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Three lives of Norwegian consulate in Arkhangelsk*

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Abstract. The article is devoted to the history of the Norwegian Consulate in Arkhangelsk, which began in 1815 and has continued to the present time. The history of the Consulate is analyzed from the standpoint of identifying the fundamental differences in the activities in each of the three periods (lives) of the Consulate. This, in particular, is the novelty of the research. Moreover, the first two lives (1815–1920 and 1924–1939) are presented as a background to a more detailed study of the prerequisites for creation, priorities in work, successes and some failures of the modern one — the third Consulate reopened in Arkhangelsk in 2010 and has the status of “Honorary”. The authors pay attention to the personal factor — the life path of the first and current honorary consul Andrei Alexandrovich Shalev. His activity was mainly discussed in regional mass media and was not subjected to research analysis. Even the actual material about the events held by the Honorary Consulate was not collected and not systematized, although it has relevance, as it concerns the interests of thousands of residents of the region. The authors believe that in this article they only outlined those directions in the study of consulates that deserve attention.

Keywords: *consulates (General, honorary), Barents Euro-Arctic region, Norwegian Barents Secretariat, Russian-Norwegian relations, cross-border relations, trade and economic relations, cultural, educational, scientific programs, sanctions, competition.*

Introduction

On January 11, 2018, the Arkhangelsk North celebrated the 25th anniversary of the signing of the Kirkenes Declaration on the establishment of the Barents Euro-Arctic Region (BEAR) and the organization of effective forms of cooperation in its regional framework. Let today Russia's relations with some countries of the BEAR leave much to be desired, over the past quarter-century; much has been done to promote the development of human contacts within the region. One of the significant achievements of the Kirkenes Declaration was the opening of the Honorary Consulate of Norway in Arkhangelsk on September 17, 2010. The article represents a brief

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comparative description of the three consulates of Norway and their activities. Norwegian consulates have been functioning on the territory of the Arkhangelsk North since 1815.

The focus is on the history of creation, priorities in work, the study of the results of the first eight years of the third consulate, which belongs to the type of "Honorary Consulates" and the efforts of the person who heads it.

***The first and second "life" of the Norwegian consulates in Arkhangelsk:
common and special***

The Pomors of the White Sea were the first in the Moscow kingdom, who, approx. since the 16th century, established regular mutually beneficial trade exchange with the population of the North Norwegian counties (Fulke) and developed strong cultural ties. However, until the beginning of the 19th century, both states limited themselves to the creation of customs posts to regulate trade relations established in the Arkhangelsk North between Imperial Russia and Norway, which was ruled by the Danish crown. Only after the Napoleonic wars, which radically changed the face of Europe, and after the transfer of power over Norway into the hands of the Swedish crown, the need in a Swedish-Norwegian consulate in the Arkhangelsk province revealed.

The consulate was founded in Arkhangelsk in 1815. In the 19th century, Arkhangelsk hosted 5-6 consulates of other countries, e.g., Great Britain and the Netherlands. The consulates of that time were mainly engaged in the merchant affairs (individuals and companies) and almost did not deal with the issues of "pomor trade". Pomor skippers rarely turned to the consuls for help. Both merchants and Pomors on relatively small vessels brought wood, hemp, resins, and soft junk to Norway. Schooners full with fish and the so-called "colonial goods" - industrial and food products from Europe, came from Norway. The competence of the consulate included the legal protection of the interests of its citizens, who were in the Arkhangelsk province by virtue of circumstances. The consuls were also actively involved in commerce. It was not forbidden since it was their primary income. Consulate workers were often citizens of the Russian Empire. Although they were usually foreigners by birth. They, as in all subsequent times, had clearly defined boundaries of their responsibility. Economic or political information, reports on the port issues and the degree of safety of the sea routes along the White Sea coast were sent to the diplomatic departments of the states that designated them more or less regularly. In dealing with the population of Arkhangelsk and the residents of the province, diplomatic workers were not limited. In the community, they were highly respected.

As a Swedish-Norwegian consulate, it existed until 1905. On October 26, 1905, Norway broke off the Swedish-Norwegian union and finally gained complete independence. Five days later, on October 30, St. Petersburg recognized Norway as an independent state before the other Western countries. [1, Riste O., p. 14]¹. The consulate in Arkhangelsk in the course of all these

¹ Ulav Riste oshibsyu. Data priznaniya — 29 oktyabrya. Sm. "Staraya" Rossiya i "novaya" Norvegiya. Rossijsko-norvezhskie otnosheniya (1905–1917). [Olav Riste was wrong. Recognition date - October 29. See "Old" Russia and

troubles did not stop its activities, but from the end of 1905, it was already the consulate of Norway in Arkhangelsk. It was called general, which indicated its great rights in comparison with simple consulates and considerable trade interest in the region. In this status, the consulate stayed throughout World War I and the period of intervention (August 1918 - January 1920). Before the occupation of Arkhangelsk by the interventionists, which occurred on August 2, 1918, the local Bolshevik authorities recognized the consulate and had trade negotiations with it. During the occupation, the time of the actual British rule, the latter prevented the restoration of Norwegian trade and so-called "Northern Region"². The invaders' dominance did not last long - only 1.5 navigations. This difficult period 1898–1920. Consul General in Arkhangelsk happened to be Heinrich Anton Falsen.

In February 1920, the Red Army detachments returned to Arkhangelsk. The new government denied the Norwegian mission recognition of any rights due to the severance of diplomatic relations between the parties. From this point on, consular members were considered private individuals of foreign nationality. The fact is that on December 13, 1918, the composition of the Norwegian mission in Petrograd left completely. Although there were still a few people left in Moscow [2, Repnevsky A.V., pp. 31–33, 40, 43]. Moreover, the gap initiative belonged to Christiania³: The Bolsheviks did not want a break, this was demanded by the Entente. This gap in December 1918 was explained to Commissar for Foreign Affairs G.V. Chicherin by the secretary of the Norwegian mission in Moscow, A.R. Whitfeld is very uncertain: hunger was declared the reason for departure, not a refusal to recognize Soviet power. Soviet Russia was repeatedly assured that departure was temporary, and diplomats would stock up on food and return by the spring of 1919⁴. But that did not happen. Thus ended the more than 100-year history of the first continuous "life" of the consulate in Arkhangelsk.

