

International Policy **Forum**

PLANNING FOR TOMORROW

A BLUEPRINT TO REINVIGORATE CANADA'S NORTH

REPORT BY THE INTERNATIONAL POLICY FORUM

DIRECTORS, ANDREW VEY AND LAUREN HUNTER

Funded by the



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International Policy Forum

The **United Nations Society**, *Carleton's International Affairs Association* is a premier student-run organization. Its goal is to promote and engage Carleton University students in international affairs through innovative programming and events. Every year the Society runs speaker events, embassy visits, documentary showings, conferences, the Model UN program, networking events, the International Policy Forum, and the Carleton Review of International Affairs.

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The International Policy Forum (IPF), *Canada's first student-run global policy think tank*, was launched in 2006 at Carleton University. Emerging from the realization that there was an absence of student perspective in pressing policy issues, participants in the IPF strive to add their voice to public debate.

Each year, approximately fourteen Carleton University students are chosen to develop policy recommendations for a global issue pertinent to Canada. The selection process is highly competitive, resulting in a group of insightful students who show a keen interest in international affairs. Through involvement with the IPF, members gain practical political experience and contribute to the understanding of public affairs from a new and often innovative perspective.

Since its inception, the IPF has addressed subjects ranging from the multi-faceted issue of Canada-United States relations to the controversial concept of humanitarian intervention. For each session, participants begin by conducting independent research and consulting with a series of guest experts. In previous years, these have included such prominent speakers as David Wilkins, former United States Ambassador to Canada, and Michael Ignatieff, then-Deputy Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada. Following the investigatory period, Forum members meet to debate and draft policy proposals. Building on the success of its previous sessions, the IPF chose to address the growing interest in Arctic affairs as its subject of study for the 2008-09 academic year.

The IPF is funded by the Carleton United Nations Society, an international affairs centered student organization at Carleton University.

LETTER FROM THE DIRECTORS

It is with great pleasure that we present the 2008-09 report of the International Policy Forum, entitled *Planning for Tomorrow: A Blueprint for Reinvigorating Canada's North*. This year's publication represents an enormous amount of dedication by our members, persons who are certainly amongst the most adept of Carleton's academic student community. As their Directors, we have been proud to provide them with a unique opportunity to engage in the discourse of foreign policy through an avenue not available to most of their peers.

Although there has been an increasing amount of lively debate regarding the Arctic within the international community, university students have to date been fairly removed from this process. Yet, as global forces continue to reshape traditional attitudes and knowledge of the North, the topic is one that will likely be of paramount concern for future governments, both foreign and domestic. Increased maritime traffic, shrinking ice coverage, a higher level of environmental contaminants, dynamic security questions, and the transformation of Northern residents' lifestyles are all issues that present the region with innumerable opportunities and challenges. Forum participants were particularly struck by the high degree of interconnectedness between these topics and the overarching need for multilateral cooperation in order to effectively address them.

Over the course of the year, the students involved in this project had the opportunity to examine a region of the country that is often overlooked but nonetheless finds itself at a dynamic point in its history. It is through such experiential opportunities that the engaged youth of Canada can solidify the Arctic's place as an important part of the national consciousness, from coast to coast to coast. The participants of the 2008-09 International Policy Forum have certainly come face to face with such ideas, and it is our sincere hope that they will continue to study this immensely important topic as they progress through their academic and professional careers.

This report would not have been possible without the hard work and dedication of several people. First, we would like to thank our speakers, whose insights provided the basis for much of our later debate and dis-

cussion. We also wish to acknowledge the tireless effort of our project officers, Nicholas Kyonka and Jhillian Adams, in making this year another success. Special mention should also be made for Allison Worone, whose technical and logistical support ensured that this document was able to make it to the presses. Finally, we would like to thank Steven Staples and the Rideau Institute on International Affairs for their generous financial support.

Andrew Vey

Directors

Lauren Hunter

August 2009

PROJECT PARTICIPANTS

DIRECTORS



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PROJECT OFFICERS



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In late August 2009, Prime Minister Stephen Harper spent five days touring Canada's Arctic. Over the course of his visit, the Prime Minister observed members of the Canadian Forces participating in Operation Nanook, announced the creation of the Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency and held a cabinet meeting in Iqaluit. Three months earlier, Governor General Michaëlle Jean crisscrossed Nunavut and northern Quebec, sparking international controversy when she partook in a local culinary tradition. However, Canadians have not been alone in paying more attention to the Arctic. Several circumpolar states are substantially increasing funding for Northern initiatives, ranging from the acquisition of new military hardware to the authorization of elaborate seabed mapping programs. At a time when the eyes of many in the global community seem to be turning northward, the IPF has developed a report intended to aid and inform the Government of Canada when drafting Arctic-related policy.

This document has been divided into three sections: Building a Dynamic Northern Economy, Reinforcing the Image of Canada as an Arctic State, and Adapting to a Globalized World. In so doing, it is not being suggested that these should replace the four prongs of Canada's current Northern Strategy. Rather, the IPF chose to focus its energies on putting together recommendations designed to supplement existing Arctic policy, while placing special emphasis on the importance of circumpolar cooperation. Additionally, whereas definitions of what constitutes the 'Canadian Arctic' are varied, the IPF has limited its scope to include only the Yukon, the Northwest Territories, and Nunavut. As a result, the policy proposals herein accommodate the political realities of federal-territorial relations and seek to provide solutions to the problems faced by a region that has substantially less resources than other sub-national jurisdictions in the country.

