

## Introduction

### Focus

2007 may well be remembered as the year that the average Canadian finally began to realize the dramatic changes that, thanks to global warming, were taking place in the Arctic. In this *News in Review* story we review some of those physical changes and the resulting challenges to Canada's sovereignty. We also look at the government's response to these challenges and the work of those Canadians whose task it is to represent us in one of the most inhospitable parts of the world.

"The True North, strong and free"—a line from our national anthem, and a rallying cry for Canadian patriots—immediately calls to mind a vast, frozen expanse, a land that most Canadians will never visit. But, while we may not visit it, we have always known that we Canadians owned it.

Until very recently, few nations had any reason to challenge that ownership. Thanks to extreme cold and a frozen Arctic Ocean, there was little reason for anyone to want to go there. Under that ice there might be immense riches, especially in oil and natural gas. Getting them out, however, seemed next to impossible.

Equally problematic was finding a route by which these resources might be shipped from the Arctic to the parts of the world where they would be processed and used. Thanks to sea ice, the much-sought-after Northwest Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific was unavailable for regular shipping.

Global warming has changed all this. Suddenly the northern nations are racing to lay claim to as much of the Arctic as they possibly can. As a result, Canada now faces threats to its northern sovereignty while enjoying new opportunities to expand its territory.

Canadian governments have often failed to make Arctic sovereignty a priority. But recent steps have been taken to reinforce—and extend—Canada's claims. Perhaps none is of greater importance than Canada's 2004 signing of the United Nations Law of the Sea Convention. The Convention gives Canada the right to lay claim to any undersea extensions of its continental shelf that it can prove exist. Under the Convention—and, if Canada can

complete undersea mapping of the land that it believes it owns by the 2013 deadline for proof—Canada could add thousands of square kilometres of the Arctic Ocean to its territory.

Canada is not alone in its efforts. One country—Russia—is well ahead in staking its claim. Russia has spent years mapping and exploring an underwater mountain chain called the Lomonosov Ridge. It has mapped it from the New Siberian Islands right to the North Pole. A submersible placed a Russian flag on the seabed at the Pole to indicate to the other Arctic nations that Russia will be filing a claim to all that territory.

In addition to promising to complete the necessary Arctic seabed mapping, the federal government has promised to take several other steps to reinforce its Arctic claims and Arctic presence.

Defining the current choice for Canada's Arctic policy as "use it or lose it," Prime Minister Harper has promised to significantly increase Canada's military presence in the north. New icebreakers will be built and armed and crewed by the Navy, rather than the Coast Guard. Entrances to the Northwest Passage will be especially closely monitored. A new Arctic military training centre will be built, and the number and types of Arctic patrols will be increased. Aerial and underwater surveillance will be improved. The number of Canadian Rangers stationed in the Arctic will increase by about 900.

At present, Canada's response to its Arctic challenges is mostly military although—as part of its contribution to the International Polar Year—the government has promised to fund a new Arctic research facility. Not everyone agrees that a military response is the



# DEFENDING OUR SOVEREIGNTY IN THE ARCTIC

## Video Review

### Did you know . . .

In the summer of 2007, Arctic researchers actually observed serious landscape changes—such as landslides—take place in the Arctic.

### Did you know . . .

Sheila Watt-Cloutier is one of Canada's greatest environmental heroes. She has been instrumental in bringing the impact of global warming on the Inuit peoples to the attention of the world. She was even nominated, along with Al Gore, for the 2007 Nobel Peace Prize. To learn more about her, start at the *Canadian Geographic* Web site at [www.canadiangeographic.ca/cea/archives/archives\\_lifetime.asp?id=159](http://www.canadiangeographic.ca/cea/archives/archives_lifetime.asp?id=159). Included is a video of an interview with Watt-Cloutier on the occasion of her winning *Canadian Geographic's* Citation of Lifetime Achievement in 2006.

Answer the questions in the spaces provided.

