

cooperation with specific countries in specific areas. In the case of Arctic relations with Canada, the Soviet Union is undoubtedly hoping that cooperation in non-military areas will have an impact on furthering its proposals for demilitarization in the Arctic. In a February 1988 appeal to the parliaments and parliamentarians of northern countries, the Soviet Union stated its desire to turn "the areas inside and near the Arctic Circle of our planet into a genuine peace zone."¹⁴ Security issues are to be discussed at the negotiating table along with other areas of mutual concern such as "the economy, ecology, science, etc."¹⁵ In other words, the Soviet Union sees all aspects of Arctic cooperation as intricately interconnected.

As regards Arctic cooperation with the Soviet Union, the targeting process in thematic areas has, to a certain extent, been followed. As a result, several direct benefits for Canada can be identified. In the scientific areas it appears that most of the gains are going to be in the more theoretical aspects of basic and applied science. In the more practical fields of engineering and the application of technologies, Canada is further advanced than the USSR. But even here there are potential tangible spin-off benefits, since it is thought by many that this lead can be translated into commercial contracts for Canadian firms in the near future. With respect to exchanges in the field of education, there have been some limited benefits from exposure to Soviet programmes in the area of native language instruction and protection of the native culture. Opening up possibilities for Canadian Inuit to have contact with Soviet Yuit is an important cultural development which could soon progress into new areas such as exchanges of native craftspeople.

An assessment of this cooperation in terms of national interest should not be restricted to an appraisal of those benefits which directly flow from the exchange of information. There are also less tangible, indirect benefits such as the general support it lends toward engaging the Soviet Union in multilateral initiatives. Canadian-Soviet Arctic cooperation has undoubtedly influenced the recent Soviet decision to participate in international meetings to establish an International Arctic Science Committee which may study and make resolutions regarding protection of the Arctic environment. Helping to overcome a traditional Soviet reluctance to be part of such international undertakings should be viewed as a major benefit.¹⁶

While the benefits of Canadian-Soviet cooperation are identifiable and will undoubtedly continue to increase in the future, they have been realized within a policy vacuum. There has not been a clear statement from the government about the specific areas of cooperation which should be fostered and the objectives of that cooperation. Neither has there been an indication of which countries hold the greatest promise for fulfilling goals in particular fields.

The call for greater clarity in our northern foreign policy is an old theme. There is, however, a new element

which makes the formulation of a northern foreign policy more of an imperative now than before: the number of actors in circumpolar cooperation is expanding. In addition to the role which the Inuit Circumpolar Conference¹⁷ has played over the past decade in formulating Arctic policies, the Territorial governments are now pursuing strategies for greater direct involvement in circumpolar cooperation.

To understand this new dimension, one must turn to the domestic sphere and the process of political development in the Territories. In the ongoing process of devolving powers from the federal government to the Territories, the governments of Yukon and the Northwest Territories are developing new policy initiatives which they believe will further their social, cultural, economic and political development. They see circumpolar cooperation as one area where a more active role can be taken. In so doing they are saying, among other things, that the federal government has been too slow in responding to their needs.

In the February 1988 policy paper of the government of the Northwest Territories entitled "Direction for the 1990s," a separate section is devoted to international relations. The Northwest Territories is setting out to establish its place in the world. In the policy paper it is stated that: "The Northwest Territories is a full participant in the circumpolar world. Our people and our government are leading actors in many of the events and issues which shape international polar activities."¹⁸ Subsequent to the release of this policy paper the government of the Northwest Territories announced that it would be giving their Ottawa office new responsibility to "develop more productive links with circumpolar nations."¹⁹

That the Northwest Territories has adopted such an active policy toward the expansion of circumpolar relations is indicative of the growing importance which northerners are placing on the international component of their social and economic development. As noted above, the government of Quebec has already concluded a programme of exchanges with the Russian Republic which has a predominantly northern focus. It may only be a matter of time before the Northwest Territories seeks its own bilateral programme with a Soviet republic or with other circumpolar countries.

These developments point to the immediate need for an articulated foreign policy in the area of circumpolar relations. There is simply too much happening on a number of different fronts to continue on an *ad hoc* basis. The fact that so much of the activity is currently taking place with the Soviet Union is added impetus to formulate a circumpolar strategy.

THE EAST-WEST AND CANADA-US DIMENSIONS

Formulation of the northern dimension of our foreign policy must take into account the fact that the Arctic is