2020 North Pacific Arctic Conference
*Will Great Power Politics Threaten Arctic Sustainability?*
Organized by the East-West Center and the Korea Maritime Institute
Honolulu, Hawaii, 19–21 August 2020

**TENTH ANNIVERSARY PROGRAM**

**WEDNESDAY** 19 August 2020

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<td>Morning and Afternoon</td>
<td>Arrival in Honolulu</td>
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<td>10:00am</td>
<td><em>Early Career Polar Researchers Meeting, Burns Hall</em></td>
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<td>4:00pm</td>
<td><em>NPAC Steering Committee Meeting, Altitude®37, Hilton Waikiki Beach Hotel</em></td>
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<td>6:00pm</td>
<td><em>Welcome Reception (cocktail and dinner), Altitude®37, Hilton Waikiki Beach Hotel</em>, <strong>Sponsored by the Korea Maritime Institute</strong></td>
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**Opening Remarks** by Richard R. Vuylsteke, President, East-West Center

**Welcoming Remarks** by Young-Tae Chang, President, Korea Maritime Institute

**Introductory Remarks** by Yoon Hyung Kim, Chair, NPAC Steering Committee, and Senior Fellow, East-West Center

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1. NPAC discussions are held under the Chatham House Rule which states that participants are free to use the information received, but neither the identity nor the affiliation of participants may be revealed.
2020 North Pacific Arctic Conference on “Will Great Power Politics Threaten Arctic Sustainability”

THURSDAY 20 August 2020

8:00 am  Bus departs from Hilton Waikīkī Beach Hotel for the East-West Center

8:15 am  Continental breakfast in lobby outside the Asia Room

OPENING SESSION

Chair and Opening Remarks: Richard Vuylsteke, President, East-West Center

Rapporteur: Malgorzata (Gosia) Smieszek, Researcher, Arctic Centre, University of Lapland, Finland

8:45 am  Chair's introduction: Setting the stage for the session

8:55 am  Keynote Speech: NPAC at 10 - Taking Stock and Looking Forward

Oran Young, Professor Emeritus, Bren School of Environmental Science and Management, University of California at Santa Barbara

Keynote Speech:

Sei-Joong Kwon, Ambassador for Arctic Affairs, Korea’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs

9:15 am  Open discussion among all participants

9:45 am  Coffee break, Rahman Room

SESSION I: High Politics in the New Arctic

Chair: Charles E. Morrison, Adjunct Senior Fellow, East-West Center

Rapporteur: Robert W. Corell, Principal, Global Environment and Technology Foundation, USA, and Professor, UiT – Arctic University of Norway

Framing questions:

(i) In what ways have “high politics” or great power geostrategic rivalries reasserted themselves into Arctic international relations in recent years?

(ii) What are the drivers of the resurgence of high politics, especially in the policies of the three largest powers: China, Russia, and the United States? What are the main emphases of their most current Arctic Policy Statements? How much are these drivers influenced by Arctic developments themselves and how much by other and more general forces affecting these countries’ foreign policies? What are the main emphases of their most current Arctic Policy Statements?

(iii) How will increased geostrategic issues (e.g., energy policy re climate change and/or rivalry) among the larger powers affect geopolitics internationally and influence the

All sessions to be held in the Asia Room, Hawai‘i Imin International Conference Center, EWC
work of the Arctic Council as well as the prospects for enhanced cooperation on a
variety of non-geostrategic issues related to the Arctic?

(iv) How, in particular, is the imperative of addressing climate change affected the
reemergence of high politics. Should climate change itself be considered an issue of
high politics?

(v) What are best means of alleviating geostrategic tensions in the Arctic?

(vi) How has your country responded to the United Nations Environment Programme’s
Emissions Gap Report, which presented the latest data on the expected gap in
emissions reductions in 2030 needed to meet the 1.5°C and 2°C temperature targets of
the Paris Agreement. The report states that: “Global emissions are on the rise as
national commitments to combat climate change come up short.”

10:00 am **Chair’s introduction: Setting the stage for the session**

10:05 am Presentation by **Marc Lanteigne**, Associate Professor, UiT-The Arctic University
of Norway or **Klaus Dodds**, Professor at Royal Holloway University of London

- This overview paper will address the principal framing questions for this session
- In what ways have geopolitics reasserted themselves into Arctic international relations
  and what are the important drivers in national policies and in issues areas?
- How are geopolitics affect other important Arctic priorities, including the impacts of
  climate change and other forms of non-traditional international cooperation?
- How might the effects of geopolitics be mitigated?

