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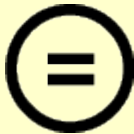
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1. I	(1987 - 2007)	15
2. II	(2008- 2013)	21
3. III	(2013)	29
III.		37
1.	37
2.	42
3.	49
IV.		56
1. I	59
2. II	63
3. III	70

V.	75
1.	75
2.	77
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< III - 2>		48
< III - 3>	50
< IV - 1>	56
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II - 1 <	>	14
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IV - 1 <	>	65
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(Akademik Fyodorov)

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² 2008 (USGS)

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Arctic Resource Appraisal. Assessment Team (in alphabetical order): Kenneth J. Bird, Ronald R. Charpentier, Donald L. Gautier (CARA Project Chief), David W. Houseknecht, Timothy R. Klett, Janet K. Pitman, Thomas E. Moore, Christopher J. Schenk, Marilyn E. Tennyson, and Craig J. Wandrey Edited by Peter H. Stauffer, USGS Fact Sheet 2008-3049, 2008.

(New great game)

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(T.Casey-US delegate, Peter MacKay-Canada minister, U.Friedman-"The Atlantic" editor)

(T.Casey-US delegate, Peter MacKay-Canada

2.

6 (Griffiths, 1988; Honneland, 1998⁷; Keskitalo, 2007⁸).

9

(regioness)

¹⁰ 2000

⁶ Knecht S. 2013. Arctic Regionalism in Theory and Practice: From Cooperation to Integration? Arctic Yearbook 2013, 164-183.

⁷ J Ó P P G N C I P O F. " 3 ; ; : 0 " ö K f g p v k v { " A r t k e ç T l g C o p e r a t i o n a n d j g " D c t g p v C o n f l i c t . 3 3 (3) : 2 7 7 - 2 9 7 .

⁸ Keskitalo C. 2 2 2 9 0 " ö K p v g t - B u i l d i n g D e v e l o p m e n t T o t h e A r c t i c a s a n I n t e r n a t i o n a l T g i k C o p e r a t i o n a n d C o n f l i c t : J o u r n a l o f t h e N o r d i c I n t e r n a t i o n a l S t u d i e s A s s o c i a t i o n V o l . 4 2 (2) : 1 8 7 - 2 0 5 .

⁹ I t k h h k v j u . " H t c p m n { p 0 " 4 2 3 3 e 0 j " ö ö . C " t k e p v ' k è L U g g w t M v ç - u h K p f k Security in an Age of Climate Change (Cambridge University Press) pp.3-20.

¹⁰ Knecht S. 2013. Arctic Regionalism in Theory and Practice: From Cooperation to Integration? Arctic Yearbook 2013, 164-183.

(Arctic Council)

- (1) ; (2)
- ; (3)

¹¹Sergunin A. Russian Military Reform: Institutional, Political and Security Implications//Defense and Security Analysis, V 4 ; 0 " (2013) Rušsia in search of its Arctic strategy: between hard and soft power?, The Polar Journal, (2014).

¹²Fenenko A., " " " " (2012), *Russia and the Competition For the Redivision of Polar Spaces* (2013).

¹³ X q t q p q x " M 0 . " ò V j g " C t e v k e " *Russian Politics and Law*, kol. 50, vol. 2, k c ø u " U v t c pp. 55 ò7 (2012) . " ò < " " " " "

" T G I P 2016).

¹⁴ D g t v " O 0 . " 4 2 3 4 0 " ò V j g " C t e v k e " k u " p q y < " *American* o k e " c p f " p *Foreign Policy Interests*, 34:5 ò9.

¹⁵ Schepp M., 2009. Traufetter G Riches at the North Pole: Russia Unveils Aggressive Arctic Plans.

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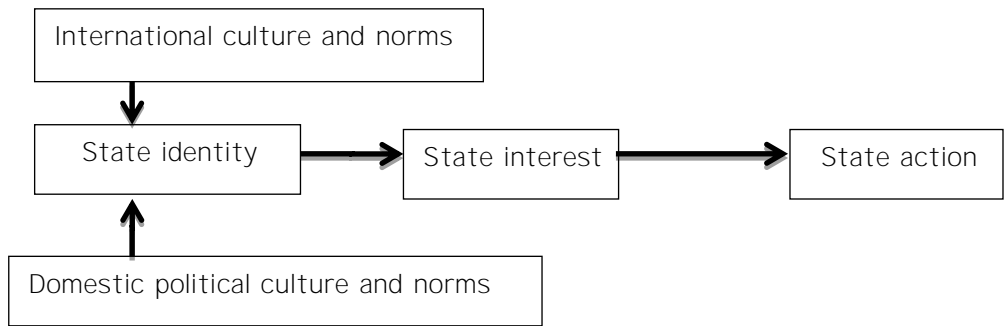
¹⁶ (2014), (2010), (2011), (2010).

¹⁷ Neumann, I.B. 1999. *Uses of the Other: The East in European Identity Formation*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

(Ted Hopf)

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1987~2007 , 2007~2013 , 2013- 2015

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¹⁹ Nugroho G, 2008. Constructivism and IR theories, Global and Strategies, Th.II, No1, pp.85-98, January.

