

CHINA AS A POLAR GREAT POWER

China has emerged as a member of the elite club of nations that are powerful at both global poles. Polar states are global giants, strong in military, scientific, and economic terms. The concept of a polar great power is relatively unknown in international relations studies; yet China, a rising power globally, is now widely using this term to categorize its aspirations and emphasize the significance of the polar regions to its national interests. China's focus on becoming a polar great power represents a fundamental reorientation. It is a completely new way of imagining the world. China's push into these regions encompasses maritime and nuclear security, the frontlines of climate change research, and the possibility of a resources bonanza. As shown in this book, China's growing strength at the poles will be a game-changer for a number of strategic vulnerabilities that could shift the global balance of power in significant and unexpected ways.

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China as a Polar Great Power

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

AFoPS	Asian Forum for Polar Science
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ATCM	Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meeting
ATCPs	Antarctic Treaty Consultative Parties
ATS	Antarctic Treaty System
CAA	China Arctic and Antarctic Administration
CCAMLR	Commission for the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CNNC	China National Nuclear Corporation
CNOOC	China National Offshore Oil Company
CNPC	China National Petroleum Company
COLTO	Coalition of Legal Toothfish Operators
COMNAP	Council of Managers of National Antarctic Programs
COSCO	China Ocean Shipping (Group) Company
EU	European Union
GBI	Ground-Based Interceptor
GPS	Global Positioning System
IASC	International Arctic Science Committee
ICBM	intercontinental ballistic missile
IGY	International Geophysical Year
IMO	International Maritime Organization
IPY	International Polar Year
ISA	International Seabed Authority
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration (United States)
NySMAC	Ny-Ålesund Science Managers Committee
PBSC	Politburo Standing Committee
PLA	People’s Liberation Army
PLAN	People’s Liberation Army-Navy

x *List of Acronyms and Abbreviations*

PRC	People’s Republic of China
PRIC	Polar Research Institute of China
ROC	Republic of China
SCAR	Scientific Committee on Antarctic Research
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SLOC	sea lane of communication
SOA	State Oceanic Administration (China)
SSBN	Nuclear powered ballistic missile submarine
UN	United Nations
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
USPACOM	US Pacific Command
VTs	Vehicle Traffic Service

Acknowledgments

China as a Polar Great Power is an in-depth study of the place that the polar regions plays in China's emerging global strategy. My research on China's polar interests has demonstrated to me that the polar regions offer front-row seats to observe the changing global order, and early on it was clear that the perspectives and interests of both established and emerging polar players were neither well understood nor transparent. A further understanding of my early research was that China, like all other major powers, is not interested solely in either the Arctic or the Antarctic. This realization led me on a massive learning journey to not only discover the range of interests—many of them hidden from public view—that China has at the poles, but also to be able to interpret China's polar interests within the context of the interests of other major polar players. I also had to learn the complex governance structures of the Arctic and Antarctic, which both enhance and constrain the interests of those few states such as China that have the economic ability and political will to access the poles.

As I worked on this project, some of my early findings were published in *Asian Survey*, *China Brief*, *World Politics Review*, two policy papers for the Wilson Center, and two chapters in edited books, and were rehearsed and refined in papers given at many international conferences and public talks. I am indebted to the editors of those journals and books for permission to republish those findings in this book and for the valuable feedback I received from scholarly audiences as I developed my research project. Every effort has been made to contact copyright holders for their permission to reprint material in this book. The publishers would be grateful to hear from any copyright holders that are not acknowledged here, and will undertake to rectify any errors or omissions in future editions of this book.

China's polar policies are an undeclared foreign policy; hence, this has been an extremely difficult topic to research. Gathering data on China's polar

interests has taken assiduousness, patience, persistence, and sometimes a very thick skin. I am very grateful to Richard McGregor, Andy Nathan, Ari Overmars, Karen Scott, Michael Yahuda, and Oran Young, who read early book drafts and gave crucial support that has enabled the book to come to fruition. I am extremely grateful to the staff of the library at the University of Canterbury and the library of the Wilson Center for help in gathering many of the scholarly resources used in this project.

