

Lovisenberggata 13 | 0456 Oslo
Tel 23 23 38 20 | www.bjorkneshoyskole.no
info@bjorkneshoyskole.no



Course Guide

The Geopolitics of the Arctic

FK6060

Academic year
2013 | 2014

Course Coordinator: Torstein Dale-Åkerlund

The Arctic is experiencing fast and unprecedented economic, environmental, political, and security challenges, which provides new opportunities for international cooperation but also a potential for regional competition and even conflict. For example, the reduction of the Arctic ice cap is now exceeding earlier climatic model predictions.



The increasingly ice-free Arctic waters are creating greater accessibility to the Arctic region. New opportunities for natural and mineral resource extraction and consequently production, in combinations with new routes of transportation may not only fuel economic growth in the Arctic, but may also attract outside stakeholders. However, a potential increase in commercial activity in this remote region is to a certain extent on a collision course with the fragile Arctic ecosystem and poses a number of different security challenges. This includes search and rescue, oil-spill prevention and response, mitigating measurements with respect to environmental changes and border protection.

As the region takes on greater economic and strategic importance, the Arctic is in need of an increased prioritization and strong leadership among the Arctic states. For example, investment is needed to develop limited infrastructure and strategic facilities, and enhanced cooperation and coordination among Arctic nations is necessary in order to prevent increased tension.

Aims

The student shall be able to...

- ✓ Outline the importance of the Arctic to the various nation-states located above the Arctic,
- ✓ Be familiar with the environmental changes that are taking place above the Arctic Circle
- ✓ Be familiar with some of the most important dynamics which shapes this region
- ✓ Evaluate the importance of natural resources for Arctic development
- ✓ Understand some of the basic ways natural resources may be used as a geopolitical instruments
- ✓ Understand the importance of Svalbard to Norway and the region
- ✓ Evaluate and discuss the importance of international rules, regulations and institutions in the Arctic
- ✓ Discuss potential factors for conflicts in the Arctic.
- ✓ Evaluate and consider future geopolitical scenarios in the Arctic

Course requirements

The Geopolitics of the Arctic makes up ten credits in the Norwegian Credit-system of higher education. The final grade in this course is a product of an essay and an exam. The essay, which is due on **Friday 15 November**, counts for 40 % of the final grade. The length of the essay is 2000 words (+/- 10 %, reference list excluded). The exam will be held on **Thursday 12 December**, and counts for 60 % of the final grade. This course also requires student participation in seminars.

Contact information

Torstein Dale-Åkerlund may be reached via Qybele, email torstein.dale.aakerlund@bjorkneshoyskole.no or during office-hours (Tuesdays and Thursdays 1 pm. – 4.30 pm.)

Required reading

Hønneland, Geir, 2012: *Arktiske utfordringer*, Høyskoleforlaget.

Collection of articles, reports and book chapters.

Recommended readings for the entire course

Kraska, James (ed.), 2013: *Arctic Security in an Age of Climate Change*, Cambridge University Press

Byers, Micael, 2010: *Who Owns the Arctic?: Understanding Sovereignty Disputes in the North*, Douglas & McIntyre

Sale, Richard & Eugene Potapov, 2009: *The Scramble for the Arctic: Ownership, Exploitation and Conflict in the Far North*, Frances Lincoln

Parts of these three outlined books are assigned as required reading to some of the lectures. However, it is recommended that the students, who are interested in getting a compressive overview of some of the most important dynamics which shape this region, study these books in more detail.

Lecturers:

Geir Hønneland: Research Director / Research Professor at Fridtjof Nansen Institute (FNI) and Adjunct Professor ("Professor II") at the Department of Political Science, University of Tromsø (UiT).

Christopher White: Associate Professor, Peace and Conflict Studies at Bjørknes University College.

Geir Flikke: Associate Professor at Institute for Literature, Areas Studies and European Languages, University of Oslo (UiO) and Adjunct Professor at Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (Nupi).

Kristian Åtland: Senior Fellow at the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI).

Arild Moe: Deputy Director / Senior Research Fellow at Fridtjof Nansen Institute (FNI).

Svein Vigeland Rottem: Senior Research Fellow, Director of the Russia and Polar Programme at Fridtjof Nansen Institute (FNI).

