



Arctic ABC and Geo-politics

- Bridging marine science with politics, international law and diplomacy

Dr. Njord Wegge

*Senior Advisor to the Norwegian Parliamentary Intelligence Oversight Committee (The EOS-committee)
Associated Professor-II, University of Tromsø (from Jan. 2016)*

njord.wegge@uit.no

Kick-off meeting, Arctic ABC, Oban 1-5 June 2015

Why include geo-politics and law in Arctic ABC project?

- Outreach cruise, Helmer Hansen, spring 2014
- The study of international relations (IR) in the Arctic overlaps with several disciplines such as law, history, marine biology and other hard-sciences
- Research on IR in the Arctic can be better informed if applying findings from hard sciences
- Researchers, and research findings, from hard sciences often have a long way to go before they reach political decision-makers and diplomats acting on behalf of states (e.g. within Arctic Council or bi- and multilateral negotiations)



Political Science – the study of politics

- Local, national, international level
- Quantitative and qualitative methods
- Seeks to explain and understand political processes, but also to predict outcomes and improve governance.
- IR is particularly concerned with cooperation, conflict, security and power dynamics within the international system
 - *States (traditionally) viewed as the key actors*
 - *Power and interests – key explanatory factors (military and economic)*
 - *Anarchy and the role of norms / international law*



Political science... does it really matter?



- Some classical insights from IR...
 - (What is the equivalent to Geirs «Haneskjell» example from the train?)
- - From League of Nations to the UN
- - Democratic peace
- - Law of the sea - Arctic peace and stability

Kathrin Keil:....



A case bridging marine science with issues of politics, International law and diplomacy



- How to manage the living resources in the High Seas of the Central Arctic Ocean?
- This is a key dimension of the “geopolitical component” within the Arctic ABC project

Innsight from one published article:

The emerging politics of the Arctic Ocean.
Future management of the living marine
resources..... (N. Wegge (2015) Marine Policy 51: 331–338.)



Research questions in article project:

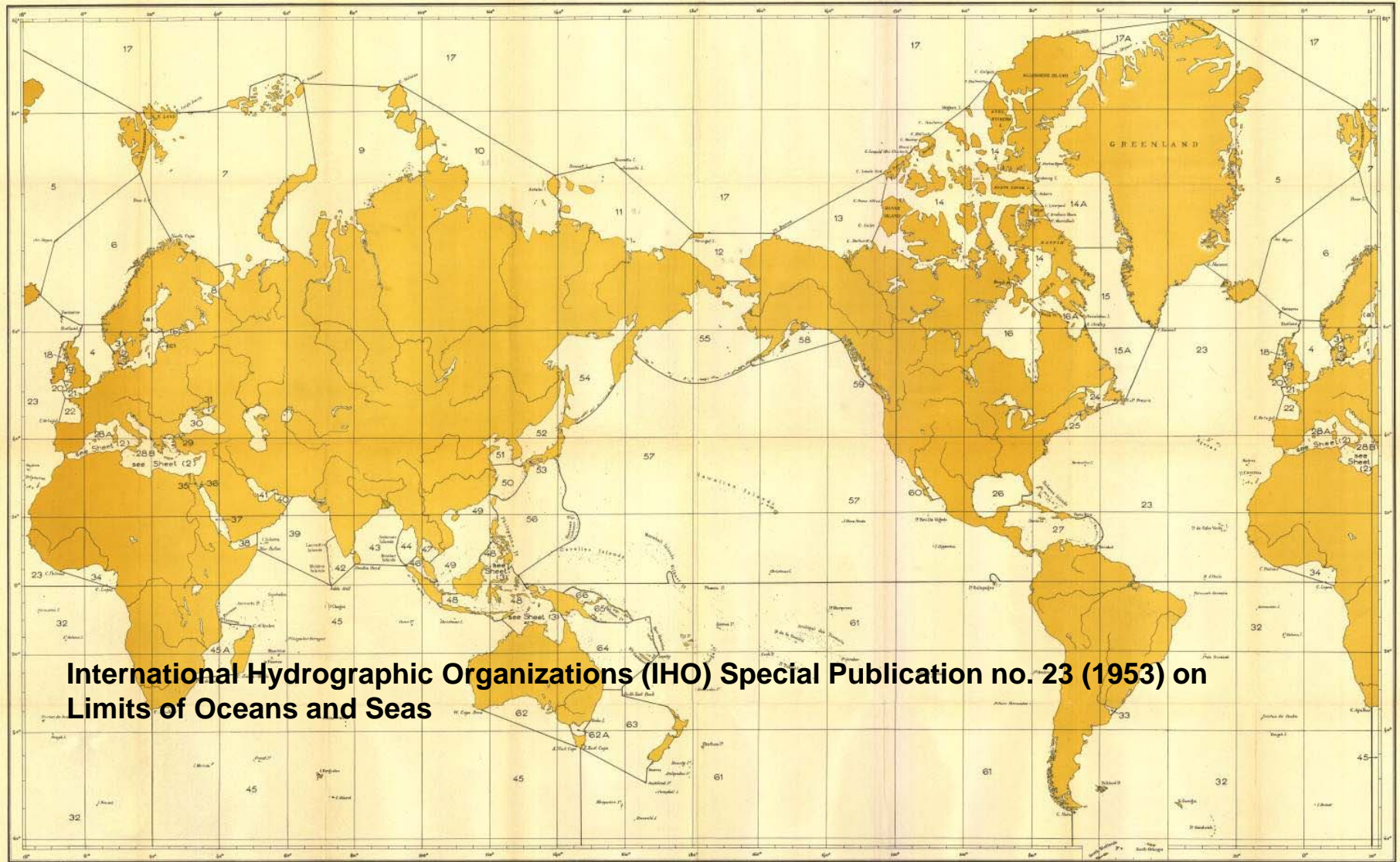
- 1) What is the potential for future commercial utilization of marine resources in the Arctic Ocean?
- 2) Are there differences between engaged governmental and NGO stakeholders' views, concerning the future management of the Arctic Ocean?
- If so what explains the division lines between them?
- 3) Whose interests and norms seem to most strongly influence the unfolding political processes, and what explains why some actors seem to have more control than others?