I began writing this book in Washington, from a spacious office in the Ronald Reagan Building overlooking the Woodrow Wilson Plaza, while on a ten-month residential fellowship at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. In 2015, I was awarded an eight-month Gerda Henkel Stiftung Fellowship, which facilitated the final completion of this book project. I finished up the book while based in my sixth-floor eyrie overlooking the Southern Alps at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, New Zealand. I have thus been privileged to observe how China's growing polar interests look from the angle of both an ailing polar superpower and a polar small state. I benefited enormously from the intellectual leadership and camaraderie of the Wilson Center and its extraordinary collection of resident experts and visiting fellows, as well as from the intensely political atmosphere of Washington, D.C. I would like to express my thanks to a number of people who helped and encouraged this project in D.C. and Christchurch. First, special thanks to my Wilson Center writing partner, Maria Cristina Garcia, and to my writing group members, Amal Fadlalla, Hope M. Harrison, and Donny Meertens. You helped make the Wilson Center feel like home, and it has been extremely exciting and inspiring to watch your own projects emerge. Rob Litwak, vice president for scholars and director of international security studies, was an inspiration, and I felt very lucky to have him as a next-door neighbor at the Wilson Center. Robert Daly was always encouraging and supportive and helped make me feel part of the team at the Wilson Center's Kissinger Institute on China and the United States. I am also very grateful to Arlyn Charles, Lindsay Collins, Kim Conner, Kent Hughes, and Janet Spikes for making my stay at the Center so pleasant and productive; to my intern Scott Wingo for his work in compiling the charts in the book; for the steady support and good humor of Woodrow Wilson Center Press director Joe Brinley; and for the thoroughness and fine attention to detail of Woodrow Wilson Center Press editor Shannon Granville, who helped make the book ready for publication in partnership with Cambridge University Press. I have benefited greatly from local research funds and technical support at the University of Canterbury that has facilitated the continuance of this research, and I have been able to draw on the vast pool of polar knowledge at the university over the

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Glossary

- Beiji** (北极): literally, “the Northern Extreme”; the North Pole, and more broadly also used to described the Arctic as a whole
- Beiji diqu** (北极地区): the Arctic region
- Beiji Huanghe zhan** (北极黄河站): Arctic Yellow River Station (China)
- Beiji shiwu xietiao xiaozu** (北极事物协调小组): Arctic Affairs Coordination Group (China)
- bingjie** (冰结): frozen
- bingzhan** (冰站): Arctic iceberg stations
- bu zhan er qu ren zhi bing, shanzhi shan zhe ye** (不战而屈人之兵, 善之善者也): “the ultimate technique is to get the enemy to submit without actually going to war”
- Caizhengbu** (财政部): Ministry of Finance (China)
- Changcheng zhan** (长城站): Great Wall Station, Antarctica (China)
- changxiang zhuxuanlü** (唱响主旋律): “sing with one voice”
- Daguo jueqi** (大国崛起): *The Rise of Great Powers* (documentary)
- dang de houshe** (党的喉舌): “[the Chinese media as] the tongue and throat of the Chinese Communist Party”
- dang de jilü** (党的纪律): CCP instructions or disciplinary measures for party members
- disanji** (第三极): “the third pole”; the Tibetan Plateau
- Donghua dajie** (中华大街): “China Boulevard”; the dedicated Antarctic traverse route from Zhongshan Station to Dome A via Taishan Station
- Dong Nanji da duanmian yanjiu zhanlüe gouxiang** (东南极大断面研究战略构想): East Antarctic Sector Strategic Research Vision
- duinei xuanchuan** (对内宣传): information or activities aimed at Chinese citizens
- duiwai xuanchuan** (对外宣传): information or activities aimed at foreigners
- erdeng gongmin** (二等公民): second-class citizen

- fen fa youwei* (奋发有为): “proactive”
- fu guo qiang bing* (富国强兵): “rich country with a strong army”
- furen julebu* (富人俱乐部): rich man’s club
- fu zeren de daguo* (负责任的大国): “responsible great power”
- fu zeren de liyi xiangguan zhe* (负责任的利益相关者): “responsible stakeholder”
- gonghai* (公海): high seas
- Gongye he xinxi huabu* (工业和信息化部): Ministry of Industry and Information Technology (China)
- guoji gonggong haiyu* (国际公共海域): international waters
- guoji xingxiang* (国际形象): international image
- Guojia anquan weiyuanhui* (国家安全委员会): National Security Council (China)
- guojia anquan xitong* (国家安全系统): China’s national security *xitong*
- Guojia cehui dili xinxi ju* (国家测绘地理信息局): National Administration of Surveying, Mapping and Geoinformation (China)
- Guojia haiyangju* (国家海洋局): State Oceanic Administration (China)
- Guojia haiyangju weiyuanhui* (国家海洋局委员会): National Antarctic Expedition Committee (China)
- Guojia haiyangju jidi kaocha bangongshi* (国家海洋局极地考察办公室): China Arctic and Antarctic Administration (CAA)
- Guojia Nanji kaocha weiyuanhui bangongshi* (国家南极考察委员会办公室): Office of the National Antarctic Expedition Committee (China)
- Guojia weisheng yu jihua shengyu weiyuanhui* (国家卫生和计划生育委员会): National Health and Family Planning Commission (China)
- Guojia ziran kexue jijin weiyuanhui* (国家自然科学基金委员会): Natural Science Foundation of China
- Guotu ziyuanbu* (国土资源部): Ministry of Land and Natural Resources (China)
- Guowai jidi kaocha xinxi huibian* (国外极地考察信息汇编): *Foreign Polar Expedition News Report*
- haiyang qiangguo* (海洋强国): maritime great power
- haiyang quanli* (海洋权利): sea power
- haiyang xitong* (海洋系统): maritime *xitong*
- haiyang zhengce* (海洋政策): maritime strategy
- huayu quan* (话语权): “right to speak”
- huoban* (伙伴): partnership
- Jiaotongbu* (交通部): Ministry of Transport (China)
- Jiaoyubu* (教育部): Ministry of Education (China)
- jidi* (极地): polar

