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LIGHTING THE 8TH FIRE – BUILDING HARMONY AMONGST THE CANADIAN FORCES AND THE INUIT IN THE ARCTIC

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Lighting the 8th Fire – Building Harmony amongst the Canadian Forces and the Inuit in the Arctic

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ABSTRACT

The Canadian Forces (CF) is once again refocusing its efforts northward to satisfy the elements of the Northern Strategy and the Canada First Defence Strategy that pertain to the Arctic. As such, the CF must avoid previous historical pitfalls caused by misunderstandings and general ignorance that have plagued the Indian-White relations in Canada. During this current period of "Negotiation and Renewal," the CF has formed strong partnerships with the Inuit and it is important that these partnerships not only continue but also flourish in the future so that shared visions and goals that will benefit all Canadians can be realised. This paper argues that a four pronged approach is necessary to strengthen the relationship between the CF and the Inuit. Quite simply, the CF must follow the mantra of "first, do no harm," by understanding the current and future vulnerabilities of the Inuit due to the rapidly changing Arctic environment, by ensuring that its members have a strong ability to exercise cultural competency in the conduct of all Northern activities and by comprehending Canadian history from the perspective of its impact on Aboriginal Peoples and CF-Aboriginal interactions. The paper also includes a brief reflection on the Government of Canada's current northern approach and its potential impact on the CF. As well, it demonstrates that the relationship between Aboriginals and the CF is improving through the implementation of policies aimed at demonstrating respect for native spirituality and the development and employment of programs such as Defence Aboriginal Awareness Groups and Aboriginal Liaison Officers. Only by building harmony amongst the CF and the Inuit in the Arctic can the Anishnabe prophecy of the 8th Fire be fulfilled. According to this prophecy, only by all mankind choosing, "a path of respect, wisdom and spirituality, environmental and social catastrophe can be avoided, and an era of spiritual illumination will unfold."[1]

[1] Wikipedia, "Seven Fires Prophesy," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Seven_fires_prophecy#cite_note-EBB-3; Internet; accessed 4 February 2012.

THE PROPHECY OF THE 8TH FIRE

They will come to a fork in the road. One road will lead to Materialism and Destruction.....for almost all living creatures....The other road will lead to a Spiritual Way upon which the Native People will be standing...This path will lead to the lighting of the 8th Fire, a period of eternal peace, harmony and a "New Earth" where the destruction of the past will be healed.

Anishnabe prophecy[2]

[2] The 8th Fire, "The Prophecy of the 8th Fire," http://the8thfire.org/8thfire/index.htm; Internet; accessed 4 February 2012.

LIGHTING THE 8TH FIRE – BUILDING HARMONY AMONGST THE CANADIAN FORCES AND THE INUIT IN THE ARCTIC

INTRODUCTION

One of the conclusions that can be drawn from the last four hundred years of Indian-White relations in Canada is that misunderstandings and general ignorance have compounded difficulties between indigenous people and newcomers.[3] For example, on the 27 August 2008, the Prime Minister stated that:

> As an environmental matter, as a security matter and as an economic matter we are making it perfectly clear that not only do we claim jurisdiction over the Canadian Arctic, we are also going to put the full resources of the Government of Canada behind enforcing that jurisdiction. 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.[4]

From this quotation, it would be reasonable to assume that the Government of Canada would make it a priority to include Inuit representatives in all discussions, decisions and policy-making that might impact their future. Imagine the outrage of the members of the different Inuit organizations when Canada's Foreign Minister Cannon hosted a conference at Chelsea, Quebec to discuss polar questions and only invited the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Russia, Norway and Denmark. Although the mini-summit demonstrated that Canada was serious about the Arctic, the act of excluding certain members of the Arctic Council, which comprises eight states, six permanent indigenous organizations and several "observer states," was widely criticized by Aboriginal groups. The general consensus was that the Arctic's future was being decided behind closed doors by an elite inner circle. The exclusion of Aboriginal representation from the meeting raised deep concerns and was perceived as a calculated plan to establish a new

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[3] J.R. Miller, "Introduction," in *Sweet Promises*: *A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada,* ed. J.R. Miller, vii-xix (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), xvi.

[4] Prime Minister of Canada, "PM Announces Government of Canada will Extend Jurisdiction over Arctic Waters," http://pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?id=2247; Internet; accessed 2 April 2012.

hierarchal organization.[5] Surprised by the controversy caused by the meeting, Minister Cannon tried to explain that the five Foreign Ministers had the right to hold informal meetings and that further discussions and collaboration with all Arctic States, Arctic indigenous peoples, and the Arctic Council would occur in the future. Clearly, Minister Cannon underestimated the Inuit's desire to be included.

The Oka Crisis is another example that clearly demonstrates how "weak knowledge and understanding of Indigenous issues" can lead to confusion and conflict.[6] In March 1990, the town of Oka approved the extension of a nine-hole golf course onto disputed land that the Mohawks claimed as their own. This land was used by the Mohawks for traditional hunting activities and was considered a sacred burial ground.[7] To prevent any further development of the land, the Mohawks erected and occupied a blockade. On the 11 July 1990, the SQ commanded that the Mohawks have their leader approach the lines immediately. When the women approached, a second request was made for their leader to come forward. By asking to meet with their leader a second time, it was evident that there was a lack of comprehension with respect to Mohawk democracy in that no single leader existed; with all members considered leaders.[8] This misunderstanding and ignorance of Mohawk culture was also articulated by LCol Robin Gagnon, CO of the 3rd Battalion R22eR. He regretted "that he only learned about Mohawk culture during the crisis. It would have helped beforehand to be familiar, not only with the underlying reasons for their demands, but also with their culture and traditions."[9] The decision to exclude Inuit representatives from a high profile meeting to discuss polar questions and to expand a golf course on disputed land led to outrage amongst the members of the impacted Aboriginal organizations and controversy. Both examples reveal that misunderstandings and ignorance can negatively impact Canada's relationship with its indigenous people.

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[5] Douglas C. Nord, "The Shape of the Table, the Shape of the Arctic," *International Journal* 65, no. 4 (Autumn 2010): 828.

[6] Deborah Simmons, review of *This is an Honour Song: Twenty Years Since the Blockades – An Anthology of Writing on the "Oka Crisis,"* by Leanne Simpson and Kiera L. Ladner, *Socialist Studies* 6, no. 2 (Fall 2010): 173.

[7] P. Lackenbauer, "Carrying the Burden of Peace: The Mohawks, the Canadian Forces, and the Oka Crisis," *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 10, no. 2 (Winter 2008): 5.

[8] Harry Swain, *Oka: A Political Crisis and its Legacy* (Vancouver: Douglas and MacIntyre, 2010), 80-81.

[9] Lackenbauer, *Carrying the Burden of Peace* . . ., 31.

The CF must avoid similar historical pitfalls while satisfying the elements of the Northern Strategy and the Canada First Defence Strategy that focus on the Arctic. This paper will argue that a four pronged approach is necessary to strengthen the relationship between the CF and the Inuit thereby increasing the CF's chances for mission success in the Arctic. Quite simply, the CF must follow the mantra of "first, do no harm," by understanding the current and future vulnerabilities of the Inuit due to the rapidly changing Arctic environment, by ensuring that its members have a strong ability to exercise cultural competency in the conduct of all Northern activities and by comprehending Canadian history from the perspective of its impact on Aboriginal Peoples and CF-Aboriginal interactions. The achievement of mutually beneficial long-term goals will only be fully realized through the existence of an environment that fosters understanding, cooperation, mutual trust and respect amongst the members of the CF and the Inuit in the Arctic. This paper will be broken down into five chapters. Chapter 1 will describe the main factors that are challenging the Inuit traditional way of life and the physical basis for their culture. The Government of Canada's policy statements with respect to the Arctic, as well as, the development of the Inuit political movements that are working towards ensuring that the Arctic remains a viable homeland for future generations will be discussed. The next chapter will emphasize the importance of cultural competency in the CF as well as offer recommendations for its enhancement. Chapters 3 will focus on Newcomer-Aboriginal history including the development of Nunavut and chapter 4 will provide recommendations based on analysis of three very different Newcomer-Aboriginal interactions: establishment of the Cold Lake Air Weapons Range, Canada's indigenous sovereignty soldiers and the Royal Commission into the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline. The intent of the fifth chapter is to satisfy two goals. First, this chapter will include a brief reflection on the Government of Canada's current northern approach and its potential impact on the CF. Second, it will show that the relationship between Aboriginals and the CF is improving through the implementation of policies aimed at demonstrating respect for native spirituality and the development and employment of programs such as Defence Aboriginal Awareness Groups and Aboriginal Liaison Officers.

Recently the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) National Chief Atleo stated that the First Nation's aim is to "reset the relationship" between the Crown and First Nations.[10] As such, it is an opportune time for the CF to commit to strengthening its present and future relationships with Canada's Aboriginal Peoples so that the two groups can be great neighbors, not only in the South, but also in the Arctic. According to the 8th Fire prophecy, "if enough people, of all colors and faiths turn from materialism and instead choose a path of respect, wisdom and spirituality, environmental and social catastrophe can be avoided, and an era of spiritual illumination will unfold."[11]

[10] CBC News, "First Nations to Raise "Bread and Butter Issues" With Crown," http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2012/01/15/f-nations-meeting.html; Internet; accessed 4 February 2012.

[11] Wikipedia, *Seven Fires Prophesy*.

CHAPTER 1 – THE ARCTIC AND ITS PEOPLE: A MODERN DAY FORK IN THE ROAD

The Changing Arctic

The Arctic plays a crucial role in Canada's national identity.[12] As such, Canadian history is filled with stories of polar explorers and their encounters with the indigenous people of the North. Due to the inhospitable and harsh environment, the Arctic has remained relatively isolated with resource extraction considered problematic and its accessibility too challenging, but the tide is turning with the Arctic undergoing changes at a startling pace.[13] These changes can be attributed to at least three powerful agents: climate change, resource development and geopolitical transformation.[14] As such, Canada can no longer ignore the North and must be ready to assert its sovereignty as newcomers take advantage of its ever-increasing accessibility and seek to benefit from its tremendous potential. While, defending its sovereignty, Canada must also be cognizant of the vulnerability of the Inuit to these present and future changes.

In 2004, Sheila Watt-Cloutier, a prominent Canadian Inuit Activist, was asked to testify before the US Senate committee about climate change. Her message was stark and compelling: she stated that climate change had first been noticed in the Arctic by elders and hunters and that it was occurring at an incredible rate. She hypothesized that if climate change was not reversed, then hundreds of millions of people around the globe would suffer. Her final message was clear, "protect the Arctic and we save the planet."[15] Two months later, an impact assessment report entitled, "Impacts of a Warming Arctic," was presented to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the eight Arctic States.[16] Based on Ms. Watt-Cloutier's testimonial and the findings of the report,

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[12] Lee-Ann Broadhead, "Canadian Sovereignty versus Northern Security," *International Journal* 65, no. 4 (Autumn 2010), 913.

[13] Rob Huebert, "Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security in a Transforming Circumpolar World," in *Canada and the Changing Arctic,* ed. Franklyn Griffiths, Rob Huebert, and P. Whitney Lackenbauer, 13-68 (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2011), 13.

[14] *Ibid.,* 25.

[15] Sheila Watt-Cloutier, Testimony before the US Senate Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation, Washington, DC, 15 September 2004.

[16] Arctic Climate Impact Assessment, "Impacts of a Warming Arctic," http://www.acia.uaf.edu/pages/overview.html; Internet; accessed 2 April 2012.

global warming has the potential to give rise to sovereignty, security and safety issues, as well as social, cultural, and environmental concerns.

For the Inuit, one of the most dramatic effects of climate change is the "strength, direction, and predictability of the wind and ice conditions; conditions to which narwhal and walrus hunting are highly sensitive."[17] Additionally, there is a risk to their food security as animal species' diversity ranges and distribution changes.[18] For example, marine habitat species such as polar bears, seals and some seabirds are anticipated to be negatively affected. As well, the warmer weather is expected to result in new species migrating North and competing with those already present. Invasions of mosquitos and blackflies have been reported which may lead to the potential for new diseases. Another example is the increased sightings of killer whales in the western Hudson Bay area.[19] It is hypothesized that the retreating ice no longer limits their ability to enter the more northern waters. As well, some marine fisheries will increase while freshwater fisheries decline. These changes will challenge the indigenous communities since, "the procurement of country foods during hunting, the sharing of the products of the hunt and the act of consuming country foods is important in producing and re-producing community social relations, and is central to how the Inuit define themselves."[20]

Reduced sea-ice will also lead to increased marine transport and access to previously unattainable resources and localities. The navigation season will become longer with new routes becoming available. Additional infrastructure will be required to support increases in shipping. Thawing ground will wreak havoc on current and future transportation, buildings and industrial infrastructure. This could lead to a greater propensity to shift towards marine transportation. At the same time, permafrost degradation will result in additional costs to maintain and rebuild any destabilization. Similarly, traditional transportation methods and routes used by the Inuit will need to be adapted. In summary, climate change has started to profoundly impact and challenge the Inuit's way of life. It must be emphasized that although sea ice is melting resulting in

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[17] T. Ikummaq, interviewed by James Ford in Igloolik, 22 November2004 and M. Akumalik, interviewed by James Ford in Arctic Bay, 10 July 2004.

[18] Huebert, *Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security . . .,* 27.

[19] University of Manitoba, "Are Killer Whales (Orcinus Orca) Increasing in Hudson Bay?" http://www.arcticnet.ulaval.ca/pdf/posters_2006/higdon_et_al.pdf; Internet; accessed 2 April 2012.