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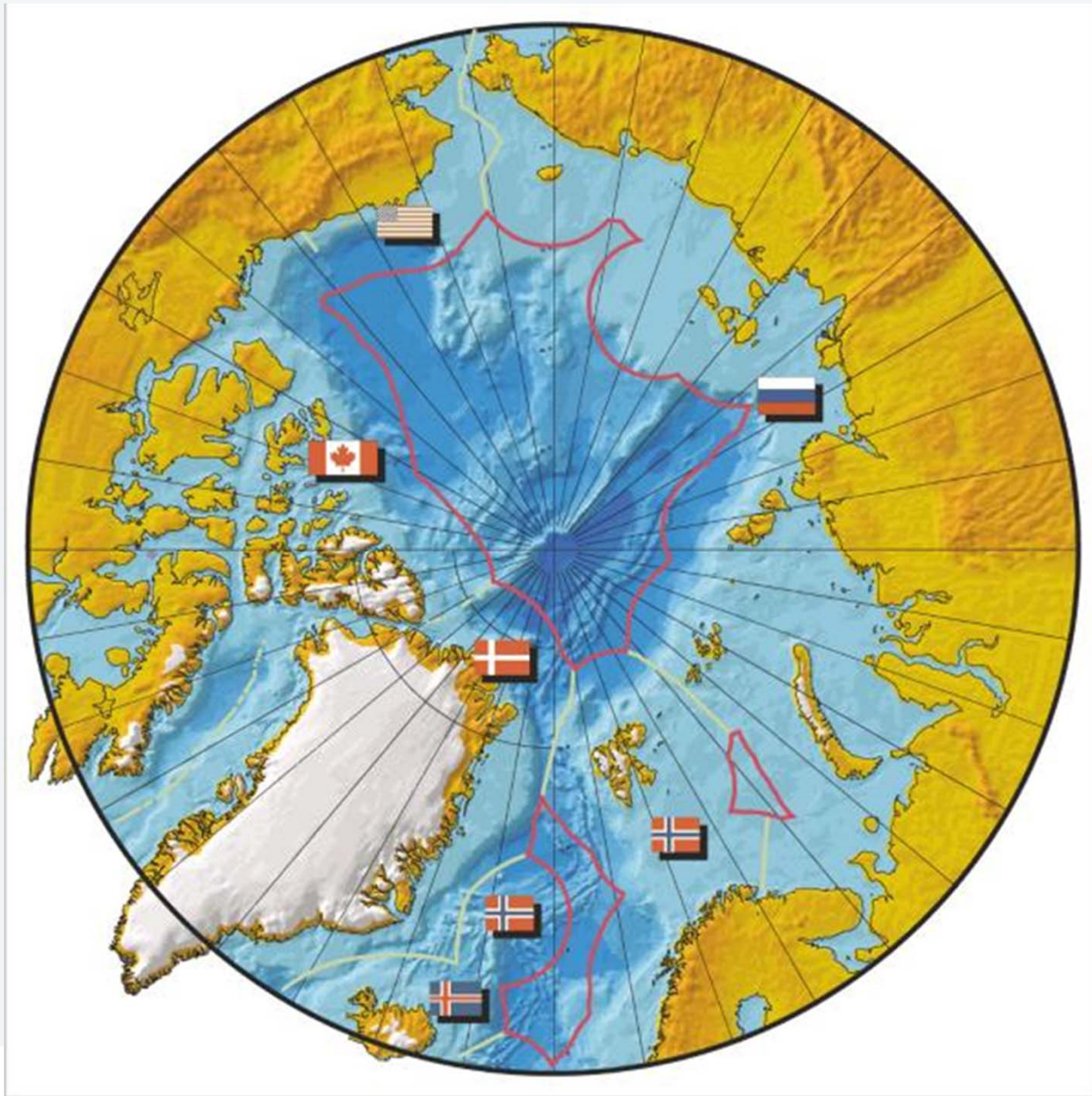
NOTE: International limits of the oceans and seas are shown on this chart for the purpose of uniformity in the limits of the oceans and seas. They have no political significance whatsoever.



