



## **Major Cameron Miller**

## Lackadaisical Action: The Government of Canada's Lack of Priority in the Arctic

## **JCSP 47**

# **Exercise Solo Flight**

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## Lackadaisical Action: The Government of Canada's Lack of Priority in the Arctic

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## LACKADAISICAL ACTION: THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA'S LACK OF PRIORITY IN THE ARTIC

### **INTRODUCTION**

Canada's defence policy, Strong, Secure, Engaged (SSE), describes the Arctic at an "important international crossroads where issues of climate change, international trade, and global security meet," and further states that Canada needs to "increase the CAF presence in the Arctic over the long-term and work cooperatively with Arctic partners." Canada has recently made financial investments in new Arctic worthy offshore patrol vessels, icebreakers and new fighter aircraft but much more is needed. Despite this recent Arctic investment, Canada still lacks the resources and equipment to be able to operate all year in the Arctic. As well, national security is not solely based on projection of military forces but also needs to include human security aspects that are people-centred. To meet the challenges and take advantage of future opportunities, Canada needs to pivot its defence strategy to focus more on the Arctic in order to protect the sovereignty of the nation.

The concept of sovereignty stems from the "Peace of Westphalia (1648)" where national or religious authorities would no longer interfere in the internal affairs of another state.<sup>2</sup> This concept gives the "state" complete control over its territorial boundaries and own political affairs without the interference of other countries or actors.<sup>3</sup> The difference between sovereignty and security is sovereignty is the internationally recognized right of a state to exercise authority in a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Canada. Department of National Defence. Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada's Defence Policy. Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2017, pp 50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> David Bercuson. Canada's Sovereignty: The Threats of a New Era. Canadian Global Affairs Institute. Calgary, AB, November 2018. https://www.cgai.ca/canadas sovereignty the threats of a new era

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Harald Bauder & Rebecca Mueller (2021) Westphalian Vs. Indigenous Sovereignty: Challenging Colonial Territorial Governance, Geopolitics, DOI: 10.1080/14650045.2021.1920577

given space whereas security is the responsibility of the state to protect citizens, territories, economies, and institutions from harm.<sup>4</sup>

Russia shares a maritime border in the Arctic with European and American members of NATO. While environmental and economic concerns have generally influenced collaboration in the Arctic region, the Russian invasion of Ukraine has threatened to upset this precarious balance. From a national sovereignty viewpoint, Canada needs to reconsider our role in the arctic. With events in Eastern Europe and in the Ukraine unfolding, Canada needs to remember that we are a border nation with Russia as well where the periphery of the arctic exclusive economic zones (EEZs) come into close proximity of each other. This region is a developing geopolitical location as a result of melting sea ice making the Arctic Ocean increasingly more accessible for international shipping routes and natural resource extraction. As travel and resource exploration increases, the government of Canada and its territorial governments need to be able to control their land, air and sea borders. In addition, with the potential for an increasing population in the Arctic, the various levels of government need strategies to better provide vital government services to its citizens such as education, healthcare, policing and basic lifesustaining infrastructure such as clean drinking water and roads.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Lackenbauer, P. Whitney, and Suzanne Lalonde. *Breaking the Ice Curtain?: Russia, Canada, and Arctic Security in a Changing Circumpolar World*, Canadian Global Affairs Institute, Calgary, AB, 2019, pp. 94–95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> York, Joanna. "War in Ukraine Threatens Geopolitical Balance in the Arctic." *France 24*, France 24, 20 Apr. 2022, https://www.france24.com/en/russia/20220420-war-in-ukraine-threatens-geopolitical-balance-in-the-arctic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Patricia DeRepentigny, Jahn, A., Tremblay, L. B., Newton, R., Pfirman, S. Increased transnational sea ice transport between neighboring Arctic states in the 21st century. Map of exclusive economic zones (EEZs) of the Arctic. Earth's Future, 2020, pp 3. https://doi.org/10. 1029/2019EF001284

This paper will discuss in three sections a broad spectrum of issues all relating to national sovereignty explaining why Canada needs to prioritize their Arctic region. Section 1 will focus on the Russian military threat in the Arctic (military aspect); Section 2 will discuss Canada's internal navigable Arctic waters; and Section 3 will focus on human security needs such as why education is so important to national sovereignty and to a people's security (human security aspect).

