# Colloquium on the Politics of the Arctic

Political Science BC 3060

Fall 2023

Tuesdays 10:10am-noon

**Prof. Kimberly Marten**

Office hours: Most Mondays, 2-4pm, online and via advance sign-up only,

on my Barnard Google Calendar: <https://tinyurl.com/yju8awsv>

**Course Description and Objectives**

The Arctic region is warming four times as fast as the rest of the world, and greater portions of the Arctic Ocean are becoming ice-free much faster than anyone had expected even a few years ago. This is having a huge impact on the politics of the region, and is what social scientists call a “natural experiment” (even though it is the result of human activity) or an “exogenous shock” to the status quo. Another, “endogenous” shock (meaning that it came from an actor inside the region) was provided by Russia’s 2022 full-scale invasion of Ukraine: Russia is the largest Arctic state by both landmass and population, while all seven of the other Arctic states are now NATO members or will soon be, given the recent accession of Finland and acceptance of Sweden. The facts of both climate change and Russia’s invasion of Ukraine have enormous implications for virtually every realm of politics and policy: from local governance to cooperative international institutions, from commercial trade to military security, from environmental disasters to economic windfalls (including for indigenous communities). In this colloquium we will explore these changes and their implications, relating each of them to enduring concepts in political science. Each student will choose one case (or a set of related cases) to explore in depth, in an original, argumentative, independent research paper.

**Student Learning Outcomes**

Students who complete this course successfully will be able to:

* Demonstrate knowledge of key social science and policy debates about analytic and logical issues relating to conflict, cooperation, and politics in the Arctic, as well as factual knowledge of selected cases where these debates are reflected in real-world events.
* Read critically to assess the explanatory value of competing perspectives and theories.
* Apply contending theories from the social science literature to analyze, compare, and evaluate selected historical and current events, in class discussions and written assignments.
* Synthesize facts and arguments across cases in order to reason critically and argue creatively in class discussions and written assignments.
* Independently design, research, and write a substantial paper of 25-30 pages that explores, and takes a stance on, a significant debate in the political science or policy literature.

**Assignments and Expectations**

Most classes will begin and/or end with a brief lecture by Prof. Marten, but the majority of class time will be discussion-based. Students are **required to attend all course meetings**, to participate regularly in class discussions, and to demonstrate through this participation that they **have completed the assigned readings before class is held**. Readings have been chosen because they are written by subject-matter experts who make significant arguments in ongoing policy debates. One objective of the course is to encourage students to develop habits of constructive criticism as a basis for building their own convincing independent arguments.

If a student is not able to attend a particular course meeting, Prof. Marten must be notified in advance if at all possible. An **alternate assignment** (a one-page written answer to one of the discussion questions for the day) must be completed to receive credit for discussion participation for that day. All students are **allowed to miss one course session for any reason** without a makeup assignment being turned in, except that **attendance at the last two presentation classes is required** (except in the case of unforeseen emergency), in order to show support and encouragement to your classmates.

**All written assignments will be submitted on the “Assignments” page on Courseworks**. All uploaded files must be in either Word or PDF format. **Twice** during the semester, each student will write **a short (3- to 5-page) argumentative essay** on some aspect of the assigned weekly readings, due before the start of class that week so that the paper is not influenced by our class discussion. Students will choose the sessions for their essays after the first day of class. (You may choose to discuss all of the readings for a given week, or to focus on just one or two significant readings.) These papers should summarize the relevant points from the selected reading (with page citations) to demonstrate that you have read and understood it thoroughly; and should then make a **cohesive and well-supported independent argument**. Your argument might involve critiquing aspects of the reading itself (remembering that a good critique points out strengths as well as weaknesses); comparing an argument in one reading to another (which might include something discussed earlier in the semester or even in another class); explaining what the reading suggests about solutions to some current policy problem; etc. Prof. Marten will distribute discussion questions before the class meeting, and you are welcome to use one of her questions for your paper if you like. As long as the paper both makes a strong and well-supported argument, and demonstrates that the assigned reading has been done in depth, you have creative license to approach this assignment however you like. A major purpose of these assignments is to allow Prof. Marten to assess the quality of your writing and analysis before the major paper is due, to suggest ways to improve. **Late argumentative essays will not be accepted at all**, because they are not to be influenced by class discussion. Therefore if you must miss a deadline for a critique paper, you will need to sign up to do a different, later critique paper instead.

