



Vereniging voor de Verenigde Naties

Model United Nations - Flanders, 8th Edition

SIMULATION EXERCISE

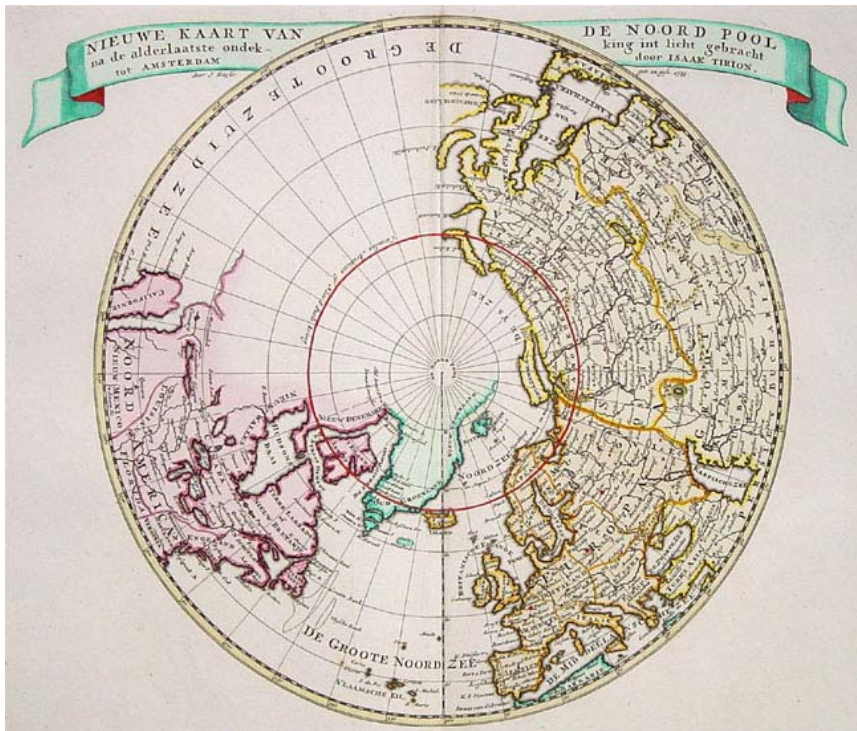
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**EYES
ONLY**

Towards Security in the Arctic Region?

(OXIMUN 2011, adapted and renewed for VvN MUN 2012 –
by Prof. dr. David Crikemans and Benjamin Mols)

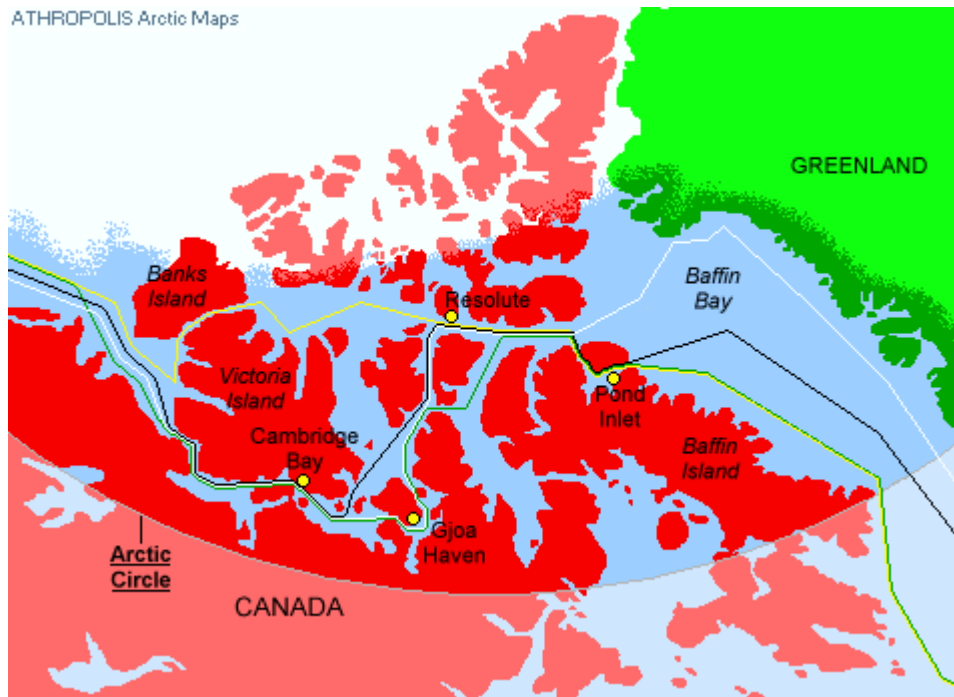
General Characteristics



The Arctic region - comprising the Arctic Ocean and all surrounding land - covers an area that 1/4 of World's landmass (30 million square km). It is home to four million people. 80% of Arctic inhabitants are Russian by nationality, but most of the Arctic lands belong to the Canadian Arctic Archipelago, also referred to as Northern Canada (550,000 million square km). Arctic boundaries are difficult to draw. The delineation

of boundaries between Arctic states remains therefore an unresolved matter. Climate change has made that this region is increasingly accessible, both for possible energy exploitation and for maritime trade routes. The Arctic constitutes one of the planet *last frontiers*, and all states bordering it are racing to make sure they will get their piece of the action. This region entails very serious issues of military security, energy security, environmental security and governance. You have been asked, as a Delegate of your country, to participate in UNSC negotiations on these diverse but interrelated sub-topics.

A pivotal first question constitutes the status of the *North-West Passage* - a crucial trade route where several countries are opting to extend the 200 nautical miles Exclusive Economic Zone limit. Is this an internal Canadian route, or an international maritime route?



