



Regional Governments in International Affairs
Lessons from the Arctic

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Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto

Conference Transcripts



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At the front lines of the decisions made for the Arctic regions are municipalities, territorial and state governments, and Indigenous organizations and governments. How do these sub-national actors and governments from within the Arctic participate in international diplomacy which could result in outcomes that affect them? With no formal role on the Arctic Council, which is often regarded as the main platform for international Arctic diplomacy, how do these regional governments engage in international affairs in the Arctic? What does the future of the Arctic look like, and how will these sub-national and regional governments be involved?

On September 18, 2015, the Munk-Gordon Arctic Security Program brought together 24 Arctic scholars and policy makers across the circumpolar world to discuss these issues at the University of Toronto, Canada. This conversation was recorded in these transcripts.

Please note that these transcripts have been edited for clarity.

Presenting Organisations



The Gordon Foundation is a private, philanthropic foundation based in Toronto, Canada. The Foundation undertakes research, leadership development and public dialogue so that public policies in Canada reflect a commitment to collaborative stewardship of our freshwater resources and to a people-driven, equitable and evolving North. Over the past quarter century The Gordon Foundation has invested over \$27 million in a wide variety of Northern community initiatives and freshwater protection initiatives. (www.gordonfoundation.ca)



The Bill Graham Centre for Contemporary International History exists to further and promote the history of international relations since roughly the end of the Second World War. The central elements of the Centre's mandate are: promoting the historical study of contemporary international events; and bringing the world of the scholar and that of the policymaker and political practitioner together. The Centre's activities include undergraduate and graduate teaching, the organization and sponsorship of conferences and public lectures by scholars and policymakers, and publications reflecting original research. (www.billgrahamcentre.utoronto.ca/)



The Global Cities Institute is created at the University of Toronto in the Daniels Faculty of Architecture, Landscape and Design to build on the strengths of a rapidly expanding global network of scholars, city leaders, design and planning professionals, key international organizations, foundations and industry innovators dedicated to securing a better future for cities. The Global Cities Institute will convene collaborative, cross-disciplinary research that builds on the Global City Indicators Facility metrics and bridges the fields of urban governance, design, technology and economics (www.globalcitiesinstitute.org/)

In memory of Terry Fenge
1950 - 2015



Born and educated in England, Terry Fenge came to Canada to pursue post-graduate studies and received his PhD from University of Waterloo. He was Senior Negotiator for the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut, the Inuit organization that negotiated the 1993 Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, and Strategic Counsel to the International Chair of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (now Council). Most recently he worked as a consultant specializing in Arctic, Aboriginal and Environmental issues, and an advisor to Nunavut Tungavik Inc. on implementation of the Nunavut Agreement. Terry is the author or editor of seven books or monographs, and more than 80 published papers. He spoke on panel IV of this conference.

Opening Session

9:15AM-10:30AM

John English: Welcome this beautiful, late summer morning. It's my honour to introduce Stephen Toope. My name is John English and I'm the Director of the Bill Graham Centre for Contemporary International History at Trinity, which is a partnership with the Munk School of which Stephen Toope is the Director. Stephen became the Director this year and he has undertaken a review of the Munk School, which is continuing and which is important. He brings a very distinguished resume. He is the former Dean of Law at McGill University, former President of the Trudeau Foundation and former President at the University of British Columbia. He is also an eminent scholar, one of the leading scholars of international human rights in the world and has been very active in that extremely important subject, which is of course of interest to all of us at this particular time. It's a great honour for me to introduce Stephen.

Stephen Toope: Thank you so much, John. And first let me say how honoured we are at the Munk School of Global Affairs to be able to work with the Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation, with the Bill Graham Centre for Contemporary International History and, of course, with our friends and landlords at Trinity College. It's really marvellous to see different parts of the university being brought together to think about really important topics. And I want to specifically thank the Gordon Foundation for their really generous support. I must say that when I looked at the program and the overall description of what would be discussed today, it really struck me as a crucial addition to a discussion that's taking place in many different ways with many different regions. It's intriguing to me, as I look around the world, that the whole question of global cities, urban agglomerations and sub-national governments is preoccupying people in Asia. It's preoccupying people in North America for different reasons but many that overlap with the reasons that we should be exploring these issues, it seems to me, in relation to the Arctic. So if you think about climate change and the need for environmental protection; if you think about resource stewardship and sustainable exploitation; if you think about social and cultural development, these are all areas that actually require robust, regional, sub-national and city engagement. And if you look at failures to act at the national level on questions like climate change, it's in fact only at the provincial and regional and global cities level that we often see the kind of action that is required.

Now, that isn't to say that we should not care about national governments. States still matter, and they are charged with creating overarching, treaty-based and institutionally based policy. There's no question about that. But it is intriguing that that is only part of the story. And I'm not sure it's even the largest part of the story today, especially in relation to the Arctic, but we have many more expert people than I to discuss that issue. The timing of this conference is to me intriguing in that it connects with a broader agenda of understanding the role of sub-national and regional government and the role of cities. I'm excited that we're a part of this process at the Munk School of Global Affairs, and I'm excited that it ties in to work that I know colleagues are doing, in relation to global Asian cities, African cities and sub-regional governments in other parts of the world. So I want to wish you the very, very best of discussions. I looked at the program, and you've certainly attracted a wonderful group of people with tremendous experience, and I'm sure that you'll all benefit from their wisdom and the collective wisdom of this group. And I'm very much looking forward to reading the report from the conference and to making sure that we share it with colleagues who are thinking about these issues in other contexts. With that, I'm going to say adieu unfortunately, because I have to run off, but delightful to see all of you here. And again, congratulations on a great work to bring everything together.

Mayo Moran: So Stephen was my old law professor. So I will follow his lead. And I'd like to welcome everyone on behalf of Trinity College and echo Stephen's remarks in a number of respects – first to again thank the Gordon Foundation for its generosity in tackling this and other very, very important, pressing issues of the day. And also to emphasize I think that when we come together in a place like the University of Toronto and bring people from the policy world, in the wider world, I think that's a very important step forward in tackling the important issues of the day.

There is no doubt that the questions, that I think we're now more keenly aware of surrounding the Arctic, are certainly the important questions of our day. It's my great pleasure on behalf of Trinity College to welcome all of you here today. And in particular, I also wanted to thank John English and Jack Cunningham, who've done a wonderful job as usual on behalf of the Bill Graham Centre, of organizing this wonderful event.

I believe that my job is to introduce, amongst other things, two people who require no introduction except do the usual thing of saying I'm going to now introduce these two people that require no introductions. But I will be brief, because I know that we would like to first of all hear Tony speak and then to hear the discussion with our chancellor, Bill Graham. So I am very excited to sit here beside Mr. Penikett. I have long admired him. I first knew of him as probably as premier of the Yukon but since then, I have followed his work on indigenous issues – in particular the book entitled *Reconciliation: First Nations Treaty Making in British Columbia*. I think that was a very important contribution to the broader debate. Since then, he has continued to work on indigenous issues across a whole variety of different kind of roles, as mediator, as negotiator. He was the Fulbright Chair for Arctic Studies. I'm sure we'll hear some of the results of his analysis that came out of that and, in short, I would say that I can't imagine a better person to open this conference on the Arctic and the role of governance as well as some of the challenges when you have a place like the Arctic to think about what the appropriate governance structures are. So with no further ado, Mr. Penikett, I would welcome you to the stand.

Tony Penikett: Thank you, Mayo. And thank John English and Bill Graham and all the organizers of this event for the invitation, and I look forward to the discussions for the rest of the day. In my remarks today, I want to make three points. First – and this may be an obvious one for people like Franklyn Griffiths, but the first is to borrow a line from a certain pop singer – Arctic facts aren't what they used to be. The second is that for Arctic residents beyond the booms and busts of resource economies, the character forming events of their lives have been the Cold War, land claims and devolution negotiations and climate change. The third point I want to make is that the – to borrow an idea from Bernard Funston, Arctic regions have been laboratories, places of great economic, social and political innovation.

According to a 2011 poll conducted by the Northern magazine "Up Here," 74% of Canadians think there are penguins in the Arctic and 69% think the Canadians in the North live in igloos. Because the vast majority of Canadians will never visit the far North, they may not appreciate how much media create false images. For example, two television series – one American, the other Canadian – fed popular misconceptions. In the '90s, the CBS series *Northern Exposure* mined cultural clashes between a transplanted New York physician and quirky residents of a fictional Alaska village. As it happens, my father was once a Northern doctor and he likely would not have recognized himself or his patients in *Northern Exposure*. Nor would my Arctic and Antarctic aviator brother, Steve, were he still alive, have seen himself in the CBC Vancouver series, *Arctic Air* about Yellowknife based bush pilots. Despite a million viewers, government budget cuts forced CBC to cancel that series, but I want to ask you: Was there ever a real bush airlines operations so filled with such romance and such adventure? Arctic facts may not be what they used to be, but here's some of what we do know. The Arctic is mainly a marine area, with the Arctic Ocean at the centre. Much of the rest remains a matter of debate. However, politicians

have decided that Arctic Alaska takes in all of the Bering Sea, and the Canadian government's Arctic covers everything North of the 60th parallel, Yukon, the Northwest Territories and Nunavut. However, the 60th parallel demarcation captures parts of Scandinavia warm enough for lizards and frogs, while excluding James Bay, a polar bear habitat. The world once knew the Arctic as a frozen wasteland, but the 2004 Arctic Climate Impact Assessment report forced everybody to acknowledge the Arctic's rapidly changing environment and its global significance.

Only in the Arctic do North America's indigenous nations exercise real political power. Yet all of their newly won media attention cannot disguise the fact that indigenous people are now a minority of 500,000 among the Arctic's four million people. The 2004 and 2015 Arctic Human Development Reports distinguish between indigenous communities and several populations, which constitute a majority in every Arctic region except Greenland, Nunavut and the Northwest Territories. Southerners therefore might be surprised to learn that most Arctic residents dwell in cities: Murmansk, Anchorage, Fairbanks, Kiruna, Iqaluit, Tromsø, White Horse and Yellowknife.

News reporters often dismiss small Arctic cities, regional centres, as boring replicas of magnet metropolises. This leads them to miss important stories about small Arctic cities, where for five decades, while the forces of climate change and globalization raged around them, in hotel meeting rooms and government offices leaders and legislators from both the indigenous and settler communities have been designing and redesigning regional institutions to completely transform the architecture of Arctic governance. Among the Arctic states, obvious differences exist. Russia is home to half of the Arctic's four million people, a military powerful state and an energy-based economy, similar in size to Canada's. But with the end of the Cold War and the Soviet Union, Russia showed a massive exodus of people from its Arctic regions. Throughout history, Greenland's population has risen and fallen as the island's climate changed, and once again, it faces a looming environmental crisis – and the world does, too – with the melting of Greenland's vast ice fields. Iceland is the only Arctic state without an indigenous population, but settlers arrived there in 874 and nowadays the world knows the tiny Iceland for its banking presence, its fishing economy and its 99.9% literacy rate. Norway remains Europe's largest oil producer and is building a trillion-dollar sovereign wealth fund, dedicated to the creation of a post-oil economy. Norway was the First Nations in the world to ratify the International Labour Organization's ILO Convention 169, a legally binding instrument on the rights of indigenous people. Sweden today is known as a promoter of peace in the world and the supplier of talented hockey players to the NHL, as well as IKEA and popular crime novels. Finland we know for its excellent public school system, Nokia, the cell phone company, and the construction of world class icebreakers.

The United States purchase of Alaska for \$7.2 million from Russia in 1867 made America an Arctic nation. Alaska achieved statehood in 1959. The 1971 Land Claim Settlement made Alaska natives the state's largest private landowners, and worldwide headlines regularly greet events such as the 1989 *Exxon Valdez* oil spill, Governor Sarah Palin's "Drill, Baby, Drill" campaign for the U.S. Vice Presidency in 2008; and Barack Obama's recent visit, the first by a sitting President to Arctic Alaska.

Canada's Arctic and subarctic regions amount to 40% of our land mass. Yet, 75% of Canadians snuggle up to the U.S. border. Canada's legendary Northerners may be partially a product of image building. But we have no Arctic university, and despite having the second longest Arctic coastline after Russia, we have no deep water port on the Arctic Ocean.

Despite big differences between the Arctic states, they all share and have shared, environmental, social

and scientific concerns, and in 1996, these common interests led to the creation of the Arctic Council, an intergovernmental forum for Arctic states with an innovative international range of six indigenous peoples organizations joined the Arctic Council as permanent participants. And our host, John English, has written an excellent book, *Ice and Water*, on the Arctic Council. Later I'll say not more about the book, but more about the Arctic Council. Conservative Canada and the liberal U.S. President currently articulate very similar Arctic priorities - national security and sovereignty, environmental stewardship, also social and economic development. Likewise, residents of Alaska and the Canadian territories share regional concerns - environment to climate change, resource development and infrastructure, education and health care deficits, emergency response, search and rescue and opposition to the admission of China as an Arctic Council observer. Over the years, Alaska and the Northern territories have contributed enormously to their country's prosperity, but Northerners generally feel their share of the wealth is too small and their voices in Washington too often unheard. Canadian politicians air gales of rhetoric about the Arctic character and a Northern identity, but beyond the resource booms and busts, I believe that for Arctic residents, the character forming events of their lives have been the Cold War, land claims and devolution negotiations and climate change, all of which affected Northerners far more dramatically than Southerners. World War II and the Cold War that followed divided indigenous Arctic communities, like the Japanese, Alaska Aleuts were interned during the Second World War. To demonstrate Canadian sovereignty, Inuit from Ungava were relocated to the higher Arctic. In 1953, Inuit villages had to make way for the U.S. Air Base at Thule, Greenland. The Cold War frontier between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. separated the Yupik people of Diomedes and Little Diomedes Island, as it did the Sámi families on the Norwegian-Russian border. In the final months of the Cold War, NWT's Dene nation and the Yukon legislative assembly protested Cruise Missile tests over their territories. And of course, the Inuit were early supporters of Mikhail Gorbachev's Murmansk proposal that the Arctic be no more a battleground but a zone of peace.

Land and jurisdiction are the goals of the Aboriginal rights movement, "Idle No More." While that movement has enjoyed limited success in the Southern provinces, in the Northern regions, Dene, Inuit and Métis groups achieve those goals on a scale unimagined by their Southern counterparts. Alaska, when the oil companies proposed a pipeline from Prudhoe Bay to Valdez, Inupiaq leader Willy Hensley they told them their pipeline route crossed native land. Subsequent negotiations involved much backroom bargaining, lobbying and politicking, largely in Washington in December 1971, so Congress passed the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, which provided almost a billion dollars and 178,000 square kilometres of land. Thus, the first modern or Northern treaty, and in time, 20 such treaties covering almost all of Canada's northern land mass followed. In 1975, Canada signed its first modern treaty, the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement, with Northern Québec Cree and Inuit and the province of Québec. This treaty provides 14,000 square kilometres in community lands, 225 million in compensation, power assist income supports and Aboriginal language rights. Driven by Québec Hydro's drive to pour concrete for massive dams at James Bay, the treaty took less than four years to negotiate, a rush job - which substantially would require a supplementary fixup with the Paix des Braves Accord. In 1992, the Yukon treaty was the first to be completed without the pressure of a pending megaproject. To prevent the recurrence of 19th century's broken promises, lawyers for the First Nations describe the provisions in great detail, dotting every I and crossing every T. Consequently, Yukon's final agreement contains more words than the New Testament. All of these Northern treaties negotiated late in the 20th century dwarf their 19th century predecessors. In the Yukon, 7,000 Dene and Tlingit secured title to 41,000 square kilometres of land with subsurface resource rights to 2/3 of that total. And please note that this is more land than is contained in all of the Indian Reserves in all of Southern Canada, which is the home to 500,000 First Nations citizens. The 1993 treaty with Inuit of Canada gave them the collective ownership of 350,000 square kilometres, making them the largest private landowners in the world. All of the Northern treaties, would provide tools, such

as coal management, land use planning and water boards. These boards imbedded the principles of sustainability – the only part of Canada’s constitutional fabric to do so.

Yukon’s co-management boards work, because they involve a sharing of power between indigenous Northerners and settlers. In other words, they operate as instruments of regional – rather than national – government. The scale of the Alaskan settlement galvanized First Nations’ Inuit and Métis negotiators in Canada, but Congress’s insistence on corporate governance did not. Indigenous Canadians preferred the familiarity of tribal or Aboriginal self-government. Yukon First Nations negotiated the first third order Aboriginal self-government agreements in Canada. Third order means Aboriginal groups are recognized as a third tier of government, alongside federal and provincial orders. The Yukon self-government agreements recognize both local and quasi-provincial powers for the territories First Nations. Nowhere else, I would say, do villagers exercise provincial powers. In 2015, after 18 years of negotiations, the NWT Community of Deline, the Community Self Government Pact, the 2003 Tlicho Final Agreement was the first NWT self-government accord. Greenlanders followed the struggles of their Inuit cousins in Alaska and Canada as they realized their own goals of home rule, self-government and a resource revenue sharing agreement that Northern Canadians could only dream about. Indigenous Russians achieve attending the founding meeting of the Northern Forum at Anchorage in 1991 swarmed Alaskans and Canadians for details about land claims and indigenous government processes. Norway borrowed the co-management idea for the Finnmark Act in 2005, which transferred power over lands and resources to a new regional body led by representatives of the Sámi parliament in Finnmark County. Novelist Hugh MacLennan named Canada’s English and French communities the two solitudes. Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal populations have long constituted the Arctic two solitudes or twin solitudes. But decades of grinding treaty negotiations have given Northern Canadians a deeper appreciation of themselves and what they share.

Not until the Land Claims talks began in the 1970s did indigenous and settler representatives meet each other across negotiating tables on a regular basis. Only then did the long process of reconciliation between the two solitudes of Northern society really take hold. And sometimes regional governments were a bridge. Back in the 1970s, when the Yukon Land Claims Association first got underway, a settler backlash did erupt. But it was a progressive coalition of First Nation politicians, labour leaders, women’s movement and environmental activists who stood up to the anti-Land Claim legislatures, not federal politicians, and those folks built the legislative majorities needed to finalize treaty negotiations. Others acknowledge negotiations built bridges across tribal and ethnic divides. The Alaska Federation of Natives, for example, brought together Iñupiaq, Yupik, Dene, Aleut, Tlingit and Haida leaders and other leaders, many of whom had first known each other at residential school. Negotiators represented the Arctic Indigenous people involved in concurrent treaty negotiations in the 1990s, from Cree, Dene and Inuit communities, compared notes then and work together today still in Land Claims Coalition to lobby Ottawa on implementation issues.

Climate change affects Arctic peoples twice as much as Southerners. It has melted permafrost, is tipping Alaskan villages into the sea. It has shifted fish and wildlife off traditional hunting and fishing grounds. The tree line creeps northward at a rate of three metres a year. U.S. geographer Laurence C. Smith says that climate change will cause a huge Northward movement of Western societies. Yet, as Sheila Watt-Cloutier reminds us, the Inuit lived on the sea ice and, therefore, the vanishing ice is also a human rights issue. We still all need to work together on this.

Alaska saw the coincident arrival of a land claim settlement, oil development and growing political power of indigenous people. Alaska Governor Steve Cowper commented on, “the effectiveness of native legislatures when the big money arrived. Starting in 1969, they sent their brightest and best to Juneau. Though not only of both

parties, the Natives effectively functioned as a third party. Neither Republicans nor Democratic majorities could do anything without making a deal with the native caucus.”

One other place where Arctic indigenous people showed their growing political power and aired their climate concerns was the Arctic Council, in 1996 the Aleut International Association for Russia and the United States; the Arctic Athabaskan Council; the Gwich'in International from Canada and the U.S.A.; the Inuit Circumpolar Council of Canada, Greenland, Russia and the U.S.; and the Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North and the Sámi Council in Finland, Norway, Sweden and Russia achieve permanent participant status, a first for any international organization.

To the three familiar metaphors – frontier, homeland and wilderness – Bernard Funston added that the Arctic had become a laboratory and not just because, as people in the North used to say, some indigenous groups have been studied to death. An old Northern joke that most of you are too young to remember described a typical Inuit family as father, mother, four children and an anthropologist. Happier experiments involved formula financing, responsible government and resource revenue sharing. The Arctic has also become a laboratory in the sense that Northerners themselves are great innovators. Economic experiments included Yukon 2000, a bottom-up economic planning exercise; and import substitution experiments such as local cabinet making for government offices; NWT permafrost experts, exporting their skills to Russia; and a Northern Eco-tourism Operator, taking affluent clients on ski trips to the Arctic. After resource evolution recently, NWT developed a heritage fund modelled more on Norway's than the failed Canadian precedents. Northerners embrace science and technology. The University of Alaska Fairbanks for example is a very well-funded research institution. Social experiments included territorial judge Barry Stewart's institution of sentencing circles in rural communities, so that elders could hear from victims and offenders before advising courts on sentences. In 1987, the Yukon became the first jurisdiction in Western Canada to ban discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. Bright young people in the NWT created Dechinta, a Bush university. While power in Ottawa was increasingly centralized in one office, Nunavut decentralized services so that all of its communities could benefit from public service employment, opportunities and accessible government.

The Yukon Land Claims and Self-Government Agreements established new territory based governments by petitioning land and the First Nation settlement lands and general Yukon lands. They also create First Nation citizenship for members, allowing Aboriginal people to enjoy status as citizens of First Nations and citizens of Canada. Simon Fraser University of Public Policy Professor Douglas MacArthur characterized these unique and innovative agreements as new templates for the federal government, as it undertook self-government negotiations with First Nations elsewhere in Canada. Some may question the Northern Territory's continued dependence on federal transfers. Nevertheless, the new North is here to stay. Its implementation is far from complete, but the architecture is identifiable, MacArthur writes. It has been shaped and developed through the efforts of great perseverance on the part of Northerners. The voice of the South, the federal government, had to change and adapt to realities that would have been unthinkable 25 years ago. The result is indeed a new constitutional settlement in form and substance. The Inuit homeland extends into four arctic states, as does the Sámi territory. The Inuit and Sámi internationalism has already contributed to Arctic security, the POPs Convention and climate change debates. Like the Inuit and Sámi, the modern Dene Treaties also demonstrate obvious international interest in transboundary bird, caribou, reindeer and fisheries issues. In the Arctic Council, the six permanent participants sit at the same table as the eighth Arctic states, trying to reach consensus on the great Arctic policy questions.

Arctic expert Oran Young argues that while interacting impacts of Arctic events – commercial shipping, oil

drilling, mining, fishing and tourism – booms, the Arctic is now a governance barometer, a region aware that beyond nation states, “other actors, including intergovernmental organizations, indigenous people’s organizations, multinational corporations, environmental and non-governmental organizations and sub-national units of government,” play important roles. Rather than a fixed hierarchy or pyramid of power – federal, provincial, local – the Arctic welcomes networks of networks, interlocking circles that connect villages and international organizations, towns and virtual communities. Canadians supposedly dislike constitutional change. But a new Arctic constitutional settlement is in the making. The democratic institutions that created the East and the Western Arctic regions over the recent decades are unique.

Nowhere else in the world is there such accommodation between indigenous and settler governments. Avowing that the Arctic policy means more than oil rigs and polar bears, Bob Herron of the Alaska House of Representatives pleads for the U.S. government to include Alaskans at every level in policy making. “We believe the Northerners are Arctic experts,” he says.

Settlers represent about half the population of Canada’s Far North, and the majority in Alaska and the majority in all other Arctic countries are non-indigenous. As a founding member of the Northern Forum, I think that organization showed some promise in representing the views of regional, state and territorial governments. But to quote Henny Youngman - again, someone most of you are too young to know – “The settler can’t get no respect.” Yes, the North was home to plenty of rednecks who opposed the land rights for indigenous people, but the folks who faced down that resistance in the legislatures and on the talk radio shows were also settlers. Yet in the 1970s, the Southern media continued to conflate the far North’s land claims debates with the civil rights struggles of the Deep South in the United States. That caused Northern Canadians at least – I can’t speak for Alaskans – to cringe. These are different folks and different issues. On September 19, 1996 representatives of the eight Arctic States met in Canada’s capital to approve the Ottawa Declaration that created the Arctic Council. Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, the Russian Federation, Sweden and the United States, affirming our commitment to the well-being of the inhabitants of the Arctic, including recognition of the special relationship and unique contributions to the Arctic indigenous people and the communities. Unfortunately, when it came time to consider the place of the settler majority in the Arctic Council, the prejudice – perhaps the prejudices of Southern urban elites came into play. Thus, the Arctic Council rejected the Northern Forum.

Terry Fenge may tell us later that the forum’s pitch was ill considered, but the plain fact is an organization representing regional governments in the circumpolar North and the vast majority of Arctic citizens have no status in the Arctic Council. Not even one participant of status similar to Permanent Participants. This is almost certainly a design flaw. The admission of indigenous Permanent Participants to the Arctic Council cheered those of us who had spent years at land claims tables trying to reconcile indigenous and non-indigenous communities. We were puzzled to discover though, that for nation states, including Canada, the Northern Forum’s constituency did not count. The less one holds that Moscow and Ottawa and Washington adequately represent the views of Northern residents, a perspective most Northerners would find laughable, this means there remains an empty chair at the Arctic Council table.

When South Africa became ungovernable in the 1980s, its leaders started to negotiate with the imprisoned Nelson Mandela. They wanted to know his intentions towards the settler minority. “I told them,” Mandela wrote in his autobiography, “that whites were Africans as well and that any future dispensation the majority would need the minority.” According to the 1996 Ottawa Declaration, there’s room for a seventh Permanent Participant, and it could well have been the Northern Forum. RAIPON represents all of Russia’s indigenous people, so why couldn’t the Northern Forum have done the same for the Arctic’s regional governance? Governor Steve Cowper,

the first president of the Northern Forum said, “At the time the Northern Forum was rejected as a participant in the Arctic Council, the forum represented Arctic regional governments for Norway, Sweden, Finland, the Soviet Union, Russia, Canada and the United States plus Northern regional governments that could accurately be described as – from subarctic – from Japan, China and Mongolia. Now, Yakutsk-based Russian organization, the Northern Forum includes Iceland, the Icelandic town of Akureyri, and the Province of Québec as members, but struggles for relevance in much of the Arctic Council.”

Nevertheless, perhaps the Arctic Council should revisit its exclusion. Alaska’s Arctic Policy Commission protests that Washington ignores its issues and that state legislators have no voice in the Arctic Council. Arctic Scholar Heather Exner-Pirot adds, “The Arctic Council has been a triumph in linking national policies and goals with those of Arctic Indigenous peoples represented by Permanent Participants. But it can claim no such success with regional or sub-national governments.” Ladies and gentlemen, the Arctic regions matter, and at a time, they had a seat at the table. Thank you.

Mayo Moran: Thank you so much. What a wonderful introduction to our topic and a few provocative points made, which is wonderful. I’m sure that people will want to weigh in, but before that, we have an opportunity to have a conversation between two wonderful people at the front of the table, and I wanted – I’ve introduced the Honourable Mr. Penikett, but of course, I also wanted to just briefly introduce the Honourable Bill Graham, who is our chancellor here at Trinity College and is a graduate of Trinity College, of the Faculty of Law at the University of Toronto. He was an international lawyer who worked on some really famous cases that made international lawyers excited and then went on to a distinguished career –

Bill Graham: Only international lawyers would be excited by that.

Mayo Moran: I know. It’s true. Barcelona Traction. Wow. And as you would know, a distinguished career in politics and has continued his involvement in a wide array of policy issues through the Bill Graham Centre and many others. And so I think this will be a great opportunity to have a conversation between two very thoughtful people on governance issues. I did write down a number of comments, but governance barometer I thought was a very interesting idea that you put on the table about the Arctic. And so with no further ado, I would like to hand it over and say welcome. And we look forward to the conversation.

