

## **The Emerging Arctic Security Environment**

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## Abstract

Climate change is fundamentally reshaping the Arctic region. Boundary disputes, newly viable transportation routes, access to resources, and governance issues have generated significant questions about Arctic security and circumpolar geopolitics in the twenty-first century. Anticipating future prospects for competition, conflict and cooperation in the region requires a systematic examination of the new forces at play, both internationally and domestically. Our project examines the fundamental questions: what is Arctic security? What should policy makers anticipate that the circumpolar world will look like in the future, given the various forces that are now transforming this region? These questions will be posed at the international and national levels to discern what senior government officials, indigenous groups, corporate interests, scientists, academics, and Northern residents perceive to be the most significant security and safety challenges in the Arctic, and to determine what unilateral, bilateral and multilateral mechanisms should be in place to address them. This project will make two primary contributions: one policy focused and the other academic. First it will add to the public policy debate about the evolving Arctic security environment. Our research team will critically assess the interplay between traditional, state-based military security and environmental, health, and societal security concerns. Our development of future scenarios – based upon a robust knowledge of past decision-making processes and practices, Northerner’s experiences and priorities, and scientific modelling about climate change in the region – will facilitate responsible policy development. In linking international and domestic security practices to human impacts, we will generate more integrated tools to anticipate the consequences of security action/inaction on Northern ecosystems and peoples. This will improve Canada’s capacity to deal with external challenges in a way that is sensitive to, and better integrates, Northerners’ concerns and priorities. Second this project will advance the academic

debates about how best to understand the relationship between environmental, political, and socio-economic processes that are changing ideas about Arctic security. Community consultations will ground our analyses of how the changing geopolitics of the Arctic will impact Northerners’ culture, well-being, and economies. We will refine existing frameworks and models to incorporate the complexity of these new forces, better explain the actions that are now being taken, and generate appropriate lessons for future relationship-building.

## Key Messages

- Although developments during the last calendar year have indicated that the Arctic states are conforming to their official policy lines and not preparing for military conflict in the near future, new concerns have arisen about long-term regional destabilization as non-Arctic states’ and organizations’ interests in the region continue to attract significant international attention.
- Canada continues to balance its foreign, defence, security, and safety interests in its Arctic policies, as per the Northern Strategy and Arctic Foreign Policy Statements, but the transition from Canada Command to a new Canadian Joint Operations Command and delays on various defence procurement initiatives have generated questions about Canada’s ability to implement its Arctic defence program on schedule.
- Despite the balanced message that Canada has officially articulated over the past three years, most international scholarly and media commentaries continues to cast Canada as a militant and aggressive Arctic actor.
- The interaction between national defence, security, and safety priorities on the regional and local level in Canada continues to be generally positive, as case studies of the Canadian Rangers, ground search and rescue, and other local relationships indicate.

## Objectives

- to continue to analyze Arctic state practices in the defence, security, and safety areas
- to critically examine the interests of non-Arctic actors in the region and how these influence the sovereignty, defence and security interests of Canada and the other Arctic states
- to continue to analyze the evolution of relationships between the Canadian Forces and Arctic peoples/communities since the Second World War
- to encourage the implementation of defence and security policies in ways that contribute to and support the lives of Canadians living in remote regions
- to critically examine conflicting interpretations of international law related to the Arctic region and how these interact with defence, sovereignty/territorial integrity, and security considerations

## Introduction

Although the polarized debate over whether we should anticipate cooperation or conflict in the Arctic has cooled somewhat (with most commentators now agreeing that warfare is unlikely to erupt in the region in the next decade), ongoing investments in Arctic-deployable defence assets and declarations by Arctic states' commitments to protect their sovereign interests in the region continue.

On the domestic front, however, there remains strong political, scholarly, and popular interest on Arctic sovereignty and security issues. This project examines the development and evolution of these issues and accompanying policy responses over time, how they relate to other Canadian national priorities, and how they reflect (or fail to reflect) the expressed interests of Northerners. Our ongoing dialogues with Northern Canadians, senior government officials, defence officials, business leaders, scientists, and academics

seek to clarify the most significant sovereignty, security and safety challenges in the Arctic and to determine what unilateral, bilateral and multilateral mechanisms should be in place to address them.

Our project most closely complements the ArcticNet projects on "Climate Change and Commercial Shipping Development in the Arctic" and "The Law and Politics of Canadian Jurisdiction on Arctic Ocean Seabed."

## Activities

Field research with the Canadian Rangers was carried out by Whitney Lackenbauer in Nain, Labrador (in partnership with 5 CRPG); Peter Kikkert in Cambridge Bay (in partnership with 1 CRPG); and by Harry Borlase in Goose Bay, Makkovik, and Hopedale, Labrador (in partnership with 5 CRPG). Lackenbauer also continues to work closely with the Canadian Rangers across Canada. He gave three major presentations on the history of the Rangers to Ranger professional development seminars in Gander, Newfoundland (5 CRPG), Yellowknife, NWT (1 CRPG), and Saint-Jean, Quebec (2 CRPG) in the fall of 2012, as well as presentations at the Canadian Rangers National Working Group meeting and the Rangers' 65th anniversary celebration in Dawson City, Yukon, in October 2012.

Lackenbauer continued to conduct interviews with military officials and senior Arctic officials in Canada, the United States, and Europe. He was also invited by the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade to devise and deliver a course on Arctic Governance for foreign service officers, which drew heavily upon research facilitated by the ArcticNet grant. He continues to advise various government departments and the Canadian Forces on Arctic security issues, appeared on several television and radio programmes, was frequently interviewed for newspaper and magazine articles about Northern sovereignty and security topics, and is involved in

a documentary film project related to historical and contemporary Arctic issues entitled Arctic Defenders.

Pursuant to research on the internationalization of the Arctic Council and emerging security issues in the region related to non-Arctic state interests, James Manicom travelled to Asia in late November-December 2012 to meet with Arctic specialists from the Chinese Academy for Social Sciences, the Korean Maritime Institute, the Korean Polar Research Institute, the Ocean University of China, and the University of Canterbury (NZ).

