



Global Affairs
Canada

Affaires mondiales
Canada

Deputy Minister
of Foreign Affairs

Sous-ministre des
Affaires étrangères

FEB 5 2020

Ms. Christine Holke
Clerk of the Committee
Special Committee on Canada-China Relations
131 Queen Street, 6th Floor
House of Commons
Ottawa ON K1A 0A6

Dear Ms. Holke:

During my appearance before the Special Committee on Canada-China Relations on January 30, 2020, I committed to provide more information on the Government of Canada's overall approach to its relationship with the People's Republic of China.

I also committed to provide specific information on the Government of Canada's assessment of the human rights situation in Xinjiang and on ministerial travel to China since 2015.

The enclosed documents (annexes 1-6) provide more information on the Government of Canada's approach to its relationship with China since 2016, as well as specific details on human rights and ministerial visits.

As the Minister of Foreign Affairs mentioned in his January 20, 2020 letter, the broader context for our bilateral relationship with China has changed. During the transition period in 2019, Global Affairs Canada prepared a concise diagnostic for the incoming Minister of Foreign Affairs to set the stage for strategic advice on how to approach relations with China in this new context (Annex 7), and Minister Champagne has called for a new framework for Canada-China relations.

Please note that some elements of the diagnostic document under Annex 7 have been redacted, as there is a reasonable expectation that public disclosure of this protected information would be injurious to Canada's international relations, including ongoing efforts to provide consular assistance to Canadians in China. Given the personal nature of consular assistance, personal information has also been protected in accordance with the *Privacy Act*.

The Committee is taking on important work at a crucial time. A common understanding of where China is going and how it touches Canada's national interest will help to strengthen our policy.

Sincerely,


Marta Morgan

Enclosures

Canada

ANNEX 1: Canada's Approach to China

In 2016, the Government of Canada adopted an approach for comprehensive engagement with China centred around deepening trade links; enhancing people-to-people ties; mitigating security risks; encouraging China to be a responsible stakeholder in the rules-based international order; and engaging on values. The approach aimed to advance a more productive, constructive and consistent relationship, including through high-level engagement and domestic outreach. In an exchange of leader level visits in September 2016, Canada and China committed to action on shared priorities (see Joint Statements in Annex 2) and established an Annual Leaders Dialogue to lead a new architecture of high-level consultation mechanisms (see Annex 3). Formal dialogues and high-level visits drove progress on key bilateral initiatives, and permitted Canada to deliver key messages and advocate for priorities under each of the pillars directly to Chinese leaders (see Annex 4). The approach also included reinforced coordination across government through the establishment of the Deputy Ministers' China Committee.

In this context, Canada took a number of steps to put in place tools to help deepen our trade links with China. In 2016, Canada and China launched exploratory talks to determine whether there was scope to negotiate a free trade agreement that would provide meaningful market access. While there was no meeting of the minds with China on the scope of a potential free trade agreement, Canada made strides in other areas. Budget 2018 allocated \$75 million over five years for increased Canadian engagement in China and Asia. In November 2018, several federal ministers and provincial premiers participated in a successful Atlantic Growth Strategy Mission to China and participated in the first China International Import Expo (CIIE) in Shanghai. Also in 2018, Canada's Ministers of International Trade Diversification and Finance co-chaired the first formal meeting of the Economic and Financial Strategic Dialogue (EFSD) in Beijing, which provided a high-level mechanism to engage with China on global economic affairs and expanding bilateral commercial relations. During this period, Canada also expanded the Trade Commissioner Service in China to provide additional support and advice to Canadian businesses.

Between 2016 and 2018, to enhance people-to-people ties, Canada established an internship program to give Canadian youth work experience in Canada's missions in China, and enhanced the Canada Learning Initiative in China program to support Canadian students studying in Chinese universities. Canada also opened seven new visa application centres in China. In 2017, Sport Canada and the General Administration of Sport of China signed a Memorandum of Understanding on Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games Cooperation. In 2018, the first Canadian Creative Industries Trade Mission to China took place in 2018, as well as the first meeting of the Ministerial-level Canada-China Joint Committee on Culture. Consistent with the Leaders' 2016 joint commitment, 2018 was also dedicated as the Canada-China Year of Tourism.

