

## Geopolitics

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### **The strategy of Canada in the Arctic and Russia: is it possible to find mutual understanding?<sup>1</sup>**



© **Konyshchev** Valery Nikolayevich, Doctor of Political Sciences, Professor of the department of the theories and history of the international relations of the faculty of International relations of SPSU. The Author of more than 120 scientific publications, including 5 books, 4 textbooks and manuals. E-mail: konyshchev06@mail.ru.



© **Sergunin** Alexander Anatolievich, Doctor of Political Sciences, Professor of the department of the theories and history of the international relations of the faculty of International relations of SPSU. The author of more than 400 scientific publications, including 18 books, 10 textbooks and manuals. E-mail: sergunin60@mail.ru.

#### **Abstract**

Canada's Arctic policy on the modern stage is analyzed in the article. It is also studied Canadian and Russian relations in this region. They are identified, like the most 'problematic', and also the favourable spheres for cooperating of 2 states in the Far North. It is concluded that among 'official' arctic powers, Canada is the most likely partner for Russia in the regional cooperating.

**Keywords:** *Canada's Arctic strategy, Canadian and Russian relations cooperation and rivalry in the Far North.*

Canada, along with other "official" (coastal) Arctic states (Russia, the USA, Norway and Denmark), is a key "player" in the questions of the regional policy. And although by its material and human resources, it can not be compared to similar polar "heavyweights" like the USA and Russia, Canada still shows significant activity in the Arctic, as it has vital interests to her in the region. This is shown as the growing attention of Ottawa to developing its Far North and the intensification of its diplomatic efforts in the Arctic. Given the growing influence of Canada in the matters of the Arctic policy, and particularly its position on a number of contentious issues in the region, Russia is interested in the fact that "the country of the maple leaf" was her real partner in the field of international policy. This article attempts to analyze the contemporary Canadian Arctic strategy and to identify the possible areas of cooperation between Moscow and Ottawa in this region.

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### What is important for Canada in the Arctic?

Up to the last times (mid-1990s), Canada did not show an appreciable interest in the Arctic. Ottawa has paid little attention to the development of their territories in the Far North. Security in the Arctic towards much ensures as the mechanism of military and political cooperation with the USA, which during the "Cold War" understood the Arctic as an area of strategic military confrontation with the Soviet Union and were therefore interested in the "cover" of the polar North American (including Canadian area) of a hypothetical attack from Moscow over the North pole. That is the purpose of protecting the USA and Canada from the "Soviet military threat" haunted system NORAD (Command aerospace defense of the North America), which operates today too. [10] However, with the end of the "cold war" motivation of Canada in the Arctic policy issues varies considerably, and come to the fore not only geopolitical as economic, environmental and humanitarian considerations.

First of all, in the political establishment, and in the mass consciousness of Canada has increased awareness of the fact that Canada is the "North Country." The Canadian North accounts for 40% of the land area of the country, although the area is barely populated (it is home to only 107 thousand people) and poorly economically cultivated<sup>2</sup>. It should be noted that the statement 'North' for Canadians is broader than the statement "Arctic" and it geographically includes some land, which are situated southerly to the Arctic Circle: Northwest Territories, Nunavut and Yukon, and the islands and waters to the North Pole. Understanding the economic lag behind other regions of these territories, Ottawa seeking to build the political course and the basic meaning of which is the integrated development of the Canadian North. The "long-range" this course - is not only the "pull-up" datation site in terms of its development up to the Canada-wide standards, and the establishment there of the strategic sourcing for the future, as well as strengthening its geopolitical and geo-economic position in the Arctic as a whole (in an increasingly international of competition in this area of the planet.) Lets note "in brackets" that the similar tasks create for themselves and other members of the Arctic "five" [4, 9, 11, 18, 23].

About the economic motives, which are the main thing for Canada in the Arctic policy, the main interest for Ottawa is the prospect of cultivation oil and gas fields in the far north. According to some estimates, in the Arctic is more than 90 barrels of oil and 47.3 trillion cubic meters of gas and 44 billion barrels of gas condensate, which is about 25% of the undiscovered hydrocarbon reserves in the world [38, p. 1]. Along with the traditional oil and gas deposits in the coastal Canadian Arctic are huge reserves of methane hydrate, which, when it will be launched the commercial production, will be enough to secure the country for several hundred years. [8]

However, until now about a third of not cultivated oil and gas reserves of Canada remain unused. It is not yet developed enough to secure technology, and Canada does not conduct drilling on its Arctic shelf. Not worked out the mechanism of insurance coverage in case of major accident and a threat to the surrounding environment will happen.

<sup>2</sup> Hannaford J. Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy. 2011. 24 January. P. 4. URL: <http://www.circumpolar.gc.ca> (request data: 12.08.2012).

There are significant reserves of valuable minerals, deposits of diamonds, copper, zinc, mercury, gold, rare earth metals and uranium in addition to oil and gas resources in the Canadian North. So, thanks to the Arctic resources, Canada is the third largest producer of diamonds in the world<sup>3</sup>. In the Arctic zone of Russia (AZR), Canadian companies are attracted by huge reserves of rare metals, minerals, ores and other raw materials of strategic importance - apatite ore, nickel, cobalt, copper, tungsten, titanium, chromium, manganese, platinum, tin, mercury, gold, silver, diamonds and other important features, such as nickel deposits in the AZR, it is a complex composition of the ores from which a large number of simultaneously extracted copper, platinum group, as well as gold, silver, selenium and tellurium, which dramatically increases the value of the ore, despite the high cost of production and manufacturing in the Far North [2, p. 128].

