



# Still on the Road to an “Arctic Saga”?

## Security and Cooperation in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Arctic



**Bundeswehr Planning Office**

- Future Analysis Section -

06/2014



- ➡ Introduction
- ➡ Military activity in the North: Some background information
- ➡ Security and cooperation: Future scenarios
- ➡ An Ukrainian „spill-over“? 2014's implications
- ➡ What is „Arctic Security“?



# Spectacular headlines guaranteed...



## Putin's Arctic invasion: Russia lays claim to the North Pole - and all its gas, oil, and diamonds

Last updated at 09:24 29 June 2007

Russian President Vladimir Putin is making an astonishing bid to grab a vast chunk of the Arctic - so he can tap its vast potential oil, gas and mineral wealth.

His scientists claim an underwater ridge near the North Pole is really part of Russia's continental shelf.

One newspaper printed a map of the "new addition", a triangle five times the size of Britain with twice as much oil as Saudi Arabia.

Scroll down for more



### The New York Times The Opinion Pages

WORLD U.S. N.Y. / REGION BUSINESS TECHNOLOGY SCIENCE HEALTH SPORTS OPINION

OP-ED CONTRIBUTOR

#### Preventing an Arctic Cold War

By PAUL ARTHUR BERKMAN  
Published: March 12, 2013

JUST a quarter-century ago, and for millenniums before that, the Arctic Ocean was covered year-round by ice, creating an impenetrable wilderness that humans rarely negotiated. Today, as the effects of global warming are amplified in the high north, most of the

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BRIEFING

## Militaries Know That The Arctic Is Melting

JEREMY BENDER, MICHAEL B. KELLEY JUN 4 2014, 4:58 AM | BOOKMARK | 100



PLANET EARTH

## The new cold war: Militaries eyeing Arctic resources

Published by Associated Press

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## Cold War-style conflict heating up over Arctic

CONFLICT

## A new Cold War in the Arctic?

The Arctic is heating up, both climatically and militarily. But experts differ in their views on whether the region, with its vast shipping opportunities and energy resources, could become the site of the next Cold War.



„resource / climate conflict“ narratives are rather common in the media



some Arctic researchers have adopted them



# Arctic „militarization“: Facts vs. Fiction



military activity has increased again, but is still moderate

tasks are more of „constabulary“ than of „military“ nature

SAR, surveillance, border patrols etc.

„military diplomacy“, joint exercises

no aggressive intentions, no „arms race“!





# Arctic Futures: Scenario Analysis



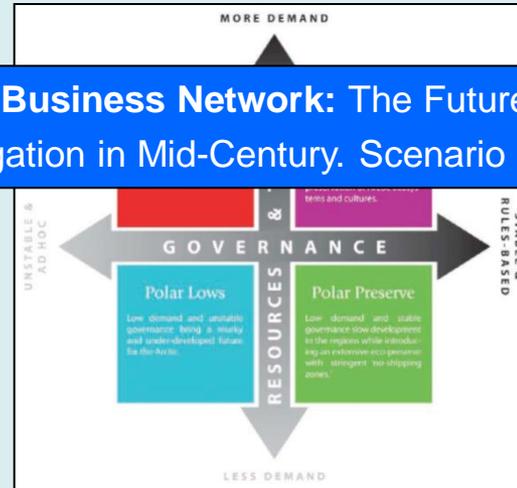
**PRIF** **HSFK**  
Northwest Institute for Arctic Research

