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**ARCTIC SECURITY: STABLE COOPERATION PREVENTS
CONFLICT IN THE ARCTIC**

Bachelor's Thesis

Supervisor: Lecturer Vlad Alex Vernygora

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I declare I have written the bachelor's thesis independently.

All works and major viewpoints of the other authors, data from other sources of literature and elsewhere used for writing this paper have been referenced.

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ABSTRACT

The Arctic region has not been in an active discussion except in recent years or at least not in a public discussion. However, the Arctic region is a crucial strategic area for multiple states. Norway, USA, Canada, Russia and Denmark for instance have several interests and motivates in the Arctic. They are five of the eight the Arctic states that are having territory in the Arctic region; Finland, Iceland and Sweden being the missing three. Arctic region possess significant meaning to the nearby states from many different perspectives.

Economic importance comes through the natural resources reservoirs in the region such as oil, natural gas and minerals, as well as the Arctic expertise different countries have that can be lucrative to their economy. For example, Finland's expertise in icebreakers could become source of economy, if Finland plays its cards right.

Geopolitical significance is that the region itself is in a such area, where USA and Russia are quite closely tied together. The Arctic region is the only area, where USA and Russia share a border and are in a such proximity to one another. This fact creates the military importance as well. Both countries as well other Arctic states view the area as a strategic for defense. Russia has multiple military bases in the Arctic and NATO is having exercises and trainings in the Arctic region as well. The military and defense issues are tied to the previously mentioned economic possibilities since they are motivated additional protecting what they view as theirs and their rights in the region.

Finally, the political significance can be claimed to great since region's unique geographic position. To secure their own safety as well as avoiding conflict in the region, all of the Arctic states need to approach the issues concerning the region as political correct and diplomatic as possible. The Arctic states do not agree with each other on every issue, however the all emphasize the meaning of cooperation in the Arctic region.

All the previously mentioned aspects can be observed from the foreign policies and Arctic strategies the stakeholder states released and set up. This states that cooperation in the

Arctic is a necessity for the security of the Arctic region. Even though cooperation comes in in various forms, the security is the only issue that guarantees the possibility to cooperate in multilateral as well as bilateral context.

Keywords: Arctic security, Arctic cooperation, natural resources, trade routes, geopolitics, Arctic Council, Arctic strategy

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AC= Arctic Council
ACAP= Arctic Contaminants Action Program
ACE= Arctic Challenge Exercise
AMAP= Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme
ASP= American Security Project
BEAC= Barents Euro-Arctic Council
CAFF= Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna
DoD= Department of Defense
EPPR= Emergency Preparedness and Response
EEZ= Exclusive Economic Zone
FIIA= Finnish Institute of International Affairs
ISSUE= EU Institute for Security Studies
LNG= Liquefied Natural Gas
MFA= Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NBR= The National Bureau of Asian Research
PAME= Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment
SAR= Search and Rescue
SDWG= Sustainable Development Working Group
SIPRI= Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
UNCLOS= United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of this paper is to define and find the current security status of the Arctic. The region represents largely untouched territory and in many aspects, a critical environmental issue. With the current trend of discussion being climate change and the Paris Agreement in 2016, Arctic region is an important issue not only to the Arctic states, but to the other localities as well. However, the Paris Agreement might have obstacles ahead of it since the US President Donald Trump (has not issued a clear statement) on the Paris Agreements like he has not done on any other policy issues that concern the Arctic region or environment.

In addition to President Trump not showing concerns towards environmental and Arctic issues, the US Secretary of State was confirmed to be Rex Tillerson, whose previous role was the Chief executive office at the Exxon Mobil (Kramer, Krauss 2016). This adds to the concern of the security of the Arctic region since Exxon has interests on oil reserves in the Arctic (Boren 2016).

In addition, on the other side is Russia, whose policies might change overnight depending on their interests and the ways to achieve those interests. In addition, there have been claims that Russia is executing policies concerning Arctic that drives strongly towards the Chinese interests in the Arctic (Maxie, Slayton 2016). China has its interests in the Arctic and so does the EU. EU has their policy on Arctic and they have tried to enter the Arctic Council as an observer member in the past (An Integrated EU 2016).

Even though Russia and USA have differing opinion of many issues, the Arctic can be claimed to be one of the issues they are at least trying to cooperate on (Mirzakashani 2016). The Arctic region is important to both states as well as to the six other Arctic states. The cooperation in the Arctic in that sense can be claimed to be a unique and important factor in the context of Arctic security. All the Arctic states as well as other states and actors have their interests in the Arctic. However, those interests cannot be met without cooperation. In that sense cooperation is a necessity rather than just an important issue. None of the states have all they

need to succeed and achieve their interests in the Arctic. Finns are the leading experts in arctic technology, the USA has the resources to fund projects in the Arctic, Russia and Canada have best access to the Arctic Ocean and the region. These are examples how the dynamics of the states and their cooperation is a necessity to keep the Arctic region as a no man's land, but still under the common rule of the Arctic states. Hence the basis in this graduation thesis will be examining the geopolitical aspects.

In this thesis, the research methodology varies from statistics to analysis of policies to process tracing. In order to provide a comprehensive critical analysis of the issue of Arctic security, the methods of research need to be balanced with each other to give the full view of the issue at hand as well as the complexity of the issue. Process tracing is an important tool of research since to understand the current status quo one needs to understand the past decisions and events. The analysis of the foreign policies of the Arctic states especially gives the perspectives and motivation for action of the states that are concerned.

The literature used and studied for this graduation thesis will consist of different foreign policies made by the Arctic states, researches made by universities and research institutes. Since the thesis will consist an aspect of security in the Arctic region and aspect of the approaches of Arctic states, it is valid to use foreign policies concerning the Arctic region as a source when arguing and constructing this graduation thesis. There will be at least one sources from each states Ministry of Foreign Affairs' (MFA) to cover each state's approach on Arctic issues objectively and fairly, and will give basis for the thesis statement itself.

Multiple different materials about history are also justified in a sense that the process trading of the development of the dynamics of the Arctic needs to have historical background from the development of Northern Europe, Russia and North America. To have real understanding of the current status quo of the Arctic, the changing in the region during history need to be understood to achieve that goal.

Using as a reference, research made by other scholars, universities and research institutes can also claimed to be valid in a sense that either the research made by others will support or challenge the conclusions and thoughts of this graduation thesis. Using these sources will give this thesis sense of validity, context and added value. For examples of university and research institutes that will be introduced in this thesis are Finnish Institute of International Affairs (FIIA), Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), The National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR), and EU Institute for Security Studies (ISSUE).

In addition to these previously mentioned sources, there will multiple other sources like newspaper articles, different press releases/statements from international organizations like

NATO and EU, and statements from heads of states, or other officials concerned with the Arctic issues.