Arctic attracts Canada by its not cultivated bio resources. Arctic seas are habitat of the variety of unique species of fish and animals, including polar bears, arctic foxes, narwhal, whale, walrus, beluga. More than 150 species of fish inhabit the Arctic and sub-Arctic waters, including species, which are important for fishing - herring, haddock, flounder [16].

Ottawa also notices the fact that the Arctic - is rapidly emerging international transport corridor (to be exact - the corridors), which has great potential for the future. As for the sea routes, the melting of polar ice increases the navigation in the so-called Northwest Passage (NWP) on the control of which Canada claims. In the case of exemption from the ice the strait will be comparable to the economic attractiveness of the Northern Sea Route (NSR) around Russia's Arctic coast. The fact is that it significantly shortens the route from East Asia to Europe and the USA East Coast and Canada (compared with routes through the Panama and Suez canals), and it does not require transit fees for passage on it. So, the way from London to Yokohama via EWS is only 14,062 km, while the route through the Panama Canal - 23 300 km, and the Suez Canal - 21 200 km [19].

As for the air routes, the cross-polar routes – are the fastest growing area in the world air transport. The intensity of the air from the North America to Europe and Asia (and vice versa) across the North Pole is growing every year, with about four times faster than the average in the airline industry. According to some expert estimates, the northern route to the transit through the Siberian airports could potentially become a major market for Asian-North American air transit [17].

Canada, like many other countries of the world, concerned about the global climatic changes that directly affect the environment, economic activity and health. And in this sense to monitor the situation in the Arctic, which is figuratively called "the smithy of weather 'on the Earth, is a top priority for the scientific community of the country. For these purposes, Canada has established centers of the polar research, involved in monitoring the environment in the Arctic.

The increased interest of Canada to the Arctic in the last decade was also due to the activation of other Arctic and non-Arctic nations (China, Japan, India, South Korea, etc.) and international organizations

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<sup>3</sup> Statement on Canada's Arctic foreign policy. Exercising Sovereignty and Promoting Northern Strategy Abroad. Ottawa: Government of Canada, 2010. P. 12. URL: [http://www.international.gc.ca/polar-polaire/assets/pdfs/CAFP\\_booklet-PECA\\_livret-eng.pdf](http://www.international.gc.ca/polar-polaire/assets/pdfs/CAFP_booklet-PECA_livret-eng.pdf) (date of request 15.08.2012).

(NATO, EU) in the region. By the end of the first decade of the XXI century, nearly all the Arctic Powers signed the doctrinal documents that outlined their territorial claims in the region (also including the interests of Canada.) Special resonance in Canada has caused Russian expedition of A. Chilingarov in the summer of 2007, in which the ocean floor at the North Pole was the flag of Russia. Extremely negative reaction caused Ottawa is also known for the interception of Russian strategic bombers near Canadian airspace in February 2009. All this contributed to the growth of the alarmist sentiments in the "land of the maple leaf" [6, 30]. Assertive policies of the Asian "tigers" and "dragons" that do not hide their intentions to participate in the division of the Arctic "pie", also forced Canada to hurry to the definition of priorities in the Far North.

All these factors, like the presence of significant economic interests in the region, the vast arctic areas, escalating of the international competition over the Arctic, etc. - led an active policy in the far north of Ottawa, including claims section of its land reserves. Let's note that the Canadian sector of the Arctic in size (25%) is at the second place after to (40%). As noted, Canada is one of the "five" so-called "official" Arctic states, which, according to current international law, have pre-emptive legal basis for the economic development of the adjacent Arctic shelf.

Like Russia, Canada is trying to use the sectoral principle of dividing the Arctic spaces, which aims to control the space up to the Arctic of the Northern pole (that is the dividing line conventionally carried from the North Pole along the meridian to the extreme East and the West points of the continental Arctic coast of Canada).

It is interesting to note that Canada is almost the first among the Arctic states declared their sovereign rights to all its boundaries adjacent to bodies of water and the islands to the North Pole. In 1903, when Canada was still a dominion of the British Empire, the country's defense ministry issued a map with plotted lines between the meridians 60 ° sector and 141° west longitude converge at the North Pole. In 1907, Senator P. Poirier, speaking in the Canadian parliament, said that all the islands and land lying between these meridians are under the sovereignty of Canada. In 1925, the addition was made to the royal decree of 1880 on the Northwest Territories, in accordance with which Canada passed all British possessions in the North America. Under this law, all foreign governments were forbidden to engage in any activity in the Arctic area without the permission of the Canadian government. Law enacted in 1926 and 1938, was confirmed by Canadian sovereignty over the islands and lands located in the sector between longitudes 60 ° and 141° west longitude [1, p. 28]. In 2006, on the wave of interest in the Arctic linked to global warming, the Canadian government has reaffirmed its sovereignty over the Arctic, and stated the need to strengthen the armed forces to exercise effective control over the region. [27]