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(United Nations Convention on the Law of the
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III, 1973 ~1982) 1982 ²⁰

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²² Neumann, Iver B. (2008) Discourse analysis. In: Klotz, Audie and Prakash, Deepa, (eds.) Qualitative Methods in International Relations: a Pluralist Guide. Research methods series. Palgrave Macmillan, London, UK, pp. 61-77.

Arctic Council)

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²³ Niranjana C Oak. 2014. Arctic: Regionalism Perspective. CLAWS Journal | Summer, 129-142.

²⁴ Neumann, I.B. 1999. Uses of the Other: The East in European Identity Formation. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

²⁵ Niranjana C Oak. 2014. Arctic: Regionalism Perspective. CLAWS Journal | Summer 129-142.



: Bender J., Kelley Michael B. 2014. Militaries Know That The Arctic Is Melting Here's How They're Taking Advantage. *Military&Defence* (June 3)

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²⁶ Axworthy T.S. 4 2 3 5 0 " ð E j c p i k p i " v j g f C y e v k e ð f e q q f g i o v h q p o " ð q k p f k i g p q w u " n g c f g t u " u j c r g f " v j g " C T E V K E " E Q W P E K N ö 0 " W p k Affairs and Massey College.

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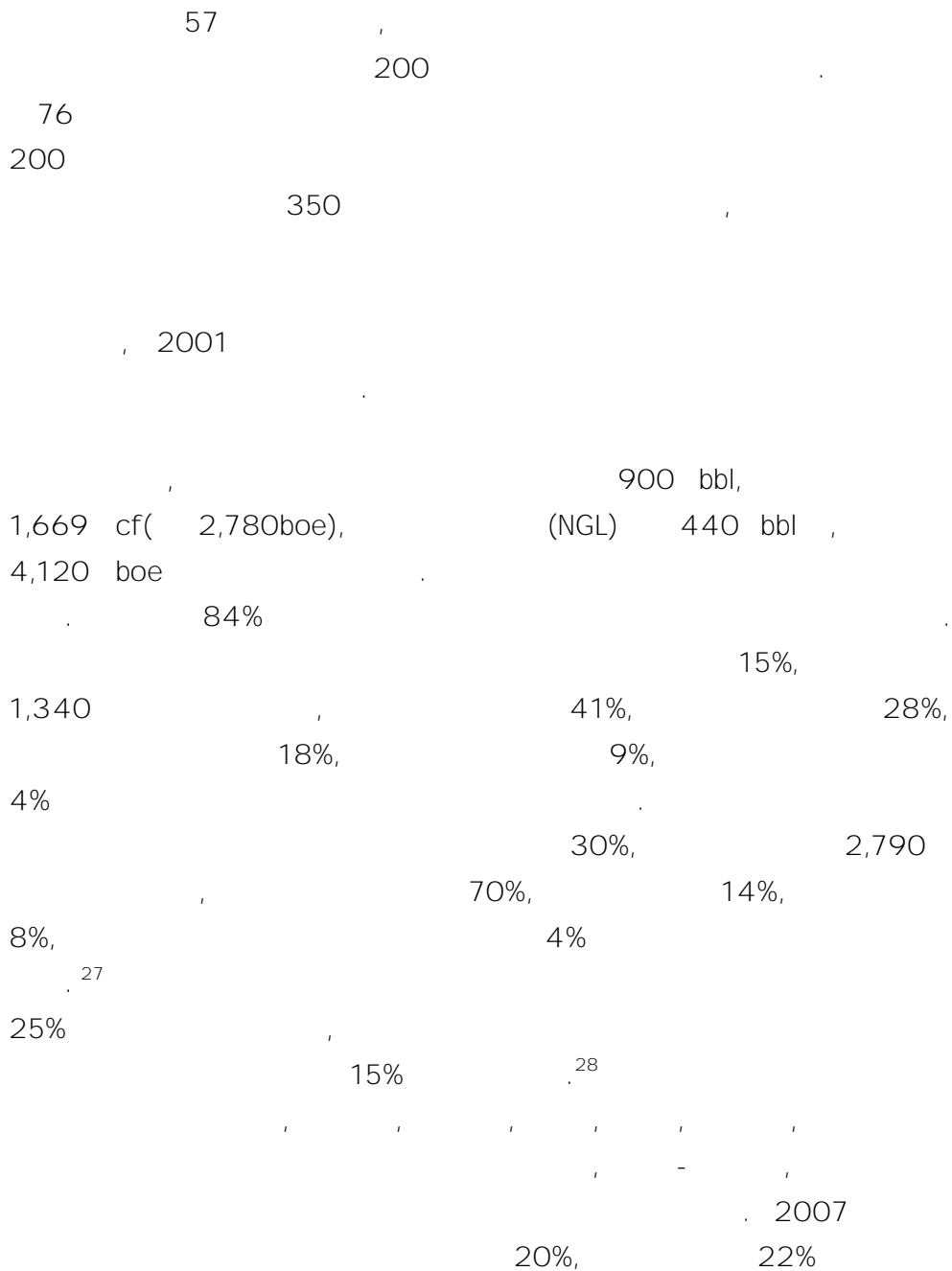
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(1996), / - (Barents Euro-
Arctic Council: BEAC) (1993), '(1992), '
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1997



²⁷ Sergunin A., Konyshchev V. 2014. Russia in search of its Arctic strategy: between hard and soft power?, *The Polar Journal*, 4:1, 69-87

²⁸ Dobretsov, N.L. and N.P. Pokhilenko 2010. "Oil and Gas in the Arctic: A Strategic Challenge for Russia". *Geology and Geophysics* 51: 98-111.

