Canada is set to take the helm of the Arctic Council on May 15, 2013. To prepare for this, CDFAI asked five leading Arctic scholars to provide some advice to the decision makers in Ottawa on what Canada’s priorities should be.

Joël Plouffe, a researcher at the Center for Interuniversity Research on International Relations of Canada and Québec at the École nationale d’administration publique in Montréal sets the scene for us in his piece *Towards a North American Arctic Region*.

Rob Huebert, Associate Director of the University of Calgary’s Centre for Military and Strategic Studies examines the security ramifications of a militarized Arctic, while Natalia Loukacheva, the first visiting Nansen Professor of Arctic Studies (Akureyri, Iceland), examines the importance of Canada’s relationship with Russia.

Whitney Lackenbauer, chair of the department of history at St. Jerome’s University (University of Waterloo) examines why nations around the world are clamouring for seats at the Arctic table, while CDFAI Senior Fellow, Ron Wallace concludes that the Government needs to continue to improve relations with the Indigenous peoples of the North and that selecting Minister Leona Aglukkaq as the designated Chair is an important step in the right direction.

Photograph: Alexandra Kobalenko/Getty
Towards a North American Arctic Region

This May, as Canada kicks off the second cycle of Arctic Council chairman-ships, we are reminded of the achievements brought by international cooperation in the circumpolar world since the end of the Cold War. From reduced military tensions to increased stability, transnational dialogue has brought states, sub-regional actors and people to work together on a continued basis to attain common goals, with shared beliefs of increased prosperity and well-being.

While the Arctic Council is the most prominent intergovernmental forum for circumpolar state-to-state dialogue, it is not the sole institution that promotes and strengthens regional cooperation.

Northern Europe has seen several institutions emerge over the past sixty years designed to increase cooperation around issues of culture, politics and finance. Two examples include the Nordic Council, an inter-parliamentary advisory body created in 1952, and the Nordic Council of Ministers, a forum for intergovernmental co-operation, launched in 1971.

With the collapse of the USSR, and the end of the Cold War, the establishment of Barents cooperation heralded an unprecedented sequence of bilateral and multinational collaboration in the European Arctic, mainly to insure stability between states that needed to work more closely with Russia.

This year the Barents Euro-Arctic Region (BEAR) – and its related institutions – celebrates twenty years of region building on cross-border issues including the environment, education, and economic development. New commitments are being made on issues of climate change and extractive activities, as well as indigenous development.

Although the BEAR has specific geopolitical needs and security issues, with tailored objectives and institutions based on post-Cold War regional stability, it nevertheless has the potential to inspire increased (and needed) interregional, “people-to-people,” and international collaborations here at home, in the North American Arctic.
There have been some attempts to instigate region building in northern Canada and Alaska, such as the Northern Development Ministers Forum, established in 2001, but integrated and coordinated cooperation across the North American Arctic with clear objectives of prosperity and well-being has never really taken off, as demonstrated by the former’s low profile and even lower impact. This disjuncture leaves northerners isolated from each other, with limited human and financial resources and expertise when it comes to dealing with common pan-Arctic or pan-northern issues.

Today, with emerging ‘common’ security issues brought on by climate change, as well as increased human and economic activities in the North American Arctic, subnational governments and regional actors seem more than ever primed for a coordinated approach to interregional, intergovernmental and “people-to-people” cooperation as a way to foster knowledge sharing and region building in the North.

A pan-North American Arctic forum could not only bring all northerners together to discuss challenges on building stronger communities based on new economic initiatives, it would also create a needed network that promotes education as the basis to any sustainable community.

Dialogue and knowledge sharing between localities and borders, between policymakers, northerners and stakeholders from Alaska to Greenland, have the potential to empower local decision makers to take the lead in planning their futures in a decentralized North and to take innovative steps to create and strengthen local economies and economic cooperation throughout the region.

Important steps have already been taken over the past few years, suggesting that North American decision makers from national, subnational and regional governments are willing to address northern issues from a different angle, based on local, regional and international exchanges that would foster a better understanding of the challenges that lie ahead.