### **The Northern strategy of Canada**

Canada was the last from the countries of the polar "five" has taken an official doctrine of the Arctic. Doctrinal development of the policy framework in the Arctic, Ottawa refers to the beginning of the 2000s. In 2002 adopted a document entitled "The Northern Dimension of Canada's foreign policy", providing a series of the government actions to ensure NIJ international cooperation in the Arctic [22, p. 8]. In

2008 year, a defensive strategy "Canada - above all," in which much emphasis on Arctic issue<sup>4</sup>. For the first time in the Arctic doctrine of Ottawa was systematically published in the official document "Strategy for the Northern Canada: Our North, Our Heritage, Our Future" (the Strategy or the Northern Strategy), published in 2009<sup>5</sup>. The main directions of this strategy are:

- *The protection of the sovereignty of Canada in the Arctic.* Implementation of Canada's sovereign rights in the Arctic has two dimensions - internal and external. With regard to the internal aspect of sovereignty, it is, above all, the creation of an appropriate legislative, economic, social, scientific research, and institutional frameworks for the northern territories of Canada. While Ottawa actively modify their national legislation with a view to tightening environmental requirements applicable to foreign vessels that cross not only the territorial waters of Canada, but its exclusive economic zone. These ships are also required to notify the Coast Guard of Canada, many foreign powers (especially the United States) is considered a violation of the principle of freedom in navigation.
- The external dimension of Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic includes three main aspects: the resolution of territorial disputes with its neighbors, expanding exclusive economic zone by the "increment" of the continental shelf in the Arctic, the development of the multilateral cooperation in the region, including the improvement of security in the face of natural and man-made challenges. The Strategy emphasizes that, along with the economic, political and legal mechanisms to protect its sovereignty in the Arctic and Canada may use military instruments. So, plan to build up its presence to increase control over the land areas, sea and air space in the Arctic.
- *Provision of the social and economic development of the Canadian north.* It is a large-scale development programs of extractive industries and infrastructure in the area (for the preservation and development of the economic structure of indigenous peoples). The main sources of wealth of the region in the near future will be the development of gas fields near the mouth of the Mackenzie River and diamond mining. In addition to that provided for annual federal subsidies the Northern Territories of 2.5 billion Canadian dollars in the development of health, education and social services. Also, a special federal agency for the Northern Development, whose main task was to attract investments into the economy of the region.
- *The protection of the environment and adaptation to the climatic changes.* The Strategy emphasizes that economic planning will take into account the conservation of ecosystems, the creation of national parks, the transition to energy sources that are not accompanied by the emission of carbon into the atmosphere, participation in the international standards governing the economic activities in the Arctic. The federal government has allocated 3.5 billion Canadian dollars for 15 years to eliminate the

<sup>4</sup> National Defence. Canada First Defence Strategy. 2008. URL: [http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/pri/first-premier/June18\\_0910\\_CFDS\\_english\\_low-res.pdf](http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/pri/first-premier/June18_0910_CFDS_english_low-res.pdf) (Date of request: 01.08.2012).

<sup>5</sup> Canada's Northern Strategy: Our North, Our Heritage, Our Future. URL: <http://www.northernstrategy.gc.ca/cns/cns-eng.asp> Date of request: 01.08.2012).

environmental disaster areas, most of which is located in the northern regions<sup>6</sup>. B In the strategy was task to preserve the leading position of Canada as the power in the field of the research in the Arctic.

- *The development of self-government, economic and political activities of the Northern Territory as the part of the policy for the development of the north.* In addition to federal grants for these purposes income from mining communities through the transfer of indigenous ownership of profitable items such as gas pipelines and other scheduled program of devolution (decentralization) control of the northern territories and the transfer of more powers to the last.

Obviously, that most of priorities of Ottawa's policy in the Arctic are in the sphere of sustainable socio-economic and environmental development of the Canadian North. Its Arctic strategy has internal rather than external orientation (which, by the way, unites it with the Russian policy in the Far North).

Military-political aspect is important, but not decisive in the strategy of the North Ottawa. For Canada, the direct military threat in the Arctic region is missing. The main motive of welfare and even some military build-up in the region of Canada is that today it does not have the resources for real control over the vast expanses of the North, nor the experience of military operations in the Arctic. Canada historically has not been quite the military activity in the Arctic, the "cold war" is largely relying on the United States, and therefore is here equipped with deep-water ports, advanced communications systems and communications, icebreakers and large armed groups. Military tasks set out in the strategy of the North of Canada, are very limited in scope and aimed primarily at eliminating obvious "gaps" in the system of the national security and the protection of the Arctic towards the country's economic interests in the region. The action plan in tune with Ottawa that take other Arctic powers. [14]

### **What pushes Canada and Russia to the conflict in the Arctic?**

World expert-analytical community usually prefers to focus on the "problem" areas of Russian-Canadian relations in the Arctic, which include the following spheres:

- Territorial disputes. Like Russia and Denmark, Canada claims to extend its shelf by underwater Lomonosovs Ridge. Similarly to the competitors, Ottawa intends to apply to the UN Commission on the shelf (approximately - in 2013). It was to proving that the Lomonosov Ridge is an extension of the North American continental platform, in 2007, conducted a joint US-Canadian study on the shelf in the north of Alaska to the Alpha-Mendeleev Ridge and eastward to the Canadian Arctic Archipelago. [25] Russia is preparing a similar application so in such case Russia and Canada are the competitors.
- The conflict over the Lomonosov Ridge – is not only a territorial dispute with Ottawa Arctic neighbors. Canada also challenges in Denmark about the belonging of the small (measuring only 1.3 sq. km.) uninhabited island of Hans (this conflict is already close to a settlement), and draw a line in the Lincoln Sea. The United States, Canada maritime border dispute in the Beaufort Sea, namely the maritime space 6250 square nautical miles, presumably rich in oil and gas. Ottawa and Washington also disagree on the status of FFP. Canada insists on its sovereign rights to this passage, and the USA considers it