International Hydrographic Organizations (IHO) Special Publication no. 23 (1953) on Limits of Oceans and Seas

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|---|--|--|--|---|---|---|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|---|--|---|--|---|
| 1. Baltic Sea.
Mer Baltique. | 8. Wharfedale Sea.
Mer Wharfedale. | 15. Red Sea.
Mer Rouge. | 22. Bering Sea.
Mer de Béring. | 29. Gulf of Mexico.
Golfe du Mexique. | 36. Gulf of California.
Golfe de Californie. | 43. South Pacific Ocean.
Océan Pacifique du Sud. | 50. Indian Ocean.
Océan Indien. | 57. Gulf of Oman.
Golfe d'Oman. | 64. South China Sea (Tung Hai).
Mer de Chine méridionale. | 71. South China Sea (Huang Hai).
Mer de Chine orientale. | 78. Gulf of Thailand.
Golfe de Thaïlande. | 85. South China Sea (Huang Hai).
Mer de Chine orientale. | 92. Gulf of Thailand.
Golfe de Thaïlande. | 99. Gulf of Thailand.
Golfe de Thaïlande. |
| 2. North Sea.
Mer du Nord. | 9. North Sea.
Mer du Nord. | 16. North Atlantic Ocean.
Océan Atlantique du Nord. | 23. North Atlantic Ocean.
Océan Atlantique du Nord. | 30. Gulf of Persia.
Golfe du Persique. | 37. Gulf of Persia.
Golfe du Persique. | 44. South Pacific Ocean.
Océan Pacifique du Sud. | 51. Indian Ocean.
Océan Indien. | 58. Gulf of Oman.
Golfe d'Oman. | 65. South China Sea (Huang Hai).
Mer de Chine orientale. | 72. South China Sea (Huang Hai).
Mer de Chine orientale. | 79. Gulf of Thailand.
Golfe de Thaïlande. | 86. South Pacific Ocean.
Océan Pacifique du Sud. | 93. Gulf of Thailand.
Golfe de Thaïlande. | 100. Gulf of Thailand.
Golfe de Thaïlande. |
| 3. English Channel.
Canal de l'Angleterre. | 10. English Channel.
Canal de l'Angleterre. | 17. North Atlantic Ocean.
Océan Atlantique du Nord. | 24. North Atlantic Ocean.
Océan Atlantique du Nord. | 31. Gulf of Persia.
Golfe du Persique. | 38. Gulf of Persia.
Golfe du Persique. | 45. South Pacific Ocean.
Océan Pacifique du Sud. | 52. Indian Ocean.
Océan Indien. | 59. Gulf of Oman.
Golfe d'Oman. | 66. South China Sea (Huang Hai).
Mer de Chine orientale. | 73. South China Sea (Huang Hai).
Mer de Chine orientale. | 80. Gulf of Thailand.
Golfe de Thaïlande. | 87. South Pacific Ocean.
Océan Pacifique du Sud. | 94. Gulf of Thailand.
Golfe de Thaïlande. | 101. Gulf of Thailand.
Golfe de Thaïlande. |
| 4. English Channel.
Canal de l'Angleterre. | 11. English Channel.
Canal de l'Angleterre. | 18. North Atlantic Ocean.
Océan Atlantique du Nord. | 25. North Atlantic Ocean.
Océan Atlantique du Nord. | 32. Gulf of Persia.
Golfe du Persique. | 39. Gulf of Persia.
