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WRITER Tyler Brûlé

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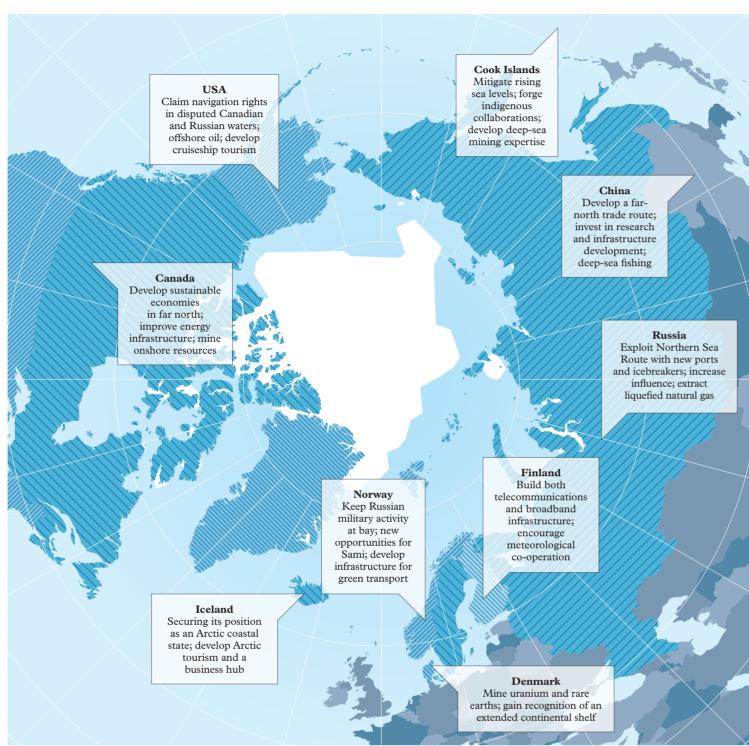
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GEOPOLITICS / ARCTIC CIRCLE

COLD FRONT

Melting sea ice is unveiling a new frontier, not only in terms of previously inaccessible trade and tourism routes but also uncharted oil reserves and untapped fish stocks – and everyone wants a piece of it. As new rules are written, claims are laid down and countries jostle for position, all interested parties – from politicians to indigenous peoples – want to have their say. WRITER Patrick Pittman ILLUSTRATOR Tokuma PHOTOGRAPHY Harry Mitchell



When Finnish icebreaker MSV Nordica set a record for the earliest traversal of the Northwest Passage in July, it wasn't just a sign of what's ahead for the Arctic. For those Xi Jinping's One Belt One Road policy. Lin Shanqing, paying attention, it was confirmation of what's already happening here. In August, Russia traversed its Northern Sea Route for the first time without an icebreaker, while China began to speak boldly of its own plan for a new "ice silk road" through Arctic waters. As retreating sea ice radically reshapes the north's social and political frontiers, a new army of opportunists stand ready to pounce not just on newly open seaways but on previously undiscovered oil resources and lucrative new fisheries.

Since 1996 the Arctic Council has served as the official governmental means for collaboration between the eight Arctic states - Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden and the US – as well as organisations representing the Inuit, Sami, Aleut and other indigenous groups. This structure, however, also keeps the likes of Japan, South Korea, Scotland and China at arm's length. When the Arctic Circle summit was established as an upstart little-brother event in 2013 by then-Icelandic president Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson, it became a back door for these other nations, some as farflung as the Cook Islands, who had no other official way to get their voices heard. It was also a way for non-state participants to hold something more than observer status.

While the number of interested players has expanded, so too has the landscape. "It would have been inconceivable even 10 years ago for a non-ice-strengthened cruise ship to go through the Northwest Passage, yet it's happened two summers in a row now," says Admiral Charles Michel, vice-commandant of the US Coast Guard. He, along with a cadre of other diplomats, security experts, scientists, regulators and campaigners, recently attended the Arctic Circle summit in Reykjavik.