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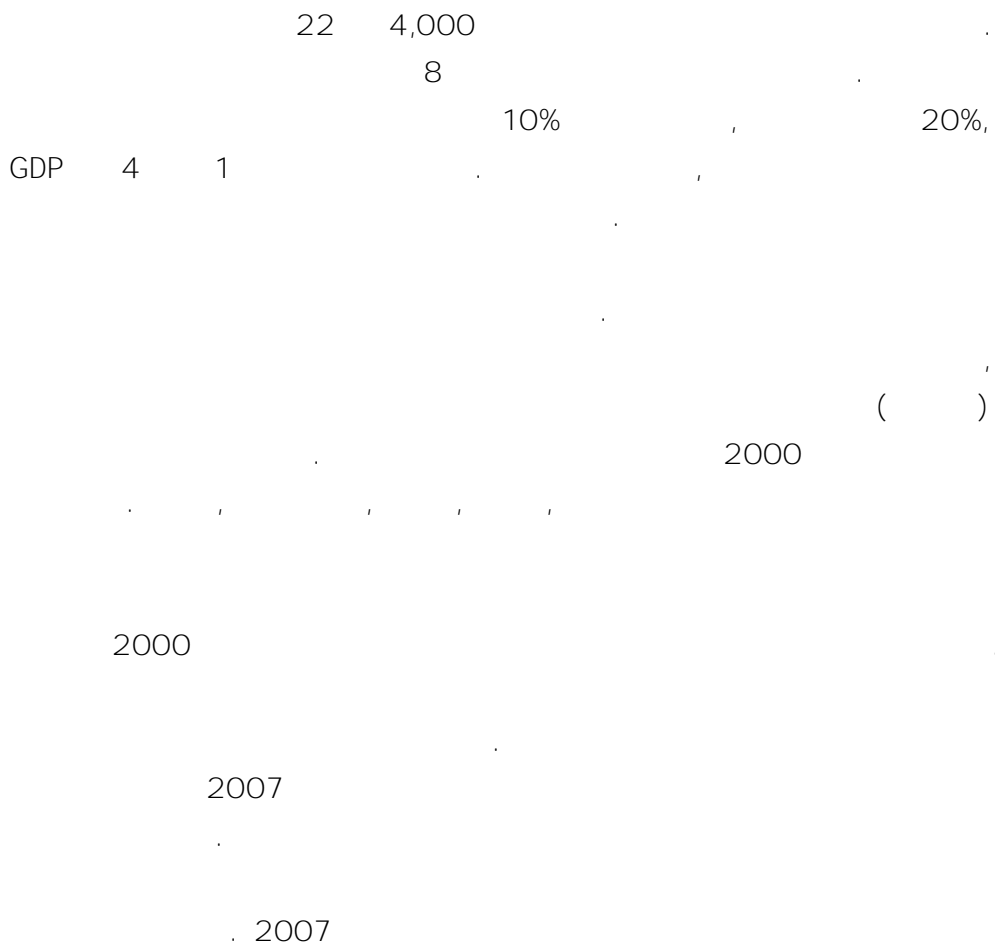
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(99%), (98%),
 (80%), (90%), (60%),
 (50- 90%) (40%)
 90% , 60%,
 96%, 100% ²⁹

²⁹ Sergunin A., Konyshev V. 2014. Russia in search of its Arctic strategy: between hard and soft power?, The Polar Journal, 4:1, 69-87.



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³⁰ Gabuev A. 2007. Cold War Goes North. Kommersnat Russia & Daily. August 4.

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(Rosneft)

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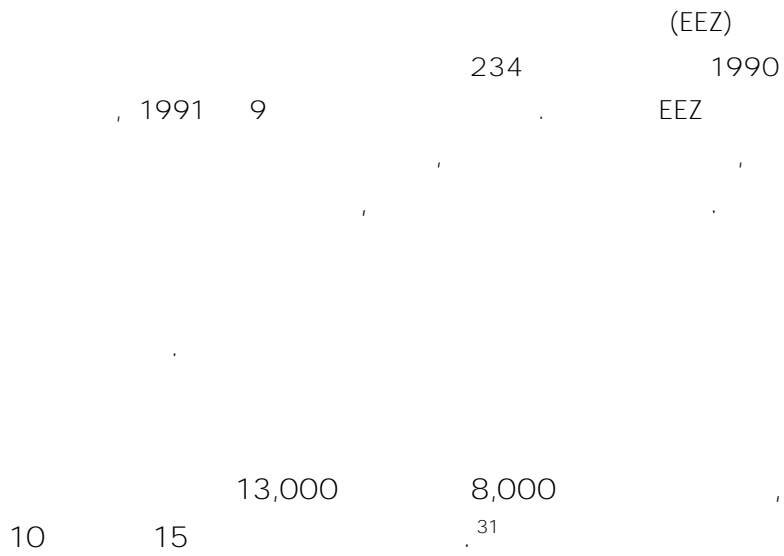
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³¹ Bert M., 2012. The Arctic is now: economic and national security in the Last Frontier. *American Foreign Policy Interests*, 34:5 d9.

