Chapter 6: Nationalism and the Pursuit of National Interests

“Canadians did not go to war then—nor will we ever—to conquer or to enslave. But when the cause is just, Canada will always be there to defend our values and to help our fellow human beings. New challenges face us today—global terrorism, rogue regimes, nuclear proliferation, threats as unpredictable for our generation as the two world wars were for those who had to confront them. We still live in a dangerous world … Sadly today has been a difficult day in Afghanistan. We have learned that an incident has claimed the lives of six Canadian soldiers, and injured a number of others … Today’s events once more remind us of the sacrifices that our men and women in uniform continue to make to defend against those who threaten freedom, democracy, and human rights.” —Stephen Harper, in a speech to veterans delivered in Verlinghem, France, 8 April 2007.

In 2007, Prime Minister Stephen Harper travelled to France to help commemorate the 90th anniversary of the Battle for Vimy Ridge during the First World War. In a speech, he outlined what some Canadians believe are the reasons why Canada has participated in the operations in Afghanistan despite the Canadian casualties that have resulted. This is a complex issue in Canada. While many Canadians support Canada’s participation, many oppose Canada’s involvement in Afghanistan.

Do you feel that it is Canada’s responsibility to “defend against those who threaten freedom, democracy, and human rights” in other countries around the world?

Chapter Issue
To what extent does nationalism drive the pursuit of national interests?

In Part 1, you explored understandings of nation, nationalism, and the diverse ways in which people express their nationalism, as well as how a collective consciousness or identity can develop when people identify with others who share similar experiences in history, language, culture, values, and beliefs.

Part 2 focuses on the effects of nationalism, ultranationalism, and the pursuit of national interests. In this chapter you will explore the relationship between nationalism and national interest. The following inquiry questions will be used to guide your exploration:

- What is the relationship between nationalism and the pursuit of national interests?
- In what ways do nations and nation-states pursue national interests?

This chapter will also help you develop a foundation for addressing the Main Issue for Part 2 (chapters 6–10): *To what extent should national interests be pursued?*

Exploring National Interests

**Question for Inquiry**

- What is the relationship between nationalism and the pursuit of national interests?

A national interest may be a cultural, economic, political, religious, or military goal of a nation. A nation’s pursuit of national interests is the purposeful activity of working toward these goals. Both nations and nation-states may pursue national interests. National interest is influenced by a nation’s understanding of nationalism, and what is necessary for it to maintain its existence as a nation.

Nationalist or Internationalist Interests?

The pursuit of national interests by a nation often affects not only the nation itself, but other nations as well. Many nation-states try to balance the interests of their own citizens with the interests of those outside the nation’s borders. Often, countries must decide between national interests and international interests. Sometimes, the focus of the discussion is monetary: where should a nation’s budget be applied? Toward international interests, or within the nation and toward the pursuit of national interests?
A nationalist might believe that the nation should spend its money on its own citizens first, and on citizens of other nations through foreign aid only if there is any money left over.

An internationalist, on the other hand, might believe that a nation should care both for its own citizens and the greater group of world citizens.

In a speech, the Right Honourable Christopher Patten, European Union Commissioner for External Relations, expressed his idea that national interests must be pursued through humanitarianism in a global context.

There was a time when pursuit of the national interest was accepted as the sole and self-evident purpose of foreign policy. Yet the concept has never been a simple one. What is the national interest? … Even for the greatest powers an enlightened view of the national interest must take account of wider concerns … No alleged national traditions or cultural standards can make right in one place what is wrong in every place.2

Why Do Nations Pursue National Interests?

Nations pursue national interests for a variety of reasons, many of which centre around

• a nation’s survival and security
• a nation’s economic growth and power
• the maintenance of the quality of life for the people in the nation

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Exercising Media Literacy with the Internet

When we seek out research from the Internet, we need to develop skills to be able to sift through the mass of information that is available. It is important to use information that is accurate, reliable, and authentic to make informed conclusions. Use the following questions to evaluate sources of information you find on the Internet. Use the information to create a presentation describing the national interests of a nation of your choice.