Issues have gotten thornier too. It took years of wrangling before a deal was reached in November to extend a moratorium on fishing in these newly navigable high seas to non-Arctic nations, leaving trawlers docked until

better scientific studies are in. Then there are China's trade plans, which will form a keystone in president deputy director of China's State Oceanic Administration, says this new route will be built on the back of massive investment in deepwater ports and resources throughout the Arctic Circle. It's a "win-win", he says, at least for those willing to sign on. Russia's ambassador for Arctic affairs, Vladimir Barbin, says that he expects to see goods shipped in its Northern Sea Route increase from 7.4 million tonnes in 2016 to 35 million tonnes by 2025, with the country also investing in three new nuclear icebreakers. Meanwhile, indigenous groups from around the Circle demand investment in sustainable economic development for their increasingly threatened communities.

Of course not all manoeuvres in the Arctic are economic or backed by large militaries. Scotland's first minister Nicola Sturgeon, a regular visitor to the Arctic Circle summit and now host of a companion forum in Edinburgh, says that as Brexit looms Scotland needs to look north and forge diplomatic relations. "Scotland will benefit from collaboration with Arctic countries," she says. "The north of Scotland is closer to the Arctic than it is to London so, geographically, we've got a big stake in what happens there. We've got a lot to learn but also a lot to contribute by looking northwards as well as southwards."

As the waters warm and the ice melts, the Arctic is at the kind of critical juncture it hasn't seen since the end of the Cold War. It's a new landscape in need of new regulation and, as with any frontier, however fragile and fleeting, there's a rush to be in the room as the new rules

About the writer:

Patrick Pittman is a Toronto-based writer for page and stage. He has reported across Australia, the South Pacific and North America for MONOCLE and other outlets, and is editor of *The* Alpine Review magazine.

"The north of Scotland is closer to the Arctic than it is to London so we've got a big stake in what happens in the Arctic region'



Mikhail Pogodaev Chairman, Association of World Reindeer Herders, Opportunity to develop the local economy

Icy winds hardly bother Mikhail Pogodaev. Growing up in a reindeer-herding family in Topolinoe, Siberia, waking up to the coldest temperatures on the planet was part of everyday life. Pogodaev, now based in nearby Yakutsk, is the chairman of the Association of World Reindeer Herders, representing about 100,000 people (not to mention 2.5 million reindeer) involved in the traditional activity across 20 countries. He still keeps his own reindeer on the land he grew up on, though he won't say how many. "It's almost the same if I ask how much money you have in your bank account," he says, laughing.

He says that the new shipping routes and deepwater development that China and Russia are planning near his herd's grazing grounds present challenges. But, he notes, there's also an opportunity. "Russia and China will have to develop coastal infrastructure in very important grazing areas," he says. "They will block migration routes and impact our land route. But this could be an opportunity to develop a local economy and increase access to markets. If a northern sea route operates, we could also deliver our products to those markets. People have a right to develop their own societies on their own premises using their own knowledge. During the thousands of years that reindeer husbandry has existed in the Arctic, it has proved a sustainable livelihood for nomadic indigenous peoples. But

"Reindeer husbandry has proved a sustainable livelihood but we have to be part of modern society. We don't want to end up in the museums"

we're a part of humanity and we have to be part of modern society. We don't want to end up in the museums."

For the Yakut, herding remains much the same as it always has, though the infrastructure has changed. "It was different when I was a kid because it used to be state reindeer herding," he says. "When the Soviet Union collapsed we started our private business. People think that herding is easy but it's very special because it's in such extreme climate conditions. We are nomadic people. You have a lot of challenges, such as the lack of infrastructure."

The association Pogodaev now chairs was founded by his mother along with Sami herders from Norwav in the early 1990s. As a child, visits from the Sami were the first time he became aware of a broader community of herders. He studied for a PhD in economics in St Petersburg before returning to take on a campaigning role. "At that time I thought that reindeer herding was something ancient; it's the past," he says. "I was at a conference where scientists said that indigenous people had crossed a red line where you can't go back. At first I was depressed but then I thought, 'I have to do what I can and then I will feel better that I did what I could for my people and our livelihoods'."



