

An aerial photograph of a coastal city, likely Victoria, British Columbia. The image shows a dense urban area with numerous houses and buildings. A large, modern bridge with multiple pylons spans a wide body of water, connecting different parts of the city. In the foreground, there are industrial buildings and a large white tent-like structure. The water is dark blue, and the sky is clear.

Feeling Hot, Hot, Hot: Politics and Transformation in the Global Arctic

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Outline - The Arctic is Hot, Hot, Hot

- Governance and Geopolitics
- Climate Change
- Indigenization



What is the Arctic?

- Both a space (geography) and a place (meaning)
- 'The Arctic' is socially constructed
- Many Arctics
- 8 states; 4 million people
- Unique ecosystem
- Complex colonial and imperial histories
- Cold War legacy
- Undergoing rapid transformation

Arctic

• States:

- Canada
- and U
- Sub-s

• Law

- Dome

• IGOs, re

- Arctic
- Region

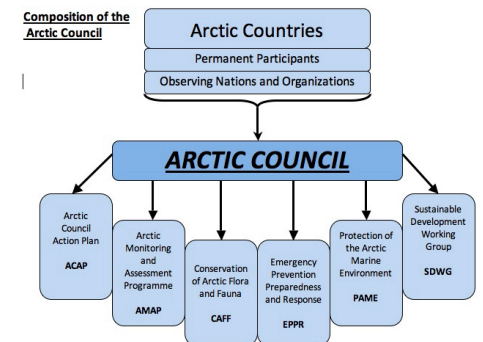
Rank		Country or Territory	HDI	
2019 data (2020 report) ^[10]	Change over 5 years (2014) ^[2]		2019 data (2020 report) ^[10]	Average annual HDI growth (2010-2019)
1	—	 Norway	0.957	▲ 0.20%
2	▲ (7)	 Ireland	0.955	▲ 0.65%
2	—	 Switzerland	0.955	▲ 0.16%
4	▲ (7)	 Hong Kong	0.949	▲ 0.54%
4	▲ (4)	 Iceland	0.949	▲ 0.62%
6	▼ (3)	 Germany	0.947	▲ 0.24%
7	▼ (3)	 Sweden	0.945	▲ 0.41%
8	▼ (2)	 Australia	0.944	▲ 0.17%
8	▼ (1)	 Netherlands	0.944	▲ 0.32%
10	▼ (6)	 Denmark	0.940	▲ 0.28%
11	▼ (2)	 Finland	0.938	▲ 0.26%
11	—	 Singapore	0.938	▲ 0.35%
13	—	 United Kingdom	0.932	▲ 0.24%
14	▲ (1)	 Belgium	0.931	▲ 0.25%
14	▲ (3)	 New Zealand	0.931	▲ 0.30%
16	▼ (1)	 Canada	0.929	▲ 0.34%
17	▼ (3)	 United States	0.926	▲ 0.12%
52	▲ (1)	 Russia	0.824	▲ 0.60%