Golfe du Persique. | 46. South Pacific Ocean.
Océan Pacifique du Sud. | 53. Indian Ocean.
Océan Indien. | 60. Gulf of Oman.
Golfe d'Oman. | 67. South China Sea (Huang Hai).
Mer de Chine orientale. | 74. South China Sea (Huang Hai).
Mer de Chine orientale. | 81. Gulf of Thailand.
Golfe de Thaïlande. | 88. South Pacific Ocean.
Océan Pacifique du Sud. | 95. Gulf of Thailand.
Golfe de Thaïlande. | 102. Gulf of Thailand.
Golfe de Thaïlande. |
| 5. English Channel.
Canal de l'Angleterre. | 12. English Channel.
Canal de l'Angleterre. | 19. North Atlantic Ocean.
Océan Atlantique du Nord. | 26. North Atlantic Ocean.
Océan Atlantique du Nord. | 33. Gulf of Persia.
Golfe du Persique. | 40. Gulf of Persia.
Golfe du Persique. | 47. South Pacific Ocean.
Océan Pacifique du Sud. | 54. Indian Ocean.
Océan Indien. | 61. Gulf of Oman.
Golfe d'Oman. | 68. South China Sea (Huang Hai).
Mer de Chine orientale. | 75. South China Sea (Huang Hai).
Mer de Chine orientale. | 82. Gulf of Thailand.
Golfe de Thaïlande. | 89. South Pacific Ocean.
Océan Pacifique du Sud. | 96. Gulf of Thailand.
Golfe de Thaïlande. | 103. Gulf of Thailand.
Golfe de Thaïlande. |
| 6. English Channel.
Canal de l'Angleterre. | 13. English Channel.
Canal de l'Angleterre. | 20. North Atlantic Ocean.
Océan Atlantique du Nord. | 27. North Atlantic Ocean.
Océan Atlantique du Nord. | 34. Gulf of Persia.
Golfe du Persique. | 41. Gulf of Persia.
Golfe du Persique. | 48. South Pacific Ocean.
Océan Pacifique du Sud. | 55. Indian Ocean.
Océan Indien. | 62. Gulf of Oman.
Golfe d'Oman. | 69. South China Sea (Huang Hai).
Mer de Chine orientale. | 76. South China Sea (Huang Hai).
Mer de Chine orientale. | 83. Gulf of Thailand.
Golfe de Thaïlande. | 90. South Pacific Ocean.
Océan Pacifique du Sud. | 97. Gulf of Thailand.
Golfe de Thaïlande. | 104. Gulf of Thailand.
Golfe de Thaïlande. |
| 7. English Channel.
Canal de l'Angleterre. | 14. English Channel.
Canal de l'Angleterre. | 21. North Atlantic Ocean.
Océan Atlantique du Nord. | 28. North Atlantic Ocean.
Océan Atlantique du Nord. | 35. Gulf of Persia.
Golfe du Persique. | 42. Gulf of Persia.
Golfe du Persique. | 49. South Pacific Ocean.
Océan Pacifique du Sud. | 56. Indian Ocean.
Océan Indien. | 63. Gulf of Oman.
Golfe d'Oman. | 70. South China Sea (Huang Hai).
Mer de Chine orientale. | 77. South China Sea (Huang Hai).
Mer de Chine orientale. | 84. Gulf of Thailand.
Golfe de Thaïlande. | 91. South Pacific Ocean.
Océan Pacifique du Sud. | 98. Gulf of Thailand.
Golfe de Thaïlande. | 105. Gulf of Thailand.
Golfe de Thaïlande. |

