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## Canadian Distinguished Lecture Proceedings of the 45th Canada-United States Law Institute Annual Conference - Climate Change and the Arctic: Profound Disruption, Uncertain Impact

Peter MacKay

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## CANADIAN DISTINGUISHED LECTURE

MR. STEPHEN PETRAS: It is now time to hear our Canadian keynote speaker to start this presentation. I present to you the Honourable James Peterson, counsel at the law firm of Fasken LLP in their Toronto office, former Canadian Minister of International Trade, former member of Canadian Parliament, and the Canadian co-chair of the Canada-United States Law Institute. Jim, over to you.

THE HONOURABLE MR. JAMES PETERSON: Thanks Steve. I have three very pleasant duties today and the first Steve is to thank you as our U.S. National Director of CUSLI and Ted Parran, Managing Director for the truly outstanding leadership you've shown in putting together today's program. It's a remarkable one on the Arctic. Second, I want to pay tribute as Dean Scharf did, to members of our executive committee starting with Dean Erika Chamberlain and Professor Carmody of Western and also to very long-term members on the executive committee, Selma Lussenberg and Larry Herman also Diane Francis, Peter MacKay, and Martha Hall-Finlay. I'd also like to pay tribute to a long-term member Michael Robinson who did so much particularly many years ago in this operation. I also want to pay tribute to our wonderful U.S. partners executive committee who are working with my long-term friend and co-chair Jim Blanchard. Third, I have the privilege of introducing Joe Comartin, Counsel General of Canada in Detroit serving four states, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky. Our Detroit operation is surely Canada's most important. Canada has invested through 950 Canadian companies in these four particular states and the Detroit-Windsor crossing is certainly the busiest between the U.S. and Canada. Every day, over 7,000 commercial vehicles carrying over \$290 million dollars in surface trade pass through that connection.

In Canada's election in the year 2000, Joe Comartin was the first NDP candidate in 10 years to want a seat in Parliament from Ontario. He went on to serve his Windsor constituents for over 15 years. Prior to his election, Joe was recognized as a real community leader and among his many accomplishments was his founding of the Windsor-Essex CAW Legal Services Plan, the largest private sector legal defence plan for working people in Canada. He also played a key role in many other community services including co-op housing and the CAW childcare centres. In Parliament, he had a distinguished career. He became Deputy Speaker, he was Opposition House Leader and he was perhaps best known for his work on issues such as mandatory minimum sentences and making the *Environmental Protection Act* more accountable. Above all else, he was highly respected for his assiduous preparation for debates and presentations which three times won him the distinction of being "the most knowledgeable member of Parliament."

I had the great privilege of serving with him through seven of my 23 years in Parliament and will always remember him as a non-partisan, highly credible, true gentleman. It is my great pleasure and honor to thank Joe Comartin for his past

and current contributions to CUSLI and to Canada and call on him to introduce our keynote Canadian speaker, Peter MacKay who like Joe Comartin has done so much for both CUSLI and for Canada. Thank you.

MR. JOSEPH COMARTIN: Thanks, James. I really appreciate that. I must admit I'm feeling a bit embarrassed that you extol my virtues to a much greater degree than I deserve but thank you for that. Good morning to all of you, it is a great pleasure for me to be here to join the board. I want to congratulate the CUSLI Board for going ahead with the program this year although virtually, there's just too many of these issues that you are addressing today that need to be addressed on an ongoing basis so again I congratulate the Board for their endeavours in this regard.

Before I introduce Peter MacKay, the Ottawa Peter MacKay, long-time colleague of mine, I would like to highlight a few points of relevance I think to the discussion today but also points that the Canadian government wants to get out on an ongoing basis and the first one in that regard is on diversity, equity and inclusion. The Canadian government has made it very clear how determined it is to learn from the events of 2020 and to invest in efforts that will address the challenges of inequality. The health and economic crisis brought on by the pandemic cast a bright light on prejudice, discrimination and violence that are a lived reality for far too many people. We recognize that systemic racism and discrimination in Canada continues to be a reality faced by black Canadians, Indigenous persons and other racialized Canadians. Fighting systemic racism, unconscious bias and discrimination is a top priority for the Government of the Canada and this is particularly true as we move into a post-pandemic world.

