

European cooperation: How important country is Poland to ensure the Arctic governance?

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1	TITLE
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ABSTRACT

Although the Arctic remains one of the most vulnerable ecosystems around the world, its governance faces today its greatest challenges, and it is the "European cooperation", which requires not only the common agreement of the member states, but also a good lobby for the influence of the world powers. First of all, an agreement among the member states of the European Union strengthens the identity of each member state and its own visions of governance in order to arrive at this new stage of integral collective governance. Secondly, the influence of third states, such as the United States, Russia and China in its global geopolitical relations with each of the member states of the European Union, poses a threat to full collective governance. In this moment we need to focus on the importance of international geopolitical relations aiming at full cooperation in the European Union which will enable collective governance of Arctic. In this regard, the analysis goes on to take the example of Poland and its articulating role for European cooperation in the prevention and precaution of conflicts with other states and thus work together towards Arctic governance. Would Poland contribute to the requirements of European cooperation to ensure the more effective Arctic governance?

Keywords: European cooperation; Poland; strategic link; Arctic governance.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Arctic area involves the various riparian territories and "constitutes the scenario of strategic importance, both from an economic, political and military point of view" (Grenoble École de management, 2013), this not only for these riparian territories but for all of the world's political and economic powers of the 21st century, because it is one of the most vulnerable ecosystems around the world (WWF-Global. *Arctic climate change*, 2018).

In the same way, the environment in the Arctic region in now changing significantly due to increased air, water temperature and others changes. Such changes have global and regional implications including extreme weather, sea level change, coastal erosion, natural hazards and changes in the ecosystem (INTAROS, 2016). To illustrate, the timing of the sea ice retreat is becoming earlier, and it may induce an altered timing of primary production with other biological phenology, but its impact against the population is high (Marie Maekakuchi, and others, 2017).

In other hand, the decrease of Arctic sea ice is attributed to the effects of "global warming" (National Academy of Sciences, 1977, p.4). Although global surface airtemperature is predicted to increase with an average of 2-3°C (Yun Gao, XiangGao, Xiaohua Zhang, 2017, p.1), it is said that the surface air-temperature in the Arctic will rise as much as 4-12°C. In other words, warming in the Arctic will proceed more than twice as fast as the global average (Takeshi Kawano, 2018). What happens when Arctic sea ice disappears? And what rules should we follow? To have the answers we need to understand the International geopolitical context, because it will influent to international collaboration and then in Arctic governance.

- Correspondingly, about the international collaboration it starts by pursuing international cooperative and collaborative research (as PACES, APPOSITE, ASOF, CMIP, DBO, ESSAS, FAMOS, IPCC, IABP, IASC, IASOA, PAG, PCPI, RACArctic, WCRP) with all the Arctic governance actors, and making strategic use of their research (Institute of Arctic Climate and Environment Research, 2017).
- What about the actors in Arctic governance? Arctic governance is the result of influence of the eight Arctic nations (The Ottawa Declaration named eight members of the Arctic

Council: Canada, Russia, Norway, Denmark -Denmark; representing Greenland and Faroe Islands-, Iceland, the United States, Sweden and Finland), other influential

countries such as China and European Union countries, the intergovernmental structures 81 82 and International Organizations, NGOs, indigenous people, and academic researchers. 83 The case of Poland is a good example with regard to the regional and global geopolitics of the European Union. 84 This country, although it may contribute less to the Defense Fund launched by the 85 European Union on 22 June 2017 (https://sansapriori.net/2017/07/09/1994-initiative-86 des-trois-mers-trump-soutient-le-projet-a-varsovie/), is one of the four European 87 NATO countries that achieved the goal of spending more than 2% of its GDP (gross 88 89 domestic product) on the military, as required by the US in 2014 (Reiterated by the Atlantic Alliance at the Newport Summit in Wales in September 2014). It is not a 90 coincidence that during his official visit to Poland on July 6th, 2017 President Donald 91 Trump acknowledged this Baltic country as the "faithful ally of NATO and one of 92 93 America's closest friends". Is it therefore a country that meets the requirements of 94 European defense mandates or does it rather seek to build a strategic position in European cooperation including the maritime domain? The Three Seas Initiative, 95 spearheaded by Poland and concerning the countries of the Višegrad Group (Poland, 96 97 Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary) to Baltic Sea, Adriatic Sea and Black Sea, 98 highlights the need for full European cooperation. These are surely unavoidable 99 questions for the current regional geopolitics, Central Europe and its relations with its 100 big neighbors.

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2. ARCTIC COOPERATION, A COMPLEX NETWORK

For the conservation of the Arctic, the active participation of all states and all actors is necessary because the effects of their deterioration affect everyone.

However, the States most concerned are those that have a coastline in the Arctic. In this they have created the Arctic Council (http://www.arcticcouncil.org/index.php/en/about-us/member-states). The Arctic Council is a high-level intergovernmental forum which addresses issues faced by the Arctic governments and people living in the Arctic region (with the AEPS, as first step in 1991).