1. **Determine the Source of the Internet Material**
   - Was the information produced by
     - someone from the website?
     - a newspaper or television company?
     - an editable online encyclopedia?
     - a book publisher?
     - a blog author or participant?
   Identifying who created the information will help you determine the reliability of the source.

2. **Determine the Accuracy of the Source**
   - What is the source of the information?
   - Is the information the result of the author’s own research?
   - Has the research been cited?
   - Is the research from reliable sources?
   Determining the source of the information can help you decide whether or not it is factually accurate.

3. **Determine the Reliability of the Author**
   - Who is this author?
   - Is he or she considered an expert in the field?
   - Is this person
     - a professor at a university?
     - a published author of books produced by a credible publisher?
     - a recognized spokesperson of an organization or group?
   Asking these questions will help you verify whether or not the author is reliable.

4. **Determine the Voice of the Author**
   - Is the author a respected and accepted voice on the issue, topic, or perspective?
   Asking this question will help you verify whether or not the author presents an informed perspective on the issue or topic.

**Practise It!**
Locate information using the Internet to create a presentation that illustrates the national interests of a nation. Use only those Internet sources that you have determined to be accurate, reliable, and that present authentic perspectives on the topic. Submit your researched Internet sources and your analysis of the accuracy, reliability, and authenticity of voice for each source with your presentation.

Using the Skill Path, answer the following question:
To what extent is Canada’s involvement in the Afghanistan conflict the pursuit of national interests? Explain.
Canada's Northern Sovereignty

In recent years, several nations have become increasingly interested in the lands and waters of the Arctic. This may threaten Canadian sovereignty in the North. With the polar ice cap retreating and technology improving, shipping lanes in the Arctic Ocean could be used to transport goods. In 2007, Russian submarines descended to the seabed and planted a Russian flag under the North Pole ice. This was Russia's assertion of ownership of the potentially oil- and mineral-rich seabed. Canada's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Peter MacKay, responded with: "Look, this isn't the 15th century. You can't go around the world and just plant flags and say 'We're claiming this territory'."

Canada might pursue its national interests in the Arctic by
  • building military bases
  • resolving disputed land claims with Aboriginal groups
  • expanding resource exploration and development
  • starting to move goods by sea through the Northwest Passage

Fast Facts

The national interests of a country may be reflected in its foreign policy. Foreign policy is a set of goals that outline how a country will interact with other countries.

sovereignty: a nation's right to self-government and control over its own jurisdiction that is recognized by other nations.
The Canadian motto is: *A Mari usque ad Mare* ("From sea to sea"). Why do you think the motto is not: "From sea to sea to sea"? Should it be changed now that the Arctic ice is receding and opening up the shipping lanes?

**Pause and Reflect**

Controlling the Northwest Passage

Why would Canada want to maintain control over the Northwest Passage? Today, the Northwest Passage is considered in Canada to be Canadian internal waters. This is not a perspective held by other nations. In an article in *MoneyWeek,* Simon Wilson asserts that the Northwest Passage is an international strait, not a body of water that belongs under Canadian jurisdiction:

The *United States,* however, claims the route is an international strait open to all—and is backed in its belief by the European Union.  

1. Today, the Northwest Passage is considered in Canada to be Canadian internal waters. How could changing the longstanding name to the “Canadian Northwest Passage” give an international voice to Canada’s national interests in the Arctic?

2. In your opinion, is the use of the Northwest Passage by other nations a challenge to Canada’s sovereignty, or is it an opportunity for Canada to assert its national interests in the passage?

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**Figure 6-3**

This image shows a record sea ice minimum in the Arctic as of 16 September 2007.

**Voices**

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**Figure 6-4**

The Canadian icebreaker *Terry Fox* is able to escort ships through the Arctic waters. Should the Canadian government make Northern sovereignty a priority and spend tax dollars on additional ships, ports, and military bases to maintain a Canadian presence?

