

THE FAST-CHANGING ARCTIC: RETHINKING ARCTIC SECURITY FOR A WARMER WORLD

Edited by Barry Scott Zellen

ISBN 978-1-55238-647-7

THIS BOOK IS AN OPEN ACCESS E-BOOK. It is an electronic version of a book that can be purchased in physical form through any bookseller or on-line retailer, or from our distributors. Please support this open access publication by requesting that your university purchase a print copy of this book, or by purchasing a copy yourself. If you have any questions, please contact us at ucpress@ucalgary.ca

Cover Art: The artwork on the cover of this book is not open access and falls under traditional copyright provisions; it cannot be reproduced in any way without written permission of the artists and their agents. The cover can be displayed as a complete cover image for the purposes of publicizing this work, but the artwork cannot be extracted from the context of the cover of this specific work without breaching the artist's copyright.

COPYRIGHT NOTICE: This open-access work is published under a Creative Commons licence.

This means that you are free to copy, distribute, display or perform the work as long as you clearly attribute the work to its authors and publisher, that you do not use this work for any commercial gain in any form, and that you in no way alter, transform, or build on the work outside of its use in normal academic scholarship without our express permission. If you want to reuse or distribute the work, you must inform its new audience of the licence terms of this work. For more information, see details of the Creative Commons licence at: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU **MAY**:

- read and store this document free of charge;
- distribute it for personal use free of charge;
- print sections of the work for personal use;
- read or perform parts of the work in a context where no financial transactions take place.

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU **MAY NOT**:

- gain financially from the work in any way;
- sell the work or seek monies in relation to the distribution of the work;
- use the work in any commercial activity of any kind;
- profit a third party indirectly via use or distribution of the work;
- distribute in or through a commercial body (with the exception of academic usage within educational institutions such as schools and universities);
- reproduce, distribute, or store the cover image outside of its function as a cover of this work;
- alter or build on the work outside of normal academic scholarship.

11. U.S. Defense Policy and the North: The Emergent Arctic Power¹

Barry Scott Zellen

As the Arctic continues to thaw, and with its thaw to integrate with the world ocean and the maritime economy that unites the world, the challenge of how best to organize the defense of the High North, increasingly recognized as a strategic interest of the United States and its allies has been discussed by American defense officials and their allied counterparts. Since the end of World War II, America's defense efforts worldwide have long been organized into distinct regional or functional Unified Combatant Commands (UCCs). All UCCs are commanded by either a four-star general or an admiral, known as Combatant Commanders or CCDRs, formerly CINCs, and are joint commands integrating at least two of the services. Every year, the Defense Department updates its Unified Command Plan (UCP) when it may modify the AORs and command assignments. In 2008, there were ten UCCs, six defined by their regional AOR and four by their specific functionality; the regional UCCs are Africa Command (AFRICOM), Central Command (CENTCOM), European Command (EUCOM), Pacific Command (PACOM), Northern Command (NORTHCOM), and Southern Command (SOUTHCOM), while the functional UCCs are Joint Forces Command (JFCOM), Special Operations Command (SOCOM), Strategic Command (STRATCOM), and Transportation Command (TRANSCOM).²

UCCs evolve over time, responding to changes in the strategic landscape; the very first, in fact, was established in 1946 by President Truman and

reflected the strategic contours of the post-war environment, with an Alaskan Command, Atlantic Fleet, Caribbean Command, European Command, Far East Command, Northeast Command, and Pacific Command. Each new conflict is perceived, and operationalized, to some degree through the regional lens of its UCC, limiting cross-command efficiencies, and, more importantly, a cross-command flow of ideas and historical knowledge that could contribute to the development of doctrine and promote the diffusion of tactical and strategic insights gained during conflicts past and present. A particular challenge of Arctic defense and security is the geographical centrality of the Arctic basin to the world ocean – right at the geostrategic crossroads of the northern hemisphere, where both the Pacific and the Atlantic, as well as the North American and Eurasian landmasses, all come together. The Arctic basin, as a consequence of the geographical convergence at the top of the world, overlaps the Area of Operations (AO) of three of America's regional commands: the U.S. Northern Command (USNORTHCOM), Pacific Command (USPACOM), and European Command (USEUCOM). Yet, while enclosed by the high North Pacific region, the high North Atlantic, and the northern coast and offshore islands of high North America, Arctic history has not affected each defense sector equally, and consideration of the historical context will help to illuminate the quest for the appropriate balance of UCCs for meeting the challenges of Arctic defense and security in the coming years.

As noted on the Defense Department website, the Unified Command Plan is “a key strategic document that establishes the missions, responsibilities, and geographic areas of responsibility for commanders of combatant commands,” and “[e]very two years, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is required to review the missions, responsibilities, and geographical boundaries of each combatant command and recommend to the President, through the Secretary of Defense, any changes that may be necessary.”³ Accordingly, “UCP 2011, signed by President Obama on April 6, 2011, assigns several new missions to the combatant commanders,” among which was included: “Shifting AOR boundaries in the Arctic region to leverage long-standing relationships and improve unity of effort,” and “Giving U.S. Northern Command responsibility to advocate for Arctic capabilities.”⁴ Before the 2011 changes, the world map of UCPs showed command overlap in Greenland and the high North Atlantic between NORTHCOM and EUCOM, and similar overlap in Alaska between NORTHCOM and PACOM. Now, Greenland falls squarely in EUCOM's domain and Alaska in NORTHCOM.

Clarifying the boundaries marking the AO's for NORTHCOM and EUCOM appears, at first glance, to be a constructive step toward resolving ambiguities with regard to defense responsibilities in the High North; but the solution obscures what remains in fact an important and continuing ambiguity of the region, where East literally meets West, and where Pacific and Atlantic waters converge. Alaska is as much a part of the North Pacific region as it is the Arctic, and its defense has long been central, not just to North America, but also to the stability of the North Pacific. And Greenland, while tied by sovereign possession with Denmark and thus part of the diplomatic-strategic architecture of Europe, has been as important to the defense of North America, not only providing an historic stepping stone during the early historical colonization by Vikings in medieval times, but centuries later providing the same potential path of conquest to the Nazis and an important line of defense against the growing Soviet threat.

Formalizing Alaska as part of NORTHCOM's AO is logical on one level, since it is responsible for the defense of North America, of which Alaska is a sovereign component – though ironically, the North American Arctic remains the most secure part of the Far North, thanks in large measure to the sparse population, extreme isolation, and still unpredictable ice conditions of Canada's vast northern archipelago. Alaska stands in marked contrast to the Canadian Arctic region, having been the most recent area in North America to come under direct external military assault, which transformed the once colonial backwater into an active war zone during World War II. PACOM – which is responsible for securing the Pacific, and which until recently included Alaska in the high North Pacific and thus incorporated the World War II-era Alaska Command into its AO – also made logical sense, since PACOM's mission included the defense of a region hotly contested by Japan in World War II and later threatened by the rising Soviet fleet in the Cold War, a mission comparable to elsewhere in the Pacific – and which suggests that it remains a logical command for coordinating the defense of the Arctic, particularly in light of China's rise as a maritime trading power, and increasing, a blue water naval power, all the more so given Beijing's growing interest in the Arctic. While Japan made a dramatic but in the end tenuous grab in its militarist past for the high North Pacific, gaining possession of the Kuriles, southern Sakhalin, and, during the opening shots of World War II, the outer Aleutians as well, Tokyo's far northern reign was brief, and currently its ambitions are primarily defensive in nature.⁵

Japan is no longer really a great power in the high North Pacific, owing to the defensive mission of the JMSDF – but with some 110 major warships it remains an important strategic partner, particularly with regard to countering China’s increasing naval power. China has increased its Arctic activities, while at the same time expanding its naval aspirations and capabilities from brown to blue water, but its primary far northern ambition appears most likely to establish a secure, and dramatically shortened, direct trade route to Europe, and to benefit from the increasing trade in Arctic natural resources that were formerly inaccessible, and these economic interests would favor a less aggressive position than Japan took during World War II, which viewed the region’s resources less collaboratively and eyed the High North primarily for strategic defense of its home islands and as a tactical diversion for America’s fleet during the Battle of Midway.⁶

With China’s assertion of greater naval dominance of the South China Sea precipitating a robust balancing reaction by its neighbors in partnership with the USN, it is unlikely that Beijing will be able to assert naval predominance over the high North Pacific like Japan did in the first half of the twentieth century. And while Beijing will compete aggressively for resources, it will likely do so as a member of the world economy, and not as an external disruptor like Tokyo did in earlier times.⁷ China may seek to explore the Arctic, and in so doing to demonstrate that it has become a great power with global capabilities – but it is not likely to threaten the security of the Arctic. Indeed, on November 22, 2010, the China National Petroleum Corporation entered into an agreement with Sovcomflot about shipping along the Northern Sea Route, which was signed with much fanfare by Sovcomflot CEO Sergey Frank and the President of CNPC, Jiang Jiemin in Saint Petersburg – suggesting China’s prudence and practical preference for increasing its energy security will likely trump the perquisites of achieving greater power recognition in the manner embraced by Tokyo a generation earlier.⁸ Two months earlier, the *Barents Observer* had reported in an article titled “Iceland Invites China to Arctic Shipping” on increasing maritime relations between China and Iceland: “Icelandic President Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson told Norwegian broadcaster NRK that relations with China has picked up pace after the financial crisis shattered the island’s national economy in 2008,” and “said that the Chinese positions in the cooperation have been ‘constructive, balanced, positive and definitely not aggressive.’”⁹

Framing Arctic defense and security through a Pacific lens thus has a certain logic, given that the industrialized trading states of Northeast Asia have a strong economic interest in the emerging trade routes across the top of the world,¹⁰ and that China, America's next most likely peer competitor, eyes the Arctic through a Pacific lens – something Tokyo did a generation earlier. But widespread usage of northern shipping lanes still remains a long way off – even if some tentative seasonal use is already being made of the Northern Sea Route, the Arctic Bridge between Murmansk and Churchill, and the famed Northwest Passage.¹¹ As one Arctic geographer recently reminded me, there's always going to be winter – and, with winter, the ice will return. Winter's recurring presence will thus continue to limit the integration of the Arctic and the North Pacific, at least for now.