Archival research was conducted by Whitney Lackenbauer in Ottawa and Yellowknife; by Peter Kikkert in Ottawa, Inuvik, London (UK), and Washington, DC; and by Dan Heidt in Ottawa. This related to projects on Canadian concepts of Arctic sovereignty and security during the Cold War; Canadian-American relations related to Arctic issues; and the impacts of security projects on Northern peoples and ecosystems.

For personal reasons, Rob Huebert had to postpone most of his major international research trips planned for 2011-12 and 2012-13. Nevertheless, he continued to meet with policy-makers at domestic and international conferences in North America, Europe, and Asia. He is a regular media commentator on Arctic issues, and has supervised various graduate students working on Arctic security topics (two of whom successfully defended dissertations this year).

Suzanne Lalonde's research into legal challenges confronting the Arctic region was conducted principally by an in-depth analysis of the primary documents produced at the national levels, at the regional level (eg. the work of the Arctic Council and the OSPAR Commission), and at the international level (the development of the concept of marine protected areas). Her field work, as a legal academic, consisted of interviews and discussions with officials and experts from around the world, most of which she conducted during conferences, workshops, and specialized gatherings. The importance of ArcticNet funding

allowing her to attend these international meetings cannot be overstated. The opportunity to participate in prestigious projects like the Elferink/Molenaar/Rothwell and VanderZwaag/Stephens volumes arose as a direct result of her discussions and exchanges with those experts at various international meetings, including in Australia at the end of 2011. Her future research on the Canadian-Russian bilateral relationship is a product of meetings with Russian colleagues at the IPY Conference in April of 2012. Such meetings are not only an occasion to share results but also to engage with experts who are themselves influential in shaping the debate over the future of the Arctic region in their home countries. Formal and informal discussions with colleagues have challenged Lalonde to respond to their concerns and reproaches and have shaped her research agenda.

Lackenbauer and Lalonde both appeared as witnesses before the House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs in fall 2012, and Huebert is scheduled to appear before it this winter.

### ***Project Milestones:***

- Monograph (Lackenbauer) on *The Canadian Rangers: A Living History, 1942-2012* (in page proofs, UBC Press, recipient of ASPP funding, to appear March 2013).
- Edited book (Lackenbauer) *Canada's Rangers: Selected Stories, 1942-2012* (Canadian Defence Academy Press, in press, to appear February 2013).
- Co-edited book (Lackenbauer) *De-Icing Required: The Canadian Air Force's Experience in the Arctic* (Trenton: Canadian Aerospace Power Studies Series, Canadian Forces Air Warfare Centre, 2012. Contains chapters by investigators Heidt, Kikkert, and Lackenbauer.
- Edited manuscript (Lackenbauer) based upon Gordon W. Smith's *A Historical and Legal Study of Sovereignty in the Canadian North*, vol. I, part 1: Land submitted to the University of Calgary Press in August 2012. Currently in peer-review.

- Conference on Arctic Peoples and Security, held in collaboration with the Munk-Gordon Arctic Security project in January 2013. Lackenbauer is the co-chair of the Arctic Peoples and Security pillar of this research program.
- Edited book (Lackenbauer) *The Canadian Rangers: The CF's Eyes, Ears, and Voice in Remote Regions* (Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, *In Harm's Way* series, to be submitted March 2013), based upon interviews with defence officials and Rangers across Northern Canada.
- Dissemination of research findings at Canadian and international conferences, workshops, government meetings, advisory boards, and stakeholder gatherings.
- Ongoing publication of scholarly articles and book chapters, as well as op-eds and shorter policy examinations for newspapers and magazines.

## Results

### *The International Dimension (lead: Rob Huebert)*

While Rob Huebert is the titular lead on this ArcticNet project and the international dimension in particular, personal and family reasons have prevented him from playing a leadership role in coordinating overall strategic direction. Whitney Lackenbauer has assumed this role for the past several years. Nevertheless, Dr. Huebert continues to publish regularly and is a frequent media commentator on areas within his expertise – international geopolitical trends in the Arctic region, the intersections between resource development and security concerns, and Canadian defence issues. A summary of his last major work, *Climate Change and International Security: The Arctic as a Bellwether*, released in early 2012, was provided in our last revised report. Building upon his previous analyses of countries' announcements and actions since 2008, Huebert and his team found that while all Arctic states' policies support the goal of enhancing

regional cooperation, most of these countries have also made clear that they intend to defend their national interests and sovereign rights as required.

Other members of the research team have adopted different lenses to critically examine international security in the circumpolar world. For example, Heather Exner-Pirot's work on Arctic security this year had three broad themes: first, how security fits into the role and work of the Arctic Council in particular and circumpolar relations in general, especially considering the 2011 Arctic Search and Rescue (SAR) agreement; second, further consideration of what human security looks like in the Arctic and consideration of what value it adds as an analytical tool; and third, evaluating the Arctic as a regional security complex – particularly one built around environmental security issues – and how that defines what and how the Arctic operates as a regional actor.

Security is often associated with stability, particularly as regards boundaries and State territory. Jessica Shadian's research reminds us that Inuit politics and Arctic politics have a longstanding history. Her forthcoming book with Routledge entitled *The Politics of Arctic Sovereignty: Oil, Ice and Inuit Governance* discusses at length the complexities of domestic, Arctic, international, and transnational Inuit politics. Instead of merely offering yet another take on the current Arctic politics of climate change and state rivalries, it clarifies how Inuit (and Arctic) politics are much more complex, having been embedded from the start in the Westphalian political system. Given the growing power of non-state actors in global politics, the book explores the ICC as a case study of how and why the traditional assumptions and practices of the Westphalian political system – including security practices - are changing.