EEZs and High Seas in the Arctic

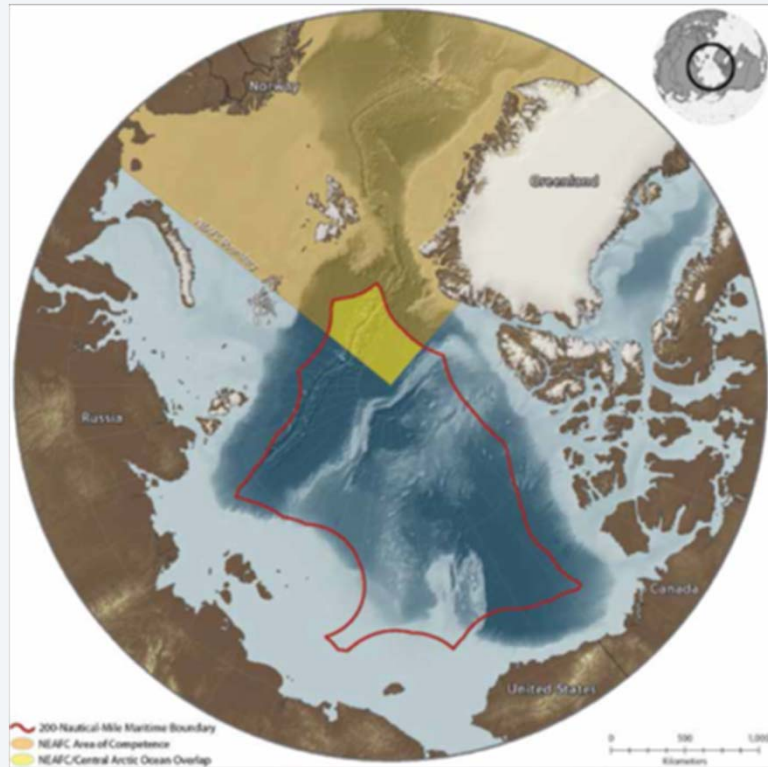


International Law and institutional frameworks of relevance

- UNCLOS 1982
 - UN Fish Stock Agreement of 1995
- The North East Atlantic Fisheries commission (NEAFC)
- A5 Ad hoc meetings: Ilulissat 2008, Chelsea 2010, + several fisheries and governmental official meetings
- Arctic Council?



The NEAFC Regulatory Area (North East Atlantic Fisheries Commission)

