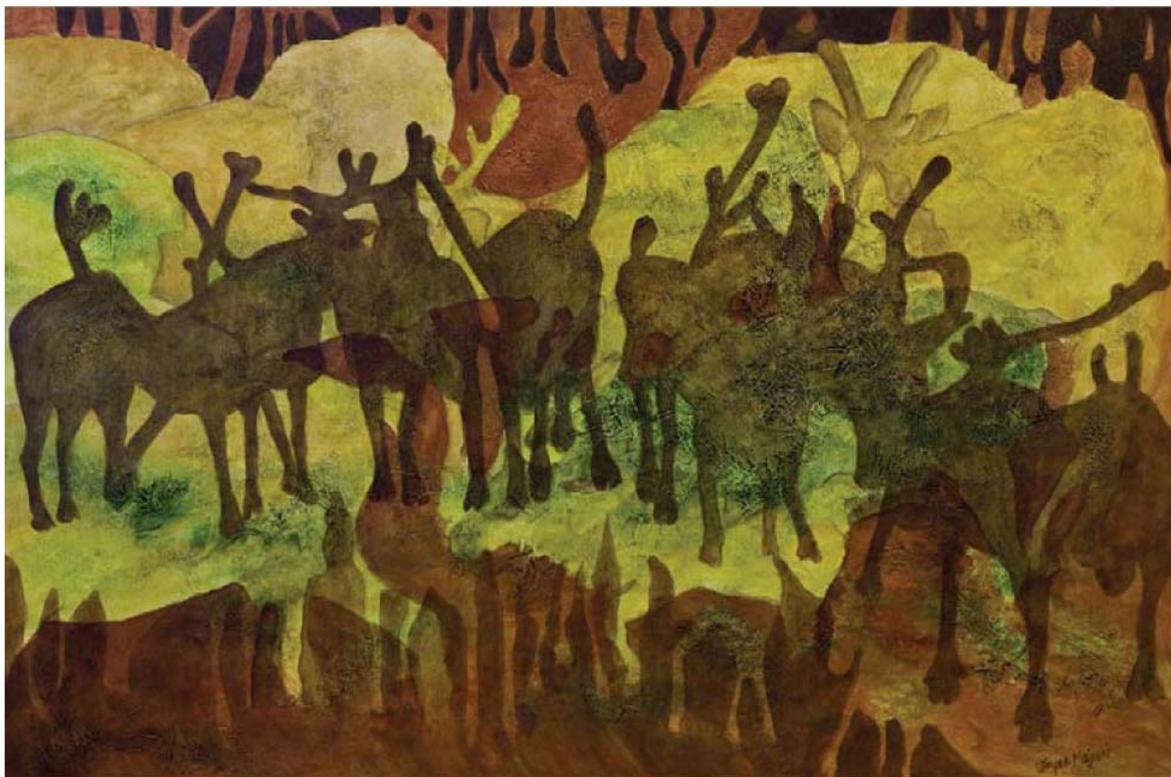


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Canada's Role in the Circumpolar World



Exploring human experience in the North

Canadian Leadership in the Circumpolar World: An Agenda for the Arctic Council Chairmanship 2013–2015

Heather Exner-Pirot

Abstract: The Arctic is a region of increasing global interest. Canadian interests in the region—economic, political, social, and environmental—would benefit from the development of an effective governance framework for the Arctic in terms of providing for stable, predictable, and sustainable use of the area’s resources in a manner that benefits northern inhabitants. Canada has an opportunity to influence the Arctic policy agenda and promote Canada’s interests as in 2013 it assumes the chairmanship of the Arctic Council, the high-level intergovernmental forum that discusses common circumpolar policy. This article outlines the issue areas most likely to benefit from regional co-operation, and which Canada should promote in the lead up to and during its chairmanship: Search and rescue, fisheries management, shipping regulations, and a regional seas agreement. The article argues that Canada should lead governance reform in the Arctic both because it is in Canada’s interests to do so, and because Canada is uniquely placed to do so within the Circumpolar World.