PRIF-Report No. 113

## From Meltdown to Showdown?

Challenges and options for governance in the Arctic

## Global Business Network: The Future of Arctic Maritime Navigation in Mid-Century. Scenario Narratives, 2008



## Humrich, Christoph / Wolf, Klaus Dieter: From Meltdown to Showdown?, 2012

**Arctic Association**

	Globalized Frontier	Adaptive Frontier	Fortress Frontier	Equitable Frontier
<b>Transportation</b>	Earlier and longer navigation seasons throughout Arctic Ocean increase commercial shipping. New polar air routes dramatically increase cargo and passenger loads.	Air and marine transportation has greatly expanded but under stricter international regulation for environmental protection and safety.	Marine and air access through the Arctic is tightly controlled and periodically suspended for foreign ships and aircraft, partly in retaliation against other non-Arctic states' actions elsewhere in the world. Cargo movement is disrupted.	Transportation is a key Arctic industry, and a twofold increase in regional marine commerce offsets a modest reduction in air freight on polar routes. Stringent regulation emphasizes environmental protection of key routes.
<b>Resource Development</b>	Rising prices globally for commodities increase exploitation of Arctic resources such as nickel, copper, coal, and freshwater, as well as oil and gas. Overfishing is serious problem.	"Assault" on Arctic resources has not materialized, constrained by international agreements such as strict harvesting quotas for fisheries. Sustainable development is widely embraced by most stakeholders.	Arctic states "jealously" guard natural resources to prevent uncontrolled access by global community; e.g., fishing rights to all but the Arctic states have been suspended.	Sustainable practices benefit fishing, forestry, and reindeer herding, while oil production plummets. Clean freshwater from the Arctic has become a valuable global commodity.
<b>Well-Being of Indigenous Population</b>	While global warming has caused some coastal communities to wash away, commercial opportunities brighten prospects for Arctic indigenous peoples.	Indigenous organizations have a greater say in environmental and economic development decision making. Flourishing year-round.	Many indigenous peoples are displaced from their traditional homelands due to extreme environmental events. Though economically improved, life is unstable as illegal immigration becomes a major problem.	Poverty among indigenous peoples has been reduced due to revenue sharing from industries such as tourism, transportation, and minerals extraction.
<b>Regional Environment Protection</b>				
<b>Regional Governance and Cooperation</b>	Economic interests related to industrialization have become more compelling—and contentious—and have put environmental issues on the back burner for the Arctic Council.	Private-public sponsorship aims to protect unique natural resources and to balance economic and environmental needs.	Independent and exclusionary—a position largely unchallenged by the global community due to the Arctic's collective economic and military strength.	well-being; military presence is low, yet security is high because tensions among the Arctic states is virtually nonexistent.

## Brigham, Lawson W.: Thinking about the Arctic's Future: Scenarios for 2040. The Futurist September-October 2007, S.27-34