So even as Northeast Asia's populous industrial states eye the thawing Arctic, they view the region primarily as a gateway to European markets and as a new source of natural resources for their expanding economies – and less a target for military expansion. With Northeast Asian states thinking primarily in terms of trade, and of a thawing Arctic as an emergent trade route and source of new raw materials for its growing industrial economies, they are unlikely to pose a strategic threat to the region or to its security. Consequently, the Russian bear stands alone as the primary Arctic power whose current intentions and capabilities could potentially conflict with those of the West.¹²

Just as strong a case – if not in fact stronger – can be made for EUCOM's suitability as a regional command for the defense of the Arctic, since, for the time being, the most probable threat to northern security emanates, not from China, whose interests in the region are largely of an economic nature, but from the bolder, resource-enriched, and diplomatically resurgent Russia, whose symbolic 2007 polar flag-planting on the deep sea floor made international headlines and provided notice to the world that Russia was prepared to draw a line in the ice and to strongly defend its northern national interests.¹³ Geography also sides with the European Command, since Russia owns by far the largest sector of Arctic coast, and, by quirk of geography, the shallowest and most resource-accessible Arctic continental shelf. So as the Arctic thaws, Russia will have greater access to a greater share of the Arctic's long-hidden offshore resource wealth than any other Arctic state and will thus have much reason for a strong defense of its northern onshore and offshore domain.¹⁴

Recent history also is on the side of the Arctic being viewed as part of EUCOM's AO, as the longest recent conflict in Arctic waters was, not the relatively brief battle for the Aleutians, but the much longer Battle of the Atlantic, and, later, the implementation of the 1986 Maritime Strategy at the Cold War's end viewed the Arctic's undersea domain as primarily a route to contain then-Soviet Russia's fleet in its home waters, before it could menace North America.¹⁵ For these reasons, the key to a secure Arctic will remain tied to the fate of Europe and the ambitions of its largest state: Russia.

Arctic waters came into play during the six-year Battle of the Atlantic from 1939 to 1945, considered by many to be the longest continuous military campaign of World War II. Efforts to assert command of the seas, especially vital to ensure Britain's survival as an independent country, but also important for resupply efforts of our wartime allies including Soviet Russia, and German efforts to deny North Atlantic waters to us, resulted in an ongoing naval clash between allied and axis sea power.¹⁶ There were a total of seventy-eight Arctic convoys that resupplied the northern ports of Arkhangelsk and Murmansk under the protective escort of the U.S. Navy, Royal Navy, and Royal Canadian Navy – enabling some 1,400 ships to deliver Lend-Lease supplies to the Soviet Union. Ever since the long Battle of the Atlantic, the high North Atlantic and Arctic waters have been viewed through the lens of the Atlantic alliance, and as essential to the stability of the North Atlantic.

It was Greenland's vulnerability to external aggression that brought American military power to the island, a year after Denmark was invaded and occupied by Nazi Germany on April 9, 1940. After Denmark had fallen, the Germans eyed Greenland as their first stage of an invasion route of mainland North America via the Gulf of St. Lawrence through to Upper Canada along the Great Lakes – much the way Britain did during the War of 1812. The vulnerability of Greenland resulted in America extending defense protection on behalf of the Danish government in exile, which continued after the war through the entire Cold War era as Soviet naval power grew. Had the Germans gained possession of Greenland, it could have put their fleet in striking distance of Newfoundland, enabling a two-pronged attack of strategic British territories. Guaranteeing Greenlandic security was viewed as a necessity to ensure the independence of Britain. Then, had Britain fallen, keeping the Germans out of Greenland, Newfoundland, and inevitably Canada would have been harder – and America's northeast maritime and

land frontiers would have been highly vulnerable, much as the Aleutians proved in the face of aggressive use of Japanese naval power.

According to a statement from the U.S. Department of State issued on April 10, 1941, one day after the United States and Denmark entered into a defense agreement for Greenland, “during the summer of 1940 German activity on the eastern coast of Greenland became apparent,” when “three ships proceeding from Norwegian territory under German occupation arrived off the coast of Greenland,” and then “in the late fall of 1940, air reconnaissance appeared over East Greenland under circumstances making it plain that there had been continued activity in that region.”¹⁷ And on March 21, 1941, “a German bomber flew over the eastern coast of Greenland and on the following day another German war plane likewise reconnoitered the same territory. Under these circumstances it appeared that further steps for the defense of Greenland were necessary to bring Greenland within the system of hemispheric defense envisaged by the Act of Habana.”¹⁸ So on April 9, 1941, an agreement “between the Secretary of State, acting on behalf of the Government of the United States of America, and the Danish Minister, Henrik de Kauffmann, acting on behalf of His Majesty the King of Denmark in his capacity as sovereign of Greenland” was agreed to, granting “to the United States the right to locate and construct airplane landing fields and facilities for the defense of Greenland and for the defense of the American Continent” – but only “after explicitly recognizing the Danish sovereignty over Greenland.”¹⁹ The agreement recognized that “as a result of the present European war there is danger that Greenland may be converted into a point of aggression against nations of the American Continent, and accept[ed] the responsibility on behalf of the United States of assisting Greenland in the maintenance of its present status.”²⁰ The United States asserted it had “no thought in mind save that of assuring the safety of Greenland and the rest of the American Continent, and Greenland’s continuance under Danish sovereignty.”²¹

Early in the Cold War, a new external threat to Greenland and to North America arose, not from the decisively defeated and now divided Germany, but from the former wartime partner, the Soviet Union. On April 27, 1951, a new treaty was signed, the “Defense of Greenland: Agreement between the United States and the Kingdom of Denmark.”²² Article I of the 1951 treaty affirmed that both countries, “in order to promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic Treaty area by uniting their efforts for collective defense

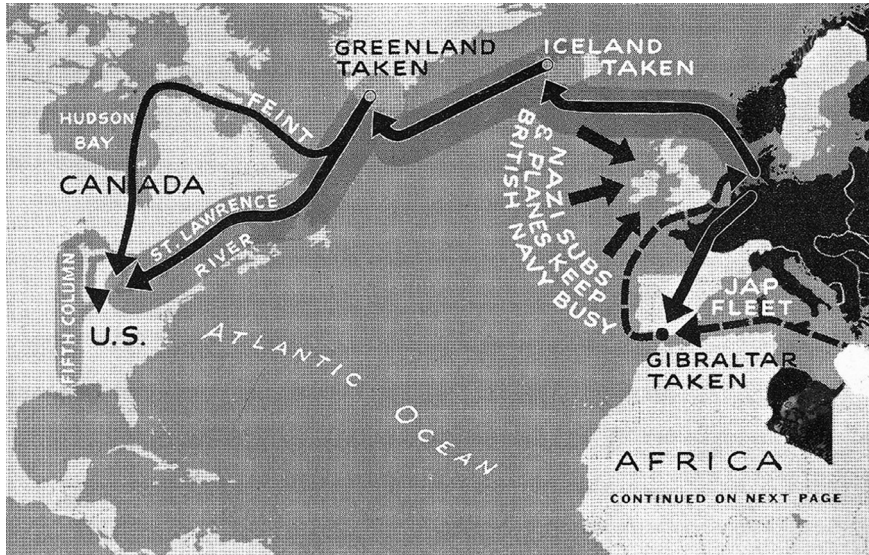


FIG. 1. THIS MAP, FROM THE MARCH 2, 1942, ISSUE OF *LIFE* MAGAZINE, DETAILS AN 'ALTERNATE-HISTORICAL' NAZI INVASION OF AMERICA IMAGINED TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE SHORTLY AFTER THE ATTACK ON PEARL HARBOR. A DISCUSSION ON THE WEBSITE BIGTHINK.COM ([HTTP://BIGTHINK.COM/IDEAS/26571](http://bigthink.com/ideas/26571)) NOTES THE ABOVE MAP DEPICTS A "CLASSIC INVASION DOWN ST. LAWRENCE AND HUDSON VALLEYS. GERMANS COULD READILY BOMB CHICAGO, DETROIT, AKRON AND RAMPAGE THROUGH MIDWEST. BIG CATCH IS GETTING PAST BRITISH FLEET. ON ALL MAPS, BLACK ARROW ALONE MEANS A FEINT; WHEN COMBINED WITH GRAY BAND, IT MEANS FULL INVASION." THE REAL-LIFE EFFORTS OF THE U.S. COAST GUARD'S GREENLAND PATROL ARE DESCRIBED IN E. M. VAN DUZER, "WATCH OVER GREENLAND," IN THE APRIL 1945 EDITION OF *POPULAR MECHANICS* 83, NO. 4: 65–69, 156, 158.

and for the preservation of peace and security and for the development of their collective capacity to resist armed attack, will each take such measures as are necessary or appropriate to carry out expeditiously their respective and joint responsibilities in Greenland, in accordance with NATO plans.”²³ This treaty would remain in place for more than half a century.