Bill Graham: Thank you very much, Mayo, and maybe, we’ll talk for some period of that time and then open it up to questions for the audience as well, who will have perhaps observations as well as questions. But you broke your thing into several sections, and I’d like to kind of follow your format. So if we start with the land claims issues, I told you how it was a moment of great pride for me, to be sitting in the house when we approved the Land Claims and – the Yukon Land Claims – and it was actually my partner, my seatmate, was Elijah Harper, which was kind of interesting as – our conversation during all this was quite interesting, because it got mixed up in Meech Lake and a lot of other things as you can imagine. But our theory was that, by entering into the land claims, the local people then would be drawn into a system whereby they would become participants in and collaborators with the development, rather than resisters and generally trying to stop it because they didn’t see what they were going to get out of it. In the end, would you say that was – did it have that much of a positive result?

[Inaudible]

Tony Penikett: That’s probably correct. But his observation was that it was too soon to tell, and I think that’s

certainly true about the – all of the Northern land claims settlements. But let me say this. I would say that the arc of the political discourse has changed. When I was a young, political activist – which was quite a long time ago – one of the things that I think people in the South didn't realize is that the Yukon government was actually a party to that negotiation. They were a third party. And that itself had been a controversial issue in the sense that the dominant group in the legislature in the 1970s argued that the Yukon government needed to be there, to represent white people. The difference with my group that entered the legislature afterwards, and we were half indigenous, half non-indigenous, was a very different view, which was no, that was wrong headed. The Yukon government needed to be there to represent all people, because settling the treaty was actually good public policy- it was in the public interest. That was a transformative kind of thing in shared thinking. I think there are all sorts of implementation issues now and so forth still around. I was wrong about one thing, though. 20 years after we negotiated those self-government agreements in NWT and Yukon, they still represent the majority of all such agreements in Canada, which means there's been almost no progress whatsoever in South Canada. Right? Now, we can talk about provincial opposition. I made a gamble, as a leader, that if First Nations received self-government quasi-provincial powers, significant transfers of authority, jurisdiction to them, that the federal government could not prolong delay doing the same thing for the majority. It turned out I was dead wrong about that. It took quite a long time to get resource management devolution, and as we learned Meech for the three Northern Territories is probably impossible. Because all they would get is devolution. Therefore, getting devolution rights has become very important. I don't know if it still has the journey to complete. So I was wrong in anticipating that, but I think it is often true from international agreements or treaties of any kind, your expectations of them don't always pan out.

Bill Graham: Well, that's – that's not just true of international treaties. But what about the provinces. In the case of the Yukon Agreement, the Yukon government was there. I get the impression that one of the great impediments of development of the other agreements that are finally coming to fruition here have largely been frustrated over the years, precisely because of the reluctance of the provincial governments to give up the nature of the jurisdiction they have to give up in order to make them effective agreements. Is that a fair sort of assumption, or...?

Tony Penikett: Well, I think Aboriginal rights lawyers would argue it's not a question of giving up provincial jurisdiction, because Aboriginal people are a federal responsibility. Ninety-one –

Bill Graham: Would you find provincial premiers adopting that –

Tony Penikett: Well, we certainly talked about that during the Charlottetown and Meech discussions. But let me make this point. The official position of many provinces was that First Nations could have local government powers. But I know, well, certainly in my time, Elaine Taylor may tell us it's much different now, but in my time, there were almost no villagers in the Yukon that were interested in parking metre bylaws or dog bylaws. What they were interested in was land, water, game management, fishery management and so forth – what we normally call quasi provincial powers. We were quite prepared to concede those in the treaty and because in the Yukon, it was – demographics were different. But also it seemed like a rational decision. It's actually quite hard to do, if you get to the lower mainland, where you were born. You start talking about co-management arrangements with indigenous people who are like a tiny percentage of the population and has a large Asian population who have no understanding of these issues whatsoever. It's a tall order.

Bill Graham: Plus claims are often lying in very important urban areas, which represent –

Tony Penikett: Yeah, yeah. Well, it shows parts of BC where there's no public land left to do treaties. So you have to purchase private land and that's still a very expensive business. But so admit, in some sense, it was easier in the North, but I think there hasn't – my point about innovation in the North, we invented a lot of ways around a lot of problems. I don't think the same effort or the same political will has been demonstrated in Southern Canada.

Bill Graham: If we go through internationally, for a moment, looking around, would you have in your experience looked at what other jurisdictions in the circumpolar North were doing? I mean, I think we – you said that – is it the Finnmark Agreement in Finland as sort of reflective –

Tony Penikett: In Norway.

Bill Graham: In Norway, rather, is to some extent reflective of the principles that were in the Yukon Agreement?

Tony Penikett: In the '70s, when the Alaskan land claims are settled, Greenland was also doing home rule and we were starting, because of a Supreme Court decision, the *Calder v. The Attorney General of British Columbia* case, starting to do land claims negotiations with Canada. Trudeau having in the White Papers said we should do away with these treaties and Aboriginal rights and stuff changed his mind and sent negotiators back to Northern Québec, NWT and the Yukon, BC. I think we didn't have many models. Certainly, there were no models for the self-government agreements we were doing. There were only the American and Canadian treaties from the 19th century, for the most part. Alaska became the big model for us, both in the scale of the settlement, not on governance but on land and resources. But not on the corporation side. No. That was rejected very quickly by the indigenous people in Canada. But I think when the Finnmark Act was done, for example, the Norwegian Parliament Justice Committee, I think it was, came to British Columbia. I actually meet with them along their visit to the Yukon territory to observe the self-government there and were actually very interested in those mechanisms. And I think they took a fairly close look at the Canadian law. I know that the Norwegian courts – and particularly, the Supreme Court, follow Canada's regular rulings on indigenous rights issues. So there's a lot of kind of information exchange- going on of that kind. But of course, the Scandinavian – Nordic countries, and even more so, Russia have very different legal environments than we do. They don't have the foundation of English law and so forth.

Bill Graham: I was amazed when I went to Yukon and went to the community college, and the degree to which talking to people there, there was a kind of interconnectedness through the internet and others of what the Sámi people were doing, what other people were doing in the North. I mean, there was a dialogue of people in the North that totally disrespected or disregarded the normal Canadian North-South dialogue. It was a dialogue really of Northerners to one another that was quite interesting –

Tony Penikett: Well, it was mentioned yesterday that David Stone and another bureaucrat was at a bar one night and invented the University of the Arctic, but the University of the Arctic which the Canadian government no longer funds, sadly, is really not a university, but it's a network of universities – 130 or so. But there's an astonishing number of Northern Canadians who are taking courses through it. It also has these research networks, which involve universities in Russia and everywhere else, which are fascinating. And there's quite an incredible number of Canadians now doing graduate degrees in places like the University of Lapland and other places, something that university encourages, which I wish we would do more.

Bill Graham: If we look at the international dimension of this and you talk about the Arctic Council and Forum, Barents agreement of course would be peripheral to where we are – those international regional – well, the

Northern Forum was specifically designed to bring in regional governments, sub-national governments to their linkages. How much of your time as premier would you have devoted to the international sorts of issues?

Tony Penikett: Steve Cowper and I talked about this last night. I mean, the Northern Forum was invented in pretty well my last year in office. And so it came near the end of my term and not long before you decided – the public, people in Alaska decided 1991. He ran for you. But anyway, so I didn't have a lot of time with that, but let me – I once was challenged at the Foreign Affairs Committee – the old parliamentary committee because it was discovered that, apart from agreements with Ottawa, the Yukon government and Alaska government had more inter-governmental agreements with each other than we did with any Canadian province. Except we were asked this rude question – did you get permission from Ottawa and Washington to do these things? And he and I agreed that it never occurred to us to ask.

Bill Graham: That's very comforting from a foreign – international – from the former foreigner minister's perspective. But it goes both ways. Please do me a favour and don't – oh, there is a representative of the Québec government here. So it's just like, you didn't hear that. We don't want Québec to be perpetually asking. I know. Don't tell, either.

Tony Penikett: Let me tell you the other side of that story though. There's lots of grumpiness in the North about the fact that many of the Northern treaties have international chapters.

Bill Graham: Right.

Tony Penikett: And they're not very complicated. They say things like that if the Canadian government is negotiating about polar bears, it must include Inuit in the delegation. If they're negotiating about caribou or salmon, they must include Dene in the delegation. Those provisions haven't always been kept and sometimes there are people in the North who – assume malicious intent on the part of the federal government. But I think the Inuit leader Udloriak Hanson is correct, saying, no, the truth is simply that the lawyers in the old department haven't yet got around to reading those 20-year-old treaties.

Bill Graham: Yes, well, you have to be careful what you read when you're in international affairs and what you don't read. But you did make the point this morning – you felt the Arctic Council itself was not as broadly representative as it should be. I didn't quite understand – you seem to draw the fact that the Northern Forum should be there, and that this would then deal with the representative issue of what you referred to the non-indigenous or settler representation. From a mechanical point of view, I don't quite see –

Tony Penikett: Okay. I think we can get to longer discussions about this later today, but the fact is, for people like me, the admission of indigenous people, indigenous people into national organizations as permanent participants is a wonderful thing. But to have provided no place, similar place, even one seat in the Northern Forum, representative of regional governments was I think a design flaw in the Arctic Council, one that I think in theory can still be fixed. But the Arctic Council, as you know recently has been going off in different directions – the economic council have a different kind of agenda. But I think there was a time – Steve Cowper and Terry Fenge might talk about this in different perspectives – perhaps the wrong kind of pictures made to the Arctic Council? I don't know. But there should have been in a Mandela sense more generosity about admitting that voice into the proceedings, because they're not there now.

Bill Graham: I understand that. When I taught international law, I used to emphasize the unique nature of

the Arctic Council as having non-state actors actually at the table, limited but still present. I can see that, and Canada's been flexible in the Francophonie and other places for having Québec as a representative, and so you could see there's a nervousness about states. And I remember talking to the Brazilian president one time and he said, oh my God, if we had all those states represented at all these meetings, we'd go crazy. And so there's a bit of an overload of voices that would be difficult to manage. But the Northern Forum would be representative of all of those sub-national governments and would rotate its sort representative –

Tony Penikett: However they decided to do it. But the point, there was a bit of a complication because when in 1991, when it was being formed, the Nordic governments were largely represented. The regional governors were appointed people, as our commissioners used to be in the territories. But as was said last night, in the discussion around Dr. Stone's paper, a lot of the innovation on climate change and Aboriginal policy has actually come from regional governments in the North, and they have something worth saying that should be heard.

Bill Graham: Right. Just on the Arctic Council – I mean, we were kind of pleased that the Arctic Council got around to enact a treaty for search and rescue with Russia and the United States. Was that a significant matter in the North? I mean, when I was defence minister, that was a big issue. I went to Russia and I talked to the Russian minister. We had arguments about jurisdiction and things like that.

Tony Penikett: Turning it from a policy shaking to a policy making body, you know? And they've been going in some new direction recently, which are maiden.

Bill Graham: Yes. Well, we'll have a chance to debate that amongst everybody else. So I think, moderator, if this would be an appropriate time, we can perhaps open it up for questions.

Mayo Moran: Absolutely. Thank you very much. I'm sure there will be interest in having an opportunity to ask some questions, so I will keep track, and I believe we have about half an hour. So we'll begin with you. Thank you.

Terry Fenge: Tony has put me on the spot a couple of times, so I do need to respond. It is not self-evident to me and relates to what the council will automatically welcome representatives of several governments until and unless they have secure land rights and self-government rights. I think that's an important consideration. May I tell you a very quick story about the Northern Forum? When the United States was chairing the Arctic Council from 1998 to 2000, we had a meeting in the large boardroom at the State Department in Washington, D.C. and there was a high powered delegation from the Northern Forum, which included the governor of Sakha and included senior representatives of Alaska. And I remember this very well, because there were representatives of the states and representatives of the Arctic indigenous peoples sitting in the main floor of the boardroom. And the Northern Forum delegates were on a podium. And what the Northern Forum delegates did in a very clumsy and challenging way, were to say that they were more legitimate in terms of the interests of the North than the people who were actually meeting. This was interpreted at the time by the Arctic indigenous people as an unwarranted challenge and attack on their legitimacy. This was most unfortunate, but I would suggest to you that that little episode, to use a cricket metaphor, cleared the pitch in terms of there being a productive debate between the indigenous peoples and settler governments that could have resulted in – to mutual benefit and better representation in the council. So while Tony, you ended your remarks with a plea and a pitch for a new seat at the table, there was still a lot of work to do before that – those interests will be welcomed in, I think.

Mayo Moran: Thank you.

Bill Graham: I'm sorry, but could I just interrupt to ask how many members of the Northern Forum are there now? I mean, for those of us who assume nothing on the Arctic. Nobody knows. Well, this is a mystery then. Well, that might add another reason why it's difficult to get them in.

Audience: I would call it, it waxes and wanes.

Bill Graham: Yeah, I appreciate its waxing and waning, but I understand its waning at the moment, as opposed to waxing, yes.

Tony Penikett: Ask Governor Cowper how many there were when he was – when he was president, though.

Steve Cowper: Yeah. I don't know what or how many nominal members, because the original members who were governments, including Northern Norway from Norway, Sweden, Finland, the Soviet Union at that time. And of course Alaska and Yukon then were – now, remember this is Northern governments, not Arctic governments. There were people from Heilongjiang province, which is a province in China and Hokkaido, whose governor had actually been one of the people that started up the whole idea. And Mongolia. I mean, if you don't think Mongolia has anything to do with Northern matters, go to Ulaanbaatar in February. But there is a big difference between the relationships between indigenous people and the regional governments themselves.

Everywhere you go is different. And in Alaska, it's probably fair to say that indigenous people are representative – well, they're probably the strongest single groups, if you call them – but I wouldn't call them interest groups. But they are very strong, both economically and politically, and they do exercise that power – and for the good, I would argue. Not that way, because it has its own unique history there in Alaska. I mean, you want to write a Land Claims Act in a hurry, have somebody discover the largest oil field in the history of North America, and you need to put a pipeline for 800 miles right down the middle of the pike. And Native people say, I believe that's our land you're talking about. That will get these people's attention and it did. And that is why the whole thing got settled, and it was a billion dollars – in 1971 dollars, mind you – and also that was to fund up the Native corporations, which are very, very successful, now – and 44 million acres of land. A lot of land, a lot of money. There are 12 Alaska regional corporations, if I'm not mistaken. Two of them over three billion USD – I believe five over two billion USD and the rest of them are getting up there. And there's another piece of this. And that is, when the Alaska Natives first began to administer their own corporations, as defined by the United States Congress, the people who were president of those organizations elected one vote – one share, one vote because that was the rule. There were people who were technicians, who were politicians at the time, many politicians, and now fast-forward two generations. This is just an example. The president of the Doyon Limited, who are the Dene, basically – Tony's folks. And their president, Aaron Schutt has an engineering degree from Washington State, a master's of Business Administration from Harvard and a law degree from Stanford. And it was not a quota thing. His twin brother, for all intents and purposes, runs Ciri which is one of the largest corporations up there and most successful. These are people who are working all over the globe, not just in the United States, when the British Navy landed in Umkasar, which is a port in Iraq, the people who did the dredging so that the ships could get in – that was an Alaskan Native corporation. That will tell you something.

Mayo Moran: Thank you. Thank you very much. I see there's another comment over here?

Audience: I just wanted to – I've been following some of the Arctic – or the Northern Forum in relationship with the Arctic Council in its current stage, and I mean, there's a lot of questions. There's been the waxing and

waning of its interest in it. There's been a revitalization of that or efforts to revitalize it more recently. But, I mean, I think it's important to look at what is the role of regional governments more generally and speak to what are the mechanisms by which that can happen, that there can be a different conversation and maybe getting stuck on the idea that it should have been another seat at the table with the PPs may not be the best way to achieve that, because you get into the politics of what is a PP and how that role is perceived? But I think one of the questions that I've always been struck by is how Northern Forum sort of sprung to life out of a recognized need and ultimately has not survived, and yet, that need still exists. And I'm curious on your thoughts, Tony, on why there hasn't been a mechanism that's established a more sustainable kind of concrete role for regional governments, who do have those common interests and needs.

Tony Penikett: I apologize. I should have reflected more on that question. But the Northern Forum at one time had Alberta as a member. I think it may have had British Columbia, too. I think it had Québec as a member. And it had NWT, the Yukon, NWT, Yellowknife, so it was a pretty significant organization. Now I remember the founding meeting in Anchorage. There was a huge delegation there. I mean, the Russian presence was enormous. Now, the government of Alaska was –

Steve Cowper: ...Gorbachev opening of the Soviet Union took place and over a period of time, people kind of went on to other things, really. It was a period of time that was very productive, as far as Alaskan and Russian relationships were concerned. It kind of went south when the ruble collapsed in 1998. But organizations lasted. They're still there, I think, but it's not the same as it was.

Tony Penikett: Well, I met the president sometime recently. He told me they paid off the debts left over from the predecessor organization they were trying to reorganize. But I do think it has utility, still. Not least for some of the things we were talking about last night, that there is incredible innovation, climate change and a bunch of other things, which they – which those regional governments could participate I think effectively and well in, in Arctic policy debates.

Bill Graham: And another organization that I used to hear about but never participated in was there was an Arctic Parliamentarians Association. And is that in any way an effective way of getting voices –

Tony Penikett: I hope so, or I don't know apart from having some lovely lunches in Oslo and New York and I don't actually – I've never been to a meeting

Bill Graham: The Federal Parliamentarians, and they probably were not government administrators, but it's not associated with the Arctic Council. They are, but it's like the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly that's associated with the OSCE. There's the IPU, the UN. I mean, is it part of an affiliation, or is it just a group of people that got together?

Audience: They make statements that are then sent to the Chair, whoever the Minister Chair is at the time. They take positions on issues, and they'll also sort of work the backroom discussions. But I mean, they have no authority with which to make –

Bill Graham: No, no, but the parliamentarians themselves come from member states of the Arctic Council. You don't have Chinese or –

Audience: And the permanent participants, they're represented there as well.

Mayo Moran: I think we have time for one more question, and I see one over here.

Tom Axworthy: One of the debate or the points that Tony has raised and which we've been talking about is a particular privileged status, potentially, for the Northern Forum. In the early architecture of the Arctic Council, a second option that we'll be discussing over the day perhaps the various forms of consultation and whether they're formalized for regional governments and states, in terms of making up delegations and policies of the national government. But the third point is simply in the voice. The Arctic Council has a host of observers, and the observer status has been extended and, to include – Poland is an observer, Singapore and so on. I think the UNEP is an observer. I think the Nordic Council Administrators is an observer. That is, there are intergovernmental bodies or associations, who at least have observer status, and that allows some at least observation and possible participation in working groups and so on. It's eminently practical, at a minimum, it would seem to me, that the Northern Forum could be invited to be an observer and once having that status, the – *[Audience member remarks that the Forum is a member]* Oh, is it? But I was going to say, but I've – has it ever had any real participation through that status?

So but one means of revitalizing to Tony's point that Terry Fenge debated, about having a special status within the Arctic Council. One way to make the Northern Forum more effective would be perhaps to use the observer status to have it much more active on the things that observers can do. So that at least it can have some activities that allow that regional voice to be expressed in that avenue, as well as the consultation techniques that we're going to be talking about today.

Tony Penikett: I'd like to comment on that, very briefly. One of the other problems with the PPs, which Tom and I have had a chance to talk about with some colleagues in the Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation is the problem that some of the permanent participants are not well funded, either in terms of research dollars or travel. Now, this is a former Northern politician. My logical solution to that problem would be to say if the PPs have legitimacy, and the regional governments, including the territorial governments have money, the sensible thing for me would be to create project partnerships between territorial governments and permanent participants on projects. So that they could actually plug into the working groups in a way some of the – well, the Yukon government in my day – and I'm sure it still has – had an excellent stats branch that does pretty good research coming out of those places, that the permanent participants working with the territorial governments on projects – I'm not saying everything – on particular projects could really add value, and given that there seems to be some resistance to the admission of someone like the Northern Forum, there might be opportunities to create these project partnerships, which will enable the PPs and their Northern partners from the regional governments to contribute more than they are now.

Mayo Moran: That's great. Thank you very much. Any last questions?

Jessica Shadian: I think one issue that would seem to complicate the situation in terms of like sub-national and sub-regional areas participating in that way is the Arctic Council makes it very clear that an issue coming to the Arctic table, needs to be something that's region-wide, something that's of an interest to all our states. I like this idea of what you're saying, PPs kind of collaborating with some of these regional governments, but then will the issue become too particular? So you can do this maybe through the working groups and you can get going, but maybe it's an issue that's more particular to one particular region and not necessarily of interest to the entire Arctic Council. And so, you kind of get into this messy –

Tony Penikett: Well, let me just use an example, because –

Jessica Shadian: Climate change would be like one that's obviously –

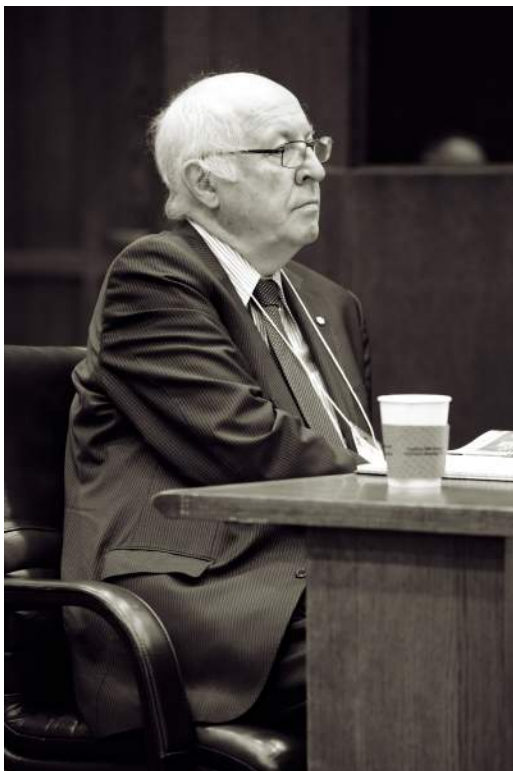
Tony Penikett: Let me use one that does not cover all eight Arctic states, but we've been working recently on this question of indigenous language survival. The Inuit, in the four countries in which they live, their project has moved a long ways, talking about standardized writing and dictionaries and things. For the Dene languages, which have many small populations, there are many – 20 dialects in Alaskan, seven in the Yukon, nine in the Northwest Territories. Many of them, very small communities. They're at a very different stage of development, but by plugging into the – which was Tom's idea, of the social development working group, through the PPs, there are things to do. But I would argue that's an issue, even though the Dene languages only matter to two countries, Canada and the United States, that's an issue the Arctic Council ought to be concerned about.

Mayo Moran: Well, thank you. Thank you very much for a wonderful, lively opening session.

Watch the conversation: <http://hosting2.desire2learncapture.com/MUNK/1/Watch/764.aspx>



Opening Session with Bill Graham, Tony Penikett, and Mayo Moran



John English



Hon. Tony Penikett



Hon. Bill Graham



Stephen Toope



Opening Remarks



Provost Mayo Moran

Session I

The Role of Regional Governments in International Affairs

10:45AM – 12:15PM

Elizabeth Riddell-Dixon: Welcome to our panel on the role of Regional Governments and International Affairs. As it's already been said, the topic is very timely and certainly very important. Foreign policy agendas have been expanding in recent decades to include issues like climate change. And as David told us yesterday, climate change is not actually a new issue, but it's a fairly new issue on the international agenda. And at the same time, we've seen regional governments having more and more responsibilities often through a process of devolution which was discussed already today. So, we have the pull of more issues on the international agenda and the push from the increased responsibilities at the regional level which is propelling regional government more and more— into international affairs. They participate not just in policy development at home, but also abroad. And furthermore, a lot of the rules and regulations that are coming out of multilateral and international bodies require implementation at the sub-national level.

So the relationship between federal governments and regional governments is increasingly complex and it certainly changed very dramatically in recent years. Now, I'm delighted to be able to introduce a panel of eminent experts on the subject to illuminate what is a very complex topic. We will begin with Steve Cowper who is former Governor of Alaska, and then proceed with Éric Thérout who is the Assistant Deputy Minister for Policy, Francophone and Multilateral Affairs for Québec, and then close with Ernst Olsen, who is a former Adviser in the Foreign Service for the Faroe Islands. In terms of format, each of our presenters will have about 10 minutes. And then we'll have about 20 minutes where they can converse with each other picking up points that they've raised in their presentations and then ultimately we'll open it up for questions from the floor. So, Steve, may I ask you to lead off?

Steve Cowper: Yes. First, sometimes people ask me as an Alaskan: How do you people get along with the national government 3,000 and some odd miles away on a different ocean front? And I usually give them a look and saying that it's a little like what was in the play, "Fiddler on the Roof" where the Rabbi of Tzeitel is asked to give a prayer for Tsar and he says, "Thanks for admitting." And she says, "May God bless and keep Tsar far, far away." Basically, look this is all about turf in it. I mean, people look at a map of the Arctic or they used to, now they got more printing on them than they did, but what they saw is terra incognita. There is a big blank space. We own that. People that never even been there got no idea of it.

Now we are talking about an organization that in terms of the Arctic Council that is supposed to address issues that arise in the Arctic. And they don't have any jurisdiction – that's a big problem. Now, the Arctic Council can think of itself as a forum in the Roman sense. That is, you get together and you talk about things and that's more or less the end of it. Maybe somebody goes out and does something. But in the meantime, you've got people who run nations that are members of the Arctic Council who will probably not see any jurisdiction through the Council at all. And so, the question is: What exactly is the Council going to do? Let me see if you can imagine even for a moment. The Arctic Council is saying that Russia cannot extend its jurisdiction as far as the Lomonosov Ridge. How much attention do you supposed that's going to get?

So, the question for regional governments which is what we're addressing here today is how is that is not going

to get done from an international point of view that is a larger venue than the country that you represent. How are you going to affect decisions that are made by other countries, whose decisions are going to affect your tough environmental questions? Somebody wants to do something over in their sector, but it floats right over in years. Well, you are probably going to have to do something about it outside from the Arctic Council. But we are really reaching a point here where the Arctic is regarded as the commons. A fine way to look at it, but it's not the commons. It's not. There is a natural tension between the people who actually live in the Arctic and the national governments who ultimately control the Arctic – the people who are from Alaska, the Sakha Republic, Nunavut and places like that. OK, how are you doing? How are you going to search yourself exactly? Let me go directly to the main event, OK? And the main event is I'm guessing is climate change.

If we could do something about climate change, we'd all rush out and do it. The question is how exactly are we going to get that done? Coming from the United States is a little bit embarrassing, because we got 50% of the people in the country that doesn't think there's any such thing as climate change. They should go to Alaska as the President did. A lot of it is going on there; houses in my town and Fairbanks is breaking in half because the permafrost is going away. The ice isn't there anymore. Better be glad you're not a polar bear or a walrus or a muskox, because all of those species are at risk. How exactly are you going to, as people of good will, assert yourselves in a governmental format? I was in Beijing about three weeks ago in an organization called the Northeast Asia Economic Forum that I've attended for about 17 years. And it's mostly a gathering of senior citizens from six nations there. There are former government ministers from Korea, Japan, China, Mongolia, Russian Far East and believe it or not, North Korea.

