

# **International Cooperation and Arctic Governance**

Regime effectiveness and  
northern region building

*Edited by*

**Olav Schram Stokke and  
Geir Hønneland**

# International Cooperation and Arctic Governance

A new exploration of the impacts of Arctic regimes in such vital areas as pollution, biodiversity, indigenous affairs, health and climate change.

The post-Cold War era has seen an upsurge in interest in Arctic affairs. With new international regimes targeting Arctic issues at both the global and regional levels, the Northern areas seem set to play an increasingly prominent role in the domestic and foreign policies of the Arctic states and actors – not least Russia, the USA and the EU.

This volume clearly distinguishes between three key kinds of impact:

- effectiveness, defined as mitigation or removal of specific problems addressed by a regime
- political mobilization, highlighting changes in the pattern of involvement and influence in decision making on Arctic affairs
- region building, understood as contributions by Arctic institutions to denser interactive or discursive connectedness among the inhabitants of the region.

Empirically, the main focus is on three institutions: the Arctic Council, the Barents Euro-Arctic Region and the Council of the Baltic Sea States. This is essential reading for all students with an interest in Arctic affairs and their impact on global society.

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# International Cooperation and Arctic Governance

Regime effectiveness and  
northern region building

Edited by Olav Schram  
Stokke and Geir Hønneland



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O. S. S. and G. H.  
Oslo, 23 May 2006

# Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACAP	Arctic Council Action Plan
ACIA	Arctic Climate Impact Assessment
ACOPS	Advisory Committee on Protection of the Seas
AEPS	Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy
AHDR	Arctic Human Development Report
AMAP	Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Program
AMEC	Arctic Military Environmental Cooperation
ASC	Assessment Steering Committee
BEAC	Barents Euro-Arctic Council
BEAR	Barents Euro-Arctic Region
CAFF	Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna
CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
CBSS	Council of the Baltic Sea States
CLRTAP	Convention on Long-Range Transported Air Pollution
CPAN	Circumpolar Protected Areas Network
CSO	Committee of Senior Officials
DOTS	Directly Observed Treatment with Short-course therapy
EMP	Euro-Mediterranean Partnership
EPPR	Emergency Prevention, Preparedness and Response
EUND	European Union's Northern Dimension
GEF	Global Environment Facility
IASC	International Arctic Science Committee
ICC	Inuit Circumpolar Conference



ICSU	International Council for Scientific Unions
IEA	International Energy Agency
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMO	International Maritime Organization
INRIPP	Institution Building for Northern Russia's Indigenous Peoples Project
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IPS	Indigenous Peoples Secretariat
IWGIA	International Working Group for International Affairs
LOS Convention	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
MARPOL 73/78	International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships
MFA	Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MNEPR	Multilateral Nuclear Environmental Programme in the Russian Federation
NEFCO	Nordic Environmental Finance Corporation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ORPC 1990	Oil Pollution Preparedness, Response and Cooperation
OSPAR Convention	The 1992 Convention for the Protection of the Marine Environment of the North East Atlantic
PAME	Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment
PCB	polychlorinated biphenyls
PINRO	Knipovich Polar Marine Research Institute of Marine Fisheries and Oceanography
POPs	persistent organic pollutants
RAIPON	Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North
Rosgidromet	Russian Federal Service for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Monitoring
SAOs	Senior Arctic Officials

SDWG	Sustainable Development Working Group
SFT	Norwegian Pollution Control Authority
STAKES	National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and Health (Finland)
tcf	trillion cubic feet
UNEP	UN Environment Programme
UNFCCC	UN Framework Convention on Climate Change
WCRP	World Climate Research Program
WHO	World Health Organization
WMO	World Meteorological Organization
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development
WWF	Worldwide Fund for Nature



# 1 Introduction

*Geir Hønneland and Olav Schram Stokke*

The post-Cold War era has seen an upsurge of interest in Arctic affairs.<sup>1</sup> This applies to international as well as national politics, and is seen in practical politics as well as in the academic literature. With new international regimes targeting Arctic issues at both the global and regional levels, the northern areas seem set to play an increasingly prominent role in the domestic and foreign policies of the Arctic states and actors – not least Russia, the USA and the EU.

This book is essentially about international governance – or the creation and operation of rules of conduct that define practices, assign roles and guide interaction for dealing with collective problems (Young 1994: 3, 15). For most of the post-war period, institutional means for circumpolar or sub-regional governance across the East–West divide were few and far between, owing to the strategic rivalry between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. This situation changed markedly in the late 1980s, when a series of initiatives were taken for broader cooperation in the Arctic in such vital areas as indigenous issues, communicable disease control, pollution control and biodiversity conservation, climate politics, and environmental concerns in petroleum activities.