The Arctic countries and territories can be divided into those situated entirely within the Arctic Circle (Iceland, Faroe Islands and Greenland) and those which territories transcend the Circle. Both types of countries acquired the title of Arctic states, and form the core of the Arctic Council: the Russian Federation, Norway, Denmark, Canada, USA, Iceland, Finland, Sweden and Finland. One of the distinct features of Arctic demographics is that the Arctic's population is more related to each other, regardless of nationality, in comparison with rest of the population of their respective country. In this light we can also argue that the Arctic is populated mostly by indigenous people whose fertility rate is relatively higher in comparison with the southern population. In regard of average Arctic population, Denmark has the highest density per km². A detailed elaboration of the Arctic's demographics can be found in the Arctic Human Development Report by Dimitry Bogoyavlenskiy: http://www.svs.is/ahdr/ahdr%20chapters/english%20version/AHDR_chp%202.pdf

The Arctic is a bitter cold region where winter rules. Winter temperatures range from -40°C to 0°C, but can even drop further. The land is covered by permafrost, or tundra, making living conditions relatively harsh. Ubiquitous ice however is the primal habitat of a unique fauna and flora. Seals, polar bear, reindeers, walrus, Arctic wolves can be found in the Arctic littoral. Contrary to popular misconception, penguins do not live in the Arctic Circle. Unfortunately, Arctic biodiversity is largely in decline - assessments show a 26% drop in species populations. ⁱ Climate change and increasing human activity in the area, are the causes. Although some species continue to adapt to the changing conditions, the majority of the wildlife cannot endlessly respond to climate change in a sustainable fashion.

Disclaimer: this chapter does not aspire to prove in-depth knowledge of climate change and its consequences for the Arctic. It aims to provide brief background introduction to the issues. For an in depth overview, we strongly suggest you to familiarize yourself with the content of the Extra Reader which was put together for this negotiation.

Arctic Climate Change

Over the last two centuries ⁱⁱ Earth's temperature has increased on average by 0.6°C (1F), putting clear pressure on the Arctic's fragile ecosystems. While global temperatures are expected to increase substantially, an increase is forecasted on the Arctic region with a projected precipitation level of a 20% increase. ⁱⁱⁱ

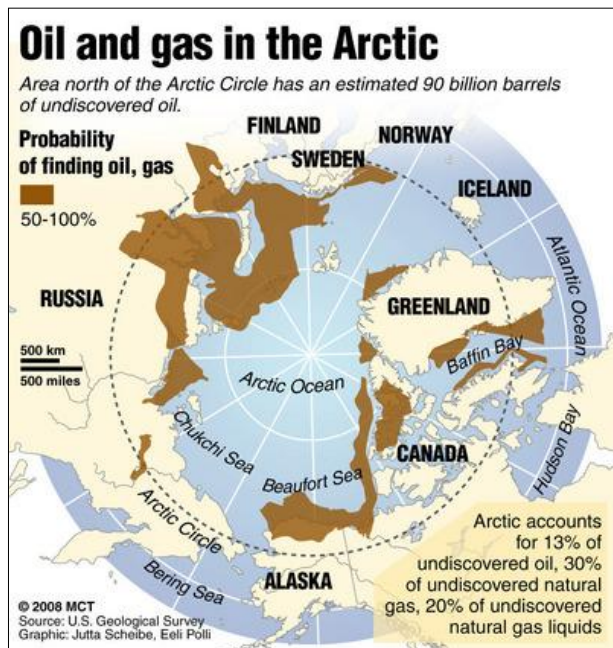


Most scientists agree that global warming will cause a substantial reduction in polar ice within no more than 10 years. During the summer, the North Pole would be completely ice-free. It is all going much faster than one could have thought a few years ago (see also infra; Video 1 and 2). Due to the dramatically decreasing ice cap, the world is now facing very serious environmental threats indeed: i.e. extinction of species, rising water levels, migration of fishing stocks, a speeding up

of climate change, deforestation, as well as certain related security implications. On one hand we note global aims to reduce carbon emissions and the growing prospect to protect endangered species. On the other hand, the earth's growing population is exerting serious pressures on the existing resources. In addition, the instability in Middle Eastern energy producing countries pushes consumer states to look to opportunities elsewhere, e.g. in the North. However, anyone who wants to drill in the Arctic must take into account the region's harsh physical conditions. Remote extraction fields cost much more to operate, and make it hard to export materials because transportation costs. Additionally, they will encounter serious technological constraints. An interesting, additional text on the economic feasibility of Arctic resource exploitation can be found in the *Oil and Gas Financial Journal*:

<http://www.ogfi.com/index/articledisplay/278928/articles/oil-gas-financialjournal/volume-3/issue-12/upstream-news/woodmackenzie-downgrades-arctic-as-energy-supplysource.html>

Arctic Resources



According to the US Geological Survey (USGS), the Arctic contains 25% of World's undiscovered hydrocarbon resources: 90 billion barrels of oil and 1,670 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. The opportunities for oil and gas industries are massive, if they manage to overcome the issues related to exploration restraints. In addition, the Arctic is also rich in organic resources such as fish, timber, and minerals. Mineral deposits comprise of a vast range of crude ores: chromium, iron, lead, magnesium, nickel, zinc etc. In this sense Arctic resources are already heavily exploited by their owners. For example, Canada and Russia produce timber (Russia is the world's biggest forest owner), and both operate diamond mines

on a commercially valuable scale. Moreover, since 10% of the world's fish catch comes from the Arctic Ocean (the High North's fisheries are among the best existing stocks on the planet) fishery constitutes a tangible gain. The Bering Sea supplies a third of Russia's and a half of the United States' total annual catch, while fisheries in the Barents Sea are Norway's second largest earner of foreign exchange. As ice melts and waters warm, fish will move even further northward, making management of these fisheries a potentially contentious issue among Arctic nation." ^{vi}

The US Geological Survey reckons that the Arctic's share in the global conventional resources yet to be found amounts to 13 per cent for crude oil and 30 per cent for natural gas. These resources are probably offshore for the most part (84 per cent). Of the Arctic's natural gas resources, 70 per cent are attributed to the Russian exclusive economic zone (EEZ). Large gas fields have already been discovered in this 200-nautical-mile zone off the coast line, where the littoral nation holds exclusive exploitation rights.



The Arctic may well constitute the "ultimate prize" in the remaining energy resources on the planet, if humanity decides to develop it – that is. Development and consumption of so much fossil resources will of course prolong the current fossil economy and delay the transfer to renewables. Especially Greenpeace and the World Wildlife Fund are actively speaking and campaigning against the development of the Arctic's resources.

The Arctic Council



The Arctic Council is an intergovernmental forum which aims to promote co-operation and interaction between Arctic states with regards to issues concerning the Arctic Circle. The permanent members are: Russian Federation, Norway, Canada, Sweden, Finland, Iceland, Denmark (with representation of Faroe Islands and Greenland), the USA. However, the Council hosts also nonpermanent members and so-called ad hoc members. The former include countries like Poland, France, Germany, Spain, UK and

the Netherlands, multiple international organizations and non-governmental organizations. The council is currently chaired by Sweden. Nonetheless, the Arctic council is considered to be a relatively weak body. As the items on council's agenda do not bring constructive resolutions, member states concentrate on preservation of the environment and on relevant research, leaving much disputed problems to be bolstered behind the curtain of international affairs. Since its creation in 1996 the Council suffered from a lack of support, this in spite of the increasing number of countries aspiring to administer the Arctic region. Applications from countries like China have successfully been filed in, but the voices from within the council do not herald positive news. To sum up: the overall aim of the council - relaxing the tensions and providing sustainable development - has taken its negative turn.

