المجلة الأردنية في القانون والعلوم السياسية

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Canada-China Relations in the Post-Cold War Era (1990-2020)

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Abstrac

Canada and China have shared a close relationship in the Post-Cold War Era. However, this relationship was marked by existing ebbs and flows throughout the period. While economics strengthens the bilateral ties, politics proved to be an encumbrance at the bilateral, regional, and global levels. Undoubtedly, professing opposing political systems of governance and socio-cultural divergence and geography continue to keep the two countries apart.

However, China's quest for raw materials, state-of-the-art technology, raw materials, and technical expertise, which constitute indispensable components of China's modernization programmes launched since the late 1970s, makes Canada a relatable partner capable of meeting Chinese requirements to a great extent. At the same time, China's booming economy and vast market for Canadian products make China a lucrative destination for investment and export of Canadian products. Since Canadian foreign policy is closely aligned with western notions of liberalism, democracy and human rights, which differentiates it from the authoritarian communist regime in China, both countries have to walk the diplomatic tightrope often to broaden their ties geoeconomics often trumps geopolitics in this endeavour.

Similarly, the United States continues to be a crucial external factor in this bilateral equation, and the ongoing stress in US-China relations is likely to impact Canada's political relations with China. Therefore, an assessment of the Canada-China relations is essential in this changing global context. Through the contours of this study, an attempt is made to assess Canada's changing nature and China's bilateral relationship in the Post-Cold War Era.

The study will begin with a broad discussion of the issue at hand. The study's proposed area will be discussed, along with the methodology to be adopted and the theoretical framework that will provide a proper structure to the study.

Key Words: Canada, China, Geopolitics, Liberalism, Marxism.

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العلاقات الكندية الصينية في حقبة ما بعد الحرب الباردة (1990–2020)

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ملخص

تميزت العلاقات الكندية– الصينية علاقة وثيقة في حقبة ما بعد الحرب الباردة بالعلاقات الوثيقة، بالرغم من أن هذه العلابقات إتسمت في هذه الفترة بالمد والجزر. وفي اللحظة التي كانت فيها العلاقات الإقتصادية الثنائية في تطور متواتر، في حين ما زالت العلاقات السياسة تتلمس طريقها بحذر وعلى جميع المستويات، سواء على المستوى الثنائي ام الإقليمي ام الدولي، وذلك نتيجة لتعارض الأنظمة السياسية الحاكمة والتباين الإجتماعي والثقافي والجغرافي.

ومع ذلك، فإن سعي الصين للحصول على المواد الخام، والتكنولوجيا الحديثة، والخبرة الفنية، والتي تشكل مكونات لا غنى عنها لبرامج التحديث الصينية التي تم إطلاقها منذ أواخر السبعينيات، تجعل كندا شريكًا موثوقًا به وقادرًا على تلبية الإحتياجات الصينية إلى حد كبير. في الوقت نفسه، يمثل الإقتصاد الصيني المزدهر وسوق واسعة للمنتجات الكندية وجهة مربحة للإستثمار وتصدير المنتجات الكندية. ونظرًا لأن السياسة الخارجية الكندية ماهي إلا إنعكاساً للمفاهيم الغربية الليبرالية ومفرداتها كالديمقراطية وحقوق الإنسان، والتي تلتقي مع السياسة الخارجية للصين التي تمثل نظامها الشمولي، لذا ومن اجل علاقات بينية سليمين بينهما، كندا والصين، لذا فأنه يتعين على كلا البلدين تقليص مدى الإختلافات وتعظيم أفق الإيجابيات التي تجمع بينهما، وتطويع الجغرافيا السياسية لصالح الجغرافيا الإقتصالية من أجل المصالح الإقتصادية.

ومن جانب لآخر فإن الولايات المتحدة تواصل دورها كعامل خارجي حاسم في تأطير العلاقات الثنائية بين الدولتين، كما ان العلاقات البينية بين الولايات المتحدة منجهة وكل من كندا والصين من جهة أخرى، لها تأثير فاعل على مجمل العلاقات الكندية– الصينية في حقبة ما بعد الحرب الباردة.

الكلمات الدالة: كندا، الصين، الجغرافيا السياسية، الليبرالية، الماركسية.

1) Preface

2.1.) Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to understand the nature of the diplomatic relationship shared by Canada and China in the post-cold war era (1990-2020). The main emphasis in the proposed study will be on the political, economic, and socio-cultural relations between Canada and China during the Post-Cold War period. Nevertheless, a brief overview of the chronological evolution of historical relationships before that period will be mentioned to focus on the main thrust of the study in the proper context. The researcher argues that history has enabled us to understand that China regards individual contributions of Canadians like surgeon Norman Bethune, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, among others. The study will also analyze the United States' role as a factor in Canada and the United States' relationship.

2.2.) The problem of the Study

In the wake of geoeconomics gaining prominence over geopolitics, Canada and China have mutually beneficial interests in engaging with one another. The relationship needs to be defined in geo-economic terms and needs to come out of the shadow of geopolitics, which has anchored the relationship. However, the dynamic relationship analysis is punctuated due to the paucity of relevant data and neutral information and specialized research on geopolitics and geoeconomics. Since Canada and China fall within different realms of influence, there is minimal research on the possible merger of ideas, interests, and ambitions. There is a greater focus on the common areas of divergences as opposed to possible areas of convergences.

Since the International Relations (IR) of a country is subject to many changes, a country's behaviour is influenced by several contingent factors, for example, in Canada's case, Canadians interests are motivated by a country's action on issues such as human rights and adherence to the prevalent norms of the liberal international order. On the contrary, China has a very historical understanding of world politics and wishes to pursue economic statecraft and international politics in the same spirit. This makes the study of Canada's bilateral relationship and China exciting and complicated at the same time.

2.3.) Limitations of the Study

This study's analysis is mainly confined to the diplomatic relations between Canada and China in the Post-Cold War Era (1990-2020).

2) Theoretical Framework of the Study

This study will adopt a neoliberal framework and try to assess the Canada-China relationship through a similar lens. The researcher will argue that China will continue to have an enduring partnership with Canada but will remain a

close ally of the United States, despite the political and military conflict of interests between the two countries. Canada will thus engage in a very tacit balancing act in the coming years while navigating through its relationship with China and the United States.

It should be carefully stated that Canada and China continue to share a relationship of significant convergences and divergences despite initiating a robust economic partnership in this century. Liberalism gives importance to individuals and private groups. It is the domestic society and its interests that come to inform state preferences in international society. Liberalism itself has its variants with identity-forming the crux of ideational liberalism. On the contrary, economic exchange is given primacy by commercial liberalism, and internal representation represents republic liberalism. (Moravcsik, 1997)

Neoliberalism focuses on mutual interdependence and co-operation in the international system. (Keohane and Nye, 1977: 3-19) Canada has adopted a neorealist framework in dealing with China, where convergences and divergences will form a part of this relationship.