**Fast Facts**

The former Soviet Union claimed—and Russia now claims—sovereignty over much of the Northeast Passage, in the Arctic Ocean north of Russia. Since turning back two US Coast Guard icebreakers in 1967, they have denied US surface vessels access to the route.

If Canada were to take similar actions now in the Northwest Passage, what might be the consequences?

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**Part 2 Issue: To what extent should national interests be pursued?** 131
Defending Canada's North

Something to Think About: To what extent should Canada make defending Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic a priority?

An Example: With the climate changing, some experts believe that the Northwest Passage will be free of ice and open to shipping traffic as early as 2025. The Northwest Passage would be a huge time- and cost-saving route for ships travelling between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Using an open Northwest Passage would be 25 per cent faster than using the Panama and Suez canals.

The US government believes that the passage is international waters. Nations such as the United States, Russia, Denmark, Japan, and Norway have expressed interest in using the Northwest Passage. The potential for developing resources in this region—oil, diamonds, and uranium—means that its importance extends beyond its use as a navigable route.

In the past, the Canadian government has asserted sovereignty, but the United States has not recognized it; the United States has not asked for permission to sail through the waters of the Canadian far North. Incidents include the sailings of the nuclear-powered US submarine Sea Dragon in 1960, the oil tanker Manhattan in 1969, the icebreaker Polar Sea in 1985, and the nuclear-powered submarine USS Charlotte in 2005.

A Politician’s Opinion: Prime Minister Stephen Harper plans to increase the Canadian presence in the Arctic by building three armed icebreaker ships, laying a series of underwater sensors in the North to detect unauthorized submarines and ships, increasing aerial surveillance of the area, stationing more military personnel in the North, and building a new port facility in Nanisivik, Nunavut. About Canadians’ views on the issue, he said:

*We believe that Canadians are excited about the government asserting Canada’s control and sovereignty in the Arctic. We believe that is one of the big reasons why Canadians are excited and support our plan to rebuild the Canadian Forces.*

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**An Expert's Opinion:** In August 2004, the Canadian military conducted a large military exercise called Narwhal. In this $5.4 million, three-week exercise in Pangnirtung, Baffin Island, 600 Canadian Forces troops searched for debris from a simulation of a failed foreign satellite launch and escorted an unauthorized foreign ship from Canadian internal waters.

Retired Major General Lewis McKenzie said of the Narwhal exercise:

*I would say [exercises like Narwhal are] as much for Canadian benefit as they are for foreigners. In other words, get it on record [so that] in the future, if we’re challenged, we have a record of taking this issue seriously. It fulfills a purpose, it puts down a marker.*

**An Inuit Perspective:** Sheila Watt-Cloutier, at the time president of Inuit Circumpolar Council (Canada) and vice-president of the international Inuit Circumpolar Council, spoke for her people about Canada’s sovereignty over its northern waters:

*Inuit support Canada’s assertion of full and complete sovereignty over the Northwest Passage, as expressed in September 1985 by Joe Clark, then Minister of External Affairs … Inuit have been instrumental in exerting Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic. Our use and occupation of the land was complete; as nomadic people, my ancestors travelled the length and breadth of the Arctic.*

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1. How does Watt-Cloutier’s quote support Canada’s claim to the Arctic? Does the fact that a nomadic people of Canada once travelled the land lend legitimacy to Canada’s claim?

2. Headline: “Country X Begins Drilling for Oil in Canada’s North!” In a small group, create a list of possible actions that the Canadian government could take if it were confronted with this issue. This list should outline the different ways in which the Canadian government should respond to the intrusion, as well as ways in which it could facilitate international interests in the sea.

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The Pursuit of National Interests: Nisga’a Nation

The national interests of a First Nation may differ from those of the country of Canada. Land claims may be a national interest in the pursuit of strategies that will preserve the language, culture, beliefs, and ways of life of a First Nation.

