

lifestyles, to future generations. The book does this and more. With this research, the Vuntut Gwich'in First Nation and Shirleen Smith have shown that community-based research can generate useful, deep knowledge that is relevant to a wide audience. Indeed, the book is a treasure, especially because a great number of the elders who participated in its production have passed away in recent years. Their stories might have been lost forever if not for this community-driven effort.

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***Russia and the North*. Edited by Elana Wilson Rowe. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2009. 232 pp. Index, maps.**

Over the past decade, Russia, the largest Arctic state in geographic terms, has baffled the world with what has often been portrayed as a contradictory, protean strategy towards the North. One of the most controversial Russian actions involved the planting of a national flag on the seabed near the North Pole in 2007. The resumption of strategic bomber flights by Russia in the same year added to an international furor over re-emerging Arctic geopolitics that continues to echo today. Against this backdrop, not a few commentators have been moved to wonder if Moscow's assertive stance will elicit a "New Cold War" as climate change and technological advances increase access to arctic resources and territory. Other observers, however, insist that such febrile rhetoric is misleading, at best scaremongering, at worst verging on politically irresponsible. From their standpoint, Moscow's initiatives are in keeping with the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), the most relevant regime for governing ocean space. These seeming inconsistencies—confrontational posturing on the one hand and commitment to international law on the other—inevitably bring up questions about which path modern-day Russia will choose for governing its changing northern spaces.

Those interested in unveiling the masks of Proteus are well served by Elana Wilson Rowe's collection of essays, *Russia and the North*. As its title tells us, the book is about key aspects of Russian ambitions in the area and how they are spelled out both domestically and on the international stage. Included are brief treatments of geopolitical interests pursued by other Arctic states such as Norway; but the book's major emphasis is on how Russia defines and deals with northern territories. The book begins with a synoptic overview of relevant strategic issues, including maritime claims and petroleum. Wilson Rowe seeks to understand Russia's kaleidoscopic

approach to these issues through a study of what she refers to as a tension between the “open” and “closed” North. Readers will find it easy to agree that Moscow frequently vacillates between outward-looking inclinations based on market-driven orientations (open) and inward-looking tendencies marked by a securitization of northern spaces (closed). Using this broad framework, the eight following chapters focus on two sets of questions. The first set is about the context, nature, and ramifications of Arctic challenges and opportunities. The other set of questions relates to continuity and change in the responses of state and private actors. The authors of these chapters describe Russia’s engagement in the region during and after the Soviet era and explore policy trajectories in the areas of security, cooperation, climate change, fisheries, energy, migration, and Indigenous rights. Given the book’s wide thematic scope, its main contribution involves the breadth of its offerings rather than the detail of its analyses.

The rich case study material suggests that the North has once again become a key factor in Russia’s national security and economy. In the first chapter of the book, Pavel Baev examines Moscow’s efforts to restore its military complex, showing how militarization and energy development go hand in hand. While tales of an “armed mad dash” for oil and gas receive little attention from Russian authorities (as do more sober assessments of probable reserves), many believe that an increase in military presence is necessary to protect the country’s northern possessions. Geir Hønneland, in his essay on cross-border co-operation, highlights how poor implementation and unstable structures continue to hamper Russia’s effective participation in multilateral and bilateral initiatives. In the third chapter, Craig ZumBrunnen addresses climate change and Russia’s decisive role in the implementation of the Kyoto Protocol. His contribution serves as a reminder that climate change is not uncommonly considered as peripheral or even beneficial by Russian climate skeptics. Anne-Kristin Jørgensen, in her discussion of fisheries in Chapter 4, is adept at laying bare the implications of countless sectoral reorganizations in Russia since the demise of the Soviet Union. This development led to a “vicious cycle of reform” in which short-sighted business practices and a lack of clear rules provided business people and bureaucrats with incentives to ensure the market remained out of control. Arild Moe and Elana Wilson Rowe, in Chapter 5, explore offshore drilling from both a federal and corporate perspective. While offshore resources have recently gained a higher profile in Moscow’s energy calculus, financial, technological, and other obstacles continue to hinder the emergence of a coherent set of policies. At