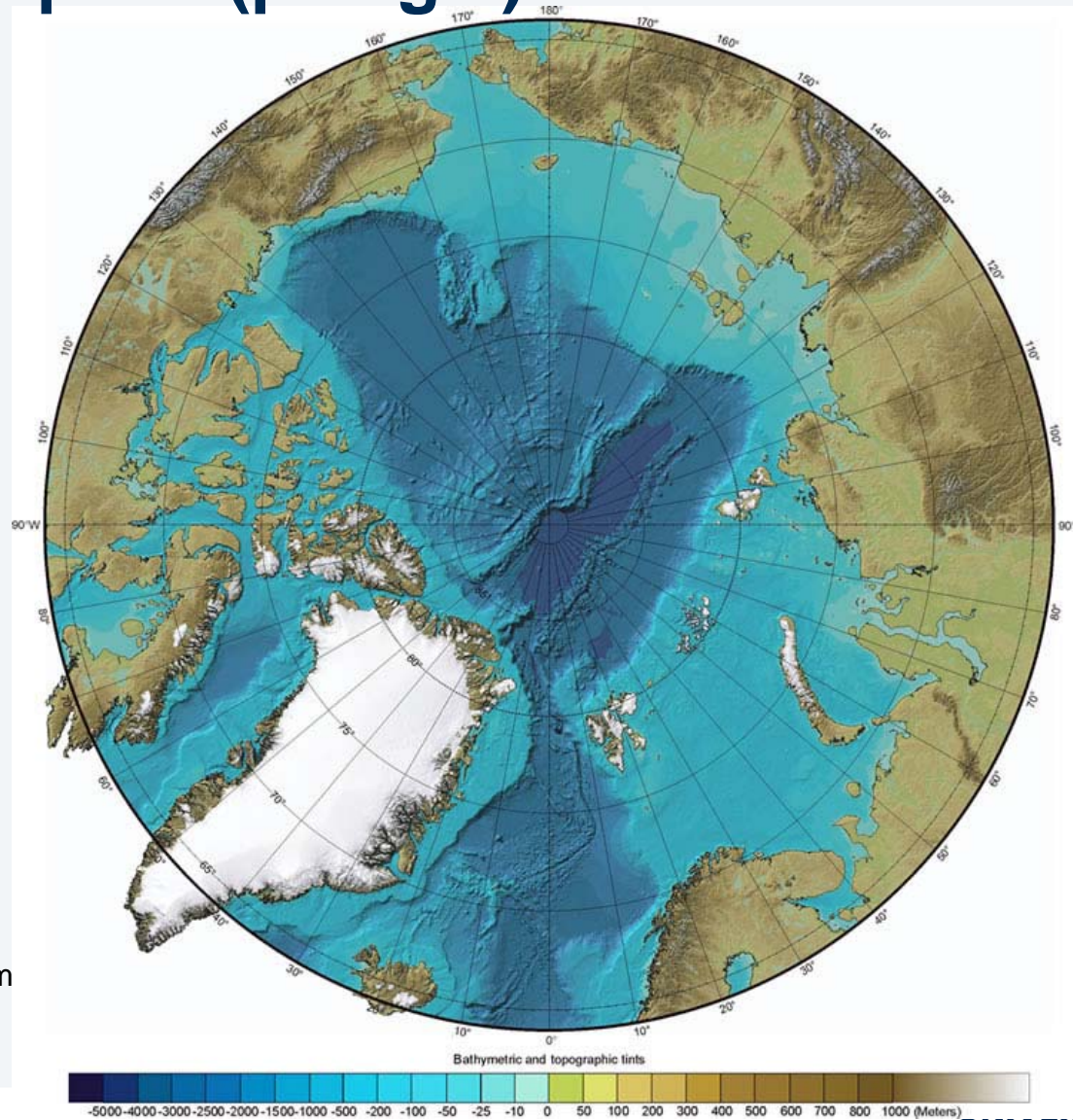


Some key physical and biological changes

- Less sea ice
- Warmer water further north
- Migration of fish north and east wards
- Acidification



The potential for cod, haddock (demersal) and capelin (pelagic)



www.geology.com



Hollowed AB, Planque B, Loeng H. (2013): “Potential movement of fish and shellfish stocks from the sub-Arctic to the Arctic Ocean”. *Fisheries Oceanography* 22(5): 355-370.