On climate change, despite a year in which the pandemic revealed many pressing concerns, the issue of climate change has not gone away. Just last December, Canada announced the strategy on climate change in the form of the plan entitled, "A Healthy Economy and a Healthy Environment: Canada's Strengthened Climate Plan." It includes an initial \$15 billion dollars in new investments to achieve economic and environmental goals. The plan seeks to cut greenhouse gas emissions significantly by 2030 and there was a future announcement from that just this week by the Prime Minister. The U.S. and Canada share strong policy objectives around climate change and share the view that we can and must work together with our key allies and partners around the world to address climate change. This brings me back to diversity, equity and inclusion. Too often in the past, northerners have not had the opportunity to participate in decisions directly affecting them. The Government of Canada is working with the people of the Arctic and the north to develop long-time opportunities that protect Canada's rich natural environment, build healthier communities and respect the rights of Indigenous people.

In September of 2019, the Government of Canada launched Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework, this framework will guide Canada's priorities, activities and investments in the Arctic to 2030 and beyond. It will better align Canada's national and international policy objectives with the priorities of northerners. The collaborative work undertaken by the framework partners supports the government's commitment to review Inuit to Crown, nation to nation

and government to government relationships based on a recognition of rights, respect, cooperation and partnership. I now turn to what my role is today having set those aside and that's to introduce the Honourable Peter MacKay. I have to say Peter you're probably happy that I spent a few minutes because they only gave me so many minutes on this because I'm not going to do all the gossipy things and backroom items that I know about you, I'm going to go and extol your virtues and experiences, which are very, very impressive.

Peter served in the Parliament of Canada for over 18 years as a cabinet minister, including Justice and Attorney General. He was in the Department of National Defence, Foreign Affairs and the Atlantic Canada Opportunities, so that's like six or seven very, very crucial departments in our government system in Canada and he did a phenomenal job in every case, even though, of course I was major critic of his on some of the policies. He did his job extremely well in every one of those positions. He also chaired the Government National Security Committee for almost 10 years. That was particularly crucial period of time when we were still dealing with the results and all the security issues after 9/11 and again, carried a heavy load and provided great leadership on those topics.

Going back further in his career, Peter started his legal career in the province of Nova Scotia as a Crown Prosecutor and worked after that as a general practitioner before he entered politics. Most recently, Peter has joined McInnes Cooper and Deloitte Canada as a strategic advisor. Peter, I think of a number of times in the interactions we had in Parliament and your ability to remain bipartisan, remain strong in your interaction with other members of the House, although we often didn't agree on specific policy issues, but it seems to me you always conducted yourself – and this is going to sound maybe a bit Conservative but that's okay for you right? – as a gentleman. One that I think that your family, your constituents, your province of Nova Scotia are very proud to see you as a native son. So, I will turn it over to you and look forward to hearing your comments. Peter MacKay, your turn.

[Technology issues]

THE HONOURABLE MR. PETER MACKAY: Well, thank you, sorry for that brief interlude, it seems to be a daily occurrence and part of the challenge that we all live that brings stress and anxiety in addition to concerns around COVID. Let me begin by just reciprocating briefly with my fond recollections of having worked in the Parliament of Canada with both Jim and Joe and reciprocate their kind words. They were both individuals deeply committed to their constituencies, to Canadians and bipartisan in the sense that they were there to get things done and to accomplish important initiatives on behalf of all Canadians. I felt honored to work with them and to know both of them and to call them friends, so I'm grateful to have the opportunity to join them and all of the fellow presenters, members, guests of the Canada-United States Law Institute, the two Deans of these great universities, law schools and via the wonders of technology to join you from the east coast of Canada.

As I said, we're in challenging times still but I know that we're coming through it. To put some of it in perspective, I was speaking with a 99-year-old veteran last week, Meryl Taylor from Lochaber, Antigonish. She was a wireless

operator during the Second World War joined in Manitoba and married a young combat engineer and they moved to Nova Scotia and she still does morse code today and when I was speaking with her, she referenced obviously COVID and she said to me, “we overcame worse . . . we came through a much more difficult period of world history and we’ll do so again.” I’m thinking of her today because just yesterday, Meryl passed at the age of 99, just a month short of her 100<sup>th</sup> birthday.