the company level, the authors point to Rosneft and Gazprom, two state-controlled actors, whose relationship is of “relevance to understanding how an offshore regime might develop” (116). Next, Timothy Heleniak’s lengthy study of “growth poles and ghost towns” reveals that migration patterns between the North and the rest of Russia are not unidirectional and that, while some northern regions continue to attract workers, others face the spread of poverty pockets. This analysis of population change and northern labor policy is followed by Indra Øverland’s discussion of Indigenous rights. Øverland points to the gap that exists between *de jure* and *de facto* protection of rights in (northern) Russia. Finally, in the last chapter, Anna Sirina presents a similar reality check regarding the relationship between Indigenous peoples, resource developers, and government. She argues that, although more weight has been given to traditional nature-use in Russia in recent years, “federal authorities have not yet been prepared to follow the adopted Indigenous rights laws consistently and purposefully” (193).

The book’s findings are valuable even if they are not always surprising. The editor concludes that Russia’s northern politics have been shaped by the political and economic reforms ushered in by Vladimir Putin, such as economic modernization, pragmatism, and recentralization. While its criticism of the lack of a unified northern strategy in Russia has been blunted somewhat by the publication of that country’s Arctic policy in 2009, the book is still informative. Indeed, its central argument about the need to bring together the dispersed elements of Russia’s northern strategy in order to understand the country’s contradictory involvement in the region remains crucial.

But there are shortcomings. The discussion by the editor of the tension between the open and the closed North would benefit from further elaboration that highlights more clearly the reasoning behind Russia’s diverging approaches. One possibility would be to explore in depth the re-emerging linkages between northern politics and Russia’s identity crisis. One also wishes that more space had been devoted to definitional questions and counter-arguments. Three examples should suffice. First, some contributors to the collection make use of securitization theory (18, 206) without explaining *how* the North is securitized—that is, how it is introduced into the realm of emergency politics as an issue of supreme priority. Second, if one agrees that terminology determines to a large extent what and who is involved in many of the issues discussed in the volume, the choice and meaning of the term “North” (as opposed, for example, to “Far North”) deserves sustained attention. Third, some authors point

to Putin's recentralization efforts but do not relate their findings about powerful regional actors to counterarguments about how recentralization has failed. In a similar vein, it would have been interesting to consider the effects of the recent global economic downturn on Russia's northern strategy. Finally, a collection of maps on both the circumpolar and the Russian North would add to the book's usefulness.

The above shortcomings notwithstanding, *Russia and the North* is a valuable contribution to ongoing debates about Arctic geopolitics. Its broad coverage of pertinent subjects makes the book a comprehensive and well-informed introduction to one of the most important actors in and beyond the Arctic. Perhaps most significantly, it dispels preconceptions about Russia's role as an Arctic state. Wilson Rowe's *Russia and the North* is a timely book that any student of Arctic social science will want to consult.

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***Natural Resources and Aboriginal Peoples in Canada: Readings, Cases, and Commentary*, 2nd edition. Edited by Robert B. Anderson and Robert M. Bone. Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2009. 586 pp.**

The management of natural resources in Canada has taken a strong turn toward Aboriginal peoples' direct participation over the past forty years. Key political decisions and the development of new economic and political tools, including comprehensive land claims and self-government agreements and negotiated agreements between Aboriginal groups and industry, necessitate new approaches to understanding natural resource management. Perhaps most striking among these developments is the suggestion that pressing issues of governance and poverty in Aboriginal communities can be addressed through business ventures. Robert Anderson and Robert Bone's newly revised edition of *Natural Resources and Aboriginal Peoples in Canada: Readings, Cases, and Commentary* suggests that an important ideological crossroads has been left behind. For many Aboriginal communities, the new road involves efforts to achieve economic prosperity through natural resource development.

The new edition of this book builds on a sub-theme in the 2003 edition: it explores what a blending of traditional land use and capitalist utilization of natural resources might look like. The result is a much-expanded volume of previously published articles and unpublished papers examining in great detail the importance of the economic development of natural resources