3.1.) The methodology of the study

The conventional techniques of research (Historical, Comparative and Analytical) are relied upon to understand the changing nature of this burgeoning relationship. Moreover, primary sources like publications of the leading US-based think- tanks like the Wilson Centre, Carnegie Endowment, Council of Foreign Relations, Foreign Affairs will be examined apart from articles and data available in open sources, research articles, media articles, websites and media reports.

The use of statistical tabulations, figures and charts will be made where required. Optimum caution will be exercised to present a qualitative, unbiased, and nonpartisan analysis. At the same time, an effort will be made to incorporate the views of the policymakers, academicians and experts in Canada and China on different aspects of the proposed study to make it more authentic, reliable, and readable.

3.2.) Questions of the Study

This study is essential for it provides a historical-analytical approach to understand the nature of the bilateral relationship shared between Canada and China post the cold war between 1990 and 2010. Also, the study assesses the role of the United States in this bilateral relationship while considering the other miscellaneous yet significant factors, like the Canadian Chinese diaspora. Economic ties have formed the fulcrum of this bilateral relationship, and hence, the study will focus on the evolution of the same in the post-cold war era. While attempting to discuss the same, the study will try to answer the following questions: -

I. What are the main factors that have influenced the Canada-China bilateral relationship?
II. How has geoeconomics trumped geopolitics in the context of the Canada-China relationship?
III. What is the role of the United States in the transformation of the Canada-China bilateral relationship?
IV. To what extent is the influence of the regional or international factors in the present Canada China relations, particularly in the realm of economic relations?
V. Is Canada's ascension in symphony with China's rise as a great power in the 21st century?
VI. What is Canada's pace in the new emerging world order?
VII. How can Canada and China prolong their economic partnership?

3.3) Hypotheses of the study

I. Geo-economics has salience over geopolitics in Canada-China relations, which is considered as the study's main hypothesis. While the following hypotheses are derived from this hypothesis:
II. The United States is a significant factor in impacting the bilateral pattern of political relationship between Canada and China

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III. China is significant to Canada's prosperity.
IV. Canada is a precious resource of raw material for China; therefore, both are complementary and supplementary to each other.
V. Despite their political difference, both countries are destined to prolong their economic relations on a long-term basis.

3) Literature Review

Relations between China and Canada have attracted considerable attention. This Study focuses on the various aspects of the relationship, including the economic relationship and the impact of human rights. Similarly, the role of the Chinese diaspora is assessed, and the role of the United States in the bilateral relationship between Canada and China is analyzed. For the analyses of the same, both primary and secondary sources have been analyzed. Primary sources provide a first-hand account of the event. For example, primary sources such as speeches of national leaders, statements, government documents, testimonies and official records have been taken into kind consideration. At the same time, secondary sources, which are created later by people for possible interpretative purposes such as journal and news articles, scholarly books, and other reference sources, have been considered.

The dearth of research on Canada-China relations has appeared as a drawback, and there have been attempts to bridge the gap by comparing and analyzing information available in the public domain. Therefore while scrutiny of the available literature makes it discernible that some studies in the form of official reports, books and articles have been undertaken, an attempt to do an in-depth study from the geopolitical and geo-economic perspective has been initiated on the topic through this study.

The previous research on the subject pertains to historical standpoints that allow ally with Canada and China, i.e. understand the nature of the evolution of the bilateral relationship. While the geoeconomics and geopolitics of the region are understood through the traditional lens, with Mackinder (1904) Mahan (1890) and Spykman (1938) throwing light on the subject, Canada's relationship with China understands through the lens of Kawasaki (2016) and Weiner (1973). Simultaneously, the nature of the Chinese state is understood through French's (2017) explanation of Tienxia and Shambaugh's (2012) explanation of the functioning of Chinese foreign policy. At the same time, Porter explains the Canadian state through the model of the 'vertical mosaic' as we attempt to bridge the gaps in the existing literature and attempt to explain Canada-China's evolution since the end of the Cold War.

But what distinguishes this study is its attempt to study the current Canadian-Chinese relationship from many angles, the most important of which is the geopolitics angle and the rest of the factors that frame relations between countries, such as the economic and humanitarian factors.

4) Results and Conclusion

The trends that will emerge from our analysis will help us to understand that both sides are eager to further their geopolitical interests through geo-economic means. The bilateral relationship between Canada and China is growing at a rapid pace, and the relationship can be strengthened through economic means. Since Canada and China's relationship is diverse, a multipronged approach is required to understand the relationship.

A historical-descriptive study is supported by analysis through the use of data in the archival and published form. Different aspects of the relationship have been researched as well due to the dearth in data on some issues concerning the relationship (for example, the role of the Canadian-Chinese diaspora) The sources of information used for the assessment include, speeches, writings, official and unofficial documents, commentaries and documentaries concerning the relationship. The trends that emerge from this study enable us to understand that Canada and China are keen to share a robust economic partnership for mutual benefit.

The economic potential of the relationship is enormous, and various aspects of the economic relationship remain unexplored. However, there is an opportunity to take the economic relationship to new heights with an increase in bilateral trade in goods and services, becoming a reality in the near future despite the existing issues in the international order.

6) Outline of the Study

1. Historical Background
2. Geopolitics
3. End of the Cold War: Canada China Relations
4. Impact of 9/11
5. Canada-China Relations during the Harper Era (2006-2015)
6. Canada and Human Rights in China
7. Canada-China Economic Relations
8. The US factor in Canada-China Relations
9. The Chinese Diaspora in Canada
10. Canada-China Relations (2016-2020)
11. Conclusion
12. Bibliography

1. Historical Background

The bilateral relationship between Canada and the People's Republic of China (hereinafter referred to as China) presents a curious mix of enthusiasm and wariness entailing matters of strategic interests to both sides. Canada and China are natural allies who share a symbiotic relationship where similarities and differences continue to exist like two sides of the same coin. The Canadians had their first official contact with the Chinese only in 1942 when Canada sent an emissary to China. Since then, Canada and China have fostered a bilateral relationship that has seen Canada interact with China at the federal, provincial, territorial, and municipal levels. (Government of Canada, 2020)

Christian missionary activity also brought the Canadians and Chinese in touch with each other. The Christian missionaries from Canada undertook their missionary work in relatively poor and remote towns and villages, where they not only preached the gospel but also built and staffed schools and clinics. These efforts of the Canadian missionaries were warmly welcomed by the local populace. However, the activities of the Canadian missionaries came under eclipse culminating in the killing of hundreds of Christian missionaries and their Chinese converts.