The first chapter of this thesis will consist of the process tracing of the security developments in the Arctic region during the modern times from the beginning of XIX century to the current year. Like mentioned earlier it is crucial to understand previous events and issues to understand the dynamics affecting the current relations and cooperation of countries in the Arctic region.

The second chapter will concentrate on geopolitics and the issues that are concerning the safety and cooperation in the Arctic region. For examples, the natural resources in the area as well as the geopolitical significance of the Arctic region to the Arctic states relating to their military, trade, environmental and natural resource concerns.

The third chapter will provide an overview of the Arctic states' current cooperation in different levels and organizations. It will also include foreign policies of each country and their interests, expertise and changes in their official stance in the Arctic. The importance of this chapter is to express the amount of cooperation the Arctic states are having, and how that cooperation is contributing to the security of the Arctic.

Fourth chapter, which is the final research chapter will critically examine how Arctic states can further cooperate despite their individual security concerns to coexist in the Arctic without posing a threat to each other's security and contribute to Arctic security together. This chapter will give a basis for the conclusion, which combines all the chapters together to one solid argument to validate the thesis statement of this bachelor thesis that cooperation is essential for Arctic security.

1. RETRACING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DYNAMICS OF THE ARCTIC REGION

The Arctic as a region differs from Antarctica which has been declared to be no man's land by international treaty. The Arctic region is partially owned by eight countries (McCormick 2014); Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, Russia, Canada and USA, which means they each want influence and are interested in the region. Due to a discovery of oil and gas reserves in the region, the interests of the Arctic states have only increased. However, all the Arctic states except USA have signed and ratified the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS; Johnson 2016). UNCLOS' purpose was to define the rights and responsibilities of nations when using the world's oceans as well as to establish guidelines for the management of marine natural resources like in the case of Arctic oil and natural gas (Majumdar 2016).

The Arctic has been called the new "Great Game" (McCormick 2014) which refers to the colonialism of Africa in the late XIX and XX centuries where the UK and France were competing for domination of Africa and its potential resources. By referring to the Arctic as the new "Great Game", it implies that that Arctic is embroiled in in a geopolitical competition between countries eager to seize and control as much of the untapped resources of the Arctic for themselves. Tracing the developments thus far in the Arctic will give a broader picture of the situation and better understanding of the multiple issues in the Arctic, which is needed to understand the current cooperative and competitive atmosphere in the Arctic region

1.1. XIX Century

In 1814, the Treaty of Kiel was made between Sweden and Denmark after the Napoleonic Wars (Hayes, Cole 1949, 174-176). In the treaty, Denmark had to cede Norway,

which then was part of Danish-Norwegian Kingdom, to Sweden. However, Iceland and Greenland stayed part of the Kingdom of Denmark, which meant that Denmark remained in the Arctic region but their land territory was significantly smaller (see Figure 1). The change in that time was not significant, however the change gave Sweden better access to the Arctic region. Some may argue that Sweden losing Finland to Russia in 1809 (Hayes, Cole 1949, 159) is significant to the dynamics of the Arctic region, however the land mass and the coastal line Finland had in the north cannot be compared to Norway's land mass and coastal line. For this reason, it can be claimed that Finland coming under the Russian rule did not have a great or real influence on the Arctic dynamics.

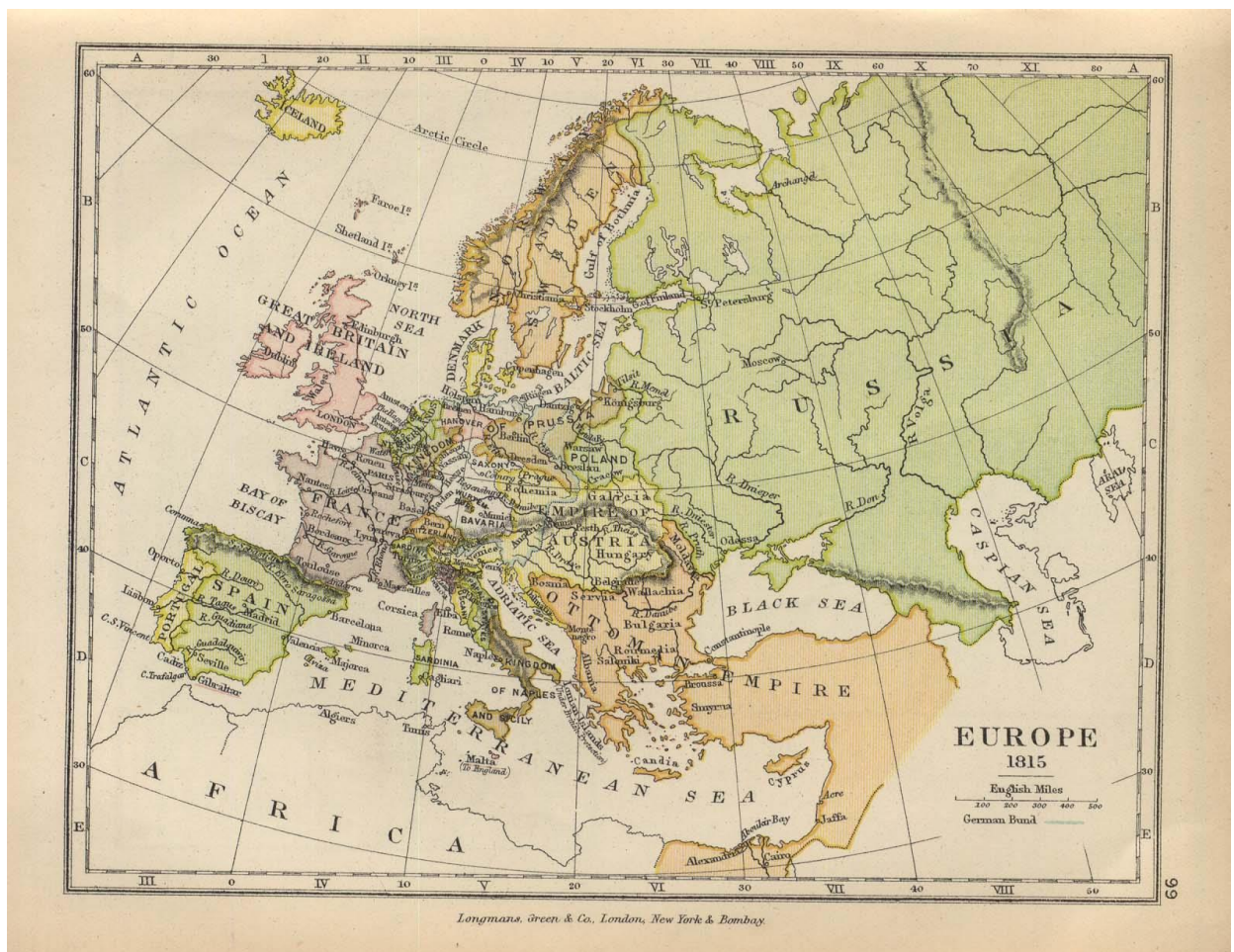


Figure 1. 1815 map of Europe

Source: (Colbeck, 1905)

