



True North in  
Canadian public policy

# CHINA AS A RISING POLAR POWER: WHAT IT MEANS FOR CANADA

Anne-Marie Brady

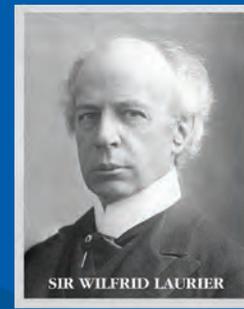


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# Executive Summary

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In a little over 10 years, China has gone from being a minor player in the Arctic and Antarctic to becoming a major stakeholder. China is now a member of a unique club of nations: the polar powers. Polar powers are global giants, strong in military, scientific, and economic capacity. China's polar military capacity is steadily expanding, and the People's Liberation Army (PLA) has a leading role in shaping China's polar policies.

China has geostrategic, political-military, economic, and scientific interests in the polar regions. Analysts divide these interests into three core categories:

- Security: China has economic, political, military, and strategic interests in the polar regions.
- Resources: China wants access to Arctic and Antarctic minerals and hydrocarbons, fishing, tourism, transport routes, water, and bioprospecting.
- Science and technology: Access to the polar regions is essential for the roll-out of the Beidou navigational system, China's space science program, and accurate weather forecasting in China.

In 2014, China incorporated the Arctic into the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). BRI projects in the Arctic are a means for China to expand its access to friendly seaports and airports in the region — essential for any future military presence. Chinese scientists are now studying the optimum design for a new generation of submarines constructed to operate in Arctic waters.

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“ Chinese scientists are now studying the optimum design for a new generation of submarines constructed to operate in Arctic waters.”

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China's plans for new nuclear submarines and icebreakers should be of concern to Canada and other participants in the Arctic. If Chinese submarines armed with nuclear weapons were able to navigate the Arctic Ocean without detection, this would alter the nuclear balance between China and the United States. More than any other new initiative, these submarines would significantly strengthen China's position in northeast Asia, and would strengthen China's status as a global political leader and military power. The challenge for China would be for its submarines to evade detection by Japan, Russia, and the US military — no easy task, but not impossible, especially if Russia was willing to assist China in this regard.

Chinese maritime specialist Shi Chunlin wrote in 2010, “The Arctic sea route is a strategic military route; whoever controls the Arctic will have the upper hand over other opponents.” Accessing Arctic routes will help China to diversify away from its overdependence on existing sea routes, using paths that are much less contested and less vulnerable to attack than traditional shipping routes.

China views the Arctic sea routes as international straits, but neither Russia nor Canada accept this position. Beijing's well-known interest in the Arctic sea route is a means for China to position itself as having legitimate interests in the Arctic region, so that it can ensure that it has a seat at the table in any future negotiations there.

Many of China's activities – and the ultimate aims of the regime in Beijing – appear to conflict with Canada's national interest in maintaining sovereignty over its Arctic territories and maintaining security and stability in the wider Arctic region. Canada should thus look carefully at the level to which it is willing to support, and in some cases subsidize, China's agenda in the Arctic.

For example, is it wise for Canada to subsidize Chinese polar scientists to work at the Canadian High Arctic Research Station (CHARS) in Cambridge Bay, Nunavut? Canada needs to reflect seriously on the issue and determine when it wants to partner with China in the Arctic or support China's Arctic agenda at Arctic and international forums, and when it might be wise to set boundaries to protect Canadian national interests.

## Sommaire

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Acteur mineur dans l'Arctique et l'Antarctique il y a un peu plus de dix ans, la Chine s'est hissée depuis au rang d'intervenant majeur. Elle est maintenant membre d'un club unique de nations, les puissances polaires : géants mondiaux disposant de fortes capacités militaires, scientifiques et économiques. La force militaire polaire de la Chine n'a cessé de croître. L'armée chinoise (APL) joue un rôle de premier plan dans l'élaboration des politiques du pays dans ce domaine.