#### THE RUSSIAN MILITARY THREAT

"There are two major Arctic powers in the world today, and each are looking north as never as before. Russia and Canada are no longer separated by the continent of Europe and the Atlantic Ocean. They are only a Pole apart."

- RAJ Philips (Federal civil servant, 1950s)

The Arctic region was once a zone of peace and cooperation. The beginnings of cooperation and multilateralism amongst the Arctic nations can be traced back to 1987, when the then Soviet Union leader Mikhail Gorbachev stated in a speech arguing for an increase in international cooperation and to turn the Arctic into a "zone of peace" and further calling to restrict all military activity in the north. From the end of the Cold War, throughout the 1990s and into the 2000s, cooperation among the Arctic Council countries was the norm. The argument for peace and cooperation especially between Canada and Russia in the Arctic was well-founded since both countries "are the most similar in terms of geography, climate, and

3/19

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> R.A.J. Phillips, "Canada and Russia in the Arctic," Behind the Headlines 16, no.4 (1956):1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> John-Thor Dahlberg. "Gorbachev Calls For Peace, Cooperation in Arctic." *The Associated Press*, 1 Oct. 1987, https://apnews.com/article/ed8452a6d9b7a62f5138a73a9de89432.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Arctic Council. "International Cooperation in the Arctic." *Arctic Council*, 2022, https://www.arctic-council.org/explore/work/cooperation/.

development potential."<sup>10</sup> However, Russian aggression such as the invasion of Georgia (2008), occupation and annexation of Crimea (2014) and the recent invasion of Ukraine (2022)<sup>11</sup>, has fractured this fragile peace. <sup>12</sup> Cooperation amongst the Arctic Council<sup>13</sup> nations has essentially recently ceased as the council issued a statement on 3 March 2022 that states it is "*temporarily pausing participation in all meetings of the Council and its subsidiary bodies.*"<sup>14</sup> This has created an unpredictable, potentially hostile environment within the Arctic region and has brought back tensions not observed since the Cold War (1947-1991).

Canada needs to protect its economic zones, transportation routes and other Northern interests in the event of Russian aggression in the region. The key questions are (1) what type of military threat does Russia currently pose to Canadian sovereignty and (2) what Canada needs to do to deter this threat will be explored in this section.

For the past decade, Russia has systematically began to re-militarize and build-up their military forces in their arctic region. <sup>15</sup> The pride of the Russian Navy, the Northern Fleet, is composed of approximately 43 submarines and 40 warships. <sup>16</sup> This fleet's surface and subsurface assets ensure a robust presence in its western Arctic, securing Russia's northern coastline

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Andrea Charron. "Common Ground: Why Russia and Canada Should Cooperate in the Arctic." *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, 26 July 2021, https://carnegiemoscow.org/commentary/85034.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> NAOC. "A Timeline of Russian Aggression." *A Timeline of Russian Aggression – NAOC*, NATO Association of Canada, 2022, https://natoassociation.ca/a-timeline-of-russian-aggression/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Umair Irfan. "Russia's Invasion of Ukraine Is Fracturing the Delicate Peace in the Arctic." *Vox News*, 25 Apr. 2022, https://www.vox.com/22993194/russia-ukraine-invasion-arctic-council-climate-change.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Arctic Council (https://arcticportal.org/) nations: Russia, Canada, Iceland, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden and the USA.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> United States Department of State. "Joint Statement on Arctic Council Cooperation Following Russia's Invasion of Ukraine. *U.S. Department of State*, 3 Mar. 2022, https://www.state.gov/joint-statement-on-arctic-council-cooperation-following-russias-invasion-of-ukraine/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Sergey Sukhankin. "Russia's Push to Militarize the Arctic Continues ." *Russia and the Arctic in an Era of Strategic Competition*, Trent University, Peterborough, ON, 2021, pp. 20–22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> "The Northern Fleet." *Russian Navy 2022 : List of Active Russian Navy Ships and Submarines*, http://russianships.info/eng/today/.

and projecting nuclear-powered missile and torpedo submarines, missile-carrying and anti-submarine submarine aircraft, surface ships with missiles and aircraft-carrying and anti-submarine capabilities. <sup>17</sup> This increase in military development also includes investment in arctic-based defence equipment and infrastructure such as testing hypersonic cruise missiles, nuclear-powered undersea drones, the refurbishment of 13 air bases, 10 radar stations, 20 border outposts and 10 integrated emergency rescue stations. <sup>18</sup>

Russia has made no secret of their ambitious and their aggressive plans for dominating the Arctic region in order to extract resources and deliver these resources to international markets. Russian Arctic military development and their presence in the Arctic seeks to achieve the following three objectives: (1) enhance homeland defense, specifically a forward line of defense against foreign incursion as the Arctic attracts increased international investment; (2) secure Russia's economic future; (3) create a staging ground to project, primarily in the North Atlantic. <sup>19</sup> Russia has the military might but appears to be focussed on securing their own trade routes and interests in the Arctic and acting as a buffer with NATO countries.