10:25pm **Commentaries:**

1. A Perspective from the USA: **Michael Sfraga**, Director of the Wilson Center’s
   Global Risk and Resilience Program and the Polar Institute
   - What has been the evolution of U.S. Arctic policies over the past ten years?
   - Has there been an increase in looking at the region in terms of geostrategic
     interests or environmental interests, and is there any trade-offs between
     these types of interests?
   - What are the main drivers of increased geostrategic competition?
   - What are the best ways of maintaining environmental, scientific, economic,
     and other forms of “low politics” cooperation?

2. A Chinese Perspective: **Sun Yun**, Senior Fellow and Co-Director of the East
   Asia Program and Director of the China Program at the Stimson Center
   - What are the main drivers of Chinese interests and policies?
   - What role do geostrategic interests play as opposed to Stimson Center
     resource or other
     interests?
   - What are the objectives of China’s Polar Silk Road and its proclaimed “near
     Arctic” status?
   - Do Chinese perceive the Arctic as a theater of large power competition, and
     if so, what are their objectives and how will this shape the future of their
     posture in the region?

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All sessions to be held in the Asia Room, Hawai‘i Imin International
Conference Center, EWC
③ A Perspective from Russia: **Andrei Zagorski**, Professor, Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO University) and Head of Department, Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy of Sciences
- What are the main drivers of Russian policies?
- How do Russian perceptions of the Arctic differ from those of the other larger powers?
- How should we interpret recent Russian defense initiatives in the Arctic?
- What role do geostrategic interests play as opposed to resource or other interests?
- Do Russians perceive the Arctic as a theater of large power competition, and if so, what are their objectives and how will this shape the future of their posture in the region?

④ Impact on Arctic Intergovernmental Cooperation: **Bernard W. Funston**, President, Northern Canada Consulting
- How is increased geostrategic competition affecting the operation of the Arctic Council and other organizations relevant to Arctic issues?
- Should the Arctic Council include discussion of security issues?

⑤ Impact on Scientific Cooperation: **Andrea Tilche**, Adjunct Professor and Senior Adviser to the Rector of UiT-The Arctic University of Norway.
- Does the writer believe that there has been increased geostrategic competition in the Arctic, and how has this affected scientific cooperation?
- Are there particular areas of science that are more affected by this and other areas less affected?
- How, in particular, is the question of climate change affected by high politics, and should climate change be considered a matter of high politics?

⑥ Impact on Indigenous People and Cooperation among Indigenous Organizations: **Dalee Dorough**, International Chair of the Inuit Circumpolar Council
- What has been the trajectory of indigenous people cooperation in the Arctic in the past decade, and how has it been reflected in the Arctic Council or other venues?
- Does the author see an increase in geostrategic competition affected Arctic dialogues and policies and how does this affect the prospects for cooperation among indigenous peoples?
- Are there discussions among indigenous groups on how maintain programs of interest to them despite the cooperation?
- Does the author feels that indigenous groups can play an effective role in tamping down the impact of high politics?

⑦ Impact on Business Activities and Cooperation in the Arctic: **TBA**
- How has geopolitics affected business activities in the Arctic?
- What has been the impact of sanctions on Russia?
- Have Arctic business organizations taken positions on issues of high
politics, and, if so, what has been the effect?

⑧ A perspective from NPAC fellow: TBA

11:45 pm  *Open discussion among all conference participants*

12:30 pm  *Lunch (‘Ohana Room, Garden Level, Hawai‘i Imin International Conference Center) & Group Photo (Japanese Garden)*

**SESSION II: Beringia – The Future of the Bering Strait Region**

**Chair: Arild Moe**, Senior Research Fellow, Fridtjof Nansen Institute  
**Rapporteur: Andrei Zagorski**, Professor, Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO University) and Head of Department, Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy of Sciences

**Framing questions:**

(i) What changes are occurring in the physical and biological systems of the Bering Strait Region and how are these developments linked to global environmental changes including climate change?

(ii) How will the biophysical changes combined with increases in commercial shipping and other economic developments in the region affect the well-being of the human communities of the Bering Strait Region?

(iii) How have Russia and the United States cooperated in this region in the past, and how will recent developments in great power politics affect Bering Strait regional cooperation?

(iv) What roles can the region’s human residents play in identifying emerging issues in the Bering Strait Region and how can they participate in addressing them?