Sweden,

ents
ATO, EU

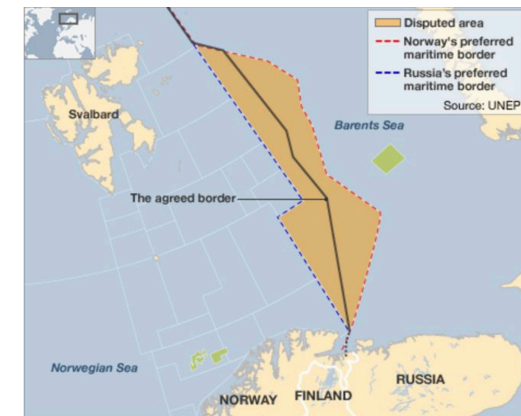
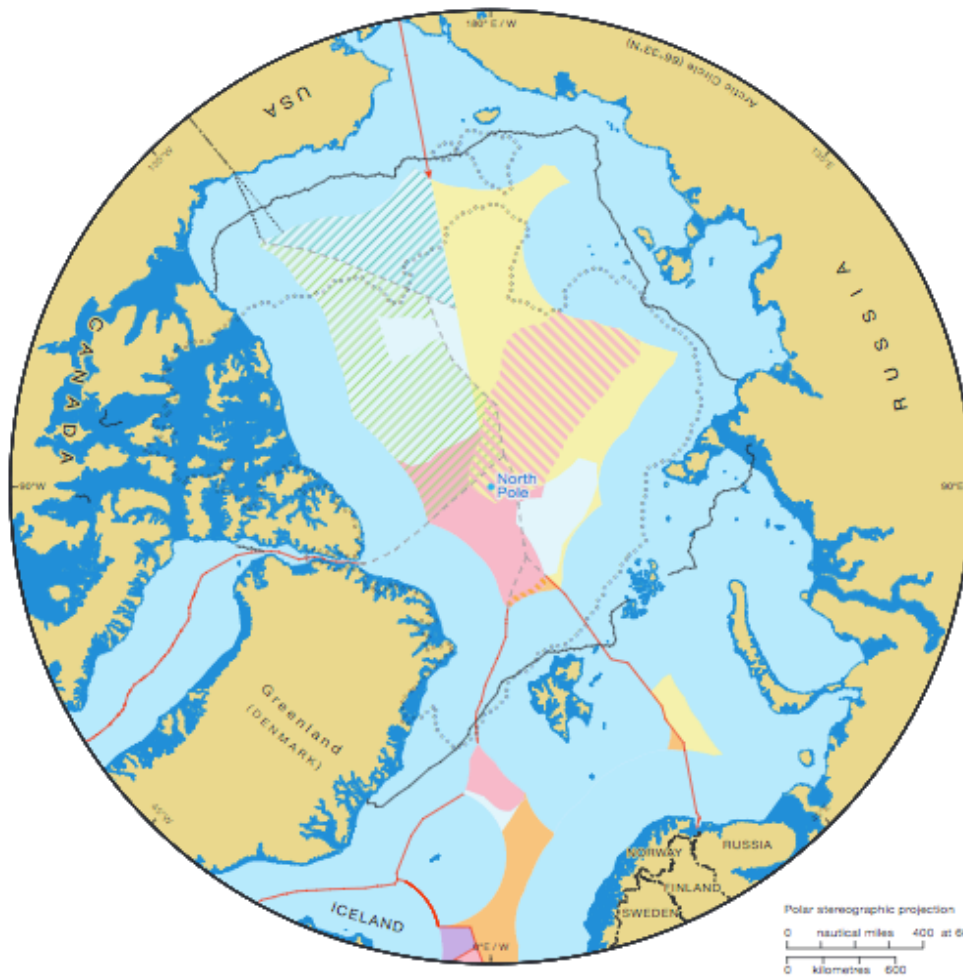
The Arctic Council

- Established 1996: Canada played a leading role in its establishment
- First intergovernmental organization to give near equal standing to states and Indigenous peoples
 - 8 Member-States
 - 6 Permanent Participants
 - 6 Working Groups
 - More than 30 Observers



- Growth of Arctic regional agreements
 - 2011 Search and Rescue Agreement
 - 2013 Oil Pollution Preparedness and Response Agreement
 - 2018 Arctic Fisheries Agreement
- Important role for bilateral agreements, too
 - 1988 Canada-US Agreement on the Northwest Passage
 - 2010 Norway-Russia Barents Sea Agreement
 - 2016 Canada-US Arctic Drilling Moratorium