The Arctic is a region with vast and mostly untapped economic potential. However, its cold climate and small population have to date proven powerful factors limiting growth. In order for the Northern territories to prosper, one of the first steps must be to make them more accessible to the outside world. Not only would such a development aid



Figure 1.1— Map of the Arctic Region

Image taken from the National Snow and Ice Data Centre

in the export of natural resources, but it would also facilitate the import of supplies to Northern communities. Accordingly, the IPF recommends that the Government of Canada earmark greater funding towards Arctic infrastructure programs, with particular attention given to expanding the number of deepwater ports in the region. Along this same theme, other proposals found in the first section of this report

suggest methods by which the Canadian Government can support the nascent tourism and culture industries of the Arctic, in addition to underscoring the importance of ensuring local voices are included in resource development programs.

Questions of security and sovereignty form a large portion of the present discourse regarding the North. The IPF strongly believes that in addition to further defence spending, the most effective way for Canadians to secure their Northern territories is by embracing an Arctic identity. The federal government can help enable this process by prioritizing and publicising the region's issues; indeed, the Prime Minister's annual trips to the North are a positive first step. Domestically, the IPF recommends the appointment of a new Minister of State for Arctic Affairs, a display that would demonstrate the importance of the region to both Canadians and the world. Addressing the practical problems posed by conflicting jurisdictions of maritime law enforcement would also illustrate a new-found Arctic focus. Internationally, Canada needs to put itself at the leading edge of circumpolar diplomacy. Constructive engagement with our peers, rather than shows of military force, will ultimately provide the foundation for long-term security in the North.

The final section of the report is concerned with outside pressures and influences as they relate to the Arctic region. Certainly, climate change is at the forefront of such thoughts, and the IPF recognizes the need to further enhance support for Canadian scientific researchers and their international peers. Ensuring that the results of these studies are disseminated among Northern communities must also be a priority for the federal government. Change, however, is not only restricted to the environment. The economic stoppages at Northern mines are testament to the fact that the region is not isolated from global recessionary trends. In order to ensure that residents of the Arctic are able to compete in an increasingly interconnected world, the IPF suggests changes to Northern education programs that will augment students' skills while retaining a commitment to local heritage. Additionally, policymakers must be careful to ensure that Arctic communities and their bureaucrats are not overwhelmed by the administrative burdens of new initiatives designed to help the region grow.

To address questions of Canada, its North and the greater circumpolar community, the IPF utilized a unique structure of student interaction and discussion. Forum members convened with high profile speakers

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over the course of six policy consultations: Contemporary Circumpolar Politics, Projects in Sustainable Living, Addressing Environmental Challenges, Northern Economic Development, Arctic Security and Sovereignty and Canada's Northern Strategy. Speakers voiced their opinions, answered questions, and participated in frank and stimulating discussion.

Consultation session speakers included:

- **Poul Erik Dam Kristensen**, Ambassador, Kingdom of Denmark
- **Dennis Bevington**, Member of Parliament, Western Arctic
- **Donald McRae**, Hyman Soloway Chair in Business and Trade Law, University of Ottawa, Faculty of Law
- **Christopher Burn**, NSERC Northern Research Chair, Carleton University
- **Charles Birchall**, President, Canadian Arctic Resources Committee
- **Stephan Schott**, Assistant Professor, School of Public Policy and Administration, Carleton University
- **Patrick Borbey**, Assistant Deputy Minister, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs
- **Jerry Sabin**, Research Assistant, Carleton Centre for Community Innovation
- **Terry Fenge**, Ottawa-based Consultant on Aboriginal, Environmental and Northern Issues
- **Marie-Hélène Chayer**, Deputy Director of Policy Development, Department of National Defence

During the second half of the year, IPF members drafted final policy recommendations based on the consultation sessions, independent research and personal opinion. The following proposals aim to broaden the scope of Canadian Northern policy while ensuring a robust future for circumpolar relations. By providing greater regional accessibility, emphasizing the Arctic as a core aspect of Canadian identity and providing the support mechanisms for its people to cope with change, it is our hope that this report will be strongly considered when policymakers gather to craft the next chapter of Canada's approach to Arctic affairs.

1. BUILDING A DYNAMIC NORTHERN ECONOMY

Introduction

As is alluded to by our national motto, *a mare usque ad mare* (from sea to sea), the Canadian economy is often treated as an east-west construction. The country's modern economic development can be traced from the Grand Banks of the Atlantic, down the Saint Lawrence River, across the temperate prairies, and ending with the lush forests of the West Coast. Population centres developed accordingly, spurred on by a national transportation infrastructure that exacerbated this latitudinal conception.

