best where the EU and its Member States put effort into working together; added value comes not simply in the cases where universal consensus is reached, but also through engagement and debate throughout the process. As CSDP continues to evolve, the EU will have particular contributions to make on crisis and disaster management and civilian capacity building. It may thus make sense to investigate synergies between CSDP and Arctic policy, focusing on risk reduction, transparency and cooperative measures. The EU, including both the Parliament and the EEAS may also wish to work for fuller inclusion in Arctic security deliberations across multiple venues, including with NATO, bilaterally with the US, Canada, Norway and Iceland, and with subregional bodies in Europe, notably among the Nordic states.

European policy coherence – The forging of common and effective policies for the European Union is normally a complex and iterative process. In the Arctic, fortunately, there is already significant convergence in the policy priorities of the EU and its Arctic Member States, forming the basis for solid cooperation with other Arctic actors. To facilitate this effort, the EU must continually work to ensure that its own policy development across different areas remain consistent with respect to the Arctic. The European Parliament can play a key role in this with regular reviews of the framing and implementation of policies in the key fields that affect the Arctic. This can be complemented with close bilateral cooperation with the parliaments of EU Arctic states as they perform similar roles for their respective governments.

## Annex 1 – Priorities in national Arctic strategies

### **Denmark, Faroe Islands, Greenland** – Common Arctic Strategy (2011):

[http://usa.um.dk/en/~media/USA/Washington/Arctic\\_strategy.pdf](http://usa.um.dk/en/~media/USA/Washington/Arctic_strategy.pdf)

*The Kingdom of Denmark aims for:*

- A peaceful, secure and safe Arctic
- Self-sustaining growth and development
- Respect for the Arctic's fragile climate, environment and nature
- Close international cooperation

### **Finland (2013)** : <http://vnk.fi/documents/10616/334509/Arktinen+strategia+2013+en.pdf/6b6fb723-40ec-4c17-b286-5b5910fbecf4>

- Vision:
  - An Arctic country (Reinforcing Finland's Arctic position)
  - Arctic expertise – research and responsible commercial exploitation
  - Sustainable development and Environmental considerations and
  - International cooperation - Reinforcing its Arctic position, promoting international cooperation and maintaining stability in the Arctic region
- Finland's Arctic population - Social sustainability, a well-functioning society and working conditions, Plus Saami and indigenous focus
- Education and research
- Finland's business operations and opportunities
- Environment and stability (security focused, including Arctic stability and internal security)
- International cooperation

### **Sweden (2011)**: <http://www.openaid.se/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Swedens-Strategy-for-the-Arctic-Region.pdf>

- Climate and the environment (environmental protection is key priority)
- Economic development
- Human dimension
- International cooperation

### **Swedish environmental policy for the Arctic (2016)**:

<http://www.government.se/globalassets/regeringen/dokument/miljo--och-energidepartementet/pdf/160125-environmental-policy-for-the-arctic.pdf>

- Climate
- Biodiversity

- Sustainable resource development

**Iceland (2011):** <https://www.mfa.is/news-and-publications/nr/6275>

- Strengthening Arctic Council as place where decisions are made
- Securing Iceland's position as a coastal State within the Arctic region
- Promote understanding that North Atlantic is an Arctic zone
- Prioritize UNCLOS to solve issues
- Increase cooperation with Faroe Islands and Greenland
- Support rights of indigenous people in the region
- International cooperation
- Fight climate change and its effects to improve wellbeing of Arctic communities
- Safeguarding of broadly defined security interests and prevent militarisation
- Develop trade among Arctic states
- Promote Iceland as Arctic state – at home and abroad
- Increase domestic discussion on Arctic issues

**Norway (2014):** [https://www.regjeringen.no/en/dokumenter/report\\_summary/id2076191/](https://www.regjeringen.no/en/dokumenter/report_summary/id2076191/)

- International cooperation (Economic cooperation with Russia important), including Barents, AC, Arctic Economic Council, Freedom of Movement Council, IMO, etc.
- Knowledge-based business sector
- Broad-based knowledge development – research and education
- Expansion of reliable regional infrastructure
- Better preparedness (SAR) and environmental protection (sustainable economic activity and high environmental standards)

**Russia (2013):** <http://www.arctis-search.com/Russian+Federation+Policy+for+the+Arctic+to+2020>  
(English 2009 version); <http://government.ru/info/18360/> (Russian version)

- Overall socio-economic development of the Arctic zone
- Creation of an advanced ICT infrastructure
- Assurance of environmental safety
- International cooperation
- Assurance of military security
- Defence of the state borders in the Arctic region