(v) Can non-Arctic states, their shipping companies, and their ship-building industries play constructive roles in minimizing disruptive impacts of commercial shipping in the region?

1:30 pm  *Chair's introduction: Setting the stage for the session*

1:35 pm  *Panelist Remarks and Discussion:*

① A Biogeophysical and Science Perspective: **Olivia Lee**, Assistant Professor, International Arctic Research Center, University of Alaska Fairbanks

- What are the most dramatic physical changes (e.g. developments affecting sea ice) occurring in the Bering Strait Region?
- How are these changes affecting the region’s biota, including marine mammals, fish, and seabirds?
- What is the significance of these changes for coastal communities in the region and other’s who use the region’s resources?

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*All sessions to be held in the Asia Room, Hawai‘i Imin International Conference Center, EWC*
A Russian Far-Eastern Perspective: **TBA** (Justin is checking with contacts at the Far Eastern Federal University in Vladivostok regarding a suitable person)

- What is the Russian perspective on the Bering Strait Region, and how has it evolved in recent years?
- How is Russia dealing with the challenges arising from depopulation in Chukotka since the 1990s?
- What are the views of Russia regarding bilateral (or even multilateral) cooperation in the Bering Strait Region.

Asian Perspectives: **Yang Jian** (to be assisted by **Justin Kim** and **Natshiko Otsuka**), Vice-President, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies, China

- Asian views of the importance of the Bering Strait Region as an artery for commercial shipping.
- What do the Asian countries see as the most significant environmental challenges arising from increased shipping in the region?
- What steps would the Asian countries be prepared to take to avoid or minimize the socioecological impacts of shipping in the region?

An Environmental Perspective: **Henry Huntington**, Science Director, Arctic Program, Pew Charitable Trusts

- What does the environmental community see as the most important issues arising today in the Bering Strait Region?
- What national/international measures could be introduced to deal with these issues?
- What types of marine protected areas might be helpful in addressing these issues?

Marine safety & environmental protection measures: **Lawson Brigham**, Global Fellow in the Wilson Center's Polar Institute, Distinguished Fellow & Faculty, University of Alaska Fairbanks, and Captain, U.S. Coast Guard (Retired)

- What are the biggest challenges regarding marine safety and ship-based pollution in the Bering Strait Region?
- What are the main marine safety and protection measures that could be implemented?
- How are the IMO Routing Measures and the US-Russian proposal being implemented? Are there gaps in the current regulatory regime?

An Indigenous perspective: **Vera Metcalf**, Executive Director of the Eskimo Walrus Commission, Nome

- What is the role of Indigenous knowledge in identifying and responding to increased human activities in the Bering Strait Region?
- What role can local communities and indigenous groups play in the governance of shipping in the region?
- What is the history and current status of cooperation between residents of the two sides of the Bering Strait?

A perspective from NPAC fellow: **TBA**
3:05 pm  *Coffee break, Rahman Room*

3:30 pm  *Open discussion among all conference participants*

4:30 pm  Bus departs from EWC for Hilton Waikīkī Beach Hotel

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**FRIDAY  21 August 2020**

8:15 am  Bus departs from Hilton Waikīkī Beach Hotel for the East-West Center

8:30 am  Continental breakfast in lobby outside the Asia Room

**SESSION III: The Northern Sea Route: Sustainability of Large-scale Businesses in the Arctic**

**Chair: Yoon H. Kim,** Senior Fellow, East-West Center, and Professor Emeritus of Economics, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies

**Rapporteur: Lawson W. Brigham,** Global Fellow in the Wilson Center’s Polar Institute, Distinguished Fellow & Faculty, University of Alaska Fairbanks, and Captain, U.S. Coast Guard (Retired)

**Framing questions:**

(i) How does commercial use of the NSR fit into the overall development of the Russian economy and how are Russian policies relating to the NSR evolving?

(ii) What are the most important determinants of the economics of commercial shipping along the NSR, including the policies of non-Arctic states like China, Japan, and Korea?

(iii) How does the NSR fit into the global picture of commercial shipping?

(iv) How is the development of the NSR affecting international geopolitical cooperation and governance issues?

(v) Are there measures that could be taken to avoid or minimize harmful impacts on coastal ecosystems and human communities arising from increased use of the NSR (e.g. strengthening the provisions of the Polar Code)?

(vi) What investments in marine infrastructure will be required by Rosatom, including the icebreaker fleet, to improve navigation along the NSR?

