

# Canada's Northern Strategies

## From Trudeau to Trudeau, 1970-2020



Compiled and introduced by  
**P. Whitney Lackenbauer**



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P. Whitney Lackenbauer, Ph.D.

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P. Whitney Lackenbauer  
Adam Lajeunesse

Managing Editor: Ryan Dean

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Centre for Military, Security and  
Strategic Studies  
University of Calgary  
2500 University Dr. N.W.  
Calgary, AB T2N 1N4  
Tel: 403.220.4030  
[www.cmss.ucalgary.ca](http://www.cmss.ucalgary.ca)

School for the Study of Canada  
Trent University  
1600 West Bank Dr.  
Peterborough, ON K9L 0G2  
Tel: 705.748.1011 x7390  
[www.trentu.ca](http://www.trentu.ca)

Arctic Institute of North America  
University of Calgary  
2500 University Drive NW, ES-1040  
Calgary, AB T2N 1N4  
Tel: 403-220-7515  
<http://arctic.ucalgary.ca/>

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The word clouds were generated at <https://www.wordclouds.com/>.

# Canada's Northern Strategies, 1970-2020: An Introduction

P. Whitney Lackenbauer

This volume is intended to serve as a general reference document to compare and contrast the development of Canadian federal Arctic policy frameworks over the last fifty years. It is telling that Canadian governments have not issued many Northern and Arctic strategy documents, and that the four pillars introduced in 1970 – people, the economy, the environment, and sovereignty – have proven remarkably resilient. By reproducing several key Arctic and Northern strategy documents and statements, and encouraging that they be read together, this collection encourages deeper consideration of continuities in how federal political leaders have framed Northern policy issues, strategic agendas, and priorities. These documents also reveal evolving relationships with Northern Canadians, particularly Indigenous peoples, as well as desired futures for the region – and for Canada more generally. Like previous DCASS volumes, this collection promotes a more comprehensive awareness of strategic thinking that has guided Arctic and Northern policy formulation, encouraging future policy discussion and more robust scholarly assessment of Canada's Arctic record.<sup>1</sup>

## Background

The Second World War introduced the new idea that the Canadian North also represented a military frontier, which resurrected fears about the United States' encroachment on Canadian sovereignty in this sparsely-populated realm.<sup>2</sup> The Americans withdrew at the end of the war and confirmed Canadian ownership over northwestern Canada and the infrastructure built therein, but visions of a looming

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Ryan Dean, P. Whitney Lackenbauer, and Adam Lajeunesse, *Canadian Arctic Defence and Security Policy: An Overview of Key Documents, 1970-2012*, Documents on Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security (DCASS) No. 1 (Calgary and Waterloo: Centre for Military and Strategic Studies/Centre on Foreign Policy and Federalism, 2014); and P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Ryan Dean, eds., *Canada's Northern Strategy under the Harper Conservatives: Key Speeches and Documents on Sovereignty, Security, and Governance, 2006-15*, DCASS No. 6 (Calgary and Waterloo: Centre for Military, Strategic and Security Studies/Centre on Foreign Policy and Federalism/Arctic Institute of North America, 2016), <https://cmss.ucalgary.ca/sites/cmss.ucalgary.ca/files/dcass6.pdf>.

<sup>2</sup> See Ken Coates and William Morrison, *The Alaska Highway in World War II: The US Army of Occupation in Canada's Northwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992) and Shelagh Grant, *Sovereignty or Security? Government Policy in the Canadian North, 1936-1950* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1988).

Cold War provided a primary impetus for another round of military-inspired development beginning in the late 1940s. In the end, the North American neighbours found solutions that affirmed Canada's terrestrial sovereignty.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, the American behemoth largely dictated the pace of military modernization in Canada's North throughout the 1950s and the major socio-economic, cultural, and environmental impacts that flowed from it.<sup>4</sup>

In the postwar period, Canadian officials began to awaken to the federal government's obligations to Northern residents. The introduction of the Canadian social welfare system meant that Indigenous Canadians now had access to a wide array of programs, from family allowances to old-age pensions, and then housing, schooling, health care, and economic development grants. Aware of the changing nature of the North, Ottawa scrambled to address the problems of insufficient game resources, a health crisis that saw a large portion of the Inuit population in Southern sanatoria, and a failing traditional economy.<sup>5</sup> Most of the academic literature is highly critical of the federal government, seeking to expose its "totalizing" agenda, chastising its colonial and "high modernist" mentalities (in such fields as education, fledgling training and employment programs, the delivery of health services, and development of settlements), or accusing it of outright duplicity (often in terms of the High Arctic relocations and other coercive settlement efforts). By contrast, the government officials who served at this time paint a more benevolent portrait of a government seeking to anticipate and address a range of emerging security, economic,

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<sup>3</sup> See, for example, P. Whitney Lackenbauer, "Right and Honourable: Mackenzie King, Canadian-American Bilateral Relations, and Canadian Sovereignty in the Northwest, 1943-1948" in *Mackenzie King: Citizenship and Community* eds. John English, Kenneth McLaughlin, and P.W. Lackenbauer (Toronto: Robin Brass Studio, 2002), 151-68, and Lackenbauer and Peter Kikkert, "Sovereignty and Security: The Department of External Affairs, the United States, and Arctic Sovereignty, 1945-68," in *In the National Interest: Canadian Foreign Policy and the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 1909-2009*, ed. Greg Donaghy and Michael Carroll (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2011), 101-20.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Matthew Farish and P. Whitney Lackenbauer, "High Modernism in the Arctic: Planning Frobisher Bay and Inuvik," *Journal of Historical Geography* 35/3 (2009): 517-544; and Farish, *The Contours of America's Cold War* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

<sup>5</sup> On the early 1950s, see Diamond Jenness, *Eskimo Administration II: Canada* (Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America, 1964); R. Quinn Duffy, *The Road to Nunavut: The Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit since the Second World War* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988); Frank Tester and Peter Kulchyski, *Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit and Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939-63* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994); and Gordon Robertson, *Memoirs of a Very Civil Servant: Mackenzie King to Pierre Trudeau* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

and humanitarian concerns.<sup>6</sup> Whatever the case, the late 1950s marked “a grudging change from a policy of keeping the native ‘native,’ to one of tutelage and advancement by a still paternalistic government,” historian Richard Diubaldo noted. “Oftentimes, government effort would be muddled and frenzied, long on compassion but short on understanding. Gains would be made, but a price would be paid.”<sup>7</sup>

By the late 1960s the vast majority of Indigenous peoples no longer lived in tents or igloos (snow-houses) but in government housing in small permanent communities sprinkled across the North.<sup>8</sup> “In communities, traditional methods of subsistence were difficult for Inuit to maintain because of the lengthy travel distances required to find animal resources, and the need to maintain a steady family income through wage employment,” historian Sarah Bonesteel explains.<sup>9</sup> Although federal programs hoped to improve living standards through a diversified economy that would offer wage labour opportunities in industries such as mining as well as the continuation of the subsistence economy, the result of the transition to sedentary, settlement-based living was to produce cultural dislocation and wide-sweeping economic dependency.

Canadians also awoke to the idea of exploiting the region’s abundant natural resources. Geological Survey of Canada mapping operations in the early postwar period “discovered” gold, silver, nickel, zinc, lead, molybdenum and asbestos in the NWT districts of Keewatin and Mackenzie, leading to the opening of new mines. Exploration in the 1960s shifted to base metals around Great Bear Lake. By that time, Prime Minister John Diefenbaker had articulated a new “northern vision” for Canada that promised “roads to resources” and national prosperity.<sup>10</sup> Only partially implemented, this plan did not extend to the High Arctic or realize the high expectations for economic development in Canada’s northern territories.

## The 1970s and 1980s

By the early 1970s, economic development became intertwined with issues of sovereignty, Indigenous rights, and environmentalism in the context of oil and gas exploration. The discovery of the Prudhoe Bay field off the north slope of Alaska in

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<sup>6</sup> See Lackenbauer, “Defence, Development, and Inuit: St-Laurent’s Modern Approach to the North” in *St. Laurent’s Canada*, ed. Patrice Dutil (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2020), 193-221.

<sup>7</sup> Richard J. Diubaldo, “A Historical Overview of Government-Inuit Relations, 1900–1980s” (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1992), 30.

<sup>8</sup> On this process, see David Damas, *Arctic Migrants/Arctic Villagers: The Transformation of Inuit Settlement in the Central Arctic* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002).

<sup>9</sup> Sarah Bonesteel, *Canada’s Relationship with Inuit: A History of Policy and Program Development* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2008).

<sup>10</sup> On Diefenbaker’s Northern Vision, see Philip Isard, “Northern Vision: Northern Development during the Diefenbaker Era” (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Waterloo, 2010).

1968 had set off an Arctic exploration boom that persisted until oil prices declined precipitously in the mid-1980s.<sup>11</sup> The viability of these northern projects depended upon the ability to transport resources to market. In 1969, American-owned Humble Oil sent an icebreaker, the *Manhattan*, through the Northwest Passage to determine whether it was a viable commercial shipping route for oil and gas from the Beaufort Sea. Canadian news media reported the voyage as a direct challenge to Canada's Arctic sovereignty. In response, the Liberal government of Pierre Trudeau announced its "functional" approach to Canadian sovereignty in 1970, casting the Arctic as an ecologically delicate region over which Canada needed to extend its jurisdiction to ensure that foreign vessels did not pollute Canadian waters.<sup>12</sup> By drawing attention northward, Jim Lotz observed that it also brought to the fore other core questions: "Was this part of Canada fabulously rich in oil and mineral deposits? And if the north was rich, who would benefit from this wealth – the local people or 'outsiders'?"<sup>13</sup>

Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Jean Chrétien indicated how his department would handle the future in his keynote address on "Northern Development in the Seventies" at the fifth National Northern Development Conference in Edmonton on 5 November 1970 (**doc. 1**). His Northern vision deviated from that of Diefenbaker, insisting that the 1970s bring "a decade of

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<sup>11</sup> The Norman Wells field had yielded petroleum since the 1920s, but exploration in the northern Yukon, Mackenzie Delta, and High Arctic islands began in the 1950s. On oil and gas activities in the 1970s and 80s, see Robert Page, *Northern Development: The Canadian Dilemma* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1986)

<sup>12</sup> The *Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act* (AWPPA) (1970, R.S.C. 1985) allowed Canada to regulate and control future tanker traffic through the NWP by creating a pollution prevention zone one hundred nautical miles outside the archipelago as well as in the waters between the islands. See J. Alan Beesley, "Rights and responsibilities of Arctic coastal states: the Canadian view," *Journal of Maritime Law & Commerce* 3 (1971): 1 and Ted McDorman, *Salt Water Neighbors: International Ocean Law Relations Between the United States and Canada* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). Although initially opposed to this unilateral measure, the United States supported Canadian-sponsored Article 234 in the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), which gives coastal states "the right to adopt and enforce non-discriminatory laws and regulations for the prevention, reduction and control of marine pollution from vessels in ice-covered areas within the limits of the exclusive economic zone." See Don McRae, "The negotiation of Article 234," in *The Politics of the Northwest Passage*, ed. Franklyn Griffiths (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 98-114, and Rob Huebert, "Article 234 and Marine Pollution Jurisdiction in the Arctic," in *The Law of the Sea in the Polar Oceans: Issues of Maritime Delimitation and Jurisdiction*, ed. Don Rothwell and Alex Oude Elferink (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2001), 249-267.

<sup>13</sup> Jim Lotz, "The Yukon and the Northwest Territories," in *Canadian Annual Review of Politics and Public Affairs 1969*, ed. John Saywell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 184.

*balanced* and *controlled* development, a period in which new economic, political, ecological and social developments in the North can go forward in harmony with one another.” Insisting that past federal efforts had represented an *ad hoc* approach to regional development, Chrétien emphasized the need for a co-ordinated approach with the discovery of large oil and gas fields that, if the resources could be carried to market, portended an economic boom for the Territories. Modern development would acknowledge social and political considerations, attentive to the complex interactions between “people, resources, and the environment.” Accordingly, Chrétien’s development goals included the continuous evolution of government, the provision of a higher standard of living and of equality of opportunity for northern residents, viable economic development for northern regions, the maintenance of sovereignty and security, stewardship and enhancement of the northern environment, and the development of the leisure and recreational opportunities in the Territories.<sup>14</sup>

In the early 1970s, abuzz with the prospect of Northern oil and gas development generating massive regional economic growth and prosperity, federal officials supported private sector exploration and proposals on how to transport resources to southern markets. This raised “a complex web of intersecting sovereignty, and economic considerations,” policy scholar Frances Abele observed. “These were confronted with varying degrees of creativity, but no new model of economic development was proposed.”<sup>15</sup> In 1971, the Canadian oil industry proposed a \$5-billion double pipeline that would move oil and gas along the Mackenzie Valley to terminals in Edmonton where it would feed into the continental distribution network. When Chrétien faced charges that this pipeline would cause environmental damage and disrupt migration of northern fauna, he insisted that Canada would impose high standards for environmental protection and that the route would follow guidelines, set by the Liberal government, to meet Canadian needs.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, mining developments now extended to Canada’s archipelago, with a lead-zinc mine at Nanisivik on Baffin Island opening in 1976 and the Polaris lead-zinc mine on Little Cornwallis Island that started production in 1982.<sup>17</sup>

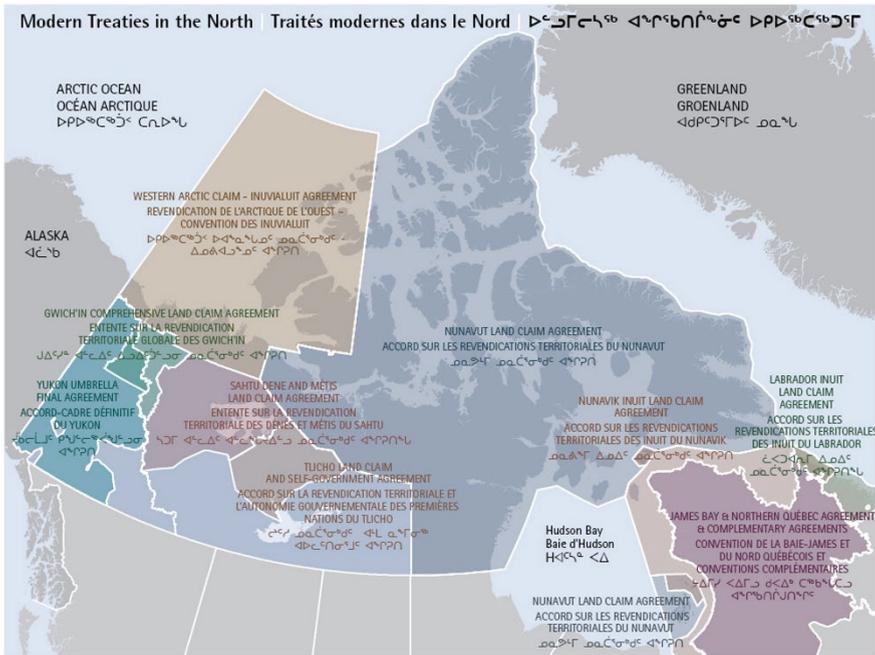
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<sup>14</sup> See Jim Lotz, “The Yukon and Northwest Territories,” in *Canadian Annual Review of Politics and Public Affairs 1970*, ed. John Saywell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 303. By the end of 1970, 32 drilling rigs were operating or preparing to initiate drilling north of the 60<sup>th</sup> parallel in Canada’s Territories.

<sup>15</sup> Frances Abele, “Canadian Contradictions: Forty Years of Northern Political Development.” *Arctic* 40/4 (1987): 314.

<sup>16</sup> See Nora Corley, “The Yukon and Northwest Territories,” in *Canadian Annual Review of Politics and Public Affairs 1971*, ed. John Saywell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), 222.

<sup>17</sup> W.W. Nassichuk, “Forty Years of Northern Non-Renewable Natural Resource Development,” *Arctic* 40/4 (1987): 275.



Alongside environmental considerations encouraging Canadians to reconceptualize the Arctic as a *place* in need of protection, the idea of the Arctic as homeland gained greater political salience in the Canadian dialogue on development in the 1970s. Indigenous groups had re-emerged as a political force in Canada,<sup>18</sup> and Northern leaders would no longer tolerate being left out of discussions related to resource development in their traditional territories. The Berger Inquiry, conducted to look into the socio-economic and environmental impact of a Mackenzie Valley pipeline, elicited unprecedented public engagement on a frontier development project before it began. Justice Thomas Berger’s final report, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland*, highlighted competing visions of Canada’s Northern history and the future. “We look upon the North as our last frontier,” he noted of the southern Canadian view. “It is natural for us to think of developing it, of subduing the land and extracting its resources to fuel Canada’s industry and heat our homes. But the native people say the North is their homeland. They have lived there for thousands of years. They claim it is their land, and they believe they have a right to say what its future ought to be.” Berger recommended a ten-year moratorium on any pipeline

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, Sally Weaver, *Making Canadian Indian Policy: The Hidden Agenda, 1968-1970* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981).

development so that Aboriginal land claims could be settled and appropriate conservation areas established beforehand.<sup>19</sup>

The twin dynamics of land claims and the prospect of widespread non-renewable resource development meant that domestic drivers dominated the Canadian political agenda for most of the 1970s and early 1980s. In the early 1970s, Indigenous peoples in the territorial north formed organizations to pursue their collective interests: the Council for Yukon Indians, the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement, the Indian Brotherhood of the NWT, the Métis Association of the NWT, and Inuit Tapirisat of Canada. Backed by federal fundings, these organizations "introduced a new factor in territorial political life."<sup>20</sup> With First Nations, Inuit, and Métis succeeding in elevating their claims to the broader Canadian public agenda and the 1973 *Calder* Supreme Court decisions affirming that Aboriginal title to the land predates colonization and is not merely derived from statutory law, Canada embarked upon a process of settling comprehensive land claims with Northern Indigenous peoples whose land rights had not been dealt with by treaty or other legal means—a process that has dramatically transformed Canada's political landscape.<sup>21</sup>

When the prospect of the Northwest Passage as a transportation route to carry Alaska oil to the Eastern seaboard faded and concomitant sovereignty concerns melted away, the federal government largely lost interest in international dimensions of Arctic affairs. Settling the maritime boundary with Greenland ended any lingering questions about the potential for rival claims to Ellesmere Island, and there was little incentive to settle the outstanding boundary with the United States in the Beaufort Sea when more pressing bilateral maritime boundary disputes remained.<sup>22</sup> Canada

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<sup>19</sup> Thomas R. Berger, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry* vol. 1 (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1977), 1. See also Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) archives, "The Berger Pipeline Inquiry," [http://archives.cbc.ca/IDD-1-73-295/politics\\_economy/pipeline/](http://archives.cbc.ca/IDD-1-73-295/politics_economy/pipeline/), and Martin O'Malley, *The Past and Future Land: An Account of the Berger Inquiry into the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline* (Toronto: P. Martin Associates Ltd., 1976).

<sup>20</sup> Abele, "Canadian Contradictions," 314-15.

<sup>21</sup> See, for example, Hamar Foster, Heather Raven, and Jeremy Webber, *Let Right Be Done: Aboriginal Title, the Calder Case, and the Future of Indigenous Rights* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007); Kirk Cameron and Graham White, *Northern governments in transition: Political and constitutional development in the Yukon, Nunavut and the Western Northwest Territories* (Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1995); Christopher Alcantara, "To treaty or not to treaty? Aboriginal peoples and comprehensive land claims negotiations in Canada," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 38/2 (2008): 343-369; and Greg Poelzer and Ken S. Coates, *From Treaty Peoples to Treaty Nation: A Road Map for All Canadians* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015).

<sup>22</sup> See Christopher Kirkey, "Delineating Maritime Boundaries: The 1977-78 Canada-US Beaufort Sea Continental Shelf Delimitation Boundary Negotiations," *Canadian Review of American Studies* 25/2 (1995): 49-66; and McDorman, *Salt Water Neighbors*.

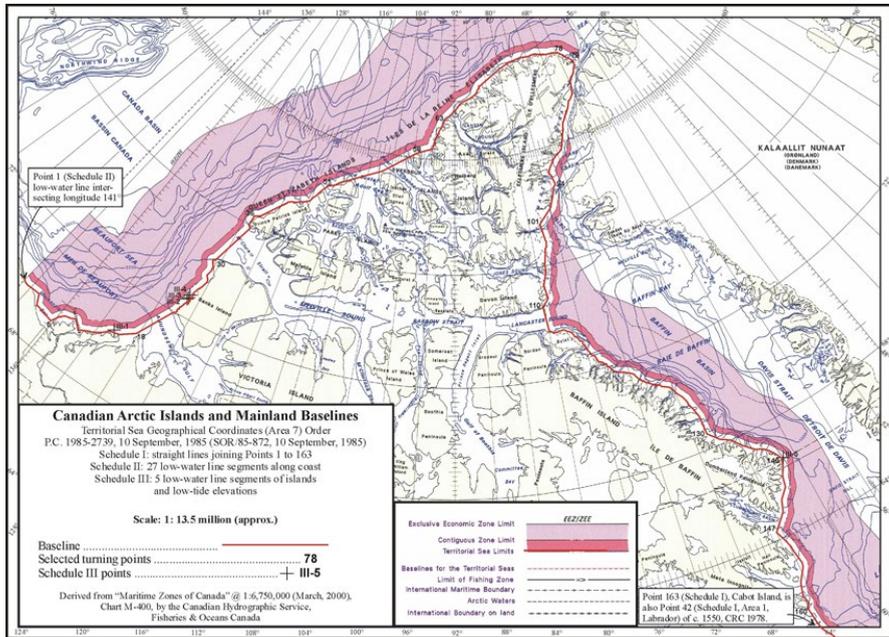
had no coherent Northern foreign policy. Although University of Toronto political scientist Franklyn Griffiths observed “quicken[ing] [of international activity] in the circumpolar North” in a 1979 study, he noted that Canadian governments still showed little capacity to develop or implement any sustained or systematic Arctic foreign policy. “The unfortunate state of affairs in Ottawa has clearly served to inhibit the thought of coordinating Canada’s northern international relations,” he noted. “This is because effective coordination of foreign affairs in the North requires the participation not only of externally oriented departments such as External Affairs and National Defence, but also of domestic agencies whose operations have foreign policy effects.” He emphasized that “political leadership and political will are required, and for both of these informed public concern is a necessary precondition.”<sup>23</sup>

The external dimensions of sovereignty re-emerged with the August 1985 voyage of the US Coast Guard icebreaker *Polar Sea* through the Northwest Passage. Although launched for reasonable operational reasons relating to the resupply of the American base at Thule, Greenland, the Americans refused to seek official permission from Canada, recognizing that this would prejudice their own legal position on international straits globally. In response, Secretary of State for External Affairs Joe Clark’s 10 September 1985 speech in the House of Commons produced a formal articulation of Conservative government policy with respect to Arctic sovereignty (**doc 2**). Insisting that “the voyage of the *Polar Sea* has left no trace on Canada’s Arctic waters and no mark on Canada’s Arctic sovereignty,” Clark emphasized that “our concern must be what lies ahead.” He announced that Canada was officially drawing straight baselines around the Arctic Archipelago effective 1 January 1986, thus confirming Canada’s sovereignty over the NWP as “historic, internal waters.” Concurrently, the federal government outlined an aggressive plan to exercise control over its waters and assert its Arctic sovereignty, encompassed in a series of measures outlined in the 10 September statement. “These initiatives included the establishment of the legal regime for Canadian waters; the application of Canadian law over these waters; the formalization of Canadian-US relations regarding the Passage; and the development of the physical means for the protection of these waters and enforcement of Canadian laws and regulations,” political scientist Rob Huebert summarized. He also explained that “while this list seems to indicate a comprehensive set of policies, they were the result of a hurried effort by the government to create the appearance of concrete policy action.”<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Franklyn Griffiths, *A Northern Foreign Policy for Canada* (Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1979), 7, 10.

<sup>24</sup> Rob Huebert, “Polar Vision or Tunnel Vision: The Making of Canadian Arctic Waters Policy,” *Marine Policy* 19/4 (1995): 343. See also Huebert, “Steel, Ice and Decision-Making: The Voyage of the *Polar Sea* and its Aftermath” (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dalhousie University, 1994).



Despite the promise of a new proactive approach to Arctic affairs, reactive “politics of ad hocery” continued.<sup>25</sup> The introduction to Canada’s 1985 foreign policy “green paper” *Competitiveness and Security* described the country as an Arctic nation that was “special because of it,” but it never referenced the Arctic again. A Special Joint Parliamentary Committee on Canada’s International Relations devoted a full chapter in its 1986 report to the Arctic, insisting that “the North must be part and parcel of Canada’s foreign policy, because the stakes and interests that Canada has in the North are vital to its sovereignty and security.” The 1987 defence white paper, *Challenge and Commitment*, identified new Soviet submarines, bombers, and air and sub-launched cruise missiles as the principal threat to (and from) the Arctic region, insisting that “Canadians cannot ignore that what was once a buffer [the Arctic Ocean] could become a battleground.” Accordingly, “the Canadian navy must be able to determine what is happening under the ice in the Canadian Arctic, and to deter hostile or potentially hostile intrusions.” The government promised to build sub-surface sonar systems and a fleet of nuclear-powered submarines and to monitor and control the region, as well as modernized air defence systems.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Rob Huebert, “A Northern Foreign Policy: The Politics of Ad Hocery” in *Diplomatic Departures: The Conservative Era in Canadian Foreign Policy, 1984-1993*, ed. Kim Nossal and Nelson Michaud (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2001), 84-99.

<sup>26</sup> Department of National Defence, *Challenge and Commitment: A Defence Policy for Canada* (June 1987).

The Mulroney government never articulated a full Northern foreign policy agenda, however, and instead acted upon the six policy initiatives that Clark outlined in his September 1985 statement. One of these announcements committed to launch “immediate talks with the United States on co-operation in Arctic waters, on the basis of full respect for Canadian sovereignty”—a prudent move that, owing to Prime Minister Mulroney’s close relationship with President Ronald Reagan, yielded the 1988 Arctic Cooperation Agreement. The Americans did not acquiesce to Canada’s legal position on the Northwest Passage but, in the interests of safe navigation, pledged “that all navigation by U.S. icebreakers within waters claimed by Canada to be internal will be undertaken with the consent of the Government of Canada.” By “agreeing to disagree” on the legal status of the passage, the two countries reached “a pragmatic solution based on our special bilateral relationship, our common interest in cooperating on Arctic matters, and the nature of the area”—one that did not prejudice either country’s legal position or set a precedent for other areas of the world.<sup>27</sup> With this understanding in place and the perceived sovereignty “crisis” averted, Canadian political attention associated with this issue dissipated.

The Mulroney government’s general objectives were consolidated in *Looking North: Canada’s Arctic Commitment*, released by the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in 1989 (**doc. 3**). Although often overlooked as a statement of Canada’s Northern strategy, the document provides an in-depth “overview of current trends and activities in northern Canada” and outlines “the activities and priorities of the federal government which shape our national northern strategy and policies.” Its main chapters also reinforce the main pillars of previous and subsequent Northern strategies: Indigenous land claims and devolution; social and cultural diversity; science; a diversified economy; environmental protection; security; transportation and communication infrastructure; and the desire for enhanced circumpolar cooperation. “We’ve seen the elements of a Northern Political and Economic Framework whose primary goal includes developing fully responsible northern governments through the transfer of responsibilities that would normally fall within provincial jurisdiction elsewhere in Canada,” *Looking North* concludes. “Commitment is also made to settling outstanding northern aboriginal land claims, promoting economic development and enhancing Canadian sovereignty over the waters of the arctic archipelago.” Highlighting that “an expanded role for Northerners is central to these initiatives,” the document also notes that “Canada’s commitment to the North rests on a partnership in action supported by all Canadians.”

Given that the federal government’s Northern foreign policy remained underdeveloped in the late 1980s, several non-governmental organizations sought to frame the agenda with their own proposals. The Canadian wing of the Inuit

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<sup>27</sup> Christopher Kirkey, “Smoothing Troubled Waters: The 1988 Canada-United States Arctic Co-operation Agreement,” *International Journal* 50/2 (1995): 401-426.

Circumpolar Conference (now Inuit Circumpolar Council), which had been founded in 1977, promoted circumpolar cooperation, developed a pan-Arctic environmental strategy, advocated demilitarization, and pushed for northern autonomy.<sup>28</sup> The National Capital Branch of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, chaired by former Clerk of the Privy Council Gordon Robertson, issued a 1988 report that promoted a comprehensive and coherent Canadian “northern dimension” in foreign policy that would encompass sovereignty and security as well as environmental protection, Indigenous peoples’ well-being and “self-reliance,” social issues, economic development and transportation, advancement of northern science and knowledge, northern political development, and circumpolar cooperation.<sup>29</sup> The report embraced the language of sustainable development (introduced in the 1987 Brundtland Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development) and also promoted Russian president Mikhail Gorbachev’s proposed “Arctic zone of peace” articulated in his landmark 1987 Murmansk speech.<sup>30</sup> It also resurrected the idea to create a regional forum to promote Arctic cooperation, which Prime Minister Brian Mulroney formally proposed to Russian authorities in late 1989.<sup>31</sup>

## The End of the Cold War and a New Circumpolar Focus

When the Cold War abruptly ended in the early 1990s, the official discourse in Canada on Arctic affairs shifted away from continental security and narrow sovereignty interests to emphasize circumpolar cooperation and broad definitions of security that prioritized human and environmental dimensions.<sup>32</sup> In 1991, the eight Arctic countries signed the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy (AEPS),

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<sup>28</sup> Frances Abele and Thierry Rodon, “Inuit Diplomacy in the Global Era: The Strengths of Multilateral Internationalism,” *Canadian Foreign Policy* 13/3 (2007): 55-57.

<sup>29</sup> Gordon Robertson, *The North and Canada’s International Relations* (Ottawa: Report of a Working Group of the National Capital Branch of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, March 1988).

<sup>30</sup> See Ronald G. Purver, “Arctic security: The Murmansk Initiative and its Impact,” in *Soviet Foreign Policy*, ed. Carl Jacobsen (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1989), 182-203; and Kristian Åtland, “Mikhail Gorbachev, the Murmansk Initiative, and the Desecuritization of Interstate Relations in the Arctic,” *Cooperation and Conflict* 43/3 (2008): 289-311.

<sup>31</sup> On the origins of the Arctic Council, see John English, *Ice and Water: Politics, Peoples, and the Arctic Council* (Toronto: Allen Lane, 2013).

<sup>32</sup> For general background, see Rob Huebert, “New Directions in Circumpolar Cooperation: Canada, the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy and the Arctic Council,” *Canadian Foreign Policy* 5/2 (Winter 1998): 37-58; Huebert, “Canadian Arctic Security Issues: Transformation in the Post-Cold War Era,” *International Journal* 54/2 (Spring 1999): 203-229; and Ken Coates, P. Whitney Lackenbauer, William Morrison, and Greg Poelzer, *Arctic Front: Defending Canada in the Far North* (Toronto: Thomas Allen, 2008).

originally a Finnish initiative but largely drafted by Canadian officials, creating a forum to work on Arctic-wide environmental regulation and management.<sup>33</sup> Inuit leader Mary Simon, then President of the Inuit Circumpolar Council, welcomed the step with cautious praise: “That has to come now. We can’t keep signing these international agreements and have no action. The important part becomes the implementation and interpretation of the agreement and the work plan that has to follow.”<sup>34</sup> NGOs vigorously promoted Mulroney’s Arctic Council proposal, as did a 1992 parliamentary committee endorsing the creation of a “demilitarized zone” in the Arctic Ocean and an “International Arctic Council” that would deal primarily with security and environmental matters. The United States, however, resisted creating a regional body that would deal with military security and have Indigenous peoples accorded equal status to the Arctic states.<sup>35</sup>

When Jean Chrétien’s Liberals took over from the battered Conservatives in late 1993, his government promised to pursue a circumpolar cooperation agenda with vigour. The November 1994 report of the Special Joint Committee Reviewing Canadian Foreign Policy welcomed the appointment of Mary Simon as Canada’s first Circumpolar Ambassador and encouraged Ottawa “to work urgently with other states to establish the Arctic Council,” placing a highest priority on dealing with Arctic environmental threats. The security chapter in the government’s February 1995 statement on *Canada in the World* affirmed the broad objectives of the Arctic Council and further asserted Canada’s “particular role in defending and developing the Arctic environment, an area where international cooperation is vital and is just beginning.”<sup>36</sup> Chrétien convinced U.S. President Bill Clinton to join negotiations to create the Council, which eventually yielded the 19 September 1996 Ottawa Declaration establishing the “high level forum to provide a means for promoting cooperation, coordination and interaction among the Arctic States, with the involvement of the Arctic indigenous communities and other Arctic inhabitants on common Arctic

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<sup>33</sup> Rob Huebert, “New Directions in Circumpolar Cooperation: Canada, the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy, and the Arctic Council,” *Canadian Foreign Policy* 5/2 (1998): 37-58; Huebert, “The Arctic Council and Northern Aboriginal Peoples,” in *Issues in the North* vol.3, edited by Jill Oakes and Rick Riewe (Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, 1998), 144; and Mark Nuttal, *Protecting the Arctic: Indigenous Peoples and Cultural Survival* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), 40.

<sup>34</sup> “Canada to join eight-nation Arctic protection body,” *Globe and Mail*, 10 June 1991.

<sup>35</sup> Ryan Dean, “Arctic Ironies: American Shaping of an Arctic Regime,” North American and Arctic Defence and Security Network *Policy Brief*, 29 January 2020, [https://www.naadsn.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Dean\\_Arctic-Ironies\\_Policy-Brief-2.pdf](https://www.naadsn.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Dean_Arctic-Ironies_Policy-Brief-2.pdf).

<sup>36</sup> See English, *Ice and Water*.

issues, in particular issues of sustainable development and environmental protection in the Arctic.”<sup>37</sup>

As a tireless promoter of the Arctic Council, Canada invested in creating a new Arctic regime modelled after its own image of “the Arctic.”<sup>38</sup> At home, Indigenous land claim and co-governance agreements were reshaping internal political relationships, most dramatically reflected in the Nunavut Final Agreement (1993) that directed the creation of the new territory of Nunavut in 1999.<sup>39</sup> In April 1997, a Canadian parliamentary committee recommended that the country should focus on international Arctic cooperation through multilateral governance to address pressing “human security” and environmental challenges in the region, touting “circumpolar cooperation as a Canadian foreign policy vocation.” *Canada and the Circumpolar World: Meeting the Challenges of Co-operation into the Twenty-First Century* criticized previous governments for “the ad hoc, scattered or isolated federal approaches that have too often characterized Ottawa’s past involvement in circumpolar affairs” and called for a robust circumpolar engagement strategy that reflected the broad interests of Canadians (and particularly northerners). “The Arctic is increasingly significant to the long-term interests of all Canadians – economic, political, social, and environmental,” the all-party committee stated. “There is a leading role to be played by Canada in forging closer ties with other Arctic states with similar interests, and in working collaboratively to develop better international regimes for preserving the Arctic’s unique ecosystems and securing rights to sustainable human development under pressures of rapid change.” Time would prove whether “a northern dimension in Canadian foreign policy has truly arrived, in practice as well as intention,” the report noted:

As we have seen, previous episodes of policy attention to the Arctic too soon gave way again to years of relative passivity and neglect. If Canada is to rise to the challenge of the “Arctic imperative,” it will be necessary for it to break out of that traditional foreign policy pattern, and what analyst described as its “Mercator mind-set,” to recognize the circumpolar region as a primary, not just secondary or occasional, field of activity for achieving Canada’s objectives in the world. Hence, as the Committee argued in Chapter One, comes the need to work out this systematic and integrated

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<sup>37</sup> Arctic Council, Ottawa Declaration, [https://oarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/85/EDOCS-1752-v2-ACMMCA00\\_Ottawa\\_1996\\_Founding\\_Declaration.PDF?sequence=5&isAllowed=y](https://oarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/85/EDOCS-1752-v2-ACMMCA00_Ottawa_1996_Founding_Declaration.PDF?sequence=5&isAllowed=y).

<sup>38</sup> Carina Keskitalo, “Setting the Agenda on the Arctic: Whose Policy Frames the Region?” *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 19/1 (2012): 155-164.

<sup>39</sup> For a recent overview, see P. Whitney Lackenbauer and André Légaré, “A More Accurate Face on Canada to the World’: The Creation of Nunavut,” in *Reconsidering Confederation: Canada’s Founding Debates, 1864-1999*, ed. Daniel Heidt (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2018), 263-290.

circumpolar element within the progressive evolution of foreign policy as a whole.

Committee chairman Bill Graham reported that environmentally sustainable human development was “the long-term foundation for assuring circumpolar security.”<sup>40</sup>

Although the Liberal government embraced this emphasis on international cooperation, it did not accept recommendations for regional demilitarization (which contradicted longstanding Canadian policy and “would entail an abandonment of the Canadian military presence in the North”).<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, *The Northern Dimension of Canada’s Foreign Policy* (doc. 4), released in the fall of 2000, revealed how environmental and social challenges now predominated the Canadian policy agenda. The core threats confronting northern communities and ecosystems in an increasingly globalized world were transboundary. “Whereas the politics of the Cold War dictated that the Arctic region be treated as part of a broader strategy of exclusion and confrontation,” the document asserted, “now the politics of globalization and power diffusion highlight the importance of the circumpolar world as an area for inclusion and co-operation.” Managing these complex northern issues promoted “the extension of Canadian interests and values” and was closely linked with “future security and prosperity...” Environmental and human security, rather than traditional military security, framed the new policy.

Framed by principles of Canadian leadership, partnership, and ongoing dialogue with Northerners, this new northern foreign policy was rooted in four overarching objectives: to enhance the security and prosperity of Canadians, especially Northerners and Aboriginal peoples; to assert and ensure the preservation of Canada’s sovereignty in the North; to establish the circumpolar region as a vibrant geopolitical entity integrated into a rules-based international system; and to promote the human security of Northerners and the sustainable development of the Arctic. By the start of the new millennium, developments in Aboriginal self-government and devolution of federal powers to the territories required new economic opportunities that promoted northern interests. Similarly, asserting and ensuring the preservation of Canadian sovereignty was deemed compatible with multilateral cooperation. The focus on diplomacy and circumpolar cooperation meant that traditional preoccupations with “defending” sovereignty slipped to the back burner.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade (HCSCFAIT), *Canada and the Circumpolar World: Meeting the Challenges of Cooperation into the Twenty-First Century* (1997), ix, 100.

<sup>41</sup> *Government Response to Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade Report “Canada and the Circumpolar World: Meeting the Challenges of Cooperation into the Twenty-First Century”* (1998).

<sup>42</sup> For an overview of these trends, see Coates et al, *Arctic Front*; Rob Huebert, “Climate Change and Canadian Sovereignty in the Northwest Passage,” *Isuma* 2/4 (Winter 2001):

When Cabinet approved the NDCFP, it directed the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) to allocate \$10 million over five years to facilitate its implementation. Five years later, the Inspector General at DFAIT completed an evaluation of the policy and its implementation. Most stakeholders said that the Arctic Council was the “centre-piece” for advancing Canada’s foreign policy interests in the Arctic, and that it had played a “key role” in the Council’s working groups and in funding the Canadian-based Permanent Participants (who needed additional support). This active role had improved awareness and understanding of environmental issues, such as climate change and trans-boundary pollutants. In other respects, the resources and results were less satisfactory. However, the evaluators determined that the Arctic Council needed “firmer policy direction, stronger diplomatic efforts and an enhanced role for the Ambassador of Circumpolar Affairs,” as well as stronger partnerships with other federal departmental agencies, territorial governments, and land claims groups. Northern and Indigenous stakeholders also complained that the federal government had failed to sustain an ongoing policy dialogue. Accordingly, the assessment recommended that Canada focus its energies and resources on fewer initiatives, strengthen Canadian leadership in circumpolar affairs, “strengthen partnerships with other federal departments and agencies, territorial governments and land claims groups in light of increasing emphasis on horizontal and whole-of-government solutions and the continuing devolution of governance in the North,” and strengthen initiatives to engage Canadians, particularly northerners and indigenous groups.<sup>43</sup>

This emphasis on human and environmental security continued into Paul Martin’s Liberal Government. In December 2004, the federal government announced a draft integrated *Northern Strategy* (doc. 4) (devised in concert with the premiers of the Northern territories of Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut), built around seven main goals. First, the strategy promised to strengthen Northern governance, partnerships and institutions to provide Northerners with greater control over decisions about their future. Second, it committed to establishing strong foundations for “strong, sustainable, diversified economies where northerners share in the benefits of northern development.” Third, it proposed “to engage all partners in the North in the protection and stewardship of the environment.” Fourth, it sought to promote “healthy, safe and sustainable northern communities” that would “promote self-reliance.” Fifth, the document committed to ensuring that Canada would continue to play a “leading role” in promoting international cooperation,

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86-94; and Huebert, “The Shipping News Part II: How Canada’s Arctic Sovereignty is on Thinning Ice,” *International Journal* 58/3 (Summer 2003): 295-308.

<sup>43</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT), *Summative Evaluation of the Northern Dimension of Canada’s Foreign Policy* (May 2005), quoted in P. Whitney Lackenbauer, *From Polar Race to Polar Saga: An Integrated Strategy for Canada and the Circumpolar World* (Toronto: Canadian International Council, 2009), <http://www.ontla.on.ca/library/repository/mon/27007/323477.pdf>.

while taking Northerners' concerns into "consideration in national efforts to reinforce sovereignty, security and circumpolar cooperation." Sixth, the strategy promised to preserve, revitalize, and promote Indigenous cultures, recognizing and encouraging "the importance of language, traditional knowledge and way-of-life." Seventh, the government committed to ensuring that "Canada is a leader in northern science and technology, and to develop expertise in areas of particular importance and relevance to the North."<sup>44</sup>

By the early 2000s, the rising tide of scientific evidence about the pace and effects of global warming in the Arctic led some Canadian academic commentators to push for a more proactive Arctic strategy. This strategy anticipated that climate change would stimulate a "sovereignty crisis," with renewed challenges to the legal status of the waters of the Northwest Passage for international transit shipping. According to this narrative, heightened international activity in the circumpolar Arctic would amplify the significance of boundary disputes, such as the Beaufort Sea and Hans Island, and a growing demand for Arctic resources would jeopardize international recognition of Canadian sovereignty. These commentators argued that to successfully meet future sovereignty challenges, a continued reliance on international law and friendly relationships with other Arctic states would no longer suffice. These calls for a more robust Canadian military presence to bolster the country's sovereignty<sup>45</sup> stimulated debate within the academic community. For example, political scientist Franklyn Griffiths chastized "purveyors of polar peril" for overreacting to alleged sovereignty and security challenges prompted by climate change in the Arctic.<sup>46</sup> He countered the hype about the so-called Arctic "rush," called for a renewed human security focus, and argued that a successful Canadian Arctic should be centered on the emancipation of Inuit within the Canadian state.<sup>47</sup>

In December 2004, Prime Minister Paul Martin and the three territorial premiers announced that "their governments would be jointly developing the first-ever comprehensive strategy for the North, in cooperation with Aboriginal governments,

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<sup>44</sup> See Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, "Renewing the Northern Strategy," *Northern Perspectives* 30/1 (2006): 2.

<sup>45</sup> Rob Huebert, "Climate Change and Canadian Sovereignty in the Northwest Passage," *Isuma: Canadian Journal of Policy Research* 2/4 (2001); Huebert, "The Shipping News Part II"; Michael Byers and Suzanne Lalonde, "Our Arctic sovereignty is on thin ice," *Globe and Mail*, 1 August 2005. This early push by these academics to meet anticipated sovereignty threats was reinforced by the *Arctic Climate Impact Assessment* report (2004) which drew international attention to the effects of climate change on the Arctic.

<sup>46</sup> Early uses of this phrase in print include Bruce Valpy, "Canada's control of Arctic waters questioned," *Northern News Services*, 28 April 2008, and Chris Windeyer, "Canadian visit welcomed, but Northern issues low on agenda," *Nunatsiag News*, 22 January 2009.

<sup>47</sup> See Franklyn Griffiths, "The Shipping News: Canada's Arctic Sovereignty is Not on Thinning Ice," *International Journal* 58/2 (2003): 257-282.

organizations and Northern residents.” Promising to hold extensive public meetings with Northern stakeholders and rightsholders, the federal Department of Indian and Northern Affairs developed a Northern Strategy consultation document (**doc. 5**) to support a process designed to produce “a common long-term vision for the North and to jointly identify the actions and initiatives that need to be undertaken to achieve this vision.... A Northern Strategy will serve as a commitment by governments to keep northern issues front and centre – now and over the longer term.” Seven pillars framed the agenda:

- Strengthening Governance, Partnerships and Institutions
- Establishing Strong Foundations for Economic Development
- Protecting the Environment
- Building Healthy and Safe Communities
- Reinforcing Sovereignty, National Security and Circumpolar Cooperation
- Preserving, Revitalizing and Promoting Culture and Identity
- Developing Northern Science and Research

Although the Martin government conducted public consultations on the strategy in 2005, the results were not released before the federal election at the end of that year.

The heightened political salience of Arctic issues was reflected in the Martin government’s foreign policy documents, however. In 2005, the *International Policy Statement* (IPS) identified the Arctic as a priority area in light of “increased security threats, a changed distribution of global power, challenges to existing international institutions, and transformation of the global economy.” It anticipated that the next two decades would bring major challenges requiring creative diplomacy as well as investment in new security capabilities to meet these challenges. “In addition to growing economic activity in the Arctic region, the effects of climate change are expected to open up our Arctic waters to commercial traffic by as early as 2015,” the IPS stated. “These developments reinforce the need for Canada to monitor and control events in its sovereign territory, through new funding and new tools.”<sup>48</sup> Although the Martin government fell before it could implement its vision, it had intertwined sovereignty and security in political rhetoric and strategic documents. It fell to the Conservatives, who came to office in January 2006, to further articulate and implement Canada’s Arctic sovereignty and security agenda.

## **Stephen Harper and the Conservatives: A New Northern Agenda?**

The Canadian North was a key component of the Conservatives’ 2005 election platform, which played on the idea of an Arctic sovereignty “crisis” demanding decisive action. Stephen Harper promised that Canada would acquire the military capabilities necessary to successfully meet external threats. “The single most important duty of the federal government is to defend and protect our national

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<sup>48</sup> See Canada, *Canada’s International Policy Statement*, Overview (2005), excerpted in Dean et al, *Canadian Arctic Defence and Security Policy*, 39-40.

sovereignty,” Harper asserted. “It’s time to act to defend Canadian sovereignty. A Conservative government will make the military investments needed to secure our borders. You don’t defend national sovereignty with flags, cheap election rhetoric, and advertising campaigns. You need forces on the ground, ships in the sea, and proper surveillance. And that will be the Conservative approach.”<sup>49</sup>

A spate of electoral commitments to invest in military capabilities to defend Canada’s sovereignty reinforced the government’s emphasis on military or “hard security” in general. Framed as sovereignty initiatives that would help to rebuild the capabilities of the Canadian Forces, Minister of National Defence Gordon O’Connor outlined these political commitments early in the Harper Government’s first mandate:

There are other agencies and the people in the villages in the north who are enforcing our sovereignty, but I’ll just give you a military point of view. I want to be able to have the Navy, Army and Air Force operate on a regular basis throughout the Arctic. So we’re going to be acquiring naval ships that allow the Navy to go through the Arctic. We’re going to increase the ranger sizes so there are more rangers. We’re going to increase the frequency of their patrols. We’re going to get them better equipment. We’re also going to get some more aircraft up in the north so that the air force can operate more frequently in the North. We’re going to open up an Arctic training centre for the army. Most of the soldiers are in the south, so they’ll be able to train in the Arctic. We’re also going to open up what they call a docking and refueling facility for the navy. Maybe more than one of them, but for the moment, in the Eastern Arctic so that when we send ships up there, they can dock and refuel and carry on. We’re bringing on line satellites soon that will scan the Arctic on a regular basis. The other piece we intend to implement is to put some kind of sensor in the Northwest Passage channel so we keep track of submarines. It may not be the Northwest Passage channel, but it will be an appropriate channel, once the navy picks it. They’re the experts, not me.<sup>50</sup>

Along these lines, Harper’s Conservatives entered into office with a much stronger resolve to make the Arctic a top priority than their Liberal predecessors. The new prime minister emphasized this point during his first northern tour in August 2006. “Canada’s new national government understands the first principle of Arctic

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<sup>49</sup> Stephen Harper, “Harper Stands Up for Arctic Sovereignty,” address in Ottawa, 22 December 2005, reproduced in Lackenbauer and Dean, *Canada’s Northern Strategy under the Harper Conservatives*, doc. 1.

<sup>50</sup> Bea Vongdouangchanh, “Cabinet waiting for Defence Department’s 10-year Arctic military plan: O’Connor,” *The Hill Times*, 16 October 2006.

sovereignty: use it or lose it,” Harper declared, “and we have no intention of losing it.”<sup>51</sup> “Using” the Arctic would be accomplished by making campaign promises into a reality. As the speeches and press releases in this volume demonstrate, his sovereignty measures included expanding the Canadian Rangers program; ordering new Arctic/Offshore Patrol Ships (AOPS) to monitor and respond; building a deep water Arctic docking and refueling facility in Nanisivik; launching RadarSat-2 to provide enhanced surveillance and data gathering capabilities; holding military exercises; building a Canadian Forces Arctic Training Centre in Resolute and establishing a new Reserve unit in Yellowknife. “We believe that Canadians are excited about the government asserting Canada’s control and sovereignty in the Arctic,” Harper told a *Toronto Sun* reporter on 23 February 2007. “We believe that’s one of the big reasons why Canadians are excited and support our plan to rebuild the Canadian Forces. I think it’s practically and symbolically hugely important, much more important than the dollars spent. And I’m hoping that years from now, Canada’s Arctic sovereignty, military and otherwise, will be, frankly, a major legacy of this government.”<sup>52</sup>

Critics soon mobilized to denigrate the Harper Government’s preoccupation with hard security and its investments in military capabilities to “use” and not “lose” the Arctic. On one end of the spectrum, political scientist Rob Huebert asserted that the Harper government was not going far enough, fast enough, to ensure that Canada could monitor and control what was happening within its Arctic waters in a time of rapid change. Canada had fallen behind other states in building new Arctic capabilities would have to work harder to catch up.<sup>53</sup> Other critics, while welcoming the attention the Harper government was committing to the Arctic, questioned whether the new security capabilities being developed were the right ones. Legal scholars Michael Byers and Suzanne Lalonde highlighted the limited ice-capabilities of the AOPS and the lack of attention to acquiring platforms to enhance search-and-rescue services in across the Canadian Arctic.<sup>54</sup> On the other end of the spectrum, critical geographer Klaus Dodds noted that Canada’s emphasis on demonstrating “use” of the Arctic through military deployments appealed to Canadian nationalism but inhibited international partnerships in developing and legitimizing regional cooperation, as well marginalizing domestic partners – particularly Inuit -- in policies

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<sup>51</sup> Speech: “The Call of the North,” Address by Prime Minister Stephen Harper, Yellowknife, 17 August 2006, in Lackenbauer and Dean, *Canada’s Northern Strategy under the Harper Conservatives*, doc. 8.

<sup>52</sup> Kathleen Harris, “Laying claim to Canada’s internal waters,” *Toronto Sun*, 22 February 2007.

<sup>53</sup> Rob Huebert, “Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security in a Transforming Circumpolar World,” in Franklyn Griffiths, Huebert, and P. Whitney Lackenbauer, *Canada and the Changing Arctic: Sovereignty, Security and Stewardship* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2011).

<sup>54</sup> Michael Byers and Suzanne Lalonde. “Who Controls the Northwest Passage?” *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law* 42/4 (2009): 1191-1199.

that would most directly affect them.<sup>55</sup> Contrary to this apparent strategy of exclusion, critics such as Griffiths advocated for a Canadian Arctic strategy based on the “*elevation, engagement and invigoration*” of international cooperation, thus engendering a norm of “cooperative stewardship” rather than insecurity and military competition within the region.<sup>56</sup>

Domestically, the “use it or lose it” rhetoric frustrated and even offended some Northerners, particularly Indigenous people who had lived in the region since “time immemorial” (and thus resented any intimation that it was not sufficiently “used”) and continued to express concerns about their lack of substantive involvement in national and international decision-making. Inuit representatives, for example, suggested that the government agenda prioritized military investments at the expense of environmental protection and improved social and economic conditions in the North. They insisted that “sovereignty begins at home” and that the primary challenges were domestic human security issues, requiring investments in infrastructure, education, and health care.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, the Inuit Circumpolar Council’s transnational *Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic* (2009) emphasized that “the inextricable linkages between issues of sovereignty and sovereign rights in the Arctic and Inuit self-determination and other rights require states to accept the presence and role of Inuit as partners in the conduct of international relations in the Arctic.” The declaration envisions the Inuit playing an active role in all deliberations on environmental security, sustainable development, militarization, shipping, and socio-economic development.<sup>58</sup>

Other commentators argued for more balance between traditional military and human security approaches. I argued that the Harper Government’s early Arctic policy statements overplayed the probability of military conflict in the region, which was conducive to producing an image of strength and commitment to defend the

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<sup>55</sup> Klaus Dodds, “We are a Northern Country: Stephen Harper and the Canadian Arctic,” *Polar Record* 47/4 (2011): 371-374.

<sup>56</sup> Emphasis in the original. Griffiths, “Towards a Canadian Arctic Strategy,” in Griffiths, Huebert, and Lackenbauer, *Canada and the Changing Arctic*.

<sup>57</sup> See, for example, Paul Kaludjak, “The Inuit are here, use us,” *Ottawa Citizen*, 18 July 2007; Mary Simon, “Does Ottawa’s northern focus look backwards?” *Nunatsiaq News*, 11 April 2008; and the perspectives in Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *Nilliajut: Inuit Perspectives on Security, Patriotism and Sovereignty* (Ottawa: Inuit Qaujisarvingat, 2013).

<sup>58</sup> Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC), *A Circumpolar Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic*, April 2009, <https://www.itk.ca/publication/circumpolar-declaration-sovereignty-arctic>. Inuit representatives have opposed state actions that they feel violate their interests, such as Canada’s decision to host a meeting for the five Arctic coastal states in March 2010 without inviting Inuit and First Nations to the discussions, and even critiqued a bilateral Canada-Denmark Arctic defence and security cooperation agreement because they were not involved in negotiating it. As such, indigenous voices add to the complexity (and richness) of the Canadian message projected to the rest of the world.

country's sovereignty but yielded only a partial strategy that neglected diplomacy and development.<sup>59</sup> I noted that the human security approach and reliance on international law advanced by the previous Liberal governments, and the "use it or lose it" approach of the Harper Government emphasizing hard security, were erroneously presented to Canadians as diametrically opposed propositions. Instead, these strategies were complementary and, if integrated, could produce a comprehensive Arctic strategy.<sup>60</sup>

The 2007 Speech from the Throne (**doc. 5**) suggested that the Harper Government's broader vision for the Arctic went beyond traditional sovereignty and security frames. Arguing that "the North needs new attention," and that "new opportunities are emerging across the Arctic," the Conservatives promised to "bring forward an integrated northern strategy focused on strengthening Canada's sovereignty, protecting our environmental heritage, promoting economic and social development, and improving and devolving governance, so that northerners have greater control over their destinies." This four-pillar strategy would be expanded to "improve living conditions in the North for First Nations and Inuit through better housing," as well as a pledge to "build a world-class arctic research station that will be on the cutting edge of arctic issues, including environmental science and resource development." While the government would proceed with its election promises to bolster Canada's security presence in the Arctic, its sovereignty assertion would include "complete comprehensive mapping of Canada's Arctic seabed." The following year, Prime Minister Harper reiterated his government's commitment to the "New North" during his fifth Northern tour, insisting that the four pillars constituted "a comprehensive vision for a new North, a Northern Strategy that will turn potential into prosperity for the benefit of all Northerners and all Canadians."<sup>61</sup>

Northern leaders received the throne speech with mixed sentiments. On the one hand, Northerners applauded their inclusion in the Harper Government's expanded conceptualization of Arctic sovereignty. Similarly, territorial premiers were positive about the intentions for northerners to have more control over their resource wealth, and their economies developed. Criticisms surrounding the northern strategy generally fell into two categories. Mary Simon, the president of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (the national Inuit political organization), offered a common criticism of the strategy when she said that she wished "there would be a bit more detail."<sup>62</sup> Northwest Territories Premier Floyd Roland echoed Simon a couple of years later,

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<sup>59</sup> P. Whitney Lackenbauer, "Striking an Arctic Balance," *Globe and Mail*, 7 August 2008.

<sup>60</sup> P. Whitney Lackenbauer, *From Polar Race to Polar Saga: An Integrated Strategy for Canada and the Circumpolar World*, Foreign Policy for Canada's Tomorrow No. 3 (Toronto: Canadian International Council, July 2009).

<sup>61</sup> News Release: Prime Minister Harper Delivers on Commitment to the "New North," 10 March 2008.

<sup>62</sup> Bob Weber, "Northern leaders like that Harper has expanded view of Arctic sovereignty," *Canadian Press*, 16 October 2007.

expressing his hope that Conservatives would be “ready to release” a more substantive strategy document soon. “There are resources at stake here,” he noted. “We need to have our policy or program in place.”<sup>63</sup> Another debate over the Northern Strategy orbited around the centrality of Inuit. Critics suggested that the strategy was too focused on military dimensions of sovereignty and on foreign policy, and not sufficiently domestic-focused on improving the lives of Northerners, particularly Inuit. “It’s their historic use and occupancy of the sea-ice that provides the basis for Canada’s claim in the Northwest Passage,” academic Michael Byers and New Democratic Party (NDP) Leader Jack Layton asserted. In their partisan view, the developing northern strategy failed to “address the other bulwarks of sovereignty: social and economic development, environmental stewardship, and -- above all -- honouring our commitments to the people of the North.”<sup>64</sup> The argument for a domestic, Inuit-focused northern strategy was clearly articulated by Mary Simon. “The bedrock of Canada’s status as an Arctic nation is the history of use and occupation of Arctic lands and waters by Inuit for thousands of years,” she explained. “This is helpful for Canada when defending claims of sovereignty against other nations.”<sup>65</sup> Simon argued that any Canadian northern strategy should be built on the twin pillars of “asserting Canada’s sovereignty in the Arctic [by] establishing constructive partnerships with Inuit,” and “urgent action by our government to get serious on a climate change strategy.”<sup>66</sup>

Statements by the Harper Government after the 2007 throne speech also began to expand its discussions about strengthening Canada’s Arctic sovereignty to include more direct references to the Arctic states’ shared adherence to international law. Marking the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the adoption of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) in December of 2007, Minister of Foreign Affairs Maxime Bernier commented that “the Convention plays an important role in Canada’s Northern Strategy” by “building a stable, rules-based region under which we cooperate with other circumpolar countries on issues of common concern.”<sup>67</sup> By January 2009, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs Lawrence Cannon stated that although new American and European Arctic policy statements outlined some

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<sup>63</sup> Bob Weber, “Arctic Sovereignty not under threat despite U.S., European policies: Cannon,” *Canadian Press*, 13 January 2009.

<sup>64</sup> Michael Byers and Jack Layton, “How to Strengthen Our Arctic Security: Keep our promises to the Inuit,” *The Tyee*, 6 September 2007.

<sup>65</sup> Mary Simon, “Inuit: the bedrock of Canadian sovereignty,” *Globe and Mail*, 26 July 2007.

<sup>66</sup> Mary Simon, “Inuit and the Canadian Arctic: Sovereignty Begins at Home,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 43/2 (2009), 251.

<sup>67</sup> News Release: Canada Commemorates 25th Anniversary of UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, 10 December 2007, in Lackenbauer and Dean, *Canada’s Northern Strategy under the Harper Conservatives*, doc. 32. See also May 2008 Ilulissat Declaration, 27-29 May 2008, [http://www.oceanlaw.org/downloads/arctic/Ilulissat\\_Declaration.pdf](http://www.oceanlaw.org/downloads/arctic/Ilulissat_Declaration.pdf).

interests contrary to Canada's, these did not place Canadian sovereignty under increased threat.<sup>68</sup> That March, Cannon acknowledged in a speech that geological research and international law (not military clout) would resolve continental shelf and boundary disputes, and he emphasized "strong Canadian leadership in the Arctic... to facilitate good international governance in the region."<sup>69</sup>

Statements surrounding the Harper Government's efforts to protect the Arctic's environmental heritage centred on scientific research and enhancing domestic regulations. In announcing the initial Canadian investments for research conducted under International Polar Year (IPY) 2007-8, Parliamentary Secretary for Fisheries and Oceans Randy Kamp explained: "For Canada, International Polar Year is an amazing opportunity to gain greater scientific knowledge of our North so we can better understand the impacts of climate change on our environment and improve the well-being of our northern communities."<sup>70</sup> Similarly, regulations enacted to protect the environment effected other pillars of the Harper Government's northern strategy. Announcing in August 2008 that the provisions of the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act would be extended from 100 nautical miles off the coast to 200 nautical miles, Prime Minister Harper explained that "we are acting today to protect our environment, improve the security of our waterways and ensure that all Northern residents – and, in particular, the Inuit – have a strong say in the future of our Arctic for generations to come."<sup>71</sup>

These constructive messages were echoed in *Canada's Northern Strategy: Our North, Our Heritage, Our Future*, released in July 2009 (doc. 7). At the release event, Ministers of Indian Affairs Chuck Strahl, Foreign Affairs Lawrence Cannon, and Minister of State for Science and Technology Gary Goodyear characterized *Canada's Northern Strategy* not as a series of "aggressive new initiatives" but as an integrated framework that "seeks to tie together ones that are already in the works, but in a coherent way that will make the public realize how active Canada is in the North."<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Minister Cannon also responded that "Canada already has its own Arctic northern strategy defined in the 2007 throne speech." Bob Weber, "Arctic Sovereignty not under threat despite U.S., European policies: Cannon," *Canadian Press*, 13 January 2009.

<sup>69</sup> Speaking Notes for the Hon. Lawrence Cannon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, "Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy: The International Dimension of Canada's Northern Strategy," Whitehorse, Yukon, 11 March 2009, in Lackenbauer and Dean, *Canada's Northern Strategy under the Harper Conservatives*, doc. 64.