So, this year’s discussion on the Arctic and the profound disruption, uncertain impact which I think is rightly titled and we’ve heard some tremendously insightful comments from very gifted individuals and I’m somewhat humbled to be following them given their depth of knowledge. I’ve had a long and abiding interest in the high-North since my early days. I first travelled to the High Arctic at the age of 17. I was fortunate to get a summer job on a supply ship with federal operations. I was onboard the Canadian ship Cecilia Desgagné with sailed out of Mulgrave, Nova Scotia with a load of dynamite for a mine in some work they were doing in Greenland and then on into the High Arctic communities. I’d grown up on a farm here in Nova Scotia, so I had operated a lot of equipment even before I had a proper driver’s licence, so this was a dream come true, being around dynamite and heavy equipment. What more could a young boy from rural Nova Scotia want? It led to two summer trips to the High Arctic. It was a transformative experience for me. I met Inuit people for the first time on those trips and I found them to be warm and welcoming and so inquisitive and cheerful and wanting to engage. We also had close encounters with polar bears and seals and sub-zero temperatures and heavy ice and all of that incredible weather, much of which was referenced again already early in these presentations. In fact, we got stuck in the ice in the Pond Inlet Harbour on the first trip there and had to use a helicopters and slings to move the material from the deck of the ship to the port and we were there until the Coast Guard CCGS St. Louis came and it was able to break us out. It was by far one of the most exciting things I had ever done, then and now and it was also the best summer job I could ever had got because we got one paycheck at the end and I did the responsible thing at age 18 and I bought a sports car, much to my parents’ chagrin.

I travelled back to some of those very same High Arctic communities 25 years later as Minister of National Defence. Some of the same communities Pond Inlet, Resolute, Iqaluit and Grise Fjord and ultimately, we went to Alert, which is the highest populated Canadian spot on a community in the Canadian Arctic. It’s a Canadian Forces base and very close to Greenland, I had a chance to visit Thule but it was part of annual Arctic operations, Op Nanook as it was known with rotating regiments of the Canadian Forces and Special Forces. Of course, it included local Arctic rangers. In 2013, just anecdotally, I attended a community celebration in Nanisivik and we were in a local high school gymnasium and they laid out a cultural display, beautiful artworks and carvings and leathered goods, paintings that were done by local community members and they had throat singing, they were doing these specialized athletic displays and it culminated with bringing a recently killed narwhal into the gymnasium and it was butchered and opened up and offered to us as a sign of welcome. I was there with General Walt Natynczyk

who I think has already been referenced here today, who was the Chief of Defence Staff, our top soldier and a very wonderful guy, very respected and no shrinking violet, if I can put it that way. Yet, when they reached into the open carcass of this narwhal and started pulling out pieces of liver and heart and offering them to us, I thought General Natynczyk was going to faint. He started to back away and I said, “oh no . . . we’re in this together.”

Incidentally, around that same time, I remember being at the Connaught Range in Ottawa as one of our visits to Canadian Forces members and they were having the national shooting competition for the best shot, the top shot in the Canadian Armed Forces. That year, it was won by a young Indigenous ranger and I remember speaking to him on the range. What was unique about him was obvious to everyone, he was there in his very distinct red hoodie as a member of the rangers, but he was using a vintage World War II Lee-Enfield rifle and he was a lefthand shot. Now, everybody else was using much more modern and now standard issue C9 rifles, but he was using this Lee-Enfield and I had a chance to speak to him afterwards and I asked him, “How did you become such a good shot?” He told me he’d been hunting since he was four years old with his father, hunting polar bear and he looked at me with a very stern look and he said, “with a polar bear coming bearing down on you, you only have one shot.” I always remembered that as rather chilling and incredibly impressive and the people of the North should not be overlooked in any of this discussion.

