

Ett nytt Arktis

Förändringar i regionen och
följder för Sverige.

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Focus

- Global trends: worsening geo-strategic trends and climate change affects the Arctic.
- Climate warming as a driver for change in the Arctic.
- Follow-on effects in the Arctic.
- Cooperation in Arctic affairs.
- Big three in the Arctic: Russia, China and the USA.
- Sweden: our arctic neighbourhood, The High North and the North Atlantic.
- Discussion, Q/A.



Totalförsvarets forskningsinstitut – FOI

- Civil myndighet under försvarsdepartementet.
- 1000 anställda, c:a 800 forskare.
- Elektronik, CBRN-Skydd, Försvars- och säkerhetssystem, Försvarsanalys
- Stockholm, Linköping, Umeå, Södertörn.



Arctic Studies at FOI

- Started in 2007.
- Studies, reports, articles and memos. Study-trips to the region. Media interviews, FOI-Podcast.
- On behalf of: MFA, MoD, Swe Armed Forces, other government agencies, major companies.
- International network for research.
- Topics:
 - Major energy- and mineral resources on land and in the sea will become accessible for extraction.
 - Transoceanic SLoC's are opening up.
 - Military strategic role is changing.
 - External actors influencing the region.
 - Changes to sovereignty – effects in the region.
 - Overlapping territorial claims and the law of the sea.
 - Multilateral cooperation and international relations in the region.
 - State- and non-state actors in and outside the Arctic region.



Geostrategic change – Worsening Security Situation

- Geopolitical change and great power competition leads to a lower degree of predictability in the international system.
- Climate change leads to more human activity in the Arctic.
- Interaction between geopolitical change and climate change leads to a new Arctic region.
- Sweden's northern and northwestern neighbourhood is affected.