9:00 am  *Chair's introduction: Setting the stage for the session*

9:05 am  Presentation by Tatiana Mitrova, Director of the SKOLKOVO Energy Centre, Moscow School of Management

- What are Russian perspectives on overall development of large-scale non-renewable resources in the Arctic with maritime logistics – commercial, political

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environmental, and social considerations?
- How does climate change affect Russian thinking of and planning for the NSR?
- How do you reassess what the NSR is today and what it might look like in 2030/2040, including the outlook for a state-owned container shipping operation between trans-shipment ports?
- What are the broad perspectives on the future of Arctic shipping, taking into account relevant political and economic considerations, the likely impacts of climate change, and the sociocultural consequences for human communities located along the NSR?
- What does the future (20-30 years ahead) hold for Russian Arctic LNG being sold on global markets? Is shipping LNG out of the Russian Arctic a viable long-term strategy?

9:25 am  Commentaries:

① Northeast Asian perspectives: Sungwoo Lee, Director General, General Policy Research Division, Korea Maritime Institute
   - What are the obstacles to the participation of non-Arctic countries in the development of energy resources in the Arctic?
   - What logistical solutions are there to increase the price competitiveness of energy resources in the Arctic?
   - What are the pathways forward to for sustainable transport in Arctic resource development projects?

② A Chinese perspective: Zhao Long, an NPAC Fellow, Assistant Director of Institute for Global Governance Studies, and Associate Professor at Shanghai Institutes for International Studies.
   - What is the Chinese perspective on global trade flows and the role of the Arctic?
   - Are there regulatory challenges in increased use of Arctic routes?
   - How is Sino-Russian cooperation regarding Arctic shipping developing

③ A Japanese perspective: Representative of Mitsui O.S.K. Lines (MOL) and Natsuhiko Otsuka, Professor, Arctic Research Center, Hokkaido University
   - What are the navigational and commercial experiences from operating the Yamal LNG gas carriers?
   - How does the Japanese shipping industry evaluate environmental and safety risks associated with shipping in the Arctic?
   - What is the outlook and preconditions for year-round navigation along the Northern Sea Route?
   - What are the Japanese expectations regarding world trade flows and the role of the Arctic?

④ European perspectives: Arild Moe, Research Professor, Fridtjof Nansen Institute
   - What are the preconditions for realization of Russia’s icebreaker programme?
   - What could be the implications of Rosatom’s leading role of management of
the NSR?
  • Are policies and legal developments pointing towards protectionism or foreign involvement in the future use of the NSR?

5 A global shipping community perspective: Frederic Lasserre, Professor, Department of Geography, Laval University
  • What is the future of trans-Arctic navigation?
  • How does the global shipping community view the NSR as well as the Northwest passage as connections between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans in the longer term?
  • Can trans-shipment options (and ports) attract international use of the NSR?

6 An Indigenous community and environmental perspective: Mikhail Pogodaev, Deputy Minister for the Arctic Development and Indigenous Peoples Affairs, Government of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), Federation of Russia
  • What are the impacts on local communities and indigenous peoples from development of the NSR, particularly development of ports along the Route?
  • How do large-scale business developments related to the NSR balance with addressing the needs of local communities and indigenous peoples?
  • What are the overall regional environmental impacts of Yamal LNG current and future developments on Arctic Indigenous peoples?

7 A Perspective from NPAC Fellow: TBA

10:45 am  Coffee break, Rahman Room

11:00 am  Open discussion among all conference participants

12:00 noon  Lunch (‘Ohana Room, Garden Level, Hawai‘i Imin International Conference Center)

SESSION IV: Arctic Marine Cooperation – Securing a Sustainable Future

Chair: David L. VanderZwaag Professor of Law and the Canada Research Chair (Tier 1) in Ocean Law and Governance, Dalhousie University
Rapporteur: Oran R. Young, Professor Emeritus, Bren School of Environmental Science and Management, University of California at Santa Barbara

Framing questions:

(i) Why have recent initiatives aimed at strengthening Arctic Ocean management failed to produce clearcut results; what are the principal obstacles to developing a more comprehensive system of management for the Arctic Ocean?

(ii) What are the implications of the ongoing effort to negotiate an UNCLOS Implementing Agreement on biodiversity beyond national jurisdiction for Arctic Ocean management?