While such a pattern of growth may have been prudent in light of Canada's historic circumstances, it has left Northern Canada largely excluded from the country's greater economic fabric. Arctic communities are relatively inaccessible compared to their southern counterparts and, consequently, face a unique set of economic challenges. The high cost of transporting goods to the region significantly increases living expenses and raises the price of production inputs. Faced with diminutive local demand and isolation from larger markets, manufacturers are hesitant to relocate their activities to Northern communities. Various service sector opportunities are also rendered impractical as a result of the high wage rates necessary to ensure that Northerners can afford basic goods. At the same time, the Arctic's topography severely constrains agricultural opportunities in Canada's North, while the limited use of either the English or French language in certain areas further restricts opportunities for economic integration with the rest of the country.

This section of the report focuses on policies that the Government of Canada can adopt in order to nurture growth and sustainability in its Arctic communities. The initiatives recommended herein aim to achieve such objectives by addressing the current challenges facing the Northern economy, fostering nascent economic opportunities, and helping local populations adapt their traditional lifestyles to the demands of modernity. Neither the federal nor territorial governments can entirely insulate Arctic communities from the disadvantages related to the region's unique geographic characteristics. However, it is incumbent for

all levels of government to help alleviate these limitations whenever possible and ensure that individual communities are able to take advantage of any economic assets they may possess. Although several regions benefit from an abundance of natural resources, such industries are highly susceptible to market fluctuations and may face significant sunk costs. In light of such investment disincentives and uncertainty, communities must also foster other sectors of their economy to help stimulate growth.

Regardless of the methods used in each individual locality, it is apparent that many facets of Canada's existing Northern Strategy rest on the presumption of a healthy, sustainable Arctic economy. The region certainly cannot be expanded and social standards within it cannot be improved without enhancing legitimate economic opportunities for the region's residents. Concurrently, both of these ends are seemingly logical prerequisites for achieving other government objectives, such as strengthening Canadian Arctic sovereignty and developing a comprehensive network of research facilities. Given the economic challenges facing Northern communities, it is imperative that both federal and territorial governments act boldly to foster growth.

1.1 Expanding Marine Transportation Infrastructure in the Arctic

The Canadian government should work to develop additional deepwater ports in Northern Canada to facilitate access to marine transportation, which in turn would foster greater economic growth within local communities and the region as a whole.

Relying on seasonal roads as the primary means of transportation places an artificial ceiling on imports to and exports from Canada's northernmost regions. Not only does this hinder local companies and communities by restricting access to vital supplies, but it also limits the profitability of export-oriented industries by shortening the trucking season. An enhanced transportation network of deepwater ports in the Canadian Arctic would strengthen the region's economic potential. The current plans to construct a harbour at Pangnirtung and refurbish the existing port in Nanisivik are positive first steps towards enhancing the Arctic's transportation infrastructure. Further investment in similar projects at key locations throughout the region would greatly augment the North's ability to engage in economic interactions with Canada as a whole.

1. Building a Dynamic Northern Economy

- In addition to its current projects in Pangnirtung and Nanisivik, the Government of Canada should consider developing deepwater ports at the following locations:
 - **Bathurst Inlet, Nunavut**, a location for which preliminary designs have already been drafted but whose implementation has met with several bureaucratic impediments,
 - **Iqaluit, Nunavut**, which would increase the productivity of local fisheries, greatly reduce the docking costs associated with shipping, and intensify economic activity in the territory's capital city,
 - **Tuktoyaktuk, Northwest Territories**, in order to supply emerging resource extraction projects in the region and facilitate the growth of local communities;
- The Canadian government should also bolster the infrastructure networks surrounding new and refurbished deepwater ports in order to maximize the benefits of developing such assets.

1.2 Supporting Aboriginal Joint Venture Projects

The Government of Canada should seek to enhance Northern aboriginal communities' involvement in resource-related projects by encouraging them to obtain partial ownership in joint venture projects.

Current efforts to involve Northern aboriginal communities in natural resource-related projects have primarily consisted of pre-construction consultations and employment guarantees. Obtaining partial ownership in joint venture projects, however, would allow Northerners to derive greater revenue from the region's economic activities beyond what is currently achieved through socio-economic agreements. Such an approach would also empower local communities by giving them a greater input into the initiative's operations.

Loan guarantees are a promise by the government to assume private debt obligations up to a pre-designated amount in the event that the borrower defaults. Such programs are often used in cases where the debtor lacks the sufficient prerequisite credit to satisfy potential creditors.

- The Canadian government should create a loan guarantee program specifically designed to mitigate the risk of default for private lenders investing in natural resource-related projects that promote Northerners' involvement;
- Northern community leaders, in particular those involved with

emergent joint venture projects, should become habitually involved with overseas trade missions in the interest of soliciting foreign financing for their startup costs;

- Likewise, emergent joint venture projects should be encouraged to explore domestic, private-sector investment opportunities through such organizations as the Capital for Aboriginal Prosperity and Entrepreneurship (CAPE) Fund;
- The Government of Canada should work with territorial governments and Northern communities to host regular conferences that will connect aboriginal leaders with business personnel elsewhere in the country and, in so doing, facilitate the transfer of commercial knowledge.