The second "life" of this consulate turned out to be noticeably shorter and fundamentally different in the nature of its activities. It lasted less than 15 years: from 1924 to 1939, but it was economically vibrant. During the navigation period (from the end of May to November) hundreds of ships flying the Norwegian flag came to the ports of the White Sea to load with wood and ship it to Europe and America by selling mainly through the London Forest Exchange. Until the beginning of the 1930s, the Arkhangelsk North had large forest Norwegians concessions in the White Sea. The agreement with Moscow until 1939 let them hunt sea animals of the so-called "Olezundskaya

"New" Norway. Russian-Norwegian relations (1905–1917)] Collection of documents. Eds V.A. Karelin, J.P. Nil'sen. M. LENARD. p. 14. [In Russian]

² Riksarkivet (Королевский Архив Осло) RA. K. 1261/14. HD. Handelskontoret. Handelsavdelingen 1903. 1972. Hillenummer 3 A 200/ 15. Nummer 206. Gruppe K 2. Sak 4, Handelen med Russland under Krigen. Bind 1 (1918–1920). Extracts Of the Department of Foreign Affairs to the Department of Trade of 22 August, 9.15, 17 and 18 November 1918 concerning the Pomeranian trade and the difficulties associated with the occupation policy.

³ Since 1924 the capital of Norway is called Oslo.

⁴ Arhiv vneshnej politiki Rossijskoj Federacii (AVP RF). F.116. Op.2. D.4, L.22; D.3.L.1. See also: Sovetsko-norvezhskie otnosheniya. 1917–1955. Sbornik dokumentov pod. red. A.O. Chubar'yana, Ulafa Riste i dr. Moskva, 1997. S. 28–30. (dok. № 12 i № 14) [Archive of foreign policy of the Russian Federation (WUA). F. 116. Op.2. D. 4, L. 22; 3.L. 1. See. also Soviet-Norwegian relations. 1917-1955. A collection of documents. edited by A. O. Chubaryan, Olav Riste, etc. Moscow, 1997. P.28-30. (dock. 12 and 14)] [In Russian].

concession". Only this activity brought the country about 270 thousand dollars [2, Repnevsky A.V., p. 334].

Wood (logs, sawlogs, and ore racks), as well as grain, remained the main export goods of the USSR, but new articles appeared in the export nomenclature: expensive box boards, ores, and even butter. The Norwegian merchant navy was the first in number and tonnage of ships entering the ports of the White Sea. The USSR turned out to be the most massive freighter of the Norwegian vessels for its forest products. Before the revolution, Russian freight operations were almost not carried out. Imports of the USSR from Norway also changed radically. Instead of large purchases of fish, characteristic for the period of the first "life" of the consulate, during the first and second five-year plans, the Soviet Union became one of the largest buyers of Norwegian aluminum and ferroalloys, which were of great defense importance. In 1924 - 1937 (from April to November) the Norwegian mission in Arkhangelsk worked with full tension. In 1925, the consul had to purchase a steamboat to visit his logging vessels. The USSR and Norway were very serious trading partners. Even fundamental differences in ideology and attitudes towards private property did not interfere with trade.

Such a high level of economic ties in the first 20 years of the 21st century has never been achieved. The Norwegian consulate in Arkhangelsk in 1920-1930s was no longer considered General (the General Mission was opened in Leningrad). The Arkhangelsk consulate was located in the same building as at the end of the 19th century. Just then it was built by a Norwegian, merchant and architect Adolf Wiklund - the father of one of the consuls of the Soviet era - Arnold Wiklund, who was a Norwegian subject, like all the other consuls of the Soviet era. He was born (1886) and married (1911) to a Russian woman Vera Aronova in Arkhangelsk. Here their daughter Lyudmila was also born [3, Ovsyankin E.I., p. 201]⁵. Both the building and the life of Arnold Wiklund were symbols of the continuity of the pre-revolutionary and Soviet periods of the consulate. Arnold Adol'fovich worked for it more than others: since 1925 he served as secretary, then vice-consul, and in 1936 - May 11, 1938, he was consul. Arnold Wiklund knew the land, its economic potential, culture, and language. Wiklund A., and even the first Soviet-era consul, Einar Anvik, had strong personal connections in Arkhangelsk.

The principal difference in the work of the consulate was that in the USSR, it was no longer necessary to trade with private companies, but with government bodies. Business communication proceeded almost exclusively through local representatives appointed by Moscow. In the 1920-1930s, no other consulates in Arkhangelsk exist on a permanent basis, and therefore the Norwegian consulate represented the trade and diplomatic interests of Sweden, and sometimes of Great Britain. In contrast to imperial Russia, the consuls on the territory of the USSR did not have any personal business and lived on a salary appointed by the Norwegian Foreign Ministry.

⁵ Shumilov N.A. *Arhangel'skij rodoslovec. Genealogicheskij spravochnik*. [Arkhangelsk rodoslovets. Genealogical reference] Arhangel'sk. 2009. p. 332.[In Russian]

Free contacts with the population of Arkhangelsk and the region (region) were limited. In 1937–1938, because of such contacts, a large group of old-residents of Arkhangelsk was accused of espionage in favor of the Norwegian consulate and repressed. The consul A. Wiklund had to urgently leave the USSR⁶. Further year-long existence of the consulate in Arkhangelsk can be considered formal, since it did not lead any core activities, but was engaged in the liquidation of its property.

