

# OCEAN YEARBOOK 36



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Kristina Spohr and Daniel S. Hamilton, eds., *The Arctic and World Order* (Washington, DC: Johns Hopkins University, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Foreign Policy Institute and Henry A. Kissinger Center for Global Affairs, 2020), 415 pp.

Global interest in the Arctic, including in particular the Arctic Ocean, has been growing in recent years as the Arctic has become the frontline of anthropogenic climate change. According to the 2021 Arctic Climate Change Update published by the Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme, a working group of the Arctic Council, the Arctic warms about three times as fast as the global average.<sup>3</sup> Already today, climate change has significant impacts on the people who live in the Arctic, in particular on their safety and livelihoods, ranging from impacts on food security and traditional forms of income such as reindeer herding to major infrastructure challenges, such as the melting of permafrost. The floods and heatwaves experienced in many locations across the northern hemisphere during the northern summer of 2021 are indicators of an increasing frequency of extreme weather events that are connected to the jet stream and to climate change in the Arctic. Today, the Arctic has become the object of global interest. This interest translates into an interest of actors from outside the Arctic to have a say in Arctic affairs, and concerns by Arctic actors over outside interferences in Arctic matters.

The book reviewed here, edited by Kristina Spohr and Daniel S. Hamilton with associate editor Jason C. Moyer, brings together authors from the Arctic and beyond who look at the place of the Arctic in the contemporary global order. They do so from a range of different perspectives and provide at times very different approaches to the Arctic. What connects the sixteen chapters is that all authors attempt to look into the future and to make reasonable predictions for the future of the Arctic, based on their respective areas of expertise. The timeframe that the authors are looking at is until the year 2040. This seems to be a reasonable exercise (disclaimer: prior to reviewing this book, the author of this review had co-authored a chapter in a forthcoming book that follows a similar approach, albeit with a view to the year 2035) because beyond that point the uncertainties associated with the political and climatic developments become too great to make meaningful predictions. The basic premise of the book and the selection of authors and topics makes for interesting reading,

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3 Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme, *Arctic Climate Change Update 2021: Key Trends and Impacts. Summary for Policy-makers* (Tromsø: AMAP, 2021), <<https://www.amap.no/documents/download/6759/inline>>, p. 5.

and this collection of essays will be of interest to anybody who is interested in the Arctic, international relations, and ocean governance.

The authors look at the developments concerning the Arctic from different professional perspectives, including political and social sciences, in particular economic and law, but also with a view to the geostrategic situation and the major challenges faced by the Arctic, climate change and environmental degradation.

A significant introduction by the editors (p. 1 et seq.) provides a good overview of the issues covered in the book (p. 27 et seq.). The reader is introduced to the current realities of the Arctic. This includes both climate change and the cooperation despite political differences that have been a key characteristic of Arctic governance between the end of the Cold War and the Russo-Ukrainian War (2014–today). The readers are introduced to the development of cooperation in the last decades, including the increased inclusion of indigenous communities and Gorbachev's 1987 "Zone of Peace" speech (p. 2 et seq.), as well as to the governance regime that has been created in the last decades (p. 5 et seq.), with particular emphasis on the work of the Arctic Council (p. 5 et seq.) and the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) (p. 7 et seq.). The introduction, like the book as a whole, approaches the question of the role of the Arctic in global affairs especially by giving attention to the challenges that are felt most urgently in the Arctic, that is, climate change (p. 9 et seq.), the interests of Arctic (p. 14 et seq.) and non-Arctic actors (p. 10 et seq.), and ocean governance (p. 12 et seq.).