1.3 Establishing a Centre for Inuit Art

The Canadian government should create an Inuit art centre in Iqaluit, with the aim of displaying Northern cultural art in its geographic context and encouraging Inuit artisans to mentor emerging artists in traditional mediums.

The value of art is twofold: it is not only an important facet of a people's cultural identity, but also constitutes a mechanism for generating revenue. In documenting the country's Northern history through the eyes of its residents, Inuit art plays an important role in the collective Canadian consciousness. A centre dedicated to such work would allow enthusiasts and patrons to view Northern art in its geographic context, which in turn may foster greater tourism. Additionally, it would provide a forum for artists from different regions to congregate and teach newer generations their version of traditional art, much like an apprenticeship program. Young, creatively-minded people would have a haven for inspiration and learning, encouraging them to pursue a career in such fields.

- The Government of Canada, in conjunction with the Government of Nunavut, should establish a permanent Inuit art centre in Iqaluit, a location accessible to both Northern and Southern residents;
- The centre should maintain contact with other art museums, both within Canada and internationally, in order to pique interest in Inuit art and further the growth of local artists;
- To further publicize the centre, a comprehensive website should be

1. Building a Dynamic Northern Economy

- created that includes instructor biographies, an artwork catalogue, and detailed information on upcoming events;
- In the interest of increasing awareness of Inuit art and culture, the centre should engage in a wide variety of community outreach programs such as hosting low-cost workshops, coordinating artisan festivals, and organizing public seminars;
 - To help alleviate transportation costs for artists wishing to engage in events and showings at the new centre, a grant program should be established and administered by the institution's board of directors;
 - The centre should pursue a multi-pronged funding strategy that combines support from the Federal and Territorial governments with private sector sponsorship, procured especially from those businesses that operate in the region.

1.4 Sustainable Tourism in the North

Working in partnership with the three territorial tourism associations, the Government of Canada should provide funds for the establishment of an Arctic Maritime Tourism Coordinating Centre and for the creation of a report that explores the capacity of Northern communities to support outside visitors.

The Canadian Arctic is a vast and beautiful place, unique not only in terms of its distinctive geography, but also on account of its varied culture. Its potential as a tourism destination is significant, but chronically

The Sustainable Model for Arctic Regional Tourism (SMART) was an official project of the Arctic Council's "Sustainable Development Working Group." Before SMART ended in 2005, it developed a series of guidelines that dealt with issues ranging from sustainable tourism practices to market incentives for Northern businesses. Today, these principles form the basis of the Sustainable Arctic Tourism Association.

underappreciated. However, as has been demonstrated countless times around the world, such an industry must be managed with care in order to mitigate the potential negative impacts on local environments and lifestyles. Canada is already a leader in the Arctic community with regards to regulating maritime traffic pollution.

For their part, territorial governments have also become involved with such initiatives as the Sustainable Model for Arctic Regional Tourism. Nonetheless, there remain areas where Canada could use to improve its tourism framework in the interest of ensuring the long-term health of local communities and ecosystems.

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- The Government of Canada should increase its funding to Travel Yukon, Spectacular Northwest Territories and Nunavut Tourism on the condition that they pursue the following two objectives:
 1. Joint establishment of an Arctic Maritime Tourism Coordinating Centre, which would be responsible for such duties as:
 - o Helping inform cruise ship operators of different attractions, events and infrastructure capacities of specific Arctic locals,
 - o Actively soliciting agreement from coastal communities for cruise vessels to visit at pre-determined dates, thereby giving residents adequate time to prepare,
 - o Alerting all relevant parties of any last-minute changes to cruise itineraries,
 2. Creation of a report, in partnership with governments, local communities, and regional tourism operators, that would explore the ability of individual localities in the region to support outside visitors, taking into consideration:
 - o Alerting all relevant parties of any last-minute changes to cruise itineraries,
 - o Estimated environmental impacts of small, medium and large scale tourism operations,
 - o The capacity of community infrastructure to support regularized visitation by cruise vessels and their passengers,
 - o Pre-existing local events or activities that have the potential to be integrated into future tourism operations,
 - o The effect that increased outside visitation may have on local culture, traditions and ways of living.

Travel Yukon, Spectacular Northwest Territories and Tourism Nunavut are not-for-profit, territorial government-sponsored agencies that promote tourism in their respective regions. Their work primarily consists of publicizing local attractions, publishing tourism literature, and promoting the territories both within Canada and abroad.

Further Readings

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1. Building a Dynamic Northern Economy

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2. REINFORCING THE IMAGE OF CANADA AS AN ARCTIC STATE

Introduction

The following section of the report was originally intended to explore the theme of Arctic sovereignty, a choice influenced in no small part by the degree of attention lavished upon the subject by scholars, journalists and politicians alike. Indeed, the past few years have been abuzz with news reports and political speeches emphasizing increased international competition over the Arctic. Some have even gone so far as to suggest we must either ‘use’ the North or risk losing it completely. Yet beneath this rhetoric, the question remains as to whether Canada faces serious threats, either militarily or legally, to its claimed Arctic borders.