- Jidi ban** (极地办): CAA (abbreviation of the China Arctic and Antarctic Administration)
- jidi fazhan zhanlüe** (极地发展战略): polar strategy
- jidi guihua** (极地规划): polar plan
- Jidi guojia zhengce yanjiu baogao** (极地国家政策研究报告): *Polar National Policy Research Report*
- jidi kaocha** (极地考察): polar expeditions
- Jidi keji dongtai** (极地科技动态): *Polar Scientific Trends*
- jidi qiangguo** (极地强国): polar great power
- jidi sheshi** (极地设施): polar facilities
- Jidi xinxì** (极地信息): *Polar Information*
- jidi yanjiu** (极地研究): polar research
- Jidi yanjiu jianbao** (极地研究简报): *Polar Bulletin*
- jidi zhanlüe** (极地战略): polar strategy
- Jidi zhanlüe yanjiuzu** (极地战略研究组): Polar Strategic Research Group
- Jidizhanlüe yanjiu tongxun** (极地战略研究通讯): *Polar Strategy Research Bulletin*
- jidi zhengce** (极地政策): polar policies
- jìn'an** (近岸): coastal waters
- jìn'an fangyu** (近岸防御): coastal defense
- jìn hai** (近海): near seas
- jínhai fangyu** (近海防御): offshore defense
- jiti baquan** (集体霸权): collective hegemony
- Kexueyuan jidi kexue weiyuanhui** (科学院极地科学委员会): Polar Science Committee
- Kexue jishubu** (科学技术部): Ministry of Science and Technology (China)
- kongcheng ji** (空城计): empty fort
- kou** (口): CCP policy suprabureaucracies that link policy areas; usually, but not always, on smaller policy areas than the *xitong*
- Kunlun zhan** (昆仑站): Kunlun Station, Antarctica (China)
- laoshi zuoren, zhashi zuoshi; bu shi zhangyang, zhi qiu shiji; wu wang renmin, gan zuo fengxian; jugong jincui, fenfa you wei** (老实做人, 扎实做事; 不事张扬, 只求实绩; 勿忘人民, 甘作奉献; 鞠躬尽瘁, 奋发有为): “be honest, do solid work; be unassuming, get on with things; do not forget the people, be willing to make sacrifices; spare no effort; and be proactive” (Xi Jinping’s motto)
- lengjing guanacha, wenzhu zhenjiao chenzhuo yingfu, taoguang yanghui, shanyu shouzhuo, jue bu dangtou, you suo zuowei** (冷静观察; 稳住阵脚; 沉着应付; 韬光养晦; 善于守拙; 决不当头, 有所作为): “be calm and observe the situation; hold our ground; hide our strengths and bide our

- time; be good at keeping a low profile; don't take the lead, do what you can"
 (Deng Xiaoping foreign policy strategy)
liangge zhan yige chuan (两个站, 一个船): "two stations, one boat"
liyong (利用): to exploit, to utilize, to use
minjian waijiao (民间外交): people-to-people diplomacy
Nanji (南极): literally, "Southern Extreme"; the South Pole, also used to describe the Antarctic as a whole
Nanji 2049 (南极2049): *Antarctica 2049* (movie title)
Nanji, women lai le! (南极, 我们来了!): *Antarctica: We're Here!* (1985 documentary)
neiwai you bie (内外有别): insiders and outsiders are different
Nongyebu (农业部): Ministry of Agriculture
qiu tong cunyi (求同存异): look for points in common, put aside differences
quanmian waijiao (全面外交): total diplomacy
quanyi (权益): rights and interests
quan renlei de Beiji (全人类的北极): the North Pole belongs to all humanity
quan shijie de gonggong lingtu (全世界的公共领土): global commons
Renmin ribao (人民日报): *People's Daily* (CCP official newspaper)
ruan cunzai (软存在): soft presence
Sanshiliu ji (三十六计): *Thirty-Six Stratagems*
sha ji jing hou (杀鸡儆猴): "kill the chicken to scare the monkeys"
Shekeyuan (社科院): Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
shengmingxian (生命线): "lifeblood [of the CCP]"; the CCP's perspective on the role of propaganda
Shijie Nanji kuanwu ziyuan guanli tiaoyue (世界南极矿物资源管理条约): the (nonexistent) World Treaty on Managing Antarctic Minerals
suzao guoji yulun (塑造国际舆论): mold global public opinion
Taishan zhan (泰山站): Taishan Station
tici (题词): political slogan
tifa (提法): politically correct language
tongzhan (统战): United Front
tuanjie da duoshu, daji yi xiaocuo (团结大多数, 打击一小撮): "uniting with the majority, while attacking a minority"
Waijiaobu (外交部): Ministry of Foreign Affairs
waishi xitong (外事系统): foreign affairs *xitong*
waixuan (外宣): foreign propaganda; information targeted at foreign audiences
Weiduoliyadi changnian zhan (维多利亚地常年站): Victoria Land Permanent Base