**Canada (2010):** [http://www.international.gc.ca/arctic-arctique/assets/pdfs/canada\\_arctic\\_foreign\\_policy-eng.pdf](http://www.international.gc.ca/arctic-arctique/assets/pdfs/canada_arctic_foreign_policy-eng.pdf)



- 4 pillars:
  - Exercising Arctic sovereignty (through social and economic development, science and research, environmental protection, operations of Canadian Forces or activities of Coast Guard and RCMP)
  - Promoting social and economic development
  - Protecting environmental heritage
  - Improving and devolving Northern governance
- International priorities:
  - Resolve boundary issues;
  - Securing international recognition for the full extent of extended continental shelf to exercise our sovereign rights over resources of seabed and subsoil; and
  - Address Arctic governance and related emerging issues, such as public safety.

**USA (2013):** [https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/nat\\_arctic\\_strategy.pdf](https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/nat_arctic_strategy.pdf)

- Advance U.S. national security interests (infrastructure, capabilities, awareness, energy security, freedom of seas)
- Pursue Responsible Arctic Region Stewardship
  - Protecting the Arctic environment and conserving its natural resources
  - Ensuring culturally and environmentally-sustainable natural resource management and economic development in the region
  - Increase Understanding of the Arctic through Scientific Research and Traditional Knowledge
- Strengthening international cooperation
  - Pursue shared arrangements across themes
  - Work through the Arctic Council to Advance U.S. Interests
  - Accede to UNCLOS
  - Cooperate with other interested parties
- Principles for engagement
  - Safeguard Peace and Stability
  - Use Science and traditional knowledge
  - Involving the Alaska natives in decisions that affect them

**Germany (2013):** [http://www.bmel.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/EN/International/Leitlinien-Arktispolitik.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile](http://www.bmel.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/EN/International/Leitlinien-Arktispolitik.pdf?__blob=publicationFile) ; long-version of strategy in German

- Seize economic opportunities - peaceful, environmentally sound and economically sustainable use of raw materials in the Arctic region to improve energy and raw material supply security in Germany and the EU
- Set exemplary environmental standards - Safeguarding the unique environment and living conditions of the Arctic, and protecting the region's biodiversity, are of the highest priority



- Freedom of navigation and scientific research
- Security and stability (Europe's security interests, multilateral stability)
- Multilateral cooperation on Arctic issues through Arctic Council, IMO, UNCLOS, OSPAR, NEAFC, plus bilateral work with Arctic states and a mention of NATO
- Supports an active role by the European Union in Arctic policy

**Netherlands (2011):** <http://bit.ly/22oS36p>

- Environmental protection
- Promotion of international legal order
- Research on climate change
- Cooperation in management of global public goods
- Sustainable economic development

**UK (2013):**

[https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/251216/Adapting\\_To\\_Change\\_UK\\_policy\\_towards\\_the\\_Arctic.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/251216/Adapting_To_Change_UK_policy_towards_the_Arctic.pdf)

Three principles: respect, leadership and co-operation, underpinned by sound science. Priorities:

- Human dimension - Work towards an Arctic that is safe and secure, well

Governed in conjunction with indigenous peoples and in line with international law support effective

- Environmental dimension - Promote an Arctic where policies are developed on the basis of sound science with full regard to the environment (climate, biodiversity, responsible development)
- Commercial dimension - Promote an Arctic where only responsible development takes place (energy, fishing, tourism, shipping) - support responsible commercial activity by UK companies

### **Countries preparing Arctic strategies**

**France:** A « Feuille de route nationale pour l'Arctique » is being prepared:

<http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/dossiers-pays/arctique/article/la-france-et-l-arctique>

**Italy (2015):** 'Towards an Italian strategy for the Arctic'

[http://www.esteri.it/mae/resource/doc/2015/12/strategia\\_artica\\_09.12.2015.pdf](http://www.esteri.it/mae/resource/doc/2015/12/strategia_artica_09.12.2015.pdf) (Italian);

[http://www.esteri.it/mae/en/politica\\_estera/aree\\_geografiche/europa/artico](http://www.esteri.it/mae/en/politica_estera/aree_geografiche/europa/artico) (English)

- sustainable economic development
- safeguarding the environment
- protecting the specific needs of indigenous populations