In researching this topic, both contemporary literature and our discussions with guest experts consistently led us to one conclusion: the probability of a modern ‘scramble for the Arctic’ seems remote. Helping to defend such a supposition is the existence of strong institutional linkages between members of the circumpolar community. The Arctic Council, for instance, provides a permanent venue for strengthening regional cooperation and defusing tensions. Similarly, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea creates a legal regime that allows States to resolve competing claims to the North through a fixed scientific process, rather than resorting to military force or the threat thereof. While it is true that sources of transnational friction remain, as exemplified by cases such as Hans Island or the Beaufort Sea, these situations represent exceptions to contemporary Arctic relations rather than the norm.

This reality does not mean, however, that Canada should be apathetic towards ensuring the security of its northern borders, overcoming existing territorial disputes or building strong relations within the circumpolar community. By displaying international leadership in these areas and maintaining a consistent dedication to Arctic affairs, the Government of Canada can ensure continued respect for its claims to the region. The proposals outlined in the pages to follow provide a guide for achieving this objective.

2. Reinforcing the Image of Canada as an Arctic State

2.1 Prioritizing Arctic Affairs

The Prime Minister of Canada should appoint a Minister of State (Arctic Affairs) who would, among other duties, be tasked with compiling a comprehensive report designed to augment Canada's existing Northern Strategy.

In recent years, various Arctic states have made a concerted effort to display their commitment to the North. The Russian Federation, for instance, planted a flag on the North Pole seabed in 2007. Similarly, both Canada and Denmark have made such gestures as sending warships and politicians to the disputed Hans Island in support of their claims to sovereignty over the landmass. There are, however, less dramatic measures by which a state can indicate its resolve to the North and its people. In addition to enhancing the Arctic capabilities of the Canadian Forces and providing more funding for territorial initiatives, there are relatively inexpensive political changes that the Government of Canada could undertake to demonstrate that its interest in the North is more than a fleeting affair.

- The Prime Minister of Canada should create a new cabinet position entitled *Minister of State (Arctic Affairs)*, with a mandate to support both the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development;
- In order to augment Canada's existing Northern Strategy, the new Minister should compile a comprehensive report that outlines potential developments in the Arctic region;
- Specific scenarios for the report to examine and plan for should include, but not be limited to:
 - o The opening of the Northwest Passage to private and commercial traffic,
 - o Intensified competition for Arctic resources, especially in cases of disputed claims,
 - o The destruction of local cultures due to environmental degradation and increased human activity;
- In light of these findings, the Minister should also identify likely areas of common interest between Canada and its circumpolar peers;
- Based on the report's conclusions, the Government of Canada can then determine the extent to which bilateral and multilateral approaches should be used to pursue its Northern objectives;

- It is essential that the entire investigatory process of the report include consultations with not only government departments, but also the Arctic region's inhabitants and relevant private sector actors.

2.2 A New Model for Arctic Maritime Security

The Government of Canada should conduct a feasibility study to determine how the Canadian Coast Guard can most appropriately be utilized to address current gaps in Arctic maritime security.

At present, no single agency has sole responsibility for Canada's marine security. Operations in this area require cross-departmental cooperation between organizations that have the capacity to seek or detain vessels and those with the ability to make arrests and enforce Canadian legal code. The interdepartmental Marine Security Operations Centres (MSOC) model was developed to ensure the utmost level of efficiency could be maintained in situations which require the cooperation of multiple agencies. Unique environmental conditions in the Arctic, however, present challenges to this conventional maritime partnership. Consequently, incidents may occur in areas that can be accessed only by the Coast Guard, despite the agency's limited enforcement capabilities.

Marine Security Operations Centres are interdepartmental coordinating bodies that seek to better integrate the actions of government agencies when responding to maritime security threats. Three such centres currently exist for the Atlantic, Pacific and Great Lake regions. Partner departments include the Canada Border Services Agency, the Canadian Coast Guard, the Department of National Defence, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and Transport Canada.

- The Canadian government should conduct a feasibility study on how to address the current gap in Arctic security given the country's available resources;
- This study should examine options that include, but are not limited to:
 1. Changing the mandate of the Canadian Coast Guard to include maritime law enforcement, thereby allowing the agency with the greatest mobility in the North to have enhanced security responsibilities,
 2. The creation of a specific unit within the Canadian Coast Guard, or the formation of a new agency altogether, that has jurisdiction over the Arctic and is tasked with providing local maritime law enforcement,

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3. Assigning a member or members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to Coast Guard vessels patrolling in the North to provide limited legal enforcement and security capabilities;
- Given the speed by which international developments in the Arctic are occurring, the Government of Canada should aim to have this feasibility study completed as soon as possible.

2.3 Northwest Passage Authority

The Government of Canada should propose to the United States of America the creation of a treaty-based Northwest Passage Authority (NWP), which would allow the two countries to jointly manage international shipping, environmental protection, search and rescue, and security in the Passage.

Canada and the United States have a long tradition of successfully managing their shared bodies of water, bilateral trade, and continental security. However, both countries remain at odds over whether the Northwest Passage is a body of water internal to Canada, giving this State the right to bar transit, or an international strait as defined by the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). Under the latter definition, Canada would have the right to enact fishing, shipping safety, anti-smuggling, and environmental laws in the Northwest Passage, but not close the body of water altogether. By allowing the dispute over the status of the strait to remain unresolved, bilateral cooperation in the Arctic, which is in the interest of both countries, has been greatly hindered.