1. This year, Arctic sea ice melted to a record low area in square kilometres. What is that area?  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. Where did the Russians recently plant their flag? \_\_\_\_\_
3. What country was the first to dive under the ice at the North Pole?  
\_\_\_\_\_
4. What percentage of Canadian territory is in the Arctic? \_\_\_\_\_
5. What does the U.S. claim is the legal status of the Northwest Passage?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
6. Why has it become important for Canada to be able to enforce its claim to the waters of the Northwest Passage?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
7. Prime Minister Harper has announced that two new facilities will be built in the Arctic to support Canada's sovereignty claims. What are they?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
8. What step has Canada quietly taken to secure the entrance to the Northwest Passage?  
\_\_\_\_\_
9. How does a decrease in snow cover affect the Inuit's ability to hunt?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
10. Activist Sheila Watt-Cloutier argues that climate change in the Arctic violates a specific and basic right of the Inuit people. What is that right?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

# DEFENDING OUR SOVEREIGNTY IN THE ARCTIC

## *Climate Change and the Arctic*

### Further Research

To learn more about the work and findings of the National Snow and Ice Data Center, visit <http://nsidc.org/snow/facts.html>.

### Further Research

The Arctic Council is a high-level forum for co-operation, co-ordination, and interaction between Arctic states, indigenous communities, and other Arctic residents. Its Web site is at [www.arctic-council.org/Default.htm](http://www.arctic-council.org/Default.htm).

The effects of global warming are a cause of concern virtually everywhere, but the changes have so far been most dramatic in the Arctic. The rate at which the Arctic is warming is about twice that of the rest of the world.

One of the first reports to indicate the extent of the changes taking place in the Arctic was a study by the U.S.'s National Snow and Ice Data Center. The study, which appeared in September 2005, reported that:

- The size of the floating ice cap that covers the Arctic Ocean was declining, and this decline showed no signs of reversing.
- Decay had taken place for four consecutive years, and 2005 was the worst of the four.
- Historically, the ice cap had recuperated every winter. This was no longer happening.
- The waters of the Arctic Ocean were themselves warming.
- The effects of Arctic warming would likely be felt worldwide. Most scientists believe that conditions in the Arctic are a regulator of climate around the world.

At the same time, the Arctic Council was noting in its own study that temperatures in the Canadian Arctic had risen by three to four degrees Celsius over the past 50 years. During the past 30 years, the extent of sea ice had declined by at least 10 per cent.

Scientists have kept good records of the extent of Arctic ice for over 50 years. During most of that period, the northern hemisphere has, on average, been covered by 7.5 million to 8.5 million square kilometres of ice. By the summer of 2005, this was down to only 5.3

million square kilometres.

Studies done in 2007 have confirmed that the trend is continuing. Satellite observation of Arctic sea ice began in the 1970s; the extent of that ice reached its lowest point ever in 2007. On September 17, 2007, scientists calculated that the amount of sea ice was now down to only 4.2 million square kilometres.

Canada, with its enormous Arctic territory, will be deeply affected by Arctic warming. Here are two examples where change is already having an impact.

### Churchill, Manitoba

Some of the changes taking place because of Arctic warming are clearly evident to residents of Churchill, Manitoba. Canada's largest Arctic port, Churchill is located on the shore of Hudson Bay. Over the last nine years, as the winter freeze-up comes later and later, its shipping season has been extended by two full weeks. Russian interests have begun exploring the possibility of using nuclear-powered icebreakers to keep the port—and a trade route between Churchill and Murmansk—open year round.

Churchill's main industry, however, is tourism. Tourists come to Churchill—mostly in October and early November—to see polar bears. The bears gather near the town to wait for the bay to freeze so that they can resume hunting for their main food, seals. There were 1 194 polar bears in the Churchill area in 1987. By 2004, only 935 were observed—a drop of 22 per cent.

The port of Churchill may expand, but polar bears will not benefit from Arctic warming. The U.S. Geological Survey ([www.usgs.gov](http://www.usgs.gov)) expects that two-thirds

**Further Research**

Extensive information on the Northwest Passage is available from the CBC at [www.cbc.ca/news/background/northwest-passage/](http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/northwest-passage/).

of the world's polar bears—currently estimated at 16 000—will be killed off by 2050. Thinning sea ice will do the most damage. Global warming means the bears will lose about 42 per cent of the range that they live and breed in during the summer. They are expected to survive only on the northern Canadian Arctic islands and on the west coast of Greenland.

**The Northwest Passage**

The Northwest Passage—a route between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, through Canada's northern waters—has, until recently, been little more than a dream. The amount of sea ice in the waters has prevented the development of a commercially viable route for the world's shipping.