On August 10, 2004, Denmark, Greenland, and the United States updated their 1951 defense agreement, when “after two years of negotiations, all three parties – the U.S. on one side, and Denmark/Greenland on the other – reached consensus on the terms of the treaty. The United States was granted permission to upgrade Greenland’s Thule Radar Station as part of the American Missile Defense (MS) program. The agreement itself implicitly recognized former Danish colony Greenland as an equal partner with influence over its own foreign affairs.”²⁴ Among the most notable changes in the treaty’s language was the emphasis on “partnership with Greenland,” the inclusion of Greenland as a party to the treaty, and the evident spirit of equality among these three parties. According to Greenland’s minister for Foreign Affairs, Josef Motzfeldt, “For us at home, this date marks the day that Greenland took a decisive step toward equality and responsibility on par with other countries of the world, and away from the indignity and indifference of the colonial era. By entering this agreement complex, Greenland has taken an active step toward increased foreign policy independence.”²⁵ Colin Powell, then serving as the U.S. Secretary of State, echoed Motzfeldt’s sentiment, adding that “it is important to demonstrate that Greenland is a full-fledged member of this partnership. And the best way of showing that is by being on hand today.”²⁶

Whoever Holds Iceland Holds the World

It was not just Greenland and its security that would be vital to the defense of the West. As important was Iceland. One could modify Billy Mitchell’s well-known geopolitical maxim on Alaska from the 1930s – “I believe that, in the future, he who holds Alaska will hold the world, and I think it is the most important strategic place in the world”²⁷ – and apply it to the high North Atlantic – at least with regard to European and North American security. In this case, he who holds Greenland *and* Iceland seems destined to command the North Atlantic.

Indeed, novelist Tom Clancy imagined Iceland becoming the strategic pivot in a future conventional battle for the North Atlantic between NATO and the Soviet Union; the role of the G-I-UK gap throughout the Cold War, for both Soviet and NATO naval strategy, was indeed central – though ultimately untested by war in contrast to Clancy’s fictional imaginings. Ironically, it was Clancy’s conception of Iceland as a strategic pivot that would influence President Ronald Reagan on the eve of the almost history but in the end unsuccessful Reykjavik Summit with Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev, where Gorbachev’s bold proposal to rid the world of nuclear weapons was rebuffed because it would require a mutual commitment not to develop a strategic missile defense such as envisioned by Reagan’s Strategic Defense Initiative, the cherished dream of Reagan known to many as Star Wars. As recounted in the December 8, 1986, edition of *Time*, “The phrase ‘Reagan is not a detail man’ is a mantra among Reaganites and suggests that he sees the big picture, that ‘details’ are for smaller minds. Yet such detachment can prove dangerous. In preparation for the Iceland summit, Reagan did not study the history and nuances of America’s arms-control strategies; instead he practiced ways to sell Gorbachev on SDI. To get himself into the right frame of mind, he read Tom Clancy’s *Red Storm Rising*, a potboiler about a non-nuclear war between NATO and the Soviet bloc.”²⁸

The Maritime Strategy of 1986 would likewise recognize the Arctic and the high North Atlantic as important areas for forward operations to contain the projection of Soviet naval power; critics feared it would destabilize deterrence but in the end it helped reassure Europe that Soviet power was far less potent than Moscow wanted people to believe. And in terms of economic potential, the commercial and strategic sea lanes of the North Atlantic, the vast North Sea oil fields, and the bountiful fisheries in the high North Atlantic – which almost led alliance members Iceland and the UK to come to blows during their ‘Cod Wars’ from the 1950s to the 1970s²⁹ – all illustrate the strategic-economic importance of the high North Atlantic as a bridge connecting Europe and North America.

As the Arctic thaws, North Atlantic fisheries,³⁰ natural resource extraction efforts,³¹ and sea lanes will edge further north into Arctic seas,³² eventually facilitating the emergence of an Asia-Europe-North America sea bridge some predict will be a modern-day silk road³³ – but the fundamental strategic relationship will remain the same. Consequently, it may continue to make sense to view the Arctic, as it becomes increasingly navigable and

economically integrated, as an extension of the North Atlantic – since in addition to its historical linkages to the Euro-Atlantic community, the Arctic basin is only semi-enclosed, with its opening flowing into the North Atlantic, while in the Pacific it encounters a physical barrier, with only the narrow and shallow Bering Strait connecting the two. With an Arctic thaw, the Northeast Asian trading states will find a shorter and quicker direct route to markets in Europe and North America, but because of the narrowness (85 km) and shallowness (55 meters on average) of the Bering Strait,³⁴ they will not find as ready an opportunity to expand its naval influence into a sea still dominated by NATO and Russia.

The longer- term potential of trans-Arctic shipping, increased usage of the Northwest Passage, and the Northern Sea Route, while promising, has a long way to go before being viable – the Koreans, Chinese, and Japanese are eyeing shorter and safe shipping lanes to Europe over the top and the Koreans have taken the lead with regard to commissioning a new generation of ice-hardened tankers, though the Russians still dominate when it comes to heavy icebreakers.³⁵ While connecting Northeast Asian markets to Europe through an Arctic maritime bridge is compelling, there will always be winter and with winter, new ice will form in the Arctic basin, limiting the year-round viability of such sea routes – so it is unlikely that we will see the center of gravity tip entirely toward the Pacific, particularly given the extraordinarily close and enduring transatlantic relationships that have been forged across centuries of trade, wartime and peacetime alliances, and the much less united strategic environment in Northeast Asia. As transpolar shipping becomes more frequent, however, we may find reason for PACOM and EUCOM to conduct joint operations in the Arctic, perhaps formalizing the current regional command overlaps into a new, cross-regional sub-unified command, not unlike the new U.S. CYBERCOM that is subordinate to STRATCOM but which takes ownership of the distinct and emergent defense challenges of the information domain.

Even with Asian states eyeing Arctic trade routes, the North Atlantic still features prominently in most of their plans, most notably as the end destination for their marine exports or the starting point for their imports. Iceland could well become a primary trans-shipment hub for Asian cargo ships, positioning the high North Atlantic to remain of critical strategic importance. That may be one reason why Moscow was first to step up with an offer of neighborly assistance to bail out Iceland when its economy collapsed,³⁶ hoping perhaps

to nudge Iceland a bit out of the western camp and help Moscow expand its influence in the high North Atlantic, counterbalancing the Scandinavian states that share maritime borders with Russia and which have historically contained its naval influence. As Konstantin Rozhnov reported on BBC:

When Iceland announced it was seeking a \$6bn (£4bn) loan from Russia to help rescue its crisis-ravaged economy, some in the NATO alliance, of which Iceland is a member, took fright. They suspected that Russia was acting to further its geopolitical interests in the region in the guise of a white knight. Reports of Russia seeking – or even securing – rights to Icelandic fisheries, energy and metal sectors, as well as in tourism, poured fuel on these fears. Russia has denied any political interest in its dealing with crisis-hit Iceland, but even some Russian media outlets have expressed scepticism, publishing caustic headlines such as “Ready to buy Iceland for good money.” “If Russia becomes the country which saves the Icelandic economy, Russia could also end up securing an extended level of power in the North Atlantic,” BarentsObserver website said in an editorial.³⁷

This would not be the first time that Iceland looked east instead of west when in need; during its third Cod War with Britain in 1976, Iceland’s government had sought to acquire U.S. Asheville class gunboats, but when its effort was thwarted by the U.S. government, it considered Soviet Mirka class frigates as an alternative.