## European Defense Agency: Naval Challenges in the Arctic Region, 2013

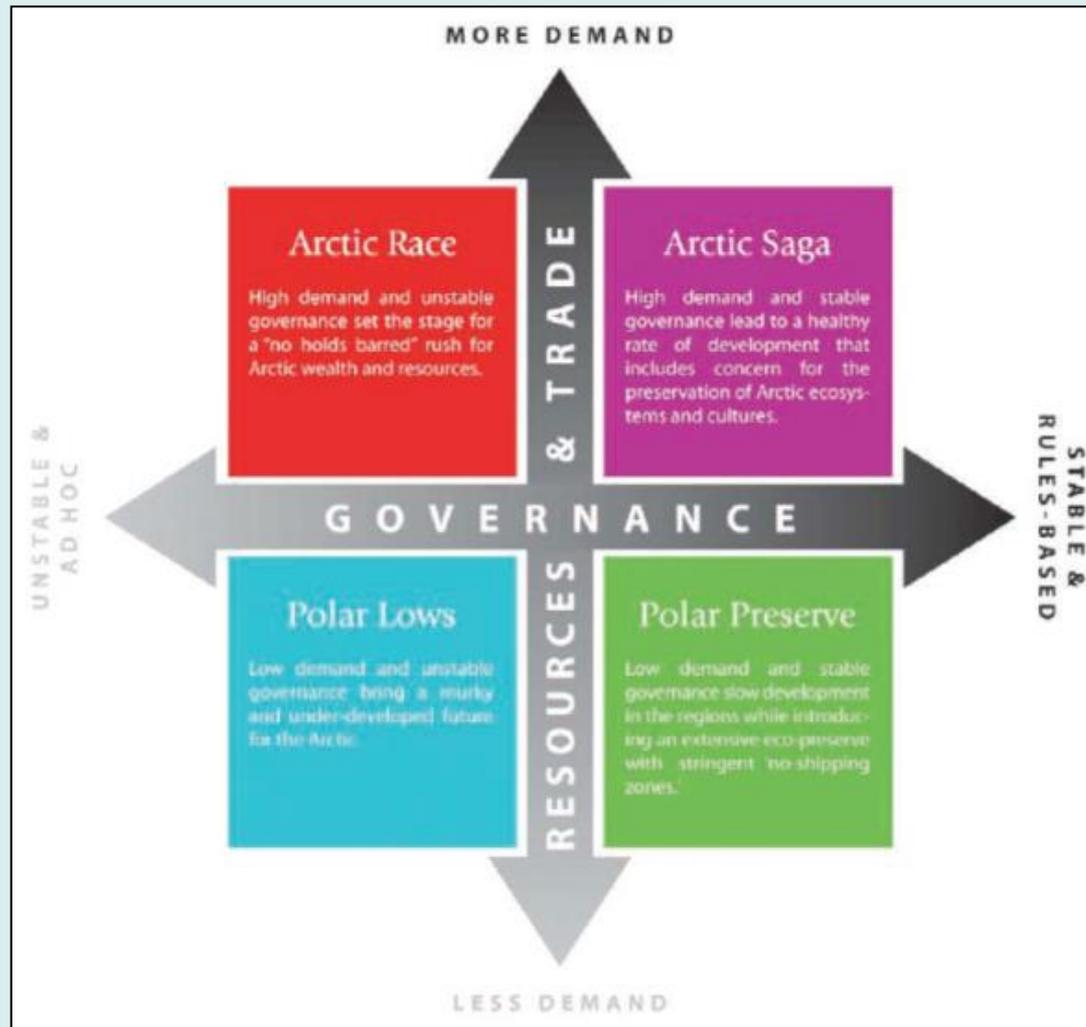
Vice Admirals Fernando Del Pozo, Anthony Dymock, Lutz Feldt, Patrick Hebrard, Ferdinando Sanfelice di Monteforte