The following sixteen chapters cover the issues that are of most pressing concern in the Arctic Ocean region today as well as emerging issues. The almost two dozen authors provide different views, reflecting different realities. They analyze and present the situation as it is today and look at the future, aiming to predict future developments until the year 2040. The book, which was written in 2020, is heavily influenced by the immediate impression left by the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic. The authors' workshop that formed the basis for this book was held in early May 2020, and readers are advised to take into account the specific time when the chapters collected in this book were written. This refers not only to the early months of the pandemic that has since cost millions more lives, but also to political developments, in particular the 2020 presidential election in the United States of America. The authors therefore could not yet include the changes in the political positions of the United States to a number of issues of relevance for the Arctic, in particular climate changes that have happened since then. This also explains the relative prominence given to the 2019 Arctic Council ministerial meeting in Rovaniemi and the lack of emphasis on Iceland's 2019–2021 chairmanship. The book, however,

serves a more long-term purpose that is not dependent on short-term political changes such as national elections or the rotating chairmanship of the Arctic Council. Instead, the authors aim to look to the future on the basis of the information available in early 2020. While it is impossible to evaluate estimates for the future, the basis on which these estimates have been undertaken is solid, and the overwhelming majority of predictions seems as realistic as they can be (although I find it impossible at this time to agree with the optimism expressed on p. 263 regarding future *increases* in the sea ice cover of the Arctic Ocean).

The focus of the book is not so much on the people who live in the Arctic but, as the title indicates, on the role of the Arctic in the global order. Particular attention is given to that part of the Arctic that is actually beyond the jurisdiction of nation States, the Central Arctic Ocean (CAO) and to the Arctic Council as the key forum for the eight Arctic States (A8), that is, the United States (with regard to Alaska), Canada, Denmark (with regard to Greenland and, according to some definitions, the Faroese), Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and the Russian Federation. While there is no single legally binding definition of what constitutes the Arctic, the A8 are at the core of governing the Arctic. It is the interests of these States and of the indigenous peoples who have long called the Arctic their home and the interest of non-Arctic actors that shape the discourses about the governance of the Arctic.

The order of the chapters provides readers with a kind of guided tour through different issues of global Arctic governance. This begins with Oran R. Young introducing the different narratives that are used to describe international relations in the Arctic (p. 47 et seq.). The idea that cooperation is dominant in the Arctic (p. 49 et seq.) still is an important aspect of international Arctic governance, but Young shows instructively that the reality is more complex. Recent events, including both climate change and political and security developments, matter for the governance of the Arctic. This is important to remember when efforts are made to cooperate in areas that are crucial for the Arctic, such as climate change. When looking to the future (p. 56 et seq.), Young evaluates the abilities of the Arctic Council but also shows the limits of the most important legal-political forum of the region (p. 59) and provides suggestions for the future (p. 59). Most importantly, he indicates that it might be “time for a reset regarding Arctic governance, directing the efforts of the Arctic Council toward issues that it is in a position to tackle effectively and turning to other bodies to address issues in which coming to terms with the linkages between the Arctic and the global system constitutes a critical feature of any effort to make progress” (p. 59). Such an approach, although it would appear the most effective course of action, would be likely to cause concerns among those involved in decision-making in Arctic governance today.

Among the most pressing concerns in the Arctic is the protection of the natural environment, including the marine environment. Henry P. Huntington looks at potential future governance solutions regarding the conservation of the Arctic environment (p. 63 et seq.), taking into account that economic development is a double-edged sword for the people of the Arctic (p. 65). He argues in favor of working towards “an Arctic characterized by abundance, cooperation, and an ever-greater awareness of our responsibility to make decisions that are sound for the long-term, in a changing environment, across the full range of human activities” (p. 72), while making it clear that this is only one possible future.

