Index

1659 Treaty of the Pyrenees, 25
1920 Svalbard Treaty, 89, 143
1958 Geneva Convention, 130
1971 National Security Decision Memorandum, 150
1988 Agreement on Arctic Cooperation, 153
2014 Ukraine crisis, 166
2022 National Strategy, 158

Adapting to Change: UK policy towards the Arctic, 65
Alaska, 148, 150–55
Alaska Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ), 160
Alaskan fishers, 160
'America First' foreign policy, 114
'America First' strategy, 151
Antarctic Treaty, 60
Antarctica, 59–60, 62, 69, 120
anti-globalisation trend, 29
Arctic analysts, 240
Arctic arms race, 57
Arctic Circle, 4, 11–12, 46, 49, 65, 103, 119, 123, 125, 151, 187, 200, 215
Arctic Coast Guard Forum (ACGF), 71–74, 80–81
Arctic Command, 213
Arctic Council, 14, 54–56, 62, 66, 70–71, 77, 79–80, 82–83, 114, 129–30, 147
Arctic economic activities, 160, 198
Arctic environmental security, 236
Arctic exceptionalism, 4, 14, 61–69, 81, 86, 202, 205, 209–10, 243
Arctic fisheries, 67, 72, 182
Arctic Five (A5), 66
Arctic geography, 73
Arctic governance, 43, 58, 59, 61, 77, 79, 118, 121, 208, 239
  fisheries politics, 76
Arctic ice sheets, 57
Arctic Illusion, 238–44
Arctic maritime boundaries, 5, 51, 53, 62, 130
Arctic militarisation, 94, 96, 158
Arctic military exercises, 103, 107, 119, 132, 143, 156, 160, 189, 201, 204, 213, 227, 243
Arctic Ocean, 1, 4, 11, 50–53, 62, 64, 66–68, 79–80, 130, 146, 150, 154, 158, 163, 175–76, 187–91, 195, 212, 222, 225–26, 228, 231, 239
Arctic peacefulness, 4
Arctic policies, 63
Arctic Politics: Conflict and Cooperation in the Circumpolar North (Young), 64
Arctic regime, 79
Arctic resource potential, 16, 85, 230
Arctic Security Cooperation, 69–71, 116
Arctic Security Forces Roundtable (AFSR), 70
Arctic security policy, 3
Arctic security practices, 97
Arctic shipping, 55, 92, 108, 193, 199
Arctic sovereignty, 57
Arctic spirit of cooperation, 155
Arctic territorial disputes
  Barents Sea, 73
  Norway–Russia boundary delimitation, 73
Arctic tourism, 178, 184
Arctic wildlife, 84
Article 9 of the Treaty, 178

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 10 Nov 2026 at 09:47:14, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009743358.011

Baker–Shevardnadze agreement, 188
balancing act, 140
Ballistic Missile Early Warning system, 90
Baltic Fleet, 96
Barents Cooperation, 55, 78, 130, 135, 140, 142–43, 241
Barents Euro-Arctic Council, 54–56, 81–82, 185
Barents Sea, 48, 73–74, 83, 87, 93, 96–97, 99, 104, 106, 118, 125, 129–30, 134, 136–39, 143–44, 146–47, 155–57, 175–77, 183–87, 204, 206–7, 210, 220, 233, 238
Barents subregional security complexes (SRSCs), 20, 171, 175–77, 183–84, 192, 207, 210, 214, 217, 219, 223, 227, 233
'bastion' concept, 87
bastion defence, 97
Beaufort Sea, 154
Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), 28
Bering Sea and Strait, 49, 90, 94, 97, 160, 165, 168–69, 187–88, 194
Bering Sea fisheries, 188, 193, 195
Beringia, 20, 148, 186–87
  subregional security complexes (SRSCs), 171, 174–75, 186, 192, 195, 207, 211, 214–15, 222, 224, 228, 233
Biden, 8, 158, 168
Black Sea, 225
Black Sea Fleet, 96
BRICS countries, 2
British Natural Environment Research Council, 112
Bruun-Hansen, Haakon, 133
Bush, George W., 151

