

# HOTHOUSE IN THE ARCTIC

## PANNING FOR WEALTH or BALANCING PROGRESS

**The High North**—the often frozen lands and waters near and north of the Arctic Circle—has more attention today than ever in history. And more action too. The hot focus is on its abundant mineral resources at a time when temperature warming and engineering advances make them freshly accessible and profitably efficient.

**This commercial trajectory** is counterbalanced by notably new shepherding and stewarding of the region by the eight adjacent northern countries with historic territorial stakes there.

**The prime players** in this sometimes elegant if more often stumbling pas de deux have attracted extractive multinational corporations on the one hand and native indigenous inhabitants on the other, with a new fraternity of officials and scientists from the eight northern countries working under the aegis of the Arctic Council as referee in the center.

**The Arctic is widely estimated** to hold more than 30 percent of the world's untapped mineral resources in a land and water area comprising less than 2.5 percent of the globe. Climate change is the powerful joker in this mix. Northern scientists chart the combination of glacier thaw and the warming of the permafrost as a combustible tocsin. Fresh evidence proves its magnifying impact around the globe. Warming ice is raising ocean levels worldwide. Thawing permafrost that long captured deadly CO<sub>2</sub> and methane in a state of frozen hibernation is starting to exhaust these into the atmosphere.

US NAVY PHOTO



*Arctic Prowling—from Military to Merchants*

**Since the outset** of the industrial revolution, deep freeze of the Arctic has been a security blanket over odorous gases for the rest of the globe. It's under threat of losing this purpose now.

**New Arctic realities** are posing puzzling questions. Is the area's laboratory beaker half full or half empty? Are the energized Arctic Council countries capable of balancing vested pressures between commercial and human interests—and can they point a fresh cooperative compass for the world?

*“The Warming Arctic: Voyage of Re-discovery” is an undertaking of the Edward R. Murrow Center of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University to convene statesmen and scientists and business and native leaders to weigh Arctic policies, public awareness and some risk assessment resource indicators. It is a real-time exercise of “public diplomacy,” engaging the hothouse issues of the circumpolar High North.*

*This report highlights an international inquiry among statesmen, scholars, business and media leaders at The Fletcher School in March 2012.*



## Keynote by President of Iceland

# Cooperation of Arctic Countries Becoming Model for Globe

How does a region go from being a major focus of military confrontation to one of the most fascinating models of international cooperation in less than two decades?

This is a question Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson, the sitting President of Iceland, was delighted to answer at the concluding session of a two-day conference held at The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

Over the course of his lifetime and his impressive public service career, President Grímsson has witnessed the sensational evolution of the Arctic region. It has transformed from one of the most potentially destructive places in the world—the military center of the Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union—to a prime example of cooperation across national and institutional boundaries.

“The superpowers that once divided the world have now become the supporting pillars of this remarkable cooperation,” President Grímsson explained during his keynote remarks. “It shows you can transform the worst of enemies into the best of partners.”



President Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson

The eight-member Arctic Council “has moved center stage in constructive cooperation on a number of critical issues, including how to plan the opening of new sea routes and measuring climate change,” observed President Grímsson.

The council has operated under a political system that is more democratic than any other international or regional organization, as it formally involves indigenous people and non-governmental organizations at the highest levels of policy-making. In addition, President Grímsson noted it has become a “new intellectual frontier of research, science, discovery and international scholarly cooperation.”

The governance of the Arctic region is of particular relevance in global geopolitics because the region holds 30 percent of the world’s untapped energy resources. Decisions regarding how these resources will be utilized may be made using this new framework.

President Grímsson identified six elements to explain why the Arctic Circle has successfully developed a new model of international cooperation: (1) the non-bureaucratic nature of the organization, (2) its democratic aspect, (3) new diplomatic norms that allow for greater communication across ranks, (4) an emphasis on science-based policy, (5) absolute equality among member states and (6) the future orientation of the tasks.

The Arctic’s untapped mineral resources are not the only reason for the region’s significant role in today’s international arena. The Arctic countries are also leaders in the clean energy field, with Iceland, for example, moving from 80 percent dependence on imported oil to 100 percent self-sufficiency in its electricity needs through clean energy. These advances have even attracted the attention of China, which considers Iceland a main partner in the geothermal transformation of its heating capabilities.