La Chine a des intérêts géostratégiques, politico-militaires, économiques et scientifiques dans les régions polaires. Les analystes chinois divisent ces intérêts en trois catégories principales :

- Sécurité : intérêts économiques, politiques, militaires et stratégiques dans les régions polaires.
- Ressources : accès souhaité aux minéraux et aux hydrocarbures, à la pêche, au tourisme, aux voies de transport, à l'eau et aux activités de bioprospection dans l'Arctique et l'Antarctique.
- Sciences et technologie : déploiement du système Beidou de navigation, programme spatial et amélioration des prévisions météorologiques en Chine, ce qui est impossible sans accès aux régions polaires.

En 2014, la Chine a intégré l'Arctique à son initiative « Une ceinture, une route » (Belt and road initiative – ou BRI). Les projets BRI dans l'Arctique pourront amener la Chine à élargir ses accès aux ports de mer et aéroports amis de la région – essentiels pour toute future présence militaire. D'ailleurs, des scientifiques travaillent actuellement à optimiser le design des sous-marins de nouvelle génération destinés aux eaux arctiques.

Les plans chinois de mise en œuvre de nouvelles capacités nucléaires sous-marines et de construction de brise-glaces devraient susciter des interrogations de la part du Canada et des autres acteurs dans

l'Arctique. Si des sous-marins pouvaient manœuvrer dans l'océan Arctique sans détection, l'équilibre nucléaire entre la Chine et les États-Unis s'en trouverait compromis. Cette initiative, plus que toute autre, renforcerait considérablement la position de la Chine en Asie du Nord-Est et son statut en tant que leader politique mondial et puissance militaire. Le défi serait d'éviter la détection par le Japon, la Russie et l'armée américaine – une tâche qui n'est pas aisée, mais possible, surtout si la Russie était disposée à aider la Chine à cet égard.

Le spécialiste maritime chinois Shi Chunlin écrivait en 2010 : « La route maritime de l'Arctique est une route militaire stratégique; celui qui contrôle l'Arctique prendra le dessus sur ses adversaires ». Certes, l'accès aux routes de l'Arctique aidera la Chine à réduire sa dépendance excessive à l'égard des routes maritimes existantes, en lui permettant d'emprunter des itinéraires beaucoup moins contestés et vulnérables aux attaques que les voies de navigation traditionnelles.

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“ D'ailleurs, des scientifiques travaillent actuellement à optimiser le design des sous-marins de nouvelle génération destinés aux eaux arctiques.”

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Du point de vue de la Chine, les routes maritimes de l'Arctique sont des détroits internationaux, mais ni la Russie ni le Canada ne se range à cet avis. L'intérêt bien connu de Pékin pour les routes maritimes de l'Arctique est un moyen de faire en sorte que le pays puisse justifier la légitimité de ses intérêts dans la région, de façon à s'assurer un siège à la table de toutes les négociations futures.

De nombreuses activités chinoises et le but ultime du régime de Pékin paraissent incompatibles avec l'intérêt national du Canada qui est de préserver sa souveraineté sur ses territoires arctiques et de favoriser la sécurité et la stabilité dans région arctique au sens large. Le Canada doit donc examiner attentivement son niveau de soutien et, dans certains cas, d'aide financière accordée au regard des visées chinoises dans l'Arctique.

Par exemple, est-il vraiment sage d'accorder de l'aide pour soutenir les travaux de scientifiques chinois à la Station de recherche du Canada dans

l'Extrême-Arctique (SRCEA) à Cambridge Bay, au Nunavut? Le Canada doit revoir la façon dont il souhaite s'associer à la Chine dans l'Arctique ou soutenir le programme chinois pour l'Arctique à l'occasion des forums arctiques et internationaux; il doit réfléchir aux cas où il serait prudent de fixer des limites pour protéger les intérêts nationaux du Canada.