Québec’s Northern Agenda

Québec has been active in many ways, both at the subnational government level in Québec City, but also at the regional level in the North (i.e. Nunavik). Earlier this year, the government of Québec’s growing interest in circumpolar affairs was confirmed when the Marois government signed a historical declaration of intention with the Nordic Council of Ministers to initiate new avenues of collaboration between the regions of Northern Europe and Québec on what it calls “responsible northern development.”

This initiative creates new opportunities for both Québec and the Nordic countries to learn from each other on various common socio-economic issues such as the impact of climate change on northern peoples and environments, mining practices in fragile northern areas; renewable energy and energy supply for regions of the North; and transportation infrastructure. It should also lead to the establishment of transarctic knowledge sharing networks, innovative research collaborations between these regions of the circumpolar world, and adapted policies for similar social, environmental, and economic issues in the North.

Such an initiative suggests that Québec seeks to discuss and understand northern issues beyond its borders and to play a leadership role in promoting collaborative approaches with well-informed and experienced neighbours. Furthermore, it has the potential to strengthen the North American Arctic as a regional actor that can also bring valuable contributions to the Arctic neighborhood. Creating a regional identity can be the first step in consolidating relationships between all actors in the North.

Another case in point is Québec’s integration into the Northern Forum in 2010 by then premier Jean Charest (who that same year launched the Plan Nord platform
to primarily promote mining activities in Northern Québec. Established in 1991, the Northern Forum is an international organization with observer status at the Arctic Council. It is composed of subnational and regional governments from five northern countries (Canada, Iceland, Japan, Republic of Korea, and the Russian Federation). Since it became a member region, the government of Québec hosted a workshop in 2012 on “Climate Change Adaptation in Northern and Arctic Regions and Permafrost Degradation Solutions,” in Québec City to explore practical and technological solutions to issues such as permafrost degradation, transportation and housing infrastructure, mineral, gas, and oil development in the North, as well as adaptation for northerners.

The Northern Forum certainly has the potential to play a greater coordination role in the Canadian and American Norths, and Québec has demonstrated its interest in making the Northern Forum work for the regions of the Arctic. However, Québec and the Yukon are currently the only North American member regions involved in the Northern Forum. Indeed, an effective and sustainable pan-Arctic framework would need to include all northern/Arctic regions of North America, with constant participation and funding.

At the local subregional level in Northern Québec, empowerment has been a big issue over the last few years, as Nunavimmuit have been seeking to build a sustained relationship between Nunavik and the government of Québec to “put forward a common vision of economic and community development.” Following the launch of Plan Nord by the Charest government in 2010, Nunavimmuit has responded (and followed up) with Plan Nunavik and now Parnasimautik, an ongoing process that was put in place in 2013 to “create a comprehensive vision” (based on the Inuit traditional way of life) for the development of Nunavik and Québec.

Parnasimautik is a major move forward for region building in the North American Arctic. On the one hand, it empowers Inuit in planning for their future, in consultation and collaboration with other northerners. On the other hand, it promotes a sustained and pragmatic approach to northern development based on a decentralized approach between the North and the South. It definitely serves as a model for the entire northern neighbourhood, as did the 1975 James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (JBNQA) for indigenous peoples and government.

**Alaskan Initiatives**

In the American North, Alaska has recently initiated a somewhat similar process of consultations with Alaskans on Arctic policymaking initiatives that are also in line with region building.

The Alaska Arctic Policy Commission (AAPC) was created by House resolution HRC23 in April 2012, to “identify a mission/vision for Alaska in the Arctic, as well as goals and action items to guide future decision-making” (the NWT, Yukon and Nunavut appear to have done a comparable exercise in 2007).
The Commission, which met for the first time last March, will travel around the state throughout 2013 to meet with Alaskans and hear their concerns on various topics (i.e. indigenous peoples, oil and gas development, mining, fisheries, and infrastructure). Recommendations will be penciled into an Alaska Arctic Policy by early 2014 and a final report should be published in 2015.