The major change in the XIX century concerning the Arctic can be said to be the change in Alaska's ownership. In 1867, USA bought Alaska from the Russian Empire (An Outline of... 1994, 194). Through this transaction, USA became part of the Arctic Circle which created the basis for the current dynamics in the Arctic. In 1867, the main reason for the Russian Empire

selling Alaska was to generate money by selling territory which was at risk of being taken over by Great Britain due to the wealth and colony of British Columbia (Viswanathan 2015). In addition, the Russian Empire lost interest in the area after the defeat in the Crimean war. The Russian Empire saw that the war between the British and American in 1812 would still affect the relations between Great Britain and USA, therefore Russian Empire hoped that the USA would off-set the Great Britain's plans in the Pacific. (Purchase of Alaska 2017) Even though the strategy of Russia was to get an ally from the USA and USA's own motivation to buy Alaska was more about having no European power in North America, the long-term consequences were not obvious to either one. The ownership change of Alaska created the unique aspect of the Arctic region - Russia and USA sharing a border line.

1.2. XX Century

1.2.1. The beginning of XX Century

In 1905, Norwegian nationalism became strong and Norway declared independence which Sweden recognized (Hayes, Cole 1949, 284). This created one new Arctic state with significant access to the Arctic Ocean. The change is significant in a sense that Norway has a long coastal line and later with established oil reserves in Northern Norway, it has enabled Norway to become one of the richest countries in the world.

In the XX century, the world faced two world wars, which had an impact even in the Arctic. In WWI, the first war where submarines were used, the submarines did not move towards the Arctic Ocean and the Arctic region stayed out of the raider (WWI Arctic Theater 2016). Sweden, Norway, Finland and Canada did not have any significant part in the WW I; Sweden stayed non-aligned, same for Norway, while Canada sent troops to help the British and the French, and Finland fought for their independence during WWI and gained their independence in 1917 (Finns Celebrate Freedom ... 2017). Finnish independence added to the number of Arctic states.

Denmark declared their neutrality, which was the best option for them as Denmark was highly dependent on agriculture and the trade with Great Britain and Germany which created the need for neutrality. Their economy demanded it as well as their military force would not have been enough to go to war with either side. Russia and USA are known participants in the WWI, however USA did not suffer material loses like Russia did in WWI. Russia's costs of the war can be said to one of the reasons why they expanded their claims in the Arctic after WWI.

1.2.2. The WW II and the aftermath

WWII had significant impacts in the Arctic region and to the dynamics of the region. Submarines were deployed to the Arctic Ocean, near Greenland, Iceland and Norway (Whitlock 2017). One of the reasons for that was that the Norwegian Sea and the Arctic Ocean provided crucial corridors to the allied troops to give aid through Murmansk to the USSR (Haftendorn 2011). This brought the concept of Arctic security to light. Even though the Arctic region was not an active warzone, countries like the USSR, Germany, USA, Norway etc. realized the economic, geopolitical and military potential of the Arctic region and Ocean. For example, Greenland was used by USA during WWII. USA established air and sea bases in Greenland as well as created infrastructure like radio beacons, which meant that Greenland acted as a combatant in WWII. After WWII Greenland stayed as an autonomic part of Denmark (Greenland during World ... 2012). Iceland, which was not yet an independent country, but in a union with Denmark, was seen to have significant strategic position such that it was invaded by the British in 1940 and transferred under the protection of the Americans in 1941 (Stone 1998).

The consequences of the WWII for Arctic dynamics were firstly, Finland lost its access to the Arctic Ocean through Barents Sea due to the Moscow Peace Treaty between Finland and the USSR. Finland was forced to give up the Pechengsky District and Rybachy Peninsula to the USSR (Huhta 2016). Secondly, Iceland declared itself as a republic independent from the Danish monarchy in 1944 (A Guide to ... 2017), which meant that a new player had emerged in the Arctic region.

1.2.3. Cold War and 1990s

During the Cold War the West and the East were divided, which created a highly competitive atmosphere concerning technological development, economy and power. The Arctic region was not excluded from this division. The USSR opened multiple military bases in the Arctic with the intention of establishing control and power in the Arctic. The USSR's motivations also extended to economic benefits like the oil and natural gas reserves near their coastal line. The Arctic was and is a strategic region for armament since the USA and USSR share a border line and the region itself is the only location where their proximity to each other is close. Also, the creation of NATO increased the friction in the Arctic since it created a situation of a single USSR against united NATO members in the Arctic. For example, Norway's motivate to join NATO can be claimed to be of protecting their assets in the Arctic. Norway, who had been non-aligned during both World Wars wanted to ensure that they would be safe

from foreign occupation as well as to secure their oil reserves and coastal integrity in the Arctic (Haftendorn 2011).

By considering the Cold War as a period and analyzing the process of security development in the Arctic region, it can be said that the Cold War era created the current status quo when looking at the aspect of military presence in the Arctic. The friction during this era created the arms race in the Arctic.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the public started to pay attention to the environmental threats the world was facing, which ultimately became a real concern to the Western world over time. Even though the Arctic was neither the first nor the second issue raised amid growing environmental awareness, the Arctic got its place in the spotlight in the late 1990s when the Arctic Council was established in 1996 (Ottawa Declaration on ... 2013). Concerns about the Arctic environment started in 1990s, however the issue itself has only gained more attention over time and has become a threat to reckon with. The diminishing glaciers of ice and climate change is a real concern, which the Arctic states and other interested parties are addressing, however the environmental changes could have some perks as well. For example, trade routes through the Arctic and the natural resources in the area that have been previously inaccessible are now gradually becoming available and possible.

2. GEOPOLITICS

When discussing about the Arctic, security issues are mainly based on geopolitics. Having control of the Arctic is an important issue and will have an impact in state politics and economy. Firstly, the geopolitical position of the Arctic is unique since it is the only place where the USA and Russia share a border line. This makes the Arctic region a unique and highly contentious area. Both countries as well as other Arctic states and non-Arctic states such as China, and organizations such as the EU have interests in the Arctic.

The geopolitical priorities consist of geopolitical position, which can be divided into different aspects. These aspects include military presence, trade routes and environmental issues. All these issues are correlated with the issue of power control of the Arctic. If the distribution of power control in the Arctic is unbalanced, the security situation in the Arctic region might cause escalation in the region, which is why cooperation in the Arctic region is not only important; but it is a necessity.

2.1. Geopolitical Position

When it comes to the Arctic the most important issue is to remember the position of the region and what is at stake in the race to control the Arctic. In this sense, it is the modern day “Great Game” as stated earlier. The issues in the great game of control in Africa are the same main issues as in the Arctic. In the end of the XIX century, Great Britain and France were competing for the control of Africa over its geopolitical position and natural resources. Even though the natural resources wanted from Africa differs from the resources in the Arctic the situation is in many aspects the same. The Great Game in Africa was about control of the trade routes and thus control of the area, the same can be claimed about the Arctic. In the Arctic, the creation of trade routes would be beneficial to multiple states, and control of those trade routes

would generate power and wealth to the state who controls them. This was the similar situation with the trade routes around Africa and through the Suez Canal.