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,	12,40	14,0	38	6,050	12,9	19,5	18,5
,	12,73	14,0	39	5,750	12,9	18,5	20,5

: Emmerson Ch., Lahn G. Lloyd s and Chatham House (eds.)
2012. *Arctic Opening: Opportunity and Risk in the High North*.

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³² Jorgen Staun, 4 2 3 7 0 " " Tw u u k c ø u " U v t c v g i { " k p " v j g " C t e v k e . " K p u
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³³ : the Leningrad Military District; the Volga - Urals Military District; the Central Military District and the Far East Military District.

³⁴ Heather A. Conley. Caroline Rohloff. 2015. The New Ice Curtain. Russia's Strategic Reach to the Arctic. A Report of the CSIS, August.

³⁵ Jorgen Staun, 2015. "U v t c v g i { " k p " v j g " G y a l D a n i k h e . " K p u v k v

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³⁶ Friedman U. 2014. The Arctic: Where the U.S. and Russia Could Square Off Next// USA: "The Atlantic".

³⁷ X n c f o k t " R w v k p . " ð Ç h " U w j o g " c F g h " Ö p p g y " k Ø k i p k u v t { " D q c t f ö " * 4 t g h g t t g f " v q " h t q o " N c u u k J g k p k p g p . " C n g m u c p f g t U g t i w p k F q e v t k p g < " H t q o " K f g c n k u o " v q " T g c n k u o A ö . X URL:http://valdaiclub.com/opinion/highlights/new_russian_arctic_doctrine_from_idealism_to_realism/

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³⁸ Heather A. Conley. Caroline Rohloff, 2015. The New Ice Curtain. Russia's Strategic Reach to the Arctic. A Report of the CSIS, August.

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³⁹ R w v k p ø u " u r g g e j . " U g n k i Eotuh 42:116 / P krenlncup c n [q w v j events/president/news/46507

⁴⁰ Baev P. 2012. . " ò T w u u k c ø u " C t e v k e " R q n k e { " c p f " v j N e i : P q t v j g t p " Visions, 66, p. 4

⁴¹ P q t t k u . " U 0 . " 4 2 3 6 0 " ò T w F g k c p v g q E r k o g v k q P g k p g v p g " C t e Carnegie Moscow Center, 27 March.

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⁴² N c x t q x " u c { u " j { u v g t k e c n " W U " r q n k e { " o c m g u " T w u u k c " e q p
May 2014, URL:<http://sputniknews.com/world/20140514/189825593/Lavrov-Says-Hysterical-US-Policy-Makes-Russia-Consider.html#ixzz40WOAKeLN>

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⁵⁰ 20 post-soviet, post -communism, postsocialism

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⁵¹ Hopf T., 1998. The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory, *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 1, pp.171-200.

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⁵³ Plutenko Y. 2008. "Arthur Chilingarov: Russia's Arctic Explorer" *Moscow News* N 28/2008.

⁵⁴ "Ug t i g { " N c x t q x . " ð U r g g e j " q h " T w u u k c p " H q t g k i p " O k p k u v g S g u u k q p " q h " v j g " C 2013y, k e " E q w p e k n . " M k t w p c ö * URL:www.mid.ru/brp_4.nsf/0/7E6F0CD8D75A2D7444257B6E002A14A2.

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⁵⁵ R g v v g t u g p . " V t w f g . " 4 2 3 7 0 " ðkEq"pevqt oþkragut ðbkpæñ"" r q n k v k e k c p
February 6.

⁵⁶ U r g g e j " q h " R t g u k f g p v " O g f x g f g x " c v " c " o g g v k p i " q h " v j g " "
National Interests in the Arctic, Moscow, 17 September 2008
(http://eng.kremlin.ru/text/speeches/2008/09/17/1945_type82912type82913_206564.shtml). 30.
Shokman site: <http://www.shtokman.ru/russian>

⁵⁷ U r g g e j " q h " R t g u k f g p v " O g f x g f g x " c v " c " o g g v k p i " q h " v j g " "
National Interests in the Arctic, Moscow, 17 September 2008
(http://eng.kremlin.ru/text/speeches/2008/09/17/1945_type82912type82913_206564.shtml).

⁵⁸ Knecht S. 2013. Arctic Regionalism in Theory and Practice: From Cooperation to Integration?
Arctic Yearbook 2013, 164-183.

⁵⁹ X n c f o k t " R w v k p . " ð C " U w o o c t f { O Ð g v k p ö " ç H 9 v H g ð F y h g þ ü ç 2 C
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⁶⁰ Address by President of the Russian Federation. (Vladimir Putin addressed State Duma deputies, Federation Council members, heads of Russian regions and civil society representatives in the Kremlin).2014.