The latter half of the 19th and early 20th century saw the importation of labour on a massive scale. These workers were brought in to aid the construction of the railways in Canada. This influx of foreign Chinese workers left the native population and the local politicians unhappy. Eventually, Chinese immigration was curtailed through an act in 1923.

'July 01' in fact came to be celebrated as 'Humiliation Day' by the Chinese Canadians who were forced to pay 'head tax.' $50 per person was initially charged per person but soon rose to $500 as Chinese immigration expanded to a great extent. By 1923, the government of Canada had collected over $33 million in head tax. (Kay Lee, 2017)

The situation only improved when Norman Bethune, a Canadian thoracic surgeon, rendered medical services to the wounded Chinese Communists engaged in a long military struggle against both Japanese invaders and Chinese nationalists. The assistance given by Dr. Bethune set the tone for betterment in relations between Canada and China. Chairman Mao wrote an essay to commemorate his memory. He continues to be regarded and respected by the Chinese to date. (Xinhua, 2019) After all, "A genuine Canadian friend of China is someone who simply wants to foster good relations out of personal regard for both countries." (Manthorpe, 2019: 130)

The Cold War rivalries played out as Canada became a part of it. Due to its leaning towards the western liberal democratic framework, Canada emerged as a natural ally of the United States. Canada did not recognize Communist China at this point, and hostilities in the Korean Peninsula further aggravated the situation. It was only in the 1970s that things started looking up for Canada and China as Canada earned the rare distinction of being the first western country to open up to China in 1970 when Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau officially recognized the government in Beijing as the legitimate government of the land. Pierre Trudeau visited China in 1973 and was received warmly by ‘dynasty conscious’ China. (Rinna, 2014) He believed that it was imperative to recognize China, especially since it would come to govern a third of humans in the future. Pierre Trudeau knew China better than others as he had visited China in 1949 during the emergence of Maoist China. (Manthorpe, 2019: 160)

Brian Mulroney improved the relations between the two countries further as increased high-level exchanges became the norm. However, the Tiananmen Massacre led Canada to suspend all relations with the Chinese. The end of the cold war saw the establishment of the new unipolar world order and 'the end of history' (Fukuyama, 1992), and China emerged as an attractive option for trade and investment. (Shenkar, 2006 & Wen, 2016) Like many other western states, Canada also decided to improve its ties with China, and the visit by then Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien to China led to the warming of relations for a brief spell.

Interestingly, former Prime Minister Jean Chrétien is still highly regarded by the Chinese. (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2019) The next decade saw ensuing stress in ties as the Stephen Harper government made affirmative action on human rights a priority, and there was diminished contact between the two countries. Interestingly, former Canadian Ambassador to China David Mulroney had criticized the Stephen Harper government for its "off and on relationship" with China. He felt "Canada's prosperity was linked to China's' and therefore called for a 'smart, principled engagement with China." (Mulroney2015) Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has followed in his father's footsteps and tried to adopt a conciliatory stance towards China after taking office. He made his first visit to China in 2017 to improve trade and investment ties especially in the wake of uncertain prospects over the renewal of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). (Han, 2015)

However, the Trudeau government's insistence on the "progressive trade agenda" with a focus on labour standards, gender equality and environmental protectionism proved to be an impediment freezing negotiations. The arrest of Meng Wanzhou over the "Huawei affair" on Canadian soil has added fuel to the fire and negatively impacted this sensitive diplomatic relationship with the Chinese state media severely critiquing Canada for its role in the Meng Wanzhou case. (Global Times, 2020) However, despite these setbacks, Canada understands that China can be a reliable partner in the realm of trade and investment. (Gilley, 2011) At this juncture, it is interesting to note the United States' role in this diplomatic triangle.

2. Geopolitics

Geopolitics is a domain that is all-encompassing and caters to both the terrestrial and maritime control of landmasses. Geopolitics is a traditional area of inquiry seen as central to the understanding of world politics. The 'Heartland Theory' within geopolitics looked at Siberia, and the erstwhile Russian empire as the 'heartland' discussed how this region could become a springboard for domination in the 20th century. (Mackinder, 1904)

It has been suggested that sea power has primacy over land power in wartime and peacetime, and countries had to understand that the idea of grandeur was closely attached to the control of the sea. (Mahan, 1890) A link between geography and foreign policy exists, and the state's location in the world matters in geopolitics. Since Canada is a continental power that has access to both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, Canada, just like the United States, is a dominant geopolitical gravity in North America. (Friedman, 2020)

While Canada is a middle power, China is a rising power that functions on the principle of Tienxia and the Middle Kingdom. China considers itself the centre of the world, and its geopolitical ambitions stem from the belief that it is

a 'benevolent power' that needs to regain its rightful place in the comity of nations. (French, 2017) Canada and China are both large countries in terms of area. Large states are great powers, and it is the existing centralization that enables these large states to remain steady states. (Spykman, 1938)

China, with its centralized power structure where the Communist Party of China (CCP) governs the country, is well on its way to achieving great power status, whereas Canada, with its inherent multiculturalism, wishes to remain within the US sphere of influence. Canada is a vertical mosaic, and the Anglo-Saxon ethic is well entrenched within the Canadian way of life. (Porter, 1965) It is possible that this understanding drives Canadian geopolitical ambitions.

It is clear from existing definitions that China is a 'revisionist state' while Canada is in favour of maintaining the existing status-quo.' (Weiner, 1973) Therefore, in this murky situation, Ottawa engages with Beijing by employing a comprehensive strategy where it continues to remain a staunch US ally but attempts to achieve its own policy goals vis-a-vis China. (Kawasaki, 2016) Therefore, it is in this context that economic engagement provides the much-needed glue to bolster the bilateral relations between Canada and China.

It could also be argued that while economic ties dominate the relationship, the relationship undergoes specific ebbs and flows due to the impending significance meted out to issues such as human rights, climate change and environment that determine the direction of the relationship. Thus, economic ties between Canada and China are also influenced by the Chinese state's performance on fundamental parameters like the implementation of human rights and acceptance of the liberal world order that Canada holds very dear to itself. This inherent contradiction exists at the very core of the relationship.

3. End of the Cold War: Canada- China Relations

Since the end of the Cold War, while China has grown exponentially, the Chinese have been varied in foreign intervention. For the Chinese state, the Communist Party of China holds complete sway over the functioning of the state, with the Chinese state being virtually run by the Central Politburo Committee. Its understanding of foreign policy fundamentally rests on an understanding of the Five Concentric Circles that mark the Chinese state's Foreign Policy apparatus.