Geopolitically, the Arctic region is the only area where Russia and USA are close to each other as well as sharing a border, which creates a unique circumstance in the area. The possibility of open conflict between USA and Russia in the Arctic is real. However, the likelihood of that happening is slim since neither of them wants an open conflict and other states do not want to see that happen either. This makes the geographic location of the Arctic remarkable and the cooperation of the Arctic a necessity.

2.1.1. Military Importance

Military presence in the Arctic is an issue. Both USA and Russia have military presence in the region and both are ready to expand their presence if necessary. They see each other as competitors for control of the Arctic. However, the Arctic is a region where the cooperation between all Arctic states is crucial. Looking at the map of the Arctic, it is quite clear that escalation in the Arctic would create a straight confrontation between USA and Russia, which would be the only conflict between the two, which is geographically situated near both of their borders. (See Figure 2.)

Neither of the states want escalation, however neither of them wants to show weakness to one another either. Even though there are eight Arctic states, there must be a notion of the fact that the two largest, USA and Russia still view each other competitively instead of cooperatively. USA does not want to be seen as weak and Russia wants to show its right to be called a great power in the world. This fact usually pushes the other states in the same region or situation to the sidelines. Especially in the region where both USA and Russia have multiple interests and is close to their own borders.



Figure 2. map of the Arctic region

Source: (Map of the Arctic Region 2015)

The Arctic has been demilitarized region after the Cold War. However, both USA and Russia have increased their military presence in the Arctic. USA increased its military presence during its chairmanship of the Arctic Council, and Russia has re-opened its military bases that were established during the Cold War. Even NATO has been active in the Arctic. NATO organized an exercise called Arctic Challenge Exercise 2017 (ACE17) (Finland, Norway and Sweden 2016) and Cold Response 2016 in the Arctic region (Cold Response 2016 2016). If the two states continue arming Arctic by their military forces, the security situation in the Arctic will escalate.

RUSSIA'S MILITARIZATION OF THE ARCTIC

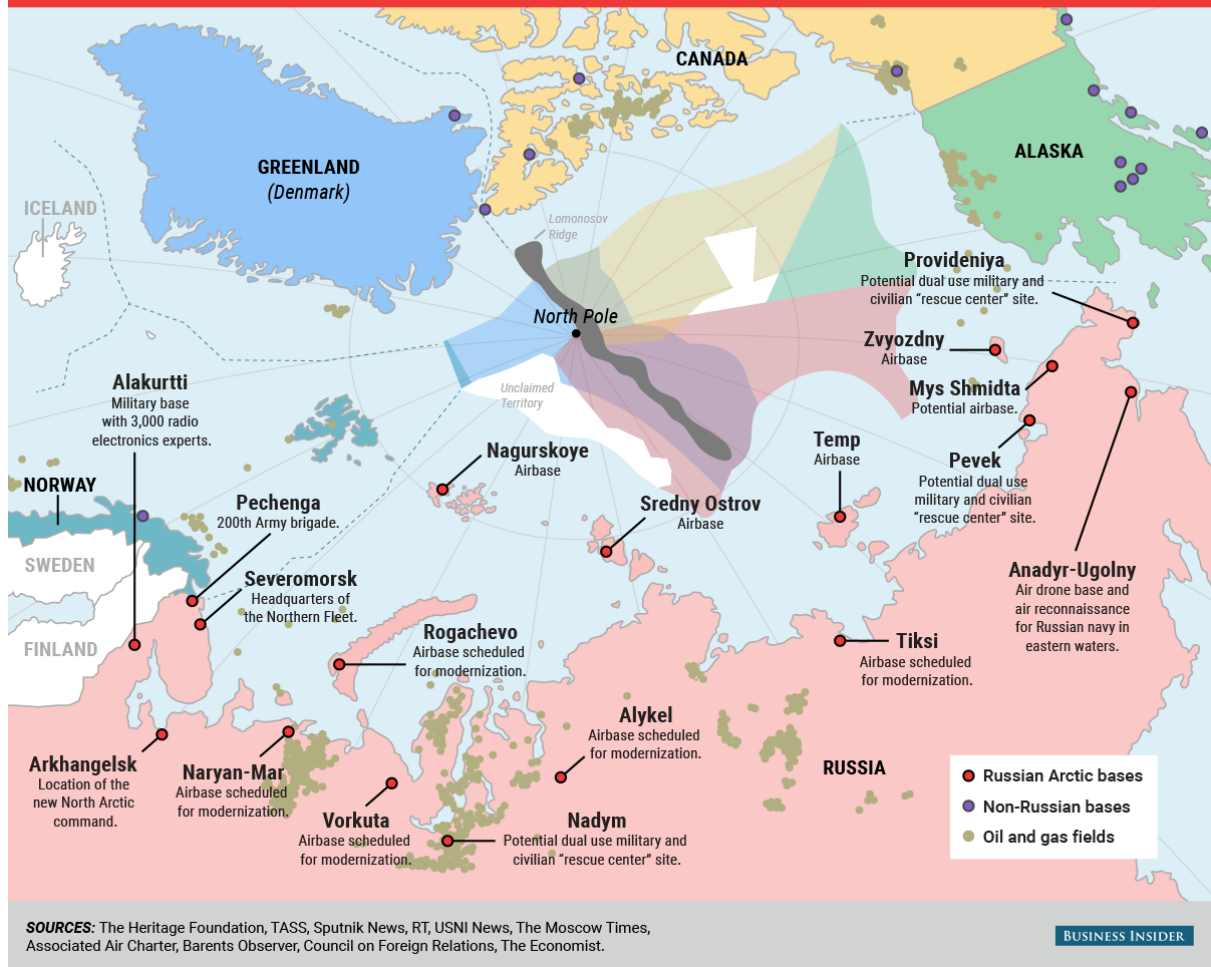


Figure 3. map of militarization in the Arctic

(Bender, Nudelman 2015)

As can be observed from Figure 3 above, Russia has multiple military bases in the Arctic and the importance of those to Russia can be seen from the map. Most of Russia's military bases are close to oil reserves or are protecting Russia's passage in the Arctic. Compared to the non-Russian bases the purpose of Russian bases is significantly obvious. The non-Russian military bases are mostly located in the mainland for example Alaska, Norway and Greenland which have military bases inside their mainland borders. Whereas Canada and Russia have military bases on islands and at the Arctic Ocean. Canada as well has military bases nearby an oil reserve, which shows the same underlined motive to protect their interests; securing the North-West passage and their rights to the oil reserves.