And North Koreans, you never know when they're going to come, but you always remember it when they do. And so, the thing that strike me three weeks ago when I was going to these meetings and they usually focus on energy. The Chinese representative was a guy who was the number two person on the standing committee until last year. So this is not a fellow that came in from the sticks, this is a person that actually ran China for several years. And he says, "Look, we just signed them. Blame it with your President which, of course, isn't new. And we're going to meet certain goals in the next, what, 20 years or whatever it is." And the thing that strikes me about Chinese government for when I was visiting for all intents and purposes even though he was retired, he was speaking for the Chinese government. And the thing that I noticed was that when the Chinese government tells you something that we're going to do X and we're going to do it by November 9th and sure enough, on November 9th it happens. I thought, how would we do that in the United States exactly? I mean, we've reached a point where no matter who is talking and saying, "We're going to do this right now and bang on the desk, you know, and wave their arms." Nothing ever happens, nothing. But the Chinese mean business. They're going to see that it's done. And it may be in a big sense, a small thing, but this will get done. And where I'm going with this is that even though the people– it's a first step for the two main offenders, right? And it's not a giant treaty that 600 countries sign in that. China and United States equals more emissions than anybody else. And so, they are coming to an agreement at least it means something will be done in China.

Let me tell you about a little something about the energy business. There's a lot more going on from private parties governments lower than the national governments and other organizations let's say at the time, it's not welcomed by China. One thing to think about is that the energy business is run by scientists. Scientists – if they look at the climate change problem for example – scientists know that it's true whether they're allowed to say that it's true or not depends on the county. So, I'm a lot more cheerful about the prospects in mostly, anyway.

Éric Thérroux: Thanks to the organizers first of all for having invited a representative from the Québec government. And I'm very pleased to present to you our view on the role of regional governments and

international affairs. The purpose of my intervention is mainly to develop two aspects of the role of Québec in the international affairs. First point is that Québec is an international actor and has international practices, and the second point is Québec has a northern and Arctic sub-national state actor. First point, Québec has been an international actor. So, what about our international practice? Basically, we have been an effective international actor since the 1960s. In a nutshell, in the Québec government, we have a Ministry of International Relations. It means 486 employees, 25 representations abroad in 14 countries. We have signed over the years more than 700 international instruments regardless of the qualification of treaties. What we care about is the effectiveness of our international engagement. And we have 374 such understandings or international instruments that are still into force. Why be so active you may ask? Basically, by a reason of necessity and to promote our own interest. So, basically, just like any others state or nation, we have international relations for prosperity, identity and solidarity reasons. Just think about it in terms of prosperity when the Canadian government and the United States are promoting Keystone XL. We are looking for the promotion of hydroelectricity. We must care for our own interest in those regards in regards to identity issues obviously. Being a Francophone society, we do care about our international representation and our survival. And solidarity is also an issue important for us.

The second reason because of why we are so active is basically a construction of rationale. Historically, we have a labour case of 1937 which basically says the implementation of treaties in the Canadian constitutional order is divided between provincial and federal jurisdiction. So if for example, Canada signs an agreement on education, Canada can sign it but the implementation of this treaty should be done at provincial level because education is a provincial jurisdiction. So, being able and having the sole responsibility for implementation of provincial jurisdiction matters, and we consider that. We should and we can be involved in the negotiations of our own international instruments. Let me give five examples of kind of international involvement. The first is La Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie of which Québec is a full member. The international structure of La Francophonie was created to give a place to Québec as a member just like Canada is a member too. Second example, we signed in 2008 an agreement with France on mutual recognition of professionals. It was a way to make sure that if you are a physician or an engineer in France and having received your degree in France and your right practice in France, you could be qualified and have your credentials recognized in Québec and vice versa. And although even in France, this law is not a treaty, it's an effective international instrument. And since then, more than 2,000 permits were delivered on both sides. So it's 1,700 from France to Québec and in the 300s from Québec to France. A third example is the Canada-Québec agreement on UNESCO. It's also another world premier which Québec has a governmental representative inside the Canadian delegation. So it's a unique case even for the practice of United Nations. There is no such equivalence in the UN system. The fourth example is the common carbon market between Québec and California on which Ontario will and most certainly will join. So it's another international forum between two federated states. We establish a common market. And it's also about climate change. My fifth example is in regards to UN Framework Convention on Climate Change. Québec is very much involved and is a leader in many networks such as the Alliance of the Climate Group of the Alliance of Federated States, NRG4SD, et cetera. And what we are aiming for is basically a convention or something like a convention by decision. But we also want to make sure that the next step in the international law we will have and will get a legal recognition of the role of sub-national entities. And also a recognition of the effects and measures taken by federated state in the national contribution. Nationally, there is some division of responsibility in sectors such as transportation, energy, industry. But there are a lot of sectors that we are responsible for. And obviously Québec will be in Paris for the COP21. And in this regard two days ago, the Québec government announced that our target for 2030 will be minus 37.5% of our GHG emissions. That in the very short summary is our international activity.

In regard to Northern and Arctic issues as a state actor, the first point we have to make is that Québec is by its

geography and social reality an Arctic state. We have launched the Plan Nord initiative for the next 20 years. This covers the entire region north of the 49th Parallel which represents 1.2 square kilometres. This is 72% of our territory. And it's an economic environmental and social sustainable development program for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities. That's why we must be involved also in those Arctic issues. We want to be part of the international network and discussion on this issue because even though in comparison to our other international activities the North is not a big focus we're still a Northern province. We were involved as a member of the Northern Forum but withdrew. We are interested in the Arctic Council work and its work in the Working Groups, but we have tried to get involved and get into relations with the federal government and have clearly gotten no answer. And we must try again and find a way to get involved in these issues. And I surely agree with your conclusion that some provincial states must have a way to participate in the work of Arctic Council. In searching for a new ways to participate, we have gotten involved in the Arctic Circle and the premier of Québec participated last year. And he will participate in this year's edition as well where there will be a special emphasis on climate change. We're also very keen on our new co-operation within Arctic Council of Ministers. We signed a declaration and we held together last February an international symposium on Arctic issues with more than or around 800 participants in Québec City. Put simply, my conclusion is that I think that the world will be better off through the involvement of regional in international affairs to be sure to tackle adequately the challenges that national governments faces. Thank you.

Ernst Olsen: Thanks very much. I'd like to take this opportunity to in a way present Faroe Islands to you a little. It's a very small place in the world today, and I realized that or I've been told that it's quite unknown. So I'll try to make amends for that and tell a bit about who we are and what we are. The Faroe Islands is very small; so small that indeed you cannot even see us between Iceland and Scotland. There is a story that when the Vikings left the shores of Norway to avoid taxes, they all went searching for Iceland and on route, they had to get rid of those Vikings who are seasick to continue and they dropped them off in the Faroe Islands. Well this, of course, is not the true story. As a matter of fact, the aim was always to find the Faroe Islands. So only the very best navigators were able to find and navigate straight to the actual goal and the rest just drifted by, happening to run into Iceland and Greenland and so on. It's actually confirmed by the fact that the Faroese parliament Løgting was founded several years before the Iceland Althingi.

The Faroe Islands' land mass is 1,400 square kilometres but looking around we find something like 274,000 square kilometres. And to the circle up north, that's a recent addition. It represented entitlements to the outer continental shelf that represents some 88,000 square kilometres. We like to view this as the "Blue Fields" of the Faroes obviously corresponding to the Green Fields that is like the Great Plains for the south and so on. But this is where we do our harvesting. Looking back we can trace our roots back to perhaps the 5th century. These are quite recent developments in discoveries where Celts have found their ways to the Faroes. Probably looking for the peace and quite rather interrupted by the arrival of the Vikings, I'm sure. Going back to what I mentioned earlier about our own government. It was independent to the extent it was possible back in those days. Then, it went under the King of Norway before it was transferred to the Danish Crown, where it has been more or less ever since. In 1948, there was a vote in which we actually voted to become independent, but this was overturned by the Danish Government. But the result that came out of it was a self-governing system. So, we are indeed autonomous on most issues. We have our own parliament and so on. And perhaps in international relations, it's interesting to note that in 1973 when Denmark joined the European Common Market, this was put to vote in the Faroe Islands as well and we decided quite clearly not to be a part of it.

This is a picture of Tórshavn the capital. The building in the front is the Prime Minister's Office and it's placed

right at the ancient thing place where the ancient chiefs would assemble. There are obviously strong historical and continual links with Denmark. We are Danish citizens as it were. And in principle, Denmark is responsible for Faroese foreign policy. But of course interests can differ. Our parliament consists of 33 members. We had an election just on the first of September so these are quite new developments. We had eight years of a right wing government which has shifted now to a social democratic prime minister. So we're probably in for a few changes. We also elected two representatives to represent the Faroe Islands in the Danish parliament. And we do have exclusive competence for most affairs, but we aren't responsible for international trade and international agreements. Economy-wise, we are sort of in the middle of Scandinavian standards with 30,000 US dollars per capita. The economy does receive subsidies from the Danish Kingdom in the amount of 95 million US dollars which represents some 6% of our total economy. The new government has in place just now has pledged to reduce these subsidies from Denmark and aims to bring it down to zero so that we'll be able to sustain ourselves. Exports of fish and fish products represent a large proportion of the Faroe Islands' GDP; in fact over 91%.

Over the past 10 years, aqua-farming, especially of Atlantic salmon, has increased and it now represents a staggering 35% of our exports. A summation to earlier interests can conflict with Denmark. For example, let's say that Denmark introduces an Arctic strategy which is supposed to include the whole kingdom. It turned out rather differently for the Faroese being small and not in the high Arctic, not quite where international focus was placed. Then if you go through the strategy, the Faroe Islands were hardly mentioned. As a consequence, we did formulate our own strategic assessment, that's what we call it, where we outline priorities and opportunities and challenges regarding the issue of the Arctic. We place a special emphasis on the role of the Faroese and Arctic co-operation, the Northern Sea Route and the new economic opportunities it might provide, fisheries in Arctic, research and education, environment, and maritime safety and emergency response.

Regarding international relations, I'll just mention a few items briefly here. We do have diplomatic representation in Denmark, Iceland, UK, EU, and most recently in Russia as well. We have been a member of the Nordic Council for quite a long time since the late '60s I believe. Our delegation actually takes two members from the Danish delegation. So that's a practical way of solving our representation but our politicians participate on a similar level as the rest of the Council. And for the ministers, we also have Faroese ministers working with Nordic Council ministers, except for the forum of the prime ministers and the foreign ministers where we'll find ourselves rather limited. The Nordic Council is a parliamentary organization of Faroe-Iceland agreement. That's where we are full members. NAMMCO is a scientific organization of the Norway and Faroe Islands agreement, and we are also independent members of NAMMCO. I'd like to say that Canada joining as well. We have presence on different levels sometimes with the delegation of Denmark. We are actively seeking to develop trade relations. Most recently, this is a picture from signing an agreement at Turkey last year. On the Faroese, we obviously try to see what kind of identity we would like to see ourselves in North or South. But there are reasons why we consider to be part of the Arctic co-operation.

Finally, I would like to mention that there has been quite a debate between the Faroese public on international co-operation. Initially it was highly controversial. We have never had icebergs in our shores. But just over the past five years, it has really changed quite a lot. We like who we are, but we also like to co-operate with the rest and develop. Thank you.

Elizabeth Riddell-Dixon: Thank you to all three of our excellent speakers. They have given us a good overview of some of the pull and push factors that are rapping regional governments into international affairs. They have talked a bit about the challenges of getting regional concerns on the national agendas, let alone international agendas and given us some examples of efforts to participate more in multilateral venues pertaining

to the Arctic. So this is the opportunity for you to discuss among yourselves. I for one would be really interested in hearing more about your experience and what are some of factors that enable you exert influence and what are some of the factors that impede influence. I think the one that's been mentioned so far is a lack of receptivity on the part of the national governments. Whoever would like to start? Steve?

Steve Cowper: Aside from the Northern Forum which was an early stage entry into this particular political fray here. Many people in the regional governments have participated meaningfully in the Northern Forum and that would include quite a better of Russia by the way, which includes the entire Russian Far East, Yakutsk and more. They're going to send somebody to this organization who are going to make the rules for us and they didn't bother to ask us what we wanted. And when you get right down to it, it's not really about making agreements. It's about doing stuff between regional governments. Let me give you an example.

About maybe 20 years ago, Yakutsk had a new airport they wanted to build. And they won't get much help in design and planning from Moscow; in fact, quite the contrary. And so because of the curious nature of the Sakha Republic, it's different from Krai and Oblast and the other things they got there, they were able to go to a company called Clark Builders in Yellowknife. And say, "Look guys, we've heard a lot about you. We think you can plan our airport and the terminal particularly." And they did. And the Northern Forum came in when there were some problems. You always have problems with projects of that size. In any event and let alone the difference between the commercial culture of the then Soviet Union and the Northwest Territory. I mean I was in the mainland as you agree on something. And then the federal border guards of the Soviet Union, they wouldn't let the material comes through. It wasn't that Sakha Republic and Yakutsk had a problem; it was that Soviet Union had a problem. Well, in any event over time, because of the fairly strong relationships that that members of the Northern Forum including Alaska, might have with Moscow, we made it work. Clark Builders built a new terminal in Yakutsk. It was well designed. It's a nice looking building. It functions the way it should. And I don't know how many people I could offend all in one day, but it was a lot better than they would have gotten from the Soviet Union, and so it's that the kind of thing that we were trying to do. The Finns had an environment testing regime that they wanted to extend to other jurisdictions. And several in the Russian jurisdiction said, "Yeah, this is information that we want to know." I think this was the issue of POPs. And we found that regional governments were working together and once again nobody called Moscow. Nobody called Washington because we didn't want to talk to anybody that would say no. So we just did it. And in the end, those personal relationships count for a lot with that kind of thing. We were able to get a fair amount done just based on personal friendships and contacts that one of us would have in the other wouldn't. And so there's more to this than just participating in the Arctic Council.

Éric Thérault: In terms of which factors can influence sub-national governments with regards to Arctic issues, let's say speaking from a Québec perspective, being or covering as well southern issues where the majority population is. I would say that historically, the main factor and/or internal factor is the political will. The territory of Plan Nord, although it covers 72% of the territory, is only 120,000 people in comparison to 8 million inhabitants in Québec. So, obviously in terms of political implication, you should get politicians involved. And politicians and also the administration of the government itself interested in the matter. There is an internal aspect but there is also an intergovernmental aspect of it too. If we are looking historically in relation to the Arctic Council, obviously having Québec involved means something to the federal government's relationship with the territories. And the territories are not so keen to have provinces involved because they expect that provinces will push to have too much weight on the issues and the relations. So, we must develop a better relationship not only with the federal government but with the territories themselves. We don't want to replace territories. We understand that they are at the first level of concern. The third point is that the interest of

governments historically, in regards to northern issues, was really related to the value of national resources and minerals. It's a fact. But fighting from a resource issue, obviously we've put a lot of interest on those issues. But, having now the climate change issue, it's a permanent issue and not just a national issue that can be resolved nationally. It's a global issue and we need to tackle it globally. So, it needs a permanent involvement in this regard and that is a factor that will get sub-national governments involved.

Ernst Olsen: Thank you. Well, National Affairs is focusing on the North which includes the Faroe Islands, and we just have to deal with it. It's not always easy with the nation of 49,000 people, and just try to imagine how an administration is formed and functions while setting aside resources for various issues. This is a very serious problem which occurs on a daily basis because civil servants have many areas to cover, whereas we can only envy our neighbouring countries that can devote a career on just a little piece of what another person is doing back home. So, size is a problem or a challenge at least. There's a capacity constraint on the resources that we have but perhaps also the sense of humility that we sort of think that it may not make so much of a difference anyways, which I don't quite agree with. On the micro situation, around the Faroe Islands just a few years back, we were banned from European Norwegian ports, and even Danish ports, which is quite a contradiction in terms because we were all part of the same kingdom. They're a member of European Union but we couldn't land our fish there. We couldn't have our products running through their countries. So, against this immense power; it's a good story to tell today that we saw results that instead of going all the way through the international core systems, the Union actually backed off and we made a new agreement. Our neighbours are not very happy about this today but this is how business is done obviously. And it goes to show that if you focus right, if you invest in building capacities, these are opportunities for Norwegians to find their way into the future and build bridges internationally across the world.

As I mentioned before, the West Nordic Council has been working over the past two years on an Arctic strategy, where Greenland, Iceland, and the Faroe Islands aim to formulate some sort of common strategy identifying issues of common interest and perhaps identifying others that we want to deal with ourselves. We recognize all in all that we are small nations but we actually do represent a vast area. And I think even the Canadian areas can sort of recognize the situation here. But what we haven't reached the goal yet but the aim is quite clear that you can actually build a common ground somehow.

Elizabeth Riddell-Dixon: Are there any particular issues that you want to bring up? I think we are ready to open the questions up to the floor. OK, could I ask people when you're speaking to focus in on your question quickly so that we can get as many questions on the floor as possible?

Audience: Thanks for your presentations, they were very enlightening and thanks for speaking to the Faroe Islands, I didn't know that much about it. My question I guess applies to all of you. It's in regards to the shift with climate change and of our resources sometimes moving out of our boundaries and into other regional governments' territory. For example, the change in ocean currents may cause the change in fish populations between perhaps Québec, Labrador and Nunavut boundaries as well as the change in the movement of force and other species. What are some lessons that have been perhaps emerging or some challenges in regards to co-operating with those that are on your boundary as these resources might be shifting and moving with climate change?

Steve Cowper: Lessons, OK. Well, too late is too late, right? I don't know if it is too late but most of science thinks it is that things are going to happen now regardless of how good we are from now on. There's a legitimate question as to whether the kinds of governments that have been invented from time to time by humans are

adequate to this kind of task. You know, governments are everywhere, right? You find them under the doormat. Theoretically there's a government in, you know, Somali territory but I personally have to know there's not. Lots of governments very little governance with some which is supposed to be the product of good government, right? Not that there's none, there's good governance, I would argue on the Scandinavian countries. There's good governance in city states but by and large it's not looking good. Now, the governments are paying a lot of lip service to this problem, but in terms of actually doing something, some people are doing it and some are not. But it's actually almost a volunteer job. I mean, people are doing things because they think it's right. Let me tell you, I meant to say this before, but I said I had one minute. I moved to Texas after living in Alaska for many years. And the reason I moved there is because I decided to go into the energy business. And if you do that, you go to Texas in the United States. That's where you go. For all the posturing and the political idiocies that come out of Texas, they are remarkable people there who are doing things always. They're always doing things. And they're not looking for government handouts; they are not looking for the government to tell them what to do – they're just doing it. And so what is actually happening in Texas where you would– you would expect maybe, you know, certain amount of evil and stuff. A huge market utility fellow marched out some years ago and said, "We're going to build 11 new coal plants." And the Governor jumped up and said, "Yes. This is the right thing to do." OK. And people kind of looked at that guy and they went, "What?" Within three weeks that guy had withdrawn all of that. He was sorry he'd ever said it. His very large company was sold to a bunch of other people, some of whom were environmentalists. This is Texas. None of those plants are going to be built. At the same time, Texas has more wind power than any place else in the United States by far. They've been working very hard, very hard on solar technology. The use of oil is going down and they know it and they're behaving in that same way. They feel as most people feel that that gap is going to have to be temporarily filled by natural gas. And they're producing a lot of natural gas actually more than anybody needs.

Elizabeth Riddell-Dixon: Éric.

Éric Thérroux: I think that the change over the issue of climate change and the reason why some nationals have to be involved, as I said previously, is not only to tackle the issue or the fight against climate change, but it's also that we must get involved in relation to adapting to climate change. And they cannot do it by themselves. So, there's a need for co-operation such like what Québec has with the Nordic Council of Ministers. So we need research and knowledge on the issue. And it's also on the institutional perspective which is why although we would like to be involved in Arctic Council, we must recognize as well that there was a shift in international relations and non-governmental bodies, and shifts to forums like Arctic Circle are quite useful in this regard. And we must invest in this issue. And speaking about doing things like you said, initiatives like the common carbon market between Québec and California that Ontario will join too is a specific initiative that has a specific impact because it is an internal rule in each state. And we sell credits in regards to carbon markets. So we could change things and doing real things by those measures.

Elizabeth Riddell-Dixon: Ernst.

Ernst Olsen: Thank you. One important lesson I think in the context of dealing with climate and resource issues is to keep doing it and keep going at it. In the Nordic Council, these things are high on the agenda there. And I would be able to tell a lot more about it. But the thing is that, there have been a lot of projects over the years. Many of them have failed but I think that the sign of quality in this co-operation is the fact that just because it failed once, it doesn't mean that we stopped doing something about it. Keep going and it's important to do that.

Éric Thérroux: If I can just add one thing as well. In this regard for the research issue, Québec has launched the

Nordic Institute in which we invest a lot. It's a kind of national and international network of researchers. So, we must follow up on those research centres.

Elizabeth Riddell-Dixon: Thank you. Franklyn.

Franklyn Griffiths: Thank you. Thanks a lot for these talks so far. I think they're really interesting. I want though to draw or maybe ask Steve Cowper to comment on something. He said basically that there's a difference between the people who live in the north and the governments that really control what goes on in the north who are to the south. This varies in the Arctic. It's stronger in some places than in others. I think it's very strong in Canada. It's strong in the US. I'd say it's strong in Russia. We've seen a bit of this in the Faroe Islands. We know it's there in Greenland too. What I'm getting is, is it fair to think of the Arctic, in some large sense, as being colonial territory wherein this is related to the business of decolonization in a real way? The Arctic is all tied in with the emergence of global issues that cannot be handled at the centre at the top, but instead needs to be handled through local input in order to have properly adaptable solutions. You need the local. And is there, in all of this, a blend of decolonization which leads to the liberation of the north through a proper adoption to global issues, leading to a new formula and a way for thinking about getting the local northern voice on to the table?

Steve Cowper: Believe me, there are plenty of people in Alaska that think it's a colonial situation. But I don't agree with them. But a lot of this has not to do with the regulation of the use of land, but rather land ownership. Sixty percent of the land in Alaska is owned by the federal government, which means nobody else can do anything except them. On the other hand, 24% of Alaska is owned by Native Americans. And they can and do plenty. So it's not as bad as it may sound. I think there's a mix of interests that have to be fairly considered any time a major decision development related decision is made in the north including Alaska, which includes environmental interest. That's certainly legitimate. I acknowledge again the strength and political power of Native Alaskans within Alaska.

Éric Thérroux: I'm not quite sure. I would say it's more of a personal perspective in this question because decolonization is quite a big word. But I see this as more of a question not so much as decentralization as administration. And in this regard, I know that from being a civil servant and having been involved in negotiation of land claims in my career, I have seen a reflex from my colleagues a kind of similar dynamic between Québec government and our relations with northern and Aboriginal issues and our own relation with the federal government. So, what we say about the federal government is that it is not OK. We do exactly the same in regards to Aboriginal issues. So we have to push on our colleagues to have something fixed. So I will stop there.

Elizabeth Riddell-Dixon: OK. We have seven minutes and I have two people that want to give questions, but I think we certainly can't take more than two. And so I would ask the questioners to be brief and the responses to be equally brief. OK, let's take David and Tom.

David Stone: Thank you. I'll make this very quick. In AMAP, we will produce reports on assessments on various pollution issues including climate change. I was always very impressed with how quickly the Nordic Council would act on these things, how they would get practical actions moving on stuff. Yesterday, you saw a little bit about it to do with the demolition of the old Soviet nuclear material. And I'd like to ask in particular Ernst. Are there lessons we could learn from the way the Nordic Council operates that would help us particularly with the Arctic Council? Thank you.

Elizabeth Riddell-Dixon: Tom.

Tom Axworthy: Question for Éric. Tony Penikett began the conference by making a plea for the Northern Forum to have a privileged status at the Arctic Council. And I made a suggestion that could have sub-national entities use its observer position to have some role at the Forum and therefore have a connection to the council through the observer status at the Forum. And you've told us that Québec withdrew from the Forum because of its lack of effectiveness. So I'd like to hear a little bit more about that because perhaps the Northern Forum is not a runner to be a vehicle to provide regional representation to the council. I'd like to hear about your experience.

Elizabeth Riddell-Dixon: Ernst, do you want to start?

Ernst Olsen: I think there is a lesson to be learnt as far as I can see. It's quite simply that if you look at the way that the Nordic Council has been formed, it is a grassroots movement. And it's not been organized from a top down high politics. So I think that's an important part of the answer. And secondly it corresponds I think also with the message from yesterday that it has also be touched upon today. The way that the local levels need to be involved and this has always been one of the main focuses from the work of the Nordic Council. It means including the views of even the small administration of the Faroe Islands and paying attention to concerns from the youth. So the climate is very inclusive. Everyone is encouraged to participate, and it's encouraged to actively to share information. And if you don't actively contribute from time to time possibly because of lack of resources, still you're a part of the whole organization. You will get the results coming in from various tasks and you'll be able to easily pick up later on even if you fall out for a while.

Elizabeth Riddell-Dixon: OK.

Steve Cowper: Yeah. I want to identify with those remarks and say that the history of Northern Forum is that the Northern Forum was created and then it went out to find members. That's not bottom up. And I think that actually should another organization spring up or it might be the Northern Forum will resuscitate itself, but let the member of states do this and create their own organizations.

Elizabeth Riddell-Dixon: Thank you. Éric.

Éric Thérroux: To summarize, I would say it's too late for a Northern Forum 1.0. We need a kind of structure 2.0. And that's why we also have to look at new ways to get involved in those issues because we have seen over the years the problems of membership, budgetary, and the bankruptcy issues. And when it moved from Alaska to Republic of Sakha basically there was information that came back to its members. We asked and got nothing. So why pay for membership when you got nothing out of it? So that's why we're looking for new channels. We need to work more at a route basis as well as looking for institutional ways to make sure that we do real things. To me it's quite important to put emphasis on having effective ways to influence. So you have to get involved in research, in working groups and to demonstrate that you have an added value to the conversation. I think it's a personal approach but we're not looking for a status at first; we're looking for effective ways to get involved and to demonstrate that we can change something. After having proved this, the institutional recognition will come. So it's really important to put emphasis on effectiveness. And that's why we are looking at also in the development of our new international policy. I expect that for the first time when it will be launching in 2017, there will be specific reference to northern issues in our international policy.

Elizabeth Riddell-Dixon: I would ask you all to join me and thanking our three speakers for sharing their

expertise with us.

Watch the conversation: <http://hosting2.desire2learncapture.com/MUNK/1/Watch/763.aspx>



Session I with Elizabeth Riddell-Dixon, Éric Thérout, Steve Cowper and Ernst Olsen



Elizabeth Riddell-Dixon



Hon. Steve Cowper



Éric Théroux



Session I



Ernst Olsen

Session II

The Role of Regional Government in Circumpolar Arctic Affairs

1:00PM – 2:30PM

Jack Cunningham: We are going to commence with the next session. And I'm going to turn things over to our session chair, Jessica Shadian, who is a widely published scholar on Arctic and indigenous governance issues who has been affiliated most recently with Aarhus University and is now affiliated with the Graham Centre where we're happy to have her. Jessica.

