

## SUMMARIES

### ***Young O.R. Arctic Futures: The Power of Ideas***

That the Arctic is experiencing transformative change is no longer news. But what are the implications of this development with regard to matters of governance and policy? This article makes the case that the answer to this question depends on the paradigm or discourse we employ as a conceptual framework for interpreting the meaning and significance of changes in the circumpolar Arctic. It contrasts interpretations produced by observers whose thinking is rooted in the neo-realist/geopolitical paradigm with those offered by others whose thinking rests on a socio-ecological systems paradigm. Although journalists and popular writers tend to gravitate toward the neo-realist/geopolitical paradigm, those who possess a more intimate knowledge of recent developments in the Arctic are inclined to base their thinking on the socio-ecological systems paradigm. Because the assumptions and precepts of paradigms or discourses are not falsifiable, it is fruitless to try to demonstrate that one of the two paradigms is somehow superior to the other. Nevertheless, for those dedicated to preserving the Arctic as a zone of peace, the socio-ecological systems paradigm has strong attractions.

**Keywords:** Arctic, governance, discourse, framing, neo-realist/geopolitical paradigm, social-ecological systems paradigm, sustainable development, climate change.

### ***Chumakov D.S. Key Directions of International Cooperation in the Arctic***

Arctic is a region of dynamic transformative changes: environmental, social-economic and international political. The Circumpolar North has always attracted much attention from the coastal Arctic states but recently — given the impact of climate change and the discovery of the rich energy resources potential on the Arctic continental shelf — it has become a sphere of interest for the countries which are located very far from polar latitudes. Today one can observe in the Arctic a number of serious challenges to be addressed through development of multilateral cooperation. There is a tangle of problems that can be solved solely in the format of bilateral relations. The article examines two dimensions of international interaction in the Arctic region — bilateral cooperation — with the example of energy sector, — and multilateral — with the example of the activities of the Arctic Council.

**Keywords:** Arctic, international and regional cooperation, climate change, sustainable development, Arctic Council, northern indigenous peoples, energy sector, hydrocarbons, sea bioresources, the Arctic Ocean, polar research.

### ***Krivorotov A.K. Partition into Unequal Halves: On the Signing of the Russian-Norwegian Treaty on Maritime Delimitation in the Arctic***

The signing of the Treaty between the Kingdom of Norway and the Russian Federation on maritime delimitation and cooperation in the Barents Sea and the Arctic Ocean in Murmansk in September 2010 became one of the most important events in the modern history of the Circumpolar North. Its significance goes far beyond the limits of the bilateral relations and represents a positive example of a peaceful settlement of a long-standing territorial dispute at the time when a new «Arctic race» tends to accelerate. However, the treaty provoked a lively discussion in Russia about its correlation with the country's national interests. This debate was largely dominated by policy declarations or strictly legal interpretations which ignored the somewhat exotic specifics of the issue. This article provides a comprehensive and impartial description of the delimitation problem by putting it in a broader historical, political and legal context. It examines both the substance of the issue and its procedural dimension, i.e. the particularities and the effectiveness of the two countries' foreign policy mechanisms. The first section describes the legal and political components of the delimitation issue as well as the key events from the history of the negotiations. The second section, devoted to the Murmansk Treaty itself, studies the content of the agreement (article by article) and provides an assessment of its potential impact. The article also identifies the key factors behind the success of the Norway's polar diplomacy and formulates some policy recommendations for Russia.

**Keywords:** Arctic, Norway, delimitation, law of the sea, polar strategy, fisheries, petroleum industry.

### ***Byers M. The Legal Status of the Northwest Passage and Canadian Arctic Sovereignty: Past, Present, Desirable Future***

The Editorial Board reprints two chapters from the book «Who Owns the Arctic» by the leading Canadian expert on sovereignty disputes in the Far North, Professor Michael Byers. Both chapters are devoted to the central issue of this critically acclaimed work — the legal status of the Northwest Passage and Canadian Arctic sovereignty. These chapters (combined under one heading) cover the large historical period starting from the first explorations of the passage in the XVI century to the end of the first decade of the XXI century when the issue came to the forefront of international politics due to the dramatic changes in Arctic ice conditions (a «big melt» making the route navigable in summer months) and an increased interest of both Arctic and non-Arctic powers in the region. The author meticulously deconstructs the major events that influenced the development of the dispute between Canada and the United States, and the legal foundations of their respective legal claims by putting them into the context of international politics and changes in security environment. The article ends with a description of the informal «model negotiation» between American and Canadian representatives that was initiated by the author in 2008, a list of the recommendations that came out of it, and a justification of building an Arctic gateway for the world.

**Keywords:** Canada, United States, Arctic sovereignty, Northwestern Passage, historical waters, international strait, UNCLOS, straight baselines, sector theory, climate change.

### **Feneko A.V. Military-Political Aspects of the Russian-American Relations in the Arctic: Past and Present**

The last decade has been marked by the acceleration of the «second Arctic race». The entry into force of the United Convention on the Law of the Sea has shaken the system of sectoral partition of the Arctic and forced the coastal Arctic states to search for new arguments for preserving the control of their respective sectors. This process is being heavily influenced by the interaction of two major Arctic powers — the Russian Federation and the United States — in the Circumpolar North which has a history that goes back one and a half centuries. The article studies the origins, evolution and the current state of the Russian-American relationship in the Arctic region with a special focus on its military-strategic and military-political dimensions. It identifies the interests of both powers in the «first Arctic race» which started in the second half of the XIX century and ended in the mid-1920s with the establishment of the national borders in the region according to the sector principle. The article studies the main dimensions of the superpower competition in the Cold-War era, provides a detailed analysis of the role of the United States and its NATO allies in the reduction of the Russian strategic nuclear forces in the Far North in the 1990s. The last and the most voluminous part of the article analyses the Russian-American interactions during the «second Arctic race» when the competition between Moscow and Washington has taken new forms.