Njord Wegge: Research Fellow at Fridtjof Nansen Institute (FNI).

Katarzyna Zysk Associate Professor, Centre for Norwegian and European Security at the Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies (IFS).

Ingrid Lundestad Fellow, Centre for Transatlantic Studies at the Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies (IFS).

Lectures:

Lecture 1	Thursday 5 September	Introducing the Arctic Lecturer: Prof. Geir Hønneland, FNI and UiT
Lecture 2	Monday 9 September	Theoretical Perspectives Lecturer: Christopher White, Bjørknes Uni. College
Lecture 3	Monday 16 September	Governing the Arctic Lecturer: Geir Flikke, UiO and Nupi
Lecture 4	Monday 23 September	Climate Change and Its Implications Lecturer: Svein Vigeland Rottem, FNI
Lecture 5	Wednesday 25 September	Security Policy in the High North Lecturer: Kristian Åtland, FFI
Lecture 6	Monday 14 October	Energy in the Arctic – Tapped and Untapped Resources: Geopolitical Implications Lecturer: Arild Moe, FNI
Lecture 7	Wednesday 16 October	The Importance of the High North to Arctic States Lecturer: Svein Vigeland Rottem, FNI
Lecture 8	Monday 21 October	External Great Powers' Interests in the Arctic: China and the EU Lecturer: Njord Wegge, FNI
Lecture 9	Wednesday 23 October	Case: The Role of Russia and the United States Lecturer 1: Katarzyna Zysk, IFS Lecturer 2: Ingrid Lundestad, IFS
Lecture 10	Monday 28 October	Svalbard Lecturer: Prof. Geir Hønneland, FNI and UiT
Study trip	4-8 November	<i>Study trip to Svalbard</i>
Lecture 11	Monday 11 November	Conflict or Cooperation's Lecturer: Prof. Geir Hønneland, FNI and UiT
Lecture 12	Wednesday 13 November	Military Presence in the Arctic Lecturer: Kristian Åtland, FFI
Essay	Friday 15 November	Essay
Lecture 13	Monday 18 November	Future Challenges Lecturer: Prof. Geir Hønneland, FNI and UiT
Exam	Thursday 12 December	Exam

* Changes may occur

Useful web sites and documents:

- Norsk Polarinstitutt <<http://www.npolar.no/no/forskning/tema/klima.html>>
- Arctic Council <<http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/>>
- Conference on Climate Change in the Barents Region (2009)
<http://www.barentsinfo.fi/beac/docs/Final_Report_Barents_Conference_English.pdf>
- Hvor Hender Det? (Nupi)<<http://hvorhenderdet.nupi.no/index.php/Artikler/2008-2009/Nordomraadepolitikk>>
- Nordområdesenteret <<http://www.hibo.no/nordomrade>>
- Spår konflikt <<http://www.aftenposten.no/klima/Spar-konflikt-mellom-Norge-og-Russland-6538679.html>>
- GeoPolitics in the High North <http://www.geopoliticsnorth.org/index.php>
- Utenriksdepartementet
 - Nordområdeportalen
<<http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/ud/kampanjer/nordomradeportalen.html?id=450629>>
 - Sikkerhetspolitikk i Nord
<http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/fd/aktuelt/taler_artikler/ministeren/taler-og-artikler-av-forsvarsminister-gr/2010/Sikkerhetspolitikk-i-nord.html?id=592938>
 - Miljøvern i nordområdene
<http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/md/tema/svalbard_og_polaromradene/miljovern-i-nordomradene.html?id=451243>
- <http://nyheter.uib.no/?modus=vis_nyhet&id=36233>
- Arctic Frontiers <<http://www.arctic-frontiers.com/>>

Arctic issues:

- <http://www.fni.no/themes/polar&russia.html>
- <http://barentsobserver.com/en> (nettside)
- <http://www.amap.no/> (omfattende rapport om arktiske spørsmål)
- <http://www.framsenteret.no/polhavet.178609.no.html> (Framsenteret)
- <http://site.uit.no/arcticfutures/> (nettside med sammenfatning av vitenskapelige publikasjoner)
- <http://arcticportal.org/> (omfattende nettside om ulike arktiske spørsmål)
- <http://csis.org/program/geopolitics-high-north> (senter for geopolitikk)