[20] C. Furgal and J. Seguin, "Climatic Change, Health and Vulnerability in Canadian Northern Aboriginal Communities," *Environ Health Perspect* 114 (2006): 1964-1970.

increased accessibility, newcomers to the North will only come if there is something to be gained.

The Arctic is considered a "treasure trove of resources." [21] Melting sea ice will permit access and the subsequent possibility of mining approximately 25% of the world's undiscovered oil and gas resources. It must be remembered that the true extent of the Arctic's treasure can only be speculated at this time and that the quest for resources is influenced by the commodity markets. It is anticipated that the northern Arctic will satisfy China and India's future appetites for resources. According to Rob Huebert, "thus the question is not whether oil and gas will be developed in the Arctic, but when."[22] As a result, Canada must be able to protect its interests which include those of the northern people living in the Arctic. In order to so this, ". . .the Canadian Government will have to improve its ability to know what is happening in the North as well as its ability to control any activity that takes place there."[23]

From a geopolitical perspective, three main factors are also contributing to the accelerated rate of change in the Arctic. Firstly, the map of the Arctic is being redrawn based on new international laws. If a country can demonstrate an extended continental shelf, all mineral, oil and gas reserves that may be found in these extensions become the property of that country. Canada's extension may make it one of the largest territories in the Arctic earning it the right to be considered an Arctic superpower. Second, most Arctic nations are remilitarizing their Armed Forces and Coast Guard to be able to effectively operate in the North. Lastly, non-Arctic States have begun to show an interest in the North. For example, by 2013, "China will have at least two icebreakers concurrently operating at both the north and south poles."[24] Clearly, these three factors show the growing international interest in the northern region and its "treasures."

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[21] Huebert, *Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security . . .,* 29.
[22] *Ibid.,* 31.
[23] *Ibid.,* 34.
[24] "China's New Polar Icebreaker to Launch in 2013," *China Daily,* 22 June 2011.

The Canadian Forces and Canada's Northern Strategy

The Canadian Armed Forces have learned over time that the Arctic is an extremely expensive, unforgiving and complex environment to operate in. As stated by the Minister of National Defence, "Canada takes its responsibility for the North seriously – with all that means for the sovereignty, security, well-being and sustainability of Northern communities and their land."[25] In order to satisfy this responsibility, the Government of Canada released the Northern Strategy to ensure that by collaborating with all stakeholders such as Northerners and other governmental and non-governmental organizations, the following objectives will be achieved:

a. "Carefully monitor and protect our Arctic environment;
b. Promote and support both economic and social development in the North;
c. Improve and devolve governance so that more decision-making is in the hands of the Northerners; and
d. Continue exercising Canada's sovereignty in the North so that we can deliver on these goals."[26]

Although the Minister of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs are the lead agencies for implementing the Northern Strategy, the CF is particularly well suited to deliver the affects required to face and respond to any major challenges in the North. [27] As such, the Canada First Defence Strategy will provide the Canadian Forces with the tools it needs to increase its presence in the North. New patrol ships, capable of operating in first-year ice will monitor maritime activity, a berthing and refuelling facility will be established in Nanisivik and an Arctic Training Centre will be built in partnership with Natural Resources Canada near Resolute Bay.[28] This centre will serve as a training base for acquiring

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[25] National Defence and the Canadian Forces, "Minister's Speech: The Canadian Forces and Canada's Northern Strategy," http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/news-nouvelles/news-nouvelles-eng.asp?id=4069; Internet; accessed 21 February 2012.

[26] *Ibid*.

[27] *Ibid*.

[28] Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy: Exercising Sovereignty and Promoting Canada's NORTHERN STRATEGY Abroad* (Ottawa: Canada Communication Group, 2010), 6.

skills necessary to operate, control and protect Canada's Arctic. As well, Canada plans to expand the size and capabilities of the Rangers to over five thousand members. As the only current land force in the Arctic, they are also the eyes and the ears of the military in the North; acquiring and providing information about the areas that they frequent. More importantly, they provide mentorship and education focussing on traditional indigenous knowledge and skills for surviving and caring for the North to both their fellow Northerners and the members of the CF.

CF operations in the Arctic are influenced by several factors. Not only is there a requirement to have adequate infrastructure, weapon system platforms capable of operating in this difficult environment and CF members with the skills and knowledge to thrive in this hostile setting, but a requirement also exists for the Inuit and the CF to work together to achieve mission success. In order to successfully work together, the CF must understand the vulnerability of the Inuit to the conditions associated with a rapidly changing Arctic.

The Changing Inuit - Vulnerabilities to Climatic and Human Processes

The Canadian Government relocated seventeen families to the Queen Elizabeth Islands in 1953 and 1955. It is widely believed that perceived threats to Canadian Arctic sovereignty from the Soviet Union, Denmark (Greenland), and the United States motivated the Canadian Government to relocate selected families from Inukjuak, Northern Quebec to the high Arctic even though historically, the Inuit did not live this far North.[29] Regardless, upon landing in their newfound homeland, the Inuit experienced severe culture shock since their traditional knowledge and hunting techniques were not suited to this new environment. Additionally, there was inadequate snow to build igloos and the 24 hour darkness from November to February was unfamiliar. In 1996, the Federal Government agreed to a compensation package of 10 million dollars to recognize Inuit "pain, suffering and hardship" as a result of the relocations. [30] Although it has never been proven, it is suspected that the Inuit were used as human flag poles to

[29] Janet Mancini Billson, "Opportunity or Tragedy: The Impact of Canadian Resettlement Policy on Inuit Families," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 20, no. 2 (Summer 1990): 197.

[30] Michael Byers, *Understanding Sovereignty Disputes in the North: Who Owns the Arctic?* (Vancouver: Douglas and MacIntyre, 2009), 110.

buttress Canadian sovereignty claims in the far North. As demonstrated by the example of the High Arctic Exiles, it behoves the Canadian Government to understand the vulnerabilities of the Inuit in light of current and future climatic and human process changes. This understanding will ensure that any future plans, decisions and activities do not cause harm to the Inuit.

The vulnerability of the Inuit can be "assessed as a function of exposure and adaptive capacity."[31] Appendix 1 illustrates the complex interaction between climatic and human processes for two communities that were felt to be representative of most communities throughout Nunavut.[32] It shows that the transformation from a nomadic to sedimentary lifestyle in the 1960s, the requirements for young Inuit to receive a "Southern style" education thereby limiting their time on the land, the development of a cash economy and the emergence of new hunting technologies coupled with exposure to climate change conditions have the potential for increased vulnerability amongst the Inuit.

Throughout time, the Inuit have demonstrated a strong ability to adapt to changes due to their "traditional Inuit knowledge, strong social networks, flexibility in resource use, and institutional support."[33] Unfortunately, it is difficult to predict if there exists a finite amount of change that can be withstood by the Inuit before their existing way of life, their livelihoods and their culture are severely impacted. In 2007, Dr. Franklyn Griffiths, a University of Toronto professor and a world renowned expert on Canadian Arctic policy, interviewed hunters and elders about the impact of climate change. Many felt that they would adapt but a significant minority feared that it would end their culture. Griffiths concluded that, "there is a real risk to Inuit culture being wiped out . . . There's cultural genocide implied."[34]

Many Inuit feel that climatic conditions are changing at a rate that far exceeds previous natural fluctuations, thereby challenging their understanding about the local environment,

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[31] James D Ford, Barry Smith, Johanna Wandel, Mishak Allurat, Kik Shappa, Harry Ittusarjuats and Kevin Qrunnuts, "Climate Change in the Arctic: Current and Future Vulnerabilities in Two Communities in Canada," *The Geographical Journal* 174, no. 1 (March 2008): 46.

[32] *Ibid.,* 52.

[33] *Ibid.,* 45.

[34] Canada.com, "Canada's Inuit Facing "Cultural Genocide,"" http://www.canada.com/cityguides/winnipeg/info/story.html?id=886e1d36-01c8-4ef6-8d60-a9460b815f62&k=34394; Internet; accessed 2 April 2012.

including knowledge of physical and biological processes.[35] Additionally, globalization has severely influenced the Inuit way of life by exposing them to alternative discourses with respect to values, identities, principles, self-worth and critical thinking.[36] As such, the CF must be cognizant of the challenges faced by the Inuit as *Inuit Qaujimajatuqngit* (IQ) must evolve as a function of the rapidly changing Arctic.[37] Another means to help the Inuit adapt is by ensuring that their concerns are voiced and addressed in both domestic and international forums.

The Development of an Inuit Polity

Aboriginal leaders (First Nations, Inuit and Metis) have proven to be ". . . among the most political strategists in their contemporary national and international scenes," despite being cast as "helpless, noble victims of progress struggling to maintain their cultures and spiritual relationship to the land and resources in the modern world . . . ." with limited power and resources.[38] Over the past three decades, more and more Aboriginals are completing post-secondary education and obtaining workplace experience in mainstream and Aboriginal communities. In the near future, these determined, well-educated and courageous individuals will be moving into key leadership positions with the goal of achieving "a better world for themselves and for their children."[39] These future leaders will direct their main efforts towards righting the wrongs of colonization. Aboriginal post-colonial consciousness will challenge

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[35] Ford, Smith, Wandel, Allurat, Shappa, Ittusarjuats and Qrunnuts, *Climate Change in the Arctic . . .*, 49 and Gita J. Laidler, James D. Ford, William A. Gough, Theo Ikummaq, Alexandre S. Gagnon, Slawomir Kowal, Kevin Qrunnut and Celina Irngaut, "Travelling and Hunting in a Changing Arctic: Assessing Inuit Vulnerability to Sea Ice Change in Igloolik, Nunavut," *Climatic Change* 94 (2009): 384.

[36] Nunatsiaq News, "Reclaiming the Moral High Ground," http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/4567_reclaiming_the_moral_high_ground/; Internet; accessed 2 April 2012.

[37] IQ is defined as traditional Inuit knowledge, land skills, and a code of behaviour based on time-honoured values and practices.

[38] Andrew F. Cooper and P. Whitney Lackenbauer, "The Achilles Heel of Canadian Good International Citizenship: Indigenous Diplomacies and State Responses," in *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates and New Ideas*, ed. Duane Bratt and Christopher J. Kukucha, 175-192 (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2011), 176.

[39] Hidden in Plain Sight: Aboriginal Contributions to Canada and Canadian Identity, "Creating a New Indian Problem," http://blogs.mtroyal.ca/fwiddowson/files/2010/02/Hidden-in-Plain-Sight-David-Newhouse.pdf; Internet; accessed 12 March 2012.

Canada as Aboriginals seek to accommodate their aspirations, cultures, communities and ways of living.[40]

Through the use of transnational networks, electronic media and technology advancements, Canada's Aboriginal leaders have become a new kind of political entity, using political liberty as an important tool to have their views heard both in domestic and global settings. The Aboriginal Peoples of Canada have fostered relationships with other marginalized and similarly afflicted indigenous people around the world. These relationships have led to the creation of the World Council on Indigenous People in 1975, the Working Group on Indigenous Populations in 1982 and most importantly, the United Nations Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). This draft Declaration recognizes:

> . . . that control by indigenous peoples over developments affecting them and their lands, territories and resources will enable them to maintain and strengthen their institutions, cultures and traditions, and to promote their development in accordance with their aspirations and needs.[41]

Although the Conservative Government rejected the Declaration in 2006, the 2010 Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy identifies that, "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."[42]

Canadian Inuit also play a very active role as members of the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC). The ICC is an international, circumpolar organization that was founded in 1977 and represents approximately 155 000 Inuit living in Greenland, Canada, the United States and Russia. It maintains permanent member status on the Arctic Council and was granted non-governmental status by the United Nations in 1983. Over the last three decades, its role in international politics has increased, most recently with the promulgation of an international

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[40] *Ibid*.

[41] United Nations, "United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples," http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf; Internet; accessed 26 October 2011.

[42] Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy . . .*, 21.

agreement called, "A Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic." The Declaration identifies the evolving nature of sovereignty in the Arctic but more specifically Section 3.5 identifies that, "Inuit consent, expertise and perspective are critical to progress on international issues involving the Arctic, such as global environmental security, sustainable development, militarization, commercial fishing, shipping, human health, and economic and social development."[43]

As stated by Mary Simon, President of ITK, "the Inuit are ready to work with government to frame a new relationship based on mutual respect and grounded in our history, traditions, language and culture."[44] There are substantial gains to be made by the CF capitalizing on this offer: moving towards the implementation of UNDRIP, recognizing the declaration made by the ICC and framing a new relationship with the Inuit.

Summary

Mary Simon put forth many recommendations to the House of Commons Standing Committee on National Defence during a discussion on Arctic Sovereignty. In light of the rapidly changing Arctic and Canada's endorsement of UNDRIP, she recommended that the Government of Canada develop a strong core partnership with the Inuit and include them in all policy making debates and decisions that have the potential to affect the Arctic as promised by the Prime Minister in 2008. As well, she suggested that the Government of Canada should "be open to tackling challenges in ways that could be freshly beneficial to both Inuit and other Canadians."[45]

As demonstrated by the controversy surrounding the Chelsea meeting and the aftermath of the decision to extend a golf course in Oka onto disputed Mohawk land, the potential exists for misunderstandings and general ignorance to frustrate and do harm to Canada's Aboriginal

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[43] Inuit Circumpolar Council, *A Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic* dated April 2009.

[44] Inuit Tapirit Kanatami, "Canada-UK Colloquium: The Arctic and Northern Dimension of World Issues," http://www.itk.ca/speech/marysimon/canada-uk-colloquium-arctic-and-northern-dimensions-world-issues-iqaluit-november-4; Internet; accessed 2 October 2011.