The history of these two “lives” of trade and diplomatic missions of the Norwegian Kingdom in Arkhangelsk has been well studied [4, Peresadilo R.V., pp. 19–22; 5, Peresadilo R.V., pp. 129–141; 6, Peresadilo R.V., pp. 77–85; 7, Orekhova E., Davydov R., Peresadilo R., pp. 40–43; 8, R. Davydov, O. Zaretskaya, A. V. Repnevskiy]. Therefore we will focus on the background and activities of the third (modern) Honorary Consulate of this country. Its history has not yet been written; it is not so significant regarding the number of years, but it is interesting by the status unusual for Arkhangelsk, and the new direction and principles of work.

The birth of the third consulate of Norway in Arkhangelsk

The text of this part of the article is based on a new group of scientific publications and periodicals. Thus, the study of Russian-Norwegian relations of the late 20th - early 21st centuries was done by the Honorary Doctor of NArFU (2005), the head of the Training and Consultation Center for Informatics of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia, Smirnov A.I. [9, Smirnov, A.I.]. He paid great attention to the activities of Thorwald Stoltenberg, the founding and work of the Council of the Barents Euro-Arctic Region. For us, this work is important primarily because it covers the period of restoring friendly relations between the Russian Federation and Norway at the end of the 20th century.

Since the archives have not yet deposited documents on the consular work of our days, the article used the press as sources of information: newspapers and magazines like “Argumenti and Facti”⁷, “Pravda Severa”⁸, “Izvestiya Russkogo Severa”⁹, “Nevskoe vremya v Arkhangelske”¹⁰, “Nastroenie”¹¹, “Domashnyaya zhizn”¹², “Moryak Severa”¹³ and some others. These materials tell about the activity of a current consulate and Norwegian-Russian relations.

A large group of sources are Internet resources. On the history of the consulate of the 21st century: the official website of the Honorary Consulate of Norway¹⁴ and its page in V Kontakte¹⁵.

⁶ The Consul could not be arrested because he had diplomatic immunity.

⁷ *Argumenty i fakty v Arhangel'ske*. 1998. № 12. [In Russian]

⁸ *Pravda Severa*. 2008, 25 October and 2009, 24 January. [In Russian]

⁹ *Izvestiya Russkogo Severa*. 2010. № 3. and 2010. № 4. [In Russian]

¹⁰ *Nevskoe vremya v Arhangel'ske*. 2010, 14 September. [In Russian]

¹¹ *Nastroenie*. 2011. № 5. [In Russian]

¹² *Domashnyaya zhizn'*. 2010, 27 September. [In Russian]

¹³ *Moryak Severa*. 2009, 1 August. [In Russian]

¹⁴ Pochyotnoe konsul'stvo v Arhangel'ske. [Honorary Consulate in Arkhangelsk] URL: <http://www.norvegia.ru/Embassy/Honorary-Consulate-in-Arkhangelsk/> (Accessed: 29 November 2016). [In Russian]

The following sites were also viewed: "The weekly publication of the mayor's office of the regional center"¹⁶, the "International Cities Association"¹⁷, "international portal Krasnoe Znamya"¹⁸, the magazine "Sever Promishlennii"¹⁹, the Embassy of the Russian Federation in Norway²⁰, "All of Norway in Russian"²¹, "Information Archive of the Russian Geographical Society"²², "Vesti Pomor'ya"²³, "Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation"²⁴, "lenta.ru"²⁵, "REGNUM"²⁶, "Region 29 Information Agency".²⁷

The article would be incomplete without the data provided personally by A. Shalev,²⁸ using published interviews with the Honorary Consul of Norway.

¹⁵ Pochyotnoe Konsul'stvo Norvegii v Arhangel'ske. Oficial'naya stranica/ social'naya set': VKontakte. [Honorary Consulate of Norway in Arkhangelsk. Official page / social network: Vkontakte] URL: <https://vk.com/> (Accessed: 29 November 2016). [In Russian]

¹⁶ Varde i Arhangel'sk — primer pobratimstva/ sajto: Ezhenedel'noe izdanie mehrii oblastnogo centra. [Vardø and Arkhangelsk - an example of twinning / website: Weekly edition of the mayor's office of the regional center]. URL: <http://xn--80aaajbekpx2baxpu4q.xn--p1ai/articles/lyudi-i-sobytiya/varde-i-arkhangelsk-primer-pobratimstva/> (Accessed 25 December 2016). [In Russian]

¹⁷ Arhangel'sk privetstvuet Vardyo (Norvegiya). [Arkhangelsk welcomes Vardø (Norway)]. URL: http://goroda-pobratimyy.ru/publ/poslednie_novosti/arkhangelsk_privetstvuet_vardjo/1-1-0-79 (Accessed: 25 December 2016). [In Russian]

¹⁸ Schastliviy V. Dni Norvegii startovali v Arhangel'skoj oblasti/ Vitalij Schastliviy// sajto: Informacionnyj portal Krasnoe znamya. [Happy V. The Days of Norway started in the Arkhangelsk region / Vitaliy Happy // website: Krasnoe Znamya Information Portal] URL: <http://komikz.ru/news/culture/?id=499> (Accessed: 25 December 2016). [In Russian]

¹⁹ Borisov D. Rossijsko-norvezhskoe ehkonomicheskoe sotrudnichestvo v Barencevom/Evroarkticheskom regione i ego perspektivy [Russian-Norwegian Economic Cooperation in the Barents / Euro-Arctic Region and its Prospects] *Sever promyshlennyy*. URL: <http://helion-ltd.ru/rus-norw-conomic-ooperation/> (Accessed: 24 December 2016). [In Russian]

²⁰ Rossijsko-norvezhskie otnosheniya / sajto: Posol'stvo Rossijskoj Federacii v Norvegii. YAnvar' 2015. [Russian-Norwegian relations / website: Embassy of the Russian Federation in Norway. January 2015] URL: <http://www.norway.mid.ru/ru/rn-politics.html> (Accessed: 24 December 2016). [In Russian]

²¹ Norvezhskie kompanii v Rossii / Sajto: Vsyä Norvegiya na ruskom. [Norwegian companies in Russia / Site: All Norway in Russian]. URL: http://www.norge.ru/work_norwayburo/ (Accessed: 24 December 2016). [In Russian]