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⁶¹ R w v k p . " X 0 . " ÷ O g g v k p i " q h " v j g " U g e w t k v { " E q w p e k n " q p " u
<http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20845>

⁶² K u j c c p " V j c V t j q g q " i C 0 t " e 4 v 2 k 3 e 7 " 0 k " u õ " T w u u k c ø u " *The Washington Post* u c { u " v q r " O

⁶³ Conley H., Rohloff H. 2015. *V j g " p g y " k e g " e w t v c k p < " T w u R e p o r t o f u " u v t c v g i k*
the CSIS Europe program. Washington: CSIS.

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/ - (Barents Euro - Arctic Council: BEAC)

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⁶⁶ N c u u k " J g k p k p g p . " C n g m u c p f g t " U g t i w p k p " c p f " I n g d " [c t q
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⁶⁷ Grey Zone

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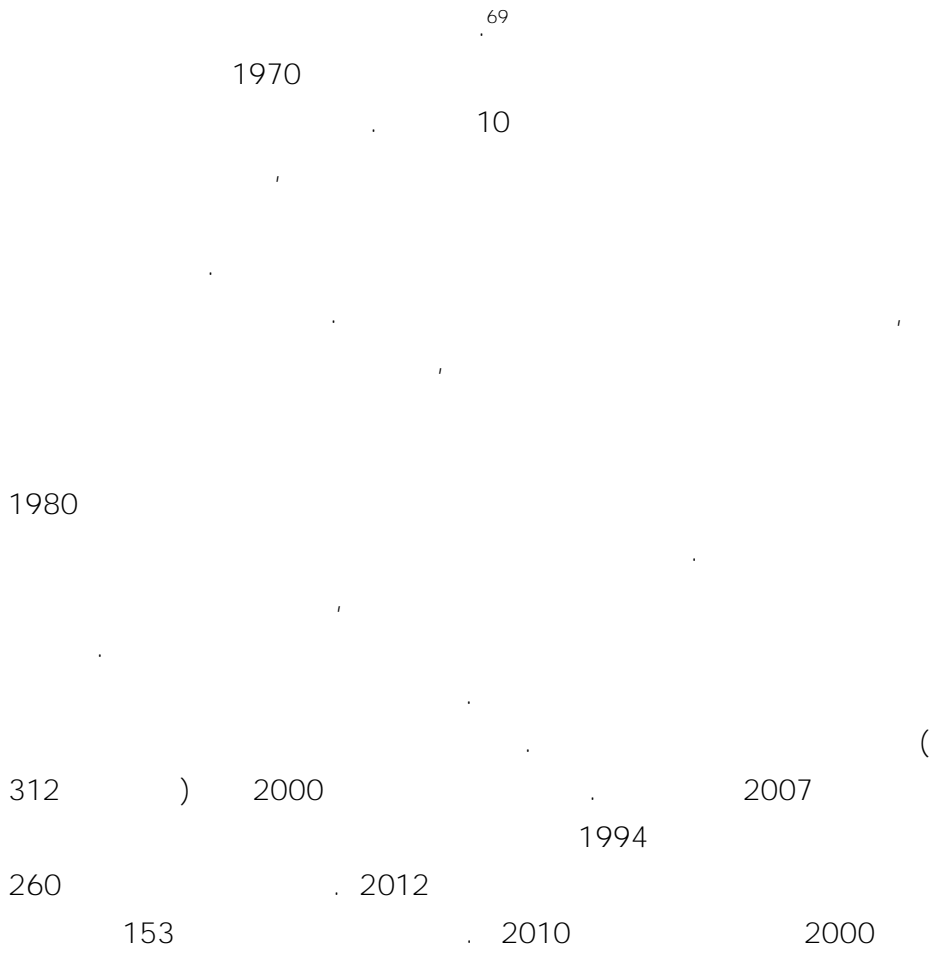
(Vartanov)

(Roginko) ⁶⁸

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⁶⁸ X c t v c p q x " T c r j c g n " X 0 " c p f " C n g z g k " [w 0 " T q i k p m q . " 3 ; ; 2 0
X k g y u " h t q o " v j *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* Vol.
512, "The Nordic Region: Changing Perspectives in International Relations (November), pp. 69-78.