- The Canadian government should build on its long tradition of bilateral cooperation with the United States and suggest to the administration of President Barack Obama the creation of a bilateral organization tentatively called the NWP;
- To determine Canada's negotiating position on the NWP, officials from the departments of Foreign Affairs, National Defence, Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Environment, Transport, Finance, and the territorial governments should be brought together in a committee along with shipping companies, academic experts, and Inuit representatives;
- Canada should set aside, but not legally withdraw, its claim that the Northwest Passage constitutes an internal body of water;
- Canada should suggest that the United States suspend, but not

legally surrender, its claim that the Northwest Passage is an international strait;

- Following the model of the International Joint Commission, Canada and the United States would have equal representation in the NWPA;
- The negotiation of a NWPA treaty should also include provisions that resolve the Canada-United States maritime boundary dispute in the Beaufort Sea;
- Canada should ensure that the NWPA does not detract from multilateral regimes and initiatives such as the Arctic Council and UNCLOS.

The **International Joint Commission (IJC)** is an independent, binational organization between Canada and the United States. Established in 1909, the Commission advises both governments on water resource questions, addresses boundary water disputes, and sponsors various public conferences. Issues can only be investigated by the IJC at the behest of both governments and its recommendations are non-binding.

2.4 The Arctic Leader's Conference

Governments in the Arctic region should establish a bi-annual, sub-national conference mandated to provide a venue for Northern political and community leaders to meet and share knowledge regarding matters of mutual interest.

The Arctic, despite its geographic size, is home to a relatively small community. Expertise in and technical knowledge of Northern issues is limited enough before political boundaries restrict lines of communication. Currently, the Arctic Council exists to address part of this problem by bringing together federal representatives from its member States. Yet such delegations may not necessarily include the people to whom the Arctic matters most: its residents. The creation of a sub-national conference targeted at Arctic leaders could provide an additional channel for circumpolar cooperation and help to dampen some of the perceived tensions currently overhanging regional relations. Additionally, such an institution need not threaten federal control of foreign affairs. Several bodies already exist, such as the Conference of New England Governors and Eastern Canadian Premiers, that work to compliment more traditional processes of international cooperation.

- Included in the Arctic Leader's Conference will be representatives from, but not limited to, the following political jurisdictions:
 - o Alaska from the United States of America,

2. Reinforcing the Image of Canada as an Arctic State

- o The Republics of Sakha and Karelia, the Krasnoyarsk Krai, Arkhangelsk and Murmansk Oblasts along with the Chukotka, Nenets and Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrugs from the Russian Federation,
- o Greenland from the Kingdom of Denmark,
- o Norland, Troms and Finnmark counties along with the Svalbard Islands from the Kingdom of Norway,
- o Nunavut, the Yukon and the Northwest Territories from Canada;
- One element of the conference should be to bring together political leaders from the aforementioned regions to discuss Arctic issues using a format similar to that developed by the Conference of New England Governors and Eastern Canadian Premiers;
- Additionally, funds should be provided by representative governments to grant travel assistance for academic and community leaders so that they too may meet with their international peers in a series of general discussion and topic-specific workshops;
- The conference should ideally be hosted in conjunction with the bi-annual Arctic Winter Games, as the use of this existing framework may help cut down on the logistical costs of organizing large-scale meetings and travel arrangements.

The Conference of New England Governors and Eastern Canadian Premiers is an annual meeting of officials from the region's state and provincial governments. Attendees discuss issues of common interest and enact policy resolutions in areas of mutual concern. Previous areas of focus have included expanding regional economic ties, encouraging greater energy exchanges, and advocating sustainable development.

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3. ADAPTING TO A GLOBALIZED WORLD

Introduction

The Arctic is often referred to as unique and tends to be characterized in isolationist terms. Images of cold, snow, rare wildlife and a land far away pervade the thoughts of many people when asked to think about Canada's North. Yet, in reality, these traditional conceptions are continually being challenged. New technologies are making the Arctic more accessible, both for purposes of travel and business. Climate change is altering the environment, down to the very ground upon which Northerners live. Perhaps as a corollary of these facts, state governments have finally been incentivized to pay greater attention to their Arctic territories. This section of the report is dedicated to helping Northern communities adapt to life in an increasingly globalized world.

The Arctic is commonly portrayed as a bellwether for the earth's environmental problems. Indeed, when in 2008 satellite photos released by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) showed a massive new fracture in the Petermann glacier, newspapers around the world were quick to present the event as the latest example of climate change. Much less attention, however, tends to be paid to environmental issues as they affect the North in and of itself. As shipping increases throughout the region and new chemicals are introduced into the world's ecosystems, ocean currents and trading patterns threaten to bring an increased level of pollutants to the Arctic. Moreover, as approximately 50 percent of Canada is underlain with permafrost, higher global temperatures risk damaging Northern infrastructure and challenging traditional ways of living. It is therefore imperative that the Canadian government take on a leadership role in seeking to mitigate the environmental threats posed to the North through international action and scientific research.