Canada's sovereignty, 101
Canadian Arctic airspace, 101–2
Canadian Arctic security, 90
Canadian Arctic sovereignty, 90, 153
Canadian foreign minister, 58
Caribbean Sea, 225
Central Arctic Ocean Fisheries Agreement, 66–68, 83, 202
Chilingarov, Artur, 61
China, 2–3, 7, 9, 19, 222
  Arctic interests and global power competition, 110
  Arctic policy, 110
  partnership with Russia in Arctic,110
  Spitsbergen Treaty, 111
  strategic competition, 157–60
China threat, 160
China–Russia cooperation, 114
China-Russia Joint Military Exercises database, 192
Chinese Coast Guards, 190–91, 194, 222
Chinese icebreaker, 158, 189, 192
Chinese–Russian cooperation, 116
Chinese–Russian naval exercise, 211
Chukchi Sea, 73
The Clash of Civilizations, 27
climate change, 1, 30, 46, 55, 57–59, 69, 77, 84, 86, 107, 110, 157–58, 194, 197–200, 208, 215–16, 237–39
Clinton, Hillary, 66, 166
coast guard cooperation, 73
Coastal states, 31
Cold Response, 99, 132
Cold War, 23, 26–27, 34, 38, 40, 54, 60, 70, 78, 87–91, 94, 97, 100–2, 108–9, 128, 130–31, 133, 136–37, 145, 150, 155–56, 165, 177, 203, 210, 218, 241
Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (CLCS), 68
Commonwealth of Independent States Free Trade Area, 50
concept of 'othering', 24
constructivist approaches, 24
cooperative spirit, 92
Core Area Initiative, 166, 177
COVID pandemic, 8
critical geopolitics, 27, 33
critique of geopolitics, 7, 26

Democratic Republic of the Congo, 30
desecuritisation, 39, 42
Distant Early Warning Systems, 90
DYMON (Dynamic Mongoose), 101

economic 'globalism', 8
epistemic communities, 75, 77, 239

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 10 Nov 2026 at 09:47:14, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009743358.011

The End of History, 27
European Arctic defence, 166
European Deterrence Initiative, 156
European integration, 33–34, 240
European Regional Security Complexes, 217
exclusive economic zone (EEZ), 51, 60, 138
Exner-Pirot's approach, 198

Ferguson, Iris, 159
Finland, 5, 10, 48–49, 66, 73–74, 94, 104, 106, 109, 114, 152, 156–57, 167, 175–77, 183, 185–86, 197, 201, 208, 210–11, 241
Finnmark Brigade, 145
fisheries co-management mechanisms, 76
fisheries management, 67, 135, 146–47, 193, 195, 216
Fisheries Protection Zone (FPZ), 138
foreign policy analysis, 18
Frederiksen, Mette, 161
Freedom of Navigation Operations, 191

Gahr Støre, Jonas, 1, 6, 62–63, 129, 131, 141, 206, 230
game theory, 78
geoeconomics, 27–28, 145
geographic proximity, 1, 6, 25, 30, 36–37, 39, 41, 87, 126, 150, 175, 194, 217–18, 227, 233
Geography Is Destiny (Morris), 29
geopolitical rivalry, 32
global attention to Arctic, 57, 61
global financial crisis, 2008, 29
global warming, 157
Globe and Mail, 62
Gorbachev, Mikhail, 53
great power rivalry, 28, 96, 144, 161, 231
Greenland, 2, 48, 176
  defence by USA, 89
  drama, 161–65
  natural resources, 2
Greenland in Arctic Security, 42
Greenlandic democracy, 161
Greenland-Iceland-UK (GIUK) gap, 88–90, 100, 179
Grey Zone Agreement, 130

Harper, Stephen, 173
High North policy, 133, 142
Hillary, Edmund, 58
Howery, Ken, 161

ice-free maritime boundary, 73
Iceland, 87, 89, 100, 166, 176
Icelandic Defence Force (IDF), 89, 99, 155
Ilulissat declaration, 66, 168, 202
Incidents at Sea Agreement (INCSEA), 141
India, 29, 118–22, 120, 184, 198, 215, 225, 241
  Arctic Policy, 118
India–Norway relations, 119
Indigenous Groups, 54
Indigenous Peoples, 48–49, 54–55, 60, 111, 123, 141
Intelligence Service, 135
international affairs, 24
international cooperation, 75
international law, 2, 14, 51, 58, 62, 103, 182, 226
international politics, 69, 84, 86, 144
international relations, 4, 6–7, 9, 13, 16, 18, 22–28, 30–33, 35, 37, 63, 77–78, 149, 195, 232–35, 238, 244
intra-Arctic militarisation, 96

Kaplan, Robert, 9
Keflavik Naval Air Station, 99
Kingdom of Denmark (KoD), 13
Kirkenes Declaration, 55
Kjellén's vision, 26