Susanne Lalonde's focus has been and continues to be on the role existing international legal regimes – at the global and regional levels – might play in fostering and helping to maintain stability in the Arctic region. During the past year, she investigated the potential contribution of international legal regimes for the

resolution of one particular and increasingly important dispute: the status of the Northwest Passage. Though a number of rules and mechanisms, at both the regional and global levels, might afford the Northwest Passage some form of legal protection even if it came to be considered an international strait, Lalonde focused in the last twelve month period on two key elements in this purported international arsenal: article 234 of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (the Arctic exception) and the designation by the International Maritime Organization [IMO] of a marine area as a Particularly Sensitive Sea Area [PSSA]. Her work raises important security-related questions about the scope of article 234 (the key terms of which have never been the subject of judicial interpretation), as well as the reference to sovereign immune vessels and the lack of jurisdiction of the coastal State to regulate the right of overflight. Lalonde also co-authored with Frédéric Lasserre, an ArcticNet scholar at the Université de Laval, an article tackling the oft-repeated argument that the United States' position on the legal status of the NWP is justified in light of the fear of creating an unfortunate precedent. This article, which again investigated whether legal rules can help resolve outstanding disputes and thus promote political stability, will be published in the next volume of the leading journal *Ocean Development and International Law*.

In pursuit of her core research question – whether existing international legal regimes can make an effective contribution to peace and stability in the Arctic region – Lalonde also embarked on her most ambitious project to date: an enquiry into the potential and relevance of Marine Protected Areas (MPAs) for the protection of the Arctic marine environment, both within and outside the national jurisdiction of the five Arctic States.

The World Conservation Union (IUCN) defines a protected area as a “clearly defined geographical space, recognized, dedicated and managed, through legal or other effective means, to achieve the long-term conservation of nature with associated ecosystem services and cultural values.” The term MPA is

generic and is therefore used to refer to all marine sites that meet the general protected area definitions, regardless of purpose, design, management approach, or title (marine reserve, sanctuary, natural monument, marine park, etc.). Thus MPAs can be established under a number of existing international and regional instruments including the 1971 Ramsar Convention on Wetlands, the 1972 World Heritage Convention, and the 1973-1978 Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships (MARPOL). Because of the flexibility in their design, which promotes ocean stewardship that is at once representative, comprehensive and balanced, marine protected areas are increasingly seen as an essential element of the ecosystem management toolbox. In light of the unprecedented and destabilizing change which the Arctic region is experiencing, Lalonde embarked on a wide-ranging enquiry to discover whether marine protected areas (MPAs) could be a valuable complement to traditional management strategies to protect the biological diversity and integrity of Arctic ecosystems. This compelled Lalonde to investigate and collect detailed information about mechanisms at the international, regional and national levels.

While Lalonde will pursue her work on international legal mechanisms (particularly MPAs) in the coming year, her programme of research will also turn to an analysis of the international legal dimensions of Canada's bilateral relationship with the Russian Federation and how this relates to security discourses, policies and practices. She has begun to build a network of national and international collaborators to pursue this new research dimension, which will identify points of discord but also of agreement in regards to the legal characteristics of the emerging Arctic regime.

This fits within a larger strand of our project examining opportunities for enhanced bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the circumpolar world. Lackenbauer continues to study the intersections between Canadian foreign and defence policies and how these relate (and have related over time) to those of other Arctic states. By supplementing positivist analysis with a

“constructivist” approach that critically interrogates the process by which security issues are identified and framed within a dominant sovereignty discourse, and exploring foreign perceptions of Canada’s Arctic policies, Lackenbauer seeks to better explain how governments set policy priorities and sustain political and public support for their Arctic agendas.

To expand his research on Canada’s present-day bilateral relations, Lackenbauer met with various scholars and officials from the United States, Europe, and Asia during conferences/workshops in Anchorage, Washington DC, Bodo, Berlin, Vienna, Ottawa, and Halifax, building a network for a collaborative project on opportunities for enhanced bilateral security cooperation that he will develop in 2013. He has presented his insights on Canada’s security relationships with other Arctic states at various academic, policy, and defence events in Canada, the United States, and Europe over the past year.

Various members of the research team have also conducted research and published findings on the interest of non-Arctic states and organizations in the circumpolar world. For example, Lackenbauer and Manicom have leveraged ArcticNet funding to secure a grant from the Centre for International Governance Innovation to examine “The Internationalization of the Arctic Council: Regional Governance under a Global Microscope.” This builds upon Manicom’s recent publications exploring what lessons that maritime disputes in East Asia might reveal about the Arctic. This fits within his broader expertise on Asian geopolitics and the Arctic, for which was invited to present his work to the Canadian Forces College, the Canadian Embassy in Tokyo, Temple University in Tokyo, the Ocean Policy Research Foundation in Tokyo, the US Naval War College, the Liu Institute at UBC, and the Asian Institute at the University of Toronto. Lackenbauer has also begun work on a project specifically examining India’s interests and role in the current and future Arctic, leveraging ArcticNet money to secure funding from the Chanchlani India Policy Centre.

The Arctic Council (AC) is the primary institution for addressing a myriad of governance questions confronted by Arctic states and inhabitants, but it has not yet formulated a coherent plan to incorporate emerging interests of non-Arctic states and organizations. Lackenbauer and Manicom’s research critically examines the attitudes of Arctic Council member states and permanent participants about extending permanent observer status, identifying potential fault lines and synergies which will inform policymaking and suggest ways forward. The bulk of the research on this issue has focused on general assessment of the “Arctic ambitions” of non-Arctic states, considering primarily their interest in the region as a whole. Few studies have explored non-Arctic state views of the Arctic Council and Arctic Council members’ views of candidates for Observership status, and how this influences discussions about broadening the Council’s mandate to include “hard” security issues.