AAPC emerged in the Alaska Northern Waters Task Force (ANWTF) 2012 report, another process intended to build knowledge and inform policy on the changes taking place in the marine Arctic. AAPC’s driving force is the need to have conversations on the United States as an Arctic nation, and how Alaska is a key component of this identity and reality. Thus, like other regions of the North American Arctic, Alaska is called to work closely with the federal government and to coordinate and collaborate with its nearest neighbors, like northern Canada (and Russia to the East). According to Nils Andreassen, Executive Director of the Institute of the North (a think tank based in Anchorage), the main driver of this whole region building process around AAPC is that “[r]ather than trying to convince more than 300 million Americans that they are now “Arctic,” let’s focus on the significance of Arctic issues and how what happens in Alaska impacts the individual lives of everyone. We have to do that by drawing on small-and large-scale examples of economic connections, climate changes, safety, security, sovereignty, and recreational opportunities.”

While Alaska seeks to inform public policy and create a better understanding and relationship between the federal government and American northerners, it has also been an important player in shaping the emerging regional Arctic dimension of the Pacific Northwest.

“North America is ripe for its own pan-Arctic dialogue forum that includes knowledge-sharing and problem solving discussions”

Arctic Networking

The Arctic Caucus, officially formed in 2009-2010 as an informal sub-set of the Pacific Northwest Economic Region (PNWER), is a working group that seeks to explore issues of common interest and concern between its member regions (Alaska, the Yukon and the Northwest Territories) and identify areas of cross-region and cross-border collaboration. It is a tool to bring together regional neighbors “to look for mutually beneficial solutions” to communal challenges faced while developing the Arctic.

Topics addressed by member regions since the first Arctic Caucus forum, held in Barrow (Alaska) in 2010, span from American and Canadian Arctic policy challenges, to specific needs with regards to Arctic infrastructure, to environmental and socioeconomic assessments.

The working group is a timely initiative that is made up of public and private sector PNWER members. Although largely a forum for discussing regional issues in the Western Arctic (mostly business oriented), the Arctic Caucus serves as a model for future talks on the establishment of a pan-North American Arctic. It seems to be the most advanced framework for collaboration in the North American Arctic, providing “the public and private sectors a cross-border forum for unfiltered dialogue that capitalizes upon the synergies between the business leaders and elected officials working to advance the region’s global competitiveness.”

While intergovernmental forums like the Arctic Council, or regional governance structures like the institutions of the BEAR remain the prominent frameworks that inform national and subnational policymakers on specific concerns that fall into their areas of jurisdictions, North America is ripe for its own pan-Arctic dialogue forum that includes knowledge-sharing and problem solving discussions (and mechanisms) for common concerns that are specific to the region and its people.
It’s Time to Talk about Arctic Militarization

Canada is set to assume the chairmanship of the Arctic Council in May 2013 and in the days leading up to this important transition there has been considerable discussion of what Canada will do as chair. One issue that has not received much attention is the need to discuss the growing militarization of the Arctic. While the Arctic Council is formally forbidden from discussing military security in the Arctic, the time has arrived to rethink this policy.

The Arctic Council was established at the end of the Cold War, when Arctic activities were substantially reduced and such a prohibition made good political sense. However, in 2013 this is no longer the case. The militaries of most Arctic states are taking on new and expanded roles in the region that go beyond their traditional responsibilities, which may create friction in the region. To help manage these relationships the Council should reconsider its refusal to deal with the sticky issue of military security.

Why should Canada take on this issue when all states seem content to ignore it? “Let sleeping dogs sleep” would seem a wise approach, except for the troubling signs that both Russia and the United states have begun to view the region through a geopolitical lens. Both countries are developing capabilities in their territories to tackle threats that originate beyond the region. These new developments need to be discussed to ensure that all Arctic Council member states understand why they are occurring, and increase the confidence of members that these new developments are not about a conflict in the Arctic, but about the defence of core strategic interests.

