

# Notes

## 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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- 15 See P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Ryan Dean, eds., *Canada's Northern Strategy under the Harper Conservatives: Key Speeches and Documents on Sovereignty, Security, and Governance, 2006–15* (Waterloo and Calgary: Centre on Foreign Policy and Federalism/ Centre for Military, Security and Strategic Studies, 2016).
- 16 Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT), *Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy: Exercising Sovereignty and Promoting Canada's Northern Strategy Abroad* (August, 2010). All quotations in this section are derived from this document unless otherwise specified.
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- 28 Huebert, “The Shipping News Part II.”
- 29 See, for example, “Harper Speaks up for Canada’s Arctic,” *Globe and Mail*, January 28, 2006.
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- 31 Rob Huebert quoted in Heather Yundt, “Canada’s North Becomes a Battlefield in Arctic Video Game,” *Nunatsiaq News*, February 9, 2012.
- 32 Victor Suthren, “Sinking the Navy In Afghanistan,” *Ottawa Citizen*, November 2, 2006.
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- 75 On these themes see Chih Yuan Woon, “China, Canada and Framings of Arctic Geopolitics,” 175.

## Chapter 1 - Situating the Arctic in China’s Strategy

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- 9 See, for example, John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 2001).
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## Chapter 2 - *The Snow Dragon: China, Polar Science, and the Environment*

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## Chapter 5 - China and Arctic Governance: Uncertainty and Potential Friction

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sovereign rights in the Arctic and Inuit self-determination and other rights require states to accept the presence and role of Inuit as partners in the conduct of international relations in the Arctic.” The declaration envisions the Inuit playing an active role in all deliberations on environmental security, sustainable development, militarization, shipping, and socio-economic development.

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- 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 multi-level 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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- 68 Jakobson and Peng, *China’s Arctic Aspirations*, 14–15.
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- 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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- 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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- 77 Statement by H.E. Ambassador Lan Lijun at the Meeting between the Swedish Chairmanship of the Arctic Council and observers.

## Chapter 6 - The Way Ahead

- 1 DFAIT, Statement on Canada’s Arctic Foreign Policy, 23.
- 2 Chaturvedi, “Geopolitical Transformations,” 240.
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- 7 Ken Coates and Bill Favel, “Embrace of UNDRIP Can Bring Aboriginal Canada and Ottawa Closer Together,” *iPolitics*, May 19, 2016.
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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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- “I am going to defer to scientists. There has been an awful lot of work done over the past years, and even decades, on mapping out the undersea floor of the North Pole to align with the United Nations regulations ... And I don’t know that it is a place where we need necessarily to have political interference. I trust our scientists and oceanographers in terms of how we’re mapping it.” Steven Chase, “Turf War with Russia Looms over Ottawa’s Claim to Arctic Seabed,” *Globe and Mail*, December 5, 2013.
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  - 14 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).
  - 15 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/>.
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  - 17 While the Harper Conservatives had suspended almost all bilateral contact with Russia after the latter invaded Crimea in March 2014, Dion stressed that this extreme stand deviated from the actions of the US and other G7 partners. “We also need to think about our national interests because Russia is our neighbour in the Arctic,” the minister explained. Lee Berthiaume, “Canada Ready to Re-engage with Russia, Iran, Despite Differences, Dion Says,” *Ottawa Citizen*, November 11, 2015. During the election campaign in October 2015, Trudeau had told reporters that, if he became prime minister, he would “tell off” Putin “directly to his face” after accusing the Russian leader of “being dangerous” in eastern Europe, “irresponsible and harmful” in the Middle East, and “unduly provocative” in the Arctic. Canadian Press, “Justin Trudeau Would Tell Off ‘Bully’ Vladimir Putin ‘Directly to His Face’ If He Becomes Prime Minister,” *National Post*, October 13, 2015.
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- 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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  - 20 Thomas Axworthy, “In the North, Justin Trudeau Can Accomplish Great Things,” *Toronto Star*, March 6, 2016.
  - 21 “US-Canada Joint Statement on Climate, Energy, and Arctic Leadership,” 10 March 2016, <http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2016/03/10/us-canada-joint-statement-climate-energy-and-arctic-leadership#sthash.XjR6T2R7.dpuf>.
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  - 25 “US-Canada Joint Statement on Climate, Energy, and Arctic Leadership,” 10 March 2016.
  - 26 Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), “Shared Arctic Leadership Model Engagement 2016: Discussion Guide,” October 7, 2016, <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1475862863810/1475862891382>. See also Sima Sahar Zerehi, “Mary Simon Named Minister of Indigenous Affairs’ Special Representative on Arctic,” *CBC News*, August 5, 2016,
  - 27 See Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, “Application of Indigenous Knowledge in the Arctic Council,” <http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/application-of-indigenous-knowledge-in-the-arctic-council.html>; Arctic Council Participants, “Ottawa Traditional Knowledge Principles” (2014), [http://www.saamicouncil.net/fileadmin/user\\_upload/Documents/Eara\\_dokumeanttat/Ottawa\\_TK\\_Principles.pdf](http://www.saamicouncil.net/fileadmin/user_upload/Documents/Eara_dokumeanttat/Ottawa_TK_Principles.pdf).
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  - 30 “Select Actions Being Taken under the United States-Canada Joint Arctic Leaders’ Statement,” December 20, 2016, <http://pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2016/12/20/select-actions-being-taken-under-united-states-canada-joint-arctic-leaders-statement>.
  - 31 According to the Nunavut Impact Review Board (NIRB), the Nunavut Marine Council (NMC) was established in 2012 by Section 15.4.1 of the *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement* (NLCA), “which allows the Nunavut Impact Review Board, the Nunavut Water Board, the Nunavut Planning Commission and the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board to, together as the NMC, or individually advise and make

- 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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- 33 “Declaration Concerning the Prevention of Unregulated High Seas Fishing in the Central Arctic Ocean,” Oslo, July 16, 2015, <https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/departementene/ud/vedlegg/folkerett/declaration-on-arctic-fisheries-16-july-2015.pdf>.
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- 40 “US-Canada Joint Statement on Climate, Energy, and Arctic Leadership,” March 10, 2016.
- 41 Exner-Pirot, “Six Takeaways from this Week’s US-Canada Joint Arctic Statement.”
- 42 On this characterization of the Conservative government’s agenda see, for example, Lisa Williams, “Canada, the Arctic, and Post-national Identity in the Circumpolar

- 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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- 46 Evans, *Engaging China*, 75.
- 47 *Ibid.*, 98–9.
- 48 Mulroney, *Middle Power, Middle Kingdom*, 291.
- 49 Peter Edwards, “Chinese Media Swoons over Justin Trudeau, the ‘Future of Canada,’” *Toronto Star*, September 2, 2016.
- 50 *Ibid.*
- 51 Doug Saunders, “What Are Justin Trudeau’s End-Game Ambitions with China?,” *Globe and Mail*, September 23, 2016.
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- 53 Andy Blanchford, “Canada to Apply to Join China-Backed Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank,” *Global News*, August 31, 2016.
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- 55 Nathan Vanderklippe, “With Trump Presidency, Some See Chance for Canada to Embrace China,” *Globe and Mail*, December 12, 2016.

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- 59 For a poignant discussion of Chinese state and corporate espionage and the risks to Canadian security, see Mulroney, *Middle Power, Middle Kingdom*, 160–70.
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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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