Energy:

- <http://www.ssb.no/energi-og-industri>
- <http://www.iea.org/> (internasjonale energi byrådet)

Climte:

- <http://nsidc.org/arcticseaicenews/> (nettside som analyserer havisen i Arktis)
- <http://www.acia.uaf.edu/pages/scientific.html> (rapport om arktisk klima)

Lecture 1

Thursday 5 September

Lecturer: Geir Hønneland, FNI and UiT

Introducing the Arctic

This lecture will serve as an introduction to the course. It will introduce some of the basic concepts, such as climate change, natural resources and more importantly how they relate to security concerns. While climate change leading to environmental alteration in the Arctic forms the baseline for further economic activity, this lecture will also focus on the security implication.

By taking a glance at the some of the historical explanations for why and how people have decided to settle in the high north, this lecture will look at the past, present and future, and discuss how geopolitical aspects in the Arctic have changed over the years. From being a region of strategic political importance, to a region where of economic resources are salient. In other words, the role of the Arctic in international relations has changed.

Keywords:

- Arctic
- Oil and Gas
- Security
- Climate Change

Core readings

Hønneland, Geir, 2012: *Arktiske utfordringer*, Høyskoleforlaget. Kapittel 1. (P 20)

Byers, Micael, 2010: *Who Owns the Arctic?: Understanding Sovereignty Disputes in the North*, Douglas & McIntyre. Chapter 2: 22-35 (P 14)

Sale, Richard & Eugene Potapov, 2009: *The Scramble for the Arctic: Ownership, Exploitation and Conflict in the Far North*, Frances Lincoln. Chapter 1: 10-30. (P 21)

Further Readings

Kraska, James (ed.), 2013: *Arctic Security in an Age of Climate Change*, Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1. (P 17)

Kraska, James (ed.), 2013: *Arctic Security in an Age of Climate Change*, Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2. (P 13)

Byers, Micael, 2010: *Who Owns the Arctic?: Understanding Sovereignty Disputes in the North*, Douglas & McIntyre. Chapter 3-5

Sale, Richard & Eugene Potapov, 2009: *The Scramble for the Arctic: Ownership, Exploitation and Conflict in the Far North*, Frances Lincoln. Chapter 3

Lecture 2

Monday 9 September

Lecturer: Christopher White, Bjørknes University College

Theoretical Perspectives

This lecture will introduce some theoretical concepts for understanding the geopolitical dynamics that shape the high north. More specific, this lecture will focus upon theoretical paradigms such as realism, and liberalism. The emphasis will be on the assumption which guides the different theoretical strands, how well suited they are as analytic frameworks for understanding, explaining and predicting geopolitical concern in the Arctic.

Relevant questions are for example: Is it possible to understand decision making processes in the oil and gas sector if one only relies upon the realist assumptions? Are decision making driven by states alone? What are the implications of the various paradigms, in order to explain the role of international environment organizations, and more importantly by multinational companies?

Keywords:

- Geopolitics
- Realism
- Liberalism
- Interdependence

Core readings

Underdal, A. 2012: 'Strategies in international regime negotiations: reflecting background conditions or shaping outcomes?', in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, 12(2):129-144 (P 15)

Moravcsik, A. 1997: 'Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics', in *International Organization*, 54 (4): 513–53. (P 40)

Walt, Stephen M., 1997: 'The progressive power of realism', in *American Political Science Review* 931-935. (P 4)

Lecture 3

Monday 16 September

Lecturer: Geir Flikke, UiO and Nupi

Governing the Arctic

The Arctic has become a region where the climate changes are providing new challenges, both for states and institutional regimes. As the Arctic for the most part is made up by water, governing the seas is of vital concern. Further as the Arctic is expected to lose a significant proportion of its sea ice, cooperation between the Arctic states with respect to shipping and oil and gas exploration and production is crucial.

This particular lecture will focus on the role of the Arctic council, and moreover the role of international binding agreements such as the UN law of the Seas (UNCLOS). Relevant questions, which will be addressed, are for example the importance of the Arctic council, and furthermore why the US has not ratified the UN Law of the Seas convention.