The innermost circle consists of the senior leaders followed by the Ministries, particularly the Foreign Ministry and other ministries. The third ring includes the "research institutes (think tanks), policy advisory bodies, and universities," followed by the provinces, municipalities and corporations that guide China.

The outer ring is the society and includes the internet, media, blogs, news study and the television. Foreign Policy decision making is controlled by the

first two rings. (Shambaugh, 2013:108-09) It is within this backdrop that China has chosen to interact with Canada. On the contrary, Canadians have viewed China as a country that can be an economic partner of Canada and amicably assist in China's economic development.

The end of the Cold War brought massive changes to the world. It also brought about massive changes to the dormant Canada- China relationship. The leadership in both countries reoriented the bilateral relationship. The David Mulroney government was at the helm of affairs when the Cold War ended. The ties between the two countries were obscure, and the relationship was warm but distant. Canada was part of the US sphere of influence, whereas China had been part of the opposite camp.

However, with Deng Xiaoping's Four Modernisations and China clocking high growth rates, there was growing interest among all countries to cultivate ties with China. There was a willingness among the Chinese to adhere to the rules of the liberal world order, and most countries saw it as a positive. Canada harboured a similar dream. However, there was a desire to improve ties with China at the highest levels of power. (Robertson, 2011) However, as noted before, a turning point in the relationship was the Tiananmen Square incident.

Canadians had felt that China was undergoing a democratic revolution in 1989 in addition to ensuing violence and massacre that took place. This surge in violence within China was witnessed by Canadians on their television screens, and they consistently grew wary of China in that period. There were repercussions on the economic front as well as "the Canadian government banned sales of military weapons and other goods having military applications," and negotiations with the Chinese ministry for development projects were also put on hold. Despite existing sympathy for human rights causes, interestingly, though, the Chrétien government casually engaged with China. "Team Canada thus visited China on three occasions under Jean Chrétien in 1996, 1998 and 2001, and mutual high-level exchanges between Canada and China went on.

The 2001 mission was devoted entirely to the question of trade and investment. Jean Chrétien believed that "economic opening would produce democratization" in China's case, a point that has proven to be false in the Chinese context so far. Chrétien visited China six times and established close ties with the Communist Party of China (CCP) owing to his own admiration of Chinese culture. Nevertheless, despite his proactive stance and his ambiguity on the question of human rights, Jean Chrétien could not convince the Chinese to trade more with Canada 'with Canadian imports dropping to 1.06% in 2003 even though this amounted to 1.61% of Canada's total imports'. Canada also had a massive merchandise trade deficit with China during the Chrétien era.

The China-Canada relationship after the Cold War, therefore, provided opportunities for progress, while more exceptional issues like human rights continued to bog down the people. However, Chrétien's 'quiet diplomacy' paved the way for economic engagement despite the flaws in China's behaviour. (Burton, 2004) This dichotomy came to signify China's engagement with Canada in the 1990s. While Canada harped on human rights, it usually chose to sign the dotted line on trade and investment issues.

4. Impact of 9/11

The 9/11 attacks on the United States completely transformed the security dynamics of the entire world. While the United States strengthened the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) as a security grouping to shape its interests and protect itself from terrorist activities emanating from foreign soils, Canada chose to resolutely support the United States post 9/11.

In fact, Canada sent its troops to fight the Taliban in Afghanistan in the US War on Terror. Over time, this security partnership between the United States and Canada has grown significantly both in the traditional and non-traditional security realm. China's entry into the World Trade Organisation in 2001 provided both countries with an excellent opportunity to improve their relationship in the realm of trade and investment. Canada had been a member of the WTO since its inception in 1995. However, the 9/11 attacks shifted the focus of the Canadian state. Since it was a close ally and neighbour of the United States, the impact of 09/11 was intimately felt by Canada as well.

Multiple changes occurred at various levels, including changes in the legal codes. The Canadian Evidence Act, Proceeds of Crime (Money Laundering) and Terrorist Financing Act followed by The Income Tax Act, and all underwent changes. Privacy also emerged as grey in public discourse. Though the changes were not completely followed. At the same time, close monitoring of the international border was carried out, and there were greater checks on incoming immigrants with The Immigrant Act being amended and included within the purview of the Public Safety Act. (Adelman: 2002, 18-20) Due to added concerns arising out of security needs, other bilateral engagements such as the one between Canada and China did not reach their optimum levels. In fact, Canada continues to support the United States to date in its "War on Terror" campaign.

5. Canada-China Relations during the Harper Era (2006-2015)

Prime Minister Stephen Harper's tenure was marked by an "on and off relationship" with China since he was a staunch Atlanticist. His term as Prime Minister can be divided into two phases, one in which he had little or no contact with China (2006-09) and post 2009, where he extended an olive branch to China and revived the relationship.

2006-09: When the Conservative Government took charge in 2006, the human rights issues tore the two countries away from each other. The Canadian state accorded the Dalai Lama honorary citizenship during his visit in 2006. This irked the Chinese government of the time and marred the ties between Canada and China. Beijing was highly critical of this move and even called The Dalai Lama, "a separatist who should not receive such an honour." (His Holiness the Dalai Lama, 2006)

Similarly, the Harper government also stood for Arctic Sovereignty and wanted Canada to have the “capacity for both surveillance and presence over every part of Canada’s Arctic territory.” (Whitney and Dean, 2016: 4) In a speech, he stated eloquently, “Comme je l’ai dit plus tôt, l’Arctique est une région qui recevra une attention particulière de la part du gouvernement conservateur.” (Whitney and Dean, 2016: 4) Unrest in Tibet in 2008 further deteriorated ties as human rights violations continued to be the topic of discussion in Ottawa.