In 2008, Russia released its National Security
Policy which outlined their core security interests. At the very top of the list was the need to protect and maintain their nuclear deterrent capabilities. Since issuing this document, Russia has worked hard to rebuild its submarine based missile deterrent. Though it has been difficult and expensive, Russia is now commissioning a new class of submarines that will carry a new nuclear missile in an effort to maintain this deterrent. The bulk of these forces remain stationed with the Northern Fleet at the Severomorsk naval base near the port city of Murmansk and Russia plans to reinstate regular patrols, a practice it hasn’t pursued since the end of the Cold War. Any threat to this deterrent will be seen as a challenge to the core of Russian security; therefore, it is critical to regional stability that Russia not feel this capability is threatened. But the question remains, will other Arctic states recognize that the maintenance of Russian deterrent capabilities are a critical security requirement that remains based in the Arctic?

On the other side of the Arctic, the Americans are taking steps to respond to the increased nuclear threat posed by North Korea. The US will add 14 more interceptors to their existing number of 26 at their antiballistic missile base in Alaska in order to bolster its defences. The maintenance of a strong defensive system to repel attacks by rogue states remains a core defence interest of the United States, but will other Arctic states understand that the Americans are pursuing this course of action to protect their homeland, and not to undermine the defences of other Arctic states?

These are only two issues that will increasingly intensify the region’s strategic interests for the Arctic Council’s member states. The time has come to stop pretending that the Arctic has no strategic value. By creating a body - perhaps another working group - in which the Arctic states can agree to discuss security issues, (perhaps in closed session), the Arctic Council will facilitate a common understanding of why these actions are taken. Canada can show leadership by recognizing the need for a frank and open discussion on military issues before it is too late.

“The time has come to stop pretending that the Arctic has no strategic value.”

It is easy to see how both the Americans and Russians will become increasingly concerned about the security steps that the other is taking. But now is the
No two countries in the Arctic region share so much in common as Canada and Russia. We often forget, or take for granted, our commonalities that are manifested in our Arctic identity, our Arctic expertise in technologies and our livelihood, or geographic proximity and the common challenges and opportunities that we face in the Far North.

The rapidly receding ice in the Arctic Ocean – by far the smallest among all other world oceans – reminds us that Canada and Russia are neighbours across the North Pole. One possible challenge this neighbourhood may face will be the bilateral delineation of the continental shelf in the Arctic Ocean over the coming years, and even months. Both counties share a common legal framework for the management of their Arctic waterways, which should aid in the resolution of any issues that emerge over overlapping entitlements to the shelf. Currently the negotiation mechanism for this is envis-aged within the Arctic Ocean Coastal States – A5 framework, but it is evident that bilateral negotiations between Canada and Russia will be unavoidable. Once solved, the remaining challenge will disappear. This will be an eye-opening experience for many Canadians who accept the media's depiction of Putin's Russia – a foe and the reincarnation of the former USSR, the source of aggressive military and espionage activity against Canada – which leaves little room for any positive ventures or cooperation between the two countries.

The potential for bilateral cooperation in the Arctic should be used to dissolve this inadequate and mistaken image of Russia, and help bring benefits to Canadians. One historic opportunity to do this will be in 2013-2015 when Canada will chair the Arctic Council. The two nations already see eye to eye on the majority of issues and already work effectively together, as well as with the other Arctic partners. Canada and Russia, by far the largest Arctic nations, bear a shared responsibility for the state of affairs in the region, with sovereignty and security being of the utmost importance and a very clear common interest. Canada and Russia must see each other as strategic partners. First, we need to develop, and initiate, more strategic collaborations in military and other security domains, including dealing with other non-Arctic players in the Arctic. To date the military (non-strategic) capacities of the Arctic zones in Canada and Russia are limited, but their expansion would not be destabilizing, but instead justified as northern frontiers that were traditionally sheltered by ice and harsh climates open up. Growing economic activities, expanding navigation and cross-polar flights, and a rising demand for readiness in search and rescue capacities justify an increase in military (non-strategic) capabilities, a trend seen among most Arctic states; thus, both Canada and Russia are no exception. Additionally, a stronger and more engaged presence in the Arctic by either nation – especially in today’s times of financial crisis – is essential to addressing the real threats affecting the circumpolar region.

