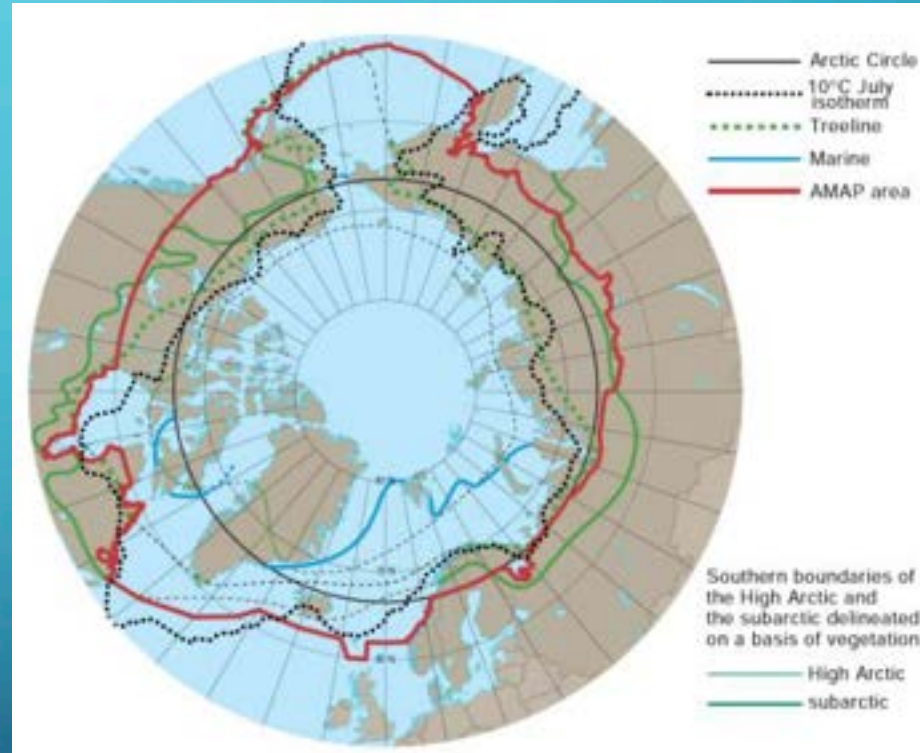
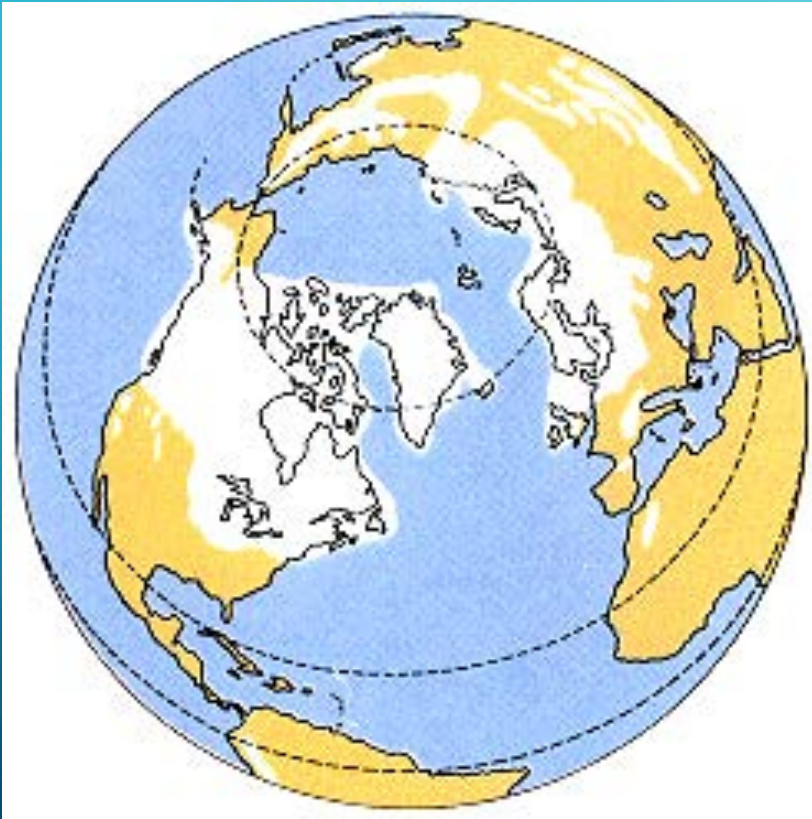




# HEATHER N NICOL, TRENT UNIVERSITY

2015-16 CANADA US FULBRIGHT VISITING CHAIR IN ARCTIC STUDIES, UNIVERSITY  
OF WASHINGTON, JACKSON SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