The tension between preserving the natural environment not only for its own sake but also for the people of the Arctic who depend on it and the need for economic development, in other words, the challenge of sustainable development, is especially felt in locations such as Greenland. It is therefore fitting that local and regional concerns are highlighted from a Greenlandic perspective by Innuteq Holm Olsen, Greenland’s representative to the United States and Canada in the third chapter (p. 77 et seq.). Holm Olsen instructively introduces the reader to the perspective of those who call the world’s largest island their home. At a historic moment when independence from Denmark has become a not unrealistic prospect for Greenland, albeit one that requires a path that is not without obstacles, he asks who gets to make decisions about the Arctic. From a local perspective, it is often noted, also in this book, that national power centers are usually located far from the Arctic countries’ respective Arctic regions (cf. p. 84). Holm Olsen also explains Greenland’s role in Denmark’s participation in Arctic governance settings such as the Arctic Council (cf., e.g., p. 87 et seq.). Most interestingly, he shows that there is one problem in Arctic governance that is often ignored: there is no singular definition of the Arctic (p. 82). From a governance perspective, the existence of multiple definitions is usually simply taken as a given, because these differing definitions are based on national politics, international agreements, climate, vegetation, and other factors and therefore serve different purposes. For Holm Olsen, this is part of the problem because this is connected to the question as to who gets to participate in decision-making regarding the Arctic (p. 91 et seq.). From the perspective of the international law of the sea, this might not be as much of a problem as in other contexts, but it is important to remember that this issue, which is hardly discussed (p. 92), can be more problematic in some contexts than others.

That old perceptions and ideas will have to be re-examined is shown in particular by Victoria Herrmann, who shows that “tipping points” (p. 97) are not only relevant in the context of climate change (p. 97 et seq.), but also with

regard to governance structures (p. 102 et seq.). In doing so, she provides an important contribution by highlighting the needs of local, including especially indigenous, communities (p. 100 et seq.). In one of the most interesting chapters from a governance perspective, Herrmann suggests a greater role for sub-national actors, including in the Arctic Council, cognizant of “the issue of subnational tensions” (p. 107) that had already been elaborated on by Holm Olsen in the preceding chapter. Using the concept of a “portal” (p. 110) between the world as it is today and the world as it will be in the future that had been introduced by Arundhati Roy in the context of the pandemic (p. 110), she explains that it is up to the different Arctic actors to determine how the future will look: “Each nation state, province, and city stands on the doorframe of such a portal. As leaders peer through the gateway of tomorrow, they are forced to decide what to keep and what to abandon” (p. 110). Change is coming, but it does not have to be forced on the people who live in the Arctic. To the contrary, their views and wishes should matter when determining the future shape of Arctic governance.

Nation States, though, not least because national decision-makers are usually based far from the Arctic, might pursue their own interests for which the Arctic and its resources are mere objects. Arild Moe’s chapter on energy resources in the Arctic (p. 119 et seq.) looks especially at Russia, the country that “arguably constitutes the most important singular factor when considering Arctic energy production” (p. 127). Turning the energy that today is stored in hydrocarbons under the ground of Arctic lands and waters into usable energy is inextricably linked to climate change. Recognizing the importance of hydrocarbon extraction in the Arctic for the Russian government (p. 135), Moe provides the readers with a clear reality check, showing that not all of Moscow’s plans remain feasible (p. 135). A global transition to renewable energy as part of a concerted effort to combat climate change would have the potential to end hydrocarbon extraction in the Arctic altogether, but it seems unlikely that this would happen anytime soon. China’s hunger for energy is essential for gas projects in the Russian Arctic (p. 137). Accordingly, Moe concludes that “[e]nergy production without a doubt will continue to be an important activity in the Arctic even if it is unlikely to ever play a key role in global energy supply” (p. 138). What remains unsaid is that the idea of tipping points, that took center stage in the chapter before, might also apply to hydrocarbon extraction in the Arctic: Once China is able to rely entirely on (home-made) renewable energy, the demand for liquefied natural gas (LNG) from the Russian Arctic will drop significantly, possibly to the point of making further exploitation no longer economically feasible for the Russian Federation. Similarly, if the energy market in the European Union (EU) were saturated by reliable renewable energy

sources, Norway would lose an important market. While the authors were looking at potential futures until the year 2040, it is not inconceivable that by then or not long after that time, the demand for LNG will decline due to the availability of cheaper and cleaner energy sources. Destination traffic to transport LNG from Russia to China today makes up a significant part of maritime traffic in the Arctic.