(iii) How can we strengthen the roles of non-Arctic states in Arctic Ocean management?
(iv) What roles have Indigenous peoples’ organizations played in facilitating marine management and cooperation in the Arctic, and what roles might they play in the future?

(v) How has the Arctic Council advanced understanding and implementation of ecosystem-based management (EBM), and how might EBM encourage Arctic marine cooperation in the future?

1:00 pm  
**Chair's introduction: Setting the stage for this session**

1:05 pm  
**Panelists Remarks and Discussion:**

1. An overview perspective on Arctic marine cooperation: **Betsy Baker**, Executive Director, North Pacific Research Board, Alaska
   - What were the accomplishments and limitations of the Arctic Council’s Task Force on Arctic Marine Cooperation?
   - What future directions might be considered for enhancing marine cooperation on the Arctic?
   - What are the prospects for developing a system of Marine Protected Areas in the Arctic?
   - How might scientific cooperation contribute to marine management in the Arctic?

2. A Korean perspective on the future of Arctic marine cooperation: **Sung Jin Kim**, Adjunct Professor of Seoul National University and former Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries
   - What roles has South Korea played in fostering Arctic Ocean cooperation?
   - How does South Korea view the efforts of the Arctic Council to promote Arctic marine cooperation?
   - What are the prospects for the Central Arctic Ocean Fisheries Agreement in strengthening Arctic Ocean cooperation?
   - What initiatives can South Korea take in this realm in the future?

3. A perspective on the BBNJ negotiations and the Arctic: **TBA**
   - How would a BBNJ legally binding instrument affect the Arctic?
   - Was the Arctic specifically considered during negotiations?
   - Might a new BBNJ Instrument facilitate future Arctic marine cooperation?
   - How does a new BBNJ Instrument relate to existing regional agreements and arrangements in the Arctic?

4. A perspective on the roles of non-Arctic states: **Haiwen Zhang**, Director General, China Institute of Marine Affairs (CIMA)
   - What roles has China played in fostering marine cooperation in the Arctic?
   - How has the Arctic Council helped or hindered efforts to make progress in Arctic marine cooperation?
   - What are the prospects for the Central Arctic Ocean Fisheries Agreement as a means of strengthening Arctic Ocean cooperation?
A Canadian perspective on EBM in the Arctic: Maya Gold, Fisheries and Oceans Canada, Co-lead of experts group that developed EBM Guidelines for the Arctic
- How has EBM been advanced within the Arctic Council?
- What are the major implementation challenges for EBM in the Arctic?
- What future directions might be considered to strengthen EBM in the Arctic?
- What best practices stand out for EBM in the Arctic?

An Indigenous perspective: TBA
- How have Indigenous organizations promoted marine cooperation in the Arctic?
- What are the constraints and challenges facing Indigenous organizations in pursuing cooperation in the Arctic region?
- How might Indigenous involvements within the Arctic Council be enhanced?
- How have Indigenous organizations and peoples sought to influence climate change negotiations and national mitigation and adaptation commitments?

A perspective from NPAC fellow: TBA

2:15 pm Open discussion among all conference participants
3:15 pm Coffee break, Rahman Room

CLOSED SESSION: NPAC’s Future – Where are we going?
Chair: Young-Tae Chang. President, Korea Maritime Institute
Rapporteur: Malgorzata (Gosia) Smieszek, Researcher, Arctic Centre, University of Lapland, Finland

3:45 pm Chair’s Closing Remarks
3:55 pm Reflections on a Decade of Chairing NPAC
Yoon H. Kim, NPAC Chair, Senior Fellow, East-West Center and Professor Emeritus, Department of Economics, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in Korea

Introduction of the New NPAC Chair and Future Perspectives
Jong Deog Kim, Vice President for Research, Korea Maritime Institute

NPAC as an EWC-KMI Joint Venture
Karena R. Lyons, Vice President & Executive Director of Research, East-West Center

Summary Remarks for NPAC 2020 and Beyond

All sessions to be held in the Asia Room, Hawai‘i Imin International Conference Center, EWC
The New Chair of the Conference Steering Committee

5:30 pm  Bus departs EWC for Jade Dynasty Seafood Restaurant

6:00 pm  *Farewell dinner*
*Hosted by the East-West Center*

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**SUNDAY**  22 August 2020

**BREAKFAST MEETING: Arctic Futures/NPAC Opportunities**

*Agenda to be determined in advance of NPAC 2021 after review by and suggestions from the NPAC Steering Committee*