—Reporting by Elia Boggia, Fletcher MALD

*The conference focused on the political, economic and environmental implications of the warming Arctic. It was organized by the Murrow Center of The Fletcher School with cooperation from the Center of International Environment and Resource Policy. The dialogue brought together policy makers and media, business and government leaders and centered on the challenges, failures and urgent tasks that may confront the Arctic Council.*

### ICE OUT REALITIES

**The opening of the fabled Northwest Passage for seasonal maritime passage due to the melting of the ice pack is not the big breakthrough that most had foreseen. For circumpolar trade and transport, the opening of Russia’s Northern Sea Route holds the commercial cards. Compared to the circuitous route of the Northwest Passage above Canada, the Russian route is more direct from Europe to Asia, has more ice-free days and better repair and bunkering ports for merchant and oil tankers.**

—Crocker Snow Jr., Director, Murrow Center

## Canadian Foundation's Vision for Peace, Consensus and Native Voices Take Hold

In 1987, the Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation, based in Toronto, Canada, was exploring ways to modestly encourage world peace and nuclear disarmament when USSR President Gorbachev gave a speech in Murmansk calling for "a zone of peace" in the Arctic.

Our nuclear disarmament champions were ecstatic and we all started thinking about supporting a distinctly Canadian and useful contribution to world peace.

To date, the Gordon Foundation had been supporting beleaguered northern Inuit communities objecting to the indifference of the Canadian Government to the consequences of low flying NORAD flights, acid rain and airborne contaminants affecting their way of life. That began to change.

My sister, Jane Glassco, and I attended an Inuit Circumpolar Conference in Sisimiut, Greenland in 1988. We were impressed by the sophistication and wisdom of many of the leaders. (Alaskan Inuit leader and Fletcher School graduate Dalee Sambo was a brilliant force at that meeting, along with Nunavut leaders John Amagualik, Mary Simon and Rosemary Kuptana. Other key northern leaders present included the former Yukon Premier Tony Penikett, Canadian Arctic Resource Council founders, and Sheila Watt Cloutier who later headed ICC.)

A nuclear-free zone in the Arctic, inspired by the Russians from their nuclear submarine base in Murmansk, offered a complete tilt to current disarmament thinking.

Our Foundation gathered together a Canadian Advisory group and began convening northern leaders and Arctic experts of all kinds from around the pole. (Tom Axworthy, John Lamb from the Canadian Center for Disarmament, Fred Roots, Professor Franklyn Griffiths, John Merritt a consultant to ICC leaders, and Mary Simon led our advisory group).

Gradually the ideas for a forum for deliberation and cooperation among the eight Arctic nations took shape.

Arctic populations share common problems with health, education, and welfare, and common environmental and ecological security concerns. Solutions to these issues, which rely on knowledge recognized throughout the north but not necessarily appreciated from the remove of the southern

capitals of some of the Arctic nations, could be better addressed in what we started to call the Arctic Council.

Countries like Greenland, Denmark, Iceland, Norway and Finland could already appreciate the enormous value of a forum where the negotiations of the USA, Russia and Canada could be modified by the experience of the other northerners. To retain American involvement, we had to agree to exclude military security issues from discussion. U.S. interests in Davis Straits (like all multi-lateral association at the time), were strictly off the agenda.

A lot of "experts" advised us expertly over the next decade, providing a muddled and realistic strategic education on the vicissitudes of making and influencing public policy. Key to

all recommendations made for this Arctic forum was the value and importance of local indigenous knowledge and their voices at the table. This has remained a fundamental principle, key to all eight Arctic countries, as the institutional shape of the Council has evolved.

Indigenous people from around the Arctic Circle have non-voting but official status as "Permanent Participants," guaranteeing their presence and active participation in all discussions and debates.

The other guiding principle was the importance of consensus decision-making, time consuming, but essential to indigenous experience on the land and to conflict resolution.