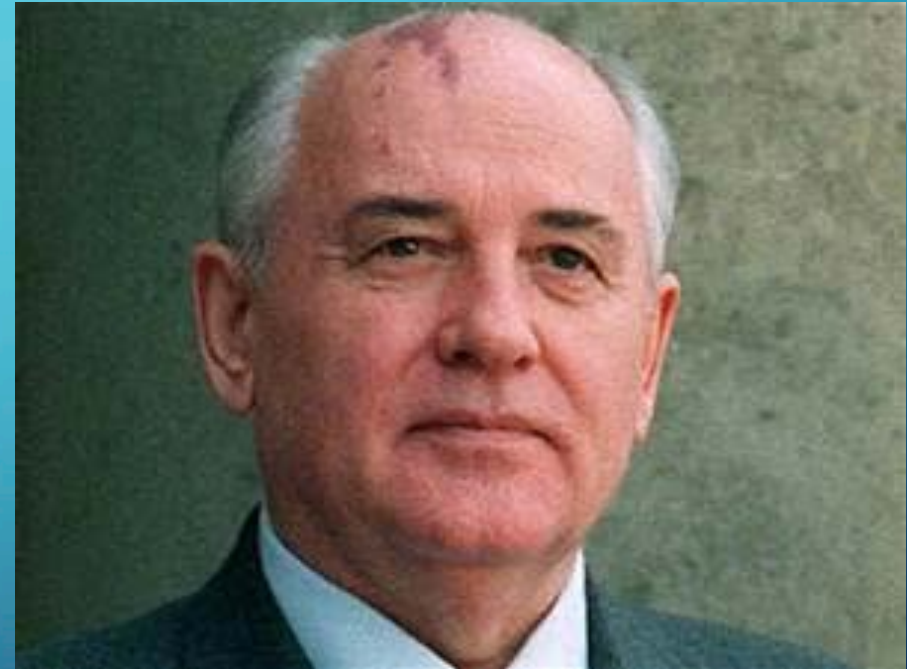
# CIRCUMPOLAR NORTH: RESULT OF AC PROCESS?



- We see the circumpolar Arctic region as a *fait accomplis* - but it is not
- It is an ongoing construction (Keskitalo, 2004; Heininen and Nicol, 2005) rooted in differing political constructs and common points of agreement
- Earliest iteration - historical
  - Science and empire
  - Bipolar world
  - Globalization ( Gorbachev's Murmansk speech)

# AN IMPORTANT TRIGGER: MURMANSK SPEECH

- <http://www.cfr.org/arctic/general-secretary-gorbachevs-speech-murmansk-october-1987/p32441>





# OTTAWA DECLARATION IN 1996: FROM AEPS TO ARCTIC COUNCIL

- The Ottawa Declaration establishes the Arctic Council
- The Council oversees and coordinates programs established under the AEPS, namely those supervised by the four original working groups but there are also new groups and issues
- shift in focus from just environmental protection to the broader concept of sustainable development