Lawson W. Brigham's chapter (p. 143 et seq.) looks at different aspects of ship operations in the Arctic Ocean, with a particular focus on the Northern Sea Route (NSR) (p. 151 et seq.) and the international legal regulation of shipping in the Arctic Ocean (p. 153 et seq.). He correctly concludes that "[d]espite the emergence of a blue, ice-free Arctic Ocean in summer, the future of Arctic marine operations and shipping ... remains as complex as it remains highly uncertain" (p. 156). This conclusion is valid not only due to the continued existence of multiple hazards to navigation in the Arctic Ocean, even under conditions of increased loss of sea ice, but also because of the lack of certainty regarding the actual demand in ship operations in and through the region.

The following chapter (p. 161 et seq.) by Mia M. Bennett, Scott R. Stephenson, Kang Yang, Michael T. Bravo and Bert De Jonghe then puts the spotlight on the Transpolar Sea Route (TSR). At this moment, the TSR appears to be a theoretical option for the future, but if only distances were a concern, it would indeed be a shortcut for journeys between East Asia and Europe when compared to the NSR (p. 161). The TSR might be available by the middle or the end of this century (p. 163), and Bennett et al. provide different options for future uses of the TSR (p. 163 et seq.), aware of the limited current demand (p. 165) and technical limitations for ships operating in the CAO (p. 167). On this basis, the authors introduce the readers to the international regulation of the TSR (p. 170 et seq.). This part of their chapter provides readers with a solid introduction to the relevant aspects of the international law of the sea, such as Articles 87 and 234 of UNCLOS. The chapter ends with a look at the environmental and social considerations (p. 175 et seq.), reminding the reader that the governance of the Arctic is not limited to spaces but that decisions in the legal-political area also affect the people who live there.

One way in which States express their interest in the Arctic is through increased defense expenditures in their respective Arctic regions (p. 188 et seq.). This is especially the case in the Russian Federation (p. 190 et seq.). The defense outlook towards the Arctic is the topic covered in the chapter by Ernie Regehr. Despite significant differences with the West in other areas, Russia supports cooperative efforts in the Arctic (p. 187). While the Arctic is an example for cooperation across political differences, the Arctic is not completely disconnected from the rest of the world (p. 188). Although the focus of the chapter



is on Russia, Regehr also includes a short overview of military activities elsewhere in the Arctic (p. 199). Cognizant of the risk of escalation (p. 205), he then introduces the readers to possible tools to enhance stability in the Arctic (p. 206 et seq.), in particular in the Arctic Ocean (p. 207 et seq.), highlighting the capacity of existing structures in the Arctic (p. 210).

Buffering against external shocks is a significant demand for the limited international governance infrastructure in the Arctic, and institutions such as the Arctic Council are limited in their material scope. Just as the CAO is at the heart of the Arctic, the law of the sea, which is created globally but has space for regional efforts, remains a core area of Arctic governance. J. Ashley Roach provides a good introduction to selected issues of the international law of the sea (p. 219 et seq.), with particular attention to the freedoms of the seas (p. 222 et seq.). Roach is particularly critical of the activities of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in the so-called South China Sea (p. 226). Indeed, there are some concerns among Arctic stakeholders that disregarding the law of the sea in one part of the world does not bode well for long-term compliance with the international law of the sea in the Arctic Ocean. Roach also provides appendixes on a number of specific international legal issues (p. 227 et seq.). These pages are highly informative and could also have been meaningfully integrated into the main part of the chapter. The choice to include this information in the form of appendixes, however, would have been beneficial for the reader if the book would have contained a more detailed table of contents.

The chapter by Roach is best read in conjunction with the chapter by Alexander N. Vylegzahnin (p. 251 et seq.) who gives a broader introduction to the international law of the Arctic, in particular UNCLOS (p. 260 et seq.). He emphasizes the need for effective cooperation (p. 262) and seems generally optimistic about the future. While the optimism for cooperation and maintaining the idea of the Arctic as a "zone of peaceful cooperation" (p. 263) seem positive, it remains to be seen how realistic this assessment will be. The assessment offered regarding the future of climate change in the Arctic region (p. 263) seems to be too good to be true. Indicating openness for increased participation of non-Arctic States in the international governance to the Arctic (p. 264) might be compatible with UNCLOS, but is also likely to generate debate in the Western parts of the Arctic. The protection of the Arctic environment (p. 254) can, however, provide a rallying point for stakeholders from all over the Arctic and a basis for continued future cooperation.