2.1.2. Possible Trade Issues

If there would be established trade routes through the Arctic, they would significantly affect trade between the Arctic states, and create a possibility for the Arctic states to acquire an advantage as export and import harbors. However, the opening of these trade routes has been strongly questioned due to the environmental effects the cargo vessels would have in the Arctic Ocean. For example, Green Peace has been quite strongly against the vessel traffic, oil drilling and fishing in the Arctic Ocean (Save the Arctic 2016). This is one issue that the Arctic states could cooperate on. Finland has the best liquefied natural gas (LNG) technology in the world and would be able to build cargo vessels with LNG technology, which would be more environmentally sustainable than vessels equipped with petrol engines. If the Arctic routes use would increase and the use of vessels with LNG engine would be used in those routes that would reduce the environmental impact in the Arctic Ocean as well as it might reduce the sea traffic in other sea routes, which would also have a positive impact in other seas and oceans.



Figure 4. map of the trade routes in the Arctic

Source: (The Arctic Council... 2012)

As can be observed from the map there are two possible trade routes in the Arctic, the Northern Sea route and the North-West passage. The Northern Sea route runs along the Russian coast, which would be accessible to Russia, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Denmark, and the North-West passage through the American and Canadian coasts, accessible to USA and Canada.

2.1.3. Environmental Issues

As seen from Figure 4, the area of summer ice covering the Arctic Ocean has been decreasing over time due to climate change and global warming. This creates environmental issues that need to be discussed and dealt with.

The Arctic is an environmentally sensitive area. The effects of small changes in the climate and global warming will first affect the Arctic. The area itself contains species that cannot be found anywhere else. Polar bears for example live in the Arctic and the possibility of their survival without the ice environment is uncertain. The environmental threats of melting ice in the Arctic are thoroughly discussed and debated both Arctic states and the rest of the world. The cooperation on environmental issues in the Arctic is high with multiple researchers from different nationalities and different backgrounds collaborating on these issues.

The diminishing ice is not only causing changes to the living habits of animals and the ecosystem, but to the people living in the coast of the Northern states as well (Gerhardt, Steinberg, Tasch, Fabiano & Shields 2010). The changes in the environment are impacting their social and economic structure. For example, Northern Canada is a collection of islands such that it is an archipelago which during winter time, transforms into one solid landmass when the ice freezes over the sea and connects between different islands (The Sea Ice ... 2008). Northern Canada, similar to Alaska USA, transports goods during winter on these temporary ice roads, which are the fastest and easiest way to get trucks from point A to point B (Harball 2017). The status quo in every Arctic state will thus change through climate change and global warming, which is one of the main reasons why all the Arctic states need to cooperate and collaborate to the best of their abilities.

2.2. Natural Resources

The Arctic is full of natural resources that the Arctic states as well as other states want to take advantage of. There have been made discoveries of oil and natural gas, which are highly important and profitable sources of energy. Russia has multiple oil sites in the Arctic as well as Canada, USA and Norway. However, the last three mentioned do not have as many as Russia. This can be observed from Figure 3. According to studies, over 13% of the known oil reserves are in the Arctic (King 2017), which creates competitive dynamics in the Arctic.

2.2.1. Oil and Natural Gas

The extraction of oil in a commercial sense began in the 1920s in Canada's Northwest Territories. In the 1960s, extensive fields of hydrocarbon were discovered in Russia's Yamalo-Nenets region, the North Slope of the Brooks Range in Alaska, and Canada's Mackenzie Delta. During the last several decades, the Arctic territories of Russia, Alaska, Norway, and Canada have produced billions of cubic meters of oil and gas. Currently, the Arctic region produces around one-tenth of the world's oil. Most of the Arctic oil comes from the Russian part of the Arctic. (The Arctic 2017)

Natural gas liquid resources in the Arctic region are estimated to be approximately equivalent to 412 billion barrels of oil. It is estimated that over 87% of the gas resources are located in seven Arctic basin provinces: Amerasian Basin, Arctic Alaska Basin, East Barents Basin, East Greenland Rift Basin, West Greenland-East Canada Basin, West Siberian Basin, and the Yenisey-Khatanga Basin. (King 2016)

Petroleum Province	Crude Oil (billion barrels)	Natural Gas (trillion cubic feet)	Natural Gas Liquids (billion barrels)	Total (oil equivalent in billions of barrels)
West Siberian Basin	3.66	651.50	20.33	132.57
Arctic Alaska	29.96	221.40	5.90	72.77
East Barents Basin	7.41	317.56	1.42	61.76
East Greenland Rift Basin	8.90	86.18	8.12	31.39
Yenisey-Khatanga Basin	5.58	99.96	2.68	24.92
Amerasian Basin	9.72	56.89	0.54	19.75
West Greenland-East Canada	7.27	51.82	1.15	17.06

Figure 5. table of natural resources in the seven Arctic areas

Source: (King 2017)

Jurisdiction of the Arctic is a crucial issue, which impacts the oil as well as natural gas claims in the Arctic. Six of the eight Arctic states have a coastal line in the Arctic which means all six of them have claims to the Arctic seafloor: Denmark, Norway, Russia, USA, Canada and Iceland. Their claims to oil and gas beneath the Arctic Ocean seafloor have historically been determined by unilateral decrees; however, the UNCLOS provides each country an exclusive

economic zone (EEZ) extending 200 miles out from its coastal line. Under certain conditions the EEZ can be extended out to 350 miles if a nation can demonstrate that its continental margin extends more than 200 miles beyond its coast. (King 2016)

3. ARCTIC STATES IN THE ARCTIC

3.1. Arctic Council

The Arctic Council (AC) is an intergovernmental organization that was established with Ottawa Declaration in 1996 between Finland, Sweden, Iceland, Norway, Denmark, Canada, USA and the Russian Federation (Declaration on ... 2013). The eight founding members are permanent members and there are additional observer states which currently are 12; China, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, South Korea, Netherlands, Poland, Singapore, Spain and UK (Arctic Council 2015). The purpose of establishing the AC was to bring all the Arctic states to the same table to discuss and cooperate over the issues in the Arctic region. The chairmanship term of the AC is two years and the current chairman is the USA until May 2017 when the chairmanship will be handed over to Finland.

The AC oversees six different working groups: Arctic Contaminants Action Program (ACAP), Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Program (AMAP), Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna (CAFF), Emergency Preparedness and Response (EPPR), Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment (PAME), and Sustainable Development Working Group (SDWG) (Declaration on ... 2013). These working groups specialize in the Arctic region, mostly in environmental issues (Haftendorn 2011). These groups are a cooperation between several researchers from different nationalities as well as from different specialties.

During the Arctic Society event held in the embassy of the United States of America in Helsinki on 18th of October 2016, Finnish Ambassador for Arctic Affairs Aleksi Härkönen stated that the Finnish government has a good plan for their chairmanship period, and is getting support from all the member states. According to Ambassador Härkönen, climate change and global warming will be the main the focus areas during Finland's chairmanship from 2017 to 2019. He stated that the four main priorities are environmental protection, connectivity, supporting Arctic companies and Arctic operations, and raising the level of primary education and promoting the needs of schools in the rural areas.