Harper, in fact, urged the Chinese state to exercise restraint in its dealings with the Tibetans. Therefore, the Harper government's focus lay on issues related to the environment, Canadian national security, and, above all, human rights. Such issues were of limited significance to China of the day, and therefore the Harper government had episodic interactions with the Chinese. Harper skipped the opening ceremony of the Beijing Olympics, which was deemed disrespectful by the Chinese. This event hurt the sentiments of the Chinese people. (Ling Lo, 2011)

2009-16: High-level exchanges and economic engagements marked this phase. The ice between Canada and China was broken by the Chinese side when Chinese Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi visited Canada and invited Stephen Harper to visit China. Harper finally visited China in 2009, and the ties between the two countries moved towards revival. Despite being "relatively anti-communist," he attempted to provide a semblance of order to the relationship. This visit was followed by President Hu Jintao's visit to Canada in 2010. This bilateral engagement was a fruitful one where both sides deliberated on crucial political and economic issues like a bilateral trade in high technology products, building ports, telecommunication networks and the "green economy." (Ling Lo, 2011)

Harper revisited China in 2012 when he famously engaged in what has been termed "panda diplomacy" through which he was famously able to secure a loan of “two pandas” for a duration of ten years, thus sealing the friendship between China and Canada. An agreement between the two countries also allowed the export of Canadian yellow cake directly to China. (Stephens, 2012)

In 2014, the Harper Government in a big push to business ratified the Canada-China Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement (FIPA), which came into force on October 01, 2014. It "created a more favourable and strong regulatory environment for both countries. The agreement helps to lessen legal and licensing, registration and local purchase requirements restrictions in China for Canadian businesses, which have been a barrier for most foreign companies in China in every sector." (Munk School of Global Affairs, 2015)

Interestingly, while signing $2.5 billion in trade deals with China, and fetching lucrative deals with Air Canada and other Canadian entities, Harper did not forget to raise the human rights issue with China. Harper skilfully raised the issue of the imprisonment of Canadian coffee shop owners Kevin and Julia Garrett, among other issues during his visit, thus signalling to China that he would not put his foot down on human rights issues. However, he did not exploit the Hong Kong issue to the benefit of Canada. (Lee-Anne Goodman, 2014)

Thus, Harper's vision for a bilateral relationship with China rested on solid economic foundations, and he reiterated that trade with China was necessary for Canada on several occasions. However, at the same time, the human rights issue continued to be of grave importance to him, and this duality where co-operation and conflict co-existed together came to signify the Harper era. The Harper Government, despite seeking China's hand in friendship, continued to have a frosty relationship with the Chinese administration, mainly on account of China's human rights record. Human Rights was a meaningful pivot of Stephen Harper's policy.

Nevertheless, the Harper administration followed a different pattern on the issue of human rights. While on the one hand, it pushed the Chinese to release Canadian Chinese Husseyin Cecil, it was the only country that did not petition the United States for the release of the prisoners in Guantanamo Bay. Similarly, the Harper government improved Canada's relations with countries like Colombia and other Latin American countries with a dubious human rights record. (Lui, 2012: 180) The Chinese though, were willing to walk the extra mile with Canada to gain access to the Canadian market. However, on the question of human rights, China usually did not pay much heed. (Lui, 2012) Moreover, Canada disappeared from the Asia Pacific security scene. (Welch, 2016) Thus, the Canada- China relationship could not reach its complete potential during the Harper era.

6. Canada and Human Rights in China

The United Nations states that "Human rights are inherent to all human beings, regardless of race, sex, nationality, ethnicity, language, religion, or another status. Human rights include the right to life and liberty, freedom from

slavery and torture, freedom of opinion and expression, the right to work and education, and many more. Everyone is entitled to these rights, without discrimination." (United Nations, 2020) The human rights situation in China has been precarious from the beginning. Right from the outset, the Chinese state had an erroneous human rights record. It sought ‘to dominate foreigners in China’ so that the Chinese state could ‘smash the image of the intrinsic superiority that had taken root in the Chinese psyche since the British began the wholesale European scramble to access China in the 1840s’ (Manthorpe, 2019: 129)

The Anti-Rightist Campaign (1957-58) and the Cultural Revolution (1966-76) saw a terrible massacre being committed on the citizens of China by the state. Imprisonment, torture, brutal repression, and execution were state sponsored. The massive public admission by China of its own excesses prompted a strong rebuttal from the Carter Administration in 1978, a first by a western power. (Cohen, 1987: 449-51) The Tiananmen Square Massacre, June 1989, also left China bruised in the human rights domain. "Thousands of people were detained, tortured, imprisoned or executed after unfair trials charged with ‘counter-revolutionary’ crimes" according to reports. (Amnesty International, UK: 2019)

As mentioned before, the Chinese have been varied in foreign intervention. The United Nations Human Rights Committee manages human Rights in China, but this is contrarian to the Chinese government's views. China fears the three evils terrorism, separatism and religious extremism, and China has fundamentally often taken steps to control unrest within the country in primarily restive provinces like Tibet and Xinjiang apart from Hong Kong where unification with the Chinese motherland has led to protest by locals. China's fight against the "three structural evils" has led to the Chinese state committing severe human rights violations against its citizens and foreigners alike. (Dupont, 2007) A noted example is a treatment meted out to Noble Laureate Li Xiaobo, who was incarcerated for most of his life in prisons across China. (Human Rights Watch, 2020)

This approach of the Chinese state has made western democracies critical of China. Organizations like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have been critical of the Chinese. There is a talk in China that the state is under the grip of a "prosperous dictatorship" (Human Rights Watch, 2019) The Canadian policy on human rights has been (relatively) 'consistent' and 'is a leading international advocate of human rights' though its 'contribution to the creation of the human rights regime was not substantial.

It is viewed through the prism of ‘theoretical eclecticism’ (Li, 2012: 165) The leadership in Canada has been supportive of human rights issues despite trade often trumping human rights in the Canadian context. Jean Chrétien, a

Canadian politician who supported Canada's trade overtures to China, started a dialogue on the issue of Human Rights with China in 1997. The likes of Stephen Harper took the issue up with greater seriousness while Justin Trudeau is a champion of human rights.

Canada has, therefore, followed a fairly consistent approach to the human rights issue. As pointed out before, the Harper government has been critical of China on human rights issues. In fact, the Dalai Lama had requested the Harper government to accept Tibetan refugees into Canada during his visit to Canada. Interestingly, Tibetan refugees had set foot on Canadian soil for the first time in 1972 when they were resettled in Canada. (CBC, 2013) For example, the Tibetans have now created a 'home' in Canada, and their 'lived experiences' have been recorded to understand their lives in Canada. (Deng & Larkin, 2017) While China has continued its excesses against the Uighurs in Xinjiang, it is Canada, Canada has provided safe passage to the Uighurs.

Refugee populations have thus come to see Canada as a haven. Despite gaining independence in 1938, the people of Eastern Turkistan (Xinjiang) were brought back into the Chinese fold by Mao's China, and their struggle for independence has continued unabated. (CBC News, 2009) In the present context, the Uighur issue has grown to be a massive human rights challenge for not just Canada but also the world with reports suggesting that the "internments camps" hosting a large section of the Uighur population who are ill-treated and forced to 'change their behaviour' in accordance with the state's wishes. These "internment camps" were now "at the heart of the crackdown was an endorsement of more intense indoctrination programs in Xinjiang's prisons." (Ramzy & Buckley, 2019)

Canadians have followed a fair policy regarding human rights issues and have welcomed refugees at all points. A great example of the same is Justin Trudeau's policy on the Syrian refugees. While the Syrian issue cannot be discussed within the outlines of this Study, fleeting yet significant mention of Trudeau's policy on Syria rightfully provides a backdrop to the human rights issue and sums up Canada’s role as a ‘protector of human rights.' In fact, he has welcomed Syrian refugees with open arms. (Austin, 2017) At the end, when an appraisal is done on the human rights issue, it is clear that the Canadian diplomatic efforts to improve China's human rights record are not working. While the Canadian media supports human rights, it has also become a part of China's foreign policy apparatus.