Here, too, things are changing. At the

end of August 2007, for the first time ever, the Northwest Passage was free of sea ice. The U.S. Navy now anticipates that the Northwest Passage will be open to conventional shipping for at least one month every year by 2011. The U.S. Arctic Research Commission ([www.arctic.gov](http://www.arctic.gov)) forecasts that the passage will have “entirely ice-free summer seasons” by 2050 (*The Globe and Mail*, February 7, 2007).

For the past several years, scientists have been using climate models to predict when global warming will result in an Arctic free of sea ice in the summer. Ten years ago, these models indicated that a likely date was by 2100. Refinements brought that date to 2040-2050. Some more recent calculations now predict that the summer of 2030 will be the first ice-free summer.

# DEFENDING OUR SOVEREIGNTY IN THE ARCTIC

## *Sovereignty Issues*

**Did you know . . .**  
Britain has recently placed a one-million-square-kilometre claim of territory near the Antarctic. National claims to former frozen wastelands are heating up in tandem with global warming.

**Did you know . . .**  
Recent warming in the Arctic has allowed some Greenlanders to grow their own broccoli, cabbage, and cauliflower for the first time in history.

When it comes to Canada and Arctic sovereignty, it is useful to divide the discussion into three topics: what we (and other countries) know we own, what we claim we own, and what we possibly own.

### **What We Know We Own**

In 1880, Great Britain transferred the deed to the Arctic Archipelago islands to Canada. As a result, Canada now claims all these islands as part of its territory. With one tiny exception (see below), none of this territory is in dispute with other nations.

### **What We Claim We Own**

Canada is currently involved in three Arctic boundary disputes. These include the maritime boundary between Yukon and Alaska; the ownership of Hans Island, located between northern Greenland and Ellesmere Island; and the ownership of the waters of the Northwest Passage.

#### **1. The Yukon-Alaska Boundary Dispute**

The first dispute involves a portion of the Beaufort Sea (and its potential offshore oil and gas reserves). The argument between Canada and the U.S. is over how the border between the two countries should be drawn (for a map and an explanation, see [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Beaufort\\_Sea\\_and\\_disputed\\_waters.png](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Beaufort_Sea_and_disputed_waters.png)).

#### **2. Hans Island**

The Hans Island dispute involves the governments of Denmark, which owns Greenland, and Canada. Hans Island is 1.3 square kilometres in size, and uninhabited. Its ownership will likely

affect how the final maritime boundary between Canada and Greenland is determined.

The boundary and its location could be important for several reasons, not the least of which is that the waters in question contain major commercial fish stocks. Canadian officials are also concerned that Greenland Inuit have been crossing through this area on their way to Baffin Island to hunt polar bears illegally. If these crossings are permitted to continue, the government of Greenland may argue that this is an established right. Indeed, the Danish government's main concern is to protect the interest of its native groups who traditionally hunt marine animals in this area.

As part of a policy of increasing Canada's Arctic activity to protect its sovereignty, Bill Graham, then minister of defence, visited Hans Island in July 2005. This led to an official protest by the Danish government.

Recent developments have not favoured the Canadian position. The latest satellite studies locate more of the island in Danish territory than in Canadian. Geologically, recent studies of continental ridges seem to indicate that the island is better defined as part of Greenland.

#### **3. The Northwest Passage**

Canada's position over ownership of the Northwest Passage is clear. In brief, Canada claims that all the waters of the Arctic Archipelago belong to Canada. With this claim come sovereignty and exclusive jurisdiction. In other words, Canada gets to open or close the Northwest Passage to any foreign navigation.

**Did you know . . .**

The Lomonosov Ridge runs from Russia's New Siberian Islands to Canada's Ellesmere Island, passing almost directly under the North Pole. It rises to as high as 3 700 metres above the seabed, with some peaks only 1 000 metres below the ocean surface. It is anywhere from 50 to 70 kilometres wide. The ridge was discovered by Russian researchers in 1948.

Canada bases this claim on the argument that ancient Inuit occupation of the Archipelago makes these historic internal waters and therefore an integral part of Canada. Its claim is reinforced by the fact that very few vessels have ever made the trip through the Passage without the consent of the Canadian government.