Status of Arctic waters beyond 200 nautical miles from shore



Beaufort Sea territorial dispute

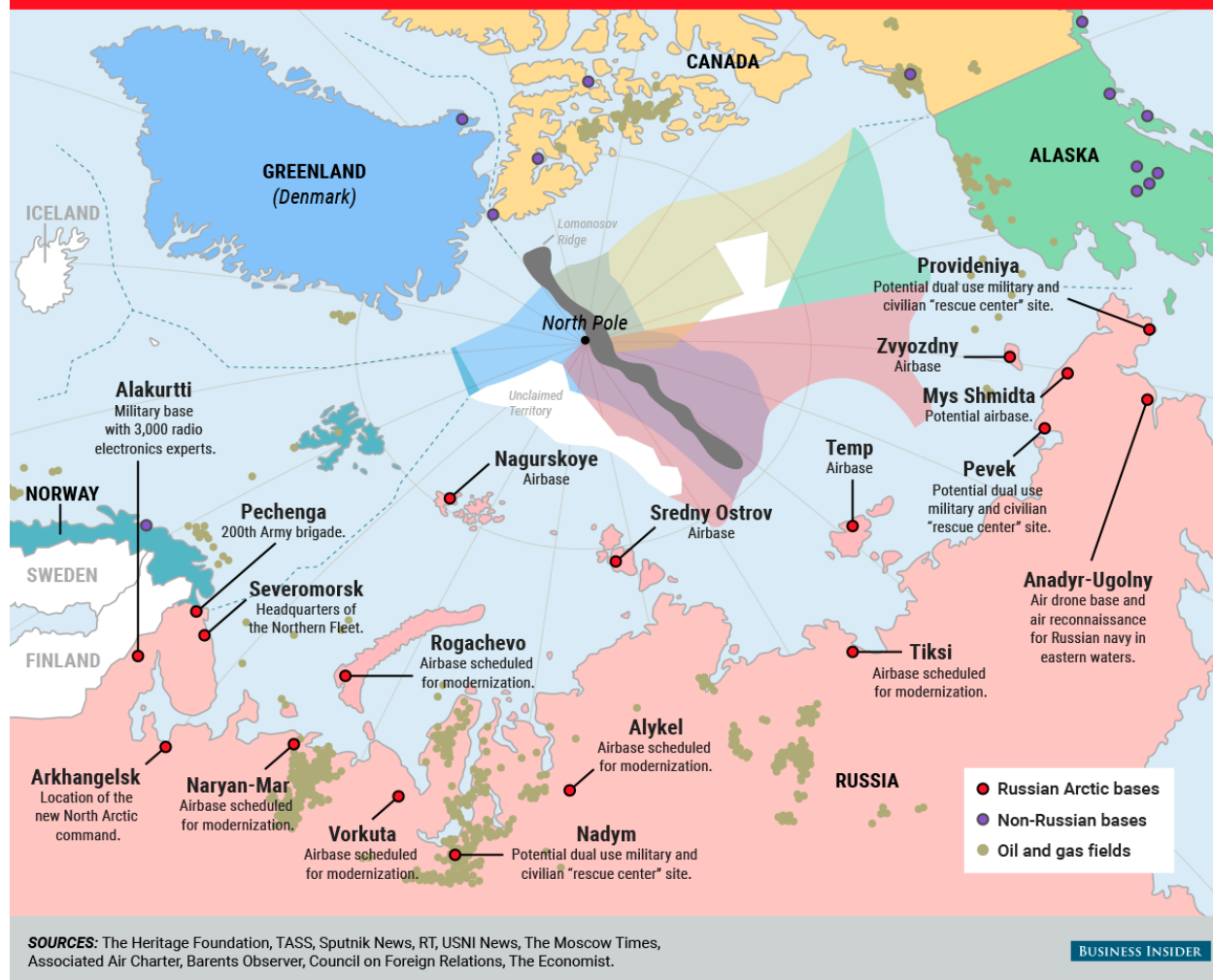


DENNIS LEUNG, THE OTTAWA CITIZEN

New Challenges

- Growth of interest by non-Arctic states and actors
 - EU, South Korea, Singapore, and India have all sought Observer status on Arctic Council
 - So has China, which has also invested in a new ice breaker, Arctic strategy (*Polar Silk Road*), polar science and research, and \$27bn Yamal natural gas partnership with Russia
- Renewed tensions between Russia and West
 - Resurgent tensions since 2008 due to increased military activities
 - Cooperation has ebbed since annexation of Crimea in 2014, imposition of Western sanctions
 - Increased defence cooperation; questions over expanded NATO role in the Arctic