²² Deklaraciya ob osnovah otnoshenij mezhdü Rossijskoj Federaciej i Korolevstvom Norvegiya/ sajto: Informacionnyj arhiv Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva. [Declaration on the basis of relations between the Russian Federation and the Kingdom of Norway / website: Information Archive of the Russian Geographical Society]. URL: <http://old.rgo.ru/otkroj-rossiyu/arctic/perechen-normativno-pravovyx-aktov/deklaraciya-ob-osnovax-otnoshenij-mezhdü-rossijskoj-federaciej-i-korolevstvom-norvegiya/> (Accessed: 23 December 2016). [In Russian]

²³ Norvegiya uprostita vizovyy rezhim dlya zhitelej Arhangel'skoj i Murmanskoj oblasti. Vesti Pomor'ya. 21.09.12. [Norway has simplified the visa regime for residents of the Arkhangelsk and Murmansk region. Vesti Pomor'ya. 09/21/12.] URL: <http://www.pomorie.ru/news/norvegiya-uprostita-vizoviy-regim-dlya-giteley-arh> (Accessed: 26 December 2016). [In Russian]

²⁴ Rossijsko-norvezhskij plan dejstvuj po sotrudnichestvu v oblasti kul'tury na Krajnem Severe / Sajto: Mini-sterstvo kul'tury Rossijskoj Federacii. [Russian-Norwegian Action Plan for Cooperation in the Field of Culture in the High North. The Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation]. URL: <http://mkrf.ru/documents/agreements/detail.php?ID=221150> (Accessed: 01 December 2016). [In Russian]

²⁵ Norvegiya usilit armiyu iz-za "rossijskoj ugrozy". [Norway will strengthen the army because of the "Russian threat"] URL: <http://funday24.ru/article/65513> (Accessed: 01 December 2016). [In Russian]

²⁶ Slaborazvitaya i neftezavisimaya: Norvegiya o Rossii i o sebe. [Underdeveloped and oil-dependent: Norway about Russia and about itself]. URL: http://regnum.ru/news/polit/2042326.html?utm_medium=referral&utm_source=lenta_inform&utm_campaign=regnum.ru&utm_term=139914&utm_content=4040345 (Accessed: 01 December 2016). [In Russian]

²⁷ 17 maya Arhangel'sk otmechaet Den' konstitucii Norvegii. [May 17, Arkhangelsk celebrates the Constitution Day of Norway] URL: <https://region29.ru/2016/05/17/573b25a52817cac26200834d.html> (Accessed: 19 December 2016). [In Russian]

²⁸ The conversation of A.A. Reutova with the Honorary Consul of Norway in Arkhangelsk A.A. Shalev. December 23, 2016 [Audio]. Private collection of Reutova A.A. Published with the consent of A.A. Shalev.

The third life of the consulate has long prehistory of its origin. Let us dwell on how the idea of recreating the consulate in Arkhangelsk matured.

If in 1905 Russia was the first European country to recognize Norway's independence from Sweden, then on December 16, 1991, Norway showed kindness in response — it was one of the first to acknowledge the new bourgeois Russian Federation²⁹. In December 1991, the Norwegian government allocated 15 million kroons for the North-West of our country, as well as 5 million kroons for the Finnmark and Troms provinces, which were supposed to be spent on the development of economic cooperation. With this charitable gesture, Norway showed its interest in developing a partnership with the North of Russia [9, Smirnov A.I., p. 23].

The next step was taken on March 8, 1992. On this day, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Russia and Norway, Andrei Kozyrev and Torvald Stoltenberg³⁰ signed in Oslo a joint protocol on the work program of contacts and cooperation. This document mainly focused on the development of economic cooperation between the northern regions of both countries, and also spoke about the desire to restore contacts along the lines of "pomeranian trade" [9, Smirnov A.I., p. 23]. It is clear that it was more about the spirit of "Pomor trade" than about its specific forms characteristic of the 18th-19th centuries.

On April 24, 1992, representatives from three Norwegian provinces gathered in Troms: Finnmark — E. Fletten, Troms — Ya.H. Ulsen, Nordland — S. Eriksen, as well as the head of the administration of the Murmansk region — E. Komarov and deputy head of the administration of the Arkhangelsk region — A. Efremov (head of the administration of the oblast since 1996). The working group was tasked with promoting bilateral projects in the field of culture, economics, science, and ecology. At the same time, it should be noted that Torvald Stoltenberg first used the term "Barents Region". The official date of the creation of BEAR is January 11, 1993. The Arkhangelsk Region was initially incorporated into this organization. The main tasks of creating the Barents region are to establish and maintain contacts between people, economic development, creating conditions for interregional exchange in many areas, such as trade, education, science, culture, indigenous peoples, youth interaction, information, environment and ecology, transport, health care.

As part of the BEAR activity and the Murmansk Corridor concept, developed in February 1996 in Tromsø, several projects were proposed for implementation. Projects such as the construction of the Kirkenes-Nickel railway, the Kirkenes-Nickel-Murmansk motorway, the only Borisoglebsk checkpoint on the land part of the Russian-Norwegian border [9, Smirnov A.I., p. 43-45]. Economic cooperation with Russia was not just a good wish; it moved into real-life projects,

²⁹ Rossijsko-norvezhskie otnosheniya / sajto: Posol'stvo Rossijskoj Federacii v Norvegii. YAnvar' 2015. [Russian-Norwegian relations / website: Embassy of the Russian Federation in Norway. January 2015] URL: <http://www.norway.mid.ru/ru/rn-politics.html>(Accessed: 23 November 2016). [In Russian]

³⁰ Torvald Stoltenberg died on July 18, 2018 at the age of 87 years. Do not confuse him with his son Jens Stoltenberg, who took over the post of NATO Secretary General on October 1, 2014. On December 12, 2017, the NATO member countries extended the term of Jens Stoltenberg as Alliance Secretary General until September 30, 2020.

many of which have already been completed. An excellent example of collaboration "on the type of Pomor trade" is the Russian-Norwegian visa-free regime for citizens of both countries who can cross the borders of Russia and Norway in the Far North with a stay of up to 90 days within the territorial zone of up to 30 km on both sides ³¹.