3.2. The Five Arctic Ocean Coastal States

The Five Arctic Ocean Coastal States is an informal organization between Norway, Denmark, Russia, Canada and USA. The organization was established in 2008 in the Arctic Ocean conference in Ilulissat, Greenland. Even though the AC was established earlier, the Arctic Ocean Coastal states viewed this organization as necessary since the coastal states have more interests in the Arctic Ocean and thus more responsibilities as well as rights. (The Ilulissat Declaration 2008) One of the recent issues that has been discussed in a meeting between the Five Arctic Ocean Coastal States was unregulated fishing in the Central Arctic Ocean (Sevunts 2017).

3.3. Foreign Policies of the Arctic States

3.3.1. USA

The current USA foreign policy on Arctic issues was made and published during President Obama's presidency in December 2016. This means that their Arctic strategy might change since the sitting President Trump and his administration have not yet published their policy nor made any statements what will the most recent strategy be relevant to their views.

The USA's Arctic strategy published in 2016 stated multiple means to achieve their objectives in the Arctic (Department of Defense (DoD) 2016):

- 1) Enhance the capability of U.S. forces to defend the homeland and exercise sovereignty,
- 2) Strengthen deterrence at home and abroad,
- 3) Strengthen alliances and partnerships,
- 4) Preserve freedom of the seas in the Arctic,

- 5) Engage public, private, and international partners to improve domain awareness in the Arctic,
- 6) Evolve DoD Arctic infrastructure and capabilities consistent with changing conditions and needs,
- 7) Provide support to civil authorities, as directed,
- 8) Partner with other departments, agencies, and nations to support human and environmental security,
- 9) Support international institutions that promote regional cooperation and the rule of law.

According to the Arctic strategy USA's main objectives are ensuring security, supporting safety, and promoting defense cooperation as USA is preparing to respond to a variety of challenges and contingencies in the Arctic during the future years. The Arctic generally remains an area of cooperation, ranging from scientific, environmental, and economic collaboration under the auspices of the AC to military and coast guard cooperation to enhance maritime domain awareness and improve search and rescue (SAR) capabilities, exercise sovereignty, conduct bilateral and multilateral training and exercises, and develop Arctic transportation. Even though USA's Arctic strategy emphasizes cooperation, there are friction points as well. One of the major issue causing friction from the United States' perspective is the way that Canada and Russia regulate navigation in Arctic waters claimed under their jurisdiction. (Report to Congress... 2016)

3.3.2. Russia

Russia's foreign policy concerning the Arctic can be claimed to have more complexity than the current policies towards Europe. Russia views the Arctic to be a crucial strategic venue as well as civil and military development targets. Russia's willingness to cooperate in the Arctic can be claimed to be the need for international cooperation to tap into the untouched resources in the region better. However, the Arctic policies are in the hands of a few persons in the Russian elite. Even though the sanctions against Russia by USA and Europe are causing some difficulties to Russia, the future economic hopes from the Arctic have minimal ties with the sanctions. For example, the Arctic trade route has not been as lucrative as was expected, however the important and expensive natural resources – oil and natural gas – are supporting the Russian economy. However, the low price of energy causing more problems to Russian economy. Since the economic and logistics hopes fell through, the Russian emphasis is increasingly on the security issues. Russia has increased its military activity in the Arctic;

having military training and exercises, reopening old Soviet time airbases and plans to establish new military bases for instance. Russia has stated that the Arctic is one of the key areas of military development next to Crimea and Kalingrad. Russian presence and its Arctic navy present a crucial ability to counteract to an attack, more precisely counteract to a nuclear threat. (Martikainen, Pynnöniemi, Saari & the Finnish Institute of International Affairs team 2016; Klimenko 2016)

In 2013, the AC granted a ‘permanent’ observer status to China, Singapore, India, Japan and South Korea with Russia’s reluctant agreement. Russia is worried about Chinese long term ambitions in the Arctic. China has stated that Arctic is world’s land and not subject to any sovereign power. However, due to the sanctions set against Russia by the USA and Europe and low oil prices in 2014, Russia needed to get access to technological developments that would aid their Arctic endeavors. For this reason, Russia created a strategic partnership with China, looking at only at the short-term benefits rather than thinking of the long-term consequences. For example, the Yamal LNG project can be claimed to symbolize the growing asymmetry in the relationship between Russia and China. (Maxie, Slayton 2016)

3.3.3. Canada

Arctic offers tremendous opportunities to the future of Canada as well as being part of their identity. According to the Government of Canada, their number one priority is to exercise sovereignty over Canada’s North, as they do in the rest of Canada. Canada views that Arctic region’s future would be a stable, rule-based region with clearly defined boundaries, dynamic economic growth as well as trade, vibrant Northern communities, and productive and healthy ecosystems. These above-mentioned views of the future are also the four pillars of their Northern strategy. As Canada advances the four pillars of their Northern Strategy, their international efforts will focus on the following areas (Government of Canada 2013):

- 1) engaging with neighbors to seek to resolve boundary issues,
- 2) securing international recognition for the full extent of our extended continental shelf,
- 3) addressing Arctic governance and related emerging issues, such as public safety,
- 4) creating the appropriate international conditions for sustainable development,
- 5) seeking trade and investment opportunities that benefit Northerners and all Canadians,
- 6) encouraging a greater understanding of the human dimension of the Arctic,

- 7) promoting an ecosystem-based management approach with Arctic neighbors and others,
- 8) contributing to and supporting international efforts to address climate change in the Arctic,
- 9) enhancing our efforts on other pressing environmental issues,
- 10) strengthening Arctic science and the legacy of International Polar Year,
- 11) engaging Northerners on Canada's Arctic foreign policy,
- 12) supporting Indigenous Permanent Participant organizations,
- 13) providing Canadian youth with opportunities to participate in the circumpolar dialogue.

3.3.4. Finland

Finnish foreign policy concerning the Arctic has long been of having cooperation and collaboration in the region. For example, Finland has been a part of the Barents Euro-Arctic Council (BEAC) since 1993, which includes Finland, Sweden, Norway and Russia. BEAC is a regional council whose main concerns are the sustainability and development of the region as well as marine cooperation and security policy issues (Barents Cooperation 2017). Finland views cooperation as the only viable option for the Arctic states to address the environmental issues as well as of keeping the Arctic as a low politically contentious area. Even though Finland as well as Sweden do not have access to the Arctic Ocean, they are equally invested in the Arctic. Finland has long been the expert when it comes to technology and equipment in the Arctic. For example, the icebreakers built in Finland are the best in the world and the LNG technology they have which can be used to their advantage in ship building are two major things that make a difference in the Arctic environment (Arctic Expertise 2013).