RUSSIA'S MILITARIZATION OF THE ARCTIC



- In September 2018, Russian military had an exercise called Vostok 2018 involving more than 300,000 personnel in Far North/Far East

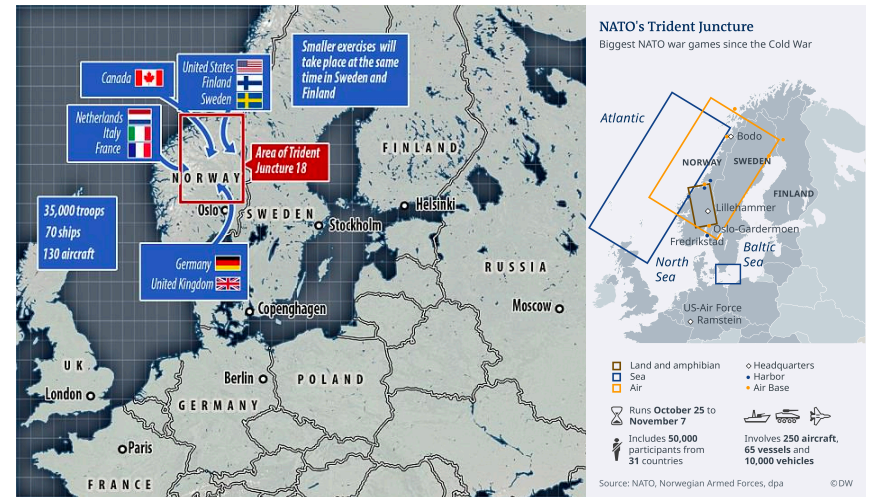
Exercise Trident Juncture

- Two week exercise in October 2018 to defend against a “fictitious aggressor” in region between Baltic Sea and Iceland
 - 50,000 troops from 31 NATO and partner countries

Trident Juncture 2018: NATO kicks off largest manoeuvre since Cold War

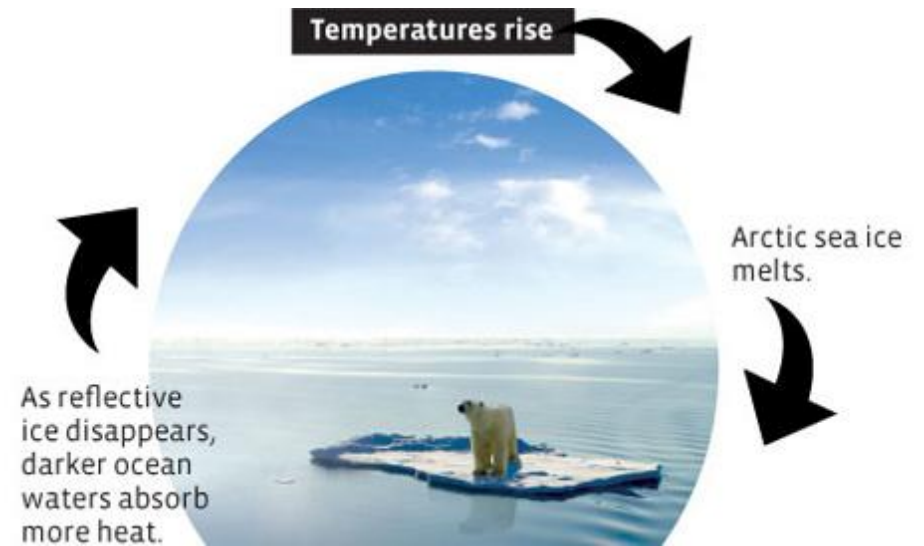
The drill includes military forces from 31 countries and stretches from the Baltic Sea to Iceland