[45] Mary Simon, "Ipsos-Reid Conference – Rethinking Canadian Foreign Policy – Case Study Session: Arctic Sovereignty," http://www.itk.ca/speech/marysimon/ipsos-reid-conference-rethinking-canadian-foreign-policy-case-study-session-arctic-; Internet; accessed 2 September 2011.

Peoples. For this reason, it is important that the CF understands the extent of the vulnerability of the Inuit to climate change, resource development, geopolitical transformations and globalization. Armed with this knowledge, the CF will be better situated to achieve the objectives of CFDS focusing on the Arctic while strengthening its relationship with the Inuit.

CHAPTER 2 – CULTURAL COMPETENCY AS A KEY ENABLER FOR CREATING PEACE AND HARMONY

Introduction - Seeing Through the Rules

In his book, *Dancing With a Ghost: Exploring Aboriginal Reality,* Rupert Ross uses the following story to illustrate the problems that can arise when two sets of rules or cultures collide. In 1970, a Mohawk band was hosting a group of James Bay Cree. As an agrarian people, it was customary for the Mohawks to set out more food than guests could consume. The intent of this display was to demonstrate the wealth and generosity of the band. The Cree, on the other hand, were a hunter-gatherer people that were used to periods of scarcity if hunting was poor. As such, their custom was to eat everything put before them in order to demonstrate their appreciation for the skill and generosity of the hunter. As a result of the two different cultures, when it was time to consume the meal, the Cree ate everything put before them and were very uncomfortable. The Mohawks were offended by the Cree's insatiable appetites.

> The significant point is that each group believed that the other was *intentionally* being insulting and disrespectful when, in fact, each group had been going to great pains (especially the Cree) to show exactly the opposite. The problem lay in the fact that each group could only see the other through its own rules, could only interpret the behaviour of the others from within their own perspective.[46]

Acts are shaped by culture. When these acts are viewed through the lens of a member of another culture, there is the potential for the motivations and meaning of an act to be misinterpreted. As stated by R.D. Laing, a Scottish psychiatrist, "until you can see through the rules, you can only see through the rules."[47] This phrase implies that until one understands how his/her culture affects the way that everything is interpreted, it will be impossible to understand individuals from other cultures. What is meant by the term culture? With over 150 possible definitions easily available for the word "culture," the following definition was found to have the

[46] Rupert Ross, *Dancing With a Ghost: Exploring Aboriginal Reality* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2006), 2-3.
[47] R.D. Laing, *The Politics of Experience* (n.p: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 1983), n.p.

most virtue since it "connects culture to experience, to interpreted social action, to practice. It leaves the nature of culture's coherence (organization) an open question."[48]

> Culture consists of the derivatives of experience, more or less organized, learned or created by the individuals of a population, including those images or encodements and their interpretations (meanings) transmitted from past generations, from contemporaries, or formed by individuals themselves.[49]

In the case of the Mohawk-Cree gathering, each group perceived that the other was deliberating being disrespectful based on two very different set of rules. Similarly, how does the CF ensure that its members can competently interact with other cultures by "seeing through the rules?"

Cross Cultural Competency as a Key Enabler

Dr. B.R. Selmeski, a professor of cultural anthropology, proposes the concept of cross cultural competency (3C) for the profession of arms. It is defined as "the ability to quickly and accurately comprehend, then appropriately and effectively engage individuals from distinct cultural backgrounds to achieve the desired effect."[50] Even without an in-depth understanding of another culture or even if that culture contradicts one's own values and belief systems, 3C is still considered effective in assisting military members in interacting with others to achieve desired results or in the case of the Mohawk-Cree gathering, avoid offending the other party. The following are considered the key facets of the 3C approach:[51]

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[48] Kevin Avruch, *Culture and Conflict Resolution* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2006), 17.

[49] T. Schwartz, "Anthropology and Psychology: An Unrequited Relationship," in *New Directions in Psychological Anthropology*, ed. T. Schwartz, G, White, and C. Lutz, n.p (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 324.

[50] Brian R. Selmenski, *Military Cross-Cultural Competence: Core Concepts and Individual Development,* Report Prepared for the Centre for Security, Armed Forces and Society (Kingston: Royal Military College of Canada, 2007), 12.

[51] Allison Abbe, *Building Cultural Capability for Full Spectrum Operations,* Report Prepared for the United States Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences (Arlington: Department of the Army, 2008), 11.

a. Knowledge. An awareness of one's own culture and the ability to understand the similarities and differences of other cultures including ways of thinking and acting. With experience, an individual gains the expertise to deal with increasingly complex situation;

b. Affects. This category includes attitudes toward foreign cultures and the motivation to learn about and engage with others; and

c. Skills. "The ability to regulate one's own reactions in a cross-cultural setting, interpersonal skills and the flexibility to assume the perspective of someone from a different culture."[52]

Other models exist to assist individuals in "seeing through the rules." Cultural intelligence (CQ) is a construct that consists of four facets: meta-cognition, cognition, motivation and behaviour. It has been defined as "analyzed social, political, economic, and other demographic information that provides understanding of a people or nation's history, institutions, beliefs (such as religion) and behaviors."[53] Cultural awareness training focusses on two forms: (1) region-specific and culture-general knowledge and, (2) trait and characteristic specific information that generally takes the form of a shopping list of does and don'ts. Region-specific training normally provides the attendee with facts and figures about a local area including demographics, history of the various groups in a particular region, value systems and beliefs. Culture-general approaches concentrate on facts and figures associated with the societal level: economy, social structure, political structure, kinship and religion.[54] Trait and characteristic specific information describe cultures based "along a set of dimensions that reflect shared patterns of individual beliefs, practises, values, or preferences."[55] This paper will focus on cross cultural competency since it strives to incorporate the strengths of the CQ method and

[52] *Ibid.,* 24-25.

[53] John P. Coles, "Incorporating Cultural Intelligence into Joint Doctrine," *Iosphere: Joint Information Operations Centre* (Spring 2006), 7.

[54] Barak Salmoni and Paula Holmes-Eber, *Operational Culture for the Warfighter: Principles and Applications* (Quantico: Marine Corps Univ. Press, 2007).

[55] Allison Abbe and Stanley M. Halpin, "The Cultural Imperative for Professional Military Education and Leader Development," *Parameters* XXXIX (Winter 2009-10): 23.

concepts associated with cultural awareness "to produce the most rigorous, effective and comprehensive model possible." [56]

Cross Cultural Competency in the CF

Cross cultural competency cannot be achieved through a knee-jerk reaction that results in the provision of facts and figures to participants in advance of an upcoming deployment or operation. In fact, a coherent plan that targets individuals starting from the most junior to senior ranks via a professional development framework (PDF) is required. A PDF has been developed for the CF and it is based on a review of military, professional and generic leadership literature as well as interviews with military leaders and other subject matter experts.[57] As shown in Figure 2.1, the CF Leader Framework focusses on 5 elements and 16 attributes which are required of all CF leaders. The CF professional development system relies on experience, training, education and self-development to cultivate these capacities. The elements and attributes are considered "the *minimum, finite but sufficient* number of such leader components for all military leaders engaged as leaders, regardless of level, rank, role, goals or responsibilities."[58] It is important to note that cultural competency is not explicitly articulated in the CF Leader Framework and as such, can easily be ignored or omitted.[59]

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[56] *Ibid.,* 8, 14-15 and Carl Poteat, "3C Takes Off With AFCLC Distance Learning Course," *Air Force Print News Today,* 21 August 2009.

[57] Robert W. Walker, *The Professional Development Framework: Generating Effectiveness in Canadian Forces Leadership,* Report Prepared for the Canadian Forces Leadership Institute (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy, 2006), 3.

[58] *Ibid.,* 27.

[59] Selmenski, *Military Cross-Cultural Competence . . .,* 16.

Figure 2.1 – CF Leader Framework: 5 Leader Elements – 16 Leader Attributes[60]

Two methods have been suggested to further cultural competency integration within the context of the CF training and education program. Firstly, diversity competencies could be fit within the CF Leader Framework falling under the "umbrella of social competencies," focussing on an understanding and appreciation of Canada's diversity values of multiculturalism, bilingualism and Aboriginal history.[61] Secondly, B.R Selmeski proposes how each of the five CF leader elements could be further shaped to generate specific cross cultural competencies throughout a member's career progression as demonstrated in Appendix 2.

The CFHQ Human Resources Research and Development Group have been investigating and designing an applied version of the CF PDF, which has been renamed the CF Leadership Development Framework (CF LDF). Although no amendments have been approved at this time, it is clear that initiatives are ongoing to refine both the CF Leader Framework and the

[60] Walker, *The Professional Development Framework . . .,* 29.

[61] Grazia Scoppio, *Diversity Strategies in Military and Police Forces in Canada, Australia, the United States,* Report Prepared for the Director Human Rights and Diversity (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy, 2007), 87.

Development Framework, although it is not known what these refinements will specifically address. [62]

Recently, a study was conducted involving 25 participants to "assess the effectiveness of "soft skills" education and training, such as cultural competency . . . received by CF military members in preparation for inter-agency missions, in order to uncover any gaps, recognize successful practises and identify potential lessons."[63] The report identified that non-traditional soft skills such as cultural awareness, diversity and sensitivity were considered important to mission success. The findings also identified that cultural awareness, sensitivity and diversity training and education provided by the CF was not considered terribly effective as shown in the figure below. Many of the individuals interviewed stated that while on deployment, they lacked a comprehensive understanding of local culture beyond the does and don'ts and felt deficient in understanding the reasons "why."[64]

[62] Professional Development of Leaders. "A Professional Development Framework and A Leadership Development Framework," http://www.cda-acd.forces.gc.ca/cfli-ilfc/Howtodevelopleaders-eng.asp; Internet; accessed 12 February 2012.
[63] Grazia Scoppia, *The Importance of Culture: Soft Skills for Inter-Agency, Complex Operations*, Report Prepared for the Canadian Forces Leadership Institute (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy, 2011), 1.
[64] *Ibid.,* 37.

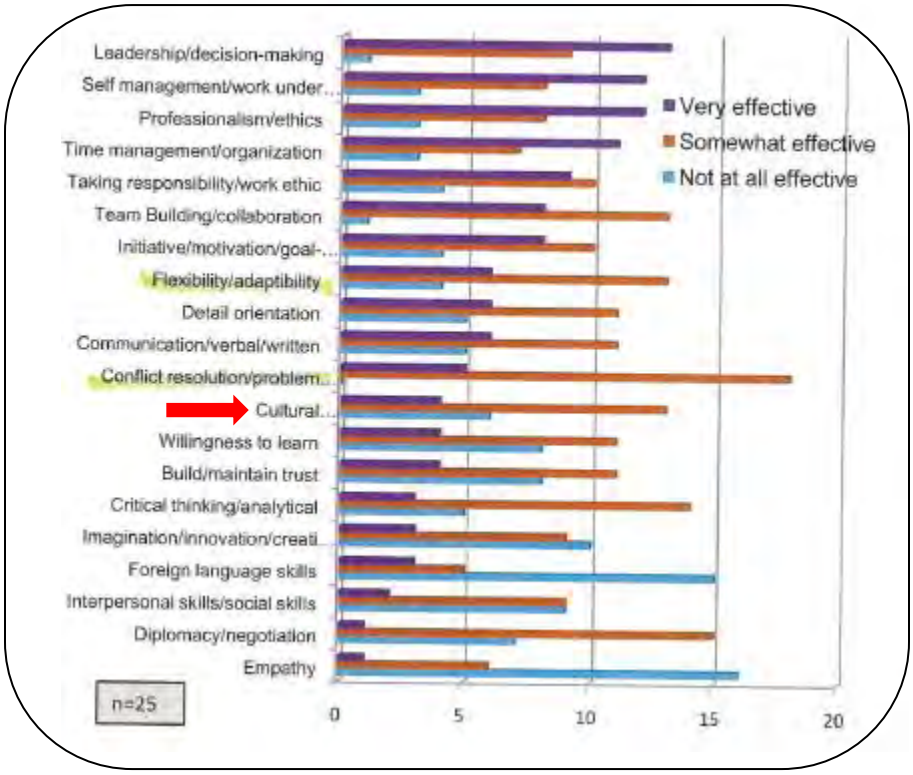

Figure 2.2 – Effectiveness of current training and education[65]

Several other initiatives for improving cross cultural competency have recently been introduced by the CF. Special programs have been created to encourage and assist Aboriginals in enrolling in the military. These special programs, such as the Army run "Bold Eagle," and the Navy run "Raven" seek to break down the physical, cultural and environmental barriers that would normally deter Aboriginals from joining the military. These programs also introduce Natives to serving non-Natives thereby encouraging the two groups to learn about each other while completing their normal daily activities. Unfortunately, these programs are often the first to be downsized or even cancelled when military planners are faced with limited resources and pressures to reduce spending. Military planners need to resist the desire to cancel, reduce or reallocate funding from these worthwhile programs as they promote long-term culture change. Additionally, the CF has established and avidly supports the DAAG which provides a support system, resource system and an important forum to address the challenges being faced by its

[65] *Ibid.,* 23.