In 1996, the Arctic Council became official. We celebrated with the second Canadian government in power since we had started. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and the Conservatives began the response to Gorbachev's challenge; Lloyd Axworthy, as Minister of Foreign Affairs for Liberal Prime Minister Jean Chretien brought it to fruition. Tom Axworthy, Lloyd's brother, former First Secretary to Pierre Trudeau and current President and CEO of the Gordon Foundation, led the effort.

Canada was responsible for the first two-year rotating Secretariat function and appointed Inuit leader, Mary Simon, to be its first Arctic Ambassador to work with the other Arctic nations and the Council.

—By **Kyra Montagu**, Trustee,  
Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation

### ARCTIC ACTIONS

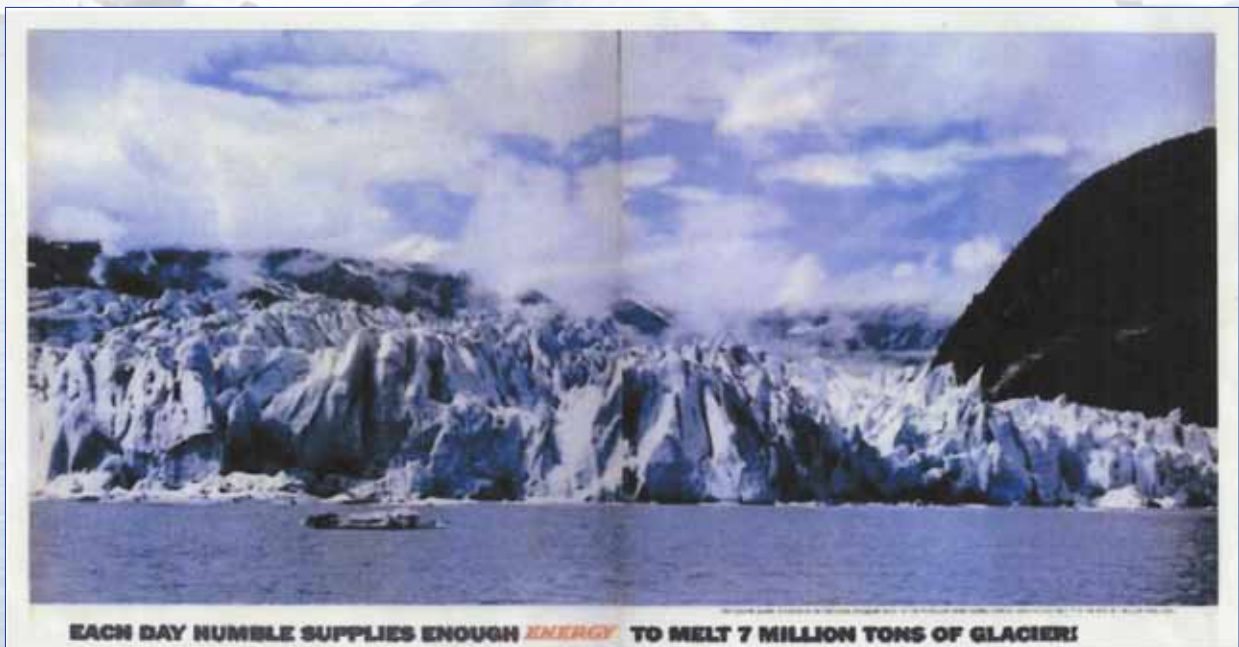
**We are witnessing an exciting Arctic renaissance. Just as the International Polar Year 2007–2009 revealed that the Arctic is not static, but is constantly changing, Arctic borders are likewise on the move. Lingering border disputes, issues regarding new territory, and implementation of the Law of the Seas Treaty are among the sovereign challenges we're working to resolve. Among Arctic neighbors, it's an ongoing balancing act between competition and cooperation . . . I've been privileged to see us build a real neighborhood at the top of the world."**

—Mead Treadwell, Lt. Governor, state of Alaska

## Arctic Snapshots — Past, Present, Future



*The Sápmi call themselves an ancient nomadic tribe unconstrained by borders between Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia where they live and follow traditional trades and reindeer husbandry. Counting 80,000, they represent the second largest indigenous group to the Inuit, in the Arctic.*