Students will also write **a longer independent research paper** of approximately 25 double-spaced pages on a topic chosen in consultation with Prof. Marten, using qualitative methods (i.e., not statistics) to examine one or several case-studies in depth. The goals of the paper are three-fold: (1) to provide a thorough review of a well-chosen literature, where there is a debate about some causal question related to Arctic politics questions; (2) to collect in-depth evidence about one or more case(s), in order to analyze which of the competing theories explains outcomes best; and (3) to reach an independent conclusion about the causal debate, based on the case(s). While the ultimate goal may be to make either a prediction about future events, or a policy proposal about what should be done now, the paper must be centered on analyzing something that has already happened, and why it occurred or what its effects have been. Given constraints in timing and skill-levels, there is no expectation that students do primary-source research, unless they wish to do so. The evidence used, in other words, can come from high-quality secondary sources.

The process of writing this research paper—not merely the final result—is the heart of the course, and students should plan to spend significant time throughout the semester conceptualizing and rethinking the topic and research strategy as the semester progresses. The frustrations of rigorous research are part of the learning experience of the course. Students will turn in a carefully written and preliminary research **topic statement** (one page, of approximately three paragraphs) by **5:00pm on Sunday Oct. 8** (we will discuss them in class on Tues. Oct. 10); and a substantial **research proposal** (of at least three pages) with an **annotated draft bibliography** of at least 15 high-quality sources by **5:00pm on Friday, Nov. 10**. Separate handouts will describe the expectations of each of these assignments. By Barnard rules the final paper is due on the last day of semester classes, **Monday, Dec. 11 at 11:59pm**.

In addition, each student will make an **oral presentation** to the class about their research on one of our last two days of class, Tuesdays Nov. 28 or Dec. 5. There are two additional out-of-class required meetings with Barnard Speaking Fellows that must be scheduled separately, to practice the art of giving a presentation (a small-group introduction to making presentations, and an individual presentation coaching session). The grade for the presentation, worth 5% of the course grade, will be based on demonstrated seriousness of purpose in attending these required sessions, and preparing and giving the presentation.

**Senior Capstone Requirement**

In addition to the above requirements, all seniors who have designated this colloquium to

fulfill their Senior Capstone requirement will be assigned peer partners, with whom they are expected to consult throughout the semester about their major paper assignment. Capstone seniors will hold one additional meeting with Prof. Marten (mutually convenient time TBA) where peer partners will provide constructive mentoring and feedback on each other’s 3-page research proposals, and discuss the mechanics of the **final digital poster** (a one-page PowerPoint or the equivalent) required by the department (department due date TBA). The poster itself will not be graded, but will be permanently uploaded to the department website, and completion of the poster is required to receive a "Pass" for the senior requirement.

**Evaluation**

Weekly discussion participation: 15%

Two short critique papers on assigned course readings: 10% each (20% total)

Initial one-page topic statement for longer paper: 5%

Three-page research proposal: 10%

Annotated bibliography: 5%

Oral presentation of research paper and participation in Speaking Fellows sessions: 5%

Finished 25-page paper: 40%

Separate documents, posted on Courseworks, outline the grading criteria for both writing assignments and class participation.

**Barnard Honor Code**

Approved by the student body in 1912 and updated in 2016, the Code states: “We, the students of Barnard College, resolve to uphold the honor of the College by engaging with integrity in all of our academic pursuits. We affirm that academic integrity is the honorable creation and presentation of our own work. We acknowledge that it is our responsibility to seek clarification of proper forms of collaboration and use of academic resources in all assignments or exams. We consider academic integrity to include the proper use and care for all print, electronic, or other academic resources. We will respect the rights of others to engage in pursuit of learning in order to uphold our commitment to honor. We pledge to do all that is in our power to create a spirit of honesty and honor for its own sake.” **Use of an AI text generator when an assignment does not explicitly ask or allow for it is considered plagiarism at Barnard College and is unacceptable.**

All assignments in this class are to be completed in accordance with the Barnard Honor Code, with expectations outlined in the following paragraph. Any student who violates the Honor Code will face dean’s discipline at her or his home college, and face **very significant grade penalties** for the assignment in question.