Keywords:

- Arctic Council
- Governance
- Arctic Oceans
- Regimes

Core readings

Flikke, Geir, 2013: 'Norway and the Arctic: Between Multilateral Governance and Geopolitics', in Kraska, James (ed.), 2013: *Arctic Security in an Age of Climate Change*, Cambridge University Press. Chapter 5

Hønneland, Geir, 2012: *Arktiske utfordringer*, Høyskoleforlaget. Kapittel 3 og 4. (P 54)

Hoel, Alf Håkon, 2009: 'Do We Need a New Legal Regime for the Arctic Ocean?', *International Journal of Marine and Coastal Law* 24(2): 443-456. (P 14)

Pedersen, Torbjørn, 2012: 'Debates over the Role of the Arctic Council', in *Ocean Development & International Law* 43.2 : 146-156. (P 10)

Further Readings

Molenaar, Erik J., 2009: 'Arctic Marine Shipping: Overview of the International Legal Framework, Gaps and Options', in *Journal of Transnational Law & Policy* 18(2): 289-332. (P 33)

Byers, Micael, 2010: *Who Owns the Arctic?: Understanding Sovereignty Disputes in the North*, Douglas & McIntyre. Chapter 6. (P 11)

Stokke, Olav Schram, 2010: *A Disaggregate Approach to International Regime Effectiveness: The Case of Barents Sea Fisheries*. Oslo: University of Oslo, Department of Political Science, Dr. Philos. Dissertation. Chapter 1. (P 37)

Lecture 4

Monday 23 September

Lecturer: Svein Vigeland Rottem, FNI

Climate Change and Its Implications

The Arctic has unique characteristics which is challenging, distinguishing it from other regions of the globe. First, the region is remote and the environment harsh (e.g. extreme temperatures, ice, permafrost, long periods of darkness, lack of infrastructure). This means that the technological challenges, for example for the oil and gas industry, are immense. Second, the Arctic ecosystems are fragile and experiencing unprecedented changes (i.e. sea ice reduction, increase in ocean temperatures, etc.). Global warming is twice as fast in the Arctic as elsewhere. Environmental considerations are therefore vital, and the oil companies are subjected to strict safety requirements. Further, new shipping routes are becoming viable options which reduce the distance to new emerging markets such as China and India.

This lecture will introduce the basic effects of climate change, and further discuss the geopolitical implications of such changes.

Keywords:

- Climate change
- Sea ice decline
- Opportunities
- Obstacles

Core readings

Hønneland, Geir, 2012: *Arktiske utfordringer*, Høyskoleforlaget. Kapittel 2. (P 17)

Solana, J., Ferrero-Waldner, B. 2008: 'Climate Change and International Security. Paper from the High Representative and the European Commission to the European Council', S113/08 http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/reports/99387.pdf (P 11)

Borgerson, S.G., 2008: 'Arctic Meltdown: Economic and Security Implications of Global Warming', in *Foreign Affairs* 87 (2), 63–77. (P 14)

Byers, Micael, 2010: *Who Owns the Arctic?: Understanding Sovereignty Disputes in the North*, Douglas & McIntyre. Chapter 4. (P 16)

Further Readings

Exner-Pirot, Heather, and Jay Gullledge, 2012: 'Climate Change & Internatioanl Security: The Arctic as a Bellwether', Center for Climate and Energy Solutions. (P 40)

Dell, J.J., Pasteris, P., 2010: 'Adaptation in the oil and gas industry to projected impacts of climate change', Proceedings of the SPE International Conference on Health, Safety and Environment in Oil and Gas Exploration and Production, Society of Petroleum Engineers

Lecture 5

Wednesday 25 September

Lecturer: Kristian Åtland

Security Policy in the High North

Historically, unlike other lands and continents, the Arctic has not been the focus of brutal territorial conquest and competition. Instead, it has featured in inter-state relations as a corollary to extra-regional issues.

The remote status of the Arctic was exemplified during the Cold War, a period defined by intense enmity between the United States and its allies in the West and the Soviet Union and its allies in the East. Unlike other parts of the world, which served as proxies in the Cold War struggle, the Arctic played an auxiliary role as a region that afforded the shortest route through which increasingly advanced defense technologies, such as long-range bombers, submarines and missiles might be trained on an adversary. Likewise, the Arctic served as a base for early warning against such threats. In other words, the Arctic was not viewed as a prize in itself during the Cold War, but was instead valued for its strategic utility.