The maritime theme is continued by Suzanne Lalonde who outlines the differences between the United States and Canada regarding the legal status of the Northwest Passage (NWP) and the practical cooperation between the two neighbors (p. 267 et seq.). As the NWP becomes more accessible due to



climate change (p. 269 et seq.), outside interest in it is growing (p. 272 et seq.). In addition to the Canadian claim that the NWP is Canadian internal waters, Lalonde devotes a substantial part of the chapter to explaining the role of the Indigenous peoples of Canada and the 1993 Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (p. 278 et seq.). Overall, she provides an optimistic assessment, in particular when it comes to safeguarding Indigenous rights in the region (p. 286). Due to the recent political changes in the United States and the increased awareness of Indigenous rights in Canada, this assessment seems even more appropriate than was the case in early 2020.

The outside interest in the Arctic, in particular the interest of the People's Republic of China (PRC), is at the center of the chapter by Nengye Liu (p. 295 et seq.). In this context, it is claimed that "so far, there is no concrete evidence that any Chinese activity in the Arctic is in violation of international law" (p. 298). While this might be the case, the double disclaimer ("so far", "concrete") will hardly assuage local fears of a stronger PRC involvement in Arctic matters. The conclusion that Liu draws is certainly correct: "to win the hearts of the Arctic states ..., Beijing will need to construct a new vision that is beyond its own national interests" (p. 302). This could happen in the form of a true commitment to combat climate change by reducing emissions of greenhouse gases (p. 302). Given the significant emissions caused in the PRC, this will not happen overnight, and it remains very questionable whether the current government will create a credible policy to this effect. It is also necessary to focus not only on States at the risk of overlooking the needs of the people who live in the Arctic. At the end of the day, the author's prediction for the future of the Arctic seems realistic: "The future of the Arctic depends first and foremost on the actions of the Arctic States and their peoples. But it will be determined by them in interplay with others, who are increasingly pushing onto the scene" (p. 303). This might provide a good summary for the future interaction between Arctic and non-Arctic States.

Among the interests of the people who live in the Arctic is a desire for security. Lassi Heininen's chapter (p. 309 et seq.) looks at different ideas of security (p. 311 et seq.). Using the ongoing pandemic as a point of departure (p. 309), he provides a solid overview of the environmental dimension of security (p. 315 et seq.) and connects these thoughts to the governance of the Arctic (p. 318 et seq.). In this context, Heininen introduces the reader to different trends in Arctic governance (p. 318 et seq.). Emphasizing the benefits of Arctic governance in the wake of the Cold War (p. 321), especially in the context of environmental protection (p. 320), he clearly shows the need to differentiate between what exists on paper and the practice of international Arctic governance (cf. p. 320). Importantly, he highlights "[t]he rapid warming of [the] Arctic climate ... as

a last warning and opportunity to heed the recommendations of scientists and the relevant demands of international non-governmental organizations” (p. 322) and the capacity of the Arctic to support the necessary next steps (p. 322).