Students affirm that all work turned in is their own, that they have **not used AI** to write their assignments, and that they have **fully and accurately cited every written source**, including web-based sources and unpublished sources (such as prior student papers), used in their writing. **Students must avoid cutting and pasting from source materials, to ensure that the wording used is their own; if the words of others are used, they must be placed in quotation marks.** When you are taking notes on a source, you should put quotes around any exact quotes you use, so that you remember later which words were written by another author, and which words are your own. **“Plagiarism” is the use of someone else’s words or ideas without proper attribution.** It is, at its core, the act of falsely implying or claiming credit for intellectual work that someone else did. All students receive in-depth briefings on plagiarism and proper citation techniques as part of their introductory days at Barnard and Columbia; any student who has any remaining questions about proper citation technique or about how to avoid plagiarism should discuss these questions and concerns with Prof. Marten before turning in the assignment in question. Plagiarism is often committed as an act of desperation under pressure. **If you ever feel so pressured on an assignment that you are tempted to plagiarize, please contact Prof. Marten instead.** Together we can work out (for example) a fair extension on a deadline, to ease your panic. **All written assignments will automatically be put through turnitin.com to check for plagiarism and AI use.**

Students are encouraged to consult with each other to get feedback as they are writing their major research papers and the intermediary assignments associated with the research papers, but no collaboration is allowed when writing the short papers on the assigned readings. **All students may use the Barnard Writing Center with no restrictions.**

The use of laptops in class is prohibited, with the exception of students who receive official disability office accommodations. There is [overwhelming scientific evidence](https://stackoverflow.blog/2022/11/23/why-writing-by-hand-is-still-the-best-way-to-retain-information/) that taking notes by hand increases student learning and knowledge retention. Please plan to take notes on the readings and bring the notes with you (for example, as a printout or in a paper notebook) to refer to in our discussions. For the final presentation, students should plan to use the classroom computer and projector, with slides on either a web-based application or a USB drive brought to class. (Bringing a USB drive will significantly ease the process, since no sign-in is required.)

**Center for Accessibility Resources & Disability Services (CARDS) Statement**

If you believe you may encounter barriers to the academic environment due to a documented disability or emerging health challenges, please feel free to contact me and/or the Center for Accessibility Resources & Disability Services (CARDS). Any student with approved academic accommodations is encouraged to contact me during office hours or via email. If you have questions regarding registering a disability or receiving accommodations for the semester, please contact CARDS at (212) 854- 4634, cards@barnard.edu, or learn more at <http://barnard.edu/disabilityservices>. CARDS is located in 101 Altschul Hall.

**Barnard Wellness Statement**

It is important for undergraduates to recognize and identify the different pressures, burdens, and stressors you may be facing, whether personal, emotional, physical, financial, mental, or academic. We as a community urge you to make yourself—your own health, sanity, and wellness—your priority throughout this term and your career here. Sleep, exercise, and eating well can all be a part of a healthy regimen to cope with stress. Resources exist to support you in several sectors of your life, and we encourage you to make use of them. Should you have any questions about navigating these resources, please visit these sites:

* <http://barnard.edu/primarycare>
* [http://barnard.edu/counseling](http://barnard.edu/counsel)
* <http://barnard.edu/wellwoman/about>
* [Stressbusters Support Network](http://health.columbia.edu/files/healthservices/pdf/alice_Stressbusters_Support_Network.pdf)

**Course Schedule**

**Note:** All readings are available online; no book purchases are necessary. Please plan to access them through the “Modules” function on Courseworks. Please read items in the order they are listed; that will help make clear which issues in each reading are important. Brief news reports will be added to the required reading list as events unfold, and substitutions in more substantive readings may occur as new work is published.

A separate document provides instructions for how all CU ID holders can access the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and the *Financial Times* free of charge, and how anyone can create a free Reuters account. You will need to take these actions in order to connect to any relevant Modules links free of charge.

**Sept 5. Introduction to the warming Arctic.** Please read this article before our first day of class.

**Courseworks files:**

Kimberly Marten, “Geopolitics and Security in the Changing Arctic,” draft chapter forthcoming in *Hot War: Climate Change and Insecurity*, ed. Ziya Meral, Timothy Clack and Louise Selisny (Routledge, 2023).

**Sept. 12. Institutionalized cooperation: does the Arctic Council still matter after Russia’s invasion of Ukraine?**

**Courseworks files:**

Mary Durfee and Rachael Lorna Johnstone, “Arctic Players,” chapter 3 of their *Arctic Governance in a Changing World* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2019), pp. 51-86. Note: this is a really good reference source to refer back to throughout the semester.

Danita Catherine Burke, “Conceptualizing the Book,” chapter 1 of her *Diplomacy and the Arctic Council* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2019), pp. 20-45. Note the date: this piece describes how the Arctic Council operated *before* Russia’s 2022 invasion of Ukraine.