Recent scholarship has focused on potential hidden agendas of some non-Arctic states, particularly China as it relates to the region’s resource potential (Lasserre 2010, Jakobsen 2010, Wright 2011). Simultaneously, other applicants (such as Japan) argue that the Council should welcome their permanent participation, given their track record in polar research. Indeed, Arctic Council member states are divided on what roles Observer states might play in the institution’s activities. Denmark has wholly endorsed the expansion of the Council, while others have remained more reticent. Within the state-members of the Council (the A-8), the five Arctic coastal states (the A-5) are wary of any attempt to bring non-coastal state interests to bear on maritime delimitation questions in the Arctic Ocean, not least because maritime boundary delimitation can be a lengthy and politically charged process (Manicom 2011). The European Union (EU) and several scholars have proposed an Antarctic Treaty model to settle boundary issues, but the AC member states have soundly rejected this proposal (Koivurova et al 2010, Airoldi 2008). The Permanent Participants (PPs - indigenous groups represented at the Council),

meanwhile, remain suspicions of new members -- particularly in cases where states (or international organizations) are not sensitive to the concerns and interests of Arctic indigenous peoples. Most notably, PPs have vigorously protested European Union restrictions on trade in marine mammal products (AAC 2008) which helps to explain their opposition to extending permanent observer status to the EU. The Arctic Council is thus an example of a regional institution, uniquely composed of state and sub-national actors – and with limited resources – that is grappling with external pressures to expand its agenda and the scope of its activities. It is a crucial case for understanding how regional institutions respond to external pressures from a mix-motive international community.

***The Domestic Dimension (lead: Whitney Lackenbauer)***

The project participants continue to analyze the relationships between defence, sovereignty, security and safety in Canada. Already well known for their published work on this topic, the three project leads (Huebert, Lackenbauer, and Lalonde) have continued to disseminate their research findings and (sometimes divergent) interpretations of trends to a wide range of audiences.

Although most commentators agree that there is no immediate military threat to the Canadian Arctic, climate change has created an environment of instability and uncertainty. The retreat of multi-year sea ice raises the prospect of increasing accessibility to and through the Arctic region, increasing the viability of maritime transit routes (to complement the commercial polar over-flights that have increased steadily since the end of the Cold War) and of commercial exploitation of Arctic oil, gas, and minerals to fuel a resource-hungry world. Security challenges are intertwined with a myriad of political, social, economic, environmental, cultural, and sovereignty issues that create a significant degree of complexity. If this region has been overlooked

historically, most commentators now agree that the time has come for concerted actions. As the government's Northern Strategy released in 2009 emphasizes, the Arctic is "part of our heritage, our future and our identity as a country."

The Canadian Forces play a high profile role in exercising sovereign control over Canada's Arctic. Although the environmental challenges facing the CF when operating in this theatre remain daunting (from climate to vast distances and isolation to a lack of infrastructure), rising interest in the region may, in the future, require enhanced CF responses to defend Canadian territory, respond to emergencies and crises, support civilian organizations, and assist our allies. The Canada First Defence Strategy (CFDS) directs the CF to "have the capacity to exercise control over and defend Canada's sovereignty in the Arctic." Military contributions fit within the government's broader, integrated Northern Strategy build around four pillars: exercising sovereignty, promoting social and economic development, protecting the environment, and improving and devolving Northern governance.

One pillar of our research program critically evaluates the historical role of the Canadian Forces in the Arctic. Lackenbauer, in cooperation with Major Bill March of the Canadian Forces Air Warfare Centre, edited a volume entitled *De-Icing Required: The Canadian Air Force's Experience in the Arctic*, which appeared as part of the Canadian Aerospace Power Studies Series. The chapters demonstrated how RCAF involvement in the Arctic fits within the longer and broader history of Canadian activities in the region. For example, Peter Kikkert reassessed the RCAF's role in the Arctic from 1945-53. As the world split into opposing spheres and the Canadian North became a potential front line in any future conflict, the RCAF struggled to embrace new roles and responsibilities in the area, hampered by its almost total lack of experience past the Arctic coastline. The first flights into the uncharted region were journeys into the proverbial "unknown" -- only slowly did the RCAF develop a real northern capability. By the early 1950s, however, the force was in charge of an ever-growing portion

of the air transport to the region and a large-scale photographic operation, regularly cooperating with other government departments in surveys and scientific studies.

Relationships between military personnel, technology, and the environment also had dramatic impacts on local populations in the Arctic. Whitney Lackenbauer and Ryan Shackleton, an historical consultant in Ottawa, examined Inuit-air force relations in the Qikiqtani (Baffin Island and High Arctic) region from the Second World War to the mid-1960s. Drawing upon oral histories, archival documents, and newspapers, they explored the impacts of “military modernization” on the Inuit communities of Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit) and Resolute. Listening to a myriad of voices, their study demonstrated that relationships were neither uniformly positive nor negative. At Frobisher Bay, the military hub of the eastern Arctic, defence activities drew Inuit people into the web of modern urban life. The expansion of the military’s footprint in decade after the Second World War reshaped boundaries, expectations, and tastes of Frobisher’s inhabitants. It also changed the socio-economic and cultural geographies of southern Baffin Island more generally. In Resolute, the establishment of the Inuit community immediately adjacent to an RCAF base had unexpected consequences. Inuit mixed both tradition and modernity when incorporating the wage economy into their daily lives. In some respects, Resolute served as a model for the transitioning Inuit society. Although CF planners now respect the cultural needs of local inhabitants and take into account the environmental impacts of all Arctic activities, the authors’ basic message about the need to consider local impacts when conceiving military projects remains acutely relevant today.

As the Cold War heated up in the 1950s, the Americans sought extensive air-defense systems extending to the northernmost reaches of the continent. The Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line, built across the seventieth parallel to detect Soviet bombers, was the boldest megaproject in Arctic history, dramatically altering the military, logistic, and demographic characteristics of the Canadian Arctic. In their chapter, Daniel

Heidt and Lackenbauer examined the important (and contentious) role of civilian airlift contractors in the construction and early operational phases of the DEW Line. The Canadian government, conscious of nation-building possibilities, secured guarantees from the US that Canadian carriers would be utilized “to the fullest extent practicable.” Canada’s power to control specific tenders was sometimes compromised by America’s power of the purse. Yet investments in new aircraft and the need for continued work ensured that Canadian companies jealously guarded and policed American airlift competition independently of Ottawa. American DEW Line contract dollars therefore afforded Canadian commercial carriers the opportunity to expand while concurrently buttressing Canadian Arctic sovereignty. Although contexts have changed, important lessons learned during the DEW Line civil airlift remain noteworthy – particularly the prospect of leveraging civilian assets in the North. This point is clear in the December 2011 “handshake deal” between military officials and the Civil Air Search and Rescue Association (CASARA), a national agency that promotes aviation safety and provides air search support, so that part-time CASARA volunteers can assist with first-response services using civilian planes.

