

Z ZAGRANICY

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FOREIGN POLICY STRATEGIES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION IN THE ARCTIC IN THE POST-BIPOLAR ERA

In today's Arctic is emerging one of the most difficult geopolitical situations in the world. The common space of the Arctic states, which is forming into a single Arctic region, has enormous reserves of natural resources and a unique geographical location on the path of developing new transport routes. The political confrontation is intensifying due to the international dispute over the right to extract and develop minerals located at the bottom of the Arctic Ocean, primarily gas and oil. The number of states seeking to participate in issues related to the use of the region's wealth is growing every year. All this increases the geopolitical importance of the region and its strategic importance is steadily growing.

Eight countries are located in the Arctic region – Russia, USA, Canada, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Iceland. Thus, of the eight formal Arctic states, three of them (Sweden, Finland and Denmark) represent the European Union. The European Union as a global actor, is trying to take an active part in decision-making regarding the Arctic, its exploration, development and international cooperation there.

The current situation in the Arctic region attracts the attention of many researchers. Many scientists have studied issues related to geographical location and climate change, the Arctic Ocean, the history of the development of cold Arctic icebergs. The number of hydrocarbon resources that have potential global significance for all mankind has been identified. The study of Arctic transcontinental routes continues.

Scientific researches of the surface of the North Pole and the bottom of the Arctic Ocean have been carried out. Consideration of a set of problems related to the exploitation of Arctic deposits, sustainable development of the region and prospects for co-operation are presented in the publications of foreign scientists from Canada – Thomas Stubbs, Martin Fortier, Andrew Gilman; Norway – Davor Vidas, Willy Ostreng, Salve Dahle, Oluf Langhelle, Hege Meldal, Jan Idar Solbakken; Finland – Simon-Erik Ollus, Tulla Tuisku; USA – Lawson Brigham, Dennis Thurston. In addition, the results of the Arctic Council's working groups, which prepared reports on Arctic development issues, are of particular importance. The foreign policy strategies of Denmark, Finland and Sweden in the Arctic region have become important documents in the preparation of this article.

The aim of the study is to conduct an objective, correct analysis of the foreign policy strategies of the Arctic countries of the European Union (Denmark, Sweden, Finland) to protect national interests in the Arctic, in connection with the growing geopolitical interests of the world's leading countries in the region.

Ecologically, culturally, climatically, socially and economically, the Arctic is changing in many ways with implications throughout the region and around the world. For example, Arctic sea ice has been retreating rapidly over the past decade. Due to climate change, increased human access to formerly ice-covered areas, and the potential for increased activities such as fishing, shipping, tourism, bioprospecting, mining, and oil and gas operations, present significant legal challenges¹. Questions therefore arise as to whether the Arctic governance regime is adequately designed to address global environmental change, or needs to evolve to tackle challenges.

The EU is inextricably linked to the Arctic region by a unique combination of geography, economics, history and scientific achievements. Three Arctic countries are EU Member States (Denmark, Sweden and Finland) and the EU maintains close relations with Iceland and Norway through the European Economic Area. Canada, Russia and the United States are also strategic partners of the EU. The EU has a strategic interest in playing a key role in the Arctic region and strong political will to enhance Arctic governance.

The EU's Arctic policy was first defined in 2008, and the 2016 Joint Communication on an integrated European Union policy for the Arctic by the European Commission and the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy

¹ *Introduction*, Arctic Biodiversity Assessment, Arctic Council Working Group Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna, 2013, [online], [access on 7.06.2021]. Access in World Wide Web: <https://www.arctic-biodiversity.is/index.php/the-report/chapters/introduction>

reflects its most recent update². It aims to enhance the EU's presence and visibility in the Arctic, in particular in the European Arctic, focusing on three main pillars: 1) climate change and environmental protection in the Arctic; 2) sustainable development of the region with research, science and innovation being considered important assets and activities; 3) enhancing international cooperation on Arctic issues by deepening regional and multilateral cooperation.

It is worth noting the role of the EU as a global leader in science and ecology – extremely relevant topics for the Arctic. In this region, the rate of global warming is significantly higher than the world average, and the need for serious research is unconditional. Protecting the unique Arctic nature while ensuring the sustainable development of the region and promoting scientific investment are the main themes of all strategic documents adopted by the EU institutions on the Arctic.