**Open web:**

Hilde-Gunn Bye, “Norway MFA: ‘Russia Has Neither Been Expelled nor Withdrawn from the Arctic Council,’” *High North News*, Apr. 20, 2023, <https://www.highnorthnews.com/en/norway-mfa-russia-has-neither-been-expelled-nor-withdrawn-arctic-council>

Atle Staalesen, “Lavrov: fate of Arctic Council is at stake,” *Barents Observer*, May 12, 2023, <https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/arctic/2023/05/lavrov-fate-arctic-council-stake>

**CLIO:**

Brett Simpson, “The Rise and Sudden Fall of the Arctic Council,” ForeignPolicy.com, May 31, 2023.

**Sept. 19. The role of international law: The Law of the Sea, the “Arctic 5” and “5+5,” and the examples of (1) Russia and the continental shelf, and (2) the Arctic fisheries agreement.**

**Open web:**

Robin R. Churchill, “Law of the Sea,” *Encyclopedia Britannica* (2023), <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Law-of-the-Sea>

US National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration General Counsel, “Law of the Sea Convention,” <https://www.noaa.gov/law-of-sea-convention>

Tufts University Fletcher School, “The Arctic and the LOSC,” from *Law of the Sea: A Policy Primer*, <https://sites.tufts.edu/lawofthesea/chapter-eight/>

**Courseworks files:**

Mathieu Landriault, Andrew Chater, Elana Wilson Rowe, and P. Whitney Lackenbauer, “Regional governance of Arctic Ocean: The Arctic 5 (A5) and the Arctic 5+5,” chapter 2 in their *Governing Complexity in the Arctic Region* (London: Routledge, 2019).

**Open web:**

Kamrul Hossain, “Russia’s Proposed Extended Continental Shelf in the Arctic Ocean: Science Setting the Stage for Law,” *American Society of International Law Insights* 25, no. 8 (May 24, 2021), <https://www.asil.org/insights/volume/25/issue/8>

Cornell Overfield, “An Off-the-Shelf Guide to Extended Continental Shelves and the Arctic,” *Lawfare*, April 21, 2021, <https://www.lawfareblog.com/shelf-guide-extended-continental-shelves-and-arctic>

David Balton, “Landmark Arctic Fisheries Agreement Enters into Force,” *The Maritime Executive*, Aug. 29, 2021, <https://maritime-executive.com/editorials/landmark-arctic-fisheries-agreement-enters-into-force>

**Sept. 26. A question of sovereignty: Greenland and Denmark.**

**CLIO:**

Robert Jackson, “Sovereignty in World Politics: A Glance at the Conceptual and Historical Landscape,” *Political Studies* 47 (1999): 431-56.

**Courseworks files:**

Adam Grydehøj, “Government, Policies, and Priorities in Kalaallit

Nunaat (Greenland): Roads to Independence,” in Ken S. Coates and Carin Holroyd (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Arctic Policy and Politics* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), pp. 217-31.

Minori Takahashi, “Greenland’s Quest for Autonomy and the Political Dynamics Surrounding the Thule Air Base,” in Takahashi, ed., *The Influence of Sub-state Actors on National Security: Using Military Bases to Forge Autonomy* (Springer Nature, 2019), pp. 25-49.

**Open web:**

Martin Breum, “Greenland drafts constitution for its ultimate independence,” *Arctic Today*, May 17, 2023, <https://www.arctictoday.com/greenland-drafts-constitution-for-its-ultimate-independence/>

**CLIO:**

Regin Winther Poulsen, “How Greenland’s Mineral Wealth Made It a Geopolitical Battleground,” ForeignPolicy.com, Dec. 18, 2022.

**Oct. 3. Russia, part 1: Its Arctic identity, the Northern Sea Route, and Svalbard.**

**Courseworks files:**

Marlene Laruelle, “A Territory or an Identity? The Far North in Russia’s Statehood,” chapter 2 from her *Russia’s Arctic Strategies and the Future of the Far North* (Armonk, NY: M.E.Sharpe, 2014), pp. 24-46.