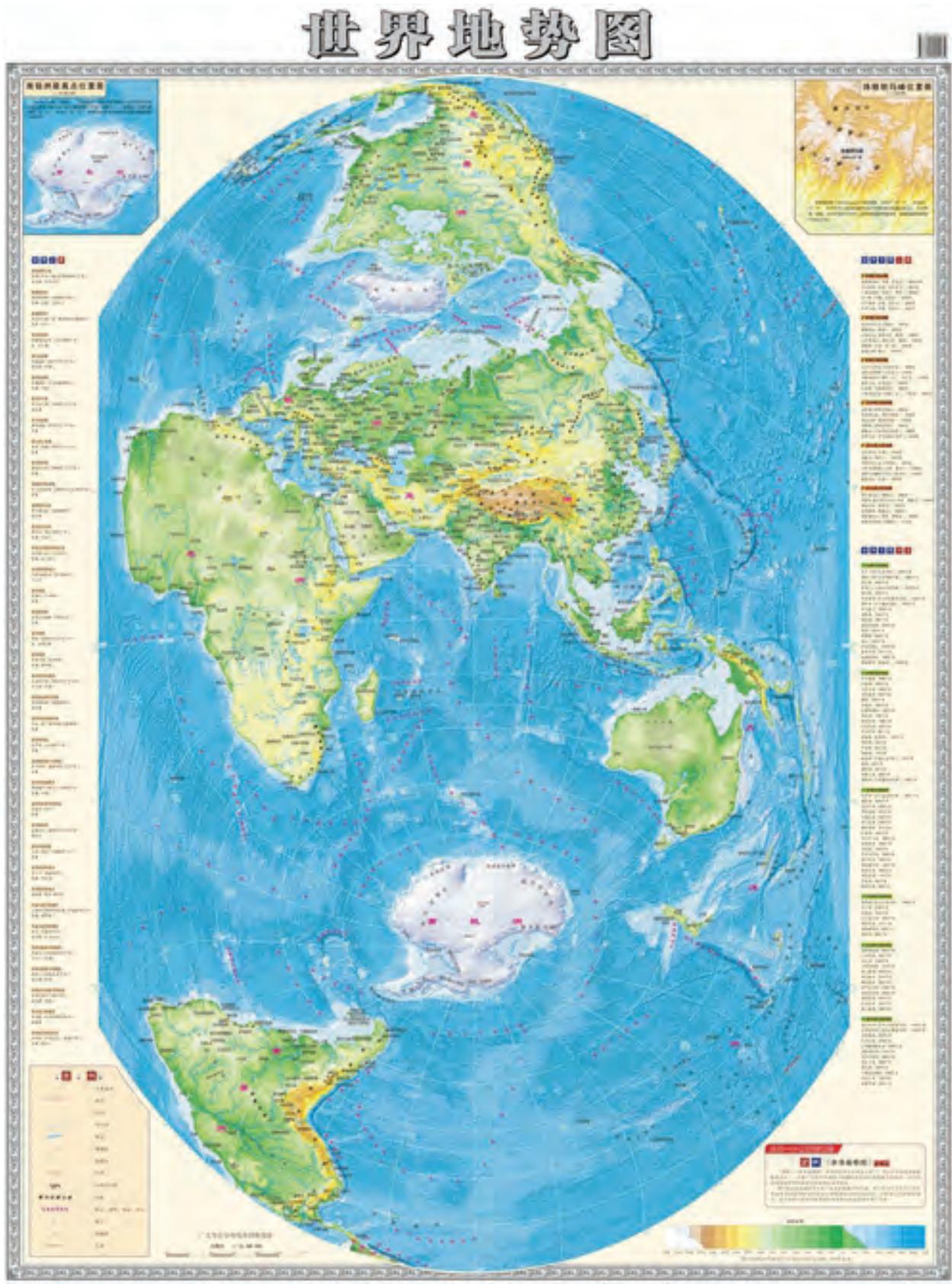
# Introduction

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China considers the polar regions vital for its security. To that end, China is expanding on all fronts in the Arctic and Antarctic - from scientific to economic, military and political relations. International speculation is rife about what this expansion means for other states. The Chinese Communist Party government's few official statements on polar policy deliberately obscure the country's security interest in the regions, preferring instead to highlight scientific, economic, and governance interests. Meanwhile, in 2019, ambiguous but implicitly alarmist public statements from US President Donald Trump (Brennan 2019) and US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo (Morello 2019) on China and the Arctic raised concerns, without outlining the basis for the concern. This then incurred a backlash from many commentators and may have made it politically harder for some Arctic states to make a proper assessment of the risk.

Without a doubt, China's engagement in the Arctic and the Antarctic is helping forge a new geopolitical dynamic. China aims to be at the heart of this new order. In 2014, Chinese President Xi Jinping announced that China was aspiring to become a polar great power (Brady 2017). As an Arctic state and member of the *Antarctic Treaty*, Canada is one of the polar medium powers. This paper assesses China's strategic interests at the poles, particularly the Arctic, and the implications for Canadian Arctic interests.