Aboriginal members. The DAAG also serves as an advisory body that, "assesses, monitors, counsels, and assists those responsible for developing policies, programs, and initiatives at the institutional level and implementing them locally."[66] Most local DAAG chapters organize events to increase cultural awareness in their local areas. For instance, National Aboriginal Awareness Day celebrations allow "CF members [and often members of the community] to see a grand entry, hear and dance to traditional drumming, taste Native cuisine, and most importantly, meet and talk with Aboriginal peoples."[67] Finally, a wide range of diversity training is available on an "as required" basis including:

a. Pre-deployment training for select CF members;
b. Cultural awareness training developed by CF Northern Area (CFNA) to assist personnel deployed to Northern communities;
c. The addition of diversity topics into Basic Training and into the leadership program that is mandatory for WOs and Petty Officer 1st Class before promotion to the next rank;[68] and
d. A five-day course focusing on Aboriginal Awareness offered by DHRD.[69]

Summary

If the participants at the Mohawk-Cree gathering had had strong cultural competency, they would have been knowledgeable of each other's customs thereby preventing the resulting hard feelings. Similarly, CF leaders must be able to learn, understand, adapt and positively interact with other groups that may be present in the battle space and in the context of this essay, in the Arctic. There is a two-fold requirement for the CF to ensure that it embraces cross cultural competency with training commencing upon a member's enrolment in the CF and continuing throughout an individual's career. First, in order to reflect Canadian values, the CF must

[66] Brian R. Selmeski, *Aboriginal Soldiers: A Conceptual Framework,* Occasional Paper Series – Number 3 (Kingston, Centre for Security, Armed Forces and Society, Royal Military College of Canada, 2007), 53.
[67] *Ibid.*, 76.
[68] Scoppio, *Diversity Strategies in Military and Police Forces in Canada . . .,* 87-88.
[69] *Ibid.,* 88.

emphasize diversity values such as bilingualism, multiculturalism and an understanding of Aboriginal history under the umbrella of social capacities. Second, an individual's ability to improve their cross cultural competency throughout their career will only be possible if it is pragmatically and comprehensively included in the CF Leader Framework and CF PDF. The integration of cross cultural competency in a more profound way into CF training and education will require a long-term commitment of resources and effort so that CF members can continue to develop their knowledge, affect and skills: the 3 key facets of the 3C approach.[70] It can be hypothesized that the advantages of this commitment would outweigh the costs since members would achieve a better:

> . . . understanding [of] how one's leadership style affects and is perceived by others; openness to new knowledge and different points of view; awareness of and respect for diverse ethnic and religious customs; the ability to understand cultural similarities at the level of values and basic assumptions; and principle-based reasoning. So-called *boundary-spanning* activities (e.g., liaison, consultation, goodwill gestures of assistance, sharing resources, etc.) are especially helpful . . . [in cases where] the civilian population may be instrumental in accomplishing mission objectives.[71]

As the Canadian Government refocuses its attention on the North, it behoves the CF to improve its leadership development approach to achieve the highest level of cross culturally competent officers and non-commissioned members.[72] At the same time, the CF must continue to develop and encourage the enrolment and retention of Aboriginals in the Forces through initiatives like the Aboriginal Entry Program and the DAAG since these special options assist with the development of cross cultural competency in serving non-Aboriginal members. In summary, diversity benefits all militaries that operate in challenging environments. Consequently, every effort must be to ensure that the CF is considered an employer of choice for Aboriginals.

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[70] *Ibid.*, 87-88.

[71] Department of National Defence, *Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Conceptual Foundations* (Ottawa: Canadian Defence Academy, 2005), 85.

[72] Karen D. Davis, "Introduction," in *Cultural Intelligence and Leadership,* ed. Karen D. Davis, ix-xiii (Kingston: Canadian Defence Press, 2009), x.

CHAPTER 3 – ACHIEVING HARMONY THROUGH SHARED HISTORICAL UNDERSTANDING

Introduction - Part of our Understanding is Based on our Shared History

One of the suggested methods for fostering cross cultural competency in the CF is to focus on an understanding and appreciation of Canada's diversity values of multiculturalism, bilingualism and Aboriginal history.[73] Cultural diversity can be derived from "nations" that make up a state. In this context, "a nation" implies "a historical community, more or less institutionally complete, occupying a given territory or homeland, sharing a distinct language and culture."[74] Canada is a multinational state founded on three pillars: English, French and Aboriginal with the First Nations, Metis and Inuit considered "national minorities."

As identified by John Ralston Saul in *Reflections of a Siamese Twin Canada at the End of the Twentieth Century,* the contribution of Canada's Aboriginal Peoples in shaping Canada is not generally recognized.[75] For most Canadians, it is easy to perceive this "nation" as simply another interest group. Key factors that have contributed to this perception are as follows:

a. That the two of the three sides of Canada's triangular foundation (English and French) have not lived up to their commitments towards the Aboriginal Peoples;

b. The media's portrayal of Canada's Aboriginal People as a problem that needs solving; and

c. The lack of written history that fully includes the Aboriginal story. Until recently, little attention was paid to indigenous people in the telling of the national history of Canada.[76]

Since the 1970s, Aboriginal influence in Canada and internationally is slowly re-emerging and the Aboriginal story is being heard by more and more Canadians. This fact is clearly

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[73] Scoppio, *Diversity Strategies in Military and Police Forces in Canada . . .,* 87.

[74] Ill Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 11.

[75] John Ralston Saul, *Reflections of a Siamese Twin* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 1997), 88-100.

[76] Hidden in Plain Sight: Aboriginal Contributions to Canada and Canadian Identity, *Creating a New Indian Problem*.

demonstrated by the awarding of the compensation package to the High Arctic Exiles in 1996 and the Residential School Apology in 2008.

History is made up of the stories that we tell ourselves about past events. If these stories are incorrect or missing certain elements, erroneous conclusions can be drawn. A lack of historical awareness coupled with a lack of understanding can cause fissures in the relationship between Aboriginals and newcomers. As such, it is up to the CF to ensure that its members fully understand the history of Canada's Aboriginal Peoples as this knowledge is a key enabler of cross cultural competency. Benefits can also be derived from examining lessons learned from the CF's previous interactions with Aboriginals. The intent of this chapter is to examine the history of the relationship between newcomers and Canada's Inuit. In summary, history allows us to reflect on where we have been and guides our decisions in the present for the future.

Our Shared History

In 1991, a Canadian Royal Commission was established to examine the evolution of ". . . the relationship among Aboriginal Peoples (Indian, Inuit and Métis), the Canadian Government, and Canadian society as a whole."[77] The goal of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) was to provide recommendations to address the problems that were adversely affecting the Aboriginal Peoples as well as their relationships with newcomers (the Canadian Government and Canadian society). To fulfill its 16 point mandate, the Commission "held 178 days of public hearings, visited 96 communities, consulted dozens of experts, commissioned scores of research studies, reviewed numerous past inquiries and reports."[78] The first mandate of the RCAP was to examine "the history of relations between Aboriginal Peoples, the Canadian Government and the Canadian society as a whole."[79] According to the findings of the RCAP, the evolutionary phases of Aboriginal-Newcomer relations can be broken down into four stages: Stage 1 – Separate

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[77] Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, *Appendix A – The Commission's Terms of Reference,* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1996), 664.

[78] Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, "Highlights from the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples: People to People, Nation to Nation," http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014597; Internet; accessed 12 March 2012.

[79] Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, *Appendix A* . . ., 664.

Worlds, Stage 2 – Contact and Co-operation, Stage 3 – Displacement and Assimilation and finally, Stage 4 – Negotiation and Renewal. This section will examine each stage by focusing on historical events that impacted Canada's Inuit.

In Stage 1, before the first meetings of Aboriginals and non-Aboriginal societies, the Inuit had established traditions for governing themselves by a system based on consensus and were organized into social and political groups in order to maximize their chances of survival in the harsh Arctic environment. "From a modern-day humanistic viewpoint, the population regulators were harsh: starvation, sickness accident, massacre, suicide and infanticide . . . but northern man and environment were in balance."[80] Except under extreme conditions, all members of a band were cared for through reciprocity, sharing and adoption of each other's children.[81] Since both males and females participated equally in the day to day tasks, female-male relationships were generally egalitarian. With the movement of the Europeans across the ocean, Inuit cultures including "customs, values, beliefs, and economic practises" would be irrevocably changed forever.[82]

The first Inuit were portrayed as, "primitive savages clad in furs, paddling skin boats and possessing none of the advantages of civilisation. Most [European explorers] made no attempt to understand Inuit culture, preferring to see them as inferior."[83] As the Europeans began to recognize the commercial potential of the North, they realized that the Inuit could provide the traditional knowledge of the water to hunt whales and the trapping skills to acquire fur for trade. As well, the Inuit provided assistance to the newcomers to help them survive in the unfamiliar environment. During Stage 2, the Inuit developed a symbiotic relationship with the whalers and traders which allowed them to earn credits that could be used to purchase goods such as guns, bullets, knives, flour, tea and tobacco. The exposure to southern technology and associated items led to the demise of Inuit self-sufficiency and a loss of traditional skills. As well, the Inuit

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[80] Environment Canada, *Environment Canada and the North: The Perceptions, Roles and Policies of the Department of the Environment Regarding Development North of 60,* Discussion Paper (Ottawa: 1983), 43.

[81] Eleanor Leacock, "Relations of Production in Band Society," in *Politics and History in Band Societies,* ed. Eleanor Leacock and Richard Lee, 159-170 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 159-170.

[82] Janet Mancini Billson, "Social Change, Social Problems, and the Search for Identity: Canada's Northern Native Peoples in Transition," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 18, no. 3 (1988): 299.

[83] Ian Creery, "The Inuit (Eskimo) of Canada," in *Polar Peoples: Self-Determination and Development,* ed. Minority Rights Group, 105-146 (London: Minority Rights Publications, 1994), 107.

became dependent on traders and were encouraged to leave their semi-nomadic lifestyles to settle around trading posts. Although attempts were made to include the Inuit in Treaty 11, the Inuit refused and with the Arctic considered worthless and empty at that time, no further action was taken. During this stage, "the Native peoples of Canada's North became inextricably intertwined with white economic and social institutions."[84] Due to the collapse of fur prices in the late 1940s, the overharvesting of whales by the Europeans and the large number of deaths caused by "white diseases," this once proud and autonomous People were "merely subsisting precariously in a mixed economy [wage earning and living off the land]. It was at this point that the Canadian government belatedly took up its responsibilities to the Inuit."[85]

In the history of non-Aboriginal and Inuit relations, Stage 3 can be considered the darkest period since, "non-Aboriginal society was for the most part no longer willing to respect the distinctiveness of Aboriginal societies."[86] During this Stage, government policies were "designed to suppress native language, culture, and economy . . . Examination of early documentation leaves no doubt that white settlers and government representatives intended to eliminate indigenous peoples through assimilation and cultural replacement."[87] In an attempt to assimilate the Inuit, indigenous language, religion and education were principally targeted through organizations such as the RCMP, boarding schools, religious institutions, trading companies and the Department of Indian Affairs. As well, between 1953 and 1965, over seven hundred groups of Inuit living in the North were relocated to approximately forty permanent settlements. Regardless, the Inuit still fought to maintain their Aboriginal rights and have their right to self-determination recognized. Inuit politicians and negotiators held steadfast to their vision for the future and displayed patience in waiting for their demands to be satisfied since their rights had never been surrendered by treaty or any other means. In order to rectify previous "wrongdoings," the Inuit formed a political organization called COPE (the Committee for Original People's Entitlement) which also led to the creation of a national Inuit organization

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[84] Billson, *Social Change, Social Problems, and the Search for Identity . . .*, 300.
[85] Creery, *The Inuit (Eskimo) of Canada*, 111.
[86] Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, *RCAP Volume 1 – Looking Forward, Looking Back*.
[87] Billson, *Social Change, Social Problems, and the Search for Identity . . .*, 303.

called the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC).[88] It is generally accepted that this period ended with the Federal Government's 1969 White Paper that sought to transfer Reserve land to individual Aboriginals, to repeal the Indian Act and to surrender responsibility for Aboriginals to the provinces. The 1969 White Paper is considered the spark that ignited the contemporary Aboriginal rights movement.

Since the 1969 White Paper debacle, the relationship between non-Aboriginals and Aboriginals has remained in Stage 4. "Society's admission of the manifest failure of its interventionist and assimilationist approach is one of the key characteristics of the Negotiation and Renewal Stage."[89] Three opportunities presented themselves to the Aboriginals in the late 1960s and 1970s.[90] First, court cases were reopened to address common-law Aboriginal title and Aboriginal rights issues. Second, there was a push to protect individual rights and minority rights and finally, interest in the Arctic remained low thereby allowing political change initiatives to proceed relatively unfettered. In situations across Canada where Aboriginal land and resource rights were not addressed in previous treaties, comprehensive land claims agreements otherwise known as modern treaties were developed and agreed to by the Aboriginal signatory, Government of Canada and in some cases, a province or territory. The intent of these modern treaties was not only to recognize Aboriginal land and resource rights but," . . . to meaningfully improve the social, cultural, political and economic well-being of the Aboriginal people concerned."[91] Modern treaties address a wide range of matters such as ownership, usage and management of land and natural resources, including subsurface deposits, environmental protection and assessment, as well as, self-government implementation. It is important to note that the terms of these treaties take precedence over all laws and policies in Canada and are protected by section 35 of the 1982 Constitution Act. The modern land claims process commenced with the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement and the process is virtually complete.

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[88] ITC was formed in 1971 and would later be renamed ITK. ITC means "Inuit Brotherhood."

[89] Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, *RCAP Volume 1 – Looking Forward, Looking Back.*

[90] Mary Simon, "Canadian Inuit," *International Journal* 66 no. 4 (Autumn 2011): 881-882.

[91] Land Claims Agreements Coalition, "Modern Treaties," http://www.landclaimscoalition.ca/modern-treaties.php; Internet; accessed 3 April 2012.