Lisa Murkowski Senator, Alaska Continual education about the Arctic is key

the high-stakes battles over healthcare reform in July, her vote became a critical GOP dagger through the plan's heart. As head of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, Murkowski wields influence over US policymaking but, when it comes to Arctic issues, getting a profoundly deadlocked Congress to care is a matter that's sometimes beyond even her means. "We are still educating people in the lower 48 that the US is an Arctic nation," she says, explaining why she formed the Arctic caucus in the Senate with Angus King, her Democratic counterpart from Maine. "We're

an Arctic nation because of Alaska but it's not all about Alaska – it is about the US and our role as an Arctic nation. We should have assets – icebreakers or deepwater ports – and these are national priorities. It is a challenge when you have a part of the country that has not been viewed as a problem; it's difficult getting to the top of a filled agenda. That requires continuing education. Murkowski is a proponent of resource exploration in

US Arctic waters, a bargaining chip in negotiations with the Trump administration. She hopes Alaskans will have the opportunity to follow the process to access and develop these resources. The environmental risks, she says, can be

"We're an Arctic nation because of Alaska but it's not all about Alaska – it is about the US and our role"

mitigated, but the people she represents want the same as everyone else: a means of living sustainably, securely and affordably, with infrastructure that is up to the task. These sentiments are echoed by the mayors of remote towns in the region, many of whom speak of the benefits affordable internet and year-round food supply would bring.

"We need to talk about sustainability for communities," Murkowski says, talking of the need to refresh the US's Arctic policy to give indigenous constituents a formal voice. "We're looking to incorporate their knowledge and give them a seat at the table when decisions are made. It's about making sure that their concerns are heard and that we learn from them because, as wonderful as our coast guard is, the native people have been observing those waters for hundreds, if not thousands, of years."





Japanese ambassador for Arctic affairs, Tokyo Research must contribute to sustainable development

Since taking on the role in August, Keiji Ide, Japan's ambassador for Arctic affairs, hasn't been shy about making a splash. Throughout his tenure so far he's been trying to make clear the priorities of a country generally perceived as far removed from Arctic debates. It means he's quickly had to get a handle on a set of issues that are very different to his previous posting in Croatia.

"Since my predecessor gave me the briefing, I came to realise that the Arctic is very important in light of global climate change," he says, when asked why Japan wanted a seat at the table when it comes to the future of the Arctic. "It's not a local issue, it's a global issue so we need to pay more attention to Arctic issues and co-operation.'

Ide sits on a trilateral council with South Korea and China's Arctic ambassadors, which held its second meeting in Japan this year. When the issue of China's trade-route plan is raised he's careful to focus on the benefits. "It's very nice to promote more trade and more

"The Arctic is important in light of global climate change. It's not a local issue, it's a global issue"

exchange of people," he says. "I'm sure it will contribute to the development of our economy. At the same time we should be careful that these activities will not harm, or negatively influence, the environment. The Arctic region is very fragile."

Japan's immediate priorities in the region remain environmental and scientific. Previously, Ide says, these activities were spread across different departments with little co-ordination towards sustainable development. But two years ago these were gathered under a strategic plan with the "very sexy name" of Arcs - Arctic Challenge for Sustainability – which informs the country's ongoing investments in polar research.

"Asian countries have a big economic share in terms of their GDP and consumption of energy, or trade and co2 emissions, so we should be responsible about minimising the negative effects of our economic activities," he says. "We decided that our research activities should not just be for the sake of intellectual curiosity but should be helpful for sustainable development. In three years we will have a review and must explain our results to taxpayers, so we need to ask other countries' researchers for their opinions. We are still trying to find out what we should do. It's a continuous challenge for us."

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