Finland is going to be the chairman of the AC from 2017 until 2019, which creates a unique opportunity to Finland to address the issues that are most important to them. The four main focuses were stated by the Finnish Arctic Ambassador Härkönen in the Arctic Society event held at the US embassy in Helsinki on 18th of October. Finland's goals are to better the education system in the rural areas, support Arctic companies, protect the Arctic environment and increase connectivity. These goals are mutually beneficial for the Arctic states as well as important issues for Finland. In Lapland, Finland has a minority of Saami people and creating equality and the opportunity to cherish their traditions are part of the Finnish society and moral understanding. The increasing environmental consciousness in Finland also drives the

discussion of environmental issues forward and Finns are very proud of their expertise concerning the Arctic, which has given a boost to the research and development in Finland. Connectivity concerns many different aspects however, one example of connectivity is the data cable that is planned to go from USA to Finland, which would bring another source of benefit to the Finnish economy in the form of being a data center. Finland has already been marked out as a perfect location for a data center (The Safest ... 2017), but the data cable would create an even accessible connection between Finland and USA.

According to the Finnish MFA's Arctic Strategy, to achieve progress in these areas four pillars are crucial: Arctic country, Arctic expertise, sustainable development and environmental consideration, and international cooperation (Finland's Arctic... 2017).

3.3.5. Norway

Norway is the one of the richest countries in Europe, and significant part of their wealth comes from their oil reserves in the Arctic region (OECD data 2017). Norway is a NATO member as well as beneficiary of the natural resources in the Arctic. NATO has a special significance even though Norway is not the biggest and most influential country in the world and in Europe.

Norway's Arctic strategy is based on six main objectives; a sustainable future, international cooperation, a knowledge-based business sector, broad-based knowledge development, more reliable infrastructure, and better preparedness and environmental protection. (Norway's Arctic policy, 2014) Norway's interests in the Arctic are complex and some issues are not complimentary to each other. However, the Norwegian government is basing their Arctic policy on focusing on multiple issues and try to make them compatible. (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2006)

3.3.6. Sweden

Sweden, similar to Finland, has published an Arctic Strategy which states their priorities and ways to achieve those priorities to the best of their abilities. The Swedish MFA states that climate change is creating a change as well as new opportunities, which they want to have an influence in. In addition, Sweden is emphasizing international cooperation and concern for the environmental issues in the Arctic. The Swedish MFA sees that the AC should be more cooperative and active by creating common policies and projects to benefit the region. In other words, Sweden wants to create sustainable development throughout the Arctic region in all aspects – economically, socially and environmentally. (Sweden's Strategy ... 2011)

In addition to having high interests on the benefits of the Arctic and Arctic cooperation, Sweden prides itself for being one of the leading research nations and have stated that they will continue that way and use their expertise to contribute to the issues in the Arctic region (Sweden's Strategy ... 2011). Related to research, the Swedish government has stated their three overall priorities, all concerning the Arctic environment: Stronger climate efforts, better protection of biodiversity and ecosystems, and sustainable use of resources (New Swedish ... 2016).

It can be concluded that Sweden has multiple similar objectives, priorities and interests in the Arctic region as Finland, which given the close relations between these two countries is neither a coincidence nor a surprise.

3.3.7. Denmark

In 2014, the Minister for Europe and Trade of Denmark stated in his speech that cooperation in the Arctic is essential; international, regional as well as domestic cooperation are needed. The growing interest in the Arctic and the new possibilities are in Denmark's interests. (Speech by the 2014)

The Danish Arctic strategy states four significant aspects they are interested to secure or develop further – peaceful, secure and safe Arctic, self-sustaining growth and development, development with respect for the Arctic's vulnerable climate, environment and nature, and close cooperation with their international partners. (Strategy for the ... 2011)

3.3.8. Iceland

As one of the founding members of the AC, Iceland has deep interests in the Arctic region. Iceland's interests have always been shaped by their geographical location and the access to natural resources. Iceland views that reaching consensus in all political aspects concerning Arctic policy is a matter of great importance, and Iceland wants to have strong influence on the future development of the region. (A Parliamentary Resolution 2011)

The Icelandic foreign policy is based on twelve principles (A Parliamentary Resolution 2011):

- 1) promoting and strengthening the AC as the most important consultative forum,
- 2) securing Iceland as a coastal state in the Arctic region,
- 3) promoting the understanding that the Arctic region extends both to the North Pole area as well as to the part of the North Atlantic Ocean which is closely connect to it,
- 4) resolving differences that relate to the Arctic on the basis of UNCLOS,

- 5) strengthening and increasing cooperation with the Faroe Islands and Greenland,
- 6) supporting the rights of indigenous people,
- 7) building agreements and promoting cooperation with other states and stakeholders,
- 8) to use all available means to prevent human-induced climate change and its effects in order to improve the wellbeing of Arctic residents and their communities,
- 9) safeguarding broadly defined security interests in the Arctic region through civilian means and working against any kind of militarization of the Arctic,
- 10) developing further trade relations between States in the Arctic region,
- 11) advancing Icelanders' knowledge of Arctic issues and promoting Iceland as a venue for meetings and conferences,
- 12) increasing consultations and cooperation at the domestic level on Arctic issues.

As can be observed all the Nordic states have similar goals and priorities concerning the Arctic. That cannot be said to be coincidence since the way of thinking is very similar in all Nordic states even though some motives might be different.

4. DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

From the process tracing can be said that the one of the most significant changes in the dynamics of the Arctic were the declarations of independence from Iceland, Norway and Finland. Gaining their independence meant that the Arctic region gained states, who have claims in the Arctic. The Norwegian independence cut Sweden's future claims to the seafloor of the Arctic Ocean as well since Sweden lost its access to the ocean through Norwegian independence. Secondly, the purchase of Alaska can be claimed to be another huge change in the Arctic dynamics. Mostly for the same reason as the declarations of independence; purchase of Alaska brought USA to the playing field. Without this specific change, USA would not have legitimate claim in the Arctic Ocean. Finally, the Cold War as a period of time. During the Cold war tensions were high between USA and USSR, which pushed USSR to expand its military influence in the Arctic region while USA and Canada for ignored the region's strategic location.

The Arctic region is complicated and unique due to its special circumstances surrounding its geopolitical issues. The Arctic region as mentioned several times during this thesis is the only place where USA and Russia share a border as well as share competitive and mutual interests. The environmental issues in the Arctic introduces another element into the complicated geopolitical situation, because the environmental issues need to be addressed and dealt with which might not be the best for the economic interests of the Arctic states . However, if not addressed the climate change and the melting ice banks might cause economic loses in the future. In addition, the military issues are highly relevant to the security and dynamics of the Arctic region. As stated in chapter two, Russia has multiple military bases in the Arctic and other Arctic states have military bases in the Arctic region as well, however the number of Russian military bases in the region exceeds the number of military bases the other states have combined. However, NATO has started to have military exercises and trainings in the Arctic region. Due to the NATO presence as well as the Russian military bases, the arms race of the Arctic can be said to have begun. Issues of trade routes as well as natural resources are purely

economic with a political twist as Russia and Canada for instance are politically claiming sovereignty to economically secure these trade routes. The situation is the same with the natural resources such as oil and gas in the Arctic seafloor. Natural resources are a significant part of states' economy and possessing significant amounts of these resources can create great wealth to states. Such an example would be Norway. Norway has created its wealth and economy based on their oil profits. Another example would be Russia. The oil and gas revenues in large parts are received by the Russian elite and the profits from the natural resources are creating great wealth.