Today the Arctic has become a region with increased interests due to its vast resource potential. States and companies are interested in developing this remote region further. An interesting question is therefore whether or not this region will yet again be of strategic importance. This lecture will both look in the past and focus on the present time in an effort to understand some of the basic dynamics which shape geopolitics in the Arctic.

Keywords:

- Cold War
- Strategic importance
- Race for resources

Core readings

Åtland, Kristian: "Nordområdene som samarbeidsarena", i Bjørn Olav Knudsen (red.): *Mot nord*. Oslo: Europabevegelsen 2012. (P 4)

Wegge, Njord, 2011: 'The political order in the Arctic: power structures, regimes and influence', in *Polar Record* Volum 47 (241), pp. 165-176. (P 11)

L. Heininen & H.N. Nicol, 2007: 'The Importance of Northern Dimension Foreign Policies in the Geopolitics of the Circumpolar North', *Geopolitics*, 12:1, pp. 133-165 (P 22)

Young, Oran R., 1985: 'The age of the Arctic', in *Foreign Policy* 61, pp. 160-179. (P 19)

Further Readings

Åtland, Kristian, 2011: "Russia's Armed Forces and the Arctic: All Quiet on the Northern Front?", in *Contemporary Security Policy* 32(2): 267-285.

Ebinger, Charles K., & Evie Zambetakis, 2009: 'The geopolitics of Arctic melt', in *International Affairs* 85(6):1215-1232.

Lecture 6

Monday 14 October

Lecturer: Arild Moe, FNI

Energy in the Arctic – Tapped and Untapped Resources: Geopolitical Implications

Arctic oil and gas development started about 50 years ago in the former Soviet Union (AMAP 2007). After the Second World War, the Soviet authorities gradually moved the country's oil and gas industry from the area around the Caspian Sea and towards West Siberia. New discoveries were also made in Canada and Alaska, which led to developments in the Mackenzie Delta (Canada) and the Prudhoe Bay on the North Slope (USA) in the 1960s and 1970s. Further, US Geological Survey estimates that 22 percent of the undiscovered global hydrocarbon resources are located above the Arctic Circle.

A result of the Soviet energy strategy is a complex pipeline system which supplied – and continues to supply – Europe with oil and natural gas from Russia. This complex pipeline system has created a web of interdependencies, where supplier states, transit states, and finally receiver states are dependent upon each other. As such, the hydrocarbon infrastructure, connecting Russia, the former COMECON states in Eastern and Central Europe, and Western Europe, has become of geopolitical interest since the end of the cold war, in particular with respect to the natural gas trade.

This lecture will in short look at the potential for more hydrocarbon activity in the high north, and then discuss some of the geopolitical consequences of such activity.

Keywords:

- Oil
- Gas
- Interdependence

Core readings

Harsem, Øistein, Knut Heen & Arne Eide, 2011: 'Factors influencing oil and gas activity in the high north', in *Energy Policy*, 39(12), pp. 8037–8045 (P 8)

Lindholt, Lars & Solveig Glomsrød, 2008: 'Future production of petroleum in the Arctic under alternative oil prices', in Solveig Glomsrød & Iulie Aslaksen (eds.), *The Economy of the North*, pp. 69-74. Oslo: Statistics Norway. www.ssb.no (P 5)

Moe, Arild, 'Potential Arctic Oil and Gas Development: What Are Realistic Expectations?' In Oran Young, Jong Deog Kim and Yoon Hyung Kim (eds), *The Arctic in World Affairs: A North Pacific Dialogue on Arctic Marine Issues*. Seoul/Honolulu, Korea Maritime Institute/East-West Center, 2012, pp. 227-250. (P 22)

Further Readings:

Howard, Roger, 2009: *The Arctic Gold Rush*. London: Continuum. Chapter 5: Black Gold, pp. 62-82. (P 20)

Lecture 7

Wednesday 16 October

Lecturer: Svein Vigeland Rottem, FNI

The Importance of the High North to Arctic States

While all the Arctic states have geopolitical interests in the high north, the degree to which this specific region matters for each state is dependent on a number of factors. Some are more dependent on the natural resources than others. Russia, the largest producer of oil and gas in the Arctic, is heavily dependent on income from oil and gas in the Arctic.