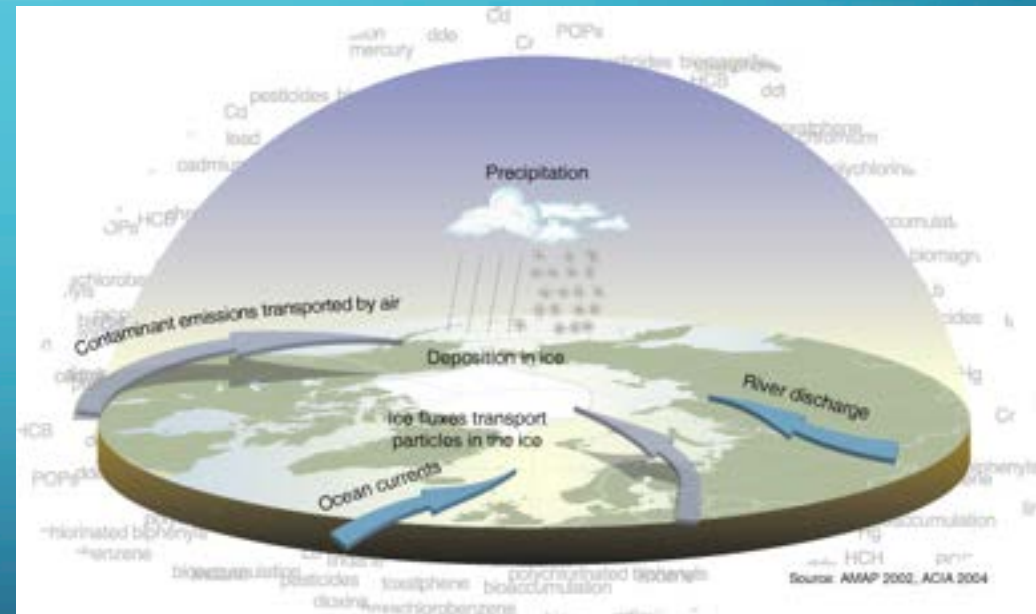
# BEGAN AS AN ENVIRONMENTAL PROCESS

- Builds upon the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy, (AEPS) an effort (Rovaniemi Process) begun by the Arctic states in 1991
- original goals: to address environmental issues; to develop multilateral responses to pollution in the Russian Arctic



# 4 ORIGINAL WORKING GROUPS ESTABLISHED UNDER THE ARCTIC ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION STRATEGY

- The Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Program (AMAP) monitors levels and assesses the effects of anthropogenic pollutants in the Arctic.
- The Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna (CAFF) working group
- The Emergency Prevention, Preparedness and Response (EPPR) working group
- The Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment (PAME) working group





# ADDITION: SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT WORKING GROUP

- In the 1996 Ottawa Declaration, the Arctic states agreed to "oversee and coordinate a sustainable development program"
- Some uncertainty about what sustainability actually meant



**Canada's Arctic**  
Sovereignty & Security for Sustainable Development

The NATO Council of Canada  
Conseil Canadien Pour l'OTAN

Operated by the  
Atlantic Council of Canada

Presenting sponsor:  
Toronto Port Authority Administration  
Partenaire de Toronto

**NATO Council of Canada  
Spring Conference**

**Tickets:**  
\$75 for members  
\$85 non-members  
\$20 for students  
\$15 for student groups of 10+



# IN CONTEXT OF BRUNTLAND HOWEVER...

- By 1980s and 90s There was also a sustainable development “buzz” Canadian concept of environment included sustainability
- US concept did not
- European nations somewhere in between
- Why was Canada different?
  - Events in the 1970s and 1980s saw environment and community economies linked (Berger Report) while economic development was not longer seen as antithetical to environment (Nicol, 2013)

# CANADA AND US AT ODDS

- Various details and documents but essentially the relationship between environment and sustainable development was contentious even then
- Keskitalo (2004) traces this process
- Looks through the first round of Chairmanship to find that the regional discursive hinge upon specific understandings of environment (filtered by specific foreign policy goals)
- Heininen and Nicol (2005) find these reflected in specific northern dimension foreign policy narratives

## 6 WORKING GROUPS TODAY

1. Arctic Contaminants Action Program (ACAP)\*
2. Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme (AMAP)
3. Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna (CAFF)
4. Emergency Prevention, Preparedness and Response (EPPR)
5. Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment (PAME)
6. Sustainable Development Working Group (SDWG)\*

# RECENT AGREEMENTS

- Search and Rescue (SAR)
- Agreement on Cooperation on Marine Oil Pollution Preparedness





# ARCTIC COUNCIL CHAIRMANSHIP HISTORY

- Canada I: Inauguration of Arctic Council - 1998 (Ministerial Meeting held in Iqaluit, Canada 1998)
- United States of America I: 1998 - 2000 (Ministerial Meeting held in Barrow, Alaska 2000)
- Finland I: 2000-2002 (Ministerial Meeting held in Inari, Finland 2002)
- Iceland I: 2002-2004 (Ministerial Meeting held in Reykjavik, Iceland 2004)
- Russian Federation I: 2004-2006 (Ministerial Meeting held in Salekhard, Russian Federation, 2006)
- Norway I: 2006-March 2009 (Ministerial Meeting held in Tromsø, Norway 2009)
- Denmark I: 2009-2011 (Ministerial Meeting held in Nuuk, Greenland 2011)
- Sweden I: 2011-2013 (Ministerial Meeting held in Kiruna, Sweden 2013)
- Canada II: 2013-2015 (Ministerial Meeting held in Iqaluit, Nunavut, Canada 2015)
- United States of America II: 2015-2017

# CURRENT CHALLENGES

- UNCLOS versus Arctic Council - Arctic 5 versus Arctic 8
- Observer states versus Permanent Participants (Indigenous people's)
- EU Seal ban
- Russia and Ukraine
- **Environment versus economic development (from Canada to US Chairmanship)**



# ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT (AGAIN) - THE AEC ISSUE

- Bumpy start at Kiruna
- Focus on economic development for people of Arctic region
- Arctic Economic Council formed - consistent with historical focus since 1980
- An independent but “linked” advising body
- Businesses reps are present on the AEC
- Agreement at end of Canadian Chair that this was probably a good idea



# US TAKES THE CHAIR

- Arctic Council: Responsibility of United States Department of State
- The State Department's Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs (OES) includes the Office of Ocean and Polar Affairs (OPA is responsible for formulating and implementing US policy on international issues concerning the oceans, the Arctic, and Antarctica.
- Julie Gourley Senior Arctic Official
- On July 16, 2014, U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry announced the appointment of Retired Admiral Robert Papp to Serve as U.S. Special Representative for the Arctic.