To combat any potential external threat to Canada's sovereignty, there needs to be a greater investment in military resources. This includes a next generation fighter aircraft, remotely piloted aircraft systems for surveillance, a naval fleet that can operate in northern ice environments throughout the year, modern ice breakers to establish freedom of movement within Canadian Arctic territorial waters, modernization of NORAD and strengthening relationships

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ariel Cohen. From Russian Competition to Natural Resources Access: Recasting U.S. Arctic Policy. The Heritage Foundation, 2015. https://www.heritage.org/europe/report/russian-competition-natural-resources-access-recasting-us-arctic-policy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Matthew Melino and Heather Conley. "The Ice Curtain: Russia's Arctic Military Presence." *The Ice Curtain: Russia's Arctic Military Presence* | *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, 26 Mar. 2020, https://www.csis.org/features/ice-curtain-russias-arctic-military-presence.

with our American neighbours and other Arctic Council nations. Canada must increase its own presence in the Arctic and this can be achieved by potentially joining the US ballistic missile defence system.<sup>20</sup> These investments will over time will provide Canada with the ability to deter Russian aggression and maintain its maritime routes. An investment in the Arctic is necessary to maintain relevancy in a changing world and to project that Canada is a reliable and credible partner in the region.

#### CLIMATE CHANGE AND IMPACT ON MARITIME TRAVEL

"The Arctic Sea is not at the end of the earth, but must . . . become in time a polar Mediterranean."

- Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Canadian Arctic explorer

The arctic ice has provided Canada and Russia natural protection of their borders throughout the Cold War. This sentiment was articulated by Robert Keyserlingk, a newspaper editor, in a speech to the Empire Club of Canada in 1949, where he stated "We have actually stretching across the Arctic a veritable ice curtain, which is impenetrable." However, the global climate is warming the earth <sup>22</sup> which is resulting in the Arctic ice melting at an unprecedented rate never seen before in history. Nowhere on earth has climate change been the most evident and seen the quickest rise in temperatures than in the Arctic. The warming of the

6/19

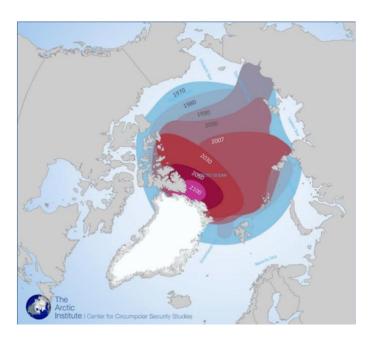
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Canada taking 'comprehensive look' at joining U.S. ballistic missile defense - POLITICO

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Lackenbauer, P. Whitney, and Suzanne Lalonde. *Breaking the Ice Curtain?: Russia, Canada, and Arctic Security in a Changing Circumpolar World*. Canadian Global Affairs Institute, 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> United Nations. *Climate Change 2022: Mitigation of Climate Change Summary for Policy Makers*. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), 2022, pp 1-4. https://www.un.org/en/climatechange/reports

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Canada. Environment and Climate Change. "Government of Canada." *Canada.ca*, / Gouvernement Du Canada, 24 Feb. 2021, https://www.canada.ca/en/environment-climate-change/services/environmental-indicators/sea-ice.html.