Jessica Shadian: On the role of regional government in Circumpolar Arctic Governance. In the recent editorial on the analysis of sub-national regions, John Agnew writes, "In the past, regions have been seen as predominantly a sub-national entities nestled within singular national context." After the Second World War until the 1970s the entire discourse of regional studies and the question of regions was part of a national question. However, in the Arctic, sub-national politics and sub-national regions and as Agnew argues in this piece, cannot be understood for merely a national and thus state-centric framework. This next panel is certainly an example of sub-national Arctic politics which does not fit into state-centric framework. Whether we're talking about an Inuit majority island in the Arctic under the Danish realm, yet which carries out its own foreign affairs and many instances, an Arctic archipelago which falls under new region sovereignty but is at the same time, a free economic zone, a Canadian territory which controls its own land and resources is home to a number- a large number of First Nations with their own land claim agreement that include self governance and co-management or we are talking about the only Arctic state in the United States who's own political landscape includes native claim settlements and several hundred local Alaskan native village corporations. Many of which have relied on a long and ongoing history of oil revenue sharing. Agnew summarizes in his piece that a policy always sits in places. It can become associated with some localized sites to the detriment of mobilizing broader publics or political change. Citing Clifford Deaton, he reaffirms that the type of place matters. So what type of political space then are we referring to when we talk about Arctic politics? What role can and do regional governance play in Arctic governance? What role can they play on the Arctic council? Who's Arctic are we talking about and who gets to decide? Well, I'm honoured to be part of such an esteemed panel, all of whom lived these very questions everyday in their own professional settings. I'm pleased to have Inuuteq Holm Olsen who's the head of representation for the Greenland Representation in Washington DC; Christin Kristoffersen who is the Mayor of Longyearbyen on the Norwegian archipelago, Svalbard; Elaine Taylor, who's the Deputy Premier of the Yukon; and Lesil McGuire who's the senator in Alaska state legislator, so with that, I'll hand it over to our first speaker.

Inuuteq Holm Olsen: Thank you Jessica. Also thank you for the invitation to come here and speak to you. My presentation is going to be on Greenland and the Greenland's development, political development, right from 1979 up to now and then looking a bit upon the future a little bit on the challenges. The short historical background is that we gained home rule in 1979 and that's when the political process of taking over responsibilities started and it was a new agreement between Greenland and Denmark in 2009 with the Self-Government Act, and the change of the Home Rule Act in several instances. First of all, we are recognized as people in international law and secondly, there's a chapter on foreign affairs which there wasn't really in the 1979 Home Rule Act and thirdly, there's also language that relates to how the House of Session would proceed in the ways of the Greenlandic people. Basically, we're dealing with long term nation building exercise that started in

1979 and which will continue for the long term. In the media, there's a lot of attention whether Greenland will become independent or not. That's up to the people to decide. But I think it's not something that we so focus on right now. We are moving towards that I argue, but it's a long term process because there is a lot of issues that we have to solve— be it economically or the level of education and all sorts of societal issues that anybody faces in the Arctic— but nevertheless that's it's a process of gaining more and more autonomy that you engage in and with. After the 2009 Act, one of the first instances was to take over the mineral resources all income from their end which was something that wasn't settled in the 1979 Act – if you ask us. But if you look at Greenland's involvement in international affairs as a set, there is much language that deals with foreign affairs issues in how we should act in the 1979 Act, but its been a process of developing practices out of necessity I would say. And if you look at where we have been involved heavily in, it's not on the Palestinian issues, but issues relates to regional matters of immediate importance to Greenland, whether it be Arctic co-operation, the creation of the Arctic Council, whaling, environment, natural resource management, as well as Nordic co-operation which we're very much a part of.

Overall any matter of relevance to Greenland is considered important to take an active involvement in military or security matters that affects Greenland with the American military presence there. It's important that we are taking part of that discussion and out of those negotiations. And that's what our basic goal is that to be part of a process of any decisions that affects Greenland or Greenlanders. So we demand to sit at the table where any issues of Greenland are to be considered. That also relates to the Arctic Council situation where we've been involved even before the Finnish initiative and before the Arctic became such as sexy subject to deal with. So through the creation and negotiation of the Arctic declaration— and it was even the Premier of Greenland who signed on behalf of the Kingdom of Denmark— you had some leverage to play within the nations states' sphere but we've been seeing a development, to a more nation state-centric approach now, in the Arctic- even in the Arctic Council. But an underlying reason for the way we have developed our own identity in foreign affairs is that we are separated geographically from Denmark, 4,000 kilometres away. We're dealing with a country, a different climate, different geography, people's language, et cetera, et cetera. So it's a part of a decolonization as well as decentralization process because I think our history and our memories are telling us that being remotely controlled from Copenhagen has not always resulted in the best decision and its easy to have an out sight, out of mind that mentality, it's easy to adapt I think from a Copenhagen perspective if you're not living there everyday. When it comes to challenges in the future, one of the advantages of being a part of a larger nation state is that obviously Denmark has been a nation state for much longer and also has the institutional capacity, memory, as well as resources to act on your behalf which we have benefited from, especially when dealing with the EU and where, when negotiating with the EU on our own— with the Fisheries Agreement on the Partnership Agreement— Denmark as a member state can act on our behalf, and within EU Circles and lobby for our interest there.

But the same EU, as an institution as I see it, is one of the challenges that we face because as EU takes over its own identity in foreign affairs and as it takes over sections of responsibility and reenacts members of the EU, Denmark still has the overall responsibility. When it comes to foreign affairs it has been a challenge specifically because one arm is pushing from the EU side while we are pushing the other side. I see it as one of those challenges that has to be dealt with at some point a future. In conclusion I think I would just say that we will continue to evolve politically also when it comes to international affairs but we will continue to see both integration and fragmentation with respect to Denmark.

Christin Kristoffersen: Thank you, yes, I'm not used to being speaking so quickly so I actually have a manuscript which I never do. I'm the Mayor of Longyearbyen, Svalbard. It's an international climate research hub. It is a fully developed society at 78 degrees north and also we have a hundred years of industrial experienced by

coal mining until today. I know the international focus that was mentioned in the invitation to this conference, both as Arctic strategies and also as part of my everyday life as a Mayor in Longyearbyen. And that is my focal point here today, in the role of regional government as translator between overall and international strategies and the societies being the ground the level for the debated and geo strategic development in the Arctic. When Canada was chairing the Arctic Council they introduced the term Northerners and to me that gave me a term that has been very useful for my role as this translator. The networks of networks which Tony Penikett said. We know that a lot of the Arctic experience is the feeling in the Arctic of getting buy-in from small societies in the high Arctic. We feel that we get by. It means that the job at hand is a two way street for regional and local government. It's translating the strategic thinking about the Arctic both as the last merging market, the hub for climate change viewing and geo strategic place, to a language and goals that are manageable for Arctic societies and the knowledge that getting via knowledge that we have in societies in the Arctic. We also need to translate that knowledge and expertise in to an operational language relevant and useful also for the strategic point of view.

For the business development we need innovation, we need technology, we need infrastructure and knowledge not the least knowledge. And I have worked with this as a Mayor but I also work with Aarhus University in the Arctic and we need Aboriginal people and other Northerners to develop this knowledge to know the challenges here. We also need to develop relevant infrastructure and to do the right investments at the right time. We know this, in my place having a world's close satellite data station and we have new research, we also co-operate with NASA when it comes to solar elements in dark places which is actually relevant and also from a Northerner's point of view, we need to take use of the experience and the competence that we have. The know how or snow how, if you will, that we are lacking. So when we work within innovation and we work with development, we find that we really need innovative arenas to be produced. This is to provide the necessary communication between investors, society and strategic planning for the development. This being EU plans for tourism, being the search and rescue operations needed in the whole of Arctic for the development there, being the movement of fisheries for the North. And the Arctic Economic Council is a structural organization very relevant here. And my experience is that being local government provides this possibility, we called it Arena Development and I think it will be an upcoming buzz word when it comes to this and we see an increase of Russian interest, there is a new Chinese sign, stating China their close to the Arctic states. And when I gave a lecture last time at the Arctic Circle, it was between in Japan and Singapore. So we know that we need to be focused locally, but we can't leave the regional and local focal point in this over all international strategies and we are actually doing that. At the conference I attended they asked whether if the Arctic was oversold. My response is not who has oversold what? Not necessarily us and not necessarily the Arctic potential. So when we have the knowledge, we need this technology and we need to understand and deal with the climate changes through keeping in mind that is not only Arctic challenges and the climate changes we need to remember, but also global changes that we see and monitor in the Arctic climate, especially in Svalbard.

And one of my jobs is actually to protect this important global tower of knowledge, education and research and I do that regionally and locally by creating and maintaining the society, the infrastructure, the school, the transport and the facilities that makes this possible. This being a good example I think of the regional and local role and again becoming relevant when and in the way it translates between levels relevant for actually developing the Arctic globally, nationally, regionally, and locally. I just came from Greenland and what we also find is a multilateral potential. I have much more in common with societies in Greenland, in Russia, in Sweden, in Alaska, and in Canada than I do with the central governments very often running those states and to meet that multilateral potential is very important. So we have Arctic society in the Arctic and within that national level for the Arctic. Lastly, I can say this from the ground level there is nothing more compelling than people

who actually believed in the future and there is no greater tool for Arctic development than those people. Thank you.

Lesil McGuire: Good afternoon to all of you. I'm thrilled to be at this conference. I am going into my sixteenth year of serving in the State government, have served in the House and the Senate and I have been speaking on Arctic issues for about eight years and this is the first conference that I have been to in all of the eight Arctic Nations that's focussing on the issue of local governance and regional governance. I want to say congratulations to the innovators and creators of this conference because I think it is a topic that is more relevant than people recognize and understand and I think it will end up shaping the way that Arctic development in the future it comes together more than again there's has been publicity or understanding about it. Much of what we do with the local level of course is covered by our local papers or local radio shows in so forth and even then I would say not often because the Arctic is still viewed to be a somewhat intellectual subject and it's complex and it's removed from the mainstream. So you might see farther about whether the speed limits increase on the local road playing out much more often than you would about the Arctic policy making which ends up driving international decision making. We just had a visit in Alaska by the President the United States and so I want to start backward and move that way to say that the success of the Alaska Arctic Policy Commission I have chaired over the last two years bore out in that visit and it's an example for all of you, who are looking at the power of local decision making whether it was an academic or whether it was a leader yourself. When we begin the journey in 2013 that when I was appointed the co-chair here and by the way we have been pushing our leaders within the senate to say let's put together policy making commission and let's formalize what Alaska's Arctic Policy is.

My point being that a couple of years ago I'd work on an energy policy for the state and when I would go into rooms to try and tell the national government what I thought was an important policy, on our own, we lack credibility and so that's a starting point that I think in your regional and local governments, if you want to be in the room and have a say on Arctic issues, you have to have a policy in place. And it's hard work because you have many stakeholders and that's one of the things you figure out right away, because the Arctic has been such a cerebral issue and not mainstream, the people that have invested their time and energy in it are going to be very personal in the relationship with the Arctic, so I would give that as a piece of advice right away that often you can offend the very people that you need at the table with you by just not recognizing the fact that there are many voices on Arctic issues and they have been loud but sort of alone for many years. Now that the Arctic is a hot issue, a popular issue, there's a feeling on the part of those who've been working on this subject that you're kind of coming late to the party, I've been here a long time, where's my voice? So the process of local policy making at the Arctic level is delicate but is important. And so I would say one of the first things we did was we can be stakeholders and my idea that was passed into law was rather than just having policy, elected policy makers sit on this commission, we would invite subject matter experts based on that notion that I just said. So, our commission was made up of 26 Alaskans, we travelled around the state, which was another premise that it was important at least at the regional level, the state level to involve voices from all across the biggest state of Alaska, much like Canada, where a smaller population is very geographically spread apart. We have rural populations, we have urban populations, many indigenous tribes and cultures and so we took that commission over the course of two years in person to visit many of the communities and to listen because something else I want to emphasize is the point of listening that each one I made a decision as chair that everyone of our policy commission meetings would begin with a listening session. And the first in Barrow, Alaska the elders came out and afterwards and said, "Thank you, thank you so much for just starting out by listening to our voices." And I would just say again for the academics, for the industry folks in the room, that is a great model to remember and think about that when you come into someone's community. Yes, the issue of the Arctic is hot and your corporation or your university may be saying go to the Arctic; go in and start telling them what our goals are, but what you want to

start with is the notion that there are tens of thousands of years of history and culture and you're treading on that space for the first time.

When the President announced his goals, I would say going to the White House website last week, my heart just soared because when I looked at the goals, I knew they were going to be released. The United States goals for the chairmanship for the Arctic Council was we just took it from your great country here in Canada and there at the top was Arctic Development for the People of the Arctic. And that was our policy, that was our goal and of course that was Canada's. We are northern people and we are diverse people, we're not environmentalists, we're not pro development, we're just Arctic people. And that was the message that I spent two years conveying to the White House. Our first meeting we set up with them was in March 2013, where we inserted ourselves through some connections we had in Alaska to the White House. We sat down with their Arctic team and they let us know that, this was March, and by June, they would have all of the United States strategic plan and vision for the Arctic out. And when I asked would Alaskans be on that team, and what Alaskans had been consulted, the answer was zero. And so I asked them to slow their route and please wait; please consider that we've formed an Arctic Policy Commission, we want to work with them, we may find ourselves at odds but it's better to engage the local governmental decision making body early over a course of a year or two to arrive at a national policy that actually reflects what's happening on the ground. And there was initially pushed back but I have to commend the President for taking leadership and including the Alaska Arctic Policy Commission. That was a high position and it was also Secretary Kerry's decision to include us as well. In fact, Secretary Kerry took advice from us about who would be appointed as the ambassador to the Arctic and it's Admiral Bob Papp. I would say this, our first recommendation was of course an Alaskan and an indigenous Alaskan. When we couldn't get our way there, at least we didn't end up with Leonardo DiCaprio which I'll just let you know, he was high up on the list and that just didn't sit well with Alaskans. So the fact that Admiral Papp had served a tour of duty in the coast guard in Alaska, had lived on Adak with his wife and had many strong local ties and connections made him the right person for this post. So that was the first signal they sent to the state of Alaska that they were willing to listen to the regional government about how decisions would be made in the upcoming chairmanship.

Over the course of the two years, we were on the ground working locally our policy as I said. I'm not going to spend a lot of time telling you about the policy we crafted but you want to read it, it's good and it's not just me, it's 26 people from all over the state and they were two iterations of it. We were very thoughtful in creating a preliminary draft in the first year reporting that back to the state legislature, the executive branch allowing for public comment and then going back for another full round of hearings arriving at our final draft and it's in a couple of parts. It's at akarctic.com so I'd love for you to get a chance to look at it but, of course, you will see themes echoed that the local leaders here on this panel have talked about and said so articulately that it's climate change that has affected our region first in the most profoundly on the Earth in ways where we have the first climate change refugees. We are, at the state level, looking at budget allowances to actually move communities and their schools, their hospitals and it brings a very interesting conundrum to the state of Alaska because on the one hand, it's this crisis and there are communities that are having to be moved, there are changes in weather conditions that are causing environmental disaster every year and at the same time it's bringing opportunity for our people. And that is I think what you're going to see reflected in those documents is almost two lines of thinking. There is the notion of resilience, environmental stewardship and disaster preparedness. Also the subject of national security but us at the forefront in Alaska having icebreakers from China and Russia using innocent passage just during this recent Presidential visit to make it known they're there, "Hi, we're here." So imagine as a state policy maker having to think about considerations like that, so you'll see that line of effort. The other line, of course, is the opportunity in 2007. For the first time in global history, the Northwest Passage opened up in both lanes in the way that the Northern Sea route has been opened for a full decade and a half

ahead of us. So how do we develop those ports, how do we develop the economics, the resources in a way that bring those jobs to locals, the trainings to locals? We have a history in my state that the only Arctic infrastructure project in the United States of America today is the Trans-Alaska Pipeline, I'll just remind all of you that.

People forget, that this is an Arctic infrastructure piece. And in that particular project, the mistake that we made that's echoed throughout our local policy was in not thinking about how to manage the influx of people that would come in to build that pipeline, the impacts on the social communities, the growth in schools, the impacts on the roads. I'm looking at our former Governor Cowper over here. All of the social and infrastructure impacts that would come from that major project and then finally how to capture the returns in major ways for years to come. That's a major part of what we've done at the regional level- to say now that we know the Arctic is the future. A \$100 billion worth of capital is waiting to go into the Arctic broadly and it's very real; it's no longer one of those distant horizon conversations. How will Alaska, and as a consequence, America, capture those resources?

And the final thing that I want to say, you heard the Mayor as she listed the governments that she worked with in international level say Alaska, and that is a common thing that happens in most rooms I'm in. People will say the country of Canada, they will say the country of Iceland, they will say the country of Sweden and then they'll say Alaska as opposed to the United States. So just kind of file that away as a very real life example of what we deal with as regional decision makers, people don't think about the United States as an Arctic nation, the the United States hasn't thought about itself as an Arctic nation until recently. So the role of regional decision making and policy making is integral and I would argue will drive what happens in the next two years as the United States takes this Arctic Council chairmanship largely because we got ahead of the game, we brought the stakeholders together and we put all of that down into print prior to the United States coming late to the party and assuming the chairmanship. So I encourage God speed to all of you out there who are considering doing it. I offer myself as a resource in my commission as a resource to you, hopefully I can mainly tell you the pitfalls to avoid but certainly some of the strategies for success and I appreciate all of your time today.

Elaine Taylor: Thank you so very much for the opportunity to be here today all the way from Whitehorse, Yukon. I'm a lifelong Yukoner. I have served as an elected representative for the Yukon Government as an MLA and as well a minister for the past 14 years. That's a long shelf life for any elected official, I'll remind you of that. I'm not sure if that's a privilege or if that's a liability but it is what it is and I'm really honoured to be here. I just wanted to say something: one of my colleagues who was on the panel here this afternoon from Greenland just reminded me of a meeting of the Arctic Council back in 2008, or 2007, and it was really one of the first times that each of the three northern Premiers from Canada had been invited by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to join with him at the table in Tromsø, Norway. It was at that time, we were right in the middle of our legislative sitting, our Premier wasn't able to attend so he asked me to do a stand in his stead as Deputy Premier. It was a privilege that I was able to join Floyd Roland, who is the Premier of Northwest Territories and Premier Aariak from Nunavut. And so we travelled all this way and, of course, you knew about the work of the Arctic Council, we read about it, we learned about it in government but to actually be at that table—and to be very clear, we weren't at the table, we were actually sitting behind the Minister of Foreign Affairs but nevertheless, we were somewhat at the table— it really opened up my eyes. I remember having these strategic discussions with the federal minister of the day alongside with my colleagues about the very importance of the issues that we were about to address at this international Council. It was incredible not for me just to see who is at the table but who is sitting behind the table as observers. It really gave me a much better understanding and a deeper appreciation of the global perspective of the Arctic Council and how much interest there is in global affairs as we are here today to discuss. So with that context, I'm really pleased to be here to say a few words, give you a little bit context about my home,

my lifelong home, and of course how we engage in Arctic issues and of course international diplomacy as well. It's one of the three territories in Canada, North of 60, and of course located next to the state of Alaska. I got to say that in many times, we are actually lumped with Alaska. In fact, we have a lot more in common with Alaska than perhaps we do with the rest of the country. I'll get into that a little bit later on but we are very different in terms of our geography, our economies and our stages of governance when you compare the Yukon to Northwest Territories and Nunavut. And so when you look at the Yukon and you look at our community of just over 37,000 people and our population that has grown by about 15% over the last several years and you're spread out over a land mass of more than 482,000 square kilometres, an area larger than the state of California, we're a pretty diverse population. Of course, with First Nations persons making up about a quarter of our territory but with a growing immigrant population as well, primarily made up of Filipinos, Chinese and many others, moving into Yukon and contributing to our economy through economic integration.

And of course I would be remiss as a Minister of Tourism and Culture but I didn't mention the beauty of our land. We enjoy almost 5,000 kilometre of a road network throughout our territory which makes us very accessible throughout the territory and also gives us some of the most scenic corridors. We entertain over 425,000 visitors each and every year into our territory, so that's a lot of people. So within that context, I just want to say there are three unique elements when it comes to our governance. And Mr. Penikett was very eloquent in his remarks earlier today, so I'll be very brief on some of those. 12 years ago in 2003, Yukon was the first of three territories to have achieved devolution marking an extreme turning point in self determination for our territory and also for the north, setting the stage for the other two territories as well. So for us, it wasn't such a sudden point of evolution but it was in fact another step in the path of our own evolution. A new Yukon Act came in to effect at that time giving the government of Yukon similar legislative responsibilities that US provinces currently enjoy in terms of management of public lands and resources over waters and lands and resources as I mentioned.

Another major advancement of course in our development as a region was the negotiation and the implementation of land claim agreements with Yukon First Nations. We have 14 Yukon First Nation governments, 11 of which who have settled and have self-government agreements. Since the signing of the framework, the Umbrella Final Agreement back in 1993, 11 have settled and of course that also means that almost half of the self-governing First Nations in Canada are in our territory. So very significant turning point in governance for our territory and as Tony Penikett had referred to earlier, in terms of how we govern our territory, in terms of co-management and co-ownership, when it comes to our historic sites, in terms of our wildlife populations, in terms of overseeing lands and resources and land use planning and the list goes on and there are many, many other items I would be remiss not mentioning but must because of the sake of time.

The third factor that makes Yukon really unique when compared to the rest of the country is YESAA, the Yukon Environmental and Socio-Economic Assessment Act. It's a requirement of the Umbrella Final Agreement and Yukon First Nations Final Agreements, the act is a single assessment regime for all governments, federal, Yukon, First Nations and municipalities, so really, almost a one window approach to any and all development in our territory. It's very unique in our country and it's one that we're very proud of. So when you look at all three of these elements from land claim settlement, to devolution, to YESAA, it's really created the advance government structures in our territory that we have and which we operate and we continue to do business. And it's from this position that we're able to engage with other governments regionally, nationally, and internationally as well. I think it's been said here already today consistently as an ongoing theme in the conference but, likewise in the Yukon, our experience is that building strong partnerships with a wide variety of governments, orders of government, organizations, and stakeholders, is absolutely key to achieving our goals. Taking the time to listen and to engage with others of course, being able to help us identify common priorities that we can take to the

table and be able to advance strategically and collectively on our northerners' behalf as well is absolutely critical. So with this, I want to spend just a couple of moments in terms of outlining how we work with others that is inclusive with the other two territories, Northwest Territories, Nunavut. Every year, our three territorial Premiers come together for the Northern Premier's Forum to make progress on our jurisdiction-shared priorities. And in fact, we have a joint document, Northern Vision, a stronger and better North guides us as we work together to ensure we have, again, strong, healthy, sustainable communities throughout the north with sound economies and plenty of opportunities for northerners. The three territories developed a shared document several years ago recognizing, again, a strong collective when it comes to working with the federal government, the government of Canada.

Underlying our collaboration is our conviction that northerners must be involved in shaping policy for the North. As I've mentioned, we are also very pleased and very proud of our ongoing strong working relationship with the State of Alaska. And in fact, I was just going through my briefing materials and we have some 14 plus different bilateral agreements and documents with Alaska covering everything from tourism marketing to road improvements, of course the Alaska Highway Corridor and everything in between. So through a number of agreements, MoUs, and shared agreements, we share a lot of mature priorities on infrastructure workforce development, natural resource initiatives and so forth. Likewise on the international stage as I mentioned at the very onset, we're very much with the Arctic Council ever since it was formed back in 1996. We've been involved in activities ranging from sharing sustainable mining practices, innovations, to informing guidelines on cruise ship tourism and adapting to climate change.

Just recently, I was up Herschel Island. Herschel Island is actually a territorial park in the Yukon and if you look at the map, it's the most northern point in the Yukon and you can't go any further than that other than the ocean. And when we flew in, it was tremendous experience for me as a lifelong Yukoner to actually touchdown. We only have a couple of park rangers there through our Department of Environment that we employ each and every year but we also have long standing agreements in terms of restoring, and of course, maintaining those heritage buildings. We're losing about three metres of the coast of Herschel Island on average every year. And so we're having to now resort from restoration to documentation to really preserve that history of that particular significance, not only of the whaling community that existed at the turn of the century, but also the thousands of years before that by the new Inuit. While the government of Canada was Chair of the Arctic Council from 2013 to 2015, we also contributed to a number of projects under the theme of development for the people of the North. The Government of Yukon, for example, co-lead an initiative with the Government of Canada on the development of the first Arctic Adaptation Exchange and as I mentioned, the climate change is a significant factor that continues to affect the way that we live and the way that we do business in terms of how we construct roads and how we construct buildings and so forth. All of which just to say is that Yukon has been doing our part in terms of informing climate change policy with our own action plan, our strategy based on mitigation, adaptation, research and northern policy of course.

One thing I do want to touch on is that next year is a very pivotal point for us in that it will be the very first time our territory will have chaired the Council of the Federation. The Council of the Federation is comprised of all provinces and territories in this country and again it will be the first time that a territory will actually be chairing that meeting in Yukon next year. And of course, it will be the first time where every single Premier from every province and territory will have met North of 60. So what greater opportunity than for our territory and the north to take the leadership and to be able to help navigate those very critical waters as we speak up today and of course in acknowledging the territories place in our country and the Canadian Federation. So again, I want to say that to the point, the best way of asserting our sovereign claim to our country and to our northern presence in

within the Circumpolar North is by investing in its people, investing in training, investing in education, which is why we are working towards the University of Yukon, why we continue to invest heavily in Yukon research science, a new science strategy as we speak in collaboration with all of our partners and to be able to do that collaboratively with all orders and levels of government. So with that said, I will wrap it up here and my apologies if I took the time, I am an elected official however, so thank you.

Jessica Shadian: Great, these were all fantastic presentations. I want to plot a few words that I kind of heard that I felt were interesting throughout the presentations. There's this idea about northern versus southern perspectives on the north; I love this idea about translators, translating to others what the north is. There seems to be this theme running through in relation to the local governments with possibly this idea about dependence versus independence versus interdependence seems to be a common theme. And I will have a few questions that I thought I would raise to try to maybe stir a little bit the discussion amongst you all next and as it relates to this discussion of our panel which is circumpolar Arctic governance. And Inuuteq briefly mentioned this, but as the Arctic Council really moves from this policy shaping to a policy making body, I guess one of the questions would be is it interesting for sub-national regions to find a formal space on the Arctic Council? Can the Arctic Council learn anything or borrow anything from these ideas or frameworks of local co-management or perhaps is creating a brand new type of northern forum, this northern forum 2.0 more appropriate than being part of the Arctic Council altogether when it comes to having some sort of voice, regional voice and regional matters? I think that these questions are actually part of broader questions, a broader set of questions and what I'm thinking is when we talk about Arctic governance, what is the goal? Is the goal to make binding treaties to have a formal legal means for holding entities accountable and to punish dissenters, is it to find ways to co-operate, isn't it, Steve Cowper mentioned to do stuff. One of the questions is how should the Arctic be governed and by who and for what means and so on.

Lesil McGuire: OK, I think there's a couple of points. On the Arctic Council itself, I think its role is still being defined as evolving. Fran Ulmer, a Lieutenant Governor of my state who's the chairwoman of the Arctic Research Commission, will tell you that its mission was truly environmental and scientific in the beginning. And because of that, I would say there have been limitations on its effectiveness. We've moved in the Arctic from looking not just at the fact of global warming but how we will adapt as human beings and how we'll form economic and development policies toward those ends and who will we include. I think it's not as nimble.

And so I would say number one, there does need to be changes to the Arctic Council, I think there's no question. But it was the first council established from this subject, and I don't think we should abandon it. The notion that we can only participate as Alaskans in the permanent participant sort of second row I don't think is really effective anymore. So, I think we're going to have to reconsider how it's constructed, the working groups of course have been effective. They do have power, but how do we integrate real life decision making from the local regional governments into those working groups? The suggestion that was given to me is what you need to do is just go out and tell more Alaskans to apply for these working groups which I have. Incidentally, the amount of people that apply for them and the calibre of you apply is very high, so it's been difficult. I've had a couple of Alaskans make it almost there, so I think that certainly a problem with the organization.