7. Canada China Economic Relations

Canada and China share a robust economic relationship, and Canadians recognize that China is important economically. Both the states are members of the United Nations, the World Trade Organisation, among others. Canada and China have also established notable Trade and Investment Partnerships between

them, namely, the Canada–China Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement in 2014, as mentioned before. Similarly, organizations like the Canada China Business Council have a substantial role in creating a conducive environment for business ties to flourish. Both parties are exploring the possibility of a Canada China Free Trade Agreement.

Since the end of the Cold War, Canada has viewed China's economic rise with positivity and has sought inspiration from the Chinese. Canadian investments in China have increased by approximately 300% from 1998 to 2007. Compared to this, China's investments in Canada have increased by approximately 170% over the same period. Canada's services in trade with China has also grown, although by a much smaller proportion. For example, services trade grew from approximately 1% of Canada's total services trade in 1998 to 1.2% in 2005. (Tiagi & Zhou, 2009: 2) In 2017, China was the second-largest merchandise trade partner and fifth-largest services partner of Canada's services partner.

Both countries have entered a robust relationship in the realm of trade and commerce. While cellular telephones and laptop computers, together accounted for 16.0% of the total value of Canadian imports from China, canola seeds and wood pulp, together accounted for 21.4% of the total value of Canadian exports to China. Thus, commerce has guided the relationship. (Dumont, 2020) However, despite the real potential in the realm of commerce, Canada has been treated with 'warm condescension that it reserves for weak clients.' (Gilley, 2011) This attitude has stopped the Canadians from engaging with the Chinese on the potential Free Trade Agreement (FTA), while average Canadians continue to be skeptical of the Chinese. The Global News Network reports that the Canada- China trade deal is a non-starter for now since both the nations' economic and political ideologies are incompatible. (Vomiero, 2019)

It was believed that as China would grow economically, the middle class within China would demand its right within the country; however, this self-serving prophecy has not proved to be true. (Human Rights Watch, 2020) Canadians have generally come to support investment from Asia, especially Japan, with 66% Canadians associating "newer technology" with Japan. Similarly, 39% of Canadians feel that "increased trade" with Japan will benefit Canada.

On the contrary, Chinese investment is viewed negatively, with 48% of Canadians asserting that Chinese investment will lead to "loss of control over Canadian resources." Interestingly, despite the low trading figures between the two countries, Canadians assume that Canada is allowing too much investment from China. The Canadians are also skeptical about investments coming into Canada from state-owned enterprises. (Asia Pacific Foundation of China, 2015) On the contrary, the Chinese have a vague understanding of Canada and its way

of life. The Mainland Chinese mostly associate China with symbols like the "maple leaf," the TV programme "Bye! Vancouver" and "natural beauty." Most people living in Mainland China view Canada as a destination for travel, immigration, or education. (Quote End Quote, 2014)

While this negativity persists, an air of optimism also exists at the same time. Both China and Canada are committed to a free trade deal that "will benefit both sides." It is positively noted that "Canada and China are working to build a stronger, more stable relationship to create good, middle-class jobs and more opportunities for people in both countries." (Government of Canada, 2017) Canadian and Chinese companies have a presence in each other's backyards. A formidable Canadian presence in the clean-clean-tea industry has been seen with 47% of companies from Ontario working in China. Canadian companies have a bulk of their presence in the service sector with 24% presence across China, followed by Information and Communications Technology (ICTs) and education sector, which stands at second and third positions, respectively. (Munk School of Global Affairs, 2015)

Chinese companies also have a significant presence in China, and these companies have complete access to Canadian shores. However, a discussion on business and investment is incomplete without considering the Chinese State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs). These SOEs are present in almost every sector of the Chinese economy, and the government has significant stakes in these companies. SOEs exist in the agriculture, aerospace and military, metallurgy, iron and steel, and shipping and tourism sectors.

However, since these companies have a nexus with the government, it is difficult to decipher the level of government influence they have to deal with regularly. As a result, liberal states like Canada find it difficult to work with illiberal states like China due to the existing bottlenecks. (University of Alberta, China Institute, 2018) The Meng Wanzhou affair needs to be understood in this context. Like other countries, Canada understands that the government interferes with the functioning of Chinese companies and uses these companies as ploys to gain access to sensitive data and information of citizens. Chinese law makes it mandatory for its companies to act on behalf of the government and protect the Chinese state's interests. Articles 16 pertaining to "State Enterprises" and Article 18 pertaining to "Foreign Enterprises" make it mandatory for such entities to abide by the Chinese state's principles. (Chinese Constitution)

Similarly, specific provisions of the Companies Law of China, Article 19 of the Act makes it mandatory that "In a company, an organization of the Communist Party of China shall be established to carry out the activities of the party in accordance with the charter of the Communist Party of China. The company shall provide the necessary conditions for the activities of the party

organization". (Invest in China, 2012) This provision may not be amenable to the interests of many western countries who view the party's role as complicated and untenable within the existing business circles. At the same time, trade deficits in the Canada China business partnership consistently dent the potential of this relationship. On a visit to Taipei, Prime Minister Stephen Harper made a veiled reference to China and spoke about the existing trade deficits referring to the "large and growing imbalances with the Chinese market that were driven by the fact that we (Canada) have grossly unequal market access."

As per reports in the Global Mail, China posted a trade surplus with Canada of $47.9 billion, while its trade surplus with the United States stood at US$378.6 billion in 2018. This has made the establishment of a fair and equal trading relationship between Canada and China a reasonably difficult proposition. (Vanderklippe, 2019) However, despite these visible issues, Beijing enjoys an extremely profitable relationship with most countries, including the United States. Canada also has a significant opportunity to renew trade contacts with China and benefit from this Asian giant.

8. Canada and China: The US Factor

Canada and the United States have shared a relationship that is based on mutually acceptable liberal values, and being a middle power, Canada has consistently relied on the United States as a strategic partner. Despite the presence of a significant US population, Canada will likely remain aligned to the United States. In fact, Canada continues to remain within the US sphere of influence due to its location. Despite Canada's large size, its population and industrial centres of power are located close to the US border in the south-eastern part of the country.