The Inuit Dimension

Beyond Iceland, if Greenland were to become estranged from the West, and ultimately pursued an unfriendly secession from Denmark and ended up hostile to western interests, Moscow may find yet another friendly island-state open to courtship, and that would certainly favor its strategic position, putting pressure on the West and its command of the high North Atlantic. But for the moment, its independence movement is a friendly one, with Denmark’s blessing – but that could always change if the cost/benefit calculation of Danish sovereignty over Greenland is re-assessed in light of

the global thaw.³⁸ Going forward, the United States and its NATO allies might be wise to cultivate warmer relations with all the microstates and territories of the high North Atlantic and Arctic. Alaska and Iceland have especially close political ties, so this could be a good foundation, leveraging the warm relations state leaders in Alaska have fostered with Iceland's government.

Fostering a closer diplomatic relationship with Greenland is also under consideration, with its eventual independence anticipated. Consider a November 2007 State Department cable leaked by Wikileaks.org that observes "Greenland is on a clear track toward independence, which could come more quickly than most outside the Kingdom of Denmark realize.... With Greenlandic independence glinting on the horizon, the U.S. has a unique opportunity to shape the circumstances in which an independent nation may emerge. We have real security and growing economic interests in Greenland, for which existing Joint and Permanent Committee mechanisms ... may no longer be sufficient. American commercial investments, our continuing strategic military presence, and new high-level scientific and political interest in Greenland argue for establishing a small and seasonal American Presence Post in Greenland's capital as soon as practicable."³⁹ The cable discusses the "High Stakes for the U.S. in Greenland," and argues that the "time is now to begin investing in a flexible, low-cost, official U.S. presence in Greenland" that "would allow us to advance our strategic and commercial agenda directly and to shape the image of the U.S. in Greenland as never before. For now, we can offer Greenland an American perspective. Down the road, we must be prepared for the day when we welcome a new and independent neighbor, one that will be a true partner within the transatlantic community of the 21st century."⁴⁰

Like Iceland, Greenland could well be the key to a stable Arctic; no one at this stage can predict with accuracy where the sentiment and loyalties of an independent Greenland will lie. If the festering tensions between Europe and Canada's Inuit is any indication, there's much need for some fence-mending. Embracing the Inuit and their seal-hunting traditions would also go far to reduce tensions between the Inuit and the Europeans who oppose seal hunting and the fur trade generally, despite their long history of fur empires which, ironically, fostered their economic colonization of much of North America – from the strategic trading post at old Fort Niagara where the destiny of the continent was determined two and a half centuries ago, to the Hudson's Bay posts scattered across Rupert's Land, integrating the political economies of

Europe with the High North for the first time in human history.⁴¹ More concerted confidence-building measures (CBMs) could help to ensure that the interests of the Inuit, and of the modern states that jointly assert sovereignty over their homeland, remain aligned.

This might in turn help thaw relations between the Inuit of Greenland as well as between Canada and the EU, helping to solidify transatlantic relations and to thereby boost regional security. During February's meeting of G7 finance ministers in the Canadian Arctic, Nunavut leaders generously hosted their international visitors with a taste of northern cuisine, including a staple of their subsistence diet: seal meat. As Andrew Clark reported in *The Guardian*, "None of the visiting ministers chose to attend a feast on Saturday night, laid on by the local Inuit community, at which raw seal was on the menu. Canada's Jim Flaherty was left to chow down on some seal meat alone."⁴² Indeed, the refusal of the European G7 finance ministers to dine with the Inuit, and their very undiplomatic decision to disrespect Inuit hospitality in Nunavut's capital city by refusing to attend a feast held in their honor by the Inuit, was certainly not Europe's best moment. The opportunity to restore a climate of mutual friendship and trust may, with proper attention, still be with us; but that will take a more strenuous, and respectful, effort by the Europeans to mend fences with the still-disappointed Inuit.⁴³ This is perhaps why Secretary of State Clinton recently rebuked her Canadian counterparts for their exclusion of indigenous northerners from an A5 conference on the future of the Arctic, calling upon her peers to provide the Inuit with a seat at the table.⁴⁴

The Inuit may be few in number, but they control many local economic and political levers, and their interests are now fully backed by Ottawa – their partner in land claims, self-government, and northern development.⁴⁵ Resolving lingering tensions between Europe and the Inuit is a necessary step to ensure the security of the High North, as greater issues are now in play that could affect the destiny of nations more than one people's views of another's dietary preferences. It wouldn't take much diplomatic savvy for the Russian bear to seize the opportunity and break bread with the Inuit over tasty slabs of whale and seal meat, hoping to forever drive a wedge between the people of the Arctic and the European states whose security will increasingly be tied to fate of the Arctic. Secretary Clinton's overture to the Inuit was thus a well-timed and diplomatically pre-emptive move to ensure the West doesn't lose the North on her watch.⁴⁶

The Russian Bear

Russian activities in its sector of the Arctic generally focus on its vast, resource-rich, and uniquely shallow continental shelf – which it smartly wants the world to recognize as its own extended continental shelf, and which under UNCLOS will likely be considered largely Russian and not high seas.⁴⁷ Its 2007 diplomatic stagecraft beneath the North Pole was less a grab for the polar seabed and more an assertion that there is a *Russian side* of the Arctic.⁴⁸ Moscow would very likely welcome the selection of the North Pole as the boundary point as it was in the Cold War, but the UN's Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (CLCS) and the International Seabed Authority (ISA) may, once all the claims are filed and adjudicated, find that Canada's extended continental shelf extends past the pole onto what Moscow views as *its* side, depending in part on what the United States, Canada, and Russia can prove are continental shelf extensions.⁴⁹ But it may also find that Russia's extended continental shelf extends to what many in the West perceive as *our* side of the Arctic. As University of Calgary political scientist and leading Arctic expert Rob Huebert explained to *Up Here* magazine: "Russia's claim to the North Pole would give them an advantage. 'The North Pole is not the geographical centre between Russia, Alaska, Greenland and Canada; it's in fact further in towards the Russian coast. So claiming it would give them an advantage.' Still, Huebert says the Russians won't be able to claim the entire region to exploit as it sees fit. 'My guess is we'll see a complete division of the Arctic Ocean – except for two very clear depressions that are not part of a continental shelf,' Huebert says. 'Everyone would have a sector, like the Mediterranean or the North Sea.'"⁵⁰

The primary Arctic tension – other than that between its indigenous peoples and the broad group of *southerners* who assert sovereign claim to the High North – is over offshore boundaries, and here the main fault line remains between Russia, on the one hand, and the West (Canada, the United States, and its European allies), on the other, even as political tensions thaw between old rivals. The United States and Canada are cooperating more closely even without agreeing fully on their Beaufort Sea boundary dispute or the status of the Northwest Passage; and the rhetorically muscular dispute between Ottawa and the Danes over Hans Island seems mostly for domestic play on both sides.⁵¹ While in April 2010 Russia and its Cold War rival Norway buried the hatchet and resolved their long-simmering disagreements

over their offshore boundary line, easing the way forward to the joint development of the bountiful offshore petroleum resources in the hitherto contested waters, we should not presume that it will always be smooth sailing ahead.⁵² Economic collaboration can, and throughout history has, yielded to nationalist rivalries and even war between trading partners. In the end, the old East–West rivalry, with its millennial endurance, may well eventually resurface, much as autopilot switches on during inclement weather, and this reinforces the notion that the Arctic as a region, and a potential theater of conflict, fits logically into EUCOM’s AO and its continuing mission of securing Europe from external threat.⁵³

Russian interests in the vast Eurasian Arctic are largely defined by its exploitation and development of the enormous natural resource wealth both along and beneath its northern shores, and rehabilitating its all-but-abandoned Northern Sea Route, which, during the immediate post-Cold War era, lay largely abandoned (particularly off the shores of Eastern Siberia) but which has lately enjoyed Moscow’s recommitment to bring its vast treasure chest of northern resources to market.⁵⁴ With its extensive, shallow, and increasingly accessible Arctic continental shelf chock full of petroleum resources in exploitable quantities, Russia has much to gain from an Arctic thaw. But by virtue of the strategic importance of this natural resource wealth to Russia’s economic resurgence, this also provides ample motivation for Moscow to ensure an adequate defense of its northern domain. It can no longer count on nature to defend its northern flank with a ‘great wall’ of ice, and this could result in rising security tensions along the old East–West faultline.⁵⁵ Just as Canadians have a powerful emotional attachment to their northern frontier, Russians view their Arctic lands and seas as an extension of their heartland – which for them has been and remains their key to their survival, militarily and economically. The intensity of this attachment, and the strategic importance of the heartland to Russian geopolitics, which saved the Russian nation from Napoleon’s armies as it did from Hitler’s, combine to define a vital national interest for Moscow. This means that Russia, more than the other littoral Arctic states, is more inclined to fully utilize its Arctic assets – even though the post-Soviet economic collapse led to a decade-long abandonment of much of its centrally subsidized mega-projects in the vast and now rusting Russian Arctic, as well as its maritime infrastructure along its Northern Sea Route. But in recent years, with higher commodity prices changing the calculus, Moscow has reversed course, and there is now a growing commitment

to a fuller utilization of its Arctic resources, and a growing awareness that Russia's destiny, and a critical source of its future wealth, is tied to its fate in the North.⁵⁶