Introduction

The Arctic is gaining in international strategic and political significance. New Arctic policies are emerging everywhere from the United States to Russia, the European Union to the Nordic Council. China, Japan, and South Korea have applied to be observers in the Arctic Council.¹ And strategic investments are being made by almost all parties as the great mineral and hydrocarbon wealth of the Arctic becomes accessible and profitable.

Rising Above the Rhetoric: Northern Voices and the Strengthening of Canada's Capacity to Maintain a Stable Circumpolar World

Peter Kikkert

Abstract: The political discourse in the Arctic has been heating up as states, including Canada, use strongly nationalistic rhetoric to handle the complex issues that confront the region. This contrasts with the priorities of Canada's territorial governments and northern Indigenous groups like the Inuit Circumpolar Council, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, the Arctic Athabaskan Council, and Gwich'in Council International, which have consistently emphasized that Canada should constructively engage its Arctic neighbours to build a more stable and co-operative region. Critics have also suggested that the sense of alarmism in Canada about the Arctic has led to the marginalization of the northern voice in the framing of Canada's domestic and foreign policy for the region. Based largely on interviews with key stakeholders, this article examines northerners' perspectives on how the Arctic Council might be enhanced to better serve the Circumpolar World of the twenty-first century, and how northerners can be better engaged in priority- and agenda-setting on the domestic level.

When you think of the Arctic you think of the melting ice caps
and the polar bears, you don't really think of the people whose
lives are going to change as a result. *Bill Erasmus*¹

As climate change continues to warm the Arctic at an exceptional pace, the political discourse in the circumpolar region has also been heating up as states use strongly nationalistic rhetoric to handle complex issues involving boundaries, resource exploitation, and environmental problems. Canada has engaged heavily in this discourse, using catchy statements like

The Arctic Linked to the Emerging Dominant Ideas in Canada's Foreign and Defence Policy

François Perreault

Abstract: From an international security studies perspective, this article offers a discourse analysis of Canada's threat perceptions and security rhetoric in the Arctic between December 2005 and March 2009. It argues that since December 2005, the government of Canada has decided to securitize its political sovereignty, its northern identity, as well as its territorial integrity. The author offers a cultural explanation to these securitizations by arguing that Canada's strategic changes in the Arctic are a lot more than just rhetoric; they seem to be linked to the emerging dominant ideas in Canada's foreign and defence policy—hence, a phasing out of Canada's traditional internationalism and middle power status and a phasing in of the ideas tied to continentalism and to major power status. After linking the Arctic to Canada's place and role in the world, the author discusses the possible negative and positive effects of these processes of securitization. He then concludes the article by offering two specific recommendations to better Canada's role in the Circumpolar World.

Introduction: The Struggle between the Co-operative and Military-Strategic Principles

For a long time the Arctic was perceived to be a *terra nullius*. This mystical territory was completely ice covered, characterized by extreme climate conditions, and defined by European explorers and North American settlers as a geographical space favourable only for research and exploration. Its relative independence from world events suddenly ended with the Second World War when, for example, the Canadian North¹ became strategically important for the United States fighting to regain control of the Aleutian Islands in the North Pacific and when, between 1941 and 1945, the Arctic Ocean became a maritime theatre of war.

Canada's *Tous Azimuts* Arctic Foreign Policy

Joël Plouffe

Abstract: Through visits across the Circumpolar North and other non-Arctic states, Canada's foreign affairs minister, Lawrence Cannon, embarked on an international crusade in recent years to promote Canada as an "Arctic Power." With anticipated increased human activities throughout the Arctic, Ottawa's discourse for the region is locked in a traditional narrative shaped by a belief that it has to promote Canadian territorial integrity in its Far North. This approach certainly supports a very monolithic nationalistic view of Arctic geopolitics for Canadians. In an emerging "new North" with multiple actors and stakeholders (non-Arctic states, international organizations, Indigenous partners, tourism, fishing, traditional security concerns, and oil & gas exploration and investments), where is Canada going? This article looks at Canada's current foreign policy discourse when dealing with the Arctic. It argues that the policy objectives put forward under the Harper government produce a *tous azimuts* self-assertive foreign policy discourse driven by undefined and uncalculated strategic outcomes. Therefore, it is advanced that Canada's lack of vision on global Arctic affairs beyond its territory could potentially undermine Ottawa's credibility as a multilateralist.