Many of the treaties signed between the government (known as the Crown) and First Nations involved a relationship with the land. From First Nations’ perspectives, they entered into an agreement with the Crown to share the resources of the land. The Crown often perceived the signed treaties as a sale of First Nations lands to the government. It has become a national interest of many First Nations to correct the interpretations of the treaties to restore the original relationship that First Nations have with the land. This restoration is pursued in the interest of First Nations, and is often held as the first of many critical strategies necessary to restore First Nations to the status of self-sufficiency they held prior to the arrival of the Europeans.

The Nisga’a Nation Settlement with the Government of British Columbia

Maintaining their relationship to land is one of the central pursuits of national interest for the Nisga’a [NIS-guh] people. In 1968, the tribal council of the Nisga’a brought a lawsuit against the Government of British Columbia. In it, they argued that Aboriginal title to land in and around the Nass River Valley had never been settled. The BC court’s ruling that Aboriginal title to the land had already been settled, or extinguished, was overturned by the Supreme Court of Canada in 1973—the Court ruled that Aboriginal title to land could exist. This case was significant to the land claims process in Canada, as it ruled that Aboriginal land title is part of Canadian law and that the Nisga’a people had once held title to the land in question.

In 2000, the land claim settlement between the Nisga’a and the governments of BC and Canada became the first formal treaty between BC and a First Nation since colonial times. The settlement provided for about 2000 square kilometres of Nass River Valley land to be recognized as belonging to the Nisga’a, as well as for the creation of a 300 000 000 cubic metre water reserve and of the Bear Glacier Provincial Park. Nisga’a forest corporation manager Melvin Stevens said: “The treaty is not a book of guarantees—it’s a book of opportunities.”

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Part 2 Issue: To what extent should national interests be pursued?

Statements from the Nisga’a Nation

The following excerpts are from the Nisga’a Nation website, at www.nisgaalisims.ca.

We are Nisga’a, People of the Nass River. We have lived here, on British Columbia’s northwest coast, since time immemorial. Long enough to see our culture thrive, adapt, and endure. Canada’s Nisga’a Nation is represented by Nisga’a Lisims Government—a modern, forward-thinking administration based on traditional culture and values. Together, we have built a culture and economy that respects and protects our natural heritage.

The Nass River flows through a land of sacred mountains, dense forests, and rugged lava beds on Canada’s Pacific Coast. The resources of the Nass River Valley have sustained the Nisga’a people for millennia and have allowed the Nisga’a Nation to develop one of the most sophisticated pre-colonial cultures in North America. In Nisga’a culture, traditional authority and the ability to govern originates from the connection between families and communities, and our land and resources.

Our Vision

In the spirit of Sayt-K’il-im-Goot, the Nisga’a Nation is a place where:

• our Ayuuk, language, and culture are the foundation of our identity
• learning is a way of life
• we strive for sustainable prosperity and self-reliance
• we inspire trust and understanding through effective communications, and
• our governance and services evolve to meet our people’s needs.

In what ways will the achievement of the national interests described in the Nisga’a Nation’s vision contribute to the Nisga’a as a nation?
Explore the Issues

1. Make a list of all the parties who would be affected by Canada pursuing a policy that the Northwest Passage is Canadian territorial water. How would each interested party respond to such a policy?

2. Research Canada’s relationship with these territories. Examine the national interests of Canada and the other nations. Identify the national interests and how they are protected.
   - Hans Island (Denmark)
   - Saint-Pierre et Miquelon (France)

3. In 2006, an Australian Federal Court judge granted the Noongar Aborigines of Australia title to 6000 square kilometres of land, including the city of Perth, with a population of 1.7 million people. In an appeal, the Full Federal Court of Australia ruled in April 2008 that the judge had made some legal errors, and sent the case back to the Federal Court for a second hearing. This means that the claim has not yet been settled.
   