Already there has been a restoration of Arctic naval, land, and air exercises to show the world that Moscow is serious about its Arctic ambitions, though these may be viewed as largely defensive in nature.⁵⁷ Along its borders, where the defensive nature of its regional military deployments could appear to be more menacing, this could lead to a re-emergence of historic tensions with its neighbors, especially after Moscow's smackdown of Georgia, as symbolic an act as its North Pole flag planting with greater muscularity, one that caught the attention of its many neighbors, particularly in the former Soviet satellite states, who united in their critique of the re-awakened bear. After Georgia, there could be little doubt that Russia would aggressively defend its Arctic interests if Moscow felt they were threatened.⁵⁸

Still raw is Russia's loss of empire – first with its 1867 sale of Alaska to the United States, which many in Russia still feel was nothing short of wholesale theft, a transaction whose history remains clouded by distrust. The Russian-America Company was shuttered by Moscow after decades of sacrifice and investment by its explorers, who risked much to explore and colonize the high North Pacific, leaving many Russians perplexed by the abandonment of Alaska.⁵⁹ Some Russian ultra-nationalists, such as the infamous Vladimir V. Zhirinovskiy, include a still-Russian Alaska on their national maps, though this may be largely symbolic and not necessarily a reflection of their true military ambitions.⁶⁰ In our own time, with the Soviet collapse, Russia became even smaller and more vulnerable with the loss of its Central European, Central Asian, and Baltic empire; its remaining Arctic lands and seas would thus be especially highly valued as a sacred and inseparable part of Mother Russia – a key to its future and one of the last sources of pride and hope that it has left. With new French warships on the way, and more heavy icebreakers than all of its neighbors combined, Russia might well emerge the predominant military power in the High North.

While Russia was at the table at Ilulissat in 2008 and pledged to support international law and the UNCLOS mechanism,⁶¹ one must wonder what Moscow would do if the world community sided with Canada or Denmark in terms of continental shelf extensions at Russia's expense. While Moscow has resolved its border dispute with Norway, a welcome sign of a more collaborative Russia, sentiments and political winds can change. On the other

hand, the Arctic, just as Gorbachev proposed in the 1980s,⁶² could become a compelling testing ground for a new relationship between Russia and the West, and perhaps – if cooperation trumps competition over time – a path toward eventual NATO membership. But if competition trumps cooperation in the end, the Arctic may become one of the first regions in which a newly assertive Russia confronts the West. That's one more reason why EUCOM will invariably be drawn into the increasingly salient and ever-challenging mission of securing the Arctic.

Ultimately, if you look at which countries are Arctic nations, the *coastal* nations include Russia, Norway, Denmark/Greenland, Iceland – though its territory is nearly all subarctic, with the exception of diminutive Grimsey Island (which straddles the Arctic Circle, its northern waters reach well to the north), Canada, and the United States; and the *noncoastal* Arctic states include Finland and Sweden. Most are European, and the non-European Arctic states are NATO members with close historical, cultural, and strategic links to Europe. Only Russia's sparsely populated Far East, Alaska's equally sparsely settled southern coasts, and Canada's far western province of British Columbia, abut Pacific waters. Increasingly, transatlantic relations and the security of the West, and the continuing integration of the economies of the industrialized Far East with those of the West, will depend upon ensuring the security of the Arctic – suggesting that EUCOM may be the right command, in the right place, to play a key role on Arctic defense efforts. EUCOM – like the Arctic – enjoys an intimate proximity to Russia that ensures their fates will remain tied together for the years that lie immediately ahead. Proximity to an awakening Russian bear, and experience in taming its more aggressive instincts, will be an important key to a secure and peaceful North. While it can always be hoped that the bear can be tamed, enticed to join the West as a friend and partner, one must always be prepared for its more aggressive instincts to return. EUCOM, whose mission has been to defend the West from the darkest days of the Cold War through the glorious transformation to the post-Cold War era, has the experience to do both.

Until April 2011, all three commands shared some responsibility for the defense of the Arctic; as *Associated Press* correspondent Dan Elliot observed, "Previously, that responsibility was shared by the U.S. Northern, Pacific and European commands."⁶³ But now, this division has been both formalized and clarified – with NORTHCOM and EUCOM dividing the responsibility for the defense of the Arctic but PACOM being left out of the mix. *Stars and*

Stripes reporter John Vandiver noted that “U.S. Northern Command’s area of responsibility was expanded earlier this year to include the North Pole and the Bering Strait,” while “U.S. European Command’s area was extended to include the water space of the Laptev and Eastern Siberian seas north of Russia. While NORTHCOM will be the lead advocate for Arctic issues within the Defense Department, EUCOM will manage military relationships with other Arctic nations in Europe.”⁶⁴

Vandiver added that at the headquarters of both NORTHCOM and EUCOM “officials have launched a review of the assets that will be required in the region in the years ahead,” and he noted that “Col. Daniel Neuffer, the lead officer for Arctic issues at EUCOM, said the review will look at the Arctic from a long-term perspective,” and cited Neuffer as saying: “What capabilities will we need 30 years from now? That’s the assessment we’re going through.... I think for Russian sustained growth, they will continue to need to harvest more natural resources. But nobody wants a conflict, because you can’t extract anything if you’re ducking bullets. In the Arctic, I think, cooler heads will probably prevail.”⁶⁵

But if they don’t – a big uncertainty that our warfighters must be prepared to face – a more inclusive command structure might prove necessary, one that draws on PACOM for its expertise and capabilities from defending the high North Pacific, containing China’s naval expansion, and its long and important legacy securing America’s Pacific frontiers during the Cold War era and into the new, more chaotic, post-Cold War world. EUCOM is important, indeed critical, to the defense of the North; NORTHCOM, too, will find a central place. With an ascendant China on its historic rise, even if its ambitions are for the moment primarily commercial, the prospect of Beijing aspiring to greater geostrategic recognition as a great power, perhaps even a superpower whose reach extends far beyond the South China Sea into the global maritime commons that include the Arctic basin, cannot be discounted.

That’s precisely what happened seventy years earlier, when an ascendant Tokyo’s aspirations were similarly overlooked in the years that preceded World War II – until Japan’s sudden, and unforeseen, assaults, not only upon Pearl Harbor, but also on Alaska’s outer Aleutian Islands, shattered the calm – attacks that had been predicted with uncanny precision by noted air theorist Billy Mitchell more than a decade before they took place, but whose wise counsel was ignored at great peril and ultimately very high cost in blood and treasure.⁶⁶

Notes

- 1 Originally published as "Cold Front on a Warming Arctic," *Proceedings* 137/5/1299 (May 2011): 44–49. Reprinted with permission from Proceedings: ©2011, U.S. Naval Institute/www.usni.org.
- 2 For full details, see: "Unified Command Plan," U.S. Department of Defense website; http://www.defense.gov/home/features/2009/0109_unifiedcommand/.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 For more on Alaska in World War II, see: John Haile Cloe, *The Aleutian Warriors: A History of the 11th Air Force and Fleet Air Wing 4* (Missoula, MT: Pictorial Histories Publishing, 1990); Stan Cohen, *The Forgotten War: A Pictorial History of World War II in Alaska and Northwestern Canada* (Missoula, Montana: Pictorial Histories Publishing, 1981); Brian Garfield, *The Thousand-Mile War: World War II in Alaska and the Aleutians* (New York: Doubleday, 1969, and Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1995); Otis Hays, *Alaska's Hidden Wars: Secret Campaigns on the North Pacific Rim* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2004); Galen Roger Perras, *Stepping Stones to Nowhere: The Aleutian Islands, Alaska, and American Military Strategy, 1867–1945* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003).
- 6 For more in China's Arctic aspirations, see: Krista Mahr, "Does China Have an Eye on the Arctic?" Ecocentric Blog, *Time.com*, May 17, 2011; <http://ecocentric.blogs.time.com/2011/05/17/does-china-have-an-eye-on-the-arctic/#ixzz1OMew4Ges>; Gordon G. Chang, "China's Arctic Play," *The Diplomat*, March 9, 2010; <http://the-diplomat.com/2010/03/09/china%E2%80%99s-arctic-play/>; Joseph Spears, "China and the Arctic: The Awakening Snow Dragon," *China Brief* 9, no. 6, Jamestown Foundation, March 18, 2009; [http://www.jamestown.org/programs/chinabrief/single/?tx_ttnews\[tt_news\]=34725&tx_ttnews\[backPid\]=25&cHash=1c22119d7c](http://www.jamestown.org/programs/chinabrief/single/?tx_ttnews[tt_news]=34725&tx_ttnews[backPid]=25&cHash=1c22119d7c).
- 7 See: Daniel Ten Kate, "China Reassures Its Neighbors after Clashes over Claims in South China Sea," *Bloomberg*, June 4, 2011; <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2011-06-05/china-reassures-its-neighbors-after-clashes-over-claims-in-south-china-sea.html>; John Pomfret, "Beijing claims 'indisputable sovereignty' over South China Sea," *Washington Post*, July 31, 2010; <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/07/30/AR2010073005664.html>.
- 8 See "China's new foothold on Northern Sea Route," *BarentsObserver.com*, November 26, 2010; <http://barentsobserver.com/en/sections/business/iceland-invites-china-arctic-shipping> and "Sovcomflot Group and China National Petroleum Corporation become strategic partners," Sovcomflot press release, November 22, 2010; <http://www.sovcomflot.ru/npage.aspx?did=75963>.
- 9 See: "Iceland invites China to Arctic shipping," *BarentsObserver.com*, September 22, 2010; <http://barentsobserver.com/en/sections/business/iceland-invites-china-arctic-shipping>.
- 10 On other Asian interest, see Jen Moon, "Revolution in Global Shipping Traffic: The Northern Sea Route," *Arirang: Korea's Global TV*, November 16, 2010; http://www.arirang.co.kr/News/News_View.asp?nseq=109124&code=Ne2&category=2; Shigeki Toriumi, "The Potential of the Northern Sea Route," *Chuo Online*, February 28, 2010; <http://www.yomiuri.co.jp/adv/chuo/dy/opinion/20110228.htm>.
- 11 Jan Husdal, "The Final Frontier: The Northern Sea Route," *Husdal.com*, May 22, 2011; <http://www.husdal.com/2011/05/22/the-final-frontier-the-northern-sea-route/#ixzz1ON4uNQfS>. A review article of