Lavrov, Sergey, 1, 58, 62–63, 131, 141, 166, 206, 230
Law of the Sea Article 76, 68, 79–80
Law of the Sea Convention, 51, 53, 68
legal frameworks in the Arctic, 46, 79, 110
liberal world order, 144
Lie, Trygve, 127
low politics, 73
'lowest common denominator' approach, 72

MacKay, Peter, 58
Malacca dilemma, 120

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 10 Nov 2026 at 09:47:14, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009743358.011

Malaysia, 9
Man, the State, and War (Waltz), 16
maritime chokepoints, 31
maritime disputes, 81, 192, 226
maritime security operations, 99, 136, 156
Mattis, James, 136
Mediterranean Sea, 225
military capabilities, 2, 93, 201, 230, 240
military security issues, 54
military security threats in Canadian Arctic, 102
military-to-military collaboration, 74
Minamata Convention, 55
Molotov, Vyacheslav, 127
Mulroney, Brian, 153
Murkowski, Lisa, 153–54
Murmansk icebreaker, 206, 230, 244
Murmansk Initiative, 54

National Security Presidential Directive-66 / Homeland Security Presidential Directive-25 (NSPD-66/HSPD-25), 151
NATO, 2, 36, 49, 97–109, 213
  Arctic command, 106, 212
  Achilles Heel, 183
  militarisation narrative, 107
NATO–Russia conflict, 181
NATO–Russia interactions, 203
NATO–Russia relations, 196
NATO–Russia tension, 82
NATO–Russia war, 137
natural resources, 85
Nazi Germany, 7, 26
near-Arctic state, 110, 114, 178
neoclassical geopolitics, 27
neorealism, 23
new regionalism, 34–35
Nixon, Richard, 150
non-Arctic actors, 4, 14, 55–56, 59, 80, 109, 114
Nordic countries ('Norden'), 36, 48, 76, 78, 106, 115, 132
Nordic Defence Cooperation, 132
Nordic security affairs, 49
Norgay, Tenzing, 58
North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD), 50, 90, 104, 107–8, 153, 163, 214
North American defence system, 162
North Atlantic security, 90
Northeast Passages, 68, 73
Northern Chiefs of Defence Forum (CHOD), 71
Northern Fleet, 73, 87–88, 93–94, 96–97, 104, 131, 137, 150, 175, 179, 188, 204
Northern Forum, 54
Northern Sea Route, 91–93, 110, 191
Northwest Passages, 68, 102, 153
Norway
  Arctic context, 123–28
  bilateral relations with Russia, 147
  gap, 88
  national priorities, 128–32
  policy entrepreneurs, 128–32
Norway in the North: High North Policy in a New Reality, 145
Norway's High North strategy, 146
Norway–Russia cooperation, 140
Norway–Russia maritime boundary, 73, 206, 226
Norway–Russia relations, 1, 133
Norwegian archipelago of Svalbard, 88
Norwegian defence policy, 135
Norwegian foreign ministers, 1, 62, 127
Norwegian foreign policy, 131
Norwegian High North policy, 128, 131, 135, 140, 142, 147
Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 141–42, 145
Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, 145
Norwegian National Intelligence Service, 133, 135, 180, 183
Norwegian Research Council, 112
Norwegian security policy, 125, 135
Norwegian sovereignty, 112, 126, 179–80
Ny-Ålesund research settlement, 111, 120

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 10 Nov 2026 at 09:47:14, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009743358.011

Obama, Barack, 101, 134, 151, 154, 168
Ogdensburg Agreement, 90
Operation Nanook, 101
Ottawa Declaration, 54

Pacific Fleet, 88, 96, 175, 188
pan-Arctic 'gold rush', 86
pan-Arctic cooperation, 209
pan-Arctic governance treaty, 69
'pan-Arctic' labels, 117
pan-Arctic security cooperation, 78
peace conference in Paris, 126
Pentagon's 2024 Arctic Strategy, 159, 166
Polar Bear Expedition, 150
political developments in Arctic, 4
Pomor, 99
power transition theory, 37
Prisoners of Geography (Marchall), 29
public diplomacy, 61
Putin, Vladimir, 14, 91, 97, 99, 101, 131, 141, 165, 167, 169, 194