<sup>70</sup> News Release: Canada's New Government Invests Over \$13 million in Arctic Research Projects, 28 June 2007, in Lackenbauer and Dean, *Canada's Northern Strategy under the Harper Conservatives*, doc. 16.

<sup>71</sup> News Release: Prime Minister Harper Announces Government of Canada Will Extend Jurisdiction over Arctic Waters, 27 August 2008, in Lackenbauer and Dean, *Canada's Northern Strategy under the Harper Conservatives*, doc. 53.

<sup>72</sup> Heather Scoffield, "Northern Initiatives: Ottawa Boosts Arctic Strategy," *Globe and Mail*, 27 July 2009.

It expanded on the four main pillars announced in 2007 and reinforced a message of partnership: between the federal government and Northern Canadians, and between Canada and its circumpolar neighbours. Although it trumpeted the government's commitment to "putting more boots on the Arctic tundra, more ships in the icy water and a better eye-in-the-sky," it also emphasized that Canada's disagreements with its neighbours were "well-managed and pose no sovereignty or defence challenges for Canada." This signaled a rather abrupt change of tone from previous political messaging.

Rather than a "use it or lose it" message, *Canada's Northern Strategy* stressed opportunities for cooperation in the circumpolar world. The strategy cast the United States as an "exceptionally valuable partner in the Arctic" with which Canada has managed its differences responsibly since the Second World War. It also emphasized opportunities for cooperation with Russia and "common interests" with European Arctic states, as well as a shared commitment to international law. Implicitly, this confirmed that bilateral and multilateral engagement is key to stability and security in the region. "We're not going down a road toward confrontation," Cannon emphasized. "Indeed, we're going down a road toward co-operation and collaboration. That is the Canadian way. And that's the way my other colleagues around the table have chosen to go as well." The foreign minister insisted that his government saw the Arctic as an "absolute priority" and that the needs of Northerners would be at the heart of Arctic policy.<sup>73</sup>

The Department of Foreign Affairs released its *Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy* the following August (**doc. 8**). This document, intended to elaborate on the international dimensions of the Northern Strategy, reiterated the importance of the Arctic in Canada's national identity and Canada's role as an "Arctic power" while outlining a vision for the Arctic as "a stable, rules-based region with clearly defined boundaries, dynamic economic growth and trade, vibrant Northern communities, and healthy and productive ecosystems." The first and foremost pillar of Canada's foreign policy remained "the exercise of our sovereignty over the Far North," but the "hard security" message of the 2006-08 period was supplemented (if not supplanted) by an amplification in the tone of cooperation with circumpolar neighbours and Northerners. Reaffirming that Canada's Arctic sovereignty is longstanding, well-established and based on historic title (rooted, in part, on the presence of Canadian Inuit and other Indigenous peoples in the region since time immemorial), the statement projected a stable, secure circumpolar world – but one in which Canada would continue to uphold its rights as a sovereign, coastal state.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Quoted in CBC News, "Canada unveils Arctic strategy," 26 July 2009, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/canada-unveils-arctic-strategy-1.820074>.

<sup>74</sup> Leading Canadian academic experts seemed to have reached a similar consensus around 2009, with the most strident proponents of the "sovereignty on thinning ice" school largely abandoning their earlier arguments that Canadian sovereignty will be a casualty of climate change and concomitant foreign challenges. Instead, academic narratives

Other dimensions of the *Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy* reflected the interaction between domestic and international agendas in *Canada's Northern Strategy*. Trade and investment in resource development, a primary catalyst for the surge in international interest in the Arctic, are upheld as main priorities given that the mining and energy sectors are key drivers of northern economies and offer significant opportunities for economic and social development. Accordingly, the second pillar, "Promoting Economic and Social Development," promoted the idea that creating a dynamic, sustainable northern economy and improving the social well-being of Northerners is essential to unleashing the true potential of Canada's Northern Territories. The statement emphasized that Canada is actively promoting Northern economic and social development internationally on three key fronts: 1) taking steps to create the appropriate international conditions for sustainable development; 2) seeking trade and investment opportunities that benefit Northerners and all Canadians; and 3) encouraging a greater understanding of the human dimension of the Arctic. Speeches and news releases compiled in a previous DCASS volume provide examples of how the Harper Government sought to implement its vision.<sup>75</sup>

Along these lines, the government's domestic emphasis shifted substantively after 2009 to emphasize economic development, so much so that by 2013 Rob Huebert noted "when's the last time you hear anyone use the 'use it or lose it' analogy? ... It's very much focused on improving the North for northerners now, rather than building up the security side."<sup>76</sup> Territorial premiers welcomed this change, but they also expressed concerns about what they saw as the Harper Government's "one-size-fits-all" policy of promoting private investment. Yukon Premier Darrell Pasloski observed that "in Ottawa or Toronto, there is that misconception or effort to lump us [the territories] all together... There are some real stark contrasts in terms of economic development, social development, all of these things." While the private investment focus might be appropriate for the relatively developed Yukon, Premier Eva Aariak noted that it was not as applicable to Nunavut where more public spending was needed. "In order to have thriving economic development happening in the North, in Nunavut, we need infrastructure in place," she argued. "We don't have roads

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anticipating potential conflict have tended to emphasize how other international events (such as Russian aggression in the Ukraine) could "spillover" into the Arctic or how new non-Arctic state and non-state actors might challenge or undermine Canadian sovereignty and security.

<sup>75</sup> Lackenbauer and Dean, *Canada's Northern Strategy under the Harper Conservatives*.

<sup>76</sup> Quoted in Josh Wingrove, "Harper's focus for North shifts from sovereignty to development," *Globe and Mail*, 26 July 2013. As the documents in this volume show, however, the Harper Government continued to highlight military operations and training exercises—particularly the N-series (Nanook, Nunaliivut, and Nunakput)—throughout its tenure in office.

leading to any other area. We don't have ports at all."<sup>77</sup> Internationally, the Harper Government also championed the creation of the Arctic Economic Council, "an independent organization that facilitates Arctic business-to-business activities and responsible economic development through the sharing of best practices, technological solutions, standards and other information."<sup>78</sup> This emphasis invited debate. "Mr. Harper's government obviously embraces a development model rooted in the idea that improved social indicators will follow economic development, particularly in sectors such as oil, gas and mining," I argued in an August 2013 editorial. "Nevertheless, critics insist that the overall emphasis is misplaced. Canadians should invest more in Northerners to improve social conditions and create healthier communities before priming the pump for resource developers."<sup>79</sup>

The third pillar, "Protecting the Arctic Environment," suggested that Canada was taking concrete action to protect and manage the unique and fragile ecosystems and wildlife of the Arctic, which are being affected by global forces. Its "comprehensive approach" to environmental protection, built around the idea of sustainability, claimed to balance the frontier-homeland equation, "ensuring [that] conservation keeps pace with development and that development decisions are based on sound science and careful assessment."<sup>80</sup> Domestic initiatives highlighted in speeches and media releases included cumulative impact monitoring programs, scientific research to support regulatory decision-making related to Northern oil and gas management, remediation of contaminated military and mine sites, the creation of new terrestrial and marine protected areas, and the expanded application of the *Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act* to the full extent of Canada's Exclusive Economic Zone.<sup>81</sup> In the international sphere, Canada's official environmental actions pursuant to its

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<sup>77</sup> Lee Berthiaume, "Questions raised on Harper government's approach to northern development," *Postmedia Breaking News*, 30 August 2013.

<sup>78</sup> Backgrounder, *Arctic Economic Forum*, <http://arcticeconomiccouncil.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/AEC-Backgrounder.pdf>. For critiques, see Lloyd Axworthy and Mary Simon, "Is Canada undermining the Arctic Council?" *Globe and Mail*, 4 March 2015 and Eilis Quinn, "How an Arctic initiative by Canada has gone from being blasted by critics to praised by international politicians," *Eye on the Arctic*, 26 January 2016. <http://www.rcinet.ca/eye-on-the-arctic/2016/01/26/how-will-arctic-economic-council-shape-business-future-of-the-north/>.

<sup>79</sup> Lackenbauer, "Harper's Arctic evolution," *Globe and Mail*, 20 August 2013.

<sup>80</sup> Canada, "Protecting our Environmental Heritage," <http://www.northernstrategy.gc.ca/env/index-eng.asp> (last accessed 13 April 2015).

<sup>81</sup> Kristin Bartenstein, "The 'Arctic exception' in the law of the sea convention: a contribution to safer navigation in the northwest passage?," *Ocean Development & International Law* 42/1-2 (2011): 22-52. Pursuant to article 234 of UNCLOS, on 1 July 2010 Canada implemented mandatory ship reporting (NORDREG) for vessels destined for Canada's Arctic waters, replacing the previous voluntary reporting system which had been in place since 1977.

*Northern Strategy* were geared towards: 1) promoting an ecosystem-based management approach together with Arctic neighbours and others; 2) contributing to and supporting international efforts to address climate change in the Arctic; 3) enhancing efforts on other pressing international issues, including pursuing and strengthening international standards for environmental protection; and 4) strengthening Arctic science, building on the legacy of the 2007-2008 International Polar Year.

The Harper Government treated science and technology as a cross-cutting theme that underpinned all of Canada's Northern Strategy priorities. Official statements and speeches touted that Aboriginal peoples and Northerners played a significant role in Canada's planning, coordination, and implementation of its contributions to (IPY), and that Canada's investment of \$156 million over a six-year period was one of the largest by a single country, supporting the work of 1,750 scientist working on 52 projects across Canada's North. Infrastructure in support of Northern science included a new polar icebreaker and remote sensing systems to support northern monitoring activities such as sea ice monitoring for navigation support, vessel detection in support of security and safety, and various environmental monitoring activities including pollution detection and marine wind derivation. Its flagship initiative was a \$250-million Canadian High Arctic Research Station (CHARS)—a world-class hub for science and technology, based in Cambridge Bay, Nunavut—that is scheduled to open in 2017.<sup>82</sup> In contrast to the positive image of support for science and environmental action promoted by official statements, critics chastized the Harper Government for its retreat from meaningful commitments to climate change mitigation efforts, reduced funding for climate sciences, “muzzling” of government scientists, and their prioritization of economic growth over environmental protection.<sup>83</sup>

The fourth pillar of the Northern Strategy committed to “Improving and Devolving Governance and Empowering the Peoples of the North.” Domestically, this involved the ongoing negotiation and implementation of land claim and self-government agreements with Northern Indigenous peoples, as well as the negotiation of devolution agreements of federal responsibilities to the territorial governments.

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<sup>82</sup> Polar Knowledge Canada, “Constructing the research station” (updated 2 June 2016), <https://www.canada.ca/en/polar-knowledge/constructingstation/index.html>; Jane George, “Science, high-tech, guide Nunavut’s Canadian High Arctic Research Station,” *Nunatsiaq News*, 29 October 2015.

<sup>83</sup> See, for example, Liberal Party of Canada, “A New Plan for Canada’s Environment and Economy” (August 2015), <https://www.liberal.ca/files/2015/08/A-new-plan-for-Canadas-environment-and-economy.pdf>; Verlyn Klinckenborg, “Silencing Scientists,” *New York Times*, 21 September 2013; Jonathon Gatehouse, “When Science Goes Silent,” *Maclean’s*, 3 May 2013; Margaret Munro, “Unmuzzling government scientists is just the first step,” *Globe and Mail*, 26 October 2015; and Mark Hume, “Federal scientists eager to share their research now that muzzles are off,” *Globe and Mail*, 8 November 2015.

Successes included the 2014 devolution agreement with NWT, a land claim agreement with Inuit of Nunavik, the start of land claim negotiations with the Aho Dene Koe First Nation and self-government discussions with the Inuvialuit, and preliminary steps to initiate devolution talks with Nunavut.<sup>84</sup> In its international dimension, improved governance initiatives included ongoing support for the Indigenous Permanent Participant organizations of the Arctic Council and ensuring that that Northern governments and Indigenous organizations in Canada have opportunities to actively participate in shaping Canadian policy on Arctic issues – actions highlighted in various documents, particularly as Canada assumed the chairmanship of the Arctic Council from 2013-15.

Canada's tenure as chair of the Arctic Council served as the primary international face of its Arctic foreign policy during these years. Although the dispute with the European Union over its ban on the trade in seal products<sup>85</sup> and strained relations with the Russian Federation following the invasion of Ukraine in February 2014<sup>86</sup> elicited significant media attention, the Arctic Council provided a positive platform for the Harper government to promote its vision for the Arctic as reflected in the overarching theme of its chairmanship, "Development for the People of the North," and its three sub-themes: Responsible Arctic Resource Development, Safe Arctic Shipping, and Sustainable Circumpolar Communities. These priority areas, determined by a government-led public engagement process with northern Canadians, focused on enhancing the capacity of Indigenous Permanent Participants,

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<sup>84</sup> See, for example, Christopher Alcantara, "Preferences, perceptions, and veto players: explaining devolution negotiation outcomes in the Canadian territorial north," *Polar Record* 49/249 (2013): 167-79; Kirk Cameron and Alistair Campbell, "The Devolution of Natural Resources and Nunavut's Constitutional Status," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 43/2 (2009): 198-219; Steve Rennie, "Nunavut Premier seeks devolution pact, eyes control over land, resources," *Globe and Mail*, 3 February 2015; and Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, "Nunavut Devolution," <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1352471770723/1352471861365> (last accessed 10 July 2016).

<sup>85</sup> For background on the case, see Nicolas Sellheim, "The goals of the EU seal products trade regulation: From effectiveness to consequence," *Polar Record* 51/3 (2015): 274-289; and Kamrul Hossain, "The EU ban on the import of seal products and the WTO regulations: neglected human rights of the Arctic indigenous peoples?," *Polar Record* 49/2 (2013): 154-166.

<sup>86</sup> See, for example, Rob Huebert, "How Russia's move into Crimea upended Canada's Arctic strategy," *Globe and Mail*, 2 April 2014; Michael Byers, "Squeeze Putin, yes, but the Arctic is not Ukraine," *Globe and Mail*, 1 May 2014; Adam Lajeunesse and Whitney Lackenbauer, "Canadian Arctic Security: Russia's Not Coming," *Arctic Deeply*, 19 April 2016, <https://www.opencanada.org/features/canadian-arctic-security-russias-not-coming/>; and Lackenbauer, "Canada & Russia: Toward an Arctic Agenda," *Global Brief* (Summer/Fall 2016): 21-25.

creating conditions for dynamic and sustainable economic growth, and promoting vibrant communities and healthy ecosystems.<sup>87</sup>

Ultimately, Canada's chairmanship received a mixed assessment. The federal government's appointment of Leona Aglukkaq (the first Inuk to serve as a Canadian Cabinet minister) as Canada's Minister and Chair of the Arctic Council reaffirmed a national commitment to Indigenous leadership but elicited criticism from some commentators who questioned her mandate and competency because she was not Canada's foreign minister. Others were pleased to see an Arctic Indigenous person serve as chair of the Arctic Council for the first time. While the government highlighted various accomplishments,<sup>88</sup> political scientist Heather Exner-Pirot noted that Canada's chairmanship did not produce any landmark assessments, yield any binding treaties, or convince other Arctic Council states that Canada's domestic economic priorities were simply transferrable to the rest of the circumpolar world. She concludes its "unlikely that the Canadian chairmanship will be remembered as anything but a continuation of the Arctic Council's success and growth... The Arctic Council is resilient, and saw continued success during the Canadian chairmanship – but as much despite as because of Canada's leadership."<sup>89</sup> This critical verdict fits with a general sense of academic frustration towards the Harper Government which, in terms of its Northern Strategy, tends to criticize its resource development and military focus at the expense of other socio-economic priorities.

Throughout his time in office, however, Prime Minister Harper insisted that his nation-building efforts in the Arctic—one of his main legacy projects—were successful. "I think the overwhelming general perception in the North is that – and it is a fact – that no government has paid more attention and actually delivered more in the North than this government," he asserted in January 2014. "I mean, it isn't even a contest. We have done more and delivered more than several previous governments combined."<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Canada, *Development for the People of the North: The Arctic Council Program during Canada's Chairmanship* (Ottawa: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 2013).

<sup>88</sup> Canada, *Iqaluit 2015: Development for the People of the North—Results achieved during Canada's Arctic Council Chairmanship, 2013-2015* (Ottawa: Minister of Foreign Affairs, 2015), in Lackenbauer and Dean, *Canada's Northern Strategy under the Harper Conservatives*, doc. 293.

<sup>89</sup> On the debate over Aglukkaq's appointment and the northern consultations, see Heather Exner-Pirot, "Canada's Arctic Council chairmanship (2013-2015): a post-mortem," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 22/1 (2016), 86, 94.

<sup>90</sup> Chase, "Q&A with Harper."

## Towards “A Shared Vision of the Future” Under Justin Trudeau’s Liberals? Consultation, Reconciliation, and the 2019 Arctic and Northern Policy Framework<sup>91</sup>

Liberal leader Justin Trudeau spent little time talking about the Arctic during the 2015 federal election campaign. His emphasis on the environment and reconciliation with Indigenous peoples, however, indicated how his government would approach northern issues. “No relationship is more important to me and to Canada than the one with Indigenous Peoples,” Trudeau highlighted in his publicly-released mandate letter to each of his Cabinet ministers in November 2015. “It is time for a renewed, nation-to-nation relationship with Indigenous Peoples, based on recognition of rights, respect, co-operation, and partnership.”<sup>92</sup> These ideas have animated his government’s ongoing commitment to co-develop what it heralds a “new framework” to guide Arctic and Northern policy development – the substantive elements of which, some readers might conclude, bear close resemblance to those articulated in previous Northern strategies.

Trudeau’s focus on reconciliation framed the Joint Statement on Environment, Climate Change, and Arctic Leadership that he and President Obama released in March 2016. The two leaders articulated a shared vision for the Arctic that included close bilateral cooperation, working in partnership with Indigenous Peoples and Northerners, and science-based decision-making in conservation and economic development.<sup>93</sup> The US-Canada Joint Arctic Leaders’ Statement issued that December prioritized “soft security” and safety issues, environmental protection and conservation, the incorporation of Indigenous science and traditional knowledge into decision-making, supporting strong communities, and building a sustainable Arctic economy. The leaders also announced a moratorium on Arctic offshore oil and gas

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<sup>91</sup> This section is largely derived from Peter Kikkert and P. Whitney Lackenbauer, “Canada’s Arctic and Northern Policy Framework: A Roadmap for the Future?” *Arctic Yearbook 2019*, eds. Lassi Heininen, Heather Exner-Pirot, and Justin Barnes (Akureyri: Arctic Portal, 2019): 332-39. See also Kikkert and Lackenbauer, “A Better Road Map Needed for Arctic and Northern Policy Framework,” *Policy Options* 17 September 2019.

<sup>92</sup> Government of Canada, “United States-Canada Joint Arctic Leaders’ Statement, 20 December 2016,” <https://pm.gc.ca/en/news/statements/2016/12/20/united-states-canada-joint-arctic-leaders-statement>. In May 2016, the Government of Canada announced its unqualified support for the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), stressing that “meaningful engagement with Indigenous Peoples aims to secure their free, prior and informed consent when Canada proposes to take actions which impact them and their rights.” Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada (CIRNAC), *Toward a new Arctic Policy Framework*, <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1499951681722/1537884604444>.

<sup>93</sup> Government of Canada, “United States-Canada Joint Arctic Leaders’ Statement, 20 December 2016.”

activity (without consulting with the territorial governments or Northern Indigenous organizations about the moratorium in advance).

Prime Minister Trudeau also used the Joint Arctic Leaders' Statement to announce his plan to "co-develop a new Arctic Policy Framework, with Northerners, Territorial and Provincial governments, and First Nations, Inuit, and Métis People" that would replace his Conservative predecessor Stephen Harper's Northern Strategy. The Liberal government promised that a collaborative approach would ensure that the views and priorities of Arctic residents and governments would be at the "forefront of policy decisions affecting the future of the Canadian Arctic and Canada's role in the circumpolar Arctic." Through the framework's co-development process Ottawa promised that it would "reorganize and reprioritize federal activities in the Arctic" and "link existing federal government initiatives."<sup>94</sup>

Trudeau announced that his new framework would include an "Inuit-specific component, created in partnership with Inuit, as Inuit Nunangat [the Inuit homeland comprised of the Inuvialuit settlement region in the Northwest Territories, the entirety of Nunavut, the Nunavik region of Quebec, and the Nunatsiavut region of Newfoundland and Labrador] comprises over a third of Canada's land mass and over half of Canada's coastline, and as Inuit modern treaties govern the entirety of this jurisdictional space."<sup>95</sup> The government's focus on Inuit Nunangat throughout the process represented a significant departure from the approach utilized in Harper's Northern Strategy, which did not view the Inuit homeland as a cohesive space for policymaking and tended to examine priorities and interventions through the lens of Canada's three northern territories. The new process reflected the Trudeau government's distinctions-based approach that "respects the unique rights, interests and circumstances of Inuit, First Nations and Métis peoples" as well as the Inuit Nunangat Declaration on Inuit-Crown Partnership – a "bilateral partnership" to act on shared priorities. The adoption of Inuit Nunangat as a central policy framework also reflects the vision articulated a half-century ago by Inuit leaders at the July 1970 Coppermine Conference and by Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (now Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami) when it was created in 1971.<sup>96</sup>

In August 2016, the federal government appointed longstanding Inuit leader Mary Simon as special representative to Minister of Indigenous and Northern Affairs Carolyn Bennett, reflecting an important step in the Trudeau government's commitment to co-develop its Northern policy with Indigenous peoples. Simon's

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<sup>94</sup> CIRNAC, "Shared Arctic Leadership Model Engagement, 2016-2017," <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1469120834151/1537886350215>.

<sup>95</sup> Governments of Northwest Territories, Nunavut, and Yukon, *Pan-Territorial Vision for Sustainable Development*, August 2017, [https://www.gov.nt.ca/sites/flagship/files/documents/pan-territorial\\_vision\\_for\\_sustainable\\_development\\_en.pdf](https://www.gov.nt.ca/sites/flagship/files/documents/pan-territorial_vision_for_sustainable_development_en.pdf).

<sup>96</sup> Elaine Anselmi, "Federal government promises more info on harvesters grant this winter," *Nunatsiaq News*, 23 August 2019, <https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/federal-government-promises-more-info-on-harvesters-grant-this-winter/>.

2016 *Interim Report on the Shared Arctic Leadership Model* (reproduced as appendix C) highlighted that a “long history of visions, action plans, strategies and initiatives being devised ‘for the North’ and not ‘with the North.’” She explained that closing the basic gaps between what exists in the Arctic and what other Canadians take for granted should form the core of the government’s new policy. The *Pan-Territorial Vision*, released by the territorial governments in 2017, reiterated these governments’ priorities and stressed the importance of resource development, economic diversification, innovation, and infrastructure to build stronger regional economies.

The long co-development phase of the ANPF adopted a whole-of-government approach involving a wide array of departments and agencies in the region, the territorial governments, Quebec, Manitoba, and Newfoundland and Labrador. Regional roundtables, public submissions, and other face-to-face engagement initiatives solicited the input of Indigenous groups and other stakeholders. This new approach to policymaking stressed that “consultation was not enough” and strived to involve stakeholders “in the drafting of the document” to place “the future into the hands of the people who live there.”<sup>97</sup>

The Trudeau Government released Canada’s Arctic and Northern Policy Framework (ANPF) with little fanfare on 10 September 2019 (**doc 9**). After four years of development, the document appeared on the Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs website. It included no photos, maps, or even a downloadable pdf – just a wave of words, over 17,000 in the main chapter alone.<sup>98</sup> The single infographic that accompanied the framework’s release captured its main “highlights”: that a “whole-of-government, co-development” process that created the framework involved the three territorial governments, over 25 Indigenous organizations, as well as three provincial governments. This collaborative process represents the “profound change of direction” that the Government of Canada highlights in the opening sentence of the ANPF.

The ANPF highlights many well-known issues that Northerners have identified for years, including climate change impacts, food insecurity, poverty, health inequalities, and housing shortages. It is useful in reinforcing common understandings of these problems with those most affected, reiterating the importance of these issues to the general Canadian public, and setting priorities for federal policy. The framework also points out that the government and its Indigenous and territorial

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<sup>97</sup> See P. Whitney Lackenbauer, “Canada’s Emerging Arctic and Northern Policy Framework: Confirming a Longstanding Northern Strategy,” in *Breaking the Ice Curtain? Russia, Canada, and Arctic Security in a Changing Circumpolar World*, eds. Lackenbauer and Suzanne Lalonde (Calgary: Canadian Global Affairs Institute, 2019), 13-42.

<sup>98</sup> For a consolidated version of the ANPF and accompanying “partner chapters” and other documents, see P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Peter Kikkert, eds., *Canada’s Arctic and Northern Policy Framework (ANPF) Compendium of Documents* (Peterborough: North American and Arctic Defence and Security Network, 2020), <https://www.naadsn.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/ANPF-compendium-PWL-PK-may-2020-reduced.pdf>.

partners have already acted on some of the challenges and opportunities identified during the long co-development process – particularly through innovative and unique community-based initiatives. The ANPF’s expressed objective, however, is to provide a “roadmap” to achieve the “shared vision” co-developed by the groups involved in the process.

The main chapter of the ANPF lays out the issues, challenges, and opportunities facing Canada’s Arctic and northern regions and indicates the federal government’s primary goals and objectives. It details the impacts of climate change, particularly as it affects social and cultural norms, ways of knowing, and on-the-land activities. It also highlights the broad spectrum of socio-economic challenges facing the North, ranging from lack of economic opportunity, to mental health challenges, to food insecurity, and gaps in infrastructure, health care, education, skills development, and income equality across the region. The framework notes the opportunities and challenges that stem from the North’s youthful population, particularly in Nunavut where the median age is just over 26. In its effort to link existing federal initiatives to the ANPF, examples of how the government is already addressing some of these issues in collaboration with its Indigenous and territorial partners are scattered throughout the document.

The ANPF’s first and primary goal is to create conditions so that “Canadian Arctic and northern Indigenous peoples are resilient and healthy.” This priority animates the entire document. To achieve this, the ANPF pledges to end poverty, eradicate hunger, reduce suicides, close the gap on education outcomes, provide greater access to skills developments, adopt culturally appropriate approaches to justice issues, and eliminate the housing crisis in the North. As examples of action already taken, the document notes the government’s ongoing efforts to “support better, more relevant and accessible education,” funding and skills training for community-led food production projects, updates to Nutrition North, and its investment in new addiction treatment facilities in Nunavut and Nunavik. This patchwork of government initiatives has not impressed critics who lament that the framework fails to elucidate a coherent strategy or to establish clear metrics to address the dismal socio-economic and health indicators related to Canada’s North. Despite few details about how the government plans to realize its overarching goal of “resilient and healthy” northern peoples and communities, this broad vision resonates with its strong commitment to reconciliation with Indigenous peoples, captured in the eighth goal: the promise of a future that “supports self-determination and nurtures mutually respectful relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.”

Between these two pillars are a broad range of challenges, opportunities, and promises. The second goal is strengthened infrastructure, including broadband connectivity, multi-modal transportation infrastructure, multipurpose communications, energy, and transportation corridors, energy security and sustainability at the community-level, and social infrastructure. The ANPF points out

how the Trudeau government had already provided over \$190 million in funding for improvements and expansion of existing local air and marine infrastructure. While these community-focused initiatives are essential to the resilience and well-being of Northerners, the challenge remains how to justify the exorbitant costs associated with much larger “transformative investments in infrastructure.”

The framework also highlights the need for “strong, sustainable, diversified, and inclusive local and regional economies,” particularly through increased Indigenous ownership and participation, the reduction of income inequality, the optimization of resource development, economic diversification (including land-based, traditional economic activities), and the enhancement of trade and investment opportunities. The framework promotes the idea of a “conservation economy” (making conservation an important part of local economies) in collaboration with northern Indigenous stakeholders. The framework’s fourth goal is to ensure that both Indigenous and scientific knowledge and understanding guide decision-making, and that Arctic and Northern peoples are included in the knowledge-creation process. The fifth goal focuses on ensuring healthy, resilient Arctic and northern ecosystems and promises action on a wide array of major objectives, ranging from mitigation and adaptation measures to climate change, to sustainable use of the ecosystems and species, and safe and environmentally responsible shipping.

The sixth and seventh goals highlight measures to strengthen the rules-based international order in the Arctic. Emphasizing that the region is “well known for its high level of international cooperation on a broad range of issues,” and “despite increased interest in the region from both Arctic and non-Arctic states,” the ANPF commits to continued multilateral and bilateral cooperation in the Arctic in its international chapter (**doc 10**). It confirms the Arctic Council as the “pre-eminent forum for Arctic cooperation” complemented by the “extensive international legal framework [that] applies to the Arctic Ocean.” There is muscular language proclaiming how Canada “is firmly asserting its presence in the North” and pledges to “more clearly define Canada’s Arctic boundaries” – a surprising statement given that Canada filed its Arctic continental shelf submission in May 2019, and one that seems to deviate from Canada’s longstanding insistence that “Canada’s Arctic sovereignty is longstanding, well-established and based on historic title, founded in part on the presence of Inuit and other Aboriginal peoples since time immemorial” (as written in the Conservatives’ 2009 Northern Strategy).

The overall tenor, however, is generally optimistic and unabashedly projects Canada’s domestic priorities into the international sphere, emphasizing the desire for regional peace and stability so that “Arctic and northern peoples thrive economically, socially and environmentally.” Innovative elements include promises to “champion the integration of diversity and gender considerations into projects and initiatives, guided by Canada’s feminist foreign policy,” and increasing youth engagement in the circumpolar dialogue. Unfortunately, concrete examples of opportunities or new mechanisms to do so are not provided. Similarly, promises to help Arctic and

northern businesses to pursue international opportunities “that are aligned with local interests and values” are welcome but vague, and the Trudeau government’s vision for the Arctic Economic Council (AEC) is unclear. Well-established priorities, such as food security, improving health care services, and suicide prevention, are presented with no reference whatsoever to what has been done to forward these agendas internationally. There are some discernable policy changes, however. NATO is presented as a “key multilateral forum” in the Arctic – a clear shift from the reticence of previous governments who feared unnecessarily antagonizing Russia by having the alliance articulate an Arctic focus. Concurrently, the policy commits to “restart a regular bilateral dialogue on Arctic issues with Russia in key areas related to Indigenous issues, scientific cooperation, environmental protection, shipping and search and rescue” – a welcome acknowledgment that, despite resurgent strategic competition and divergent interests elsewhere in the world, both countries have many common interests in the Arctic.<sup>99</sup> Furthermore, Canada commits to “enhance the reputation and participation of Arctic and northern Canadians, especially Indigenous peoples, in relevant international forums and negotiations,” and to promote the “full inclusion of Indigenous knowledge” in polar science and decision making. Specific examples relating to the marine environment, particularly the visionary work of the Pikialasorsuaq Commission,<sup>100</sup> point to the benefits of this approach.

The priorities in the standalone “Safety, Security, and Defence” chapter (**doc. 11**) include Canada’s continued demonstration of sovereignty, the enhancement of the military presence in the region, the defence of North America, improved domain awareness, strengthened whole-of-society emergency management, and continued engagement with local communities, Indigenous groups, and international partners. Much of the discussion reiterates policy elements in Canada’s 2017 defence policy, *Strong, Secure, Engaged (SSE)*.<sup>101</sup> It also points to the work around marine safety already accomplished by the *Oceans Protection Plan (OPP)*,<sup>102</sup> which has expanded the Coast Guard Auxiliary in the North, created the Indigenous Community Boat Volunteer Pilot Program, extended the Coast Guard’s icebreaking season, and launched an Inshore Rescue Boat Station in Rankin Inlet. Given the governmental action already taken through *SSE* and the *OPP*, this section of the ANPF provides the most detail on how the government aims to accomplish its objectives.

The federal government notes that the partner chapters<sup>103</sup> offer “the visions, aspirations and priorities of our co-development partners,” thus reflecting an “inclusive approach” in which “Indigenous, territorial and provincial partners were invited to develop chapters to the framework.” At the beginning of the ANPF, the

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<sup>99</sup> See Lackenbauer and Lalonde, eds., *Breaking the Ice Curtain?*

<sup>100</sup> <http://www.pikialasorsuaq.org/en/>.

<sup>101</sup> <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/canada-defence-policy.html>.

<sup>102</sup> <https://www.tc.gc.ca/en/initiatives/oceans-protection-plan.html>.

<sup>103</sup> <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1567801878530/1567801893671>.

government asserts that these chapters were crucial” to the co-development process, that they “map out areas of present and future” collaboration between the Government of Canada and its partners, and that they will “provide guidance” on its implementation. At the tail end of the document, however, a caveat notes that these perspectives “do not necessarily reflect the views of either the federal government, or of the other partners.” Accordingly, there is little indication throughout the framework on how exactly these chapters will inform federal policymaking moving forward, particularly in areas of disagreement. Instead, the federal government simply states that “the framework and partner chapters will form the foundation for future discussions as the Government of Canada and partners co-develop its implementation.”

The ANPF concludes with a promise that the government will have ten years to “translate its goals and objectives into reality” and advises that federal-territorial-provincial and Indigenous partners will co-develop solutions and new governance mechanisms. As Minister of Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Carolyn Bennett noted after the ANPF’s release, “you begin with the policy and then you work toward implementation ... It’s a matter of us now, as we move through each budget cycle of each government, having a road map for closing these gaps.”<sup>25</sup>

The Government of Canada’s emphasis on collaborative governance recognizes that when Ottawa has defined problems facing the North incorrectly or has set the wrong priorities, with little consultation from Northerners, policy responses have tended to be short-sighted and ineffective. While critics have lauded the process involved in co-developing the ANPF, they questioned the hasty release of what some saw as a partially developed document, coming just a day before the federal government announced Canada’s 2019 federal election. The ANPF appeared with no budget, timelines, or clear plan to address the wide array of challenges and issues identified. Critics described the framework as a “half-baked” and “chaotic mess”<sup>104</sup> that simply lists well-known issues and gives “lip service to addressing the problems,”<sup>105</sup> while providing no “concrete” plan for action.<sup>106</sup> Nunavut Premier Joe Savikataaq called the policy a good beginning but noted, “We will be a lot happier when there is more tangible stuff that comes out.”<sup>107</sup>

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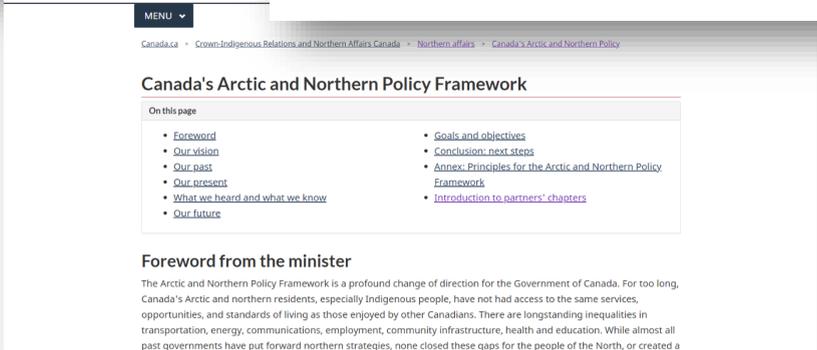
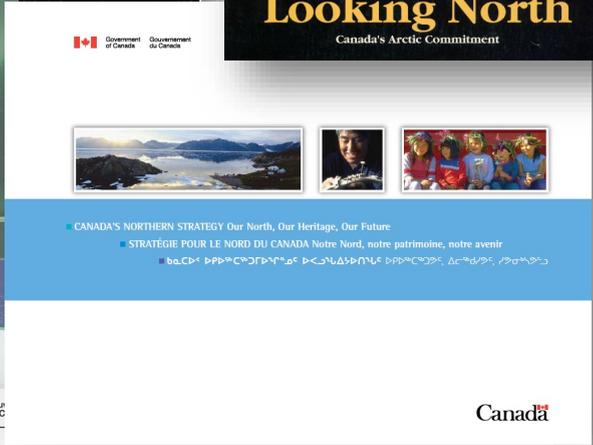
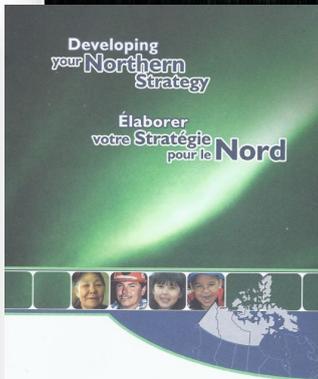
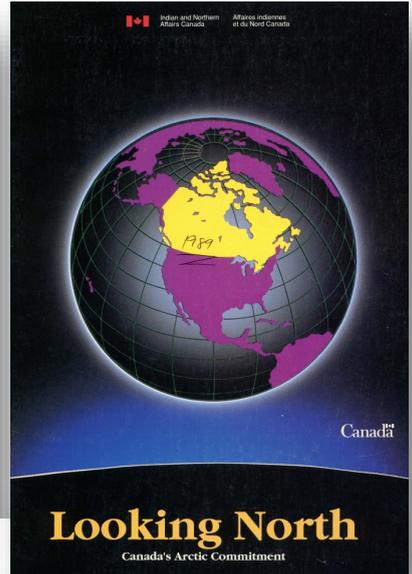
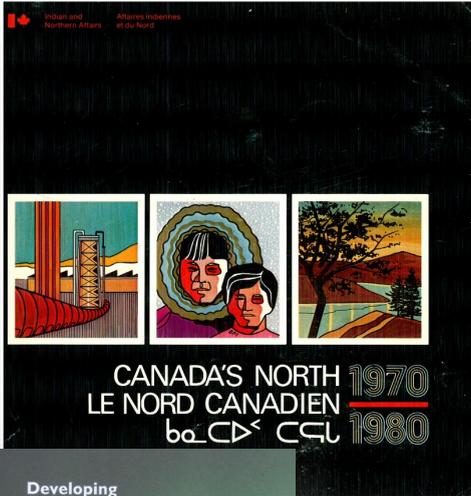
<sup>104</sup> Heather Exner-Pirot, “Canada’s new Arctic policy doesn’t stick the landing,” *RCI Eye on the Arctic*, 12 September 2019, <https://www.rcinet.ca/eye-on-the-arctic/2019/09/12/canada-arctic-northern-policy-trudeau-analysis/>

<sup>105</sup> Darrell Greer, “Arctic framework same old, same old,” *Kivalliq News*, 18 September 2019, <https://nunavutnews.com/nunavut-news/arctic-framework-same-old-same-old/>

<sup>106</sup> Bob Weber, “New federal Arctic policy focuses on human health, environment, infrastructure,” *National Post*, 11 September 2019.

<sup>107</sup> Siri Gulliksen Tømmerbakke, “Why the Canadians are Provoked by the New and Ambitious Arctic Policy Document,” *High North News*, 12 September 2019.

# The Documents





## 1. “Northern Canada in the 70’s” (1970)

*A Report by the Honourable Jean Chrétien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, to the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development on the Government’s Northern Objectives, Priorities and Strategies for the 1970’s*

Popular interest and concern in the North - stimulated by dramatic discoveries, technological achievements and up-to-date information in the media - have made northern development a national endeavour and the whole area a showpiece in which a distinct image of Canada can be identified and reflected for all Canadians and other nations to see. Canadians are watching closely the evolution of national purpose and identity in the North and together with people outside have particular interest in the problems, cultural tension and change there. Others, at home and abroad will be assessing investment opportunities in a vast land that holds great promise for future resource development.

The people of the North have survived for many centuries in spite of the harsh conditions of life prevailing there. In recent decades the native northerners have been offered new opportunities and facilities for strengthening their capacity to survive. But survival for them must be more than mere subsistence supplemented by Government subsidy. It must above all permit the people themselves to make their own choices as to the place they wish to occupy and the part they wish to play, in the evolving society of Canada, North and South of 60°.

People, resources and environment are the main elements in any strategy for northern development. In the course of its policy review during the past year, the Government affirmed that the needs of the people in the North are more important than resource development and that the maintenance of ecological balance is essential. In the setting of objectives and priorities in the North, in line with national policy goals, the essence of choice for the Government is to maintain an appropriate degree of balance among those three elements.

This statement sets out the Government’s approach to policy in the Yukon and Northwest Territories directed toward certain national objectives and is intended as the policy framework for the formulation coordination and implementation of all Federal and Territorial program throughout the 70’s.

### THE BASIS FOR NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT IN THE 70’S

#### 1. *National Objectives in the North*

Economic and social development in the North is very sensitive to outside influence. Continuing problems in Canada such as inflation, unemployment, urban sprawl and regional disparity are bound to keep the pressures on government at all levels for concrete action - in all parts of Canada - to stimulate the economy, reduce poverty, open opportunities for a rapidly expanding labour force and improve the

infrastructure of contemporary living. Demands, innovations and discoveries affecting resources, energies and technologies in Canada and elsewhere in the world; new patterns in international economic relations; balance of payments problems; disruptions - political, economic and social - all can have profound effects on Canada's economy and prospects, and particularly on releasing the potential of the North which as a frontier area is currently marginal in the development of resources in Canada. This sensitivity of the North to external influence calls for some flexibility of approach in setting the course for northern development and adjusting it to sudden disturbances but it also calls for persistence in pursuing agreed objectives.

Longer range strategy must be seen in the light of economic development that can realistically be expected in the North:

- On purely economic grounds, development of non-renewable resources will occur as a result of the pressures of demand for progressively scarcer raw materials. Government sponsored incentives (mineral assistance grants, tax relief, development infrastructures and services) accelerate such development rather than cause it to take place. Some settlements (mining towns for example) will have relatively short life span unless the local economy is diversified mainly by encouraging renewable resource development.
- On social grounds (people wanting to stay where they are for example) the Government will continue to provide community infrastructure and services. This will bring forward problems of the future when the population will have expanded beyond the capacity of the local economy to support it, unless renewable resource development, light industry and tourism, are encouraged and assisted. In some cases such development may be uneconomic.
- On policy grounds, development north of 60° will be affected by policies on resource development and environment applied in the South. While most of the social and ecological benefits of government policies are likely to accrue to northern residents, some of the ecological benefits and most of the economic benefits will be felt in the South. It seems inevitable therefore that the kind/ of development encouraged in the North will reflect economic conditions and policies in the South.

These points are made primarily to emphasize that, while the Government seeks to provide strategy and guidelines for one of the broad areas of Canadian life - the northern Territories- the responses are not unrelated to the broader question: What kind of Canada do we want?

The Government's national objectives in the North are:

1. To provide for a higher standard of living, quality of life and equality of opportunity for northern residents by methods which are compatible with their own preferences and aspirations.

2. To maintain and enhance the northern environment with due consideration to economic and social development.
3. To encourage viable economic development within regions of the Northern Territories so as to realize their potential contribution to the national economy and the material well being of Canadians.
4. To realize the potential contribution of the Northern Territories to the social and cultural development of Canada.
5. To further the evolution of government in the Northern Territories.
6. To maintain Canadian sovereignty and security in the North.
7. To develop fully the leisure and recreational opportunities in Northern Territories.

## ***2. Northern Needs and Challenges***

The contemporary challenges in the North are seen as follows:

### **To Fulfill the Needs of the Native Peoples**

- The heaviest emphasis in current thinking is on the needs and aspirations of the native peoples (Eskimos, Indians and Metis). Poverty is their most pressing problem with all its psycho logical as well as physical characteristics. Unemployment, underemployment, low productivity are readily apparent but underlying causes run deep - erosion of traditional values, inadequacy of game resources, disease, the demoralizing effects of exposure to a highly technical culture, loss of pride and identity.
- Problems arise as well for non-native residents in the two Territories very few of whom will settle there for any length of time without powerful incentives. Northern development of a kind likely to benefit all northern residents will depend heavily for quite some time on attracting Canadians from the South, whether as individuals or corporations of high calibre and capability.
- The approach to social programs in the Territories today (implemented mainly by the Territorial Governments) is based on the principle of non-discrimination (schools are integrated for example). Experience in Canada and elsewhere shows that mere formal equality can perpetuate existing economic, social and cultural inequities. This must not be allowed to happen. There is an evident need to ensure in practice that the native peoples have full opportunity to compete on a basis of true equality with other Canadians and freedom of choice to benefit materially and psychologically from the economic and social evolution in the North.
- Material needs of northern residents are satisfied by essential infrastructures

and services (Air transportation for example is essential to overcome vast distances.) provided by all levels of government; traditional pursuits (hunting, trapping, fishing); wage employment ( in government and industry).

- Recreational needs are met through providing parks, community facilities, cultural outlets, communications. Perceptive or psychological needs are fulfilled by conserving the quality of the natural environment (which gives the native peoples in particular satisfaction and security), by enhancing the physical environment through imaginative forms of community development, and by establishing visible means (cultural identity, social contact, economic and social advancement) whereby all northerners gain confidence in their capacity to take their place in the society of the North and Canada generally.

### **To Ensure Viable Economic Development**

- The world demand for non-renewable resources is growing rapidly. While agriculture for local markets can thrive in parts of the North, some cattle ranching can develop, more of the forests will be used for pulp, lumber and plywood, fisheries will expand - a realistic assessment - is that in major terms that can affect the overall wealth of Canada, the economic future of the North lies in the ground. It is now confidently predicted that the mineral, oil and gas resources likely to be found can form the basis of very substantial economic development. The extent to which this non-renewable resource potential can be released for the benefit of northerners - and Canadians generally - will depend on systematic programming of development taking into account major economic factors affecting Canada.
- New and improved technologies - in northern mining, drilling and construction; air transportation; road, railway and pipeline building; communications; marine transport in Arctic waters; hydro-power; community development - all these factors are reducing development costs in the North; bringing them steadily closer to market levels in a situation dominated by demand for secure reserves of resources and energies. Those factors are powerful incentives too to investment capital for exploration and development, mainly of non-renewable resources, which being capital rather than job-intensive does not solve employment problems. Private investment of this kind is attracted by public spending on infrastructure and services, as well as by special incentives such as mineral assistance grants.
- No challenge in the North today is more pressing than the need to create employment opportunities for native northerners. The indigenous labour force is expanding quite rapidly but unless the native peoples are adequately trained and prepared for wage employment, they may not be able to take advantage of growing job opportunities. The problem is one of education

and training, of influencing potential employers and prospective employees, but also of diversifying economic activities.

- To help solve the problems of human resource development and to round out the Territorial economies, specific programs of assistance are required for the development of renewable resource activities, in particular.

### **To Maintain Ecological Balance**

- Maintenance of the ecological balance requires recognition of the total relationship of all the elements of nature. Man is included in this totality and his activities must be measured and in some instances regulated to ensure that the probability of imbalance is minimized. The natural environment in the North is very sensitive to alterations and activities related to the natural resource-base which have evolved elsewhere in Canada may not be satisfactory, particularly in the Arctic.
- It is necessary to develop with respect to natural resource utilization guidelines by which such activities are controlled. A comprehensive program of regulation, based on recently enacted legislation, is required and includes elements of preservation, protection, managed-use and restoration. Moreover, the particular climatic and soil conditions of the North present strong challenges to community physical development; settlements have often had to cope with difficult problems of water supply and are still seeking adequate solutions for waste treatment.
- Research on an expanding scale is a continued prerequisite if governments, industry and all others concerned in the development and protection of the northern environment are to have timely and sufficient data on which to base their plans, decisions, methods and activities. An international aspect of growing scope and importance relates to Canada's desire to cooperate, both bilaterally and multilaterally with other countries having interest and experience in northern development, with particular reference to Arctic living and of special relevance to environmental control.

### **Perspectives on the North: How Do We See the North?**

Broad alternative futures for the Territories depend on how we see the North in the kind of Canada we want. To begin with extremes, the northern territories could be regarded as:

- A vast region of sparsely scattered population composed mainly of native peoples: who would be very largely dependent on the various social benefits subsidized from the South; whose views and needs would determine the nature and degree of social and economic development; whose education and training - except for a few individuals - would be oriented basically to the northern environment; but whose rate of natural increase would aggravate already acute problems of localized over-population, social

demoralization and discontent.

- A huge storehouse of natural resources and energies which would be utilized by developers, largely in response to the demands of the North American continent and through relatively short-cycle exploitation, with little regard for adverse effects on the northern residents and the natural environment.
- A relatively untouched wilderness, strictly controlled for preserving the ecology and mainly intended for research by natural scientists, traditional pursuits by northern residents, and recreation by the few from North and South who could afford it.

None of these can be seen as either likely or desirable futures, nor does it now seem realistic to envisage the Territories becoming heavily populated, highly industrialized, self-sufficient provinces on the existing model in the South. For a variety of reasons large areas of the North, particularly the Arctic, seem destined to remain for the foreseeable future regions of special federal interest and responsibility.

Today some people view the North as a place where the most advanced technology is being deployed energetically, mainly by intruders from the South, in order to utilize the resource-base, mainly for the benefit of people to the South. They believe that unless effective measures are taken soon, this process of resource development seems in danger of so far outstripping programs of social improvement for the native people (Metis included) as to undermine their will and capacity to live in dignity, and their sense of belonging, with social side effects widely apparent - alcoholism, crime, family break-up. It is a vision in which the native peoples are largely spectators, the wards of paternalistic government, in a land they have inhabited for 5,000 years. It is a vision rejected by the native peoples, who are just beginning to voice their grievances and claims in an organized way, partly under the influence of similar events in southern Canada and Alaska. It is a vision which does little to enhance the "image of Canada" at home or abroad. It haunts the current approach to northern development.

A fundamental question of the future posed for policy at present is: What is to become of the native peoples of the North?

- Broadly speaking, the majority of the Indian (10,050 in 1970) and Metis population live in the Yukon and the Subarctic Mackenzie River Basin. It seems likely to become a region of substantial growth with quite a diversified economy. Job opportunities (in renewable and non-renewable resource industries) can be created there for native peoples adequately trained and prepared; traditional pursuits and analogous activities (arising for example out of tourism) will be available to those less inclined to choose wage employment; many Indians will have the benefits of Treaties 8 and 11. As a group the Indians are becoming better organized for dealing with the broader society, with which they have been in contact for quite some time, but they will need to be assisted along lines proposed in this document.
- The Eskimos (11,050 in 1970) are scattered in Arctic regions where the

natural constraints are very severe. New concentrations of population can result from major non-renewable resource development (Mary River in Baffin Island for example) affording opportunities for trained Eskimo labour and other economic benefits. Further improvements can be made to methods of harvesting renewable resources. The cooperative movement can be expanded for economic and cultural purposes. Associations representing the Eskimo people should be encouraged along with viable community development. The restricted opportunities for developing the economy in some regions (Keewatin for example) and the rapid growth of the Eskimo population (rate of natural increase for Eskimos 4.0%) could stimulate migration to more favoured regions in the Territories and Southern Canada, particularly by educated and trained people. Perhaps the most important need in approaching such questions is to get rid of myths about the Eskimos (“Eskimos want to continue their traditional nomad life,” “they can be insulated from the new influences at work in the North,” “they are unable to adapt to life in the South,” etc.). Some Eskimos have shown keen interest in the material aspects of modern society and an eagerness to adapt themselves to it. The real need is to concentrate on means of enhancing the Eskimos self-respect and livelihood, especially through diversified education and vocational training and fundamentally to give them mobility and freedom of choice.

It is results such as these that the policies proposed in this document are intended to promote for the native peoples. Since these groups have a rate of natural increase several times higher than that for the rest of Canada, the problem of over-population in several regions of the Territories are likely to intensify inducing among other things a desire to migrate. An essential aim therefore is to prepare and assist the native peoples to integrate into Canadian society whether North or South of 60°, in such a way that they can maintain their pride and cultural heritage.

## **The Strategy for the 70's**

### **1. The Approach**

Northern development is a dynamic process involving people, resources and environment. Government seeks a deliberately phased blending of social and economic programs which shifts emphasis and financial allocations to meet circumstances such as:

- Imbalance perceived in the approach to development at any time;
- Disturbance caused by some external influence (for example a major oil discovery elsewhere might affect the economics of northern oil);
- Adjustment to a major innovation or event (pipeline or rail construction for example);

- Conditions in Canada's economy (balance of payments problems for example);
- Need to create employment and economic opportunities for the native peoples in particular.

The weight of policy emphasis varies with the intensity of government efforts in pursuit of the seven objectives. To illustrate, during the past two decades the emphasis has moved from defence to people programs, to resource development to ecological problems. Today there is a new requirement for shifting emphasis toward people programs but by a smooth adjustment of all programs rather than an abrupt change from one set (say resource-oriented) to another.

## **2. Priorities in the North**

In this decade, given the

- National objectives in the North,
- Natural constraints of the North,
- Urgency of native people problems,
- Adverse effects of unsystematic development of nonrenewable resources and energies in Canada,
- Government's other priorities for Canada,
- Limitation on government resources available for the North,

the Government's order of priorities in the North for the next decade will be:

- (a) To give rapid effect to the agreed guidelines for social improvement.
- (b) To maintain and enhance the natural environment, through such means as intensifying ecological research, establishing national parks, ensuring wildlife conservation.
- (c) To encourage and stimulate the development of renewable resources, light industries and tourism, particularly those which create job and economic opportunities for native northerners.
- (d) To encourage and assist strategic projects (key to increased economic activity in the region or Territory with solid economic and social benefits) in the development of non-renewable resources and in which joint participation by government and private interests is generally desirable.
- (e) To provide necessary support for other non-renewable resource projects of recognized benefit to northern residents and Canadians generally.

## **3. Requirements for Balanced Growth**

The strategy for northern development is aimed at fulfilling the following requirements:

- (i) In spite of heavy pressures from outside and within Canada for getting resources out rapidly, the delicately balanced ecological system must be

- maintained and timely data provided to the Government, by all departments and agencies concerned, for making effective policy decisions on protecting the environment.
- (ii) Governmental support for major development projects, whether public or private, should be based on full assessment of their economic and social impact; in the northern region concerned, in the Territories generally, and for Canada as a whole.
  - (iii) For purposes of economic planning and development, the Territories could, after thorough research and consultation with all concerned, be divided into regions essentially determined by differences in conditions prevailing and by the governmental approach needed to deal with them.
  - (iv) Because of the immaturity of the economy in most of the regions and the disruptive effects (sharp inflation, shortages of labour, accommodation and consumption goods) of major development programs, the absorptive capacity of the regional economy concerned must be carefully assessed to determine what needs to be done to prepare the region and its people for public or private projects contemplated.
  - (v) Where a venture is strategic to development in a region, or over a wider area, the Government would participate in joint ventures, in management or in ownership to ensure that matters affecting public interest (environment, people needs) are taken fully into account. (Applies primarily to non-renewable resource projects.)
  - (vi) Population centres should be fostered in accordance with a rational plan for developing the Territories systematically and for providing employment and other opportunities (growth-point policy would provide some fairly strong incentives to migration from less favoured regions).
  - (vii) To deal with problems of domestic control of the economy, the Government should ensure that policies or guidelines followed in other parts of Canada are adapted to the economic situation in the North. (Joint ventures may be desirable for much non-renewable resource development.)
  - (viii) The economic development in the two Territories should be adjusted as between the two to them; and to related developments in the rest of Canada, particularly in the contiguous provinces and in other northern countries, with a view to achieving complementary results (air and rail links for example).
  - (ix) Though their problems of social adjustment will vary from generation to generation and from region to region, even from community to community, the native peoples should derive early and tangible benefits from economic development and be seen to benefit.
  - (x) The guidelines for social improvement should be applied in a coherent way to get the desired balance in northern development during the current decade.

#### **4. Guidelines for Social Improvement**

The priority need in the North during the coming decade is to stimulate and strengthen the people programs, so that the native peoples in particular can have some hope of adjusting to the pace of economic and social change, and preparing themselves for participating meaningfully in northern development. The importance of people participation is recognized and their right to choose between old and new ways.

The need to rid northern communities of all forms of segregation is axiomatic. Many of the existing people programs are already contributing to those ends but as a whole they need to be revitalized and reinforced along the following lines, it being understood throughout that the territorial Governments and the Territorial Councils have a large share of responsibility for their implementation.

The Government has set out the following guidelines for social improvement to be acted on by all departments and agencies involved in the North:

- (i) Consciously create in government and industry employment opportunities for native peoples through attractive incentives, meaningful targets and where necessary imposed obligations.
- (ii) Re-orient employment practices of government and industry in order to provide intensive training, not only in preparation for foreseeable employment but including on-the-job training.
- (iii) Liberalize education and training techniques to produce more quickly qualified native practitioners in all professions and skills including teachers, nurses, mechanical engineers, communications technicians, management personnel, aircraft pilots and mechanics among others, with full provision for continuity and upgrading.
- (iv) Train and provide experience for native northerners in executive and administrative posts, especially at municipal levels and even at the risk of higher costs and some mistakes.
- (v) Improve opportunities and mechanisms for consultations involving native peoples, industry and government, for social and economic development of the native bands and communities; for hearing grievances.
- (vi) Maintain opportunities for traditional pursuits (hunting, fishing, trapping), encouraging a shift to analogous activities (campsite supervisors, tourist guides, game and fire wardens) for native peoples, and expanding well-established programs providing cultural outlets for the indigenous peoples so that they will be involved increasingly in all phases (including marketing).
- (vii) Ensure sensitive counselling of native peoples and would-be immigrants, closest liaison with industry and effective cooperation as a group on the part of all government departments and agencies concerned with people programs.

- (viii) Strengthen communication links (telephone, data, radio, live television for education and entertainment) among communities in the North and between the people of the North and fellow Canadians in the South.
- (ix) Improve transportation facilities for movement of people within the regions of the North and to and from the North.
- (x) Safeguard the culture (language, arts, handicrafts, traditional pursuits) of native peoples in the course of education, training, employment and community life; above all their right to choose what is to be preserved.

## **5. Planning and Coordination**

The degree of involvement in economic and social development will increasingly require a maximum achievement in policy planning, coordination and control on the part of Federal and Territorial authorities, who must work in close partnership. Parallel cooperation is needed between the public and private sectors engaged in northern development. In sum all government activities should be directed toward meeting the challenges identified there. The means of doing so and of attaining the Government's long range objectives are to be found in the programs of some thirty Federal departments and agencies, and of the two Territorial Governments, whose activities there are reported in various Government publications.

The multiplicity of government activities north of 60 and incomplete consultation and coordination between different levels of government and among departments and agencies, are causing confusion and concern, particularly among the native peoples and on the part of industries operating in the North. An evident and urgent need exists for dealing with this situation by making full use of the powers and responsibilities of the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

In the light of the importance of coordinating activities in the North, the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, in consultation with the Advisory Committee on Northern Development will be responsible for continued and improved arrangements for joint planning and coordination of all policies and programs north of 60. Acting with and in many areas through the Territorial Governments, he has the responsibility for overseeing the implementation of this strategy and his authority is analogous to provincial jurisdiction in respect to both Territories and vis-a-vis other Federal departments and agencies concerned.

In presenting this report to the Canadian people, on its approach to northern development in the coming decade, the Government seeks to emphasize a policy that is coherent, systematic and rational, directed as it is toward clearly defined objectives and showing a very special concern for the needs of the people of the North.

## 2. External Affairs Canada, Statements and Speeches No. 85/7, “Policy on Canadian Sovereignty,” September 1985.

*Culture and Public Information Bureau, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa,  
Canada*

### POLICY ON CANADIAN SOVEREIGNTY

Statement by the Right Honourable Joe Clark, Secretary of State for External Affairs, in the House of Commons, Ottawa, September 10, 1985.

Sovereignty can arouse deep emotion in this country. That is to be expected, for sovereignty speaks to the very identity and character of a people. We Canadians want to be ourselves. We want to control our own affairs and take charge of our own destiny. At the same time, we want to look beyond ourselves and to play a constructive part in a world community that grows more interdependent every year. We have something to offer and something to gain in so doing.

The sovereignty question has concerned this government since we were first sworn in. We have built national unity, we have strengthened the national economy, because unity and strength are hallmarks of sovereignty, as they *are* hallmarks of this government's policy and achievements. In unity and strength, we have taken action to increase Canadian ownership of the Canadian petroleum industry. We have declared a Canadian ownership policy in respect of foreign investment in the publishing industry. We have made our own Canadian decisions on controversial issues of foreign policy— such as Nicaragua and South Africa. We have passed the *Foreign Extraterritorial Measures Act* to block unacceptable claims of jurisdiction by foreign governments or courts seeking to extend their writ to Canada. We have arrested foreign trawlers poaching in our fishing zones. We have taken important steps to improve Canada's defences, notably in bolstering Canadian forces in Europe and in putting into place a new North Warning System to protect Canadian sovereignty over our northern airspace. And we have reconstructed relations with traditional friends and allies, who have welcomed our renewed unity and strength and the confidence they generate.

In domestic policy, in foreign policy, and in defence policy, this government has given Canadian sovereignty a new impetus within a new maturity. But much remains to be done. The voyage of the *Polar Sea* demonstrated that Canada, in the past, had not developed the means to ensure our sovereignty over time. During that voyage, Canada's legal claim was fully protected, but when we looked for tangible ways to exercise our sovereignty, we found that our cupboard was nearly bare. We obtained from the United States a formal and explicit assurance that the voyage of the *Polar Sea* was without prejudice to Canada's legal position. That is an assurance which the government of the day, in 1969, did not receive for the voyage of the *Manhattan* and

of the two United States Coast Guard icebreakers. For the future, non-prejudicial arrangements will not be enough.

The voyage of the *Polar Sea* has left no trace on Canada's Arctic waters and no mark on Canada's Arctic sovereignty. It is behind us, and our concern must be what lies ahead.

Many countries, including the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany, are actively preparing for commercial navigation in Arctic waters. Developments are accelerating in ice science, ice technology, and tanker design. Several major Japanese firms are moving to capture the market for icebreaking tankers once polar oil and gas come on stream. Soviet submarines *are* being deployed under the Arctic ice pack, and the United States Navy in turn has identified a need to gain Arctic operational experience to counter new Soviet deployments.

The implications for Canada are clear. As the Western country with by far the greatest frontage on the Arctic, we must come up to speed in a range of marine operations that bear on our capacity to exercise effective control over the Northwest Passage and our other Arctic waters.

To this end, I wish to declare to the House the policy of this government in respect of Canadian sovereignty in Arctic waters, and to make a number of announcements as to how we propose to give expression to that policy.

Canada is an Arctic nation. The international community has long recognized that the Arctic mainland and islands are a part of Canada like any other. But the Arctic is not only a part of Canada. It is part of Canada's greatness.