**Spain:** currently developing its Polar Strategy;

[http://www.defensa.gob.es/ceseden/Galerias/destacados/publicaciones/docSegyDef/ficheros/066\\_LA\\_G](http://www.defensa.gob.es/ceseden/Galerias/destacados/publicaciones/docSegyDef/ficheros/066_LA_G)

[EOPOLITICA DEL ARTICULO. DOS VISIONES COMPLEMENTARIAS. ESPANA-SINGAPUR.pdf](#) (article outlining Spain's and Singapore's stances)

## Annex 2 – Main EU Arctic policy documents

- EEAS/Commission joint communication 27 April 2016 'An Integrated European Union Policy for the Arctic'
- EEAS/Commission joint communication 26 June 2012, with three documents:
  - 'Developing a European Union Policy towards the Arctic Region: progress since 2008 and next steps',
  - 'The inventory of activities in the framework of developing a European Union Arctic Policy'
  - 'Space and the Arctic'Commission communication 20 November 2008 - 'The EU and the Arctic region'
- Parliament 12 March 2014 resolution on an 'EU strategy for the Arctic'.
- Parliament 20 January 2011 resolution on 'sustainable EU policy for the High North'
- Parliament 9 October 2008 resolution on 'Arctic governance'
- Council of the Union - Arctic conclusions 20 June 2016 in response to the new Joint Communication
- Council of the Union - Arctic conclusions 12 May 2014 on 'developing an EU policy towards the Arctic region'
- Council of the Union - Arctic conclusions 8 December 2009
- Council of the Union - Arctic conclusions 8 December 2008

## References

- Baev, Pavel and Tim Boersma, 'With Russia overextended elsewhere, Arctic cooperation gets a new chance,' Brookings, 2016.
- Bailes, Alyson J.K., 'Wider security angles,' in Juha Jokela (ed) 'Arctic Security Matters,' EU Institute for Security Studies, 2015. <http://www.iss.europa.eu/publications/detail/article/arctic-security-matters-1/>
- Bird, Kenneth J. et al., 'Circum-Arctic Resource Appraisal: Estimates of Undiscovered Oil and Gas North of the Arctic Circle,' US Department of the Interior, US Geological Survey, 2008. <http://pubs.usgs.gov/fs/2008/3049/fs2008-3049.pdf>.
- BP, 'BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2015', June, 2015. <http://www.bp.com/en/global/corporate/energy-economics/statistical-review-of-world-energy.html>
- Byers, Michael, 'Canada can Help Russia with Northern Sea Route,' *The Moscow Times*, 9 June 2012. <http://www.themoscowtimes.com/opinion/article/canada-can-help-russia-with-northern-sea-route/460127.html> ;
- Calcuttawala, Zainab, 'Repsol To Adandon All Remaining Leases in Chuckchi Sea,' OilPrice.com, 8 June 2016. <http://oilprice.com/Latest-Energy-News/World-News/Repsol-To-Adandon-All-Remaining-Leases-in-Chuckchi-Sea.html>
- Cavalieri, S. et al., 'EU Arctic Footprint and Policy Assessment Report,' Ecologic Institute. <http://arctic-footprint.eu/>
- Council of the EU, Conclusions on Russia, Foreign Affairs Council meeting, 14 March 2016. <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/fac/2016/03/14/>
- Crisp, James, 'Norwegian energy minister: We will drill until gas reserves run out,' EurActiv.com, 8 February, 2016. <http://www.euractiv.com/section/energy/interview/norwegian-energy-minister-we-will-drill-until-gas-reserves-run-out/>
- Depledge, Duncan, 'Hard security developments,' in Juha Jokela (ed.) 'Arctic Security Matters,' EU Institute for Security Studies, 2015. <http://www.iss.europa.eu/publications/detail/article/arctic-security-matters-1/>
- Depledge, Duncan and Dmitriy Tulupov, 'EU-Russia relations in the Arctic on ice,' European Council on Foreign Relations, 17 May, 2016. [http://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary\\_eu\\_russia\\_relations\\_in\\_the\\_arctic\\_on\\_ice](http://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary_eu_russia_relations_in_the_arctic_on_ice)
- Euractiv.com, 'Oil firms cool over Greenland oil drilling,' 20 January 2014. <http://www.euractiv.com/section/sustainable-dev/news/oil-firms-cool-over-greenland-oil-drilling/>
- European Commission, 'Directive 2013/30/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 12 June 2013 on safety of offshore oil and gas operations,' 2013. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX%3A32013L0030>
- European Commission, 'Further EU support for sustainable development of Greenland,' 28 October 2014. [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_IP-14-1207\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-14-1207_en.htm)
- European Commission, 'Joint declaration by the European Union, on the one hand, and the Government of Greenland and the Government of Denmark, on the other, on relations between the European Union and Greenland,' 19 March 2015. [https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sites/devco/files/signed-joint-declaration-eu-greenland-denmark\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sites/devco/files/signed-joint-declaration-eu-greenland-denmark_en.pdf)
- European Commission, 'The European Agenda on Security,' 2015, COM(2015) 185 final. <https://www.cepol.europa.eu/sites/default/files/european-agenda-security.pdf>.