Preservation of Peace in the Arctic

The Arctic is mainly a vacant domain, a wild north where law and order are nebulous. However, thus far, oceans at large have proven to be labor intensive and difficult to govern. It is enough to study the problems of piracy in Somalia or Northeast Asia to observe that it are not only the efforts of coastal guards that preserve order in the waters. The attempts to suppress lawlessness in the seas have been largely futile, and it is difficult to make sense out of the existing web of treaties and agreements concerning maritime management. The prime document addressing a naval practice is the Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) which assembles customary rules into one piece of legislation.

Maritime Dispute Settlement Mechanisms

Territorial claims regarding international waters are read in light of the Convention on the Law of the Sea which settles such disputes with the help of the UN Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf. This convention provides that if a country wishes to extend the limit beyond 200 nautical miles, it may refer its case to be reviewed under Art.76, § 8:

"Information on the limits of the continental shelf beyond 200 nautical miles from the baselines from which the breadth of the territorial sea is measured shall be submitted by the coastal State to the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf set up under Annex II on the basis of equitable geographical representation. The commission shall make recommendations to coastal States on matters related to the establishment of the outer limits of their continental shelf. The limits of the shelf established by a coastal State on the basis of these recommendations shall be final and binding."

However, if two or more countries claim the same marine territory Art.83, § 1 applies: “The delimitation of the continental shelf between States with opposite or adjacent coasts shall be effected by agreement on the basis of international law, as referred to in Article 38 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice, in order to achieve an equitable solution.” The criteria for establishment of outer limits of the continental shelf are included in Annex II of the Final Act of the Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea which took place in 1980. Those however are non-specific and scarce - the emphasis is put on relative equity of delineation. A detailed table of maritime claims under Art.76, § 8 can be found here: http://www.un.org/Depts/los/LEGISLATIONANDTREATIES/PDFFILES/table_summary_of_claims.pdf

Territorial Ambitions and Claims

European Union

The European Union aspires to be a player in the Arctic struggle, and does it via two ways: it pursues its collective authority and aims to influence individual Arctic countries to support EU ambitions. On 20th November 2008 the EU expressed the initiative to subject the Arctic to multinational governance which should be ad-hoc “upgraded and adjusted” to changing realities. The EU is willing to renegotiate the existing web treaties justifying it with environmental concerns, but the existing hunger for resources is clearly evident. They argue for “new specific sectoral instruments” simultaneously hinting that the main aspect is environmental sustainability. The language of resource allocation is however evident, especially in regard talks between the EU and Norway. The Norwegian memorandum, voiced on 12th November 2008, contradicts the views of the European Commission and forcefully states that according to Norwegian government there are no legal gaps regarding the Arctic. ^{vii} Although Norway is not an EU member, the EU does push for increased cooperation between them while reiterating that more written instruments concerning the Arctic are unnecessary. The EU seems to feel threatened by the established treaty between Norway and Russia opening vast areas of the littoral for commercial exploitation. ^{viii} This friction can also be observed vis-à-vis the EU and Canada because of EU-US support to the claim of constituting the North-West Passage to international waters. Further, the EU applied for an observer status in the Arctic Council but its presence has been blocked by Canada because of an earlier EU ban on seal exports.

Russian Federation



Russian appetite for Arctic’s oil resources demonstrated most manifestly amongst all Arctic states. The pace at which the Arctic ice reaches its historic minimum appears to be directly proportional to the tempo of Russian Arctic expansion. The resource-rich region is subjected to intense geological research that will assist Russia back up its territorial claims. Thus far geologists have preliminarily indicated that the Lomonosov Ridge crust structure matches the structure of continental rocks.

Nonetheless, more thorough research is needed to finally affirm those revelations. ^{ix}



According to international law, and if Russia manages to prove that geological structure of oil-rich seabed conforms to the type found on the continental shelf, the area under Arctic Ocean will be considered the extension of Siberia and hence, belong to Russia. However, geologist Boris Morgunov points out some complications, and accordingly warns that *“to determine the ownership of the Lomonosov Ridge more samples from various locations are required.”*

Even if the portions of the ridge belong to Russia there might be vast areas of detachment, so additional drilling must take place to verify the total extent of mainland. Uncertainties related to geological mapping did not prevent Russia from planting its national flag at the bottom of the Arctic Ocean as a part of research operation Arktika 2007. This act, in legal perspective, does not proclaim the land to be Russian, but yet provoked international outrage (Art.77, § 3 of the Convention on the Law of the Sea). However controversial, the expedition was a response to the 2002 decision of the UN Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf. This commission demanded more research. If Russian claims succeed, the country will acquire economic rights which extend to the North Pole. However, Denmark and Norway actively contest Russian claims and carry out their own scientific research.

Canada



Canada is fighting on many fronts to win their alleged territories, and accordingly responds vigorously to any perceived violation of their national sovereignty. Territorial disputes relate to the small, uninhabited Hans Island (vs. Denmark), the status of the Northwest Passage (vs. USA) and a portion of the Beaufort Sea (vs. USA). Prognoses regarding settlement of those conflicts are despairing mainly for two reasons: Firstly, since the USA

has not ratified the earlier mentioned convention the cases cannot go to any tribunal for settlement. Therefore, ratification appears unlikely due to Canada's strong claims which could easily prevail over the issue of the Northwest Passage. Furthermore, Canada is

positioning itself as sensitive and ready to confront any country willing to contest its boundaries. Accordingly, its – conservative guided - government aggressively aims to assert Canadian sovereignty. When in 2009 two Russian Tupolev 95Ms flew over Beaufort Sea, the Canadian Prime Minister took a hard line against Russians stating that *“Canada will not be bullied and expressed “deep concerns our government has with increasingly aggressive Russian actions around the globe and Russian intrusions into our space.”*^x Similar subversive talks could be also heard within the Canadian establishment when American USSS Charlotte crossed into Canadian territorial waters after spending two weeks in the Arctic region.^{xii} Canadian sentiment in respect to the Arctic makes them perceive foreign actions more negatively. The country is not going to give up easily on contentious areas. Canada’s Arctic Policy Pamphlet can be found on:

http://www.international.gc.ca/polarpolaire/assets/pdfs/CAFP_brochure_PECA-eng.pdf