The position of the United States—and other countries—is equally clear. Franklyn Griffiths of the University of Toronto sums up their dissenting view (*The Globe and Mail*, November 8, 2006): “For decades, Canada and the United States have disagreed over the status of the Northwest Passage in international law. Washington claims the various waterways that make up the Northwest Passage are an international strait in which the naval and commercial vessels of all countries have very considerable freedom of action. The U.S. is supported in this by virtually every major maritime power.” This is probably the greatest potential challenge to Canada’s claim to Arctic sovereignty.

**What We Possibly Own**

In international law, Canada can claim a 200-mile limit in Arctic waters off its northern coast. But, thanks to the United Nations Law of the Sea Convention (1982), it may be able to claim

even more of the Arctic Ocean. The Convention permits countries that can prove that there are undersea extensions to its continental shelf to claim those extensions as part of its territory.

Five countries are currently in the process of determining their claim to portions of the Arctic Ocean. Most prominent among these is Russia, which has laid claim to most of an underwater mountain chain called the Lomonosov Ridge. This summer the Russians sent a major scientific expedition to the North Pole and used a submersible to place their flag on the ocean bottom at the Pole. They will soon have completed gathering evidence for their claim and will submit it the UN Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf, the body that is empowered to adjudicate this type of claim.

Not to be outdone, the Canadians and the Danes also claim that the Lomonosov Ridge is part of the continental landmass of Canada and Greenland. Both countries are currently carrying out research to substantiate their claims. The Geological Survey of Canada ([gsc.nrcan.gc.ca](http://gsc.nrcan.gc.ca)) is conducting a seven-year, \$69-million project to map the Arctic seabed in order to lay claim to about 1.7 million square kilometres of territory. The area is a potential source of millions of barrels of oil and natural gas.

**Analysis**

Franklyn Griffiths of the University of Toronto argues that, when it comes to the Arctic, we need to think in terms of stewardship, not sovereignty. “Stewardship is the enactment of sovereignty. We have the sovereignty we need. Let’s use it to bring northerners and southerners together as keepers of the Northwest Passage—keepers not in the sense of opposed to losers, but keepers who secure, watch over, and look after their Arctic lands, waters, and fellow nationals in an era of unprecedented climate change” (*The Globe and Mail*, November 8, 2006).

Would emphasizing our roles as stewards affect any of Canada’s Arctic claims, strengthening or weakening them? How do you think promoting stewardship would play out politically with the Canadian electorate? Outline your personal response to Griffiths’ proposal.

# DEFENDING OUR SOVEREIGNTY IN THE ARCTIC

## *Canada's Arctic Strategy*

### Quote

"Canada has a choice when it comes to defending our sovereignty over the Arctic. We either use it or lose it. And make no mistake, this government intends to use it."  
— Stephen Harper, quoted in *The Globe and Mail*, July 10, 2007

### Further Research

The broad outline of current Canadian Arctic policy is in the 2007 Speech from the Throne at [www.sft-ddt.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?id=1364](http://www.sft-ddt.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?id=1364).

### Did you know . . .

In order to patrol comfortably for long periods in Arctic waters, the Canadian Navy has relaxed rules allowing for dumping of waste and garbage into Arctic waters. This has angered environmentalists.

At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, it was becoming increasingly apparent to the Canadian government that Arctic sovereignty could become a real problem for this country. As the area warmed and larger sections opened up, other countries—especially Russia and the U.S.—were probing deeper and more frequently into what Canada saw as its territory.

Canada, with an aging and under-funded fleet of Coast Guard icebreakers, had only a limited capacity to monitor what was going on in those waters—and an even lesser ability to respond. In the air, activity was largely restricted to fishery patrols by Aurora aircraft. Satellite monitoring was impossible with the available technology.

The Liberal government did make plans to beef up Canada's Arctic presence, but the government fell before it could put those plans into effect. A Conservative government was elected in January 2006 on a platform that included a pledge to protect Canada's Arctic sovereignty. Before the election the party pledged:

- to defend Canadian Arctic sovereignty by military means
- to equip the Northwest Passage with anti-submarine sensors
- to build and deploy three heavy troop-carrying naval icebreakers

It was mid-2007 before the government really began to act on its promises. Here are some of the ways in which Canada will be attempting to maintain sovereignty over its Arctic territories.