radar-based early warning systems, 90
Rasmussen, Lars Løkke, 161
Red Army's liberation, 87
re-emergence of geopolitics, 6–10
regional cooperation, 74–80
regional security complex theory (RSCT), 37–38, 42, 196, 198, 203–4, 220–21, 225, 232–33
regional security complexes (RSCs), 38–40
regionalism, 9, 32–36, 40, 42, 65, 205, 221, 232, 235–36, 244
The Revenge of Geography (Kaplan), 9, 29
revenge of geography theory, 27
Russia
  military cooperation with China, 2
  modernisation of Arctic military capacities, 166
Russia's Arctic resurgence, 91–97
Russia–China military cooperation, 116
Russian annexation of Crimea, 71, 103, 156
Russian Arctic military investments, 94
Russian Arctic territory, 49
Russian Border Guard, 152
Russian flag planting, 14
Russian foreign minister, 1, 56, 58, 141, 207, 230
Russian invasion of Georgia, 99
Russian invasion of Ukraine, 2, 5, 14, 49, 76, 80, 82–83, 116, 144, 158, 167, 177, 183, 189, 197, 208, 230, 241
Russian military capabilities, 100
Russian military expansionism, 143
Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 208
Russian naval exercises, 97
Russian Northern Fleet, 157
Russian NOTAM, 103–4, 204
Russian nuclear deterrence, 94
Russian war, 28
Russia–NATO dynamics, 168
Russian–Chinese confluence, 167
Russian–Chinese naval exercises, 166

Second Fleet, 156
securitisation, 39–40, 42–44, 199, 205, 217
security dilemma, 109
security interdependence, 39, 172, 197
security of states, 22–25
security regions
  centrality of geography, 42
  merging regionalisation and security regions across levels, 43–44
  state-centric security focus, 42–43
Sino–Russian entanglement, 50
Sino–Russian military activity, 167
Solberg, Erna, 134
Søreide, Ine Eriksen, 133–34, 143
sovereignty anxiety, 153
Soviet Fleets, 87
Soviet naval strategy, 87
Soviet Union, 88, 138, 150, 155
Spence, Jennifer, 56
Spitsbergen Treaty, 111, 182
state security practices, 19, 171, 204–5, 209–10, 216, 218, 221, 224, 231–32, 237, 244
Stockholm Convention, 55
Stoltenberg, Jens, 107, 116
Strategic Air Command, 1946, 90

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 10 Nov 2026 at 09:47:14, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009743358.011

subregional security complexes (SRSCs), 44, 211–12, 214, 216, 218–20, 223–24, 232
  Barents, 171, 174–75, 183–84, 192, 207, 210, 214, 217, 219, 223, 227–28, 233
  Beringia, 171, 174–75, 186, 192, 195, 207, 211, 214–15, 222, 224, 228, 233
sustainable development, 63
Svalbard, 177–84
  Chinese acquisition of land on, 116
  geopolitics, 137–39
  governance structures, 63
  international economic interest, 127
  research and education, 112
  Soviet interest in, 89
Svalbard box, 139
Svalbard Treaty, 88, 127, 137, 142
Sweden, 156, 177

Taiwan, 7
territorial sovereignty, 25–26, 153
territorial trap, 31
terrorism in Afghanistan, 37
Thule Air Base, 89
track two diplomacy, 240
transnational migration, 24
Treaty of February 1920, 126–27
Trident Juncture, 136
Trident Juncture, 2018, 103
Trump, Donald, 2–3, 7–8, 151–52, 155, 158, 161–62, 167, 175, 194, 211
  Arctic policy and Greenland ambitions, 163
Trust Arktikugol, 128

United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), 50
United States
  Alaska, 148, 150–55
  Arctic security engagement, 149
  Arctic security policy, 151
  Beringia, 148
  Chamber of Commerce, 16
  Civil War, 150
  Coast Guard, 152–53
  containment policy, 26
  Department of Defense's Arctic Strategy, 211
  foreign ministers, 56
  icebreakers, 153
  -led NATO, 16
  Lend-Lease Act, 150
  Supplementary Defense Cooperation Agreement, 156
US Geological Survey (USGS), 57, 85
US–Canadian collaboration, 213
US–China rivalry, 121, 157, 235
USNORTHCOM, 214
US–Russia relations, 157, 192, 194–95, 218
USS *Harry S. Truman*, 156
USSR's foreign minister, 127

Vietnam, 9
Vysotsky, Admiral, 189

Waltz, Kenneth, 16
Wilson, Woodrow, 150

Yamal LNG-project, 113, 115
Young, Oran, 58, 64

Zelensky, Volodymyr, 164

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 10 Nov 2026 at 09:47:14, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009743358.011