This anomaly affords Canada less protection than the smaller stretches of United States territory since its centres of power lie well behind the border. (Spkman, 1938: 32) The United States is the resident hegemon in North America, and Canada falls within its influence. Canada is treaty-bound to protect the interests of the United States. For example, the Chrétien-Clinton Canada USA Accord on Our Shared Border and the Joint Statement of Co-operation on Border Security and Regional Migration Issues further demonstrate the depth of the Canada-US bilateral relationship. (Adelman, 2002: 27)

On the contrary, China is a resident hegemon in the Asian context where it is spreading its wings and branching out in all directions, be it economics, trade or finance, to name a few. This has led to the creation of a triangular relationship between the three; the leader of the unipolar world order, the United States, middle power Canada and revisionist power China. The United

States and China have become competitors in traditional and non-traditional security realms. The real battle for influence for these three will be in Asia, particularly in East Asia (Gilley, 2011) and the strategically vital South China Sea, where China and the United States have been traditional claimants, but Canada has a stake in the conflict too. The Canadians just like the United States want the Chinese to toe the line and follows the United Nations Conventions on the Laws of the Sea (UNCLOS) (Hai Ngo, 2016) China wants to ensure its control over East Asia and wants to drive the US out of this region to become a formidable Asian power. (Kawasaki, 2016)

Another realm of competition where the conflict between the United States and China is playing out is in the realm of trade and cybersecurity. The issue of trade and investment has been touched upon previously. However, these issues have had large-scale consequences for Canada in recent years with the 'Huawei issue' complicating the delicate ties between Canada, China and the United States. China has an advantage over western nations in the implementation of 5G since its deployment in China is being undertaken by the government. While 5G construction in Europe and the United States is being managed by telecom enterprises where monetary resources are scarce, the government-led initiative of the Chinese is cash-rich, and it is based on the idea that "present costs will benefit the future generations." (Jianfeng, 2019)

In such a context, Canada becomes a stakeholder in the strategic competition between the United States and China. Canada realistically should continue to align with the United States and follow a pro-US policy. Since it seeks greater economic engagement with East Asia but follows an ambiguous security policy in the region, the chances are that it can get the membership of the East Asian Summit with the help of the United States. (Kawasaki, 2016)

China's rise may lead to a "re-convergence of US-Canada relations" since China is an illiberal rising power whose existential ideology is at odds with what the United States and Canada have traditionally stood for a liberal, rule-based international order. Moreover, China's propensities leave little scope for band wagoning behind it as far as Canada is concerned since Canada’s identity is traditionally linked to Europe and the United States. Furthermore, China's rise may lead to Canada's decline as an influential entity, especially in East Asia, where the new great power rivalries will play out. At the same time, though, Canada can play the role of mediator as well with great sagacity.

Canada can see China's rise as an opportunity and not as a potential threat through engaging with China on a host of issues with the US in the toe. Issues like the Arctic governance, Japan and the South China Sea (SCS) can bring Ottawa and Beijing closer. Kawasaki has noted that Japan is a powerful state in Asia that Canada trusts. Therefore, Canada can leverage its relationship with Japan and resolve age-old issues like the South China Sea.

China can be possibly brought into the "US-led maritime global partnership" to resolve the South China Sea conflict. (Gilley, 2011: 256-260) Nevertheless, if the present scenario persists, it is quite possible that Canada will not engage with China on the South China Sea and will instead focus on less controversial areas like the environment where the Chinese and the Americans are on potentially the same page. (Han, 2015) According to Ling Lo, Canada will find its way through this conundrum, but it must continue to strengthen Western democratic principles by "supporting the just cause of human rights while seeking better ties with China" while being under the western sphere of influence. (Ling Lo, 2011)

9. The Chinese Diaspora in Canada

An important stakeholder in this bilateral relationship is the average Chinese Canadian who has been covertly missing from the conversation so far. These average Chinese Canadians are mostly allies of the Canadian state and came to Canada to get a better life. There are others who came to Canada for the construction of the Trans Canadian Railroad in the 1880s. The surge in missionary activity also connected the Canadians and the Chinese.

Then, there are those Chinese citizens who have entered the country as "refugees" like the Tibetans and the Uighurs and the Falong Gong, a controversial religious group from China. (Manthorpe, 2019) As per the 2016 records, it is believed that 5.1% of the Canadian population, i.e. 1,769,195 Canadians are of Chinese origin. Most Chinese Canadians live in Ontario and British Columbia. (Canadian Census Records, 2016) The Chinese Canadians have a rich history of their own, with the earliest Chinese arriving on the west coast of Canada in 1858. The gold rush (1858-1880), followed by the railway construction period (1881-85), saw Chinese participation. This ethnic community also faced discrimination due to the imposition of 'head tax' (1885-1923), followed by the infamous exclusion era (1923-1947).

The history of Chinese immigration within Canada is a rich kaleidoscope of information. In the year 1967, the Canadian state opened its door to skilled, educated migrants who saw an influx of Chinese immigrants. Over the years, Chinese Canadians have contributed to the 'Canadian way of life' and richly contributed to the growth and development of the Canadian nation while being attached to their Chinese roots and culture. They are educated and have risen to the highest echelons of society. However, a sizable population in recent years has not benefited from having a strong educational profile, and their incomes do not match their educational skills. (Li, 2001: 479) Prominent Chinese Canadians include, for example, Michael Chan, a Liberal politician from Ontario Province in Canada who has also served as a Member of the Legislative Assembly between 2007 and 2018. Though he is a Canadian national, he was siding with the Chinese on the Hong Kong issue, openly stating that foreigners

instigated the violence in Hong Kong. This statement was in line with the statement made by the Chinese government. (Xu, 2019) The Canadian Chinese diaspora, therefore, does retain ties with the 'home country.'

The Chinese Canadians are 'Canadians with Chinese characteristics.' They value their educational skills. This aspect of their life is in keeping with Confucian traditions. Immigrant parents want their children to study to improve their status within society and acquire prestige. (Li, 2001: 490) Interestingly, the Chinese state has kept a hawk's eye watch on the Chinese diaspora. The CCP has often kept an eye on these overseas Chinese (Huaqiao) for their overtly liberal views. The local Chinese officials have a two-pronged strategy in managing the diaspora, on the one hand, they intimidate and harass members of the diaspora to protect the interests of the Chinese state, while on the other hand, they develop cultural relations and sporting ties with them for the 'good' of the Chinese nation.