The increasing relevance of the Arctic for the world also becomes visible in the chapter by P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Ryan Dean entitled “Arctic Exceptionalism” (p. 327 et seq.). They explain the origins of the idea that the Arctic is special (p. 328) and its role in the global and regional order since the late 1980s (p. 328 et seq.). But they also show that the ideas about the Arctic being special can contribute to future conflicts as climate change makes the Arctic Ocean more accessible (p. 331 et seq.). In many ways, the Arctic Ocean is becoming more and more like the North Atlantic, and this normalization of the Arctic means that the region is becoming less special. This loss of an extraordinary status corresponds to an increasing number of non-Arctic actors claiming a stake in the region (p. 333). They include in their view also a non-Arctic stakeholder that is otherwise hardly mentioned in the book: the European Union (p. 335). Importantly, the EU has emphasized the role of UNCLOS in governing the Arctic Ocean (p. 335). Elsewhere in the Arctic, in particular in Canada, the idea of the exceptional nature of the Arctic remains important, especially in the context of indigenous rights (p. 335), while Russia claims a different form of exceptionalism (p. 337 et seq.) Lackenbauer and Dean also take note of concerns over China’s long-term intentions towards the Arctic (p. 339). They argue that the Arctic States themselves contributed to the normalization of the Arctic as an object of international law by demanding respect for their respective sovereignties and for the international legal framework that applies to the Arctic Ocean already today (p. 340). Nevertheless, they do not see the idea of exceptionalism as moribund, but instead argue in favor of more in-depth research into the reasons for the exceptional status of the Arctic (p. 343 et seq.).

Among the ideas that no longer gather much support in professional Arctic governance circles, although it is readily taken up by media outside the Arctic (p. 358), is the notion of future conflicts over resources in the Arctic (p. 357). Andreas Østhagen’s chapter (p. 357 et seq.) looks at the different actors and at different levels of interaction and order, from the local to the global. Emphasizing that resource conflicts in the Arctic are unlikely (p. 360), he explains that cooperation in the Arctic has continued despite the significant conflict between the West and the Russian Federation, in particular since the start of the Russo-Ukrainian War in 2014. Cooperation continues and outside interest in the Arctic continues to grow (p. 371). There are not always simple answers (p. 372) and Østhagen, too, sees the potential for “a tipping point” (p. 372) for Arctic governance or at least for what he refers to as “Arctic

geopolitics" (p. 372). As already seen above, he is not alone in this assessment. Also in the context of the governance of the Arctic, the door to the future is wide open.

In the book's final chapter (p. 379 et seq.), Marc Lanteigne takes these thoughts one step further and asks which role non-Arctic States can play in discussions about security in the Arctic (p. 379). The elephant in the room in this context is the PRC, in particular "the addition of the 'Polar Silk Road' ... in 2017 to the developing trade networks within Beijing's Belt and Road initiative" (p. 380). The involvement of China in Arctic affairs therefore is closely connected with (but not limited to) the use of the Arctic Ocean for navigational purposes. Non-Arctic interests are gaining more prominence (p. 381), and Lanteigne shows that this development is not limited to the PRC (p. 382) and provides an overview over different national interests of non-Arctic States in this context (p. 386 et seq.). In doing so, he provides an important addition to the current discourse that is often centered on China's increasing relevance. Here, too, the role of the European Union could have been given more attention, because the EU is an increasingly important actor in the Arctic. With regard to the inclusion of non-Arctic States in Arctic governance discourses, he concludes that what has been achieved by non-Arctic States is here to stay (p. 394), while also reminding the reader that the Arctic Council's current architecture limits the involvement of non-Arctic States (p. 396). Overall, though, he concludes that non-Arctic actors are likely to continue to play important roles in the Arctic (p. 396 et seq.) and that, rather than asking whether outside involvement can be limited by Arctic States, it will be necessary "to ensure a balance between these two groups, and to manage the interactions between Arctic and non-Arctic in a productive and equitable fashion" (p. 397). While the rapid ascent of non-Arctic actors in Arctic affairs explains such a conclusion, the role of international law in Arctic governance must not be underestimated. Despite violations of international law by some Arctic States elsewhere, in particular in the context of Russia's aggression against Ukraine, international law and the rule of law provide the essential fundament for international governance efforts in the Arctic.