The Creation of Nunavut

The treaty process led to the creation of the Nunavut territory and it is important to note that the Inuit make up approximately 85% of its citizens. As well, Nunavut is the largest land claim settlement in history. The Inuit own a total of 356,000 square kilometers which equates to approximately 18 percent of the land of Nunavut. For the most part, the Inuit only own the surface rights except for 36,257 square kilometers in which they own both the surface and subsurface including rights to minerals, oil and gas.[92] The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement was signed in May 1993. It awards many rights and benefits to the Inuit but it is a compromise: neither the Government of Canada nor the Inuit were awarded everything that they wanted.[93] Most notably, this agreement makes special provisions to allow for self-governance. Article 4 of the 1993 final agreements states:

> The Government of Canada will recommend to Parliament as a government measure, legislation to establish within a defined time period, a new Nunavut Territory, with its own Legislative Assembly and public government, separate from the Government of the remainder of the Northwest Territories." [94]

In the creation of Nunavut, it was important that Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) be incorporated into decision-making and activities, thereby enabling Inuit culture and values to be reflected in its governmental processes. IQ is defined as, "all aspects of traditional Inuit culture including values, world-view, language, social organization, knowledge, life skills, perceptions and expectations."[95] Although difficult to achieve, the goal of incorporating IQ is to force people to reflect if their actions are consistent with this term. The Agreement also promises that at some point in the future, the Inuit will fill 85% of the government positions in the territory. The full

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[92] Michael Mifflin, "Canada's Arctic Sovereignty and Nunavut's Place in the Federation," *Option Politiques* (Juillet-Aout 2008): 86 and Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, *Tukisittiarniqsaujumaviit: A Plain Language Guide to the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement* (Iqaluit: St. Joseph Print Group, 2004), 39-40.

[93] Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, *Tukisittiarniqsaujumaviit . . .,* 3.

[94] Terry Fenge and Paul Quassa, "Negotiating and Implementing the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement," *Options Politiques* (Juillet-Aout 2009): 82.

[95] Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, "Implementation of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement 1998-2005: Executive Summary," http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/webarchives/20071125154924; Internet; accessed 5 April 2012.

implementation of the agreement has proven to be painful and unsuccessful. Consequently, Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI), an Inuit organization that hopes to achieve social, cultural and economic well-being through the implementation the agreement, is seeking $1 billion in damages for alleged breach of contract by the Government of Canada. In the words of the President of NTI:

> The Government of Canada keeps Inuit dependent and in a state of financial and emotional despair despite promises made when the Nunavut Agreement was signed in 1993. The Government of Canada is not holding up its end of the bargain. Canada got everything it wanted upon signing the Nunavut Agreement. Inuit are still waiting for full implementation of the Agreement."[96]

In Nunavut, 84 percent of the government's revenue is derived from Federal Government payments through the Territorial Formula Financing (TTF). The goal of this financing is to assist with providing levels of service, infrastructure and health care equivalent to other locations in Canada. The Inuit receive full royalties from resources taken from Inuit Owned Lands where they own the right to subsurface exploitation. In accordance with Article 25 of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, Inuit are entitled to 50 percent of the first $2 million collected by the Government of Canada and 5 percent on the rest of the monies collected from resource exploitation on all other lands within the Territory.[97] The ability of Nunavut's government to generate financial support is constrained by this arrangement since the majority of its resource development revenues related to land, waters and natural resources have been retained by the Government of Canada. Alternatively, provinces have full control of their resources and the associated royalties. In the long term, it is predicted that this situation will become increasingly problematic for Nunavut as its territorial government may experience difficulties acquiring the financial means to provide basic education, health care, roads and jobs to its citizens.

In conclusion, the CF must be sensitive to the outstanding issues associated with the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. As well, it is critical that the CF be cognizant of uniqueness

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[96] Fenge and Quassa, *Negotiating and Implementing the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement*, 86.
[97] Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, *Tukisittiarniqsaujumaviit . . .,* 50.

of Nunavut's government and the Articles laid out in the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. Certain Articles will influence the manner in which the CF must carry out its actions. For example, the goal of Article 24 is to ensure that Inuit firms are awarded their fair share of government contracts. To ensure that the CF fulfills its responsibilities with regards to the Agreement, Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC) must be considered an essential stakeholder in the planning and implementation of all northern operations and development.

Summary

Canada's strategic culture reflects our national preconceptions and historical experiences. It is enduring and slow to change.[98] The story of relationships between Aboriginals and newcomers from pre-colonial times until the present contributes to this culture. As such, it is important that all members of the CF understand our shared story with Canada's Aboriginal Peoples. Currently, the Aboriginal-Newcomer relationship is allegedly in a period of "reconciliation and negotiation," and as clearly demonstrated in this chapter, there is still a ways to go. For instance, it took the Federal Government 105 years to devolve "province-like" powers to the Yukon. Obviously, Nunavut will need this devolution to occur sooner rather than later in order to offer its citizens the same standard of living as its southern brethren. Ideally, in this current stage, "Aboriginal Peoples and Canada constitute a partnership in which the partners have a duty to act responsibly both toward one another and also toward the land they share."[99] Partnerships are based on trust. Trust cannot be maintained if there isn't confidence among the parties that promises that are made will be kept. The current lawsuit initiated by the Nunavut Inuit clearly demonstrates that there is a perception that the Government of Canada is not living up to its promises.[100] In order to operate effectively and efficiently in the North, it behoves the CF to be cognisant of the uniqueness of the Nunavut government, its Land Claims Agreement, as

[98] Department of National Defence, *Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Leading the Institution* (Ottawa: Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, 2007), 44.

[99] Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, *RCAP Volume 1 – Looking Forward, Looking Back.*

[100] Simon, *Canadian Inuit*, 887.

well as, the associated outstanding issues. The CF must capitalize on the opportunity to consult with AANDC to obtain expert advice regarding the North and its people. This expert advice will be beneficial in assisting the CF in strengthening its relationship with the Inuit.

Another way for the CF to strengthen its relationship with Aboriginals is to examine previous partnerships or the lack thereof to draw lessons learned. These lessons learned can then be used to improve CF future actions based on what worked and what didn't.

CHAPTER 4 – LEARNING FROM OUR PAST TO EXCEL IN THE FUTURE

Introduction – Perception of Time

According to the RCAP, there exists two different ways of expressing time: the linear approach, which generally appeals to Canadian society at large as shown in Figure 3.1 and Figure 3.2 which shows time as a cycle, an idea more familiar to Aboriginal Peoples. Using the linear perspective, current relationships stem from the past which is considered over and done with. The second perspective is shown as a cycle that, "returns on itself and repeats fundamental aspects of the experience."[101] The goal of conducting lessons learned analysis is to study past events so that techniques and strategies that yielded unforeseen results can be identified and addressed. Given that Aboriginals view time as cyclic in nature, lessons learned are key enablers to ensure that future experiences between the CF and the Inuit become increasingly positive so that the relationship can remain or trend towards the highest point of the cycle as show in Figure 3.2. In this chapter, key lessons learned will be identified from the establishment of the Cold Lake Air Weapons Range (CLAWR), the CF relationship with the Canadian Rangers and the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline. How these lessons learned can assist the CF in its efforts to satisfy the CFDS will then be discussed.

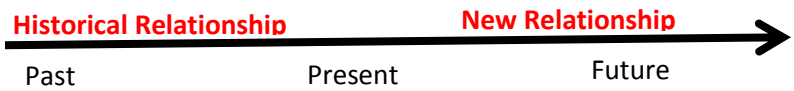

Figure 3.1 - A Linear Perspective on the Historical Relationship[102]

[101] Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, *RCAP Volume 1 – Looking Forward, Looking Back.*

[102] *Ibid.*

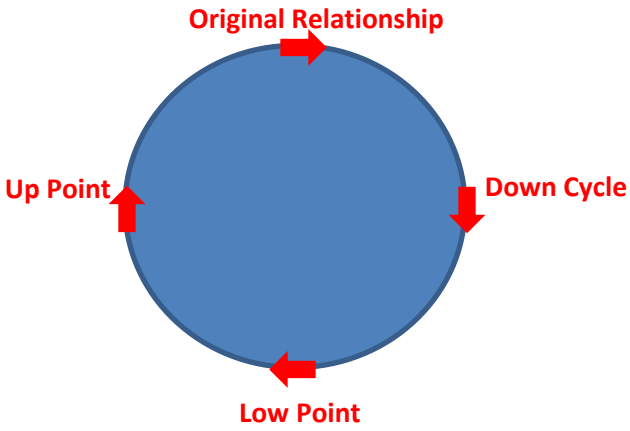

Figure 3.2 - A Cyclic Perspective on the Historical Relationship[103]

Establishment of the Cold Lake Air Weapons Range

With the onset of the Cold War, the development of jets, missiles and rockets and the requirement to conduct bomber and fighter interceptor training, Canada started looking for "unoccupied" Crown land that could be cheaply acquired in order to establish a new Canadian Air Weapons Centre. The area identified as the Primrose Lake Air Weapons Range (PLAWR) shown in Figure 3.3 was selected and a twenty year lease was quickly negotiated with both provinces. On 19 April 1951, Defence Minister Brooke Claxton announced to the House of Commons that a new range, centred on Primrose Lake, would "stretch about 115 miles from east to west and 40 miles north to south, totalling almost 4490 square miles. There were no settlements in the area, but compensation would be paid to anyone whose "property rights in traplines, etc, were affected."[104]

Had the First Nations in the proposed area been consulted regarding the importance of these lands to their way of life, the Defence Minister might have reframed his announcement. According to ex-Chief Mary Francois of the Cold Lake First Nations, "her people had found physical, cultural, and spiritual sustenance in the Primrose Lake area. Hunting, fishing and

[103] *Ibid.*
[104] House of Commons, *Debates*, 19 April 1951, 2173-4.

trapping, picking berries, and gathering roots were normal activities that we depended on for survival."[105] The Indian Affairs Branch determined that 948 Indians would be directly and materially affected by the range, 982 to a lesser degree, "making a total of 1930 persons to whom the creation of the air weapons range . . . [will mean] difficulty or change in living conditions."[106] First Nations considered this unoccupied Crown land their traditional lands and depended on it for sustenance and commercial gains. The estimated annual value the Indians derived from the range was $66,340 in trapping income, $35,905 from commercial fishing and $123,500 in fish, meat and hides for personal use. At the same time, the total value of cabins, traps and other equipment located on the range was appraised at $39,980. Of the five bands that would be impacted by the range, it was recommended that ten years of compensation be provided to the two bands that would suffer a complete disruption to their way of life and five years to the remaining three bands that would suffer a partial disruption. The value of the compensation package recommended by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration totalled 2.3 million.[107] In the end, only $750,000 was awarded to the members of the five bands. The estimated $2.3 million compensation package, suggested by IAB, was considered more expensive than what the military wanted to pay and did not even include the costs associated with rehabilitation. Unequivocally, the Indians Claims Commission concluded that Canada had breached its treaty obligations by taking up such a large tract of land so abruptly and causing such harm to the First Nations bands. In the next section, three key lessons learned from the establishment of the CLAWR will identified. These lessons learned will then be applied to the CF and its requirement to satisfy the CFDS.

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[105] P. Whitney Lackenbauer, *Battle Grounds: The Canadian Military and Aboriginal Lands* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 147-148.

[106] J.P.B. Ostrander, *Memorandum to the Director (*Superintendent Indian Affairs: 1/20-9-5, 21 March 1955).

[107] Ruth Banting, *Cold Lake Air Weapons Range (*Citizenship and Immigration: 7808-C253/2 Vol 11, September 1976).

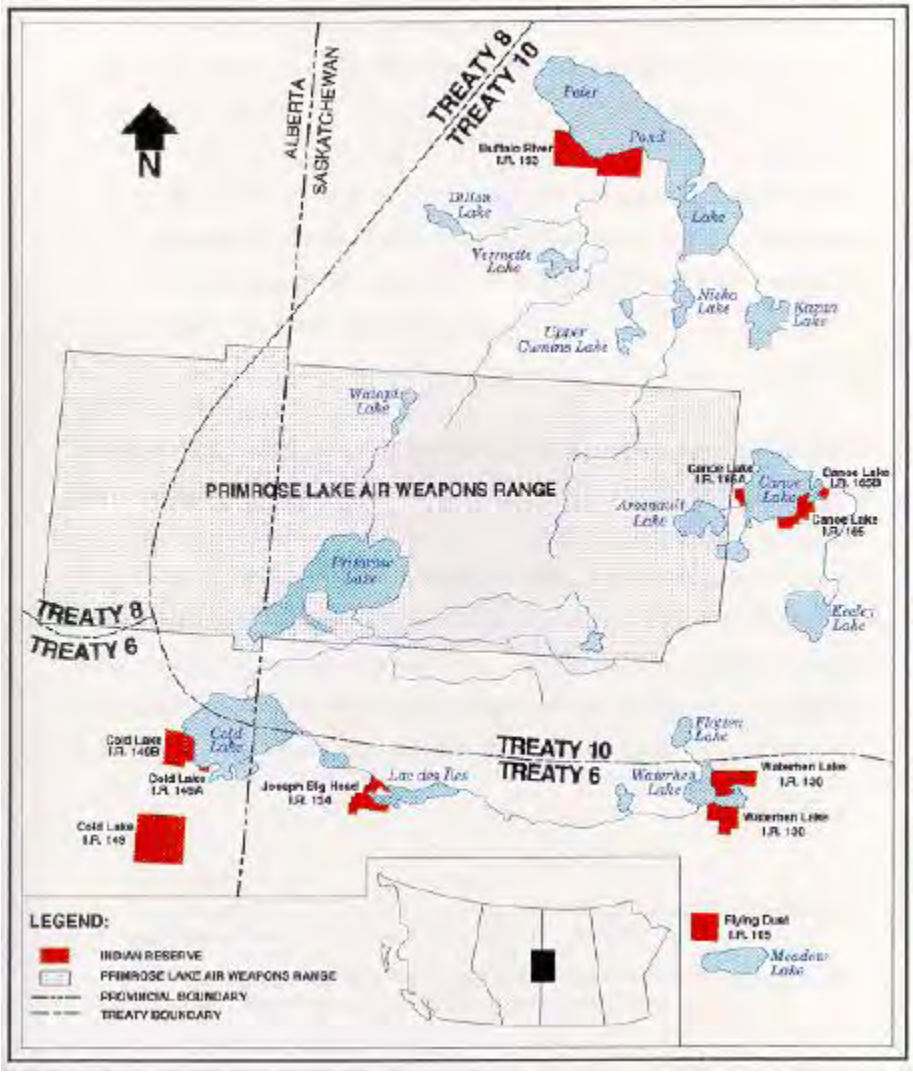

Figure 3.3 - Primrose Lake Air Weapons Range

Canada's Betrayal of its Treaty Obligations

The First Nations bands that had derived their livelihoods for generations and generations from the Primrose Lake Region learned about the RCAF's plans to develop an air weapons range in their backyard from the press. Immediately, they expressed their concerns. IAB quickly stepped in to enquire about the plans to compensate the impacted bands. As per the lease agreements with the respective provinces, the Department of National Defence was to, "assume

responsibility for payment or compensation to persons or corporations having rights in the area including rights in respect to timber, trapping, fur farming, fishing or land settlement."[108] The Indian Association of Alberta made it very clear that in the case of Cold Lake First Nations, once the range was gone, no other traplines would be available and it was forecasted that the Indians would "suffer terrible poverty" unless adequate compensation and rehabilitation was provided.[109] In general, the First Nations were agreeable to the idea of forfeiting their traditional lands for the good of the country. It can be presumed that the First Nations felt that they would be adequately compensated for their loss.