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid. P. 22.

international waters. However, these arguments are not considered serious enough to prevent cooperation with these countries, including the military-political sphere. [31]

- *Increased of the military activity in the Canadian Arctic.* As already noted, in recent years, Ottawa, trying to eliminate the gap in the field of military security in the Arctic and in order to support their economic interests "power arguments", is increasing its military presence in the region. In particular, it is planned to build military training center on the bank of FFP in place Resolyut Bay (595 km from the North Pole) and objects of maritime infrastructure. To strengthen the capacity of the Coast Guard plans to build deep-water berths (city Nanisivik), a new icebreaker Diefenbaker and 6-8 patrol vessels capable of operating in ice conditions<sup>7</sup>. To monitor the Arctic spaces will use the latest Canadian space satellite like RADARSAT-II, as well as the possibility of a joint Canadian-American system NORAD intercepted signals intelligence station in the town of Ehlert (island of Ellesmere Island, Canadian Arctic Archipelago). Scheduled program to modernize and increase the units of Canadian Rangers by the end of 2012 to 5 thousand people. They are largely recruited from the local indigenous populations, and to monitor and carry out search and rescue operations in the Arctic. [14]

In 2010, the Government of Canada announced the purchase from the USA of 65 new F-35 Lightning II for a total sum of \$ 16 billion, including aircraft maintenance for 20 years. It is not clear, though, against whom they intend to use in the Arctic: F-35 is designed to perform tactical missions in support of ground operations, bombing and conducting close air combat, but the landing troops in the Canadian North, none of the Arctic "players" and has no plans to pair of old Russian bombers flying training flights mainly to air Canadian border does not constitute any serious threat. According to experts of the Canadian Institute for Defense and Foreign Policy, these purchase rather a guarantee of security for the future, than the answer to today's challenges. [33] According to other estimates, for Canada other relevant goals are to develop patrol aircraft to monitor the coast and the sea power capacity. [37] These and other initiatives have led to a doubling of the total military spending of Canada than to the late 1990's [28, p. 127].

Since 2008, Canada began to realize in the Arctic regular military exercises. Their stated goal – is the protecting of Canadian sovereignty in the Far North. In April 2010, for the first time in the history of Canadian military exercises were conducted landing and taking off from the ice cover Falcon aircraft of the SS-117. Then the exercises were held divers ice diving for a long time.

Since August 2010, on an annual basis, are hold the arctic exercises "Nanook" with the naval forces of the USA and Denmark [7, 32] (according to experts, this activity to test the joint action was not even in the "cold war"). In this exercise involved the best ships on each side: missile destroyer "Porter" (USA), carrying the latest anti-aircraft missile system family "standard missile-3", one of the world's few frigates "Vederen" (Denmark) adapted to action in the Arctic ice, the frigate "Halifax" (Canada), is the only foreign ships in the USA aircraft carrier group. [34] Invite such exercises Canada Russia has no plans. Canada, the USA

<sup>7</sup> Statement on Canada's Arctic foreign policy. P. 7.



and Denmark in the Arctic together not only provide teaching, but also perform patrol functions and work out the rescue operation on the waters.

However, Russian and foreign experts urge not to overestimate the importance of the Canadian military preparations, as, in their opinion, it is rather a demonstration of its commitment to protecting its economic interests and respond to the "non-traditional" (non-military) challenges in the region than preparation for a large-scale military conflict [5, 35]. For the latest from Canada has neither the desire nor the logistical capabilities. In the area of strategic defense, Ottawa still intends to rely on the United States. This scenario seems to her the most beneficial financially and functionally. Last doctrinal documents of the USA national security<sup>8</sup> confirmed Washington's intention to take "responsibility" for the defense of the "western sector" of Arctic (obviously from Russia?) [13, 15].

- *The impact of the political situation at the Arctic policy of Ottawa.* Unfortunately, the rate of the Arctic Canada is often hostage to political (especially election) battles within that country. Politicians belonging to different camps, take into account the fact that the majority of Canadians believes reaffirm the sovereign rights in the Arctic - the number one priority in the foreign policy of the country. According to one opinion poll, 52% of Canadian "northerners" (residents of the three northern territories) and 60% of the "southerners" (residents of 10 southern provinces) believe that Canada's military presence in the Arctic should be strengthened, and 50% of Canadians believe that territorial disputes in the Arctic should be resolved in favor of their country (even at the cost of worsening relations with neighbors). [39] According to another survey, 40% of Canadian respondents in favor of a "hard line" in Arctic policy issues. [29]

Particularly common in national policy in the struggle for the Arctic "map" play Canadian conservatives. For example, their leader (the current Prime Minister of Canada) S. Harper often acts with anti-Russian and pro-American statements (especially during election campaigns)<sup>9</sup>. Despite the fact that not all Canadians approve of anti-Russian rhetoric of S. Harper, such actions do not contribute to the Canadian guidelines rapprochement between Moscow and Ottawa on Arctic issues.