As a result of the developing Norwegian participation in cooperation within the Barents Region, as well as Norway's interest in the northern regions, in 1993 the Consulate General of the Kingdom of Norway in Murmansk was the first to be established.

Arkhangelsk stood in turn. In October 2008, the city was visited by the Consul General of Norway in Murmansk, Jon Fredrikson. During his one-day visit, he met with the then governor of the Arkhangelsk Region, Ilya Mikhalechuk, and representatives of the PSU administration. The Governor and the General Consul agreed on the need to focus on economic cooperation between Norway and Pomorje³². Together with Fredrickson, representatives of the Norwegian oil and gas company StatoilHydro arrived in Arkhangelsk, with the goal of establishing strong contacts with the Arkhangelsk North. Unfortunately, later Norwegian sanctions did not allow for the development of cooperation in this industry³³. During the meeting, Governor Ilya Mikhalechuk proposed to open the consulate of Norway in Arkhangelsk to facilitate the visa regime and ensure the necessary level of contacts. The consul replied: "We are open to new ideas. Today in your country we have two general consulates: in Murmansk and St. Petersburg. There are no restrictions on the number of diplomatic agencies. But this issue should be resolved at the level of the Foreign Ministry of Russia and Norway"³⁴. Observation of the Honorary Consul of Norway in Arkhangelsk A.A. Shalev, that the idea of opening a consulate for the first time came from Elizabeth Valaas (deputy foreign minister of Norway) during her visit to Arkhangelsk³⁵, but it seems to be erroneous, since E. Valaas visited Arkhangelsk later — in January 2009.

Perhaps a certain role, which contributed to the decision to establish the Consulate General in Arkhangelsk, was played by the petition of a group of scientists from the Pomor University to the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Russia and Norway³⁶. Having studied the "lineage" of the consulate general in Arkhangelsk, a group of historians headed by the rector of the Pomor State University, Vladimir Nikolaevich Bulatov, back in the early 2000s sent a letter where, with the help of facts, proved that it was Archangelsk who had the historical right to host the consulate of Norway.

³¹ Siren A. Obzor dostizhenij v oblasti Barentseva sotrudnichestva. [Review of achievements of Barents cooperation] URL: <http://www.barentsinfo.org/Barents-region/Cooperation/Review-of-the-Achievements-of-the-Barents-Cooperation/In-Russian> (Accessed: 03 December 2016). [In Russian]

³² Shilova N. Jon Fredriksen: "Nadeyus', budu ezdit' k vam bez viza". [Jon Fredriksen: "I hope I will come to you without a visa"]. *Pravda Severa*. 2008. 25 October. p. 8. [In Russian]

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Shalev A.A. Honorary Consulate of Norway in Arkhangelsk: [conversation with Andrei Alexandrovich Shalev, who was appointed Honorary Consul of Norway in Arkhangelsk]. Interview by A.V. Repnevsky. *Izvestija Russkogo Severa*. 2010. No. 3 (Sep.). p. 36. [In Russian]

³⁶ The conversation of A.A. Reutova with the Honorary Consul of Norway in Arkhangelsk A.A. Shalev. Ibid. [In Russian]

In early 2009, Norway officially announced that it intends to open in Arkhangelsk, not a general, but an Honorary Consulate. It was necessary to wait for the reaction of the Russian Foreign Minister³⁷. The difference between these two types of consulates is that the honorary consul does not have the right to issue visas, does not have diplomatic status, does not receive a salary from the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the consul is a citizen of the host country. Such a position required a person who had his income, and well established business contacts with Norway. Something similar was practiced in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Andrei Aleksandrovich Shalev: the way to the consuls



Fig. 1. Honorary Consul of Norway in Arkhangelsk
Andrei Aleksandrovich Shalev

At the place of the Honorary Consul of Norway in Arkhangelsk, five candidates were considered, finally, by agreement of the parties, Andrei Aleksandrovich Shalev was appointed. His candidacy was more than any other corresponded to the conditions mentioned above since by the time of his appointment Shalev had more than 14 years of experience in projects with Norwegian participation. The consular card is given for five years. This means that in 2018 A. Shalev's second term in office is on. There is no age limit, which means that the pensioner may also be an honorary consul.

Andrei Aleksandrovich is a native northerner. Born in Yarensk on January 15, 1960; since the age of 10, he has been living and studying in Arkhangelsk. In 1982 he graduated from the Faculty of History and Philology of the Arkhangelsk Pedagogical Institute. After working as a history teacher in a rural school, part-time he was its director. In 1991, A. Shalev set up his own

³⁷ Shilova N. Norvezhscoe prisutstvie [Norwegian presence]. *Pravda Severa*. 2009, 24 January. p. 2. [In Russian]

company, a youth information research center. That was how the experience of the manager was formed.

In the mid-1990s, in high schools and universities appeared international departments. It was the very beginning of the Barents cooperation when the Arkhangelsk region was only involved in such activities. International departments were engaged in international cooperation projects. That's why Andrei Alexandrovich was invited to work at the Arkhangelsk State Medical Academy. From that moment on, the international activities of the future honorary consul began. There, in 1994, he first started working with Norwegian projects. In the mid-1990s only a few projects per year were carried out, mainly with Norwegian partners in Tromsø, Alta or Kirkenes [10]. From the position of head of the international department, A.A. Shalev was invited to the Norwegian Barents Secretariat, where he headed its Information Office³⁸. On August 8, 2018, in an interview with the NArFU newspaper "The Arctic Vector", Andrei Alexandrovich recalled this crucial stage of his journey to the honorary consuls: "by the university. I was invited to the position of director of the new organization We created the office of the Barents Secretariat from scratch. We succeeded in creating such an infrastructure, on the model of which centers were opened in Murmansk, in Naryan-Mar. Our office has become the head office in Russia"³⁹. Through the Arkhangelsk office, which operated at the Pomeranian State University, went all the administrative management and funding. Shalev was the director of the representative office of the Norwegian Barents Secretariat in Arkhangelsk from 1996 to 2010.