I’m glad to have heard Joe’s opening comments and commend the current government for their commitment and all Canadians for their incredible passion for the North. But it is the people of the North who we have to be concerned about along with of course marine life, all animal life, fauna, the delicate, delicate environment that it is. But that has to be front and center in all of these discussions and as citizens as Canada and the United States, I think we have sometimes different expectations of our country. In the North, their expectations sadly are very low and that must change. Our ability to offer support, their ability to communicate so we need more satellite coverage, we need broadband internet connectivity which is hugely challenging given the vastness of the Territories. Low satellite connectivity offers hope and there is of course enormous two-way benefit to approaching the Arctic not as an obligation but opportunity for government for jobs, for connectivity and for the greater good. It is of course also incumbent upon all of us and this is woven into all of the discussions today in terms of our greenhouse gas emissions reductions, our commitment to combat climate change and the way of the world is of course for young people to see in their leadership greater commitment to the collective good including combating climate change. I would suggest as well one of the other components necessary through this connectivity through technology is telehealth and tele-mental health which will help to address the disproportionately high suicide rates which will help to address the disproportionately high suicide rates in northern communities. Indigenous communities have in fact been losing a lot of their talent despite the fact that many of the young people who choose to leave have an incredible desire to go back but they’re unable to do so because of lack of employment opportunities, lack of infrastructure on reserve and even as we’ve heard tragically lack of fresh water

and an ability to have real nutritious foods. So, infrastructure deficits connectivity deficits run in the billions of dollars and it's imperative that collectively and I can't speak specifically to Alaska but I know in our territories we have to unleash the capacities of northern indigenous communities by installing some of these critical infrastructure pieces including as I mentioned high-speed internet and this has been noted time and time again by many and many studies have highlighted this fact. By 2030, Indigenous communities will make up about 7% of the labor force and yet they are still very underrepresented in Canadian businesses and this gap in employment rates between indigenous and non-indigenous is again an area that has to be addressed and has resulted in disproportionately low wages for those who do come south and work among "southerners" as we're referred to in the Arctic and data has showed continually that indigenous workers were among those most likely to be employed in jobs where they are expected to decrease and least likely to have growing opportunity in those occupations. So, again reskilling, offering these opportunities to advance part of the imperative, moral imperative that our countries face.

I would be of course extremely remiss if I didn't reference on the issue of climate where I saw with my own eyes in that intervening period the significant environmental changes that had occurred in the intervening time between my visits as a young Canadian and going back later as a Minister of government. Many of the bays that we had been in which had been packed with ice where we were trapped in ice were now open. The terrain around the communities which had been hard as concrete from permafrost was now blooming and alive with colourful new growth and you know the stark images that you see in in pictures and some of the maps and the graphs that we were shown today could never do justice to the incredible breathtaking beauty of the Arctic and particularly in the summer months of course when you can see things because of the pitch black that envelops the Arctic in in the winter months. But it is really something that I feel so blessed to have seen very few of our citizens and I would suggest very few Americans will ever see the North and yet there is this instinctual connection that we feel certainly in Canada for the North. I know that we have to do our part clearly that includes and it would take a much more concentrated discussion which we had at our last CUSLI gathering around what those steps are in terms of lowering emissions and fewer flights left less emissions generally and we've heard from Danish colleagues and those who have participated here what they're doing individually to address the reduction of the carbon footprint doctor Eicken referred to this. Certainly, the Arctic, and this perhaps is a penetrating statement of the obvious the Arctic are feeling the most drastic impacts of climate change and yet they are collectively as a population which is only 1% of the Canadian population although 40% of our landmass but our Arctic populations are not uh huge contributors at all to climate change and yet they are feeling the worst effects of this and so it increases again everyone's collective knowledge and responsibility that we're having these discussions.

I listened to a Canadian colonel, Chris Hadfield, an astronaut who is known to many. He commanded the International Space Station, was renowned as being part of NASA and he has spoken passionately about his observations from outer

space of the Earth and from that unique vantage point being able to actually see the impact of human climate change versus natural climate change but having observed it from outer space. That creates again a very powerful image of how real and how impactful this challenge is and science in the North is challenged as many have referred to even in the sense of mere survival. It's dark, it's dangerous, it's incredibly cold, it can hit temperatures of -60 and many of the efforts to catalog and study and do the research necessary are quite restrained by those obvious conditions. But the understanding and the establishment of what needs to happen has increased exponentially and many of those who are gathering here today have made it their life's work.