FIGURE 1. CHINESE VERTICAL MAP



China's new vertical world map (left) reveals the emerging geopolitics. China's State Oceanic Administration first adopted the map in 2004 to chart voyages to the Arctic and Antarctic. In 2006, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) implemented it as an official military map. The map was finally released to the public in 2014 as one of China's official world maps (Qianzhan 2014).

Unlike the traditional world map, which places the Arctic and Antarctic at the edge of the world, China's vertical world map depicts the Arctic as a central ocean ringed by North America and Europe. The map is dominated by a peacock-shaped Antarctic continent. The PLA uses this vertical world map to determine the location of satellites and satellite receiving stations for Beidou, China's military-civilian navigating system (Zhidao ribao 2014) – charting China's new direction in the most literal sense. The map designer told me that the PLA also uses it for missile positioning. The map is the visual representation of China's new global *Realpolitik*: pragmatic, assertive of China's national interests, cooperative where it is possible to be cooperative; yet ready to face up to conflict and differences.

Each historic era has its own geographical perspective. China's vertical map resets the world map to highlight the world's oceans and polar regions.

China's global vision confronts the observer, showing how the various land masses, big continents, and smaller islands connect with one another in an interlinked, inseparable world, ringed by vast oceans. The map places the rooster-shaped Chinese territory at the centre of the new world order – the new heartland – visually dominating the Asia-Pacific, making the United States peripheral, and dwarfing Europe.

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“The map places the rooster-shaped Chinese territory at the centre of the new world order – the new heartland – visually dominating the Asia-Pacific, making the United States peripheral, and dwarfing Europe.”

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## China's rise as a polar great power

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Like other rising powers in history, China is now expanding beyond its borders. In 2015, China's national security law defined the polar regions, the deep seabed, and outer space as China's “new strategic frontiers” (战略新疆域) (Xinhua 2015), tactically important areas where China will draw the resources it will need to become a global power and where the nation has strategic national interests (Dalian Evening News 2005). In a little over 10 years, China has gone from being a minor player in the Arctic and Antarctic to becoming a major stakeholder. China is now a member of a unique club of nations: the polar powers. Polar powers are global giants, strong in military, scientific, and economic capacity.

States that are able to dominate militarily at the two poles are truly powerful because they control key chokepoints into strategic regions. Currently only the United States with its strong military presence in both the Arctic and the Antarctic has this capability. Russia is strong militarily in the Arctic and has a growing level of military engagement in the Antarctic. But China's polar military capacity is steadily expanding, and the PLA has a leading role in shaping China's polar policies.

China's polar strategy is an undeclared foreign policy and hence is extremely politically sensitive, so even within the Chinese-language public sphere varying levels of censorship are applied to polar policy discussions. The head of the China Arctic and Antarctic Administration (CAA), Qu Tanzhou, says that the international community needs time to "make a psychological adjustment" to accept China's new strength in polar affairs (China Daily 2014).

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“China’s official statements on polar policy are akin to looking at an iceberg: what you can see above the surface of the water represents only a small percentage of the whole.”

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Careful information management is an essential component in achieving this “adjustment” in global public opinion. The Chinese government makes a point of selecting for funding polar scientific projects with “low political sensitivity” – research on climate change is one example of this – in order to “ease the suspicion and resistance of the major powers against China and make them more supportive and cooperative towards China’s polar activities” (Ding 2014, 138).

In June 2017, China’s State Oceanic Administration issued a report on China’s Antarctic activities. In January 2018, it released a white paper titled *China’s Arctic Policy*. While the two documents outlined some of China’s Arctic and Antarctic interests, they were only a partial account, highlighting scientific and economic interests but eliding strategic interests. China’s official statements on polar policy

are akin to looking at an iceberg: what you can see above the surface of the water represents only a small percentage of the whole.