United States of America

The United States of America (USA) did not ratify and hence, is not bound by the Convention. Nor, have they filed a claim to the Commission. Ratification of the Convention constitutes the backbone of contention for the Arctic - territorial disputes with Canada could be promptly resolved before a Tribunal if the USA had ratified the Convention. Meanwhile, the Americans concentrate on Arctic research in and around Alaska, and play a nuclear cat and mouse with Russian nuclear submarines. Since the Bush administration the USA follows the National Security Presidential Directive (NSPD) 66, which handles of national security and environment protection. However, as one can read from Centre for Strategic and International Studies documents,^{xiii} the USA’s strategic interests in the Arctic are only partially referable to the official policy. On one hand the USA wants to prevent contraband, drug-smuggling, human trafficking and pollution in the Arctic and addresses concerns related to that. On the other hand it officially downplays the significance of Arctic trading routes which “overlooks” the competitors. Nevertheless, the Presidential Directive speaks openly that the USA must “assert a more active and influential national presence to protect its Arctic interests and project sea power throughout the region.”^{xiv}

Prioritization of Arctic research seems therefore imminent. American Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, already levied tensions between Arctic states in March 2010 during the Ottawa Conference. There she expressed here discontent over the Canadian invitation for new states to the Arctic Council, emphasizing that only countries with “legitimate interests” should be included in the council.^{xv} In the line of this she did not welcomed the presence of Iceland, Sweden, Finland and the representation of indigenous. It is more than clear that the USA is against the Arctic Council growing power and prefers a more forum-like discussion body.

The United States has broad and fundamental national security interests in the Arctic region and is prepared to operate either independently or in conjunction with other states to safeguard these interests. These interests include such matters as missile defense and early warning; deployment of sea and air systems for strategic sealift, strategic deterrence, maritime presence, and maritime security operations; and ensuring freedom of navigation and overflight. The complete United States Arctic Policy of 2009 can be found in full via:



In May 2011, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton visited the Arctic Region. "From a strategic standpoint, the Arctic has an increasing geopolitical importance as countries vie to protect their rights and extend their influence," Clinton told reporters in Oslo. "We want to work with Norway and the Arctic Council to help manage these changes and to agree on what would be, in effect, the rules of the road in the Arctic, so new developments are economically sustainable and environmentally

responsible", she added. The Obama Administration has pushing to ratify the UNCLOS-treaty, but critics on Capitol Hill say it would impinge on US sovereignty.

China

The Chinese Arctic and Antarctic Administration (CAA) takes clear pride in China's scientific contributions in the Arctic region, and highlights the establishment of four Arctic expeditions (in 1997, 2003, 2008 and 2010). China, a country without easily recognizable rights to the Arctic, first laid a claim in March 2010 when Admiral Yin Zhuo voiced that "the Arctic belongs to all people around the world."^{xvi} The overall stakes remain high - if their claims prevail - and the assumptions are that China might go ahead in demanding a share of the Arctic proportional to its population size. China bases its perceptions on the interpretation of the Convention on the Law of the Sea, which must be approached dubious but might be successful. Other Asian states, such as South Korea and Japan, simultaneously have filed an application to become permanent observers in the Arctic Council in 2009, and may support China's fawned interpretation of the Convention in the hope to secure more resources. Although the overall opinion is that China has not yet developed a clear Arctic policy, several diplomats are arguing that the turnaround in China's attitude is clearly remarkable.^{xvii} It is therefore generally perceived that China will play a leading role in the debates and might act as an inspiration for those who would want to see the Arctic as a communally shared asset.

China's recently renewed its strategic interest in the north. The most recent manifestation is the current voyage of the world's largest icebreaker, the *Xuelong* to Iceland. The *Xuelong* left Qingdao July 2 for the 17,000 km voyage through the so-called "north-east" route along the coast of Russia. This follows on earlier Chinese interest in Arctic research going back to the 1990s. Another element of China's northern strategy is its push to be accepted as a permanent observer at the Arctic Council. China's interests in the Arctic, whether regarding possibilities for expanded navigation and shipping, access to resources, concerns over the environmental impact of the melting ice packs or possibly even defence and security issues in the region, are only going to grow.

Arctic Military Security

In spite of the increased threat and manifestations of territorial ambition, the issue of who can control the Arctic is highly dependent on military potential. Although the Arctic does not let any ship enter its pristine waters, as such amphibious warfare is highly depended on specific technology. Military speaking, there are only two ways to manoeuvre in the region - by air, using bombers, and beneath the surface, using submarines.

Bombers and Submarines



Bombers are easy to detect on radar and can be intercepted by air-to-air fighters. Moreover, the extensiveness of the Arctic requires military planes to have an intercontinental range in order to operate, which is clear restriction to their employment.

Submarines are of more applicable in the Arctic region - there is no way of monitoring or identifying them, interception is not possible either. Stealth is the key aspect as submarines are ineffective if they cannot avoid detection. Submarines are also capable of undertaking prolonged missions. For example: in their efforts to monitor the Arctic the USA keeps their submarines submerged for periods longer than 100 days. However, only nuclear-powered submarines can 'survive' in the Arctic. This means that only the US, France, Russia and the UK are able to patrol this region.



Russian Federation

At the moment Russia possesses 77 high range strategic bombers, only 14 of which are TU-160's (NATO designation "Blackjack"), which are modern enough, yet too few, to pose a threat to North American air defenses.^{xviii} The remaining 63 bombers are TU-95 which are too outdated to be classed as modern typed bombers. However, both types possess the nuclear capability and can carry all of the 856 Russian nuclear warheads, most of which are long-range cruise missiles. Despite the fact that Russian strategic nuclear force is virtually obsolete - none of the equipment has a truly intercontinental range without being placed outside Russia first - the operations outside and inside Russian airspace are increasing in frequency. Russian patrols in the Arctic region itself have amounted to the total of 30 since 2007 - twice as much as between the end of Cold War and 2006. ^{xix} Controversy and confusion surround the submarine component of Russian fleet. What is known is that Russia maintains 10 missile submarines which are equipped with 160 submarine-launched ballistic missiles carrying 576 nuclear warheads. ^{xx} This means that Russian submarines carry around 23% of the country's strategic warheads. Most of their equipment dates back to the Cold War, although the government decided to modify land-based Topol-M and 3M14 Bulava, and completed them in 2007. ^{xxi} It is predicted that the production of warheads will going to increase exponentially within the next decade. The critical fact about Russian presence in the region is related to the location of their strategic facilities and bases. Nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of their submarine forces belong to the Northern Fleet with almost all bases positioned in the Arctic Circle. Its main facilities can be found in the vicinity of Murmansk and Kola Peninsula.