- Halvor Schøyena and Svein Bråthenb, "The Northern Sea Route versus the Suez Canal: Cases from Bulk Shipping," *Journal of Transport Geography* 19, no. 4 (July 2011): 977–83; <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S096669231100024X>. Also see: "More oil and ore along Northern Sea Route," *BarentsObserver.com*, February 11, 2011; <http://barentsobserver.com/en/sections/norway/more-oil-and-ore-along-northern-sea-route>.
- 12 "Russian Arctic brigade on border to Norway already in 2011," *BarentsObserver.com*, May 19, 2011; <http://barentsobserver.com/en/topics/russian-arctic-brigade-border-norway-already-2011>; also see, Олег Владыкин, "Заполярные планы Минобороны: Арктическую бригаду в Печенге собираются развернуть в текущем году," *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, May 18, 2011; http://www.ng.ru/nvo/2011-05-18/1_minoborony.html.
 - 13 See: "Russian Sub Plants Flag at North Pole: Tass," *Reuters*, August 2, 2007; <http://www.reuters.com/article/2007/08/02/us-russia-arctic-flag-idUSL0286134520070802>; Mike Eckel, "Russia Defends North Pole Flag-Planting," *Associated Press*, August 8, 2007; <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/08/07/AR2007080701554.html>; Klaus Dodds, "Flag Planting and Finger Pointing: The Law of the Sea, the Arctic, and the Political Geographies of the Outer Continental Shelf," *Political Geography* 30 (2010): 1–11; http://royalholloway.academia.edu/KlausDodds/Papers/170877/Flag_planting_and_finger_pointing_The_Law_of_the_Sea_the_Arctic_and_the_political_geographies_of_the_outer_continental_shelf; CTV News Staff, "Canada, Russia Locked in Dispute over Arctic Border," *CTV.ca*, September 16, 2010; <http://edmonton.ctv.ca/servlet/an/local/CTVNews/20100916/arctic-resources-100916/20100916/?hub=EdmontonHome>.
 - 14 See: "Outer Limits of the Continental Shelf beyond 200 Nautical Miles from the Baselines: Submission by the Russian Federation," Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (CLCS), Updated June 30, 2009; http://www.un.org/depts/los/clcs_new/submissions_files/submission_rus.htm.
 - 15 See: John B. Hattendorf, *The Evolution of the U.S. Navy's Maritime Strategy, 1977–1986* (Newport, RI: Naval War College Press, 1989); <http://www.usnwc.edu/Publications/Naval-War-College-Press/Newport-Papers/Documents/19-pdf.aspx>; Colin S. Gray, *Maritime Strategy, Geopolitics, and the Defense of the West* (New York: National Strategy Information Center, 1986); John J. Mearsheimer, "A Strategic Misstep: The Maritime Strategy and Deterrence in Europe," *International Security* 11, no. 2 (1986): 3–57.
 - 16 See: "The Battle of the Atlantic," *The Times*; http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/system/topicRoot/The_Battle_of_the_Atlantic/; and Andrew Williams, *The Battle of the Atlantic: Hitler's Gray Wolves of the Sea and the Allies Desperate Struggle to Defeat Them* (New York: Basic Books, 2003); Admiral Kuznetsov, "The Northern Sea Route," *Memoirs of Wartime Minister of the Navy* (Moscow: Progress 1990), trans. Vladimir Krivoschekov; <http://admiral.centro.ru/memor00.htm>; Dudley Pope, *73 North: The Battle of the Barents Sea* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1958); Richard Woodman, *Arctic Convoys: 1941–1945* (Barnsley, UK: Pen and Sword Books, 2007).
 - 17 "Statement by the Department of State on the U. S.–Danish Agreement on Greenland, April 10, 1941," U.S. Department of State, Publication 1983, *Peace and War: United States Foreign Policy, 1931–1941* (Washington, D.C.: U. S., Government Printing Office, 1943), 641–47.
 - 18 Ibid.
 - 19 Ibid.
 - 20 Ibid.
 - 21 Ibid.

- 22 See: *Defense of Greenland: Agreement between the United States and the Kingdom of Denmark*, April 27, 1951. Online at: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/den001.asp. Signed in Copenhagen in duplicate in the English and Danish languages, both texts being equally authentic, this twenty-seventh day of April, 1951, by the undersigned duly authorized representatives of the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Kingdom of Denmark.
- 23 Article I, *Defense of Greenland: Agreement between the United States and the Kingdom of Denmark*, April 27, 1951.
- 24 "History Made in Southern Greenland," Archives 2003–2004, Denmark.dk. Online at: <http://www.denmark.dk/en/servicemenu/News/FocusOn/Archives2003-2004/HistoryMadeInSouthernGreenland.htm>.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 See: Barry Scott Zellen, *Arctic Doom, Arctic Boom: The Geopolitics of Climate Change in the Arctic* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2009), 167; John Haile Cloe and Michael F. Monaghan, *Top Cover for America: The Air Force in Alaska, 1920–1983* (Anchorage: Anchorage Chapter–Air Force Association, 1984), 21; Claus-M Naske and Herman E. Slotnick, *Alaska: A History of the 49th State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 122.
- 28 Richard Stengel, Laurence I. Barrett, and Barrett Seaman, "How Reagan Stays Out of Touch," *Time*, December 8, 1986; <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,963023,00.html#ixzz1OT4DShys>.
- 29 The "Cod Wars" placed Iceland's NATO membership and access to the strategic air base at Keflavik in jeopardy, with three distinct engagements that included deployment of British war ships to defend its fishing fleet from Iceland's use of net cutters, and which resulted in some ramming of vessels as well as some warning shots fired during the periods of September 1958 to November 1958; September 1972 to November 1973; and November 1975 to May 1976. Hannes Jonsson, *Friends in Conflict: The Anglo-Icelandic Cod Wars and the Law of the Sea* (London: Hurst & Co., 1982); "The High Seas: Now, the Cod Peace," *Time*, June 14, 1976; Hugh Clayton, "Dispute with Iceland Means Dearer Fish this Weekend," *The Times*, November 28, 1975, 6.
- 30 See: Kieran Mulvaney, "A New Fisheries Frontier in the Arctic," *Discovery News*, May 25, 2011; <http://news.discovery.com/earth/a-new-fisheries-frontier-in-the-arctic-110525.html>; The PEW Environment Group, "Oceans North International," *OceansNorth.org*; <http://www.oceansnorth.org/faq>.
- 31 Ironically, as coastal areas become more accessible, interior regions will become less so – potentially offsetting the benefits of a thaw in terms of net economic effects. As reported in *Reuters*, "Global warming will likely open up coastal areas in the Arctic to development but close vast regions of the northern interior to forestry and mining by mid-century as ice and frozen soil under temporary winter roads melt, researchers said.... The Arctic is increasingly a region of deep strategic importance to the United States, Russia and China for its undiscovered resource riches and the potential for new shipping lanes. The U.S. Geological Survey says that 25 per cent of the world's undiscovered oil and natural gas lies in the Arctic. But the warming also will likely melt so-called 'ice roads,' the temporary winter roads developers now use to access far inland northern resources such as timber, diamonds and minerals, according to a study published on Sunday in the journal *Nature Climate Change*.... The ice roads, made famous by the History Channel show 'Ice Road Truckers,' are constructed on frozen ground, rivers, lakes and swampy areas using compacted snow and ice. They cost only about 2 to 4 per cent of what permanent land roads would cost, making resource extraction