Arctic Ocean and the melting of the Northern ice sheet<sup>24</sup> will open this ocean to unprecedented commercial and pleasure maritime traffic as the natural ice barrier between Russia and Canada is disappearing. Figure 1 below illustrates the shrinking of the Arctic ice extent and how the Arctic Ocean waters are opening.<sup>25</sup>



**Figure 1.** Recorded and Projected extent ice coverage of the Arctic Ocean by years (Source: The Arctic Institute). <sup>26</sup>

The main routes through the Arctic region, as identified in Figure 2 below, are: (1) The North-West Passage (NWP); (2) The Northern-Sea Route (NSR); and (3) The Transpolar Sea Route (TSR).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> National Snow and Ice Data Center. *NSIDC Arctic News and Analysis RSS*, 3 May 2022, http://nsidc.org/arcticseaicenews/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Ice extent is the total area that is covered by some amount of ice including water between ice floes National Snow and Ice Data Center. Definition ice extent. https://nsidc.org/cryosphere/glossary/term/ice-extent.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> The Arctic Institute. Center for Circumpolar Security Studies. Arctic Maps – Visualizing the Arctic, http://www.thearcticinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Summer-Ice-Extent-1970-2100-high-res.jpg?x62767

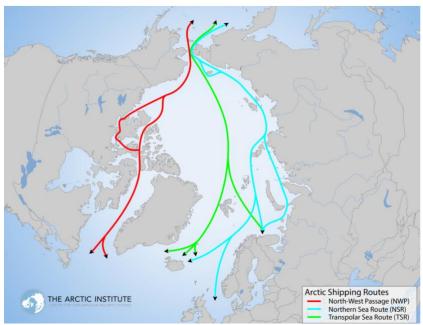


Figure 2. Map reference: The Future of the Northern Sea Route<sup>27</sup>

Canada claims to have "territorial control" over its Arctic lands that includes the waterways between the northern islands.<sup>28</sup> However, the biggest challenge to this claim is not from any adversary but rather from one of our allies. Canada claims that the NWP is an internal, national waterway but the US claims it is a strait meaning this passage is international waters and available to use without any restrictions for all international maritime traffic.<sup>29</sup> This is a diplomatic issue but if Canada does not have adequate resources or presence in the Arctic region, the US may never recognize Canada's claim that this route is in Canadian territorial waters.<sup>30</sup>

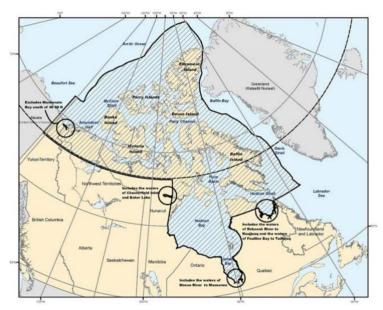
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> The Arctic Institute. The Future of the Northern Sea Route. "A Golden Waterway" or a Niche Trade Route. https://www.thearcticinstitute.org/future-northern-sea-route-golden-waterway-niche

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Canada. Global Affairs Canada. "Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy." Government of Canada, 12 May 2017, https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/international\_relations-relations\_internationales/arctic-arctique/arctic policy-canada-politique arctique.aspx?lang=eng.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Matthew Kosnik. "Canada and the U.S. Need to Make a Deal on the Northwest Passage." *The National Interest*, 28 Oct. 2020. https://nationalinterest.org/blog/buzz/canada-and-us-need-make-deal-northwest-passage-171472

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Jesse Ferreras. "Canada's Northwest Passage Claim Isn't Settled - but It's Not 'Illegitimate,' like the U.S. Says It Is - National." *Global News*, 31 May 2019, https://globalnews.ca/news/5256532/northwest-passage-canada-us-claim-challenge/.

Figure 3 below shows the boundary of Canada's territorial waters that the Canadian Coast guard monitors for maritime safety. As compared with Figure 2, the NWP travels through Canadian waters. This diplomatic issue is a pressing matter that will need to be resolved.



**Figure 3.** Northern Canada Vessel Traffic Services (NORDREG) zone<sup>31</sup>

Other growing concerns related to the melting of the Arctics sea ice is access to oil and gas reserves/deposits, accessing critical minerals, increase in fishing and newly accessible shipping lanes. All of these factors could potentially re-route global trade through Canadian waters.<sup>32</sup> The result of increased maritime traffic travelling through Canadian-claimed territorial waters will greatly increase the need for further search and rescue resources in the Arctic as the demand is projected to increase.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Canada, Coast Guard. Map of Vessel Traffic Services – Northern Canada (NORDREG) Zone, pp 3-5. https://www.ccg-gcc.gc.ca/publications/mcts-sctm/ramn-arnm/docs/ramn-arnm-2022-eng.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> "How Russia's Future with NATO Will Impact the Arctic." *Foreign Policy*, Foreign Policy, 25 Feb. 2022, https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/02/25/arctic-ukraine-russia-china-eu-invasion-nato/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Andrea Charron. "Canada, the United States and Arctic Security." Canada's Arctic Agenda; Into the Vortex, 2019, 93-99. Arctic Report 2019 web.pdf (cigionline.org)

As maritime traffic in the Arctic region increases, Canada needs to be able to control maritime traffic entering and exiting their borders. A year-round presence is necessary to be able to respond to a vast array of incidents such as a cargo ship going aground, a cruise ship in crisis, environmental disasters such as an oil spill or perhaps a terrorist attack on key infrastructure. If Canada does not exert its presence and influence in the Arctic then the nation will leave the door open for others to fill that void.