European Commission, 'The Kolarctic CBC Programme 2014–2020,' 18 December 2015.

[http://www.kolarcticenpi.info/c/document\\_library/get\\_file?folderId=2222874&name=DLFE-25316.pdf](http://www.kolarcticenpi.info/c/document_library/get_file?folderId=2222874&name=DLFE-25316.pdf)

European Commission, 'Towards A Space Strategy for the European Union that Benefits its Citizens,' 4

April, 2011, COM(2011) 152 final. [http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52011DC0152)

[content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52011DC0152](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52011DC0152)

European Commission, 'Trade in goods with Russia,' Directorate-General for Trade, 21 June 2016.

[http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2006/september/tradoc\\_113440.pdf](http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2006/september/tradoc_113440.pdf)

European Council, 'A secure Europe in a better world - European security strategy,' 2003.

<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>;

European Council, 'European Council conclusions on external relations (Ukraine and Gaza),' 16 July 2014.

[http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/143990.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/143990.pdf)

European Council, 'Internal Security Strategy for the European Union - Towards a European security model,' 2010. [https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms\\_data/librairie/PDF/QC3010313ENC.pdf](https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/librairie/PDF/QC3010313ENC.pdf);

European Council, 'Report on implementation of the European Security Strategy - Providing Security in a Changing World,' 2008.

[http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/reports/104630.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/reports/104630.pdf);

Exner-Pirot, Heather, 'Put up or shut up with your Arctic Conflict Theory,' High North News, 2 November

2015. <http://www.highnorthnews.com/put-up-or-shut-up-with-your-arctic-conflict-theory/>

Farchy, Jack, 'Chinese lend \$12bn for gas plant in Russian Arctic,' *Financial Times*, 29 April, 2016.

<http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/4ca8886e-0e14-11e6-ad80-67655613c2d6.html#axzz4CULBb3jh>

Garcés de los Fayos, Fernando, 'Greenland: The challenge of managing a key geostrategic territory,' European Union, 2014. DG EXPO/B/PolDep/Note/2014\_16.

[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/briefing\\_note/join/2014/522332/EXPO-](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/briefing_note/join/2014/522332/EXPO-AFET_SP(2014)522332_EN.pdf)  
[AFET\\_SP\(2014\)522332\\_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/briefing_note/join/2014/522332/EXPO-AFET_SP(2014)522332_EN.pdf)

Garcés de los Fayos, Fernando, 'The outcome of the ninth Arctic Council ministerial meeting,' European Union, May 2015, DG EXPO/B/PolDep/Note/2015\_171.

[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2015/549036/EXPO\\_ATA\(2015\)549036\\_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2015/549036/EXPO_ATA(2015)549036_EN.pdf)

Haftendorn, Helga, 'NATO and the Arctic: Is the Atlantic alliance a Cold War relic in a peaceful region now faced with non-military challenges?' *European Security*, 2011, vol. 20, no.3.

Henderson, James and Tatiana Mitrova, 'The Political and Commercial Dynamics of Russia's Gas Export Strategy,' Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, 2015. [https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-](https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/NG-102.pdf)  
[content/uploads/2015/09/NG-102.pdf](https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/NG-102.pdf)

Hicks, Jack and Graham White, *Made in Nunavut: An Experiment in Decentralized Government*, UBC Press, 2015.

Huebert, Rob, 'Climate Change and Canadian Sovereignty in the Northwest Passage,' *Isuma*, Vol. 2, 2001.

International Energy Agency, 'World Energy Outlook 2015,' 2015.

<http://www.worldenergyoutlook.org/weo2015/>

International Monetary Fund, 'IMF Primary Commodity Prices.

<http://www.imf.org/external/np/res/commmod/index.aspx>

Jokela, Juha, 'Arctic Governance' in Juha Jokela (ed.) 'Arctic Security Matters,' EU Institute for Security Studies, 2015. [http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/Report\\_24\\_Arctic\\_matters.pdf](http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/Report_24_Arctic_matters.pdf)

Josefsen, Eva, 'The Saami and the national parliaments: Channels for political influence,' Inter-Parliamentary Union and United Nations Development Programme, 2010. <http://www.ipu.org/splze/chiapas10/saami.pdf>.