# ONE ARCTIC – US TAKES THE CHAIR

- Reflects idea of a shared and integrated Arctic
- The three thematic areas of the U.S. Chairmanship are:
  - improving economic and living conditions in Arctic communities;
  - Arctic Ocean safety, security and stewardship; and
  - addressing the impacts of climate change.
- The theme of the U.S. Chairmanship of the Arctic Council is “One Arctic: Shared Opportunities, Challenges and Responsibilities,” which recognizes the peaceful and stable nature of the Arctic.
- Spring 2017 at Ministerial meeting in Alaska, United States will hand the chairmanship to Finland.

# US ARCTIC COUNCIL PRIORITIES

- <http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/about-us/arctic-council/u-s-chairmanship>

# DÉJÀ VU

- Continuity between the two programs?
- After all, the language is almost identical and the themes align
- BUT in actual fact, from a Canadian perspective the emphasis has shifted
- Environmental protection and climate change become detached from economic development

# REINVENTING THE BIG DIVIDE

- “Under Canada’s chair, the Arctic Council’s focus has been decidedly pro-industry, working under the theme ‘Development for the People of the North.’ While the people of the North were spotlighted in the Canadian government’s press materials, under Canada’s leadership, the Arctic Council has pursued several initiatives and policies that show the real themes of the Canadian chairship were promoting the interests of big business, disempowering Northerners, and opposing serious action on climate change. In fact, Canada’s chairship was the first in several years to not specifically include climate change as part of a theme or a major priority.”



## BUT CONTESTED DEVELOPMENT AND ENVIRONMENT FRAMEWORK EMERGES: 1970-1980S

- “Jean Chretien redressed ecological protection as colonialism, because locking up the north as a sanctuary would squash Inuit aspirations for jobs and leading roles in oil extraction. Development had become both imperialism and decolonization, and conservation had become the tried and true trope of neglect and indifference’ (Stuhl, 2013: 110-111). (**Agenda 21**)
- **Environment pitted against development in North during 1970s and 1980s**  
(Nicol,2013) *The Nature of Things* 1979

# NOT JUST A CANADA-US DIVIDE BUT A BROADER PROBLEM WITH CONSENSUS - TRANSLATED INTO US DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY SCENARIOS

- Arctic 21
- <http://www.climateforum.ca/?p=6497>
- State of Alaska/ Alaska Arctic Policy Commission
- <http://www.akarctic.com/>
- State Department (2009 Presidential Directive; 2013 Northern Strategy)
- [https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/nat\\_arctic\\_strategy.pdf](https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/nat_arctic_strategy.pdf)
- WEF (Arctic protocol)
- [http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF\\_Arctic\\_Investment\\_Protocol.pdf](http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_Arctic_Investment_Protocol.pdf)

# ENVIRONMENT VERSUS ECONOMICS: NEW SCALES

- Change in orientation of US versus Canada AC Chair
- Tensions-Alaska, Canada PNWER
- Alaska Policy Commission vs State Department (GLACIER meetings)
- Support for AEC ? (now from WEF) Impact of WEF involvement?
- Cross-border cooperation infrastructure lacking (Beaufort Sea)

# MOVING FORWARD UNDER THE US CHAIRMANSHIP

- Telecommunications Task Force
- Health
- A Regional Sea?
- The Task Force on Arctic Marine Cooperation (TFAMC) was established at the 2015 to assess the future needs for a mechanism for increased cooperation in Arctic marine areas.
- Loss of regional control over development process
- [Arctic 21](#)
- [State of Alaska/ Alaska Arctic Policy Commission](#)
- [State Department \(2009 Presidential Directive; 2013 Northern Strategy\)](#)
- [WEF \(Arctic protocol\)](#)





- <https://www.bing.com/videos/search?q=the+arctic+council&&view=detail&mid=0091E70999D8079EF6CE0091E70999D8079EF6CE&FORM=VRDGAR>