On many key issues, Canada has reinforced its bilateral work with China at the multilateral level. For example, Canada combined both multilateral and bilateral efforts to address a broad array of security challenges. Bilaterally, Canada and China established the National Security and Rule of Law Dialogue, which last met in 2017, to discuss a wide range of issues, including counter-terrorism, cyber, law enforcement issues, consular issues, and the rule of law. Multilaterally, Canada has leveraged

membership in multilateral organizations such as the G7 and NATO to develop common positions on China's influence and changing security dynamics.

As well, Canada consistently works to raise awareness of our human rights concerns both bilaterally and multilaterally, most notably in recent months on the situation in Xinjiang (see Annex 5). Canada also increased funding under the Canada Fund for Local Initiatives to support civil society and rule of law projects in China, and Canada's mission network in China is active on Chinese social media to promote Canada and our values.

Canadians' outlook on and Canada's relations with China changed on December 10, 2018, following the Chinese government's arbitrary detentions of Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor. The focus of Canada's efforts shifted to the absolute priority of seeking their release and clemency for Robert Schellenberg, who was arbitrarily sentenced on January 14, 2019. This means raising Canada's concerns with China at every opportunity (including discussions at leader and ministerial discussions and diplomatic demarches) and intensive outreach across the international community. Recognizing that these coercive practices could effect any of their citizens, many countries and organizations added their voices to condemn and call for release or clemency (see Annex 6).

The approach has also included reiterating Canada's commitment to uphold the rule of law. Canada has engaged in ongoing dialogue with Chinese officials on the legal framework for extradition in Canada and our obligations under domestic and international law. This includes briefings on Canada's extradition process for Chinese officials in Canada and Beijing. As well, Canada pursued technical discussions to resolve measures against Canadian exports, successfully resorting access for Canadian meat, and simultaneously challenging China's ban on canola seed at the World Trade Organisation.

In recognition of the importance of keeping channels of communication and cooperation open, Canada has remained open to visits and meetings with Chinese interlocutors. Our network of missions in China continues to provide valuable services and advice to Canadian travellers, businesses and organizations with a stake in the relationship. At the same time, Canada has been consistent in our advocacy on human rights and other concerns, while avoiding escalation of tensions.

Canada's approach to our relationship with the People's Republic of China is continually calibrated, and the absolute priority is ending the arbitrary detentions of Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor and securing clemency for Robert Schellenberg. In this context, the Government of Canada continues to engage with the people of China and the Chinese government, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs has indicated the need to explore a new framework for Canada–China relations.

ANNEX 2**Joint Press Release between Canada and the People's Republic of China**

September 1, 2016

Beijing, China

At the invitation of His Excellency Li Keqiang, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, the Right Honourable Justin Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, is paying his first official visit to China from August 30 to September 6, 2016. Over the course of the visit, Prime Minister Trudeau will take the opportunity to visit Beijing, Shanghai, Hangzhou and Hong Kong, while also attending the G20 Leaders' Summit.

During Prime Minister Trudeau's visit to Beijing he met with His Excellency, President Xi Jinping of China, and His Excellency, Chairman Zhang Dejiang of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, respectively, while also holding talks with Premier Li Keqiang. Leaders, reflecting on the remarkable progress that has been made since the establishment of diplomatic ties between Canada and China in 1970, reaffirmed their commitment to develop a robust and comprehensive strategic relationship between the two countries.

The two sides had an in-depth, sincere and productive exchange of views on Canada-China relations, and regional, international, and global issues of shared interest. Leaders discussed ways to advance Canada-China relations, including the strengthening of the high-level dialogues and expanding exchanges at all levels. The two sides agreed to act based on principles of mutual respect, equality, and shared benefit, and to deepen mutual understanding and trust. The two sides agreed to expand practical cooperation and exchanges, including on rule of law, and to address constructively differences and sensitive issues. Both sides also agreed to make joint efforts to open a new era in the Canada-China strategic partnership.