## China’s strategic interests in the Arctic

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China has geostrategic, political-military, economic, and scientific interests in the polar regions. Analysts divide these interests into three core categories:

- Security (安全) (both traditional and non-traditional): China has economic, political, military, and strategic interests in the polar regions.
- Resources (资源): China wants access to Arctic and Antarctic minerals and hydrocarbons, fishing, tourism, transport routes, water, and bioprospecting.
- Science and technology (科技): Access to the polar regions is essential for the roll-out of the Beidou navigational system, China’s space science program, and accurate weather forecasting in China.

China’s core interests in the polar regions all connect to, and are part of, the justification for the Chinese government’s increased investment in military spending over the last 20 years, particularly on naval forces. They reflect Beijing’s steady shift to project military power globally, one of the traditional indicators of a great power. China’s military expansion requires access to the Arctic and Antarctic.

The trajectory of China's arsenal of land-based nuclear missiles targeted at the United States and Russia transit the Arctic, as do US intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) aimed at China and those that Russia is aiming at China (Lu 2010, 317-18 and 320-21). Key components of the US missile defence system targeted at China (and North Korea) are also located in the Arctic. China's new-era land-based missiles and submarine-based nuclear-powered ballistic missiles (SSBNs) could enhance its deterrence threat and it would be via the Arctic (Huanqiu ribao 2013; Huanqiu shibao 2012). Chinese analysts frequently highlight the "political and military" value of China having a nuclear-armed submarine in the Arctic (Ye et al. 2018).

In 2015, when two Chinese submarines and a submarine support ship docked in Sri Lanka, *Global Times* triumphantly reported that People's Liberation Army-Navy (PLAN) submarines had successfully broken through the first island chain, which is closely patrolled by the US and Japanese navy, among other forces. They predicted that the Arctic Ocean would be the next breakthrough in access for Chinese submarine forces (Huanqiu junshi wang 2015). China currently operates six nuclear-powered attack submarines, four nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarines, and 50 diesel attack submarines with more under construction (Brady 2019). The total US submarine force on active duty is 71.

The PLAN is steadily developing the capacity to operate submarines in Arctic waters, and it is using China's polar scientific programs and economic partnerships to help it do so. Since 1999, China's polar scientific icebreaker *Xue Long* has been sent on regular voyages to the Arctic to develop the advanced hydrographic, bathymetric, atmospheric, and remote sensing capabilities necessary for assessing ice thickness and seabed conditions. China's polar science program's new research vessel *Xue Long 2* launched in 2019. It was built to PLAN specifications and is equipped for bathymetric surveys. In 2014, China incorporated the Arctic into the Belt and Road Initiative. BRI projects in the Arctic are a means for China to expand its access to friendly seaports and airports in the region, which is essential for any future military presence. Chinese scientists are now studying the optimum design for a new generation of submarines constructed to operate in Arctic waters (Ye et al. 2018).

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“ Chinese scientists are now studying the optimum design for a new generation of submarines constructed to operate in Arctic waters.”

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In 2018, China announced that it was planning to build a nuclear icebreaker. The China National Nuclear Corporation pitched this idea to the State Oceanic Administration in 2014 but it was postponed due to political, social, and environmental reasons. China will use its nuclear icebreaker for polar science expeditions and to support Chinese shipping in the Arctic. It will also be helpful for rescuing future Arctic submarines. In a time of war, State Oceanic Administration vessels are under PLA command. The PLAN currently have four diesel icebreakers.

From the point of view of deterrence, China's submarines would not need to transit the whole of the Arctic for Chinese missiles to reach the United States. Once in the Arctic Basin, they could copy the Cold War-era example of US and Soviet submarines and remain submerged in some location outside the twelve-mile zone of other coastal states.

If Chinese submarines armed with nuclear weapons were able to access the Arctic Ocean without detection, this would alter the nuclear balance between China and the United States. More than any other new initiative, this would significantly strengthen China's position in northeast Asia — which would have an impact on territorial disputes with Japan, Taiwan, and the South China Sea disputants — and it would strengthen China's status as a global political leader and military power. The challenge would be to evade detection by Japan, Russia, and the US military — no easy task, but not impossible, especially if Russia was willing to assist China in this regard (Brady 2019).

As Arctic shipping, tourism, scientific expeditions, and Arctic oil and mineral exploitation become more significant for China, so too will the PLAN become more active in protecting Chinese interests in the Arctic. PLAN is integrating the recent political, economic, and strategic developments in the Arctic and Antarctic region into its current global maritime strategy, and it is a key actor in helping to set China's evolving polar strategy and agenda.