The Cold War was also waged under the frozen surface of the Arctic waters. Adam Lajeunesse, in his dissertation, re-examined the history of Canadian Arctic maritime sovereignty, with particular emphasis on the security dimensions of Canada’s quest to control its northern waters. This study (which he has submitted as a manuscript) provides the first detailed look at three decades of American under-ice defence cooperation, based upon previously classified information surrounding American submarine operations in Canada’s northern waters. It reveals how many American nuclear submarines deployed into Canada’s Arctic Archipelago during the Cold War, what their missions were and, most importantly from a Canadian standpoint, whether they were operating with Canadian approval or in violation of our sovereignty.

Northern peoples insist that sovereignty “begins at home.” For six decades, the Canadian Rangers -- a

dedicated group of citizen-soldiers -- has quietly served as Canada's eyes, ears, and voice in isolated coastal and northern communities. In his 600-page book, *The Canadian Rangers: A Living History*, Whitney Lackenbauer documents the history of the Rangers from their predecessors during the Second World War to the present. Using official records, extensive interviews, and on-the-ground participation in Ranger exercises from coast to coast to coast, he demonstrates how this minimally trained and lightly equipped force makes a meaningful contribution to national defence and to sustainable communities. Having evolved into a flexible, inexpensive, and culturally inclusive way for Canada to "show the flag," The Rangers offer living proof that military activities designed to assert sovereignty need not cause insecurity for residents of remote regions. Local knowledge, stewardship, and national security prove compatible and mutually reinforcing.

The Canadian Rangers have three broad tasks: conducting and supporting sovereignty operations; conducting and assisting with domestic military operations; and maintaining a Canadian Forces presence in local communities. They have attracted their highest profile when patrolling the remotest reaches of the Arctic, showing the flag in some of the most challenging conditions imaginable. Since 2007, Rangers have been participating in three major annual exercises: Nunaliut in the High Arctic, Nunakput in the Western Arctic, and Nanook in the Eastern Arctic. The Rangers also conduct search and rescue operations, and are the de facto leaders during states of emergency in their communities resulting from avalanches, extreme weather, forest fires, and other events. The Rangers' task to maintain a military presence in local communities also remains fundamental. Representing more than ninety percent of the Canadian Forces' presence north of the 55th parallel, the Rangers play many local roles: providing honour guards for politicians and royalty visiting their communities, protecting trick or treaters from polar bears in Churchill on Halloween, or blazing trails for the Yukon Quest and Hudson Bay Quest dog sled races.

Today there are nearly five thousand Rangers. With their distinctive red sweatshirts and ball caps, they are an appropriate form of military presence in remote regions. The southern establishment depends on them. Without access to local knowledge of the land, sea, and skies, southern visitors are hopelessly lost. As Sergeant Simeonie Nalukturuk, the patrol commander in Inukjuak along the eastern shore of Hudson Bay, put it during annual patrol training in 2007, the Rangers are "the eyeglasses, hearing aids, and walking stick for the [Canadian Forces] in the North." They contribute to domestic security, make important contributions to their communities and are stewards of our northland. Most importantly, their commitment does not fluctuate with the political winds of the south.

To stimulate further dialogue on historical and contemporary Arctic security issues, Lackenbauer launched a series of Working Papers on Arctic Security, supported by this ArcticNet project and the Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation Arctic Security Project, in August 2012. The Papers fall into three categories. The first includes theoretically- and empirically-driven academic papers on subjects related to Arctic security broadly conceptualized. The second focuses on the impacts of defence and security practices on Arctic peoples, with a particular emphasis on the Canadian North during and after the Cold War. The third category of papers summarizes key Canadian and international policy documents related to Arctic security and sovereignty issues.

The series released four papers in 2012:

1. Human Security in the Arctic: The Foundation of Regional Cooperation – Heather Exner-Pirot
2. Turtle Island Blues: Climate Change and Failed Indigenous Securitization in the Canadian Arctic - Wilfrid Greaves
3. A Question of Security? Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and Securitization in the Canadian Arctic - Kylie Bergfalk
4. When the Skies Rained Boxes: The Air Force and the Qikiqtani Inuit, 1941-64 – P. Whitney

Lackenbauer and Ryan Shackleton

Five papers have been or will be released from January-March 2013:

1. Negotiating Sovereignty: The Past and Present Failure of 'Security' as a Bargaining Chip – Adam Lajeunesse.
2. Rethinking Westphalian Sovereignty: The Inuit Circumpolar Conference and the Future of Arctic Governance – Jessica Shadian.
3. A Military History of Cambridge Bay, Nunavut - P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Peter Kikkert.
4. Arctic Strategies and Security Questions: A Comparative Analysis – Harry Borlase.
5. Canadian Arctic Defence and Security Policy: An Overview of Key Documents, 1970-2012 - Whitney Lackenbauer, Ryan Dean, and Peter Kikkert.

ArcticNet funding facilitated a wide array of publications, conference papers, public lectures, editorials in national and regional newspapers, television and radio interviews, and meetings with government decision-makers in 2012-13. For example, presentations included:

6. Lackenbauer, "Security and Society: Striking Balance in the Canadian Arctic," The Laurier Project, "Own the Arctic" Roundtable, University of Toronto President's Residence, Toronto, 20 December 2012.
7. Lackenbauer, "Canada and the United States as Arctic Actors: Differing Perspectives?" Geopolitics in the Changing Arctic, the International Institute for Strategic Studies' Forum on Arctic Climate Change and Security, Washington, DC, 14 December 2012.
8. Lackenbauer, "'Our Premier Partner in the Arctic': Canada-US Arctic Relations and the Sovereignty-Security Balance," brown bag lunch for the Canadian Embassy in Washington, DC, 13 December 2012.