The two sides agreed on the importance of enhancing economic growth by promoting the Canada-China economic relationship. On this, both sides agreed to deepen their trade and investment relationship in the areas of energy, clean technology, agriculture, infrastructure, transportation, financial services, as well as innovation, science and technology for mutual benefit.

Recognizing the importance of people-to-people ties, both sides agreed to expand exchanges in education, culture, health, tourism and sports, to promote connections between the two peoples.

The two sides committed to deeper judicial and law enforcement cooperation, and continued military-to-military cooperation. Both sides agreed to maintain dialogue and exchanges on human rights on the basis of equality and mutual respect.

The two sides had an in-depth exchange of views on the upcoming G20 Hangzhou Summit and considered opportunities to promote strong, sustainable, balanced and

inclusive economic growth, promote innovation, create jobs, reinforce the resilience of the global financial system, and build the open world economy. Both agreed to work together to make the Summit a productive and milestone event, and will maintain close coordination and cooperation within the G20 framework on the implementation of the outcomes of the Hangzhou Summit.

On regional and global issues, both sides agreed to strengthen coordination on the provision of global public goods, including seeking to strengthen cooperation on environmental protection and climate change, United Nations peacekeeping and inclusive growth. The two sides agreed to work together to promote peace, stability, and prosperity across the Asia-Pacific region through bilateral and multilateral channels.

The two sides announced a series of important developments and signed relevant agreements. These include the following:

1. Agreeing to maintain close dialogue and exchanges between leaders of both countries, and announcing the establishment of an annual dialogue between the Prime Minister of Canada and the Premier of China;
2. China's welcoming of Canada's decision to apply for membership at the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank;
3. Establishing the Canada-China High-Level National Security and Rule of Law Dialogue;
4. Enhancing our efforts to address climate change through the full and effective implementation of the historic Paris Agreement and to work together with international partners to strengthen the global response to climate change;
5. Announcing that quarantine authorities on both sides are actively consulting and researching science-based measures related to the canola trade between Canada and China to support an appropriate solution at an early date. During this transitional period, canola trade between Canada and China can continue under current quarantine conditions (August 2016);
6. Announcing 2018 as the Canada-China Year of Tourism and agreeing to increase cooperation to boost the two-way flow of tourists;
7. Agreeing that China will authorize Canada to open seven additional visa application centres in China;
8. Establishing a working group under the Canada-China Joint Declaration on Clean Technology;
9. Signing the Statement of Cooperation between the Parks Canada Agency and the National Development and Reform Commission of China on the Establishment, Conservation, and Management of National Park Systems;
10. Announcing Canada's commitment to Phase VI of the China Council for International Cooperation on Environment and Development;

11. Expanding judicial cooperation by welcoming the combined efforts of institutions to train judges and pursuing the exchange of legal practitioners and academics;
12. Welcoming further cooperation on labour and employment, including the implementation of the Cooperation Framework in the Field of Industrial Relations and Labour Standards as well as the Joint Canada-China Labour Mediator and Arbitrator Capacity Building Project;
13. Signing a bilateral Film Coproduction Treaty between the Government of Canada and the Government of China;
14. Signing the Programme of Cooperation for the Years 2017 to 2019 under the Cultural Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of China;
15. Enhancing collaboration in support of gender equality and the empowerment of women and children globally;
16. Agreeing to explore ways to strengthen bilateral cooperation in support of United Nations peace operations, as well as dialogue and cooperation in the areas of humanitarian assistance and disaster relief and military education;
17. Collaborating on global development initiatives, including supporting the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria.