Due to its effective financial instruments, such as the Structural Funds, and the Horizon 2020 program, the European Union has already funded dozens of successful research projects in the Arctic worth hundreds of millions of euros. Among them, it is worth to mention the study of permafrost and melting ice cover, which is extremely useful for understanding the dynamics and forecasting the further manifestation of climate change in the Arctic.

Due to significant experience and knowledge in the environmental field, the EU promotes its own high norms and standards as a guideline for the Arctic countries, in particular with regard to energy and shipping. The European Union is not only investing in renewable energy in the Arctic and improving energy efficiency, but is also actively advocating for further black carbon emissions, which have extremely negative consequences for the ecosystem in the North of the Earth.

It is worth noting that the goals of the EU's Arctic policy are similar to the priorities of the Arctic European states, but they are not ready to delegate their authority to the EU in making decisions on the Arctic. Each of the three countries (Denmark, Finland and Sweden) has developed and released its own foreign policy strategy in the Arctic region.

Finland is one of the eight countries that have territories in the Arctic Circle, and is one of the founders of the Arctic Council, where it chaired in 2017–2019. During its presidency, Finland has focused on the development of cooperation in the Arctic,

² Joint Communication of the European Commission and High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy of 10 November 2016 on International ocean governance: an agenda for the future of our oceans, 2016, [online], [access on 7.06.2021]. Access in World Wide Web: https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/default/files/joint-communication-eu-us-agenda_en.pdf.

especially in the field of environmental protection, meteorology, communications and education.

The country's government intends to become a leading player in international Arctic politics both in the European Union and around the world. For example, along with Sweden and Denmark, as one of the three EU countries that have territories beyond the Arctic Circle, Finland leads the formation of the EU's Arctic strategy. Finland also sees the EU as a key participant in the Arctic region and supports efforts to consolidate a common European Arctic policy. Within the EU, Finland seeks to promote cooperation in the Arctic as one of the EU's external relations priorities.

The Arctic Council is the most important forum covering the entire Arctic region. At the state level, cooperation in the Barents Region is carried out by the Barents Council and the Euro-Arctic Region Council. The goal of the organization is to promote stability and sustainable development in the region, which covers the northern regions of Finland, Sweden, Norway and the northwestern regions of Russia. The Barents Cooperation promotes a pragmatic regional perspective on more comprehensive cooperation in the Arctic³. Northern Dimension was founded as an equal partnership between the EU, Russia, Norway and Iceland. The work carried out in the framework of the partnership involves various forms of cooperation. Northern Dimension and its associated partnerships provide a forum for joint resolution of issues related to northern Europe, as well as a platform for practical cooperation.

In 2013, Finland published its new Arctic strategy⁴. Finland's main goal in this region is to promote the growth and development of the region with uniqueness of the local environment. The new Arctic strategy of Finland is based on the following policy directions outlined by the government: Arctic country, Arctic experience, sustainable development, environmental aspects, and international cooperation. The strategy defines a number of Arctic policy goals and proposes ways to achieve them.

Finland has diversified experience in the Arctic and is extremely interested in continuing to participate in the development of the region. This strategy covers the following goals and objectives: strengthening Finland's position in the Arctic region; creating new business opportunities; protection of the Arctic environment; maintaining security and stability in the region; preservation of the special position of the northern region of Finland; the international cooperation; education; study;

³ Arctic Finland, Portal to finish Arctic Policies, Research and Business, [online], [access on 6.06.2021]. Access in World Wide Web: <https://www.arcticfinland.fi/EN/Policy>

⁴ Finland's Strategy for the Arctic Region 2013 Government resolution on 23 August 2013. Prime Minister's Office Publications, 2013, [online], [access on 6.06.2021]. Access in World Wide Web: https://vnk.fi/documents/10616/1093242/J1613_Finland's+Strategy+for+the+Arctic+Region.pdf/cf80d586-895a-4a32-8582-435f60400fd2?version=1.0

economy; infrastructure and arctic expertise. Protection of rights of indigenous peoples is also a key element of Finland's Arctic policy.

Today, Sweden's Arctic policy is based on 2 fundamental circumstances. On the one hand, it has no access to the Arctic Ocean, which excludes its participation in territorial disputes over the borders and shelf in the Arctic Ocean. On the other hand, the climatic influence of the ocean on the Arctic part of Sweden is so strong that it has a significant impact on the country's economy. The military aspect of security is also important, especially in the case of the use of Weapons of Mass Destruction, despite the neutral military status of Sweden.