### **In the search of common points:**

#### **Perspectives of Russian-Canadian cooperation in the Arctic**

Cooperation between Russia and Canada in the Arctic did not begin today or even yesterday. It has its roots in the Second World War. In 1941-1945 Canadian sailors participated in the convoys that went from the North America and the United Kingdom to the northern ports of Murmansk and Arkhangelsk USSR and played an important role in supplying the Soviet front arms and ammunition. The Arctic cooperation is not in the military and in civilian areas began in the mid-1960s. In June 1965, the Canadian Minister of the Northern Affairs Arthur Lang arrived on a visit to Siberia. Then the Canadian northern territories visited by a

<sup>8</sup> The National Military Strategy of the United States of America 2011: redefining America's leadership. Washington: Department of Defense, 2011. P. 11. URL: <http://www.army.mil/info/references/docs/NMS%20FEB%202011.pdf> (date of request 13.01.2012).

<sup>9</sup> См., например: Prime Minister Stephen Harper's 2011 Convention Speech, June 13, 2011. URL: [http://www.conse-rva-tive.ca/press/news\\_releases/prime\\_minister\\_stephen\\_harper\\_s\\_2011\\_convention\\_speech](http://www.conse-rva-tive.ca/press/news_releases/prime_minister_stephen_harper_s_2011_convention_speech) (date of request 01.08.2012).



group of Soviet specialists. At about the same time began to develop the concept of "polar neighborhood", signed an agreement on cooperation between the Canadian Department of Energy, Mines and Resources and the State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers for Science and Technology [20]. Of particular interest to the Arctic cooperation showed Alexander Yakovlev, who ten years as ambassador to Canada, and later was one of the closest advisers of Mikhail Gorbachev and the "authors" of "perestroika" and "new political thinking." It was he, who set the vector of cooperation in this area. In 1984 he signed the Soviet-Canadian protocol on the scientific and technical cooperation in the Arctic, which has been regularly changes and it was extended many times.

Legal basic of the modern Russian-Canadian relations is the political agreement about the consent and cooperation of the June 19, 1992, and a number of the economic agreements: Agreement on trade and commercial relations (1992), the Agreement on the Promotion and Reciprocal Protection of Investments (1991), the Agreement on Economic cooperation (1993), the Agreement on Avoidance of Double taxation (1995), of the Agreement on air services and an agreement on the principles and the basis of cooperation between the Russian Federation and the provinces and territories of Canada (2000), the Agreement on co-operation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy (1989)<sup>10</sup>.

There are a number of bilateral documents directly on the Arctic issues. So, December 18, 2000 adopted a joint Russian-Canadian cooperation in the Arctic and the North, which outlines the main areas of bilateral cooperation in the region<sup>11</sup>. In November 2007, during a visit to Canada of the Prime Minister were made agreements of the 9 branches of industry: the Russian-Canadian cooperation in the Arctic, on the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes in the field of agriculture, fisheries, veterinary and phytosanitary control and financial.

Together with the legal is strengthening an institutional framework in Russian-Canadian relations. In 1995, a Russian-Canadian Intergovernmental Economic Commission. The structure of IEC consists of sub-committee on agriculture and working group on construction, fuel and energy, mining, and cooperation in the Arctic and the North. Up to this day was held eight meetings of the IEC. The last session was held in Ottawa in 2011, together with the Russian-Canadian forum on animal husbandry and the Russian-Canadian Business Council that Canada-Russia Business Summit. The holding of the ninth day of the meeting the IEC scheduled for 2013 in Moscow<sup>12</sup>.

In addition, since September 2002 the (formally – outside of the IEC) Russian-Canadian group is working on cooperation in the field of climatic changes. In October 2005, was created by Canadian-Russian

<sup>10</sup> References Ministry of Foreign Affairs in RF. URL: <http://www.mid.ru/bdomp/ns-rsam.nsf/1f773bcd33ec925d432569e7004196dd/852c88fa2fd18a9f43256a2c0049b418!OpenDocument>. Russian-Canadian economical and trade relations. URL: <http://www.montreal.mid.ru/> (Date of request: 01.08.2012).

<sup>11</sup> Joint Russian-Canadian statement about the cooperation in the Arctic and (Ottawa, 18 December 2000 years). URL: <http://www.minregion.ru/Arctic/548/561/1356.html> (Date of request 01.08.2012).

<sup>12</sup> Russian-Canadian economical and trade relations. URL: [http://www.economy.gov.ru/minec/about/structure/depamerica/doc20120313\\_02?presentationtemplate=docHTMLTemplate1&presentationtemplateid=2dd7bc8044687de796f0f7af753c8a7e&WCM\\_Page.ResetAll=TRUE&CACHE=NONE&CONTENTCACHE=NONE&CONNECTORCACHE=NONE](http://www.economy.gov.ru/minec/about/structure/depamerica/doc20120313_02?presentationtemplate=docHTMLTemplate1&presentationtemplateid=2dd7bc8044687de796f0f7af753c8a7e&WCM_Page.ResetAll=TRUE&CACHE=NONE&CONTENTCACHE=NONE&CONNECTORCACHE=NONE) (Date of request 01.08.2012).