TGAM
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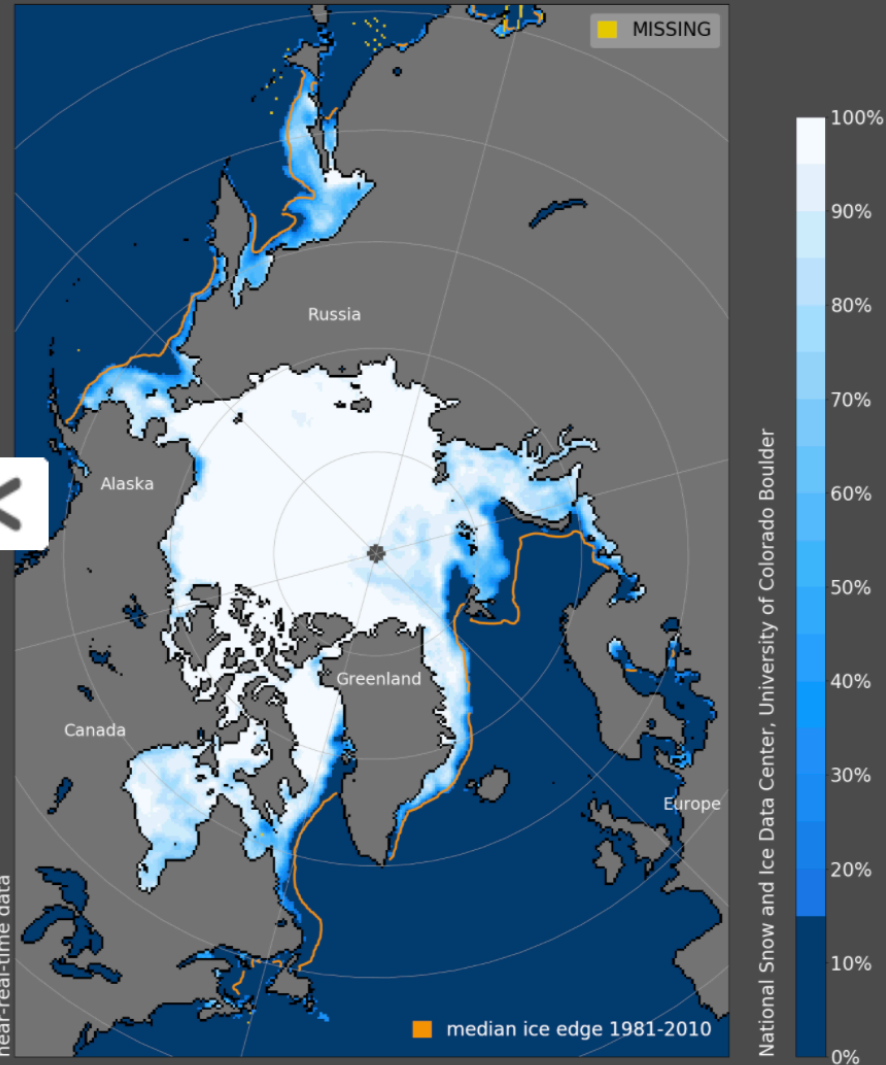


