



addition, the nature of cooperation was expanded from exchange of data and scientists to include the possibility of joint research projects. Under the current programme of exchanges, six Canadian delegations have visited the USSR and five Soviet delegations have come to Canada.⁹

The climate for pursuing further cooperation in the Arctic was aided by the visit to the Soviet Union in May/June 1986 of a Canadian delegation led by David Crombie, then Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. During this visit Mr. Crombie had meetings with the Soviet minister and senior officials responsible for the Canada-Soviet Arctic Science Exchange where he expressed overall satisfaction with the programme and a desire to continue the exchange of scientists. Mr. Crombie also noted that the Canadian side would be interested in expanding cooperation into areas such as economic development.

During the period leading up to the February 1987 round of negotiations, the Soviet Union submitted to the Canadian government a draft text of a full-scale

Agreement on Arctic Cooperation. In principle the Canadian government had no strong objections to raising the status of cooperation from the level of a Protocol to that of an Agreement as this would open the door for a wider scope of Arctic-related activity, e.g., academic, cultural and economic. However, after seven months, when no official response was forthcoming from the Canadian government, the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa decided to make public the text of the proposed Agreement. Through the offices of the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee in Ottawa, the Soviet draft was publicized.¹⁰ At the same time, Soviet Embassy officials remarked that the Department of External Affairs was intentionally stalling on this issue, and even cited the likelihood of obstruction by the United States. For evidence they cited the fact that Canada and the United States were then in the midst of discussions to conclude a bilateral Arctic Treaty. Circumstantial evidence led the Soviet officials to conclude that within the context of Canadian-American talks on Arctic cooperation, the