In response to EDA contract, ref. No 12.CAP.OP.405

9 September 2013



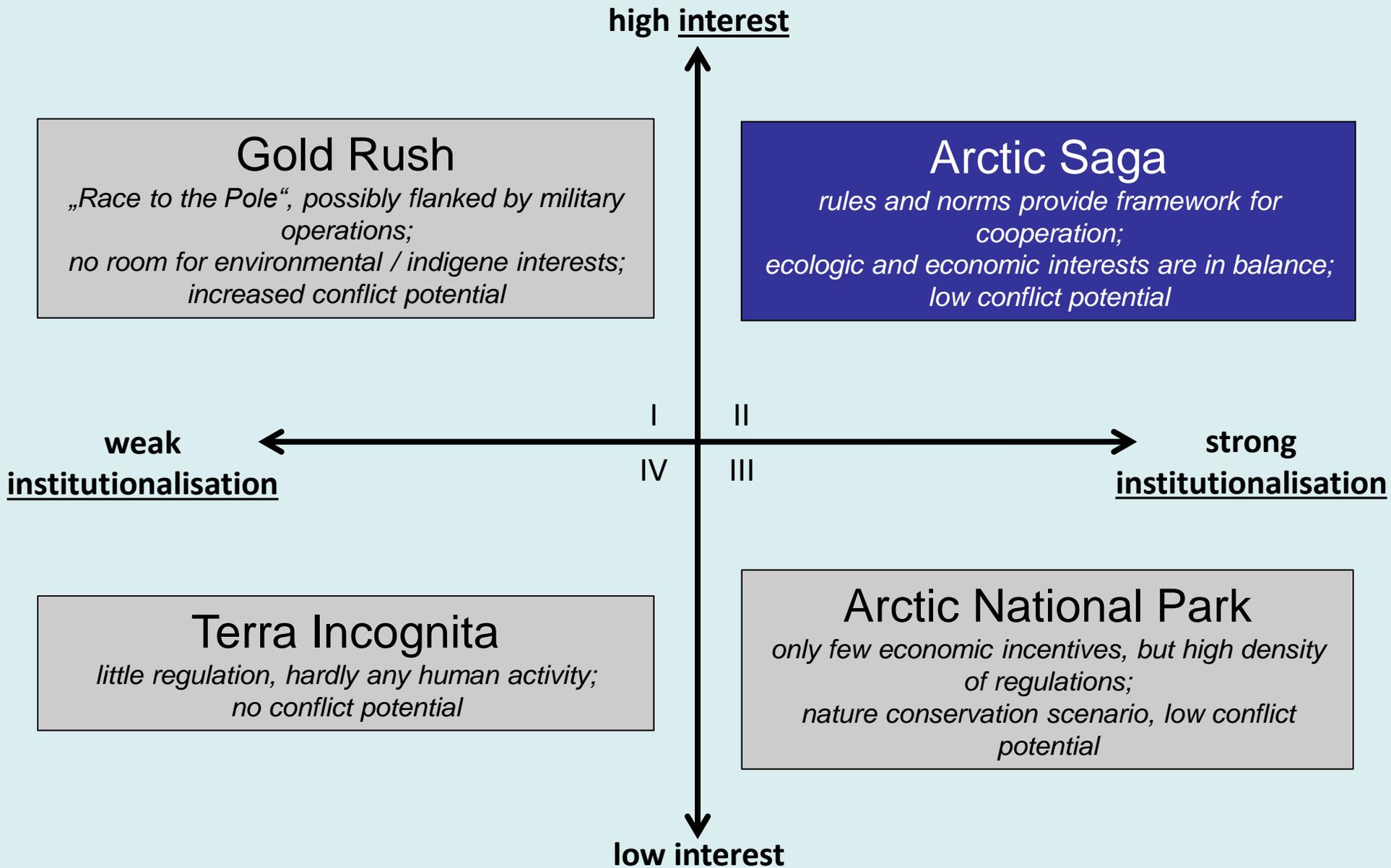
# Arctic Futures (1): The GBN projection



focussing on Arctic shipping;  
two key factors defined, four scenarios illustrated