Climate Change

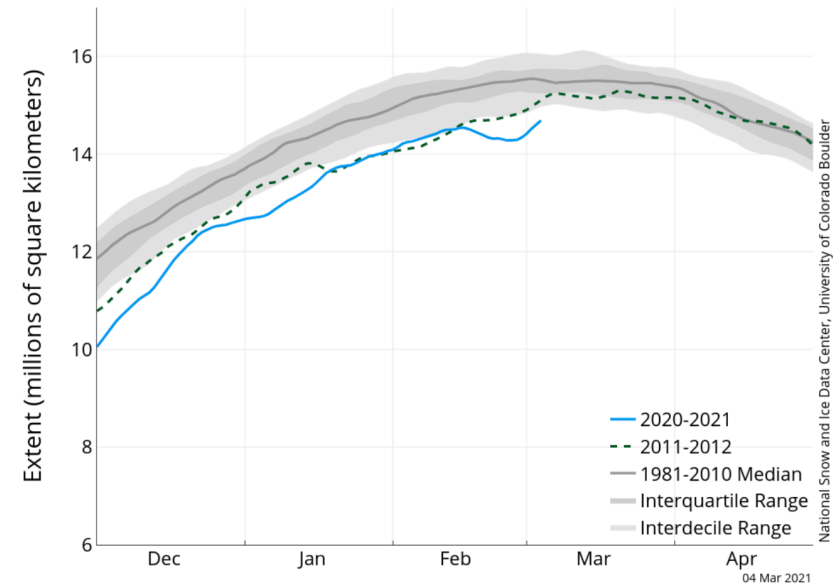
- Arctic is the “canary in the coalmine” of climate change
- Arctic climate change is exceeding predictions and climate models
 - Changes are occurring sooner and more intensely
- Ongoing catastrophic impacts across Arctic ecosystems, including species migration, extinctions, and systems collapse



Sea Ice Concentration, 19 Jan 2021

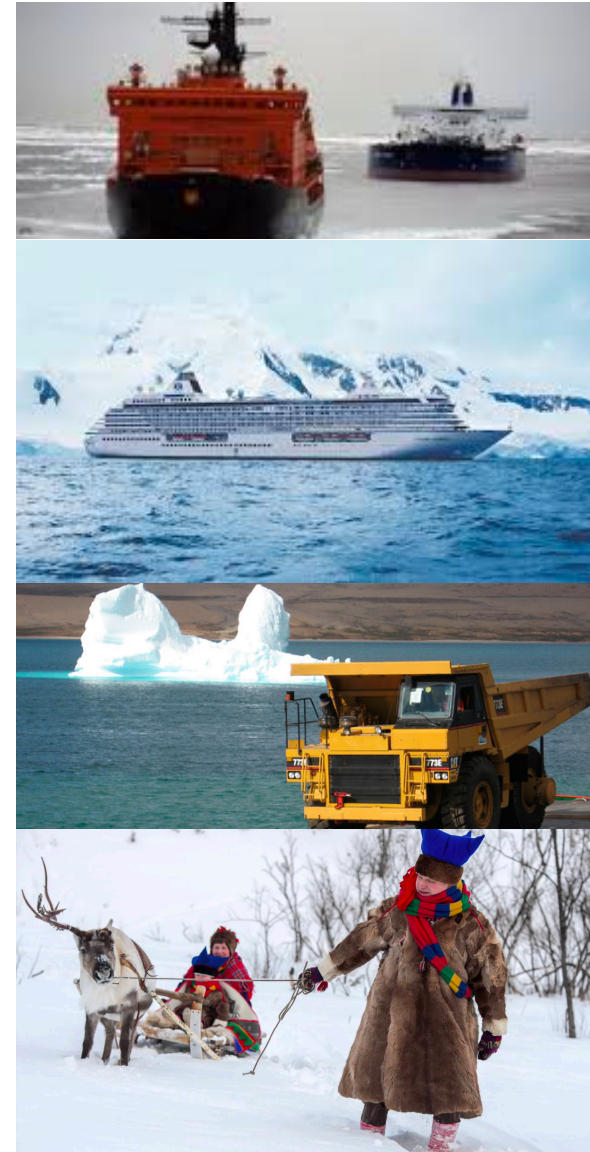


Arctic Sea Ice Extent (Area of ocean with at least 15% sea ice)



- Summer sea ice declining by $\cong 10\%/10$ yrs
- Summer sea has decreased by $\cong 35\text{--}50\%$
- There will likely be ice-free summers in the Arctic by 2035

- Climate change creates new economic opportunities while harming existing economies and subsistence practices
- Fisheries
- Transpolar shipping
- Destinalional tourism
- Mining
- Hydrocarbons
- Traditional Economies
 - Seal hunt
 - Reindeer herding
 - Local/community-based whaling
 - Other subsistence resources