9. Huebert and Lalonde, "Arctic Security - A Changing Geostrategic Reality," ArcticNet Annual Meeting, 12 December 2012.
10. Lackenbauer, "The Canadian Rangers: 65 Years of Contributions to Canada," 2 Canadian Ranger Patrol Group leadership meeting, Saint-Jean, QC, 12 December 2012.
11. Lackenbauer, "The Canadian Forces and Canada's North: Historical Lessons Learned (and sometimes forgotten?)," professional development seminar for Joint Task Force (North) headquarters staff, Yellowknife, 30 November 2012.
12. Exner-Pirot, Heather. "The Arctic as a Regional Environmental Security Complex, and What That Means For Policy". The Arctic Council in Transition: Nordic to North American Leadership. Sipri, Stockholm, Sweden, November 29, 2012.
13. Huebert, Lackenbauer, and Lalonde, "Canada's Strategic North," two-hour roundtable of presentations and debate at the Arctic Security Working Group meeting, Yellowknife, 28 November 2012.
14. Lackenbauer, Witness before the House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy, Ottawa, 22 November 2012.
15. Huebert, "Canada and the Rapidly Changing Circumpolar World: Protecting Sovereignty and Security," Fram Centre, Tromso, Norway 9 November 2012.
16. Huebert, "The Strategic Dimensions of Canada's North," High North Centre, University of Nordland, Bodo Norway, 8 November 2012.
17. Lackenbauer, "The Canadian Rangers: 65 Years of Contributions to Canada," 1 Canadian Ranger Patrol Group leadership meeting, Yellowknife, NWT, 3 November 2012.
18. Lajeunesse, "The Cold War under Ice," The Arctic Speaker Series, organized by the Arctic

- Institute of North America, Calgary, November 2012.
19. Lackenbauer, "Canada and the Changing Arctic: Sovereignty, Security, and Stewardship," Arctic Security: Challenges in a Sensitive Environment, seminar hosted by the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna, Embassy of Canada to Austria, and Austrian Institute for European and Security Policy (AIES), Vienna, Austria, 31 October 2012.
  20. Lackenbauer, "Canada and the Changing Arctic: Sovereignty, Security, and Stewardship," Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation (FES) transatlantic dialogue series, sponsored by the Canadian Embassy, Berlin, Germany, 29 October 2012.
  21. Lackenbauer, "Coastal States and Security Challenges in the High North: A View From Canada," Ikkerhetskonsferansen 2012 "Sikkerhet I Nord – Er Vi Forberedt?" ("Safety in the North: Are We Prepared?"), Bodø, Norway, 25 October 2012.
  22. Huebert and Lackenbauer, "The CF and Canada's Strategic North," lectures to Joint Command and Staff Program, Canadian Forces College, Toronto, 19 October 2012.
  23. Lackenbauer, "Canada's Military and the Arctic: A Living History," lecture to Joint Command and Staff Program, Canadian Forces College, Toronto, 15 October 2012.
  24. Lackenbauer, "The Canadian Rangers: A Living History," presentation to the Canadian Rangers National Working Group and 65th anniversary celebration, Dawson City, Yukon, 3 October 2012.
  25. Lackenbauer, "The Canadian Arctic: Communicating History," American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics International Communications Satellite Systems Conference – Satellites in the Service of Humanity, Ottawa, 24 September 2012.
  26. Manicom, "Geopolitics in the Arctic," University of Vermont, 22 September 2012.
  27. Huebert, "Canadian Arctic Sovereignty – Developing Trends," ICETECH 2012, International Conference and Exhibition on Performance of Ships and Structures in Ice, Banff, Alberta, 19 September 2012.
  28. Lackenbauer, "5 Canadian Ranger Patrol Group: A Living History," two hour professional development presentation for 5 CRPG headquarters staff, Gander, Newfoundland, 6 September 2012.
  29. Manicom, "Canada and the Arctic Council: What Will Change in 2013-2015?" CIGI Interviews, 27 August 2012.
  30. Lackenbauer, "Canada's Northern Strategy: An Update," and Huebert, "The Panda and the Beaver on Ice: Facing the newly Emerging Arctic Security Environment," Second Sino-Canadian Workshop on the Arctic, Marine & Environmental Law Institute, Schulich School of Law, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 26 June 2012.
  31. Manicom, "Arctic Geopolitics and the Non-Arctic States," Canadian Foreign Services Institute, Ottawa, 13 June 2012.
  32. Heidt, "'There were only eight of us:' Canadian Sovereignty at the Joint Arctic Weather Stations, 1947-1972." Canadian Historical Association, Waterloo, Ontario, 30 May 2012.
  33. Lackenbauer, "From Sea to Sea ... to Sea: Canada's Search for Maritime Security in the Arctic," Atlantic Council of Canada Maritime Security Conference, Toronto, 30 May 2012.
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43. Exner-Pirot, "The Regionalization of the Arctic", International Polar Year, Montreal, QC, 24 April 2012.
44. Huebert and Lalonde, "The Changing Geopolitical Circumpolar North: Cooperation and/or Conflict," Conference - International Polar Year 2012: From Knowledge to Action, Montreal April 26, 2012.
45. Huebert, "The Continually Changing Arctic Security Environment," The Society Of Naval Architects And Marine Engineers – Arctic Section, Calgary, 20 April 2012.
46. Huebert, "Art, Security and the Arctic: New Understandings," Southern Alberta Art Gallery, Lethbridge, AB, 11 April 2012.
47. Lackenbauer, "Aboriginal-Government Relations in the Canadian North," roundtable led by Willie Hensley, University of Alaska Anchorage, 27 March 2012.
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49. Lackenbauer, "Canada and the Circumpolar World: Sovereignty, Security, and Stewardship," University of Alaska Anchorage, 27 March 2012.
50. Heidt, "Life at the Joint Arctic Weather Stations" Paper presented at the 18th Annual Tri-U Graduate History Conference, Waterloo, Ontario, 3 March 2012
51. Huebert, "Arctic Politics," The Political Science Student Association, University of Calgary, 18 March 2012
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52. Kikkert, "1946: The Year Canada Chose its Path in the Arctic." Paper presented at the 18th Annual Tri-U Graduate History Conference, Waterloo, Ontario, 3 March 2012.
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54. Lalonde, "Reconciling Competing Claims to the Arctic Ocean Basin," Réseau d'excellence ArcticNet, Salt Spring Island, 2-4 March 2012.
55. Huebert, "The Emerging Arctic Security Environment," The Third Annual Denver Forum on Public Policy Arctic Perspectives: The 2020 Horizon, Canadian Consulate General, Denver, CO, 1 March 2012.