By midsummer 1954, the First Nations were abruptly denied access to the range lands and as a result, Cold Lake and Canoe Lake First Nations were for the most part, confined to their Reserves which devastated their economy and their subsistence lifestyles. By most accounts, attempts at rehabilitation by IAB were failures. In the early 1960s, the Department of Justice ruled that once the range was created and the military had taken up the lands, the First Nations were no longer entitled to compensation regardless if their way of life had been irrevocably changed. IAB Director H.M. Jones tried every means available to secure additional compensation from DND without success. He felt that the Indians had received "a raw deal" but consoled himself since he had done "everything humanely possible . . . at the administrative level to arrange a just and reasonable settlement on their behalf."[110] The Indian Claims Commission found that within a single generation, "self-reliant and productive groups(s) of people became largely dependent upon welfare payments. The cumulative impact [of the PLAWR's creation] was to destroy the commun[ies] as . . . functioning social and economic units [s]."[111]

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[108] *Memorandum of Agreement: Government of Canada and the Government of the Province of Saskatchewan* (HQ 54-049 Vol. 2 (JAG/R) 4 August 1953).

[109] Lackenbauer, *Battle Grounds . . .*, 151.

[110] H.M. Jones, *Letter to DM* (LAC, RG 10, v. 7336, file 1/20-9-5, pt. 7, 11 August 1960).

[111] Indian Claims Commission, "Primrose Lake Air Weapons Range Report: Cold Lake First Nations Rejected Claim Inquiry and Canoe Lake Cree Nation Rejected Claim Inquiry," http://www.specific-claims-law.com/images/stories/specific_claims_docs/03-ICC_CRI_Docs/ICCP-ACRI/Volume_01/by_piece/ColdLake_and_CanoeLakeInquiries.pdf; Internet; accessed 15 January 2012.

Lessons Learned

Before delving into the lessons learned, it is important to understand the context of this time period when the CLAWR was being established. During the 1950s, the goal of several federal policies was to assimilate the Indians into mainstream Canadian culture. At the same time, there was a perception that the First Nations were a vanishing race. Consequently, it may have seemed justifiable to some to ignore the impact of the creation of the CLAWR on the Indian way of life. During this time, the traditional northern economy collapsed resulting in most First Nations situated in Saskatchewan and Alberta becoming dependent on welfare. It is not worth speculating if the First Nations affected by the establishment of the CLAWR would have fared any differently.

Regardless, three key lessons can be derived from this event. First, DND did not understand its obligations towards the welfare of the First Nations: the idea of "first, do no harm," was not recognized. Its general attitude at the time was that the department was responsible for the defence of the country and not the Indians. Legally, DND was solely responsible for fulfilling the caveats of the lease agreement it had signed with the provinces. Second, a comprehensive approach to foster and maintain a sustainable long-term quality of life for the displaced Indians was never developed. IAB and DND had incompatible philosophies on how to compensate the First Nations for the disruptions caused to their ways of life. In this case, the two departments "fought it out instead of thinking it out." Due to the absence of a coherent long-term strategy supported by both departments and the requisite associated funding to make any plan a reality, the First Nations were transformed into a people that were reliant on social assistance. Third, the Aboriginals were left in the dark since minimal consultation occurred during the establishment of the range and the development of the plans for compensation. As a result, feelings of powerlessness, anger and mistrust towards the Government of Canada were developed and are still present among members of the affected bands to this day. These feelings have been passed down to younger generations thereby affecting current relations. Equally disheartening is the fact that due to the lack of proper consultation, many heritage sites including burial grounds and sacred sites were not identified and remained unidentified on the CLAWR.

How does the CF ensure that these same mistakes do not occur in the implementation of the CFDS as it pertains to the Arctic? Canadian planners can no longer afford to restrict their field of view to traditional warfighting and in the case of the Arctic, to simply employing military forces to achieve the CFDS. Instead, the CF must commit to realizing the CFDS while respecting the purview of the Northern Strategy. Over the last few years, the CF has begun viewing operations from a more global perspective in order to develop stronger plans and reduce the possibility of causing unintentional harm from adverse second and third order effects of actions or inactions.[112] As well, as demonstrated in Afghanistan, the CF has learned the benefits of employing a comprehensive approach to achieve mission success. The comprehensive approach serves to unify all instruments of national and international power and influence upon a problem in a timely, coordinated fashion. It has proven itself to be an effective tool in achieving unity of effort and synergies between departments, agencies and local populations which is imperative in resolving ideological differences between key players and most importantly, in ensuring that all key players are informed and on the same page. In summary, a comprehensive approach combined with an overarching world view of the operating environment will be crucial in addressing the lessons learned from the establishment of the CLAWR. It will allow for the development of "a clear strategy, a defined structure for implementing it, and a vision of the inter-agency cooperation [military and civilian]. . . ." necessary to achieve the objectives.[113]

Canada's Indigenous Sovereignty Soldier

The Rangers "represent an important success story for the Canadian Forces as a flexible, inexpensive and culturally inclusive means of "showing the flag" and asserting Canadian sovereignty while fulfilling vital operational requirements."[114] They are a voluntary group of citizen soldiers that hold themselves in readiness for service and conduct operations in isolated

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[112] Robert L. Caslen and Bradley S. Louden, "Comprehensive Approach to Counterinsurgency Operations," *PRISM* 2, no. 3 (June 2011): 7.

[113] Sean P. Rice, *Sun Tzu: Ancient Theories for a Strategy against Islamic Extremism,* Report Prepared for Strategy Research Project (Carlisle: US Army War College, 2006), 14-15.

[114] P. Whitney Lackenbauer, "The Canadian Rangers: A "Postmodern" Militia that Works," *Canadian Military Journal* 6, no. 4 (Winter 2005-2006) [journal on-line]; available from http://www.journal.forces.gc.ca/vo6/no4/north-nord-03-eng.asp; Internet; accessed 16 March 2012.

areas of Canada's North. Their operational focus is centred on activities in support of sovereignty and security, disaster and emergency response, community development, as well as, the transfer of traditional skills and knowledge to ensure survival in the Arctic. Each Ranger patrol is comprised of members from a given community and they function as a group that draws on the expertise of each member. Five Canadian Ranger Patrol Groups (CRPGs) are responsible for the Ranger patrols in their designated areas. The Rangers receive instruction from Ranger Instructors that are members of the Regular Force and Primary Reserve. Ranger Instructors spend 10 days a year with each patrol teaching up to 30 Rangers during this period.

Although each Ranger patrol is based on a hierarchical system, often cultural norms and values trump the formalized structures that one would expect from a military force. For instance, although the Ranger Sergeant is elected and is the highest ranking member of the patrol, decision-making is done through consensus. Additionally, the Ranger Sergeant will often look to the lower ranking elders for guidance and follow their recommendations. Individual proficiency cannot be expected of the Ranger patrols: it must be considered satisfactory that at least one member in the group holds the requisite skills to perform essential tasks. On the other hand, one of the many strengths of the Ranger program is that it enables the seamless transfer of traditional skills and knowledge to individuals from different cultures and generations. In the traditional Inuit way, skills and knowledge are transmitted during the practise of land based activities. Dr. P. Lackenbauer, a professor of history that has spent considerable time with the Rangers, argues that the Rangers "represent a form of "post-modern" military organization predicated on inclusiveness and acceptance."[115]

Lessons Learned

The CF's ability to operate in the Arctic is conditional upon the retention and transfer of traditional knowledge and skills within the community. Ranger activities provide the opportunity for serving and new members to spend time on the land to learn, experience, practice and reinforce traditional skills, as well as, acquire indigenous knowledge about the environment

[115] Lackenbauer, *The Canadian Rangers*.

and climate. The criticality of the Rangers program to the CF's ability to fulfill the Northern objectives of the CFDS cannot be understated. By continuing to make Ranger training and their involvement in exercises a priority, as articulated in the CFDS, the capabilities of the Ranger Patrols will grow collectively.

As well, the CF must continue to work constructively with Aboriginals and communities in the same manner as the Ranger Instructors have learned to work with the Ranger patrols. "Most instructors stress that mutual learning, credibility and trust are crucial to effective relationships with patrols."[116] Working with the Rangers requires "an acceptance of diversity, adaptability to local cultures and geographical conditions and awareness of local priorities and practices."[117] It can be assumed that these same characteristics will be required from CF members in order to further strengthen the Aboriginal-Newcomer relationship and accomplish the strategic end-state for the North.

Justice Berger and the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline

The Dene of Mackenzie Valley felt threatened and overwhelmed by a proposed plan for a pipeline to run through the Yukon and the Mackenzie River Valley of the Northwest Territories. They lobbied the Canadian Government for the opportunity to have their views about the pipeline heard. Recognizing that this issue had the potential to result in a crisis situation and garner international attention, the project was halted and Justice Berger was selected to investigate the situation more thoroughly. During an 18 month time period, Justice Berger conducted over 300 interviews with subject matter experts and travelled to local villages to speak with over 1000 individuals that had expressed an interest in having their opinions heard. In the end, Justice Berger's overall recommendation to the Federal Government was to delay the project since time was required to resolve outstanding land claims and prepare for the project.[118]

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[116] P. Whitney Lackenbauer, "Teaching Canada's Indigenous Sovereignty Soldiers . . . and Vice Versa: "Lessons Learned" from Ranger Instructors," Canadian Army Journal 10, no. 2 (Summer 2007): 78.

[117] *Ibid.,* 68.

[118] Thomas Berger, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Pipeline Inquiry Vol 1* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Service, 1977).

Canada followed the recommendations and halted its plan to further its economic relations with the United States by building the Mackenzie Valley pipeline.

Lessons Learned

In the past, First Nations have regularly used international bodies in their fight to have their rights respected and Canada has learned that ". . . [it must] strive to speak and to act on behalf of the whole of Canada" if it wants to preserve national unity which now necessitates the inclusion of the perspective of its Aboriginal Peoples. [119] The preservation of national unity at all cost provides Canada's Aboriginal Peoples with substantial leverage to ensure that their voices are heard and demands are addressed in the development of domestic and international policies. As well, the high potential for embarrassment in a country that often portrays itself as a model citizen is a tool available to Canada's Aboriginal Peoples to ensure that their voices are heard.[120] In the case of the Mackenzie pipeline, the Canadian Government recognized the potential levers available to the Dene to have their concerns heard which may have contributed to the call for a Royal Commission to be conducted to study the social, economic and environmental impact of the pipeline.

For the vast majority of Aboriginal tribes, the traditional relationship of people with the land is important as land is believed to be the giver of life by providing water, fish, animals and plants that are considered inseparable from life itself.[121] For Canadian internal and external policies to be successful in the long-term, all Aboriginal values especially environmental protection and security must be respected. As their ancestors before them, Aboriginal Peoples feel a responsibility towards safeguarding and protecting the land for future generations. "Together with this highly developed sense of stewardship over the land and natural resources, Aboriginal communities maintain a value system which appears to be singularly relevant to the search for a

[119] Cooper and Lackenbauer, *The Achilles Heel of Canadian Good International Citizenship . . .*, 175.
[120] *Ibid.,* 181.
[121] John Loxley, *Aboriginal, Northern, and Community Development: Papers and Retrospectives* (Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2010), 15.

more sustainable form of economic existence."[122] At the same time, development is critical to Canada's Aboriginal Peoples as it provides the funds to carry-out their traditional pursuits and ". . . provide[s] space in which Aboriginal communities can exercise agency through the design of new programs, services, and business that reflect or even enshrine cultural values, norms, and expectations."[123] If proper consultation and cooperation are not carried out by the State (Canada) or corporations, costly hearings, international media attention and protests may be used by the Aboriginal Peoples to have their views heard. As a result, development cannot proceed without listening to and in some cases yielding to Aboriginal demands.[124]

Summary

One could argue that Aboriginal-military relationships should not be conceptualized as a linear path with the events of the present and future automatically stemming from the occurrences in the past. Instead, it might be more appropriate to consider human relationships as cycles that occur over several generations.[125] With time, generations are able to question events that have occurred in the past and contemplate better strategies to become more enlightened during the endless cycle of life. These three examples demonstrate that in order to plan for success, long-term relationships with the Aboriginal Peoples must be developed to facilitate mutual learning, open discussions and joint decision-making. It must also be recognized that Aboriginal values such as environmental protection and security trump development as Canada's Aboriginal Peoples will only endorse development that does not cause long-term or extensive damage to the environment and does not reduce their economic options and traditional subsistence pursuits.