Source: <https://pm.gc.ca/en/news/backgrounders/2016/09/01/joint-press-release-between-canada-and-peoples-republic-china>

Joint Statement Between Canada and the People's Republic of China

September 23, 2016
Ottawa, Ontario



At the invitation of the Right Honourable Justin Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, His Excellency Li Keqiang, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China is paying an official visit to Canada from September 21 to 24, 2016, with a view to further building a strong and stable foundation for the Canada-China relationship. While in Ottawa, Premier Li Keqiang met with His Excellency, the Right Honourable David Johnston, Governor General of Canada, held talks with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, inaugurating the Annual Dialogue between the Premier of China and the Prime Minister of Canada, and had meetings with the Honourable George Furey, Speaker of the Senate and the Honourable Geoff Regan, Speaker of the House of Commons. Premier Li Keqiang and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau also attended the 6th Canada-China Economic and Trade Cooperation Forum in Montreal.

Both sides spoke highly of the recent official visit to China by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, and agreed to take further actions to open a new chapter in the Canada-China strategic partnership. The two sides believed that the back-to-back visits by the two Leaders demonstrate a renewed commitment for a growing relationship. Recalling their conversations in Beijing, Premier Li and Prime Minister Trudeau reflected on the important development of Canada-China relations during the past 46 years since the establishment of diplomatic ties, and agreed to strengthen engagement between Canada and China in order to foster greater economic and social benefits for both countries and to promote peace, stability and prosperity across the Asia-Pacific region and the world at large.

Both sides agreed the Leaders of the two countries should keep in close contact through bilateral visits, meetings on multilateral occasions, and telephone conversations as well as correspondence, to strengthen communication on important issues of mutual interest. Both sides agreed to make full use of existing high-level dialogues and consultation mechanisms, and recognized the importance of regular, respectful and frank discussions on both opportunities and challenges as part of a robust and comprehensive bilateral relationship. Frequent dialogue not only promotes new areas for growth and deepened cooperation, but creates new avenues to promote common understanding on issues such as human rights and rule of law.

Both sides agreed to take vigorous measures to expand trade by committing to creating a fair, transparent and welcoming business environment. They also agreed to promote practical cooperation in the areas of agriculture, energy, manufacturing, financial services and infrastructure. The two countries stressed the importance of two-way investment as a means of growth and job creation, while committing to encourage innovation, science and technology collaboration of mutual benefit.

Both sides agreed to strengthen exchanges and cooperation on judicial affairs and law enforcement, as well as explore options for further engagement on counter-terrorism, cyber security and cybercrime. Both sides also agreed to strengthen military-to-military interactions and explore ways to conduct more joint exercises and training.

In recognizing the importance of connecting citizens from the two countries, both sides agreed to expand people-to-people ties and deepen cooperation in the areas of culture, education and tourism. In anticipation of Canada's 150th anniversary, both sides will celebrate their shared history, encourage greater exchanges between peoples, and expand cultural and sports cooperation. Both sides committed to raise the number of mutual visits and promote two-way student exchanges, for the purpose of which the two sides will further streamline visa application processing.

As both countries committed during the G20 Leaders' Summit in Hangzhou, both sides are determined to foster an innovative, invigorated, interconnected and inclusive world economy. Both sides also reaffirmed their commitment to usher in a new era of global growth and sustainable development.

Both sides agreed that it is in their common interest to expand cooperation on regional and global issues. On this, both sides decided to expand communication and cooperation in multilateral bodies such as the United Nations, Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation, ASEAN Regional Forum and others. They reaffirmed their continued commitment to address climate change, support UN peacekeeping, and to find new means to cooperate on international development, global health and the empowerment of women and children. The Chinese side welcomes Canada's application for joining the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), and looks forward to close cooperation with Canada in the AIIB.