Number two, I would say the idea of having a Northern Forum expansion or other groups that come in and that are a little bit more nimble with the new mission is also good, because I think you will still encounter resistance from those who believe they've been a part of the Arctic Council forever. We know this in groups in our communities, "I was a founder and this is the way it's supposed to be" and so on. So I think you have to have other organizations that emerge and begin to have a real voice. I would say this though, I get exhausted by the

number of Arctic meetings. I don't know about you, but it's wonderful and also exhausting. It would be nice to see some of these groups coalesce around another group that is like the Arctic Council but is more nimble and more related to bringing all the governing bodies, the private sector and the academics together to talk about current events. So whoever wants to take that challenge on, good luck and good luck knocking all the other Arctic programs out of the way too because people are pretty protective about their Arctic programs.

Christin Kristoffersen: Well you mentioned the working groups so I don't have to say anything about that because I agree very much with you. But I think one thing that's quite interesting when you look upon the Arctic Council, its collectiveness of the Arctic strategies first for the Arctic states and the vast interest from so many other states, is in a way an overall think tank to discuss how this last part of the world should be developed. So it has a function but it is very academic. You use the word academic or theoretical and I think that's very proper and very correct. So the operational level is missing and the way you talk about the co-operation and the way that you're dealing with things at an operational level is really what we need. And also it's very interesting because when you look at all the Arctic strategies as they are today, one interesting thing is the battle between taking care of climate, business and commerce dimensions of the whole thing. There are quite interesting differences and similarities between the different Arctic strategies in this way. But what you will find is that every state has together with the Arctic strategy, a business and commerce plan which gives that nation the leading role when it comes to the development of the Arctic. So this is a common overall problem and it comes from the climate being one of the main drivers but the operational stage needs to look different so this is kind of a talking focal point for a collective Arctic strategy today.

Inuuteq Holm Olsen: I think there's definitely room for Arctic regional governments to engage more in both discussions but also co-operation because the weakness that we have is that we look too much to the nation state that we belong to. I mean because that's the way we have always been dealing with, while ignoring the fact that that's actually where both are a need but also opportunity to engage between ourselves in the Arctic without having to create all these formalized institutions or agreements. It has to start somewhere, focusing on creating some kind of a formalized institutional thing we can begin to talk amongst ourselves. And, alluded to at the meeting, to the administrative- where you have bilateral meetings and in those country, bounds for engaging between ourselves, I mean lots of other ideas as well. But definitely, because we share how many problems, across the Arctic be it Canada, Alaska or Svalbard or Greenland dealing with the same issue is actually very much.

Elaine Taylor: My sentiments are that, it is how to keep things relevant and I think as with any organization, you have to touch base with those that we serve and ensure that what the primary role and the goals and the missions and the objectives associated with the Arctic Council, to be met and those will slowly evolve too with time as well. I think from our perspective what I've just witnessed over the past decade is that we've seen significant changes in the evolution of our governance structure. How we govern and having more responsibility over our lands, our waters, our minerals is relatively new. The settlement of land claims, moving from implementation is evolving, and our relationship is evolving with another order of government called the Yukon First Nation governments; self-government. So, as we evolve and we advance as well, that relationship and how we dialogue with the federal government too is evolving. That will impact on how the Arctic Council is viewed as and its effectiveness as well. But I think that it is interesting, that I have seen an evolution of new organizations like the Arctic Circle and PNWER. We didn't talk about Pacific NorthWest Economic Region, Yukon and Alaska and many other northwestern states and economic regions that come together, but they're growing as well, I mean it started from the ground up and it's starting to move out as well. So in the absence of perhaps, being nimble, perhaps we're seeing that territory filling with other organizations, that's one perspective. So, I think that the

Arctic Council, critical, absolutely, there is a role but I do think that it is timely and it is an opportunity for us to regroup and to reassess the real, dynamic role of sub-national governments.

Éric Thérroux: Thank you. Two quick questions but first a comment, I see that we have on the table, all elected representatives are women and you mentioned the importance to give time to listen, you should give this lesson to politicians in the south, really.

Lesil McGuire: This is the first panel incidentally, I've ever been on in my life where this is the case. I started when I was 29 and have always been one of four or three women I've ever been on where there are more women than men.

Éric Thérroux: My two questions, the first is for Mrs. McGuire and the second one for- as likewise to Alaska and Greenland. Is there a consultation process that was established with Admiral Papp or the US Government in regard to how the US will exercise its presidency? That's my first question. And the second question, do you have a perspective on the institutional aspects of the willingness of too many states to get an observatory status at the Arctic Council, I mean where France, China, Singapore, Korea, I think even Italy, but there are so many states that want to be involved, so that's also a challenge for some national states and disregarding, I think that it talks about Greenland as well.

Lesil McGuire: Thank you very much for both of your questions and your overarching comment, I think we all talked about whether we'd say something and then we thought we won't mention it but appreciate you mentioning that. Just seeing how society changes, to be more inclusive, and on the subject of whether we have an official arrangement with the United States government to adopt and engage protocols from Alaska, the short answer is there's no official protocol and they would not allow for one. When we started out, our idea was to create an MoU and to put into place a series of required meetings, protocols, et cetera. When that was rejected outright, we took the next path which was to say, OK well, we will just insert ourselves and you're going to want to hear what we have to say and so we set up a weekly teleconference with the White House, NSAR Team, National Strategy on the Arctic Region. We did that on our own and then our staff to the Arctic committee worked with both the state department and White House staff to make that happen on a regular basis.

I would say that has been one of the most important things that we have done because we both talked about how dynamic the Arctic, is that means you as a politician, you're leading on it, you're constantly inserting new voices. In this case, Barack Obama has gone through, and we're getting close to 20 different Arctic people leading to arrive. Because he's moving through his chain of people, it's getting to the highest level now. So without those weekly teleconferences, we would not have been able to keep the consistency of what we'd agreed to moving. I will say that in our final document, our policy document, we do mention the obligation and the opportunity to work with the federal government and they have reciprocated in the federal document in recognizing regional governments, I personally would like to see something more formal.

To your second answer- or to your second question about how many people get observer status, I think this is the challenge in talking about the evolving Arctic Council and its role and its membership. I will tell you that as Alaskans, we feel very frustrated that China has an observer status and we don't. It's just a logical point that we ought to be there because we border the Chukchi and the Beaufort. But how the Arctic Council makes those decisions I think is going to be part of their evolution and it needs to be a conversation. I would say that Maine has been the only other real state in the United States that has been engaged and rightfully so. We've worked well with Maine, the state of Alaska, other than that, if you were to start to see Iowa come in for example and say

we'd like to be there too, I think there should be a vetting process for relevance and I think it doesn't just apply to United States that might want to be there because their country has the lead but also nations. And of course the United Nations an example for how we do it, you certainly want to have international relations with Singapore, China and others but the idea that they would have a bigger voice than Yukon or Alaska, that border of the Arctic seems absurd to me.

Inuuteq Holm Olsen: A question of observer status in the Arctic Council; there are some criteria that observers have to meet, that they have to justify, that they have specific interest in the Arctic and are doing work that is relevant to the Arctic respect the rights of indigenous peoples and all that. But having said that, it's true, there was a point where you can't, where the Arctic Council as we see it cannot become a mini UN, I mean that's both from principal perspective and also from a logistic perspective is that, if it comes too big, it's going to be impossible to have meetings in the Arctic. I mean one of the good things is that the Senior Arctic Officials as well as Ministers have been able to meet in the Arctic itself. And many of the Arctic countries don't have those capacities to be able to have several hundreds of people meeting at once. So even for that reason, there will be a point where you say OK, no more observers. It's a difficult issue, because at one point you have the principles and at the other end, you also have logistical aspects.

Jessica Shadian: Just have to interject ask one question. So in your opinion, should Greenland have any specific role, right, and not just be part of the Danish delegation?

Inuuteq Holm Olsen: We demand to sit at the table because we've been part of it, as I said even before the creation of the Arctic Council, we've been involved in the negotiations. But one thing is to demand your seat at the table. Another thing is to have to be able to commit resources both human as well as financial to show that you have this justification to sit at the table because if you have nothing to showcase and demand for, then it becomes it's kind of an empty shell. So it's important, but it's one of the biggest challenges that we face right now, we have limited capacity in both financial as well as human resources when it comes to working with those issues but nevertheless, it's crucial I think to be able to document that you actually engage and contributing to the work of the council.

Christin Kristoffersen: I just have a comment to that because when we talk about limited resources and to me, I think that is one of the topics here is resources because if it's something that Greenland have is resources. I mean it's a country driven by what is a minority in other Arctic states and this is the whole country driven by that and to me, that is the resource that will kind of overtake any other potential resource that you could bring to the table, I just needed to say that.

Audience: My question is in hot pursuit of what was just being said. Could you expand on the resistance from the central governments in each of your cases, because that's also part of the story, and where do you see the challenges there?

Inuuteq Holm Olsen: I mean there's definitely resistance, even though both parties have been agreeing on in case of Greenland that we have this act, that there's all of these wonderful things about Greenland and Greenland has rights to this and that but, everyday, you have resistance to deal with. I think that's just, but what's important for us, we are working together in an international matter is that we can arm wrestle behind the scenes, but when we come out to the stage, we are all smiles, act in unison, that's an important principle in that behind the scenes, there will be resistance but, it's through arguments, and distance, and those are the most important principles or weapons that you have, when you meet resistance is that have to discuss these issues, both at the civil servant

levels or at the political level. But, in public, we act as a unison along with Denmark.

Elaine Taylor: I want to go back to the Arctic Council and for us as a regional government within our confederation it is a real opportunity to raise and heighten awareness to put the face of our territory forward. I think that is absolutely critical especially in light of the current circumstances. Back to limited resources as well though, as we continue to assume more responsibility over those resources, we have to pick and choose and be very strategic on how we designate our time and our resources as well, because there's only so much capacity. But that said, you need to be present and to be able to engage and help inform that debate on the international agenda especially when it comes to all of these areas, climate change, security and so forth. For the Yukon, of course, and I've mentioned it before, there's always going to be difference of opinion as to how we get there. But, for our territory, we continue to make it a continued priority to continue to invest in infrastructure, to invest in training and education, to invest in the capacity of our people who live and breathe, who are on the forefront of our territory. The north is our front yard basically. And so we need the federal government to partner with us on hydro development, on road development, on IT capacity and the list goes on. And so, with the Northwest Territories just having reached a devolution agreement within the past year, Yukon is also now able to now start to commence negotiations on offshore revenue sharing agreements with Canada as well when it comes to oil and gas. And so that is pivotal for Yukon as well in terms of leveraging our reach. So it is, it's like any relationship we have to give and take but first and foremost again putting forth the investment so that we have the opportunity to help guide our territory first and foremost and that will help inform the federal government's ultimate goal as well.

Audience: So just building on Elaine's point because I'm actually doing research specifically that looks at the relationship between the local to the global kind of Arctic discussion and the institutions that manage it. One of the things I've heard a lot about in the interviews that I've done is this issue of capacity and the reality that hard decisions have to be taken and so governments at the local and the regional level ultimately have to choose the issues that they are involved in. And so what I've seen is all these fabulous innovative things happening but there is no glue to bring that to the region as in Arctic regional fora because there's just people that have to make choices, so the relationships are ad hoc. We can make a partnership on this; we can arrange to do that; and so what's happening is that regional governments are focusing on like issues such as how do we play on the international fora instead of looking at how to leverage the relationships they have and the strength that they have collectively to move an agenda forward. And so I think what's interesting to me about the Barents model is that they have differentiated and they have particular items where there's more local responsibility and authority to manage things and is that that area is the relationships that are build there allow- you then have a more appropriate mandate as regional governments. I'm just curious, I mean you see these little bits popping out, you have PNWER and you have the Western Nordic co-operation and all these different things but I wonder if that's not watering down. I'd be interested in your perspective on watering down the power and the leverage that regional governments could have internationally by either focusing on smaller pockets and or the big picture international fora.

Nauja Bianco: Yeah, I just wanted to comment on this very interesting discussion that we're having right now. My name is Nauja Bianco, I'm from the Nordic Council of Ministers and I'll be participating in the panel about the Arctic Council transition so this is excellent for our coming discussion. I just wanted to say that there's no doubt that the Arctic Council is and needs to be in transition and just a fact that the whole process with new observers has been discussed at least since the Ministerial in 2011 and the EU has try to gain observer status in three ministerial meetings and still has not gotten it, so that's an interesting point that we might touch upon but I think now within the US Chairmanship of the Arctic Council, there is a window of opportunity. I am

representing Nordic Council of Ministers in the Arctic Council as an observer and we've actually, for the first time I've seen and I've been working with the Arctic Council for a number of years now, we've seen an invitation to actually enter into dialogue on how to grasp the whole notion of the interest of the Arctic; how to grasp the whole notion of new states that aren't near Arctic states but do have something to add here or there; and how to grasp with that whole geography issue as well. So we actually do have a window of opportunity within the US chairmanship now that I think that the concerted voices that we hear here should try to sort of take. So one of the things that I would just add, a very pragmatic thing was that maybe the organizers have this conference draw some conclusions or whatever we call them, and consider to actually send them to the Arctic Council Secretariat because we will have a meeting on October 20th between the Arctic Council and observers, thank you.

Christin Kristoffersen: Well I can just say that I think it's incredibly interesting, it's not easy to have a clear answer but what I do want to say is that strategies can be watered down but realities can't. So whatever we can do in forums that takes care of the reality then, that forum has to adopt to the strategy and not the other way around so that we just be a focal point to the problem, but the problem is very real so I'm glad you mentioned it and thank you.

Lesil McGuire: I would just tackle that and say thank you for that thought. I would tell you though that I believe regional organizations like PNWER have sprung up out of necessity. So it wasn't that the first path wasn't tried, and I kind of gave my real life example which was us Alaskans, we first applied for observer status officially and then after the United States government opposed, then we tried to form a couple of other recognized groups. We tried to work within the Arctic Council model, and it's my point that it didn't work. So finally, we spilled over on the sides and that some common things happened when you got an issue that is important. So, I like what Christin said about the reality ends up truncated in the theoretical part of it. Now what I have seen evolve in issues is you go that way and then you move back. Those larger organizations start seeing the success of smaller and they want you in, that's great. And I wanted to say to this woman over here, thank you, you're a resource, I'd love to get your card. I love that especially that you're thinking from our county's perspective about what we can do better during these two years. Canada has done an amazing job. I want to say thank you to their country but what can we do in these next two years to implement some of the ideas that came out of this and perhaps it is some formal recommendations that you help bring forward and my state can help bring forward as well.

Inuuteq Holm Olsen: What I see is that we tend to think very much about North America and then you have Greenland and west Nordic countries and then the Scandinavian countries, you have this block thinking also going on that we have to break. I mean we have some co-operation with Nunavut and that definitely more possibilities are there but there's too much of this block thinking, I think we have to start from the bottom, it's a bottoms up approach where you have more people contacts and as well as institution to institution to government to government, that can evolve. And I think tonight's point, I think yeah, it's a valid point and it's a something that conference, the organizers, and leadership bond and I hope, they will continue to think along these lines, there are some important aspects of this discussion that can be ordered.

Elaine Taylor: I just want to add that when we look at groups of PNWER and how that's grown significantly over the past number of years and other groups are forming; Arctic Circle I mentioned earlier. When we look at other groups like PNWER for example, you have business interests, so you have industry at the table. They're not exactly at the table of the Arctic Council and that is a whole different mission and mandate, but I think it comes down to inclusion and the more input that we can have the better. I guess it goes back to the point that if you have a void, it will be soon be filled if you don't fill it yourself. And so it goes back to being nimble and it goes back to looking at the evolution of the sub-national governments and how we are taking on more and more

responsibility within our confederation, within our respective areas. So we have to take a second look here and it is timely, we'll continue to push this as much as we can. When Canada was the chair in the past couple of years, I mean to their credit, we hosted a number of different events right in the Yukon, so it was a great opportunity to fly the flag and it was also an opportunity for us. Canada did ask us directly for our input in terms of the priorities going forward, not all of them were accepted but then that's part of your relationship, you're not always going to agree to and disagree, so to speak. So again, I think has been a fantastic dialogue, I think there's obviously more to come. There will always be more to come but thank God, we have these discussions, right? So, thank you everyone for your participation as well, thank you.

Jessica Shadian: Thank you all, I feel honoured for being a part of this panel and if everyone can just give a warm thanks to everyone, I think this has been extremely interesting.

Watch the conversation: <http://hosting2.desire2learncapture.com/MUNK/1/Watch/762.aspx>



Session II with Jessica Shadian, Inuuteq Holm Olsen, Christin Kristoffersen, Lesil McGuire, and Elaine Taylor



Inuuteq Holm Olsen



Jessica Shadian



Christin Kristoffersen



Sen. Lesil McGuire



Session II



Hon. Elaine Taylor

Session III

The Role of Circumpolar Cities and Regions

2:45PM – 4:00PM

Jack Cunningham: Okay, I'm happy to welcome you to our next session, and this panel will be chaired by Patricia McCarney of the Munk School and the Global Cities Program, who is an authority on urban affairs in global cities and has brought together this very interesting panel to look at cities in the Arctic context. Patricia?

Patricia McCarney: Thank you very much, and good afternoon. It's such an honour to be here convening this panel of stellar speakers today. We have a very interesting geographic representation. From on my left, Madeleine Redfern, former mayor of Iqaluit and who I understand, is also running for current mayor again of Iqaluit on October 19th. And Svein Ludvigsen from the county of Troms. Governor of Troms, Norway. Sigríður Kristjánsdóttir is an Assistant Professor of Agriculture University of Iceland. And Paul Grenier, a little closer to home. A board member of the AMO, the Association of Municipalities of Ontario, and very much a political leader in the Niagara region. So, it's my pleasure to convene this panel today.

So, I would like to just introduce the topic of the role of circumpolar cities and regions in this discussion on what has turned out to be an incredible day of events and speakers. How do cities fit into this discussion? I hope that we will soon see by the end of this hour and a few minutes that we have left. I hope that we will understand better how cities are playing a role as international actors on the global stage, and the emerging governance role that cities are playing internationally. From my own work, I know that cities, especially global cities, are taking on powers and functions and strategies. They're operating globally across the United Nations and other international agencies. Initiatives and programs that we are informally now terming paradiplomacy, where cities are on the global stage in a paradiplomatic fashion are on the front lines of decisions. They are making incredible inroads on connectivity, as well. The digital age is certainly driving that connectivity, but even more so, it's this bridging into networks. So, cities are joining international networks, international city to city dialogues. We're also seeing membership organizations at the city level that are gaining incredible voice on the global stage, like ICLEI and UCLG, the United Cities in Local Governments. Or my own World Council on City Data, with 280 cities worldwide across 83 countries.

These networks of cities are gaining voice. We're seeing the evidence of that. At the most recent evolution of the Millennium Development Goals, if you've been following the MDGs at the UN, they are now set to retire the MDGs. And they're unfolding I believe the end of this month, the vote is taking place in New York, to form now the SDGs, the Sustainable Development Goals. And while many of us as urbanists worldwide are being very active with the international voice of cities, we fought very hard to make sure that the SDGs actually have a cities goal. And in the MDGs, there was no mention of cities. 20 years ago, cities just were not part of that dialogue. Our voice was not heard on the international stage. But in the SDGs, we have a designated goal on cities. And it's a goal that actually defines cities in terms of sustainable resilience. Inclusive, safe cities. So, those targets are being set as we speak. The vote should occur within the next month at the UN, and hopefully this urban goal will be there. So, this agenda is rising on cities. So for me, who is working on the city's agenda on very different plains than this particular conference.

I'm very thrilled to be here convening this discussion, because it's so timely and it's so important to think about cities in the Arctic cities in particular. How we can move this voice forward into the global paradiplomatic

roles that we really do need to make sure are heard. I will begin with an introduction first of our first speaker, Madeleine Redfern. So, Madeleine Redfern is the former mayor of Iqaluit, and hopefully soon to be the new mayor of Iqaluit. She's also been not just a politician, but a very successful businesswoman over the last 25 years. She's now President of the Ajungi Group, which builds all kinds of relationships across industry governments, Aboriginal organizations and communities. Miss Redfern is particularly involved in the field of governance, the law, public policy, programming and service development, and delivery both in Nunavut and in the rest of Canada. Madeleine, it's a very high honour to welcome you here today. You now have the floor.

Madeleine Redfern: Thank you. It was a good panel before us and it was interesting, because last night the person I was sitting next to, we were talking about what happens if someone effectively gives your presentation before you. So, I can tell you now we're saving time, so half my presentation I don't have to speak to. I agree with the earlier panellist when she said that the Arctic is hot. There's a lot of interest in the Arctic. And one of the things that we find, or at least I have, is trying to keep abreast of everything that is happening regarding the Arctic, outside of the Arctic, about the Arctic. And it is, I can tell you as the former mayor of Iqaluit and even since then, that I am very passionate about politics and what is happening that is going to affect me, going to affect my people, going to affect my community. And it is almost about 10 full time jobs if you were trying to keep tabs of everything that is happening on the Arctic agendas. The challenge that I found when I was mayor was, first of all, trying to even understand what my job description was. And looking to see what a mayor can do, and I was excited to find out that I could pretty much write my own job description. Other than sort of the menial tasks of actually attending council, chairing those meetings, more fascinating for me and the reason I was particularly happy to take the role and very much enjoyed my time, is that as a capital city of a territory, not only did I get engaged in what was happening in my community with the main issues regarding dumps, delivery of water, sewage, loose dogs, the condition of the roads, but also that there was so much happening as a regional hub. The Baffin Island has 13 communities. There's a lot of travel and relationships, both on a personal and political level. And having our Inuit organizations situated in the Arctic community means that there's an opportunity to engage a lot with those entities. As a capital city, of course there's the legislative assembly. So, you have the territorial politicians mostly residing there, and you can engage with them. And then we also had often national politicians. Not just our member of parliament, our ministers, our Prime Minister, coming to the community. Or internationally, there was also a lot of ambassadors, G7 summits. There was without a doubt many invitations to go to and do opening remarks. But I always saw that as also an additional opportunity to actually show, what do I want these people who are coming into our community to know about our issues? To connect with us. Not just the welcome remarks. You know, "I'm happy that you're here and I hope you have a good time." And as a result of several of those engagements, I found there were sometimes an ability to inform those decision makers.

A little bit more realism, rather than just understanding the Arctic from what you read in the paper or your briefing notes by other that have developed it usually from the south. A real sense of, okay, these are real issues. And I also find that often that even though sometimes the issues we would share would be the same, it would be a question of looking at those from a different way. So, when we talk about climate change, for us, it's not just what we see in the media or southern politicians, being something pro-development. Opening up the waterways and there's all this resource development that can happen. Or the other position which is anti-development. The environmental groups, "Oh, my God. We've got to stop this. The Arctic's too fragile." Whereas, you'll find when you talk to a vast majority of people who live in the Arctic were neither anti nor pro. "We want responsible development." And how is that going to happen? Similarly, when we hear about climate change, we are living it. And for me, as the mayor, it really meant permafrost is changing. We are having significant amount of our pipe system, which is buried in the ground and in the permafrost, and as it melts and shifts, it doesn't do so uniformly

and it results in a lot of broken pipes. And we are literally spending an enormous amount of money attempting to repair those pipes. It's not what you hear from Greenpeace when you talk about save the Arctic. But that is what we're actually facing and we simply do not, for the most part, have the money to deal with those issues. So, we tend or we attempt to bring those issues up to the different levels of government. We need help dealing with the sewage and water systems that we have. Further, when I also look at issues such as sovereignty, I know that The Gordon Foundation had done a study or survey a few years back. And it was interesting to see the similarities or the differences on perspectives regarding sovereignty. Because for the vast majority of us, it mean food and security. It meant having a safe community in which to live in. And needing to make sure that the politicians as they, above us, are understanding that we need their assistance to work on these issues.

What I find tends to happen is that most politicians and most parties run on a four-year platform. Our issues span more than four years. We need to be much more strategic in having our three different levels of government, working together to deal with these basic issues. So, thankfully, if you push the envelope, you can at times sort of break through these glass ceilings and get heard. Other times, it's frustrating. You're constantly bringing issues forward where the governments above you simply are not on their agenda. It's not what they're selling. Instead, it's a Franklin expedition or it's a military exercise, while on the ground are Arctic Rangers who are part of that military exercise, do not have the gear that they need or are being paid 75 dollars to participate in an exercise. And their knowledge and their skillset are not, for the most part, being adequately acknowledged and recognized as an immense contribution to national security and a military exercise that goes beyond a photo op. So, I know time's an issue, but what I really want to leave with you today is that the cities and the communities want to be part of the discussions regarding policy development, regarding strategic planning and implementation. There are some venues for us through, in my jurisdiction, the Nunavut Association Municipality, or through nationally the Federation of Canadian Municipalities. But on the Arctic scene, other than these types of venues, and most of the time it's through sort of side networking, not even in the panel discussions where you can actually sort of connect to other decision makers and say, "You know, we should be having a trade agreement between Greenland and Nunavut where we see a desire of trades and good." But we don't see it happening between our countries, whether Canada and Denmark, either than through the EU trade agreement. But it tends not to be as targeted or as meaningful as it can and should be between actually the sub-national states that are right next to each other. So, all we can do is keep pushing and saying that the cities do and the communities do have a role and want to play a role. But at the same time, I recognize that to be engaged at that level, it's equally important to be aware of what those national or international entities are doing. And making sure that the exchanges are mutually beneficial and it's not just a one-way conversation. We need to do it together.

Patricia McCarney: Thank you very much, Madeleine. We share your sense of need for voice in all of these issues with senior levels of government. So, it's much appreciated, your remarks. We'd like to now introduce Svein Ludvigsen, the former governor of the county of Troms, Norway. Svein has served as the Member of Parliament in the Norway Storting for 16 years, including in roles such as former Minister of Fisheries, Coastal Affairs, Minister of Nordic Co-operation, and is presently chair and a member of the board for a number of corporations and charities, including West Oil Tools, AS Foundation, and the Troms County Red Cross. And for his distinguished work in the Storting and public service, he's Commander of the Royal Norwegian Order of Saint Olav, Commander of the Order of the Lion of Finland, and Commander and First Class of the Order of Royal Swedish Nordstjärneorden. So, it's such a pleasure to welcome Svein. I'm really, really pleased to have you here and visiting from Norway. Thank you. Would you like to take the floor?

Svein Ludvigsen: Thank you and ladies and gentleman, it's nice to be here. First of all, I quote our Minister of Foreign Affairs who said in his first statement, "The most important international issue in Norway is the high north, the Arctic. The development is important for the region, but even more for Norway and Norway's position in the world." A political editor in *The Economist* wrote that Norway can be the best supporter of science as well as political research and knowledge about the Arctic. Then I remind you about the Arctic Frontier, the large conference in Troms in January next year. The topics where, last year, 1,400 delegates met. The Arctic Frontiers 2016 will discuss the balance between resources, utilization, and preservation. And between industrial and environmental interests in the Arctic. My presentation is both an invitation to co-operate and a presentation on the possibilities and challenges in my part of the Arctic. First, local and regional political bodies in Norway and politicians are involved, as well as trade and industry. And secondly, we, I mean the municipalities, the regional governments and the Sámi parliament have been and still are in the forefront creating the future. I live there. I've been representing the region, as you said, for 16 years in parliament and government and have been governor the last nine years. It is a part of Norway characterized by optimism, large resources, and the neighbourhood to the Norwegian water seven times as big as the main land. And in the northeast, a 196 kilometre border to Russia. North Norway, geographically these three countries just north of the polar circle. Some say the polar circle, also named the High North, represent 1/3 of the main land Norway. But little less than 10 percent of the population.