   Businesses and homeowners would not be affected by this land claim. The Noongar would gain control of parkland and other public places. If a similar recognition of Aboriginal land title were enacted on land in Alberta, what benefits would this have for the First Nations in Alberta?

4. Review a Canadian map of First Nations treaties and comprehensive land claims—including settlement areas, traditional territories, and those areas currently under negotiations—such as the one available at Natural Resources Canada. What are your initial impressions of the land claims issue when looking at this map? In what ways do you think this pursuit of national interest affects Aboriginal people today? How do you think it will affect them in the future? To what extent is the pursuit of land claims settlements by nations within Canada driven by nationalism?

For a link to a map of First Nations treaties and land claims, visit the Perspectives on Nationalism website.
Strategies for Pursuing National Interests

**Question for Inquiry**

- In what ways do nations and nation-states pursue national interests?

There are many approaches to the pursuit of national interest, and not all are in harmony with the others.

The Pursuit of National Interests in East Timor

East Timor is an example of the confrontation that can arise when the national interests of a nation come into conflict with those of a nation-state. East Timor gained its independence from Indonesia in 2002 following a referendum. This vote came after two decades of fierce fighting that resulted in the deaths of approximately 250,000 Timorese.

The eastern portion of the island of Timor was colonized by Portugal in the 16th century, and became known as Portuguese Timor; the western half was colonized by the Dutch and became known as West Timor. The border between the eastern and western portions of the island was set in 1906. After the Second World War, the Dutch—who had controlled what was called the Dutch East Indies, including West Timor—recognized the independence of this
area. The Dutch East Indies became known as Indonesia, but East Timor remained a Portuguese colony.

Political turmoil in Portugal, which resulted in a coup d’etat in 1974, led Portugal to let go of all its overseas territories to concentrate on the problems at home. At this time, East Timor was freed from Portuguese rule.

Two East Timorese groups vied for political power, and by 1975, one group—the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Fretlin)—came into power and declared East Timor an independent nation on 28 November 1975.

East Timor, however, was not to have its independence, as Indonesia’s Prime Minister Suharto did not recognize it as an independent nation, and Indonesia invaded a little over a week later. In 1976, East Timor became Indonesia’s 27th province. For the next two decades, the Indonesian military oppressed those who were opposed to Indonesia’s control of East Timor, and many East Timorese people were killed.

In 1999, Indonesian President B.J. Habibie announced that a referendum would take place for the people of East Timor. The people would be allowed to choose whether to remain a part of Indonesia or become independent.

**Figure 6-9**

East Timor’s struggle gained wider recognition in 1996, when East Timorese Bishop Carlos Belo and exiled resistance leader Jose Ramos-Horta received the Nobel Peace Prize. The two were awarded the prize for their efforts to stop the oppression of the East Timorese people. Ramos-Horta has been considered the leading spokesperson for East Timor since 1975.
Before and after the referendum, militia groups backed by the Indonesian military killed as many as 2000 people in East Timor; 300,000 more became refugees and had to flee to West Timor. The militias destroyed much of East Timor’s infrastructure—irrigation and water supply systems, electrical systems, and schools—and led a campaign of looting and burning. Australia, Canada, and other nations contributed 8000 soldiers to help keep the peace. Canadian soldiers stayed in East Timor until March 2000. By referendum, on 20 May 2002, East Timor became fully independent.

Voices

Constitution of the Democratic Republic Of East Timor

The Members of the Constituent Assembly . . . solemnly reaffirm their determination to fight all forms of tyranny, oppression, social, cultural or religious domination and segregation, to defend national independence, to respect and guarantee human rights and the fundamental rights of the citizen, to ensure the principle of the separation of powers in the organisation of the State, and to establish the essential rules of multi-party democracy, with a view to building a just and prosperous nation and developing a society of solidarity and fraternity.10

Preamble from the Constitution of the Democratic Republic Of East Timor

Explore the Issues

1 What is the relationship between the pursuit of national interests by the government of Canada and the pursuit of national interests by nations within Canada, for example First Nations?