Natalia Loukacheva is a Research Associate at the Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto, Adjunct Professor at Osgoode Hall Law School graduate program on energy and infrastructure, York University (Canada), the first Nansen Professor of Arctic Studies (Iceland-Norway initiative), a Visiting Professor of Polar Law in Iceland, and Associate Scientist with Stefansson Arctic Institute.
Arctic affairs are no longer the quiet preserve of the Arctic states. Once frozen in the geopolitics of the Cold War, the thawing region now commands international attention. The Arctic Council, a relaxed forum for dialogue and information sharing amongst Arctic states and representatives of indigenous groups (the permanent participants), now faces a deluge of new applicants for observer status. China, India, Japan, South Korea, Singapore, and Mongolia have joined the European Union, Italy, and various non-governmental organizations seeking a more permanent place in the Council. The eight ministers from the Arctic states are expected to render their verdict on fourteen of these applications in Kiruna, Sweden, next month.

But accepting new observers is just the tip of the proverbial iceberg. The real challenge will come in maintaining the current structure of the Council as new actors clamour for a say in the exploration and extraction of Arctic resources. The Kinross’ success in numerous joint ventures with Russian gold mines is an important success story that could be mirrored by others.

Russians and Canadians love many of the same things – from ice-hockey to classical music – and the possibilities for tourism and other people-to-people contacts are great. It is time to transform the relationship between Canada and Russia in concert with the ongoing transformation in the Arctic. We need to remove the hurdles that impeded the Canadian-Russian rapprochement and take a new look at each other so as to truly benefit from cooperation between the two Arctic giants.

Asia and the Arctic: Challenges and Opportunities for Canada

Arctic affairs are no longer the quiet preserve of the Arctic states. Once frozen in the geopolitics of the Cold War, the thawing region now commands international attention. The Arctic Council, a relaxed forum for dialogue and information sharing amongst Arctic states and representatives of indigenous groups (the permanent participants), now faces a deluge of new applicants for observer status.

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But accepting new observers is just the tip of the proverbial iceberg. The real challenge will come in maintaining the current structure of the Council as new actors clamour for a say in scientific research, resource development, transportation, and regional governance more generally. The extent to which Arctic and Asian states’ interests currently conflict on Arctic issues is overblown in most popular media and scholarly accounts. Nevertheless, some Chinese commentators have indicated that they consider observer status as a foot in the door to leverage greater influence over time. Indian scholars, their ideas framed by a long history of Antarctic engagement, still conjure visions of an
Arctic treaty system that would resemble the international regime governing the south polar continent. This overlooks the sovereignty and sovereign rights of the Arctic states, as well as perceptions of appropriate regional governance encapsulated in their national strategies and the Ilulissat declaration of May 2008.

A seat at the Arctic Council may serve as a symbol of prestige for Asian states in international affairs, but the practical benefits are less clear. After all, only Arctic member states and permanent participants have seats around the main Council table. The observers listen in on deliberations and speak when invited to do so, but generally operate on the sidelines. To secure even this access, however, they must meet a host of new criteria, including acknowledgment of Arctic states’ sovereignty and sovereign rights, respect for indigenous cultures, and support for the Council’s original objectives as a high level forum to promote “cooperation, coordination and interaction among the Arctic States ... on common arctic issues.”

Does this reality accommodate non-Arctic states’ rising ambitions and perceived “rights” in regional affairs? Some Asian voices suggest it does not. For example, political scientist Guo Peiquing of the Ocean University of China has recently encouraged his country not to join the Council, arguing that it can better assert influence through other bilateral and multilateral channels – without acquiescing to the Arctic states’ self-interested rules and agenda.

A case in point is the new Arctic Circle forum, announced last week by Icelandic president Olafur Grimsson hot on the heels of a new free trade agreement with China. His country’s well-documented courtship of China and its fear of exclusion by the “Arctic-5” coastal states underpin this announcement which may, ultimately, undermine the perceived role of the Arctic Council as the primary forum for international dialogue about the region.