Keil, Kathrin, 'An Arctic Security Forum? Please, no!' The Arctic Institute, 26 May 2016. <http://www.thearcticinstitute.org/an-arctic-security-forum-please-dont/>

Klimenko, Ekaterina, 'Russia and the Arctic: an end to cooperation?' Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 26 March 2015. <http://www.sipri.org/media/newsletter/essay/mar-15-russia-and-the-arctic>

Kobza, Piotr, "Civilian Power Europe in the Arctic: How Far can the European Union go North," College of Europe, EU Diplomacy Paper 01, 2015. <https://www.coleurope.eu/research-paper/civilian-power-europe-arctic-how-far-can-european-union-go-north>.

Koivurova, Timo, Kai Kokko, Sebastien Duyck, Nikolas Sellheim, and Adam Stepień, 'The present and future competence of the European Union in the Arctic,' Polar Record, Vol. 48 (4) 361-371. <http://www.arcticcentre.org/loader.aspx?id=a9db8fc6-feaa-4caf-8f5e-6528148c7b84>

Kremlin.ru, 'Maritime Doctrine of the Russian Federation,' 26 July 2015. Available (in Russian) at <http://static.kremlin.ru/media/events/files/ru/uAFi5nvux2twagiftS5yrlZUVTJan77L.pdf>

Larsen, Joan Nymand and Gail Fondahl (eds.) 'Arctic Human Development Report - Regional Processes and Global Linkages.' Nordic Council of Ministers, 2014.

Le Miere, Christian and Jeffrey Mazo, 'Arctic Opening: Insecurity and Opportunity,' The International Institute for Strategic Studies, *Routledge*, 2013.

Łuszczuk, Michał, Debra Justus, Jennie Thomas, Chris Klok and Federica Gerber, 'Developing oil and gas resources in arctic waters,' in Stępień, Koivurova and Kankaanpää (eds), 2014.

Mogherini, Federica and Karmenu Vella, 'Why the Arctic matters to Europe. An EU policy for sustainable development and cooperative security,' European Commission blog post, 28 April 2016. [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/2014-2019/vella/blog/why-arctic-matters-europe-eu-policy-sustainable-development-and-cooperative-security-federica\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/2014-2019/vella/blog/why-arctic-matters-europe-eu-policy-sustainable-development-and-cooperative-security-federica_en)

Morgunova, Maria and Kirsten Westphal, 'Offshore Hydrocarbon Resources in the Arctic,' SWP Research Paper, February, 2016. <http://www.swp-berlin.org/en/publications/swp-research-papers/swp-research-paper-detail/article/offshore-hydrocarbon-resources-in-the-arctic.html>

Norway Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'EU global strategy on foreign and security policy: Norwegian perspectives and contributions.' <https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/departementene/ud/vedlegg/europapolitikk/norways-perspectives-and-contributions-to-the-eu-global-strategy-160314.pdf>

Osthagen, Andreas, 'The Arctic Coast Guard Forum: Big Tasks, Small Solutions,' The Arctic Institute, 2 November 2015. <http://www.thearcticinstitute.org/2015/11/the-arctic-coast-guard-forum-big-tasks.html>

Pettersen, Trude, 'Lavrov: Russia to increase safety on Northern Sea Route,' *Independent Barents Observer*, 15 April 2016. Available at <http://www.thebarentsobserver.com/arctic/2016/04/lavrov-russia-increase-safety-northern-sea-route>

Poelzer, Greg and Gary N. Wilson, 'Governance in the Arctic: Political Systems and Geopolitics,' in Joan Nymand Larsen and Gail Fondahl (eds.) 'Arctic Human Development Report - Regional Processes and Global Linkages.' Nordic Council of Ministers, 2014.

Przełomiec, Maria, 'Dlaczego Rosja militaryzuje Arktykę?' Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM), 1 February, 2016. [https://blog.pism.pl/blog/?p=1&id\\_blog=35&lang\\_id=12&lang\\_id=12&id\\_post=722](https://blog.pism.pl/blog/?p=1&id_blog=35&lang_id=12&lang_id=12&id_post=722)



Rispling, Linus and Johanna Roto, 'Resources in the Arctic,' Nordregio, 18 June, 2015.

