



CHINA'S ARCTIC AMBITIONS AND WHAT THEY MEAN FOR CANADA

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Introduction

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Simon as the Minister's Special Representative "responsible for leading engagements and providing advice to the Government of Canada on the development of a new Shared Arctic Leadership Model." The process remains ongoing as of January 2017. In his December 2016 joint statement with President Obama, Prime Minister Trudeau emphasized that "Canada is committing to co-develop a new Arctic Policy Framework, with Northerners, Territorial and Provincial governments, and First Nations, Inuit, and Métis People that will replace Canada's Northern Strategy." The statement indicated that this new framework "will include priority areas identified by the Minister of Indigenous and Northern Affairs' Special Representative, such as education, infrastructure, and economic development. The Framework will include an Inuit-specific component, created in partnership with Inuit, as Inuit Nunangat comprises over a third of Canada's land mass and over half of Canada's coast line, and as Inuit modern treaties govern this jurisdictional space." White House, "United States-Canada Joint Arctic Leaders' Statement" (December 20, 2016), https://www.whitehouse. gov/the-press-office/2016/12/20/united-states-canada-joint-arctic-leaders-statement. Anticipated developments are elaborated upon in our conclusion to this book.

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Chapter 1 - Situating the Arctic in China's Strategy

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Chapter 2 - The Snow Dragon: China, Polar Science, and the Environment

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- Despite the official assurances that the core of Canada's Northern Strategy is first and foremost about people, Northern indigenous groups have expressed concerns about their involvement in national and international decision-making. Inuit representatives, for example, have suggested that the government agenda prioritizes investments in defence and resource development at the expense of environmental protection and improved social and economic conditions. They insist that "sovereignty begins at home" and that the primary challenges are domestic human security issues, requiring investments in infrastructure, education, and health care. As such, indigenous voices add to the complexity of the Canadian message projected to the rest of the world. See, for example, Inuit Qaujisarvingat/Inuit Knowledge Centre, Nilliajut: Inuit Perspectives on Sovereignty, Patriotism, and Security (Ottawa: Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and the Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation, 2013). The Inuit Circumpolar Council's transnational Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic (2009) emphasized that "the inextricable linkages between issues of sovereignty and

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- 60 DFAIT, Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy (August 2010).
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- 63 Lisa Gregoire, "Arctic Council Should Be Cautious about New Observer Hopefuls," Nunatsiaq News, February 1, 2013.
- 64 Timo Koivurova, "Sovereign States and Self-Determining Peoples: Carving Out a Place for Transnational Indigenous Peoples in a World of Sovereign States," *International Community Law Review* 12 (2010).
- 65 Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), An Integrated Arctic Strategy (2008), 12.
- 66 Cochran. While regional institutions involving non-Arctic states "can provide useful mechanisms for international exchange and cooperation," the Inuit declaration on sovereignty also insists that "the conduct of international relations in the Arctic and the resolution of international disputes in the Arctic are not the sole preserve of Arctic states or other states, they are also within the purview of the Arctic indigenous peoples. The development of international institutions in the Arctic, such as multilevel governance systems and indigenous people's organizations must transcend Arctic states' agenda on sovereignty and sovereignty rights and the traditional monopoly claimed by states in the area of foreign affairs."
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- 59 Donat Pharand, "Arctic Waters and the Northwest Passage: A Final Revisit," Ocean Development and International Law 38, nos. 1-2 (2007): 59.

- 70 See, for example, Huang Ding and Chong Zhang, "China's Participation in Arctic Governance A Perspective Based on Institutional Neoliberalism" [中国参与北极治理 的价值分析基于新自由制度主义的视角], Wuhan University Journal [武汉大学学报 (哲学社会科学版] 3 (2016); Lu Jing, "An Analysis of the Arctic Governance Dilemma and Coordination [北极治理困境与协同治理路径探析],International Studies [国际问题研究] 5 (2016).
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- Lawson Brigham, "The Fast-Changing Maritime Arctic," US Naval Institute Proceedings (May 2010): 57; Shih-Ming Kao, Nathaniel S. Pearre, and Jeremy Firestone, "Adoption of the Arctic Search and Rescue Agreement: A Shift of the Arctic Regime toward a Hard Law Basis?" Marine Policy 36, no. 3 (2012): 832–8; Heather Exner-Pirot, "Defence Diplomacy in the Arctic: The Search and Rescue Agreement as a Confidence Builder," Canadian Foreign Policy Journal 18, no. 2 (2012): 195–207; Arctic Council, "Agreement on Cooperation on Marine Oil Pollution Preparedness and Response in the Arctic" (2013).
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- 74 An example is the Arctic Circle, a new international assembly launched by Iceland in April 2013. See Duncan Depledge and Klaus Dodds, "Bazaar Governance: Situating the Arctic Council," in *Governing Arctic Change: Global Perspectives*, eds. Kathrin Keil and Sebastian Knecht (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 141–60. On the Arctic Circle as a challenge for Canada, see Paul Koring, "New Arctic Group Gives Canada Political Competition," *Globe and Mail*, April 15, 2013.
- 75 Valur Ingimundarsona, "Managing a Contested Region: The Arctic Council and the Politics of Arctic Governance," *Polar Journal* 3, no. 1 (2014): 194.
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Chapter 6 - The Way Ahead