It also of course and this has been part of the discussion impacts directly on our country and our sovereignty in ways that we have to be concerned about. We can fulfill and continue to work towards these global commitments of obligations to reduce global warming and its impact and we've heard a lot about renowned experts who've given us real insight into what that means. Especially things - I loved the presentation on the Seven Seas because I think it lays it out in great detail but in simple, understandable bite-sized pieces as to what we can do. With those changes in the Arctic ice and the landmass and the accessibility of the water and the potential changes geopolitically, we need to resort to further expertise outside of government in many cases and yet having said that we know that the race for the North began in earnest centuries ago. It's worth noting that this has been the challenge in terms of how we operate in the Arctic has been with us for a very long time, centuries of course. One sort of quick note is this idea that the opening of Arctic ice the melting is going to make it easier to navigate; not necessarily so - there's a precarious nature of floating ice that is far more threatening in many ways and I'll refer to that in a moment a story I recall about someone trying to navigate the internal Canadian waters. It has attracted in some ways adventurous boaters and we heard a reference earlier about the Kiwi role. It does take significant search and rescue challenges to be able to respond to these recent events of adventurers and commercial exercises to circumnavigate the polar ice.

I made a historical reference and that is that the Franklin Expedition which I think left England in the 1840s was seeking this Northwest Passage and they found it and then winter found them. There was 120 on board; all perished eventually. They were stuck in the ice for about two years and it speaks to the perils that are there; the harshness the danger of the region. It captured people's imagination literally for over 100 years, 200 years now and it also speaks to the imminent danger of to quote Stan Rogers, "tracing one warm line through a land so wild and savage." I recall being briefed at the Department of National Defense about an Australian adventurer he was an ex-military member himself a Special Forces operator and he tried to navigate a small vessel through the Northwest Passage, and he capsized. Luckily as part of his preparations he had brought a beacon with him and he was able to get out of the water and curl up in a wet sleeping bag and a tent and he hit the beacon and there were Canadian Forces members, our search and rescue, dispatched out of Canadian Forces Base Goose Bay and when they arrived and found him in a very precarious position and facing frostbite and a certain death. They got up, they clamored up on the ice and they found his tent and



they ripped open the door and there he was and I don't know what the search and rescue system is in Australia but the first thing he said was he said I don't have any money to which this Newfoundlander aviator who was on the on the cormorant helicopter said to him you don't need any money by here in Canada. It made its way through the Forces as a sort of a bit of a symbol of this great search and rescue capacity that we have but the dangers and the perils that can befall people who try to navigate through the Arctic.

The people who've lived there for centuries of course know firsthand. They know what the response needs to be and they have the most intimate knowledge and we should listen to them. In fact, if we had listened to them Parks Canada would have found the HMC Erebus and Terror perhaps a lot sooner and the 170-year mystery is still unfolding but it was the indigenous people who were able to point to where those ships were going to be located. I'm going to close out my remarks by talking a little bit about the challenge of defense and security and there's been a great deal said on this already and it's coupled with the fragile environment and the unique environment itself that it entails but Canada's commitment of course to enhance ice breaking and its fleet is a big part of our ability to have a presence and exercise sovereignty in the North. It's a practical, prescient investment to have Arctic offshore patrol vessels which are armed. Canada is building a much larger icebreaker to replace our current icebreaking capability. The ship will be known I believe as the "Diefenbaker," if they haven't changed the name. That's a reference that Canadians may get. Submarine capability of course with quite antiquated diesel electric ships are not suited for traveling in the Arctic Knife, arctic waters. We can't compete with nuclear subs to say the least and of course having the capacity to land aircraft and recover perhaps some of the northern airstrips is something that we should be doing. We have some capability to land large transport aircraft there who can also be critical in opening up more supply chain and being able to deliver important goods to Arctic communities outside of the seasonal supply ships that go. So, equipment is essential in our effort not only for national defense but for practical considerations of travel, support search and rescue we've touched on.