110 111 We need to highlight that the Arctic cooperation and policy are partially – but not exclusively - coordinated via the Arctic Council. There are several other stakeholders 112 from different sectors. One of them is the indigenous people; specifically the Permanent 113 114 participants are these six indigenous groups: Inuit Circumpolar Council – ICC (Founded in 1977 Ref: http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/), Gwich'in Council International – GCI 115 116 (it was established as a non-profit organization in 1999 by the Gwich'in Tribal Council Inuvik, Ref: https://arctic-council.org/index.php/en/about-us/permanent-117 in Aleut International Association - AIA (https://www.aleut-118 participants/gci), international.org/about/), Saami Council (Since 1956, the Saami Council is a voluntary 119 Saami organization, http://www.saamicouncil.net/en/about-saami-council/), Arctic

- 120 121 Athabascan Council
- (https://web.archive.org/web/20110224190430/http://www.arcticathabaskancouncil.co 122
- m/aboutus), and the Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North RAIPON 123
- (since 1990, it evaluated two more times in 1993 and in 1999 124
- 125 http://raipon.info/activity/).
- The Arctic policies are conducted trough agencies and national strategies of the eight 126
- 127 Arctic nations, but also by other countries like China and EU Member States. That is

why the geopolitics among these countries is one of the most important links to ensure the cooperation to healthy Arctic governance.

But also local indigenous people, NGOs and academic researchers play an important role when it comes to Arctic policies. All of them contribute with the different intergovernmental structures and International Organizations like the United Nations and NATO in the same way to the outcomes of Arctic governance.

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3. EUROPEAN COOPERATION TO GUARANTEE THE ARCTIC GOVERNANCE

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The practice of the Arctic governance is based on the following principles: peace, sovereignty and defense, resource development, shipping routes and environmental protection. With regard to all of them, cooperation is the best mean to achieve the collective goals (Barnett, M. & Sikkink K, 2010, p. 62). To know more about the Arctic Ocean and sea ice, we need new technology and innovation (GRENE, 2011), but to guarantee the Arctic governance we need the cooperation of all States.

In this context, the European Union's relationship with other countries as China, Russia, and the United States is the central point.

However, the articulation and implementation of these principles requires a Common 146 Security and Defense Policy – CSDP (Ref: Fact Sheet 6.1.1 on the foreign policy of the 147 European Union, Title V) as an integral part of the European Union's – EU, Common 148 Foreign and Security Policy – CFSP aims to strengthen the EU's role in the international 149 150 management of military and civilian crises in a complementary and coordinated way with NATO (The 2016 EU Global Strategy sets the CSDP strategy, while the Lisbon 151 152 Treaty provides for the institutional aspects and strengthens the role of the European Parliament. Reference: Official website of the European Parliament 153 154 http://www.europarl.europa.eu).

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4. DISCUSSION

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4.1 Why is Poland important to ensure the European cooperation for Arctic governance?

For some time now, the world has witnessed the rise in strategic value that Poland is experiencing with regard to geopolitical programs such as Russia, China and the United States. Poland has been a member of the EU since 1 May 2004 (Ref: https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/countries/member-countries/poland_fr) and it cooperates with all European defense initiatives, including maritime initiatives, focusing on its five foreign policy priorities: the security of the European Union, the resilience of states and societies in the eastern and southern neighborhood of the Union, development of a coordinated conflict strategy, regional cooperation orders and global governance in the 21st century (Jérôme LEGRAND, 2017, p.3).

In this sense, European foreign policy is manifested through the conclusions of the European Council of 22 and 23 June 2017, notably on security and defense, foreign affairs, climate change, the economy, trade and migration (European Council meetings of 22 and 23 June 2017), all in a spirit of mutual cooperation, one of the critical nodes in relation to the nature of the cooperation that can be envisaged in this context.

Rightly, EU member states have the opportunity to come together in small groups in order to establish a so-called enhanced cooperation in a number of areas, and it is with the Lisbon Treaty that this type of cooperation opens up to the field of defense (As

defined in Article I-44 of the Treaty on European Union, enhanced cooperation allows
Member States wishing to deepen their cooperation in the non-exclusive fields of
competence of the Union to do so within the framework of the Community institutions.
Enhanced cooperation is thus a way of differentiating the pace of participation of the
Member States in the deepening of the European Union in line with the arts. 43-45

183 TEU, arts. 326-334 TFEU).

Alongside multinational forces (Eurocorps, Eurofor) there is a "permanent structured 184 cooperation" reserved for the states whose defense efforts are the most important within 185 the framework of the Union, Member States are brought together based on the criterion 186 of military capabilities necessary to fulfill "more demanding" 187 (https://www.senat.fr/rap/r04-340/r04-340.html) mission sunder the scope of the 188 189 European Defense Agency. In addition to that, the Council of the Union may entrust a military mission to a group of member states if they wish. 190

The question is what kind of cooperation that the EU wants to develop in order to guarantee European governance, and what types of cooperation can its members find in their international relations with the East (China) and the West (United States)?