Sweden developed its Arctic Strategy⁵ in 2011, before heading the Arctic Council. It describes the priorities and directions of Sweden's policy in relation to the Arctic and Arctic countries, as well as relations with them. Sweden notes such important strategic tasks for the country as: security issues, economic issues, climate and environmental issues, scientific research issues, cultural ties.

Sweden identifies 3 main priority areas in the Arctic: 1) climate and environment; 2) economic development; 3) the human dimension. All tasks, including priority ones, Sweden plans to solve in close interaction and cooperation with neighboring countries in Northern Europe, Europe and the Arctic.

Over the 10 years of its existence, Sweden's Arctic strategy has not changed, since it contains general provisions and long-term goals. However, the results of work on it are visible both in foreign and domestic policy.

In foreign policy: 1) under the leadership of Sweden in the Arctic Council, a permanent Secretariat was established in Tromsø; 2) the European Union received the status of a temporary observer in the Arctic Council, the issue of giving the EU the status of a permanent observer in the Arctic Council is being considered; 3) transport links between countries of Northern Europe are improving; 4) Sweden occupies a leading position among the North European countries of the Arctic Council, which do not have direct access to the waters of the Arctic Ocean; 5) with the active participation of Sweden, the Polar Code began to operate in 2017, which tightened the requirements for the discharge of waste and hazardous substances into the waters of the Arctic⁶.

⁵ Sweden's strategy for Arctic region, The Government of Sweden, 2011, [online], [access on 6.06.2021]. Access in World Wide Web: https://www.government.se/information-material/2020/11/swedens-strategy-for-the-arctic-region-2020/?TSPD_101_R0=082953afa5ab2000d19a3bfa0c7c43bc4240d860db67e-5a25bc985d54c1fc67978a59fc6e2b82df3080067af4b143000dbdd0728c90a32fca5a21165e78e5ac67a99d238834b08b899c546b4cc677d28c8f5f2113d03e2bcb5cdb3b45fc002c1

⁶ Международный кодекс для судов, эксплуатирующихся в полярных водах (Полярный кодекс), Электронный фонд правовой и нормативно-технической документации. Консорциум КОДЕКС., [online], [access on 6.06.2021]. Access in World Wide Web: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/420376046>

In domestic politics: 1) sustainable development of the polar region of Norrbotten, 2) active work and a large amount of research at the research station in Abisko; 3) increased attention to the indigenous northern peoples Sami.

In general, Sweden takes an active part in solving the problems of the Arctic, in accordance with its status and the Arctic Strategy.

The Arctic Strategy⁷ defines the joint strategy of Denmark, Greenland and the Faroe Islands, which are part of the Danish United Kingdom, regarding the Arctic region. The main goal of the Arctic strategy is to facilitate the exchange of information and coordination of efforts in all areas related to development in the Arctic, and thus to achieve a focus on common priorities and to promote cooperation within the country as well as international cooperation. At the same time, it is assumed that soft power will be used both inside and outside the state, including foreign missions, in the form of public diplomacy (holding various meetings and forums, cooperation with think tanks, etc.). The list of key topics for such initiatives includes: the impact of climate change on the Arctic, the Arctic as a region of cooperation, new trade opportunities in the Arctic, international law and the Arctic, etc. According to the strategy, emerging problems should be resolved on the basis of international legal principles in order to ensure a peaceful, secure and open to cooperation Arctic. Denmark's approach to security is based on the prevention of conflicts and the militarization of the Arctic. The Danish Ministry of Defense maintains strong international cooperation with various Arctic states.

In 2016, the Ministry of Higher Education and Science of Denmark prepared a Strategy for Education and Research in the Arctic⁸, the aim of which was to strengthen Denmark's position as one of the leading countries in the world in the field of Arctic research. The strategy emphasizes that Greenland and the Faroe Islands are important stakeholders in this strategy. Denmark, Greenland and the Faroe Islands are interested in participating in strengthening sustainable development in the Arctic.