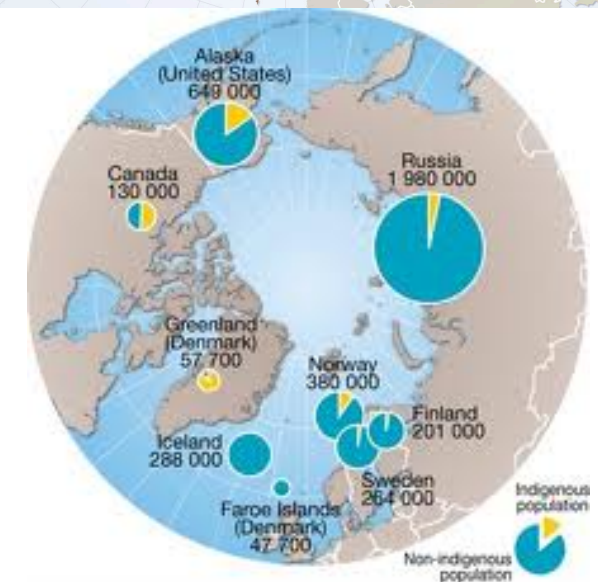
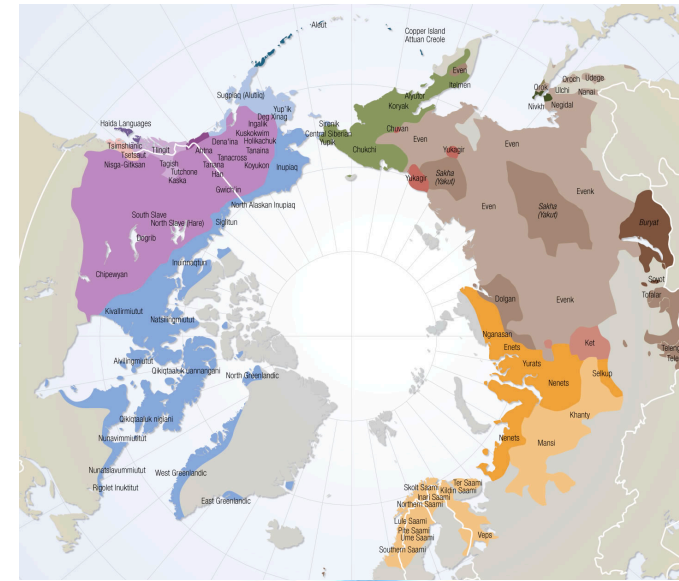
Arctic Fossil Fuels*

- Climate change enabling access to new, offshore fossil fuels
- 13% global undiscovered conventional oil, 30% of natural gas (U.S. Geological Survey 2008)
- Arctic fossil fuels are 50-100% more expensive to extract
- To meet 2° C global warming target in 2015 Paris Agreement “all Arctic [energy] resources should be classified as unburnable” (McGlade and Ekins 2015)



Indigenization

- 400,000 Indigenous people across region
- Dozens of distinct peoples, languages, cultures and histories
- Inhabit 7/8 Arctic states
- Indigenous majority/minority in Greenland, Nunavut, NWT
- Growing Indigenous devolution and self-government
 - Nunavut Land Claim Agreement
 - Norway's *Finnmark Act*
 - Greenland Self Rule
 - Sámi Parliaments



- Recognition and expansion of the political and constitutional rights of Indigenous peoples
 - Domestically: Expanded constitutional rights; political organizing/activism; land claim agreements; self-governing institutions
 - Regionally: 6 Permanent Participants of Arctic Council; membership in other governance bodies
 - Globally: UN *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP); ILO Convention 169
- Arctic Indigenous peoples are most empowered IPs in world; 'rights-holders' not 'stake-holders'

Conclusion

- The Arctic is changing in multiple, profound ways
- The Arctic region is at the centre of numerous global issues and areas of public policy that will affect Canada, and the entire world, throughout the 21st century

Thank you!