### New Patrol Ships

In July 2007, the government announced plans to build and deploy six to eight corvette-sized Arctic patrol vessels, rather than the three heavy icebreakers it had originally promised. These vessels,

based on a Royal Norwegian Navy design, will cost about \$300-million apiece.

The new ships, which will be armed vessels operated by the Canadian Navy, are not likely to be in service until 2015. Meanwhile the Coast Guard, which operates Canada's (unarmed) heavy icebreakers, needs replacements for its fleet. These are not scheduled before 2017.

The Arctic patrol vessels—capable of cutting through one-metre-thick ice—will be able to operate throughout the Northwest Passage during the summer and patrol its approaches during the rest of the year.

A new deep-water port will be built to service the patrol vessels. Nanisivik Mine on Baffin Island, which already has a deep-water dock and a fuel reservoir, will be converted to a Canadian Naval Station at a cost of about \$60-million.

### Aerial Surveillance

One of the ways in which Canada will increase its aerial surveillance of the Arctic will be by launching a new satellite to help it monitor the presence of ships in its Arctic waters. Long in the planning and preparation stages, RadarSat-2 is expected to launch late in 2007. The satellite will be able to spot anything larger than three metres anywhere in Canada's Arctic territory. The number of surveillance missions by aircraft is also expected to increase. Some surveillance will be conducted by unmanned drones.

### Mapping

In its 2007 speech from the throne, the government pledged to "complete comprehensive mapping of Canada's Arctic seabed" ([www.sft-ddt.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?id=1364](http://www.sft-ddt.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?id=1364)). Mapping only began in 2004 and must be completed by



2013 if it is to reinforce Canadian claims to large portions of the seabed. Mapping is a slow process and can only take place for a short season each summer. Canada is currently mapping with only one icebreaker. It needs to lease or borrow a second from another country if it is to complete the project in time (The Law of the Sea Convention requires nations to file their territorial claims within 10 years of signing the Convention.).

### **Military Presence on Land**

The government has also promised to improve Canada's ability to defend its interests on land. To do so, it has promised to expand the size and

capabilities of the Arctic Rangers, the reservists who provide most of Canada's military presence in the area. The Rangers are described on pages 29-30 of this guide.

The government has also announced that it is building a new Arctic military training centre at Resolute Bay. This will enable it to conduct more training exercises similar to this summer's Operation Nanook 2, held in Nunavut. This 10-day, \$3-million sovereignty and security exercise involved more than 700 army, navy, and air force personnel, as well as members of the RCMP and Coast Guard. Some participants dealt with a simulated environmental spill, while others mounted a counter-drug operation.

### **Inquiry**

Some observers have argued that any new icebreakers should really go to the Coast Guard, which regularly patrols the Arctic, rather than to the Navy, which has little Arctic experience. They see looking after the Northwest Passage as really a policing job, requiring the ability to put no more than a handful of armed officers onto another country's vessel. What kinds of vessels are Canadians likely to encounter in the Northwest Passage? Is an armed Navy vessel really necessary for these encounters? What specific proposals can you present to improve the defence of Canadian Arctic sovereignty?

# DEFENDING OUR SOVEREIGNTY IN THE ARCTIC

## *The Canadian Rangers*

### Further Research

The Canadian Rangers Web site is [www.rangers.dnd.ca/intro\\_e.asp](http://www.rangers.dnd.ca/intro_e.asp). 1CRPG has a Web site at [www.cfna.dnd.ca/units/rangers/index\\_e.asp](http://www.cfna.dnd.ca/units/rangers/index_e.asp). The CBC has a background article on the Canadian Rangers at [www.cbc.ca/news/background/cdmilitary/rangers.html](http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/cdmilitary/rangers.html).

### Did you know . . .

The Canadian Rangers grew out of a group called the Pacific Coast Militia Rangers, a volunteer army group formed in 1942 after a Japanese submarine shelled the British Columbia coast during the Second World War. At its height, the Pacific Coast Militia Rangers had 15 000 members in 138 communities.