At the social level, the forces of globalization and Canadian integration increasingly expose Northerners to extra-regional market forces. A solid educational background is necessary for individuals to compete in such an environment, regardless of whether they intend to benefit from the high-skilled jobs emerging in the region or wish to pursue employment elsewhere in the world. Additionally, given the recent surge of

federal spending in the Arctic, the Government of Canada should now focus on streamlining the funding allocation process. Programs designed to help the North cope with social stress, no matter how well intentioned, risk failure if not administered in an efficient and community-friendly manner.

The years ahead promise to be ones of great change and growth for the Arctic. Such transformation is never without its challenges. However, with adequate support and policy foresight, Canada's Northern territories can be made to prosper in this modern, globalized world.

3.1 Continuing the Effort to Fight Contaminants in the Arctic

The Government of Canada should maintain its support for research concerning the effects of contaminants in the Arctic, while ensuring that the results of such studies are made easily accessible to the region's residents.

Industrial byproducts and chemicals have the potential to affect the Arctic's delicate ecosystem to a greater degree than most regions of the globe. Due to a series of natural occurring phenomena such as wind patterns and ocean currents, industrial byproducts emitted elsewhere in the world can become concentrated in the north. Indeed, a large number of contaminants have been identified in the region, presenting a major threat to the safety of local ecosystems and populations. Fortunately, international monitoring and the restriction of persistent organic pollutants are helping to combat this pressing environmental problem. The Stockholm Convention, for instance, has been vital in coordinating global efforts to limit the damage of contaminants. However, the emission of new forms of pollutants, as well as those that had been overlooked in the past, appears to be on the rise. The Government of Canada needs to take the appropriate steps now to identify the sources of these rising contaminants and the patterns of their dispersion once emitted.

- The Canadian government should continue funding both international research on the dispersion pathways of pollutants in the northern hemisphere as well as domestic studies focused on the environmental impact of Arctic mines;
- In particular, funds should be dedicated towards research focused on the following subjects:
 - o Pollutants such as brominates, flame retardants, chlorinated paraffins and chlorinated phenols, all of which have been de-

3. Adapting to a Globalized World

- o tected in increasing quantities within the Arctic,
- o Heavy metals, especially the rising mercury levels found in northern marine life,
- o The potential hazards arising from thawing permafrost on the large mine tail disposal sites,
- o Methods for preventing contaminant leakage from both functioning and abandoned Arctic mines;
- New emphasis should also be placed on integrating northern communities into the research process, particularly in regards to:
 - o Increasing communication between northern residents and scientists located in other geographic regions,
 - o Greater dissemination of research findings that pertain to the Arctic and funds to help such studies be translated into the various languages of the north,
 - o Further integration of Canadian research initiatives with the work of the Arctic Council in an attempt to capitalize on economies of scale.

3.2 Investing in Arctic Science

Guided by a long-term strategic vision, the Government of Canada should enhance funding for Arctic-related studies, particularly research pertaining to climate change and its effects on the northern environment.

Having a clear and comprehensive understanding of an issue is essential for the creation of effective public policy. Unfortunately, Canada is currently experiencing an alarming deficit in terms of both funding and infrastructure capacity for Arctic-related sciences. In order to correct this deficit, there must be both a long-term commitment to scientific funding and the promotion of new programs designed to foster academic interest in the north. With an increased scientific understanding of the Arctic, government policymakers will be better equipped to help citizens mitigate the region's transforming environment and adapt to those changes that take place.

- The Canadian government should develop a comprehensive long-term Arctic research strategy that outlines the priorities, benchmarks, and over-arching end goal of the country's northern scientific endeavours;
- To facilitate the growth of Canadian Arctic experts in such areas as

climatic science, permafrost studies, glaciology, and hydrology, the Federal government should increase investment in the following two areas:

1. The Canada Research Chairs program, particularly the Tier 1 Research category, in those fields that relate to Arctic subjects,
 2. Universities that either currently house programs focused on Arctic-related sciences or have concrete plans to establish such initiatives;
- Furthermore, the proposals of the Council of Canadian Academics for fast-tracking and expanding the proposed Canadian Arctic Research Initiative should be reflected in the next federal budget.

The **Council of Canadian Academics** is a non-profit organization that works to independently test and assess scientific projects at the request of governments, non-governmental organizations and corporate entities. It addresses a wide range of subjects, including the humanities, engineering, and natural, social and health sciences.

3.3 Expanding Educational Opportunities at the Secondary and Post-Secondary Levels

Both the territorial and federal governments should endeavour to make secondary school programs more relevant to the socio-economic realities faced by Northern students, while at the same time continuing to encourage partnerships with southern institutions to expand post-secondary opportunities for individuals in the region.