- wei renlei heping liyong Nanji zuochu gongxian** (为人类和平利用南极做出贡献): peacefully exploit Antarctica on behalf of the whole of humanity
- weixie lun** (威胁论): the “[China] threat” narrative
- wenhua jianshe** (文化建设): cultural construction
- xiao kang shehui** (小康社会): a comfortable standard of living as a basic minimum
- xitong** (系统): CCP suprabureaucracies that group policy areas
- xuanchuan** (宣传): propaganda, communications, information management
- xuanchuan yu sixiang gongzuo** (宣传与思想工作): “propaganda and thought work”; persuasion and censorship
- xuanjiao xitong** (宣教系统): the CCP propaganda *xitong*
- yao mianzi** (要面子): face-seeking
- yaomohua** (妖魔化): “demonization [of China]”
- yidai yilu** (一带一路): “One Belt, One Road”; the New Silk Road
- yongyu** (用语): politically correct language
- yuan yang zuozhan** (远洋作战): offshore battle readiness
- zhanlüe xin jiangyu** (战略新疆域): new strategic frontiers
- zhanju** (占据): occupied or held
- zhengming** (正名): the Confucian concept of the rectification of names
- zhidao sixiang** (指导思想): guiding strategy
- zhidao yulun** (指导舆论): “guide public opinion”
- Zhongguo** (中国): China, “the Middle Kingdom”
- Zhongguo dizhenju** (中国地震局): China Earthquake Administration
- Zhongguo duiwai xuanchuan bangongshi** (中共对外宣传办公室): the CCP Office for Foreign Propaganda
- Zhongguo gongchengyuan** (中国工程院): Chinese Academy of Engineering
- Zhongguo guanli qu** (中国管理区): China’s Management District
- Zhongguo jidi yanjiusuo** (中国极地研究所): Polar Research Institute of China (PRIC)
- Zhongguo jidi yanjiu zhongxin** (中国极地研究中心): Polar Research Institute of China
- Zhongguo jidi kaocha zixun weiyuanhui** (中国极地考察咨询委员会): Chinese Advisory Committee for Polar Research
- Zhongguo kexueyuan** (中国科学院): Chinese Academy of Science
- Zhongguo qiang** (中国墙): China’s Great Wall (in Antarctica)
- Zhongshan zhan** (中山站): Zhongshan Station
- Zhongyang caijing lingdao xiaozu** (中央财经领导小组): CCP Finance and Economics Leading Group
- Zhongyang haiyang gongzuo lingdao xiaozu** (中央海洋工作领导小组): CCP Maritime Affairs Leading Group

- Zhongyang haiyang quanyi lingdao xiaozu bangongshi* (中央海洋权益领导小组办公室): CCP Maritime Rights Office
- Zhongguo qixiangju* (中国气象局): Chinese Meteorological Administration
- Zhongyang quanmian shenhua gaige lingdao xiaozu* (中央全面深化改革领导小组): Party Leading Group for Comprehensively Deepening Reform
- Zhongyang waishi lingdao xiaozu* (中央外事领导小组): CCP Foreign Affairs Leading Group
- zhuquan meiyou guishu de dalü* (主权没有归属的大陆): a continent with no attribution of sovereignty
- zhuquan quanli* (主权权利): sovereign rights
- zhuazhu Nanji* (抓住南极): “seize” Antarctica
- Zongcan zuozhanbu haijun ju* (总参作战部海军局): PLAN General Staff Operations Department
- Zouxiang haiyang* (走向海洋): *To the Oceans* (2011 PLAN-funded CCTV documentary)
- zou xiang haiyang, jinglüe haiyang* (走向海洋, 经略海洋): “going out on the oceans” policy
- zuo er bu shuo* (做而不说): “do, but don’t say”
- zuzhi yu lingdao* (组织与领导): organize and lead