Centralization and urbanization are two strong driving forces also in my part of Norway and my part of Europe. Therefore, the growth in terms of the capital in the High North with a population of 70,000 will give us in a 10 year's perspective, 40% more inhabitants age 25 to 35. And most of them with a university education. Just now, the whole political issue in Norway is how to organize regional and local structures in the counties and municipalities to prepare for the future challenges. Surveys show that people in the High North are more optimistic than any other region in Norway. Just to give you some example, the number of jobs in Norway have raised only one percent from 2013 to 2014. But in the North, that nearly doubled to 1.7. 4.1% of people are unemployed in Norway. In my county, only 2.2. Our export in North is based on seafood, mining, LNG gas, and primary-based industry as well as tourism. Prognosis for growth on Norwegian export is only one percent. But in the North, its seven percent. Our attractive young and well-educated people that find the High North will depend on interesting jobs and income, also depending on science and research in the universities, all key tools for development of our region, like I think it is in all regions.

A couple of examples: after the first university was established in the High North in Troms in 1968 and later, the Polar Institute and the National Centre of Telemedicine, our county has been much more attractive than before for young and well-educated people. And they stay after their education. In earlier time, we exported well-educated young people. An example is a dentist educated at our university. 90% stay in the region. The same with lawyers, doctors, and others. When Snøhvit, the gas field in the Barents Sea, producing LNG gas, heating up the US population, was opened in 2007, Hammerfest town, where the gas is brought into the coast changed from deep pessimism to optimism and growth. Soon, the first oil field offshore High North is in production. 40 different international oil companies are interested in u-blox in the Norwegian sector in the Barents Sea up to the Russian border. And this is another example of optimism and belief in the future. New large offshore oil and gas fields has been discovered in the High North. This inspires young people to become, for example, engineers or geologists. The Fridtjof Nansen Institute reports that the Norwegian sector of the Barents Sea is the most dynamic area in the Arctic. Both because the most climate-friendly environment is here and the geology is very interesting. They spread high optimism among both the region of politicians and business in Norway. 33% of the Norwegian mining is in the High North. 80% of the maritime traffic in Arctic goes through north Norwegian waters. 43% of the Norwegian undiscovered petrol resources is located in the High North. Regional businesses, political bodies, industries and supplies are eager to participate and local and regional government, too. A long

lasting regional initiative and fight for better educational health care finally was won in 1968 when the first university in north was established in Tromsø. Another regional initiative and fight was ended in 1990 when a majority in the parliament voted to establish a new tax zone in part of north Norway, which has been a success, stimulating innovative people with high education to settle. After *perestroika* and *glasnost* in the Soviet Union, the so-called Barents region included north Norway, Sweden and Finland, and northeast Russia with six million inhabitants, was established in 1963 and is an arena for local and regional political politicians to work together. This has opened up a great people to people compact between Norway and Russia. The Arctic Council is a spin-off of this declaration and has its office, as in my hometown, Tromsø. Regional and local governments have been and are actively involved. And finally, the first important national government white paper about a new strategy for developing and utilizing the natural resources in the High North came in 2005. I was in the government at that time. The ambition was and still is bilateral and multilateral co-operation involving local and regional persons for dialogue and involvement for an effective and holistic sustainable development and utilization our resources. Regional and local, we can see stronger driving forces than ever. We believe it is possible to develop the High North to be the most creative and sustainable region in Norway. Our rich natural resources with our nature and high educated population are our future fortune. The combination of competence and fantasy.

Education and innovative clusters and investments, as well as obstinacy and madness makes the future bright. And not to forget, in the past, we have lived in peace together with our indigenous people, as well as our neighbours, even during the Cold War. We strongly work for stability and predicted and peaceful development. And the local and people are involved in this important work. They are very aware of the development in Ukraine and other regions in Europe and work hard to maintain a good relation to Russia in the North. Remember, during the Cold War, there was good relation between northwest Russia and the northern part of Norway. The Soviet Army stayed in Norway in '44 and they went home in 1945. We never forget that and we are grateful for it, too. We also advocate for the necessity for sustainable utilization and management of the rich resources in the vulnerable Arctic environment. Climate change, as we every day can observe in our region, underline the importance of international co-operation in the High North, both in regional and local level as well as nation to nation. Regionally, we argue for international knowledge, responsibility, and commitment. Melting ice in the Arctic makes it possible to sail through the Northeast Passage to the Bering Strait. That invites more conflict between Arctic governments regionally. The large oil and gas resources in the Arctic both in Norwegian sector, Russian sector, UK and Canadian sector, will both meet the world's need for energy and also have a risk of pollution in some of the cleanest environments in the world. We point out the large need for better infrastructure in the populated Arctic. And particularly, we also need better search and rescue and strong international commitment regarding the environment. Locally, we are very content about the Arctic Council's work. For member states treaties prevent oil spill and search and rescue. This has even opened up for better co-operation between Norwegian authorities. In this picture, we understand that Arctic Council, with its eight Arctic members, six permanent organizations representing the indigenous people, and the twelve observer states can be, in the future, a vital instrument for our coming future. If the Arctic Council is willing to make wise strategy changes for the future. And friends, what I have told you is my best invitation to better dialogue and co-operation between circumpolar cities, municipalities, and region. Might we need new visions and missions for the future.

And last but not least, my final word is a question and a statement. We need a better platform for dialogue between people and the regional and local authorities. And it might be that the Munk School could be this platform in the future. Might be they should meet here and then double and triple the number of delegates and discuss these things at Munk School. Thank you very much.

Patricia McCarney: It's now my pleasure to introduce Sigríður Kristjánsdóttir. Dr. Kristjánsdóttir holds a Bachelor of Science in geography from the University of Iceland. She has also received a master's degree in Urban Planning at the University of Washington. It's good to meet a fellow planner. And also a PhD which she completed in 2007 from the University of Birmingham, where she specialized in urban morphology. So it's a pleasure to have you here. I know now you're directing the master program in planning at the Agricultural University in Iceland. You've travelled far to be with us today. It's a pleasure to welcome you here. I understand that some of your research on these tensions that you've been described in your bio could be a very interesting contribution to this work because Dr. Kristjánsdóttir looks at climate planning, the tensions around ecology, equity, economy. The conflicts around development and resource conflict, property conflict. And also in her spare time, how Nordic countries can better collaborate. So, she brings an incredible expertise to our room today. It's a pleasure to welcome you. The floor is yours.

Sigríður Kristjánsdóttir: It's been a very interesting day and I decided to have some slides because I thought you might be falling asleep. So, this is kind of maybe a view from Iceland on the topic. And first of all, there's a lot of discussion about sustainability and of course, then we can expect that the development in the North Pole or in the Nordic area will be required to be in order to reach the sustainable goals. And then there, we are looking at the nature and then we have, and the economy and the equity. And the property conflict is between the economic growth and equity sharing of the opportunities. And then we have the resources conflict between economic development and ecological sustainability. The development conflict between social equity and environmental preservations. And I have written some of this, so I'm not going to go further in it here. But we might end up with a picture like this, where everybody is trying to get their way. And now we're looking towards the future.

How is the future going to be? Who knows? But we have this planning question we're always trying to answer. It's like, who's going to do it? What are we going to do? Where are we going to do it? When are we going to do it? Why are we going to do it? How are we going to do it? And then it came to mind when I was looking at it, if you look back on planning history, we have this example from Oklahoma in the Wild West where they would just line up the cowboys. And there was a guy at the end with a pistol and they would shoot off and they would rush in. So, are we going to do that? No. But then also, do we have some instant settlement happening, or are we going to do some planning? Now, if I go back to Iceland and what's been going on there is our President Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson is very interested in the Northern world and he stated in his 2014 New Year address that Iceland has a key position in the Arctic world which will be crucial in the coming century. Natural resources transportation will be in the north.

So, for Reykjavik. Reykjavik is our capital. It's the largest city, above 60 north. The latitude is at 64.08 north. The world's northernmost capital. The population, however, is only 120,000. But in the capital region its over 200,000. Well, the city has put emphasis on clean quality of life and we have the hydro thermic, which we use to warm up the houses. And I must say, when I was preparing this, I didn't know how many of you have been to Iceland. But it's been surprising nice that the people I've been talking to, I think everybody has been there. And then what is happening is there are several places that are kind of jumping ahead and they want to get a piece of the pie. And I'm going to mention two of them.

This is Finnaþjófur. It's a municipality up in the north and they are looking at Arctic transit shipping. So, when it will bank the cargo on a big ships to Iceland and then put them on a smaller ship and take them to Europe or the states. And they had already made the plan and if you look down in the middle of it, there's a green area. That is where the farm is. There is one farm in these fjords and the guy does not want to sell. He just wants to

live alone in his fields with his sheep. So, they made it into a green area all along. They are developing. And then there is this area close to Akureyri and they are thinking about, like a main Arctic gateway and they are looking at oil and bringing up some oil in co-operation with Greenland and other countries in the north. Now, this place is close to a city. I mean, there is a city in this fjord. Not just one farmer. And this is Akureyri, actually my hometown. And there they have very good hospital and international airport and university. So, there's a lot of things going on there.

Today, we're talking about cities. Maybe we'll be talking about other cities, in 10 years we will have new cities. Who knows? So, those are just two examples. There are other examples, but those two are the farthest ahead, so I also want to mention this. This Arctic Circle has come up frequently today, and that's one of my President kind of idea. He's really behind this and it's kind of like a hub for research in the Polar region. But there's people from all over. You have business people, academic, political, and environmentalists. People are interesting. Everyone is welcome. And the next one is now in October, I think. And if you're not coming to that one, you should come next year. I want to welcome you all to Iceland. But I also have to say that Iceland has benefited from the supply of clean energy with the use of hydropower and geothermal power to reduce electric and heating. Iceland has therefore been much less reliant on fossil fuels than other countries. Now, this is also like pluses and minuses. If you're going to build up those big harbour area, we are only 320,000. The whole nation. So, who's going to work there? How are we going to deal with that? So, there's all the question like that we need to answer. But anyway, my final remarks are this conservation for the country and the co-operation between municipalities, otherwise too much of the uncertain future benefits will disperse in competition. Not only between some small towns, but between the nations. If you do look closer though, you can see that there is - Iceland is in the middle now. So we're going to be in the centre of the world. Thank you.

Patricia McCarney: I'd like to introduce Paul Grenier. Paul is a little closer to home. Here in Ontario, where he is a political leader in the regional municipality of Niagara Council and representing the city of Welland. Paul studied as an economist at the University of Waterloo and Brock. And he is now elected to the regional municipality of Niagara Council, representing the city of Welland. He brings a vast experience from so many different parts of the city agenda to the table today. He has served on committees including the Hydro Recreational Canal Lands Around the Welland Canal committee and the emergency planning committee. He's chaired the Conservation Committee. He's managed four budgets, which is a huge accomplishment. At the regional council, Paul's also a director now of the Niagara Regional Housing Corporation and a member of the public works committee. Most important I believe that he's bringing to the table today is that he has spent many years and now is the AMO, Association of Municipalities of Ontario, the AMO board representing regional government's caucus. He's also in the private sector on waste management, green energy, and environmental services. So, Paul, it's a pleasure to have you here today with us.

Paul Grenier: Thank you. And thank you for the invitation and I hope that I can bring something to the table here. My goal obviously is the reason to identify hope and provide a baseline conversation on moving forward cooperatively with local governments. And perhaps an inspiration that a lot of the progress that is being made is very underreported, and that perhaps there is a blueprint out there for dealing with some of these challenges of local governance and service delivery that may already have a blueprint. Firstly, cities, towns, communities, whatever we want to call them, the hamlets, the villages, however the description is: they all exist as an order of governance in the communities throughout the Arctic region. And I think that some of the Canadian examples of how remote communities a little south of the Arctic have come together to bridge some of the challenges that they have, to help their citizens in a number of ways. And I'm going to highlight those examples. The Federation of Canadian Municipalities has two programs that have been very successful over the past half a dozen years. The

CIPP, which is the infrastructure partnership program, and the CEDI, or CEDI, because the municipalities and government runs on acronyms. CEDI is the economic development initiative. The Association of Municipalities of Ontario is currently in negotiation with the Chiefs of Ontario Political Confederacy in developing a memorandum of understanding on cooperative work throughout Ontario between municipalities in First Nation communities. And hopefully that'll be signed in the first quarter of 2016. I'm going to tow a bit of the company line here, as an AMO board member. We deliver the services that guarantee the quality of life. We deliver water and wastewater services. We provide recreation facilities. Public safety with ambulance. Fire and policing and land use management. All of the things. Public health, some social services are all delivered by local governments. Variations of that theme across North America is very the same. They're all delivered by local governments. The model is the same and I have this in here, by and large deal on revenue from property taxes, licensing and fees. Very few municipalities in a global sense get to deliver, get to collect consumption and income taxes to pay for these. So, I put this in. Maybe most people aren't aware of this.

We deliver 40% of government services with only 8% of the tax dollars. We actually get how to do more with a lot less. So, the idea we've talked and spoke a lot today about the paternal relationships between the higher orders of government and the sort of sub nationals, the territorial or regional governments and the local governments. I think it's time that we move a little bit further here and move away from those abstractions, perhaps, and talk about some of the concrete things that are working today. And how people at, as I sometimes facetiously refer to it, we actually do the real work, the heavy lifting, and get it done. And I hope that we have some ideas. I go through some of the success stories that how we are doing very well. There are roughly 55 communities with any definition, not very many across a wide territory in northwest territory Yukon and Nunavut. The potential for co-operation in neighbouring managements is very high, and some of these are not being taken advantage of. Some of the subscription of programs that are out there might need a bit of a kick start. I hope some of the leaders here can take that back. But we do have an opportunity to create more scope and scale. And once that's done, the funding from the higher orders of government do typically come to the table. And the challenges, the vast challenges of distance can be overcome once that level of co-operation is reached. The next two slides going to highlight those two programs. The SIP and CEDI program.

Firstly, the infrastructure program, it brings people together. This is not a funding program, but it's one of the things that was spoken in the literature. And some of the successful participants. It helps break down the sort of mistrust between the neighbouring communities and bring them together so that they can have joint sharing of delivering services that are critical to the quality of life for their citizens. And I think that it's important to understand how long standing irritants and misunderstandings are usually one of the biggest hurdles to get in the way. Money and land use issues go away a lot faster once there's trust in place. And again, the federal government typically likes to take credit for things after everyone else has done the work, so, they write a cheque when people have got to that point. The next Community Economic Development Initiative. This is more of a marketing plan and regional work plan. It seems to become very successful. They're kind of neat. I was at the FCM Conference in Edmonton in the beginning of June. And the recent signatories I'm going to talk about the story there. But the concept, once they're done, they refer to them as friendship accords with the neighbouring communities. And they talk about shared goals and visions and how they market their areas and present them as a collective place, rather than three or four individual communities that happen to share geography. So, it's a great idea. There are long term plans. Six of them are signed and again, the now Aboriginal affairs in northern developments funds that after sort of the big work at the bases being done.

Now, let me move into a couple of these great examples. For those of you in Canada and maybe some of the international people remember in 2011, horrific scenes you saw in the national news. The wildfires going

through northern Alberta, Slave Lake and Lesser Slave Lake, as well as Sawridge First Nation community were devastated in many ways by the wildfires that came through the area. This served as a catalyst for the communities to come together. The tribe council came together because they had to work together to have the joint recovery so that they could actually move forward and rebuild their lives. Now, the focus - they've evolved to a point where they have a regional Economic Development Office that works for the three communities. And now they focus on tourism, business opportunity, and joint land development. A friendship accord was signed in May of 2014. This is one that will touch some people here. It's Sioux Lookout, Ontario. If you've been to Sioux Lookout, it would take you perhaps seven hours to drive there from Thunder Bay. It's almost the end of the road, which is Red Lake, which is a right hand turn from the highway from Sioux Lookout. But it is the service hub for many of the remote and primarily fly-in communities in northern Ontario. The health centre there, just as an example, for 5,000 people, this is a really nice hospital. And it serves 30,000 people from 32 communities. And most of the patients for what we would feel are routine health care services fly in to go to this place.

The accord was signed in 2012 with them and the real issue was the ability to get food to the fly-in communities in an affordable way. So, they worked together. Now, just for background, two very well-funded, successful airlines that are owned by two different first-nation groups, Bearskin and Wasaya, are hubbed out of Sioux Lookout. So, the idea of that being the catalyst to move products, Cisco Canada the giant food services. You can't probably drive around here in Toronto without seeing one of their trucks delivering downtown here to the restaurants. Based in Winnipeg. Met with them, helped them out. They contributed 48,000 dollars, fed more, and the ministry put in more money. And now the design phase and hopefully construction and employment of a food distribution centre to help provide that is moving forward. LaRonge Saskatchewan and Air Ronge and then the large First Nation community nearby. The map there gives you a little bit of perspective of where that is and how far north in Saskatchewan this community is. The cost-sharing projects, waste management including the recycling and a regional fire hall, but what I really want to talk about is the water, Regional Water Corporation. They all had problems and they came to the logical conclusion that a triparty joint corporation would be the best way to deliver safe, clean drinking water to the tap. They formed the board, and this is a good development. It may still be the only board in Saskatchewan to have a first-nation community as a shareholder of this board. And then they came over cultural issues and one of the things they spoke about was the concept of metering water. First Nations community's people felt that this was an intrusion on privacy and took some extent to write, but the idea is on our concept of doing that. That's how we sent out bills. So, they work through the concept of one bill to the band and then distributing out. But just the idea of being able to speak together and overcome this and not let that be a hurdle, the pipes under the ground delivering safe drinking water were put into place and delivering that to people. And then the other service boards came into being - per capita contributions are still there and again, once the engineering was done and the plan was in place, the Federal Provincial Governments provided funding for the program.

Tony spoke earlier this morning about how the Yukon and some of the different governance areas - Yukon's had it together for a little while. That's up there. And it just highlights that the city of Whitehorse with the neighbouring First Nations community and on the far right hand side is a list of things that they work out and how they're built. All the communities in Yukon have this. This is actually on the website for those that wish to look at it. The whole Yukon service agreement with the neighbouring communities, is posted on the Federation Canadian Municipalities' website, and for review. And I think it's a great example of how one territorial government is a little bit ahead of the curve making things happen. As I said earlier, the Association Municipalities of Ontario, I'm a board member. Met with the Chiefs in May. The Rural Ontario Municipal Associations and the Ontario Good Roads, it's a standard conference. 2,000 delegates every year in February for the past 60 years at the Royal York Hotel. They took that advantage of the Chiefs. The Ontario Chiefs made that

presentation. They presented to the AMO board before that and again to over 2,500 people in Niagara Falls a few weeks ago made their case about the need to work together. This work on these service agreements moving forward and then will hopefully, by the first quarter of 2016, we will have a signing ceremony in place and try to work with the province of Ontario to develop policies of co-operation between our First Nations neighbours and Ontario municipalities. This is a little quote from the letter that was sent to all Ontario municipalities from the chiefs of Ontario, again highlighting that was long overdue, but someone came - finally together, we've come to the realization that we need to work together to our mutual benefit. And hopefully that can be the case and example to others. Now, these are - I love these. This is from the Slave Lake area. And I've met Chief Roland Twinn and his idea and how he introduced this. The last part of that, the other levels of government aren't actually the enemy. They become your best allies. It took a disaster for people to realize how close and how much - how they could become friends to make things happen and move forward. And then, the same thing from Reeve Kerik of Lesser Slave, the municipal district of Lesser Slave Lake said the same thing. And these were solicited independently of each other and then put into the product literature for the program. And that's how it's distributed. So then both guys are telling the truth here. That it took a little while where they are. And this, again, from the Lac Seul First Nation, which is neighbouring to Sioux Lookout. And the idea that we need to figure out a way to do things better. And we're on the ground, we're there, and we understand how we can help each other and move forward. Now, the idea of these programs, and I think they can be applied across all territories. The current literature and studies are well-refined. It can service examples to our other circumpolar friends to be used as ideas of leadership that we have here. We spoke about some of the failings that we have or the challenges we might have with respect to Arctic governance, but I think the people on the ground doing the heavy lifting and the local municipalities get it.

And I just want to add something to what Madeleine said when she first began. The idea and challenges of infrastructure in being delivered are very difficult for municipalities and even more so for those north of 60. And I think we have an opportunity here to change the way we think about infrastructure, development, and how we deliver governance. Particularly when you drill down to the idea of services and hard services like water and sewer and waste, waste management that have initially high capital cost of entry before they begin. If you talk about the 64 billion dollar infrastructure gap across the country, I think that we might be missing the challenge that small communities of a few thousand people and multi-million dollar projects need to rise to. Now, we need to talk about that more openly and challenge the higher orders of government to help the local governments get it done. But I think that we can start now. Because here we've done it wrong. We talk about not having sustainable funding and pricing for our infrastructure. And I think that the idea of the far north being able to do it right from the beginning and talk about development and delivery with capital design and pricing being at the beginning of the conversation rather at the end when we're trying to repair it. Have that conversation at the beginning. And I think that the talent and dedication of those on the ground should help serve as an inspiration to get it done. And I hope that I've helped, actually, highlight some of the things that are going on across the country from the local level, from the top up, the bottom up, rather than the top down. So that we could have this conversation, a little more optimism than maybe was present earlier today. Thank you.

Patricia McCarney: Thank you very much, Paul, for that intervention. It was really helpful to start to think about municipalities and cities as doing the real heavy lifting here. I heard you say it twice. The real work that's being done at the city level. I think the challenge for all of us in this room is to think about how that agenda and the reality on the ground of cities that we've heard from all of our panellists here today. I know Madeleine also talked a lot about leverage around this real issue agenda and how you build leverage up to senior levels of government. So, it would be good to at least take a couple of questions from the floor if there are any. And in the meantime, let me recognize two questions right here.

Audience: My question is that the question of co-operation in the field of meteorology is very important. And how is it that so far no regional meteorological centre has been set up? I might tell you my experience as secretary of SAC that the first thing which we did when we identify co-operation was to talk of meteorology. And the first regional centre set up in the whole of south Asia was for meteorology.

Patricia McCarney: And the second question and then we'll get the answer.

Audience: I just want to say that waters, particularly the environment has been a theme in my family of origin, I guess because there was a lot of children. We were of Italian and Irish origin and came here in 1902. Now, I know that my uncle George who graduated from here in engineering, he was first to realize the toxins from the mines. Like, in Elliot Lake, the uranium. And I've done some work with Carolyn Bennett and she's the MP for St. Paul's Liberal. And at one point, I think it was a year or two ago, there was 1,400 reserves that had tainted water. I mean, or no water. I mean I find that so shocking. I basically was a front-line social worker. I'm retired now and an activist, but - and I know there are issues with food in the High North and I thought that was being addressed, that there are food programs. I know in North Bay, I spoke with some First Nations women and they were telling me that there was a real issue with food. I think the logging industry had sort of gone defunct. But are these issues not being resolved or improved? I mean it's really shocking to think we have this in Canada.

Patricia McCarney: Thank you. Any questions before we open the panel here? Okay. Who would like to begin?

Sigríður Kristjánsdóttir: Well, I know your question was to Canada, but in Iceland we have a very good water and I was surprised. I was in the store. You were actually importing our water.

Paul Grenier: There we go. Learning. The idea of safe water should be a national priority. However, I think that the realization from those communities on the ground is already there. And I think that perhaps those of us in this room should be helping them amplify their voice to get help to make this happen. But I think that from a more, wider conversation that you've had here today, the engineering and challenges of delivering safe drinking water to the tap for communities in the far north are immense and they're very costly. And we need to understand there's other quality of life. Building roads. Not to be too much of a public works guy here in the south, but, typically it's half a million dollars a kilometre here to resurface a road and a million and a half dollars a kilometre to reconstruct a road. If you imagine the cost structures and the geology and the temperature challenges of doing similar work in the far north and then you try to do that on a tax base of 1,000 people, it's really not doable unless you have help and understanding about the structures of government to make that more affordable.

Svein Ludvigsen: Yeah, first of all, the standard for quality of water in Norway is a national standard. But the municipalities are responsible to deliver. The quality is high, like in Iceland, but even though we go to the shop, shopping bottle water and the scientists say, "It's better water in the taps." On the other hand, I think the quality of water is one of the issues where the smaller or middle sized municipality have to deal with in the climate change issues. You see, the mayor said, "Everybody's talking about climate change and the big issues." But the consequences like you talk about, should be on the table more often. And I think that competence, quality, capacity, and financial instruments is some of the questions which we have to deal with when we talk about climate change. Water supply, erosion, bad weather. How should we build houses? Where should we build it? Your planning activities. I think we stand before big issues on a local level. And too few are dealing with it. I think a platform like this is a platform for this experience and your presentation I think is an example whole municipalities have to co-operate in the future.

Paul Grenier: If I can add lastly about the pricing of water and the construction of wastewater and wastewater services in the far north, as Svein rightly pointed out. It's a national right in Norway. It's not yet here in Canada, but the idea of speaking collectively about the delivery of quality water to the tap or access to quality water, however it may be distributed in those respective communities, including as it's been said from source to treatment to delivery. Our challenges I think that might be a topic for a whole other conference here. But it is a very important issue that needs to be addressed.

Patricia McCarney: The question from our former ambassador from India is around meteorological question around weather patterns, et cetera.

Svein Ludvigsen: From Norway, in my country, we are exercising about bad weather and stronger weather. And two years ago we had a large exercise with people and search and rescue people from Russia, Finland, Sweden, and Norway exercising together the whole week. And observers from a lot of countries participated. I have brought all my mayors and high administrators in my country to Iceland to learn about search and rescue. They are very clever about it and most countries in Europe go to Iceland and learn how to deal with the bad weather, eruption and so on.

Sigríður Kristjánsdóttir: Thank you Svein. You're right. We have crazy weather in Iceland. And actually, last weather was very bad. Just in January and February I think we had like over 40 storms, and they created this coffee cup saying "I survived the winter of 2014" but we do have a great rescue team. And it's very common now for foreign people to come and they rent the car and they go drive and they think, "Well, let's drive on the glacier." So, now they're actually thinking about charting for it if you are doing city stuff.

Patricia McCarney: What I'm hearing on this panel which I find very intriguing is the list that I made as you all spoke. And I made a list of all the agenda topics that seem to be high on your priorities because they were often mentioned one or two times during each of the presentations, if not more across the panel. And it seems to me that cities in the High North and cities of the Arctic regions have no formal role on the Arctic Council at this moment in time, if I understand correctly from our notes. So, since Paul, you're saying the heavy lifting is all at the municipal level. And since Madeleine, as a mayor of Iqaluit, you're saying senior level of government need to listen better to us. And I heard on the panel just before this that even for the Arctic Council, it's very important to show relevance. Well, putting two and two together, relevance seems to me to be the real issues on the ground in the Arctic communities.

So, how do we knit together a policy platform for the Arctic Council? I have a suggestion, having worked in cities globally all my life. We really do need a city-to-city dialogue of Arctic cities. Maybe this is the beginning of it. But when you start to have cities engage with each other, like we have four people here today, you start to hear a common set of denominators around the challenges. And here is my list. I'll just read it out quickly. Tourism, economic development, business opportunities, land development, safety. And I know all of you have mentioned many of these. Infrastructure. Not just infrastructure as we know it in the south; water, sanitation, waste, et cetera. But very highly resilient infrastructure, too. Weather, so that we don't have collapsed pipes to deal with in Iqaluit. It should have been built correctly the first time. So, resilient infrastructure, health services. Food, but also healthy eating in northern communities. Education. And it was referred to repeatedly, attracting and retention of talent. We heard this from our colleague in Norway.