The policy of this government is to preserve that greatness undiminished.

Canada's sovereignty in the Arctic is indivisible. It embraces land, sea, and ice. It extends without interruption to the seaward-facing coasts of the Arctic islands. These islands are joined and not divided by the waters between them. They are bridged for most of the year by ice. From time immemorial Canada's Inuit people have used and occupied the ice as they have used and occupied the land.

The policy of this government is to maintain the natural unity of the Canadian Arctic archipelago, and to preserve Canada's sovereignty over land, sea, and ice undiminished and undivided.

That sovereignty has long been upheld by Canada. No previous government, however, has defined its precise limits or delineated Canada's internal waters and territorial sea in the Arctic. This government proposes to do so. An order-in-council establishing straight baselines around the outer perimeter of the Canadian Arctic archipelago has been signed today, and will come into effect on January 1, 1986. These baselines define the outer limit of Canada's historic internal waters. Canada's territorial waters extend 12 miles seaward of the baselines. While the *Territorial Sea and Fishing Zones Act* requires 60 days' notice only for the establishment of fisheries limits, we consider that prior notice should also be given for this important step of establishing straight baselines.

Canada enjoys the same undisputed jurisdiction over its continental margin and 200-mile fishing zone in the Arctic as elsewhere. To protect the unique ecological balance of the region, Canada also exercises jurisdiction over a 100-mile pollution prevention zone in the Arctic waters. This too has been recognized by the international community, through a special provision in the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

No previous government, however, has extended the application of Canadian civil and criminal law to offshore areas, in the Arctic and elsewhere. This government will do so. To this end, we shall give priority to the early adoption of a *Canadian Laws Offshore Application Act*.

The exercise of functional jurisdiction in Arctic waters is essential to Canadian interests. But it can never serve as a substitute for the exercise of Canada's full sovereignty over the waters of the Arctic [archipelago]. Only full sovereignty protects the full range of Canada's interests. This full sovereignty is vital to Canada's security. It is vital to Canada's Inuit people. And it is vital even to Canada's nationhood.

The policy of this government is to exercise Canada's full sovereignty in and over the waters of the Arctic archipelago. We will accept no substitutes.

The policy of this government is also to encourage the development of navigation in Canada's Arctic waters. Our goal is to make the Northwest Passage a reality for Canadian and foreign shipping, as a Canadian waterway. Navigation, however, will be subject to the controls and other measures required for Canada's security, for the preservation of the environment, and for the welfare of the Inuit and other inhabitants of the Canadian Arctic.

In due course, the government will announce the further steps it is taking to implement these policies, and especially to provide more extensive marine support services, to strengthen regulatory structures, and to reinforce the necessary means of control. I am announcing today that the government has decided to construct a Polar Class 8 icebreaker. The Ministers of National Defence and Transport will shortly bring to Cabinet recommendations with regard to design and construction plans. The costs are very high, in the order of half a billion dollars. But this government is not about to conclude that Canada cannot afford the Arctic. Meanwhile, we are taking immediate steps to increase surveillance overflights of our Arctic waters by Canadian Forces aircraft. In addition, we are now making plans for naval activity in eastern Arctic waters in 1986.

Canada is a strong and responsible member of the international community. Our strength and our responsibility make us all the more aware of the need for co-operation with other countries, and especially with our friends and allies. Co-operation is necessary not only in defence of our own interests but in defence of the common interests of the international community. Co-operation adds to our strength and in no way diminishes our sovereignty.

The policy of this government is to offer its co-operation to its friends and allies, and to seek their co-operation in return.

We are prepared to explore with the United States all means of co-operation that might promote the respective interests of both countries, as Arctic friends, neighbours, and allies, in the Arctic waters of Canada and Alaska. The United States has been made aware that Canada wishes to open talks on this matter in the near future. Any co-operation with the United States, or with other Arctic nations, shall only be on the basis of full respect for Canada's sovereignty. That too has been made clear.

In 1970, the government of the day barred the International Court of Justice from hearing disputes that might arise concerning the jurisdiction exercised by Canada for the prevention of pollution in Arctic waters. This government will remove that bar. Indeed, we have today notified the Secretary-General of the United Nations that Canada is withdrawing the 1970 reservation to its acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court.

The Arctic is a heritage for the people of Canada. They are determined to keep their heritage entire. The policy of this government is to give full expression to that determination.

We challenge no established rights, for none have been established except by Canada. We set no precedent for other areas, for no other area compares with the Canadian Arctic archipelago. We are confident in our position. We believe in the rule of law in international relations. We shall act in accordance with our confidence and belief, as we are doing today in withdrawing the 1970 reservation to Canada's acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court. We are prepared to uphold our position in that Court, if necessary, and to have it freely and fully judged there.

In summary, these are the measures we are announcing today:

- 1) immediate adoption of an order-in-council establishing straight baselines around the Arctic archipelago, to be effective January 1, 1986;
- 2) immediate adoption of a *Canadian Laws Offshore Application Act*;
- 3) immediate talks with the United States on co-operation in Arctic waters, on the basis of full respect for Canadian sovereignty;
- 4) an immediate increase of surveillance overflights of our Arctic waters by aircraft of the Canadian Forces, and immediate planning for Canadian naval activity in the Eastern Arctic in 1986;
- 5) the immediate withdrawal of the 1970 reservation to Canada's acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice; and
- 6) construction of a Polar Class 8 icebreaker and urgent consideration of other means of exercising more effective control over our Arctic waters.

These are the measures we can take immediately. We know, however, that a long-term commitment is required. We are making that commitment today.



### 3. Looking North: Canada's Arctic Commitment (1989)

Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, January 1989.

#### Foreword

*The North is more than an area, it is a passion.*

Louis-Edmond Hamelin in *Canadian Nordicity*

Canada is a northern country. Bounded by the world's longest arctic coast line and comprising a land-mass second only in size to the Soviet Union, Canada occupies a prominent place in the circumpolar North. Though physically remote from the majority of the population who dwell on the southern fringes of the country, it is Canada's North that has helped shape our national and international identity.

Canada's territorial North (i.e. Yukon and Northwest Territories) comprises 40 per cent of our total land mass but is home to less than 0.3 per cent of our population.

Only a tiny percentage of Canadians have ever ventured to the northern limits of their country, and only a relative handful, outside those who live there, are aware of the dramatic developments that have occurred over the past several decades or of the tremendous potential the North holds for Canada's political and economic future.

There are a number of different ways of defining the boundaries of Canada's northland. For the purposes of this review, "North" refers to the lands and waters that make up Yukon and the Northwest Territories (NWT), the waters of Hudson and James Bays and the arctic archipelago.

In *Looking North, Canada's Arctic Commitment* we have attempted to provide an overview of current trends and activities in northern Canada - to put in perspective what is happening there and, in particular, to outline the activities and priorities of the federal government which shape our national northern strategy and policies.

The growth and strength of our country will depend in no small part on how, and how well, we manage the development of our northern lands. Every Canadian should know more about the North and about the commitment that we as a nation must make to its future. Perhaps, with a little understanding, we won't be so inclined to describe the Arctic as W.W. Reade did in 1872 when he claimed that ... "This gloomy region, where the year is divided into one day and one night, lies entirely outside the stream of history".

#### A Northern Perspective

*Plumb full of bush to the brim*

R.W. Service, *The Spell of the Yukon*, 1907

The sheer size of Canada's northern territories is difficult to capture in mere words and statistics. A small aircraft transit from Hay River to Alert would do more to impress the point. The Territories encompass an area of some 3.4 million square kilometres. From west to east the area spans almost 3,500 kilometres. And from the Territories' southern extremities to the tip of Ellesmere Island on the Arctic Ocean is a journey of more than 3,400 kilometres. Two-thirds of Canada's coastline borders this northern region, and adds an extensive offshore area to Canada's jurisdiction.

The great arctic archipelago north of the mainland extends to within 800 kilometres of the North Pole, separating the ice-covered Arctic Ocean from Baffin Bay, the Labrador Sea and the North Atlantic Ocean.

It is a land of vast distance, extremes and contrasts; from plus 30°C summer days to minus 50°C winter nights; from tranquil meadows to ice-jammed fiords; from the ultimate wilderness experience for eager tourists to the familiar and friendly homeland for many of the region's population.

Firm evidence for human presence in Canada begins about 12,000 years ago, with the earliest inhabitants having come to North America across the land bridge from Asia. There are hints from recent archaeological finds, however, that suggest human habitation in Canada might have occurred as much as 20,000 years ago.

For centuries the arctic population lived a life that was basically unchanged. Largely nomadic, they lived in winter villages of family groupings, existed by hunting and fishing and developed a deep affinity for, and understanding of, their northern habitat. It was not until the late 19th century that the lure of gold, fur and whale oil brought white settlers and sailors north in any substantial numbers. These events focussed political attention to the administrative arrangements that would be applicable to this area.

In 1870, shortly after Confederation, Britain transferred all of Ruperts Land and what was known as the NorthWestern Territory to Canada.

These extensive lands included the North as we know it today as well as the three Prairie Provinces and parts of northern Ontario and Quebec. In 1880, the arctic archipelago was also transferred to Canadian jurisdiction.

As the boundaries of the western provinces were drawn, the North-Western Territory diminished in size and by early in this century (1912) the political landscape took its present dimensions, Yukon having previously been established as a separate territory in 1898.

Today, the northern territories are home to about 77,000 Canadians.

About two thirds of Yukon's 25,000 residents live in and around the territorial capital of Whitehorse, while less than one quarter of the NWT's population of 52,000 live in Yellowknife. The remainder of the northern population lives in some 100 smaller towns, villages and camps scattered throughout the two Territories.

The population of the northern territories has grown from 25,000 in 1951 to 75,500 in 1986 - an average annual rate of 4.6 per cent, which is about twice the national average. The northern ethnic mixture varies from a significant non-

aboriginal majority in Yukon to an aboriginal majority in the Northwest Territories. In Yukon approximately one-fifth of the population is of aboriginal origin, whereas close to 60 per cent of the Northwest Territories population reported aboriginal ethnicity (16 per cent Dene, 35 per cent Inuit, 5.5 per cent Metis, and 2 per cent multiple aboriginal).

By the standards of most Canadians living in the south, northern life is harsh, isolated and expensive. Uncertain economic prospects coupled with increasing demands for employment add pressures, which cannot be ignored, to the social and cultural environment of northern Canada.

Yet, to many Northerners, it is a beloved homeland that they would exchange for no other. As modern technology in transportation, housing, communications and other essentials of daily life become more prevalent, the North has become more liveable to a wider segment of population, less remote and more attractive for future development and settlement. Though this transformation may not have occurred as rapidly as H.A. Innis declared in 1935 (*Canadian Historical Review*) when he stated that “The inaccessible Arctic has disappeared overnight”, there has, nevertheless, been a significant transformation.

## **The Circumpolar World**

*It is still difficult to impress upon the public and industry at large that the most essential quality of the Arctic is not cold, or gold, or polar bears, but a central position in the world community*

Michael Marsden in *The Arctic Frontier*, 1966.

As the Canadian North has become less isolated from our own major population areas of the south, Canadians have come to realize that we and our northern territories share a common heritage and interests with other northern lands.

We are part of what is currently referred to as the circumpolar world.

To understand this circumpolar world, one must view the globe not from a “Mercator mind-set” but from a bird’s eye view looking directly down on the North Pole.

Here we have a new perspective.

In contrast to the single large continent, Antarctica, centred on the South Pole, a view toward the North Pole sees an arctic land fringe surrounding an ice-covered Arctic Ocean and comprising portions of three continents and the territories of eight countries: Canada, the Soviet Union, the United States (Alaska), Greenland (Denmark), Norway, Sweden, Finland and Iceland, all of which have territorial extensions north of the Arctic Circle. In these areas, there’s at least one day a year when the sun doesn’t rise, and another day when it doesn’t set.

In this circumpolar setting, Canada is a member with credentials, which places her front and centre with other nations on the circumpolar stage.

The degree of northern development differs from country to country. The Soviet Union, with the largest land mass and a climate as severe as Canada's for a good portion of the country, has seven northern cities of more than 150,000 people and a total northern population of more than seven million, some 12 per cent of which are aboriginal people. Northern Scandinavia, enjoying a more sub-arctic climate owing to moderating oceanic effects, exhibits a considerable degree of northern development and a population in excess of 800,000.

Greenland, on the other hand, has a total population of only some 50,000, most of whom live in the southernmost areas, south of the Arctic Circle.

Notwithstanding the differences exhibited, there are also common bonds among these distinct identities, characterized not only by their shared interests in their own development but also by their common experience with external pressures. The geography of the Arctic is a constant. And Canada is a significant stakeholder in arctic geography.

The international dimension to northern affairs is not new. But the rapid pace of northern technology and development over the past two decades has made Canada's and other governments much more aware of the importance of international interaction on northern problems and opportunities. Cooperative scientific activity and other bilateral and multilateral cooperative programs take on increasing importance. The 1986 recognition by the Government of Canada of a northern dimension to Canadian Foreign Policy placed a new emphasis on circumpolar cooperation. This will be one of the major factors in Canada's arctic commitment in the decade ahead.

## **An Historical Perspective**

*It has been said that Great Britain acquired her empire in a state of absence of mind. Apparently we have administered these vast territories of the north in an almost continuing state of absence of mind.*

Louis St. Laurent. H/C Debates Dec. 8, 1953, on introducing a bill to establish the Department of Northern Affairs

Canada's acquisition of her northern territories has not been as straightforward as one might think. Gordon W. Smith, who has written extensively and with precision about Canada's sovereignty, the arctic archipelago, and Canadian jurisdiction generally in the North, points out that it has only been recently (1930s) that the issue of Canadian sovereignty over arctic lands has been put to rest. And in 1985, a transit through the Northwest Passage by the U.S. Coast Guard ship, *Polar Sea*, prompted measures by the Canadian Government to confirm and consolidate Canada's legal position over the waters of the Arctic archipelago.

Mr. Smith points out that while it is essentially a legal matter, sovereignty over any territory is likely to be largely based on the record of human activity in the area. In Canada, this record consists of:

- a period of up to 1500 AD when the area was occupied permanently by Indian and Inuit peoples with the occasional presence of Norse peoples.
- a period 1500 to 1875 when aboriginal presence was joined by white explorers, fur traders, whalers, and missionaries.
- a period 1875 to present which might be characterized by increased human presence and administrative activity.

The period 1500 to 1875 saw expeditions by such explorers as Frobisher, Mackenzie, Ross, Parry, Franklin, Richardson, Back, Beechey, Simpson and Rae, and the quest for the elusive Northwest Passage. It coincided as well with the fur trading activities of the Hudson's Bay Company (1670-1870) which exercised effective authority over an ill-defined area called Rupert's Land. The authority of this "proprietary government" came under attack from the French colony until 1763, and from Upper and Lower Canada until Confederation.

The transfers of 1870 and 1880 saw Britain terminate control by the Hudson's Bay Company and assign to Canada the territories comprising Rupert's Land, the North Western Territory and the arctic archipelago.

In 1895 the provisional districts of Ungava, Yukon, Mackenzie and Franklin (the latter including the archipelago) were created. Subsequent events such as the gold rush to the Klondike in 1898, the activities of foreign explorers including Sverdrup (1898-1902), Amundsen (1903-06) and Peary (1908-09), and the presence of American whalers in Hudson Bay and the Beaufort Sea, served to focus concerns about control of the North for the Canadian government. The dispatch of the North West Mounted Police to the northern territories, the enactment of statutes creating Alberta and Saskatchewan, and enlarging Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec, combined with expeditions by Wakeham, Low, Moodie and Bernier from the late 1800s to the early 1900s, did much to impose Canadian law in these northern areas.

Scientific activities also accompanied these voyages expanding the knowledge base and providing early geological surveying and charting for the Arctic Region. Activities such as these prompted one observer to remark about Bernier's expeditions:

*Capt. Joseph Elzear Bernier, Canada's master seaman, who has done everything but bring the North Pole home on deck.*

(C.H.J. Snider in *Canadian Historical Review* 1928, 74)

During the war years 1914-18, activity lapsed in the North, with the exception of a Canadian Arctic Expedition under Stefansson for the Geological Survey of Canada (GSC) during 1913-18. Subsequently, activity resumed on a grander and expanded scale, but not without challenges to Canadian claims from Denmark, Russia and Norway. Canadian persistence in solidifying northern claims, and in providing for additional regulation of activities in the Territories through appointment of a

Northwest Territories Council in 1905, coupled perhaps, with a lack of interest from foreign states, did much to place Canada in effective control of her North, as time wore on. By 1933 foreign claims to the archipelago had disappeared and Canada's own claim has effectively been established.

Activity in the North since 1933 can only have improved Canada's legal position causing Mr. Smith to conclude that "it can be asserted with confidence that Canada's legal title to her northern territories, and particularly to the archipelago is secure today and has been at least since the 1930s".

It is with confidence that Canada also asserts its claim to the waters of the arctic archipelago. Prompted by the transit in 1985 of the United States Coast Guard ship *Polar Sea* through the Northwest Passage, Canada took a number of measures to confirm and consolidate its legal position over the arctic archipelago waters. Canada drew straight base-lines around the archipelago, thereby delineating Canada's internal waters; it announced the introduction of new legislation regarding the application of Canada's law to all offshore resource activities within the 200-mile limit and in respect of the continental shelf where it extends beyond 200 miles; it increased surveillance overflights and naval activity in the North; it withdrew its reservation to the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice; and it announced the construction of a Polar 8 icebreaker as well as other measures related to navigation in Arctic waters. The uniqueness of the arctic archipelago and the evidence of Canadian activity, including the long established record of Inuit use and occupancy of the area, add considerable weight to the Canadian claim.

Canada must continue to build upon this long established and growing Arctic presence in company with northerners and with regard to the region's political, economic and environmental integrity.

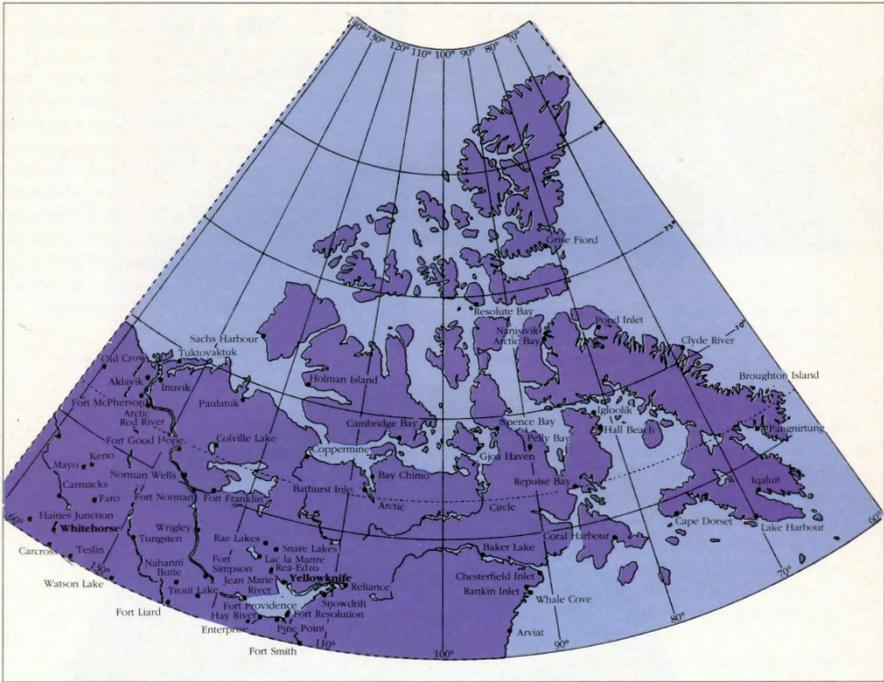
## **Towards Political Maturity**

*So Northern Canada really is embarking on a new era, one in which Northerners will work out their own political and economic destiny within Canada.*

Address by the Rt. Hon. Brian Mulroney, Yellowknife, NWT. Sept. 6, 1988

Of all the changes that have taken place in Canada's Northern territories over the past generation, none has been more dramatic or significant for the future than the rapid political evolution from virtual colonial status to what is now approaching full responsible government.

Northern politics over the past 20 years have been marked by three major developments: the emergence of elected, fully representative territorial legislative bodies; the progressive transfer of provincial-type responsibilities from the Federal to Territorial Governments; and significantly increased participation of aboriginal northerners in the political process, both through the formal legislative bodies and through formation of their own political structures.



Modern constitutional development began in Yukon as early as 1898. In that year, federal legislation (the Yukon Act) established the Yukon Territorial Government (YTG) consisting initially of a commissioner and a federally appointed council of six. By 1905, the council had increased to 10 members, of whom five were elected. By 1910, all 10 members were elected; although these numbers were reduced in the post-gold rush period to three, rebuilding to seven members by 1960. 1979 saw the introduction of a system of political parties and by 1980 an Executive Council (Cabinet), selected by an elected government leader, was in place. The Legislative Assembly now consists of 16 elected members, with an executive having ministerial responsibilities for one or more government departments, much the same as in the provinces.

It is hard to believe today that it was only two decades ago, in Canada's Centennial Year, that the seat of government of the Northwest Territories was moved from Ottawa to Yellowknife.

Prior to this time, an appointed council of four members and a commissioner, had been established in 1921 at Ottawa. By 1951 council membership had expanded to eight members, three of whom were elected. In 1966 this had increased to 12 members with seven elected officials. In the years following the movement of government to Yellowknife (1967), the council had expanded in 1975 from 15 to 24 elected members. With the withdrawal of the appointed federal Commissioner from chairmanship of the Executive Council in 1986, the elected Government Leader is

now the effective head of government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT). He is chosen by a vote of caucus of the Legislative Assembly.

As the power and authority of Territorial Governments grew, there has been by agreement, a steady transfer to them of provincial-type responsibilities which had traditionally been handled by the Federal Government.

Today, the Territories have effective control in the areas of education, local government, property and civil rights, direct taxation, wildlife resources management and social and economic affairs and generally all matters of a local or private nature.

And new impetus was given to northern political evolution in 1987 when the Government of Canada confirmed its intention to transfer from federal to territorial jurisdiction those remaining programs that would normally fall within the jurisdiction of provincial governments in other regions of Canada. Advanced by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), this commitment to northern political maturity was confirmed in a Northern Political and Economic Framework whose primary goals include:

- the transfer of provincial-type programs to the territorial governments, including responsibility for managing the North's natural resources.
- the settlement of northern aboriginal land claims.
- promoting economic development.
- enhancing Canadian arctic sovereignty.

A major step forward occurred recently with the transfer of the Northern Canada Power Commission to Yukon in 1987 and to the Northwest Territories in 1988. This move has given the territories near total control over the generation, distribution and management of electric power – a vital element in northern life and economic development.

In 1987, legislation was enacted to transfer responsibility for forest and fire management from federal to territorial control, taking effect in the Northwest Territories in April of that year. The delivery of health services has now been transferred to the GNWT. These services were previously provided by Health and Welfare Canada, which over the years developed a health delivery system which proved effective in combatting tuberculosis, lowered the rate of infantile deaths, and in general, successfully raised the health status of northern peoples. Health and Welfare Canada currently delivers health services in Yukon, but talks have commenced on the transfer of hospital services in that Territory. Processes are in place to continue the transfer of other provincial-type responsibilities in both Territories.

Of particular note is the signing of agreements-in-principle (A.I.P.) with both Territories on a Northern Energy Accord in September 1988. Building on the theme of increased responsibility at the territorial level, the A.I.P. sets out principles providing for:

- the transfer of legislative responsibility for managing on-shore oil and gas resources.

- immediate consultation on significant decisions affecting oil and gas in the North, both on-shore and offshore.
- a commitment to future sharing between Federal and Territorial Governments of the regulation and management of off-shore oil and gas resources.
- the sharing of oil and gas revenues.

All transfers are dependent on the willingness of Territorial Governments to assume specific responsibilities. Guidelines are established and priorities and time schedules for the completion of transfers are being developed.

The ownership of Crown lands and the administration and control over natural resources, attorney general functions, and the power of amendment of Territorial constitutions, remain the principal differences between responsibilities in the provinces and those in the territories. In the interim, current arrangements require a high degree of federal/territorial cooperation. With resource ownership still residing with the federal crown, resource management and administration is for the most part a federal responsibility. Yet cooperative approaches to resource management activity are more the rule than the exception, recognizing the expanded roles of the Territorial Governments in areas such as wildlife, forestry and infrastructure development. Institutional arrangements and decision-making structures reflect this joint approach to resource management activity. Progress is being made, for example, on the delegation of the administration of freshwater fisheries management to the Territorial Governments similar to that already afforded to Quebec, Ontario, the Prairie provinces and British Columbia.

Still, the Federal government exercises the lead in areas such as lands, forests (in Yukon) and waters management, in mineral and energy resources management, and in environmental protection. Services provided by such functions as lands and oil and gas administration, land use permitting, water quality monitoring, hydrometric surveys, mineral rights registration, exploration and geological assistance, and environmental monitoring, are all essential to effective resources management in the Territories. Until Territorial Governments assume control of such activities, which are essentially “provincial” in nature, the Federal Government will continue to exercise primary responsibility and accountability for the provision of these services.

Political evolution toward provincial status for the Territories won’t be complete without the transfer of natural resources and the creation by constitutional amendment of a Crown in right of northern provinces. Conceivably, owing to the unique nature of northern issues, and the opportunities posed by current political development and aboriginal claim settlement initiatives, the confirmation of responsible northern governments could ultimately yield a new kind of creature within the Canadian constitutional framework. Northerners and other architects in “Canadian nation building” are just beginning their work.

Both Territories still depend to a substantial degree on federal financing support. Fifty-seven per cent of Yukon’s revenues and 76 per cent of the NWT’s derive from

federal transfer payments. Transfers to the Territorial Governments have grown from \$64 million in 1971 to \$825 million in 1988/89. However, new financing arrangements have been worked out to ensure that this revenue-dependence does not in any way inhibit the capacity of northern governments to set their own priorities. Since 1985, a new method for providing federal grants to the Territorial Governments permits those governments to budget and spend according to a formula, without having to justify their expenditure allocations to the Federal Government. An annual increase is now provided through an agreed formula rather than through negotiations.

Another key element of the North's growing political maturity has been the acceptance by aboriginal northerners of a central role in the territorial political processes. In Yukon, the 1989 territorial election returned a 16 member legislative assembly which include 4 aboriginal northerners.

In the Northwest Territories, Dennis Patterson became government leader after the 1987 election and now heads an eight member executive council with aboriginal northerners holding four of the eight positions. The NWT legislative assembly now comprises 24 members with aboriginal representation (15 of 24) forming a majority in the assembly. Previously, in 1983 Richard Nerysoo became northern Canada's first aboriginal head of government when he was chosen by his caucus colleagues to head the legislative assembly. He was succeeded in 1985 by Nick Sibbeston from Fort Simpson who was the NWT's second aboriginal leader.

Spurred in part by the land claims process which has encouraged aboriginal peoples to work together towards common goals and to take an active part in shaping the overall northern political future, aboriginal northerners have also been further developing their own political institutions based on a combination of their traditional governing systems and concepts of government brought north by non-aboriginals.

The Inuvialuit land claims agreement, covering an area of some 91,000 square kilometres in the western Arctic, was signed in 1984. It provides for the establishment of political structures and economic corporations designed to ensure that the Inuvialuit have substantial control over their political, social and economic development as well as environmental concerns and other matters of importance to them. These community corporations provide a substantial degree of community-level self government. When this is coupled with involvement in institutions of public government in the territories, the role of aboriginal peoples in shaping the political future of the North is assured. Similar objectives have formed the basis for an Agreement in Principle with the Dene-Métis of the Mackenzie Valley which was signed in September 1988 and for the Agreement in Principle reached with the Yukon Indians in late 1988.

The northern claims, though not yet completed, clearly reflect the desire by northern aboriginal peoples to develop strong political institutions and assume greater control over the events that shape their daily lives.

Parallel to the claims process are efforts to establish memoranda of understanding between the various aboriginal organizations and the Territorial Governments. These memoranda would define aboriginal involvement in the process of northern political development (transfers of responsibility from federal to territorial jurisdiction) and ensure that aboriginal rights and interests are not prejudiced.

This growth of political strength on the part of northerners is an important factor in assuring the continuing development of a responsible and self-reliant Canadian presence in the North. It will contribute, as well, to a more orderly and productive development of northern communities and northern resources – ultimately balancing the needs of northern citizens with benefits to all Canadians.

## **Aboriginal Land Claims**

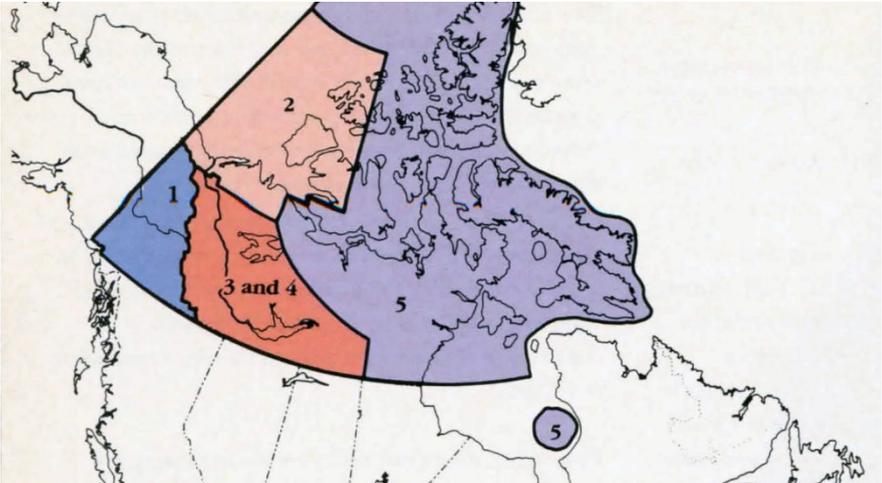
*Aboriginal peoples have always claimed a special relationship to the land as the basis for their cultural distinctiveness and special aboriginal status.*

From Comprehensive Land Claims Policy, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1987.

Until the turn of the century, Canada's northern aboriginal people lived their traditional life with relatively little direct contact with non-aboriginals other than fur traders, missionaries and other transients. Hunting, fishing, trapping and trading provided the basis of their way of life. With the continuing influx of southerners, frictions inevitably developed and questions were raised as to the extent and nature of the rights that aboriginal northerners retained related to the use and control of the land they originally inhabited.

The courts have not provided a clear definition of aboriginal rights, and there is much dispute over its nature, and continuing extent. In the landmark *Calder* case (1973) six of the seven judges on Canada's Supreme Court found, as a matter of principle, that aboriginal title existed in Canadian law independently of any act of executive recognition. However, the court split evenly on whether aboriginal title continued to exist, in that particular case. Later in the same year, a federal policy for the negotiation of comprehensive land claims based upon continuing traditional use of the land was adopted.

The central purpose in these negotiations is to establish certainty in relation to the use and ownership of land and resources for both aboriginal and non-aboriginal people. But the claims negotiations embrace many other subjects including resource revenue-sharing, planning structures for land and renewable resources, environmental management and protection, certain self-government measures and guarantees with respect to wildlife harvesting and financial compensation. The legislation giving effect to claims settlements is constitutionally protected pursuant to the *Constitution Act, 1982*.



Essentially, aboriginal northerners are looking for agreements that will protect their interests in the land so that they may choose to continue pursuing elements of their traditional lifestyles and activities while also participating in and benefiting from the evolution of northern political and economic life.

For its part, the Government sees the need to establish clear rules and understandings so that both aboriginal and non-aboriginal northerners can live together in harmony and so that development of the North can proceed in an orderly fashion. Claims settlement is an integral and important element in overall northern development.

The Federal Government has exclusive jurisdiction in relation to “Indians and lands reserved for Indians”, a term which also includes Inuit. In the North, unlike in the Provinces, lands and resources fall under federal jurisdiction. Consequently, negotiations in the territories are formally bilateral, leading to federally legislated settlements. In reality, however, federal legislation must be complemented by territorial legislation and the Territorial Governments must be active partners in effective settlements. Accordingly, Territorial Governments participate fully in the application of land claims policy and in negotiations, under the leadership of the Federal Government.

In Northern Canada, comprehensive claims negotiations have involved four major groups comprising some 40,000 aboriginal northerners. These include: the Council for Yukon Indians (CYI) representing some 6500 aboriginals in 13 separate bands in Yukon, the Dene-Métis comprising two major groups with some 13000 claimants in 30 communities throughout the Mackenzie Valley, the Tungavik Federation of unavut (TFN) representing approximately 16000 Inuit in 27 communities in the central and eastern Arctic, and finally, the Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic which include some 4000 beneficiaries in six communities. Settlement of this latter claim was achieved in 1984.

Negotiation of comprehensive claims in the North has been ongoing for the past 14 years, with numerous sub-agreements on a variety of issues having been concluded. Nonetheless, the total package that will constitute the final settlement agreements have proven more difficult to achieve, in part owing to the complexity of the subjects under discussion and the changing northern political and economic context within which negotiations take place.

Still, in 1984, the Inuvialuit Final Agreement was achieved and given effect by legislation. Under terms of this agreement, the Inuvialuit received surface and subsurface ownership to certain lands and surface only ownership to other lands, all in the Western Arctic Region. Throughout the larger "Inuvialuit Settlement Region", they received rights which will protect traditional activities such as hunting, trapping and fishing. The settlement provides for 152 million dollars in cash compensation. It also provided for the establishment of several Inuvialuit corporations to allow for independent management by the Inuvialuit of the settlement funds and lands. As well, a number of joint Government/Inuvialuit structures were created to provide the Inuvialuit with a meaningful voice in environmental and wildlife management activities within the settlement region.

Settlement of the remaining claims has been a long and sometimes arduous process; however, revisions to the comprehensive claims policy in 1986, followed by new mandates for the individual claims, have given new impetus to their completion.

In Yukon, new negotiations underway since mid-1987 resulted in an agreement-in-principle being initialled by negotiators in November, 1988. All party ratification of this A.I.P. is being followed by negotiations towards a territory-wide umbrella Final Agreement and final band agreements and land selection which will be negotiated on a band by band basis. Through that agreement Yukon Indians will gain effective ownership of 41,440 square kilometres of land and protection for their rights to renewable resources over the whole of Yukon as well as protected rights to participate in land use planning and management and to negotiate community self-government arrangements. They will also receive financial compensation of 232 million dollars.

In August, 1988, Canada and the Dene/Métis reached an Agreement-in-Principle which was formally signed by the Prime Minister and Dene and Metis leaders at Fort Rae, NWT, in September 1988. With this achievement, the basis for negotiation of a final agreement and land selections has been established. The agreement provides for Dene-Métis ownership of some 180,000 square kilometres of land, financial compensation of 500 million dollars and protection of aboriginal interests in the entire settlement area of some 990,000 square kilometres.

In the Eastern Arctic, the TFN claim received a new mandate from government in 1987 to conclude an agreement-in-principle by 1989. So, barring unforeseen developments and assuming the continued good will of the negotiating parties, Canada should have firm and lasting comprehensive claim settlements in place

throughout the North early in the 1990s. This, in turn, should signal a new era for both political and economic development throughout the region.

## **Division of the Northwest Territories?**

*If some countries have too much history, we have too much geography*

W.L. Mackenzie King, House of Commons Debates, June 18, 1936, 3668

One of the most important political decisions now facing the people of the NWT and Canada is the proposed division of the present territory. The idea of division is not new. The creation of the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan was effected by dividing the Northwest Territories, and major additions to Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec, represented similar sub-divisions.

There have been various proposals over the years to further divide the NWT. During the 1960s, the Federal Government introduced a bill in the House of Commons to create an eastern and western territory, primarily for administrative reasons. This bill died when the House was dissolved for the 1965 federal election. The 1980s have seen renewed desires to proceed with division and the concept received fresh impetus in 1982 when a territory-wide plebiscite demonstrated that some 80 per cent of eastern voters and 56 per cent over-all in the NWT favoured division.

Essentially, division would create two new territories: an eastern territory, Nunavut, which would be approximately 86 per cent Inuit, and a western territory, Denendeh, more ethnically mixed, with about 55 per cent non-aboriginal, 35 per cent Dene and Métis and 10 per cent Inuvialuit.

Questions concerning an appropriate boundary location and the basic constitutional principle that would govern in the new territories remain to be resolved. The Government has provided funding for a Constitutional Alliance, which has been given a mandate by the NWT Legislative Assembly and by the aboriginal organizations to deal with division and related issues of northern constitutional development.

The task of shaping new northern governmental arrangements responsive to northern aspirations within a national constitutional framework will be a sizeable challenge for Canada's "nation-builders". It cannot be done independently of other processes active in the Territories. Aboriginal claim settlements in both the eastern and western Arctic, and the ultimate distribution of responsibilities issuing from the transfer of provincial-type programs will impact on the issue of division. Consequently, the political evolution of the Territories will be gradual and it will engender a necessary debate about the political, economic and fiscal implications of division. But, with diligence, there is every opportunity for addressing the issue of "too much geography" in both an innovative and rewarding manner.

## Recognizing Northern Social and Cultural Diversity

*I know I have had an unusual life, being born in a skin tent and living to hear on the radio that two men have landed on the moon.*

Mary Pitseolak, Cape Dorset artist, in her *Pictures out of my life*, 1971, 80.

Inextricably bound up in that phenomenon that might be termed the “Northern mystique” are the lives and times of the people who call themselves Canadian northerners. Although relatively few in number, Northerners share a distinct identity. It is an identity enriched by the social and cultural differences that occur in the various regions of the North and also in the demographic make-up of the North’s population.

From the “colourful 5 per cent” portrayed in Yukon art and literature, to the Inuit artists and hunters of the islands and the east, from the southerner enjoying a 2-3 year stint in a “frontier environment”, to the long term northerner who will raise a family “neath the midnight sun”; from the aboriginal leadership striving to shape a better future, to the school-age youth challenged both by computers and the skills required to take a caribou, these are all part of the mix that defines the northern social and cultural reality.

Northern political and economic development reflects this social and cultural diversity. The distinct identity of the northern population is further supported by social and cultural assistance programs available to the southern population generally, and by specific Federal and Territorial government programs which are targeted toward the special social and cultural circumstances in the North.

A Cultural/Educational Centres Program, operated by DIAND, provides direct financial and other supportive assistance to groups such as the Dene-Métis, and to Indian/Inuit non-profit corporations for the establishment and operation of cultural/educational centres. The content of these programs is determined by the clients themselves and may include such objectives as curriculum development, language retention, and the revival of traditional and contemporary cultural skills of aboriginal people. A \$16 million 5-year program geared toward the preservation of aboriginal languages is also sponsored by the Secretary of State.

DIAND maintains the only research and documentation centre in Canada on Inuit art, providing public promotional/informational publications and assistance to Inuit art marketing bodies. Promotion of Inuit art is also co-ordinated with other departments, museums, galleries, dealers, the Eskimo Arts Council, Arctic Co-operatives, Inuit Cultural Institutes and individual artists. Contribution funding to marketing initiatives of Inuit cooperatives, and funding for the Eskimo Arts Council are part of the support system for northern cultural development. Production of *Inuktitut Magazine*, the responsibility for which has now been transferred to the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), is another important vehicle for cultural expression which encourages the development and use of the Inuit language and promotes Inuit culture. As well, translation services, counselling, purchase and distribution of

publications, and assistance to the performing arts, writers and photographers are additional functions that lend support to northern aboriginal cultural expression.

The Polar Continental Shelf Project has established an Arctic Awareness Program which provides logistics support to members of the Canadian cultural community to work in remote regions of the Arctic and to help increase awareness and understanding of the Arctic by Canadians throughout the country.

Government support to northern communications is another important element in northern cultural enhancement, whose highlights will be addressed later.

Accompanying the political and economic change in the North is a social transformation, which carries with it both positive and negative attributes. Much of the public support services offered are geared to combatting serious social problems such as alcohol and drug abuse, increasing crime rates, and cultural alienation that stem from rapid change in social and cultural circumstances. In the North these problems are exacerbated by an expanding aboriginal labour force population facing relatively few new employment prospects.

In these circumstances, social development initiatives and specially designed educational opportunities will be called upon to help alleviate the problems attendant with northern social change. Initiatives such as governments' support for adult education and vocational training through an on-the-job training program, or assistance in the maintenance of northern life skills and upgrading of academic skills, in addition to culturally-sensitive reforms to the corrections system, are all part of the ongoing effort to cope with the northern reality. Our ability to recognize the diversity that exists and to deal with the social and cultural issues that arise are fundamental parts of Canada's arctic commitment.

## **Expanding Knowledge through Science**

*As a national priority, we must develop new industries, produce new goods and offer new services. The way to do that ... is through a concerted national effort in science and technology.*

Rt. Hon. Brian Mulroney at the National Conference on Technology and Innovation, January 13, 1988

Northern development has brought with it an ever increasing demand for science-based knowledge of the north. Many aspects of current government policy such as resource development, land use planning, the archaeological record, wildlife conservation, transportation – even the aboriginal claims process, require an ever more detailed understanding of the northern land, its people, the effects of climate, the arctic waters and ice mass, the flora and fauna and many other of its natural characteristics.

Northern scientific activity is not new. The Geological Survey of Canada, for example, has been working in the North for more than a century. But the pressures of economic development, security considerations and environmental concern of the past decade have had the effect of accelerating the urgency and pace of northern science.

To give some idea of the level of activity, the Polar Continental Shelf Project (PCSP), which has a supporting role in much northern scientific activity and has contributed significantly to Canada's arctic presence during the past 30 years, reports that in 1987 it supported more than 1,000 Canadian scientists working throughout the Arctic and that by 1992, this figure will increase by more than 25 per cent. The PCSP was created by former Prime Minister Diefenbaker in 1958 as part of his "northern vision" to support scientific research. Since its inception, it has supported roughly thirteen thousand scientists conducting research based upon disciplines ranging from archaeology to zoology.

PCSP's mandate includes the maintenance of an infrastructure for comprehensive coordination, transportation, communications and logistical support to Canadian agencies conducting research in the Arctic. It operates from two base camp facilities, Resolute, and Tuktoyaktuk, and in 1984 commenced development of support facilities on a moving ice island on the margin of the Arctic Ocean. This initiative represents a unique and cost effective means of acquiring scientific information supporting arctic science.

Northern scientific research involves both the Federal and Territorial Governments, as well as universities, northern residents and the private sector. Local knowledge held by northern people adds an important dimension to northern scientific research.

In all, some 12 separate federal departments and agencies are actively involved in short and long-term northern science, spending more than \$60 million annually on their own research and in support of that of others. The Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada adds another \$5 million annually in grants and scholarships in support of northern research.

Within the federal structure, DIAND's Northern Program has statutory authority to foster, through scientific investigation and technology, knowledge of the Canadian North and the means of dealing with conditions related to its future development.

One of DIAND's responsibilities has included the maintenance and management of three year-round Scientific Centres at Inuvik in the Western Arctic and Igloodik and Iqaluit in the Eastern Arctic. The laboratories assist government, university and industrial scientists and other researchers with a valid interest in northern science, and they provide facilities that allow a range of laboratory investigations to be carried out in the North and act as bases from which scientific field parties can be mounted and supported. In line with the Government's objectives of ensuring northern involvement in northern research, these centres were transferred to the responsibility of the Northwest Territories Government in November 1988.

The department also provides a focal point for coordination between the Government and Canadian Universities; it encourages participation in northern studies and also provides funding support to the Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies. Through a related activity, the Northern Science Training Program, DIAND awards logistics support to some 350 graduate students of 30 Canadian universities, giving them an opportunity for meaningful professional experience in the North; as well it contributes to a biennial National Student Conference on Northern Studies. In the Northwest Territories, DIAND provides support to the recently created NWT Science Institute. In Yukon, agreement is being pursued toward a federal-territorial science strategy.

The federal department of Energy, Mines and Resources (EMR) also has an extensive northern research program relating to its responsibilities for geoscience and oil and gas development. In addition to its Polar Continental Shelf Project, the department is also responsible for mapping and remote sensing including the conduct of mapping surveys, monitoring seismic activities, aerial photography, topographical mapping and aeronautical charting. Working from offices in Yellowknife and Whitehorse, EMR provides the national survey network that is necessary for mineral exploration, natural resource and economic development, environmental initiatives and national boundary definition. As well, its Legal Surveys Group conducts surveys of settlement lands established under new aboriginal claims settlements. The Canada Centre for Mapping plays an important role in maintaining and upgrading the topographic and cartographic record, including the completion of a graphical and digital mapping program for Canada and the production and maintenance of aeronautical charts required in support of military and civilian aviation in Canada.

The Canada Centre for Remote Sensing is acquiring an airborne radar mosaic of Cornwallis Island and geologists are carrying out a structural analysis of this area that includes the Polaris mine and other mineral prospects. Programs are also in place to expand applications of the remote sensing capability to meet Territorial Government requirements.

Two projects are underway in the Arctic to explore the physical and mechanical processes of sea ice using radar data coupled with climatological data. Considerable assistance is also being given to the activities of the Yukon remote sensing community in terms of training, and assisting with project design.

Another major initiative is that of developing Geographic Information Standards for Canada and implementing digital data bases of topographical, geographical and aeronautical information. These activities will affect the North primarily in terms of the development and implementation of information systems designed to expedite the availability of geodetic and cadastral information for the Arctic.

The Canadian Centre for Mineral and Energy Technology (CANMET) uses its research and development capacity to evaluate arctic mineral and energy resources and their recovery and processing. For example, research and development work on materials such as steel and concrete has been applied in industry in developing

required technology for construction of offshore structures. The Panel on Energy Research and Development (PERD) is another source of support for arctic R and D through oil and gas programs. As well, the department co-ordinates various expertise in oil and gas resource assessment work through the Petroleum Resources Appraisal Panel which will bear on decisions concerning Arctic hydrocarbon development such as the recent Beaufort Sea Amauligak discovery.

The federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) also has an active program of Arctic science. DFO is responsible for the Canadian Hydrographic Service which publishes and distributes nautical charts, sailing directions and tide tables necessary to permit safe and efficient navigation; surveys and charting from DFO and Coast Guard ships are ongoing responsibilities in arctic waters.

DFO conducts an extensive arctic sciences program with expenditures approaching \$16 million annually. In the biological science field, marine mammal studies, fisheries population and habitat assessments, fish disease surveys, and productivity studies are all part of the program; and in the area of physical and chemical sciences, the department conducts contaminants studies and undertakes marine research related to arctic development activities, through such programs as the Northern Oil and Gas Action Program (NOGAP) and PERD; studies producing baseline data, and research on ocean climate and marine ecosystems are also undertaken.

The Department has also built up a major program of biological and harvest research information on arctic marine life to support renewable resource development in the North. It has also taken an active role in work related to marine environmental conservation with a major new initiative geared to putting in place a comprehensive Arctic Marine Conservation Strategy.

Canada's museums have also been active participants in arctic science activities. Early arctic research by the National Museums contributed not only to expanding the knowledge base but also to exploration and survey of the Arctic Region. From the early 1900s to the present, museum scientists have conducted taxonomic and biogeographic studies at a variety of arctic locations. A permanent high arctic research station was established on Bathurst Island in 1972 by the National Museum of Natural Sciences and has provided the base for extensive research in a variety of zoological, botanical, ecological and climatological programs. Examples of research undertaken from this laboratory in Polar Bear Pass are the phenology of vegetation, the population dynamics of muskoxen, the breeding biology of the ivory gull and the ethology of the arctic hare. Related studies have covered areas from Bathurst to Baffin and Ellesmere Islands.

### **International Science**

The 1980s have seen an increase in joint arctic research undertakings among northern countries. Canada is increasingly being called upon to participate in bilateral and multilateral arctic science and technology activities.

The Department of External Affairs (DEA) has coordinated the work of Federal departments, Territorial Governments, native organizations, universities and industry in pursuing international polar activities such as the Marine Environment Co-operation Agreement with Denmark, and an Arctic Science Program with the Soviet Union. In addition, within the framework of the general bilateral science and technology (S&T) arrangements with Norway, Germany, Japan and France, co-operative research activities relating to Canada's North have been conducted or are proposed.

Through the DEA-chaired Interdepartmental Committee on International Science and Technology Relations (ICISTR), a sub-committee on Cold Regions International S&T exists with a mandate to review mechanisms for international collaboration and to coordinate the development of a Canadian position on international S&T matters.

The most ambitious and successful effort of international scientific co-operation has been the Canada-USSR Arctic Science Exchange Program. The two countries identified arctic science as an area that held the most promise for bilateral co-operation and, in 1984, embarked on a detailed two-year program of activities covering 18 main subject areas.

The program has four main themes: geoscience and arctic petroleum; northern and arctic environment; northern construction; and ethnography and education. During the period 1984 to 1987, 14 Canadian and 15 Soviet delegations participated in the exchange, involving in total more than 80 top scientists from the two countries.

The first phase of the program was considered sufficiently successful by both countries that, in early 1987, agreement was reached to extend the joint undertaking by two years. In this current phase, 30 subject areas are being examined including joint scientific research projects and field trips, joint publications, bilateral symposia and seminars, and reciprocal exchange of researchers and specialists.

Despite the increase in Canadian arctic science activities, certain problem areas remain. One of these has been a fragmentation of the overall effort with the result that there are gaps in the scope and range of scientific knowledge and an absence of a centrally co-ordinated approach to remedying deficiencies. The multidisciplinary nature of northern issues demands efforts to harness a wide variety of polar expertise.

Polar science will be increasingly important to the resolution of common problems experienced by circumpolar countries and the world at large. Global responses to improved management of the world's common marine and atmospheric environments, for example, must be founded on a basis of scientific understanding and the will to act. Polar science needs to play a prominent role in efforts to address the diverse impacts affecting these shared resources.

## Building the Northern Economy

*Historically, the North has displayed a tendency toward 'growth' without 'development'.*

K.J. Rea in Background Study for the Science Council of Canada on Northern Development, 1975.

The Federal Government recently confirmed its commitment to northern development through the adoption of a Political and Economic Framework setting out its major goals over the next decade.

On the economic side, the two key priorities are:

- to work with the Territorial Governments through cooperative mechanisms to encourage the development of a more diversified northern economy;
- to improve the business climate for investors and entrepreneurs in the non-renewable sector, through joint implementation of the Northern Mineral Policy, the Frontier Energy Policy and other instruments.

The North has made substantial economic progress in the past fifteen years. Between 1971 and 1986, the number of employed residents of the NWT almost doubled, while employment of Yukon residents increased by over 50 per cent. In the past five years, between 1983 and 1988, some 5000 new jobs were created in the North. Northern Gross Domestic Product increased from \$751 million in 1971 to \$2,221 million in 1987. All northern regions and population groups have shared in this growth, to varying degrees.

Such impressive performance, however, does not justify complacency about the future, nor about the current economic situation. Serious economic problems remain to be resolved. Because of high birth rates and improvements in health care in the past, the aboriginal population of working age in the NWT will increase by over 6000 between now and the turn of the century. Even to maintain the current employment rate among aboriginal people in the NWT, 3000 new jobs for aboriginals will have to be created.

Growth in the northern economy in the past has been fuelled largely by growth in government expenditure at unsustainable rates. The Federal and Territorial governments now spend some \$2 billion annually on the North and directly account for almost 40 per cent of all northern employment. Almost 3000 Northerners are employed by the Federal Government. By providing a full range of federal government services in the North, and through transfers to the Territorial Governments, purchases from and support for the private sector, and transfer payments to individuals and organizations, the Federal Government, in effect, has created most of the northern economy. In the future, however, we must move to the private sector to provide the new jobs which will be needed in the North.

Much of the current federal employment activity relates to normal federal government services, parallel to those provided in all areas of Canada - services such

as public works, protection of aboriginal interests, weather and ice services, employment services, Canada Post, the RCMP, and national security.

Many of these services have become “institutions” in northern communities. The long-standing presence of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), for example, originally sent North to keep an eye on the early whalers and gold miners, and to collect customs duties, has continued to the present. Now under contract to the Territorial Governments, the RCMP enforce provisions of both Territorial and Federal statutes.

Northern economic issues have been the subject of discussion for some time. A national forum for such discussion has been provided every three years since the 1950s in a format known as the National Northern Development Conference. With themes like “The Emerging North”, “At the Turning Point”, and “Partners in Progress”, the changing North has been a focus for attention, and the northern economy, a particular subject of interest.

The economies of both Yukon and the NWT will require sustained high levels of federal support for some years to come. Even with emerging arrangements for territorial management of frontier oil and gas resources, with attendant increased resources revenues to the Territories, and even with new private sector initiatives, the very nature of the North, its remoteness, its climate and its geography, means that the dream of territorial self-sufficiency, in an economic sense, is as yet some way off. An ability to provide an appropriate fit between concepts of economic progress and capacities of the northern environment will test both initiative and imagination in the years to follow.

## **Mining**

*I wanted the gold, and I sought it;  
I scrabbled and mucked like a slave.  
Was it famine or scurvy- I fought it;  
I burled my youth into a grave.*  
R.W. Service, *The Spell of the Yukon*, 1907.

Mining has played a central role in the development of the North. Although there are records of mining activity by European explorers more than four centuries ago, the modern mining era really began in the 1890s when gold was discovered in Yukon, culminating in the famous Klondike gold rush which first drew large numbers of non-aboriginals northward, to Yukon.

Throughout most of this century, mining has been the leading non-government sector in the north. Accordingly, it has been an essential component in attracting people to the North, in promoting northern economic development and in pushing back the limits of the northern frontier. Between 1971 and 1981, the average mining sector contribution to Territorial Gross Domestic Product was 28 per cent, reaching a high of 37 per cent in 1974. Despite weak world markets for most base metals during the mid-1980s, preliminary estimates show the total value of metals produced by

northern mines in 1987 at 810 million dollars, with mining operations employing some eight per cent of the northern labour force.

Today there are eight hard rock mines operating year round and two operating seasonally. The mines include six precious metals mines, a coal mine and three zinc-lead mines. Also, in Yukon there are some 200 seasonal placer gold operations.

Of particular significance during the past decade has been the performance of two lead-zinc operations located in the Arctic Islands: the Nanisivik mine of northwestern Baffin Island and the Polaris mine, on Little Cornwallis Island. The Polaris mine is Canada's most northerly metal mine. The three buildings that comprise the plant site, (the largest as long as a football field and six storeys high), were constructed in Quebec and towed on barges the 4800 kilometres to Little Cornwallis Island. The shipping docks are a combination of ice and gravel.

These remote operations have demonstrated that the high Arctic need not be a barrier to development. With close industry/government cooperation, these operations have overcome transportation difficulties, and operated as low-cost, dependable producers.

A climate of cooperative activity and certainty is critical to successes in mining. Prompted by the need for policy clarification, the Federal Government put forward a comprehensive Northern Mineral Policy in late 1986, designed to create a climate of greater certainty for northern mining, help increase the industry's competitiveness, and encourage closer co-operation among the industry, governments and the public. Under this policy, mining legislation is being updated, land areas available for mineral exploration are being expanded, the regulatory system has been clarified, environmental concerns are being accommodated, and steps have been taken to encourage more geoscience and mineral exploration in the north.

Still, the long-term potential for northern mineral development remains to be realized through responsible mineral exploration and development and production activities in line with environmental sensitivities and socio-economic concerns of the North. The identified mineral resource base includes several hundred million tonnes of lead and zinc mineralization, billions of tonnes of iron ore and coal and lesser tonnages of copper, molybdenum, tungsten, nickel, precious metals, uranium and rare earth element resources. Many of these identified resources are currently subeconomic and only a fraction of this resource base represents economic ore reserves. For this reason, the search for economic mineral deposits to replace the depletion of ore reserves at producing mines is an ongoing activity. Given the mineral potential of the North and the importance of mining to the territorial economies and Canada, it can be expected that mining will continue to play a major role in northern economic development.

## Oil and Gas

*Energy issues are of unique and fundamental importance to the residents of northern Canada, and are closely linked to constitutional issues, economic development, land management and aboriginal rights.*

From Conference on Northern Native and Energy Issues, Yellowknife, NWT  
Oct. 21-22, 1987

The existence of oil reserves in the Canadian north has been known for more than a century. Indeed, working wells and refineries have been operating at Norman Wells in the Mackenzie River valley since the 1920s, supplying limited amounts of gasoline and diesel fuel for northern consumption.

However, it was not until the world shortages and sharply rising prices of the early 1970s, and examples like the discovery and development of Prudhoe Bay oil in Alaska, that the great push for expanded northern production, pipeline construction and offshore exploration took place.

The events of the past 15 years have been a great boon for the future of the northern and Canadian economies, but the development of frontier oil and gas has also given rise to serious concerns about the ultimate effect on the northern ecology and the economic, social and cultural life of northern peoples.

In fact, much of the government's activities during this period have been directed towards this goal of balancing interests, establishing the ground rules for northern oil and gas development and developing the institutions to monitor and regulate exploration and development.

It has been an enormously complex process, involving the co-ordination of activities and responsibilities of several federal departments, federal/territorial/industry co-operation and a growing involvement of aboriginal northerners through the land claims and land use planning processes.

The boom in oil and gas activity during the 1970s and early 1980s has taken place both on land and offshore.

Onshore, the major development has been the substantial expansion of the Norman Wells oil field from limited production serving northern demand, to a major development delivering some 4,000 cubic metres (25,172 barrels) of crude oil per day to southern markets. It represents the first major hydrocarbon development in Canada's North to reach the production stage.

The Norman Wells oil field expansion and pipeline project, a four year undertaking, was substantially completed in 1985. It entailed the drilling of some 250 new wells, construction of six man-made islands in the Mackenzie River, and construction of 750 kilometres of pipeline along the Mackenzie Valley from Norman Wells to Zama, Alberta.

Discovered resources in the 27 significant discoveries in the mainland territories amount to 20.3 billion cubic metres (717 billion cubic feet) of natural gas, and 51 million cubic metres (321 million barrels) of oil. Increases in oil and gas activity along the Mackenzie River valley are likely to follow announcements of Beaufort Sea and

Mackenzie Delta oil and gas developments. The geology along the “Mackenzie Corridor” is favourable for new discoveries similar to Norman Wells and for smaller oil and gas pools which can be connected to nearby pipelines. Land issuance, timing, size and route of pipelines will be key factors in pacing new exploration. In addition to Norman Wells, two other discoveries have been developed for production. The Pointed Mountain gas field (NWT) is on seasonal production through the West Coast Transmission pipeline, and the Kotaneelee gas field (YT) has been developed but the production wells have been suspended awaiting improved markets.

Further north, activities have centered in the Mackenzie Delta/ Beaufort Sea region and in the islands and interisland waters of the arctic archipelago. In the Mackenzie/ Beaufort, 48 significant discoveries of hydrocarbons have been found. Of these, several have received attention for possible development in the near future. In the Delta, the gas discoveries at Taglu, Parsons Lake and Niglintgak could be the source of large volumes of gas for an onshore development project and a large diameter pipeline running south along the Mackenzie Valley, or possibly connecting to a future Alaska Highway gas pipeline. Offshore in the Beaufort Sea, Gulf Canada’s large Amauligak oil discovery has been viewed as the seed project for offshore development.

One small but significant recent development in the high Arctic is Panarctic’s Bent Horn project, a small-scale oil production operation on Cameron Island. Since 1985, Bent Horn has produced shipments of oil totalling 75,870 cubic metres which is shipped via tanker through the arctic waters to local markets in the high Arctic and to Eastern Canadian refineries. The quantities involved are relatively small, but Bent Horn has great value as a demonstration project. Undertaken with close industry-government cooperation, it has demonstrated for the first time the feasibility of producing and moving arctic oil safely to southern markets by ship. Also, the oil delivered to the NWT Power Commission facility in Resolute has served the needs of a local market without need for refinement, thus promoting the use of northern energy resources in the North and helping to offset the demand for high cost supplies from the south.

The stakes in the North are high. By 1985, 1030 exploration and delineation wells had been drilled and annual expenditures for exploration exceeded \$1 billion. Much of this activity was fuelled by the Federal Government’s Petroleum Incentives Program during the period 1982-86 when more than \$3 billion was targetted at increased exploration activity. The subsequent drop in world prices has contributed to a slowdown in activity, but the exploration phase has provided a learning period for all concerned while awaiting the time when commercial production in the offshore becomes economically feasible.

Northern oil and gas figure largely in Canada’s energy future. Current estimates of discovered crude oil resources in the Mackenzie/ Beaufort and the Arctic Islands region are some 320 million cubic metres (2.014 billion barrels). Discovered natural gas reserves in those same northern regions total some 718 billion cubic metres

(25.345 trillion cubic feet). The potential undiscovered resources in these two regions combined constitute over 40 per cent of Canada's potentially recoverable conventional oil and gas. The need to have security of supply and an expected gradual rise in world prices could see northern offshore oil and gas move into the production stage as early as the mid-1990s. Questions of energy security and the interprovincial and international transportation of energy are addressed by the National Energy Board (NEB), in the North as elsewhere in Canada. As well as its review of oil and gas projects through a process of public hearings, the Board exercises responsibilities relating to the enhancement of industry competitiveness, the setting of ground rules and parameters, ensuring regulatory compliance and providing advice on matters of national interest. These responsibilities will be an essential part of any future northern energy production.

Throughout the past 15 years of intense activity, the Canadian Government has pursued a course of encouraging industry activity, developing environmental safeguards, moving towards greater Territorial Government participation and taking into account the needs and concerns of aboriginal northerners. DIAND has broad responsibilities for land management, environmental protection and regulation of hydrocarbon development activities. DIAND administers several pieces of legislation bearing on northern development, including shared responsibility in the Territories for the Canadian Petroleum Resources Act which covers the issuance of exploration and production rights and establishes the royalty regime.

As early as 1972, the Federal Government set out a broad northern development policy entitled *Canada's North 1970-1980*, which committed its support to nonrenewable resource projects of recognized benefit to Northerners and to Canada.

In 1974, it established the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (Berger Commission) to examine the socioeconomic impact of northern hydrocarbon development. This commission, reporting in 1977, set new standards in Canada for effective environmental assessment. Inquiries into the environmental and socioeconomic impacts of various pipeline routings and project proposals contributed significantly to the knowledge base during the late 70s and early 80s. One such inquiry was the 1977 Lysyk inquiry which reviewed the socio-economic implications of a proposed pipeline route through southern Yukon. A parallel environmental assessment of this proposal was also conducted by the Department of Environment's (DOE) Federal Environmental Assessment and Review Office.