## Discussion

Although developments during the last calendar year have indicated that the Arctic states are conforming to their official policy lines and not preparing for military conflict in the near future, longer-term forecasts of defence and security in the region remain less clear. The extent to which policy-makers in Canada and other Arctic nations should invest in defence capabilities, plan and prepare for potential challenges, and how much emphasis should be rooted in confidence-building measures and faith in bilateral and multilateral cooperation, is a topic of ongoing discussion and debate.

Members of the project team have been frequently called upon by government, defence, and non-government organizations to share their insights and research findings on sovereignty and security issues. Huebert continues to argue that new concerns have arisen, producing uncertainty and unpredictability, which could destabilize the region over the long-term. Lalonde suggests that international law remains opaque and blind faith in it as the guarantor that developments will occur in a consensual and cooperative manner is problematic. Lackenbauer, Exner-Pirot, Kikkert, Manicom and others emphasize trends of enhanced cooperation, suggesting that these are likely to continue given the national interests of the Arctic states. All of the project team members note, however, that non-Arctic states' and organizations' interests in the region are but one indication that the range of stakeholders demanding a say is growing and the Arctic governance and security environments continue to evolve.

Some debates are long established but our work seeks to produce new insights into how they can be addressed in Canada's interests. For example, over the last four decades, Canada's position on the Northwest Passage has elicited some foreign government protests and academic criticism. One of the most compelling arguments has been that, in claiming sovereignty over the Northwest Passage, Canada has broken faith with

its own commitment to multilateralism. According to this particular view, Canada's stated concern for the Arctic environment and its indigenous citizens is but window dressing for what amounts to a nationalistic and unilateralist policy. Such severe criticisms, voiced by such leading American law of the sea scholars as John Norton Moore (Director of the Centre for Ocean Law and Policy at the University of Virginia School and Law) and Commander James Kraska (US Naval War College), warranted careful scrutiny. To convince an impartial adjudicator of the merits of a case, it is essential to consider an opponent's arguments, to assess their strength, and then to marshal the best possible evidence and arguments to refute them. Lalonde's research concerning article 234 of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (the Arctic exception) and the designation by the International Maritime Organization [IMO] of a marine area as a Particularly Sensitive Sea Area [PSSA] begins to address this need.

Lalonde's work in this area is truly ground-breaking. No other published research had attempted to catalogue the state of play in the Arctic or to formulate recommendations for the creation of an effective network of Arctic MPAs. As a result of her analysis of global regimes, regional mechanisms and national initiatives, Lalonde concludes that marine protected areas should play an increasingly important role in ongoing efforts to safeguard the Arctic marine environment – as long as they are effectively managed and supervised to ensure long-term ecosystem protection, with various national, regional and international measures forming an ecologically-coherent transboundary network. Although the A8's commitment to the international legal framework is praiseworthy, she recommends that a new legal instrument will have to be devised if the MPA mechanism is to deliver on its promise.

Our historical work also helps to better contextualize Canada's extensive bilateral arctic relations and, in providing more rigorous insight into historical trends, helps to gauge the prospects for current and future cooperation. Studies completed this year by

Lackenbauer, Kikkert, Heidt, and Lajeunesse all suggest that quiet, behind the scenes consultation and cooperation prevented the nationalistic excesses of the United States and Canada from derailing successful and mutually beneficial activities during the Cold War. This helps to challenge the common misconception that the United States seeks to undermine Canada's sovereignty or control over the Arctic, and our findings seem to justify enhanced cooperation with our American neighbours. Our bilateral relations also extend across the Pole. Based upon preliminary research conducted over the past two years, Lalonde plans to devote considerable energy during the coming year to the Canada-Russia bilateral relationship. This project will be multidisciplinary -- the relationship will be analyzed from legal, historical and political perspectives -- and will involve Russian, Finnish and Norwegian colleagues. ArcticNet support to fund travel to the Russian Federation and to host Russian colleagues here in Canada will help to facilitate research into this important but relatively underexplored relationship.

Despite the balanced message that Canada has officially articulated over the past three years, most international scholarly and media commentaries continue to cast Canada as a militant and aggressive Arctic actor. This reflects the sometimes hyper-nationalist and alarmist rhetoric that has dominated media coverage of Arctic issues in Canada. Unfortunately, this distorts Canada's agenda for the circumpolar world. Given the historical and present-day cooperation indicated in much of our research, several of the project's scholars caution the Canadian government against exploiting nationalistic fervor for electoral gain. They all note the incongruity of the Canadian government's public emphasis of sovereignty disputes and confrontation with quiet cooperation. Manicom, for instance, notes that the Canadian government continues to employ confrontational rhetoric when discussing its arctic relations with Russia, even though the two nations are cooperating on mapping the disputed seabed and recognize that most economically viable hydrocarbon reserves are contained within uncontested Exclusive

Economic Zones. He warns that the continued use of inflammatory rhetoric may eventually limit the willingness of Canadian voters to support international cooperation in the future. More generally, our findings that Canada (particularly as it assumes the chair of the Arctic Council this year) should offer international messaging that emphasizes the compatibility between sovereign rights, circumpolar security, and stability.

Canada will resume the role of chair of the Arctic Council from 2013 to 2015. During this period, questions surrounding non-Arctic states' applications for observer status and/or their roles as observers are likely to remain contentious. Research that clarifies interests and intentions in the circumpolar north may serve an important role in influencing Canada's policy position as well as that of the other member states and of the permanent participants (the representatives of northern indigenous peoples). Furthermore, this research is likely to reveal windows of opportunity for enhanced Canada-Asia cooperation in Arctic science and economic development.