Business Council (CRBC), which included a working group on agriculture, mining, energy, information and telecommunications technology, transport, finance, forest industry.

Despite the presence of the above-mentioned conflict potential, Russia and Canada have many opportunities for the Arctic cooperation:

- *Trade and economic cooperation includes several promising directions.* Thus, the project "The Northern air bridge" involves the creation of an integrated system of communications in the Arctic (eg, by launching satellites in highly elliptical orbits and developing the necessary ground infrastructure) to provide air service between the airports in Krasnoyarsk and Winnipeg. In May 2011, the Working Group on the Arctic and the North of the Russian-Canadian IEC endorsed the intention of the Krasnoyarsk Territory and the Canadian province of Manitoba to start working together this project. In November 2011, a meeting of the Steering Committee for the project, which was coordinated action plan to implement the project.<sup>13</sup>. Today we are looking for investors, deciding the main questions about the role of the states in this project.

Another project - is "Arctic Bridge" - which involves ensuring cross-polar shipping between the ports of Murmansk and Churchill. One of the conditions of its implementation should be the development of the Murmansk port special economic zone. The parties are currently developing a business plan for the project.<sup>14</sup>.

The largest joint investment projects in the Russian Arctic are: 1) the purchase and the development of gold deposits "Dome" and "Double" in Chukotka (company Kinross Gold); 2) the development of silver-polymetallic deposit "Mangazeysky" in Yakutia (ZAO "Project" / Silver Bear Resources); 3) the design work and the supply of equipment for the construction of the third phase of the project "Snag oil fields" in the Nenets Autonomous District ("Globalstroy Engineering» / SNC LAVALIN); 4) the development of the field "Fedorova tundra" (Murmansk region) 5) the development of Canadian technology, "cold asphalt" in the construction of highways in extreme Arctic climate (Yakutia), 6) the development and production of all-terrain vehicles on the arctic maritime inflatable caterpillar, 7) the promotion of the Nenets Autonomous District of wind-diesel systems, work in the Arctic conditions, etc<sup>15</sup>.

- *Scientific and technical cooperation.* June 2, 2011 adopted a joint Russian-Canadian statement on cooperation in the science, technology and innovation, which outlined the following priorities: energy and energy efficiency, nanotechnology, biomedical technology, climate research and the Arctic<sup>16</sup>. As for the Arctic, it should be noted that in the absence of the icebreakers, special courts to

<sup>13</sup> Protocol № 1 of the meeting in Russian – Canadian of the steering committee of the project «The Northern Air Bridge». URL: <http://pda.www.minregion.ru/upload/documents/2011/12/011211-4-1.pdf> (Date of request: 01.08.2012).

<sup>14</sup> Russian-Canadian economical and trade cooperation

<sup>15</sup> Russian-Canadian economical and trade cooperation of activities of the working group about the Arctic and the North in the Intergovernmental Russian Canadian economic commission in 2012–2013. URL: <http://pda.www.minregion.ru/Arctic/552/650/1693.html> (Date of request: 01.08.2012).

<sup>16</sup> Joint Russian-Canadian declaration about the cooperation in the science, technologies and innovations. URL: <http://old.mon.gov.ru/press/reliz/8568/print/> (Date of request 01.08.2012).

conduct research in ice, reliable space communications systems, Canada is interested in attracting the corresponding potential of Russia to conduct joint research in the region.

- Numerous scientific and educational projects in Russia and Canada also include cooperation with Canadian universities of NARFU named after M.V. Lomonosov (Arkhangelsk). Development of comprehensive relations between the two countries much support to the Russian Society for the Study of Canada, created in Soviet times (1989), and which has more than 100 faculty, researchers, students and graduate students specializing in the study of the "northern neighbor."<sup>17</sup>.

- *Ecology.* Cooperation in this area is on the line as bilateral programs, and international organizations. Working Group on the Arctic and the North IEC implements a range of the projects under the program "Conservation and restoration of the biological diversity of the northern territories, and of the environmental protection, cooperation in the field of agriculture and forestry"<sup>18</sup>.

In 2011, the Russian government has decided to allocate 10 million Euros for the period 2011-2013 to support tool projects, created under the auspices of the Arctic Council (AC). Thus was "launched" a collective fund, which will be directed at the elimination of sources of the environmental pollution and the elimination of the so-called environmental "hot spots" in the Arctic<sup>19</sup>.

*Indigenous Peoples.* In this area, Russia and Canada, especially a lot of common ground, as in the Arctic regions of both countries live related to each other the northern nations. In accordance with the Declaration of the Russian-Canadian cooperation in the Arctic in 2000 implemented a number of programs aimed at creating favorable conditions for the indigenous peoples of the North. One such program ("Exchange of experience in managing the Northern Territories"), launched in 2011, carried out with the participation of the Plenipotentiary Representative of the RF President in the Siberian Federal District, and the Department of Indian Affairs and the Northern Development of Canada. The scientific supports give the Institute of Economics and Industrial production (IEIE) of the Northern Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Over the last ten years in this program, a large number of joint workshops on federalism and regional development with the participation of indigenous peoples. So, the staff learned IOEPP Canadian experience and developed a training course "for Indigenous peoples in decision-making in the mineral resources", which was proposed to the study of the representatives of the Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East. Other components of the program associated with the exchange of experiences in the field of corporate social responsibility and the introduction of mechanisms of public-private partnerships in the North. [24]

In 2006-2009, with the assistance of the Canadian International Development Agency, Ministry of Regional Development of the Russian Federation and a number of Russian organizations for indigenous

<sup>17</sup> Official web page ROIK: <http://www.racs.ru>.