2015



69 Ministry of natural resources of Russian Federation, 3 Feb. 2005 <http://www.mnr.gov.ru/news/detail.php?ID=14300>

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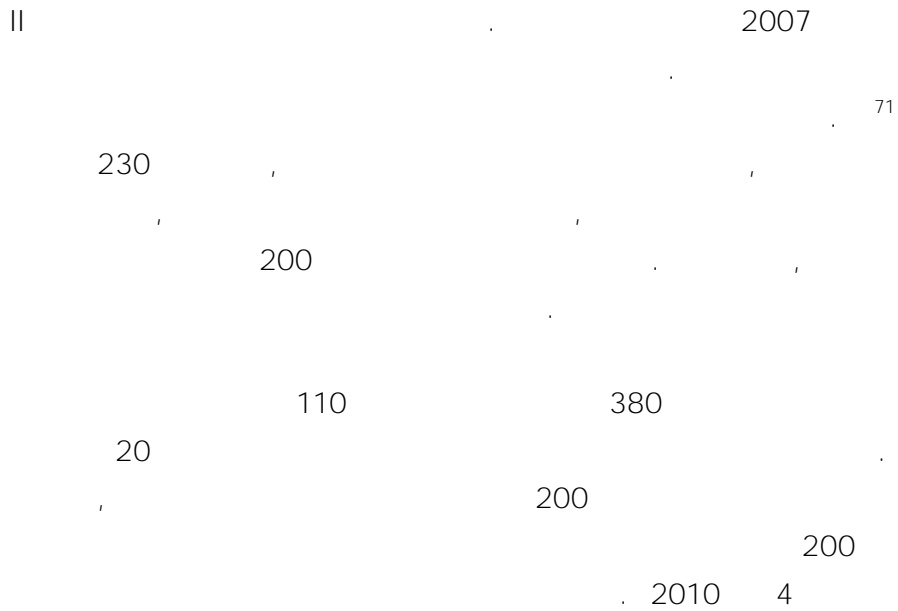
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70 Norwegian High North strategy-http://www.geopolitic snorth.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=84:arctic-strategy-documents&catid=69&showall=&limitstart=7 52&Itemid=

2. II



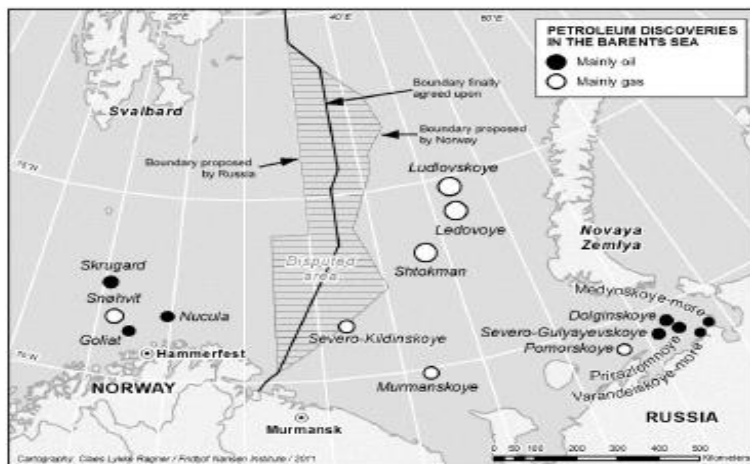
71 Neumann T., Norway and Russia Agree on Maritime Boundary in the Barents Sea and the Arctic
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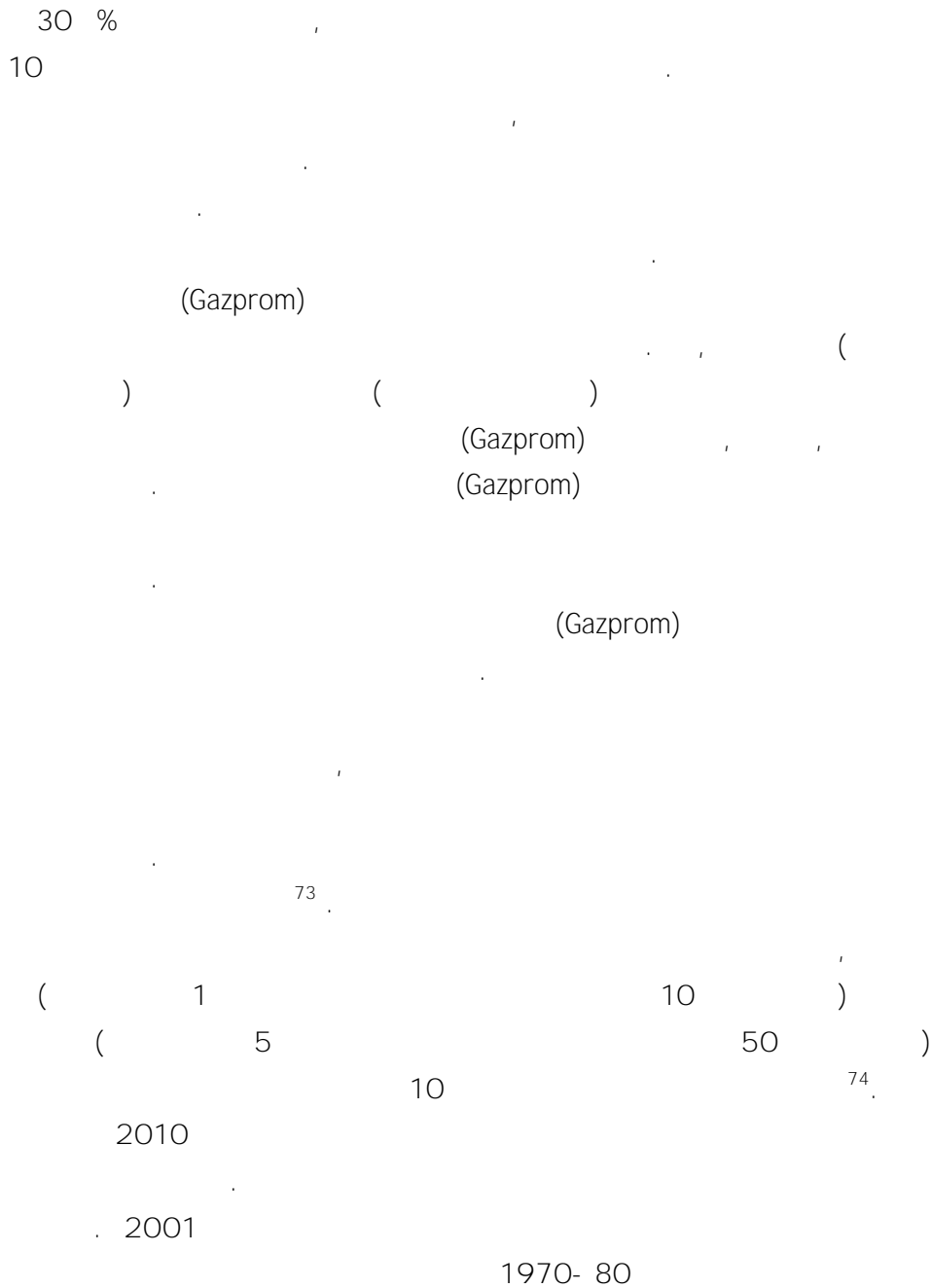
IV - 1< >