So, that's the beginning of an agenda, to me, that builds relevance for high priority items going forward in this agenda. And maybe it's city-to-city dialogues that we start that process with, which can help to build a voice at

the local level. That builds up to national and regional councils and global councils. Because I can tell you with my work in the United Nations, and I'll be there next week again, the three topics on the agenda are resilient cities, sustainable cities, and inclusive prosperity in cities. And this list actually feeds perfectly into this agenda at the UN. So, maybe it's connecting the highest level to the most local community level to create a relevant agenda. Do we have comments from our panellists and any comments from the floors? And then I think we have maybe two minutes and we must close. Three minutes. Okay. Yes, please. Svein.

Svein Ludvigsen: A short comment. When I think about the '80s and the '90s, we have the large activities internationally, with sister cities in Arctic, Northern Forum, we have the sister city, winter cities. In my home in Tromsø close co-operation with Anchorage and Murmansk. Then came Arctic Council. I wonder if these local and regional activities in a way was killed by the nation-to-nation activity in the Arctic Council. I wonder. Others can answer, but I have heard all the criticism about Arctic Council. Today in the morning, we discussed and nobody knew. Who are members of Northern Forum? Who is meeting? Is anybody meeting in the Northern Forum anymore? It might be, as you say, we really need rebirth of local and regional co-operation bodies where we meet and not only nation-to-nation.

Sigríður Kristjánsdóttir: Well, I like your idea. I'm in for it.

Paul Grenier: If I can, just to finish off. And I agree that it is necessary. I think that perhaps before you even get down that, identify the deliverable or success outcome at the end before start having a conversation. We're going through this in the south, not talking about designing infrastructure for different climate normals. Everything from the size of sewer pipes to how we construct our roads. They have this sort of in place for the people that live it every day, and then challenge the political engineering and academic community to come so that you get an answer at the end, rather than creating a cottage industry of talking to each other.

Patricia McCarney: On that note, thank you Paul. I'd like to close this panel and I would like to congratulate the organizers of this terrific forum today for assembling this group of four dignitaries. It's really a pleasure to have chaired it. Please join me in thanking our panel.

Watch the conversation: <http://hosting2.desire2learncapture.com/MUNK/1/Watch/761.aspx>



Session III with Patricia McCarney, Madeleine Redfern, Svein Ludvigsen, Sigríður Kristjánsdóttir, and Paul Grenier



Patricia McCarney



Madeleine Redfern



Hon. Svein Ludvigsen



Paul Grenier



Sigríður Kristjánsdóttir



Session III Presentation

Session IV

Arctic Council in Transition: From Canada to US, and the next 20 years

4:00PM – 5:30PM

Jack Cunningham: OK. If I can have your attention please, we'll go into our next panel. I'm trying hard to avoid the cliché that this or that individual really doesn't need an introduction. The cliché pertains in the case of our chair today at this session, particularly for this group, because Franklyn Griffiths is not only a very esteemed and distinguished political scientist, he's done a lot to establish the serious study of the Arctic as a respected and important branch of scholarly inquiry. So I will happily turn this session over to him. Franklyn?

Franklyn Griffiths: Thank you so much. We are running a bit late I'm sorry to say, and therefore we need to move right to business. And rather than introducing each of our panellists separately, I'm simply going to say they are great people. And their long biographies, they've been handed out to everyone. But we have a great set of talents here, we're going to- now hear from one out to the other. And then we're going to have time, I hope, for discussion. I will say only a couple of things. We want to talk about the Arctic Council in transition as the United States takes over, or has taken over, from Canada as chair. So there's something going on right now and we've already heard a fair bit about it. But then the title is To Look Out To The Next 20 Years. Now this is a quite a long time ahead, and we're talking surely about a lot of changes in the Arctic and globally. We're talking about a situation in which the Arctic Council itself will have to trench. I think we've already heard at this meeting various suggestions that the Council needs to adapt, it needs other voices, and these voices need to organize themselves. But there's a very healthy, critical note that's cropped up in this conversation. There are critiques starting to take shape about the Arctic Council. Tony mentioned it is a design flaw right at the beginning perhaps, so it's worth thinking about that. And are there other design flaws? Maybe we'll be able to start posing, I don't think we'll answer any of these questions, but we may be able to start putting some on the table and we'll see what happens. So I'll start with Terry, please.

Terry Fenge: Thank you. My name is Terry Fenge. I'm a consultant based in Ottawa. I'll just start my remarks in the following way. I've been an unabashed fan and admirer of the Walter & Duncan Gordon Foundation for 30 years. And I want to acknowledge this and thank Tom for his invitation to come here. What I know about and I've learnt about the Arctic Council has been through three organizations, the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, and the Arctic Athabaskan Council. I have at various stages worked for and represented these organizations, however my remarks this evening are purely personal remarks. So, I carry a brief for nobody in terms of being here. What I thought I might try and do quickly is to give you a sense of the Council itself and to give you a sense that the Council has indeed evolved, because you're all seeking to participate in a target that is itself moving. So let me try and do this very quickly. I thought to myself, "How can I convey that to you?" So what I thought I'd try and do is to draw for you five or six images that express the change that the Council is going through and how we can protect into the future.

My first image is a summer in 1996. In 1995, there had been a meeting between Prime Minister Chrétien and President Clinton at which discussions had taken place, and that the United States agreed to participate in the negotiations to establish the Arctic Council and to send a negotiator rather than observer. This meant that in summer of 1996, a new chief negotiator from the State Department by the name of Tucker Skully came to Ottawa and we had a series of meetings. At those meetings, it was very clear that the State Department didn't want to be there. And the United States was a reluctant participant in the whole principle of Circumpolar Co-

operation. Tucker Skully got up and did the following: he said, “We certainly don’t want to have “S” on the word “indigenous peoples” in this declaration because that would imply that we, as a country, accept the right of Alaskan indigenous peoples to secede.” That’s why you see in the Arctic Council Declaration the reference to “S” on “peoples”. He then said, “We certainly don’t want indigenous people signing this declaration. Until then, indigenous peoples were going to witness the declaration that was taken of the declaration.” There was clarification of language to make sure that people understood the agreement was between states, not between peoples. And there was effectively a clawback arrangement pushed on to 1996 to 1998 during the Canadian chairmanship when they drafted rules and procedure for the Arctic Council. And that if you really want to know how the Arctic Council works, you don’t go to the declaration, you go to the rules and procedure. Now the point was that in those years, at that time, the United States took a very hard-nosed, limited approach to what was going on and really was a reluctant participant for some years.

Compare that image to my second image, which is only a few weeks ago. The United States now chairs the Arctic Council and they have, I would suggest to you, one of the most effective personnel teams that I have seen in any nation chair in the Council. We’ve got Bob Papp who was introduced to you earlier, Fran Ulmer, the former Lieutenant Governor of Alaska, and David Bolton, who’s a consummate diplomat. You’ve got Secretary Kerry who was engaged on this, and you’ve got Julia Gourley. Julia is the American Senior Arctic Official and is the longest serving Senior Arctic Official around the table. I would want to suggest to you that in this 20th period, the United States is going from a laggard when it comes to circumpolar co-operation to a leader on circumpolar co-operation.

My third image for you is of 1994 to 1998, and it’s an image of Mary Simon. In 1994, Mary was appointed Canada’s first Arctic Ambassador. And it was Mary plus some staffers, primarily not people from the Department of Foreign Affairs. She had to go outside that department to get decent advice and people who could draft and to work with her, which is initially what I’d like to pursue if I have time. Mary travelled the circumpolar world trying to herd the cats, to bring people together, to ensure that there would be something, that there would be a framework of circumpolar co-operation. It strikes me at that time, and I don’t want to go too far beyond my brief here, that Canada had a certain commitment, there was a vision, there was political leadership, there was political backing. I remember Lloyd Axworthy became minister, I think of Foreign Affairs early in 1996, and I think that if Mary was here, she would talk about the strong political backing that she had at that time. That’s an image I want you to hold in your mind.

Now I want to give you another image of Canada in the last few years on circumpolar matters. Canada just relinquished the chairmanship of the Arctic Council. Halfway during its chairmanship, the Canadian chair of the Senior Arctic Officials left. He did, I would suggest to you, a rather poor job and he was replaced by somebody else who came in. In the last five years, we have had four or five Senior Arctic Officials from the Department of Foreign Affairs. All of these individuals are competent, capable, senior, and have interesting CVs and have done lots of good things over the years. And none of them, I believe, have a background in northern or Aboriginal issues. Now I think I can make the case to you that Canada to a degree has lost its way in Circumpolar Co-operation. And I want to just read to you some evidence to support my hypothesis. This is the 2009 Canadian Northern Strategy. Let me read to you and explain something to you: “The government of Canada has a clear vision for the North in which self-reliant individuals live in a healthy blah, blah, blah, blah, blah.” Now, in Northern Canada, of course, individual rights and responsibilities are of great importance, but northerners think in terms of collectives, and we have geographical collectives in Northern Canada and they are called land claim settlement areas. Tlicho, Dehcho, the Akaitcho, the Inuvialuit, the Sahtu, Nunavut. These are collectivities. There is absolutely no recognition in Canada’s domestic policy which informs its Arctic foreign

policy of the importance of those collectives in Northern Canada. The second pillar is, I'm reading this to you, "the Government of Canada has a clear vision of the North in which the Northern tradition of respect for the land and the environment is paramount." I would suggest to you that this is a myth. There is a Northern Canada but not a Northern tradition of respect for the land and the environment. Instead there is a Northern Canada, and an Aboriginal tradition of respect for the land and the environment. We can debate this, but I want to bring this to your attention. The fourth pillar is that there be strong, responsible, accountable governments. Now this, I think, there's some coated language, but not too coated. The government of Canada resigns what it wants to promote is accountability by other governments. This is the pot calling the kettle black for goodness' sake. And the last one is that we patrol and protect our territory through enhanced presence on the land. Now this connects to an infamous statement by Prime Minister Harper in 2007 which is, "We've got to use the Arctic or we'll lose it." There is absolutely no recognition in this policy document that the Canadian Arctic is occupied by ancient people who have been there for many, many years. So I want to suggest to you that the difficulties that we've seen in Canada and in circumpolar co-operation the last little while are grounded in a false policy document, probably written by people who knew very little about Northern Canada. So jumping ahead, I can make the case that Canada is going from leader to laggard, the opposite of United States. I've now got two more final images.

My next image, and I'm delighted that David Stone is here in the audience, is a long image from 1990 to date. And it's the image of AMAP. And David last night talked about AMAP and he talked about the Arctic message and the Arctic messenger. Institutionally, what he was talking about was AMAP, the Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme. Now that Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme is hugely successful. It's had ups and downs of course, but it's done assessments and a variety of topics, and those assessments are of world-class quality. Now why is that possible? It's possible in part because the government of Norway has bank rolled AMAP since its beginning. There is massive continuity there. There is continuity of personnel, there's been a fair amount of personnel stability. It is AMAP that effectively has provided the information on the database for the United Nations Environment Programme in 2002 to pass a resolution effectively characterized in the Arctic as the world's climate change barometer. So I want to give you that image. And I would say in corollary to that, Canada was, certainly in its early years, a very effective participant in AMAP. Why? In part, because we had Brian Mulroney in 1990, pushing a Green Plan through Canada which provided the financial base which enabled David and colleagues to do the sort of science that was required which then went into AMAP, and then enabled AMAP to influence global processes. There was a connection there. Canada is no longer, I would suggest to you, making those sorts of connections.

My last image is of 15th of September 2003. What I would want in this last image is to give you a sense of at least one instance where one of the indigenous peoples was able to take the sort of information that have been generated by AMAP and other working groups and plugged it into policy systems to make a difference. And this is a number of people who heard me say this before. This is when Sheila Watt-Cloutier who, at the time, was the international chair of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, appeared in Washington DC before the Senate Committee on Science, Commerce, and Transportation which was chaired by Senator John McCain, Senators Lieberman and Snowe also in the room. Sheila was there to, if I may be colloquial, blow the gaff on attempt by the US State Department to prevent policy recommendations coming forward to accompany the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment, which has been referenced previously. Sheila did a brilliant job. As a result of the fact that there were 400- 500 people in the hearing room and the world's press were there, the following day there was a half-page front page story in the New York Times about this. And it's from that time and from when the ACIA was formally submitted and approved by ministers the following year, and then published in 2005 by Cambridge University Press, that there was a sea change, if you will, in images associated with climate change.

Before that period, if you cast your minds back, many of the images associated with climate change globally were of Antarctica. And we had images constantly in the press about collapsing ice shelves. You don't actually see that anymore, do you? What do you see instead? The Arctic. And you see the polar bears, the iconic species that's going to be suffering from climate change. And secondarily, you see Inuit, the people who rely upon the environment in the Arctic. So it's the result of the ACIA and it was the result of Sheila's activities to publicize and popularize and explain what climate change was doing to her people that has injected this whole idea of the Arctic as a barometer from its origin. After this hearing, Senator McCain said that he would like to write to Secretary Powell. We helped his staff do the letter. The letter went to Secretary Powell, saying, there's got to be policy recommendations here because we agreed to that two years previously at the Ministerial Meeting in Barrow, Alaska. And the political declaration that was signed in the dying days of the Clinton administration said there would be policy recommendations. So this was an instant whereby Inuit and an articulate woman leader was able to play games in the backyard of the ivory tower.

Now, I'm going to close it quickly. What I've tried to do to you is to give a sense that the Council has evolved. It's changing, largely because of what individual states will say and do and how they will approach things. Occasionally, only occasionally, the permanent participants carry some weight; generally they don't. But if they got a bit of money, if they were resourced, if they got some staff that understand the technicalities of some of the issues, and they got good political spokespersons, and by and large they do, they can make gains and they can make gains globally because in global fora, Arctic indigenous peoples are exotic and they will be listened to. So if you have something to say, you've got a good case, you've got an opportunity to make your case and see if you can influence policy. The Arctic Council, in the last few years, has been moving in the direction of promoting and providing the forum in which potential legally and non-legally bindings with a function specific can be negotiated. United States has put a great deal of eggs in the Arctic ocean basket and is basically encouraging the other states to work together with it to see if we can get some sort of intergovernmental agreement, legally binding or not legally binding, to promote coordination of government operations in the Arctic Ocean, including the fringing cities of the Arctic Ocean which will be then the EE zones.

My last point, I want to suggest to you as I'm—don't be fooled by my accent—I'm a good Canadian. Canada over the years has, I think, been well-served at a technical level by the civil servants that it has brought forward into the working groups of the Arctic Council. David, if you won't mind me saying so, is the epitome of this. David participated for many years in AMAP and sometimes was its chair. I could report to you, we've had similar very good people, the working group on Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna and some of the other working groups. I would not make those comments, however, in relation to the policy basis from which we operate and the Department of Foreign Affairs participates. One of the things that is badly needed in Canada is a cadre of people in Ottawa know something about the North, who knows something about Aboriginal rights, who knows something about modern treaties with, by and large, are founded in the North. So up to the extent that it's possible for regional governance that have expertise in these matters are skilled enough to bring that expertise forward, I think that you would be welcomed in. Thank you.

Franklyn Griffiths: On the program we have Rafe Pomerance next, please.

Rafe Pomerance: Pleasure for me to come here today because of Adele Hurley who is a professor here. Why is that? Because we're both in the youngish caucus, 35 years ago, we met in Toronto at a conference where we hoped for 50 people, 60 people, Canadians and Americans, to talk about how to co-operate on acid rain. You know how many showed up? Eight hundred. And from that time on, Adele became the force in the US Congress and ultimately we enacted acid rain legislation to take care of Eastern Canada and the Northeastern

United States. So I just want to acknowledge Adele's presence.

So I thought one thing about this, it was an amazing meeting. We're all sat here, which is sort of a given that climate change is happening, but we should take this meeting down to the Republican caucus and the US House of Representatives, because a large segment of Republicans are deniers. If we could ever tape the meeting and just play it, we might move US politics. You know, I've been in this issue for many decades and to sit here and listen to this is like a given, we're dealing with it, whereas that was not true up until very recently. And I think that is all about the Arctic.

A comment about why the Arctic Council is changing and where it's going and sort of this play of what's the role of regional governments and what's the deal here: I think the dichotomy is that the Arctic, because of climate change, has become a global issue. It is global and yet the Arctic Council has this particular responsibility, about not only the impacts of climate change in the Arctic, but about the impacts of climate change in the Arctic on the rest of the world, because the Arctic does affect the rest of the world. I will give you my early one-liner on that, which is that the fate of Greenland is the fate of Miami. Or maybe I should say here in Canada, it's the fate of Tampa Bay. I finally figured out why we have two NHL franchises in Florida; it's because the Canadian citizens make up such a big part of the population, but they, too, will be victims of sea level rise because of what happens to glaciers in the Arctic. I think this has happened with the US chairmanship in our agenda. That this issue that, not only is the Arctic about the Arctic, it's really about the globe and about the global problem of climate change. Emissions are driving the Arctic, which is in turn transforming the Arctic and will continue to do so, but it's also the rest of the world. OK. Just to say a word about my role at this point: I'm chairman of a network called Arctic 21. What is Arctic 21? It's a network of non-governmental organizations, scientist, universities, or research programs. What we are doing is supporting the US agenda for the Arctic Council. And in particular, I think it's the third priority which is the focus on climate change impacts and the communication of those impacts. This is a recent informal network, but we built this. Arctic 21, this growing network, we were well organized up in Anchorage for the GLACIER Meeting. And I can say that everybody thought that the meeting was a great success. But let me go now and say a word about what happened in the US, inside the US government in addition to the very effect of advocacy by the Alaska legislature; who else has a meeting once a week with the White House on their agenda? I don't know anybody. Maybe I should move to Alaska and I'd become effective. That was a very impressive story. Now I know where the rest of the agenda came from. But there was a basic convergence in the US government which I think has led to the sort of leadership profile that Terry mentioned, which is that US was becoming chair- Secretary of State was John Kerry. Now, John Kerry is a man who cares very deeply about the climate change issue, right? We all know that. Or we should.

Third point, the Arctic is unravelling. And so my term is being a little more broadly used now, but it's a word that kind of captures the whole thing I think. It's not changing, it's unravelling. Because change could be anything, you know, this positive and negative. Unravelling has kind of a connotation I think that works. So what's the United States going to do as it formulates its policy for the Arctic Council? And what are we going to do? John Kerry, if you're down where I used to be, in the OES, in the State Department down, lower levels or mid-levels, you're not going to take an agenda of the Secretary of State for what he should be doing in the Arctic Council, it doesn't include climate change. So there was sort of a no-brainer moment. But I think the decision that the State Department made and ultimately the White House made was that it was a very smart thing to do in light of the president's climate agenda. The situation in the Arctic was to do two things, come up with a robust climate agenda for the Arctic Council sort of the ongoing operations, but secondly, very importantly, was to communicate the impacts in the Arctic and globally of climate change. That was a conscious decision prior to communications. In a way, what happened at GLACIER was communications. The Arctic is the most profound

place to communicate climate change because the trends are so clear. So in a sense, chairman of the Arctic Council becomes this unprecedented opportunity to communicate the climate change issue. Now, I got to find out how to move this. That's the unravelling, right? Openings. OK. So you've all seen some version of this. This is a temperature record since 1900 by one of our federal agencies. The global record is the red. And you can see that back, according to this, I don't know, 15 or 20 years ago, the Arctic started to move much faster in terms of temperature rise in the global average. And that continues. OK. Second point, sea ice. The red is the minimum. We just passed the minimum a couple of days ago, September. Fourth lowest sea ice record since the satellites began tracking it. The black is the sea ice maximum, which occurs in March. But this year's maximum was the lowest on record. Now you all know what sea ice is all about. Sea ice, among many other things, is the earth's gleam, that's a new word, I tried it out on you, if you like it, you don't like it, but I think it's kind of poetic as opposed to just saying albedo or reflectivity. It keeps the planet cool and we're losing it because the surface of the Arctic is going from light, reflective to black, absorbing radiation.

Enough ice free days in the Arctic and the major polar or Arctic ice species cannot exist there, polar bear, walrus, seals, the whole thing. And we're getting closer to that number, to that number of ice free days. Next one. This black, the fate of Miami are in Tampa Bay, the NHL franchises. You'll remember because of the NHL franchise. This is Greenland. This is loss of mass volume by year. And recent- let's go back about 12 to 13 years. This is measured by the great satellites that measure gravitational pull. They could tell you that the gravitational pull of Greenland is going down. That's how they measure the loss. And you can see in all but one year when there was a huge amount of snow accumulation because of cloudy weather. And we've been on a continuous downturn. In fact, one huge year recently, because it was sunny the whole time, very hot, the surface melted and Greenland, of course, is a major contributor of current levels of sea level rise. OK. This one ought to be really interesting to you. This should hurt Canadian pride or Alaskan pride. This is the fate of glaciers in the Arctic, mountain glaciers. There are two huge areas of mountain glaciers in the Arctic that matter to global sea level rise. And about 10, 15 years ago, as one scientist told me, they turned on like a faucet. One of the big ones is in Alaska. And you notice, the president's speech referred to the recent study about the fate of Alaskan in glaciers. And after the meeting, I went out, I flew over them, there's an enormous amount of glaciers out there. They are big enough to affect global sea level rise. And they're going quickly. So they're very important in this century. Greenland and Antarctica have far more ice, more and more potential sea level rise, but not in the short run, these are big contributors. And you can see the other big contributor is the Canadian Arctic. And it's been on a steady trend down. So two more indicators. This one is really interesting. Pay close attention. This is not well-known. This is northern hemisphere snow cover. This is when the sun is at its maximum angle, maximum, you know, 24/7 sunlight, that kind of thing. Look at what's happened in June, a snow cover. It's on its way out. It is profoundly changed. This was the second lowest year on record. So you have a surface that was white, turning black which makes it warmer, drives it out, creates conditions for forest fires and when the fires burn, the surface burns up, which changes the next item. This one is really something. I've run into this the other day for the first time. This was presented by the top permafrost temperature guy in North America, or one of them, Vladimir Romanovsky from University of Alaska Fairbanks. Who knows where Deadhorse is? Oh, pretty good. Three or four. But I didn't know where it was. I had to look- Governor, I'm glad you know. You should.

We love the name for political reasons. This is a permafrost slide. Look at the blue slide, the blue track, that surface of permafrost. It's going from, in 1987, to about minus 8 degrees centigrade to that minus 2. Now, we're going to play around with the baseline. So let's just say we'll take minus 8 to minus 2 in 25 years, right? That's 6 degrees centigrade warming. That's the 24 degrees centigrade per century. OK, cut it in half, to 12 degrees. There are a bunch of other places that show similar results. Why does that matter? Well, our colleague from Iqaluit mentioned the pipelines that were breaking apart from permafrost melt. Infrastructure- 24% of the

northern hemisphere is on permafrost where it's a partial permafrost. So you have the whole infrastructure issue. But more importantly, permafrost contains twice the carbon of the atmosphere. Dr. Stone, I think, mentioned that yesterday. So we now have estimates that as the permafrost thaws, it will release carbon dioxide from the permafrost that is on the- is equivalent to US emissions today on an annual basis, so is the permafrost warmth. And this is extraordinary number of the rapid rate of warming. That's the unravelling. So where does that take us? Well, here goes President Obama to Anchorage, he takes this message. You look at his speech, filled with this message, right? Good job, Mr. President. And he did a great job with the people of Alaska, taking their agenda. It was a great meeting, brought Alaska closer to the lower 48, we're on the same path, we got a big problem together, it was a great deal. So, three comments on the future. What does this mean for the Arctic Council? The Arctic Council is a global body. It's no longer a regional body. It speaks for the Arctic which is a global asset. Boost Greenland 20 feet of sea level rise in the extreme. Lose the permafrost? Warm up the planet extraordinarily in addition to all the numbers we have out of the models from energy use. Sea ice, snow cover, same deal. And so that's the first thing. Second thing with the Arctic is if you look at the president's speech, it's all over it. Urgency, urgency, urgency. No more time, we have to decarbonize, it's easy to say, but the hardest task probably ever invented which is to decarbonize the world's economy in time. And as the president said up there, it was one of the famous quotes, he said- do I have it? He referred to the fact- on this issue, of all issues, there's such a thing as being too late. And that moment is almost upon us- I'm quoting the president of United States. So urgency is second. The third thing is policy. So everybody up there was pointing to Paris. We hope for the strongest, most implementable agreement possible in Paris, but that won't be the end of it. The momentum will only build because of these Arctic trends. Thank you.

Franklyn Griffiths: Thank you very much. Nauja Bianco now, please.

Nauja Bianco: Thank you. I also have a couple of slides, but I'm actually going to start with the end I think, not only due to time, but it's good to turn around a bit sometimes. And I think, rather than going into an analysis of why and how the Arctic Council is in transition and rather than going into a big discussion on climate change that we've just had, I think I might add a fourth dimension to the latest speaker's conclusion and that's pragmatism. Urgency, obviously, policy, obviously, but pragmatism is a good instrument as well. And I think what I represent, the Nordic Co-operation, is in various degrees of pragmatism that we can use as instruments for trying to create solutions to the challenges that we see in the Arctic. What we've been speaking about today is in large part, the discussion on how to make your say in the Arctic and how to get influence when it comes to the decisions being made in and for the Arctic. And we've been speaking a lot about inclusion as well. So how do we get together in order to get that inclusion? How do we get together in order to get that co-operation that we feel that we need in order to try to find similar solutions for some of the challenges in the Arctic? Well, I think I'm going to refer to a lot of the speakers that we've heard today because there are a lot of common denominators, and I'll get back to the sort of the more factual information about how the Nordic Co-operation actually works.

It was said earlier from Senator McGuire from Alaska that you need to create credibility and by knowing what value you can add to the co-operation, I think that's enlarged what we need to try to identify when we get together at conferences like these. How do we actually create that credibility that we can bring forward to, for example, the Arctic Council saying, "Oh, we can actually bring this and that to the table." And we think this is valuable for the implementation of the working plan of the SDWG working group or of the AMAP and so forth. So I think we really need to try to strive for getting that concerted approach to create and gain that credibility. So how can we actually show and create value? Well, I think, coming back to the representative of Québec and coming back to the point on pragmatism, I think it's increasingly important for us to show that we can create new partnerships and to think out of the box in terms of that we normally refer to nation states and the

instruments of nation states. We need to try to create more innovative partnerships. And we need to also show that they need to be effective. I'm not necessarily talking about success because we also need to look at failure as an instrument to get further. So we need to try to think about co-operation in new ways.

And one of the things that we've been working with is, for example, a co-operation between the Nordic Council administrators and Québec on addressing different challenges that we see when we want to develop northern and Arctic areas. So in February, as Éric Thérout mentioned, we got together and held the large symposium in Québec City on these issues and ended up with establishing a letter of intent with the intent of co-operating in the future. So we're now in the midst of implementing that. And one of the things that we need to achieve is basically get to know each other, get to know each other's conditions, get to know each other's challenges, and how we can help each other. So we're in the process of that which is very, very positive indeed. Another new partnership that we have is, for example, a support of an American base, a think tank, I think they are called Centre for American Progress, and I understand that they're part of the Arctic 21 as well. And the Nordic objective with entering into that type of partnership is to try to bring on the Nordic agenda when it comes to climate change into the US agenda on the issue, especially in relation to the Arctic. So we're really trying to actually work even though we are an intergovernmental organization, we're really trying to work with other types of entities in order to increase the agenda on different various areas. One of the things that I've heard increasingly at this conference and that I've been thinking about myself in the rhetoric of the Nordic Co-operation is the need for looking more into a circumpolar perspective. It seems to me that we have too much of a tendency to talk about a north-south perspective and that we refer to a north-south perspective or a north-south dilemma all the time. I think if we want to move forward, also in showing, for example, the Arctic Council that there are different ways of handling the challenges, we need to think more circumpolar, we need to think more in east-west or west-east co-operations and partnerships. So I think it's a challenge that we still need to overcome.