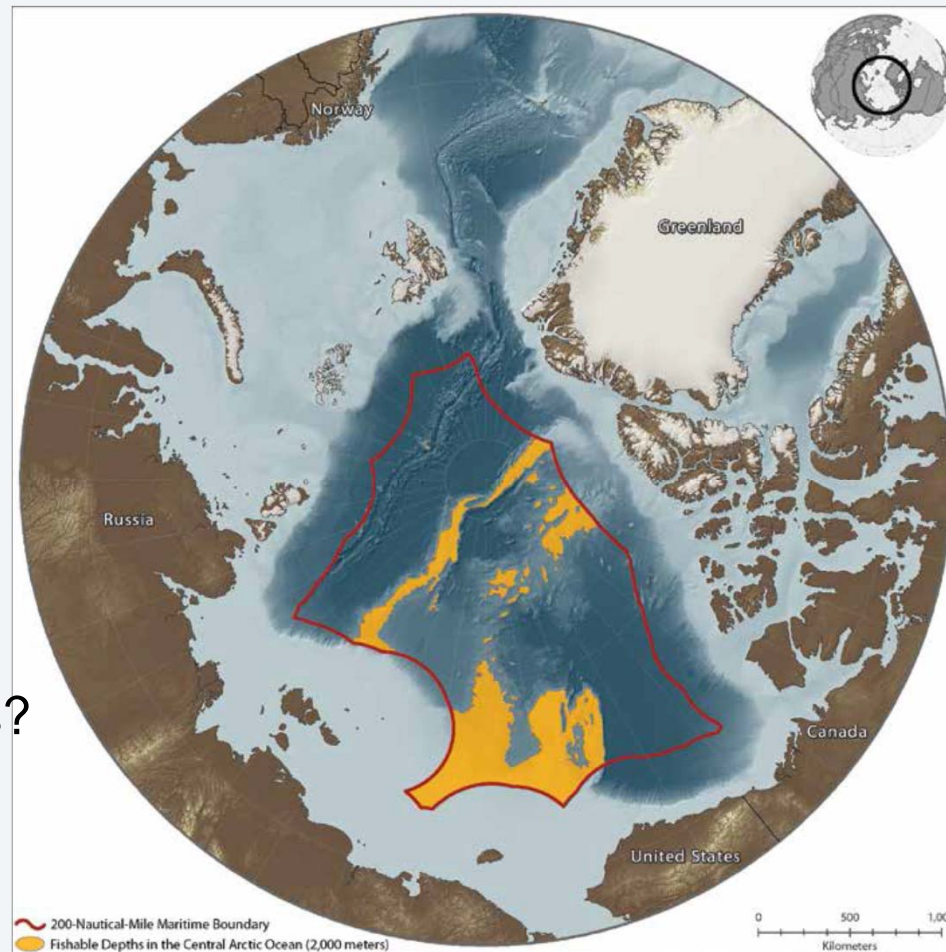


- Evaluation of environmental factors such as: “the spatial distribution of suitable thermal conditions, availability of prey, the depth of migration corridors”, “key life history and behavioral characteristics” including “growth potential, fidelity to spawning sites, foraging plasticity, thermal tolerances and habitat depth”,
- By concretely evaluating 17 fish, shellfish stocks or stocks groups, the article concludes by pointing out six stocks with a “high potential” to expand into the Arctic Ocean:
 - polar cod (*Boreogadus saida*), snow crab (*Chionoectes opilio*), bering flounder (*Hippoglossoides elassodon*), greenland shark (*Somniosus microcephalus*), arctic skate (*Amblyraja hyperborea*), and beaked redfish (*Sebastes mentella*)

Warmer water and less ice but:

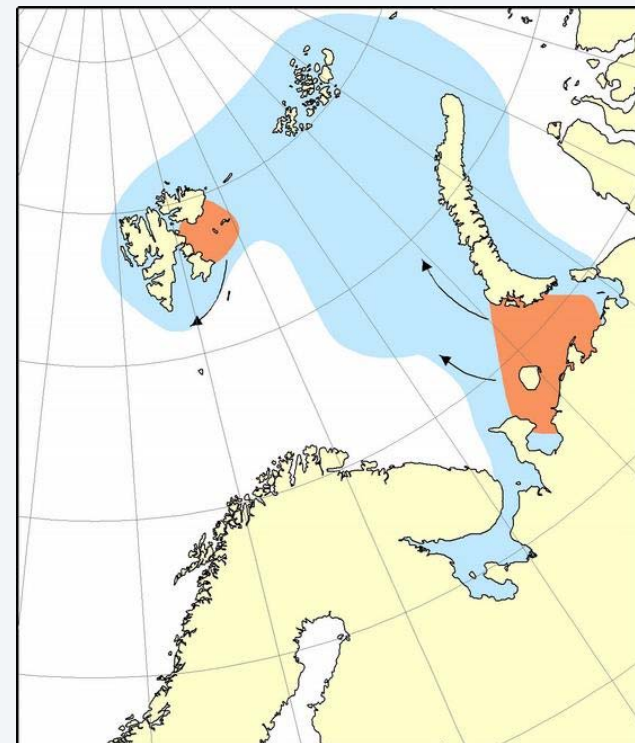
- Spawning conditions?
- Depths?
- Nutrition?

Are we left to speculations?



The polar cod

- Are there any fish even further north?