Through the CF's participation in recent international conflicts, strategies such as maintenance of a global perspective, employment of a comprehensive approach and the

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[122] *Ibid.,* 16.

[123] Gabrielle A. Slowley, "A Fine Balance? Aboriginal Peoples in the Canadian North and the Dilemma of Development," in *First Nations, First Thoughts,* ed. Annis May Timpson, 229-247 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009), 230.

[124] *Ibid.,* 237.

[125] Lackenbauer, *Battle Grounds . . .*, 236.

importance of cultural competency have been shown to be key enablers in achieving mission success. From the three events analysed in the chapter, it can be concluded that these same strategies will be universal key enablers in the domestic arena for accomplishing the CFDS and in the context of the Anishnabe prophecy, lighting the 8th Fire.

CHAPTER 5 – LOOKING FORWARD

Introduction

Interest in the Arctic has historically waxed and waned over the years. Currently, public interest in the Arctic is at a level that has not been seen since the days of the Cold War.[126] This latest period of heightened interest commenced in 2006 and it is generally assumed to be driven by the present and future environmental realities of the Arctic. As the climate continues to grow warmer coupled with technological progress, new possibilities for resource exploitation will become feasible. As well, transporting goods will become easier as new shipping routes becoming navigable. As a result, Arctic Nations have begun paying more attention to northern security which includes human security and in the context of this paper, the Inuit. How does the CF, as a branch of the Federal Government, continue to strengthen its relationship with its Aboriginal Partners as it looks forward into the future while recognizing the influences of present approaches?

Canada's Intentions in the Arctic

In 2008, Prime Minister Harper stated that the value of the Arctic had increased exponentially due to its economic and strategic importance. With the global desire for energy and minerals, a "cold rush" is underway as a result of the retreating ice pack. For this reason, he emphasized in his speech to the residents of Tuktoyaktuk, NWT that, "Canada takes responsibility for environmental protection and enforcement in our Arctic waters. This magnificent and unspoiled ecological region is one for which we will demonstrate stewardship on behalf of our country, and indeed, all of humanity."[127] To date, most of the actions of the Conservative Government within the context of the Arctic have been limited to policymaking

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[126] Jeremie Cornut, "Why and When We Study the Arctic in Canada," *International Journal* 65, no. 4 (Autumn 2010): 943.

[127] Office of the Prime Minister, "Prime Minister Harper Announces Measures to Strengthen Canada's Arctic Sovereignty and Protection of the Northern Environment," http://pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?id=2259; Internet; accessed 2 April 2012.

centred on resource exploitation and military security; meanwhile, the Inuit have been highlighting the need for urgent action to counter climate change and the potential demise to their way of life. Griffiths compared the Inuit to the DEW line since they will most likely be the first to raise the alarm of impending catastrophe. In the same vein, the peoples of the North have become "the canaries in a global environmental coal mine."[128] At the Copenhagen climate change meetings in 2009, Sheila Watt-Cloutier emphasized that, "the people whose lives depend upon the ice and snow for cultural survival must be a central component of all our plans. We must not permit the discussion of northern development to be conducted only in terms of sovereignty, resources and economics. The focus must be on the human dimension, human communities and protection of human cultural rights."[129]

Currently, the Government of Canada appears to be focussed on military operations and capacity building in the Arctic in order to defend Canada's territorial integrity, protect its "treasure trove" of resources, carefully monitor its usage, as well as, be prepared to conduct humanitarian and aid to civil power operations. As a result, one of the Government of Canada's strategies is the re-militarization of the North. As long as the Arctic remains frozen and the threat to Arctic sovereignty and security remains low, the Federal Government continues to exercise its ability to scale down, delay and even change its strategy. The recent reduction in the scope of the Northern Naval Facility planned for Nanisivik may be perceived by some as an indicator "of how seriously it [Government of Canada] takes northern issues."[130] In 2007 Prime Minister Harper travelled to Arctic Bay to announce plans for Nanisivik which were to include significant improvements to the jetty, offices and accommodation, as well as, the ability to store up to 2 years' worth of fuel.[131] Dr. Rob Huebert of the University of Calgary's Centre for Military and Strategic Studies feels that Nanisivik has been reduced to a gas station since the improvements to the jetty have been postponed, fuel storage capacity has been seriously reduced and infrastructure has been downsized to one unheated storage unit. He also expressed his disappointment with the Government of Canada's lack of a systematic and sustained Arctic

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[128] Heather A. Smith, "Choosing Not to See," *International Journal* 65, no. 4 (Autumn 2010): 940.

[129] Nunatsiaq News, *Reclaiming the Moral High Ground*.

[130] Bob Weber, "Military Downgrades Plans for Arctic Naval Facility on Baffin Island," *Brandon Sun,* 22 March 2012.

[131] "DND Backtracks on Arctic Naval Facility," *CBC News,* 22 March 2012.

development plan. According to Huebert, the Federal Government has defaulted on its promise to stay the course in the Arctic and not be like other governments that cut-back projects after the crisis was felt to have passed.[132] Other projects that have suffered similar fates include the ships to patrol the offshore Arctic, a research station in Cambridge Bay and a major high-altitude research facility on Ellesmere Island.

The Impact of Shifting Priorities

Traditionally, the CF has approached security and sovereignty issues by expending significant effort developing plans in consultation with other governmental and non-governmental agencies and then when it comes time for the follow-through, the project is often reduced or downsized. Particularly in the harsh Arctic environment, constantly shifting priorities comes at the cost of the local population. For instance, the reduction in scope of Nanisivik will mean that the "jet-capable" airstrip will no longer become a reality, the Hamlet of Arctic Bay will be required to supply water and remove waste from the site but most importantly, the employment opportunities for the residents of Arctic Bay will be greatly reduced.

Meanwhile, the Federal Government's inability to fulfill its agreements, argues Mary Simon, President of ITK, "alienates Aboriginal Peoples across the country and undercuts investor confidence in the very areas governed by the agreements."[133] She classifies the Federal Government's attitude and efforts in the North as "half-hearted" and stresses that Canadian sovereignty should be achieved by developing sound civil administration, responsible environmental management and healthy, economically viable and sustainable communities instead of building bases and conducting military operations.[134] She recommends the inclusion of Canada's Inuit in sovereignty discussions to ensure that new investments in the North not only achieve their military mandates but improve the well-being of the Inuit as well. In summary, by

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[132] Bob Weber, "Military Downgrades Plans for Arctic Naval Facility on Baffin Island," Brandon Sun, 22 March 2012.

[133] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, "Inuit: the bedrock of Arctic Sovereignty," http://itk.ca/opinion-editorial/marysimon/inuit-bedrock-arctic-sovereignty; Internet accessed 2 April 2012.

[134] Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, "Another Militarization of the Arctic," http://www.itk.ca/blog/mary-simon/jul-07-2011-another-militarization-arctic; Internet; accessed 2 April 2012.

constantly shifting its priorities, the Federal Government causes instability in local communities as promises are made and then not realized, as well, funds and resources may be wasted as planning cycles get underway and then are halted, changed or modified.

In summary, as long as the ice remains frozen and the threat to Canadian sovereignty remains low, the Federal Government may be tempted to implement a "half-hearted" Northern Strategy. Instead, a systematic plan for the North should be development and sustained.

Shifting Priorities and the CF

How does the Federal Government's actions and attitudes in the North affect the CF's ability to fulfill its Arctic responsibilities? The goal of any Nation is to have a military strong enough to respond to the demands of its government while ensuring that the military remains subordinate to its civilian control.[135] As a result, the CF is simply an arm of the Federal Government and must carry-out its tasks within the assumptions, constraints and restraints that have been imposed by the Government of Canada policy for the Arctic.

If the whole of government operating in the Arctic is compared to a rope, the military represents only one strand.[136] By collaborating and working with the organisations and people making up the other strands in a comprehensive approach, the chances of the CF achieving its desired end-state are increased. Ideally, this end-state also matches the priorities and desires of the Inuit. If the two are incongruent, the possibility exists for hard feelings and frustrations to rise to the surface and affect the relationship between all stakeholders. Ultimately, the resolution of the diverging Inuit priorities for the Arctic and the Government of Canada objectives must be undertaken with the greatest transparency possible and ensure that all those that have a demonstrated interest in the North are invited to the table to speak.

If an individual is unfamiliar with the organizational structure and associated roles of the different governmental departments within the Federal Government, there exists the possibility

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[135] Peter D. Feaver, "The Civil-Military Problematique: Huntington, Janowitz, and the Question of Civilian Control," *Armed Forces &Society* 23, no. 2 (Winter 1996): 149.

[136] Stephanie A. Blair, *Weaving the Strands of the Rope: A Comprehensive Approach to Building A Self-Sustaining Peace in Kosovo* (Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy, 2002), v.

for the direct relationship between the Government of Canada and the CF to be misunderstood. In the past, feelings such as frustration and dissatisfaction towards the Federal Government have been misdirected towards the CF. As such, the CF must anticipate that these negative feelings may manifest themselves towards its members serving in the North, thereby potentially affecting the relationship between the CF and the Inuit.

Assessing the Improvement in Current Aboriginal-Newcomer Relations

Generally, Canada's political context both domestically and internationally indirectly leads to an improved cultural awareness among its citizen. The recent apologies offered to Canada's Aboriginal Peoples for the Residential Schools and the High Arctic Relocations, the media's showcasing of the deplorable living conditions at Attawaspiskat and the recent meeting of Canada's Aboriginal Representatives with the Prime Minister all demonstrate that Aboriginal issues are prominent in Canada's political arena. Are these incidents indicative of an improved Aboriginal-Newcomer relationship in Canada and more importantly with respect to the CF?

In chapter 2, initiatives such as the DAAG and special recruitment programs for Aboriginals were identified and the benefits of these initiatives were highlighted. With recent operations in Kosovo and Afghanistan, the CF has learned that diversity should be regarded as a force multiplier instead of a weakness. The US Army's former Chief of Military History, Brigadier General John S. Brown reiterated the same sentiments at a Congressional testimony on 9 September 2004. Under oath he stated, "the diversity and richness of American culture renders it far more capable than it would otherwise be of coping with the challenges of an uncertain world." Although the General was directing his observation towards code talkers, it also implies that the inclusion of Aboriginals in the CF positively affects mission success when operating in difficult environments. To assist the CF in retaining Aboriginals and ensuring that their voices are heard, the DAAG provides a safety net that, among other responsibilities, assists with the transition to a military way of life and serves as a home away from home. As well, some bases have gone so far as to designate Aboriginal Liaison Officers (ALOs) to liaise with local Aboriginal bands on behalf of the Wing or Base Commanders. In summary, the DAAG and the

ALOs are responsible for fostering opportunities for vital understanding, trust and respect to be created between the CF and Aboriginals.

In the same light, recent CF policies have demonstrated a desire to show respect for native spirituality by allowing Aboriginal members to swear allegiance to a symbol that is meaningful to them spiritually. For instance, First Nations may select an eagle feather or staff much in the same way as a Christian would select the Bible. At the 2003 Conference of American Armies in Ottawa, General Rick Hillier selected a Native elder to say a prayer at the commencement of the event instead of a padre. In 2001, the Royal Military College of Canada celebrated its 125th Anniversary and an Aboriginal Women offered the first blessing out of eight spiritual leaders during the consecration of the College's new colours. Clearly, the inclusion of the smudging of the colours reinforces the fact that the First Nations are the original inhabitants of Canada and at the same time, demonstrated their standing as one of the diverse spiritual traditions practised by Canadians.[137]

Summary

As stated on numerous occasions by Mary Simon, Canada and the Inuit must work together to face the upcoming challenges associated with the Arctic in a thoughtful and sensible manner. The Federal Government's approach to Arctic security and sovereignty, as well as, its unfilled promises with respect to the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement may be detrimental to the Aboriginal-Newcomer relationship and similarly to the Aboriginal-CF relationship. It is important for CF members operating in the Arctic and planners to be cognizant of these issues and understand the possible second and third orders affects. For instance, it is possible that some negative feelings such as frustration and dissatisfaction may manifest themselves during discussions and while conducting operations with the Inuit. It is anticipated that cross cultural competency will allow CF members to understand the situation and act accordingly.

Improvement in the relationship between the CF and Aboriginals is hard to quantitatively measure. In this chapter, it has been shown that special initiatives have been supported and

[137] Brian R. Selmenski, *Aboriginal Soldiers: A Conceptual Framework,* Occasional Paper Series – Number 3 (Kingston: Centre for Security, Armed Forces & Society, Royal Military College of Canada, 2007), 51.

promoted by the CF to accommodate or in other words, successfully incorporate individuals from distinct cultural backgrounds into the CF.[138] One might even argue that at times, the CF has not only accommodated but also accepted these individuals. The incorporation of religious symbols and rituals at public military ceremonies serves as a strong indicator of widespread CF acceptance. As eloquently stated by Selmeski, "this signals a hospitable climate in which native people feel welcome amongst the military, comfortable with their distinctiveness and confident that soldiers will respect them."[139] Unlike the military's perception that it was only responsible for the defence of Canada during the development of the CLAWR, the CF is now following a different philosophy. Not only does the CF subscribe to the ideology of "first, do no harm," but it also recognizes diversity as a key enabler in operations domestically and abroad. Although the relationship between Aboriginal-Newcomers is not at the low part of the circle shown in Figure 3.2, the CF must continue to professionally develop its members to be culturally competent through pragmatic professional development and by working with individuals from other culturally distinct backgrounds.