This lecture will look at the importance of the northern dimension to the most important Arctic states. More specifically it will focus on the economic and political importance of the Arctic to the various states,

Keywords:

- Arctic states
- Economic and political importance

Core readings

Hønneland, Geir, 2012: *Arktiske utfordringer*, Høyskoleforlaget, s. 104-114. (P 11)

Griffiths, Franklyn, 2009: 'Towards a Canadian Arctic Strategy', Available online: <<http://opencanada.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/Towards-a-Canadian-Arctic-Strategy-Franklyn-Griffiths1.pdf>>(P 35)

Cohen, Ariel, 2010: *From Russian Competition to Natural Resources Access: Recasting US Arctic Policy*. Heritage Foundation. Available online: <http://thf_media.s3.amazonaws.com/2010/pdf/bg2421.pdf> (P 13)

Moe, Arild, 2013: 'Norway and Russia: Neighbours with Strong Interests in the Arctic', in Hooman Peimani (ed.), 2013: *Energy Security and Geopolitics in the Arctic*. Singapore, World Scientific Publishing, pp. 127-163. (P 27)

Further Readings:

Kraska, James (ed.), 2011: *Arctic Security in an Age of Climate Change*, Cambridge University Press. Chapter 4-5:47-76.

Lecture 8

Monday 21 October

Lecturer: Njord Wegge, FNI

External Great Powers Interests in the Arctic: China and the EU

As the climate driven changes have open new routes of transportation, and increasingly made oil and gas resources more attainable the interests from outside powers such as China and the EU have increased. Recently China was given observational status in the Arctic Council, while the EU on the other hand was not.

As there are several outside powers that are interested in this region this lecture will focus on two, that is, the EU and China. EU has interests in the Arctic as, for example, a large proportion of its natural gas imports come from Arctic provinces. China on the other hand are, among other things, interested in safeguarding their increasingly need for energy imports.

This lecture will in short discuss the political consequences of outside powers seeking to influence development in the Arctic region.

Keywords:

- EU
- China
- Arctic Council

Core readings

Hønneland, Geir, 2012: *Arktiske utfordringer*, Høyskoleforlaget, s. 110-112. (P 3)

EU Commission, 2008: *The European Union and The Arctic Region*. (P 12)

Jakobson, Linda, 2010: 'China prepares for an ice-free Arctic', SIPRI insights on peace and security 2010.2. Available online <<http://books.sipri.org/files/insight/SIPRIInsight1002.pdf>> (P 13)

Lasserre, Frédéric, 2010: 'China and the Arctic: Threat or cooperation potential for Canada?', *China Papers*, No. 11, Canadian International Council. Available online <<http://www.opencanada.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/China-and-the-Arctic-Frederic-Lasserre1.pdf>> (P 11)

Wegge, Njord, 2012: 'The EU and the Arctic: European foreign policy in the making', in *Arctic Review on Law and Politics*, Volum 3 (1), pp. 6-29. (P 23)

Further readings:

Archer, Clive, 2010: 'An EU Arctic Policy?', Paper, UACES Conferenc 6-8 September. (P 14)

Lecture 9

Wednesday 23 October

Lecturer 1: Katarzyna Zysk, IFS
Lecturer 2: Ingrid Lundestad, IFS

Case: The Role of Russia and the United States

Russia

Russia is one of the key factors determining circumpolar relations and the region's future. In recent years, the Arctic has been given an increased attention in Russian domestic and foreign policy. There is a widespread conviction among the state's top political leadership that the Arctic is of high importance to the country's socio-economic and political future. Russia considers itself a leading Arctic power in virtue of its geographic location and the largest Arctic coastline, unique polar experience and capacities, as well as strong military interests and enormous natural riches that the Russian economy depends on already today. Russia's prominent position in the region is to be maintained and strengthened with the help of a large-scale arctic development programmes reaching across a spectrum of areas.

This lecture will examine Russia's interests, ambitions and policies in the Arctic, especially in the economic and military spheres, as well as their impact on the regional strategic environment.