2 Research a nation and identify the strategies it uses to pursue its national interests.

Part 2 Issue: To what extent should national interests be pursued?

Reflect and Analyze

In this chapter you explored national interests, their relationship to identity and a sense of nationalism, and how they are pursued in a variety of ways.

**New Nations Created Since 1990**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With the dissolution of the USSR, 15 new countries were formed, mostly in 1991.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenia</td>
<td>1991</td>
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<tr>
<td>Azerbaijan</td>
<td>1991</td>
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<tr>
<td>Belarus</td>
<td>1991</td>
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<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>1991</td>
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<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>1991</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kazakhstan</td>
<td>1991</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kyrgyzstan</td>
<td>1991</td>
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<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>1991</td>
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<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>1991</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moldova</td>
<td>1991</td>
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<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>1991</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tajikistan</td>
<td>1991</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turkmenistan</td>
<td>1991</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>1991</td>
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<tr>
<td>Uzbekistan</td>
<td>1991</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Former Yugoslavia</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>When Yugoslavia dissolved in the 1990s, 5 new countries were formed.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>1992</td>
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<tr>
<td>Croatia</td>
<td>1991</td>
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<tr>
<td>Macedonia</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Declared independence in 1991</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Recognized by UN in 1993 and by US and Russia in 1994</td>
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<tr>
<td>Serbia and Montenegro</td>
<td>1992</td>
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<tr>
<td>Slovenia</td>
<td>1991</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Other countries (9)</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>1990</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yemen (unification of North and South Yemen)</td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany (unification of East and West Germany)</td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Marshall Islands (independence from US)</td>
<td>1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micronesia (independence from US)</td>
<td>1991</td>
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<tr>
<td>Czech Republic and Slovakia (when Czechoslovakia dissolved)</td>
<td>1993</td>
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<tr>
<td>Entrea (independence from Ethiopia)</td>
<td>1993</td>
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<tr>
<td>Palau (independence from US)</td>
<td>1994</td>
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<tr>
<td>East Timor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Declared independence from Portugal in 1975</td>
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<tr>
<td>Became independent of Indonesia in 2002</td>
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<tr>
<td>Montenegro</td>
<td>2006</td>
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<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
<td>2006</td>
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</tbody>
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1. **Respond to Ideas**

In 1999, the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory reserve in Ontario filed a land claim over the Haldimand Tract, 380,000 hectares along the Grand River. The legal argument was that this land was never transferred to non-Aboriginals because the treaty signed was understood as a nation-to-nation agreement by the Six Nations. When Henco Industries began to develop houses on part of this disputed land, protesters from the Six Nations occupied the land and blockaded a road through the town of Caledonia. **To what extent are their land claim and their other actions in the interests of their nation?**

![Figure 6-10](image-url)

What happens when nationalism leads to the pursuit of independence? What happens when independence becomes the national interest? Look at the figure above and note how many new nations have been created since 1990. What could theoretically happen if all ethnic groups became independent sovereign states? What would the map of the world look like? What would be the effects of pursuing independence? What could the map of Canada look like?
2 Respond to Issues

All or parts of the Spratlys, a group of more than 100 small uninhabited islands in the South China Sea, have been claimed by the People’s Republic of China, Taiwan, Vietnam, Brunei, Malaysia, and the Philippines. Research how each nation justifies its claim to the Spratly Islands. Predict what might happen in the future with regard to ownership of the islands. Choose one nation and suggest a strategy for the nation to pursue its national interests.

3 Recognize Relationships between Concepts, Issues, and Citizenship

According to the US Geological Survey, the Arctic may contain one-quarter of the world’s undiscovered energy resources. If you were in a position to decide on whether or not to drill for oil in one of the most ecologically pristine areas left in the world, what choice would you make? What national interests guide this decision? What information would you have to gather to make your decision?