: Honn eland G., 2014. The Barents Sea Delimitation Agreement in Russian Public Debate, *ARCTIC POLITICS, THE LAW OF THE SEA AND RUSSIAN IDENTITY*, Political Science Collection

70%

⁷² Medvedev D., NORWAY, RUSSIA AGREE ON NEW BARENTS SEA BORDER, PRESS CONFERENCE, APRIL 2010.



73 Witte N., 2013. "The Barents Sea Conflict: Russia and Norway Competing Over Fossil Fuel Riches in the Arctic." *Student Pulse*, 5(09).

74 Moe Arild, Daniel Fjrtoft, and I p f t c " Q x g t n c p f . " 4 2 3 2 0 " " ö U r c e g " c p f " V k c U g c " F g n k o k v c v k q p " F *Polar Geography*, Vol 34, No 3, 2011, pp. 45-46

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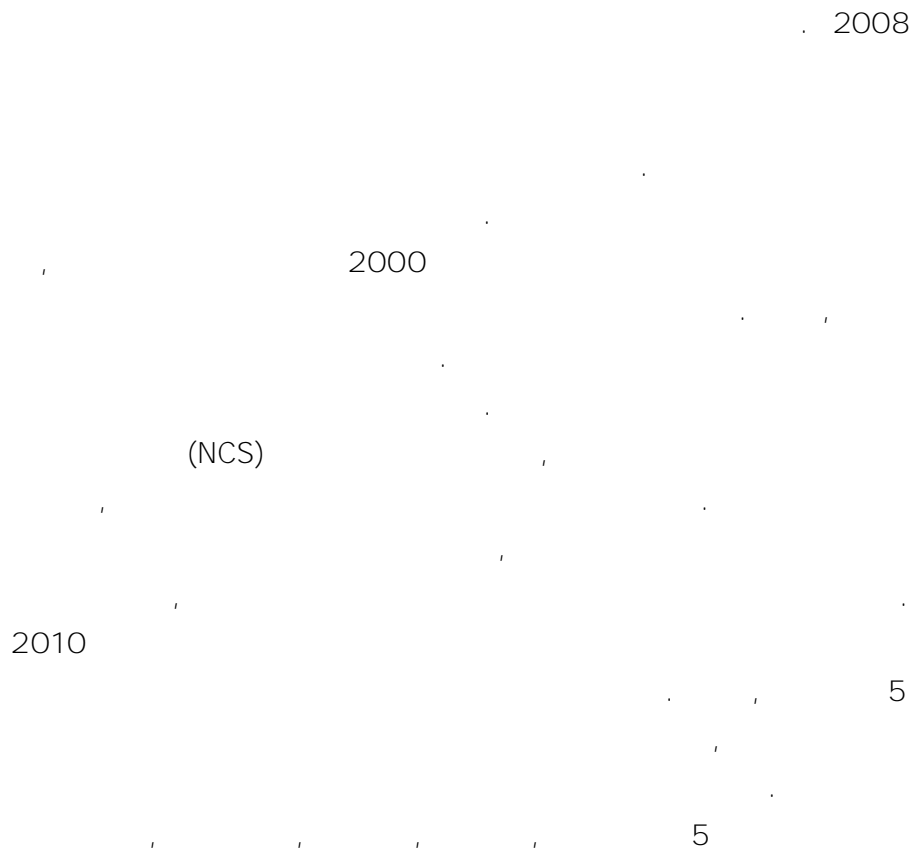
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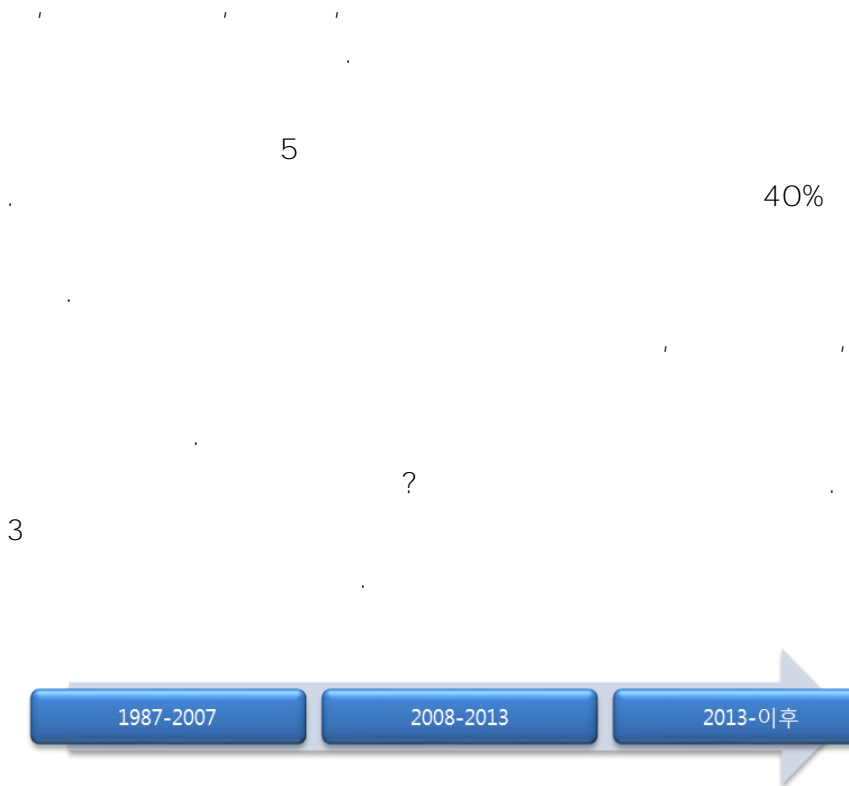
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Abstract