In 1981, the Canada Oil and Gas Land Administration (COGLA) was set up to provide the Federal Government's principal regulatory point of contact with the northern oil and gas industry. Jointly administered by DIAND and EMR, COGLA's prime responsibilities are to regulate the exploration for and the development of oil and gas in a manner that ensures worker safety, effective resource conservation, protection of the environment and full and fair access by Canadians to the benefits that stem from oil and gas development.

The Government also undertook a major environmental monitoring program of the Beaufort area in 1983 and during the period 1982-84 completed a comprehensive socio-economic study of the Norman Wells expansion program.

The prospect of northern hydrocarbon development placed a premium on information that would assist the Government in responding to various industry proposals. This climate spawned programs such as the Environmental Studies Revolving Fund, and in 1984, a seven-year program known as the Northern Oil and Gas Action Plan (NOGAP), providing for research and planning activity aimed at government and industry preparedness for major hydrocarbon production in the 1990s.

In late 1985, the Government announced a new frontier energy policy which built upon what had been learned over the previous decade. The new policy established a fairer method to ensure Canadian participation in frontier projects, improved the royalty regime, provided a simple bidding system and embraced the principle of shared management arrangements with Canada's coastal provinces and territories. These steps will assist the Government in meeting its social and economic objectives, and accommodate northern involvement in arrangements for the management of northern oil and gas resources, while maintaining a stable climate for development. The frontier energy policy set the stage for the signing, in September 1988, of Agreements-in-Principle to negotiate with the Territorial Governments a Northern Energy Accord.

Significant technical developments with private sector initiative have also been a part of this preparatory activity. Artificial island building, caisson-retained island structures, specialized floating platforms and man-made ice-islands have increased the ability to work, in some cases, year-round in the arctic climate. Examples such as the first diver-less, under-the-ice well completion and offshore pipeline connection by Panarctic Oils Ltd. In 1976, add to the list of accomplishments.

A great deal of time and public and private money has been spent in the past decade or so in preparing the way for future oil and gas development. As a result, Canada is in a much better position today to respond to private sector initiatives in a timely manner and to attain the best possible balance between development activity and other interests which will ultimately be of benefit to all Northerners and all Canadians.

## **Economic Diversity**

*A boom and bust economy is not an adequate return for Northerners*

GNWT Submission to *A Commission on Canada's Future*, Yellowknife 1983

One of the most clearly recognized needs in Canada's northern territories is to broaden and stabilize its economic base. The development of non-renewable resources - minerals, oil and gas - will continue to play an important role. Such

development, however, is inevitably subject to periodic and substantial fluctuations in demand. Excessive dependence in this area could ultimately be harmful to the economic and social life of many northern communities. A more diversified economic base is therefore needed, with greater emphasis on renewable resources, small business and service industries to provide job opportunities for the North's rapidly expanding work force and to give more stability and continuity to northern economic life.

Progress has been made. By way of example, the Federal Department of Supply and Services reports that the value of contracts in Yukon and the NWT has increased an average of 14.6 per cent annually over past years (1982-87), with 81 per cent of purchases by value in the NWT concentrated in the services, trade, transportation and communications area, and 77 per cent of purchases in Yukon concentrated in services and trade. Memoranda of Understanding on co-operative supply and source development have been signed between Supply and Service and both Territorial Governments, and joint federal-territorial access initiatives to improve access to regional products are being pursued.

With continued devolution of provincial-type powers, much of the responsibility for economic planning is now in the hands of the Territorial Governments. Both Territorial Governments have recognized the need and both have developed comprehensive long-range plans for economic diversification. Economic planning processes allowing for public participation in setting priorities, such as the "Yukon 2000" work and the NWT's "Direction for the 1990s" are key initiatives for exploring economic options. Federal encouragement of these efforts is an essential element of the Northern Political and Economic Framework in which commitment is made to "develop sound and stable economies in the North by working with Territorial Governments to encourage economic diversification, with special emphasis on renewable resource development and tourism".

Economic Development Agreements and sub-agreements were initiated in the NWT in 1982, and in Yukon in 1984. These multi-year agreements represent \$64 million in federal funding and cover a range of areas including renewable resources (such as forestry, agriculture, wildlife and fisheries), mineral resources, with emphasis on precious metals, and locally-based light industries for manufacturing, assembling and processing. The Department of Industry, Science and Technology, Canada figures prominently in funding sub-agreements for tourism and small business development in the Territories.

In the Northwest Territories, one sub-agreement is directed to the arts and crafts industry to assist aboriginal northerners to take commercial advantage of the growing appreciation and demand throughout the world for aboriginal art and artifacts from Canada's North. In Yukon, a renewable resources sub-agreement provides for developmental help and demonstration projects in a number of areas including fish farming, sheep farming and advanced greenhouse technology.

Both Territories recognize considerable potential for revenue-generation and employment in the tourist industry. Northern tourism has been on the increase during the 1980s but, as the world's tourists seek ever more exotic and interesting venues, northerners feel that the surface has barely been scratched.

The Federal Government supports the tourism development effort with \$22 million in economic development assistance. These funds are directed towards helping develop new tourist facilities and enhance existing areas, marketing northern tourism throughout Canada and the world, and helping develop the infrastructure of the northern tourist industry. Additional support to economic endeavour is provided through specific programs, such as special ARDA, the Cooperatives Development Program, the Eskimo Loan Fund and the Inuit Economic Development Program.

The drive to strengthen and diversify the economic base is one of the most important developments taking place in Canada's North today, but it is not simply a matter of directing dollars at perceived opportunities. The very survival of the northern life style has been threatened by the international animal rights movement and the campaign against fur trapping which demand counter measures to preserve not only a way of life, but a livelihood for many. Attracting tourists brings with it not only the requirement for provision of infrastructure, but also an awareness of the various "carrying capacities" for specific sites of interest. Promoting aboriginal art sometimes calls for breaking down barriers to the international marketing of certain animal products (such as weathered whale bone) while also ensuring that endangered species are not being further reduced.

Commercial development of fisheries and marine mammal resources will continue to play a role; however, experience shows that factors such as low biological productivity and sustainable yield, transportation costs, short harvesting season, processing and marketing constraints limit the potential for growth. Use of these resources will likely continue to be aimed primarily at domestic use, with more inter-settlement trade. The degree of use will be dictated by the ability of these resources to sustain themselves over the long term.

Northerners do have access to the labour market adjustment services available to all Canadians. Through Employment and Immigration Canada (EIC), employers and workers are able to access locally such programs as Employment Services, the Canadian Jobs Strategy, the Industrial Adjustment Service, and Outreach. Agreements between EIC and the Governments of Yukon and the Northwest Territories address such matters as human resource development, economic development planning and institutional training.

Canadian employment policies are geared to augmenting the skills base of the northern labour force to meet its industrial and occupational needs, and through a network of Canada Employment Centres, to provide labour market information, labour exchange and labour market adjustment services to the northern population. Employer-worker adjustment is promoted and supported at the firm, industry and

community level so that Northerners might acquire and maintain the skills necessary to compete in a dynamic northern labour market.

Economic diversification with associated economic development opportunities will continue to challenge programs for skills development, and responses to northern labour market adjustment needs. These services will be vital to the success of economic diversification in the northern economy which, in turn, can ensure an enduring and productive northern presence in Canada.

### **Land Use Planning**

*The Land Use Planning Program provides a systematic process of decision-making relating to conservation, development, management and use of land and resources, including inland waters and the off-shore.*

From Annual Report of the Northwest Territories Land Use Planning Commission, 1986-87.

Canada attaches a great deal of importance to her North and the efforts required to provide an adequate information base from which to plan for future activity. Complementary to the long-established survey, mapping, and charting activity focussed on northern lands and waters, is the northern Land Use Planning Program which became federal policy for the North in 1981, and which will eventually see land use plans prepared for all Yukon and the NWT.

Land Use Planning is a joint enterprise of the Federal and Territorial governments with important participation by northern aboriginal groups and communities. Its goal is to find the most effective uses of northern lands and resources, taking into account the views and concerns of northern residents and Canadians in general. How land, water and resources are used is of vital importance to the future well-being of Northerners. Through the land use planning process, the biological, physical, social and economic environments are evaluated to reach acceptable alternative land uses and resolve potential conflicts.

The process began in NWT in 1983 through an agreement between the Territorial and Federal Governments and concurrence of the Inuvialuit, the Dene Nation, the Métis Association and Tungavik Federation of Nunavut. An agreement with the Yukon Government, involving the participation of the Council for Yukon Indians, was achieved in 1987.

Public participation is a key component of the planning process, with Regional Commissions being established to co-ordinate plan preparation for defined regions in the North. Priority is given to regions where development or proposed development is relatively far advanced.

In early 1988, the first draft plan covering the Lancaster Sound area was circulated for public comment. The plan covers a large area of land and water in the eastern archipelago stretching from Hudson Strait in the south to the waters beyond the northern tip of Ellesmere Island, an area of land and water covering some 1.5 million square kilometres. This region includes five communities, two mining

operations at Polaris and Nanisivik, an oil and gas exploration camp at Rae Point, a military base at Alert and a weather station at Eureka. Total population of the region is about 2,400. The Regional Land Use Plan provides general direction for all users of the Lancaster Sound Planning region as to the type and nature of land uses that should occur and how they should be carried out. Its primary purpose is to protect and promote the existing and future well-being of the permanent residents and communities of the planning region, taking into account the interests of all Canadians. A final draft plan was submitted to Federal and Territorial Ministers in early 1989.

Elsewhere, in the western Arctic, a Regional Land Use Planning Commission was created in mid-1987 for the Beaufort Sea-Mackenzie Delta region – another area of high sensitivity and substantial developmental activity. Scheduling for completion of a draft plan for this area has occurred. Together, these two planning regions cover a good portion of Canada's arctic archipelago and the Beaufort Sea. The process should yield plans that assist decision-making related to the conservation, development, management and use of land and resources, including inland waters and the offshore, in these regions. In Yukon, eight planning regions have been proposed with initial work focusing on the Kluane Region of south-west Yukon. A Regional Planning Commission was established in August 1988 for this region, and priority areas are being identified for future planning activity.

With co-operation among the parties and a commitment to the process, the goal of full and fair consideration of all legitimate issues and concerns can be achieved, and land use decisions that will balance local, regional and national needs and interests can be realized. This, in turn, can also add to the "breadth and substance" that the North contributes to Canada.

### **Conserving Energy**

*Enhancing the economic efficiency with which energy is used should be an essential component of energy policy, both to make the best use of energy and to reduce environmental impacts.*

Report on Energy Options - A Canadian Dialogue. 1988

Most Canadians think of northern energy in terms of potential production. The exploitation of northern oil and gas features prominently in our national energy future. However, in the North, energy consumption is also a vital factor. The harsh climate and vast distances result in high per capita energy consumption and energy costs, which have been partially offset by a system of energy subsidies. Sound energy management is important in all parts of Canada, but clearly, the application of best available conservation techniques and technologies is even more fundamental to the quality of northern life and the efficiency of northern industries.

Technology will continue to play a role in how the primary energy sources – oil, natural gas, coal, uranium, hydraulic power, solar radiation, biomass, geothermal

energy and wind power – might find efficient application to produce needed energy services in the North and elsewhere.

The Federal department of Energy, Mines and Resources has a number of programs that bear directly on this need, with regional offices in both Whitehorse and Yellowknife to provide program co-ordination. Activities under the Remote Community Demonstration Program (RCDP) have included energy overview studies of the Northwest Territories and Yukon and demonstration projects in a variety of energy efficiency and diversity applications. One of the most ambitious projects undertaken by RCDP was the engineering assessment of all northern rivers to assess their economic potential for supply of hydro-electric power to coastal communities and the evaluation of wind energy; both programs had the objective of displacing high cost diesel generated electricity. As a result, the installation of four 25 kw wind power generators has occurred at Cambridge Bay and two 10 kw turbines provide power to the Hall Beach nursing station. This kind of initiative places Canada at the forefront of wind power technology in arctic regions.

Renewable Energy Demonstrations undertaken in the North include geothermal water for space heating, R-2000 energy homes, boilers using waste wood and recovery of exhaust heat from diesel generators. Research and development activities are being planned for technologies particularly suited to northern needs with photo voltaic systems, for example, seeing experimental use. Designers and engineers have developed flexible high energy-efficient housing designs for particular use in arctic and sub-arctic regions.

The development of new housing technology is coordinated with the NWT and Yukon Housing Corporations, EMR and the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. New energy efficient standards for northern housing have been developed as a result of federal/territorial co-operation in this field. Northern workshops by the Territorial Government and training programs sponsored by the Federal Government also are aimed at promoting means to improve energy use in homes, institutions (schools and hospitals) and in commercial and industrial activities. The Canadian Industry Program for Energy Conservation is promoting energy efficiency through its Task Force structure, with the intention of soliciting the participation of the mining industry in the North in this program. Under the geoscience program (carried out by the GSC) and the Northern Technology Assistance program of the Canada-NWT Subsidiary Agreement on Economic Development, EMR provides scientific advice and delivers projects aimed at promoting stable and environmentally-sound northern mineral resource development.

Energy conservation and the advancement of renewable energy will continue to figure in both the northern environment and the northern economy. How well Northerners adapt to new and efficient energy technologies will bear directly on how effectively the northern environment and northern economy are managed.

## The Northern Environment

*Canadians possess a unique sense of their relationship to the land, whose rich, vast diversity has shaped their values and experience ... A new environmental agenda ... will include the commitment to ... protect the environmental integrity of our arctic regions.*

From *Speech from the Throne* to open the second session of Thirty Fourth Parliament of Canada, April 1989.

Not unlike the northern economy, the northern environment exhibits a sensitivity to disruptive influences that is more pronounced than in southern regions of Canada and other parts of the world. The peculiar characteristics of the northern latitudes, their low temperatures, limited solar energy and alternating long periods of sunlight and darkness, create a land with relatively limited capacity to sustain animal life and vegetation and one which is very sensitive to the disruptive effects of man-made pollution or disturbance of its ecosystems.

Until this century, Canada's northern environment was largely free from ecological problems created by man. Prior to modern society, a pattern of human occupation had emerged in the North which provided access to the most useful, abundant and dependable biological resources. The coastal Inuit specialized in the hunting of sea mammals of which the ringed seal was most important, while the inland Indian bands followed the migratory paths of the barren ground caribou through the boreal forest in winter and on the treeless tundra in summer.

Human influence on the northern environment has increased rather dramatically in recent years. The effects of a growing population, the effects of modern technology on wildlife harvesting, and particularly the ecological disturbance related to resource development have created serious concerns.

The concern has been compounded by the fact that two of the most environmentally sensitive areas in the entire north, the Mackenzie Delta and the Lancaster Sound area, are also areas of intense actual and potential human development-related activity. In addition, scientists have become much more aware in the 1980s of the growing effects on northern air, water and wildlife of industrial activity - not just from southern Canada, but from the entire highly-industrialized Northern Hemisphere. Increasingly, an awareness of interdependencies between the economy and the environment suggests an especially attentive and comprehensive approach to stewardship in this part of Canada. Both Territorial governments and several departments of the Federal government are involved in efforts to ensure environmentally sound development and protect and preserve the northern environment.

At the federal level, DIAND, with its mandate for coordinating federal activities and its current statutory responsibilities for resources management, plays a pivotal role in environmental protection. It administers key resources legislation and has been instrumental in such initiatives as identifying conservation areas, developing options

for sustainable development, land use planning, undertaking environmental assessment, managing contaminants, and co-ordinating research in anticipation of resource development. The environment-economy linkage is central to these initiatives.

The Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) is actively involved in issues relating to marine environmental quality, climate research, hydrographic work, fisheries and fish habitat management and arctic marine conservation. A new Arctic Marine Conservation Strategy is a product of DFO's involvement in marine environmental issues.

Environment Canada has broad national responsibilities under the law for air and water quality, for meteorology and related atmospheric research, for wildlife (migratory birds) and for national parks. It invests 45 million annually north of 60° with major expenditures on its Atmospheric Environment Service (AES) and national parks development and management.

Accurate weather forecasting is particularly vital in the North, where severe weather conditions can often disrupt commercial activities and endanger human life. AES provides forecasts for aviation, and some land areas as well as main waterways during the shipping season. It maintains a network of more than 40 year-round weather stations including stations at Alert, Eureka, Mould Bay and Resolute in the high Arctic. AES also provides ice forecasts of critical importance to shipping for community re-supply, and commercial activities such as the Nanisivik Mine and the Bent Horn oil field.

In the 1980s, Canadian and world scientists became more aware of a phenomenon dubbed "Arctic Haze" which is essentially the collection of man-made airborne pollutants in the polar regions. This is a matter of international concern, with potential damaging effects on world climate not to mention the Arctic ecosystem. In 1986, Environment Canada established the world's northernmost permanent environmental research laboratory at Alert, specifically to provide long-time tracking of Arctic Haze, the "greenhouse" effect, Arctic ozone concentration and other phenomena for Canada and for the benefit of other members of the World Meteorological Association.

A key responsibility of the federal Environment Minister is the Environmental Assessment and Review Process (EARP). Through this mechanism, established in the mid-1970s, the Minister may conduct a widespread review of the potential environmental impacts of proposed major developments and hear the views of all affected parties. This extends, as well, to activities on public lands conducted by government departments and agencies. EARP has been particularly valuable in the North. The environmental assessment of the Beaufort Sea area during the 1970s was a major undertaking that has paved the way for subsequent exploratory and production activity in this area. Government's Northern Oil and Gas Action Program and the Environmental Studies Revolving Fund have also functioned to fill information gaps in preparation for resource development activity.

Environment Canada, through the Canadian Wildlife Service, also has an extensive program to conserve northern wildlife resources, including migratory birds and their habitat. Additionally, the Territorial Governments exercise wildlife management responsibilities and have been involved in the development of territory-wide conservation strategies, geared toward the wise-use of the North's natural resources. The establishment in 1986 of Polar Bear Pass on Bathurst Island as the Arctic's first National Wildlife Area and the maintenance of several migratory bird sanctuaries throughout the Arctic are merely part of a large initiative to ensure ongoing protection and management of biological resources in this region of Canada.

The protection and preservation of northern wildlife is much more than a noble ideal. Hunting, trapping and fishing are essential elements of northern cultural and economic life and are vital to the survival and self-reliance of many remote northern communities. Much of the work in environmental protection involves international co-operation. Canada is an active participant in an Agreement on conservation of the Polar Bear, the Migratory Birds Convention and international arrangements concerning the protection of sea mammals. The Inupiat of Alaska and the Inuvialuit of Canada's Western Arctic are also signatories to an agreement on Polar Bear[s]. The commitment to the preservation of natural habitats is further reflected by Canada's strong support of the multilateral Convention on Long Range Transboundary Air Pollution.

Bilateral arrangements form an important part of environmental management and protection in the North. In July, 1987, Canada and the United State signed an historic bilateral agreement for the management of the Porcupine Caribou herd whose habitat includes both the Canadian North and Alaska. Canada and the United States have also co-operated in the development of a North American Waterfowl Management Plan. In the event of an oil spill in the North, a bilateral agreement exists which establishes procedures for rapid assistance from the partner nation. Additionally, Canada and the United States consult over the possible implications of developments in one country on the environment or resources of the other. Similarly, Canada co-operates with Denmark respecting the management of the marine environment between Canada and Greenland, and is presently engaged in northern environmental research in a joint Canada-USSR Arctic Science Exchange Program. Activities by non-government organizations such as the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, for example, in the development of regional conservation strategies are complementary environmental protection efforts, geared to the prudent management of arctic resources.

In line with the general policy of political devolution, many of the responsibilities for environmental protection and monitoring have been or will be passed to the Territorial Governments, but the North remain an area of national and international concern.

Environmental protection requires continuous vigilance. In the decades ahead, as human activity and development inevitably expand into the North, there will be a

growing need for broad-based environmental research and monitoring by both the Federal and Territorial Governments within Canada and for continued cooperation with the other nations of the circumpolar world. The recent confirmation, for example, of the presence of PCBs and pesticide residues in northern country foods, such as marine mammals, underscores the necessity for concerted action. These contaminants are being introduced into the arctic food chain through transportation by air and water currents from lower latitude making international effort essential for effective treatment of the problem. The state of the northern environment must be a priority concern for all those involved in the future decisions bearing on the North.

### **Protecting our Arctic Heritage**

*The Arctic is a heritage for the people of Canada. They are determined to keep their heritage entire.*

Rt. Hon. Joe Clark, House of Commons, 1985.

One means of ensuring the integrity of our arctic heritage is the establishment of northern parkland areas, aimed at preserving representative examples of the northern ecology. Efforts here focus on protecting prime examples of: i) the natural environment through a system of National Parks, ii) the historical and cultural environments through a system of National Historic Parks and Sites and, iii) the important river environments as part of the Canadian Heritage Rivers System, and iv) the arctic archaeological record.

#### ***i) National Parks***

Canada has a long and envied reputation for its commitment to the development and maintenance of a system of national parks. In fact, the Canadian system is one of the oldest in the world and its first park, Banff, was established more than a century ago in 1885. National parks are essentially special areas that have been set aside and protected from major changes brought about by man. They are in effect preserved for the benefit, education and enjoyment of the Canadian people both now and in the future.

It is only in relatively recent years, however, that Canada's National Parks system has expanded to establish new park reserves in our northern territories. Wood Buffalo Park established in 1922 straddles the Alberta/NWT border and was the only National Park north of 60° before the 1970s.

As human encroachment into the more remote areas of Arctic Canada increased, it became clear that key northern areas, ecologically distinctive and sensitive, should be brought under the protection of the Canadian Parks Service of Environment Canada. In 1972, the first three northern national park reserves came into existence, with formal National Park status awaiting the resolution of outstanding native land claims. These were Kluane in southwest Yukon, Nahanni along the South Nahanni River in NWT, and Auyuittuq on the north shore of Baffin Island. Together, these three park reserves comprise some 50,000 square kilometres of some of the most beautiful and biologically interesting areas in Canada. The Northern Yukon National

Park on Yukon's north slope was later established as part of the terms of the land claims agreement with the Inuvialuit in 1984. In the east, a national park reserve has now been established on northern Ellesmere Island. Totalling 39,500 square kilometres, this reserve will constitute the second largest park in the national system, and is located less than 1000 kilometres from the North Pole.

In the 1980s the process of selecting and establishing northern parks has become more complex – though the commitment to further expansion remains strong. The Territorial Governments now work closely with the Federal Government in determining criteria and plans for park expansion. Aboriginal northerners, through the land claims negotiations and the land use planning process, now play a key role in considering new national park proposals. The northern aboriginal population appreciates the value of the designation of park areas – as a means of preserving the environment and their traditional life style, as a source of employment, and as an encouragement to tourism which they view as a potential growth industry important to their economy.

Unlike the situation with most parks in southern Canada, aboriginal land claim beneficiaries are permitted to continue to hunt, fish and trap in the northern parks and park reserves, according to the provisions of claims settlements and other legislation, as long as healthy animal populations are maintained.

Future park establishment will be subject to aboriginal claim settlements, negotiations with the Territorial Governments, public consultation and the identification of new resources. Four additional key areas have been selected for future northern park expansion. These are: the East Arm of Great Slave Lake, the North Baffin/ Lancaster Sound area, Banks Island, and Old Crow Flats, which would be an extension of the existing Northern Yukon Park. In the longer term, the possibility of other park areas such as Wager Bay will also be explored.

Ultimately, the Canadian Parks Service hopes to see about five per cent of the northern land area as national parks, some 200,000 square kilometres in all, preserved for Northerners, for tourism and for Canada's future.

### ***ii) National Historic Parks and Sites***

Initial federal recognition of northern history was made in 1931 with the erection of an historic plaque in Dawson to commemorate the Yukon gold discovery. This remained until 1959 when the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada further recommended that Dawson itself was of national historic significance and should be regarded as an historic complex. Since that time, the concept for what was to become the Klondike Historic Sites, expanded to include Dawson City, the surrounding goldfields, and in 1960, the S.S. Keno. By 1967, the Board recommended preservation of a number of significant buildings, recognized Yukon Transportation as a national theme and recommended the S.S. Klondike river boat in Whitehorse as the centre of its interpretation. More recently, the Chilkoot Trail, including that portion in the Yukon, has been proposed as a National Historic Park.

It will function as part of the International Gold Rush Trail which begins in Skagway, Alaska.

In the Northwest Territories, a number of places, people and events have been recognized as historically significant and commemorated by a national plaque. Some of these are Fort McPherson, Fort Simpson, Inuksuk at Enuksok Point, the Mackenzie River discovery, Sir John Franklin, Joseph B. Tyrell, and the first International Polar Year at Fort Conger and Fort Rae. Work is currently progressing in cooperation with the Territorial Governments to preserve the significant whaling industry sites in the North.

### ***iii) Canadian Heritage Rivers System***

The Canadian Heritage Rivers System (CHRS) is a cooperative program established jointly in 1984 by the Federal government, the Yukon and Northwest Territories and, to date, eight provinces. The objectives of the system are to give national recognition to the important rivers of Canada and to ensure long-term management which will conserve their natural, historical and recreational values.

Three Northern rivers have been recognized as part of the CHRS. The Thirty Mile Section of the Yukon River has been nominated by the Yukon and Federal Governments, and the Alsek River (Kluane National Park Reserve) in the Yukon and the South Nahanni River (Nahanni National Park Reserve) in the Northwest Territories have been designated part of the System. In addition, the South Nahanni River has been recognized internationally and accorded World Heritage status.

### ***iv) Archaeological Heritage***

Part of our arctic heritage is the archaeological record – that physical reminder of the peoples who have made Canada their home for the past 20,000 years.

Protection and management of our northern archaeological heritage has assumed increasing importance as northern development proceeds. Responsibilities are shared by several agencies with Communications Canada, in conjunction with other Federal departments such as DIAND, Environment, and Transport all contributing. The Territorial Governments are also key players in managing the North's archaeological heritage.

Issues such as how best to preserve and manage this northern record in concert with the various actors and in accordance with the interests of northern residents are tasks for present action. Reflection of the aboriginal viewpoint in cultural heritage presentation is an important goal in this regard. In addition to a variety of legislative provisions which are geared to protecting archaeological resources, new policies and practices are aimed at ensuring improved results.

Communications Canada manages the Canadian Conservation Institute which offers resources and expertise to northern heritage institutions such as the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre at Yellowknife. Additionally the Museums Assistance Program provides funding for some small regional museums and other institutions in the North, and a Canadian Heritage Information Network (CHIN)

provides assistance to northern institutions wishing to access Canada's automated national artifact catalogue.

Of particular relevance to northern Canadians are the activities of the Canadian Museum of Civilization and the National Museum of Natural Sciences which have accumulated extensive collections, and conduct research in the areas of ethnology, archaeology, arctic history, plant and animal biology, vertebrate ethology and palaeontology.

## **Ensuring Northern Security**

*The first objective of Canada's security policy is to promote a stronger and more stable international environment in which our values and interests can flourish. It does so within the framework of collective security.*

Defence White Paper *Challenge and Commitment* June 1987.

Ensuring the defence and security of Canada's vast northern territories is an enormous but absolutely essential undertaking in the control and development of the North. Canada is committed to fulfilling this responsibility, as well as meeting, in cooperation with our allies, our mutual defence objectives in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD).

Canada's Armed Forces must be capable of effectively monitoring what is happening in areas within Canadian jurisdiction, of responding, and where necessary, of using force in our defence.

The Canadian military presence in the North dates back to 1898 when the Yukon Field Force was dispatched to assist in maintaining law and order during the Klondike Gold Rush. Over the years the military have been involved in a number of major undertakings which have had a lasting impact on the North and its peoples. In 1923 the Royal Canadian Corps of Signals erected a communications system throughout Yukon and the Northwest Territories, and from 1944 to 1957 the Royal Canadian Air Force, assisting Royal Canadian Engineer ground survey parties, completed aerial photography of the entire region. The Canadian/US military construction of the Northwest Highway System/ Alaska Highway in 1942 was a major engineering feat, of great importance to the development of Yukon. The period of the Second World War also witnessed construction of the North's first oil pipeline (the Canol line) from Norman Wells NWT to Whitehorse Yukon. The first Canadian icebreaker capable of sustained operations in the Arctic was HMCS Labrador which carried out extensive surveys and other research work in the mid 1950s; this ship was the first icebreaker to navigate the Northwest Passage.

During the 1950s and early 1960s three major radar chains were built across Canada to provide early warning of a possible attack by Soviet bombers against targets in Canada and the U.S. One of these, the Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line

created a string of airstrips and communications facilities across the high Arctic along the 70th parallel. In the late 60s and early 70s, military engineers constructed major bridges and undertook airfield construction in many locations in the NWT and Yukon.

The Federal Government's 1987 White Paper on Defence made it clear that the military will play an increasingly important future role in the North. Canada's North lies directly between the two superpowers, and advances in military technology have greatly increased the strategic importance of this area. In recognition of the increasing strategic importance of the North, the 1987 White Paper put forward a number of initiatives which will substantially increase Canadian military capabilities there. Collectively, they will mean a stronger military presence, and increase the ability of the Canadian Forces to respond to threats to Canadian security.

The focus for military activities in the North is Northern Region Headquarters, located in Yellowknife, with a detachment in Whitehorse. Its role is to discharge regional military functions, and to serve as the primary Department of National Defence (DND) contact point for other federal agencies in the area and the Territorial Governments. Work will commence in 1990 on a new, more sophisticated, \$8 million Northern Region Headquarters facility in Yellowknife.

Canada's NORAD agreement with the United States has been in effect since 1958. Its objectives are to secure Canadian and American air space, to contribute to the deterrence of an attack on North America by providing aerospace surveillance, and to respond to an attack with the forces of both countries.

As part of the North American Air Defence Modernization Plan which calls for the upgrading of the warning perimeter around the continental mainland, Canada and the United States are constructing a new line of radar stations called the North Warning System to replace the aging DEW Line. The Canadian portion will consist of 11 long-range radars and 36 unmanned short-range radars in the Canadian Arctic and along the coast of Labrador. A separate but major feature of this modernization will be the establishment of Forward Operating Locations, which are northern airfields for use by CF-18 aircraft as well as other NORAD assigned fighter interceptors. These Forward Operating Locations will be at Inuvik, Yellowknife, Rankin Inlet and Iqaluit in the Northwest Territories, as well as at Kuujuaq in Quebec. Existing airfields at these locations will be upgraded so that NORAD interceptors can be moved to the north during times of tension or for exercise purposes. Approximately \$1 billion will be spent on construction of the North Warning System and the five Forward Operating Locations, providing substantial economic benefits for northern businesses and residents.

Canadian maritime forces also play a prominent role in Canadian defence. Long range northern patrols (NORPATS) are flown regularly throughout the Arctic by CP 140 Aurora aircraft of Maritime Air Group from bases at Comox, B.C. and Greenwood, N.S. Besides providing a military presence in the North and maintaining vigilance over Canada's northern territories, these highly sophisticated anti-submarine

aircraft are used to collect a variety of data on exploration activities, ice movement and wildlife herds. Search and rescue is also an important contingency task of every NORPAT.

The Arctic is becoming an operating area for submarines and the Canadian navy must therefore be able to determine what is happening under the ice in the Canadian Arctic, and to deter hostile, or potentially hostile, intrusions. Arctic marine security and control are consequently additional concerns requiring attention. To aid in underwater and under ice surveillance, a fixed sonar system will be installed in the Canadian Arctic. This system, to be in place by the mid-1990s, will employ acoustic hydrophones strategically placed on the seabed to detect the transmission of sound in arctic waters by the movement and machinery operation of submarines.

The Canadian army is active throughout the North through a series of large and small scale exercises mounted regularly from bases in the South. As well, the army maintains the Special Service Force which has special responsibilities for northern operations. This combined force of 3,000, which includes the Canadian Airborne Regiment, carries out an annual exercise North of 60° supported by fighters, transport aircraft and helicopters from Air Command.

DND has announced its intention to establish a Northern Training Centre (NTC) to support sea, land and air training in arctic conditions. Studies are now underway to examine the feasibility of establishing the NTC at Nanisivik on North Baffin Island. It could open by 1995 and would partially offset the economic loss to the local economy which will be caused by the probable closure of the Nanisivik mine at that time.

### **Getting Northerners Involved**

An important element of the Canadian military presence in the North is the Canadian Rangers. The Rangers, composed primarily of Indians, Métis and Inuit, are a unique component of the Reserve Force.

Ranger patrols operate in two regions of Canada: the North and the Atlantic. The Northern group includes about 700 Rangers divided into 38 patrols in Yukon, NWT and in the northern portions of Manitoba and Quebec. The Rangers demonstrate visible proof of Canadian presence in sparsely settled northern, coastal and isolated areas of Canada where regular Canadian Forces units can neither practically nor economically provide a permanent presence. Their principal role is to report suspicious or unusual activities and collect information concerning their local area to assist other elements of the Canadian Forces. They also act as guides for Canadian Forces units and instruct them in survival techniques. Over the next five years, the Northern group will be expanded to 50 patrols totalling approximately 1,000 personnel.

In addition, DND has several programs, planned or in place, offering training and employment opportunities to northern residents. The Northern Native Entry Program (NNEP) is specifically directed at qualified aboriginals who live and have

been educated in the North. The NNEP provides information about Canadian Forces employment opportunities and helps prepare those who wish to apply, for the cultural adjustments that will be necessary.

Military projects such as the North Warning System and the Northern Training Centre have potential for opening up substantial employment opportunities related to the operation and maintenance of these facilities. Special consideration in hiring will be given to qualified northern residents, and training programs will be offered to job applicants to prepare them for a variety of job opportunities.

The Cadet movement, directed by the Canadian Forces through its Regional Commands, is also active in Yukon and the Northwest Territories. These cadets, some 600 in all, receive training in leadership and environmental specialties such as flying, gliding, mountaineering and parachuting.

As a matter of policy, DND consults fully with aboriginal leaders and local communities prior to any military activity, and seeks their advice on how potentially disruptive side effects can be ameliorated. The Department also carries out stringent environmental studies prior to each major project or activity to ensure that necessary measures are taken to protect the environment and the natural habitat. The Department also ensures that northern residents share fully in economic benefits arising from military activities.

The increasing strategic importance of the North, and the need for Canada to exercise effective control over its arctic lands, air space and waters is resulting in a greater military presence in that area. This will mean increased security for all Canadians and substantial economic benefits for Northerners.

## **Transporting Goods and People**

*In a world where dog sleds and jet planes are both accepted modes of transport, the movement of people and commodities is no ordinary business.*

M. Giuliani in *North* magazine January, 1983

The realities of northern life are these: a little more than 75,000 people living in some 100 communities and camps scattered over an area of 3.4 million square kilometres. A modern and effective transportation network which is needed to meet the social and political needs of Northerners and to expand northern economic opportunities is subject to these realities.

There now exists in Yukon and in the southwestern part of the NWT a basic network of roads and highways, which are essentially under the responsibility of the two Territorial Governments. New road construction and transportation infrastructure are also candidates for transfer to the Territorial Governments.

The potential for additional linkages elsewhere is limited – by distances, by costs, by physical conditions. The only road which extends from the south to almost the arctic coast is the Dempster Highway. It begins near Dawson City in Yukon, crosses

into the NWT and ends in Inuvik. A further winter ice road connects Inuvik to the arctic coast at Tuktoyaktuk, from late October to May. Other winter roads are used to resupply remote communities such as Fort Norman, Rae Lakes and mines such as the Lupin mine.

Northern road planning is a complex process. With a planning framework that can easily require five years, demanding a multi-disciplinary approach to environmental, social, economic and technical studies, and extensive involvement of interested groups and organizations in a climate of increasing costs, network expansion will be slow. And inevitably road construction proposals must be compared with alternatives and tied to forecasts for regional growth. A holistic look at transportation needs is part and parcel of this planning process. And qamutiiks, kayaks, snowmobiles, all-terrain, and air-cushion vehicles must also factor into the consideration of the various transportation modes available for arctic use.

Rail lines, though not extensive in the North, do extend into Hay River and Pine Point in the NWT (Great Slave Railway) and into Whitehorse, Yukon (White Pass and Yukon Route). This latter historic narrow gauge line has served, over the years, to move both ore and tourists between Whitehorse Yukon and Pacific tidewater at Skagway, Alaska.

Where land transportation is not used, air and sea routes provide the links that service northern communities and facilitate extended resource development activity.

### **Keeping the Sea Lanes Open**

The primary responsibility for maintaining shipping lanes throughout the Arctic falls to the Canadian Coast Guard, an arm of Transport Canada.

During each shipping season, seven icebreakers from the Coast Guard's eastern and western fleets ply thousands of kilometres through the Arctic. Their primary job is to support commercial vessels, ensuring that the transportation requirements of private shipping agencies and Federal government departments are met. This involves re-supply of remote northern communities, even as far north as Ellesmere Island, and supporting commercial ventures, such as the mining operations at Polaris and Nanisivik mines and the oil wells at Bent Horn.

But the Coast Guard icebreakers perform a multiplicity of other functions as well. Equipped with helicopters, they play a key role in search and rescue operations as needed. They also form the front line of response for oil spills or other environmental emergencies. As well, the Coast Guard has responsibilities with regard to foreign ships entering Canada's arctic waters. It is responsible for administering the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act, which establishes arctic shipping safety zones and standards and procedures for marine vessels. Throughout the North, the Coast Guard maintains a maritime mobile communications service of 15 stations which provide information on weather, ice and current conditions.

Transport Canada conducts its own research to improve the quality of its arctic operations: on icebreaker design, navigation, pollution prevention and other matters,

with AES assistance in ice-forecasting. It also assists other government departments in their northern scientific programs by providing, through its ships, a base of operations for scientific parties and scientific equipment.

### ***A World-Class Icebreaker***

Responding to growing commercial demand for a northern sea capability and to strengthen Canadian control over the waters of the arctic archipelago, the government has taken steps for the construction of the world's largest icebreaker – an Arctic Class 8 vessel, for use exclusively in Canada's northern waterways.

This craft, with an overall length of 167 metres and equipped with three helicopters, will be able to operate year-round in the Arctic. Its engines will be capable of propelling it forward at a steady three knots through 2.4 metre-thick ice. It will open up new opportunities for commercial development in the archipelago, for scientific research and for safe, all-season marine traffic.

This state-of-the-art vessel, costing over \$350 million, is expected to be commissioned for service by the mid 1990s.

### **The Arctic Air Network**

It is sometimes said that the modern history of the Canadian North can be divided into two periods – before and after the aircraft. There can be little doubt that air transport has a substantial impact on northern development.

The first Canadian air flight north of 60° took place in 1921. Arctic aviation grew up shortly after, in response to the discovery of oil and the need to search further and deeper for this valuable commodity. Today, Canada's northern air network is a vital component of northern economic, social and cultural life. For people in arctic communities, the airplane serves the same basic function that the bus, train or car does for Canadians in the south.

In the late 1970s, the federal government undertook an \$80 million program to upgrade northern airports, building or rebuilding facilities in some 40 communities with permanent populations of between 150 and 900. Transport Canada spends some \$16 million annually on maintaining and operating northern air facilities. Today 10 Yukon and 34 NWT airports are maintained by the Territorial Governments with funding supplied by Transport Canada. The Department owns and operates 19 airports in Yukon and the N.W.T. Transport Canada's annual expenditures for new facilities have been escalating throughout the 1980s, approaching \$50 million in 1986/87.

Recent major undertakings include a new air terminal building at Iqaluit, opened in late 1987, new terminal facilities at Whitehorse and a major upgrading of facilities at the Yellowknife airport, to be completed by 1990. Planning for new arctic airport sites relies heavily on consultation with the Territorial Governments, settlement councils and local air carriers.

The Federal Government's new National Transportation Act, which came into effect in January 1988, recognizes in its provisions the special needs of northern and

remote communities. In particular, given the lack of competition with other modes of transportation, greater economic regulation is permitted in the north if required in the public interest. However, the new air carrier Licensing procedure is more open and flexible and generally makes it easier to start up a new northern air service. It also has a new regime for pricing regulations designed to protect against unfair price increases where there is no effective competition and a complaint is made to the National Transportation Agency.

The new Act also addresses marine operations in the Mackenzie River and Western Arctic. Proposed services are reviewed on the basis of supply and demand, shipper support and the capability of the carrier. A dispute resolution process and a mechanism for appeals are also established.

## **Northern Communications**

*As a nation, Canada represents the triumph of communications over geography*

Neil Compton in M. Oliver, ed., *Social purpose for Canada*, 1961, 70.

As with transportation, the vast distances and scattered population of the North present a challenge to effective communications services. Yet, as with any society, Northerners need communications links that can bring them news of the “outside” and of each other, and that allows their own outlet of expression.

For the past thirty years, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation’s (CBC) Northern Service has been an important instrument serving this need – bringing radio and latterly television, to every corner of Canada’s northern territories. CBC’s Northern Service began in the fall of 1958 when it assumed responsibility for several community radio stations established by the Royal Canadian Corps of Signals. These included Whitehorse, Yellowknife and Dawson City. Since those early days, CBC Northern Service’s radio system has grown dramatically.

Today, Northerners can hear regional radio and television broadcasts in English and six aboriginal languages, as well as CBC network news and information programs. There are northern production centres in Whitehorse, Inuvik, Yellowknife, Rankin Inlet and Iqaluit as well as small radio bureaus in Ottawa and Kuujuaq in Quebec.

Television is a relative newcomer to Canada’s North. The CBC Frontier Coverage Plan began operation in 1967. Program tapes were shipped from the south and rebroadcast in 14 northern communities for four hours each day.

In 1973, the first Anik satellite began beaming the full CBC television network service to communities of 500 or more in the North. A special appropriation of parliament saw the installation of 57 CBC-TV transmitters in smaller communities.

In 1973, CBC Northern Service’s production unit in Montreal launched a five minute Inuktitut program for broadcast in the Eastern Arctic. A similar program was produced in English with Dene hosts.

Over the years the Northern Service has developed some unique TV programming. CBC North's current affairs series, Focus North, is a weekly program featuring in-depth analysis of major northern issues and events. The series is produced in Yellowknife in English. The Inuktitut series, Aqsarniit, features the views and daily experiences of Canada's Inuit people. The series is produced in Iqaluit. Denendeh K'e captures the culture, traditional values and lifestyles of northern Canada's Dene and Indian people. Each show in the 13 half-hour series features three languages. The series is produced in Yellowknife.

With a staff of 160 and more than 100 radio and television outlets scattered throughout Yukon and the N.W.T. , the CBC Northern Service performs a vital role in bringing northerners together and, despite vast distances, helping them forge a sense of unity throughout the North.

CBC's Northern Service is complemented by additional aboriginal language radio and television programming in the North through the Northern Native Broadcasting Access Program (NNBAP), administered by the Department of the Secretary of State. Through this program, funding is provided to the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation and some 13 aboriginal communications societies which have contributed significantly to the enhancement of northern culture and communications through aboriginal radio and T.V. programming.

However, until recently, the lack of an adequate means of distribution prevented this programming from reaching many communities in the North. The Federal Government, in tabling a new Broadcasting Policy and legislation in June 1988, announced intentions to assist the delivery of television and radio services to northern communities. In response to this. need, as it was put forward by northern aboriginal broadcasters, Communications Canada will provide \$10 million to underwrite the cost of a satellite distribution system (dedicated transponder) to improve access for aboriginal programming produced under the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program and other programming produced specifically for northern audiences, including some CBC Northern Service and Territorial Government programming.

### ***Mobile Communications Satellite (MSAT)***

In as large and sparsely populated a country as Canada with many remote and isolated communities, communications becomes very important – and very difficult.

The Mobile Communications Satellite – MSAT – is a new communications system conceived by Communications Canada that would bring two-way mobile radio and telephone service to Canadians across the country, using a satellite as a relay station in space. The new system has been developed to satisfy national needs for improved public and government communications in isolated and sparsely populated areas. It will allow someone using relatively inexpensive terminals to transmit voice or data to virtually any point in the country. MSAT will be particularly useful to people living in the North beyond the reach of the public telephone network. MSAT will bring to them “thread of life” communications – to homes, camps, and remote worksites.

Northerners can expect positive social benefits from MSAT which include: improved mobile communications in the North; improved work safety, law enforcement and emergency medical care; better disaster relief, search and rescue; and the protection of natural resources and the environment. MSAT will, in addition, mean new business opportunities for Canadian industry and services in the North since many needs of business users will be addressed by this new system of voice and data communications. It will assist in developing new domestic and export markets for goods and services required in the North and for those produced there.

### ***Information Technologies***

Communications Canada's 1987 discussion paper *Communications for the Twenty-First Century* discusses the profound shift in the foundations of Canada's economic and social life, including the new communications infrastructure which has become as important to the "information age" as were rivers, railways and highways to earlier eras.

The application of new communications technologies will generate particular interest for northern Canadians, especially in the areas of tele-health and tele-education. In many aspects of the field of health delivery, Canada has been a pioneer in the use of these technologies. The electronic delivery of health care services, including long-distance medical examinations and the remote monitoring and diagnosing of patients, is becoming a fact of life in certain parts of Canada. Indeed, one of the major telecommunications carriers boasts that the infrastructure it currently owns is sophisticated enough to allow a doctor located in Vancouver to monitor the heart beat of a patient in Whitehorse, without static interference. The applications of information technology to tele-health are particularly important to Canadians in the North where geography and the population pattern make delivery of uniform quality health care to all Canadians a continuing challenge.

As in health care, Canadians have become recognized world leaders in tele-education and educational broadcasting because of necessity. Our expertise results from the dispersal of our population across the top half of our continent. Canada has recently been asked to take the lead in developing distance learning centres and television program services for the benefit of member nations of both the Commonwealth and La Francophonie.

The application of information technology to the delivery of education, training, health care and other social services to the residents of the North will be one of the central challenges of the information technology strategy pursued by Communications Canada in concert with the Government of Canada. Expertise developed in this field can also be applied for the benefit of circumpolar populations generally.

## Towards Circumpolar Cooperation

*We have so long neglected the only international and regional system to which we really belong: the circumpolar system ... The Arctic ... is the only region where we are a major geographic power*

Paul Painchaud, Laval University, in Report of the Special Joint Committee on Canada's International Relations. June 1986. p.127.

The Canadian government, in 1985, initiated a comprehensive review of foreign policy – the first such major review in almost two decades. It was wide-ranging, and it involved solicitation of views from Canadians in all parts of the country, before a joint committee of the Senate and House of Commons.

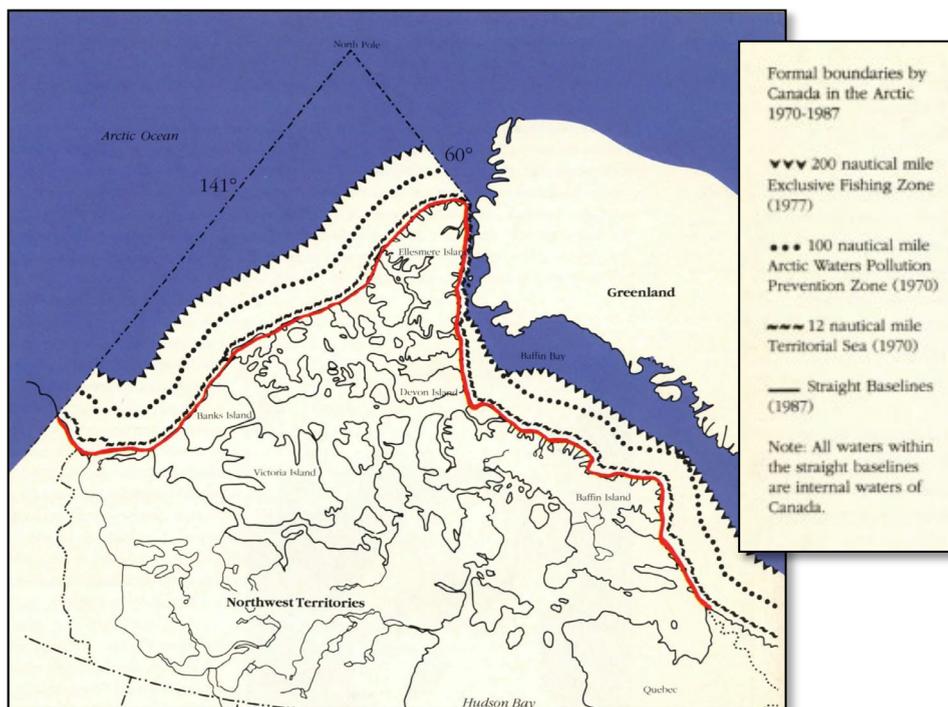
One of the most striking results of this review was the depth and breadth of interest and concern about things northern. This focus on the North reflected a shifting of the Government's own foreign policy priorities which, through the 1980s, had been taking on a more prominent and more clearly defined northern dimension.

In part, this has reflected a growing awareness of the strategic significance of the North in relation to Canada's national, continental and NATO defence commitments. It has developed from Canada's determination to define clearly and defend its sovereignty throughout its northern lands and waterways. It is, as well, the due recognition of Canada's prominent role in the circumpolar community. Also, in part, it stems from a growing appreciation of the mutual benefits that can be derived from developing closer links with other arctic nations on environmental control, scientific study, aboriginal affairs, communications and other matters.

In December 1986, the Canadian Government responded to the Report of the Special Joint Committee by announcing the elements of a new northern dimension to Canadian foreign policy. These elements include: the modernizing of northern defences; affirming Canadian sovereignty; promoting enhanced circumpolar cooperation; and preparing for commercial use of the Northwest Passage, taking into account the need to safeguard the environment and the interests of northern inhabitants. Specific initiatives have followed on the heels of these announcements that attest to the Arctic's national importance to Canada.

The question of sovereignty in Canada's northern waters was brought to prominence in 1985 with the voyage of the U.S. Coast Guard icebreaker *Polar Sea* through the Northwest Passage. Although the voyage was made with Canadian co-operation and participation, the United States did not ask in advance for permission to make it. The USA contends the Northwest Passage is an international strait and therefore subject to transit passage, under which ships of all nations may navigate at will. Canada does not accept this claim. Subsequent to the *Polar Sea* voyage, Canada drew "straight baselines" around the outer perimeter of the Arctic Islands confirming the "internal" status of the waterways.

In January 1988 an agreement was reached between the two countries ensuring that Canadian prior consent has to be obtained in advance of each and every transit



by a U.S. government-owned or government-operated icebreaker through the waters of the Canadian arctic archipelago. There is also agreement that all U.S.-flag commercial ships are subject to the pollution control standards and other provisions of the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act and other relevant laws and regulations. The agreement is fully consistent with the exercise of Canadian sovereignty and represents a practical and cooperative approach to the question, that does not dilute Canada's legal position. However, the agreement did not resolve the legal dispute between Canada and the USA over the status of Canada's arctic waters. On this issue neither side has convinced the other; there has in effect been an agreement to disagree. Canada will continue to press its case with the USA on this matter.

The Government is strengthening Canada's arctic infrastructure, concentrating on aids to navigation, ice reconnaissance and forecasting, and satellite communications. All of these measures are essential for safe navigation in the Arctic. These measures also reinforce our arctic standing internationally by demonstrating our presence in the Arctic and in the broader circumpolar community. This presence gives Canada a credible position among arctic nations, and it allows us to deal responsibly with the increasing number of arctic issues that transcend our national borders. Whether these issues be related to security matters, to environmental problems, or to international economic relations, Canada must function as a major

power with major responsibilities. We are committed to enhanced circumpolar co-operation, and we can build on initiatives already begun.

On a multi-lateral basis, Canada has joined in efforts to ensure protection of the Polar Bear (Polar Bear Convention) and has contributed to a wide range of international scientific initiatives such as the International Biological Program, research programs of the Migratory Birds Convention Act, Global Atmospheric research, International Geodynamics Program, Arctic Aerosol sampling etc. There is also international interest in conducting joint scientific research projects with Canada at the Polar Continental Shelf Project's Ice Island Research Station. Such international initiatives conducted co-operatively have contributed and will continue to contribute significantly to an understanding of arctic region phenomena, and to Canada's standing in the arctic community. Canada's participation in efforts to establish such international bodies as an International Arctic Science Committee recognizes the merit of cooperative endeavour for productive circumpolar relations.

On a bilateral basis, Canada is also an active participant on a number of fronts. There are in place a variety of cooperative arrangements covering a range of issues. These extend from scientific endeavour as with the Canada-USSR Arctic Science Exchange Program, to agreements focussed on environmental management - (Marine Environment Co-operation Agreement with Denmark), on transportation (Memorandum of Understanding with Finland), to exchanges of letters on science and technology (with Norway), to accords addressing controls on navigation (with the United States). These are all initiatives signalling the exercise of responsibilities that come from being a major arctic nation.

Support is given as well to non-government organizations operating in the international community. Of particular note are the activities of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference and Indigenous Survival International which devote effort to addressing the common concerns of residents in the circumpolar world. There are also private initiatives that reflect a truly cooperative spirit. The Polar Bridge Expedition which saw a team of Canadian and Soviet skiers make the 1730 km trek from Siberia to Ellesmere Island "over the pole" is but one example of how understanding among the circumpolar nations can be enhanced.

Much has been done, and more can be accomplished in cultivating the circumpolar relationship that must be part of our arctic presence. Canada's commitment to this goal is now firmly established.

## Looking Ahead

*It would be well to bear in mind that the present of today was the future of yesterday and that it is what it is because of the human actions, the human decisions from yesterday. Therefore the future will be what we make it.*

John W. Dafoe, speech, Toronto, Empire Club, Jan. 30, 1936.

The North is a national interest to be managed in partnership with Northerners. How well we manage the issues that demand our current attention will shape the North of the future. The North will be what we make it.

Many initiatives have already been taken. We've seen the elements of a Northern Political and Economic Framework whose primary goal includes developing fully responsible northern governments through the transfer of responsibilities that would normally fall within provincial jurisdiction elsewhere in Canada. Commitment is also made to settling outstanding northern aboriginal land claims, promoting economic development and enhancing Canadian sovereignty over the waters of the arctic archipelago. We've highlighted the issues that speak to these initiatives and outlined the progress that has been made on such matters as new arrangements for energy management, and achievements in securing negotiated claims settlements. An expanded role for Northerners is central to these initiatives.

We've recognized the diversity of northern society and culture and commented on both the opportunities and the difficulties that lie ahead in developing sound and stable northern economies and political institutions, with the full participation of all northern residents.

We've noted the importance of the North's natural heritage and the measures ensuring its protection, while at the same time realizing the need to forge a stronger linkage between economic development activities and the management of the northern environment, with special emphasis on renewable resource development.

We've looked at the North's infrastructure, from the challenges for communications, to the public programs and services that contribute to an improved quality of life in the North, from the North's special transportation needs to the importance of non-renewable resource development in affecting the pace of northern activity.

We can appreciate the role of polar science and the related initiatives that ultimately will provide us with the information base critical to decisions about the North's future. We've witnessed efforts toward securing the North's defences, in ensuring our legal title to the waters of the arctic archipelago, and in establishing a circumpolar presence that is consistent with our role as a major arctic nation.

Above all, we have tried to demonstrate a commitment to the Arctic – a commitment that not only recognizes a Canada of the North but also equips us with the means to manage the issues that will arise, as the North evolves. Ultimately, Canada's commitment to the North rests on a partnership in action supported by all Canadians.

Both problems and promise lie ahead. The future of the North will be what we make it.



## 4. The Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy (2000)

Prepared by the Communications Bureau Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade

### Executive Summary

*In an increasingly interdependent and globalized world community, Canada's long-standing foreign policy tradition of promoting international co-operation in pursuit of shared objectives, through institution building and pragmatic problem solving, continues to take on greater importance. This established and successful approach has taken on, as a new guiding theme, the protection and enhancement of human security.*

Both the tradition of transnational co-operation and the new emphasis on human security are particularly applicable to the shaping of the Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy. The circumpolar world that includes the northern territories and peoples of Canada, Russia, the United States, the Nordic countries plus the vast (and mostly ice-covered) waters in between was long a front line in the Cold War. Now it has become a front line in a different way - facing the challenges and opportunities brought on by new trends and developments. The challenges mostly take the shape of transboundary environmental threats - persistent organic pollutants, climate change, nuclear waste - that are having dangerously increasing impacts on the health and vitality of human beings, northern lands, waters and animal life. The opportunities are driven by increasingly confident northern societies who, drawing on their traditional values, stand poised to take up the challenges presented by globalization. Whereas the politics of the Cold War dictated that the Arctic region be treated as part of a broader strategy of exclusion and confrontation, now the politics of globalization and power diffusion highlight the importance of the circumpolar world as an area for inclusion and co-operation.

No country, except possibly Russia, has more at stake in the far-sighted management of circumpolar relations than Canada. A sense of northerness has long been central to the Canadian identity, but the North has historically played a relatively small and episodic part in Canadian foreign policy. A clearly defined Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy will establish a framework to promote the extension of Canadian interests and values, and will renew the government's commitment to co-operation with our own northern peoples and with our circumpolar neighbours to address shared issues and responsibilities. It will demonstrate that our future security and prosperity are closely linked with our ability to manage complex northern issues. A proactive approach in strengthening Arctic circumpolar relations, drawing on Canada's experiences, traditions and capabilities, in both the domestic and international context, will help to shape the nature and thrust of circumpolar affairs, and Canada's central place therein.

The Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy is framed by three principles - meeting our commitments and taking a leadership role; establishing partnerships within and beyond government; and engaging in ongoing dialogue with Canadians, especially northerners. In keeping with this framework, the Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy will have four overarching objectives:

1. to enhance the security and prosperity of Canadians, especially northerners and Aboriginal peoples;
2. to assert and ensure the preservation of Canada's sovereignty in the North;
3. to establish the Circumpolar region as a vibrant geopolitical entity integrated into a rules-based international system; and
4. to promote the human security of northerners and the sustainable development of the Arctic.

These objectives will be pursued through a focus on four priority areas for action over the next several years:

- Strengthening and promoting a central place in circumpolar relations and policy co-ordination for the Arctic Council, which is the only forum in which the eight Arctic states and Indigenous northern peoples as Permanent Participants come together to discuss and decide on matters of common interest. The Arctic Council is uniquely placed to address the environmental challenges faced in the circumpolar region, and has the potential to enhance opportunities for capacity building, trade and economic development, as well as educational opportunities and employment mobility for Canadian youth and children in the circumpolar North.
- Helping to establish a University of the Arctic designed to foster academic excellence and sustainability including traditional knowledge, using distance-education techniques; and supporting the enhancement of a Canadian and circumpolar policy research network, taking into account the importance of traditional knowledge, that can strengthen policy-relevant capacity to provide assistance to the work of the Arctic Council.
- Developing and expanding opportunities to assist Russia in addressing its northern challenges through strengthened bilateral activities, and by working with our circumpolar partners in various regional forums and in the European Union.
- Promoting the study and practical application of means for circumpolar countries and communities to develop sustainable economic opportunities and trade across the Arctic circumpolar region.

A Canadian strategy for a northern foreign policy was developed through a unique and extensive process of consultation with Canadians, including Aboriginal peoples, other northerners, parliamentarians, policy experts and many others. This

was a deliberate process of public engagement, and one that the government intends to continue as the Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy is implemented and further developed. To this end, the government, led by the Ambassador for Circumpolar Affairs, will maintain a permanent outreach program domestically and internationally, in an effort to seek views and feedback on Canada's foreign policy priorities for the circumpolar Arctic region as they evolve. Flexibility to respond to new ideas, trends and initiatives, as well as to refocus existing priorities, will be built in to the Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy to ensure that an ongoing consultative process is fully interactive and dynamic.

## **Introduction - Renewing Our Commitment**

At home and abroad, the North has taken on new importance in Canadian foreign policy.

For the North, this is a time of rapid change. Canada's own northern territories, for example, are emerging from an historical tradition of being on the periphery of Canadian political life as a result of political reform, reconciliation and decentralization, and are developing new governance structures. Similarly, a circumpolar community with a wide range of (often divergent) interests is also coming into being as a coherent entity. The end of the Cold War lifted the constraints which that period imposed on co-operation among the eight Arctic countries and on interaction among the North's Indigenous peoples. Circumpolar relations, contacts and activities have now begun to flourish. This has also occurred as a consequence of growing global awareness of the vital ecological role played by the North, and as northerners from across the circumpolar region have begun to press for action to address the serious environmental, economic, social and cultural threats facing their communities.

Globalization exposes all regions to new political, economic, social and environmental forces, which often diminish regional control over events - even in the most industrialized countries. These forces include the revolution in information technology (for instance, the emergence of electronic commerce), the transboundary movement of persistent organic pollutants, climate change, and the spread of infectious diseases, such as tuberculosis or AIDS. The transboundary nature of these forces makes international co-operation imperative.<sup>1</sup>

Globalization has also altered the exercise of state sovereignty, partly through the development of a web of legally binding multilateral agreements, informal arrangements and institutions. In the past, much of Canada's attention to northern foreign relations has focussed on threats to sovereignty. Time has changed the nature and implication of those threats - co-operation has largely overshadowed boundary disputes in the North. Public concern about sovereignty issues has waned, but Canadians still want their governments to enforce their laws and regulations concerning the management of the North.

To meet new transborder challenges and further promote co-operation, we will need to intensify dialogue with existing organizations that undertake common action, such as the United Nations (UN), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). We must also ensure that the Arctic Council effectively complements other initiatives under way within the circumpolar region (in particular, the Nordic Council, the Barents Euro-Arctic Council, the Council of Baltic Sea States), and with the EU's own Northern Dimension Action Plan. Further, we must develop new approaches to deal with issues such as human security and the threats to individual safety and well-being posed by an increasing number of transnational problems. In this regard, the peoples of the circumpolar region are particularly vulnerable.

In this situation, Canada needs to bring a comprehensive northern dimension to its foreign policy. To be effective, the new policy must be an integral part of Canada's broader foreign policy, and must also be reinforced by domestic policies. A comprehensive approach will lead to greater coherence and co-ordination between federal departments and agencies having a stake in the development of the circumpolar region.

### **The Domestic Context - the North Coming into its Own**

At the dawn of the new century, a fundamental reshaping of northern Canada is taking place. Most significant has been the division of the Northwest Territories into two separate territories in 1999 with the creation of Nunavut. The birth of Nunavut represents a landmark achievement in the political development of the Canadian North, including the commitment to self-government and continued devolution.