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“As the world's largest shipping nation with the world's largest economy, China is now looking for ways to reduce its dependence on maritime chokepoints like the Malacca Straits.”

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We can expect to see PLAN vessels making increasing forays into Arctic waters in the coming years (Huanqiu junshi wang 2015) and see the PLA become increasingly involved in Antarctica. By number of personnel, PLAN is the world's largest navy, and it is second only to the US Navy in fleet tonnage. In military terms, China is steadily moving from being a land-based regional power to becoming a maritime power with a global reach. China's significant global shipping interests are the official justification for the PLAN's expanded maritime strategy and capabilities (Liu 2004, 233).

As the world's largest shipping nation with the world's largest economy, China is now looking for ways to reduce its dependence on maritime chokepoints like the Malacca Strait. Polar transport routes are among a number of options China is exploring (Ding 2013, 64). Chinese maritime specialist Shi Chunlin wrote in 2010, “The Arctic sea route is a strategic military route; whoever controls the Arctic will have the upper hand over other opponents” (Shi 2010, 50). Accessing Arctic routes will help China to diversify its overdependence on existing sea lines of communication (SLOCs), using paths that are much less contested and much less vulnerable to attack than traditional shipping routes.

China views the Arctic sea routes as international straits, but neither Russia nor Canada accepts this position. Beijing's well-known interest in the Arctic sea route is one way the country means to position itself as having legitimate interests in the Arctic region, so that it can ensure it has a seat at the table in any future negotiations there (Guo and Sun 2013, 136). China favours accessing the Northern sea route; it crosses directly over the Arctic Ocean, thus avoiding coastal state control, and it is shorter. China is keen to be included in setting the norms for international shipping on this route (Guo and Li 2009, 317).

From the point of view of China, the United States, and the United States' NATO allies other than Canada, the opening-up of the Northern sea route as a regular, ice-free sea route in the summer months will have more than economic advantages. The increase in shipping could help turn Russian and Canadian territorial waters into acknowledged shipping straits - which would mean that the international-waters rules would then apply for submarine transit (Cinelli 2011, 13).

There is a further crucial strategic element to China's polar interests: C4ISR (Command, Control, Communications, Computers, Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance). China's military expansion depends on enhancing its independent C4ISR systems capabilities. C4ISR enhances situational awareness in a tactical environment, improves interoperability, and provides surveillance and intelligence capacity.

China's improved C4ISR capabilities are due to the roll out of Beidou, the Chinese equivalent of GPS, which, like the US system, has both a military and a civil component. Beidou provides China with missile targeting and timing capabilities, as well as access to fleet-based broadband for unclassified and classified systems, and environmental situational awareness. Polar ground stations are essential to the accuracy of global positioning systems such as GPS and Beidou. The US established GPS ground stations in Antarctica in 1995. Between 2010 and 2015, China set up three Beidou ground satellite receiving and processing stations in Antarctica, and more are planned. China established a Beidou receiving and processing station in Svalbard Island, in Norway, in 2016. China has hundreds of Beidou earth stations within China, as well as in Australia, Brunei, Laos, Pakistan, and Thailand. It plans to set up "dozens" more in the territory of China's 60-plus Belt and Road Initiative partners.

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“There is a further crucial strategic element to China's polar interests: C4ISR (Command, Control, Communications, Computers, Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance).”

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By 2020, China's Beidou system will have an accuracy that will be equivalent to or possibly even superior to the US's GPS. Russia's GLONASS is following a similar pattern. The development of Russia's GLONASS and China's Beidou global satellite positioning systems have fundamentally changed the strategic significance of the Arctic and Antarctic for Russia, China, and their strategic rivals. China's Beidou installations breach the terms of the *Antarctic Treaty*, which forbids military installations there, and they also breach the *Svalbard Treaty*, which has similar restrictions. But in both cases, China is not the only nation breaking the rules, so taking action to stop China's actions will not be easy or straightforward.