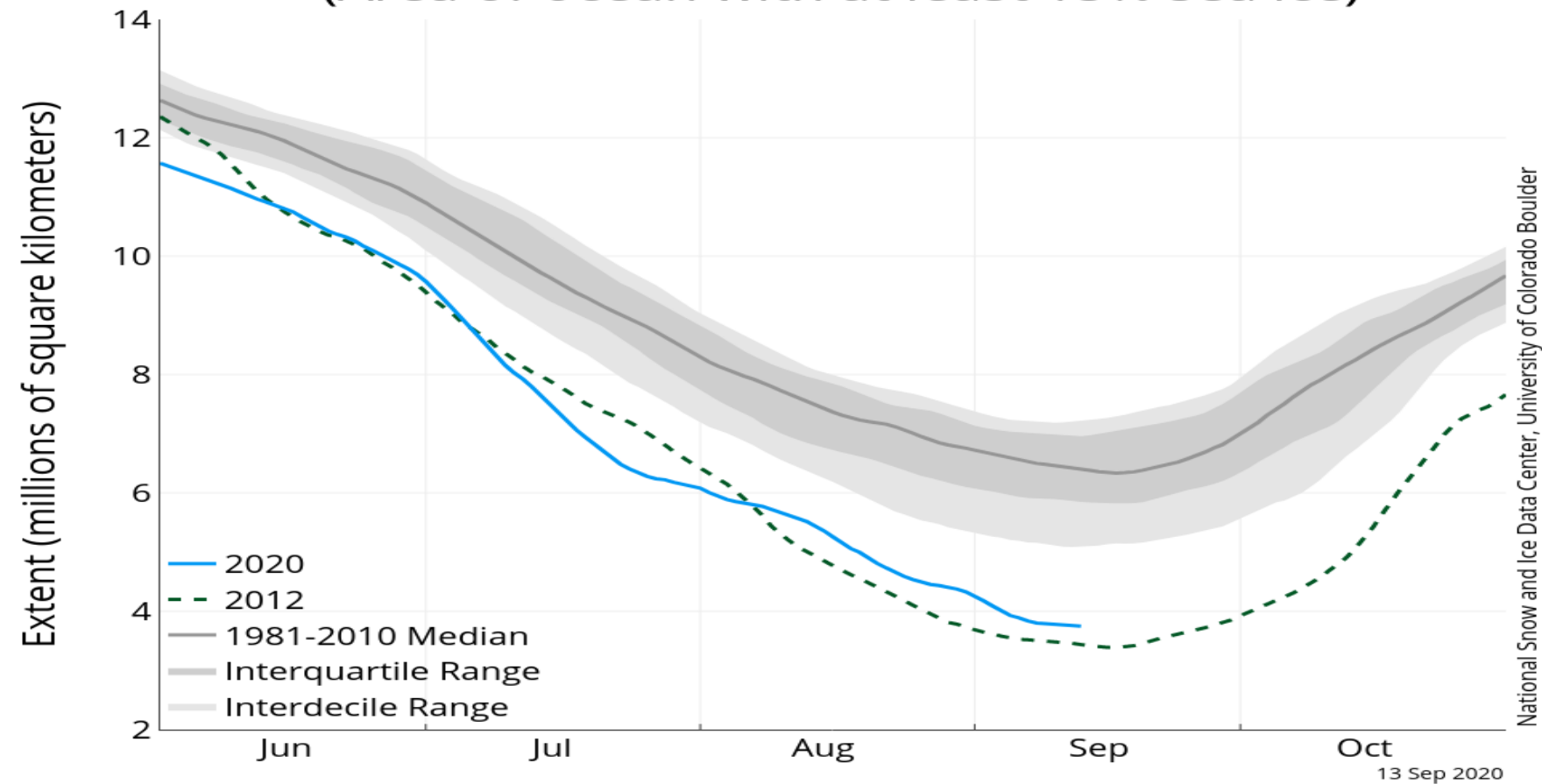


G7-summit, Charlevoix, Quebec 8-9 June, 2018.

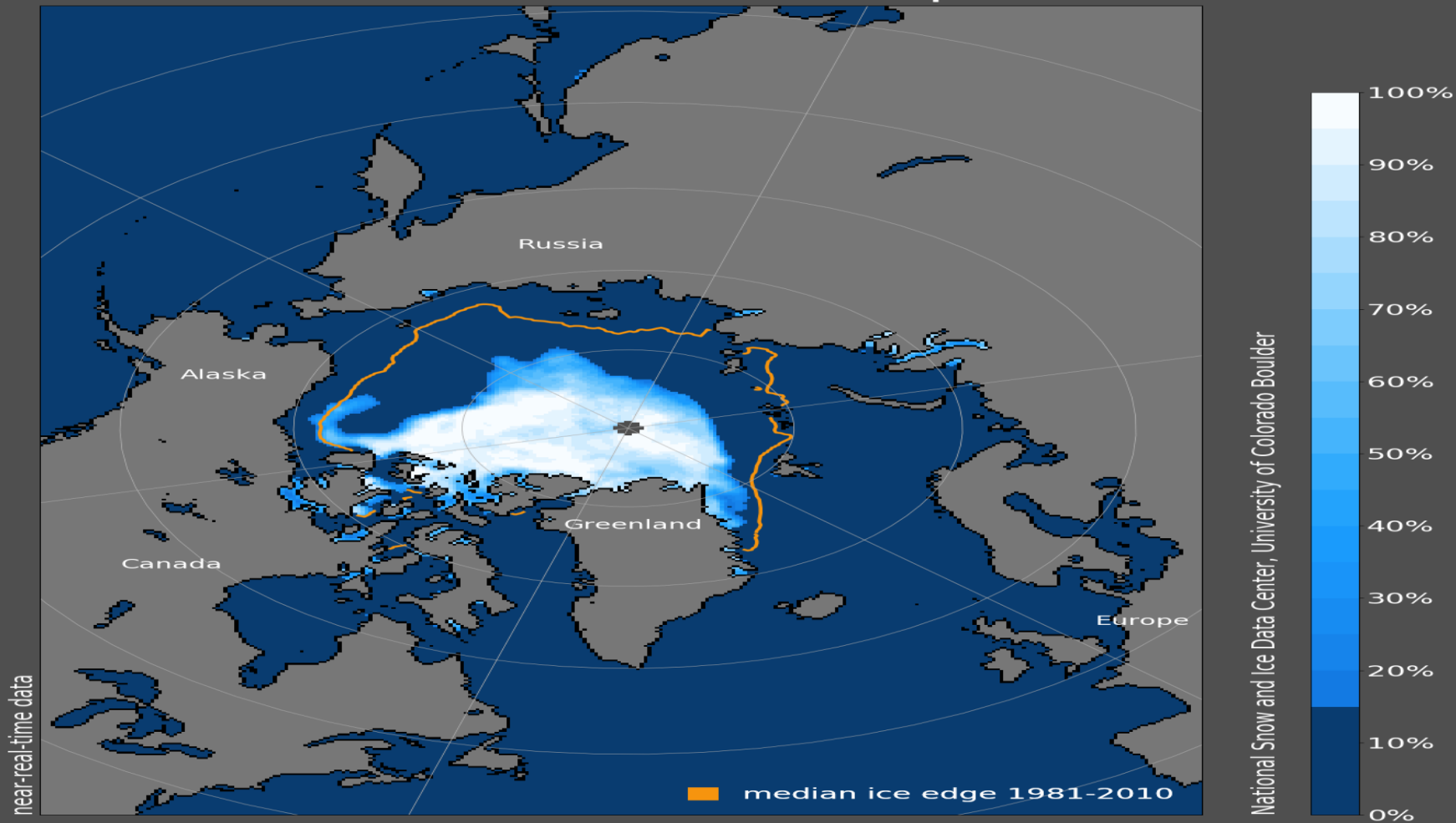
”Försvarsberedningen noterar”...”att intressen står emot varandra inte bara i Östersjöregionen utan även i Arktis. Beredningen understryker att Sverige är en arktisk nation. Nordkalotten, Barents hav, Norska havet och de norra delarna av Nordatlanten är en del av Sveriges närområde på samma sätt som Östersjön och Västerhavet är det. Beredningen menar att svenskt strategiskt tänkande hittills i alltför liten utsträckning beaktat den säkerhetspolitiska och militära utvecklingen i Arktis och hur den kan påverka Sverige.”