#### **HUMAN SECURITY - EDUCATION**

...anyone studying the Arctic from Ottawa needs to start by listening to the perspectives of Arctic residents, rather than dictating solutions devoid of local context, knowledge and expertise<sup>34</sup>.

Not all national security and sovereignty concerns are solely military matters. The human dimension needs to be taken into consideration as well. Security is much more than protecting and controlling borders of a country but the people who live within those borders need to be addressed as well. Socio-economic issues and insecurities affecting a population need to be considered and if not invested in could have consequences on Canada's ability to exert sovereignty within this region. These insecurities must be tackled in conjunction with each other and only when people feel safe in all aspects of their lives such as having opportunities to sustain themselves and achieve well-being can true security be achieved.<sup>35</sup> Human security is a peoplecentric approach to human well-being rather than just a focus on military equipment, exerting force and protecting borders.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Canada. *Nation-building at home; vigilance beyond: Preparing for the coming decades in the Arctic.* Report on the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development, April 2019, page 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> United Nations. *Human Security Handbook*. United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security., Jan. 2016, https://www.un.org/humansecurity/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/h2.pdf.

Education is the foundational root of a society. Education helps to develop the skills that are necessary for day-to-day living such as learning social norms, developing judgement and reasoning skills and learning from right and wrong. According to the United Nations conventions on the rights of child, every child has the right to an education. Education is a centre piece for any society, especially of a liberal democratic society, where elections are based on the educated decision of voters.

However, education outcomes in the Canadian Arctic (the territories of Nunavut, Northwest Territories and the Yukon) are well below those of other Canadian provinces. A study conducted by the University of Winnipeg found that off-reserve Canadian Aboriginal populations, high school graduation rates are 45% lower in Northern communities than in the rest of Canada. In general, when it comes to basic education, the Canadian Arctic lags greatly behind Canadian national standards as high school graduation rates are far below the national average. In general, when it comes to basic education rates are far below the national average.

One reason for this contrast in educational outcomes in the north is that usually the school curriculum is imported from other provinces.<sup>40</sup> For example, for the past 40 years the

<sup>36</sup> Charizze Abulencia. "Why Is Education Important and How Does It Affect One's Future?" *World Vision Canada*, Organization, 13 Oct. 2021, https://www.worldvision.ca/stories/education/why-is-education-important.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> United Nations. *Convention Rights Child Text Child Friendly Version - UNICEF*. Tenet #28. https://www.unicef.org/media/60981/file/convention-rights-child-text-child-friendly-version.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Melanie O'Gorman and Manish Pandey. Winnipeg, MB, 2015, pp. 1–2, *Explaining Low High School Attainment in Northern Aboriginal Communities: An Analysis of the Aboriginal Peoples' Surveys*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Arik Motskin and Zack Gallinger. "The Vast Disparity in Canada's High School Graduation Rates." *The 10 and 3*, 11 Aug. 2015. http://www.the10and3.com/the-vast-disparity-in-canadas-high-school-graduation-rates-00016/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Nuliayok Rudolp, Angela. "Education Policy in the North. *Canada's Arctic Agenda: Into the Vortex*, Centre for International Governance Innovation, 2019, 54-55. https://www.cigionline.org/static/documents/documents/Arctic%20Report%202019%20web.pdf

Northwest Territories has been using the Alberta's school curriculum for grades Kindergarten to grade 12 but in 2021, the NWT has changed to British Columbia's school curriculum. 41 The point is that the Inuit and people that live in the Arctic need their own agency to develop their territorial education curriculum that addresses their own communities' educational needs. There is a need and desire of the Inuit and northern teachers to integrate Inuit culture and methods of learning in their own education. The reality of the school system in the Arctic territories is that it is still based on a Euro-North American school system which places aboriginals in internal conflict trying to live according to two value systems that at times can be contradictory. 42