The role of non-Arctic States in the region is restricted by sovereignty and rights of the Arctic States. Unlike Antarctica, the land territories of the Arctic all are under the sovereignty of nation States, and international disputes over title to land territory in the Arctic are very rare.<sup>4</sup> Combined with the idea of an increasingly accessible Arctic Ocean, this only leaves the Arctic Ocean as

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4 See M. Byers, *International Law and the Arctic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 10 et seq., for the case of the island of Tartupaluk (Hans Island), which is claimed by

a target for exploration and exploitation by Arctic and non-Arctic actors. This targeting takes several forms, such as the search for the very hydrocarbons the burning of which causes the climate change that makes the Arctic Ocean more accessible in the first place, but also continues to play a role in the (unsustainable) economic development of some parts of the Arctic.

This increased accessibility is not as far-reaching as it might seem when seen from faraway national capitals thousands of kilometers from the Arctic Ocean, because the reduction of sea ice cover and the loss of multi-year sea ice of course does not mean an absolute absence of sea ice. Bergy waters remain dangerous for navigation, a hazard that has also been recognized in the Polar Code, along with other dangers, such as the fact that the northernmost regions experience darkness for half of the year. Even with a dramatic decrease in the surface and volume of Arctic Ocean sea ice, ship operations in the region will remain challenging and dangerous. These dangers have to be recognized by all actors interested in the region. The Arctic, in particular the Arctic Ocean, continues to provide many challenges. This book gives readers a good overview of some of the challenges that will become more relevant in the near future.

It is entirely normal that the quality of the chapters varies in a book like the one reviewed here, but the general level of quality remains high. Despite different writing styles, the book is eminently readable, which is no mean feat for a collected volume, and the order of chapters provides the reader with a logical arc that gives the book a very coherent feeling. While this reviewer does not agree with all opinions and legal assessments provided in this book, the overall quality is very high. The book has only a few shortcomings. On some occasions, some readers might have valued more references (e.g., p. 263), while it has to be noted positively that on controversial topics, readers are also provided with references to different views (e.g., p. 259, *there fn. 14*). The most significant, but still rather minor, inconveniences for the reader are certainly the lack of an index and of a more detailed table of contents, either of which would make it easier for readers to quickly access specific information. In particular due to the overlaps between the different chapters and the different approaches used throughout the book, an index and more sources would have proven a significant improvement for researchers. In this context, though, it has to be kept in mind that the book is not written exclusively for an academic readership. Academics who are interested in Arctic governance, who might already be familiar with the aforementioned book by Byers or the more recent book

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both Denmark and Canada, but to which neither State might actually have a legally adequate title to territory, cf. *ibid.*, p. 16.

by Mary Durfee and Rachael Lorna Johnstone,<sup>5</sup> both of which provide excellent overviews of Arctic governance from different angles, will find the book reviewed here to be an excellent next reading suggestion, on *par* in terms of quality with Wilson Rowe's book,<sup>6</sup> but, due to the nature of the text, covering a different set of issues. The very accessible writing style that has been achieved by all contributors makes the work accessible to a much broader readership. The book will be of interest not only to readers who are already familiar with the situation in the Arctic or with the international legal frameworks applicable to it, but also to a wider readership, for example, journalists. It should definitively be on the reading list of policymakers across the Arctic region. For everybody interested in the governance of the Arctic Ocean, this book is highly recommended. Together with the aforementioned books by Wilson Rowe, Durfee and Johnstone, and Byers, the book reviewed here forms part of a solid quartet of introductory books on the governance of the Arctic in a rapidly changing world and at a time when the Arctic receives more and more global attention.

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Dai Tamada and Keyuan Zou, eds., *Implementation of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea: State Practice of China and Japan* (Singapore: Springer, 2021), 254 pp.

The law of the sea is experiencing a unique period in its recent history. With the exception of the ongoing negotiations for a legally binding instrument under the United Nations Convention on the Law of Sea (UNCLOS) on the conservation and sustainable use of marine biological diversity of areas beyond national jurisdiction, there is no prospect for any new multilateral law of the sea treaty instruments on the horizon. This is a significant contrast from the period between 1958 and 1982. During that time, five conventions, including

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5 M. Durfee and R.L. Johnstone, *Arctic Governance in a Changing World* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2019).

6 E. Wilson Rowe, *Arctic Governance: Power in Cross-border Cooperation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018).