Keywords:

- Russia's Arctic policies
- Military activity and economic interests
- Geopolitics

The United States

The United States is both an Arctic nation and a global superpower. The US has broad and lasting priorities in the Arctic, such as the promotion of a secure and stable regional situation, in which the freedom of the seas is maintained. While other parts of the world remain more central to the foreign policy outlook of the United States, Washington has expressed renewed interest in the Arctic in recent years. US administrations have sought to update US Arctic policy and engaged in international cooperation to address growing regional activity. This lecture explores US interests and activities in the Arctic.

Keywords:

- US Arctic policies
- Interests and activities

Core readings (Russia)

Zysk, Katarzyna, 'Russia's Arctic Strategy: Ambitions and Constraints' In Barry Scott Zellen (ed), *The Fast-Changing Maritime Arctic: Defence and Security Challenges in a Warmer World*. University of Calgary Press, 2013, pp. 281–296.

Zysk, Katarzyna, 'Military Aspects of Russia's Arctic Policies: Hard Power and Natural Resources' In Kraska, James (ed.), *Arctic Security in an Age of Climate Change*, Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 85–106.

Further readings:

Sven G. Holtsmark & Brooke Smith-Windsor (eds.), *Security Prospects in the High North. Geostrategic Thaw or Freeze?*, Forum Paper n. 7, 2009, NATO Defense College, Rome.

Core readings (The United States)

Lundestad, Ingrid, 2009: 'US Security Policy and Regional Relations in a Warming Arctic', *Swords and Ploughshares*, vol. XVII, no. 3, pp. 15-17. Available online:

<<http://acdis.illinois.edu/assets/docs/505/articles/USSecurityPolicyandRegionalRelationsinaWarmingArctic.pdf>> (P 3)

Conley, Heather, et al, 2013: 'The New Foreign Policy Frontier: U.S. Interests and Actors in the Arctic' *CSIS Report*, pp. 3-12. Available online:

<http://csis.org/files/publication/130307_Conley_NewForeignPolFrontier_Web_0.pdf> (P 10)

Kraska, James, 2011: 'The New Arctic Geography and U.S. Strategy', in Kraska, James (ed.), 2011: *Arctic Security in an Age of Climate Change*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 251-262. (P 12)

Further readings

The White House, 2009: 'National Security Presidential Directive-66/Homeland Security Presidential Directive-25: Arctic Region Policy'. Available online:

<<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2009/01/20090112-3.html>>

The White House, 2013: "National Strategy for the Arctic Region." Available online:

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/nat_arctic_strategy.pdf>

Lecture 10

Monday 28 October

Lecturer: Geir Hønneland, FNI and UiT

Svalbard

Historically, both Russia and Norway have had settlements on this island, and during the Second World War tensions were high between the Soviet and Norwegian settlements. However, as the cold war ended, the Russian settlements have decreased. Today Svalbard is under the sovereignty of Norway; however, the Svalbard Treaty gives a number of restrictions about activity. For example, Norway cannot use the settlement for military exercises. Further, the Governor of Svalbard acts as the chief political administrator.

This lecture will give an introduction and an overview of Svalbard's history. However, it will not only dwell on historical developments, but also look at present issues which surrounds this particularly island.

Keywords:

- Svalbard
- History
- Diplomacy

Core readings

Arlov, Thor B., 1989: *A short history of Svalbard*, Norsk Polarinstitut. (P 95)

Pedersen, Torbjørn, 2008: 'The Dynamics of Svalbard Diplomacy', in *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 19(2): 236-262. (P 27)

Pedersen, Torbjørn, 2008: 'The constrained politics of the Svalbard offshore area', in *Marine Policy* 32.6: 913-919. (P 6)

Pedersen, Torbjørn, 2009: 'Norway's rule on Svalbard: tightening the grip on the Arctic islands', in *Polar Record* 45.233: 147-152. (P 6)

Lecture 11

Monday 11 November

Lecturer: Geir Hønneland, FNI and UiT

Conflict or Cooperation

Due to the race for, among other things, the untapped resources thought to be located above the Arctic Circle, some commentators are warning about the potential for armed conflict. As states seek to safeguard their resources, and to ensure that the rents derived from oil and gas activity is being allocated to the states, an increased military presence may be required. However, after the Cold War, increased corporation between private and public oil and gas companies over new potential fields have signified the importance of collaboration and the interdependence between key actors in the Arctic. Further, states like Norway and Russia have recently been able to come to an agreement about legal issues surrounding the Barents Sea.