United States of America

In contrast with the Russians' focus on land-based nuclear weapons, the United States has taken submarines as the platform of choice. The USA operates a fleet of 14 Ohio class Trident missile submarines that carry an estimated 1,152 warheads, or 43% of the operational US arsenal. ^{xxii} Since the Cold War the USA never diminished its nuclear-based submarines potential. In fact the rates are at comparable levels. Their specific submarine patrols in the Arctic are more frequent than patrols of all other countries put together. However, it is more difficult for Americans to patrol the Arctic. They have to leave from Bangor, Washington, which includes a passing through the narrow Bering Strait. Hence, when the USA patrols the Arctic they locate their "patrol boxes" within the Pacific side. This also inclines that US submarines are disadvantaged in versus Russian or European fleets.

United Kingdom

The British submarine fleet is the only nuclear arsenal that the country deploys. They have a fleet of 4 Trident submarines, with one patrol applied at all times. Although British SSBNs are just as slow as American ones, they could enter Arctic waters more easily due to the location of their ports. The British fleet is integrated with American one, and they combine D-5 and approx. 200 warheads with the US stockpile. ^{xxiii}

France

France relies almost exclusively on their submarines to deploy their nuclear stock. The fleet accounts for 4 nuclear missile submarines that carry 240 out of 300 domestic warheads.

Arctic Military Contingents

To be able to explore the Arctic one needs to possess ice-capable ships, deep-water ports and staff trained to perform under Arctic conditions. Nowadays all Arctic nations purchase items and conduct military exercises suitable for combat in extreme winter conditions. Norway has recently bought 48 Lockheed Martin F-35 fighter jets because of their suitability to patrol the Arctic while Canada aims to finalize its Northern Watch Program which involves planting listening devices and sensors to detect submarines on Devon Island by 2012. Russians and Danes declared to have created special military forces to defend their Arctic claims. In accordance, military exercises are being carried out by all countries without exception. The Arctic therefore continues to be a site of intense military exercises and is widely exploited as a transit route for nuclear material. Exactly these security and environmental reasons have pushed the Canadian Pugwash Group to call the international community to establish the Arctic Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone and laid out preconditions for its establishment in 2008.^{xxiv} Currently, there are six Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone agreements in force that may serve as a guide or inspiration in creation of a similar zone in the Arctic:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| - 1967 Treaty of Tlateloco, | - 1995 Treaty of Bangkok, |
| - 1985 Treaty of Rarotonga, | - 1996 Treaty of Pelindaba, |
| - 1992 Declaration on the | - 2006 Treaty of Semipaltinsk. |
| Denuclearization of Korea, | |

Other demilitarisation agreements also concern resembling areas like Antarctica (the 1959 Treaty), Outer Space (the 1967 Treaty), Seabed (the 1971 Treaty) and the Moon (the 1979 Agreement). There is also a web of UN Resolutions that encourages and paves the way for the establishment of such zones World-Wide. The principles however are delineated in the cornerstone piece of legislation: the 1975 General Assembly Resolution 3474 (XXX). This will not be elaborated here in great detail. It is enough to mention that the efforts to establish such a zone may be undertaken regionally, by small groups or by individual states, which allows a great deal of flexibility to those wishing to create a NWFZ. This all led to the development of the so-called "Tlateloco model" which enables gradual expansion of NWFZs where certain countries might join later than others. The element of suspense built into the model is an arena for manipulation and may lead to abuse. The efforts to create a NWFZ have been undertaken by several individual countries. Despite "Thulegate"^{xxv}, Denmark is forwarding to the World official 1988 policy of no-tolerance towards nuclear weapons on its territory. The introduction of nuclear weapons remains forbidden, as well as ships carrying them are likely to be redirected to other ports. During the 2009 conference in Copenhagen, Danish institutes proposed seven recommendations on the creation of an Arctic NWFZ.^{xxvi} Denmark initiated similar approaches in the neighbouring countries: Norway, Iceland and Sweden also attach themselves to nuclear free Arctic movement. Denmark may grow to be an even more important actor since it is going to head the Arctic Council for the coming term. Furthermore, it is projected by academics^{xxvii} that either Denmark or Canada ought to be the president factor that brings countries together to sketch the Arctic NWFZ Treaty. Denmark is therefore viewed generally favorably *inter alia* because of their significant input that inhabitants of Greenland may bring into environment protection business and then, by extension, opposing nuclear material from the Arctic. On the other hand, Canada has a history of brave disarmament initiatives, such as the promotion of the Land Mines Treaty^{xxviii}

and can easily gain authority by recalling those achievements. However, any country drafting the Arctic NWFZ Treaty is going to face clear challenges of technical, geographical and political nature. The problems with establishing such a zone are numerous and largely region specific:

a) Russian bases, which host ballistic missile submarines and weapon storage facilities, are located in the Arctic Circle and their relocation would face several obstacles. SSBNs and other nuclear facilities can only be relegated to the Pacific Fleet which are located thousands of miles away from the Northern Fleet bases. The insuperable obstacle is the Russian infrastructure or rather the lack of it. Russian command centres are placed near Moscow and it is hard to imagine Russia being persuaded to abandon their home ports in favor of ports so remote as to diminish control over their active facilities. Moreover, the relocation would potentially encourage the expansion of the Chinese navy and pose a threat to Japanese submarine fleet.

b) All the previous Nuclear Free Zone Treaties are deliberately silent about submarine transit, and seem to accept the fact that no country will ever disclose the whereabouts of submarine movements. Regardless of their military suitability, the secrecy of the vessels constitutes its sole defense. Furthermore, there is virtually no technical possibility to install anti-submarine sonar because the modern submarines are made out of non-magnetic components. An Arctic Nuclear Free Zone Treaty would have to face this problem since no provision against nuclear transit would repudiate the purpose of such treaty.