With Asian states asserting growing weight in international affairs, the Arctic is already feeling the reverberations. The challenge for Canada as Arctic Council chair lies not in excluding Asian states from regional conversations, but in striving to educate non-Arctic interests about why the existing system of governance is appropriate and relevant. Alienating Asian states will feed perceptions that the Arctic countries view the region as a private backyard, dismissing international interests and simply dividing the spoils amongst themselves. Instead, Canada should work with its Arctic neighbours to foster a sense of Asian Arctic-mindedness that is sensitive to the region’s unique environmental and human attributes. During its chair, Canada must look at the region through global, regional, and national lenses to ensure that its interests, those of the Council, and those of a growing array of interested stakeholders are balanced and maintained.
Canada is about to enter an entirely new phase of heightened diplomatic responsibilities in the circumpolar Arctic in assuming the Chairmanship of the Arctic Council. Made up of the USA, Russia, Denmark (including Greenland), Iceland, Finland, Norway and Sweden among others, the Arctic Council’s member states will rotate the chairmanship to Canada in May, 2013. This event will present Canada with an opportunity to demonstrate tangible international leadership in the circumpolar Arctic region. In parallel, the Arctic Council is about to consider requests by several countries for permanent observer status – this developing interest in the polar Arctic is also coming at a time when (December 2013) Canada plans to make its first submission under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). Additionally, Canada will soon assume chairmanship (2014-2018) of the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) that also acts as a permanent representative on the Arctic Council. All these events represent material diplomatic and national, strategic interests for Canada.

Into this complex political and diplomatic whirlwind is soon to step Canadian Cabinet Minister and designated Arctic Council Chair Leona Aglukkaq (Chairmanship term extending from May 2013 to 2015). Ms. Leona Aglukkaq became the first Inuk to be sworn into the Federal Cabinet on 30 October 2008 as the Minister of Health. She was subsequently re-elected to a second term in May 2011 and retained her appointment as the Minister of Health but was also accorded new duties as Minister for the Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency. Quite significantly, in August 2012 when Prime Minister Harper deftly selected an Inuk to be the Arctic Council Minister who would eventually assume the role of Chair of the Council, he positioned Canada to be seen internationally as a leader in the development and promotion of the interests of aboriginal peoples in the north. This selection by the Prime Minister also comes at a time when material environmental, strategic and commercial interests are fast assuming increased importance to member, and non-member states, throughout the Circumpolar Arctic and, indeed, around the globe. Canadians should not squander the opportunity to support an Inuk woman who has demonstrated that she is capable of meeting significant political and managerial challenges. Aside from past biased, one-sided, political sniping that has accompanied her nomination to the Council, we should cherish the opportunity for Canada to demonstrate responsible international capabilities through the service of a distinguished Canadian Inuk woman. Her appointment, coming at a time when the plight of indigenous peoples of the circumpolar north has become an increasing focus for governments, is surely a credible demonstration of Canada’s long-standing commitment to our aboriginal peoples and to working to secure their right to self-government with associated increased self-determination.
Canada, with its high-profile participation on the Arctic Council, may have a unique opportunity to work with other international agencies to elevate and inform future discussions about the circumpolar region – particularly with the key issue of Arctic industrial activities that may directly impact indigenous interests, land claims and social-economic development. The high-profile Arctic Council Chairmanship falls to a Canadian aboriginal woman and Cabinet Minister precisely at a moment when these material issues will unquestionably emerge into this intergovernmental forum. It’s not only high time that a distinguished northern aboriginal leader be allowed to assume the duties of Chairmanship of the Council but that we should reflect with pride that it is Canada that has brought forth such capable, and diverse, aboriginal leaders to the global circumpolar diplomatic stage. All Canadians should proudly be supporting her and providing all the technical, scientific and diplomatic support that we can muster. Anything less would be a disservice to Canada, our northern aboriginal heritage and the international community.

Photograph: THE CANADIAN PRESS/Adrian Wyld

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Head Office
Suite 1600, 530 8th Ave SW
Calgary, AB
Canada T2P 3S8
Phone: (403) 231-7605

Ottawa Office
8 York St. 2nd Floor
Ottawa, ON
Canada K1N 5S6
Phone: (613) 288-2529