**Open web:**

Nikita Lipunov and Pavel Devyatkin, “The Arctic in the 2023 Russian Foreign Policy Concept,” The Arctic Institute, May 30, 2023, <https://www.thearcticinstitute.org/arctic-2023-russian-foreign-policy-concept/>

Eugene Rumer, Richard Sokolsky, and Paul Stronski, “Russia in the Arctic—A Critical Examination,” Carnegie Endowment for International Security, Mar. 29, 2021, pp. 1-16, <https://carnegieendowment.org/2021/03/29/russia-in-arctic-critical-examination-pub-84181>

Heather A. Conley, Cyrus Newlin, Colin Wall, Andrew Lohsen, “Russia’s Climate Gamble: The Pursuit and Contradiction of Its Arctic Ambitions,” Center for Strategic and International Studies, Sept. 2021, pp. 1-28, <https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/210924_Conley_Russia%27s_Climate_Gamble.pdf?PehRoHxLxSI_CzhQ8sI.ssO0AwQeXAXF>

Stacy R. Closson, “Good Fences Make Good Neighbors: Russia and Norway’s Svalbard,” *Wilson Center Kennan Cable* 37, Nov. 2018, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/media/documents/publication/kennan_cable_no_37.pdf>

Atle Staalesen, “Norway's celebration of Svalbard Treaty was followed by ardent and coordinated response from Moscow media,” *Barents Observer*, July 2, 2020, <https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/2020/07/norways-celebration-svalbard-treaty-was-followed-ardent-and-coordinated-response-moscow>

**Sunday, Oct. 8, 5pm: One-page, three-paragraph, substantive paper topic with source citations due on Courseworks.**

**Oct. 10: Research discussion day.** Each student will give a very brief summary of their proposed research question, followed by a supportive critique from course members and Prof. Marten. The goal is to push each student to define terms clearly and think about causal (cause-and-effect), as opposed to descriptive or prescriptive, political research questions—with the knowledge that everyone in the class is facing the same challenges, and hearing critiques of each other’s ideas will make everyone’s own ideas more solid.

**Oct. 17. China as a “Near-Arctic State.”**

**Open web:**

Matthew P. Funaiole, Brian Hart, Joseph S. Bermudez Jr., and Aidan Powers-Riggs, “Frozen Frontiers: China’s Great Power Ambitions in the Polar Regions,” Center for Strategic and International Studies Digital Feature, Apr. 18, 2023, <https://features.csis.org/hiddenreach/china-polar-research-facility/>

Rush Soshi, Alexis Dale-Huang, and Gaoqi Zhang, “Northern Expedition: China’s Arctic Activities and Ambitions,” Brookings Institution Report, April 2021, pp.1-69, <https://www.brookings.edu/research/northern-expedition-chinas-arctic-activities-and-ambitions/>

Andrew Foxhall, “The Sino-Russian Partnership in the Arctic,” chapter 10 (pp. 82-90) of *On Thin Ice*? *Perspectives on Arctic Security*, ed. Duncan Depledge and P. Whitney Lackenbauer (Peterborough, Canada: Trent University North American and Arctic Defence and Security Network, 2021), <https://www.naadsn.ca/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Depledge-Lackenbauer-On-Thin-Ice-final-upload.pdf> (you will need to scroll down to get to the chapter)

Melody Schreiber, “A U.S. Coast Guard ship unexpectedly encountered Chinese and Russian warships off Alaska,” Arctic Today, Sept. 26, 2022, <https://www.arctictoday.com/a-u-s-coast-guard-ship-unexpectedly-encountered-chinese-and-russian-warships-off-alaska/>

**CLIO:**

Elisabeth Braw, “Arctic Harmony Is Falling Apart,” ForeignPolicy.com, May 15, 2023.

**Oct. 24. Russia part 2: Russia’s remilitarization of the Arctic, and the NATO response.**

**Open web:**

Matthieu Boulègue, “The Militarization of Russian Polar Politics,” Chatham House (UK Royal Institute of International Affairs) Research Paper, June 6, 2022, introduction and chapters 1-5 and 6-7 (pp. 1-25 and 33-43), <https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/2022-06/2022-06-06-militarization-russian-polar-politics-boulegue_0.pdf>

Heather A. Conley, Cyrus Newlin, Colin Wall, Andrew Lohsen, “Russia’s Climate Gamble: The Pursuit and Contradiction of Its Arctic Ambitions,” Center for Strategic and International Studies, Sept. 2021, pp. 29-37, <https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/210924_Conley_Russia%27s_Climate_Gamble.pdf?PehRoHxLxSI_CzhQ8sI.ssO0AwQeXAXF>

Colin Wall and Njord Wegge, “The Russian Arctic Threat: Consequences of the Ukraine War,” Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Brief, Jan. 2023, pp. 1-16, <https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/2023-01/230125_Wall_RussianArcticThreat_0.pdf>

**Courseworks Files:**

James Stavridis, retired U.S. Navy admiral and former SACEUR (Supreme Commander of NATO), “Sweden and Finland Give NATO an Arctic Opportunity,” Bloomberg.com, July 13, 2023.