- more cost effective in these remote areas.” Timothy Gardner, “Ice Melt to Close Off Arctic’s Interior Riches: Study” *Reuters*, May 30, 2011; <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/05/31/us-arctic-warming-roads-idUSTRE74S1UF20110531>.
- 32 “Terra Daily: Arctic Summer Sea Lanes Open by 2015 Forecasts ONR,” *SpaceDaily.com*, February 14, 2002; <http://www.spacedaily.com/news/arctic-02a.html>; Jill Burke, “Brainstorming the Bering Strait bottleneck,” *AlaskaDispatch*, May 12, 2011; <http://www.alaskadispatch.com/article/brainstorming-bering-strait-bottleneck>.
 - 33 Joe Friesen, “Russian Ship Crosses ‘Arctic bridge’ to Manitoba,” *Globe and Mail*, October 18, 2007; <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/russian-ship-crosses-arctic-bridge-to-manitoba/article1084466/>. As Friesen reported, “Michael Berk, a research fellow at the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, a non-profit think tank, said Churchill could become the terminus of a new silk road linking Eurasia and North America. ‘As ice continues to melt, this is potentially the shortest route connecting North America to Eurasia,’ Mr. Berk said. ‘If we expand and connect Churchill with Murmansk, an ice-free, year-round port, we’re talking about creating a bridge that will link North American markets with increasingly important Eurasian markets. It’s also the closest route for transporting goods from Asia to the Midwestern United States directly, bypassing the bottlenecks of congested ports in the Pacific. When one starts to think about these issues combined, the opportunity is tremendous.’”
 - 34 Rebecca Woodgate, Knut Aagaard, Tom Weingartner, Terry Whitledge, and Igor Lavrenov, “Bering Strait: Pacific Gateway to the Arctic,” <http://psc.apl.washington.edu/HLD/Bstrait/bstrait.html#Basics>.
 - 35 Heather Exner-Pirot, “Eye on the Arctic: How fast will Arctic shipping grow?,” *AlaskaDispatch* April 11, 2011; http://www.alaskadispatch.com/article/how-fast-will-arctic-shipping-grow?page=0,0&sms_ss=email&at_xt=4da728db4b8300df,0. As Exner-Pirot writes, “South Korea, by contrast, is interested in the economic benefit of Arctic shipping, as it hosts the largest ship building yards in the world. Samsung Heavy Industries have developed a double-acting vessel that has the same open sea characteristics as other ships in its class combined with the breaking capacity of an icebreaker, cutting through up to 1.5 metres of ice. While the bow is shaped for regular sailing, the stern is designed for ice-breaking with the ship turned around when there is heavy ice and the stern used as the bow. South Korean industry (and, incidentally, its subsidiaries in Finland) thus has a vested economic interest in the development of a trans-Arctic shipping route and industry.” Also see “Alaska Beat: Korean gas execs explore Arctic LNG shipping plan, in Canada,” *AlaskaDispatch*, April 20, 2011; <http://www.alaskadispatch.com/article/korean-gas-execs-explore-arctic-lng-shipping-plan-canada>.
 - 36 Rowena Mason, “Financial Crisis: Iceland gets €4bn Russian loan as banks collapse,” *The Telegraph*, October 7, 2008; <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/financialcrisis/3151148/Financial-Crisis-Iceland-gets-4bn-Russian-loan-as-banks-collapse.html>; also see Konstantin Rozhnov, “Russia’s role in rescuing Iceland,” *BBC News*, November 13, 2008; <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/7720614.stm>.
 - 37 Rozhnov, “Russia’s role in rescuing Iceland.”
 - 38 Telegraph Foreign Staff and Agencies in Nuuk, “Greenland Takes Step toward Independence from Denmark,” *The Telegraph*, June 21, 2009; <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/greenland/5594140/Greenland-takes-step-toward-independence-from-Denmark.html>; Marianne Stigset, “Greenland Bets on Oil, Metals, Cows as Ticket to Independence,” *Bloomberg*, May 12, 2011; <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2011-05-11/greenland-bets-on-oil-metals-cows->

- as-ticket-to-independence.html; Shaun Walker, "Revealed: The Secret Battle for the Riches of the Arctic: Leaked cables show how nations are carving up pristine wilderness," *The Independent*, May 13, 2011; <http://www.independent.co.uk/environment/climate-change/revealed-the-secret-battle-for-the-riches-of-the-arctic-2283229.html>; Marianne Stigset, "Greenland Bets on Oil, Metals, Cows as Ticket to Independence," *Bloomberg*, May 12, 2011; <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2011-05-11/greenland-bets-on-oil-metals-cows-as-ticket-to-independence.html>.
- 39 "Shaping Greenland's Future," Cable 07COPENHAGEN1010, *Wikileaks.org*, November 2007; <http://wikileaks.org/cable/2007/11/07COPENHAGEN1010.html>.
 - 40 Ibid.
 - 41 See: John R. Bockstoe, *Furs and Frontiers in the Far North: The Contest among Native and Foreign Nations for the Bering Strait Fur Trade* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), and Richard Clarke Davis, ed., *Rupert's Land: A Cultural Tapestry* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988). Also see Barry Zellen, "Cold Front: Hillary, Ottawa, and the Inuit: A Year after the Inuit Re-Assert their Sovereignty, Washington Takes Their Side," *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 12, no. 3 (2010): 5–11.
 - 42 Andrew Clark, "Mervyn King goes dog sledding but all avoid seal meat at G7 summit in Canada," *The Guardian*, February 8, 2010; <http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/andrew-clark-on-america/2010/feb/08/canada-alistairdarling>.
 - 43 Bill Curry, "G7 visitors take a pass on 'country food' feast," *Globe and Mail*, February 6, 2010; <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/ottawa-notebook/g7-visitors-take-a-pass-on-country-food-feast/article1458974/>.
 - 44 Barry Zellen, "Cold Front: Hillary, Ottawa, and the Inuit: A Year after the Inuit Re-Assert their Sovereignty, Washington Takes Their Side," *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 12, no. 3 (2010): 5–11.
 - 45 Barry Zellen, *On Thin Ice: The Inuit, the State and the Challenge of Arctic Sovereignty* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2009).
 - 46 Zellen, "Cold Front".
 - 47 Husdal, "The Final Frontier: The Northern Sea Route." A review article of Halvor Schøyena and Svein Bråthenb, "The Northern Sea Route versus the Suez Canal: Cases from Bulk Shipping," *Journal of Transport Geography* 19, no. 4 (2011): 977–83; <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S096669231100024X>. Also see: "More oil and ore along Northern Sea Route," *BarentsObserver.com*, February 11, 2011; <http://barentsobserver.com/en/sections/norway/more-oil-and-ore-along-northern-sea-route>.
 - 48 See: "Russian Sub Plants Flag at North Pole: Tass"; Eckel, "Russia Defends North Pole Flag-Planting"; Dodds, "Flag Planting and Finger Pointing"; http://royalholloway.academia.edu/KlausDodds/Papers/170877/Flag_planting_and_finger_pointing_The_Law_of_the_Sea_the_Arctic_and_the_political_geographies_of_the_outer_continental_shelf; CTV News Staff, "Canada, Russia Locked in Dispute over Arctic Border," *CTV.ca*, September 16, 2010; <http://edmonton.ctv.ca/servlet/an/local/CTVNews/20100916/arctic-resources-100916/20100916/?hub=EdmontonHome>.
 - 49 See: "Russian Sub Plants Flag at North Pole: Tass"; Eckel, "Russia Defends North Pole Flag-Planting"; Dodds, "Flag Planting and Finger Pointing"; http://royalholloway.academia.edu/KlausDodds/Papers/170877/Flag_planting_and_finger_pointing_The_Law_of_the_Sea_the_Arctic_and_the_political_geographies_of_the_outer_continental_shelf; CTV News Staff, "Canada, Russia Locked in Dispute Over Arctic Border," *CTV.ca*, September 16, 2010; <http://edmonton.ctv>.

ca/servlet/an/local/CTVNews/20100916/arctic-resources-100916/20100916/?hub=EdmontonHome. Also see: "Outer limits of the continental shelf beyond 200 nautical miles from the baselines: Submission by the Russian Federation," Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (CLCS), Updated June 30, 2009; http://www.un.org/depts/los/clcs_new/submissions_files/submission_rus.htm.