<sup>18</sup> The plan of activities of the working group about the Arctic and the North of the working group about the Arctic and the North in the Intergovernmental Russian Canadian economic commission in 2012–2013.

<sup>19</sup> Thesis's of the speech of the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation S.V. Lavrov on the ministry session of the Arctic council (Nook, Greenland, May 2011). URL: [http://www.mid.ru/brp\\_4.nsf/0/0A903DB9D0991BABC325788F00364B7B](http://www.mid.ru/brp_4.nsf/0/0A903DB9D0991BABC325788F00364B7B) (Date of Request: 22.05.2011).

northern people were realized Russian-Canadian cooperation program for the development of the North. It was held in the Yamal-Nenets and Khanty-Mansi Autonomous District and the Khabarovsk Territory. Among its projects mainly on humanitarian cooperation, the development of natural resources and small businesses, there are, for example, "Technology juvenile justice or justice specialization as a way to protect the rights of the child", "Masters of the tundra: assistance to the local population in remote villages (communities ) Yamal in small business development for the production of traditional national souvenirs "or" Introduction of Canadian wood bison in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District. "Funding for the program from the Canadian side was about 500 thousand Canadian dollars.

Through the working group on the Arctic and the North IEC implemented numerous projects to create a model of traditional indigenous land indigenous minority people, the development of local sports and cultural exchanges between the indigenous people of the Russian and Canadian North<sup>20</sup>.

In January 2012, the Canada Fund for local initiatives supported project of the Institute of the North WPC Herzen to create a resource center "Laboratory for the study of languages and cultures of indigenous peoples of the North." Of the project's task is to form the younger generation the small northern people interest in innovation, research and development in the field of preservation of native languages and cultures. In particular, the lab plans to create electronic files, websites, multimedia tools and virtual museums of folk traditions, traditional knowledge, beliefs and endangered languages of northern ethnic groups. The amount of support was 728 thousand rubles and will be sent to the technical equipping of the center. [24]

As part of the AU Russia is working to establish a public Internet archive data about the development and culture of the Arctic - "Electronic Memory of the Arctic", and support for young herders of the North collaboration with indigenous organizations to clear the area of sources of environmental pollution, etc<sup>21</sup>.

- *The solution of the territorial disputes.* Despite the fact that Russia and Canada are rivals on the issue of the section of the Arctic area, they share a number of common principles that enable them to cooperate in this subject area. First, the two countries for the resolution of disputes through negotiations and on the basis of international law. That is how Moscow and Ottawa are going to solve their dispute over the Lomonosov Ridge, potentially rich oil and gas resources. Second, both countries favor sectoral principle of dividing the Arctic spaces (when the North Pole is seen as a point from which to draw direct lines of longitude). This principle is more favorable to them than the so-called "median line method", where the division according of the principle of equidistance boundary line of the coastline (or reference points coastline) contiguous states. A sectoral principle would greatly increase the area of the Arctic controlled spaces between Russia and Canada. Third, Russia and Canada are in favor of consolidating the status of

<sup>20</sup> The plan of activities of the working group in the Arctic and the North in the Intergovernmental Russian Canadian economic commission in 2012–2013.

<sup>21</sup> Об участии министра иностранных дел of the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation S.V. Lavrov on the ministry session of the Arctic council (Nook, Greenland, 12 of May 2011). URL: [http://www.mid.ru/brp\\_4.nsf/0/DF738F6B00993389C325788F0029145B](http://www.mid.ru/brp_4.nsf/0/DF738F6B00993389C325788F0029145B) (Date of request: 22.05.2011).

transit shipping routes in the Arctic (MPS and FFP) as internal waters, which would bring the two countries to considerable economic benefits.

Some experts believe that the degree of the conflict between Canada and Russia on the section of the shelf is exaggerated, and a compromise between the two countries is possible. "Continental nature of the Lomonosov Ridge is no doubt in the world scientific community, - said Deputy Director of the Institute for Research ocean - geology Victor settled. - All applications submitted in strict accordance with the UN Convention, ratified by all but the United States. Of course, these areas are contiguous, and the exact boundaries will need to be negotiated. But there is no fundamental dispute with Denmark and Canada on the shelf "[21].

In March 2012, when the Prime Minister of Russia, Vladimir Putin proposed a Russian-Canadian group of scientists to determine the boundaries of the Arctic shelf. "Cooperation in the Arctic would be helpful, in my view, would increase the level of trust (between Russia and Canada). Let's be here to work. Create a joint team of our experts, the scientists could present their research at the government level, "- he said at a meeting with foreign media. [3]

*Cooperation within the framework of international organizations.* Of all the international organizations working in the area of the Far North, Moscow and Ottawa leading role in this area is removed to the Arctic Council, an initiative of Canada in 1996. The overall goal of both countries is to transform the AU in the lead (and full), an international organization with the right to make binding (for its members) solutions. According to Moscow and Ottawa that the AU should be the organ in which would solve all the major problems of the Arctic region (from the environmental and transport security to ensure the rights of small nations and cultural cooperation in the Arctic.) As already noted, not all members of the Council agree to such a plan, but the USA is almost throughout its existence de facto sabotaged his work (though in words speak of the importance of this international institution).