And after the opening of the consulate on September 17, 2010, at Pomorskaya, 16, he continues to manage this representation, combining the post of director with the activities of the honorary council. The consulate premises are also connected with the Representative Office of the Norwegian Barents Secretariat; together they form a unique tool for international interaction and development opportunities in the Barents Region⁴⁰.

Priorities of activities, successes and reasons for the failure of our consulate today

On the day of the official opening of the Honorary Consulate, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Norway, Jonas Gahr Støre, the Norwegian Ambassador to Moscow, Knut Hauge, and the heads of the northern provinces of Norway, Troms, and Finnmark, visited the capital of Pomorie. In honor of the opening of the consulate, Arkhangelsk, with its performance, was visited by the Norwegian singer Marie Boyer. In the same week, the exhibition "Colors on Ice" by the Norwegian photo artist Asbjørn Nielsen was opened in the museum of S. Pisakhov, dedicated to various forms of ice. In the Museum of Art Development of the Arctic. Borisova was a concert by the Norwegian opera singer Anne-Lise Berntsen.

³⁸ Shalev A.A. Honorary Consulate of Norway in Arkhangelsk. Ibid. [In Russian]

³⁹ Shalev A.A. "Pervymi kanalami mezhdunarodnoj kommunikacii stali universitety Arhangel'ska i Norvegii". ["The first channels of international communication were universities of Arkhangelsk and Norway"]. URL: <https://narfu.ru/life/news/university/317679/> (Accessed: 23 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁴⁰ Honorary Consulate of Norway in Arkhangelsk. Official page / social network: VKontakte.URL: <https://vk.com/honconsulate> (Accessed: 26 April 2015). [In Russian]

An important task of the Honorary Consulate is to represent the interests of Norway in the territory of the Arkhangelsk North. The Honorary Consul provides various kinds of services for Norwegian citizens: entrepreneurs, politicians, sailors, students, cultural figures, etc. This may be legal, advisory, organizational assistance. The consulate also performs the functions of disseminating information about the country delegating it, helps the development of contacts, contacts, etc. But the consulate does not issue visas and passports⁴¹. The honorary consul can only certify the authenticity of any document with his signature or seal.

Since the establishment of the new consulate, its main partner has been the Consulate General of Norway in Murmansk. Also, relations have been established with the Norwegian Consulate General in St. Petersburg, the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other ministries. "The level of our relationship has risen. We are now engaged not only in projects funded by the Barents Secretariat but also in those financed at the federal level from Oslo or St. Petersburg and Murmansk"⁴².

In 1996–1997, when the Barents Secretariat Information Center was beginning to work; no more than 15–20 joint Russian-Norwegian projects per year were carried out in the region. At present, the Representative Office of the Norwegian Barents Secretariat in Arkhangelsk, on average, supports more than 50 such projects. It makes the staff of the representative office and consulate work tirelessly. For comparison, let us say that at the level of the entire Barents Region, the central secretariat supports about 300 projects per year⁴³. Most of the activities that the consulate helps to organize and finance are cultural phenomena. Back in 2009, the document "Russian-Norwegian Action Plan for Cooperation in the Field of Culture in the High North" was signed by the Minister of Culture of the Russian Federation A.A. Avdeeva and Minister of Culture and Church Affairs of the Kingdom of Norway T. Giske⁴⁴. The consulate operates within the framework of this agreement, supporting the exchange of painting exhibitions, museum exhibitions, concert, and festive programs. The Arkhangelsk region, e.g., presented one of the most significant projects on museum cooperation between Pomorye and Norway, entitled "Cold coasts - close relations"⁴⁵. This project included the major exhibition on the history of polar research in the context of cooperation between Russia and Norway. Since the 1990s, the traditional "Norwegian Spring" festival is held annually in Arkhangelsk. Various concerts with the participation of Norwegian artists, mainly from the Tromsø School of Art, and exhibitions of designers and artists are held within its framework. The date of the event is May 17th. It was not

⁴¹ Since 2011, it was possible to get visas at the honorary consulate, but after the opening of a special visa center in Arkhangelsk in 2016, this practice was discontinued.

⁴² The conversation of A.A. Reutova with the Honorary Consul of Norway in Arkhangelsk A.A. Shalev. Ibid. [In Russian]

⁴³ Shalev A.A. *Filosofiya narodnoj diplomatii*. [Philosophy of people's diplomacy]. URL: <http://pravdasevera.ru/yadcshto> (Accessed: 23 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁴⁴ *Rossijsko-norvezhskij plan dejstvuj po sotrudnichestvu v oblasti kul'tury na Krajnem Severe*. Mini-sterstvo kul'tury Rossijskoj Federacii. [Russian-Norwegian action plan for cooperation in the field of culture in the High North. Mini-culture of culture of the Russian Federation] URL: <http://mkrf.ru/documents/agreements/detail.php?ID=221150> (Accessed: 01 November 2016). [In Russian]

⁴⁵ Ibid.

chosen by chance: it is the day of the Constitution of Norway. Since 2011, the Norwegian Honorary Consulate has become the official organizer of the Norwegian Spring Festival. The consulate helps to hold "Days of Norway" in Arkhangelsk (September 16–21), the holiday "Norwegian Autumn" (October 11). The consul himself personally likes the festival "Urband Camp", which, according to him, "was initially jazz, but this format has long outgrown, now there are dances and performance. It was held in Arkhangelsk for the fifth year and most of the work is done by volunteers. Here, not only the cultural component is essential, but also the fact that this project, like a funnel, draws many talented and active young people into it"⁴⁶.