Education systems should provide students with the skills and knowledge necessary to be competitive in the modern economic environment. However, it is also important for a curriculum to be tied into the culture and language of the society that it serves. Indeed, merging modern and traditional skills would provide Northern students with innumerable benefits, such as improved relevancy of schooling and potentially higher graduation rates. Additionally, research indicates that youth educated in traditional cultural practices are often better able to cope with stress, a vital skill that may help the region address its burgeoning suicide rate. Establishing such a dual-tracked curriculum at the post-secondary level is slightly more problematic, given the structural reality that the North cannot yet support its own permanent university. This fact, however, should not act as a barrier to Northern students who wish to continue their studies at the post-secondary level.

- Territorial governments, with support from the Government of

3. Adapting to a Globalized World

Canada, should work to structure their secondary school systems with the aim of incorporating the following three criteria:

1. Effective language training to ensure students graduate fluent in both an aboriginal language, when appropriate, and one of Canada`s two official languages,
 2. Culturally sensitive curriculums that allow students to study subjects of local relevance, such as traditional kayak construction and Northern hunting techniques,
 3. An academic year scheduled to align with traditional activities of Arctic communities rather than the southern harvest season, as is used elsewhere in the country;
- In lieu of establishing a permanent Arctic university, the Canadian government should instead continue to encourage partnerships between southern post-secondary institutions and territorial citizens, as is the case with the Akitsiraq Law School.

The **Akitsiraq Law School** is a program first established by the Akitsiraq Law Society in 2001 in partnership with the University of Victoria's Faculty of Law. It provided residents of Nunavut with the opportunity to earn a Bachelor of Laws (LL.B.) degree while studying in Iqaluit. A second round of the program, in conjunction with the University of Ottawa, has been planned for 2010.

3.4 Program Enablement in Canada`s Northern Communities

In order to alleviate the administrative burden for Northern communities seeking program funding, the Federal and Territorial governments should endeavour to streamline such processes by reducing the overall amount of paperwork required, taking on more clerical responsibilities and establishing a single point of contact for local leadership.

As social, economic and cultural issues in the North typically concern varying levels of government and multiple departments, small Arctic communities often face significant administrative hurdles when attempting to access funding or support programs. Given their greater bureaucratic capacity, the onus must be on governmental actors to streamline their requirements in order to ensure that the intended recipients are not overwhelmed by clerical challenges. Indeed, departmental managers should be cognizant of the fact that administrative complexities tend to grow in proportion to the number of agencies involved. A community-level program geared towards the prevention of

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substance abuse amongst at-risk youth, for instance, might leverage contributions from such groups as the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Human Resources and Skills Development, Health Canada, and the territorial government. As each agency typically requires its own individual grant proposal, contribution agreement and annual report, hamlets or small towns can quickly find their limited resources depleted by a myriad of administrative tasks.

- Whenever multiple programs or agencies contribute to a single initiative in Northern communities, the Federal and Territorial governments should seek to streamline the demands made of funding recipients;
- This objective can be achieved through the implementation of strategies such as:
 - o Amalgamating the reports or other paperwork required by contributor government agencies into a single document, thereby reducing redundant workloads for small community administrators,
 - o Offloading administrative tasks to the public service wherever possible, given their increased ability to navigate the government bureaucracy,
 - o Establishing a single point of contact for the community, headed by either the lead agency on the specific initiative or by a committee of representatives from the government bodies involved.

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APPENDIX: SUMMARY OF POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

1. BUILDING A DYNAMIC NORTHERN ECONOMY

1.1 Expanding Marine Transportation Infrastructure in the Arctic

The Canadian government should work to develop additional deepwater ports in Northern Canada to facilitate access to marine transportation, which in turn would foster greater economic growth within local communities and the region as a whole.

1.2 Supporting Aboriginal Joint Venture Projects

The Government of Canada should seek to enhance Northern aboriginal communities' involvement in resource-related projects by encouraging them to obtain partial ownership in joint venture projects.

1.3 Establishing a Centre for Inuit Art

The Canadian government should create an Inuit art centre in Iqaluit, with the aim of displaying Northern cultural art in its geographic context and encouraging Inuit artisans to mentor emerging artists in traditional mediums.

1.4 Sustainable Tourism in the North

Working in partnership with the three territorial tourism associations, the Government of Canada should provide funds for the establishment of an Arctic Maritime Tourism Coordinating Centre and for the creation of a report that explores the capacity of Northern communities to support outside visitors.

2. REINFORCING THE IMAGE OF CANADA AS AN ARCTIC STATE

2.1 Prioritizing Arctic Affairs

The Prime Minister of Canada should appoint a Minister of State (Arctic Affairs) who would, among other duties, be tasked with compiling a comprehensive report designed to augment Canada's existing Northern Strategy.

2.2 A New Model for Arctic Maritime Security

The Government of Canada should conduct a feasibility study to determine how the Canadian Coast Guard can most appropriately be utilized to address current gaps in Arctic maritime security.

2.3 Northwest Passage Authority

The Government of Canada should propose to the United States of America the creation of a treaty-based Northwest Passage Authority (NWPAA), which would allow the two countries to jointly manage international shipping, environmental protection, search and rescue, and security in the Passage.

2.4 The Arctic Leader's Conference

Governments in the Arctic region should establish a bi-annual, sub-national conference mandated to provide a venue for Northern political and community leaders to meet and share knowledge regarding matters of mutual interest.

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