**Oct. 31. Extractive industries (oil, gas, and minerals) and the Arctic: a new Klondike? Or the Net Zero campaign and the problem of stranded assets?**

**Open web:**

Alan Livsey, “Lex in depth: the $900 bn cost of ‘stranded energy assets,’” *Financial Times*, Feb. 4, 2020, <https://www.ft.com/content/95efca74-4299-11ea-a43a-c4b328d9061c>

**The Alaska Example:**

Ron Bousso and Tanishaa Nadkar, “BP to quit Alaska after 60 years with $5.6 billion sale to Hilcorp,” Reuters, Aug. 27, 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-bp-divestiture-idUKKCN1VH21N>

**CLIO:**

Steven Mufson and Joshua Partlow, “Once eager to drill, oil companies exit leases in Arctic refuge,” *Washington Post*, June 2, 2022.

**Open web:**

Lisa Friedman and Clifford Krauss, “In Pristine Alaska, an Oil Giant Prepares to Drill for Decades,” *New York Times*, April 6, 2023, https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/06/climate/willow-alaska-oil-biden.html

**The Norway Example:**

Jariel Arvin, “Norway wants to lead on climate change. But first it must face its legacy of oil and gas,” Vox.com, Jan. 15, 2021, <https://www.vox.com/22227063/norway-oil-gas-climate-change>

Richard Milne, “Norway will not ‘shy away’ from green transition dilemmas, says PM,” *Financial Times*, June 19, 2023, <https://www.ft.com/content/4f23b1d7-8b8b-4b1b-90cd-37c949e12117>

Malte Humpert, “Norway Aims to Open Arctic Waters to Deep-Sea Mining,” *High North News*, June 13, 2023, <https://www.highnorthnews.com/en/norway-aims-open-arctic-waters-deep-sea-mining>

**The Russia Example:** **Courseworks files:**

Kimberly Marten, “Russian Oligarchs and the Arctic: Are Global Business Norms Turning the Kremlin Green?” unpublished paper prepared for delivery at the International Studies Association Annual Convention, Nashville, 2021.

**Nov. 7. Election Day holiday; no class meeting.** Please vote if you are eligible!

**Nov. 14. The complexity of indigenous politics and Arctic land rights.**

**Courseworks files:**

Mark Nutall, “Self-determination and indigenous governance in the Arctic,” chapter 5 of *The Routledge Handbook of the Polar Regions*, ed. Mark Nuttall, Torben R. Christensen

and Martin J. Siegert (New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 67-80.

Nikolas Sellheim, “The Arctic Council and the Advancement of Indigenous Rights,” chapter 7 of *Arctic Triumph: Northern Innovation and Persistence*, ed. Nikolas Sellheim, Yulia V. Zaika, and Ilan Kelman (Cham, Switzerland: Springer Polar Sciences, 2019), pp. 105-125.

**Open web:**

Emily Blake, “'Vision of Inuit': Nunavut's historic land-use plan submitted after 16 years,” Canadian Press, June 29, 2023, <https://www.ctvnews.ca/canada/vision-of-inuit-nunavut-s-historic-land-use-plan-submitted-after-16-years-1.6461010>

Atle Staalesen, “Norway's injustice against minorities laid out in new landmark report,” Barents Observer, June 2, 2023, <https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/indigenous-peoples/2023/06/norways-injustice-against-minorities-laid-out-new-landmark-report>

Sally Hardin and Jenny Rowland-Shea, “The Most Powerful Arctic Oil Lobby Group You’ve Never Heard Of,” Center for American Progress, Aug. 9, 2018, <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/green/reports/2018/08/09/454309/powerful-arctic-oil-lobby-group-youve-never-heard/>

Arbakhan K. Magomedov, “Oil Derricks or Reindeer? A Clash of Economics and Traditional Lifeway in Russia’s Far North,” Wilson Center Kennan Institute Russia File Blog, Feb. 22, 2019, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/oil-derricks-or-reindeer-clash-economics-and-traditional-lifeway-russias-far-north>, and “‘Where Is Our Land?’ Challenges for Indigenous Groups in the Russian Arctic,” Russia File Blog, Nov. 14, 2019, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/where-our-land-challenges-for-indigenous-groups-the-russian-arctic>

**Nov. 21. No class meeting; Prof. Marten will be presenting a paper at a conference in Helsinki.** Please use the extra time to work on your research paper and prepare your in-class presentation.

**Nov. 28, Dec. 5. Research presentations.**