As pledged in *Gathering Strength: Canada's Aboriginal Action Plan*, Canada will work toward the settlement of all outstanding land claims and the completion of self-government agreements in the North as a mechanism for developing a strengthened and forward-looking partnership with Aboriginal peoples. Through the Action Plan, the federal government has sought to contribute to a process of political, economic and social renewal in the North.

This devolution and renewal needs to be accompanied by a coherent northern foreign policy strategy that maximizes the opportunities being realized by northern Canadian communities, while also supporting and augmenting their efforts to successfully manage the challenges facing the North. One example is resources: world demand is increasing for Canada's northern resources (including fisheries) and related exploration and processing activities. Another example is climate change, which may have an effect on the potential use of the Northwest Passage. Previously closed by ice, the Passage is now open for several weeks each year. A third is air traffic over the Arctic, which is also growing. In 1999, some 85 000 overflights were recorded, and the forecast annual growth rate is 3 percent to 5 percent. Once Russia opens its northern airspace to international aviation, the number of over-flights could increase

significantly, with a proportionate rise in the risk of accidents, emergency landings and search-and-rescue requirements.

These various developments enhance the potential for tourism and new northern transportation routes, and should create new economic opportunities for the North. However, with such opportunities come additional pressures in the sustainable management of natural resources and the environment, as well as in economic and social development. For this reason, innovations emerging from the northern renewal process are both timely and necessary, as are advances in information technology that can more effectively link developments and knowledge in the Canadian North with the rest of Canada and the circumpolar world. However, equally important will be Canada's efforts to ensure that international/ circumpolar policies, practices and regulations promote and protect northern interests, starting with the preservation of the fragile ecology of the North. Surveillance, enforcement of laws and regulations, and the co-ordination of emergency-preparedness systems will be critical.

In translating the new reality of Canada's North into foreign policy, we need to move beyond the vague, symbolic visions of the past. We must assess the values and interests emerging from the North's renewal process, and translate them into sources of international influence. This will require the involvement of Aboriginal and territorial authorities in the implementation of a northern foreign policy. It will also require a commitment to strengthening the widespread but poorly supported research network that exists throughout Canada, which has important expertise, knowledge and experience that must be harnessed more effectively in support of the Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy. There must also be the recognition that effective linkages between research and policy analysis networks must extend beyond Canada, reaching out to similar networks within the circumpolar region. Intrinsic to this research and policy analysis network will be the recognition and integration of traditional knowledge.

### **The International Context - an Enlarging Circumpolar Partnership**

The circumpolar North is not homogeneous. The heterogeneity of development levels, interests and visions among circumpolar countries, coupled with the fact that the region is one of the world's richest in natural resources, may increase the potential for tension in the North. On the other hand, recognition of the challenges facing the region has led the eight Arctic countries to move forward across a broad front over the past decade to begin building a circumpolar community of interests. From both economic and political perspectives, the North has the potential to become a significant factor in world affairs.

The establishment of the Arctic Council in 1996 marked the growing maturity of the circumpolar region. Canada recognized that it shared many common challenges, problems and opportunities with its Arctic neighbours, so it sought to expand co-operation through the Arctic Council to create a circumpolar community that would be self-aware and able to work together to solve its problems regionally and globally.

Progress toward these goals should contribute to the formation of a strong institutional framework that encourages greater co-operation among northern governments, Aboriginal peoples, industry, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in pursuit of concrete initiatives. Such progress responds to the challenges that we are all confronting in the Arctic, but that are outside the control of any single country.

The Arctic Council is, of course, not the only existing circumpolar forum or focal point for circumpolar policy development and co-operation. The Nordic Council was founded in 1972 to target co-operation on regional and common political issues. The creation of the Council of the Baltic Sea States in 1992 and the Barents Euro-Arctic Council in 1993, plus the anticipated adoption of the European Union's Northern Dimension Action Plan in June 2000, reflect the broader European integration process intended to bridge common northern interests. They are also increasingly focussed, as is the U. S. Northern European Initiative (which is directed primarily at the three Baltic states), at preventing the emergence of a socio-economic and environmental fault line at the eastern border between the expanding EU, its immediate northeastern neighbours, and Russia. There is a growing recognition in these regional forums of the importance of ensuring effective information sharing, co-ordination and co-funding initiatives for shared priorities.

These various institutions and initiatives are not only preoccupied with stability in northern Russia, but also with sustainable development and environmental protection across the Arctic region. Protecting the vulnerable circumpolar ecosystem from environmental degradation and transboundary effects is another area in which international co-operation is vital. Scientific evidence shows that the North acts as a global "sink" for environmental contaminants, including persistent organic pollutants. The pollutants are transported over long distances by water and air currents, and eventually enter the animal and marine life. In fact, food from this source is the main source of nourishment for Indigenous peoples living in the North. The contaminants are absorbed in the fatty tissues of northern animals, eventually to be consumed by humans. The global community has recognized the need to reduce and eliminate the long-range transport of pollutants, and it must cement its commitment through legally binding international protocols and agreements, such as the UN negotiations toward a global convention on persistent organic pollutants.

Canada has also had long-standing bilateral agreements with the United States on a range of issues affecting the interests of both countries in the Arctic. The recently developed Canada-Norway Partnership for Action underlines Arctic co-operation as an area of common interest in the context of the joint pursuit of a human security agenda.

To realize the full potential of the North, northern Canadians and the circumpolar community need to recognize and act on the basis of being a natural community - bound not only by geography but also linked by common experiences and often values as well. The challenges are to define those shared values and

interests; to put them into sharper focus; to make better use of the community of existing organizations and the network of contacts in the circumpolar region; and to draw on our collective resources to address these issues within the circumpolar region.

### **The Consultative Process - Listening to Canadians**

In 1997, the House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade (SCFAIT) took a new look at the North and prepared a comprehensive report, *Canada and the Circumpolar World: Meeting the Challenges of Co-operation into the 21st Century*. This began a process of extensive consultation and discussion throughout Canada over the next two years that has led to the preparation of this policy statement, the Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy. Key elements of the consultative process (starting with SCFAIT's review and report) included Minister of Foreign Affairs Lloyd Axworthy's September 1998 discussion paper *Towards a Northern Foreign Policy for Canada*; the 1998 National Forum; a major expert roundtable in December 1998; an extensive round of consultations in 1999 focussed on northerners and other key stakeholders, led by Canada's Ambassador for Circumpolar Affairs Mary Simon; and a final series of discussions held by Minister Axworthy with his Arctic Council counterparts and by Prime Minister Jean Chrétien when he met with the President of Finland and the head of the European Union, Martti Ahtisaari, in December, 1999.

Based on these extensive consultations, Minister Axworthy and Foreign Affairs Canada and International Trade (DFAIT) prepared a draft policy statement, which was then subject to further discussions involving key federal agencies responsible for policy areas that touch on the circumpolar North - including the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Environment Canada, Natural Resources Canada and Health Canada - before public release.

### **The Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy - Key Objectives**

As was often pointed out in discussions with Canadians and key circumpolar partners, Canada brings a number of important assets to the circumpolar table:

- our experience in developing northern institutions, community building, and working with Aboriginal peoples and other Northerners;
- an acknowledged expertise in northern science and environmental technology;
- a cutting-edge capability in telecommunications and information technology;
- an innovative approach to governance and natural resource management in the North; and
- a wealth of experience in co-operating with Russia on Arctic affairs.

Given these assets, and given the convergence of territories, interests and events in the circumpolar region, a unique opportunity exists for bringing to bear Canada's northern identity and expertise, and translating them into broader influence. The Arctic is an area of international relations in which we can make a difference, in which we can bring added value. A far-sighted Canadian foreign policy will provide the means and the opportunity to assert our role as a bridge builder. Our active involvement in circumpolar issues will contribute to the consolidation of our interests in the region.

In keeping with the international and domestic contexts, our experience, capacity and perceived role, and taking into account the advice and suggestions made during the consultative process, it has been determined that the Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy should have four overarching objectives:

1. to enhance the security and prosperity of Canadians, especially northerners and Aboriginal peoples;
2. to assert and ensure the preservation of Canada's sovereignty in the North;
3. to establish the Circumpolar region as a vibrant geopolitical entity integrated into a rules-based international system; and
4. to promote the human security of northerners and the sustainable development of the Arctic.

These objectives will be pursued through a number of initiatives and venues. In particular, Canada's northern foreign policy will focus on four priority areas: support for the work of the Arctic Council; participation in the expanding international support for northern Russia; realizing the full potential of the University of the Arctic, and enhancing a Canadian and circumpolar policy research network; and promoting sustainable development through the pursuit of economic and trade opportunities across the circumpolar region.

## **Strengthening the Arctic Council**

The Arctic Council was founded in 1996 as an umbrella organization to give political impetus and strategic direction to the circumpolar community. As founding chair, Canada sees the Council as the main focus of our emerging northern foreign policy. To maintain our influence in the region, we will deepen our commitment to circum-polar partnerships, beginning through the Arctic Council.

A unique feature of the Arctic Council - one that gives it critical legitimacy and relevance - is the direct participation of northerners, particularly Indigenous northern peoples. Building on Indigenous involvement in its forerunner institution, the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy, the Council has broken new ground internationally. For the first time - anywhere - Indigenous peoples, as Permanent Participants, have an integral role to play in the work of the Arctic Council. When the Council meets, it does so with the full and active participation of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, the Saami Council, the Russian Association of Indigenous

Peoples of the North, and the Aleut International Association. Their involvement ensures that those with the most at stake have a clear voice in shared forums to resolve common transboundary concerns and to develop common approaches.

At the next Arctic Council ministerial meeting in Alaska in October 2000, an additional permanent participant may be approved, which will further broaden and deepen the involvement of northern Indigenous peoples in the work of the Council. However, all Permanent Participants lack sufficient internal resources to participate effectively. They continue to require assistance from Arctic Council member states to ensure effective participation.

The five main Working Groups of the Arctic Council collectively carry an agenda that focusses on the sustainable development and environmental protection of the Arctic region. Together, they represent an effort to address the most critical issues facing the circumpolar North, where multilateral co-operation is vital. These include the Sustainable Development Working Group, the Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment, the Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Program, the Emergency Prevention, Preparedness and Response Group, and the Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna. There is interest in expanding the work of these groups, and in creating others as well. However, chronic under-funding hampers existing programs and prevents effective expansion.

The secretariat for the Arctic Council is another issue that must be addressed, not only because of the need to more effectively support the efforts of the Working Groups, but also to ensure its viability and effectiveness. The Arctic Council must be effective in linking with other regional forums, bilateral programs and broader multilateral discussions. Such linkages are crucial in order to avoid duplication and maximize awareness and effectiveness. This need has been recognized by all Arctic Council members, as well as by the other Arctic regional forums previously mentioned. An ongoing commitment to the work of the secretariat is required if it is to be effective. A strong secretariat can build on work that has already been done to catalogue various activities and programs in the circumpolar region.

Through the Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy, Canada intends to focus policy efforts and increased resources on strengthening existing activities of the Arctic Council and promoting a continued and increased role for Permanent Participants. Indeed, Canadian support for emerging northern civil society could prove invaluable in influencing the decision-making process on Arctic issues in major world capitals. It will facilitate the development of northern people-to-people contacts, and will support increased North-South linkages. It will continue to encourage Indigenous community activities, while promoting the participation and leadership of Aboriginal community leaders.

Canada will promote more effective linkages between the Arctic Council and other forums in which Arctic issues are addressed. Where possible, expanding the Council's work will also be a focus, perhaps starting with the link between emerging economic and environmental issues (e. g. impact of climate change on the Northwest

Passage as a commercial route) and also a link to research and education. These last objectives relate, in part, to an identified need for capacity building within Arctic communities; and a search for means to ensure sustainable economic growth in the circumpolar world as traditional economies wane, while maintaining a focus on environmental protection.

Canada's contribution will include:

- increased support to the overall work of the Arctic Council;
- financial and institutional support to Permanent Participants of the Arctic Council;
- leveraged/ partnered funding for specific Working Group activities, flowing from the 1998 Iqaluit Declaration endorsed at the Arctic Council Ministerial Meeting, including further development of the Children and Youth initiative; and
- support for a capacity-building focus in the Arctic Council.

### **Establishing a University of the Arctic and a Canadian and Circumpolar Policy Research Network**

Canada has been a consistent proponent of the development of a circumpolar University of the Arctic, which would help to build on northern (including Indigenous) knowledge and develop northern capacity to manage the challenges of the Arctic region in the decades to come. Such a concept would also integrate advances in distance education, where Canadian experience is substantial.

A complementary focus, both through the University of the Arctic and through existing institutional capacity, is the strengthening of an Arctic policy research network that links Canadian experts more effectively with each other, and with experts across the circumpolar world, again taking advantage of new communication and information technologies. This connected expertise should not only benefit basic research and knowledge, but should also be encouraged to contribute directly to the work of the Arctic Council through policy-relevant analysis.

Existing expertise resides in many Canadian locations: academic institutions such as the Universities of Calgary, Alberta, Manitoba and Northern British Columbia, and Yukon and Arctic Colleges; agencies and NGOs such as the Canadian Polar Commission, the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee and the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (Canada). There are many scientists and policy experts at the federal, provincial and territorial levels. Private-sector firms that have operations in the North employ experts across a range of fields. Many of these experts have their own linkages with like-minded experts within Canada and across the circumpolar world. However, many of them face chronic under-funding and/ or poor connectedness to policy-making bodies. These issues must be addressed if Canada is to play a serious role in circumpolar affairs.

The Canadian government will work with provincial and territorial counterparts, granting institutions, foundations and private-sector interests, as well as interested Arctic Council partners, to promote enhanced and connected Canadian and cross-polar expertise in academic, NGO and northern-based institutions. The focus will be on determining how to develop a University of the Arctic distance-education program, as well as a research network that can be linked, as appropriate, to the policy process, including the work of the Arctic Council. The federal role will focus on partnership and seed resources, helping to make the connections between research and policy development and building linkages with policy-making bodies such as government agencies and the Arctic Council.

Some specific initiatives to be considered include:

- developing a University of the Arctic distance-education program;
- increasing the number of northern youth internships, youth employment and student exchanges, and education options through the University of the Arctic and affiliated colleges within the circumpolar region; and
- providing partnered funding for the development of a Canadian circumpolar policy research network, linking complementary Canadian institutions. The effort would also include linking up with other circumpolar research centres.

## **Cooperation in Northern Russia**

A prosperous Russia is crucial to the stability of the international system, and a sustainable and prosperous North is crucial to the stability of Russia. With only 8 percent of the national population, the Russian North produces 20 percent of the country's gross domestic product (GDP), and is one of Russia's leading hard currency-earning regions. With 80 percent of the North's total population, Russia is by far the most populous circumpolar area. In 1997, some 12.1 million people, including 200 000 Indigenous people, lived in the Russian Far North.

The collapse of the Soviet development strategy has had environmental impacts that are well known and impossible to ignore. For example, sulphur dioxide discharges from metal and mining enterprises have damaged vast territories in the Kola Peninsula. According to the International Atomic Energy Agency, 150 nuclear reactors from decommissioned submarines are waiting to be dismantled in Murmansk and Arkhangelsk. The Agency report also states that more than 8500 tons of highly enriched spent fuel is waiting to be reprocessed and properly stored around the Barents Sea, and an additional 500 million cubic metres of low-level radioactive waste remains to be treated.

The situation for Indigenous peoples is even more difficult. With subsidy programs curtailed or ended, some settlements are returning to self-sufficient economies and struggling to revive their traditional culture. Living conditions remain harsh. Finances appear inadequate to support the re-emergence of sustainable Indigenous communities. At the same time, political reform has granted greater

autonomy to Indigenous peoples, who are actively looking for ways to become involved in both the domestic and international northern policy-making processes.

Although most international attention and assistance has focussed on northwestern Russia, circumstances northeast of the Urals are equally urgent. The situation in the Russian northeast should also be factored into International Financial Institution action plans and programs. Maximum synergies should be sought, so that what is being done in the Barents and Baltic areas would be viewed in the broader context of international efforts to stabilize Russia and integrate it further into the international system.

Canada has a historic interest in Russia's prosperity and security - indeed, we have much at stake there. Given the weight of the Russian North in the future of Russia and the region, immediate and concerted action is urgently needed. The future of the Russian North, therefore, is important to Canada, and is a key focus of the Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy.

The Arctic identity that Canada shares with Russia provides a special basis for co-operation focussing on the North. Canada has a number of bilateral agreements covering northern issues, especially in areas of scientific and economic development and, more recently, development assistance in the areas of the environment and Indigenous peoples. Because of the environmental similarities, Canada has always had a commercial interest in Russia. With our experience and expertise in tapping natural resources in the Arctic, we have a comparative advantage in Russia, creating excellent opportunities for Canadian investments. Similarly, in the environmental sector, Canadian technology and management techniques are second to none.

Through CIDA's Technical Assistance Program, Canada is already making a significant contribution to democratic development and economic liberalization in Russia. This strategy has been successfully extended to the Russian North, where 20 projects are currently under way in the areas of good governance, economic reform and the environment.

Radioactive waste clean-up and environmental remediation are other areas in which our Russian partners would welcome Canadian expertise. Canada can make a major contribution by promoting other policy objectives, such as non-proliferation and disarmament, as well as environmental protection. At the 1999 Group of Eight (G-8) Summit in Cologne, leaders agreed to address these issues by building a broad international partnership on expanded threat reduction. Within this initiative, activities are being considered for addressing the management of radioactive waste originating from military activities, and the decommissioning of Russian nuclear submarines, particularly at sites in the Russian Arctic. A multi-year, multi-task program would be developed to identify specific projects for these purposes, with identification of areas that best suit Canadian expertise. The adoption of a funded Canadian strategy would support our aims in the circumpolar region, allowing us to extend our participation in sub-regional groupings, such as the Baltic and Barents Councils and the Arctic Military Environmental Co-operation program, a joint

Russian-American- Norwegian initiative aimed at addressing military-related critical environmental concerns in the Arctic.

Perhaps more than any other country, Canada is uniquely positioned to build a strategic partnership with Russia for development of the Arctic. In the short term, this means giving priority to addressing the socio-economic and environmental issues in the Russian North. Canadian objectives should be formulated in a way that reflects broader international goals, and Canadian activities should take into account the capacity of other partners, especially the United States and the European Union, to undertake funding responsibilities and partnerships.

Specific Canadian activities could include:

- contributing funds toward the implementation of the 1992 Canada-Russia Agreement on Co-operation in the Arctic and the North, as well as the 1997 Memorandum of Understanding concerning Co-operation on Aboriginal and Northern Development;
- working to expand bilateral economic and business ties with northern Russia, in co-operation with provincial and territorial governments, as well as business and NGO communities;
- supporting the activities of the Working Group on the Arctic and North, under the aegis of the Inter-governmental Economic Commission. This could include the creation of a Canada-Russia Northern Chamber of Commerce and the promotion of northern transportation routes; and
- including a focus on Russia in northern youth exchange programs and internships to promote people-to-people contacts for future generations.

## **Promoting Sustainable Economic Opportunities and Trade Development**

As outlined earlier (see The Domestic Context), there are increased pressures and opportunities related to economic development in the Canadian and circumpolar North. As was stated, these will create important challenges that a coherent Canadian policy strategy must address. Trade and investment are certain to increase across the Arctic region. Given the fact that they will help to build capacity in the North to pursue economic growth, this is to be welcomed. Pursuing such initiatives as the Arctic Bridge and intra-Arctic shipping could have important benefits for the livelihood of northerners.

However, as has also been stated, these developments will also demand increased vigilance - effective monitoring and management that will ensure that the fragile Arctic ecology is not compromised. Much can be done, through the Arctic Council and research networks, among others, to study and prepare for these developments. An important focus of Canada's northern foreign policy is to promote both the analysis and the development of management/ monitoring/ enforcement regimes (in some cases, building on existing frameworks, such as the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act).

To this end, the Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy will promote, among other things, the following:

- discussions with the Arctic Council regarding the expansion of circumpolar transportation infrastructures (e. g. Arctic bridge, polar air route and intra-Arctic shipping) and the reduction of transportation costs;
- the inclusion of a northern trade dimension in future Team Canada missions;
- the launching of talks with our Arctic Council partners to facilitate trade and investment flows in the circumpolar region;
- the creation of a Circumpolar Chamber of Commerce, building upon those existing in the northern regions of Nordic countries and northwest Russia, and on the network of contacts within the Northern Forum; and
- the investigation of the potential of eco-tourism, in co-operation with territorial governments.

### **Ongoing Dialogue with Canadian and Circumpolar Civil Society**

The announcement and implementation of the Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy does not mean the end of the dialogue with Canadians on circumpolar Arctic issues. The government believes that it is critical to maintain an ongoing process of interaction and discussion with interested stakeholders, as the policy implementation process unfolds and new questions and developments inevitably appear that can benefit from further consultation.

The government, under the leadership of the Ambassador for Circumpolar Affairs, is committed to maintaining this dialogue. In parallel, other venues for discussion and debate, as well as opportunities for organizations to make their views known to members of the Arctic Council, are welcomed and encouraged. Enlarging the circumpolar partnership is essential to the promotion of a greater extra-regional understanding and support for northern and circumpolar interests.

For example, the Northern Forum, consisting of 20 sub-national governments, largely from the Arctic Council states, and international NGOs such as the World Wildlife Fund for Nature and the International Union for Circumpolar Health, are encouraged to pursue their interventions on specific issues. In addition, SCFAIT, as well as the Parliamentarians of the Arctic region, should remain actively engaged, and should continue to focus Canadian thinking on our national interests in the circumpolar North.

### **Conclusion**

The future prosperity of Canada's North will be influenced by our capacity to work with our regional partners to develop a common strategy for the sustainable development of the circumpolar region. Within Canada and the circumpolar region, there is recognition that future security and prosperity are closely connected with our

ability to effectively manage northern issues. This is why we are taking a proactive stance in managing the issues, together with our northern communities.

Declaratory foreign policy is not enough to safeguard and promote Canadian interests and meet Canada's obligations. This Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy reinforces the federal government's commitment to the North and to northern peoples. In circumpolar affairs, Canada has been regarded as an important player. Arctic nations are cognizant of our record and ascribe to us an important role in leadership and diplomacy. The Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy demonstrates Canada's continuing commitment to maintaining this role.

The North comprises the Canadian territories of the Yukon, the Northwest Territories and Nunavut, plus Nunavik (northern Quebec) and all of Labrador; the U.S. state of Alaska (except the area known as the Southeast); all of Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland); Iceland; the northern regions of Norway, Sweden and Finland; all of what Russia terms the Arctic and the Russian North; and the marine systems of the Arctic Ocean and its adjacent seas, including the Beaufort, Labrador, Bering, Chukchi, Greenland, Norwegian, Barents, Kara, Laptev and East Siberian seas. It also includes what the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples identified as "Mid-North" - that is, large areas of the Canadian provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec that reflect northern conditions.



## 5. Developing Your Northern Strategy (2005)

### Your North, Your Voice

On December 14, 2004, Prime Minister Paul Martin and First Ministers Joseph Handley (Northwest Territories), Paul Okalik (Nunavut) and Dennis Fentie (Yukon), announced that their governments would be jointly developing the first-ever comprehensive strategy for the North, in cooperation with Aboriginal governments, organizations and Northern residents.

“We’re bringing together the first ever comprehensive strategy for the North in partnership with Northerners and all Canadians. And we’re doing so because we’re united in our belief in the North and the great promise it holds for our future.”

- Paul Martin

The purpose of the Northern Strategy is to develop a common long-term vision for the North and to jointly identify the actions and initiatives that need to be undertaken to achieve this vision. It is particularly important that the people of the Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut be involved in this process so that the strategy will result in real and lasting change in their communities. We also welcome the views of other Canadians.

A Northern Strategy will serve as a commitment by governments to keep northern issues front and centre – now and over the longer term.

“We in the North are no longer working in isolation on issues like sovereignty, on issues like the Kyoto Protocol and global warming. We are now working as a collective – three territories and the federal government – to address these issues. That’s a significant step in the right direction.”

- Dennis Fentie

“Nunavummiut have yet to attain the same social and economic standards of our fellow Canadians. The Northern Strategy is an opportunity for the national government to join with Nunavut in building opportunities in our unique territory that will benefit our country as a whole.”

- Paul Okalik

This package of material will enable you to tell us what you think of the work that has been done so far. Should you wish to contribute please:

1. Read the copy of *Nation Building–Framework for a Northern Strategy* on page 3 which has been drafted as a starting point for the development of a Northern Strategy.

2. Fill out the questionnaire on page 9. Your comments and suggestions will be helpful in the development of the final strategy.
3. Detach the questionnaire and use the prepaid envelope provided in this package to send us your response.

“We are committed to creating and following through on a vision of the North — one that will make this great region a strong, proud and contributing partner in Canada. Northerners must determine the steps for greater self-reliance in our communities. Their views must shape how we, together as territories and with the federal government, address pan-northern and global issues.”

- Joseph Handley

## **Nation Building: Framework for a Northern Strategy**

### **PREFACE**

The North is a place of great promise. For many years northerners have spoken about the importance for all Canadians to share in a vision of the future that enables northerners to become full participants in the federation. Consequently, the Government of Canada and the territorial governments have agreed to develop — in cooperation with Aboriginal governments, organizations and northern residents — the first-ever comprehensive strategy for the North.

Recently, governments and organizations have undertaken important visioning and strategic planning work. To complement this work, consultations will take place over the next few months. This series of consultations will be undertaken to gather the views and additional information necessary to develop the Northern Strategy.

The following Framework for a Northern Strategy has been jointly developed by the federal and territorial governments. This Framework consists of an initial vision for the North, principles to guide the development of the strategy, and a set of possible goals and objectives to realize the vision.

This Framework is intended to stimulate and focus discussion during the consultations. The final Strategy will include a shared vision, principles, goals and objectives. It will also include pan-northern and territory-specific sections in which jointly developed actions for the short, medium and long-term will be identified and prioritized consistent with individual governments’ strategic plans.

### **VISION**

*The North is a healthy place where self-reliant individuals live in healthy, viable communities, and where northerners manage their own affairs. It is a place where strong, responsive governments work together to build a prosperous, vibrant future for all. It is a place where northern traditions of respect for the land and the environment are cherished,*

*and actions and decision-making are anchored in the principles of responsible, sustainable development. It is a place where citizens celebrate their diversity. The North is a place where the territories and their governments are strong contributing partners in a dynamic and secure federation.*

## **PRINCIPLES**

To achieve this Vision we will work together It is recommended that a Northern to develop a Northern Strategy that: Strategy focus on goals and objectives, and

- is pan-northern and comprehensive in scope, and recognizes that the three territories have unique challenges and opportunities and are at different stages in their political, social and economic development;
- is cognizant of the fiscal capacity of northern governments;
- will mobilize resources to achieve joint priorities;
- is a living document that will build on the full range of strategies, policies and programs of governments, and, through regular review, respond to changing circumstances and remain consistent with the evolving priorities of northerners; and,
- enhances mutually respectful inter-governmental relations, reflecting the modern realities of the North.

## **GOALS AND OBJECTIVES**

It is recommended that a Northern Strategy focus on goals and objectives, and develop specific actions to achieve such objectives over the short, medium and long-term. Proposed long-term goals and examples of objectives are listed below.

### **Strengthening Governance, Partnerships and Institutions**

*Proposed Goal:* To strengthen govern-ments and institutions, and support evolving relationships among them, in order to provide northerners with effective governance and greater control over decisions central to their future.

#### *Examples of Objectives:*

- Completion of devolution and resource revenue sharing agreements.
- Settlement and implementation of land claims and self government agreements.
- Creation and enhancement of effec-tive intergovernmental forums.
- Completion of expert panel review of Territorial Formula Financing.

### **Establishing Strong Foundations for Economic Development**

*Proposed Goal:* To build strong, sustainable, diversified economies where northerners share in the benefits of northern development.

***Examples of Objectives:***

- Diversification of northern economies, such as support for small businesses, traditional economies, agriculture, fisheries, tourism, and forestry.
- Development of transportation, communication, energy, and other infrastructure.
- Training and human resource development responsive to the needs of community and regional labour market conditions and economies.
- Advancement of large-scale projects such as pipelines and mines.
- Development of regulatory regimes to improve efficiency and apply consistent standards and practices.

**Protecting the Environment**

***Proposed Goal:*** To engage all partners in the North in the protection and stewardship of the environment.

***Examples of Objectives:***

- Remediation of contaminated sites.
- Development of northern-based environmental emergency response capacity.
- Mitigation of, and adaptation to, climate change impacts.
- Environmental monitoring to ensure environmental standards are maintained.
- Effective land and water management processes.
- Increased use of cleaner energy sources such as hydro-electricity, natural gas and new technologies.

**Building Healthy and Safe Communities**

***Proposed Goal:*** To ensure healthy, safe and sustainable northern communities that serve and support the needs of northern residents and promote self-reliance.

***Examples of Objectives:***

- Housing that is suitable, adequate and affordable.
- Improving the health of northerners.
- Commitment to life-long learning to improve education of children and adults.
- Enhancement of community infra-structure such as water treatment and waste management.
- Development of a justice system that better reflects the needs of northerners, including areas such as crime prevention, policing, corrections, and community justice initiatives.

## **Reinforcing Sovereignty, National Security and Circumpolar Cooperation**

*Proposed Goal:* To ensure that Canada plays a leading role and promotes concerted international action on circumpolar issues, and that northern concerns are taken into consideration in national efforts to reinforce sovereignty, security and circumpolar cooperation.

### *Examples of Objectives:*

- Ensuring security and surveillance in the North, cognizant of northern interests.
- Reinforcing Canada's sovereignty over the Northwest Passage.
- Effective northern-based search and rescue capacity.
- Leadership in matters of circumpolar cooperation.

## **Preserving, Revitalizing and Promoting Culture and Identity**

*Proposed Goal:* To ensure that the importance of language, traditional knowledge and way-of-life is recognized and encouraged.

### *Examples of Objectives:*

- Preservation and promotion of Aboriginal languages for present and future generations.
- Recognition and promotion of the linguistic and cultural diversity of the people of the North, including francophone communities.
- Promotion of the use of traditional knowledge and practices in northern decision making.
- Preservation and promotion of northern history and culture.

## **Developing Northern Science and Research**

*Proposed Goal:* To ensure that Canada is a leader in northern science and technology, and to develop expertise in areas of particular importance and relevance to the North.

### *Examples of Objectives:*

- Enhancement of northern-based research capacity to encourage research about the North taking place in the North.
- Encouragement for and identification of research and development to improve understanding of the North and contribute to the social, economic and environmental well being of northerners.
- Addressing knowledge gaps in areas such as geoscience and environmental data.
- Adaptation of technology to northern circumstances such as alternate energy.

## 6. Speech from the Throne to Open the Second Session of the 39<sup>th</sup> Parliament of Canada, 16 October 2007, and Prime Minister Harper's Reply, 17 October 2007

Ottawa, Ontario

### **Strong Leadership. A Better Canada.**

Honourable Members of the Senate,  
Members of the House of Commons,  
Ladies and Gentlemen:

I would like to address the first words in this chamber to the members of the Canadian Forces, some of whom are present here today. Their commitment and courage in the name of justice, equality and freedom—whose benefits are not accorded to all peoples in the world—are worthy of our utmost respect.

... The Arctic is an essential part of Canada's history. One of our Fathers of Confederation, D'Arcy McGee, spoke of Canada as a northern nation, bounded by the blue rim of the ocean. Canadians see in our North an expression of our deepest aspirations: our sense of exploration, the beauty and the bounty of our land, and our limitless potential.

But the North needs new attention. New opportunities are emerging across the Arctic, and new challenges from other shores. Our Government will bring forward an integrated northern strategy focused on strengthening Canada's sovereignty, protecting our environmental heritage, promoting economic and social development, and improving and devolving governance, so that northerners have greater control over their destinies.

To take advantage of the North's vast opportunities, northerners must be able to meet their basic needs. Our Government will work to continue to improve living conditions in the North for First Nations and Inuit through better housing.

Our Government will build a world-class arctic research station that will be on the cutting edge of arctic issues, including environmental science and resource development. This station will be built by Canadians, in Canada's Arctic, and it will be there to serve the world.

As part of asserting sovereignty in the Arctic, our Government will complete comprehensive mapping of Canada's Arctic seabed. Never before has this part of Canada's ocean floor been fully mapped.

Defending our sovereignty in the North also demands that we maintain the capacity to act. New arctic patrol ships and expanded aerial surveillance will guard Canada's Far North and the Northwest Passage. As well, the size and capabilities of the Arctic Rangers will be expanded to better patrol our vast Arctic territory.

Ensuring our capacity to defend Canada's sovereignty is at the heart of the Government's efforts to rebuild the Canadian Forces. Canada's men and women in

uniform risk their lives for their country, and deserve the equipment and training required for a first-class, modern military. Our Government will modernize Canada's military to provide effective surveillance and protection for all of our country, cooperate in the defence of North America, and meet our responsibilities abroad to the United Nations and our allies....

Rebuilding our capabilities and standing up for our sovereignty have sent a clear message to the world: Canada is back as a credible player on the international stage. Our Government believes that focus and action, rather than rhetoric and posturing, are restoring our influence in global affairs. Guided by our shared values of democracy, freedom, human rights and the rule of law, our Government will continue Canada's international leadership through concrete actions that bring results. ...

## **Prime Minister Stephen Harper Addresses the House of Commons in a Reply to the Speech from the Throne, 17 October 2007**

Ottawa, Ontario

Thank you, Mr. Speaker, for allowing me to reply to the Speech from the Throne delivered yesterday by Her Excellency the Governor General.

...

Canadians have always understood the critical nature of our connections to the rest of the world.

We have never been isolationist.

But, whereas in the past Canada participated in the world through its membership in the French and British empires, today we are a fully sovereign country.

And for the federal government, there is nothing more fundamental than the protection of this country's sovereignty.

Our most important potential sovereignty challenge today is on our arctic doorstep, where retreating polar ice, rising global demand for resources and the prospect of year-round shipping are creating new challenges and exciting opportunities for the North.

As Stan Rogers once sang, Franklin's dream of tracing "one warm line through a land so wild and savage" to "make a Northwest Passage to the sea" seems about to be realized.

But it must be on our terms.

And to ensure this, we can't just point to the map and say, "it's ours."

Protecting and asserting our sovereignty, in the Arctic and elsewhere, requires real effort, sacrifice and expense.

You can't go ten years without sending a single ship to the passage, as our predecessors did.

We have to use the North or we will risk losing it.

Conservative governments going all the way back to Confederation have understood the importance of Canada's true North.

John A. Macdonald, who oversaw Canada's acquisition of our vast lands to the North and West, was the first to apply the "use it or lose it" principle of sovereignty.

Macdonald said, and I quote: "Were we so faint-hearted as not to take possession of it, the Americans would be only too glad of the opportunity [to] hoist the American flag."

And so he assured our possession over the arctic claims of Britain, just as he had created the North-West mounted police, the predecessor of today's RCMP.

Half a century ago Prime Minister John Diefenbaker extolled his Northern vision.

He foresaw that Canada's future development and prosperity would depend on efficient transportation networks linking Northern resources to Southern markets.

"Roads to resources," he called them.

And so he built, among others, our northernmost road – the 700-kilometre Dempster highway from Yukon to the Mackenzie River delta.

The opposition of the day has always dismissed such initiatives as unnecessary, fanciful and wasteful, and history has always proven them wrong.

That is why our government established a strategy for the North, and why we have already taken a number of steps to affirm our presence and sovereignty in the Canadian Arctic.

In our first two budgets, for example, we have taken strong measures to strengthen the ability of our territorial governments to deliver services to Northerners, with particular emphasis on Northern housing for First Nations and Inuit.

We're expanding our military and coast guard presence into the High Arctic and improving our surveillance capacity, including strengthening the Arctic Rangers.

We are stepping up our environmental activities and increasing the number of protected areas, as reflected in our recent announcement concerning a massive expansion of the Nahanni National Park Reserve in the Northwest Territories.

And to mark International Polar Year, we are enhancing research in the High Arctic.

These research activities will help confirm our unassailable ownership of the Arctic Archipelago and the waters around them, including the Northwest Passage, along with the resources that lie beneath the land, sea and ice.

We will now proceed with the first ever comprehensive mapping of Canada's Arctic sea bed, as well as the establishment of a world-class research station to be located in the Arctic itself.

It will become the hub of our scientific activities in the North, gathering knowledge that will support our sovereignty and assist with resource development and environmental protection.

Mr. Speaker, the other Arctic nations already have most of these capabilities.

And under our watch, Canada will not be left behind when it comes to our Arctic.

I should add, Mr. Speaker, that many of my colleagues will be working on these Northern initiatives, led by the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, who has done such a terrific job of getting Canadian agriculture [*sic?*] back on track.

Of course, our role in the world is not just about our own sovereignty. It is also about effective action beyond our borders, in concert with our friends in the international community.

And we cannot be completely effective in either of these respects without solid, well-led and well-equipped armed forces.

That's why our government will continue rebuilding our long-neglected military, so our men and women in uniform are able to do the work we ask them to do, at home and abroad, as safely and effectively as possible. ...





## 7. *Canada's Northern Strategy: Our North, Our Heritage, Our Future*, July 2009

Ottawa, Ontario

Message from the Honourable Chuck Strahl, P.C., M.P. Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Federal Interlocutor for Métis and Non-Status Indians

*Canada is a Northern nation. The North is a fundamental part of our heritage and our national identity, and it is vital to our future. The North is home to many Inuit and other Aboriginal peoples, as well as those drawn there from around the world. Our government recognizes the tremendous opportunities – as well as the many challenges – that exist in the North today. That is why we are allocating more resources and attention to Northern issues than at any time in our country's history.*

*We have a clear vision for the North and are working to ensure the region achieves its rightful place within a strong and sovereign Canada. This document and the Government's related web site provide an overview of our integrated Northern Strategy, elaborating on our overarching vision, the four pillars of our strategy, and our significant activities to date throughout the North, including major investments made as a part of Canada's Economic Action Plan.*

*Canada's Northern Strategy focuses on four priority areas: exercising our Arctic sovereignty; promoting social and economic development; protecting the North's environmental heritage; and improving and devolving northern governance, so that Northerners have a greater say in their own destiny.*

*We are taking concrete action to deliver on our vision for the North, and to fulfill our promises. I am proud of our Government's achievements on this vital initiative, and look forward to contributing to an even greater future for a region so central to Canada's character and identity.*

## OUR NORTH, OUR HERITAGE

### Introduction

*Canada's far North is a fundamental part of Canada – it is part of our heritage, our future and our identity as a country. The North is undergoing rapid changes, from the impacts of climate change to the growth of Northern and Aboriginal governments and institutions. At the same time, domestic and international interest in the Arctic region is rising. This growing interest underscores the importance of Canada to exert effective leadership both at home and abroad in order to promote a prosperous and stable region responsive to Canadian interests and values.*

The Government of Canada has a clear vision for the North, in which:

- self-reliant individuals live in healthy, vital communities, manage their own affairs and shape their own destinies;
- the Northern tradition of respect for the land and the environment is paramount and the principles of responsible and sustainable development anchor all decision-making and action;
- strong, responsible, accountable governments work together for a vibrant, prosperous future for all – a place whose people and governments are significant contributing partners to a dynamic, secure Canadian federation; and
- we patrol and protect our territory through enhanced presence on the land, in the sea and over the skies of the Arctic.

We are achieving this vision by delivering an integrated **Northern Strategy** based on four equally important and mutually reinforcing priorities:

- Exercising our Arctic Sovereignty
- Promoting Social and Economic Development
- Protecting our Environmental Heritage
- Improving and Devolving Northern Governance

The Government recognizes what must be done to secure the future of Canada's North, for the benefit of all Canadians, and is taking concrete action to turn this vision for the North into reality. We are moving much further – and much faster – to prepare for the challenges and opportunities of the 21st century.

*“We are a northern country. The True North is our destiny – for our explorers, for our entrepreneurs, for our artists. To not embrace the promise of the True North, now, at the dawn of its ascendancy, would be to turn our backs on what it is to be Canadian.”* -- Prime Minister Stephen Harper, August 2008, Inuvik, Northwest Territories

The North is central to the Canadian national identity. The longstanding presence of Inuit and other Aboriginal peoples and the legacy of generations of explorers and researchers are fundamental to our history. Our ability to meet the opportunities and challenges currently facing the North will shape our future.

Canada's North is first and foremost about people – the Inuit, other Aboriginal peoples and Northerners who have made the North their home, and the Canadians in other parts of the country who recognize how central it is to our shared heritage and our destiny as a nation.

Inuit – which means “people” in Inuktitut – have occupied Canada's Arctic lands and waterways for millennia. Long before the arrival of Europeans, Inuit hunters, fishers and their families moved with the seasons and developed a unique culture and way of life deeply rooted in the vast land. Our nation's strong presence in the Arctic

today is due in large part to the contributions of Inuit, who continue to inhabit the North.

The lands just south of the Arctic Circle have been occupied for thousands of years by the ancestors of today's Aboriginal peoples including the Dene, Gwich'in, Cree and Métis. Today, these Aboriginal peoples live in communities across the Yukon, southern Northwest Territories and northern border regions of mainland provinces. Over the past two hundred years, non-Aboriginal residents from southern Canada and other parts of the world have also chosen to make the North their home.

### **The Arctic on the cusp of change**

Just a few decades ago, federally appointed Commissioners oversaw decisions about all aspects of life in the North. Today, federal and territorial governments are working in partnership as the territories take on jurisdictional powers and responsibilities similar to those of the provinces.

Aboriginal people throughout the North have negotiated land claim and self-government agreements that give them the institutions and resources to achieve greater self-sufficiency. The increasing political maturity and certainty in the North are helping to encourage private sector companies to explore and develop the region's vast natural resources and to diversify the region's economies.

From the development of world-class diamond mines and massive oil and gas reserves, to the growth of commercial fisheries, to a thriving tourism industry that attracts visitors from around the globe, the enormous economic potential of the North is being unlocked. Areas that require urgent attention – such as infrastructure, housing and education – are being addressed to help ensure Northerners are positioned to seize these unprecedented opportunities.

International interest in the North has intensified because of the potential for resource development, the opening of new transportation routes, and the growing impacts of climate change. In September 2007, satellite imaging verified that the Northwest Passage had less than 10 percent ice coverage, making it, by definition, “fully navigable” for several weeks. This was well ahead of most recent forecasts. Although the Northwest Passage is not expected to become a safe or reliable transportation route in the near future, reduced ice coverage and longer periods of navigability may result in an increased number of ships undertaking destination travel for tourism, natural resource exploration or development.

The effects of environmental change, such as shifting and melting permafrost, melting glaciers, shrinking ocean ice and a shortened season for ice roads could have significant cultural and economic consequences for the people of the North, and the entire nation. Furthermore, new development projects may increase the number of pollutants, threatening Northerners' health and the region's fragile ecosystems.

Few countries are more directly affected by changes in the Arctic climate – or have as much at stake – as Canada. We have an important role to play in the ongoing stewardship of the Canadian Arctic, its vast resources and its potential.

## Exercising Our Arctic Sovereignty

Canada's Arctic sovereignty is longstanding, well established and based on historic title, founded in part on the presence of Inuit and other Aboriginal peoples since time immemorial. However, in a dynamic and changing Arctic, exercising our sovereignty includes maintaining a strong presence in the North, enhancing our stewardship of the region, defining our domain and advancing our knowledge of the region.

### Strengthening our Arctic presence

The Government of Canada is firmly asserting its presence in the North, ensuring we have the capability and capacity to protect and patrol the land, sea and sky in our sovereign Arctic territory. We are putting more boots on the Arctic tundra, more ships in the icy water and a better eye-in-the-sky.

*“The geopolitical importance of the North and Canada’s interest in it have never been greater. That is why this government launched an ambitious Northern agenda, based on the timeless responsibility so elegantly captured by our national anthem – to keep the True North strong and free.” -- Prime Minister Stephen Harper, 2008*

Significant investments in new capabilities on the land include establishing an Army Training Centre in Resolute Bay on the shore of the Northwest Passage, and expanding and modernizing the Canadian Rangers – a Reserve Force responsible for providing military presence and surveillance and for assisting with search and rescue in remote, isolated and coastal communities of Northern Canada.

In the sea we are establishing a deep-water berthing and fueling facility in Nanisivik and procuring a new polar icebreaker, the largest and most powerful icebreaker ever in the Canadian Coast Guard fleet. This vessel will be named in honour of the late Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker. We are further bolstering Canada's Arctic-capable fleet by investing in new patrol ships capable of sustained operations in first-year ice. These ships will be able to patrol the length of the Northwest Passage during the navigable season and its approaches year-round. Polar Epsilon, National Defence's space-based wide area surveillance and support program, will use RADARSAT II to provide the Canadian Forces with greater capacity to monitor Canada and its Maritime Boundary.

The Canadian Forces, in cooperation with other federal departments and agencies, will continue to undertake operations in the North, such as Operation NANOOK, conduct regular patrols for surveillance and security purposes, monitor and control Northern airspace as part of North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD), and maintain the signals intelligence receiving facility at CFS Alert, the most northern permanently inhabited settlement in the world. Defence Research and Development Canada will continue to explore options for cost-effective Arctic monitoring systems, building on the current Northern Watch Technology Demonstration Project.

## **Enhancing our stewardship**

Canada is taking concrete measures to protect our Arctic waters by introducing new ballast water control regulations that will reduce the risk of vessels releasing harmful aquatic species and pathogens into our waters. We also amended the *Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act* to extend the application of the Act from 100 to 200 nautical miles from our coastline, the full extent of our exclusive economic zone as recognized under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. This amendment gives us pollution prevention enforcement jurisdiction over an additional half million square kilometres of our waters. In addition, we are establishing new regulations under the *Canada Shipping Act, 2001* to require all vessels entering Canadian Arctic waters to report to the Canadian Coast Guard's NORDREG reporting system. And finally, Canada is working with Northern communities and governments to ensure that its search and rescue capacity meets the needs of an ever-changing North.

## **Defining our domain and advancing our knowledge of the Arctic**

Canada's North is a vast region still yet to be fully mapped and studied. As a result of the ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), Canada is in the process of conducting scientific studies to determine the full extent of our continental shelf as defined under UNCLOS. This research will ensure Canada secures recognition for the maximum extent of its continental shelf in both the Arctic and Atlantic oceans when we present our submission to the United Nations Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf by the end of 2013. This process, while lengthy, is not adversarial and is not a race. Rather, it is a collaborative process based on a shared commitment to international law. Canada is working with Denmark, Russia and the United States to undertake this scientific work.

Canada's sovereignty over its Arctic lands and islands is undisputed, with the exception of Hans Island, which is claimed by Denmark. The dispute regarding Hans Island is on a diplomatic track following the Joint Statement of September 2005 between Canada and Denmark. This dispute is only about the island, not about the waters, seabed, or the control of navigation. Managed disagreements exist between the United States and Canada regarding the maritime boundary in the Beaufort Sea and between Canada and Denmark over part of the maritime boundary in the Lincoln Sea. The United States and Canada disagree about the legal status of the various waterways known as the Northwest Passage. All of these disagreements are well-managed and pose no sovereignty or defence challenges for Canada. In fact, they have had no impact on Canada's ability to work collaboratively and cooperatively with the United States, Denmark or other Arctic neighbours on issues of real significance and importance. Canada will continue to manage these discrete disputes and may seek to resolve them in the future, in accordance with international law.

## **The human dimension**

Northerners have an important role to play in shaping regional priorities and actions. At the Arctic Council, for example, Canada works closely with the six international indigenous peoples groups that have Permanent Participant status – three of which have strong roots in Canada: the Arctic Athabaskan Council, the Gwich'in Council International, and the Inuit Circumpolar Council.

## **Promoting Social and Economic Development**

Economic and social development in the North helps ensure that the vast potential of the Arctic region is realized in a sustainable way and that Northerners participate in and benefit from development. Working together with Northerners, the Northern Strategy is helping to build self-sufficient, vibrant, and healthy Northern communities.

## **Supporting Economic Development**

Economic development is aided by effective institutions and transparent and predictable rules. New investments are being made to establish key institutions of economic development and improve the regulatory environment under which development can occur. In order to strengthen support for economic activity, a new economic development agency for the North is being established. A core activity for this agency will be delivering the renewed Strategic Investments in Northern Economic Development program.

The Government of Canada is introducing measures to ensure that regulatory systems across the North protect the environment in a predictable, effective and efficient manner. Efforts such as the Northern Regulatory Improvement Initiative are helping resolve the complex approval process for development projects, to ensure new projects can get up and running quickly and efficiently.

Mining activities and major projects such as the Mackenzie Gas Project are the cornerstones of sustained economic activity in the North and the key to building prosperous Aboriginal and Northern communities. Diamond mining in the North is now a \$2-billion-per-year industry, which is about half of the economy of the Northwest Territories. The Mackenzie Gas Project – now estimated at over \$16 billion – will provide direct benefits to Aboriginal communities through the development of a new model for Aboriginal participation. The Aboriginal Pipeline Group will provide for Aboriginal participation in the developing economy, notably through an ownership position in the Project. In addition to on-shore exploration and development there is renewed interest in the off-shore, including a new era of oil and gas exploration in the deeper waters of the Beaufort Sea. Canada will continue to support the sustainable development of these strategic resource endowments.

The large-scale projects already underway barely scratch the surface of the North's immense store of mineral, petroleum, hydro and ocean resources. However, the full

extent of the natural resources potential in the Arctic is still unknown. The Government of Canada announced a significant new geo-mapping effort – Geo-Mapping for Energy and Minerals – that will combine the latest technology and geoscientific analysis methods to build our understanding of the geology of Canada’s North, including in the Canadian Arctic Archipelago. The results of this work will highlight areas of mineral and petroleum potential, lead to more effective private sector exploration investment and create employment opportunities in the North.

The North is also home to vast renewable and cultural resources that make important contributions to its economy and society. The Government is providing increased funding for tourism promotion and for local and community cultural and heritage institutions. In Nunavut, for example, the Government is helping to establish the Piqqisilirivvik cultural facility in Clyde River where students will participate in Inuit cultural programs and study many elements of traditional land-based knowledge.

### **Addressing critical infrastructure needs**

Modern public infrastructure will contribute to a stronger economy, a cleaner environment, and safer and more prosperous communities in the North. Northerners also need crucial infrastructure to move their goods to markets in southern Canada and other parts of the globe.

The three territories have very different economies and very different infrastructure requirements, which is why Canada is working closely with the territorial governments to develop tailored responses to local needs. With this reality in mind, stemming from a joint report by Fisheries and Oceans Canada and the Government of Nunavut, a commercial fisheries harbour is being constructed in Pangnirtung to help support the development of fisheries in the territory. Territorial governments and communities in the North are benefitting greatly from investments in a range of infrastructure programs, including Broadband, Recreational and Green infrastructure, to lay a much-needed foundation for a growing North. Together, these investments contribute to a stronger economy, a cleaner environment and more prosperous communities.

### **Supporting Northerners’ well-being**

In order to support healthy and vibrant communities, the Government of Canada today provides annual unconditional funding of almost \$2.5 billion to the territories through Territorial Formula Financing, which enables territorial governments to fund programs and services such as hospitals, schools, infrastructure and social services. We are also addressing the need for housing, health care, skills development and other services through targeted investments. Working with the territories, significant investments have been made to improve the quality and availability of housing, particularly in Nunavut where core housing need is the greatest. These

investments are helping reduce the problems of overcrowding and substandard housing and improving the health and well-being of Northerners.

To ensure Northern citizens develop the skills, knowledge and credentials they need to excel in a fast-changing economy, we have invested in a range of supportive programs. The successful Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership initiative, for example, is a tripartite initiative involving the federal government, Aboriginal groups and industry to create sustainable employment for Aboriginal people across Canada in major industries like mining, oil and gas, and hydro-electricity.

The Canada Social Transfer provides territories with substantial on-going and growing funding in support of social programs, including programs for children and for post-secondary education. The territories also receive federal support for targeted initiatives to address specific challenges in the North, such as for labour market training, infrastructure and community development, and for clean air and climate change.

*“As a government, we are proud of our recent and ongoing efforts to support territorial governments, Aboriginal communities and Northern business leaders as they generate genuine economic and social development throughout the North. And I can assure everyone throughout the North that we will continue to meet with them, listen to them and work with them to help fulfill the promise of this rich, beautiful and distinctly Canadian region.”* -- Chuck Strahl, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, August 18, 2008

Together with the territorial governments, we are making progress to ensure territorial health systems are more responsive to Northerners’ needs, patient wait times are reduced and community level access to services is improved. Through the Territorial Health Systems Sustainability Initiative we are working with the territories to reduce reliance on outside health care systems and medical travel. Through the Canada Health Transfer, the territories receive significant, long-term and growing federal funding in support of health care, as well as targeted funding to reduce health care wait times. We will continue to work collaboratively with Northerners on issues such as health promotion and disease prevention, supported by a strong evidence-base on Northern health issues, to improve health outcomes, reduce inequalities and foster self-reliant individuals living in healthy, vibrant communities. We are also continuing to ensure Northerners in remote and isolated communities have access to good quality, nutritious food at affordable prices.

*“Our Government recognizes the importance of the North. Through Canada’s Economic Action Plan and our Northern Strategy, we have taken significant steps towards helping this critical region flourish.”* -- Leona Aglukkak, Minister of Health, Regional Minister responsible for the North and Member of Parliament for Nunavut, July 12, 2009

We have provided strengthened support to Canada's university granting councils for research in support of industrial innovation, health priorities, and social and economic development in the North, and are establishing graduate student fellowships on Canada's role in the circumpolar world. Increasing our understanding of and attention to Arctic human health issues continues to be an emerging priority among circumpolar countries. Canada has been at the forefront of these issues and will continue to support domestic and international research on Arctic human health.

### **Protecting our Environmental Heritage**

Visitors from every corner of the globe are drawn to Canada's North because of its spectacular scenery, unique fish and wildlife and unequalled opportunities to explore its Arctic wilderness. However, the North also has fragile and unique ecosystems which are being negatively affected by the impacts of climate change. Canada is committed to helping ensure these ecosystems are safeguarded for future generations.

### **Being a global leader in Arctic science**

Science and technology form an important foundation for Canada's Northern Strategy priorities and provide the knowledge necessary for sound policy and decision-making. Canada made the largest single contribution of any country to International Polar Year (IPY) 2007-2008, the largest-ever global program dedicated to polar research. Scientific research carried out as part of IPY focused on two key priorities: climate change impacts and adaptation; and the health and wellbeing of Northerners and Northern communities. Aboriginal people and Northerners played a significant role in the planning, coordination and implementation of IPY and were actively engaged in science and research activities. Canada's IPY investments helped mobilize the participation of hundreds of new researchers, including 90 from Canada's North. Training the next generation of specialists is a key legacy of IPY, so that we can build on the world-class science being conducted today and secure expertise for the Arctic of tomorrow.

Through scientific collaboration with organizations such as the United Nations, World Meteorological Organization, International Maritime Organization and the Arctic Council, Canada is building the baseline of knowledge on the Arctic environment and forming important partnerships around the world.

To ensure Canada remains a global leader in Arctic science, the Government of Canada committed to establish a new world-class research station in the High Arctic. There have been extensive consultations at home and abroad about the role of this new research facility and a feasibility study is being conducted to determine where the facility will be located. Our vision is that the new Arctic research station will serve as the hub for scientific activity in our vast and diverse Arctic. To that end, an Arctic

Research Infrastructure Fund has been established to upgrade other key research facilities across our North.

### **Protecting Northern lands and waters**

Canada is taking a comprehensive approach to the protection of environmentally sensitive lands and waters in our North, ensuring conservation is keeping pace with development. In the Northwest Territories, Canada has protected large areas from development through land withdrawals and work is underway on a number of conservation initiatives such as the creation of new national parks in the East Arm of Great Slave Lake and in the Sahtú Settlement Area. Canada also committed to a major expansion of the Nahanni National Park Reserve – the world’s first UNESCO world heritage site.

Together with Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, Canada announced the establishment of three new National Wildlife Areas on and around Baffin Island to protect local species and habitat, including the bowhead whale. The Land Claim Agreement with the Inuit of Labrador gave national park status to the Torngat Mountains National Park Reserve of Canada, creating a new national park in the Arctic wilderness of Labrador.

The North also benefits from Canada’s Health of the Oceans initiative, which strengthens the ability of Northern communities to respond to pollution and fosters greater cooperation with domestic and global partners for integrated ecosystems-based oceans management. We are increasing our protection of the marine environment, including fish and fish habitat. One important marine protection initiative is our work towards the establishment of a national marine conservation area in Lancaster Sound, one of the most ecologically significant marine areas in the circumpolar Arctic. Transport Canada continues to assess Canada’s capacity to respond to marine pollution in the Arctic and ensure that the Canadian Coast Guard and communities have the necessary equipment and response systems in place for emergencies.

Just as important are our clean-up programs to repair or remediate environmental damage at abandoned mines and other contaminated sites throughout the North. We have learned from past mistakes. Any company now undertaking industrial development in the North must undertake a rigorous environmental assessment, establish a site closure and remediation plan, meet standards for operational and environmental safety and satisfy the requirements of various laws including the *Fisheries Act*.

### **Improving and Devolving Northern Governance**

In the past few decades Northern governments have taken on greater responsibility for many aspects of their region’s affairs. One exception was control over lands and resource management, which stayed with the federal government. In April 2003, Yukon became the first territory to take over these responsibilities,

putting decisionmaking over its resources squarely in the hands of Yukon citizens. We are making progress toward a similar devolution agreement-in-principle in the Northwest Territories. In Nunavut, we have been working closely with the territorial government and Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated to study the issues relating to devolution and have developed a protocol for future negotiations.

### **Made-in-the-North policies and strategies**

Canada's North is home to some of the most innovative, consultative approaches to government in Canada and the world. Through land claim and self-government agreements, Aboriginal communities are developing made-in-the-North policies and strategies to address their unique economic and social challenges and opportunities. Today, 11 of 14 Yukon First Nations have signed self-government agreements. A majority of the Northwest Territories is covered by Comprehensive Land Claims Agreements that give Aboriginal people the authority to manage their lands and resources. The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement led to the creation of Canada's newest territory in 1999, providing Inuit of the Eastern Arctic with some 350,000 square kilometers in the largest Aboriginal land claim settlement in Canadian history.

We've seen similar progress on agreements with Inuit living in Labrador and in the Nunavik region of Northern Quebec. The Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement, the first modern-day treaty of its kind in Atlantic Canada, provides Inuit in Labrador with defined rights and territory in northern Labrador. The Inuit of Nunavik Agreement-in-Principle, signed in August 2007, created a new form of public regional government adapted to the needs of the people of Nunavik. The Nunavik Inuit Land Agreement came into effect in July 2008.

### **Providing the right tools**

To build on this progress, Canada and the territories are working closely with First Nations, Métis and Inuit to address pressing issues, implement past agreements and conclude new ones – including outstanding land claims and self-government agreements – more quickly.

We are also providing significant financial resources to territorial governments through Territorial Formula Financing in recognition of the unique issues faced by Northern governments, including the enormous challenge of serving a small population in communities spread over vast distances.

Recognizing that all regions of the North are at various stages of political development, Canada is committed to continuing to work with all its partners to advance practical, innovative and efficient governance models.

### **The International Dimension of our Northern Strategy**

Canada has a strong history of working with our northern neighbours to promote Canadian interests internationally and advance our role as a responsible Arctic nation.

Through an Arctic foreign policy, Canada is supporting the international dimension of all four pillars of the Northern Strategy, engaging international partners and advancing Canadian priorities bilaterally, multilaterally and through the Arctic Council.

### **Our Arctic partners**

The Arctic Ocean connects us in new ways to our neighbours in the Arctic region. Cooperation, diplomacy and international law have always been Canada's preferred approach in the Arctic. As international interest in the region increases, effective Canadian stewardship of our sovereign territory and the active promotion of Canadian interests internationally are more important than ever before. We continue to work closely with our Arctic partners to achieve our common goals for the region as we advance our priorities at home.

The United States remains an exceptionally valuable partner in the Arctic. Canada and the United States share a number of common interests in the Arctic, such as environmental stewardship, sustainable resource development and safety and security – including effective search and rescue services. We have a long history of effective collaboration and cooperation with the United States and continue to deepen cooperation on emerging Arctic issues, bilaterally and through the Arctic Council and other multilateral institutions.

The Memorandum of Understanding signed between the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Canada and the Russian Ministry of Regional Development to examine cooperative projects with Indigenous Peoples is a recent example of Canada's bilateral efforts with Russia, which include new trading relationships and transportation routes, environmental protection and indigenous issues.

We also have common interests with, and things to learn from, our other Arctic neighbours – Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Iceland. Our annual Northern Dialogue with Norway, for instance, covers issues such as climate change adaptation, oil and gas development, oceans management and scientific cooperation. We are also working with non-Arctic states on Arctic issues. For example, Canada and the United Kingdom signed a Memorandum of Understanding for cooperation in polar research.

### **The Arctic Council**

The Arctic Council is an important venue for deepening global understanding of the Arctic and has played a key role in developing a common agenda among Arctic states. Canada was the first Chair of the Arctic Council and has been active in all of its working groups. Canada played a lead role, along with partnering nations, in the Arctic Council's *Arctic Human Development Report*, the *Oil and Gas Assessment* and the *Arctic Marine Shipping Assessment*. Canada will chair the Council again in 2013. Until that time, we are committed to ensuring the Arctic Council has the necessary

strength, resources and influence to respond effectively to emerging challenges affecting the Arctic and its inhabitants.

There are other forums that provide opportunities to raise Arctic issues. These include scientific bodies working to establish an international legacy for International Polar Year, discussions and negotiations at the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, and the International Maritime Organization where guidelines are being developed for Ships Operating in Arctic Ice-covered Waters.

Canada will continue to strengthen our domestic and international partnerships to ensure we are able to seize opportunities and address challenges in the Arctic region.

### **The Ilulissat Declaration**

In May 2008, Ministers representing the five Arctic Ocean coastal states – Canada, Denmark, Norway, Russia and the United States – adopted the Ilulissat Declaration. This declaration acknowledges the unique ecosystems of the Arctic Ocean and recalls that an existing extensive legal framework applies to the Arctic Ocean. Notably, the Law of the Sea provides for important rights and obligations on a wide range of issues. This framework provides a solid foundation for responsible management by the five Arctic Ocean coastal states and other users of this Ocean. The five coastal states remain committed to this legal framework and to the orderly settlement of any possible overlapping claims.