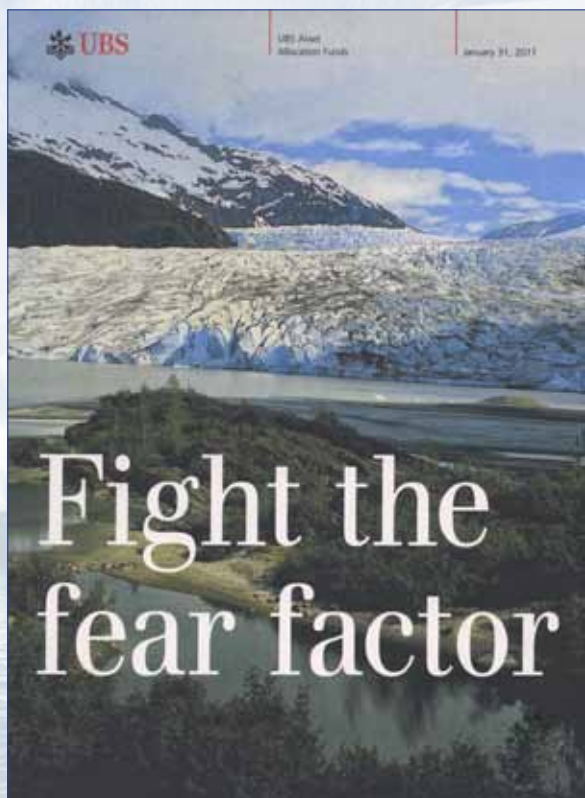
*Warming glaciers were portrayed as a good thing fifty years ago . . .*

*(FROM A 1962 MAGAZINE AD PREPARED BY U.S. ENERGY COMPANIES HUMBLE AND ENCO)*



The North Pole is the bulls-eye of the familiar worldwide flag of the United Nations that was charted in 1945 in San Francisco.

The 2007 Russian expedition to the North Pole, led by polar explorer Artur Chilingarov, left a titanium Russian flag deposited on the sea bottom 2.7 miles below the surface and upped the ante about whether any lands have sovereignty of the North Pole.



... Now they are portrayed as an object of fear.

(FROM COVER OF ANNUAL REPORT OF GLOBAL FINANCIAL SERVICES COMPANY UBS.)



Renowned cartographer, Gerhard Mercator, 1512–1594, created this first full map of the Arctic in 1569.

## Shared Hands: Multimedia Consortium Tackles Arctic Issues

A multimedia partnership to better deal with the vital and quick-changing issues of the Arctic has been created by three editors who participated in the conference. **Global Post** (online), **Alaska Dispatch**, and **Living on Earth** (Public Radio) are cooperating in this consortium under the auspices of the Murrow Center.

## A Sampling of Under-Reported Arctic Stories

**NO RACE TO RICHES** — Current, commonly held expectations that the untapped resources of the Arctic presage territorial conflict and dispute among northern nations and others is largely a manufactured media story. Offshore and continental shelf agreements—bilateral and through the Law of the Seas—cover almost 95% of the Arctic lands, leaving little leeway for dispute among the northern countries or aspiring non-Arctic countries such as Japan, Korea and China.

**FRESH FROZEN OIL SPILLS**—The nightmare for northern country Coast Guards, oil companies and area inhabitants is a major oil spill occurring in a remote area of the Arctic under deep frozen, 24-hour dark conditions. Norway's lack of success last February trying to handle a minor spill on ice on an island in the Oslo Fjord highlights the difficulty.

**IMPORTING POLLUTION** — The Arctic seas and the northern nations are facing fresh existential threats not of their own making. Rising temperatures and receding ice caps stem from atmospheric change due to human and industrial activity in non-northern regions. The North is fighting a losing not-in-my-backyard battle.

**NATIVE VOICES HEARD**—Unlike parts of the world such as Africa, Australia, and Latin America, where indigenous peoples struggle for recognition and consideration, the main Eskimo tribes of the North—Inuit, Sami, Aleut—are getting their voices, values and virtues factored into all forums of Arctic development and discussion today.