c) Paradoxically membership to NATO may become a problem since the signatories are bound by NATO military doctrine, the so called "NATO Strategic Concept." The doctrine precludes that nuclear weapons are a necessary deterrent and hence, "essential to preserve peace."^{xxix} NATO allies are permitted to use them whenever they are deemed military necessary. Hence, membership to NATO constitutes an obstacle on two levels - firstly, historically, due to military alliance to the USA, countries like Norway or Denmark never went forward with any security initiative without acquiescence of the USA. Secondly, any Arctic Nuclear Free Zone Treaty must have been necessarily drafted in a spirit incompatible with the NATO's Strategic Concept. The implications of "belonging to NATO" is putting some Arctic states in a difficult position. On one hand, they must inevitably hold a common block but that appears to be increasingly difficult if the USA denounces to declare Alaska nuclear-free, which is projected to be a forecast for the future.

d) Any draft of such treaty should be written bearing in mind previous withdrawals from alike treaties. The Russian Federation and USA have a history of abandoning post-Cold War treaties concerning cuts in nuclear arsenals. Russians repudiated the 1993 START II treaty (do not confuse it with New START which is a second START treaty) almost immediately after Americans declared withdrawal from 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. To avoid limbo the Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty (SORT) was introduced as an interim agreement.

However, this is a rusty piece of legislation. SORT does not outline precisely which warheads are to be destroyed - does not mentions types or configurations, and imposes loose restrictions where both parties are prohibited to have more than 2,200 deployed warheads.

The vagueness of this agreement left many issues open for distinct interpretation. Are countries obliged to reduce only strategically deployed launch vehicles? What about those in storage but although “active”? It has to be kept in mind that even “inactive” warheads can be deployed after a couple of weeks’ time. Think of so called “secondary” or “inactive” warheads as of empty shells - before they become operative they require the explosive material of the warhead (tritium) to be put in. The process of replenishing tritium to maintain warheads active is a difficult one so it might be strategically beneficial to keep vast resources in an “inactive” state to concentrate resources when the time comes. ^{xxx} Hence, any treaty that aims to achieve the overall reduction of arms in the region has to be concerned about both “active” and “inactive” warheads, and storage and replenishment capacities of actors. The treaty that replaced SORT poses similar questions. New START, that came into force at 5th February 2011, requires that the USA and Russia will reduce their weapons to 1,550, and it develops specific new inspection mechanisms. However, it does not cover the treatment of “inactive” arsenals, and makes it possible for both countries to keep all of the nuclear warheads strategically deployed. The Treaty leaves plenty of room for expansion of tactical systems and critically for the Arctic - the launchers on nuclear submarines will be removed but will not retire.^{xxxi} Although the Treaty is a positive step toward disarmament the case of compliance remains a question of speculation.

e) Nuclear weapons are not the only nuclear material present in the Arctic. The Cold War left a sad legacy. The Arctic has been treated as a open highway for all sorts of materials and nowadays this mentality still has not been changed. For example: the Japanese use Arctic littoral to transport cargos containing reactor cores to Mayak for reprocessing. These shippings of radioactive material for civilian purposes have a clear impact on the Arctic’s ecosphere, and hence passage rights would be interfering in the case of a possible Arctic Nuclear-Free zone.

f) Given Chinese claims to the Arctic it is worrying that China has failed to ratify or comply with certain agreements concerning the use and exploitation of nuclear materials. Those include the Comprehensive Ban Agreement, Resolutions 1540 and 1763, and the Hague Code of Conduct against Ballistic Missile Proliferation. However thus far most of Chinese ballistic is composed out of short-range missiles. More recently China actively pursued a submarine-launched ballistic missile JL-2 to equip Jin-class submarines. Moreover, China is working closer than ever with Russia to develop cruise missiles with a view to use them in (joint) operations. Draftsmen of any potential Arctic Nuclear Free Zone Treaty need to be aware that if Chinese territorial claims to the Arctic turn successful, the task of establishing a nuclear free zone may be even more difficult to achieve.

g) The status of the Northwest Passage plays a crucial role in shaping related international law. If Canadian sovereignty claims prevails Canada will have a right to deny passage to nuclear, radioactive material. When this long-standing dispute is resolved in favour of the USA, and the EU who argues to acknowledge this channel as a part of international waters, the power balance shift away from Canada and bring a nuclear USA a one step closer to the Arctic.

h) Finally, the Arctic is largely an uninhabited area and hence, an excellent place for military exercises and testing. Therefore, it is a fairly self-evident reason for military pursuant nations not to give up on such a juicy piece.

Beware of the Dynamics in the Decision-making Arena!

The Emergency Session of the UNSC (VVN MUN) on the topic '*Towards Security in the Arctic Region*' will convene in the Flemish city of Bruges.



The UN Security Council consists of five permanent members (the so-called “P-5”, with veto powers); **the People’s Republic of China, the Republic of France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States.**



Furthermore, the UNSC consists of an additional ten non-permanent members; currently **Azerbaijan, Colombia, Germany, Guatemala, India, Morocco, Pakistan, Portugal, South Africa, Togo.**

In addition, a number of delegations will also be invited to the work of the Security Council during the negotiations, a representative of the following countries: **Argentina, Australia, Canada, Denmark, Iceland, Greenpeace, Norway, Sweden, and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF).**

Be aware that these invited delegations can be a source of advice and/or exert informal pressures on the negotiations. However, they do *not* have any voting powers in the UNSC...

At the end of the day, it will thus be upon the 15 to (try to) decide upon an international course of action to safeguard peace and stability. The presidency of the Security Council will be observed by a number of professors, together with 2 vice-presidents (assistants).

The distribution of the delegations among the different Flemish universities is as follows:

 Universiteit Antwerpen	 Vrije Universiteit Brussel	 UNIVERSITEIT GENT	 KATHOLIEKE UNIVERSITEIT LEUVEN
Russian Federation	People's Republic of China	United Kingdom	United States of America
		France	
Pakistan	Togo	South Africa	Morocco
Germany	India	Guatemala	Portugal
	Colombia	Azerbeidzjan	
Argentina	Denmark	Australia	World Wildlife Fund
Canada	Greenpeace		Sweden
Iceland			Norway

The Role of the Security Council in this Case, and Your Role

In light of all these developments, **it is decided that the UN Security Council (UNSC) will again convene to assess the current situation, and possibly to vote a resolution on this topic.** It is important for all delegations to distinguish the different security dimensions embedded within this case. Three to four sub-themes and one general overarching theme can be distinguished; (1°) MILITARY SECURITY: THE CURRENT ARMS RACE (1.a.) & THE POSSIBILITY OF A NUCLEAR WEAPON FREE ZONE (1.b.), (2°) ENERGY SECURITY, (3°) ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY. The general overarching theme concerns the FUTURE OF GOVERNANCE IN THE ARCTIC.