*“The Government of Canada is dedicated to ensuring that the international spotlight stays focused on the challenges and opportunities facing the Arctic. We are committed to representing the interests of Canadians as we implement the international dimension of the Northern Strategy. Building a strong Canadian North is an essential part of building our nation, an expression of our deepest aspirations.” -- Lawrence Cannon, Minister of Foreign Affairs March 11, 2009*

### **Our North, Our Future**

Canada’s North is at the very heart of Canadian identity. Canada’s future is intimately tied to the future of the North. The Government of Canada recognizes its responsibility to preserve and protect Canada’s rich Northern heritage in the face of new challenges and opportunities. We are working in partnership with Northerners and demonstrating our commitment to the North both at home and abroad.

Canada’s Northern Strategy sets out a clear action plan for the North that will leave a lasting legacy and enrich the lives of Canadians for generations to come.



## *8. Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy: Exercising Sovereignty and Promoting Canada's Northern Strategy Abroad, 20 August 2010*

Ottawa, Ontario

Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade

### **Introduction**

The Arctic is fundamental to Canada's national identity. It is home to many Canadians, including indigenous peoples, across the Yukon, the Northwest Territories and Nunavut, and the northern parts of many Canadian provinces. The Arctic is embedded in Canadian history and culture, and in the Canadian soul. The Arctic also represents tremendous potential for Canada's future. Exercising sovereignty over Canada's North, as over the rest of Canada, is our number one Arctic foreign policy priority.

Our vision for the Arctic is a stable, rules-based region with clearly defined boundaries, dynamic economic growth and trade, vibrant Northern communities, and healthy and productive ecosystems. This Arctic foreign policy statement articulates how the Government of Canada will promote this vision, using leadership and stewardship. It elaborates on Canadian interests in the Arctic and how Canada is pursuing these.

New opportunities and challenges are emerging across the Arctic and North, in part as a result of climate change and the search for new resources. The geopolitical significance of the region and the implications for Canada have never been greater. As global commerce charts a path to the region, Northern resources development will grow ever more critical to Northern economies, to the peoples of the North and to our country as a whole. The potential of the North is of growing interest to Canada, to other Arctic states and, increasingly, to others far from the region itself.

While the opportunities are great, there are also important social, economic and environmental challenges. Some of these have important international dimensions. Over time, increased access to the Arctic will bring more traffic and people to the region. While mostly positive, this access may also contribute to an increase in environmental threats, search and rescue incidents, civil emergencies and potential illegal activities. How the region as a whole evolves will have major implications for Canada and our role as an Arctic power.

The Government of Canada has launched an ambitious Northern Strategy to respond to these opportunities and challenges. Our Northern Strategy lays out four areas where Canada is taking action to advance its interests both domestically and internationally and to help unlock the North's true potential: exercising sovereignty; promoting economic and social development; protecting our environmental heritage; and improving and devolving Northern governance. In pursuing each of these pillars

in our Arctic foreign policy, Canada is committed to exercising the full extent of its sovereignty, sovereign rights and jurisdiction in the region.

*“The geopolitical importance of the Arctic and Canada’s interests in it have never been greater. This is why our government has launched an ambitious Northern Agenda based on the timeless responsibility imposed by our national anthem, to keep the True North strong and free.”*

-- Prime Minister Stephen Harper, August 28, 2008,  
Inuvik, Northwest Territories

Given our extensive Arctic coastline, our Northern energy and natural resource potential, and the 40 percent of our land mass situated in the North, Canada is an Arctic power. We are taking a robust leadership role in shaping the stewardship, sustainable development and environmental protection of this strategic Arctic region, and engaging with others to advance our interests.

As we advance the four pillars of our Northern Strategy, our international efforts will focus on the following areas:

- engaging with neighbours to seek to resolve boundary issues;
- securing international recognition for the full extent of our extended continental shelf;
- addressing Arctic governance and related emerging issues, such as public safety;
- creating the appropriate international conditions for sustainable development;
- seeking trade and investment opportunities that benefit Northerners and all Canadians;
- encouraging a greater understanding of the human dimension of the Arctic;
- promoting an ecosystem-based management approach with Arctic neighbours and others;
- contributing to and supporting international efforts to address climate change in the Arctic;
- enhancing our efforts on other pressing environmental issues;
- strengthening Arctic science and the legacy of International Polar Year;
- engaging Northerners on Canada’s Arctic foreign policy;
- supporting Indigenous Permanent Participant organizations; and
- providing Canadian youth with opportunities to participate in the circumpolar dialogue.

## **Exercising Sovereignty**

In our Arctic foreign policy, the first and most important pillar towards recognizing the potential of Canada’s Arctic is the exercise of our sovereignty over the

Far North. Canada has a rich history in the North, and Canada's sovereignty is the foundation for realizing the full potential of Canada's North, including its human dimension. This foundation is solid: Canada's Arctic sovereignty is long-standing, well established and based on historic title, founded in part on the presence of Inuit and other indigenous peoples since time immemorial.

*"In exercising our sovereignty ... we are not only fulfilling our duty to the people who called this northern frontier home, and to the generations that will follow; we are also being faithful to all who came before us ..."* Prime Minister Stephen Harper, August 28, 2008, Inuvik, NWT

Canada exercises its sovereignty daily through good governance and responsible stewardship. It does so through the broad range of actions it undertakes as a government—whether related to social and economic development, Arctic science and research, environmental protection, the operations of the Canadian Forces or the activities of the Canadian Coast Guard and Royal Canadian Mounted Police. We exercise our sovereignty in the Arctic through our laws and regulations, as we do throughout Canada.

We are putting the full resources of the Government of Canada behind the exercise of our sovereignty, sovereign rights and jurisdiction in the Arctic. We are taking a whole-of-government approach. Since taking office, the Prime Minister and many federal cabinet ministers have made regular visits to Canada's North. Further evidence of the priority the Government of Canada is placing on the North was the meeting of G-7 finance ministers in Nunavut in February 2010.

Since 2007, the Government of Canada has announced a number of initiatives to enhance our capacity in the North and to exercise, responsibly, our sovereignty there. These include significant new commitments to allow Canada to better monitor, protect and patrol its Arctic land, sea and sky and to keep pace with changes in the region.

Within the next decade, Canada will launch a new polar icebreaker. This will be the largest and most powerful icebreaker ever in the Canadian Coast Guard fleet.

The *Canada First* Defence Strategy will give the Canadian Forces the tools it needs to provide an increased presence in the Arctic. Through this strategy, Canada is investing in new patrol ships that will be capable of sustained operation in first-year ice to ensure we can closely monitor our waters as they gradually open up and maritime activity increases. In order to support these and other Government of Canada vessels operating in the North, Canada is investing in a berthing and refuelling facility in Nanisivik.

Canada is also expanding the size and capabilities of the Canadian Rangers, drawn primarily from indigenous communities, that provide a military presence and Canada's "eyes and ears" in remote parts of Canada. A new Canadian Forces Arctic Training Centre is also being established in Resolute Bay.

Canada and the United States work together to better monitor and control Northern airspace through our cooperation in NORAD, the North American Aerospace Defence Command. Canadian Forces will also take advantage of new technologies to enhance surveillance capacity of our territory and its approaches.

Canadian Forces Operation Nanook, an annual sovereignty operation that takes place in Canada's Arctic, shows the government's commitment to protecting and demonstrating control over the air, land and sea within our jurisdiction. In 2010, Operation Nanook will include collaboration with the United States and Denmark in order to increase interoperability and exercise a collective response to emerging cross-border challenges.

This increased Canadian capacity demonstrates Canada's presence in the region and will also ensure that we are better prepared to respond to unforeseen events.

Moving forward, our international agenda will complement these efforts further. Three priority areas that Canada will pursue in the Arctic are: seeking to resolve boundary issues; securing international recognition for the full extent of our extended continental shelf wherein we can exercise our sovereign rights over the resources of the seabed and subsoil; and addressing Arctic governance and related emerging issues, such as public safety.

**On the first priority,** Canada will seek to resolve boundary issues in the Arctic region, in accordance with international law. Our sovereignty over Canadian Arctic lands, including islands, is undisputed—with the single exception of Hans Island, a 1.3-square-kilometre Canadian island which Denmark claims.

With regard to Arctic waters, Canada controls all maritime navigation in its waters. Nevertheless, disagreements exist between the United States and Canada regarding the maritime boundary in the Beaufort Sea (approximately 6,250 square nautical miles) and between Canada and Denmark over a small part of the maritime boundary in the Lincoln Sea. All disagreements are well managed, neither posing defence challenges for Canada nor diminishing Canada's ability to collaborate and cooperate with its Arctic neighbours. Canada will continue to manage these discrete boundary issues and will also, as a priority, seek to work with our neighbours to explore the possibility of resolving them in accordance with international law.

**On the second priority,** Canada will secure international recognition for the full extent of our extended continental shelf wherein we can exercise our sovereign rights over the resources of the seabed and subsoil. Most known Arctic natural resources lie within the exclusive economic zones of Arctic states—200 nautical miles extending from the coastal baselines. States have sovereign rights to explore and exploit living and non-living marine resources in their respective exclusive economic zones. Arctic coastal states also have existing rights to resources on their extended continental shelves beyond their exclusive economic zones.

The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) explicitly recognizes the rights of coastal states such as Canada over the natural resources of the seabed and subsoil beyond 200 nautical miles from their coastal baselines and sets out

a process by which a state may determine the limits within which it may exercise those rights. Canada will make its submission to the United Nations Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf in December 2013 and is currently engaged in the scientific, technical and legal work needed to delineate the outer limits of its continental shelf. Autonomous underwater vehicles—with Canadian technology at their heart—are being used to collect some of the needed data. Canada is investing significantly to ensure that Canada secures international recognition for the full extent of its continental shelf in both the Arctic and Atlantic oceans.

The other Arctic coastal states also have extended continental shelves and are involved in a similar process. To maximize data collection in a challenging physical environment, encourage exchange of information and minimize future differences, Canada has been working closely with neighbouring Arctic Ocean coastal states. We will act on a priority basis to ensure Canada has a sound submission by the 2013 deadline. Any overlaps with the submissions of neighbouring states will be resolved through peaceful means in accordance with international law.

**Beyond concrete steps** on boundaries, Canada's sovereignty agenda will also address Arctic governance and related emerging issues, such as public safety. Increasingly, the world is turning its attention northward, with many players far removed from the region itself seeking a role and in some cases calling into question the governance of the Arctic. While many of these players could have a contribution to make in the development of the North, Canada does not accept the premise that the Arctic requires a fundamentally new governance structure or legal framework. Nor does Canada accept that the Arctic nation states are unable to appropriately manage the North as it undergoes fundamental change

Canada, like other Arctic nations, stands by the extensive international legal framework that applies to the Arctic Ocean. Notably, UNCLOS, as referred to earlier, provides the legal basis for delineation of continental shelves and goes well beyond this to address the protection of the marine environment, freedom of navigation, marine scientific research, conservation and utilization of marine living resources, and other uses of the sea

However, within this broad legal framework, new challenges are emerging. Until now, the Arctic Ocean's inaccessibility has meant that the region was largely insulated from the sort of safety and law enforcement challenges present in regions further south. However, decreasing ice cover will lead, over time, to increases in shipping, tourism and economic development in the Arctic Ocean region. While the full extent of the changes will take many decades to realize, Canada and other Arctic Ocean coastal states must begin to prepare for greater traffic into the region, with sometimes negative effects.

Regional solutions, supported by robust domestic legislation in Arctic states, will be critical. Canada will work in concert with other Arctic nations through the Arctic

Council<sup>1</sup> (the primary forum for collaboration among the eight Arctic states), with the five Arctic Ocean coastal states on issues of particular relevance to the Arctic Ocean, and bilaterally with key Arctic partners, particularly the United States.

We will need to consider how to respond to issues such as emergency response and search and rescue capability and potential future problems related to emergencies (including environmental), organized crime, and illegal trafficking in drugs and people. One very important initiative is the current effort within the Arctic Council to negotiate a search and rescue agreement for the Arctic. Information sharing, coordination of efforts, and pooling resources are all concrete ways in which partnership may be beneficial.

The recently held Arctic Ocean Foreign Ministers meeting was an important step not only in advancing our collaboration on continental shelf delineation but also in encouraging forward thinking on the emerging issues in the region. The meeting publicly demonstrated leadership and partnership by Canada and other coastal states on responsible management of the Arctic Ocean.

Protecting national sovereignty, and the integrity of our borders, is the first and foremost responsibility of a national government. We are resolved to protect Canadian sovereignty throughout our Arctic.

## **Promoting Economic and Social Development**

Creating a dynamic, sustainable Northern economy and improving the social well-being of Northerners is essential to unleashing the true potential of Canada's North and is an important means of exercising our sovereignty.

*“Not only is the North a land of raw and majestic beauty that has inspired generations of authors, artists and adventurers, and not only is it the home to a rich culture shaped through the millennia by the wisdom of Aboriginal people, but it also holds the potential to be a transformative economic asset for the country.”*

-- Prime Minister Stephen Harper, August 18, 2009, Iqaluit, Nunavut

The potential for wealth and job creation through resource development, both living and non-living, is great. Canada is the world's third largest diamond producer. It is estimated that one-fifth of the world's petroleum reserves lie in the Arctic. That is why the Government of Canada is investing significantly in mapping the energy and mineral potential of the North. Managed in a sustainable manner, Canada's incredible endowment, including living marine resources such as fisheries, will contribute to the prosperity of Northerners and all Canadians for generations. These

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<sup>1</sup> The Arctic Council brings together eight member states (Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden and the United States) and six Arctic indigenous groups called Permanent Participants.

resources can and will be a cornerstone of sustained economic activity in the North and a key to building prosperous indigenous and Northern communities

In addition to investments in mapping in the North, the Government of Canada has made a wide variety of recent commitments related to promoting Northern social and economic development. These include measures to improve regulatory systems across the North, to address infrastructure needs including housing, to create the Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency, and to support improvement in indigenous skills and employment.

Ensuring sustainable development in the Arctic involves working closely with territorial governments and Northerners and through key international institutions like the Arctic Council to build self-sufficient, vibrant and healthy communities. The well-being of the people of the North—its inhabitants and communities—is fundamental.

Canada will actively promote Northern economic and social development internationally on three key fronts: take steps to create the appropriate international conditions for sustainable development, seek trade and investment opportunities that benefit Northerners and all Canadians, and encourage a greater understanding of the human dimension of the Arctic to improve the lives of Northerners.

**First**, Canada will take steps to create the appropriate international conditions for sustainable development in the Arctic, complementing domestic measures to support economic development. This involves understanding the opportunities and challenges of Arctic energy and resource development and developing regulations, guidelines and standards that are informed by Arctic science and research, including traditional knowledge. In no area is this more critical than in oil and gas development.

As an emerging clean energy superpower, Canada will continue to support the responsible and sustainable development of oil and gas in the North. Along with the rest of the international community, we have witnessed the terrible environmental, social and economic impacts of the oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico.

Canada recognizes and values the importance of working closely with other Arctic states and will take every step possible to prevent such an event in Canadian waters. Canada is showing leadership at home in Arctic safety and environmental requirements for offshore drilling through the review undertaken by the National Energy Board. Moreover, Canadians and our Arctic neighbours can be assured that no drilling will occur in Canada's deep Beaufort Sea until at least 2014.

Canada is a party to a number of bilateral and multilateral agreements and is actively engaged in various international forums, including the Arctic Council, on matters relating to the protection of the marine environment. In the wake of the oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico, we are furthering our collaboration at the appropriate levels, in particular with the United States and Denmark/Greenland in light of our common interests in the Arctic marine environment.

The 2007 Arctic Council Oil and Gas Assessment examined the impacts of current oil and gas activities in the Arctic and potential impacts related to possible

future activities. The Oil and Gas Assessment found that while extensive oil and gas exploration activity and production have occurred in parts of the Arctic, much potential exists for future oil and gas development. Related risks need to be managed carefully. Canada made significant contributions to the Assessment.

The Arctic Council, with significant Canadian participation, updated its Arctic Offshore Oil and Gas Guidelines in 2009. These guidelines recommend standards, technical and environmental best practices, management policy and regulatory controls for Arctic offshore oil and gas operations. Canada will act on the request from the Arctic Council that all states apply these guidelines as minimum standards throughout the Arctic and will encourage others to do so as well.

Arctic shipping is another key area of focus. The 2009 Arctic Marine Shipping Assessment is the first comprehensive review of circumpolar shipping activities and provides important information about possible future shipping activities and their potential impacts. Among its findings, the Assessment noted that Arctic shipping has increased significantly, with more voyages to the Arctic and between Arctic destinations. However, the various Canadian internal waterways known as Canada's "Northwest Passage" are not predicted to become a viable, large-scale transit route in the near term, in part because mobile and unpredictable ice in the Passage poses significant navigational challenges and other routes are likely to be more commercially viable.

The Arctic Marine Shipping Assessment also provides guidance on enhancing Arctic marine safety, protecting Arctic peoples and environment, and building Arctic marine infrastructure. Based on these recommendations, the 2009 Arctic Council Ministerial supported the development of a mandatory polar code for shipping by the International Maritime Organization (IMO). As an IMO member, Canada will continue to play a leading role in the development of this code. We, along with other Arctic Council states, have also agreed to work together towards an international agreement on search and rescue operations for the Arctic by 2011.

Within the IMO context, Canada has also assumed responsibility for providing navigational warning and meteorological services to facilitate the safe management of marine traffic in two Arctic areas. These cover substantial areas of Arctic waters, including the Northwest Passage. Through this initiative, Canada will deliver services that help mitigate the risks associated with increased Arctic shipping. These services will also enhance environmental protection of the Arctic marine environment, support Northern residents in their maritime activities, and provide necessary services for coastal and marine-based resource development.

Canada is playing a key role in the creation of the Arctic Regional Hydrographic Commission to improve our understanding of the features of the Arctic Ocean and its coastal areas, essential knowledge for safe navigation. Canada has offered to host the Commission's inaugural meeting in fall 2010.

**Second,** Canada will continue to seek trade and investment opportunities that benefit Northerners and all Canadians.

Canada will enhance its trading ties with other Arctic states. We have recently implemented a free trade agreement with the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) member countries, which include Iceland and Norway. This agreement has the potential to enhance trade and investment between Northern regions of our respective countries. We are also seeking to build new trade ties with other Arctic states to create these same links between our respective Northern regions. These Northern commercial relationships can serve as conduits to expand trade and investment relations not only with our immediate Northern neighbours but also with other states such as those in central Asia and Eastern Europe.

Improving air and sea transportation links to create enhanced access across the polar region can help encourage Arctic trade and investment opportunities. For instance, investments have been made to upgrade the Port of Churchill, Manitoba, to facilitate increased export options and the flow of two-way trade with other Northern ports.

**Third,** Canada will continue to encourage a greater understanding of the human dimension of the Arctic to improve the lives of Northerners, particularly through the Arctic Council. The Arctic Council's Arctic Human Development Report was the first comprehensive assessment of human well-being to address the entire Arctic region. Canada will continue to play a leadership role in Arctic Council initiatives in this area and to host the Secretariat for the Council's Sustainable Development Working Group. For example, the 2008 Arctic Indigenous Languages Symposium, organized by the Inuit Circumpolar Council with support from the Government of Canada, underlined the importance of preserving and strengthening indigenous languages.

Addressing human health issues in Northern communities is also critically important. Canada has been supporting efforts through the Arctic Council and International Polar Year research to better understand the issues and then develop and implement appropriate health policies. The results of international collaboration are all aimed at improving the health conditions of residents in the Arctic. Canada will play a lead role in the Arctic Council on a range of new health-related projects, including the development of a circumpolar health observatory, a comparative review of circumpolar health systems, and a comparative review of circumpolar nutritional guidelines.

Canada's commitment to Northern economic and social development includes a deep respect for indigenous traditional knowledge, work and cultural activities. Going forward, Canada will promote a better understanding of the interests, concerns, culture and practices of Northerners, including with regard to seals and polar bears. In this context, Canada is committed to defend sealing on the international stage. Seals are a valuable natural resource, and the seal hunt is an economic mainstay for numerous rural communities in many parts of Canada including the North.

## Protecting the Arctic Environment

The Arctic environment is being affected by events taking place far outside the region. Perhaps the most well-known example is climate change, a phenomenon which originates outside the Arctic but is having a significant impact on the region's unique and fragile environment. The resulting rapid reduction in Arctic multi-year sea ice has had, and will continue to have, profound consequences for the peoples and communities of the Arctic. What happens in the Arctic will have global repercussions on accelerating climate change elsewhere.

Strong environmental protection, an essential component of sustainable development, starts at home and is another important way in which Canada exercises its sovereignty in the North. Canada has long been at the forefront in protecting the Arctic environment. As far back as the 1970s, Canada enacted the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act (AWPPA) to protect its marine environment, taking responsibility for enacting and enforcing anti-pollution and shipping safety laws applicable to a larger area of Arctic waters. In August 2009, the application of the AWPPA was extended from 100 to 200 nautical miles. In addition, regulations requiring vessels to report when entering and operating within Canadian Arctic waters have been finalized and are in force from July 1, 2010.

*“Canada takes responsibility for environmental protection and enforcement in our Arctic waters. This magnificent and unspoiled region is one for which we will demonstrate stewardship on behalf of our country, and indeed, all of humanity.”*

-- Prime Minister Stephen Harper, August 27, 2008,  
Tuktoyaktuk, Northwest Territories

These measures and others such as plans to establish a national marine conservation area in Lancaster Sound send a clear message to the world. Canada takes responsibility for environmental protection and enforcement in our Arctic waters. We are demonstrating stewardship in this magnificent ecological region.

Canada is committed to planning and managing Arctic Ocean and land-based activities domestically and internationally in an integrated and comprehensive manner that balances conservation, sustainable use and economic development—ensuring benefits for users and the ecosystem as a whole. We are acting domestically while cooperating internationally. Internationally, we will act in the following four ways: promote an ecosystem-based management approach with our Arctic neighbours and others; contribute to and support international efforts to address climate change in the Arctic; enhance efforts on other pressing international issues, including pursuing and strengthening international standards; and strengthen Arctic science and the legacy of International Polar Year.

**First,** Canada will continue to promote an ecosystem-based management approach with its Arctic neighbours and others.

In accordance with Canada's Oceans Act, Canada is working with land claim authorities, governments, industry and communities to implement an ecosystem approach in the Beaufort Sea and has identified ecologically significant marine species and places. This is part of a broader ecosystem approach in the Arctic by the Government of Canada that also includes activities related to the international co-management of species in the Arctic whose habitat crosses national borders (e.g. caribou, polar bears and Arctic birds). These activities fall under international conventions and agreements such as the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity, the Migratory Bird Treaty, and the Agreement on the Conservation of Polar Bears. International collaborative Arctic science and research is a fundamental aspect of the Government of Canada's participation in such agreements.

Canada and its Arctic neighbours are the stewards of unique wildlife such as polar bears. The Government of Canada recognizes the importance of indigenous knowledge and the need to use it in tandem with Western science in our efforts to better understand polar bears and their habitat.

Canada has signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the United States for the conservation and management of a shared polar bear population. In addition, Canada has developed agreements with other Arctic nations to jointly manage polar bears, narwhals and belugas. This work must continue in order to manage other shared species.

As part of its mandate, the Arctic Council has been playing a lead role in identifying large marine ecosystems in the region and determining best practices in ocean management. Canada will play a leadership role in the Arctic Council's Arctic Ocean Review which aims to strengthen and ensure the sustainable development of the Arctic Ocean. In pursuing strengthened Arctic Ocean stewardship, we will work with other interested partners and users of the Arctic Ocean as well as through regional and international organizations, including the Arctic Council and the IMO.

2010 is the International Year of Biodiversity and the Arctic is the focus of considerable attention. Canada will continue to lead the Arctic Council's Circumpolar Biodiversity Monitoring Program to ensure information on population status and trends for Arctic species and ecosystems is available and supports initiatives such as the Arctic Biodiversity Assessment. The Council has recently developed the Arctic Species Trend Index, which provides decision-makers with a valuable tool for managing and predicting Arctic wildlife populations. Tracking the index over time will facilitate this prediction of trends and identify species and groups experiencing rapid change.

Canada will continue to establish terrestrial and marine protected areas in the Arctic and monitor biodiversity and ecological integrity. Canada recognizes that ecologically sensitive areas are essential for the conservation of Arctic species including polar bears, caribous, migratory birds, and marine mammals and other aquatic species. These sensitive areas play a key role in the survival and recovery of species at

risk. They also provide significant ecotourism opportunities to an expanding market of Canadians and international visitors.

Canada has made significant progress in establishing protected areas in over 10 percent of our North, designating 80 protected areas covering nearly 400,000 square kilometres. These areas include 11 national parks, six national wildlife areas and 16 migratory bird sanctuaries and will protect habitat for a wide variety of species.

Canada continues to plan for additional protected areas in the North and has an ambitious program to expand the national park system, including the creation of three new national parks. The Government of Canada is moving forward in consultation with communities and industry to add nearly 70,000 square kilometres to Canada's Northern protected areas network. Canada will be finalizing a Policy Framework for Canada's National Network of Marine Protected Areas that will guide marine protected area establishment, including the five marine ecoregions found in the Arctic. The creation of the majority of existing national parks in the Arctic proceeded hand-in-hand with land claim negotiations, as are all of the new national park proposals.

**Second,** Canada will continue to actively contribute to and support international efforts to address climate change in the Arctic, including both mitigation and adaptation in the Arctic. Climate change is having a disproportionate impact on the Arctic, and the Arctic Council's 2004 Arctic Climate Impact Assessment heightened global awareness of the problem.

Canada recognizes that climate change is a global challenge requiring a global solution. To that end, the government is committed to contributing to the global effort by taking action to reduce Canada's greenhouse gas emissions through sustained action domestically to build a low-carbon economy, working with our North American partners and constructively engaging with our international partners to negotiate a fair, environmentally effective and comprehensive international climate change regime based on the Copenhagen Accord. Canada has been, and continues to be, very active in these international negotiations, and will seek to ensure that consideration is given to the Arctic's unique set of climate change-related challenges in every relevant forum.

New evidence suggests that certain short-term factors are having an impact on the rate of climate change. The 2009 Arctic Council Ministerial approved the formation of a task force on "short-lived climate forcers" in the Arctic. While climate agents or forcers, such as black carbon,<sup>2</sup> contribute significantly to climate change, they can potentially be brought under control much more quickly than long-term contributors such as carbon dioxide. The task force will identify existing and new measures to reduce emissions of these forcers and will recommend further immediate action.

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<sup>2</sup> Black carbon (soot and methane), released by car engines and fires, can darken ice and snow, increasing their rate of melting.

Canada has been, and will continue to be, active in climate change adaptation initiatives. Canada played an important role in the Arctic Council's recent Vulnerability and Adaptation to Climate Change in the Arctic project. Underlining the importance of community involvement in planning for and responding to climate change adaptation is one of Canada's key contributions. Canada recognizes that enhanced action on adaptation will be a significant component of the post-2012 climate change negotiations under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. Canada plays an active and constructive role in those discussions.

In support of these objectives, the Government of Canada has been working in close partnership with Northern communities and governments to assess risks, vulnerabilities and opportunities related to a changing climate. Over the last two years, over 60 projects have been funded in the Canadian Arctic that have led to the development of community and regional adaptation plans, increasing knowledge and understanding of climate-related implications and the development of strong partnerships essential to implementing adaptation action.

**Third,** Canada will enhance its efforts on other pressing environmental issues, including pursuing and strengthening international standards, where appropriate. Canada will continue to engage in the negotiation of an international regime on access to genetic resources and the sharing of their benefits, under the Convention on Biological Diversity. Researchers around the world are interested in genetic resources found in extreme environments like the Arctic. We recognize the importance of these issues to Northerners and Northern communities.

Persistent organic pollutants and mercury, released far from the Arctic, have had serious impacts on Arctic peoples. Canada and the Inuit Circumpolar Council played an important role in the negotiation of the Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants. Canada will continue to address the problems arising from these contaminants, including waste management practices in the North, and will engage actively in global negotiations to reduce mercury emissions.

Canada is setting an international example with the Federal Contaminated Sites Action Plan. The government is providing \$3.5 billion over 15 years to address federal contaminated sites, with the majority of resources directed to contaminated sites in the North. Canada is contributing to the global effort to address mercury emissions with a plan to implement new environmental performance standards that will reduce greenhouse gas emissions and pollutants such as mercury from coal-fired electricity generating plants. An international agreement on the reduction of mercury emissions will help reduce the impact of mercury on the health and the environment of Canadians, particularly in the North.

**Fourth,** Canada will contribute to strengthening Arctic science and the legacy of International Polar Year. Arctic science forms an important foundation for Canada's Northern Strategy, providing the knowledge necessary for sound policy and decision-making both on domestic and international issues. To ensure that Canada remains a global leader in Arctic science, the Government of Canada has committed to

establishing a new world-class research station in the High Arctic that will serve Canada and the world, and work is proceeding on its development. The station will anchor a strong research presence in Canada's Arctic and to complement these efforts, Canada has also invested in upgrading existing research facilities in over 30 sites across the Arctic.

Canada made one of the largest single contributions of any country to International Polar Year and will be hosting its final wrap-up event in Montreal in April 2012. Canada is also taking a lead role in the Arctic Council's Sustaining Arctic Observing Networks project. Its purpose is to further international engagement in developing sustained and coordinated pan-Arctic observing and data-sharing systems, particularly related to environmental, social, economic and cultural issues.

## **Improving and Devolving Governance: Empowering the Peoples of the North**

The Government of Canada is committed to providing Canadian Northerners with more control over their economic and political destiny. Canada is taking steps to endorse the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in a manner fully consistent with Canada's Constitution and laws. In recent decades, Canada's Northern governments have taken on greater responsibility for many aspects of their region's affairs. Progress is continuing in this area and represents another way in which Canada is exercising its sovereignty in the Arctic. Canada's North is also home to some of the most innovative, consultative approaches to government in Canada and the world. Through land claim and self-government agreements, indigenous communities are developing made-in-the-North policies and strategies to address their unique economic and social challenges and opportunities.

*"We're committed to helping the region and its residents realize their true potential."*

-- Prime Minister Stephen Harper, March 10, 2008, Yellowknife, NWT

Canada recognizes and values the important role Northern governments, Arctic Indigenous organizations at the Arctic Council (known as Permanent Participant organizations) and other Northerners have played, and will continue to play, in shaping Canada's international actions. Canada's Arctic foreign policy bolsters our domestic efforts for strong governance in the North in the following three ways.

**First**, Canada will engage with Northerners on Canada's Arctic foreign policy. Through the Canadian Arctic Council Advisory Committee, Northern governments and Indigenous Permanent Participant organizations in Canada<sup>3</sup> will have the

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<sup>3</sup> There are six Arctic Council Permanent Participant organizations, of which three have significant membership in Canada. These are the Inuit Circumpolar Council, the Gwich'in Council International, and the Arctic Athabaskan Council.

opportunity to actively participate in shaping Canadian policy on Arctic issues. We will continue to meet regularly in Canada's North to find common ground and work towards common objectives.

**Second**, the Government of Canada will continue to support Indigenous Permanent Participant organizations in Canada, including financially, to contribute to strengthening their capacity to fully participate in the activities of the Arctic Council. Furthermore, Canada will encourage other Arctic Council states to support the participation of their Permanent Participant organizations. Canada will also support the continued unique status of Permanent Participant organizations at the Arctic Council, which was created to provide for their active participation and full consultation. As interest by non-Arctic players in the work of the Council grows, Canada will work to ensure that the central role of the Permanent Participants is not diminished or diluted.

**Third**, Canada will provide Canadian youth with opportunities to participate in the circumpolar dialogue. The Canadian Arctic Council Advisory Committee chose three young Canadians to attend the 2009 Arctic Council Ministerial meeting. Their participation enhanced the contribution of the Canadian delegation at this meeting, and this successful initiative is one that Canada will continue to support.

## **The Way Forward**

The rapid pace of change and growing importance of the Arctic requires that we enhance our capacity to deliver on Canada's priorities on the international scene. Facing the challenges and seizing the opportunities that we face often require finding ways to work with others: through bilateral relations with our neighbours in the Arctic, through regional mechanisms like the Arctic Council, and through other multilateral institutions.

The United States is our premier partner in the Arctic and our goal is a more strategic engagement on Arctic issues. This includes working together on issues related to the Beaufort Sea, on Arctic science, on Aboriginal and Northern issues, and on a common agenda that we might pursue when first Canada and then the United States chairs the Arctic Council starting in 2013. We are also working with Russia, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Iceland to advance shared interests such as trade and transportation, environmental protection, natural resource development, the role of indigenous peoples, oceans management, climate change adaptation and scientific cooperation.

However, the key foundation for any collaboration will be acceptance of and respect for the perspectives and knowledge of Northerners and Arctic states' sovereignty. As well, there must be recognition that the Arctic states remain best placed to exercise leadership in the management of the region.

Canada was the first chair of the Arctic Council (1996-98) and will be chairing the Council again starting in 2013. The Arctic Council is the leading multilateral forum through which we advance our Arctic foreign policy and promote Canadian

Northern interests. It is a consensus-based, high-level intergovernmental forum that promotes the environmental, social and economic aspects of sustainable development and environmental protection in the Arctic region. The unique structure of the Council brings both the eight Arctic states and the six Arctic Indigenous Permanent Participants together around a common agenda—enhancing the strength and effectiveness of this unique multilateral forum.

Canada will engage with Northern governments and Permanent Participants to ensure that the Arctic Council continues to respond to the region’s challenges and opportunities, thus furthering our national interests.

From Canada’s perspective, the Council needs to be strengthened to ensure that it is equipped to address tomorrow’s challenges. Canada will act on several fronts.

**First**, we will pursue a greater policy dialogue within the Council. The Council has traditionally played a strong role in science, research, monitoring and assessments, and the development of guidelines (e.g. for oil and gas) in some select areas. Canada will play a proactive role as the Council moves forward to encourage the implementation of guidelines, the development of “best practices” and, where appropriate, the negotiation of policy instruments. The current negotiation of a regional search and rescue agreement (the first ever attempt at a binding instrument under the rubric of the Arctic Council) will serve as an important test case and will inform the scope for future policy endeavours. Canada will also work to ensure that the research activities of the Council continue to focus on key emerging issues to ensure that solid knowledge underpins the policy work of the Council.

**Second**, Canada will lead efforts to develop a more strategic communications role for the Arctic Council. As the profile of the Arctic increases, the image of the Council and information about the broad range of cutting-edge work that it is doing need to be bolstered. In this vein, a greater outreach role for the Council will increase both the understanding of the interests of Arctic states and people, and of the Council and its mandate.

**Third**, Canada will work with other member states to address the structural needs of the organization. While the current informal nature of the body has served Canada well for many years, the growing demands on the organization may require changes to make it more robust. Canada will work with other Arctic states to develop options, including with respect to the role of the Council, related “secretariat” functions, and funding issues.

Beyond the Arctic Council, Canada will work through other multilateral institutions such as the International Maritime Organization and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change towards global solutions to issues like polar shipping regulations and climate change. Arctic-specific organizations such as the Standing Committee of Parliamentarians for the Arctic Region, the Northern Forum, and the University of the Arctic are important partners on a variety of issues.

The increasing accessibility of the Arctic has led to a widespread perception that the region could become a source of conflict. This has led to heightened interest in

the Arctic in a number of international organizations including NATO and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. Canada does not anticipate any military challenges in the Arctic and believes that the region is well managed through existing institutions, particularly the Arctic Council. We will continue to monitor discussion of Arctic issues in other international forums and intervene when necessary to protect Canada's interests.

Canada is taking other steps to demonstrate leadership, such as the 2010 Arctic Ocean Foreign Ministers meeting. In addition, a new Arctic regional policy and program centre at Canada's Embassy in Norway has been established, strengthening our on-the-ground interaction and influence in the region. This Canadian International Centre for the Arctic Region is part of a broader concerted effort to support Canada's foreign policy goals and commercial linkages through analysis, advocacy and outreach—further enhancing Canada's presence on Arctic issues abroad.

## Conclusion

Through our Arctic foreign policy, we will deliver on the international dimension of our Northern Strategy. We will show leadership in demonstrating responsible stewardship while we build a region responsive to Canadian interests and values, secure in the knowledge that the North is our home and our destiny.

Through our Arctic foreign policy, we are also sending a clear message: Canada is in control of its Arctic lands and waters and takes its stewardship role and responsibilities seriously. Canada continues to stand up for its interests in the Arctic. When positions or actions are taken by others that affect our national interests, undermine the cooperative relationships we have built, or demonstrate a lack of sensitivity to the interests or perspectives of Arctic peoples or states, we respond.

Cooperation, diplomacy and respect for international law have always been Canada's preferred approach in the Arctic. At the same time, we will never waver in our commitment to protect our North.

*“The True North is our destiny... To not embrace its promise now at the dawn of its ascendancy would be to turn our backs on what it is to be Canadian... As Prime Minister Diefenbaker said...in 1961, ‘There is a new world emerging above the Arctic Circle.’ It is this world, a new world for all the peoples of the Arctic regions that we in Canada are working to build.”*

-- Prime Minister Stephen Harper, August 2008, Inuvik, NWT



## 9. Canada’s Arctic and Northern Policy Framework, September 2019

### Foreword from the Minister

The Arctic and Northern Policy Framework is a profound change of direction for the Government of Canada. For too long, Canada’s Arctic and northern residents, especially Indigenous people, have not had access to the same services, opportunities, and standards of living as those enjoyed by other Canadians. There are longstanding inequalities in transportation, energy, communications, employment, community infrastructure, health and education. While almost all past governments have put forward northern strategies, none closed these gaps for the people of the North, or created a lasting legacy of sustainable economic development.

In her 2016 *Interim Report on the Shared Arctic Leadership Model*, Minister’s Special Representative Mary Simon said, “the simple fact is that Arctic strategies throughout my lifetime have rarely matched or addressed the magnitude of the basic gaps between what exists in the Arctic and what other Canadians take for granted.”

Co-developing the new framework became a bold opportunity to shape and direct change in the region by collaborating with governments, northerners and Indigenous governments and organizations. Consultation was not enough to meet the challenges and harness emerging opportunities in the Arctic and North. In a significant shift, the federal government, Indigenous peoples, Inuit, First Nations and Métis, 6 territorial and provincial governments (Yukon, Northwest Territories, Nunavut, Newfoundland and Labrador, Quebec, and Manitoba) contributed to this framework together.

### A shared vision

Today, there is a shared vision of the future where northern and Arctic people are thriving, strong and safe. The Arctic and Northern Policy Framework gives us a roadmap to achieve this vision. There are clear priorities and actions set out by the federal government and its partners to:

- nurture healthy families and communities
- invest in the energy, transportation and communications infrastructure that northern and Arctic governments, economies and communities need
- create jobs, foster innovation and grow Arctic and northern economies
- support science, knowledge and research that is meaningful for communities and for decision-making
- face the effects of climate change and support healthy ecosystems in the Arctic and North
- ensure that Canada and our northern and Arctic residents are safe, secure and well-defended
- restore Canada’s place as an international Arctic leader

- advance reconciliation and improve relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples

For the federal government, the framework's goals will guide investments and activities, through 2030. Implementing the Arctic and Northern Policy Framework will require collaborative approaches. Our government recognizes that 'made in Ottawa' policies have not been successful. The new approach puts the future into the hands of the people who live there to realize the promise of the Arctic and the North. Through the co-development of the framework, and by working in partnership to realize its vision and implement its goals and objectives, this initiative will advance reconciliation and renew Canada's relationship with Inuit, First Nations, Métis and support the non-Indigenous residents of Canada's Arctic and North.

A crucial element of this innovative, cooperative form of policy making is the inclusion of chapters from our Indigenous, territorial and provincial partners. Through these chapters, our partners speak directly to Canadians and to the world, expressing their own visions, aspirations and priorities. These critical components of the Arctic and Northern Policy Framework map out areas of present and future collaboration between partners and the Government of Canada, and will provide guidance on the implementation of the framework.

In reflecting their priorities and aspirations, these chapters recognize and advance the vision and interests of Inuit, First Nations and Métis peoples. Partners have chosen their own approaches to crafting these chapters. For example, Yukon First Nations and the Government of Yukon have collaborated closely during the development of the Arctic and Northern Policy Framework, and will be producing separate chapters that speak to their mutual as well as distinct interests. First Nations and Métis worked with the Government of the Northwest Territories to draft the Northwest Territories chapter of the framework.

Inuit Nunangat is the Inuit homeland in Canada. Inuit are the majority population in this distinct geographic, cultural, and political region. In order to respect and support Inuit self-determination, an Inuit Nunangat chapter was developed as an Inuit-Crown Partnership Committee deliverable. This chapter will guide how Arctic and Northern Policy Framework goals and objectives are implemented in Inuit Nunangat. This will ensure that the framework respects Inuit rights and that an Inuit Nunangat approach is utilized in the development and implementation of federal policies and programs that are intended to benefit Inuit, creating efficiencies that in turn benefit all Canadians.

Territorial governments have authored chapters setting out their priorities for new investments and approaches in areas such as economic development, infrastructure and post-secondary education. Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut are also contributing a pan-territorial chapter that articulates their common challenges and opportunities. Drawing on the 2017 Pan-Territorial Vision for Sustainable Development, the territorial governments offer their vision for how the Arctic and Northern Policy Framework can support strong and healthy communities, based on a

foundation of responsible resource development, economic diversification, infrastructure and innovation.

The next phase of framework co-development will focus on implementation, investment strategies and governance, moving towards more integrated federal-territorial-provincial and Indigenous approaches to challenges and opportunities in Canada's Arctic and North. Partner chapters will be integral to this next step towards improving the quality of life for our Arctic and Northern residents, especially for Indigenous peoples.

### **On the front lines of climate change...**

The Canadian North is warming at about 3 times the global average rate, which is affecting the land, biodiversity, cultures and traditions.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, climate change and technology are making the Arctic more accessible.

The region has become an important crossroad where issues of climate change, international trade and global security meet. As melting sea ice opens shipping routes, it is also putting the rich wealth of northern natural resources within reach. Increased commercial and tourism interests also bring increased safety and security challenges that include search and rescue and human-created disasters.

By forging new partnerships, the framework will help address the massive implications of climate change for individuals, communities, businesses and governments alike, and ensure a more sustainable future for northerners.

### **...and a changing world**

Unlike previous Arctic and northern policies, the framework better aligns Canada's current national and international policy objectives with the priorities of Indigenous peoples and of northerners. As the region undergoes rapid environmental change and international interest surges, Canada must demonstrate renewed Arctic leadership.

The Government of Canada will continue to support the co-operative, rules-based international order that has served national and global interests by fostering peace, security and stability for the circumpolar Arctic. Canada will also continue to ensure that the Canadian Arctic and North and its people are safe, secure and well defended. As part of achieving this goal, Canada has committed to increasing Search and Rescue reaction and responsiveness to emergencies for Arctic residents and visitors.

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<sup>4</sup> *Canada's Changing Climate Report* (Government of Canada, 2019), pp. 84, 85, 118, 125, 434.

## What have we done so far?

The framework and its chapters provide a foundation for future cooperation between the Government of Canada and its Arctic and Northern partners.

The time has arrived to put the goals and objectives into action. The Government of Canada has already begun to realize the framework's vision of thriving, strong and safe communities, and made progress on the priorities identified in the chapters developed by Indigenous, territorial and provincial partners. The following provides just some examples of Canada's commitment to responding to the priorities of partners and the needs and aspirations of our Arctic and Northern residents.

Investments to support better, more relevant and accessible education have been identified in the Inuit Nunangat and Northwest Territories chapters and by Yukon Government. The 2019 federal budget included:

- funding for a task force to study post-secondary education, which will make recommendations on a robust system of higher education in the Arctic and North
- support for culturally-appropriate and community-developed courses for Indigenous and non-Indigenous northern students through the Dechinta Centre for Research and Learning
- an Inuit-led post-secondary education strategy

As well, a new science building at Yukon College will be built to support the goal of transforming this institution into Canada's first university in the North.

To build stronger communities, there is funding for community-led food production projects and skills training for local and Indigenous food production systems. Recent federal investments and policy development undertaken in cooperation with Indigenous peoples will help strengthen food security in Arctic and northern communities and reinforce Indigenous connections with wildlife and the land, as called for in the Inuit Nunangat chapter. The Government of Canada has recently invested \$62.6 million over 5 years starting in fiscal year 2019 to 2020, with \$10.4 million ongoing to support changes to the Nutrition North program, including a Harvesters Support Grant to help lower the high costs associated with traditional hunting and harvesting activities, which are an important source of healthy, traditional food. Canada and Inuit have also established an Inuit-Crown Food Security working group to focus on food security and work towards a sustainable food system in Inuit Nunangat.

As stated in the Northwest Territories chapter, growing a diversified and sustainable economy is vital to cushioning the northern economy from boom and bust cycles. The federal Jobs and Tourism Initiative will support cultural exchange and expand trade opportunities, while the new Inclusive Diversification and Economic Advancement in the North initiative will provide funds for a wider range of infrastructure such as roads and visitors centres.

Funding has been allocated for scientific research in the North, including for advancing Canada's claim to its continental shelf in both the Arctic and Atlantic oceans, for the Polar Continental Shelf Program, and for the Eureka Weather Station on Ellesmere Island. In its chapter, the Northwest Territories identifies the achieving of major advances in the remediation of reclamation sites following resource development as an environmental priority; cleaning up old mine sites of debris and toxic materials will be funded under the Northern Abandoned Mine Reclamation Program.

New transportation infrastructure funding has been identified by all partner chapters as crucial to improving safety and fostering economic and social development. Canada is investing \$71.7 million in federal funding through Canada's National Trade Corridors Fund for four Nunavut transportation projects, including preparatory work on the Grays Bay Road and Port Project and an expansion of the Rankin Inlet airport terminal building capacity. Funding for priority action items identified in the Northwest Territories chapter was included in the 2019 federal budget investments in support of the eventual framework. For example, planning for the proposed Taltson hydroelectricity expansion project in the Northwest Territories, identified as a priority infrastructure project, is funded starting in 2019. There is also a commitment for long-awaited, universal high-speed internet in remote and northern communities. Delivering high-speed internet to these communities will help businesses grow, create new jobs and connect people to the resources, services and information they need to build a better future. It is a key step to closing the gap in the quality of life experienced by Arctic and northern residents and other Canadians. As part of its commitment to support new protection for the High Arctic and create opportunities for Inuit, the Government of Canada is providing infrastructure investments totaling over \$190 million to build multi-use buildings, food processing units and harbours.

Canada's international interests are supported through funding for the first Arctic Council-related permanent secretariat in Canada (for the Sustainable Development Working Group), increasing the participation of northerners in Arctic Council and Arctic research activities and providing northern youth with international learning opportunities.

The Inuit Nunangat chapter singles out mental health and closing gaps in social and economic well-being between Inuit and other Canadians as central to developing strong communities and advancing reconciliation. In partnership with Inuit organizations, Canada continues to invest towards this goal, including: new addictions treatment facilities in Nunavut and Nunavik with an emphasis on suicide prevention as well as significant new funding dedicated to health and social services for Inuit children.

## Our future

The Arctic and Northern Policy Framework is ambitious and has just over 10 years to translate its goals and objectives into reality. In that time, the Government of Canada and its partners will close the gaps that exist between this region, particularly in relation to its Indigenous peoples, and the rest of the country.

Canada sees a future in which the people of the Arctic and North are full participants in Canadian society, with access to the same services, opportunities and standards of living as those enjoyed by other Canadians. This ambition will require greater effort, focus, trust and collaboration amongst partners.

Other circumpolar nations are making significant investments to make their Arctic regions part of the global community. Supporting Canadian initiatives to keep pace with international efforts will bring increased opportunities, health and well-being to Indigenous peoples and northerners.

Indigenous and Northern leaders have offered their best innovative, adaptive policy solutions that call for trust, inclusiveness and transparency. We can do no less than to respond with integrity, collaboration and openness. Building on these new partnerships, the Arctic and Northern Policy Framework provides a long-term foundation for transformative change, benefiting our Arctic, its Indigenous peoples, northern residents and all Canadians.

**The Honourable Carolyn Bennett,  
Minister of Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs**



“The simple fact is that Arctic strategies throughout my lifetime have rarely matched or addressed the magnitude of the basic gaps between what exists in the Arctic and what other Canadians take for granted.”

— *Mary Simon, Interim report on the Shared Arctic Leadership Model*

## Our vision

*Strong, self-reliant people and communities working together for a vibrant, prosperous and sustainable Arctic and northern region at home and abroad, while expressing Canada’s enduring Arctic sovereignty.*

On December 20, 2016, the Government of Canada announced that a new Arctic Policy Framework would be co-developed in collaboration with Indigenous, territorial and provincial partners.<sup>5</sup>

Canada recognizes that what has been done before has not succeeded in building a strong, sustainable region where most people share in the opportunities expected by most Canadians. Insufficient physical and social infrastructure has hindered opportunities for growth and prosperity in the region.

Doing what we have done before as a nation has not closed the gaps in well-being between Arctic and northern people and the rest of the country, so in trying to close those gaps, we have taken an approach that has not been tried before. Inspired by the consensus traditions of Arctic and northern Indigenous peoples, the federal government sought to engage representatives of territories, provinces, and Indigenous peoples as partners in the development of this policy framework. All have made considerable contributions. There is not unanimous agreement on all the issues, but robust and respectful discussion has shaped this document.

This federal framework is informed by extensive engagement, including:

- regional roundtables held in Arctic and northern communities
- interest-based roundtables
- a public submissions process

The voices of people who took part in these engagements are included here, as well as in the other integral parts of the framework which describe:

- Canada’s international Arctic policy

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<sup>5</sup> The concept of co-developing a policy is a relatively new one for the Government of Canada. The co-development of a new Arctic and Northern Policy Framework has been a dynamic process and has evolved to address new opportunities and challenges. In co-developing this policy statement, tables with representatives of territories and provinces, and with Arctic and northern Indigenous peoples, were involved in the drafting of the document. Partners had the ability to introduce and modify concepts that inform the policy, and the language that frames the policy. This does not mean that there is unanimous agreement on all issues, but that all have had meaningful and respectful input.

- Canada’s commitment to safety, security and defence in the region
- the distinctive needs and opportunities of:
  - territories
  - provinces
  - Arctic and Northern Indigenous peoples of Canada

These sections provide further detail on priorities, aspirations, and potential actions to be implemented under the framework.

The Government of Canada committed to co-develop an “Arctic Policy Framework” with:

- Inuit
- First Nations
- Métis
- territorial governments
- the governments of Manitoba, Quebec and Newfoundland and Labrador

The area covered by the word “Arctic” has many definitions. As we worked together on the policy framework, several partners, including First Nations in Yukon as well as First Nations and Métis in the Northwest Territories, expressed concerns that they did not feel included in the term “Arctic.” Inuit also drew attention to the way in which terms can include and exclude. Often, strategies, policies, programming and investments targeted for the “North” have been directed towards the three territories and excluded Inuit. In response to these concerns, Canada’s vision for the framework takes into account both the “Arctic” and “Northern” character of the region and those who live there; it is a policy framework for Canada’s Arctic and North that includes the entirety of Inuit Nunangat — the Inuvialuit Settlement Region in the Northwest Territories, Labrador’s Nunatsiavut region, the territory of Nunavik in Quebec, and Nunavut — the Inuit homeland in Canada.<sup>6</sup>

In developing this framework, we have built on the extensive work already done by Indigenous, territorial and provincial partners. This includes the *Pan-Territorial Vision for Sustainable Development*, which is foundational to the framework.

The *Pan-Territorial Vision*, released by the territorial governments in 2017, reinforces the importance of resource development, economic diversification, improved infrastructure and innovation in building strong territorial economies and increasing self-reliance.

Other key policy initiatives that have contributed to the development of the framework include:

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<sup>6</sup> The following approach to the use of “Arctic” and “northern” has been taken in this document: “Arctic” is used in the international context, when referring to the circumpolar Arctic (e.g. Arctic states), while “Arctic and North” is used in all domestic contexts.

- strategies developed by Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami such as:
  - *National Inuit Suicide Prevention Strategy*
  - *National Inuit Strategy for Research*
- the *Parnasimautik Consultation Report* produced by Nunavik Inuit
- the Government of Quebec’s *Plan Nord*
- the work of the *Look North* steering committee appointed by the Government of Manitoba

“Every Northerner deserves the opportunity to experience wellness and the strength of community that characterizes Canadians. Economic development and diversification are foundational to this goal.”

— *Pan-Territorial Vision for Sustainable Development*

Our partners have helped us to understand and reflect the unique opportunities and challenges within the different regions, jurisdictional responsibilities and treaty rights across the Arctic and the North. The ongoing collaboration required to make this work is essential to the framework’s successful implementation.

Together with the people and governments of the Arctic and the North, we will use domestic and international policies and investments to help realize the potential of the region and those who live there.

Another important contribution to this framework was made by Mary Simon, the Special Representative of the Minister of Indigenous and Northern Affairs, who advised the federal government on the most pressing issues facing the region. As Ms. Simon noted in her final report on shared Arctic leadership, there is a “long history of visions, action plans, strategies and initiatives being devised ‘for the North’ and not ‘with the North’.” This is why this framework has been co-developed for the North, in partnership with the North, to reflect the needs and priorities of the North.

“Nothing about us, without us” is the essential principle that weaves federal, territorial, provincial and Indigenous institutions and interests together for mutual success. The Arctic and Northern Policy Framework is a response to change in the region. The framework represents an opportunity for Arctic and northern people, and their institutions, municipalities, organizations and governments, to come together with the federal government to shape and direct change toward better outcomes. Together, we can achieve our vision of strong, self-reliant people and communities working together for a vibrant, prosperous and sustainable Arctic and northern region at home and abroad, while expressing Canada’s enduring Arctic sovereignty.

## Our past

The Government of Canada is committed to building trust with our Arctic and northern partners.

To do so, we must first:

- begin to acknowledge the damaging aspects of our shared past

- face the challenges and opportunities of our shared present
- advance a vision of a shared, collaborative and brighter future

Prior to contact with non-Indigenous peoples, the first peoples had already developed sophisticated technologies, flourishing trading networks, and a rich and diverse array of innovative practices that allowed them to live well in difficult conditions.

The Inuit lived mostly on the coast, and developed innovative watercraft and hunting gear that enabled them to hunt game as large as bowhead whales. First Nations peoples tended to live inland, using both land and freshwater bodies; they developed watercraft suited to lakes and rivers and snowshoes that allowed them to use the land during long northern winters; and they followed the huge caribou herds that migrated between treeline and tundra.

Non-Indigenous people first came north in search of trade and trade routes, and in search of resources such as furs and gold. Most of the early contacts were brief, but over time the initial phase of first encounters and co-operation was followed by more prolonged and extensive contact, increasing numbers of newcomers, and eventually a period of profoundly damaging domination and colonization.

The impacts of colonialism in the Arctic and the North affected Indigenous peoples in many ways, including diseases, cultural assimilation including through residential schools, coerced relocation, and the drawing of international boundaries severing familial and cultural ties.

“There must be a system set up where the Indian people have some control over the programs that affect us. This control must not be just in the Administration of the program — but in the planning. If the idea behind the program is wrong, then we are wasting money, and people, trying to make it work.”

— *Council for Yukon Indians, Together Today for Our Children Tomorrow, 1973*

Modern self-determination in the region has evolved over the last 50 years and formalized with:

- the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, concluded in 1975
- the Inuvialuit Final Agreement, signed in 1984
- the Umbrella Final Agreement for Yukon, finalized in 1990
- 11 of the 14 Yukon First Nations have now concluded agreements
- the Gwich'in comprehensive land claim, signed in 1992
- the Nunavut Agreement signed in 1993
- the Sahtu Dene signed in 1993
- the Métis Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement, signed in 1993
- the Tlicho Land Claims and Self-government agreement, signed in 2003
- the Labrador Inuit Land Claims agreement, signed in 2005

- the Nunavik Inuit Land Claim Agreement, signed in 2006

Many of these land claim agreements established innovative forms of co-management by Indigenous peoples and territorial, provincial and federal governments over land, water and other resources.

In addition to the land claim process and renewal of Indigenous self-government, the 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries have witnessed a strengthening of public governments in the Arctic and the North.

Territorial governments have become more democratic and attained increased responsibilities. Province-like powers over land and resources were devolved from the federal government to Yukon in 2003 and to the Northwest Territories in 2014. Negotiations with Nunavut over these powers and responsibilities are ongoing.

Each territory and province has developed unique ways to provide services to Indigenous residents and work with Indigenous governments.

- The Government of Yukon works in partnership with the territory's First Nations, including its 11 self-governing First Nations
- The Government of the Northwest Territories collaborates with Indigenous governments through its Intergovernmental Council and through a formalized commitment to Indigenous governments set out in *Respect, Recognition, Responsibility: Government of the Northwest Territories' Approach to Engaging with Aboriginal Governments* (2012).
- The Government of Nunavut works with regional Inuit associations through working partnerships to advance shared objectives, including provisions of the Nunavut Agreement.
- Drawing upon Indigenous traditions, the Northwest Territories and Nunavut government legislatures are based on a consensus decision-making system.
- The Government of Quebec works with:
  - the Kativik Regional Government, established through the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement and elected by all the inhabitants of the Nunavik region
  - the Makivik Corporation, also established by the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, which represents the Inuit of Nunavik in their relations with the governments of Quebec and Canada on issues specifically pertaining to their Indigenous rights

At the forefront of this movement towards greater autonomy are the Indigenous peoples of the Circumpolar North. Their efforts to secure self-determination and self-government are influencing Arctic governance in ways that will have a profound impact on the region and its inhabitants in the years to come.

— *Arctic Human Development Report (2015)*

As an Arctic nation, Canada has long been interested in finding ways to cooperate with other Arctic and non-Arctic states on shared goals and challenges. In 1996 Canada played a key role in the Ottawa Declaration that created the Arctic Council, the pre-eminent forum for international cooperation in the Arctic on sustainable development and environmental protection. Canadian leadership also contributed to the Arctic Council taking the trail-blazing step of including Indigenous peoples' organizations at the Council table; 3 of which include Canadian membership.<sup>7</sup>

Arctic Indigenous peoples have made remarkable contributions to international governance, both inside and outside the Arctic Council. For instance, the Inuit Circumpolar Council's highlighting impacts of global contaminants on Inuit helped mobilize support for the Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants.

The legacy of colonization has left deep rifts in the region's social structure. Those rifts are being gradually healed, in part by the reclamation of self-determination. As highlighted in the Arctic Council's *Arctic Human Development Reports*, "fate control", or "guiding one's own destiny", is an important element in peoples' well-being. From the agreements already signed with Indigenous peoples, to those still being negotiated, and the devolution of powers to regional governments, the degree of fate control in the Arctic and the North is on the rise. Part of the challenge we currently face is to ensure that fate control comes with the capacity to meaningfully exercise local aspirations.

## Our present

"Why, in spite of substantive progress over the past 40 years, including remarkable achievements such as land claims agreements, Constitutional inclusion and precedent-setting court rulings, does the (Canadian) Arctic continue to exhibit the worst national social indicators for basic wellness? Why, with all the hard-earned tools of empowerment, do many individuals and families not feel empowered and healthy?"

— *Mary Simon, A New Shared Arctic Leadership Model*

Longstanding inequalities in transportation, energy, communications, employment, community infrastructure, health and education continue to disadvantage people, especially Indigenous peoples, in Canada's Arctic and North.

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<sup>7</sup> The Inuit Circumpolar Council was founded in 1977 to represent Inuit from Alaska, Canada, Greenland and Chukotka (Russia), to realize the Inuit vision of speaking with a united voice on issues of common concern and to protect and promote their way of life in international forums; the Gwich'in Council International was founded in 1999 to amplify the voice of Canadian and American Gwich'in on sustainable development and the environment at the international level to support resilient and healthy communities; and the Arctic Athabaskan Council was established in 2000 to defend the rights and further the interests internationally of American and Canadian Athabaskan member First Nation governments in the Arctic Council and other international forums.

These gaps are evident in the socio-economic statistics and indicators for the region, and closing them is a priority for all partners.

A distinctive feature of the region is its high proportion of Indigenous people in the population. This includes Inuit, First Nations and Métis populations. The manner in which the Government of Canada interacts with Indigenous peoples continues to evolve.

The *Principles Respecting the Government of Canada's Relationship with Indigenous Peoples* affirm that “The Government of Canada’s approach to reconciliation is guided by the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s Calls to Action*, constitutional values, and collaboration with Indigenous peoples as well as provincial and territorial governments.” Inuit and the federal government have developed the Inuit Nunangat Declaration and formed an Inuit-Crown Partnership Committee to jointly advance shared priorities. These include the implementation of Inuit land claims agreements, and the implementation of reconciliation measures between Inuit and the Government of Canada.

The federal government agrees with the people of the Arctic and the North that they must play a greater part in governing the region — domestically and internationally. In addition to land claim and self-government agreements, devolution agreements have been signed with the Northwest Territories and Yukon, transferring some authorities to their respective territorial governments, and another such agreement is being negotiated with Nunavut. Relationships that better recognize the rights and aspirations of people in the region have also been negotiated with sectors other than government. Benefit and partnership agreements with local communities have been developed in the resource sector, and successful partnerships have been established with researchers, and with non-governmental organizations.

The Arctic and North has what is described as a mixed economy: some people depend on traditional economies of hunting, fishing, and gathering, others depend on a wage economy, and some depend on both. The cultures and lifestyles of the peoples of the region provide them not only with subsistence and cultural continuity and strength, but also a bridge to the wage economy.

Despite the poor communications infrastructure in many communities, connectivity is increasingly important to the region.

- Students in Nunavut can connect to students throughout Inuit Nunangat
- A telehealth network links 14 Yukon communities
- Yellowknife’s booming tourism industry is transformed by visitors’ social media posts
- Telehealth is providing an opportunity to close gaps within the care provided to patients in Labrador
- Remote presence technology is allowing people on the northern coast of Labrador to receive some health-care services in their home communities

However, though there have been significant advances, many northern communities still have slow internet connections and no cell phone service, and priority within networks must be kept for vital services such as telehealth.

“...latent mineral potential of the north is perhaps still the single most likely source of long-term northern prosperity.”