# China and global governance

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Great powers are states that exhibit “global structural power” or the ability to shape governance frameworks in the economic, military, and political-diplomatic sectors (Odgaard 2012, 45). In the polar regions, the measures – and means – of power are somewhat different. To be considered a polar great power, a state must have high levels of polar scientific capacity and scientific research funding, a significant presence in the polar regions, significant economic, military, political, and diplomatic capacity there, plus a high level of international engagement in polar governance.

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“Resolving Arctic extended continental shelf claims will require a combination of science, diplomacy, and legal action – and China intends to be involved in this process.”

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Xi Jinping has repeatedly emphasized that China must participate more actively in international rule-setting in new areas, especially in the deep seabed, polar regions, outer space, and the Internet (Xinhua News Agency 2017). China is now seeking to exhibit global structural power by shaping governance frameworks in the economic, military, and political sectors. This is the classic measure of a great power. Under the Deng Xiaoping foreign policy doctrine where China “hid its strengths and bided its time,” China took pains to avoid being seen as a leader in global affairs. But with Xi in charge, China is now looking for ways to show this leadership and to demonstrate Xi’s vision for a “new type of global governance” (Xinhua 2017). China’s focus is on areas of global commons, where “whether a state can enter the global commons and realize its national interests is determined by a country’s power and strength” (Chen and Wan 2016).

The Arctic has been a particular focus of interest for China since the 2000s when Arctic ice began to melt and Arctic states began to jockey for their rights. From 2012 to 2016, Chinese scholars conducted a government-sponsored analysis of Arctic governance and resources. China has positions on a number of contentious Arctic issues, but not all of them appeared in the 2018 white paper, *China’s Arctic Policy* (China, State Council Information Office 2018). This should not surprise anyone. China’s White Papers on other topics, such as Xinjiang or Tibet, are also more propaganda statements than acts of transparent governance.

China’s undeclared Arctic foreign policy includes clear positions on sovereignty, access, and resources. Outside the 12-mile zone of the Arctic littoral states, Chinese analysts point out that the Arctic Ocean *currently* still consists of international waters (公海). They note that even when the extended continental shelf claims of various Arctic states are resolved, there will still be some rights available to non-littoral states. Resolving Arctic extended continental shelf claims will require a combination of science, diplomacy, and legal action – and China intends to be involved in this process. China’s position on Arctic sea routes is the same as the US position: both view the routes as international straits. China’s view on Arctic strategic minerals and hydrocarbons is that they are global resources that should be opened up to the global market. And China sees more opportunity than risk in Arctic climate change.

In Antarctica, China wants to maintain access to fishing, tourism, and bioprospecting. China aims to take up rights before they are taken away. The Chinese government is skeptical of territorial-based environmental protection in Antarctica such as marine-protected areas and special-managed areas, viewing this as a form of “soft presence” 软存在 (in other words, a gambit to control territory). China’s position on Antarctic mineral resource exploitation is that it is a matter of time. China’s view on Antarctic sovereignty is *res nullius*, that is, belonging to no state (不属于任何国家) (see Brady 2017).

## Conclusion

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China has gone from being an outsider in Arctic issues and a minnow in Antarctic affairs to a powerful player whose interests cannot be ignored. China has done so through massive investments in polar capacity and by working individually with key Arctic and Antarctic states to identify points of cooperation and mutual benefit. China wants to avail itself of every available right in the Arctic and Antarctic, both because its enhanced comprehensive national power allows it to do so, and because this enhances China’s right to speak on Arctic and Antarctic governance matters in both local and global forums.

China’s polar agenda is attracting increasing international attention and speculation. Debates on China’s growing Arctic presence, which tend to assess it either as a progressive force in emerging Arctic governance structures and a benevolent economic partner, or a rising hegemon on the path to dominance in the region, are missing the point. The Arctic has an important place in China’s overall global strategy to become a rich country with a strong military (富国强兵). However, the Arctic forms only one aspect of China’s overall global expansion of power and influence. States wishing to understand China’s activities in their region need to both assess China’s local interests and comprehend China’s overall foreign policy agenda and the place of their region within that. China’s core interest in the Arctic is strategic: access to the Arctic will enable China to implement its nuclear deterrence and the roll-out of Beidou/C4ISR, but it is using scientific and economic means to further these objectives.