The Canadian Rangers are an important part of Canada's military forces, whose work is often little known in the more populated parts of the country. The Rangers were established in 1947 to provide a military presence in isolated communities rarely visited by the regular military. Rangers are part-time reservists. There are currently 4 000 Rangers located in 165 communities across Canada. This number is expected to increase to at least 4 800 by March 2008.

Canadian Rangers can be found in all of Canada's provinces and territories, with the exception of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. Most Rangers are Inuit or other Aboriginals. Both men and women are encouraged to serve—in fact, in several Ranger patrols women constitute over half their membership. Rangers are unique among members of the Canadian Forces in that they elect their own leaders annually.

Rangers are issued a .303 calibre bolt-action Lee Enfield no. 4 rifle and 200 rounds of ammunition per year. Their uniform is a bright red Ranger sweatshirt, ball cap, and safety vest.

Rangers are paid a reservist's salary during their time on duty. They are expected to provide their own transportation—all-terrain vehicle, boat, or snowmobile—while on tour (the military does provide compensation for its use).

The motto of the Rangers is *Vigilans*, usually translated as “The Watchers.” The motto is in keeping with their major duty, which is to report any unusual sightings or activity in their areas. In addition, they also collect local data to help support military operations and conduct surveillance and sovereignty

patrols. They also participate in rescue missions and on disaster response teams.

Rangers are organized into patrols, and the patrols into five major patrol groups. 1 Canadian Rangers Patrol Group (1CRPG) patrols the Canadian Arctic. It has 1 575 members in 58 patrols located in Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut. Its headquarters are in Yellowknife. Most members are Inuit.

Seventeen Rangers from 1CRPG recently took part in a typical Arctic sovereignty patrol, from March 24 to April 9, 2007. With seven regular forces members and one Mountie, they formed three teams and patrolled an 8 000-kilometre stretch of land—including the entire northwestern coast of Ellesmere Island—from Resolute Bay to Alert and Cape Aldrich (Canada's most northerly point). Along the way they planted flags and built cairns commemorating the journey and demonstrating to the rest of the world that Canadians had been there. During the patrol they faced temperatures of -50 degrees Celsius, as well as winds over 100 kilometres per hour.

Because of the vital role 1CRPG plays in maintaining Canada's presence in the Arctic, the government hopes to increase its numbers by about 900 members.

### Junior Canadian Rangers

The Junior Canadian Rangers program was created in 1996 to serve the needs of young people 12 to 18 years old who live in isolated communities. Membership consists of about 3 300 youth living in 111 communities. Many are Aboriginal and speak a language other than English or French. Unlike the Canadian Rangers, they are not members of the Canadian Forces.



# DEFENDING OUR SOVEREIGNTY IN THE ARCTIC

## **Activity: Future Crisis**

### **Archives**

To understand some past Arctic crises, including one involving a U.S. ship, the *SS Manhattan*, visit the CBC Digital Archives at [www.cbc.ca/archives](http://www.cbc.ca/archives) and explore the file "Breaking the Ice: Canada and the Northwest Passage."

Canada's ownership of its Arctic territories includes responsibilities as well as privileges. As large parts of the Arctic become more and more accessible, Canada has to be prepared to act in the face of any future crisis—be it political, ecological, or criminal.

Canada conducts regular exercises in the Arctic to train its military to respond to a variety of challenges and will soon open a new Arctic military training centre to increase and improve that training. In its most recent exercise, participants were asked to deal with both an environmental spill and an attempt by smugglers to bring drugs into the country via the Arctic.

Obviously, the number of potential challenges to those attempting to protect the Canadian Arctic is extensive, and their variety equally numerous.

In small groups (5-6), take two minutes to brainstorm as many crises as possible that you imagine might face Canada in the Arctic in the next decade or so. Bear in mind that these could take any number of forms, including natural and human-made disasters; land, sea, and air accidents; and physical or political challenges to Canadian sovereignty in a number of areas. One person in each group should record all of the members' suggestions. Use the organizer below to list your ideas.

Once you have completed your list, determine (as a group) the two that you think are the most likely to actually happen sometime in the near future. For both of these, determine what you feel would be the best way and the preparation required for the Canadian government to respond to the challenge.

To complete the exercise, share your challenges and conclusions with the other groups in your class.

### **Possible Future Arctic Crises**

### **Our group's view of which crises are most likely . . .**

- 1.
- 2.