Försvarsberedningens rapport Värnkraft, Ds 2019:8, s.50.

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

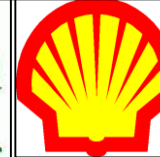


Sea Ice Concentration, 13 Sep 2020



Follow-on effects – more human activity to be expected

- Energy- and mineral extraction
- New transoceanic SLoCs
- Overlapping territorial claims
- Fisheries
- Tourism
- Indigenous populations
- Environmental protection
- Scientific research
- New actors – multilateral, state and non-state, regional and external
- Institutional developments
- Military strategic role



Inter-state cooperation for Arctic affairs: the Arctic Council.

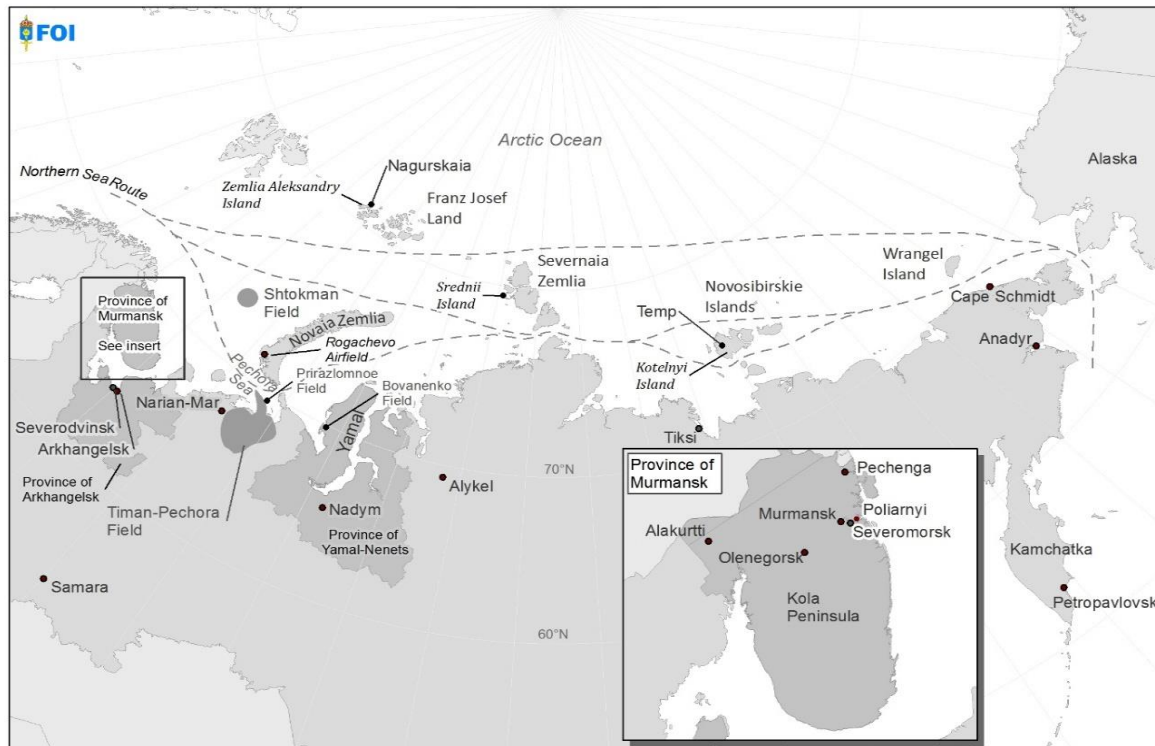
- From "bottom-up" to "top-down".
- The AC has been upgraded:
 - A budget
 - A secretariat
 - Better communication efforts
 - New and binding agreement on search and rescue and protection from oil spills.
 - Six new states with permanent observer status in 2013 (PRC, IT, SING, JAP, IND, ROK) EU's is pending.
- Role of observers?
- Limits in mandate?
- Other formats – "A5", bilateral? Where to discuss security issues?
- A glass ceiling for the AC?



Arctic Council members photo op in Nuuk, Greenland: NO, SWE, ISL, DK, SF, US, RF, CAN.

Russia – striving for a great power role 1(2)

- Strategic seclusion from the west:
 - Inner repression, outward aggression.
 - Control over territory in peace, crisis and war.
 - Long lines of history used instrumentally.
- Well-developed knowledge base for operating in the north.
- A fifth strategic direction in the north driver for activity:
 - Strategies for shipping, energy and security.
 - Military build-up. New bases, exercise pattern, more units, C2-arrangments.
 - Offensive posture.



Russia – striving for a great power role 2(2)

- High North and Kola Peninsula base complex: Strategic Nuclear 2nd –strike capability central and existential:
 - Maintaining strategic parity with the US to the utmost.
 - "Cylinder of interest" reaches far into Sweden, Finland, Norway and adjacent seas.
 - "Nuclear Bastion" enables power projection south into the North Atlantic.
- Northern sea route and Kola Base complex seen in the same context.
- Energy and mineral extraction, LNG-export makes SLoC's central.
- Can all plans be fully implemented?



Russian Borei-class SSBN K-551 Vladimir Monomakh.

China in the Arctic – The New Black

- Strong growth in power. Authoritarian power with global ambitions. Long-term actions supported by coordinated strategy.
- Arctic strategy since January 2018: "A Near Arctic Power". Actions in the region are to generate rights.
- A search for footholds: Greenland, Norway, Iceland, Sweden. Similar methods as in Africa, The Pacific etc.
- China-Russia relations: A marriage of convenience or the beginnings of a real alliance? "The Polar Silk Road".
- The Law of the Sea: One policy for the Arctic and a different one for the South China Sea.

