

Soviet Union at the intergovernmental level has flowed a significant amount of activity by actors other than the federal government (provincial and territorial governments, universities, native organizations and private groups). This constitutes the second new dimension of Canadian-Soviet Arctic relations: actors outside of the federal government are pursuing their own initiatives for Arctic cooperation with the Soviet Union. Despite the implications which this development has for Canadian foreign policy in general, there has been no concerted attempt on the part of the Canadian government to formulate a policy which better identifies all of our needs in circumpolar cooperation. The federal government should be working toward the creation of a policy framework within which all the various aspects of Arctic cooperation are ascribed priorities and where the mechanisms for achieving objectives in each area are outlined. At the same time, the goals of Arctic cooperation in specific areas should be matched with those countries where the realization of potential benefits are deemed to be the greatest. Distinctions should also be made between pursuing cooperation on a bilateral or multilateral level. All of this must take into account the needs of northerners and the national interest.

It has been almost two years since the federal government stated that it "recognizes the importance of developing a coherent set of policies for the Arctic, including foreign policy."²² To date there is little indication that it has moved beyond the point of recognition to the stage of beginning to formulate such a policy. Perhaps the recent developments in Canadian-Soviet Arctic relations which have been outlined in this paper will provide an additional impetus to address the issue of Canada's northern foreign policy.

NOTES

1. *Canada's International Relations*, Response of the Government of Canada to the Report of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons, Presented by the Right Honourable Joe Clark, Secretary of State for External Affairs, December 1986, p. 86.
2. Speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the presentation of the Order of Lenin and Gold Medal in Murmansk, 1 October 1987. English translation provided by Foreign Broadcasting Information Service, *Soviet Union: National Affairs*, FBIS-SOV-87-191, 2 October 1987, pp. 41-42.
3. As cited in R.A.J. Phillips, "Canada and Russia in the Arctic," *Behind the Headlines*, Vol. XVI, No. 4, October 1956, p. 11.
4. As cited in Jocelyn M. Ghent, "Cooperation in Science and Technology," in *Canadian-Soviet Relations, 1939-1980*, edited by Aloysius Balawyder, Mosaic Press, Oakville, 1981, p. 180.
5. See: G.W. Rowley, "International Scientific Relations in the Arctic," in *The Arctic Frontier*, edited by R. St. J. MacDonald, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1966, p. 290. Mr. Rowley was a member of the Canadian delegation.
6. See: Carl H. McMillan, "Canada's Postwar Economic Relations with the USSR — An Appraisal," in Balawyder, *op. cit.*, 1981, p. 136.
7. Walter Slipchenko, *Siberia 1971*, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1971. Mr. Slipchenko was a member of the Canadian delegation visiting the Soviet Union and accompanied the Soviet delegation visiting Canada.
8. Quoted in Walter Slipchenko, "Canada-USSR Arctic Science Exchange Programme: An Historical Perspective of Cooperation in the Arctic," paper presented at the Soviet Maritime Arctic Workshop, Woods Hole Oceanographic Institute, 10-13 May 1987, p. 12.
9. This information is current as of mid-April 1988. Details on exchange activity were provided by Mr. Walter Slipchenko of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the Canadian coordinator of this Exchange Programme.
10. John Merritt, "Has Glasnost Come Knocking?" *Northern Perspectives*, special edition, October 1987.
11. "Arctic Cooperation," *The Globe and Mail*, 12 October 1987. Letter to the editor signed by Joe Clark, Secretary of State for External Affairs.
12. "Arctic ball in Soviets' court," *The Globe and Mail*, 6 April 1988. Letter to the editor signed by Joe Clark, Secretary of State for External Affairs.
13. *Independence and Internationalism*, Report of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and of the House of Commons on Canada's International Relations, Supply and Services Canada, Ottawa, June 1986, pp. 127-135.
14. "Appeal to Parliaments and Parliamentarians," *News Release*, Press Office of the USSR Embassy in Canada, No. 10, 12 February 1988.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
16. Of course the changes in leadership and domestic policies in the Soviet Union are primary reasons for this changed attitude. It should be pointed out, though, that when General Secretary Gorbachev proposed in his Murmansk speech an international conference to examine possibilities for the creation of a multilateral Arctic Science Council (which should be viewed as a