Many of China’s activities and the ultimate aim of the regime in Beijing appear to conflict with Canada’s national interest, which is to maintain sovereignty over its Arctic territories and to enhance the security and stability of the wider Arctic region. Canada should thus look carefully at the level to which it is willing to support and in some cases subsidize China’s agenda in the Arctic. For example, is it wise for Canada to subsidize Chinese polar scientists to work at the Canadian High Arctic Research Station (CHARS) in Cambridge Bay, Nunavut?

Canada needs to reflect and determine when it wants to partner with China in the Arctic or support China’s Arctic agenda at Arctic and international forums, and when it might be wise to set boundaries to protect Canadian national interests.

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“Canada should thus look carefully at the level to which it is willing to support and in some cases subsidize China’s agenda in the Arctic.”

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## About the Author

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Anne-Marie Brady is a professor at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, NZ. She is a specialist of Chinese politics (domestic politics and foreign policy), polar politics, Pacific politics, and New Zealand foreign policy. She is a fluent Mandarin Chinese speaker. She is founding and executive editor of *The Polar Journal* (Taylor and Francis Publishers). She has published ten books and over fifty scholarly papers. She has written op eds for the New York Times, The Guardian, The Australian, Sydney Morning Herald, and The Financial Times. Her research has a strong policy focus.

Professor Brady is a Global Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Centre in Washington DC. In 2014 she was appointed to a two-year term on the World Economic Forum's Global Action Council on the Arctic.

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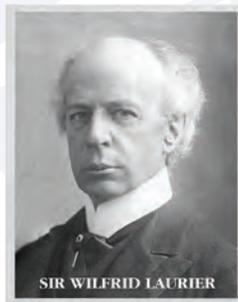
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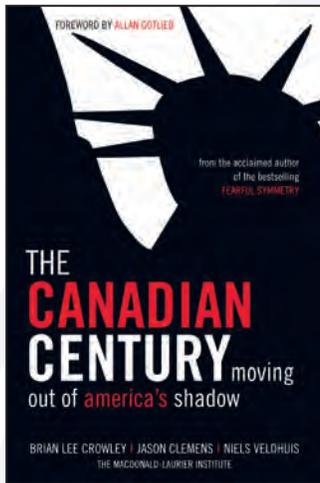
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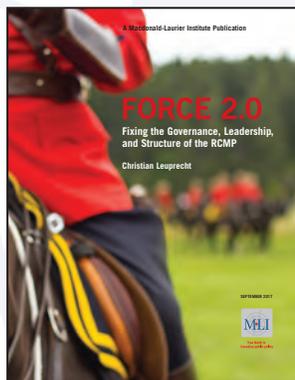
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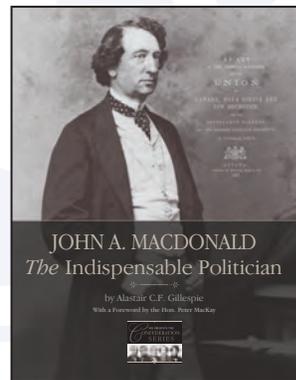
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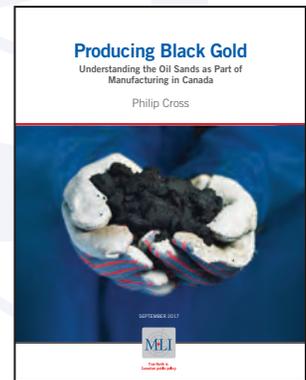
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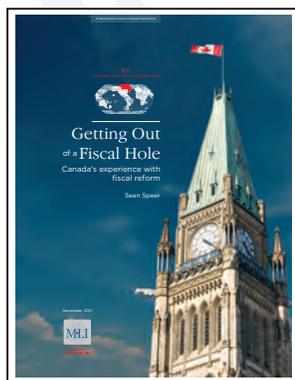
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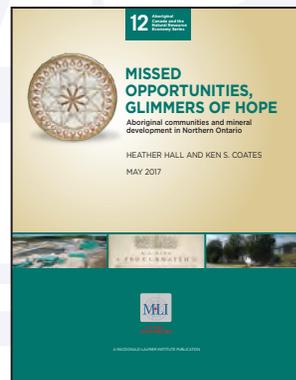
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