— *Look North Report and Action Plan for Manitoba’s Northern Economy*

Responsible, sustainable resource development and job creation are key to the economy of the region, and a source of prosperity for its communities and residents. Indigenous-owned businesses have for many years been providing resource industries with workers and services, and now Indigenous peoples are also moving into ownership positions in resource development businesses. Indigenous ownership, investment and participation in the resource industry are essential to the success of this sector and a means of economic reconciliation with Indigenous peoples.

Resource projects provide:

- education
- training and employment opportunities in communities
- direct Indigenous participation in supply and services business development

Looking to the future, there is no force likely to reshape the Arctic and the North greater than climate change. Globally, the region is amongst the most affected by climate change, which is redefining the environmental, social and economic landscape, both below the tree line and on the tundra. Arctic ecosystems are at a disproportionately high risk of experiencing the adverse effects of global warming.

The circumpolar Arctic is warming 2 to 3 times more rapidly than the global average, even though the region is not a leading source of greenhouse gas emissions.<sup>8</sup> According to *Canada’s Changing Climate Report, 2019*, northern warming will continue for both low and high global greenhouse gas emission trajectories. The high scenario projects that annual average temperatures could increase 4 times as much as under the low scenario, and that events such as extreme precipitation could be 4 times as common.

Both scenarios would see accelerating loss of seasonal sea ice across Canada’s Arctic, with extensive sea ice-free periods projected by mid-century for the Canadian Arctic and Hudson Bay, thawing permafrost causing irreversible changes to the landscape, a changed distribution of species, changing patterns of precipitation and more frequent wildfires.

Indigenous communities are particularly affected: traditional food sources are disappearing; ice conditions are becoming unpredictable and therefore dangerous for travel by hunters using either dogsled or snowmobile; and melting ice and rising sea

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<sup>8</sup> Global Warming of 1.5°C (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change), 2018.

levels are exposing communities to destructive coastal erosion and costly damage to infrastructure.

The greenhouse gases driving climate change are also making the water more acidic, which has been shown to have negative effects on some marine life. Considering the depth and irreversible nature of changes brought about by climate change in the region, Indigenous peoples are finding their cultural and social well-being affected at unprecedented rates.

For peoples closely connected to the land, ways of knowing are challenged to keep pace with the change around them. This is affecting cultural and social norms, such as engaging youth on the land, accessing country foods, gathering medicinal plants and protecting water sources. Indigenous communities need tools and knowledge that are locally and culturally appropriate to adapt to these urgent issues.

If there is a single argument for a collaborative approach to a shared Arctic and northern future, it is the shared and complex challenges posed by climate change. The response of all partners to this challenge must be no less transformative in scale, scope or duration.

As the sea-ice pack recedes and cold-weather technologies improve, the Arctic and the North region are also becoming increasingly accessible for a broad range of activities, including:

- fishing
- tourism
- scientific research
- shipping, both small and large vessels
- other commercial activities

Increasing numbers of domestic and international resource developers are being drawn to the region, resulting in a mix of optimism about economic prospects and concerns about potential environmental, social and security impacts. Higher levels of activity also increase the acute security risks associated with irregular movements of people and goods, the pursuit of foreign interests and human-induced disasters. As a whole, these changes highlight the importance of enhancing situational awareness across the region, and of promoting research and observation, including charting and mapping, that will provide the information necessary for sound decision-making.

A collaborative approach to climate change research is underway in the region, bringing together Inuit organizations, northern communities, federal and provincial agencies and the private sector. This effort is directed at understanding how climate change will affect communities and biodiversity. However, the current lack of baseline data poses major challenges to evidence-based decision-making. The responsible use of data can help cultivate a better understanding of the ‘big picture’ of environmental issues, contributing to the development of informed, data-driven policy and decisions that can help Arctic and northern communities build resiliency in the face of climate change.

Other currents are also driving change in the lives of Arctic and northern people. The place of the Arctic in the global consciousness has changed enormously over the past few years.

- Growing global interest in the region has been shown by several non-Arctic states and actors in Europe and Asia that have developed Arctic policies or strategies.
- Increased interest in the Arctic reflects concern about the global impacts of climate-driven changes in the region, including its increasing strategic and military importance.

There are already national and international efforts to ensure that growing international interest does not lead to additional problems for people in the region. For instance, the International Maritime Organization’s Polar Code has mandated that larger ships travelling in polar waters are better equipped than previously, and their crews better prepared.

In particular, the idea of the “Northwest Passage” continues to stir the imagination of people around the world. While transiting the various waterways that are commonly referred to as the “Northwest Passage” may be increasingly feasible at certain times of the year due to diminishing ice coverage, extremely variable ice conditions continue to make navigation difficult and hazardous. Unregulated vessel traffic and accidents could have a devastating impact on Arctic and northern people and the unique environment in which they live. As these waterways are Canada’s internal waters, Canada will continue to manage vessel traffic within our national waters to ensure that navigation is conducted in accordance with our rigorous safety and environmental protection standards.

There are robust rules, norms and institutions in place that guide international affairs.

- The Arctic Council and other multilateral forums such as the Arctic Coast Guard Forum, Arctic Economic Council and various United Nations organizations, including the International Maritime Organization, make decisions affecting the region
- An extensive international legal framework applies to the Arctic Ocean, including the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
- Canada is also a signatory to several legally-binding international agreements that address Arctic-specific issues
- Canada has bilateral relationships in place with other Arctic states to address issues of a bilateral nature

Territorial and provincial governments and Indigenous partners are regularly engaged in the development of Canada’s international Arctic policy through a well-established mechanism, and are often members of the Canadian delegation to international meetings and negotiations. Canada strongly believes that the rules-based

international order in the Arctic and the North has been beneficial to national and global interests by helping to foster peace, security and stability for the region.

Through the wide range of activities undertaken by the Government of Canada, its partners and local communities, Canada's enduring sovereignty over its Arctic and northern lands and waters is continually expressed. Canada's sovereignty over the region is long-standing, well-established and based on historic title, and founded in part on the presence of Inuit and First Nations since time immemorial.

The Canadian Armed Forces play a key role in demonstrating Canada's sovereignty across all of its territory. In the Arctic and the North, this is undertaken through:

- an established and permanent presence, with the Joint Task Force — North headquarters in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories
- detachments in Iqaluit, Nunavut and Whitehorse, Yukon
- the 5 Wing Goose Bay base in Labrador which protects North American airspace and also supports military training
- the Canadian Rangers which serve as the military's eyes and ears in remote and northern communities.

The Canadian Armed Forces conduct:

- regular operations and exercises in the Arctic and the North to enhance their ability to operate and demonstrate presence
- air, land and sea patrols
- air and sea search and rescue activities
- monitor and control airspace through the North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD) network
- work with government and community partners to ensure safety and security in the region.

## **What we heard and what we know**

Broad engagement with Arctic and northern people and other interested Canadians was an important element in the co-development of this document. The engagement helped shape the content of this framework, as did the work undertaken by territorial, provincial and Indigenous partners in developing their own priorities. This includes foundational documents developed by public governments, such as the *Pan-Territorial Vision for Sustainable Development*, as well as those of Indigenous governments and organizations.

“To create a better North for our children, the focus needs to be on what forms of knowledge and skills exist within our communities and how the federal government can assist in building upon and supporting these strengths. This means focusing on what we have versus focusing on what

we lack, and valuing our existing capacity over voices that tell us we are not capable.”

— “*We Are One Mind*” report, written submission

## Arctic and northern leadership

During public engagement on the framework, participants underscored the importance of decision-making about the Arctic and north moving closer to the region. The need for Arctic and northern leadership in crafting solutions, and the necessity of stable and accessible funding for federal programming, were often given as conditions for progress on regional challenges. Building capacity in regional organizations was also identified as a key part of developing leadership.

Participants highlighted the importance of building upon previous strategies, policies and agreements, notably land claim agreements and Canada’s commitment to fully implement the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. They want to see full implementation of economic, social and cultural rights, as laid out in the land claims and in the declaration. They also want to see implementation of provisions related to economic development and land use planning.

## Strong people and communities

Views expressed through the engagement sessions varied widely, but for many participants the theme of “strong Arctic and northern people and communities” was seen as the most central to the development of the new Arctic and Northern Policy Framework for Canada. Institutions and services rooted in local cultures and language were a widespread prescription for addressing social challenges, and for building strong people and communities. There was concern about the erosion of Indigenous languages, and a demand for programs that would assist with the revitalization of language and culture.

- In 2014, about 22% of Northwest Territories households indicated that they often or sometimes worried that food would run out before they had money to buy more
- Just under 70% of Inuit households in Nunavut are food insecure

Life expectancy is considered one of the most fundamental indicators of the overall health and wellness of a population, given that it is influenced by a range of factors including access to health care, nutrition, living conditions and lifestyle. Gaps are stark and striking. For instance, life expectancy for Inuit in Canada is 72.4 years versus 82.9 years for Canada’s non-Indigenous population.

- 52% of Inuit in Inuit Nunangat live in crowded homes, which are associated with high rates of communicable disease such as tuberculosis, as well as other challenges, compared to 9% of Canadians overall
- In 2016 18% of Northwest Territories households required major repairs compared to the Canadian rate of 6.5%

References to social challenges, and especially those affecting the Indigenous peoples of the region, were common during the framework engagement sessions. Statistics make it clear that not everybody is similarly disadvantaged. For instance, income inequality does not only exist between the Arctic and the North and the rest of Canada; there is also considerable income inequality within the region itself. The median before-tax individual income for Inuit in Inuit Nunangat is 75% lower than for non-Indigenous residents.

While some of the highest median and average incomes in Canada are found in the region, this should not mask the fact that the costs of living and the rates of poverty and food insecurity are also among the highest in the country. In 2017, for instance, the Nunatsiavut Government Household Food Security Survey identified that food insecure households in Nunatsiavut are over 4 times the level reported in Newfoundland and Labrador, and over 5 times the level of food insecurity in Canada overall.

The deep and ongoing impact on Indigenous peoples of the residential school experience and the broader colonial legacy were consistent themes at regional roundtables, especially when participants spoke of language and culture, education and Indigenous knowledge. Some participants called upon the framework to support the implementation of the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission Calls to Action*. Links have been made between the intergenerational trauma caused by the impacts of the residential school system and the high rates of substance abuse and suicide in Indigenous populations.

“For many Yukon First Nations, the legacy of colonization continues and the impacts are both real and present. The underlying mental illness experienced by many First Nations is a normal human response to very abnormal conditions brought on by intergenerational impacts of colonization.”

— *Yukon First Nations Mental Wellness Workbook*

Education and skills development, including early childhood education, improvements in elementary, secondary and post-secondary education, access to higher education as well as the need to enhance opportunities for local higher education in the region, were raised in regional roundtables and other forms of engagement. In written submissions and during stakeholder roundtables, industry representatives talked about the need for more qualified local workers, and about matching education and training with job opportunities. Youth similarly saw education as a path to participating in the local economy, and called for higher-quality education. Participants in engagement sessions described how students from the region graduating with high school diplomas found that their available selection of high school courses or levels of knowledge did not match the requirements of post-secondary education.

- 34% of Inuit in Inuit Nunangat aged 25 to 64 have a high school diploma compared to 86% of Canadians aged 25 to 64 with a high school diploma
- In 2016, nearly three-quarters, 74%, of 25 to 64 year old Northwest Territories non-Indigenous residents had a postsecondary certificate, diploma or degree compared to 43% of Indigenous peoples

“Employment and education are inextricably linked, with 83 per cent of residents 15 years of age and older with post-secondary education having a job, compared to an employment rate of 49 per cent for those without a post-secondary diploma, certificate or degree. Employment and education also have strong linkages to reduced issues related to health, crime and housing.”

— *Mandate of the Government of the Northwest Territories 2016–2019 (revised)*

The provision of health-care services can be challenging in the Arctic and the North due to the lack of infrastructure and trained professionals, the small populations spread out over vast distances and the need to deliver services in an inclusive, culturally appropriate and responsive manner. Access to health care in the region is currently not comparable to the average Canadian’s access to high quality care.

- Hospitals and specialized health services are often not locally available
- Many people are forced to fly out from their home communities to access specialized care, or to give birth

In addition to facing barriers to care, people face disproportionate health challenges.

- In 2014, the rate of new or retreatment cases of tuberculosis was almost 50 times higher in the Inuit population than in the Canadian population overall

Mental health facilities and services are also generally lacking. The severity of mental health challenges in Arctic and northern communities, including the unacceptably high rate of suicide among Indigenous peoples (particularly youth), was a common theme at regional engagement sessions. For example, the rate of self-injury hospitalizations in Labrador is 231 per 100,000. That is more than 3 times the Canadian average. These health outcomes are further complicated by social determinants of health, such as overcrowded housing, high unemployment and low formal education levels.

The importance of local partnerships with municipalities, regional Indigenous associations and development corporations, chambers of commerce and others emerged at roundtable discussions and in written submissions. Local governments, including Indigenous governments and institutions, play a special role in a region

which includes urban centres as well as many smaller communities dispersed over large areas.

Municipalities and other forms of local and regional government play key roles in developing and supporting Arctic and northern communities, and are integral to addressing challenges such as housing, health and education.<sup>9</sup> Many communities are already taking actions that contribute to the goals and objectives of this framework.

“Northern and remote communities play a critical role in delivering essential services. Working with citizens, the private sector, civil society and other orders of government, Arctic municipalities improve the social, economic and environmental well-being of their communities.”

— *Jenny Gerbasi, President, Federation of Canadian Municipalities, written submission*

## Comprehensive infrastructure

Infrastructure concerns were a common theme in engagement, including the need for transformative investments in infrastructure, rather than a remedial approach that only perpetuates a state of crisis.

Almost everyone who spoke about infrastructure mentioned reliable broadband access as a priority, given its role in enabling business, research, education, justice and health.

“With only 1 access into Yukon, 1 misstep from a backhoe operator in British Columbia knocks out the internet across the territory. No telehealth, banking, purchasing of gasoline or supplies, on-line education, and general office use — gone in an instant.”

— *Association of Yukon Communities, written submission*

“All weather roads, rail, air and broadband were among the most common topics to arise in conversation in the north.”

— *Look North report and action plan*

Other highlighted infrastructure needs included:

- improved charting and mapping
- energy infrastructure
- better port facilities

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<sup>9</sup> As the Federation of Canadian Municipalities has noted, across the Arctic and the North, the enabling legislation that governs local orders of government varies, with no single term fully reflecting the legal status of all communities and their relationship with territorial governments. An awareness of the distinctions that exist within the definition of “community” will improve the process of developing and delivering programs and policies in Arctic and northern communities.

- better airport facilities
- reliable rail networks
- roads to access communities and mineral resources

On a more local level, insufficient housing is a chronic problem in many northern communities. The lack of housing is linked to several other poor health and social outcomes.

- In Nunavik, no communities have all-season roads or connection to a regional energy grid, 58% have suitable housing, and 35% have access to a terrestrial backbone for internet communications.

Rather than simply expressing a desire for greater federal investment, communities and organizations emphasized their desire for partnerships and opportunities to play an active and constructive role in infrastructure investments through, for example, financial partnership, as well as the development of business capacity and skills. They noted that new infrastructure must come with a local capacity to maintain it, and that its construction should bring local jobs and wealth. Territorial governments, through their participation in the co-development process and in strategic documents such as the *Pan-Territorial Vision for Sustainable Development*, have pointed to large-scale infrastructure investments as foundational to creating economic opportunity and prosperity for Indigenous communities.

The Government of Canada has provided funding to restore rail service on the Hudson Bay Railway Line, which is expected to grow into a key transportation and export hub serving both international markets and northern Canada. The rail line acquisition by the Arctic Gateway Group represents a historic partnership which combines First Nations and community ownership with private sector leadership. Restoration of the rail line opens the door for economic investments and opportunities for the town of Churchill and northern Manitoba residents and reflects a shared priority to strengthen transportation infrastructure for Canada's Arctic and North.

### **Strong, sustainable and diversified economies**

Economic development was often mentioned by participants as a key theme. Territorial and provincial governments emphasized that regional economies will need to be built upon both sustainable resource extraction and the development of other sectors. They also highlighted that entrepreneurial research and innovation will help in strengthening and diversifying their economies.

“Supporting small business development across the Arctic is key to diversifying the economy, creating sustainable industries that are alternatives to extractive industries, and facilitating young people to stay within their communities rather than having to move for employment.”

— *Gwich'in Council International, written submission*

- The National Aboriginal Economic Development Board estimated in 2016 that the Indigenous peoples employed in the 3 territories could make an additional \$1.1 billion in annual income if they had the same education and training as non-Indigenous people working in the territories

At the roundtables, a thriving economy was linked to foundational elements such as a skilled workforce, social and physical infrastructure, diversity and meaningful opportunities. Stakeholders and experts approached economic development issues from differing perspectives. In public submissions, some saw the answer in more support for non-renewable resource development such as mining. In 2017, mining was the largest private sector contributor to the economies of the Northwest Territories and Nunavut: the 6 mines operating in the territories spent over a billion dollars within the jurisdictions. Documents such as the *Pan-Territorial Vision for Economic Development*, Quebec's *Plan Nord*, and Manitoba's *Look North Report and Action Plan* all highlight the place of resource development in supporting a robust economy.

“Responsible [mining] means meeting socio-economic commitments (including economic, employment and community development commitments); acting in an environmentally responsible manner; and protecting the health and safety of our employees and the Peoples of the North.”

— *Mission statement, Northwest Territories (NWT) and Nunavut Chamber of Mines*

“The benefits of developing a sustainable, community-driven tourism industry range from healthier lifestyles for youth, to cultural preservation, to new economic opportunities for elders and youth.”

— *Parnasimautik Consultation Report, Nunavik*

Participants from the business community suggested that by articulating a long-term, strategic vision for the Arctic and the North, the Government of Canada would provide greater certainty for industry and incentivize investments in larger-scale projects. Organizations representing Indigenous economic development corporations and small business interests noted needs for increased access to capital and business supports, as well as more supportive federal procurement policies. There was also a common view that economic development could be facilitated through greater access to international markets. Academics called for the identification and development of alternative economic approaches, including innovation, arts and crafts, and traditional or cultural activities. Some representatives of Indigenous and non-governmental organizations cautioned against a reliance on major projects. They stressed the importance of land-based or traditional economic activity, as well as the potential of “conservation economies” focused on connections between culture, communities and local ecosystems.

## Science and Indigenous knowledge

“For Inuit, economic development must be guided by Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit (Inuit knowledge)..... Taking this approach applies an Inuit worldview to decisions and action that influence Inuit lives”

— *P.J. Akeeagok, President, Qikiqtani Inuit Association, in A New Approach to Economic Development in Nunavut, 2018*

At regional roundtables, conversations about knowledge creation often focused on the relationship between communities and researchers, as well as the place of Indigenous peoples in research, including the role of Indigenous knowledge. Participants described both science and Indigenous knowledge as valid and equal contributors to knowledge-building and decision-making in the region. Participants also expressed the desire for stronger local and Indigenous involvement in setting and determining research priorities as well as carrying out research. Prioritizing stronger involvement in the research process means that it is crucial to expand the research capacity of communities and strengthen local and regional research infrastructure and institutions. Indigenous knowledge also has an important role in informing international policies that in turn affect Arctic Indigenous peoples.

“Gwich’in need to be directly represented in the key decision-making forums about research to ensure that research is responding to community desires for information into the issues that are important to them. Moreover, there is a need for increased funding to support the collection and analysis of Indigenous knowledge.”

— *Gwich’in Tribal Council, written submission*

The importance of social science research was also brought forward, as it can provide an essential evidence base for decisions and policies that meet the needs of Arctic, northern and Indigenous communities. For research to give people a full base for decision-making it should include elements which are not only university-led and partnership-based, but also locally-led and accessible though regionally-based institutions. It was also noted that the vast majority of funds spent on Arctic and northern research are spent in the south. Communities want improved sharing of the results and benefits of research with the communities where the research is being conducted. Many of these points brought up in engagement sessions are also emphasised by territorial research documents and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami’s *National Inuit Strategy on Research*.

## Protecting the environment and conserving biodiversity

“For Inuit the purpose of conservation is the creation of socio-economic and cultural equity between Inuit and all other Canadians, while considering reconciliation, climate change, and, ecological integrity.”

— *Qikiqtani Inuit Association (Nunavut), written submission*

The social and environmental impacts of climate change were recurring themes at all regional roundtables. Those impacts affect a broad range of issues, from infrastructure to housing to security. At stakeholder roundtables, many people felt that adaptation activities should take precedence over mitigation actions in the region, considering its small emissions footprint versus the magnified impacts. Another key message was the need for more robust mitigation activities from southern Canada and major international emitters.

Conservation issues drew a varied response. Some engagement participants emphasized the need to reduce development impacts on wildlife. The harvesting of country foods, particularly caribou herds, provides nutrition, food security and the continuation of traditional practices for many Indigenous peoples. Others expressed concerns over the weight of regulation and its impact on resource development. Co-management of renewable resources was highlighted as a venue for collaborative management that can help integrate different viewpoints. There was a recognition that protected areas are unable to guard Arctic and northern ecosystems against pollution and climate change with distant origins. There was also acknowledgement that a holistic approach to conservation activities can make an overall positive contribution to the region. Suggested options for such an approach included:

- the advancement of concepts such as Indigenous-led conservation and monitoring
- Indigenous protected and conserved areas
- conservation economies, through which conservation becomes an integral aspect of local economies

## The global context

“As we see it, the barriers to feeling empowered and healthy are not neatly segmented into ‘domestic’ and ‘international’ boxes. As a nation which spans across territorial and international boundaries, the issues that concern Gwich’in are at the same time both local and international.”

— *Gwich’in Council International, written submission*

There were some consistent key messages on international issues raised by participants from all regions. They included a desire to maintain the circumpolar Arctic as a region of peace and cooperation through efforts to strengthen the international rules and institutions that govern the Arctic. Preserving the role of the Arctic Council as the leading forum for circumpolar cooperation was singled out as a priority by many participants.

Engagement participants would also like to see Canada target its international cooperation in areas that improve socio-economic living conditions. For example, strengthening north-to-north cooperation through forums such as the Arctic Council and at the sub-national level was encouraged, including exchanges of knowledge and best practices on issues such as:

- mental wellness
- education
- Indigenous languages
- renewable energy

Indigenous participants were particularly interested in improved mobility of Indigenous peoples and cultural goods throughout the circumpolar region. Participants called for:

- strengthening the voice of Indigenous peoples in international Arctic forums including increased support for the Indigenous Permanent Participants at the Arctic Council
- Canada to take a strong stand on protecting Indigenous rights to self-determination, pursuing sustainable harvesting of flora and fauna and combatting international efforts that negatively affect these rights

People who spoke or wrote in also expressed a desire to see Canada play a leadership role on the global stage when it comes to addressing climate change, contaminants and other environmental challenges that have a disproportionate impact on the region.

### **Safety, security and defence**

Throughout the engagement process, participants highlighted the transformative role of climate change in increasing commercial interest and activity in the region. Questions around environmental protection and response, safe regional transportation, and search and rescue capabilities were raised as critical issues, especially in the context of a rapidly changing climate.

In response to rapid regional changes, roundtable participants recognized the need for a whole-of-government approach to safety, security and defence. As part of this, increased presence in the region by the Canadian Armed Forces and the Canadian Coast Guard was highlighted as an important response, in conjunction with clear communication and engagement with local people. The Canadian Rangers were identified as an important presence in the region, and support was expressed for enhancing and expanding the Rangers' training and effectiveness. In addition, participants expressed appreciation for the way in which the Canadian Armed Forces consult local communities and Indigenous groups, and called for such collaboration to be continued.

Participants noted that partnering with communities and investing in regional infrastructure will solidify Canada's regional presence while exercising its sovereignty, and that existing partnerships can be expanded through collaboration, information sharing and training.

## Indigenous youth

“Youth across the Arctic understand that education is a portal to opportunity. They aspire to a quality education equivalent to other Canadians: an education that also reaffirms the central role of their culture and Indigenous languages in their identity as Canadians. A new Arctic Policy Framework, if it is to separate itself from many previous documents on the future of the Arctic, must speak to these young voices in this era of reconciliation.”

— *A New Shared Arctic Leadership Model*

Youth are transforming the region by their very numbers: in Canada, the median age is just over 40; in Nunavut, it is just over 26. These booming populations of young people are producing many great successes as artists, as leaders and in other walks of life. However, figures show that there are still many obstacles and challenges to being well, succeeding at school and finding meaningful work.

“To move forward in any aspect in life and in our society, we need to be educated. The youth want to be well with who they are and where they come from. Youth also understand the importance of quality, formal education so they can become active members of their communities and society and have access to all levels of employment in the communities, region or elsewhere if that is what they choose.”

— *Qarjuit Youth Council, Nunavik*

Today’s young Indigenous leaders are eager to build upon the work of previous generations. As stated in the report *We Are One Mind, Perspectives from Emerging Indigenous Leaders on the Arctic Policy Framework*, the Arctic and Northern Policy Framework must be people-centric to be effective. The report, which was developed by the Indigenous youth collectives Dene Nahjo, Our Voices and Qanak, contains 25 recommendations organized under 3 themes:

1. Northerners leading northern policy engagement
2. Investing in land, language and culture for future generations and as the basis for a healthy society
3. Healthy lands, healthy economies

The report urges the federal and territorial governments to act in a timely manner to resolve existing unsettled land claims and self-government agreements. It recommends the establishment of a ministerial working group to review federal legislative impediments that exclude northerners from accessing federal programs or impose inappropriate regulations on people and communities, and recommends that the federal and territorial governments update their consultation frameworks to address gaps and redundancies.

## Our future

The Government of Canada and its partners will close the gaps and divides that exist between this region, particularly in relation to its Indigenous peoples, and the rest of the country. The clear and ambitious goals and objectives of this framework point the way to a vibrant, sustainable and prosperous future.

In our shared future, Canada's Arctic and North will no longer be pushed to the margins of the national community.

- Its people will be full participants in Canadian society, with access to the same services, opportunities and standards of living as those enjoyed by other Canadians
- The resources required for their physical and mental wellness will be accessible

We will endeavour to create an environment in the Arctic and North in which youth will get the education they need to thrive, and Indigenous peoples receive the support required for their languages and cultures to be not only maintained, but revitalized.

We will encourage development that is environmentally and socially sustainable, that employs local people and creates wealth in the region. Stewardship of Arctic and northern lands, waters and resources will be accomplished through new and existing measures, including support of Indigenous stewardship and Indigenous protected and conserved areas. The Pikialasorsuaq (North Water polynya) between Canada and Greenland and Thaidene Nënë National Park Reserve in Northwest Territories are 2 examples of proposed Indigenous protected areas.

We will work to fill knowledge gaps in the Arctic and the North in a way that is responsive to the needs of local governments and people, and enables and encourages their participation in all aspects of the research process. We will define knowledge inclusively, embracing the contributions of Indigenous knowledge as well as western science.

We will support a rules-based international order in the Arctic that prioritizes human and environmental security and meaningful engagement of Arctic and northern peoples, especially Indigenous peoples. We will reduce barriers to the freedom of Indigenous peoples to move freely across international boundaries that now separate families and cultures.

Realizing this shared future will mean doing things differently to address persistent social and economic challenges in the Arctic and the North. We know that closing the gaps between the region and the rest of Canada means closing gaps between where decisions and resources are based, and where the needs are. Closing the gaps requires greater effort, focus, trust and collaboration, and more self-determination for the peoples of the region.

## Reconciliation with Indigenous peoples

“Recognizing ...the disproportionate socio-economic and cultural inequity facing Inuit compared to most other Canadians, and committing to working in partnership to create socio-economic and cultural equity between Inuit and other Canadians. This commitment includes energetically and creatively pursuing the socio-economic, cultural, and environmental conditions of success through the full implementation of land claims agreements as well as reconciliation”

— *Inuit Nunangat Declaration on Inuit-Crown Partnership*

Ongoing reconciliation with Indigenous peoples is foundational to achieving the goals and objectives of the Arctic and Northern Policy Framework.

The negotiation and full implementation of land claims and self-government agreements are key components of reconciliation. They require recognition within the framework as part of the continuation and renewal of relationships. These continued and renewed relationships come with a strong foundation, including the *Principles Respecting the Government of Canada’s Relationship with Indigenous Peoples*.

In 2015, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau accepted the *Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission* on behalf of the Government of Canada and committed to a renewed nation-to-nation relationship with Indigenous peoples based on recognition of rights, respect, co-operation and partnership.

In 2016, the Government of Canada committed to renewing the relationship with First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples through the creation of permanent bilateral mechanisms.

- All 4 Inuit regions have settled land claims
- Agreements on land and governance rights have been signed with First Nations and Metis across much of their traditional territories in the Arctic and the North

The fundamental instruments that define the Indigenous-Crown relationship are treaties, historic and modern, underpinned by section 35 of the *Constitution Act of 1982*. Each treaty established a unique relationship between Indigenous peoples and various levels of government. These relationships provide the foundation for a just and lasting reconciliation, founded in the honour of the Crown with federal, provincial and territorial governments. Implementing modern treaties is a shared responsibility, which Canada will work with Indigenous peoples, provinces and territories to realize.

The work of reconciliation is not only happening at the federal level, it has also been undertaken by Indigenous peoples, by Arctic and northern governments and through other mechanisms. Reconciliation in the region is intertwined with political evolution and is ongoing. Progress has been made on this path, led in large part by Indigenous and non-Indigenous citizens who have worked together to secure and implement land and self-government agreements, evolve public governments, and

find practical ways to work together for the shared goals of improving the quality of life for their children and sound stewardship of land and resources.

### **Assuming global leadership**

Canada will strengthen its international leadership on Arctic and northern issues at this critical time, as the region undergoes rapid environmental change and international interest surges.

Canada's ambition is to robustly support the rules-based international order in the Arctic, and all its institutions, and to seek ways to strengthen and improve those institutions for the 21st century.

Canada will:

- work collaboratively with Indigenous peoples and territorial and provincial governments in the multilateral forums where decisions that impact the Arctic are made, including the Arctic Council and United Nations organizations
- enhance bilateral cooperation with Arctic and key non-Arctic states and actors

Canadian leadership will be advanced bilaterally and in multilateral forums in order to promote Canadian values and interests such as human and environmental security.

Our shared ambition includes:

- better leveraging our international Arctic engagement to address domestic priorities such as social and economic development
- enhanced knowledge of our Arctic and North
- environmental protection

In a globalized world, many of the issues facing Canada, including in the Arctic and the North, cannot be addressed effectively through domestic action alone. A whole-of-government effort that leverages both domestic and international policy levers is therefore required. For example, economic growth in Canada's Arctic and North can be facilitated through infrastructure investments that increase access to world markets, along with trade commissioner services to help businesses based in the region access international markets and attract and retain foreign direct investment that benefits Northerners and respects Canada's national interest.

### **Promoting sustainable development**

A key international commitment that informs this framework is the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Canada has committed to implementing and measuring progress toward these goals.

## The United Nations 2030 Sustainable Development Goals

1. End poverty in all its forms everywhere
2. End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture
3. Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages
4. Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all
5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls
6. Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all
7. Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all
8. Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all
9. Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation
10. Reduce inequality within and among countries
11. Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable
12. Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns
13. Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts
14. Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development
15. Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss
16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels
17. Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development

Adopted in 2015, the 2030 Agenda is an ambitious 15-year global framework with 17 goals that cover the economic, social and environmental dimensions of sustainable development, and integrate peace, governance and justice elements. It is universal in nature, meaning that implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals is a commitment to take action domestically within Canada, as well as internationally, to eradicate poverty and leave no one behind.

These goals fit well with what we have heard regarding the need to narrow gaps between Arctic and northern Indigenous peoples and other Canadians. We intend to match our ambition in the framework, domestically and internationally, to the ambition expressed in the Sustainable Development Goals. This ambition is expressed in the framework's goals and objectives, and aligns closely with the *Pan-Territorial Vision for Sustainable Development* principle that “the territories will stand

together to create long term sustainable development of northern economies.” The *Pan-Territorial Vision* indicates that this will be achieved through environmentally responsible and sustainable resource development, job creation and economic diversification.

## **A safe and secure Arctic and North, now and into the future**

The qualities that make the Canadian Arctic and North such a special place, its size, climate, and small but vibrant and resilient populations, also pose unique security challenges, making it difficult to maintain situational awareness and respond to emergencies or military threats when and where they occur. These difficulties are often compounded by the effects and accelerating pace of climate change, making the region both environmentally changed and increasingly accessible to a broad range of actors and interests.

To protect the safety and security of people in the region and safeguard the ability to defend the Canadian Arctic and North, and North America now and into the future, a multi-faceted and holistic approach is required. The complexity of the regional security environment places a premium on collaboration amongst all levels of government, Indigenous peoples and local communities, as well as with trusted international partners, and we will continue to improve the ways we work together to keep pace with the evolving challenges.

The Government of Canada is taking steps to augment its Arctic and northern footprint in support of regional safety and security, including through Canada’s defence policy *Strong, Secure, Engaged*, and through key elements of the *Oceans Protection Plan*. Canada will enhance the Canadian Armed Forces’ presence in the region over the long term by setting out the capability investments that will give the Canadian Armed Forces the tools they need to help local people in times of need and to operate effectively in the region.

Under the *Oceans Protection Plan*, the Canadian Coast Guard will continue to enhance its:

- maritime search and rescue capacity, including through an expanding Coast Guard Arctic Auxiliary
- capacity to respond to maritime environmental emergencies
- icebreaking capacity
- its capacity to contribute to Maritime Domain Awareness

Canada’s ability to respond to regional challenges, provide security and ensure compliance with our laws and regulations largely depends on our ability to build and maintain a comprehensive picture of what is happening across the region, as gaps can have life-threatening consequences. For example, increased maritime and cross-border traffic creates new challenges for border enforcement and effective vessel tracking, such as illicit drugs and illegal imports. This is why it is so critical for partners to work together to develop strong domain awareness, including through information

sharing, enhanced coordination, the acquisition of new air, land, sea and space-based capabilities, and exploration of innovative solutions to surveillance challenges in the Arctic and the North.

## Goals and objectives

### **Goal 1: Canadian Arctic and northern Indigenous peoples are resilient and healthy**

There are unacceptable gaps in health and social development outcomes between Arctic and northern Indigenous peoples and most other Canadians. The poor health outcomes in the region are directly linked to both inadequate access to treatment options and to serious social problems, including:

- a critical shortage of housing
- low educational attainment levels
- high rates of incarceration and unemployment, particularly in smaller communities

Climate-driven changes are worsening the risks to Indigenous peoples in the region, such as travel over traditional routes. As well, a high cost of living and changes in the availability and accessibility of traditional foods have resulted in rising rates of food insecurity. For example, 1 in 2 households in Nunavut are food insecure. Eliminating food insecurity includes both affordable food from the grocery store, as well as having access to traditional food to support a healthy diet, community well-being and connection to local cultures and traditions.

Life expectancy is a key index of a population's wellbeing. Projected life expectancy for Inuit in Canada is 10.5 years below that of Canada's non-Indigenous population. While the most recent Statistics Canada information on First Nations and Métis is not disaggregated by region, at a national level First Nations and Métis were found to have a projected life expectancy rate of approximately 4 to 5 years below that enjoyed by non-Indigenous Canadians.

- One study shows that northern populations suffer from the lowest life expectancy in Canada
- Another study finds that life expectancy is approximately 7 to 12 years lower in areas with a high concentration of Inuit, First Nations and Métis
- Rates of communicable disease and suicide are much higher among Arctic and northern Indigenous populations than elsewhere in Canada
- Violence is being perpetrated against Indigenous women and girls, with the likelihood of violent death being significantly higher for Indigenous than for non-Indigenous women, according to statistics cited in the 2019 final report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls

Together, we will close these stark gaps, taking a distinctions-based approach that respects the unique rights, interests and circumstances of Inuit, First Nations and Métis peoples.

Meeting this goal will depend on progress on other objectives, including economic development, public safety, justice and reconciliation. Adaptation and resilience-building measures will be required to respond to the climate-driven change happening now, and projected for the future. Cultural revival will play a role in resilience. Land-based activities and practices will support education, healing and well-being. Solutions advanced in other Arctic states that face similar challenges will also be examined. Strong communities in our North can be supported by the circumpolar exchange of knowledge and best practices. Freer movement of Indigenous peoples and cultural goods across Canada's international boundaries in the Arctic and the North will further strengthen long-standing familial and cultural ties.

### **Goal 1 objectives**

1. End poverty
2. Eradicate hunger
3. Eliminate homelessness and overcrowding
4. Reduce suicides
5. Strengthen mental and physical wellbeing
6. Create an environment in which children will thrive, through a focus on education, culture, health and well-being
7. Close the gaps in education outcomes
8. Provide ongoing learning and skills development opportunities, including Indigenous-based knowledge and skills
9. Strengthen Indigenous cultural and family connections across international boundaries
10. Address the systemic causes of all forms of violence against Indigenous women and girls
11. End the over-representation of Indigenous peoples in Canada's criminal justice system
12. Implement culturally-appropriate approaches to justice issues, such as restorative justice measures and other alternative measures to incarceration

### **Goal 2: Strengthened infrastructure that closes gaps with other regions of Canada**

As a gap experienced by every person in the Arctic and the North, infrastructure is a top priority of this framework. Canada is investing in transformative infrastructure corridors to achieve more efficient and effective communications, clean energy and transportation. We also need to address deficits in weather and climate monitoring, particularly in climate-sensitive sectors. The National Aboriginal Economic

Development Board has estimated that every dollar invested in transportation and energy infrastructure can generate more than 10 times that amount.

We commit to creating economic opportunity and prosperity for northerners, and to better enabling Canada's northern and Arctic regions to catch up to other areas of Canada.

There are significant transportation infrastructure deficits in the region.

- Approximately 70 communities are only accessible year-round by air, or seasonally by water or ice roads
- Marine and aviation infrastructure is the gateway for many northern and Arctic communities and needs improvement

The limited transportation infrastructure makes it difficult, time-consuming and expensive to move passengers and goods in and out of communities, and to deliver government programs and services. Infrastructure deficits are also a significant restriction on trade and commerce.

Climate change threatens the resilience of existing infrastructure and presents challenges to constructing new infrastructure. The costs, sustainability and reliability of energy are a concern, with nearly two-thirds of Arctic and northern communities relying exclusively on diesel, which is expensive, difficult to transport and a source of greenhouse gases.

Many communities rely exclusively on satellite for access to internet services; they lack access to the fast, high quality and reliable telecommunications networks that people need to enable economic growth, education, health and research.

## **Goal 2 objectives**

1. Investment in significant infrastructure projects
2. Fast, reliable, and affordable broadband connectivity for all
3. Expand multi-modal transportation infrastructure and operations to connect communities to Canadian and international opportunities and improve access to essential services
4. Develop multi-purpose corridors for broadband, energy and transportation, including connections to hydroelectricity grids
5. Achieve energy security and sustainability in all communities and improve access to reliable, affordable and clean energy solutions
6. Integrate climate change resilience into new and existing infrastructure
7. Strengthen community-level infrastructure, including social infrastructure
8. Enhance monitoring infrastructure for the collection and use of weather and climate data

### **Goal 3: Strong, sustainable, diversified and inclusive local and regional economies**

A strong economy contributes to the resilience of Arctic and northern communities and sustainable growth that benefits all Canadians. However, northern economic development is challenged by higher operating costs for businesses due to the region’s small and dispersed population, sparse infrastructure and higher energy and connectivity costs.

Limited access to formal or higher education, a barrier to local participation in the workforce, especially amongst Indigenous peoples, highlights the need for policies which aim to foster increased mobility as a means of supporting education and employment paths.

For many small businesses, access to professional support, such as banking and legal services, is limited. As stated in the *Pan-Territorial Vision for Sustainable Development*, “responsible, sustainable resource development and job creation is the cornerstone of the territorial economies. Indigenous ownership, investment and participation in the resource industry are key to the success of this sector.” There is also a need to grow other areas to help insulate northern economies from the “boom and bust” cycle, and to provide more diversity of opportunity for Arctic and northern peoples. This will grow the middle class and build a diverse, prosperous and truly inclusive economy, where all can realize their full potential.

We will support local economies, such as sealing, fishing, hunting and crafts. Measures aimed at fostering innovation, diversification and promoting access to domestic and foreign markets will support both existing and future economic activities.

Achieving sustainable economies will also require the provision of long-term employment and other benefits to Arctic and northern people, along with a central role in decision-making. The resolution of land and governance rights and the negotiation of benefits underpin economic development. Canada is committed to meaningfully consult with Indigenous peoples on resource and infrastructure projects in the decision-making process, in accordance with Aboriginal and treaty rights. Fulfilling consultation obligations while respecting the decision-making roles of Indigenous groups recognized within modern treaties can help realize inclusive economies.

Many areas within the region are expecting growth over the next decade, capitalizing on their considerable economic potential. Much of the growth will come from the natural resource sector, as well as other sectors such as:

- tourism
- commercial fisheries
- cultural industries

Certain economic sectors, including resource development, tourism and shipping, are expected to grow as climate change alters the northern environment, though these

activities bring new risks for people, infrastructure and ecosystems and place additional stress on search and rescue and disaster response capacity. To ensure that local and regional economies are able to grow sustainably, climate change considerations will need to be taken into account.

International trade and foreign investment are important contributors to growth, by helping Arctic and northern businesses:

- take advantage of global export opportunities made possible by existing and new free trade agreements
- attract and retain foreign direct investment in a way that enhances economic development and environmental protection while ensuring Canada's national security interests

### **Goal 3 objectives**

1. Increase Indigenous participation in the economy
2. Grow the northern and Arctic economy, to the benefit of Northerners and all Canadians
3. Increase retention of wealth in Canada's Arctic and North
4. Reduce income inequality
5. Drive innovation and support investments in cold climate resource extraction
6. Optimize resource development, including the mining and energy sectors, while ensuring that this development is undertaken in a responsible, sustainable and inclusive manner
7. Provide the necessary supports to help businesses grow
8. Building on a strong economic base, foster economic diversification through innovation and partnerships
9. Enhance opportunities for trade and investment
10. Maximize economic opportunities flowing from infrastructure investments

### **Goal 4: Knowledge and understanding guides decision-making**

Canada's Arctic and North is a region of significant interest to scientists and other researchers, domestically and internationally. Ongoing research and observation in the region seek to address knowledge gaps. Mapping and understanding climate change impacts, vulnerabilities and avenues to adaptation and resilience are keys tasks for research. Other tasks range from geological mapping to tracking species distribution to understanding the socio-economic and cultural impacts of development.

Arctic and Northern peoples want those knowledge gaps filled, but they also want changes to the way knowledge is gathered, created and shared. Our approach to Arctic and-northern research will feature:

- stronger regional and Indigenous involvement in the research process, including:

- setting priorities
- undertaking research itself
- enhanced community-based observation

The research agenda will include more social science research to meet the pressing needs of communities. Indigenous knowledge and scientific knowledge will be equally considered in decision-making.

Collaboration at the international level plays a major role in addressing gaps in our knowledge of the region, particularly given the complexities, interconnectedness and costs related to Arctic and northern science.

Internationally, Canada will:

- bolster its efforts to champion Indigenous knowledge
- facilitate stronger international research collaboration

Indigenous knowledge holders as well as academic institutions and research facilities relating to natural sciences, social sciences and health have built an international reputation for high-quality knowledge and research, though more meaningful and equitable partnerships with Indigenous researchers and institutions must be achieved. The Canadian High Arctic Research Station campus in Nunavut is the newest addition to the pan-northern and Arctic network of research infrastructure welcoming scientists from all over the world.

#### **Goal 4 objectives**

1. Ensure that Arctic and Northern people, including youth and all genders, play a leading role in developing research and other knowledge-creation agendas
2. Ensure that Arctic and Northern people have the tools and research infrastructure to participate in all aspects of the knowledge creation process
3. Increase support for health, social science and humanities research
4. Create and store knowledge in a manner consistent with the self-determination of Indigenous peoples, balancing ethics, accessibility and culture
5. Increase international polar science and research collaboration with full inclusion of Indigenous knowledge
6. Work with partners to implement their research strategies
7. Develop innovative technological solutions on widely-shared community and economic development needs
8. Support development of data collection, production and measurement specifically focused on Arctic and Northern populations
9. Reduce barriers to accessing research funding for Indigenous knowledge holders and organizations

## Goal 5: Canadian Arctic and northern ecosystems are healthy and resilient

Climate change is a lived reality for Canada's Arctic and northern residents. The temperature in the Canadian Arctic has increased at a rate of 2 to 3 times the global average, which has placed immense pressure on Arctic and northern communities, ecosystems and infrastructure.

Rising temperatures are also:

- having widespread impacts on terrestrial and marine ecosystems
- exacerbating the effects of existing threats to biodiversity, such as:
  - habitat shifts
  - invasive alien species

Urgent action is needed to:

- mitigate climate change
- adapt to its current and future impacts
- promote and build resilience through efforts that:
  - increase the availability of, and access to, locally relevant information for decision-making
  - build capacity to reduce risk

Environmental data gathered from information and warning services on weather, water, ice, climate and air quality are an important foundation for situational awareness and can be leveraged to better understand the impacts and risks of changing environmental conditions.

Addressing critical gaps in earth observation across Canada's Arctic and North, and adapting these services to the unique context and evolving needs of the region, will be essential to support effective decision-making.

This will enable communities to be:

- more prepared for emergencies
- better informed
- resilient when it comes to facing the challenges posed by climate change

Minimizing other environmental pressures, such as pollution, will help to reduce adverse effects. Sustainable management of natural resources, conservation of biodiversity and the safeguarding and restoration of ecosystems are necessary to protect the Arctic and northern environment and communities. Indigenous peoples continue to play a unique role in stewardship of northern ecosystems, including through guardians programs, which work to protect sensitive areas and species, monitor ecological health and maintain cultural sites.

Some of the most pressing environmental issues affecting Canada's Arctic and North, from climate change to contaminants to marine pollution, cannot be managed through domestic action alone as the sources of the problems largely originate in areas outside of the region. While these environmental issues are global in scope, there is a disproportionate impact on the health of northern Canadians, in

particular on Indigenous peoples who live off the land. For this reason, Canada will play a leadership role in advocating for more timely and ambitious international action to address environmental challenges that have an impact on Arctic and northern environments and peoples.

**Goal 5 objectives:**

1. Accelerate and intensify national and international reductions of greenhouse gas emissions and short-lived climate pollutants
2. Ensure conservation, restoration and sustainable use of ecosystems and species
3. Support sustainable use of species by Indigenous peoples
4. Approach the planning, management and development of Arctic and northern environments in a holistic and integrated manner
5. Partner with territories, provinces and Indigenous peoples to recognize, manage and conserve culturally and environmentally significant areas
6. Facilitate greater understanding of climate change impacts and adaptation options through monitoring and research, including Indigenous-led and community-based approaches
7. Enhance support for climate adaptation and resilience efforts
8. Enhance understanding of the vulnerabilities of ecosystems and biodiversity and the effects of environmental change
9. Ensure safe and environmentally-responsible shipping
10. Decommission or remediate all contaminated sites
11. Strengthen pollution prevention and mitigation regionally, nationally and internationally

**Goal 6: The rules-based international order in the Arctic responds effectively to new challenges and opportunities**

The circumpolar Arctic is well-known for its stability and high level of international cooperation, a product of the robust rules-based international order in the Arctic that Canada played an instrumental role in shaping. The rules-based international order is the sum of international rules, norms and institutions that govern international affairs. It benefits the national and global interest by fostering peace and stability for the Arctic; conditions which are necessary for Arctic and northern communities to thrive socially, economically and environmentally.

The international order is not static; it evolves over time to address new opportunities and challenges. The Arctic and the North is in a period of rapid change that is the product of both climate change and changing geopolitical trends. As such, international rules and institutions will need to evolve to address the new challenges and opportunities facing the region. As it has done in the past, Canada will bolster its international leadership at this critical time, in partnership with Northerners and Indigenous peoples, to ensure that the evolving international order is shaped in a

manner that protects and promotes Canadian interests and values. These interests and values are widely shared by Arctic states and include:

- improving the lives of Indigenous peoples and Northerners
- protecting the region's fragile environment
- strengthening the voices of Northerners, especially Indigenous peoples

The international rules and institutions that form part of the rules-based international order will also play a critical role in helping Canada resolve our outstanding boundary disputes and continental shelf overlaps in the Arctic.

### **Goal 6 objectives**

1. Bolster Canadian leadership in multilateral forums where polar issues are discussed and decided upon
2. Enhance the representation and participation of Arctic and northern Canadians in relevant international forums and negotiations
3. Strengthen bilateral cooperation with Arctic and key non-Arctic states and actors
4. Define more clearly Canada's marine areas and boundaries in the Arctic

### **Goal 7: The Canadian Arctic and North and its people are safe, secure and well-defended.**

In the Arctic and the North, as in the rest of Canada, safety, security and defence are essential prerequisites for healthy communities, strong economies and a sustainable environment. Climate change is having far-reaching effects on the lives and well-being of northerners, threatening food security and the transportation of essential goods and endangering the stability and functioning of delicate ecosystems and critical infrastructure.

As the region becomes increasingly accessible due to the effects of climate change and improvements in cold-weather technologies, the region is emerging as an area of international strategic, military and economic importance, with both Arctic and non-Arctic states expressing a variety of interests in the region's potential.

- Steady increases in domestic and foreign-based tourism, scientific research and commercial activities are being experienced in the Canadian and circumpolar Arctic.
- There is also increased vessel traffic through the various waterways commonly referred to as the "Northwest Passage," which is part of Canada's internal waters.

The relationship between the land and these waterways is unique in Canada's north. For thousands of years, the Inuit have lived on; traveled across; and hunted, fished and trapped in the Canadian Arctic, making no distinction between the frozen land and the frozen sea. These practices continue and remain vital to Inuit culture and the Inuit economy today.

In today’s increasingly complex Arctic and northern environment, the continued safety and security of the North depends on strengthened emergency management and community safety, including the enhanced presence and ability to respond of security providers, such as the:

- Canadian Armed Forces<sup>10</sup>
- Royal Canadian Mounted Police
- Canadian Border Services Agency

Strengthened emergency management requires a coordinated strategy, including enhanced participation of Indigenous representatives; this will be essential in building community resilience and capacity against emergencies and natural disasters.

Northern communities experience multiple risk factors and other challenges that affect their ability to respond to crime issues, such as remote geographical location and limited capacity. Culturally-sensitive crime prevention and community safety planning initiatives build knowledge and capacity that are required in order to support healthy, safe and stronger communities.

Improved situational awareness, including through NORAD and the Maritime Security Operations Centres, will also be key to protecting our north now and into the future. In this context, Canada will:

- continue to demonstrate its sovereignty
- defend North America from conventional and advanced military threats
- protect the integrity and sustainability of our northern economy, environment and critical infrastructure
- ensure a safe and secure transportation system
- safeguard the technological advantage that the Canadian Armed Forces rely on to defend our north
- effectively manage border security
- enhance the ability of the Canadian Coast Guard to help provide partners with essential Maritime Domain Awareness
- support the safety and prosperity of northern peoples and communities

Collaboration among all levels of government, with Indigenous and northern peoples and communities, and with international allies and partners, will be important.

### **Goal 7 objectives**

1. Strengthen Canada’s cooperation and collaboration with domestic and international partners on safety, security and defence issues

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<sup>10</sup> The Safety, security and defence chapter of this *Arctic and Northern Policy Framework* does not describe all that the Canadian Armed forces are doing to defend Canada’s Arctic and North. A comprehensive account of Canadian Armed Force’s activities in the Arctic can be found in Canada’s defence policy, *Strong, Secure, Engaged* (PDF, 13.5 Mb, 113 pages).

2. Enhance Canada’s military presence as well as prevent and respond to safety and security incidents in the Arctic and the North
3. Strengthen Canada’s domain awareness, surveillance and control capabilities in the Arctic and the North
4. Enforce Canada’s legislative and regulatory frameworks that govern transportation, border integrity and environmental protection in the Arctic and the North
5. Increase the whole-of-society emergency management capabilities in Arctic and northern communities
6. Support community safety through effective and culturally-appropriate crime prevention initiatives and policing services

**Goal 8: Reconciliation supports self-determination and nurtures mutually respectful relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples**

In its final report, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada describes reconciliation as “establishing and maintaining a mutually respectful relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in this country. In order for that to happen, there has to be awareness of the past, acknowledgement of the harm that has been inflicted, atonement for the causes and action to change behaviour.”

The Qikiqtani Truth Commission based in Nunavut also called for a new relationship between government and Qikiqtani Inuit grounded in “awareness and acknowledgement of past wrongs, and commitment on both sides to collaborate in building a better future.” In recent years, the Government of Canada has publicly recognized the negative impacts of its past policies upon Indigenous peoples, for instance through the:

- Statement of Apology to Former Students of Indian Residential Schools in 2008)
- Apology for the Inuit High Arctic relocation in 2010
- Statement of Apology on Behalf of the Government of Canada to Former Students of the Newfoundland and Labrador Residential Schools in 2017

The Government of Canada will continue to redress past wrongs, acknowledge harm and raise awareness. The government is also working to take actions to improve and renew relationships with Indigenous peoples through distinctions-based approaches that respect the unique rights, interests and circumstances of Inuit, First Nations and Métis peoples. The Government of Canada is moving towards the recognition and implementation of rights as the basis for Canada’s relationship with Inuit First Nations and Métis. Canada has also committed to exploring new ways of working together, including through the Inuit-Crown Partnership and the other permanent bilateral mechanisms formed to jointly advance shared priorities.

The improvement and devolution of governance to give all people in Canada’s Arctic and north more control over their lives will underpin reconciliation, build

long-term capacity and contribute to the building of healthier and more resilient communities. The vast majority of Indigenous self-governments are found in the north. Innovative approaches to self-determination have also been established through public governments.

One of the roles of the federal government is to advance self-determination for Canada's Arctic and northern residents, including the devolution of province-like powers to territorial governments. This helps enable a locally-based approach to reconciliation, to be undertaken together by the peoples of the Arctic and north.

In addition to the recognition of rights and innovative forms of governance and collaboration, reconciliation in Canada's Arctic and north means closing the socio-economic gaps that exist between Arctic and northern Indigenous peoples and other Canadians. Canada will work with Indigenous governments and organizations, territories, provinces and other partners to close these gaps. This will be achieved, in part, through the implementation of the:

- *Calls to Action of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*
- *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*
- goals and objectives articulated in this framework

### **Goal 8 objectives**

1. Honour, uphold and implement the rights of Arctic and northern Indigenous peoples, including those outlined in historic and modern treaties and in the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*
2. Change federal operating practices and processes in support of increased self-determination and representation of Arctic and northern Indigenous peoples, and recognize the unique operating environment of various Indigenous and public governments in the Arctic and north
3. Ensure that Arctic and northern Indigenous peoples have the opportunity, choice and capacity to enter into treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements with the Crown that provide a foundation for ongoing relations
4. Reclaim, revitalize, maintain and strengthen the cultures of Arctic and Northern Indigenous peoples, including their languages and knowledge systems
5. Complete outstanding devolution commitments, including the devolution of land, inland waters and resource management in Nunavut
6. Work with Indigenous governments and organizations, provinces, territories and other partners to close socioeconomic gaps between Arctic and northern Indigenous peoples and other Canadians
7. Continue to redress past wrongs against Indigenous peoples

## Conclusion: Next steps

The development of this framework has strengthened collaborative relationships between framework partners and among federal government departments. This development of new ways of working together is, in itself, a significant achievement.

In the second phase of the framework, governance mechanisms will be co-developed through discussions among framework partners, the governments and Indigenous peoples' organizations that worked together on the first part of the framework. These mechanisms will describe how partners will regularly collaborate to share information and assess progress on framework implementation, building on significant developments in governance over the last 50 years. Governance mechanisms will:

- support the jurisdictional and institutional landscape created by devolution, modern treaties and land claim and self-government agreements
- adhere to the principles of partnership articulated in *A New Shared Arctic Leadership Model*, the final report of Mary Simon, the Minister's Special Representative on Arctic Leadership
- meet partners' expectations for meaningful, ongoing involvement in policy decisions related to their interests
- provide a forum for all partners to be regularly convened for collaborative discussions on implementation of the framework
- commit to reconciliation in the context of renewed federal-provincial-territorial-Indigenous relationships
- ensure that existing fora, such as the Inuit Crown Partnership Committee, the Yukon Forum, and the Intergovernmental Council of the Northwest Territories, are leveraged to assist in implementation
- reflect the authorities and powers of territorial, provincial and Indigenous governments

Financial investment in the framework will be an integral element of its success. Partners will work together to develop an implementation and investment plan. The plan will outline how new investments together with other economic and regulatory levers will be used to contribute to implementation of the framework.

The implementation and investment plan will:

- define new investments
- provide information on how partners' funding initiatives are aligned with and supportive of the goals and objectives described in the ANPF policy statement, including in partner chapters
- provide strategic alignment and flexibility of investments to accommodate the unique nature of 'doing business' in the Arctic and north
- define indicators, data collection and reporting commitments related to specific funding and initiatives

## **Annex: Principles for the Arctic and Northern Policy Framework**

The principles below were developed to provide continuing guidance on implementation of the framework.

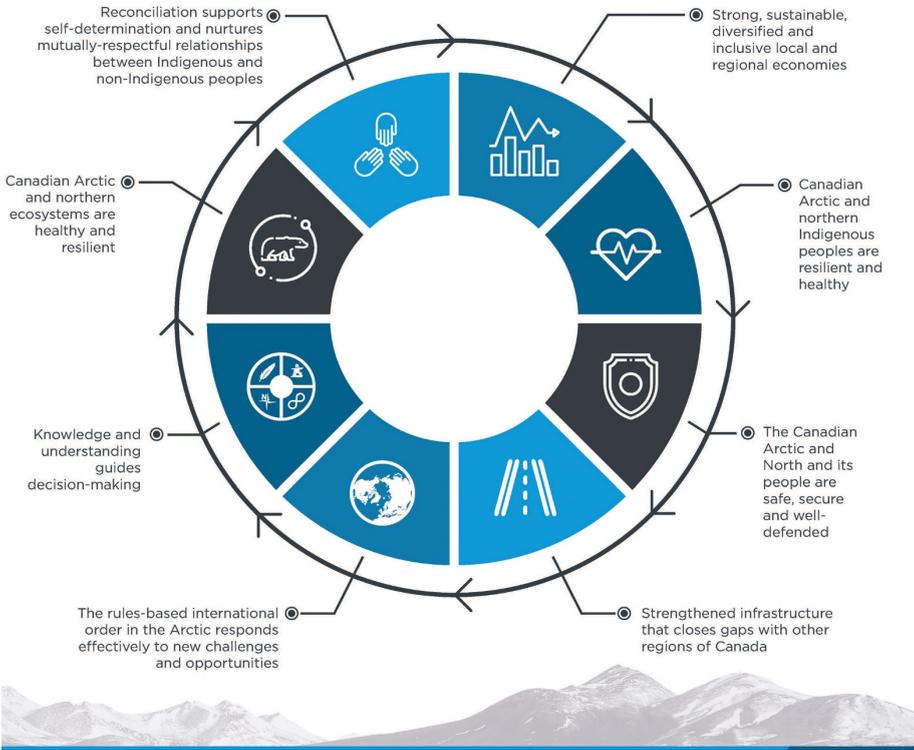
- Decisions about the Arctic and the North will be made in partnership with and with the participation of northerners, to reflect the rights, needs and perspectives of northerners
- The rights and jurisdictions of Canada's federal, territorial, provincial Indigenous and municipal governments will be respected
- Development should be sustainable and holistic, integrating social, cultural, economic and environmental considerations
- Ongoing reconciliation with Indigenous peoples, using the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission as a starting point, is foundational to success
- As climate change is a lived reality in the region, initiatives will take into account its various impacts, including its impact on Indigenous northerners, who continue to rely on the land and wildlife for their culture, traditional economy, and food security
- Policy and programming will reflect a commitment to diversity and equality, and to the employment of analytical tools such as Gender-Based Analysis Plus to assess potential impacts on diverse groups of people
- The framework will respect a distinctions-based approach to ensure that the unique rights, interests and circumstances of Inuit, Arctic and northern First Nations and Métis are acknowledged, affirmed and implemented
- The Government of Canada recognizes Inuit, First Nations, and Métis as the Indigenous peoples of Canada, consisting of distinct, rights-bearing communities with their own histories, including with the Crown
  - The work of forming renewed relationships based on the recognition of rights, respect, co-operation and partnership must reflect the unique interests, priorities and circumstances of each people
- Every sector of society, from the private sector to universities and colleges, the not-for-profit sector, community-based organizations and individual Canadians, has an important part to play in building a strong Canadian Arctic and North.

### **Introduction to partners' chapters**

The content in the Arctic and Northern Policy Framework was discussed over the course of more than a year by the partners in the co-development process. The ideas, the aspirations, and the goals and objectives are the result of the meeting of many minds and perspectives. This often meant compromise on the part of governments

and Indigenous partners as we strove for consensus. As part of the development of the framework, we decided it was important for partners to be able to express themselves directly, to lay out their visions, aspirations and priorities. While the framework chapters are an integral part of this process, they do not necessarily reflect the views of either the federal government, or of the other partners.

The **framework** builds on 8 overarching and interconnected goals:





## 10. Arctic and Northern Policy Framework International chapter, September 2019

### Our reality

#### Permanent Participants

Six Indigenous peoples' organizations are Permanent Participants at the Arctic Council. The category of "Permanent Participant" was created to provide for the active participation and full consultation of the Arctic Indigenous representatives within the Arctic Council.

Indigenous peoples from Canada are represented by the following organizations:

- **Arctic Athabaskan Council (AAC)** represents approximately 45,000 people across Northwest Territories, Yukon and Alaska.
- **Gwich'in Council International (GCI)** represents approximately 9,000 Gwich'in in Northwest Territories, Yukon and Alaska.
- **Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC)** represents approximately 160,000 Inuit of Canada, Alaska, Chukotka (Russia) and Greenland.

Canada is one of 8 Arctic states; the others are Kingdom of Denmark (including Greenland and Faroe Islands), Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden and the United States. There are 4 million people living in the circumpolar Arctic, including approximately half a million Indigenous peoples.