- 50 Graham Chandler, "Pole Position," *Up Here*, December 18, 2007; <http://www.uphere.ca/node/177>.
- 51 See: Yereth Rosen, "U. S.–Canadian mission set to map Arctic seafloor," *Reuters*, August 1, 2010; <http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/08/01/us-usa-canada-arctic-idUSTRE6700SP20100801>. As close neighbors with a long, complex but largely pacific history of bilateral relations (with perhaps the War of 1812, domestic Canadian tensions during World War II and the early Cold War over a largely unrestricted U.S. military operating within Canada's sovereign boundaries, reciprocal tensions in the United States in response to Canadian support of America's Vietnam War resistors finding sanctuary from conscription, and a variety of protracted trade disputes as notable exceptions), Canada and the United States have learned to cooperate on many issues while nonetheless continuing to disagree with each other on various issues of policy – so it is no surprise this continues in the Arctic. As the Arctic Governance Project has noted, the 1988 Canada–U.S. Arctic Cooperation Agreement is a case in point, in that it "allows for practical cooperation regarding matters relating to the Northwest Passage while affirming that the two countries agree to disagree about the status of the passage under applicable international law. It demonstrates a capacity to collaborate in functional terms without resolving legal differences." See: "The Canada–U.S. Arctic Cooperation Agreement," The Arctic Governance Project; <http://arcticgovernance.custom-publish.com/the-canada-us-arctic-cooperation-agreement.4668242-142904.html>.

On the long dispute between Canada and Denmark over Hans Island, see: "Canada and Denmark to share Hans Island? 37-year dispute over one-kilometre square rock may be coming to an end," *Maclean's*, November 9, 2010; <http://www2.macleans.ca/2010/11/09/canada-and-denmark-to-share-hans-island/>. Also see this interesting exchange of letters in the *Ottawa Citizen*: David Anido, "Greenland is an important neighbour," *Ottawa Citizen*, May 14, 2011; <http://www2.canada.com/ottawacitizen/views/story.html?id=ffe612ab-9184-444b-b295-294e558e6870>, and: Peter Juel Thiis Knudsen, "Strong arm not wanted in Arctic," *Ottawa Citizen*, May 18, 2011. On the general issue of boundary disputes between Canada and its Arctic neighbors, and their domestic political roots, see: John Ivison, "How to keep a cool head in the Arctic," *National Post*, March 30, 2010; <http://oped.ca/National-Post/john-ivison-how-to-keep-a-cool-head-in-the-arctic/>.

- 52 Luke Harding, "Russia and Norway resolve Arctic border dispute: Treaty allows for new oil and gas exploration and settles 40-year row over Barents Sea," *The Guardian*, September 15, 2010; <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/sep/15/russia-norway-arctic-border-dispute>; and "Russia, Norway border agreement opens Arctic up to exploration," *New Europe*, September 19, 2010; <http://www.neurope.eu/article/russia-norway-border-agreement-opens-arctic-exploration>.
- 53 On the renewal of Cold War-like tensions between Russia and the West, see: M. K. Bhadrakumar, "U.S. Breathes Life into a New Cold War," *Asia Times Online*, June 7, 2011; http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Central_Asia/MF07Ag01.html.
- 54 As described on a Northern Sea Route website (<http://northern-sea-route.co.tv/>), "After the breakup of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, commercial navigation in the Siberian Arctic went into decline. More or less regular shipping is to be found only from Murmansk to Dudinka in the west and between Vladivostok and Pevek in the

- east. Ports between Dudinka and Pevek see virtually no shipping. Logashkino and Nordvik were abandoned and are now ghost towns. Renewed interest led to several demonstration voyage[s] in 1997" – as described by Lawson W. Brigham: "The Northern Sea Route, 1997," *Polar Record* 34 (1998): 219–24. In the years since, interest in, and use of, the route has been steadily rising.
- 55 See Halford J. Mackinder, "The Round World and the Winning of the Peace," *Foreign Affairs* 21, no. 4 (1943): 595–605. Also see Barry Zellen, *Arctic Doom, Arctic Boom* and Caitlyn L. Antrim, "The Next Geographical Pivot: The Russian Arctic in the Twenty-first Century," *Naval War College Review* 63, no. 3 (2010): 14–37; <http://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/f8217b41-afd2-4649-8378-7b6c8a7e61d2/The-Next-Geographical-Pivot--The-Russian-Arctic-in.aspx>.
 - 56 See: Lawson W. Brigham, "Russia Opens Its Maritime Arctic," *Proceedings*, May 2011, and Antrim, "The Next Geographical Pivot."
 - 57 "Russia outlines Arctic force plan," *BBC News*, March 27, 2009; <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7967973.stm>; "Moscow to deploy more forces in Arctic," *Russia Today* (RT.com), March 30, 2011; <http://rt.com/politics/moscow-deploy-forces-arctic/>.
 - 58 See: Dan Shapley, "Global Warming, the Arctic Thaw and the New Cold War: Why Russia's Incursion into Georgia Bodes Ill for the Climate," *The Daily Green*, August 18, 2008; <http://www.thedailygreen.com/environmental-news/blogs/shapley/arctic-thaw-47081802>, and Robert Coalson, "A Year After Russia-Georgia War – A New Reality, But Old Relations," *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty* (RFE/RL), August 5, 2009; http://www.rferl.org/content/A_Year_After_RussiaGeorgia_War__A_New_Reality_But_Old_Relations/1793048.html.
 - 59 For details on the final years of Russian America, see Anatole G. Mazour, "The Prelude to Russia's Departure from America," *Pacific Historical Review* 10, no. 3 (1941): 311–19; and Frank A. Golder, "The Purchase of Alaska," *American Historical Review* 25 (1920): 411–25; Victor J. Farrar, *The Annexation of Russian America to the United States* (Washington, D.C.: W. F. Roberts, 1937).
 - 60 Vladimir Solovyov and Elena Klepikova, *Zhirinovsky: Russian Fascism and the Making of a Dictator* (New York: Perseus, 1995); Timothy Egan, "The World; Alaskans Don't Want to Be Anyone's Siberia," *New York Times*, December 19, 1993; <http://www.nytimes.com/1993/12/19/weekinreview/the-world-alaskans-don-t-want-to-be-anyone-s-siberia.html>; David McHugh, "Zhirinovsky Snubs Court Date Again," *The Moscow Times*, December 18, 1997; <http://www.themoscowtimes.com/news/article/zhirinovsky-snubs-court-date-again/296373.html>; "Zhirinovsky Beat: At Home with Russia's Top Ultranationalist," *Time*, February 28, 1994; <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,980254,00.html>. As Timothy Egan wrote in the *New York Times*, "the 49th state is not exactly warming to the idea of taking this a step further. So it is saying no, thanks, to Vladimir V. Zhirinovsky, the right-wing extremist who stunned the world with his strong showing in elections in Russia on Sunday, and who in the past has suggested that Alaska be reclaimed by his country.... Whether Mr. Zhirinovsky is serious about restoring Alaska to what was once imperial Russia remained unclear after his press conference last week. But his party emblem offers a clue; it includes a map of the czarist empire embracing everything from Finland to Alaska."
 - 61 See: The Ilulissat Declaration, Arctic Ocean Conference, Ilulissat, Greenland, May 27–29, 2008; http://www.oceanlaw.org/downloads/arctic/Ilulissat_Declaration.pdf.
 - 62 Mikhail Gorbachev, Speech in Murmansk at the Ceremonial Meeting on the Occasion of the Presentation of the Order of Lenin

and the Gold Star to the City of Murmansk, Murmansk, Russia, October 1, 1987; http://www.barentsinfo.fi/docs/Gorbachev_speech.pdf. Also see: Kristian Åtland, "Mikhail Gorbachev, the Murmansk Initiative, and the Desecuritization of Interstate Relations in the Arctic," *Cooperation and Conflict* 43, no. 3 (2008): 289–311.

- 63 Dan Elliot, "AP Interview: NORAD Commanders Say Melting Ice and Energy Development Will Make Arctic Busier," *Associated Press*, May 7, 2011.
- 64 John Vandiver, "Arctic Pact may Herald Cooperation in Region," *Stars and Stripes*, May 13, 2011; <http://www.stripes.com/news/arctic-pact-may-herald-cooperation-in-region-1.143488>.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 As noted on the web page of the National Museum of the U.S. Air Force, in 1924, "Mitchell made an inspection tour of the Pacific and the Far East, after which

he made his famous prediction that the Japanese would attack Pearl Harbor on a Sunday morning." As further noted, "During World War II, some of Billy Mitchell's warning came through, none more so than his famous prediction of war with Japan. In an official report submitted after his trip around the Pacific Ocean in 1924, Mitchell warned that Japan's expansionism would lead to conflict with the United States, and he foretold how a war would start. He stated that the war would begin with a surprise attack by Japanese forces on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, in conjunction with an assault on the Philippines. 'Attack will be launched as follows: Bombardment, attack to be made on Ford Island (in Pearl Harbor) at 7:30 a.m.... Attack to be made on Clark Field (Philippines) at 10:40 a.m.' On December 7, 1941, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor at 7:55 a.m. and Clark Field just hours later." See: "Brig. Gen. William 'Billy' Mitchell," NationalMuseum.af.mil, February 11, 2010; <http://www.nationalmuseum.af.mil/factsheets/factsheet.asp?id=739>.