This strategy consolidates three main directions: 1) research and education that relates the Arctic, including cooperation and exchange of knowledge between Arctic players. One of the challenges in this area, for example, is to consider the possibilities of how Arctic data can be made more visible and accessible to researchers both at the national and global levels; 2) positioning Denmark as a strong Arctic player and international partner, including by focusing efforts on the effective implementation of the Arctic Council agreement on scientific cooperation; 3) Responsible and sustain-

⁷ Kingdom of Denmark Strategy for the Arctic 2011–2020, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2011, [online], [access on 6.06.2021]. Access in World Wide Web: <http://um.dk/en/foreign-policy/the-arctic/>

⁸ Strategi for forskning og uddannelse vedrørende Arktis, Ministry of Higher Education and science, 2016, [online], [access on 7.06.2021]. Access in World Wide Web: https://ufm.dk/publikationer/2016/filer/fi_rapport_arktisk_strategi_web.pdf.

able development of society in the Arctic, including initiative of preparatory courses for students from Greenland before entering educational institutions in Denmark and increasing awareness of the people of Greenland and the Faroe Islands about the possibilities of obtaining funding under the Danish Research and Innovation System.

The main objective of the Danish Arctic Strategy is to identify common priorities for the region and promote cooperation at the national and global levels through the exchange of information and coordination of efforts in various fields. One of the tools for achieving the goal is the use of soft power in the form of public diplomacy at different levels. A separate education and research strategy aims to strengthen Denmark's position as one of the world's leading countries in the field of Arctic research. Denmark stands for the priority of international legal principles to ensure a peaceful, secure and cooperative Arctic. The country has actively used the legal mechanisms under the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea to indicate its interest in certain Arctic areas, including the North Pole.

To sum up, the EU's interests in the Arctic mainly relate to environmental safety, natural resources (energy and biological), free shipping routes, and permanent observer status in the Arctic Council. The EU's objectives cover both the protection of the environment and support for multilateral governance, as well as the promotion of regional development and the protection of the interests of shipping. In addition, faced with new challenges in the Arctic, the EU is ready to share its experience in combating climate change, in promoting sustainable development and multilateral approaches. It should be noted the outstanding work in the field of science and research, in which the European Union finances a large number of international projects. The EU intends to maintain stable relations with the eight Arctic states.

The EU members Denmark, Finland and Sweden are those who mainly influence the European approach to the region. Each of these countries has developed and presented its own foreign policy strategy in the Arctic region, and they are successfully implementing them. The main objectives of these Strategies are to identify common priorities for the region and promote cooperation at the national and global levels through the exchange of information and coordination of efforts in various fields, ensuring security in the region, prevention of militarisation, environmental protection. Emerging problems should be resolved on the basis of international legal principles in order to ensure a peaceful, secure and open to cooperation Arctic.

KEY WORDS:

Arctic, European Union, international cooperation, Arctic Ocean, Arctic Council, strategy, foreign policy

Резюме

Статтю присвячено зовнішньополітичним стратегіям країн Європейського Союзу в Арктичному регіоні. Аналізуючи сучасні виклики в Арктичному регіоні, автор зазначає, що сьогодні цінність Арктики визначається її природними багатствами та транспортними комунікаціями. Контроль над ними викликає суперечки у міждержавних відносинах. У статті наголошується, що актуальність даного питання обумовлена тим, що глобальне потепління, яке надає можливості для видобутку енергоносіїв та розвитку нових транспортних шляхів, а також невизначеність правового статусу Арктики приводить до посилення конфліктності у даному регіоні. Виникає необхідність у формуванні спільної, збалансованої політики міжнародного співробітництва зі сторони провідних держав світу.

Основний акцент автором робиться на окресленні та визначенні пріоритетних напрямків реалізації зовнішньополітичних інтересів Європейського Союзу в Арктичному регіоні. Робиться наголос на зростанні впливу ЄС у вирішенні проблем, пов'язаних із зміною клімату, розв'язанням територіальних претензій між країнами, розвитку нових транспортних маршрутів та збереженням культурної спадщини населення Арктики. В статті аналізується статус зазначеного інтеграційного об'єднання і засади, на яких втілюються у життя цілі та інтереси ЄС в Арктичному регіоні.

Автор наголошує, що з восьми формальних арктичних держав три (Швеція, Фінляндія та Данія) представляють Європейський Союз. Розгляд зовнішньополітичних стратегій цих країн в Арктичному регіоні є важливим елементом у вивченні даного питання.

У висновку автор зазначає, що Арктика це стратегічно важливий регіон для Європейського Союзу. Реалізуючи свою присутність, ЄС поряд з цим намагається налагоджувати співробітництво з усіма країнами зацікавленими у розвитку даного регіону, а також підтримувати легітимність Арктичної Ради, як єдиного міжнародно-правового органу регулювання відносин між країнами в Арктичному регіоні.