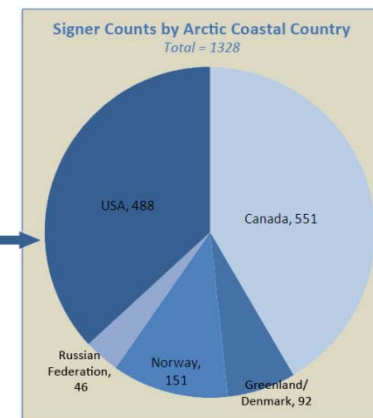
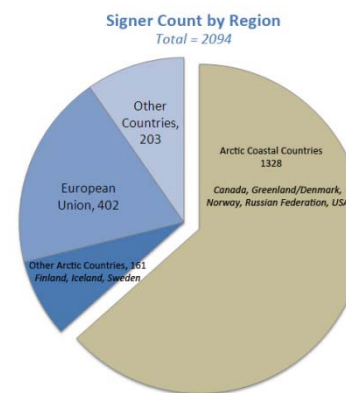
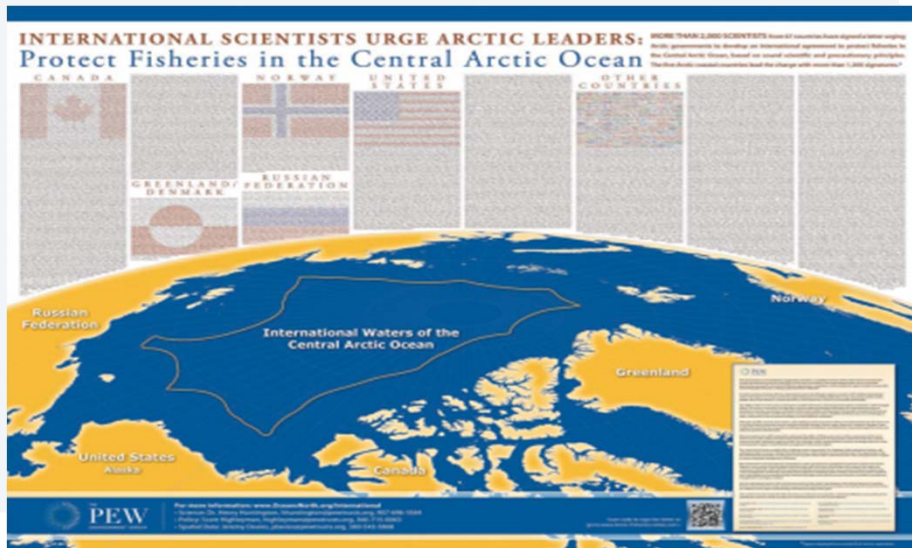


Polartorsk
■ Gyteområde
■ Utbredelsesområde
→ Larvedrift



Arctic Ocean fisheries enters the agenda

- Climate changes + experiences from the Bering sea
- The US Senate 2008, resolution initiated by Republican Senator Ted Stevens from Alaska
 - “Directing the United States to initiate international discussions and take necessary steps with other Nations to negotiate an agreement for managing migratory and transboundary fish stocks in the Arctic Ocean”
- Pew Charitable trust: 2000 + scientist signs a letter



Complete list of countries: Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bermuda, Brazil, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Chile, China, Colombia, Cook Islands, Czech Republic, Egypt, Estonia, Faroe Islands, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Greenland/Denmark, Iceland, India, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Lebanon, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, New Caledonia, New Zealand, Norway, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Scotland, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria, Turkey, United Kingdom, Uruguay, USA

The actors and their backgrounds/ interests

- The Actors: A5
 - USA
 - Canada
 - Denmark/ Greenland
 - Norway
 - Russia
- Other key actors
 - Iceland
 - Finland
 - EU
 - Pew Charitable trust
 - China and other Asian states



The A5 takes the lead



- Several A5 meetings since Oslo 2010
 - 1. With Governmental officials and scientists
 - 2. Senior Arctic fisheries scientists
- The meeting in Nuuk, February 2014
 - The participants recognized the need for interim precautionary measures to prevent any future commercial fisheries without the prior establishment of appropriate regulatory mechanisms
 - The meeting agreed that it is appropriate for the states whose exclusive economic zones border the high seas area in question to take the initiative on this matter.
- A5 declaration was planned last year, but Ukraine crisis put a halt to the process.

Contested issues

- Do we need a big and costly organization when there are hardly any fish there?
- Who should decide
- The nuances in «moratorium», «prohibition», «not give permission». What about experimental fisheries?
- Indigenous people? Whaling?
- The case of Norway – principals and misunderstandings in media.





The Canadian delegation at the A5 meeting in Nuuk, Greenland 24-26 February 2014



The Norwegian delegation at the A5 meeting in Nuuk, Greenland 24-26 February 2014

Reviewing the ongoing process, and the way ahead



- Political entrepreneurship, just as important as science and law?
- The A5 has taken advantage of their geography
- A differentiation within the group of Arctic States? (Ilulissat 2008 once more...)
- Non-A5 countries will perhaps be more involved soon?

Implications for non-Arctic states

- Important decisions concerning the future of the Arctic Ocean are being settled today
- The UN 1995 Fish stocks agreement
 - In the High Seas all states are supposed to be treated on an equal footing with respect to utilization of living resources
- The way conflicts are handled in the Arctic might serve as a model elsewhere



Questions?