So how do we establish and compose partnerships? Well, first and foremost, I think it's important that we identify the common denominators that can turn into future projects. And I think the conference here today is an example of actually identifying common denominators. So we do have arenas, we do have fora to identify these. Then we definitely need to make sure that if we enter into partnerships that we create knowledge and that what we do is based on knowledge, and that brings a value to the table where decisions are made. This also brings me to the fact that we really need to build capacity in a much larger sense than we've done before. Terry was talking about it too when he said that we do have very skilled people in all the Arctic states foreign ministries, but we need some capacity in relation to the Arctic and the northern communities and societies. So, pragmatically, again, I would love to see a development where we would actually exchange more civil servants and officials between, for example the government of Nunavut or the government of Greenland, not only in this case Greenland to Denmark and vice versa or Iqaluit to Ottawa and vice versa but maybe even across the Arctic, in again, a circumpolar perspective. And then, this will bring us to actually convince, for example, the Arctic Council that there is a value of other stakeholders. So, coming back to the Nordic Council of Ministers that I represent, the Nordic Council of Ministers as you see is a Nordic co-operation between Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden and the autonomous areas of the Faroe Islands, Greenland and Åland are also part and an equal part of the co-operation. It's a region with approximately 26 million habitants and eight official languages. And when you accumulate all of the economies of the Nordic countries, it's actually around the world's twelfth largest economy. So we can punch some weight in the Arctic agenda as well.

So what type of co-operation do we have? Well we have the Nordic Council that has been mentioned as well which is a co-operation between parliamentarians and then we have the Nordic Council of Ministers which is

the co-operation between the governments of the Nordic countries and it's the Nordic Council of Ministers that I represent. The backbone in the Nordic Co-operation's Arctic endeavors is the Arctic Co-operation Programme that we've had basically in this form since 1996. So you see a reference obviously to the establishments of the Arctic Council. And currently, we have a rather new program that started on January 1, 2015 with the overall objective of sustainable development in the Arctic and who can oppose that? We have four priorities, focus on population, focus on sustainable business development, focus on environment, nature and climate and a focus on education and capacity building. And in comparison to other types of programs, I actually think that the Nordic Council of Ministers has really something to offer in terms of education and capacity building. So that's one of the strengths of the Nordic Co-operation. We have a Minister Council dealing with the education as well. So we really have a backbone in terms of trying to strengthen this area. Besides that Arctic Co-operation Programme, we also have different types of support for the Arctic. So currently, Denmark has a presidency of the Nordic Council of Ministers in 2015 and they've also put some effort into prioritizing the Arctic. So we have two larger projects that's sort of labelled within the blue arctic label and that refers to the ocean and how we preserve the ocean, how we get more out of it, but it's basically one project on the monitoring ships, so safety basically and there's another project on biodiversity. Then we have a coming Finnish Presidency Program coming up in 2016 and they will also have a focus on the Arctic which one is not officially yet, they will launch their program in late October and then we'll know for sure.

Another interesting instrument that we have and actually one of the interesting things about the Nordic Co-operation, we actually have funds to support the political strategies of the Arctic. Christin, the mayor of Longyearbyen is not here now, but I really liked her picture on translating the Arctic strategy to something that can be used on a local and regional level. And I think the Nordic Co-operation actually offers instrument to make that translation. So, in the Nordic Co-operation, there's a variety of Nordic institutions and Nordforsk which is an abbreviation of "Northern" and "Forskning" which is research, is an institution that actually has quite a lot of funds, around \$15 million Canadian for research in the Arctic. This instrument can actually support also a circumpolar perspective because the program is open not only to the Nordic countries even though it's the Nordic countries that donate all the funding but it's also open to other Arctic stakeholders. So, if we could see a larger circumpolar co-operation in this regard, it would be very fruitful scene from my perspective.

Then again, referring to the educational aspect that's very strong within the Nordic co-operation, we operate with the term called Nordic Master Programmes. And we have a variety of those two. Right now, we have a Nordic Master Programme in Cold Climate Engineering. And we have a Nordic Master Programme on West Nordic Studies - actually, the one that Ernst Olsen from the Faroe Islands is attending right now. So we see that as an instrument to facilitate or create new knowledge on the Arctic as well. So currently, we're considering to merge a Nordic Master Programme on the Arctic. So, hopefully, with the consultation that we would need to do before actually establishing such a program, we will probably see that within a year or a year and a half. Then, I was just reading the other day the Nordic Investment Bank, NIB. Their September newsletter told that they had just established an Arctic lending facility on 500 million Euros. I'm not sure how that corresponds to either U.S. dollars or Canadian dollars, but it's just to show you that there is a range of instruments that can back up the political priorities and thus back up and supplement the work of the Arctic Council. Then there's NEFCO, David Stone I think mentioned that Nordic institution yesterday which is it's an environmental finance facility and so forth and so forth. So, just to give you a view, we actually have instruments that can facilitate this circumpolar co-operation that I think is needed in order to tackle some of the challenges.

But again, the Nordic Co-operation partly on a parliamentary level but also on a governmental level has these instruments to leverage these partnerships. And we've very willing to do so. David Stone was also earlier asking

the question, well, why is it that Nordic countries are actually able to react swiftly or act swiftly in terms of giving support to for example, works in the Arctic Council working groups. And to that, I think I can say that we're part of the Nordic governments, so we're sort of embedded in the overall Arctic strategies. And that gives us a head start. So we're already endorsed by all the Nordic and Arctic governments in this case. But the Nordic Co-operation also has very flat structures. So, decision-making and inclusive co-operation are characteristics that fall pretty easily within the Nordic countries. So we're able to react pretty swiftly. We're currently undergoing sort of a reform process in the Nordic Council of Ministers and our Secretary General, Mr. Dagfinn Hoybraten who's also a former minister in different Norwegian governments would like to see us not only as a lending or an instrument facility which we will continue to be, but he would also like us to be a think tank facility because out of all the tons of projects that we support in various areas.

We always have experts or scientist write publications or reports and often with policy recommendations, but we need to step that up a little more. I think one of the things that Nordic Co-operation can bring to the table within the Arctic Council is to act as a supporter of funding but also act as a sort of a think tank that can contribute to the work of the Arctic Council, and also contribute to securing the fundament that the Arctic Council lies on which is environmental research. So in that sense, we try to look at our self as global glue, Arctic as a global concern, and we want to provide knowledge and funding for knowledge building. So we could actually also support that the networks of networks that we've been speaking about. But this all begins with when we get to know each other and start the co-operation. And it might sound a little simple, but I think for example our co-operation with Québec has shown us that even though we think we know each other and even though we think we look like, there's still many obstacles to overcome, many things to understand. So I think breaching the Nordic-Arctic and the North American Arctic a little more will indeed give added value. Thank you.

Franklyn Griffiths: Thank you very much. Now, we're going to hear from Igor Makarov, Professor of Economics at the leading institution for economic study in Russia.

Igor Makarov: Thank you very much Franklyn. Thanks to all the hosts and organizers of this conference. It's a great honour for me to be here in such a prominent company. And so, it's a great pleasure for me to discuss cold Arctic issue in such warm and sunny city as Toronto. I'd like to start on some just a few words of defence to Arctic Council despite numerous weaknesses of this institution of this forum which has been mentioned today. I'm pretty sure that it is quite an efficient forum. In conditions of environmental, political and economic change, it's managed to ensure both flexibility of the Arctic politics and some concrete post-results inclusions on results in working groups including on both budget agreements, so not bad. During the history of Arctic Council, it has already faced a number of really serious challenges for example, the scramble over the Arctic region could have started 7 or 8 years ago but didn't start including the rise in interest of non-Arctic space in governing region and so on. And so if I might in today's presentation, I'd like to focus on two new challenges that have appeared at the current stage of the chairmanship in the Arctic Council, best to the United States. The first challenge then, it wouldn't be surprising if I as a Russian speaker didn't mention it, the first challenge is confrontation between Russia and its western partners. To some extent or certain extent, it's has already affected the Arctic Council. So, Canada Minister refused to attend one of the meetings with one of the official meetings in 2014 because of political reasons and the Russian foreign minister didn't come to Iqaluit in 2015. However, unfortunately this rather symbolic steps and nothing more serious, it shouldn't be overestimated. But more serious sanctions imposed on Russian energy companies which work in the Arctic and these sanctions often in the Arctic. So, a number of joint project and it is much more serious. Moreover with some experts especially in Russia certainly, were really anxious that's US which is a country which frankly speaking has never received as

an Arctic direction of foreign policy as one of the priorities of foreign policy. So, some experts, they're anxious that US would use Arctic Council as a platform for additional pressure on Russia, however after more than 100 days of US chairmanship, I should recognize that's all of these fears were unwarranted, at least ends the level of political rhetoric as Arctic remains the area of co-operation and partnership. It's the level of real measure, so some practical measures. There are also some positive signs, for example, in August at the same time once there was a large scandal and the speaker of Russian Council, it was the Federation, Valentina Matviyenko faces some very serious, very painful visa problems. So when she should attend the Inter-Parliamentary Union Assembly in New York, it's the same date, nearly the same date, visa-free regime was introduced for the population of Alaska and Chukotka.

Co-operation means the Arctic creates continuous and so despite all the political tensions. And it's very important to continue this collaboration with active Russian participation because I remind you that Russia has the longest coastlines, the Arctic is a native country for involve the about half of the global Arctic population. So without Russia, real co-operation means Arctic can't be serious, can't be really efficient. Certainly, it's much easier to maintain this collaboration in humanitarian sphere and it's much more difficult to re-launch some joint economic projects. However, the Arctic has always been associated with a very collaborative agenda so research environments, indigenous population, economy, transnational infrastructure, unfortunately very few of security issues. So I think that it's collaborative. Potentially, it's really should be used to reload Russia-West relations. And so, I think is that as a speech of Gorbachev in 1987 which was already mentioned today, where he proposed to make, of course, the Arctic as a zone of peace and platform for extensive co-operation. In many fields, his speech is still relevant to the current situation. And so, I also remind that that time was co-operation in the Arctic was an importance step to finish Cold War.

The second challenge which the Arctic Council faces today is that the Arctic really becomes more and more globalized. And so, we see a real shift from understanding the Arctic as an area of belonging- as a matter of subject of interest of a limited number for- it also reinstates to something called One Arctic which suggests that Arctic is a global commons and it's a subject of global responsibility. And certainly, a serious factor, each country be this shift is that US space climate change as the one main priority of its chairmanship. As climate change is certainly one of the main global threats. I appreciate this idea and I see that United States try to supplement United Nations labs, governance and data of climate change with co-operation. It also platform to create polycentric climate change regime, to create climate change regime which is based on the co-operation in small groups on the bottom to up approach about each—what Dr. Stone talked about yesterday. So, I appreciate all this and I think that it's really very good forms of perspective of coping this climate change. And so, the Arctic Council certainly can be a platform for climate change mitigation. But at the same time, what does it mean for the Arctic governments itself which had already possessed this concrete regional agenda and now, this agenda is being integrated into global agenda. What does it mean for the Arctic governance? What does it mean for the Arctic population? On the one hand, it may have some positive consequences, for example, the most elegant is that knowledge about Arctic will spread more broadly. And certainly, it is one of important objects just so as the Arctic Council. And I want to remind how much attention the global community paid to Arctic because of climate change and the idea became one of its symbols and so on. So it's the positive consequence of the shift of the agenda towards global issues.

On the other hand, the shift from was a very concrete, very regional priority, co-operation for people, which was promoted by Canada to global issues of climate change might be a lot of painful for million of Arctic inhabitants. Because, certainly climate change is extremely important for them, but at the same time there are other issues which are not less important and this is come from by various polls, what do Arctic population wants? So

they've gotten not only want to cope climate change, but the issue also want jobs, well, except Norway which is well, it is OK with jobs we heard in the previous session.

They want better infrastructure, social transports, energy, telecommunication, health care, et cetera. And that's why I think that this co-operation in climate change, it really should be supplemented by more extensive co-operation in economic spheres, in social spheres and ensuring economic freedom which is by claims by the United States is good. It's really good but it's not sufficient. Most infrastructure projects, they are not very attractive for business, for private business as they require large investment, as they have unclear joints. And certainly, some support of the states, intermediates and private-public partnership for- can be a good solutions here, but the mechanisms, the concrete mechanisms of this public-private partnership hasn't been develop yet in Arctic especially if taken in to consideration on what environmental agenda and what environmental dimension of this projects and so on. And there also should be a framework, which should connect private business initiative, some states support and international co-operation. And so, I think that it is Arctic Council, probably Arctic Economic Council who should elaborate this framework again taken in to consideration is environmental dimension, the issues of sustainable developments, et cetera. And so, one possibility which involves present discussion I think is the establishment of Regional Development Bank because, it's the institution which can attract additional resources through the Arctic region, driving these resources from the international money market, from the governments that could be really useful for respecting the needs for the Arctic population. So to summarize, certainly, the main focus of the Arctic Council has always been and will be environmental issues. And so, the shift of focus to climate change is really measurable. It is the objective really. But at the same time, in response to challenges which Arctic Council face today, it should also develop the economic dimension of co-operation. It has already been launched thanks to Canada during its chairmanship. But it should first develop for the mutual benefits and so I think is that it should be very important part of co-operation is Arctic in the further 20 years. Thank you.

Franklyn Griffiths: Thank you very much. Thank you Igor. Actually, we are short of time and there's time for few questions but not too may. I'd like, though, I had to say it myself thank you to our panellists who have really spoken beautifully and some have travelled some distance too. So, I'd like to first of all to thank our panellists and let's have a round of applause.

Now, there's time for few questions and otherwise, we're asked if we can to carry on the discussion of the reception. Some people though already have or very soon have to be leaving to catch aircraft so we're a bit pressed. Let's have two questions and we'll proceed from there so two.

Audience: Thank you very much for all speaking. So, as this Arctic Council changes and grows, how will young people become more participatory and more informed as the next generation?

Rafe Pomerance: Up in the Anchorage, there was a big young people's contingent involved in the GLACIER meeting. And I think that really, young people have to be involved in the climate issue in the Arctic piece of it. It is their generation, their children's generation that will witness all these. So I think it's a very appropriate to introduce young people to the science consequences through an Arctic lens as well the global lens. I'm not sure they Arctic Council is the place where that gets organized.

Terry Fenge: I think it's probably important that I give kind of kudos here because Canada has been committed in its activities to promote the idea of younger people coming in and featuring younger people. This is not necessarily easy to do but certainly, I think there has been for at least a few years now of some commitment

under the part of Canada to promote this.

Nauja Bianco: I just wanted to add to the first question. I think it's very important question that you raise it that we need to start to think a little bit more about involving younger people and not only the Arctic Council which probably be a bit difficult, but in the Arctic questions in general. And I think we've mentioned it before as well that the Arctic Circle, the conference is taking place in Iceland on a yearly basis is indeed what President Grímsson of Iceland calls the Arctic Village. So, he's actually trying to mobilize voices across the Arctic on Arctic matters. And he's done a good job in also accommodating students because they only pay sort of a low sum to get into the conference. So there are different avenues of actually getting into the Arctic agenda. In terms of the Nordic Co-operation, we also think in horizontal areas when we think about it and give funding for different types of Arctic projects. And the important horizontal aspects in the Nordic Co-operation is indeed gender equality, sustainability, and also the inclusion of young people and students. So there are some possibilities to mobilize young students and actually also get funding for participating in different types of Arctic projects and so forth.

Igor Makarov: Yes it's really an important question and Russia participates in a lot of different forums, for example G20, BRICs, APEC and so on. And so, in most of these forums, there are some additional formats which unite the young people, for example Y20, Young BRICs, and so on. So, I think that it could be an idea for the Arctic Council but it could be an idea only as the Arctic Council become really operate more sustainable and with a more sustainable agenda. Yes, and after this really is additional four months they can appear so I think it will be really useful.

David Stone: There is organization that was created of the IPY called- I think, is called the Arctic Association of early Career Scientists and it's very well supported in Europe, not so well supported over here, but it's been quite, I'd say a very successful entity. I'm not sure if I got the name quite right but if you put it into Google, you properly get it. I can help you a few moments if you like to find it. Thank you.

Franklyn Griffiths: There was another question.

Audience: Yes. I'd like to ask a question. I understand that one of your past presidents had said that the Arctic should be place of peace. So, I'm just wondering what the United States- well, I guess everyone that has arms and Moscow, I don't know what Canada has up there or anything, but I understand that there are nuclear subs with nuclear warheads that are under water and do surveillance. So, if you're going to be peaceful and cooperative, why is it going to remain militarized like that, is there any need for that? That seems to be real risk and something that can, you know, contributes to global warming and climate change.

Igor Makarov: I expected the discussion of something like this. I think that the transition to militarization of the Arctic in Russia and then Canada also, I think is that they have more internal reasons that external ones. I'm pretty sure that nobody in Russia really thinks that Canada or United States will fight for the Russian Arctic resources or at the same time, I am sure that in Canada nobody thinks that Russia will fight with Canada. But there are some political reasons, yes, our authorities just want to show that they are strong to their own population. At the same time, they want to make some pleasure to some- lobby groups which are connected to its military complex. And I'm sure that in Canada, such motives, they all exist. And moreover in Russia, there is another very objective factor which walks some extent of militarization of the Arctic because really, a lot of infrastructure in in the Russian North has already and, always has been built, with participation of military. And now the extent- the plans of rapid development of the Arctic region is they also suggest the help of military, for

example, who cleans up all the islands from the industrial and military waste? These are militaries, not civils. And so, I think that participation of militaries to some extent is really necessary to the rapid development of Russian Arctic but at the same time, some political reasons, they also exist but they are internal, not external.

Franklyn Griffiths: I will summarize very briefly what is very rich discussion that we've had and in fact, this being last session, I would have tried to say a word or two about the whole conference which I think has been fabulous. Very stimulating, breaking new ground or breaking new ice if you like, and we are on to a new agenda which I do hope persists. I'm not sure that it's up to our sponsors here to carry the ball from here on, and may be others should think about this in ways of coming together to talk about the Arctic, the region in the round, it's a circumpolar approach, it's not so state-centric. We're thinking about all kinds of other actors and players and how they can get involved and how they can bring a new spirit to co-operation in this region that needs it so badly. And they can tell a lot to the rest of the world if we can get the message out. Some of this will happen through the Arctic Council, some will perhaps not, it would go through other channels that are to be invented. The moment is one of great challenge, it's a great change, it's a change indeed I think in the Arctic Council itself. It's not there verbally, you can't see it but the ground is shifting once again. And I think the Arctic Council is going to have to adopt. I'm going to leave at that and hope that we carry on the discussion in the reception that is going to begin right away next floor, I thank you all. Let's say all of us give ourselves a round of applause please.

Watch the conversation: <http://hosting2.desire2learncapture.com/MUNK/1/Watch/760.aspx>



Session IV with Franklyn Griffiths, Terry Fenge, Rafe Pomerance, Nauja Bianco and Igor Makarov



Franklyn Griffiths



Terry Fenge



Rafe Pomerance



Nauja Bianco



Igor Makarov



Session IV

Concluding Remarks

5:30PM – 5:40PM

John English: Thank you very much Franklyn, thanks this excellent panel as well. I want to thank those who organized the conference. Some of them have been recognized already. Emily, I've read out the email that you sent at 12:30 last night saying it should be at 6:30. After three hours of sleep, she's still standing and she's still organizing and she did an extraordinary job. Our committee which did the organization for the conference was Jack Cunningham, Jessica Shadian, Sara French who had to leave early and I was also a member.

The idea itself for the conference and this is why I wanted to speak before Tony flies off at 5:45, came from Tony and Tom Axworthy. They recognized that there was- as Franklyn has said so eloquently- there was something there, that regional actors are very important, there was a message that was there. We weren't quite sure what we would have at this conference. And I'm delighted that a person as experienced and as perceptive as Franklyn is, can recognize that this conference has had a lot of substance. Terry Fenge had asked me earlier whether we would consider a book from this conference. And my reaction was I didn't think so because frankly, as I've said, I wasn't quite sure how it would come together. But having been here throughout the day and listening to the presentations, I think there is to use Franklyn's word, a message. There is something to carry forward again to use his words. And it is very appropriate that a book of this type would be in honour of Tom Axworthy, because Tom Axworthy has been responsible for the Munk-Gordon Arctic Security Program which has supported us for five years in our work. Before that, many years before that and Franklyn Griffiths said here, Tom was the one who came forward with the Arctic Council proposal that the Gordon Foundation supported which led to the Arctic Council, played such an important part in bringing forward the Arctic Council. He never held elective office during this period, which tells you something.

Tom Axworthy: Wise man.

John English: Wise man. But Tom has been at the centre I think and I talked to Terry about this today. I think it's only appropriate that we bring forward a book on this subject with Tom, Tony's idea, we're going to ask him for a contribution, Tom and Tony that we honour you. And I just wanted to thank Tom Axworthy for all he did.

Today would not have happened and so much else would not have happened either. Terry very briefly talked about the proposal and those who are the participants—

Terry Fenge: Yes, I'll be very- very quick. McGill-Queen's University Press which has an extensive over many years, has published a large number of titles on native and northern issues, is interested in working with us. I'm not quite sure who us is yet to generate a book on this. I think what you can expect is that John and I will be in touch with all the presenters and to see what it is that we can plan and get a book together. These are not- It's not easy to do this. It takes a great deal of time, energy, and effort and commitment on the part of many people. But I thank that and I would echo your remarks Frank, this, in the broader scheme of things, could be important in terms of bringing additional values, objectives, concerns for what to be addressed in through circumpolar co-operation. So there's a real opportunity here.

John English: Thank you very much Terry. These things used to be called in academic circles, *Festschrift*, a

German word, you know, would that be a festival for writing and they usually honoured boring old professors. Thomas, not old, he's not boring and he's not a- oh he is a professor, but he's a bit of activist too. And Tom, I'd like you to come forward and make a few remarks at the end of the conference summarizing this up. Tom Axworthy.

Tom Axworthy: Thank you John and thank you for Terry for this idea. I'm quite honoured if such a book can come out. Ladies and gentlemen, you have been a very attentive audience and an engaged one as has the panels and the time is marching and we have a reception where the discussion can continue in an informal way. I was asked by John if I could, my own way, try to summarize what I've heard today. And that's a very difficult task because as Franklyn as said, the richness is not only of this panel but of the proceeding ones. So I think what I will just try to do is remark upon some concepts and some words I have heard which I think have typified the panels and some of the themes or at least some of the impression that I taken today from this topic. I want to begin by saying and Terry brought up some of the history of the Arctic Council that when the idea of the concept first began, the first policy papers and panels were being formed and written and Franklyn and Mary Simon, and Rosemarie Kuptana from the Canadian side had much to do with that.

Historically, and this is important too because it's been mentioned that the Arctic Council may have a design flaw. But it didn't have a design flaw in the original conceptions from the thinkers of it because as well as the permanent participants, there was a large section on the necessity to recognize regional, sub-national, local governments along with the indigenous as the key killer of the Arctic concept proposal. Now, that was dropped by the national governments that negotiated the charter. But conceptually, the idea of this conference 25 years later is returning to that original that one not only had to listen to indigenous but one had to listen to the governments who are closest to the ground, and that they should have an informed view on that important Arctic policy. So historically, we're trying to catch up on what probably was not a design flaw but an error of the decision-makers to drop once a superior construction when it was first thought about.

Secondly, in some of those impressions, I think the panels that came to my mind, representatives from Québec, the governor of Alaska and so on, I thought was very interesting when they said, "Look, we're not interested in symbolism. We're interested in action, activities, real things. We're interested in effectiveness. Try to get something done." If I could take that as a lemon tea of my very brief remarks to it, so, if we want effective policies that will help the circumpolar North, how do we really start building those together, and that's where we get into some other impressions. What is needed for effective public policies whether through the Arctic Council, the circumpolar North, or government in general? A second panel then came up with the idea that you have to start on the impression or on the word of listening. You have to be close to the communities who are most affected. The example was given on the Alaska Policy Commission that they started off by talking to people. When I was appointed President of the Gordon Foundation, I met a Dene leader who had also become the Grand Chief at just about the same time, and we began to discuss how we were going about our jobs and being a professor or teaching here at the Munk School, I started off with my strategy and my SWOT analysis and all of that. And he listened very politely, I said, "How do you go about it?" And he said, "Well, I listen to a hundred campfires." I thought, well, that was an interesting metaphor. I said, "Well, tell me more about that." He said, "No, Tom, I listen to a hundred campfires. I go around before I begin to formulate my plans and listen to what my community has to say, community by community, elder by elder." So wisdom, particularly by decision-makers begins with listening and we've talked about that here.

Secondly, another important part of this conference is that another great analyst of governments, Alexis de Tocqueville said that comparison is the engine of all knowledge. And here, we have had wonderful presentations

from Russia, from Iceland, from Norway, from United States, from Canada, from municipalities. Today, we have had seen the value of comparative learning, comparative examples. And so, a second key aspect of effective public policies is learning and listening to others how they are grappling with the same kinds of problems. And comparatively, I can tell colleagues here that as I leave this conference, next week, I'm going to Alaska where we are releasing a major survey of populations of all of the Arctic Council nations, with an oversampling from Alaska so that we can pair Alaskan's points of views with the southern 48. Comparatively, we are looking at where opinions differ and where they are very close and at among the last question I may say, the question that receives the largest response rate from the populations in every Arctic Council country was that the Arctic should be a nuclear-free zone. That was the single most popular idea in the survey. But it's a rich data and it's comparatively based.

But comparison is a key part of public policy. And then we heard about creativity. And again, I just talked about de Tocqueville a second ago and we go back to Burke on the essence of smaller communities that wisdom begins in the small platoons or JS Mill that wisdom starts by bringing together localities to speak about it. Well, here we've heard about the creativity which is everywhere around us on climate change or a host of other issues. The experimentation and innovation of communities everywhere represented through their regional governments, their Aboriginal self-governments, there is a lot of tremendous ideas that are occurring on local levels. And our greatest philosophers knew that back in their time. And we've heard about it today from example of example of interesting ideas on coping on these tremendous issues particularly the climate change that David Stone started our conference off on. So, there is the creativity element. So what does that all mean for the aspect about this conference?

On the listening, on the comparative, and on the creativity, people here have been grasping that what we need then is a conveyor belt that takes the lessons of that listening, that takes the comparative wisdom from around the world and the creativity which we see everywhere. And how do we have that conveyor belt take those ideas and that stimulus to the national and the international decision-makers who are making policy? And we've had many ideas around that from the concept of The Northern Forum being much more central part of the Arctic Council, there was debate about that. The need for a reboot 2.1 of the idea of The Northern Forum or in essence, thinking for the 21st century a new set of networks that might be more effective than the old forum idea, city to city exchanges. Another concept, Alaska wanted to be an observer at the Council itself. That is a host of ideas of how do we take that mixture that we've talked about today and convey it to the international and the national, the system community. And so, we end today where Franklyn and others began 25 years ago, thinking about the appropriate conveyor belt to take the creativity and the comparative learning around the world and then apply to our northern problems. I want to thank you very much for your attentiveness. I want to thank the panellist and the organizers. And I think there is a whole new agenda John which would be wonderful in a book but also in thinking through bringing this people back together again for the reboot 2.1, a new structure, perhaps a new organization to capture the brilliance that we've heard here today. Thank you very much, Merci Beaucoup.



John English



Tom Axworthy



Tom Axworthy delivers closing remarks