To increase the level of educational attainment in the Arctic, the Inuit need to develop their own curriculum in order to best represent their own cultural experiences within the education system in order to develop educational agency. Harvard professor Jerome Bruner writes, "Culture shapes minds, it provides us with the tool kit by which we construct not only our world but our very construction of ourselves and our powers". Ulture is an important function of education that helps preserve cultural and social heritage that includes traditions, customs, values and art. For this reason, education is the cornerstone of human security in the Arctic as it integrates one's ancestral knowledge and cultural skills that form the basis and the formation of ethnic identities. Education allows for cultural continuity which is the ability to preserve

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Emily Mertz. "Northwest Territories to Stop Using Alberta Curriculum, Will Adopt B.C.'s." *Global News*, 17 Dec. 2021, https://globalnews.ca/news/8457469/alberta-curriculum-northwest-territories/#:~:text=The%20government%20of%20the%20Northwest,for%20more%20than%2040%20years.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Genevieve LaLonde. "Inuit Perceptions of Learning and Formal Education in the Canadian Arctic." *University of Guelph*, University of Guelph, 2017, pp. 1–2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> For the purposes of this essay, the word Inuit is used to describe the peoples that live in the Canadian Arctic region, north of 60 degrees latitude.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Bruner, J. (1982). The Language of Education. In J. Bruner (2006). In Search of Pedagogy. The Selected Works of Jerome Bruner (pp. 80-90). New York: Routledge, vol. 2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Karla Jessen Williamson and Yvonne Vizina. "Indigenous Peoples and Education in the Arctic Region." *State of the World's Indigenous Peoples*, United Nations, 2017, pp. 42–43. https://www.un-ilibrary.org/content/books/9789213629024c004/read

cultural historical traditions and carry them forward into the future and helps to reinforce cultural identity.<sup>46</sup>

Within Canada's Arctic, education needs to take a larger importance in the development of this region. Education is interlinked with socio-economic development and needs to not only be treated as an opportunity but also an obligation for the federal and territorial governments. The people of the North can be classified as a neglected population and investments in education in the Arctic region are necessary in order to further build the Arctic people's resiliency and to prepare them for future economic development in the region. Northern Canada has a history of external forces (colonialization) forcing development with a single-minded focus on rapid resource extraction without any concern for the environmental and societal impacts on the people. Building local educational competencies and capacity is vital to prevent repeating these same mistakes.<sup>47</sup>

#### **CONCLUSION**

"Apparently we have administered these vast territories of the north in an almost continuing state of absence of mind. I think all honourable members now feel the territories are vastly important to Canada."

- Louis St. Laurent, PM of Canada, 1953

This essay identified three areas of concern regarding national sovereignty and security in Canada's Arctic region; Russia's strong military presence in the north, the gradual accessibility

<sup>46</sup> Jason Brown, Dilly Knol, Sonia Prevost-Derbecker, and Kelly Andrushko. 2007. "Housing for Indigenous Youth in the Inner City of Winnipeg." First Peoples Child and Family Review 3, no. 2: 56–64.
 <sup>47</sup> Anne Husebekk. "Growth from the North: Education and Competence as Key Input Factors." *UArctic* -

Shared Voices Magazine, 2016. https://doi.org/https://old.uarctic.org/shared-voices/shared-voices-magazine-2016/.

of northern international maritime routes and human security concerns, such as education. These examples illustrate the complexity of this wicked problem as there is not one single solution but rather a myriad of options that exist. National security is not only a CAF concern but also one that also involves other government departments and agencies such as the government of the territories (Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut), the Canadian Coast Guard, Indigenous Services Canada and Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada.

Canada can be criticized for "sleepwalking into an increasingly dangerous Arctic security environment because most commentators still hope that the Arctic will remain an area of low tension." It's time for Canada to wake up and face the changing realities in the Arctic. The cautionary tale is if Canada does not soon prioritize its Arctic region, then the nation will become irrelevant and other nations or corporate interests will fill that void. The Canadian federal government needs to pivot their foreign, military and development aid policies and strategies more towards the Arctic region of Canada in order to better secure sovereignty in the far north.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Whitney Lackenbauer. "Russia, Canada, and the Circumpolar World." *Breaking the Ice Curtain?*, edited by Suzanne LaLonde, Canadian Global Affairs Institute, Calgary, AB, 2019, pp. 84–85.

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