Ключові слова:

Арктика, Європейський Союз, Північний Льодовитий океан, міжнародне співробітництво, Арктична Рада, стратегія, зовнішня політика

Резюме

Статья посвящена внешнеполитическим стратегиям стран Европейского Союза в Арктическом регионе. Анализируя современные вызовы в Арктическом регионе, автор отмечает, что сегодня ценность Арктики определяется ее природными богатствами и транспортными коммуникациями. Контроль над ними вызывает споры в межгосударственных отношениях. В статье отмечается, что актуальность данного вопроса обусловлена тем, что глобальное потепление, которое предоставляет возможности для добычи энергоносителей и развития новых транспортных путей, а также неопределенность правового статуса Арктики приводит к усилению конфликтности в данном регионе. Возникает необходимость в формировании общей, сбалансированной политики международного сотрудничества со стороны ведущих государств мира.

Основной акцент автором делается на определении приоритетных направлений реализации внешнеполитических интересов Европейского Союза в Арктическом регионе. Делается упор на росте влияния ЕС в решении проблем, связанных с изменением климата, решением территориальных претензий между странами, развития новых транспортных маршрутов и сохранением культурного наследия населения Арктики. В статье анализируется статус указанного интеграционного объединения и принципы, на которых воплощаются в жизнь цели и интересы ЕС в Арктическом регионе.

Автор отмечает, что из восьми формальных арктических государств три (Швеция, Финляндия и Дания) представляют Европейский Союз. Рассмотрение внешнеполитических стратегий этих стран в Арктическом регионе является важным элементом в изучении данного вопроса.

В заключении автор отмечает, что Арктика это стратегически важный регион для Европейского Союза. Реализуя свое присутствие, ЕС наряду с этим пытается налаживать сотрудничество со всеми странами, заинтересованными в развитии данного региона, а также поддерживать легитимность Арктического Совета, как единого международно-правового органа регулирования отношений между странами в Арктическом регионе.

Ключевые слова:

Арктика, Европейский Союз, Северный Ледовитый океан, международное сотрудничество, Арктический Совет, стратегия, внешняя политика

RÉSUMÉ

Artykuł poświęcony jest strategiom polityki zagranicznej krajów Unii Europejskiej w regionie Arktyki. Analizując obecne wyzwania, autorka zauważa, że dziś o wartości Arktyki decydują jej zasoby naturalne i komunikacja transportowa. Kontrola nad nimi budzi kontrowersje w stosunkach międzypaństwowych. W artykule zauważono, że istota tego zagadnienia wynika z faktu, że globalne ocieplenie, które stwarza możliwości produkcji energii i rozwoju nowych szlaków transportowych, a także niepewność statusu prawnego Arktyki, prowadzi do nasilenia konfliktów. Istnieje potrzeba kształtowania wspólnej, wyważonej polityki współpracy międzynarodowej ze strony wiodących państw świata.

Autorka koncentruje się na określeniu priorytetowych obszarów realizacji interesów polityki zagranicznej Unii Europejskiej w regionie Arktyki. Nacisk kładziony jest na rosnący wpływ UE na rozwiązywanie problemów związanych ze zmianami klimatycznymi, a także roszczeń terytorialnych między krajami, rozwijanie nowych szlaków transportowych i zachowanie dziedzictwa kulturowego ludności Arktyki. Artykuł analizuje status tego stowarzyszenia integracyjnego oraz zasady, na jakich realizowane są cele i interesy UE w regionie Arktyki.

Z ośmiu formalnych państw arktycznych trzy (Szwecja, Finlandia i Dania) reprezentują Unię Europejską. Ważnym elementem badania tego zagadnienia jest rozważenie strategii polityki zagranicznej tych krajów w regionie.

Arktyka jest strategicznie ważnym regionem dla Unii Europejskiej. Zdając sobie sprawę ze swojej obecności, UE stara się jednocześnie nawiązać współpracę ze wszystkimi państwami zainteresowanymi rozwojem tego regionu. A także zachować legitymację Rady Arktycznej jako jednego międzynarodowego organu prawnego regulującego stosunki między państwami w regionie arktycznym.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:

Arktyka, Unia Europejska, współpraca międzynarodowa, Ocean Arktyczny, Rada Arktyczna, strategia, polityka zagraniczna