"For if there is one lesson that the biting cold and the dark winters of the Arctic should teach us, it is that no one survives alone out there for long."²

Introduction

Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper has acknowledged that the "geopolitical importance of the Arctic³ and Canada's interest in it have never been greater."⁴ Indeed, retreating sea ice and the anticipated increased human activity in various regions of the Circumpolar North are transforming the many traditional and non-traditional security dimensions of the Arctic. On the domestic level some states, like Canada,

Political Climate Change: The Evolving Role of the Arctic Council

Alison Ronson

Abstract: Climate change is occurring faster in the Arctic than anywhere else on the planet. Because of climate change, sea ice on the Arctic Ocean is melting and creating a new political environment for the eight member states of the Arctic Council. The Arctic Council was formed in 1996 as an intergovernmental forum for member states to address primarily environmental issues, but the institution also has the potential to manage political and diplomatic relations. The Arctic Council has been effective as a forum for member states to discuss environmental issues, but resistance by Arctic superpowers hampers its ability to become a binding institution with a political relations focus. Canada's involvement in the Arctic has been historically inconsistent, reactionary, and focused on sovereignty. The Canadian government's 2010 policy document *Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy: Exercising Sovereignty and Promoting Canada's Northern Strategy Abroad* should have emphasized development, governance, and regional security rather than sovereignty. As the upcoming chair of the Arctic Council in 2013, Canada has the opportunity to increase co-operation in the region and encourage the creation of a new Arctic Council working group that focuses on persuasive management of the region's political affairs.

Introduction

Climate change has come to Canada's North. It is a dynamic time for the land, the ocean, and the wildlife. The fundamental changes in the natural environment are also fuelling a kind of political change by impacting the circumpolar Arctic nations. This political climate change, and the ability of the Arctic Council to adapt to it, is the focus of this article.

The Arctic Council was originally established in 1996 as an intergovernmental forum for the eight circumpolar nations (Canada, the United States, Russia, Norway, Denmark/Greenland/Faroe Islands, Finland, Sweden, and Iceland) to address sustainable development and environmental issues such as oil spills. The council's activities grow

Canada, the Arctic, and Post-National Identity in the Circumpolar World

Lisa Williams

Abstract: Issues affecting the Arctic today—including climate change, natural resource development, and contending claims about countries' boundaries and borders—raise the opportunity to think about Canada's Arctic identity. What ideas and values form Canada's Arctic identity and how does this identity connect with policy? Canada's identity or sense of "self" at home and abroad affects how its citizens and policy-makers think about the Arctic, thinking which can shape Arctic policy. In turn, policy can reaffirm or challenge identity. This article explores the complex interplay between Canada's Arctic identities and Arctic policy. It begins by explaining how Canada's Arctic resource and sovereignty claims are part of the historic importance of the Arctic in producing Canadian national identity. In contrast, Canada's role in developing the Arctic Council, its relationships with circumpolar organizations, and its participation in the International Polar Year relate to a more recent emphasis on developing a circumpolar, post-national identity, which is based on values, ideas, and interests Canada shares with other Arctic countries and actors. These two identities, and the policy options and directions that emerge from them, are in tension. The article suggests how they may converge into a uniquely Canadian circumpolar identity by pursuing a multi-level identity framework, in which post-national values and institutions compensate for the limitations of the national (and vice-versa). In doing so, it is argued that Canada would be able to take on a greater leadership role in addressing both pressing challenges and new opportunities in the Arctic today.

Introduction

The devastating effects of climate change threatening the Arctic ecology, the melting sea ice opening possible year-round transit of the Northwest Passage, and the scramble for natural resources at the bottom of the Arctic seabed are among the issues appearing in academic scholarship, popular media, and government policy about the Canadian Arctic. Clearly, the