The circumpolar Arctic is well known for its high level of international cooperation on a broad range of issues, a product of the robust rules-based international order that is the sum of international rules, norms and institutions that govern international affairs in the Arctic. Despite increased interest in the region from both Arctic and non-Arctic states, Canada continues to cooperate effectively with international and domestic partners to ensure the Arctic remains a region of peace and stability.

For Canada, the Arctic Council is the pre-eminent forum for Arctic cooperation. Established in 1996 in Ottawa, the Council brings together Arctic states, Indigenous peoples and observers to address sustainable development and environmental protection of the Arctic, issues of importance to Northerners. The Council is especially notable for the inclusion of Indigenous peoples' organizations that sit at the table alongside Arctic states to participate in discussions. This arrangement has been crucial to the Arctic Council's success, as it ensures Indigenous voices are heard and reflected in Arctic Council deliberations and decisions.

The Arctic Council's work has led to the development of other forums that examine specific issues, such as coordinated response to emergencies at sea through the Arctic Coast Guard Forum; economic development through the Arctic Economic Council; and circumpolar education and research through the University of the Arctic (UArctic). Other multilateral institutions that are important to Canada include

a number of United Nations (UN) organizations that make decisions affecting the Arctic on a wide range of issues including climate change, shipping and contaminants.

An extensive international legal framework applies to the Arctic Ocean. The law of the sea, including the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), sets out states' rights, jurisdiction and obligations in various maritime zones, the delineation of the outer limits of the continental shelf, navigation, managing natural resources, the protection of the marine environment and other uses of the sea.

Canada is one of 5 Arctic Ocean Coastal States (A5); the others are Kingdom of Denmark, Norway, Russia and the United States. The A5 have a clear interest in decision-making related to the management of the Arctic Ocean.

There are an increasing number of legally binding treaties on a wide range of Arctic-specific issues. The Arctic Council has provided a forum for the negotiation of 3 important legally binding treaties on scientific cooperation, oil spill preparedness and response, and search and rescue. Treaties have also been negotiated outside the auspices of the Arctic Council on issues such as fisheries, polar bear and caribou management, to name only a few.

While Canada has a long history of bilateral cooperation with Arctic states to address Arctic-related issues, cooperation with non-Arctic states is a new but growing area of cooperation. Thirteen non-Arctic states from Europe and Asia have been admitted as accredited observers to the Arctic Council. Many of these states have developed their own Arctic policies and strategies and are looking to increase their engagement in the region.

International cooperation in the Arctic, as in other regions of the world, is guided by the UN's 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The 2030 Agenda is a people-centred global framework focusing on 17 sustainable development goals (SDGs) that balance the social, economic and environmental dimensions of sustainable development and integrate peace, governance and justice elements. The SDGs are universal in nature, meaning that Canada has committed to implementing them at home and abroad.

## **Challenges and opportunities**

The Arctic is a geopolitically important region. Global interest in this region is surging as climate change and natural hazards profoundly affect the Arctic. Climate-driven changes are making Arctic waters more accessible, leading to growing international interest in the prospects for Arctic shipping, fisheries and natural resources development. At the same time, there is growing international interest in protecting the fragile Arctic ecosystem from the impacts of climate change.

The Government of Canada is firmly asserting its presence in the North. Canada's Arctic sovereignty is longstanding and well established. Every day, through a wide range of activities, governments, Indigenous peoples, and local communities all express Canada's enduring sovereignty over its Arctic lands and waters. Canada

will continue to exercise the full extent of its rights and sovereignty over its land territory and its Arctic waters, including the Northwest Passage.

Looking to the future, Canada sees 3 key opportunities in the circumpolar Arctic:

1. **Strengthen the rules-based international order in the Arctic**, which has already helped ensure the region remains peaceful and stable. The international order in the Arctic is not static; rules and processes evolve over time to address new opportunities and challenges. Canada has an opportunity to bolster its international leadership to ensure that the evolving international order in the Arctic is shaped in a manner that protects and promotes Canadian interests and values, such as human and environmental security, gender equality and meaningful engagement of Northerners, especially Indigenous peoples.
2. **More clearly define Canada's Arctic boundaries**, including by defining the outer limits of Canada's continental shelf in the Arctic Ocean and seeking appropriate opportunities to resolve outstanding boundary issues. International rules and institutions will play an important role in helping Canada address these issues.
3. **Broaden Canada's international engagement to contribute to the priorities of Canada's Arctic and North**, including socio-economic development, enhanced knowledge, environmental protection and reconciliation with Indigenous peoples. In a globalized world, addressing many of the issues facing Canada's Arctic and North requires all levels of government to use both domestic and international policy levers. This work will be guided by Canada's commitment to implement the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and to advance Indigenous rights globally.

Across these proposed areas of circumpolar cooperation, Canada continues to champion the integration of diversity and gender considerations into projects and initiatives, guided by Canada's feminist foreign policy. Like other Canadians, Arctic and Northern peoples are diverse, and policy solutions must be tailored to their unique needs with respect to gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity and socio-economic status. We know from practice that respect for diversity and gender equality is a source of strength and can drive socio-economic development in the circumpolar Arctic.

## **Priorities and proposed activities**

Moving forward, Canada will pursue a vigorous and principled international Arctic policy that positions us to address these three key opportunities facing the circumpolar Arctic. To meet these opportunities, Canada's international activities will be guided by the six following goals.

## **Goal: The rules-based international order in the Arctic responds effectively to new challenges and opportunities**

Canada's international engagement will contribute to the following objectives:

- bolster Canadian leadership in multilateral forums where polar issues are discussed and decided upon
- enhance the representation and participation of Arctic and Northern Canadians in relevant international forums and negotiations
- strengthening bilateral cooperation with Arctic and key non-Arctic states and actors
- defining more clearly Canada's marine areas and boundaries in the Arctic

An effective rules-based international order in the Arctic is essential for maintaining peace and stability in the region and helping Arctic and Northern peoples thrive socially, economically and environmentally. Canada will both utilize and support the international order in 4 key ways.

First, we will strengthen our leadership and engagement in the key multilateral forums that make decisions affecting the Arctic. We will focus our engagement in the Arctic Council, seeking to increase the impact of its work to Northerners. We will prioritize meaningful Canadian participation and contributions to the work of the Arctic Council's working groups and task forces, with a particular focus on bolstering the Council's work on the human dimension, including social, health, economic and cultural issues. We will also continue to advocate for the modernization of the Arctic Council, notably its ongoing transition from a policy-shaping to a policy-making body, improve monitoring and reporting of national implementation of Arctic Council recommendations and decisions, and enhance strategic communication of the Arctic Council's work at home and abroad.

As a coastal state, Canada will work with partners to enhance management of the Arctic Ocean through, among others, implementing the Agreement to Prevent Unregulated Fishing in the Central Arctic Ocean. Upon its entry into force, Canada will have a legal obligation to advance the Agreement's objectives, particularly in support of a joint program of scientific research and monitoring. We will also engage in other key multilateral forums including the Arctic Economic Council, Arctic Coast Guard Forum, North Atlantic Treaty Organization and key UN organizations that make decisions affecting the Arctic, such as the International Maritime Organization and the World Meteorological Organization.

### **Enhancing Canada's Global Arctic Leadership**

Canada is strongly committed to enhancing our leadership in the Arctic Council in support of the rules-based international order in the Arctic.

To support this objective, Canada commits to the following actions:

- strengthening Government of Canada capacity to contribute to the work of the Arctic Council's working groups and task forces;

- establishing a Canadian-based permanent secretariat for the Sustainable Development Working Group that will bolster the Arctic Council's work on the human dimension;
- providing increased, coordinated and stable funding to strengthen the capacity of the Canada-based Indigenous Permanent Participants to engage in Arctic Council projects.

Second, Canada will enhance the representation and participation of Arctic and Northern Canadians, especially Indigenous peoples, in relevant international forums and negotiations. In the Arctic Council, Canada has seen firsthand the valuable contributions Indigenous peoples and Northerners make by bringing their unique concerns and perspectives to the table and how this leads to better decision making. However, Indigenous Permanent Participants face considerable capacity challenges keeping up with the growing workload of the Arctic Council and other multilateral forums that make decisions affecting the Arctic. Canada will, therefore, seek to enhance the capacity of the Canada-based Indigenous Permanent Participants and champion the enhanced representation of Arctic and Northern Indigenous peoples in relevant international forums, key multi-stakeholder events, and treaty negotiations.

Canada will also take a more collaborative approach to international Arctic policy through early and sustained engagement with territorial and provincial governments, Indigenous partners and Arctic and Northern peoples more generally. We will strengthen existing domestic engagement mechanisms on Canada's international Arctic policy that bring together federal, territorial, provincial and Indigenous officials. We will promote opportunities for territorial, provincial and Indigenous partners to support or join the Canadian delegation at international Arctic meetings, key multi-stakeholder events such as Arctic Circle and treaty negotiations. We will enhance domestic communication efforts to inform and keep Arctic and Northern peoples up-to-date on the full breadth of Canada's international Arctic engagement. We will also increase engagement with Arctic and Northern youth and civil society in order to create new partnerships in support of shared objectives in the region.

Third, Canada will strengthen bilateral cooperation with Arctic and key non-Arctic states and actors by leveraging its global network of diplomatic missions. Specifically, we will target cooperation with our North American Arctic partners: the United States-Alaska and Kingdom of Denmark-Greenland. Demographic, geographic and socio-economic similarities between the Canadian Arctic and North, Alaska and Greenland provide a strong case for cooperation. We will also work closely with territorial, provincial and Indigenous partners to identify opportunities for new or enhanced sub-national cooperation with Alaska and Greenland. We will also expand our engagement in existing bilateral partnerships, such as the North American Aerospace Defence Command.

Additionally, we will regularize a bilateral dialogue with the United States on Arctic issues as this will strengthen the leadership role both countries take on Arctic

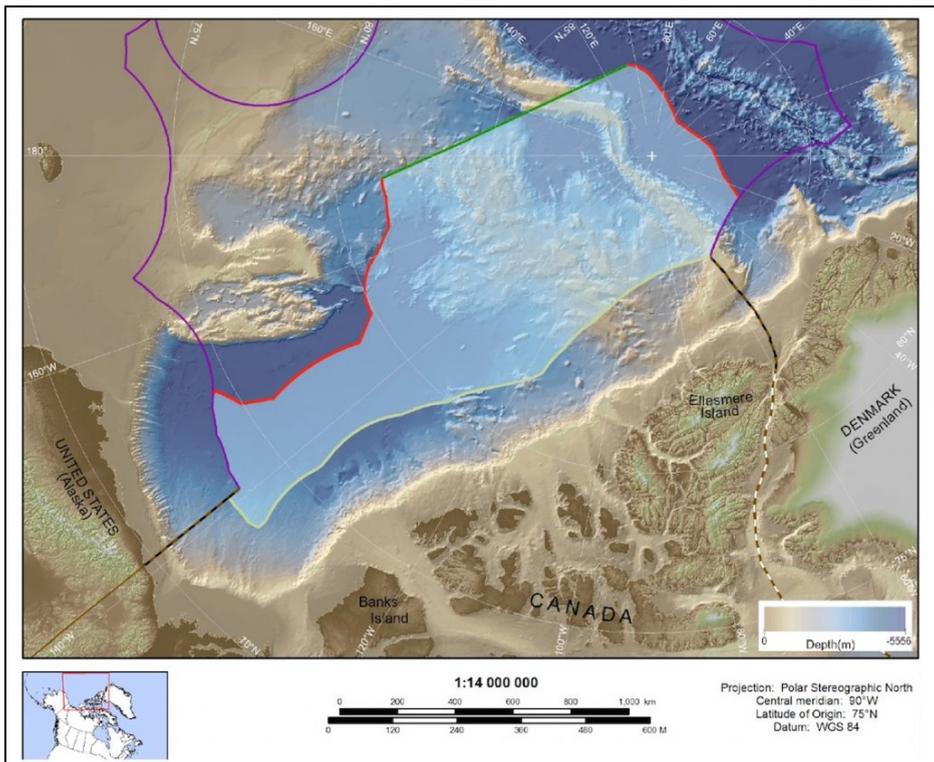
issues and enhance the Canada-U.S. bilateral relationship across government and with Northerners.

We will pursue enhanced cooperation with the five Nordic states, including Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, as like-minded partners in the Arctic that provide important regional perspectives. We will achieve this goal by seeking to establish regular bilateral Arctic dialogues with the Nordic states and exploring regional cooperation on a project basis with interested Nordic bodies such as the Nordic Council of Ministers.

We will take steps to restart a regular bilateral dialogue on Arctic issues with Russia in key areas related to Indigenous issues, scientific cooperation, environmental protection, shipping and search and rescue. Such dialogues recognize the common interests, priorities and challenges faced by Canada, Russia and our respective Arctic and Northern communities as they struggle to adapt to and thrive in rapidly changing conditions, such as sea-ice loss, permafrost thaw and land erosion.

### Continental Shelf

On May 23, 2019 Canada filed a 2100-page submission on the outer limits of the continental shelf in the Arctic Ocean. The submission was prepared in accordance with the scientific and legal requirements set out in the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. It includes 1.2 million square kilometres of seabed and subsoil in the Arctic Ocean and includes the North Pole.



We will also consider establishing Arctic dialogues with key non-Arctic states and actors, where practical, to discuss issues of mutual interest. We will prioritize cooperation with non-Arctic states and actors whose values and scientific, environmental and/or economic interests align with the priorities of Canada's Arctic and Northern peoples as well as Canada's national security interests. Another criterion for cooperation will focus on non-Arctic states who uphold Arctic and Northern values and interests, such as sustainable harvesting of Arctic wildlife and the Indigenous right to self-determination.

Fourth, Canada will work to more clearly define its marine areas and boundaries in the Arctic. Canada has filed a submission on the outer limits of its continental shelf in the Arctic Ocean to the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf and will carry out the necessary post-filing work required to gain international recognition for these outer limits. We will also seek appropriate opportunities to resolve, peacefully and in accordance with international law, Canada's 3 outstanding boundary disputes, one with the United States in the Beaufort Sea and two with the Kingdom of Denmark regarding the Lincoln Sea and Hans Island, as well as any continental shelf overlaps. Further, we will modernize the data used to establish the baselines from which Canada's maritime zones in the Arctic are measured.

## **Goal: Canadian Arctic and Northern Indigenous peoples are resilient and healthy**

Canada's international engagement will contribute to the following objectives:

- eradicate hunger
- reduce suicides
- strengthen mental and physical well-being
- create an environment in which children will thrive, through a focus on education, culture, health and well-being
- close the gaps in education outcomes
- provide ongoing learning and skills development opportunities, including Indigenous-based knowledge and skills
- strengthen Indigenous cultural and family connections across international boundaries

Peoples and communities will continue to be at the heart of Canada's international Arctic engagement. Canada will target its international engagement to advance the goal of healthy and resilient Arctic and Northern peoples, both at home and abroad. Canada's international engagement will be undertaken in an integrated and holistic manner, in recognition that physical and mental health, education, food security and economic development are all interconnected.

## Youth engagement

As a significant demographic in the Canadian Arctic and North, youth are an asset in developing resilient and healthy communities. Canada is committed to providing our Arctic and Northern youth with increased opportunities to participate in, and benefit from, Canada's international Arctic agenda.

To support this objective, Canada commits to the following actions:

- strategically increasing the University of the Arctic's (an international network of universities, colleges, research institutes and other organizations concerned with education and research in and about the Arctic) activities and programming in Canada's Arctic and North;
- enhancing opportunities for youth engagement in the development and implementation of Canada's international Arctic policy and programming.

Canada's international policy will help foster learning and skills development opportunities to Arctic and Northern peoples. We will support circumpolar exchange of information and best practices on early learning as well as post-secondary and early career skills development in remote Arctic and Northern communities. We will also continue to pursue measures that provide Canada's Arctic and Northern youth with international learning opportunities.

Food security is a critical issue for Canada's Arctic and Northern peoples. Canada will work with other Arctic states to identify best practices for increasing the region's food production in support of enhanced food security. We know that Indigenous peoples and women are disproportionately affected by food insecurity, and we will account for that as we undertake this work.

Delivering health-care services can be challenging in the Arctic and North due to the lack of infrastructure and trained professionals, the small populations spread out over vast distances and a need to deliver services in an inclusive, culturally appropriate and responsive manner. Arctic states have pursued different measures for mitigating these challenges, and this presents opportunities to learn from each other's experiences. Canada will prioritize circumpolar exchange of information and best practices and develop culturally relevant and gender-sensitive initiatives related to health and mental wellness in Arctic and Northern communities, with a focus on suicide prevention.

Canada recognises the need to take action to help strengthen long-standing Arctic and Northern Indigenous cultural and family connections across international boundaries. The drawing of boundaries between states separated Indigenous families and cultures and limited their freedom of movement and trade, which has negatively affected many Indigenous communities. We will work to reduce barriers to the mobility of First Nations and Inuit across the Canada-Alaska border, and Inuit mobility across the Canada-Greenland boundary.

## **Goal: Strong, sustainable, diversified and inclusive local and regional economies**

Canada's international engagement will contribute to the following objective:

- Enhance opportunities for trade and investment

From the development of world-class mines to globally acclaimed arts and culture to a robust tourism industry that attracts visitors from around the globe, Canada's Arctic and North has the potential to become a major exporting region and a leading destination for foreign investment. Canada will help fulfill the region's economic potential through enhanced international trade and foreign investment opportunities, which will build on the region's already strong \$2.2 billion in annual exports.<sup>1</sup> Our approach to international trade and foreign investment will be guided by the Pan-Territorial Vision for Sustainable Development, which emphasizes resource development, economic diversification, infrastructure and innovation.

To date, Canada has negotiated 14 international trade agreements that provide access for Canadian exporters to 1.5 billion consumers and \$9.3 trillion in combined gross domestic product. While access to international markets is vital, it is not enough to create jobs and prosperity for Arctic and Northern peoples. Canada must do a better job at helping Arctic and Northern businesses (with unique needs compared to southern businesses) actively pursue international economic opportunities that are aligned with local interests and values.

To address this gap, Canada will use its Trade Commissioner Service to better connect Arctic and Northern businesses, including Indigenous-led businesses and women entrepreneurs, with export opportunities provided by free trade agreements, increase their awareness of Canadian Trade Commissioner Service resources, and help them attract and retain foreign direct investment that increases Canada's competitiveness and safeguards our national security. In addition, through programs such as the National Trade Corridors Fund, Canada will also prioritize investments that strengthen the efficiency, resilience and safety of Arctic and Northern transportation infrastructure and support international trade to and from Canada's Arctic and North.

In line with its Trade Diversification Strategy, Canada is advancing an inclusive approach to trade that ensures all segments of society, including under-represented groups, can take advantage of the opportunities that flow from trade and investment. The approach includes engaging in ongoing dialogue with a wide range of Indigenous partners, so that the Arctic and Indigenous perspectives are reflected in Canada's trade agreements. For example, in the Canada-U.S.-Mexico Agreement, Canada successfully incorporated a general exception that confirms Canada can adopt or maintain measures it deems necessary to fulfill its legal obligations to Indigenous peoples. Other provisions recognize the role and priorities of Indigenous peoples in

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<sup>1</sup> 2016 exports from the Northwest Territories, Nunavut and Yukon.

chapters including environment, investment, textiles and apparel goods, seeking to move toward a more equitable approach for Indigenous peoples in their access to, and ability to benefit from, trade and investment.

Canada will work with Indigenous peoples to engage internationally in support of traditional livelihoods including hunting, fishing and the arts. Specifically, we will support and promote international trade and market access for Indigenous harvested and produced goods, which are too often the targets of unfair trade barriers and animal rights campaigns. We will continue to work closely with Indigenous peoples to ensure that Indigenous and commercial harvesting of Arctic wildlife in Canada is sustainable and effectively managed, and that resources are conserved for future generations.

Canada will support circumpolar business-to-business activities through the Arctic Economic Council (AEC), a product of Canadian leadership and diplomacy. The AEC aims to facilitate responsible business and economic development of the Arctic and its communities by sharing and advocating for best practices, technological solutions and standards. We will enhance Canadian representation and contributions to the work of the AEC to ensure Canadian interests are well represented in its work.

### **Goal: Knowledge and understanding guides decision making**

Canada's international engagement will contribute to the following objective:

- Increasing international polar science and research collaboration with full inclusion of Indigenous knowledge

International cooperation can help us eliminate gaps in our knowledge of the Arctic and North, particularly given the complexities, interconnectedness and costs related to polar science and research. Canada is well placed to play a central role, given our world-class monitoring and research infrastructure assets and our international reputation for high-quality Arctic knowledge and research.

We will achieve our objective of increasing international polar science and research collaboration by providing support for Canadian researchers, including Indigenous knowledge holders conducting international science and research collaboration projects in the circumpolar Arctic. We will complete a review of Canada's international science, technology and innovation agreements to identify opportunities for incorporating Arctic components. We will also strengthen our participation in relevant international scientific and technical bodies, including the working groups of the Arctic Council, Sustaining Arctic Observing Networks, International Arctic Science Committee, Arctic Spatial Data Infrastructure and Open Geospatial Consortium.

Canada will prioritize implementing the Agreement on Enhancing International Arctic Scientific Cooperation, which seeks to enhance circumpolar cooperation that advances our knowledge of the Arctic. We will promote research that values early and

sustained collaboration with Arctic peoples and Northerners, and incorporates Indigenous knowledge alongside science in research efforts. We will also improve the international sharing of scientific data and facilitate the movement of recognized international researchers and equipment within our boundaries. In particular, international scientists will be welcomed to our cutting-edge labs and facilities, including the new Canadian High Arctic Research Station campus in Cambridge Bay, Nunavut. We will also ensure that international researchers are informed and respectful of existing laws, regulations, permitting schemes and the expectations of the region or community they seek to operate in.

While there is growing appreciation of how Indigenous knowledge improves our understanding of the Arctic and North, barriers remain to its equitable and respectful inclusion within international forums. Given our experience in incorporating Indigenous knowledge in domestic decision making, Canada will champion the meaningful inclusion of Indigenous knowledge in international forums that make decisions affecting the Arctic. Alongside Indigenous representatives from Canada, we will seek international support for the terminology of Indigenous knowledge and we will advocate for meaningful and respectful partnerships between Arctic researchers and Indigenous knowledge holders in producing new knowledge.

### **Goal: Canadian Arctic and Northern ecosystems are healthy and resilient**

Canada's international engagement will contribute to the following objectives:

- accelerate and intensify national and international reductions of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions and short-lived climate pollutants
- ensure conservation, restoration and sustainable use of ecosystems and species
- support sustainable use of species by Indigenous peoples
- partner with territories, provinces and Indigenous peoples to recognize, manage and conserve culturally and environmentally significant areas
- facilitate greater understanding of climate change impacts and adaptation options through monitoring and research, including Indigenous-led and community-based approaches
- enhance support for climate adaptation and resilience efforts
- enhance understanding of the vulnerabilities of ecosystems and biodiversity and the effects of environmental change
- ensure safe and environmentally-responsible shipping
- strengthen pollution prevention and mitigation regionally, nationally and internationally

The circumpolar Arctic is warming two to three times more rapidly than the global mean, even though the region is not a leading source of anthropogenic GHG emissions. Canada is taking ambitious action at home to reduce GHG emissions and

drive clean growth, but these actions alone will not be enough to avert the climate change impacts already being experienced in the region. In order to slow the rate of climate change, Canada must work with countries around the world, especially major emitters, to accelerate and intensify international reductions of GHG emissions and short-lived climate pollutants.

To achieve this objective, Canada supports early, ambitious and full domestic and international implementation of the Paris Agreement, including the goal of holding the increase in global average temperature to well below 2°C and pursuing efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C. Recent studies indicate that strong and immediate global action on both carbon dioxide and short-lived climate pollutants is needed to meet these temperature goals. We will support and enhance international efforts through the Arctic Council, UN bodies and other forums to reduce emissions of short-lived climate pollutants, especially black carbon, which has a disproportionate impact on the Arctic. We will facilitate and support the enhancement of Indigenous peoples' international action on climate change issues under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, including by advancing the implementation of its Local Communities and Indigenous Peoples Platform, supporting the establishment of the Indigenous Peoples Focal Point and seeking opportunities to enhance the meaningful involvement of Arctic and Northern Indigenous youth. Finally, we will champion a number of circumpolar initiatives that support the development and deployment of green energy in Arctic and Northern communities, including initiatives related to exchanging knowledge and expertise on renewable and alternative energy technologies.

Canada will also prioritize international cooperation to strengthen the climate resiliency of Arctic and Northern peoples, taking into consideration that women and men sometimes experience certain effects of climate change differently. Arctic and Northern communities, including Indigenous peoples, are among the most exposed to the impacts of climate change, which affects infrastructure, sources of food and water, and physical and mental health. Canada will contribute to the development of tools and scientific assessments on climate change through the Arctic Council, the World Meteorological Organization and the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, where we are committed to strengthening the inclusion of Indigenous knowledge. We will also exchange knowledge and best practices on climate change adaptation through the Arctic Council and other forums, with the goal of increasing local and Indigenous capacity to understand and respond to the impacts of climate change. Canada's space assets (e.g. satellites and associated infrastructure) and Earth observation data will support informed environmental and regulatory decisions and enhance knowledge of changing permafrost, ice, snow, glaciers and ecosystems.

Given our extensive Arctic coastline, Canada will champion regional and international cooperation to protect the Arctic marine environment that is evidence-based and respectful of sub-national and Indigenous interests. The Arctic marine environment is undergoing profound changes from climate change, including

acidification and sea ice melt, which are negatively affecting marine biodiversity and the local and Indigenous communities who rely on these waters as a travel corridor and source of food and income. We will encourage the timely ratification and implementation of the International Agreement to Prevent Unregulated High Seas Fisheries in the Central Arctic Ocean and are committed to actively contributing to the joint program of scientific research and monitoring, under which Arctic fisheries-related research and monitoring are expected to increase.

Canada will cooperate with neighbouring and other states on sustainable marine spatial management of shared ocean areas, including through the establishment of evidence-based marine protected areas. We will work internationally to conserve and protect marine areas of ecological, biological and cultural significance, which may be transboundary or extend beyond Canadian waters. In particular, Canada will partner with Inuit communities and organizations, the governments of Nunavut, Greenland and Denmark and the Inuit Circumpolar Council to expeditiously implement measures in response to the recommendations of the Pikialasorsuaq Commission. We will take an active role in supporting the development of a pan-Arctic network of marine protected areas at the Arctic Council and we will continue to partner with Indigenous peoples to recognize and manage culturally and environmentally significant areas and pursue additional conservation measures, including those led through Indigenous management authorities.

Shipping through Arctic waters is expected to increase, presenting risks to the fragile Arctic marine environment if not managed carefully. International cooperation is therefore essential for managing these risks while protecting competitiveness, given the global nature of shipping. The International Code for Ships Operating in Polar Waters, adopted in 2015 and known as the Polar Code, sets out international safety and pollution prevention regulations. Canada will continue to explore opportunities for the international community to address other safety and separate environmental issues not currently captured by the Polar Code, including its potential application to other types of ships, as well as issues such as underwater noise and grey water. We will support international efforts to mitigate the risks posed by heavy fuel oil. We will also lead efforts at the Arctic Council and other forums to support the environmental and cultural goals of low-impact shipping corridors, recognizing that safe and efficient marine transportation is key to economic development and to unlocking commercial opportunities in Canada's Arctic and North.

Canada will continue to actively engage in international cooperation to reduce releasing contaminants that may have harmful impacts on human health, especially on Indigenous women and children, wildlife and the environment. While most of these contaminants originate elsewhere, they are found throughout the Arctic and include persistent organic pollutants (POPs), mercury, chemicals of emerging concern, hazardous waste and other types of waste such as marine litter and microplastics. Canada will build on the successful history of international cooperation through the Arctic Council, UN organizations and other forums to ensure that

existing multilateral agreements on POPs and mercury are implemented, new pollution is prevented and the effectiveness of these agreements is monitored. We will also work to extend the endorsement of the Ocean Plastics Charter to other countries and encourage further action from Arctic states on marine litter, including plastics and microplastics.

Canada will ensure international cooperation is in place to effectively conserve Arctic biodiversity. We will ensure existing international agreements are implemented, honoured and remain effective in conserving Arctic biodiversity. In particular, we will prioritize cooperation with the United States to ensure the protection and long-term survival of the Porcupine caribou, a species that is vital to Gwich'in culture and livelihood. We will maintain an active and constructive role in efforts related to a new UN agreement on the conservation and sustainable use of marine biodiversity in areas beyond national jurisdiction. We will also ensure continued Indigenous representation in binational management boards, such as the Yukon River Panel and Porcupine Caribou Management Board.

At the same time, Canada will advocate against international efforts that are not supported by science or Indigenous knowledge that seek to prohibit the sustainable use of Arctic wildlife. We will continue to ensure that Indigenous and commercial harvesting of Arctic wildlife in Canada is sustainable and effectively managed, and the resources are conserved for future generations.

### **Goal: Reconciliation supports self-determination and nurtures mutually respectful relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples**

Canada's international engagement will contribute to the following objective:

- reclaim, revitalize, maintain and strengthen the cultures of Arctic and Northern Indigenous peoples, including their languages and knowledge systems

Canada will use its international engagement to preserve and promote Arctic and Northern Indigenous languages, many of which transcend national boundaries. Indigenous languages are essential for the preservation of Indigenous culture and the well-being of Indigenous peoples and communities. Due to globalization and past government policy, the survival of Indigenous languages across the circumpolar region is under increasing threat. We will work with our Arctic partners to facilitate knowledge exchange and best practices related to Indigenous language assessment, monitoring and revitalization.

Canada will promote its globally renowned Arctic and Northern arts and culture sector. Arts and culture have served as important forms of self-expression that have enhanced mental and spiritual well-being and are important sources of economic income for Indigenous peoples. We will encourage and enable collaboration between Arctic and Northern Indigenous and non-Indigenous artists, creators and cultural

agencies across the circumpolar region. We will also enhance international marketing and promotion of artists from Canada's Arctic and North.



compiled by:  
W.K. Dallmann, Norwegian Polar Institute  
P. Schweitzer, University of Alaska Fairbanks

**Arctic peoples subdivided according to language families**

- |   |  |
|---|--|
|  <b>Indo-European family</b>     |  <b>Isolated languages</b><br>(Ketic and Yukagir) |
|  Germanic branch                 |  <b>Eskimo-Aleut family</b>                       |
|  <b>Uralic family</b>            |  Inuit group (of Eskimo br.)                      |
|  Finno-Ugric branch              |  Yupik group (of Eskimo br.)                      |
|  Samoyedic branch                |  Aleut branch                                     |
|  <b>Altaic family</b>            |  <b>Na-Dene family</b>                            |
|  Turkic branch                   |  Athabaskan branch                                |
|  Tungusic branch                 |  Eyak branch                                      |
|  <b>Chukotko-Kamchatkan fam.</b> |  Tlingit branch                                   |

-  Arctic circle
-  Arctic boundary according to AMAP

**Notes:**  
Areas show colours according to the original languages of the respective indigenous peoples, even if they do not speak their languages today.  
Overlapping populations are not shown. The map does not claim to show exact boundaries between the individual language groups.  
Typical colonial populations, which are not traditional Arctic populations, are not shown (Danes in Greenland, Russians in the Russian Federation, non-native Americans in North America).



## **11. Arctic and Northern Policy Framework: Safety, Security, and Defence chapter, September 2019**

In the Arctic and in the North, as in the rest of Canada, safety, security and defence are essential prerequisites for healthy communities, strong economies, and a sustainable environment. This chapter of the Arctic and Northern Policy Framework lays out the objectives and activities that the Government of Canada will pursue through to 2030 as part of its commitment to a safe, secure, and well-defended Arctic and North, and as a continued expression of Canada's enduring sovereignty over our lands and waters.

Canada's Arctic and Northern governments and communities are at the heart of security in the region. Partnership, cooperation and shared leadership are essential to promoting security in this diverse, complex and expansive area. Working in partnership with trusted international allies and all levels of government, including Indigenous communities, organizations and governments, Canada will continue to protect the safety and security of the people in the Arctic and the North, now and into the future.

### **The Arctic and Northern security environment**

There is growing international interest and competition in the Canadian Arctic from state and non-state actors who seek to share in the region's rich natural resources and strategic position. This comes at a time where climate change, combined with advancements in technology, has made access to the region easier. While the Canadian Arctic has historically been — and continues to be — a region of stability and peace, growing competition and increased access brings safety and security challenges to which Canada must be ready to respond.

### **Climate change and increasing accessibility of the Arctic and Northern regions**

Climate change is having far-reaching effects on the lives and well-being of Northerners. Extreme weather events, such as intense storms, wildfires, and floods are occurring more often and with greater severity. These events not only pose an immediate threat to the lives and property of Northerners, but can also impact the security of communities more broadly by severing the crucial transportation and communication links on which Northerners depend. Other climate change effects, including increasingly unpredictable weather patterns, melting permafrost, and changing sea ice conditions, can have an impact on food security, make transportation and travel more difficult, and endanger the stability and functioning of delicate ecosystems.

The remoteness of Arctic and Northern communities also poses a challenge with regard to critical infrastructure (CI) and emergency management (EM)

considerations, which are likely to be exacerbated due to climate change. Melting ice could contribute to an increase in search and rescue requirements within the North. As such, monitoring capabilities of ice conditions and icebergs will need to be augmented to support the increased marine traffic through Northern waterways and to proactively limit EM response requests through cohesive mitigation and prevention efforts. CI requirements will increasingly need to consider a changing demographic and environment to ensure continued provision of essential services and capabilities. Specifically, robust CI is required in order to support communications, EM and military capabilities, and safe transportation within the region.

### **Arctic Maritime traffic**

Every year, more ships, including large government research vessels and commercial cargo vessels, navigate Northern waters. In 2017, more than 190 vessels undertook 385 reported voyages through the Canadian Arctic, a 22% increase over 2016

Tourism vessels are also not uncommon in the Canadian Arctic. In 2016, Northerners saw the first transit of a modern, 1000-passenger, foreign-based cruise ship through the entire Northwest Passage.

Although the warming of the Arctic and the North offers economic opportunities, which would bring much needed socio-economic development, employment and infrastructure investments that are acutely lacking in the region, higher levels of activity could bring the potential for damage to unique ecosystems and may also increase the risks associated with increased movement of people and goods, the pursuit of interests by foreign state and non-state actors in Canada's Arctic and northern territory, and human-induced disasters. It is not difficult to imagine, for example, how a naturally-occurring or human-induced disaster in the Arctic Archipelago would place tremendous strain on the capacities of all levels of government, as well as on local communities, to support affected people and minimize the damage to affected wildlife, infrastructure, and ecosystems.

### **Growing international interest in the Arctic**

While Canada sees no immediate threat in the Arctic and the North, as the region's physical environment changes, the circumpolar North is becoming an area of strategic international importance, with both Arctic and non-Arctic states expressing a variety of economic and military interests in the region. As the Arctic becomes more accessible, these states are poised to conduct research, transit through, and engage in more trade in the region. Given the growing international interest and competition in the Arctic, continued security and defence of Canada's Arctic requires effective safety and security frameworks, national defence, and deterrence.

In particular, easier access to the Arctic may contribute to greater foreign presence in Canadian Arctic waterways. On this matter, Canada remains committed to

exercising its sovereignty, including in the various waterways commonly referred to as the Northwest Passage.

Similarly, Canada's Arctic and natural resources are attracting interest from foreign states and enterprises. Foreign investment, research, and science have the potential to improve the lives of Northerners. However, some of these investments and related economic activities could seek to advance interests that may be in opposition to those of Canada. Recognizing that economic growth and investment in the Arctic supports good jobs, healthy people and strong communities, there are also security risks associated with these investments that could impact the well-being of Northerners. Canada will continue to balance needed economic development while ensuring that security in the Arctic and the North is maintained.

While the circumpolar Arctic can and should continue to benefit from a deeply ingrained culture of international cooperation, this cooperation must not result in complacency at a time of increased interest and competition from both Arctic and non-Arctic states who see the region's political, economic, scientific, strategic and military potential. In some cases, states with interests in the Arctic are using a broad range of military capabilities and other state-controlled assets as they work to collect intelligence and position themselves to access or control sensitive sites, infrastructure, and strategic resources — potentially under the appearance of productive activities. In addition, rapid changes in military and strategic technologies including remotely-piloted systems, as well as the rise of competition in new domains such as space, artificial intelligence, and cyber, are likely to have a significant impact on the way states pursue their interests, and gives them the ability to project military force in the Arctic and North America. The long-term objectives of some of these states remain unclear, and their interests may not always align with our own.

Canada's interest is to maintain the long-standing peace and stability in the region. While Canada is open to cooperation with other states regarding the Arctic, our security priority will always be the protection of Northerners and our broader national interests against competing interests.

Taken together, the opportunities, challenges, increased competition, and risks created by a more accessible Arctic require a greater presence of security organizations, strengthened emergency management, effective military capability, and improved situational awareness. Meeting these demands necessitates a collaborative approach among all levels of government, as well as with Northerners, including Indigenous peoples, and in cooperation with the private sector where relevant to ensure that the region can prosper and that it continues to be a zone of peace and cooperation.

### **Goal: The Canadian Arctic and North and its people are safe, secure, and well-defended**

One of the primary objectives of the Government of Canada is to protect the safety and security of Northerners and safeguard the ability to defend both the

Canadian Arctic and North America now and into the future. To meet this goal the Government of Canada will continue to advance the following objectives:

- Strengthen Canada’s cooperation and collaboration with domestic and international partners on safety, security and defence issues
- Enhance Canada’s military presence as well as prevent and respond to safety and security incidents in the Arctic and the North
- Strengthen Canada’s domain awareness, surveillance, and control capabilities in the Arctic and the North
- Enforce Canada’s legislative and regulatory frameworks that govern transportation, border integrity, and environmental protection in the Arctic and the North
- Increase the whole-of-society emergency management capabilities in Arctic and Northern communities
- Support community safety through effective and culturally-appropriate crime prevention initiatives and policing services

This approach is needed to secure Canada’s wider interests in the region, and to protect the people and communities who call the Canadian Arctic home.

### **Objective 1: Strengthen Canada’s cooperation and collaboration with domestic and international partners on safety, security and defence issues**

The complexity of the Arctic security environment places a premium on collaboration between all levels of government, local and Indigenous communities and peoples, and trusted international partners. Keeping pace with the evolving safety, security, and defence challenges facing the Arctic and its peoples requires improving the ways we work together.

#### **Domestic partnerships**

To further our collective ability to operate and respond to the unique safety and security challenges in the Arctic, safety and security organizations at all levels will continue to work together to identify common priorities, synchronize planning, and enhance our interoperability, including in fora such as the Arctic Security Working Group.

Operation NANOOK — Canada’s signature domestic Arctic operation — reinforces the Canadian Armed Forces as a key partner in Arctic safety and security. Through Operation NANOOK, the Canadian Armed Forces delivers training, develops partnerships, and helps improve the readiness of federal, territorial, Indigenous, and municipal partners, as well as international partners. The Canadian Armed Forces also shares a number of facilities with local and federal partners, including a state-of-the-art cold-weather training facility in Resolute Bay, Nunavut, and Natural Resources Canada’s Polar Continental Shelf Program. Going forward, the Canadian Armed Forces will continue to use Operation NANOOK and shared

facilities to foster a collaborative approach to addressing Arctic safety, security, and defence challenges.

### **Canadian Rangers**

Canadian Rangers, a component of the Canadian Armed Forces Reserves, is the Canadian Armed Forces' 'eyes and ears' in the Arctic and in the North. Its primary role is to provide a military presence in those sparsely settled Northern, coastal, and isolated areas of Canada which are not otherwise served by the Canadian Armed Forces.

The Canadian Armed Forces will also continue to deepen its extensive relationships with Indigenous governments, organizations and Northern communities, and will continue to engage with local populations as a routine part of its Arctic operations and exercises. For example, the Canadian Armed Forces will continue to enhance training and the operational effectiveness of the Canadian Rangers so that they can better contribute and respond to safety and security incidents, strengthen domain awareness, and express Canadian sovereignty. The Government of Canada also attaches great value to the Junior Canadian Ranger program, as it provides opportunities for youth in remote Arctic and Northern communities to build and share traditional and other life skills in remote and isolated communities throughout the Arctic and North, and across Canada.

Likewise, Transport Canada, the Canadian Coast Guard, Environment and Climate Change Canada, and the Canadian Hydrographic Service of the Department of Fisheries and Oceans will work with territorial, provincial, and Indigenous governments to build partnerships to collaboratively manage shipping in the Arctic and the North. Together, partners will identify Northern Low-Impact Shipping Corridors, and develop a governance framework to promote safer marine transportation in the North and ensure the provision of essential services to Arctic and Northern communities while respecting the environment.

### **International cooperation**

Just as partnerships at the domestic level are critical to ensuring the safety and security of Canada's Arctic, it is equally important to work with other Arctic states and international partners in the broader region. Through the Arctic Council's Emergency Prevention, Preparedness, and Response Working Group, for instance, a number of federal government departments collaborate with other Arctic states on how best to address natural or human-induced disasters. As a signatory to the Agreement on Cooperation on Aeronautical and Maritime Search and Rescue in the Arctic, Canada is also actively working alongside the other seven Arctic states to strengthen air and maritime search and rescue. Recognizing the shared challenge posed by search and rescue in the Arctic, this agreement, signed in 2011, coordinates international search and rescue coverage and response in the Arctic, and establishes the area of responsibility of each state. This agreement is one of many that Canada is

a signatory to, which highlights the continued importance of international cooperation and our ability to comprehensively respond to incidents.

Building on this essential international cooperation, the Canadian Coast Guard is an active participant in the Arctic Coast Guard Forum, an independent, informal, and operationally-driven organization comprised of representatives from all Arctic states. The Forum is intended to foster safe, secure, and environmentally responsible maritime activity in the Arctic, and provide a venue for information sharing and joint exercises on issues including search and rescue and environmental response. Through this unique forum, the Canadian Coast Guard will continue to share best practices and Canadian expertise with its counterparts, while also supporting the broader environmental protection and sustainable development goals of the Arctic Council.

As the Arctic makes up a large portion of the air and maritime approaches to North America, Canada will continue to work in close partnership with the United States to ensure that we remain secure in North America by being positioned to deter and defend against threats to the continent, including from our Northern approaches. The binational North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD), and the strong relationships fostered through the Tri-Command structure which includes NORAD, Canadian Joint Operations Command, and United States Northern Command, remain as relevant for continental defence today. Canada remains firmly committed to modernizing NORAD with the United States to meet current and future threats to North America, as outlined in the Joint Statement from President Donald Trump and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, in February 2017.

Canada and its Arctic partners share many of the same challenges in the Arctic, which provides an opportunity to leverage each other's efforts in support of our common security. Through fora such as the Arctic Security Forces Roundtable, Canada will continue to work with Arctic and non-Arctic allies and partners to foster information-sharing, improve situational awareness, and enhance operational cooperation on a broad range of Arctic and regional issues.

Canada will also continue to work with the United States and Denmark — our eastern and western neighbours — and explore opportunities to collaborate with fellow NATO member Norway to increase surveillance and monitoring of the broader Arctic region. More broadly, as stated in *Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada's Defence Policy*, Canada will seek opportunities to work with allies and partners, including with NATO, in support of our common commitment to security in the Arctic. As part of this commitment, the Canadian Armed Forces will increase its participation in regional multinational exercises and seek opportunities to incorporate key Arctic and non-Arctic allies and partners in joint activities in Canada's Arctic, including Operation NANOOK. Canada will also continue to develop science and technology partnerships with trusted partners in the fields of security and defence.

## **Objective 2: Enhance Canada’s military presence as well as prevent and respond to safety and security incidents in the Arctic and the North**

### **The Canadian Armed Forces**

The Government of Canada is already taking steps to increase its Arctic and Northern footprint in support of regional safety and security. This effort is anchored in Canada’s defence policy, *Strong, Secure, Engaged*, which recognizes that the Arctic region is of critical importance to the national security and defence of Canada and of North America. *Strong, Secure, Engaged* meets the need to enhance the Canadian Armed Forces’ presence in the region over the long term by setting out the capability investments that will give the Canadian Armed Forces the mobility, reach, and footprint required to project force in the region in ways that defend our national interests and sovereignty, and better respond to the needs of those residing in Arctic and Northern communities. *Strong, Secure, Engaged*, committed a number of key investments in the Arctic and the North, including six ice-capable Arctic Offshore Patrol Vessels, which are a part of the *National Shipbuilding Strategy*, all-terrain vehicles optimized for use in the Arctic environment, and space situational awareness to enhance and improve communications throughout Canada’s Arctic region. These initiatives and investments are a small sampling of the various activities being carried out by the Canadian Armed Forces to defend Canada’s Arctic and North. A comprehensive account of all Canadian Armed Force’s activities in the Arctic can be found in Canada’s defence policy *Strong, Secure, Engaged*.

Adapting to the evolving security environment will require a multi-pronged effort. At the operational level, the Canadian Armed Forces will continue to build and maintain its ability to respond in the Arctic through support for annual operations and exercises, including through a new approach to Operation NANOOK which encompasses a range of activities conducted over the course of the year. This will ensure that the Canadian Armed Forces is better able to demonstrate a persistent presence in the Arctic, support whole-of-government partners in delivering on their mandates in the Arctic, enhance our capacity to respond to major incidents, and increase collaboration with international Arctic Allies and partners.

By undertaking an approach to long-term planning that ensures the appropriate development of Arctic safety, security, and defence capability and infrastructure, we will be able to maintain a persistent and effective capacity to respond to incidents in the Arctic and to project and sustain force for domestic and continental defence into the future.

### **The Canadian Coast Guard**

The Canadian Coast Guard is often the only federal presence in many areas of the Arctic and must have the capacity to protect Canada’s interests in the region. Through the strategic positioning of resources and assets, targeted investments in infrastructure and the adoption of advanced vessel technology, the Canadian Coast

Guard is enhancing its capacity to support Canada’s safety, security, environmental, and economic interests in Northern waters.

The Canadian Coast Guard already provides ice-capable platforms to support responses to maritime safety, security, and environmental threats, and often partners with other departments, agencies, and organizations as they carry out their respective mandates. Through the Government of Canada’s *Oceans Protection Plan*, the Canadian Coast Guard has extended its icebreaking season in the Arctic to ensure safe marine shipping and promote economic growth. As part of this effort, the Coast Guard has acquired 3 interim medium icebreakers, which will be operational in 2020–21, while additional vessels will be built under the *National Shipbuilding Strategy*.

### **Transport Canada**

Transport Canada plays an important role in the Arctic through its National Aerial Surveillance Program, and is a key contributor in protecting Canada’s interests in the region. With the investment of new infrastructure in the Arctic (a new Arctic hangar and accommodations unit), Transport Canada will continue to support Canada’s safety, security, environmental, and economic interests in Northern waters. Transport Canada currently provides aircraft to monitor shipping activities, ice conditions and marine security, including environmental threats. Transport Canada also shares information with other departments, agencies, and organizations as they carry out their respective mandates.

Transport Canada continues to work on the remotely piloted aircraft system (RPAS) project as a means of enhancing its airborne maritime monitoring and other capabilities. The RPAS is expected to supplement manned aircraft already patrolling the Arctic.

### **Advancing Arctic search and rescue**

#### ***Arctic search and rescue***

Search and rescue (SAR) in the Arctic is an immense and complex activity that requires a broad range of capabilities and partners working together to save lives.

- Air search and rescue is conducted by the Royal Canadian Air Force, with assistance from the Civil Air Search and Rescue Association, a national volunteer organization which provides private aircraft and trained crews. In addition, the Canadian Armed Forces is responsible for the effective operation of the coordinated aeronautical and maritime SAR system through Joint Rescue Coordination Centres. Finally, the Canadian Armed Forces also provides and coordinates the Air response for maritime SAR
- Due to its continuous monitoring of the Arctic and presence in the region, Transport Canada plays a key role in SAR. Its surveillance aircraft is often the first asset to be called upon to respond to incidents
- Maritime search and rescue is mandated to the Canadian Coast Guard, and

supported by the Canadian Coast Guard Auxiliary, a volunteer organization with more than 200 members and 25 vessels.

- Ground search and rescue is a collaborative effort between territorial and provincial governments and agencies, and the federal government. It is most often coordinated by the jurisdictional police service, and can involve collaboration with the Royal Canadian Air Force or the Canadian Rangers of the Canadian Armed Forces.
- Public Safety Canada is leading the development of a strategic policy framework for Canada's search and rescue community to ensure integrated governance across all regions of Canada, including the Arctic

The Canadian Coast Guard is increasing its maritime search and rescue capacity in the North in partnership with Indigenous communities. Through the Oceans Protection Plan, it is expanding the Arctic Canadian Coast Guard Auxiliary and extending its Indigenous Community Boat Volunteer Pilot Program. These measures will complement the recent creation of the first Arctic Inshore Rescue Boat station in Rankin Inlet, which will allow the Canadian Coast Guard to more effectively respond to marine emergencies. Finally, through the community boats program, Cambridge Bay, Rankin Inlet, Gjoa Haven, and Ulukhaktok will receive funding to purchase search and rescue boats and equipment. The Canadian Coast Guard will continue to undertake risk assessments in coastal Arctic communities to ensure that maritime search and rescue needs can be met, now and into the future.

In support of one of its core missions, the Canadian Armed Forces is investing in a replacement for the Fixed-Wing Search and Rescue aircraft which will bolster the Royal Canadian Air Force's ability to respond to critical air search and rescue, in partnership with civilian partners. The Canadian Armed Forces also continues to build its ability to respond in the Arctic and the North through the conduct of operations and exercises, including refinement and exercising of Exercise READY SOTERIA, which corresponds to the scenario of a Major Air Disaster. With the acquisition of a fleet of Arctic and Offshore Patrol Vessels, the Royal Canadian Navy will be better positioned to support partners, including the Canadian Coast Guard, in undertaking Arctic activities.

Finally, recognizing that a better understanding of activity in the Arctic is critical to search and rescue abilities, Public Safety Canada will continue to work with search and rescue partners, including Northern communities and peoples, to encourage the use of standardized location devices and technologies to ensure that responders are able to receive distress signals across a common frequency.

### **Border security**

Another important element in addressing the evolving safety and security realities in the Arctic is to ensure the integrity of our Northern borders and facilitate legitimate travel. To this end, the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA) will run pilot programs in the Arctic, including Private Vessel Remote Clearance, to support

the clearance process for certain non-commercial pleasure craft seeking to enter Canada in the eastern regions of the Arctic. It will also launch the Arctic Shipping Electronic Commercial Clearance Pilot, which is an alternate clearance process for commercial vessels.

As Canada's lead for border management and border enforcement, the CBSA will work with a wide range of partners to co-develop and co-implement timely, relevant and sustainable services at an increasing number of points of service (e.g. deep water ports, airports, marine vessel transits) in a dynamic risk environment. Although CBSA is responsible for managing border security at specified ports of entry, the RCMP is responsible for securing Canada's borders between those ports and is the designated body for enforcing immigration and customs legislation in the North when and where there is an absence of other enforcement bodies.

### **Objective 3: Strengthen Canada's domain awareness, surveillance, and control capabilities in the Arctic and the North**

Made up of more than 162,000 km of coastline, and comprising 75% of Canada's overall coastline and 40% of Canada's landmass, the Canadian Arctic poses unique challenges for building and maintaining a comprehensive picture of what is happening across this vast domain. Our ability to respond to regional challenges, provide security, and enforce compliance with our laws and regulations largely depends on our ability to put this picture together, as gaps can have life-threatening consequences. For example, increased maritime and cross-border traffic creates new challenges for border enforcement and effective vessel tracking. This is why it is critical for departments, agencies, communities and others to work together to develop strong domain awareness by collecting and synthesizing information from multiple sources.

Addressing critical gaps in situational awareness across the vast expanses of Canada's Arctic and North, and ensuring service levels are commensurate with growing demands, will also be essential to support missions-critical decision-making and strategic planning in the region. In particular, many safety, security and defence efforts in the Arctic and the North are reliant on sound weather, water, ice, and climate information, alerting and warning services to help mitigate operational risks.

#### **Marine Security Operations Centres**

The Marine Security Operations Centres provide Canada with a marine security capability by identifying, assessing, and reporting on maritime activities, including in the Arctic, that represent a potential threat to the sovereignty, safety, and security of Canada and Canadians. Comprised of several federal departments and agencies responsible for marine security, the Marine Security Operation Centres enable partners to work together, share intelligence and surveillance information, and support an organized response.

Several federal partners, including the Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces, the Department of Fisheries and Oceans and the Canadian Coast Guard, Transport Canada, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Canada Border Services Agency, Environment and Climate Change Canada, and Natural Resources Canada provide the infrastructure and work together to monitor activity in the Arctic, including through Marine Security Operations Centres. These Centres are an integral component of Canada's maritime intelligence and security architecture and contribute to a whole-of-government approach to increase maritime domain awareness. These centers monitor, detect, and analyze vessel traffic and identify security-related incidents that require a response by the Government of Canada. We will also strive, in collaboration with Indigenous governments, associations, and organizations, to increase the participation of Northern and Indigenous communities in the maritime management regime. This collaboration will enhance our knowledge of vessel activities in areas of cultural and environmental importance, as well as in areas of significance to national security.

Recognizing the need to develop a clearer understanding of the region, the Government of Canada will bring together the capabilities of a broad range of assets, such as satellites, to help provide security providers and decision-makers with a clear comprehensive picture of the operating environment.

To effectively monitor and control all of Canada's territory and approaches, Canada has taken steps to increase its awareness of air traffic approaching and operating in Canada's sovereign airspace in the Arctic, including through expansion of the Canadian Air Defence Identification Zone (CADIZ) to cover the entirety of Canada's Arctic Archipelago and its approaches. Bolstering our capabilities to support continental defence in partnership with the United States, including through the modernization of NORAD and the renewal of the North Warning System, will be essential to our continued ability to detect and understand threats against North America, and to decide whether and how to respond.

As outlined in *Strong, Secure, Engaged* the Canadian Armed Forces will further strengthen its ability to monitor activity in the Arctic by acquiring a range of new sea, land, air, and space capabilities and integrating them into a 'system-of-systems' approach to Arctic surveillance. The Royal Canadian Air Force will acquire a fleet of 88 advanced fighter aircraft to enforce Canada's sovereignty and meet Canada's commitments to NORAD and NATO. Canada will also continue working collaboratively with NORAD to ensure that it has the capabilities and structures, including command and control, for continuous aerospace and maritime domain awareness as well as aerospace control. As new areas of potential threat are identified — including developing technologies such as remotely-piloted systems and the emergence of new space and cyber capabilities — acquiring assets such as the replacement for the upcoming RADARSAT Constellation Mission system will enhance and improve surveillance and monitoring, including throughout Canada's Arctic region. The Canadian Armed Forces will also introduce a number of Arctic

Offshore Patrol Vessels, which provide armed, sea-borne surveillance of Canadian waters in the Arctic.

Advanced research and development, including through the All Domain Situational Awareness Science and Technology (S&T) Program, and the Innovation for Defence Excellence and Security (IDEaS) program, will further contribute to meeting the Canadian Armed Forces' need for cutting-edge surveillance and communication solutions designed for the challenging Arctic environment. Safeguarding investments made in these essential technologies from unfriendly foreign activities such as theft and sabotage is a priority for Canada.

#### **Objective 4: Enforce Canada's legislative and regulatory frameworks in the Arctic and North**

Transportation in Canadian Arctic waters is subject to robust legislative and regulatory frameworks designed to protect both people and the environment. Given the rise of maritime traffic in the Arctic, ensuring the proper regulation of vessels transiting through or operating in our waters is a growing priority for Canada. In this context, a number of legislative mechanisms regulate shipping, including: the *Marine Transportation Security Act*; the *Canada Shipping Act, 2001*; the *Marine Liability Act*; and the *Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act*. All three provide a range of recourse to address risks associated with safety and security in the region. Another important development is the 2017 introduction of the *Arctic Shipping Safety and Pollution Prevention Regulations* which address ship safety and pollution prevention, incorporate the Polar Code, and represent the most significant change to Canada's Arctic shipping regime in a decade. As the operating environment evolves, the Government of Canada will continue to enforce our laws and regulations to ensure safe, secure, and environmentally sound vessel operations, and to stop unsafe vessels from operating in the Arctic.

Additionally, the Northern Canada Vessel Traffic Services Zone Regulations (NORDREG) help track vessels operating in Canadian waters to ensure safe and efficient navigation and protection of the marine environment. With expanding tourism and cruise ship activity in the region, including possible stops in Northern communities, Transport Canada will continue to work with Arctic communities to bring their marine infrastructure into compliance with the *Marine Transportation Security Act* and other regulations. The Government of Canada will ensure that our legislative and regulatory frameworks remain adapted to the realities of increasing levels of Arctic traffic, and the potential impacts on the region's people and communities.

Effective laws and regulations are also key in ensuring that foreign investment in the Arctic benefits Northerners and does not pose a threat to Canada's security. This legal and regulatory framework supports economic growth and increased investments in the regions, while ensuring that foreign economic activity in the Arctic does not compromise national security. While we look to develop much-needed infrastructure

in the Arctic, risks and opportunities posed by foreign activity in areas of strategic importance will need to be carefully considered and balanced. Knowing that safe and sustainable communities free from potentially damaging external influence or behaviours are the foundation of a healthy Northern economy, the Government of Canada will also enhance protections for sensitive sites and infrastructures, as well as for the technologies on which the Canadian Armed Forces and other federal security providers depend.

**Objective 5: Increase whole-of-society emergency management capabilities in Arctic and Northern communities**

A key pillar of the Arctic safety and security architecture is incorporated in Canada’s Emergency Management Strategy, which is the result of federal, provincial, and territorial efforts to establish complementary approaches to emergency management. Recognizing that emergency requirements are constantly changing, there is a need for collaboration amongst all areas of society to enhance community safety and resilience. As part of ongoing efforts to improve the way we prevent, mitigate, prepare for, respond to, and recover from emergencies, partners are working to strengthen federal, provincial and territorial Emergency Management governance and enhance the participation of Indigenous representatives in this work.

**Objective 6: Support community safety through effective and culturally-appropriate crime prevention initiatives and policing services**

As Arctic and Northern communities continue to face particular challenges that contribute to higher levels of crime, culturally-sensitive crime prevention programs and community safety planning initiatives are essential. Through the Aboriginal Community Safety Planning Initiative, Public Safety Canada will continue to support Indigenous and Northern communities to develop community safety plans that address issues identified by the community, as specific to their unique vulnerabilities and circumstances. In addition, the National Crime Prevention Strategy will continue to deliver culturally-sensitive crime prevention programming and support initiatives to prevent and reduce crime in Indigenous and Northern communities. Through funding programs such as the Northern and Aboriginal Crime Prevention Fund and the Crime Prevention Action Fund, the Government of Canada will continue to collaborate with its partners to support and promote safe, strong, and resilient communities. The Gun and Gang Violence Action Fund was also developed with the recognition that provinces and territories — working closely with Arctic and Northern communities — are best placed to identify their most pressing issues related to gun and gang violence and develop initiatives to address them. As such, this Fund allows jurisdictions the flexibility to use these resources for a range of enforcement and prevention-related activities, including tailored initiatives that are adapted to Arctic and Northern realities.

The RCMP also has a key role in securing Canada's Arctic by providing policing services. Increasing international interest and activity in the Arctic could lead to escalating organized crime activity, irregular migration, human smuggling, and national security threats. To help respond, through Territorial Police Service Agreements, there is a large RCMP presence in the Northern Territories to help protect Arctic and Northern communities and ensure the safety of Northerners. The RCMP's presence in the Arctic includes 61 detachments and 3 Divisional headquarters. As the contracted police service, RCMP plays a critical role in providing first response to civil emergencies and national security threats.

As more commercial ventures, such as the Iqaluit deep water port, and people become established in the region, the demand for illicit goods is likely to increase. Higher profit margins for drugs in the Arctic, compared to in southern provinces, have attracted criminal networks. The RCMP's primary priority across the northern territories is to maintain safe and secure communities. The RCMP conducts traditional boots-on-the-ground policing, while focusing on delivering the highest quality service, which includes developing community capacity to prevent crime through social development initiatives and criminal intelligence collection. Criminal intelligence serves to assist the RCMP in preventing, deterring, and detecting criminal activity that may pose a threat to the safety and security of Canada.

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## About the Editor

**P. (Paul) Whitney Lackenbauer** is Canada Research Chair (Tier 1) in the Study of the Canadian North and a Professor in the School for the Study of Canada at Trent University, Ontario, Canada. He also serves as Honorary Lieutenant Colonel of 1<sup>st</sup> Canadian Ranger Patrol Group and is network lead of the North American and Arctic Defence and Security Network (NAADSN). He has (co-)written or (co-)edited more than fifty books and more than one hundred



academic articles and book chapters. His recent books include *Breaking Through? Understanding Sovereignty and Security in the Circumpolar Arctic* (co-edited, 2021); *Canada and the Maritime Arctic: Boundaries, Shelves, and Waters* (co-authored 2020); *Custos Borealis: The Military in the Canadian North* (edited 2020); *Governing Complexity in the Arctic Region* (co-authored 2019); *Breaking the Ice Curtain? Russia, Canada, and Arctic Security in a Changing Circumpolar World* (co-edited 2019); and *China's Arctic Ambitions and What They Mean for Canada* (co-authored 2018). He is also co-editor of the Documents on Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security (DCASS) series, to which he has contributed thirteen volumes.

# Canada's Northern Strategies From Trudeau to Trudeau, 1970-2020



Compiled and introduced by **P. Whitney Lackenbauer**

This volume is intended to serve as a general reference document to compare and contrast the federal development of Canadian Arctic policy frameworks over the last fifty years. It is telling that Canadian governments have not issued many Northern and Arctic strategy documents, and that the four pillars introduced in 1970 – people, the economy, the environment, and sovereignty – have proven remarkably resilient. By reproducing several key Arctic and Northern strategy documents and statements, and encouraging that they be read together, this collection encourages deeper consideration of continuities in how federal political leaders have framed Northern policy issues, strategic agendas, and priorities. These documents also reveal evolving relationships with Northern Canadians, particularly Indigenous peoples, as well as desired futures for the region – and for Canada more generally. Like previous DCASS volumes, this collection promotes a more comprehensive awareness of strategic thinking that has guided

Arctic and Northern policy formulation, encouraging future policy discussion and more robust scholarly assessment of Canada's Arctic record.