[138] *Ibid*., 6.
[139] *Ibid.,* 68.

Keep a few embers from the fire that used to burn in your village, someday go back so all can gather again and rekindle a new flame, for a new life in a changed world.[140]

CONCLUSION

When the Europeans arrived in the Americas over 500 years ago, they learned from and formed partnerships with its original inhabitants to be able to survive and ultimately thrive. Since this time, culture sharing has slowed as the relationship evolved from a golden period of "collaboration and cooperation" into a darker period of "displacement and assimilation" as identified in the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. One of the side effects of the slowing culture sharing is that most Canadians are not cognisant of the cultural diversity that exists among its three foundational nations: English, French and Aboriginal Peoples. The transition to the current "Negotiation and Renewal" period was initiated by the release of the 1969 White Paper which ignited Canada's fledgling native movements to develop into extremely competent political organisations intent on fighting for recognition and fulfillment of Aboriginal rights. In its 1998 Statement of Reconciliation, the Federal Government expressed its "profound regret" for past actions during the period of "displacement and assimilation" and issued the following statement:

> Reconciliation is an ongoing process. In renewing our partnership, we must ensure that the mistakes which marked our past relationship are not repeated. The Government of Canada recognized that policies that sought to assimilate Aboriginal people, women and men, are not the way to build a strong country. We must instead continue to find ways in which Aboriginal people can participate fully in the economic, political, cultural and social life of Canada in a manner which preserves and enhances the collective identities of Aboriginal communities and allows them to evolve and flourish in the future. Working together to achieve our shared goals will benefits all Canadians, Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals alike.[141]

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[140] Chief Dan George and Helmut Hirnschall, *My Heart Soars* (Saanichton: Hancock House Publishers, Ltd., 1974), 60.

[141] Nunatsiaq News, "Statement of Reconciliation: Learning from the Past," http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/archives/back-issues/week/80116.html#5; Internet; accessed 14 April 2012.

During this current phase, Canada's political discourse has been increasingly focussed on improving Newcomer-Aboriginal relations and as stated in the quotation above, working together to achieve common goals.

The Inuit's traditional way of life is under attack by a multitude of factors including globalisation, climate change, increased interest in natural resource exploitation and emerging geopolitical conditions. As such, the Inuit are literally on the front lines, seeing the immediate consequences of these factors in their local environments. These changes challenge their adaptability and resilience while increasing their vulnerability as they continue to conduct their traditional pursuits. The CF must consider the pressures that are currently being felt by the Inuit with respect to these factors and ensure that any planned development or operations in the Arctic will not cause harmful first, second or third order effects.

As the CF shifts its focus northward, it is fundamental that its members have been provided the tools and experiences to be culturally competent and appreciate the history of Canada's Aboriginal Peoples. Cultural competency combined with a strong understanding of history will limit and potentially prevent future ignorance and misunderstandings, thereby strengthening the relationship between the CF and Canada's Aboriginal Peoples. In the current period of fiscal restraint, it is essential that programs centred on the professional development of CF members are sustained and enhanced. Additionally, as Canada moves towards endorsing the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People within the framework of Canada's Constitution and laws, the implications will need to be clearly comprehended by all CF planners. [142]

Throughout the different periods of the Newcomer-Aboriginal relationship, interest in the North has waxed and waned. This cyclic interest is clearly demonstrated by the Government of Canada's level of commitment to its Northern Strategies. The lack of a systematic plan for the Arctic can result in feelings of frustration and dissatisfaction amongst the Inuit. As stated by Mr. Coates, an Arctic expert, "the Conservative Government have bet heavily on the military side while providing less emphasis on the need to improve living conditions and opportunities for

[142] Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy . . .*, 21.

northern residents."[143] As in Afghanistan, Canada may consider increasing its efforts in blending defence and development through a comprehensive approach that draws on the expertise of military, government and non-governmental agencies. As well, there exists the possibility for CF-Inuit relationships to be undermined by negative feelings resulting from past wrongdoings during the "displacement and assimilation" period and from the lack of a coherent strategy for the North. Cultural competency is a key enabler in ensuring that members of the CF are able to empathize with Canada's Aboriginal Peoples but still accomplish their responsibilities in support of the CFDS.

This work examined three Government of Canada and Aboriginal interactions to identify what elements worked and what didn't work. When Justice Berger investigated the implications of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline on the Aboriginal Peoples, he recognized that:

> We look upon the North as our last frontier. It is natural for us to think of developing it, of subduing the land and extracting its resources to fuel Canada's economy and heat our homes. But the native people say it is their homeland. They have lived there for thousands of years. They claim it is their land, and they believe that they have a right to say what its future ought to be.[144]

As identified by Mr. Berger and in the analysis of the three interactions, strategies such as the maintenance of a global perspective coupled with cultural competency, the employment of a comprehensive approach and the creation of relationships that support mutual learning, open discussions and joint decision-making are pivotal in preventing and even eliminating the possibility of "doing harm."

It is difficult to predict Canada's Arctic intentions in the future. As demonstrated recently with the reduction in scope of the deep water port at Nanisivik, the Conservative Government is faced with many pressures and as such, might consider it appropriate to break or modify promises that have been made previously to its northern people. It must be remembered that the Inuit are vital to Canada's sovereignty claims. Canada's declaration that the waterways

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[143] Ken S. Coates, P. Whitney Lackenbauer, William R. Morrison and Greg Poelzer, *Arctic Front: Defencing Canada in the Far North* (Toronto, Thomas Allen Publishers, 2008), 195.

[144] Berger, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland . . .*, I.

within the Canadian Arctic Archipelago are internal waters and the proclamation of baselines around its shorelines are only possible due to the thousands of years of land and sea-ice use by the Inuit.[145] In the 1930s, the Federal Government refused a request by Norway for exploiting the natural resources around the Sverdrup Islands. The request was rejected in order " . . . to protect the Arctic areas as hunting and trapping preserves for the sole use of the aboriginal population of the Northwest Territories, in order to avert the danger of want and starvation through the exploitation of the wild life by white hunters and traders."[146] It is suspected that the goal of the relocation of Inuit to the High Arctic from 1939 until 1963 was to further reinforce Canada's Arctic sovereignty claims.[147] Regardless, the perception exists among the Inuit that the Federal Government has not fulfilled its commitments to them with regards to the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement and most recently, the promises for development in the North under the auspices of the CFDS. These "broken promises" weaken Canada's sovereignty claims in the North. A wealthy, integrated and successful North in which its inhabitants are well-educated, housed and supported can only increase Canada's standing international and further affirm its Northern sovereignty.[148]

In summary, CF-Aboriginal relationships should not be seen as progressive, linear paths but instead as a cyclic path that spans generations. As stated by George Santayana, an American philosopher, "those who cannot remember the past are condemned to fulfil it."[149] The successful implementation of lessons learned through the reflection on past interactions is important in avoiding repetition of the past. Combined with the enhanced development of culturally competent CF members that understand the history of Canada's Aboriginal Peoples, as well as, their current and future vulnerabilities, it is possible for harmony to be enhanced amongst the CF and the Inuit in the Arctic. This enhanced relationship will be essential in lighting the 8th Fire.

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[145] Byers, *Understanding Sovereignty Disputes in the North . . .,* 119.

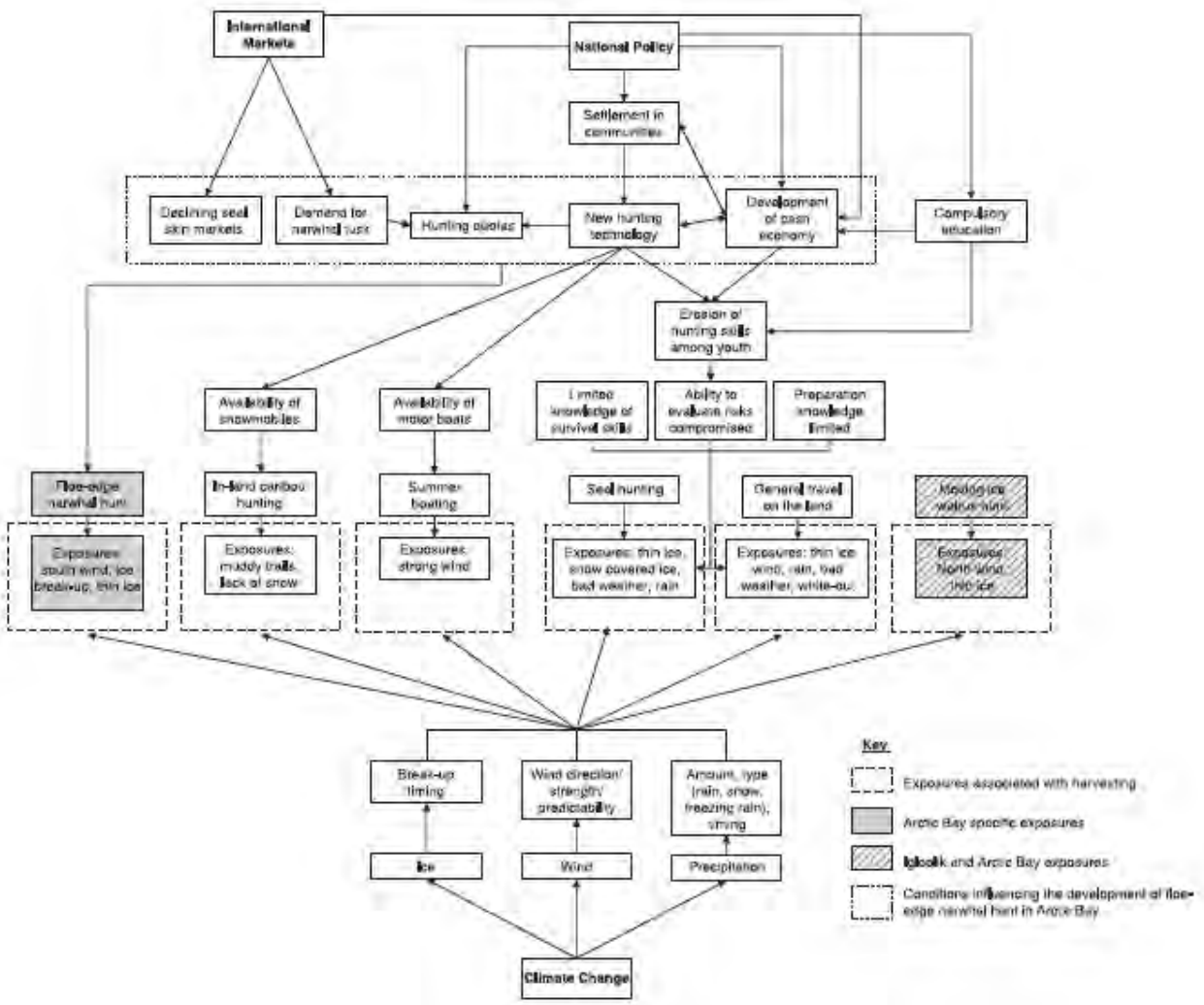
[146] Who Owns the Arctic? Arctic Sovereignty and International Relations, "1930 Sverdrup Islands Treaty," http://byers.typepad.com/arctic/1930.html; Internet; accessed 14 April 2012.

[147] Frank James Tester and Peter Kulchyski, *Tammarniit: Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic 1939-1963* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994).

[148] Coates, Lackenbauer, Morrison and Poelzer, *Arctic Front . . .,* 216.

[149] George Santayana, *The Life of Reason: Or, the Phases of Human Progress* (London, Archibald, Constable and Co, 1906), 284.

APPENDIX 1
THE INTERACTION OF CLIMATIC AND HUMAN PROCESSES CHANGING EXPOSURE IN ARCTIC BAY AND IGLOOLIK[150]



[150] Ford, Smith, Wandel, Allurat, Shappa, Ittusarjuats and Qrunnuts, *Climate Change in the Arctic* . . ., 52.

APPENDIX 2
PRELIMINARY APPLICATION OF THE CF PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK (CF PDF) TO CROSS CULTURAL COMPETENCE[151]

	EXPERTISE	COGNITIVE	SOCIAL	CHANGE	PROFESSIONAL
SENIOR (Cross-Cultural Ambassador)	Understanding culturally complex contexts.	Ability to create unique world views which are relevant to complex setting.	Ability to represent own and others' cultural perspective to multiple audiences.	Capability to align cultural symbols, messages, beliefs, etc. to create common shared or imagined community.	Ability to develop own framework for moral and ethical reasoning in culturally conflicted settings.
ADVANCED (Pluri-cultural leader)	Knowledge of broader cultural context in which the military operates.	Post-modern reasoning and cultural sense making.	Ability to develop common objectives while recognizing diversity.	Ability to shape group understanding and align team behaviours to context.	Ability to conduct ethical reasoning in culturally-conflicted settings.
INTERMEDIATE (Intra-Cultural Facilitator)	Knowledge of key facets of culture (role of language, religion, national identity, etc.).	Reasoning to draw inferences from behaviours and symbols to underlying cultural aspects.	Ability to work effectively with individual and group differences.	Self-understanding and ability to adapt behaviour to achieve the desired outcome in a particular cultural context.	Conduct cultural self-regulation (avoid offending, signal own values).
INITIAL (Cultural Self-Identity)	Information on the culture concept and ability to apply prescriptive training.	Reasoning to understand how culture shapes the person.	Awareness of inter-personal and inter-group differences.	Self-insight and receptivity to cultural awareness training.	Recognition of implicit ethos and identification of cultural references to guide conduct.

[151] Selmenski, *Military Cross-Cultural Competence . . .*, 41.

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