Interestingly, the wishes of the non-ethnic Chinese have also become a target of the CCP's agents in the past. (Manthorpe, 2019: 175-77) The Confucius Institutes also have a similar role in propaganda management. (Manthorpe, 2019: 192) While China has continued to support its propaganda, the Canadian state has embraced the Chinese. Discrimination exists, but it is covert, and the concept of equal participation does exist in Canadian society, and Chinese Canadian parents want their children to have a better life through quality education' in Canada. (Li, 2001: 491) The diaspora population is rising within Canada as Canada chooses to remain an "open" country.

10.Canada-China Relations (2016-2020)

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau assumed office in October 2015. He came to the fore with widespread popular support and a belief that he would turn things around for Canada, especially domestic matters.[1] China was not a foreign policy priority for him in the beginning. However, it was expected that Trudeau Junior, like his father Pierre Trudeau, would attempt to establish a strong political and economic relationship with China and bridge the existing gaps with China.

The Justin Trudeau era can be divided into two phases, like that of his predecessor Stephen Harper. The existing media reports are used to build an understanding of this ongoing era since the media has proved to be an essential influencer in this phase of the Canada-China relationship:

2015-17: This short phase saw Justin Trudeau's ascension to power and the resultant expectations related to the Canada-China relationship that surrounded his ascension. The first phase can be described as a phase of "cautious

(1) No discussion of Justin Trudeau's domestic policy is done here since it is outside the purview of this Study.

optimism" that involves positive rhetoric. During this phase, there were talks in the journalistic circles that a "new kind of Canada-China relationship" should see the light of the day under Justin Trudeau's leadership. There was a discussion about "a collaborative relationship that complemented existing economic interests" between Canada and China while Canada "secured its role as a proactive middle power which protected Canadian interests." (Dobson & Evans, 2015) The Chinese government also expressed its willingness to engage with the Trudeau Junior's government with renewed vigour. (Panetta, 2015)

The world watched with bated breath as Canadian dynamic and young Prime Minister was ready to visit China and provide a new and glorious direction to this relationship. The British News Study the Guardian, for example, spoke about the cautious approach adopted by both governments while noting jubilantly that, "Trudeau's Liberal party was billing this first official visit as an opportunity to build a closer long-term relationship with China compared with what party members call the "ad hoc" relations of the past." (Murphy, 2016)

Trudeau went to China to build a "stronger" and "deeper" relationship with China as he felt it was essential for Canada's growth. He even spoke fondly about his visit to China as a child when he had visited the country with his father, Pierre Trudeau, who was instrumental in establishing Canada's ties with China. (Global Times China, 2016)

However, the outcome of his visit left much to be desired, and the ties between Canada and China began to deteriorate after this visit. The cautious optimism that had accompanied his visit gave way to speculation about a current lack of trust that symbolized the relationship paving the way for the second phase of the relationship between Canada and China that exists to date. This phase is a difficult and tenuous phase, where the relationship between China and Canada has declined greatly. The last camel that has broken the camel's back is the "Meng Wanzhou affair," which has destroyed all the superficial bonhomie that existed between Canada and China in the initial phase of the relationship.

2017-19: Justin Trudeau's visit to China in 2017 did not live up to the expectation levels despite Canada joining China-led Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) in 2017. There were hardly any major takeaways from Trudeau's much-publicized visit to China except 2018 being declared the 'Canada-China Year of Tourism". Though the visit was viewed as a "steppingstone" in negotiating a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between Canada and China, the visit made the glaring divide in the Canadian and Chinese thought process public.

The Canadian and Chinese authorities discussed the old issues of trade and investment, human rights, et al. without much progress in the talks leading to grave disappointment. (Brar, 2017) The press censorship that followed his trip made the Canadians wary of the Chinese's intentions as Prime Minister Trudeau supported the Canadian press and applauded their efforts. He remarked that "The (Canadian) media played an essential role in the success of society." These comments came in retaliation after an article was published in the Chinese media flatly critiquing the Canadian media. (Kilpatrick, Chase Vanderklippe: 2017, Sterling: 2017)

The meagre deliverables achieved during Trudeau's visit, China's human rights violations have been followed by the "Meng Wanzhou affair" and "the subsequent detention of Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor by China" that have significantly contributed to the decline of Canada's ties with China. The relationship between Ottawa and Beijing may be at an all-time low, with both parties squabbling at regular intervals at all levels.

The arrest of Meng Wanzhou, the Chief Financial Officer of telecom giant, Huawei, and a Canadian Permanent Resident at the behest of the Trump government has irked China beyond words, and it has quickly retaliated with the detention of "the two Michaels" - Kovrig, a former diplomat and Spavor, a Canadian businessman on charges of spying. (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2020) The arrest of Meng Wanzhou and the detention of two Michaels has become an issue of "high politics" with both parties not willing to give an inch so far. The matter lies unresolved as trade ties lie in tatters. The Chinese may be practicing "warfare by other means" as they attempt to consolidate their position in the 'virtual global order.' The Chinese state has vested interests in its SOEs and international companies, and Huawei is no exception to the rule. (Luttwak, 1990: 128) Therefore, peace-building measures need to be put in place to ensure that this conflict does not escalate into a full-blown crisis.

11. Results and Conclusion

The impasse created by these events have revealed the fragile nature of the Canada- China relationship and brought the core issues to the foreground. Canada wishes to trade with China on condition that it will follow the international order's existing principles on crucial issues like human rights, free trade, the environment and climate change, something that we have seen from the time of Jean Chrétien and Stephen Harper in the post-cold war era.

The Trudeau administration has only carried this legacy forward and strengthened Canada's image as a flag bearer of human rights. In fact, unlike previous administrations, who paid mere lip service to the cause of human rights, Trudeau has stuck his ground on this issue and many others. China, on the contrary wishes, has stuck to its core policies of Tienxia and its foreign

policy mechanism, where the Communist Party of China and its close rung of leaders take important policy decisions for the world's most populated country.

This current issue has ensured that, for the time being, trade between the two countries has taken a back seat. However, it is hoped that the impasse will get resolved through proper diplomatic channels, and Canada and China will renegotiate the trade deal in the future with greater wisdom. Trade can ensure a win-win situation for both Canada and China, and eventually, geoeconomics will have salience over geopolitics in this growing partnership.

This current impasse is a result of China's revisionist strategy in the East Pacific and North America. China wishes to become the 'new hegemon' of the international system, and its actions are directed to that outcome. China's security objectives are aimed at weakening the United States of America (USA) and the liberal world order while pushing for its own stupendous rise. Therefore, the role of the United States remains vital within the larger Canada-China dynamic. However, Canada wishes the betterment of ties between all stakeholders, including the United States. Morally and ethically, Canada has chosen to remain loyal to the existing liberal global order and wishes that one day China would accept the provisions of the existing order for the betterment of humanity.

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