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- 6 Gloria Galloway, "Canada Drops Opposition to UN Indigenous Rights Declaration," Globe and Mail, May 9, 2016.
- 7 Ken Coates and Bill Favel, "Embrace of UNDRIP Can Bring Aboriginal Canada and Ottawa Closer Together," iPolitics, May 19, 2016.
- 8 Jason Fekete, "Justin Trudeau Says Canada 'Is Back at Climate-Change Meeting," National Post, November 30, 2015.
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- 10 Canadian Press, "Trudeau on Climate Targets: 'Canada's Efforts Will Not Cease," Maclean's, April 22, 2016.
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- See, for example, Ernie Regehr, "A Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone and Cooperative Security in the Arctic," Simons Foundation Disarming Arctic Security Project, October 14, 2014; Thomas Axworthy, "A Proposal for an Arctic Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone," Yearbook of Polar Law 4, no. 1 (2012): 87–139; Michael D. Wallace and Steven Staples, Ridding the Arctic of Nuclear Weapons: A Task Long Overdue (Ottawa: Rideau Institute, February 2010).
- In highlighting the need for "an agile, responsive, and well-equipped military force that can effectively defend Canada and North America," and by mentioning the Arctic in particular, there is no indication that Arctic defence, security, and safety will be downgraded in importance. Instead, the Liberal party promised to make investments in the Royal Canadian Navy to be a "top priority," including completing the six Arctic and offshore patrol ships (AOPS) announced by the Conservatives and the construction of more icebreakers (presumably for the Canadian Coast Guard). Liberal Party of Canada, "Defence Platform [2015]," https://www.liberal.ca/realchange/royal-canadian-navy/.
- 16 See P. Whitney Lackenbauer, "Towards a Comprehensive Approach: Defence, Security, and Safety," in North of 60: Toward a Renewed Canadian Arctic Agenda, eds. John Higginbotham and Jennifer Spence (Waterloo: Centre for International Governance Innovation, 2016), 50–4.
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- In January 2016, Dion reiterated that Canada hoped to resume dialogue with Russia, despite that country's military aggression in Ukraine, and cited the Arctic as a region where Canada would benefit from reengagement with its circumpolar neighbour. Scott Borgerson and Michael Byers, "The Arctic Front in the Battle to Contain Russia," Wall Street Journal, 8 March 2016. See also Matthew Fisher, "Allies Wait for Great Defence Commitment from Canada While Russia Militarizes the Arctic," National Post,

- February 4, 2016; Eva Salinas and Hannah Hoag [in conversation with Rob Huebert and Heather Exner-Pirot], "Canada Wants to Reopen Dialogue with Russia," *Arctic Deeply*, February 17, 2016.
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recommendations to other government agencies regarding the marine areas of the Nunavut Settlement Area." Pursuant to the NLCA, the Canadian government "must consider such advice and recommendations in making decisions which affect marine areas," with the objective of ensuring "the ongoing protection and wise use of the marine areas for the long-term benefit of Inuit and the rest of the public of Nunavut and Canada, in a manner consistent with the principles of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* and of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement." NIRB, "Nunavut Marine Council," http://www.nirb.ca/marine-council. See also NMC, "What is the Nunavut Marine Council?," http://www.nunavutmarinecouncil.com/node/30.

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World," *Northern Review* 33 (2011): 113–31; Whitney Lackenbauer, "Harper's Arctic Evolution," *Globe and Mail*, August 20, 2013; Petra Dolata, "A New Canada in the Arctic? Arctic Policies under Harper," *Études canadiennes/Canadian Studies – Revue interdisciplinaire des études canadiennes en France* 78 (2015): 131–54; Jerald Sabin, "North's Liberal Vote a Rebuke of Harper's Arctic Policy," *CBC News*, October 21, 2015, http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/opinion-sabin-arctic-policy-election-1.3280899; Wilfrid Greaves, "Thinking Critically about Security and the Arctic in the Anthropocene," The Arctic Institute, March 22, 2016, http://www.thearcticinstitute. org/thinking-critically-about-security-and-the-arctic-in-the-anthropocene/; Heather Nicol, "Ripple Effects: Devolution, Development and State Sovereignty in the Canadian North," in *Future Security of the Global Arctic: State Policy, Economic Security and Climate*, ed. Lassi Heininen (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 99–120.

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China's Arctic Ambitions and What They Mean for Canada is the one of the first in-depth studies of China's increasing interest in the Arctic. It offers a holistic approach to understanding Chinese motivations and the potential impacts of greater Chinese presence in the circumpolar region, exploring resource development, shipping, scientific research, governance, and security.

Drawing on extensive research in Chinese government documentation, business and media reports, and current academic literature, this timely volume eschews the common assumption that China poses an acute threat to Arctic states' polar interests. Instead, it offers a nuanced assessment of how different Chinese stakeholders approach the region and how carefully managed relationships can contribute to positive circumpolar development.

Analyzing Chinese interests and activities from a Canadian perspective, the book provides an unparalleled point of reference to discuss the implications for the Canadian and broader circumpolar North.

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