Canada continues to balance foreign, defence, security, and safety interests in its Arctic policies, as per the Northern Strategy and Arctic Foreign Policy Statements, but the transition from Canada Command to a new Canadian Joint Operations Command and delays on various defence procurement initiatives have generated questions about Canada's ability to implement its Arctic defence program on schedule. Discussions and meetings with defence officials confirm that the Department of National Defence/Canadian Forces have developed appropriate short- and medium-term plans for Arctic training, logistical support, and response capability. Although our project members have different assessments of the international situation, we concur on the need for Canada to follow through with its plans. This is a message we take to decision-makers at workshops, conferences, professional development seminars, and parliamentary hearings.

Our research also confirms that interaction between national defence, security, and safety priorities on the regional and local level in Canada continues to be generally positive, as case studies of the Canadian Rangers, ground search and rescue, and other local relationships indicate. Lackenbauer has published a wide range of findings from his Ranger project, trumpeting that the Rangers are a clear example of a relationship that the government has actually got right. The Rangers are proof that modest, grassroots measures can assert a national presence over Arctic lands and waters. Because Ranger activities allow Northerners to exercise jurisdiction and control, they demonstrate that traditional indigenous activities continue unbroken to the present and are supported by Ottawa. This is a key pillar of Canada's sovereignty position. Lackenbauer emphasizes that politicians must be careful not to set the Rangers up to fail by asking too much of them or trying to over-militarize them to face a theoretical enemy. Northerners serving in the Ranger organization believe that it already represent the appropriate balance between local, regional, and national priorities. The danger with a success story is that, in trying to improve it, you can end up breaking something that is not broken.

As part of dialogues on Arctic security that we conducted in Northern communities over the past two years, Canadian Rangers and other community members identified Ground Search and Rescue (GSAR) as a key priority. Climatic changes present new challenges for northern Canadians who access the land and water/ice for basic transportation and subsistence. As various ArcticNet and Arctic Council projects reveal, human navigation skills and traditional means of predicting weather are being compromised due to a variety of factors, including variability of snow and ice conditions and extreme or uncharacteristic weather patterns. Customary safe travel routes over ice are increasingly risky, while the mode of transportation is also undergoing change. Climate change has also generated new trends: increased interest in the area by natural resource developers, a burgeoning tourism industry, and a growing population.

These significant environmental changes in the North present challenges for search and rescue operations. Due to these changes, community GSAR associations in Northern Canada are experiencing an increase in the number of emergency situations, and also by their own ability to adequately and responsibly respond in increasing variable environments. More than ever, local GSAR resources require information support on local conditions, traditional knowledge that may exist of the area of interest (eg. hunting camps that may be used for shelter), tracks that have already been covered by SAR resources, and the ability to communicate messages to a central coordination facility in the language of the SAR member. In addition, the ability to get timely and accurate information on specific areas of interest (terrain, infrastructure, location of other assets involved in the search, etc) as well as current environmental conditions, based on the most recent or newly tasked satellite images, would provide significantly enhanced decision-making capabilities. Access to up-to-date satellite information on local sea ice conditions, areas where the lake or river ice is frozen to bottom, areas where infrastructure or travel routes have been compromised due to weather conditions, and similar inputs, will all support safer and more effective GSAR operations.

Search and rescue falls within the parameters of Arctic security, particularly as interpreted by Northern communities, and is led or supported by National Defence. In concert with Northerners, our project will address emerging information gaps by seeking to develop a decision support system that would allow safer and more effective GSAR operations. In addition to improved policy and communications, the proposed solution (based upon conversations with Northerners) may include a ruggedized tablet-type system with a map display of the local area of interest, the ability to communicate, the ability to download real time information on the environmental conditions of interest, and to communicate the status or location or track of the SAR team member.

The first phase of the project involves consulting with key individuals and leaders involved with community,

regional and/or territorial GSAR operations, who are very knowledgeable about realities on the ground. This past year, in partnership with 1 and 5 Canadian Ranger Patrol Groups and C-CORE, we conducted a pilot project in Cambridge Bay, Nain, and Makkovik to gather information about local GSAR experiences. This forthcoming year, we will conduct additional consultations in Dawson, Yukon; Fort Smith, NWT; Resolute, Nunavut; Kuujjuaq, Nunavik; and Makkovik, Nunatsiavut. This will be done by leveraging ArcticNet funding with support from C-CORE, the Canadian Ranger Patrol Groups (who pay the Rangers for their time to meet with us), and the Munk-Gordon Arctic Security Project. We plan to present our main findings based upon these consultations at a major Arctic emergency management conference which will be held in Toronto in January 2014.

## Conclusion

Our research findings continue to generate new knowledge – and new questions - about the intersections between sovereignty, defence, security, and stewardship in the circumpolar world. Although members of the research team differ in their interpretations of international security and legal trends, our publications and outreach activities continue to shape and influence academic and policy debates in Canada and other Arctic states.

In most of our publications and presentations, our intention is to be policy relevant rather than policy prescriptive. By continuing to explore the myriad historical, legal, and political science frameworks and methodologies that can be applied to interpret Canada's place in the circumpolar world, we are bridging the academic-policy divide and providing alternate narratives upon which to base responsible decision-making and strategic planning.

For established security relationships, such as that with the United States, our research confirms the importance of deepening cooperation while remaining

diligent in maintaining our position on unresolved sovereignty and status of water issues. Canada's relationship with Russia is more complex, owing to historical mistrust, mixed messaging from both countries about the intentions behind investments in Arctic security, and Russian unpredictability (like the suspension of RAIPON in 2012). Furthermore, our research into the rise of Asian interest in the Arctic and concomitant sovereignty and security concerns suggests that the interactions between Arctic and non-Arctic states and organizations are generating some of the most pressing questions in circumpolar geopolitics.

Our research findings also reinforce the importance of confidence-building measures and cooperation in a domestic setting. Studies on the Canadian Rangers and other civil-military relationships since the Second World War reveal best practices that may have broader applicability. Our study on ground search and rescue, devised in conversations with Northerners, is revealing gaps in policy and practice that require closer analysis. All are part of our broad goal to support Canadian decision-making that reflects Northerners' interests, projects Canadian values, and ensures that defence and security strategies and investments are aligned with broader national goals.

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