**FAST FROZEN SEED CAPSULE**—The Global Seed Bank, established in Norway's island of Svalbard (Spitsbergen) some ten years ago now, has 750,000 seeds, grains and strains from around the world hibernating in a frozen vault for preservation inside a mountain that is only opened and inspected twice a year.

**TIGER TEAMS AND DRONES**—the eye in the Arctic skies for live-time ice surveying and other scientific research is typically provided by small, subor-

bital, unmanned drones launched from a University of Alaska Fairbanks facility at Poker Flats.

**LONELINESS OF THE LONG DISTANCE SWIMMERS**—It's not just polar bears who are forced to swim beyond their accustomed range due to receding icecaps. The nomadic walrus can no longer rely on ice flows to ride for months at a time, so herds are hauling out on remote northern lands as a survival practice.

**BREAKING THE ICE**—There's nothing too friendly about the competition among northern nations over their Arctic ice breaker fleets. With two old icebreakers apiece, the U.S. and Canada lag well

behind the Russian fleet of 12—some nuclear powered—and are carefully watching China's new and modern entry in the field.

**CHOKE POINT**—Alaska's Bering Straits connecting the Arctic Ocean with the Bering Sea, the closest point between the U.S. and Russia—20 miles but 24 hour time difference due to the international dateline—is becoming an ice free choke point for maritime traffic, commercial, military and even cruise ships destined for ports in Japan, Korea and China.

**COLD GRAPES**—Grape vineyards were planted near Trondheim, Norway, well north of Oslo, last year. As evidence of climate change and warming temperatures, the experimental vineyards survived the winter.