# Arctic Futures (2): A further attempt





# 2014: Still an Arctic Saga ahead?

Russian-Western relationship has reached a low due to Ukrainian situation

NATO-Russian military cooperation has been halted

mutual political trust is foreseeably damaged



BUT

„Novaya Zemlya is not Crimea“

cooperation is proven for years



Russia would not reasonably benefit from any Arctic confrontation



**A peaceful, yet maybe less trustful Arctic cooperation is still the most probable future scenario!**

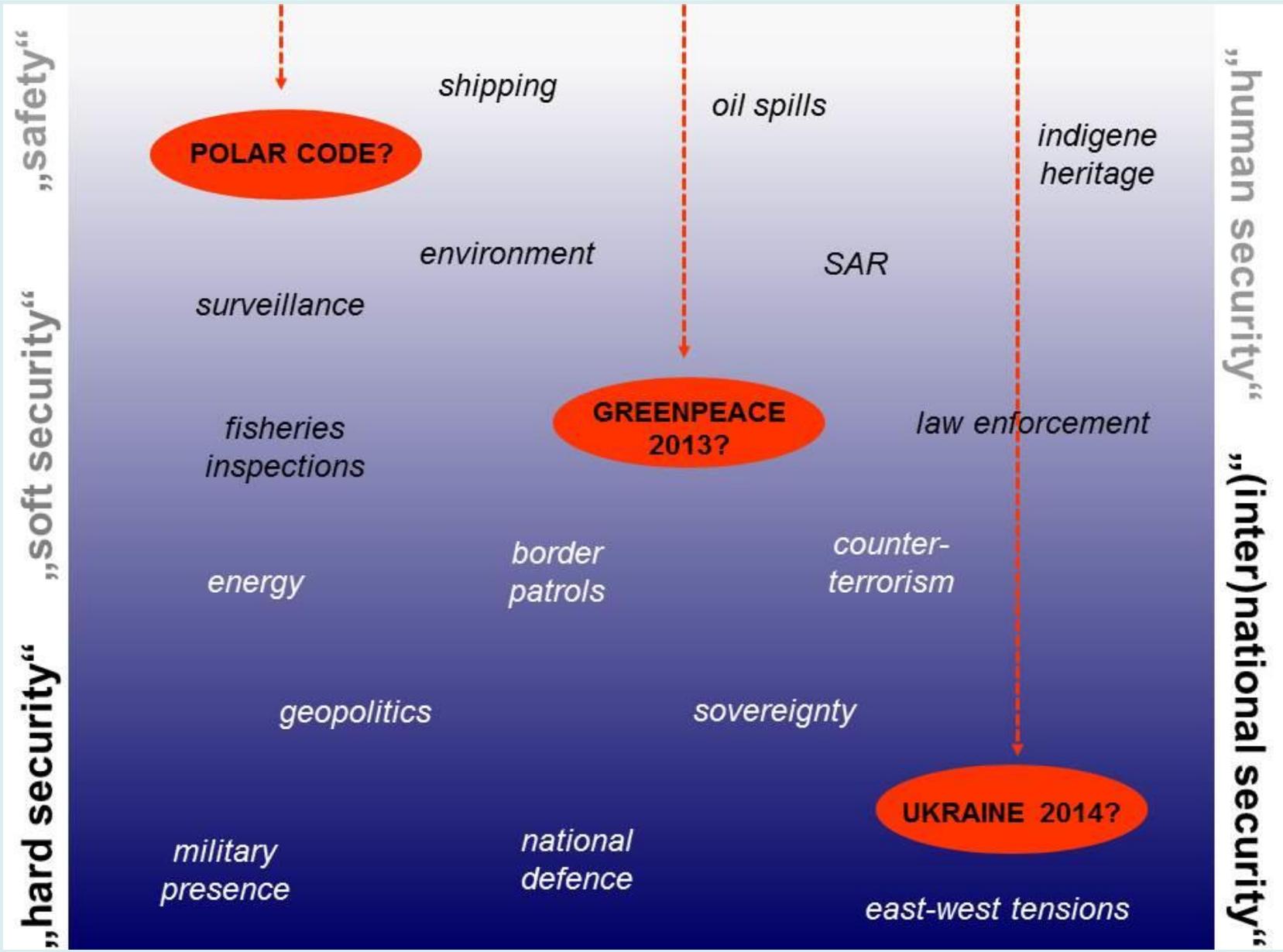


# Arctic Security: A „Layered Cake“ (1)





# Arctic Security: A „Layered Cake“ (2)





# „Is the Arctic a secure region?“



- ➔ **No brief „yes“ or „no“ answer possible!**
  
- ➔ Depends on:
  - Who asks the question?
  - Who answers?
  - What understanding of „security“ do both have?
  
- ➔ **Nota bene: From a national security / military point of view, the Arctic still remains a „secure“ and stable area!**



# *Thank you for your attention!*

...and look out for our forthcoming publication:

[www.planungsamt.bundeswehr.de](http://www.planungsamt.bundeswehr.de)

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The image shows the cover of a publication. At the top left is the logo of the 'Planungsamt der Bundeswehr' (Planning Office of the German Federal Armed Forces). At the top right is the 'Zukunftsanalyse' logo. The main title is 'Streitkräfte, Fähigkeiten und Technologien im 21. Jahrhundert' (Military Forces, Capabilities and Technologies in the 21st Century). Below this, it says 'Future Topic' followed by the main title 'Klimawandel und Sicherheit in der Arktis nach 2014' (Climate Change and Security in the Arctic after 2014). A subtitle asks: 'Hat die friedliche und kooperative internationale Arktispolitik eine langfristige Zukunft?' (Does the peaceful and cooperative international Arctic policy have a long-term future?). The cover features a row of four images: a ship on ice, an oil rig, a snowy landscape with houses, and a white dog. At the bottom right is the 'Bundeswehr' logo with the slogan 'Wir. Dienen. Deutschland.' (We. Serve. Germany.)