



Arctic Exceptionalism

Navigating Challenges in a Changing Region



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1. Introduction

The concept of Arctic exceptionalism is central to discussions about the region's governance and international relations. Introduced by Mikhail Gorbachev in his pivotal 1987 Murmansk Speech, he envisioned the Arctic as a "zone of peace" insulated from the geopolitical tensions that defined the Cold War. This notion emphasised cooperation over conflict, promoting environmental protection, scientific research, and peaceful collaboration among Arctic nations [(Gorbachev, 1987)].

In recent years, however, Arctic exceptionalism has been challenged. The accelerating impacts of climate change have made the Arctic's resources more accessible, drawing increased attention from global powers. The geopolitical landscape shifted dramatically following Russia's 2022 invasion of Ukraine, disrupting the collaborative spirit among the eight Arctic states. Despite these tensions, the Arctic's unique geopolitical, environmental, and strategic importance continues to shape its future.

2. The Strategic Importance of the Arctic

The Arctic has become a focal point of global strategic interest due to its vast natural resources, emerging shipping routes, and significant geopolitical positioning. The region is estimated to contain approximately 13% of the world's undiscovered oil and 30% of its untapped natural gas reserves, making it critical for future energy exploration [(U.S. Geological Survey, 2008)]. As climate change accelerates the melting of Arctic sea ice, new maritime passages like the Northern Sea Route (NSR) and the Northwest Passage are becoming more navigable, potentially reducing shipping times between Asia, Europe, and North America [(Smith & Stephenson, 2013)].

Russia has heavily invested in its Arctic infrastructure and military capabilities,

reopening Soviet-era military bases and developing the world's largest fleet of icebreakers, including nuclear-powered vessels. This expansion aims to secure control over the NSR and capitalise on resource extraction, raising concerns about the militarization of the region [(Østhagen, 2020)]. The United States and its allies have responded by increasing their military presence and enhancing their strategic posture in the Arctic [(U.S. Department of Defense, 2019)].

China, declaring itself a "near-Arctic state," seeks to establish a foothold in the region through its Polar Silk Road initiative, aiming to access resources and new trade routes [(State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China, 2018)]. These developments have heightened global competition in the Arctic, with non-Arctic nations asserting interests that challenge traditional governance structures.

Despite these strategic competitions, the Arctic remains an area where limited cooperation is both possible and necessary. The harsh environment and the challenges posed by climate change require collaborative efforts for search and rescue operations, environmental protection, and addressing the needs of Indigenous communities. Maintaining open lines of communication, even if limited, is essential to manage risks and ensure safety in the region.

3. Environmental and Governance Challenges

The Arctic is experiencing climate change at a rate nearly three times faster than the global average, leading to unprecedented environmental shifts [(AMAP, 2021)]. Sea ice is diminishing, permafrost is thawing, and ecosystems are being disrupted, affecting not only the environment but also the livelihoods of Indigenous peoples.

Historically, the Arctic Council has played a critical role in fostering cooperation on these issues. Established in 1996, it serves as the primary forum for collaboration among Arctic states and Indigenous peoples, focusing on

environmental protection and sustainable development [(Arctic Council, 1996)].

The Council has been instrumental in producing comprehensive environmental assessments and facilitating agreements like the Arctic Search and Rescue Agreement.

However, geopolitical tensions have strained the Council's effectiveness. Following Russia's actions in Ukraine, cooperation has become more challenging, and some joint activities have been paused or limited [(Solomon, 2022)]. Despite these difficulties, it is important to maintain practical cooperation on issues that require collective action, such as environmental monitoring, Indigenous community support, and search and rescue operations.

4. Arctic Exceptionalism in Action

One of the enduring examples of Arctic exceptionalism is the continued collaboration on search and rescue operations. The harsh and unforgiving Arctic environment makes cooperation in this area vital for saving lives. The 2011 Arctic Search and Rescue Agreement enhanced coordination among member states, demonstrating that practical cooperation is possible even amid broader tensions [(Arctic Council, 2011)].

Similarly, joint efforts on environmental protection and scientific research have persisted on a limited basis. For example, data sharing on climate change impacts and migratory patterns of Arctic wildlife continues through various channels, benefiting all parties involved [(Arctic Council, 2017)].

Backchannel diplomacy has also found a place in the Arctic context. Informal dialogues and technical meetings offer opportunities for communication that might not be possible in more formal settings, helping to manage misunderstandings and reduce the risk of escalation [(Exner-Pirot, 2022)].

5. Policy Recommendations

While it is necessary for Western nations to

increase investment in the Arctic, particularly concerning security and infrastructure, it is imperative to recognize the value of limited cooperation in specific areas. Enhanced military capabilities can deter aggression and protect national interests, but they should be complemented by maintaining channels for practical collaboration.

Recommendations include:

- **Maintain Communication Channels:** Even amid high tensions, keeping open lines of communication for search and rescue operations, environmental emergencies, and Indigenous affairs is crucial.
- **Engage in Backchannel Diplomacy:** Utilise informal settings and technical meetings to address mutual concerns, reduce misunderstandings, and manage risks.
- **Focus on Practical Cooperation:** Prioritise collaboration on environmental monitoring, scientific research, and support for Indigenous communities, where shared interests can supersede political differences.
- **Strengthen Multilateral Agreements:** Uphold and reinforce existing agreements that facilitate limited cooperation, ensuring they remain effective and are not undermined by geopolitical disputes.

By balancing security investments with these targeted cooperative efforts, Western nations can manage the challenges in the Arctic effectively.

This approach acknowledges the realities of geopolitical tensions while leveraging opportunities for practical collaboration that benefit all parties involved.

6. Conclusion

The Arctic stands at a critical juncture, facing immense challenges from climate change and increasing geopolitical competition.

While recent events have strained the concept of Arctic exceptionalism, the region still offers avenues for limited cooperation that are essential

for safety, environmental stewardship, and supporting Indigenous communities.

Recognizing the Arctic's unique role as a space where backchannel diplomacy and practical

collaboration can occur is vital. By adopting a measured approach that balances security concerns with targeted cooperation, nations can navigate these challenges and contribute to a more stable and sustainable Arctic future.

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