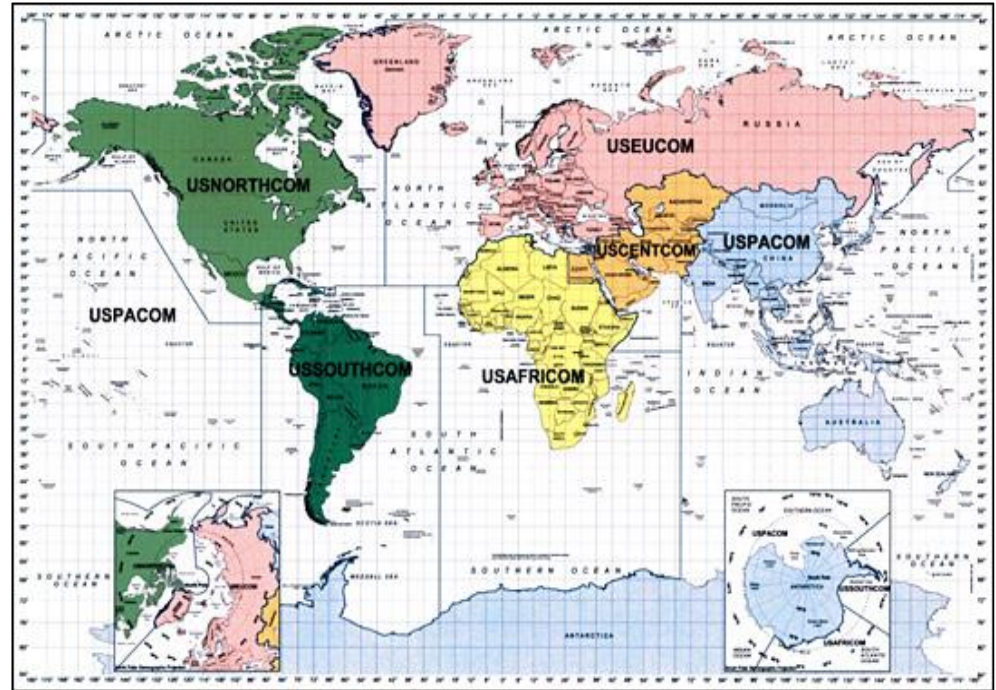


Chinese icebreaker Xuě Lóng 2, operational from July 2019. Built in China, designed in Finland.



USA – Arctic policy under change

- Slow policy development in the past decade, faster pace in recent years.
- Improved Arctic knowledge-base in the US.
- Strong domestic policy polarization affects decision-making.
- Realization that the Arctic cannot be left to Russia and China acts as driver for policy development.
- Breakthrough for a more active policy: New icebreakers, top-level policy statements, presence, exercises, C2-arrangements etc.
- Key areas:
 - Freedom of Navigation: global or regional?
 - Climate Change – Accepted or not?
 - Energy- and mineral extraction, Law of the Sea and military strategy.
 - China-Russia Arctic relations.



US UCP 2011.

Sweden's Arctic and Nordic Neighbourhood: Northern Scandinavia and the North Atlantic

- Russia aims for a no-go zone in the north to protect its nuclear capabilities.
- Russian ambition leads to a "new" situation in the High North and the North Atlantic.
- Opportunities for RU power projection south into the North Atlantic. SLoCs and telecom-cables.
- Russian-Chinese actions in the region. Joint or parallel?
- The western powers: US Navy 2nd fleet, Nato JFC-NF, exercises, operations, basing. Resource allocation?
- Limited nordic rearmament and increased bi- and multilateral security cooperation.
- Risk of balkanization of the N Atlantic region: Greenland, Scotland, and Faroe Islands.
- Northern Ireland: A new version of "the troubles"?





Arctic Ocean

GREENLAND

Franz Josef Land
(Russia)

Svalbard
(Norway)

Greenland Sea

Jan Mayen

Bear Island

Barents Sea

Novaya
Zemlya

Kara Sea

Norwegian Sea

Murmansk

White Sea

Archangel'sk

SWEDEN

FINLAND

NORWAY

RUSSIA

North Sea

DENMARK

Baltic Sea

ESTONIA

St. Petersburg

LATVIA

LITHUANIA

GERMANY

POLAND

Moscow

NORTH

0 200 400 600 800

Kilometres



Ett nytt och geopolitiskt viktigare
Arktis växer fram.

Ett nytt Arktis kan inte ses isolerat
från resten av världen.

Förändringsfaktorerna utvecklas
enligt egen hastighet och inre logik.

Utfallet blir svårt att förutse.

www.foi.se/arctic



Thank you!