This lecture does therefore seek to discuss the future of the Arctic with respect to the potential for conflict, that is, either economic or military.

Keywords:

- Conflict
- Cooperation
- Natural resources

Core readings

Hønneland, Geir, 2012: *Arktiske utfordringer*, Høyskoleforlaget, s. 114-119. (P 6)

Young, Oran R., 2009: 'Whither the Arctic? Conflict and cooperation in the circumpolar north', in *Polar Record*, 45(232): 73-82. (P 9)

Huebert, Rob, 2013: 'Cooperation or Conflict in the New Arctic? Too Simple of a Dichotomy!', in *Environmental Security in the Arctic Ocean*, Springer Netherlands, pp. 195-203. (P 9)

Keil, Kathrin, 2013: 'The Arctic - A new region of conflict? The case of oil and gas', in *Cooperation and Conflict*. (P 22)

Further Readings

Underdal, Arild, 2010: 'Meeting Common Challenges in the High North. The Co-Evolution of Policies and Practices', Working paper. (P 31)

Lecture 12

Monday 11 November

Lecturer: Kristian Åtland, FFI

Military presence in the Arctic

During the cold war the Arctic was considered to be of strategic importance to its geographical location, linking the former Soviet Union and USA. After the cold war ended the military presence in the Arctic was significantly reduced with the only remaining super power, USA, focusing on other regions, such as the Middle East and Asia. Today, however, the importance of the Arctic military presence is increasingly being connected to protecting the potential undiscovered resources though to be located in the high north.

This lecture will be devoted to a closer look at the current military presence in the Arctic, where much of the focus is on military capabilities and further the role of NATO and Russia.

Keywords:

- Military capabilities
- Military presence
- Infrastructure facilities

Core readings

Wezeman, Siemon T., 2012: 'Military Capabilities in the Arctic', *SIPRI Background Paper*. Available online: <books.sipri.org/files/misc/SIPRIBP1203.pdf> (P 16)

Haftendorn, Helga, 2011: 'NATO and the Arctic: is the Atlantic alliance a cold war relic in a peaceful region now faced with non-military challenges?', in *European Security* 20.3, pp. 337-361. (P 24)

Zysk, Katarzyna, 2013: 'Military Aspects of Russia's Arctic Policies: Hard Power and Natural Resources', in Kraska, James (ed.), 2013: *Arctic Security in an Age of Climate Change*, Cambridge University Press. Chapter 6

Lecture 13

Monday 18 November

Lecturer: Geir Hønneland, FNI and UiT

Future Challenges

After analyzing various aspects which relates to geopolitics in the Arctic, this lecture will be related to a discussion surrounding some of the long-term trends. Several commentators and scholars are making prediction about future scenarios, however, these are often based on assumptions which are difficult to control for. The Arctic is at present a remote region and lacks human developed settlements, and increased development is among other things conditioned on investments in infrastructure facilities. Will the Arctic continue to be a remote region which is only of interest to the oil and gas industry or will we see a move towards the high north in general? Further, what will happen if the Arctic sea ice is continuing to decline? What is the implication of increased shipping on the northwest and the northeast passages? Further, will great powers (e.g. nation states) and/or large multinational companies shape the development of this region?

These questions and more will be discussed in relations to security issues, where the aim is to get an overview of the complexity which surrounds Arctic geopolitics.

Keywords:

- Arctic futures
- Long-term trends

Core readings

Hønneland, Geir, 2012: *Arktiske utfordringer*, Høyskoleforlaget. Kap. 6. (P 9)

Arbo, Peter et al., 2012: 'Arctic futures: conceptualizations and images of a changing Arctic', in *Polar Geography*, pp. 1-20. (P 20)

Young, Oran R., 2013: 'Arctic futures: the power of ideas', in *Environmental Security in the Arctic Ocean*. Springer Netherlands, pp. 123-136. (P 13)

Sale, Richard & Eugene Potapov, 2009: *The Scramble for the Arctic: Ownership, Exploitation and Conflict in the Far North*, Frances Lincoln. Chapter 6: 179-196. (P 21)