## Inquiry Participants

### Speakers

**Scott G. Borgerson**, *Managing Director, Cargometrics, Boston*

**Lawson W. Brigham**, *Professor Geography and Arctic Policy, University of Alaska Fairbanks*

**Karin Chamberlain**, *Sustainable Business Consultant*

**William M. Eichbaum**, *Vice President, World Wildlife Fund*

**Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson**, *President of Iceland*

**Alan Henrikson**, *Professor of Diplomatic History, Tufts University*

**John Kerry**, *Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Comm., U.S. Senate*

**Pontus Melander**, *Minister Counselor, Embassy of Sweden*

**William Moomaw**, *Professor of International Environmental Policy, Tufts University*

**Alexander Pelyasov**, *Head of Center for Arctic & Northern Ecos, Moscow*

**Alice Rogoff**, *Publisher, Alaska Dispatch, Anchorage*

**Crocker Snow**, *Director, Murrow Center for Public Diplomacy, Tufts University*

**Mead Treadwell**, *Lieutenant Governor, State of Alaska, Juneau*

**Roberta Graham**, *Senior Fellow, Institute of the North, Anchorage*

**Joseph A. Stanislaw**, *Founder, The JASTanislaw Group LLC, Boston*

### Moderators

**Charles Sennott**, *Vice President, Executive Editor and Co-Founder, Global Post, Boston*

**Steve Curwood**, *Founder, Living on Earth*

### Participants

**Nils Andreassen**, *Managing Director, Institute of the North, Anchorage*

**Mary Ellen Aronow**, *Senior Forest Economist, Hancock Timber Resource Group*

**Michael Burger**, *Associate Professor, Roger Williams University School of Law, RI*

**Steve Colt**, *Professor, University of Alaska*

**Ellen Jedrey**, *Assistant Director, Mass Audubon*

**Örnólfur Thorsson**, *Secretary General, Office of the President of Iceland, Reykjavik*

**Ashley Welch**, *Director Leadership & Sustainability Practice, Interaction Associates, Boston*

**Wilford Welch**, *Co-Founder, Beyond Sustainability, Sausalito*

**John McGah**, *Executive Director, Give US Your Poor, Boston*

**Malcom J. Williams**, *CAPT, USCG retired, Washington, DC*

**Val Livada**, *Senior Lecturer, M.I.T. School of Management, Cambridge*

**Anders Lunde**, *Trainee, Royal Norwegian Consulate*

**Henrik Width**, *Deputy Consul General, Royal Norwegian Consulate*

**Aaron Annable**, *Counsel and Head Foreign Policy and Diplomacy Service, Consul General of Canada*

**Patrick Binn**, *Canadian Consul General to New England, Consul General of Canada*

**Oran Young**, *Professor, University of California at Santa Barbara*

**Gail Osherenko**, *Project Scientist in Law and Policy, University of California at Santa Barbara*

**Caitlin McNally**, *Producer, Frontline*

**Kyra Montagu**, *Trustee, Walter & Duncan Gordon Foundation*

**Stephen Brown**, *Director of Shorebird Science, Manomet Center for Conservation Sciences*

**Douglas Struck**, *Journalist in Residence and Associate Chair, Emerson College, Boston*

**Kevin Grant**, *Deputy Editor for Special Reports, Global Post*

**George Gamota**, *President, STMA LLC, Boston*

**Augusta Stanislaw**, *The JASTanislaw Group LLC, Boston*

## Public Diplomacy Campaign Needed

# Mankind Knows More about the Moon than about the Arctic

Public Diplomacy starts with the premise that dialogue is central to achieving the goals of foreign policy. Unlike standard diplomacy in which government leaders communicate with each other at the highest levels, public diplomacy reflects how a country—or an organization like the Arctic Council—communicates with citizens in other societies.

The phrase that was coined in the 1960s (by then dean of the Fletcher School Edmond A. Gullion) is now accepted and practiced by governments around the world. Public diplomacy is not propaganda; it involves tools of listening and conversation as well as of engaging, engineering consent and persuasion. Today it is undertaken by citizens groups and non-government organizations, by foundations and philanthropists, as much as by sovereign governments.

The changing challenges of the Arctic, coupled with new cooperation by the High North countries, makes the Arctic a prime public diplomacy prospect. It is fast becoming a test case for a range of critical issues ranging from climate change to indigenous health and resource extraction.

But lots of the rest of the world doesn't know it. The bad news is that mankind generally knows much more about the moon than about the Arctic. So how might the Arctic Council and other vested interests in the High North approach this?

The integration of the European Union is the most recent and effective case in point. If it's weighed down today with economic and financial challenges, it was earlier an exemplar of public diplomacy in initially bringing together 500 million people in 27 nations under one united political structure. It achieved alchemy over sovereignty through strategies that educated civil society over a 20-year period between 1985 and 2005 and teased out a new narrative.

Here's what happened. In 1984, leaders established a committee to the European Commission for a People's Europe with the job of suggesting tactics to "strengthen and promote the Community's identity and its image both for its citizens and for the rest of the world." Recommendations included personalized certificates awarded to all new-born babies attesting their birth as citizens of the European Union, and slogans to reinforce the European message. The adoption of

a new Latin motto, *in uno plures* (many in one) was offered, reflecting the plurality and diversity of Europe's cultures. This in contrast to the US motto *e pluribus unum* (out of many one).

When the campaign to adopt a single currency kicked off in 1996, there was a public competition to select the currency design and a jingle created for its launch. Other tools common to public diplomacy were used to advance the "peace and prosperity" label through radio and television advertising; videos aimed at informing trade unions and businesses about the benefits of the Euro; teams of trained speakers and celebrities participating in debates and meetings; trailers tagged on to movies; teleconferences; a

poster design competition; the creation of comic strips; educational materials for school children; and, a public relations campaign to persuade the media of Euro benefits.

All of this was well funded by European governments. They were supported by many regional and multinational private companies and corporations—Aerobus, British Gas, Coca-cola, Apple, Google, Samsung, Toyota, GE and many others—who saw economic integration as very much

in their private interests. The result was one of the most comprehensive and successful public diplomacy campaigns in history.

By contrast, the northern countries are at the public diplomacy starting line. The eight Arctic Council countries will surely take the lead. Big energy explorations companies like Shell, BP, Statoil, will doubtless play a role.

Aside from traditional print and broadcast media, other self-appointed communicators, bloggers, critics or anyone with a mobile device and a Facebook page or Twitter account can join and affect the dialogue today. Social media *per se* can participate in how any new narrative on the Arctic is created.

If the Arctic countries want their proper place at the global policy table to help safeguard its inhabitants and resources, they might consider a communications strategy that puts the North Pole at the epicenter, just as it is in the UN flag.