Research on the change of the Russian Arctic strategy after the collapse of the USSR

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Caused by climate changes melting of glaciers opened a new route in the Arctic Circle, and consequently the resources reserves led political, military, security, economic and environmental interests of the countries surrounding the Arctic Circle to conflict, and the Arctic region has become a hot issue. According to the US Geological Survey, the total mean undiscovered conventional oil and gas resources of the Arctic are estimated to be approximately 90 billion barrels of oil, 1669 trillion cubic feet of natural gas and 44 billion barrels of natural gas liquids. The Arctic deposits account for approximately 240 billion known conventional petroleum resources (cumulative production and remaining proved reserves). Related to this, Russia is evaluated as the most influential country between leading five permanent members of the Arctic Circle's land area and the Arctic Circle and about half of the coastline within

the jurisdiction of Russia. This study is focused on the analysis of Russian polar strategy which is based on state, national interests, also collaboration and cooperation among countries around the North Pole. In the process of analyzing the Russian Arctic strategy, it can be observed that it has been transformed during three periods, in each of those periods Russia had different national interests and all of state strategy changed its character.

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In this research Russia's Arctic policy changes after the Soviet collapse is observed during three periods of time in accordance with criteria such as national interest, then for conducting the research the content analysis of state strategy and changes of the strategy in each period should be done. After that it is possible to present and track the trajectory of the Russia's strategic and explain the factors of changes. In the first period after the end of the Cold War, the strategic role of the Arctic was given low priority as the collapse of the Soviet Union greatly caused social and economic internal problems. Responding to intense challenges in the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev unleashed the reform programs of Perestroika (restructuring) and Glasnost (openness). One aspect of this reform was

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After that Russia understood the Arctic in spectrum of natural resources regarded as a burial ground and desired the international cooperation between the Arctic states, joint exploration activities. The second phase can be characterized by a new recognition of the Arctic region by Russia and new features appeared in the strategy too, and the Russian strategy became more concentrated on the international cooperation in the Arctic. The second phase of the strategy of Russia has a dual personality, on the one hand, leading to

the international cooperation, on the other hand, be pursued to implement the Russia's national interest. Finally, unfortunately, the Arctic region did not exempt from geopolitical tensions between Russia and the West. However, events in Ukraine, a country far from the Arctic Circle, have raised questions about the u w u v c k p c d k n k v { " q h " k p v g t p c v k q p c n " e q q r g t c v k have forced many Arctic countries to re-evaluate their cooperation with Russia, including in the Arctic region. After 2013 year, the Russian Arctic policy, in accordance with the new understanding of the region, is very different from the basic line q h " v j g " r t g x k q w u " u v t c v g i { ø u " i supposed to defend the national interests rather than searching the international cooperation, and pay an internal attention for solutions of the problems relating to the North Pole. Russia established the Arctic Commission for protecting of its exclusive profits, and the line of state strategy, firstly, included a military operation and objectives .This study is focused on the concept of the Arctic region and how through its understanding Russia's policy has been changed and then reveal changing factors of policy .

To provide insights about how Russians made sense of the Arctic in 3 periods, this paper uses daily newspapers, declarations and official discourse. By analyzing released reports from regional and international organizations, interviews and comments relating to the Arctic, the dependence between the government and Russia's understanding of the North Pole can be found.

Keywords : Russia, the Arctic region, the Russian Arctic Strategy, Lomonosov Ridge, the Barents sea treaty, national interest.

Student Number :2014-22159