Foreign policies of the Arctic states can be claimed to be similar in many aspects. For example, all the Nordic states emphasize cooperation, sustainable development, environmental protection and trade between the Arctic states. It can be said that the common ideological basis can be seen in the Nordic foreign policies. However, in a certain sense their economic interests and environmental protection are not correlated as the economic issues will take precedence over environmental issues. For example, oil can be claimed to be environmental threat since it requires drilling into the seafloor, despite that oil remains vital to Norway's economy. Russia, USA and Canada instead have significant emphasis on security and safety of their territorial integrity. These three states view that the cooperation in the Arctic is crucial and strategically wise. However, Russia views that cooperation is necessary if they benefit from it. In other words, Russia sees the cooperation in the Arctic as a necessary evil to the contrary of the other Arctic states, who view that the cooperation is important tool in any case, necessary or not. USA's Arctic policy have aspects of defense which cannot be said to be a surprise considering the geographical situation as well as USA's military capabilities. In addition to the competitive relations with Russia, this gives more emphasis on defense. Foreign policy of Canada has great emphasis on territorial integrity and sovereignty in their coastal territory in the Arctic region. The rhetoric used in the Canadian policy suggest that Canada wants a political justification not to let other states travel through the Arctic Ocean which they see as their territory without permission. This includes the North-West passage which has possibilities to become a significant trade route.

In reviewing the foreign policies of the eight Arctic states, it can be said that the discussion of the Arctic is divided into purely geopolitical motives. The stronger geopolitical approach in the Russian, American and Canadian foreign policies. The creation of the five Arctic Ocean Coastal States is a valid argument to support the claim of the strong geopolitical context in the Arctic region.

To conclude the security situation in the Arctic can only be maintained stable with cooperation and collaboration. If cooperation is neglected and competitiveness left unchecked, the security atmosphere will decrease and create even higher military presence as well as possibility of a frozen conflict increasing, which none of the Arctic states can afford. Frozen conflict would bring more hostility and disagreements between the states which would create considerable complications for instance retrieving natural resources from the Arctic Ocean as well as creating a division between the West and Russia. This basically would mean Russia against NATO whereas Finland and Sweden would need to pick sides or try to stay neutral and cooperative with both sides. Situation described resembles the security atmosphere during the Cold war.

The Arctic region itself is complex to its geopolitical meaning, natural resources and climate and environmental issues which are the reason why all the Arctic states need to cooperate. The complexity of the region requires multiple different expertise which none of the states' have by themselves. This means that unique circumstances in the Arctic region compels the states to cooperate if they desire achieving their goals and interests in the region. The required cooperation would reduce the probability of conflict and competitiveness which will reduce the chance of a conflict in the Arctic region.

5. CRITIQUE

Since the Arctic security is a relevant and current issue as well as broad topic to cover. For this reason, it is impossible to cover all the issues that could be relevant to Arctic security. In addition to changes in government as such in USA, the policy changes might be sudden and the policy lines might be the opposite from the previous line. This adds to the difficult to keep the analysis updated all the time, which might cause the issue of inconsistency with the facts. However, with the current accessible policies as well as other information, there must be notion that even though the US President Trump has not made his on policy concerning Arctic, he has made decisions that fight against the Paris Agreement. One example of these kinds of decisions is the decision to support coal factories in the US. This decision is opposite from the policy line former US President Obama took during his presidency. This can be interpreted as a glimpse of President Trump's possible policy line concerning environmental issues in the Arctic. President Trump's policy concerning sanction to Russia instead can give a different picture of the upcoming Arctic policy. President Trump decided to uphold the sanction concerning Russian oil in the Arctic, which was a big hit to the American oil company Exxon Mobil since they have depending investments in the Russia oils sights in question (Boren 2016). This decision can be said to be surprising since the US Secretary of State Rex Tillerson held an executive office in Exxon Mobil and during Secretary of State Tillerson's role in Exxon Mobil, Exxon Mobil was active towards investments to Russian oil sights (Kramer, Krause 2016).

In additionally, can be criticized the reality that the topic itself is very broad which created a need to cut down issues that would have some meaning to the Arctic and its security. For example, the indigenous people were mentioned in many of the foreign policy. However, this paper excluded the issues concerning the indigenous people mainly since issues of indigenous people might not have great enough influence to change the security situation in the Arctic to one way or to another. It is not that the equality, rights and changes to their socio-economic situation is not important. Those are important. However, the doubt that those issues

would cause conflict between the Arctic states is great enough to justify excluding the topic of indigenous people from this thesis.

Environmental issues as well are not highly emphasized even though the climate change and global warming are significant issues to address and discuss. Even though environmental issues were mentioned in most of the Arctic states' foreign policies the significance of environmental issues compared to economic or defense issues will only likely to cause an armed conflict between states. Which is why this thesis does not deal with environmental issues as comprehensively as those issues probably should be dealt with.

Since the Arctic and Arctic security is a broad topic to cover, attention to details is almost impossible. Only the part of analyzing the foreign policies of the Arctic states would be substantively broad enough topic to write a thesis on. So the final critique could be that the topic could be cut even smaller wholes which would create a specific contexts to line the paper.

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APPENDICES



Figure 1. map of Europe 1815

Source: (Colbeck 1905)



Figure 2. Map of the Arctic Region

Source: (U.S. Department of State 2015)



Figure 3. map of militarization in the Arctic

(Bender, Nudelman 2015)



Figure 4. map of the trade routes in the Arctic

Source: (The Arctic Council... 2012)

Petroleum Province	Crude Oil (billion barrels)	Natural Gas (trillion cubic feet)	Natural Gas Liquids (billion barrels)	Total (oil equivalent in billions of barrels)
West Siberian Basin	3.66	651.50	20.33	132.57
Arctic Alaska	29.96	221.40	5.90	72.77
East Barents Basin	7.41	317.56	1.42	61.76
East Greenland Rift Basin	8.90	86.18	8.12	31.39
Yenisey-Khatanga Basin	5.58	99.96	2.68	24.92
Amerasian Basin	9.72	56.89	0.54	19.75
West Greenland-East Canada	7.27	51.82	1.15	17.06

Figure 5. table of natural resources in the seven Arctic areas

Source: (King 2017)