Thankfully, we have a neighbor to the south who we share this collective responsibility with. We've heard reference already to NORAD but also our work with the U.S. Navy and the U.S. Coast Guard buttress our ability to project our sovereignty, to solidify greater defense capability and to push back on what the appetite and what the ambitions might be of countries like Russia and China. I'll come back to that in a moment. The U.S. relationship with Canada as we know and we could extol the virtues of that relationship. We have the best relationship bilateral in the world the planet in my estimation and the U.S.-Canada military relationship is perhaps one of the best examples of that and is the centerpiece of our ability to protect North America, its territorial boundaries and its waterways and while we have some friction from time to time and there's been reference to the Beaufort Sea Dispute and UNCLOS at the United Nations, the definition of the internal waterway in the Canadian Northwest Passage will be decided and I'm confident ultimately it will be resolved according to the rule of law. More importantly, the shared commitment to protecting and promoting joint efforts of

defense and research and preservation of sovereignty between our countries is as strong as it gets. Now, Russia recently made claims again it was referenced to some of the disputed territory around the shelf and the polar cap itself. I recall during my tenure as Foreign Minister that they famously planted flags on the ocean floor and I pointed out it was no longer the 17<sup>th</sup> century where you could go around making those type of claims, which quite severely irritated the then Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov. Well, fast forward almost 15, 20 years and he's still the Foreign Minister which says a little bit about their system; certainly, more job security for government ministers in Russia.

While we have the quarrels from time to time with the U.S., we are very much aligned when looking at the external threats and whatever the disputes may be between our countries from time to time, we will always overcome those interests when it comes to the defense and security of North America. One has to be hopeful. Clearly, we have a generation more educated, more connected than at any time in world history and I know that the challenges in the Arctic pose one of the great challenges of this generation with the change that is occurring there. Digital information gathering artificial intelligence the internet of things – I mentioned low orbit satellites – all of this I believe is going to help to unlock some of the great challenges vis-à-vis the Arctic. Today, we have a generation more tech savvy than at any time and similarly this will help us combat things like COVID in the future and future threats to human health. The digital infrastructure and the connectivity that our countries share, the high costs of being able to operate in the Arctic, by necessity brings us together not just with the United States and North America and many references have been made to the Arctic Council but the profound disruption and impact is deserving of our attention collectively. Many around the world are focusing on how to combat climate change but there are other threats as well.

I guess I'll turn a little bit of my attention if I might before I close out to what is happening in the Arctic vis-à-vis Russia which is an Arctic nation, a North American neighbour we sometimes forget although we can't see them from here, it is very much an Arctic nation with a large population, the largest enormous infrastructure, a very capable military that has a presence a much larger presence than perhaps we care to admit in the Arctic, which has been ramping up over the last decade.

China for less obvious, but perhaps more alarming reasons, is dramatically increasing its presence and capability. They've been making investments in in Arctic countries and infrastructure the way they have with the Belt and Road Initiative and our Danish Rear Admiral mentioned this in his remarks as well and so we ask the obvious question: "What are the strategic implications of China's activities and could they take on a military dimension?" It's not likely; I think they are far more apt to be involved in in cyber attacks and perhaps looking at pernicious ways to shut down critical infrastructure. Although China is an observer nation in the Arctic Council and I recall there were many misgivings about that in fact Leona Aglukkaq who was under consideration to give this speech was our representative in government on the Arctic Council and pushed back very hard against Russia's representations on behalf of China at the Arctic Council to have

them join as a “near Arctic nation” as it was referred to. It’s worth noting that they’re about 3,000 kilometers away from the Arctic and there are very few icebergs off the coast of China, although they’re building ice breaking capabilities in addition to aircraft carriers. So, geopolitically what they have done from Africa to Afghanistan to Antarctic is buy up capabilities, invest in infrastructure and of course in many cases extract important resources. The strategic location of Russia vis-a-vis the Arctic and their naval capability is something that we have to be aware of as we are aware of their aircraft who very often come up to but don’t necessarily enter Canadian airspace.