Moscow and Ottawa have similar positions on a permanent observer in the AU for non-Arctic states and international organizations. The fact that several members of the Council, is in need of additional financial resources and advanced technologies (Norway, Denmark, Iceland), advocates for the specified status to China, Japan and South Korea. Denmark, Finland and Sweden, as members of the EU who are interested in strengthening the organization's position in the Arctic, the EU offered to endow permanent observer status in the AU. [12] Russia and Canada have long been proposed to better define the status of permanent observers from the AU for non-Arctic states and international organizations. Thus, for Non-arctic States and international organizations would be clearly stated the limit of their capabilities in the Arctic and at the same time affirms the priority of the five Arctic states. This is beneficial for both Russia and Canada have the longest border in the Arctic. Such a document, allowing to streamline the process of granting observer status of non – arctic states and organizations, as well as clearly defining the rights and obligations of observers from the AU, in the end was drawn up and signed at the Ministerial Council meeting in

Nook (Greenland) in May 2011.<sup>22</sup> At the next ministerial meeting of the AU, which is planned for 2013, will be taken first decisions about who will still be granted observer status in the Council.

In order to further institutionalize AU Moscow and Ottawa has long offered to form a permanent secretariat and provide funding for more efficient operation of the working groups of the Council. It was under the influence of Russian and Canadian at the ministerial meeting in Nook, it was decided to create a full AU secretariat, based in Tromsø (Norway). Secretariat's budget will be relatively small. Most of it will make money for payment of ten employees, including the head of the secretariat. The budget also provides for their maintenance and travel to events. The approximate amount of 1 million Euros.<sup>23</sup> For the program projects will be used contributions to the addition to the regular budget.

It is important to note that the growing influence of the Council in the region prevents claims of NATO to become the main "provider" of security in the Arctic (especially for zealously serve the USA.). It is expected that, with the Canadian presidency of the AU in May 2013 will a significant strengthening of the Council.

- *The scope of security.* In parallel with the strengthening of its military capabilities to protect its economic interests in favor of Canada to demilitarization the Arctic, as well as Russia. Experts reputable Canadian International Council believes that Canada should not be carried away by the military component of security in the Arctic. More productive traditionally strong feature of Canada as a mediator and peacemaker [36, p. 58].

Moscow and Ottawa have taken steps to cooperate in the field of security. Since 1994, an inter-agency memorandum of cooperation in the military field, according to which the parties exchange of visits by high-ranking military officials, and conducted military staff talks. Since 2002, Canada participates in the global partnership, in which in 2004 signed a bilateral intergovernmental agreement on cooperation in the destruction of chemical weapons, the dismantlement of nuclear submarines decommissioned from the Navy, accounting, control and physical protection of nuclear material and radioactive substances. Canada has pledged over ten years of one billion Canadian dollars (annually to 100 million Canadian dollars) for this purpose<sup>24</sup>. Let's note, that most of these projects are realized in Russian Отметим, что значительная часть этих проектов реализуется в Российском Arctic

In line with the policy of Ottawa to demilitarize the Arctic should be taken of its initiative to create the Arctic zone free of nuclear weapons. [26] At the time, Ottawa, despite the dissatisfaction of Washington, declared its territory a nuclear-free, and then offered to extend this status to the entire region. In practice this means that the region can not use, own, develop, test and produce nuclear weapons. In addition, concerted measures to monitor compliance with the agreement on a nuclear-free zone. Russia as a whole takes this idea a positive (recall that Moscow acted with a similar idea in the days of Mikhail Gorbachev), but she has a question about the geographical scope of such a zone. She agreed to the establishment of a

<sup>22</sup> Transcript of Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, the Russian media on the basis of participation in a meeting of the Arctic Council.

<sup>23</sup> The same place.

<sup>24</sup> Russian-Canadian relation URL: <http://www.montreal.mid.ru/> (Date of request: 01.08.2012).

nuclear-free zone in the Arctic, with the condition that it is not a dislocation becomes subject and activities of the Northern Fleet, which included a two-thirds strategic submarines equipped with nuclear weapons.

\* \* \*

Currently, Canada's Arctic policy is characterized by a combination of contradictory tendencies. On the one hand, Ottawa, like other members of the Arctic "club", is trying hard enough to defend its national interests in the High North (especially in the matter of the section of the continental shelf), which causes conflicts with other regional "players", including Russia. On the other hand, Canada does not want to settle disputes "force" means. On the contrary, it is open to cooperation with other interested parties and is for increasing the authority of international law and organizations in the Arctic, the demilitarization of the region, strengthening of international cooperation in science, environmental protection, providing favorable conditions for the development of indigenous peoples, etc. This creates conditions to turn Canada into a potential partner of Russia in solving the issues of the Arctic. At least if you compare Canada with other members of the Arctic "five", she with Russia far more common ground in the field of regional cooperation, than, say, the U.S. or Denmark. It seems that if there is political will on both sides could work together to, on the one hand, to neutralize the existing conflict potential in the Russian-Canadian relations, and on the other - to strengthen the mechanisms for bilateral and multilateral, non-bloc cooperation in the Arctic.

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Reviewer - Goldin Vladislav Ivanovich,  
Doctor of History, Professor