For nearly 30 years, the Norwegian city of Vardø, which is called the "Pomor capital" of Norway, has been twinned with Arkhangelsk. The town operates the "Pomor Museum" and days of Pomor culture in cooperation with the consulate⁴⁷. Thus, in Norway, the culture of the Russian North is promoted. The town administrations are supported by youth sports competitions, such as the Yukigassen snow battles. In 2013, the capital of Pomorje was visited by the Norwegian orchestra of Vardø⁴⁸. The Honorary Consulate and the Barents Secretariat's Arkhangelsk office work closely with NArFU in many matters, but perhaps the most vivid example is the annual flights of the Arctic Floating University. Students of Scandinavian countries continuously take part in these voyages. So, in August 2013, with the help of the consulate and the personal participation of Consul A.A. Shalev it had become possible to organize an international research expedition along the Northern Sea Route to commemorate a similar expedition of Jonas Lid and Fridtjof Nansen, completed in 1913. Support for both large-scale and not-so-large, but truly popular initiatives had become a constant concern of the consulate. The consulate considers the above measures as exemplars of "people's diplomacy" for the sake of which it works, to take root.

It is in the cultural sphere that ill-wishers sometimes criticize the activities of the Honorary Consulate. So, starting from 2011–2012, the REGNUM journalist Dmitry Semushin tried to impose on the public a discussion about the "novelty" of such a notion as "Pomors", and about the corrupting influence of Norway on the Russian identity in the North⁴⁹. The occasion was the publication of the children's book "Pomor Tales". Semushin D. considered these tales wrong and harmful. One might say they were "anti-Russian". Assistance to the consulate in cultural exchange was considered almost "sabotage". Some ideas of Semushin D. were supported by the Ren-TV channel. Thus, in one of the Dobrov on Air programs, a change in the identity of a Russian to

⁴⁶ Shalev A.A. *Filosofiya narodnoj diplomatii*. [Philosophy of people's diplomacy]. URL: <http://pravdasevera.ru/yadcshto> (Accessed: 23 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁴⁷ Moiseev, I.I. Vardø — kul'turnaya vitrina Pomor'ya na Zapade. [Vardø - cultural case of Pomorje in the West] *Izvestiya Russkogo Severa*. 2009. № 2. p. 47. [In Russian]

⁴⁸ Arkhangelsk welcomes Vardø (Norway) URL: http://goroda-pobratimyy.ru/publ/poslednie_novosti/arkhangelsk_privetstvuet_vardjo/1-1-0-79 (Accessed: 25 November 2016). [In Russian]

⁴⁹ Semushin D. Pomory protiv russkih — protiv Rossii. [Pomors against Russians - against Russia] URL: <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/1457229.html> (Accessed: 20 December 2016). [In Russian]; Semushin D. Barents-region i ego apologety v Rossii. [Barents region and its apologists in Russia]. URL: <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/1495177.html> (Accessed: 20 December 2016). [In Russian]; Semushin D. "Pomorskaya isteriya": Akt pervyj. ["Pomor Hysteria": Act I]. URL: <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/1463777.html> (Accessed: 20 December 2016). [In Russian]

Scandinavian was announced, and the institutions through which this influence goes were called: Northern (Arctic) Federal University, Information Center of the Norwegian Barents Secretariat and the Honorary Consulate of Norway⁵⁰.

Such assessments are far from objective, since the activities of the Norwegian Barents Secretariat are transparent, the content of the projects is analyzed by experts and does not contradict the national interests of Russia. This organization never finances projects by 100%, but always insists that Russian partners also invest money. In addition, Russian project funding is sometimes overwhelming⁵¹. In its activities, the Honorary Consulate focuses on the assessment of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation. Cultural, educational and scientific cooperation is a two-way road, the consulate, according to Andrei Alexandrovich, is a mediator on this road.

The task of the consulate, which appeared for the third time in history in Arkhangelsk, is to help develop business ties with Norway. As Elisabeth Valaas said (visiting Arkhangelsk in 2009), "the presence of such a consulate in Arkhangelsk will be of great importance for the central office of the Norwegian authorities in Oslo. It should expand our contacts with the administration of the Arkhangelsk region"⁵². Then, in January 2009, E. Valaas realistically responded about the insufficient level of economic cooperation between the Arkhangelsk region and Northern Norway: "Frankly speaking, the economic cooperation between the Arkhangelsk region and Norway did not meet our expectations. Perhaps Murmansk is between us"⁵³. Indeed, the ice-free port on the Kola Peninsula, due to natural circumstances, has good prospects in the development of economic ties with Norway. Murmansk is more attractive for businesspeople; therefore in the 21st century, it becomes a competitor of Arkhangelsk. According to the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin, "the development of the Murmansk transport hub is an important component of the development of the country's economy and is of national importance. Sea and rail transport corridors are very effective and have serious prospects, providing access from the continent to the open ocean"⁵⁴. More than four years ago, in April 2014, a government decree of the Russian Federation approved the state program "Socio-economic development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2020", which extends to the entire Murmansk region⁵⁵.

Despite these adverse circumstances for Arkhangelsk, the grounds for the development of the consulate's business activities were obvious. As of November 2016, six large and medium-sized companies operated in Arkhangelsk owned by Norwegians: Bedriftskompetanse (consulting),

⁵⁰ S(A)FU pod vneshnim upravleniem. Programma "Dobrov v ehfire". [C (A) FU under external control. The program "Dobrov on the air"]. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HFnm9rlnHlk> (Accessed: 20 December 2016). [In Russian]

⁵¹ The conversation of A.A. Reutova with the Honorary Consul of Norway in Arkhangelsk A.A. Shalev. Ibid. [In Russian]

⁵² Shilova N. Norvezhskoe prisutstvie [Norwegian presence]. Pravda Severa. 2009, 24 January. p. 2. [In Russian]

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Borisov D. Rossijsko-norvezhskoe ehkonomicheskoe sotrudnichestvo v Barentevom/Evroarkticheskom regione i ego perspektivy [Russian-Norwegian Economic Cooperation in the Barents / Euro-Arctic Region and its Prospects] Sever promyshlennyj. URL: <http://helion-ltd.ru/rus-norw-conomic-operation/> (Accessed: 24 October 2016). [In Russian]

⁵⁵ Ibid.