Empirically, our main focus here is on three institutions: the Arctic Council, the Barents Euro-Arctic Region and the Council of the Baltic Sea States; the latter is included because salient parts of its Russia-oriented programme activities concern the Arctic oblasts of Murmansk and Arkhangelsk. These relatively recent institutions are functionally broad and address a range of issue areas, often including environmental protection, commerce and industry, health, education and cultural affairs. By contrast, earlier Arctic institutions set up across the East–West divide tended to concentrate on carefully circumscribed issues, such as management of certain shared fish stocks or wildlife populations.<sup>2</sup>

Our focus is on the *impact* of these new Arctic institutions. Their formation and early development have been covered by others.<sup>3</sup> We

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will pay attention more explicitly to the difference that these institutions might have made. Also, this is a study of impact in quite broad terms. We distinguish between three categories of impact flowing from those institutions: (1) *effectiveness*, defined as mitigation or removal of specific problems addressed by a regime; (2) *political mobilization*, highlighting changes in the pattern of involvement and influence in decision making on Arctic affairs; and (3) *region building*, understood as contributions by Arctic institutions to more dense interactive or discursive connectedness among the inhabitants of the region. These concepts will be further explained in Chapter 2.

The case studies cover some of the many priority areas that the relatively new Arctic institutions have defined for themselves. Especially the sub-regional Barents and Baltic Sea initiatives have placed great emphasis on developing stronger economic ties among the northern territories of the states involved. Programmes under those institutions have aimed at improving physical, financial and administrative infrastructures for commercial and regional business development in areas ranging from fisheries and forestry to maritime transport and telecommunication services. These areas are not covered in this book, or only tangentially.

In terms of theory, the primary challenge is to establish causal substantiation between the operation of Arctic institutions and changes in problem solving, political mobilization or region building. Here it is important to examine whether Arctic institutions succeed in carving out distinctive ‘niches’ for themselves, as seen in the context of broader international cooperation. While initiatives to Arctic collaboration have often come from the smaller northern states, progress has inevitably depended on support from the ‘great powers’ in international Arctic politics – Russia, the USA and the EU – whether in political or financial terms.

This introductory chapter provides a brief overview of the Arctic institutions that are in focus in this book. It elaborates on the role of great powers within them, and outlines the chapters that follow.

### Cooperative Olympics in the Arctic

The ‘Gorbachev initiative’, launched by the Soviet leader in a speech in Murmansk in 1987, sparked off a truly hectic period for Arctic policy makers and bureaucrats.<sup>4</sup> The signal that Soviet authorities would welcome more extensive cooperation with Western states on Arctic affairs was quickly heeded, and several scientific communities lost no time in reintroducing an earlier plan for a circumpolar body to foster

greater cooperation among Arctic scientific organizations (Roots and Rogne 1987). One prime motivation for this initiative was the desire to obtain physical access for research in the entire circumpolar area. In 1990, these efforts were rewarded by the establishment of the non-governmental International Arctic Science Committee (IASC), an associate of the International Council of Scientific Unions. IASC members are research organizations from all eight Arctic states (Canada, Denmark/Greenland, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden and the USA) and ten other states. This institution facilitates the development and funding of cooperative projects, in particular those with clear circumpolar relevance.<sup>5</sup>

In 1991, a Finnish initiative to set up a cooperative intergovernmental vehicle for protection of the Arctic environment produced the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy (AEPS), which includes a string of permanent working groups tasked with various programme activities. The emphasis has been on environmental monitoring, mapping and harmonization of national and international conservation measures, and developing projects for the protection of the marine environment. The four original AEPS activity areas, each coordinated by a working group, have been maintained (now within the broader structure of the Arctic Council): the Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Program (AMAP), Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna (CAFF), Emergency Prevention, Preparedness and Response (EPPR), and Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment (PAME).<sup>6</sup> In 1998, the AEPS was incorporated in the Arctic Council, which had been created a few years earlier, following a Canadian initiative and a lengthy period of pushing and shoving.<sup>7</sup> In addition to environmental protection, the Arctic Council addresses social, cultural and economic matters of particular concern to northern communities.<sup>8</sup> Decisions of the Arctic Council are made by bi-annual ministerial meetings, in the format of non-binding declarations that give direction for future work under the Council. The chairmanship rotates among the countries, and the country in the chair is responsible for secretariat functions and driving the cooperation. Day-to-day operations of the Council are taken care of by the countries' Senior Arctic Officials (SAOs), normally polar or Arctic ambassadors. The Arctic Council does not have its own budget or secretariat: work under the Council is dependent upon direct national financial contributions and willingness to act as lead country for projects.

Alongside the development of these circumpolar bodies, two sub-regional institutions have emerged as salient vehicles for cooperation in the European Arctic. A Danish–German initiative gave rise to the Council of the Baltic Sea States (CBSS) in 1992.<sup>9</sup> Member states are