In this regard, Poland remains a good example of analysis with its Three Seas Initiative 194 195 (I3M), one of the main points of its foreign policy. During a meeting between Polish president Andrzej Duda and the Foreign Affairs Advisers of the Three Seas countries on 196 May 4th 2017 in Warsaw, it was communicated that the initiative already advanced in its 197 cooperation objectives (the 3 countries are: Pologne, Hongrie, Czech Republic and 198 Slovakia). Situated "between the energy and military pressure of Moscow in the east 199 200 and the economic and ideological pressure of Brussels, Berlin and Paris in the west, 201 Poland, accompanied by eleven other countries of Central and Eastern Europe, takes 202 part the Three Seas Initiative (Baltic Sea, Adriatic Sea and Black Sea) to strengthen regional cooperation and infrastructure in the field of transport, telecommunications, 203 energy and the environment" (Olivier BAULT Ref: https://visegradpost.com/fr le 13 204 mai 2017). Can this kind of example contribute to build a better European cooperation 205 in Arctic Governance? And which threats and challenges are there for Europe? 206

The discussion should focus on common challenges to strengthen economic and political cooperation, and especially energy cooperation, inside the European Union, but at the same time one must consider the relationship between the European Union and other countries that are influential in Arctic governance, such as USA, Russia, and China.

At this point, a very important task is to take advantage of the interest that the US, Russia and China have with Poland to ensure good cooperation between these countries and the European Union with the aim of fostering Arctic governance.

How can relations between Poland and the United States, or Russia, or Chine, contribute to the governance of the Arctic?

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4.2 How interesting is Poland for the USA, Russia and China?

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Faced with the demands and great challenges of the European reality, namely emigration (for this analysis the meaning of migration alludes to nationals from Central European countries to other countries, only refugees from the Middle East and Africa to the southern countries of the European Union), as well as efforts to promote the plurality of energy sources, the United States turns its eyes towards this side of the Baltic to offer its support to the project of the Three Seas. US President Donald Trump said in Warsaw "America is looking forward to expanding our partnership with you... ... we are committed to securing your access to other sources of energy so that Poland and

228 its neighbors never again be held hostage to a single energy supplier", referring to

- Russia's former gas monopoly (Ref: posted on-line, on July 8, 2017, at newspaper:
- 230 https://visegradpost.com/fr le 8 juillet 2017) and highlighting the US's ambition to
- exploit shale gas in the region, sharing the hit list with Russia and China.
- Russia enjoys dual access to the Baltic Sea (Russia's dual access to the Baltic Sea is to
- 233 the north with the port terminals in the St. Petersburg region and to the southeast with
- the enclave of Kaliningrad) and has an economic particularly concerning oil reserves
- and the possible exploitation of gas in the region. Thus, Russia has also a military
- 236 interest in the Arctic region, particularly in function of "d'une base russe sur la
- 237 Baltique et (des routes en Arctique) dont l'importance stratégique s'est accrue depuis la
- 238 perte par Moscou des pays Baltes, perte qui a entraîné pour la flotte russe de la
- 239 Baltique la fermeture de six bases militaires "(Aymeric CHAUPRADE, 2012), and
- 240 more of that, the oil exploitation intentions are present.
- Russia, with all its historical evolution of military power and global diplomatic presence
- 242 (Edgar MORIN, 1983), which in this first decade of the twenty-first century has already
- arrived to raise great geopolitical challenges after the cold war fixes its presence while
- 244 delimiting or modifying the road map of the international community.
- 245 China, being already in the scenario of European geopolitical failures, proposes a
- "strategic" economic partnership with Poland (http://www.lahautemer.org/appel/),
- viewing it as "the gateway to China in Europe". In particular, Chinese President Xi
- Jinping sees Poland as a "crossroad" of its geostrategic expansion pattern through the
- 249 new Silk Road, which China seeks to revive to assert its economic and political
- 250 hegemony over the Eurasian space (Ref: Justine CANONNE, published in
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5. CONCLUSION

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The best way to protect the Arctic is with a common objective, and cooperation among all countries. To know more about the Arctic Ocean and sea ice, we need new technology, innovation and participation of all the people.

As supported by Catherine Chabaud "only shared, transparent and democratic international governance will safeguard and sustainably manage the wealth of this unique common good".

- With its Three Seas Initiative (I3M), Poland remains a good example of analysis
- concerning the contribution to European cooperation, so it is an important step to ensure
- the Arctic cooperation among all actors. The relations between the European Union and
- USA, Russia and China are a big opportunity to guarantee the Arctic cooperation. In geopolitics, the European Union can ask these three special countries for help regarding
- 266 Arctic conservation in exchange for better commercial terms.
- 267 It is becoming more and more common for the participants from China, the United
- 268 States and Russia to take part in European regional negotiations and, with some groups
- from the Member States more than with others, drawing our attention to the question
- whether China, the United States and Russia are betting on the break-up of the
- whether clinia, the clined states and Russia are betting on the break-up of the
- European Union. This is why, in order to avoid a Brexit with Polish *touche* (polexit), or
- a possible geopolitical polarization of the EU, it must set common objectives with all its
- 273 members. It is essential to find the way to articulate, in a more structural way, a genuine
- full cooperation of the Member States of the European Union.
- 275 Finally, an integrated Pan-Arctic cooperation system is required to address
- environmental and climate change challenges, but also to ensure Arctic governance.

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