Shipyard Joint Venture (shipbuilding), Shoina Company (fish processing), TD-Telecom (telecommunication), US Trade International (consulting), SAS (air travel). In Murmansk, Norwegian enterprises represented approximately twice as many.⁵⁶ In March 2017, in the interview, A.A. Shalev acknowledged that there were, “unfortunately, very few projects in economic development and business. If a Norwegian businessman does not see what he can do in our market, then no force will drag him. You can arrange some business conference, organize a trip of a delegation of businesspeople, but you can't make business do... But in general, we had a bias towards humanitarian projects; these are mainly cultural projects, educational”⁵⁷. The Honorary Consulate is trying to expand the information field for business to facilitate the search for mutually beneficial areas of capital investment. While the success of the consulate in this field is small, but recently there have been good platforms for finding breakthrough economic projects. First of all, these are the international forums “The Arctic: Territory of Dialogue”. A government decision to hold this forum once every two years in Arkhangelsk gives the region development prospects. Its preparation for the spring of 2019 has already begun.

The problem of the relatively weak development of economic and trade contacts with the Norwegian neighbors is also facing the Murmansk region. This, in particular, it was discussed on October 4-5, 2018 in Nickel at the eighth representative meeting of administrations, businessmen and cultural workers of the two countries, called the “Days of Russian-Norwegian Border Cooperation”. At this business forum, with the participation of the Russian consul in Kirkenes and the Norwegian consul in Murmansk, the results of the Russian-Norwegian cooperation of the past 25 years were explicitly discussed⁵⁸. (Reminding that the Alexander County withdrew from the Arkhangelsk province only in 1921; so, the border economic cooperation of the Kola Peninsula is part of our shared history). Of course, the low intensity of Russian-Norwegian political and economic contacts and cross-border ties is not the fault of the consulates of Murmansk and Arkhangelsk. Business activity in the region declined due to Norway's position on the situation in Ukraine and the return of Crimea to Russia in 2014. As it is known, on October 10, 2014, Norway joined the EU's sectoral sanctions against Russia. As a result, multi-billion technological projects of oil and gas production on the Barents Sea shelf were frozen.

The cultural component of the activities of the Honorary Consulate in Arkhangelsk contributes to dispelling the myth of the "Russian threat" and the establishment of partnership relations between Norway and Russia.

⁵⁶ Norvezhskie kompanii v Rossii / Sajt: Vsya Norvegiya na russkom. [Norwegian companies in Russia / Site: All Norway in Russian]. URL:http://www.norge.ru/work_norwayburo/. (Accessed: 23 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁵⁷ Shalev A.A. Filosofiya narodnoj diplomatii. [Philosophy of people's diplomacy]. URL: <http://pravdasevera.ru/yadcshto> (Accessed: 23 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁵⁸ VIII Russian-Norwegian days of cross-border cooperation. 4–5 okt. 2018. Nickel, Petchenga District, Murmansk region. Programm.

Conclusion

The activities of the consulates of Norway in the history of Arkhangelsk for more than two centuries and the analysis of the current situation in this regard make one to come to the following conclusions:

- In the 19th century, a common interest in the north of Russia and Norway was “Pomor trade” and merchant trade. Their guides were consulates of that time. In the 1920-1930, the situation was dominated by a larger, but also mutual economic interest of the two states. The Norwegian and Russian north were no longer trading among themselves, but the USSR authorities and large state and private Norwegian firms. The economic priority of Arkhangelsk was unique for the Norwegian consulates in both imperial and interwar Soviet times; So, the Norwegian consulate had the status of general, and in Soviet times it was a consulate with a full set of diplomatic rights.
- In 1815 – 1939, the first two Norwegian consulates in Arkhangelsk, concentrating on the trade and economic sphere, purposefully did not deal with issues of cultural exchange, education, or science. It was not even spelled out in their duties.
- Since the time of perestroika in the USSR and almost the entire twentieth anniversary of the twenty-first century, Arkhangelsk enjoyed the priority of age-old traditions and potential in the scientific, educational, cultural spaces. It is these benefits in the “science — education — culture” line that the Honorary Consulate in Arkhangelsk is successfully exploiting.
- Over the past 25 years and 8 years of the Honorary Consulate in Arkhangelsk, the problem of developing economic cooperation to the desired level within the BEAR framework has not been resolved. It should be recognized that the trade and industrial relations of the two countries — the northern neighbors did not reach the scale and importance that were characteristic of imperial and Soviet (interwar) time. Responsibility of the consulate for this is minimal.
- At the beginning of the 21st century, in financial, commercial and industrial terms, Pomorje was not a significant region of our relations with the regions of northern Norway. In general, a similar situation is for our Murmansk neighbors; although geographically they live directly on the borders with Norway and have legislative, geographical and natural preferences in comparison with the Arkhangelsk.
- Since the end of the 20th century, due to circumstances, culture, education and science are in the priority of interstate cooperation and the activity of consulates in Arkhangelsk and Murmansk [11]. Outstanding successes have been achieved in these areas, which even the sanction policy of Norway against the Russian Federation, introduced since autumn 2014, could not cause serious damage. The centuries-old traditions of cooperation, the rich culture and scientific resources of Arkhangelsk have become a solid basis for relations with the northern Norway county. And it should be understood that the Honorary Consulate is a necessary link, a kind of mediator in the Russian-Norwegian relations of the humanitarian sphere.
- Competition with Murmansk should be turned into cooperation. It is worth thinking about ways to merge the geographical potential of Murmansk with the cultural, educational and scientific potential of Arkhangelsk. In this tandem, it will be possible to feel the progress.

The theme of the activity of the third consulate in Arkhangelsk and its role in the organization of modern Russian-Norwegian relations has been little studied, but it is really relevant, as it directly affects the lives of thousands of northerners. Further research of this kind is

necessary, as it will help to identify the causes of successes and failures of the current stage of cooperation within the Barents Region and identify the prospects for its further development.

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