<http://www.nordregio.se/en/Maps--Graphs/05-Environment-and-energy/Resources-in-the-Arctic1/>

RT, 'Arctic Resources: The fight for the coldest place on Earth heats up,' 15 April, 2014.

<https://www.rt.com/news/arctic-reclamation-resources-race-524/>

Russel, Martin, 'Russia's armed forces - Reforms and challenges,' European Parliamentary Research Service, April 2015.

[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/IDAN/2015/554213/EPRS\\_IDA%282015%29554213\\_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/IDAN/2015/554213/EPRS_IDA%282015%29554213_EN.pdf)

Russian National Security Strategy, December 2015 – Full-text Translation,

<http://www.ieee.es/Galerias/fichero/OtrasPublicaciones/Internacional/2016/Russian-National-Security-Strategy-31Dec2015.pdf>

Ruttinger, Lukas et al, 'A New Climate for Peace – Taking action on climate and fragility risks,' adelphi, International Alert, Woodrow Wilson Center, EU Institute for Security Studies, 2015.

<https://www.newclimateforpeace.org/>

Schaps, Karolin, 'Royal Dutch Shell pulls plug on Arctic exploration,' Reuters, 28 September 2015.

<http://www.reuters.com/article/us-shell-alaska-idUSKCN0RS0EX20150928> ;

Staalesen, Atle, 'Arctic Brigade on snow,' *Independent Barents Observer*, 22 February 2016.

<http://thebarentsobserver.com/security/2016/02/arctic-brigade-snow>

Staalesen, Atle, 'Russia deploys S-300 in Novaya Zemlya,' *Independent Barents Observer*, 9 December 2015.

<http://www.thebarentsobserver.com/security/2015/12/russia-deploys-s-300-novaya-zemlya>

Staalesen, Atle, 'Russian military builds four more Arctic bases,' *Independent Barents Observer*, 23 Oct, 2015. <http://www.thebarentsobserver.com/2015/10/russian-military-builds-four-more-arctic-bases>

Stępień, Adam, Timo Koivurova and Paula Kankaanpää (eds), 'Strategic Environmental Impact Assessment of Development of the Arctic - Assessment conducted for the European Union,' Arctic Centre, University of Lapland, 2014. <http://www.arcticinfo.eu/en/sada>

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 'SIPRI Military Expenditure Database'.

[http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex\\_database/milex\\_database](http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex_database/milex_database)

Tagliapietra, Simone and Georg Zachmann, 'Rethinking the security of the European Union's gas supply,' Bruegel, January 2016. [http://bruegel.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/pc\\_2016\\_01.pdf](http://bruegel.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/pc_2016_01.pdf)

The Circle 'Renewable Energy in the Arctic,' WWF Global Arctic Programme, Vol 3, 2015.

[http://d2ouvy59p0dg6k.cloudfront.net/downloads/thecircle0315\\_web.pdf](http://d2ouvy59p0dg6k.cloudfront.net/downloads/thecircle0315_web.pdf)

The Economist, 'Independence on ice,' 21 January 2015.

<http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21640224-falling-crude-prices-are-forcing-greenland-put-plans-split-denmark-independence-ice>

Wezeman, Siemon T., 'Military Capabilities in the Arctic,' Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, March 2012.

Whitehouse.gov, 'U.S.-Nordic Leaders' Summit Joint Statement', 13 May 2016:

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2016/05/13/us-nordic-leaders-summit-joint-statement>

Wilson, Page, 'Society, steward or security actor? Three visions of the Arctic Council,' *Cooperation and Conflict*, 2016, Vol. 51(1).

Wong, Ernest, 'Geopolitics of Arctic Oil and Gas: the Dwindling Relevance of Territorial Claims,' *New Voices in Public Policy*, 2013, vol 7.

Zysk, Katarzyna, 'Russia's Arctic strategy: ambitions and constraints,' *Joint Force Quarterly*, 2010, no. 57, 103-110.

## DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR EXTERNAL POLICIES

# POLICY DEPARTMENT

## Role

Policy departments are research units that provide specialised advice to committees, inter-parliamentary delegations and other parliamentary bodies.

## Policy Areas

Foreign Affairs

Human Rights

Security and Defence

Development

International Trade

## Documents

Visit the European Parliament website:  
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/supporting-analyses>



PHOTO CREDIT: iStock International, Inc.

ISBN 978-92-823-9519-6 (paper)

ISBN 978-92-823-9520-2 (pdf)

doi:10.2861/259271 (paper)

doi:10.2861/371516 (pdf)