Together with your colleagues, you will thus have to come to a decision concerning the following questions (beware that these questions are interconnected);

1. *MILITARY SECURITY, THE CURRENT ARMS RACE: How can the military use of the Arctic be regulated in such a way that it does not endanger world peace or regional stability? Better and more transparent coordination of military patrols and defense activities could be an option, but also other measures could be imagined. This question becomes all the more important as a result of issues such as the melting of the ice on the North Pole, the opening up of the North-West Passage and the North-East Passage, etc.*
2. *MILITARY SECURITY, THE POSSIBILITY OF A NUCLEAR WEAPON FREE ZONE: Is a nuclear disarmament initiative for the Arctic Region a goal for the future? If yes, what should be the timetable and which appropriate measures could be taken so as to reach this goal?*
3. *ENERGY SECURITY: How should disputes about sovereignty and exploitation rights be settled, so as to create more energy security? Among these are maritime boundaries between some of the Arctic states, the boundaries of the respective continental shelf zones, as well as the legal status of the North-West Passage and North-East Passage and of the maritime area of the Spitzbergen Treaty.*
4. *ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY: How can environmental security be achieved in this region? Different factors are relevant in this discussion; (a°) sustainable utilization of Arctic resources – at the international level primarily in connection with offshore oil and gas production, (b°) the impact of Climate Change, which has a severe impact upon biodiversity in the region, and thus also upon environmental security of the planet, (c°) even if sovereignty and exploitation rights in the arctic passages were settled, the need for regulation of Arctic shipping would remain. This involves maritime safety, protection of the marine environment, and the infrastructure required for shipping lanes. Can the UN Security Council work out some GENERAL PRINCIPLES so as to enhance environmental security in the region, for the safety of the planet and humanity?*

5. OVERARCHING QUESTION: Can the UN Security Council agree upon some essential options for the future of governance in the Arctic? What should be the guiding principles? Humrich and Wolf distinguish in 'Meltdown to Showdown? Challenges and options for governance in the Arctic' (LAST TEXT IN THE READER), SIX possible scenarios:

(1) Cooled down relationships in the Arctic and minimal cooperation. In this scenario governance is exercised at the national level only. International cooperation only occurs to a limited degree and for specific purposes. Management of peaceful coexistence dominates the governance agenda. Such a development is neither desirable nor likely.

(2) Nationalization within the framework of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. In this scenario the five Arctic rim states extend their national maritime zones geographically as far as possible, finally encompassing the entire Arctic Ocean, and also push their sovereign rights and control within their zones as far as international law would possibly permit. Governance is carried out within the framework of international treaties, but remains limited to the national level in all issues going beyond the division of sovereignty and exploitation rights, i.e. limited to the management of co-existence. Only to the extent made necessary by cross-border problems, cooperation with the neighbor in question is carried out on an informal, bilateral basis. However, with regard to the goals of sustainable development and the freedom and self-determination of Arctic indigenous peoples, this scenario is unsatisfactory..

(3) An Arctic Treaty mimicking the Antarctic Treaty. In many respects, this model is the opposite of scenario B. According to this model all interested states could participate in an Arctic Treaty, even though there might be differing levels of membership as in the Antarctic case. However, the purpose would be shared administration of a common interest or human heritage. As with the Antarctic Treaty, wide-ranging goals of peace and environmental protection would be envisaged. Such a model is currently politically infeasible. However, a further argument against it is that appropriate recognition of the self-determination of the indigenous peoples would become problematic.

(4) An Arctic Treaty as a Regional Seas Convention. While an Antarctic treaty model has global reach, this model represents a regional version of regulation by treaty. Membership would be limited to the Arctic states only; the treaty would be functionally comprehensive and encompass common values of the Arctic states. The OSPAR Convention could provide an instructive and reasonably successful example. Here too, however, the problem of the participation of indigenous peoples would remain, as they would presumably not be included as legal subjects in an international legal treaty. Lack of flexibility could also have a negative effect on the challenges of sustainable development.

(5) Actor-centered cooperation in an Arctic regional organization based on the Arctic Council. Instead of a regional institution based on legal treaties a form of governance could be chosen which would largely function through the effective use and coordination of already existing networks of actors. Indigenous peoples, scientists, NGOs, Arctic regions, Arctic members of parliament, governments and relevant administrative units or agencies would govern the Arctic cooperatively and informally through focused networks and committees. However, existing soft law regulation by the Arctic Council is already inadequate in terms of the regulation that is needed, and further development into a regional organization along the lines of an Arctic EU is completely utopian.

(6) A model of integrated multi-level governance in the Arctic. In this model existing initiatives are built upon. Each different governance challenge would be solved in a functionally specific way at the level appropriate to it, while levels and sectoral approaches would be harmonized and integrated in such a way that governance activities with different participants at each level or in specific sectors would not develop centrifugal tendencies and threaten cooperation as a whole.

<p><u>Can the UN Security Council come to a conclusion regarding what kind of scenario should be pursued, so as to achieve security in the Arctic region?</u></p>



The United Nations Security Council will convene in an **Emergency Meeting in Bruges** in an attempt to develop a common answer from the international community to this volatile crisis. A Plenary Session will give each of the member-countries of the UN Security Council an opportunity to influence the course of current international politics. Some other countries will also be invited

by the 15 to have a say, although they will themselves not be deciding parties. You will act as the Ambassador of one of the 15, or of an invited delegation. Be aware, however, that negotiations constitute a *dynamic process*; it will be up to you to defend the interests of your country/delegation! You and only you will also be answerable for your actions to your own Government upon returning to your capital.

Thus, much is at stake... It will therefore prove crucial that you reflect in advance about the strategy you will follow during the deliberations. For this purpose, you will be asked to write a *position paper* in preparation of the Emergency Meeting. The position papers will be officially distributed in advance. The strategy papers however should be considered top secret material which can only circulate *within* and *not between* delegations.

It is very probable that the UNSC will move from a formal setting to an informal setting during its deliberations. This is called '*caucusing*', a setting which can be suggested by one or more of the delegations. There are two forms of '*caucusing*'; moderated and unmoderated. Both are informal ways of negotiating. The difference can be stated quite simply; (1) a '*moderated caucus*' is led by the presidency around the negotiating table, (2) an '*unmoderated caucus*' can be seen as an interaction between delegations away from the negotiating table (the presidency thus has no role to play in an '*unmoderated caucus*').