—By **Roberta Graham**, Fellow, Institute of the North, Anchorage

### ARCTIC BANALITIES

**It's banal to say the Arctic ice is melting. It's not banal to say the ice is melting unequally—i.e. more in Russia than in any other countries.**

**The Arctic is an equal like George Orwell's "Animal Farm"—all countries are equal but some are more equal than others.**

**It's wrong to think of Arctic regions or peoples as largely similar. The Arctic in fact is quite zonal in geography and inhabitants. People are less entrepreneurial as you go farther north.**

**They are more cooperative when developed markets have not penetrated well.**

—Alexander Pelyasov, Director, Center of Arctic and Northern Economies, Moscow

# Frustrations of Head of Senate Foreign Relations

## Can America Catch Up to Arctic Express?

### Losing the Notion of Responsible Capitalism

Doug Struck, *Daily Climate*: report on Senator Kerry's remarks at opening of conference (March, 2012)

Senator John Kerry, exasperated at what he called "the flat-earth caucus," on Sunday described the frustrations of working on environmental issues in the U.S. Senate.

In a dinner speech at Tufts University, Kerry voiced the exasperation of an environmental movement that had high hopes with the election of President Obama in 2008 but has been disappointed by the administration and largely shut out after the Republican takeover of the House in 2010.

"The irony is that we used to be a nation that valued science. We have become a nation that is now discarding science," Kerry said.

Kerry and Connecticut Sen. Joseph Lieberman, an independent, toiled through eight months of negotiation to draft a 2010 bill that would have capped carbon emissions and allowed trading of carbon credits, only to see it stymied in the Senate.

Opponents to the legislation "made up their own science. They made up their own arguments," Kerry said. "The Republicans created this idea of [carbon credit] trading because it avoided command and control by the federal government." Then, "they just decided to pick up and brand this a negative."

Kerry blamed brothers David and Charles Koch, oil billionaires who have bankrolled attempts to discredit climate change, as well as opposition from energy companies. "This is unrestrained, least ethical, bottom-line capitalism," said Kerry, who ran unsuccessfully against George W. Bush for president in 2004. "We have lost the notion of any responsible capitalism."

"Failure to adopt a federal strategy [for minimizing climate change] is unconscionable and tragic for the nation," he said. "We are going to find a way to price carbon. Price carbon and the marketplace will move forward very rapidly."



Senator John Kerry

### Championing the Law of the Seas

Charles Sennott, *Global Post*: exclusive interview with Senator Kerry in conference aftermath (June, 2012)

At hearings scheduled before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Kerry, a Democrat from Massachusetts, is calling no fewer than six four-star generals and admirals who are expected to testify in support of the treaty that has already been ratified by 162 countries.

The U.S. signing of the treaty has been blocked for the last three decades by a coterie of right-wing activists who insist

it undermines American sovereignty by agreeing to negotiated rules on shipping, mining and environmental protections in international waters.

With a rare combination of support from environmental lobbyists as well as petroleum industry officials, the U.S. signing on to the Law of the Sea Convention is widely seen as a necessary first step before companies will begin to invest heavily in exploiting the vast reservoir of oil, gas and minerals that lies beneath the Arctic Circle.

"We have to establish the legal basis of our claims so that corporations are willing to invest," explained Kerry. "The treaty establishes provisions that allow each nation to effectively control its coastal waters through a 200-mile exclusive economic zone. It was written under the auspices of the UN and has been in force since 1994, but the US cannot join its deliberations because it has not officially signed the treaty."

The next set of hearings will bring together private businesses interested in the economic impact of the treaty, including petroleum, shipping and mining interests that strongly support that the treaty will provide for shipping lanes.



### ARCTIC EXHAUSTS

**Permafrost, which occurs in large areas of the Arctic, traps carbon dioxide and methane as long as it remains frozen. The issue now is will it remain frozen?**

**... in one sense, we in the rest of the world who are causing this region to thaw and release these gases are guilty of theft of one of the most important controls we have for preventing run-away global warming.**

—William Moomaw, Professor and Director of CIEP, The Fletcher School



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