**Keywords:** Arctic, Russian-American relations, «first Arctic race», «second Arctic race», security, United Nations Convention on the Law of the Seas, strategic nuclear forces, arms reduction, Northern Fleet.

### **Selin V.S. Strategic Challenges for the Russian National Interests in the Circumpolar North: A View from the Arctic**

The article examines the key issues pertaining to the national policy of the Russian Federation in the Circumpolar North. It identifies the current strategic challenges for the exploitation of the resources of the Arctic Ocean and argues that the build-up of the economic presence will play a role in strengthening Russia's standing in this pivotal region. It also studies the main trends of development of the territories in the Russian Circumpolar North and draws a conclusion that the perpetuation of these trends represents a real threat to the country's national security. Special attention is paid to such issues as exploitation of the resources of the continental shelf in the Arctic Ocean and revitalization of the Northern Sea Route. The article provides a set of concrete policy recommendations on how to strengthen the Arctic sovereignty of the Russian Federation.

**Keywords:** Arctic, Russian Federation, national security, sovereignty, global economic crisis, natural resources, Northern Sea Route, Shtokman gas/condensate field.

### ***Whiteley J.M. Problems of the Arctic in the Context of the Current Domestic Politics of the United States***

The future of the Arctic is heavily influenced by the consequences of abrupt climate warming. Yet the policies of the United States government are to not deal realistically with this fact of nature. Instead, domestic partisan politics and the upcoming pivotal elections of 2012 are giving the Tea Party movement an opportunity to exercise a considerable influence on the political agenda. This article applies the analytic framework from Jared Diamond's «Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed» to the study of the U.S. policies in the Circumpolar North. It characterizes the measures being undertaken by the federal government and state authorities as a classical example of either the «too little, too late» concept or «rational bad behaviour» and «disastrous values».

**Keywords:** Arctic, United States, global warming, Tea Party movement, Jared Diamond, «rational bad behaviour», «disastrous values», Elections of 2012.

### ***Mayer L.A. Seafloor Mapping and Exploration in a Changing Arctic Sea Ice Environment***

Mapping of the Arctic Ocean basin has a long history dating back to the beginning of the XX century. Since then it has undergone a significant technological evolution: from lead-line soundings to single-beam to multi-beam echo-sounders capable of scanning large swaths of the sea floor. With the beginning of the XXI century renewed interest in mapping the Arctic sea floor has come from the recognition of the role that the bathymetry plays in the global climate through controlling ocean circulation and thus the distribution of global heat, as well as the large potential for extended continental shelves in the resource-rich Arctic under Article 76 of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. Taking advantage of the diminished ice cover over the past few years, the U.S. has, thus far, mounted four multibeam sonar mapping expeditions on the USCG Icebreaker Healy and a collaborative (with the Canadians), two-ship seismic data acquisition program in the area of the Chukchi Borderlands, Canada Basin and the Alpha-Mendeleev ridge complex. The data collected on these cruises have dramatically changed our understanding of the bathymetry and structure of the Arctic Ocean Basin and will have important ramifications on any potential submissions for an extended continental shelf in the region. This article tracks the century-long history of mapping of the sea floor in Arctic, explores the recent changes in sea ice conditions in the region, and provides a detailed description of these expeditions of both scientific and legal-political importance.

**Keywords:** Arctic, United States, mapping, bathymetry, climate change, UNCLOS, extended continental shelf.

### ***Glazunova I.M. The U.S. Arctic Policy (2007—2011)***

The economic and strategic potential of the Arctic induces the international community to monitor the developments in the Circumpolar North more closely, and explains the augmentation of its role in contemporary international relations. The United States is one of the principal contenders for Arctic riches. It significantly

stepped up its Arctic policies after the Russian expedition «Arctic-2007» which was aimed at defining the limits of the continental shelf in the Arctic Ocean, and planting a national flag of the Russian Federation at the seabed under the North Pole. This article identifies the set of key interests of the United States in the Arctic region, and provides an assessment of the specific policy measures undertaken by the Bush and Obama administrations in 2007—2011.

**Keywords:** Arctic, United States, B. Obama administration, G.W. Bush administration, security, national resources, environment, Alaska.

***Young O.R. The Future of the Arctic: Cauldron of Conflict or Zone of Peace. Review article***

The Editorial Board publishes a Russian translation of the review essay prepared by Oran R. Young — one of the leading world experts on international governance in the Arctic region — for the British scholarly journal «International Affairs». The works under review are seven monographs on Arctic issues which came out in the last couple of years. The author summarizes the main findings of these works and organizes his narrative around the three general topics: nature, causes and consequences of the changes in the Arctic; political dimensions of conflict and cooperation in the region (resolution of jurisdictional issues among the Arctic states; relationships between the Arctic and non-Arctic states; protection of Arctic ecosystems and cultures); scenarios of future developments in the Far North. Oran R. Young engages in a critical dialogue with the arguments of the authors of these books, questions the adequacy of perceiving the transformative processes taking place in the Arctic through the neo-realist lens, and calls for the articulation of a compelling alternative paradigm.

**Keywords:** Arctic, conflict, cooperation, environment, sovereignty disputes, resource wars, climate change, governance.

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