When you return to a formal setting, be aware that a resolution is adopted if 9 out of 15 votes are in favour and if there is no veto. Any amendments will be voted upon before the resolution has become final. In procedural matters, a veto cannot be used. The presidency calls the meeting to order and as it proposed this emergency session of the Council, he/she will speak up first. After this opening address the permanent members will take the floor, followed-up by the non-permanent members.

The final goal of the negotiations should be the drafting of a UNSC resolution. If this would ultimately prove politically and/or technically unattainable, the negotiating parties can draw up statements, on their own or as a group. If a resolution is attainable, the negotiating parties can also issue explanatory statements. *Last but not least*, if certain countries were to agree upon separate 'secret' deals during the Emergence Session in Brussels, the parties involved will be asked to disclose the content of their arrangements during the evaluation *after* the negotiations, so that a full *group-evaluation* of the political process can be made, all the cards on the table.

A final piece of advice; be aware that the negotiations can also be affected by 'new developments on the ground'. You must therefore '*be prepared for anything*'.

Extra Reader: your essential guide to a negotiated settlement

All delegations are advised to familiarize themselves with the content of a separate READER which has been established especially for this negotiation. It offers all delegations more insight information in the topic, and possible solutions.

I. GENERAL

1. GRATZ, J. (2012) The Arctic: Thaw with Conflict Potential, *CSS Analysis in Security Policy*, n° 118, July 2012, 4 p.
2. HOLTSMARK, S. G. (2009) Towards cooperation or confrontation? Security in the High North, *Research Paper – NATO Defense College*, No. 45, 12 p.
3. ROSAMOND, A. B. (2011) Perspectives on Security in the Arctic Area, *DIIS Report 2011:09*, Danish Institute for International Studies, 78 p.
4. STRANDBJERG, J. (2010) Cartography and Geopolitics in the Arctic Region, *DIIS Working Paper 2010:20*, Danish Institute for International Studies, 22 p.

II. THEMES

II.A. Environmental Security

5. CALLSEN, C. (2007) Climate Change and Security Policy, *CSS Analyses in Security Policy*, Vol. 2, No. 26, December 2007, 4 p.

II.B. Energy Security

6. BEARY, B. (2008) Race for the Arctic. Who Owns the Region's Undiscovered Oil and Gas?, *CQ Global Researcher*, Vol. 2, N° 8, pp. 213-242.

II.C. Military Security

7. WEZEMAN, S. T. (2012) Military Capabilities, *SIPRI Background Paper*, 16 p.
8. VESTERGAARD, C. (2010) Conference on an Arctic Nuclear-Weapon-Free-Zone, Copenhagen, 10-11 August 2009, *DIIS Report*, 2010:03, 134 p.

III. COUNTRY POSITIONS OF CENTRAL PLAYERS

III.A. Canada

9. DOLATA-KREUTZKAMP, P. (2009) "The Arctic is Ours": Canada's Arctic Policy – Between Sovereignty and Climate Change, *Fokus Canada*, Friedrich Erbert Stiftung, n°2-2009, 6 p.

III.B. Russian Federation

10. KEFFERPÜTZ, R. (2010) On Thin Ice? (Mis)inter-preting Russian Policy in the High North, *CEPS Policy Brief*, n°205, February 2010, 10 p.
11. BAEV, P. K. (2010) Russia's Arctic Policy. Geopolitics, Mercantillism and Identity-Building, *Briefing Paper 73*, The Finnish Institute of International Affairs, 8 p.

III.C. United States of America

12. BERT, M. (2012) *Policy Innovation Memorandum n°14: A Strategy to Advance the Arctic Economy*. Washington, Council on Foreign Relations, 4 p.

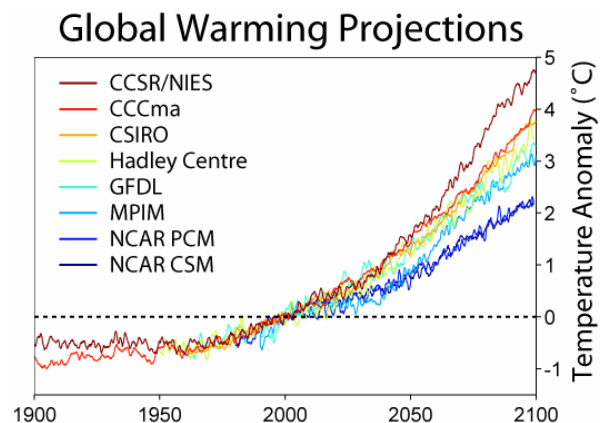
III.D. China

13. JACOBSON, L. (2010) China Prepares for an Ice-Free Arctic, *SIPRI Insights on Peace and Security*, N°2010/2, March 2010, 16 p.

IV. POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS?

14. HUMRICH, C., WOLF, K. D. (2012) *From Meltdown to Showdown? Challenges and options for governance in the Arctic. PRIF Report 113*. Frankfurt: Peace Research Institute Frankfurt: 50 p.

Extra Video's on the topic (for use in class)



- VIDEO 1: Arctic sea ice: climate change, oil and trade (GENERAL OVERVIEW)
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VTHsd9wiyio&feature=related>
- VIDEO 2: BBC Newsnight: Wikileaks files reveal Arctic 'carve up' (VERY INTERESTING ANALYSIS)
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z1eL3_Q4aVY&feature=related
- VIDEO 3: Scrambling for the Arctic (Al Jazeera)
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TwpROrFFABI&feature=related>
- VIDEO 4: NASA: Arctic Ocean Could be Mostly Ice Free in 2013
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ztz3ZdPbdKo&feature=related>
- VIDEO 5: TED TALK Gore (2012) on Climate Change
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=splKGWuErnM&feature=related>

Good luck!

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http://csis.org/files/publication/100426_Conley_USStrategicInterests_Web.pdf
- vii "Environment Pushes EU to Become an Arctic Player" 04.12.2008, Available at:
<http://www.euractiv.com/en/energy/environment-pushes-euarctic-player/article-177438>
- viii "Norway, Russia seal a Arctic Border Accord", 10.09.2010, Available at:
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- xi M.Wallace and S.Staples, "Ridding the Arctic of Nuclear Weapons. A Task Long Overdue", Rideau Institute, March 2010
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<http://the-diplomat.com/2010/03/09/china's-arctic-play/>
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