We are part of NORAD and the response of course is that joint command that comes from Colorado Springs but Canada is in need of new modern fighter aircraft to hold up our end of the bargain. I believe there is one choice for this and this isn’t the place to debate that but Canada has delayed making that decision just as they delayed in fact the decision around our 5g network which has implications for our five eyes community and our participation in sharing of intelligence. I’m aware that I’m getting to the end of my time but I know that we’ve talked a little bit about how China and Russia have worked together in building ice capable LNG tankers and how COSCO and Soviet COMFLOT have worked together to increase their ability to transit through that Arctic Passage. It’s interesting to note what we saw happening in the Suez has even furthered people’s understanding of the value of the supply chain extension that would go through the Arctic waterways and so we have a lot at risk and we have a lot in play. Just in terms of the resource side, there’s estimates that there’s \$90 billion worth of undiscovered oil and gas in the Arctic which again although fossil fuel we are stemming our appetite for this it is there. The sheer cost of perhaps extraction would deter anyone from going down that path. The expanding research capabilities of adversarial Arctic countries is also something to keep in mind to encourage us in that direction to keep up our commitment to Arctic research and development. One way that Canada has been doing it is to share facilities in the Arctic and make the type of infrastructure investments around deep water refueling stations not just for military purposes but for civilian and other government department vessels as well. Working with countries like Denmark of course and the Danes working with all of our Arctic allies is an important part of how we collectively make good, informed decisions around the Arctic and sharing research of course is part of that. The pushback on the Polar Silk Road Initiative is again something to keep very much in mind and you know the Western response collectively to what is happening I think necessitates that we up our game including the modernization of what used to be called the “do line” so an early warning system again that that several have referenced here today the significance of other investments by other countries of course is something we always gauge.

Being part of NATO requires that we hit a certain standard which we haven’t achieved in recent years of 2% of our GDP. Yet, it is worth consideration and something that has never really been tabled in Brussels at the alliance discussion but that is what the NORAD type investments necessary here would mean in the calculus of reaching that 2%. It’s something that I’ve contemplated of late. A lot of the NATO members of course have little interest in the Arctic and yet as we’ve

seen by the incredible undertaking of the conflict in the Afghanistan and an out of area operation which we hope will never happen in a place like the Arctic, does necessitate though certain investments in terms of military capability. Former Secretary of State Mike Pompeo I know called out China at an Arctic Council meeting not that long ago and that was for some of their aggressive action and stated intentions a summit a NATO Summit in 2018 I believe confirmed that some of the joint forces command out of the United States and the focus around the Atlantic also takes in part of the Arctic. So, we're seeing a recognition in military circles of the collective responsibility and I note that the United States Defense Secretary at the time when he was appearing at the Halifax Security Conference in 2014 unveiled an Arctic strategy that included references to the Navy's Second Fleet and work along our collective coastlines that included exercises in Arctic waters. So, the military component of this has received natural attention and I believe it will more it will receive more in the future like the receding ice and the snow and the climate changes discussed. The political and security dynamic is in significant evolution and will require careful calculation to avoid disaster of any kind environmental, human or military. So, the Canada-U.S. efforts to work together along with our Arctic allies is perhaps the most critical component or ingredient of those Seven Seas. The dictatorial leadership, the recklessness and the ruthlessness that we've seen from Russia in terms of their annexation of Crimea which was also referenced in Ukraine, speak to the troublesome weight of democracy sometimes that requires much more input consultation and collaboration and yet it's an essential component of our life and our human existence and one that is a reminder of how stronger we are when we take on these enormous challenges like climate change and the defense of the Arctic together with our global commitment and collective wisdom.

So, I think one of the takeaways that I would like to leave with everyone is this call to action to continue to focus on this this enormously important part of North America. I'm thrilled that it made it to CUSLI's agenda and will help shine a light on this important need for action and involvement. While we know 2030 is not that far off, my friends we have a chance to shape what climate change debates look like and more importantly what action will be required for all of our countries and for all of our people and everything that is at stake. I thank you all very much again for the second invitation I've received to speak at this forum from this platform and I'm very grateful to all who are in attendance. Be well, be safe. Take care of yourselves and each other.

MR. PETRAS: Thank you very much Peter for your meaningful perspective on the Arctic in the context the U.S. and Canadian relations as well as with the rest of the world. Awesome presentation. I also want to thank Jim Peterson and Joe Comartin for their outstanding introductions. It's now time to take a break before we return to the awards presentation of the Canada-U.S. Law Institute. We're not going to take as long as I thought. I think we're going to take a six-minute break so be back at 12:35 PM. Thank you everyone.