During the visit, the two sides announced a series of important developments and signed relevant agreements. These include the following:

1. In solidifying the new chapter in the strategic partnership, both sides welcomed the successful inaugural meeting of the Annual Dialogue between the Prime Minister of Canada and the Premier of China.
2. Reaffirming Leaders' commitment to launch the Canada-China Economic and Financial Strategic Dialogue which is at a Vice Premier level, at an early date.
3. Announcing the goal of doubling bilateral trade by 2025 based on 2015 statistics.
4. In acknowledgement of the interconnected nature of the two economies and the untapped potential of the Canada-China economic and commercial relationship, the two sides agreed to launch exploratory discussions for a possible Canada-China Free Trade Agreement.
5. Signing the Joint Statement between the Government of Canada and the Government of China to Develop Cooperation in Third-Party Markets, in order to encourage and support enterprises of both countries to pursue economic development opportunities in third party markets.
6. Signing the Memorandum of Understanding between the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada and Statistics Canada and the Ministry of Commerce of China on the Establishment of a Joint Working Group on Trade Statistics Reconciliation.
7. Recognizing the importance of efficient capital markets and a strong and stable financial system for growing the economy, both sides welcome cooperation as appropriate to develop direct trading between the Renminbi and the Canadian dollar on the China Foreign Exchange Trade System in Shanghai, as well as relevant Canadian financial institutions to issue Renminbi bonds in China's inter-bank bond market.
8. Announcing the goal of doubling two-way visits by 2025 based on 2015 statistics.
9. Signing the Memorandum of Understanding between the Department of Innovation, Science and Economic Development of Canada and the National Tourism Administration of China in the Field of Tourism.
10. Signing the Action Plan between the Department of Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada and the Ministry of Agriculture of China (2016-2020) for Agricultural Cooperation.
11. Signing the Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation between the Canadian Grain Commission and the State Administration of Grain of China.
12. Signed a Memorandum of Understanding on trade in canola between Canada and China.
13. Recognizing the mutual importance of agriculture and the necessary safeguards for plant and animal health, as well as food safety, the two countries have agreed to expand market access to Canadian bone-in beef and to advance several key initiatives to support the trade of Canadian beef and pork, bovine genetics, Chinese pears and filled grain products.

14. Signing the Memorandum of Understanding between the Department of Health of Canada on Cooperation and the General Administration of Quality Supervision, Inspection and Quarantine of China in the Field of Consumer Product Safety.
15. Signing the Bilateral Aviation Technical Arrangement between the Department of Transport Canada and the Civil Aviation Administration of China.
16. Agreeing to further enhance our bilateral air transport relationship through recent negotiations, which expanded the Canada-China air transport agreement. Both sides also agreed to meet again in 2017 to discuss a further expansion of air transport rights.
17. In preparation for the Beijing 2022 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games and as an opportunity to strengthen cultural and people-to-people ties, agreeing to enhance cooperation in the area of winter sports.
18. Reaffirming our commitment to enhancing efforts to address climate change through the full and effective implementation of the historic Paris Agreement and to work together with international partners to strengthen the global response to climate change, and to achieve successful outcomes in related multilateral fora this year.
19. Signing the Memorandum of Understanding between the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada and the Ministry of Education of China concerning Education Cooperation and welcoming the renewal of the Canada-China Scholars' Exchange Program.
20. Welcoming Canada being named the Country of Honour at the 2017 China Education Expo, as well as the expansion of the Canada Learning Initiative in China Program, a partnership to help Canadian students to gain experience in China as part of their degree program.
21. Agreeing to establish the Canada-China Innovation Dialogue under the Agreement for Scientific and Technological Cooperation.
22. Signing the Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of China on Sharing and Return of Forfeited Assets.
23. Signing the Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in Combating Crime between the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the Ministry of Public Security of China.
24. In recognition of health as an important area of the bilateral relationship, the two sides committed to holding the 5th Ministerial dialogue on health within the next year and renewing the Plan of Action on Cooperation for the period of 2017-2019.
25. Agreeing to reinforce exchange and cooperation in the field of ocean science, including the prevention and control of marine oil spills.
26. Signing the Cooperation Agreement between the Canada Border Services Agency and the General Administration of Customs of China.
27. Welcoming the Entry into Force of the Canada-China Social Security Agreement early next year.

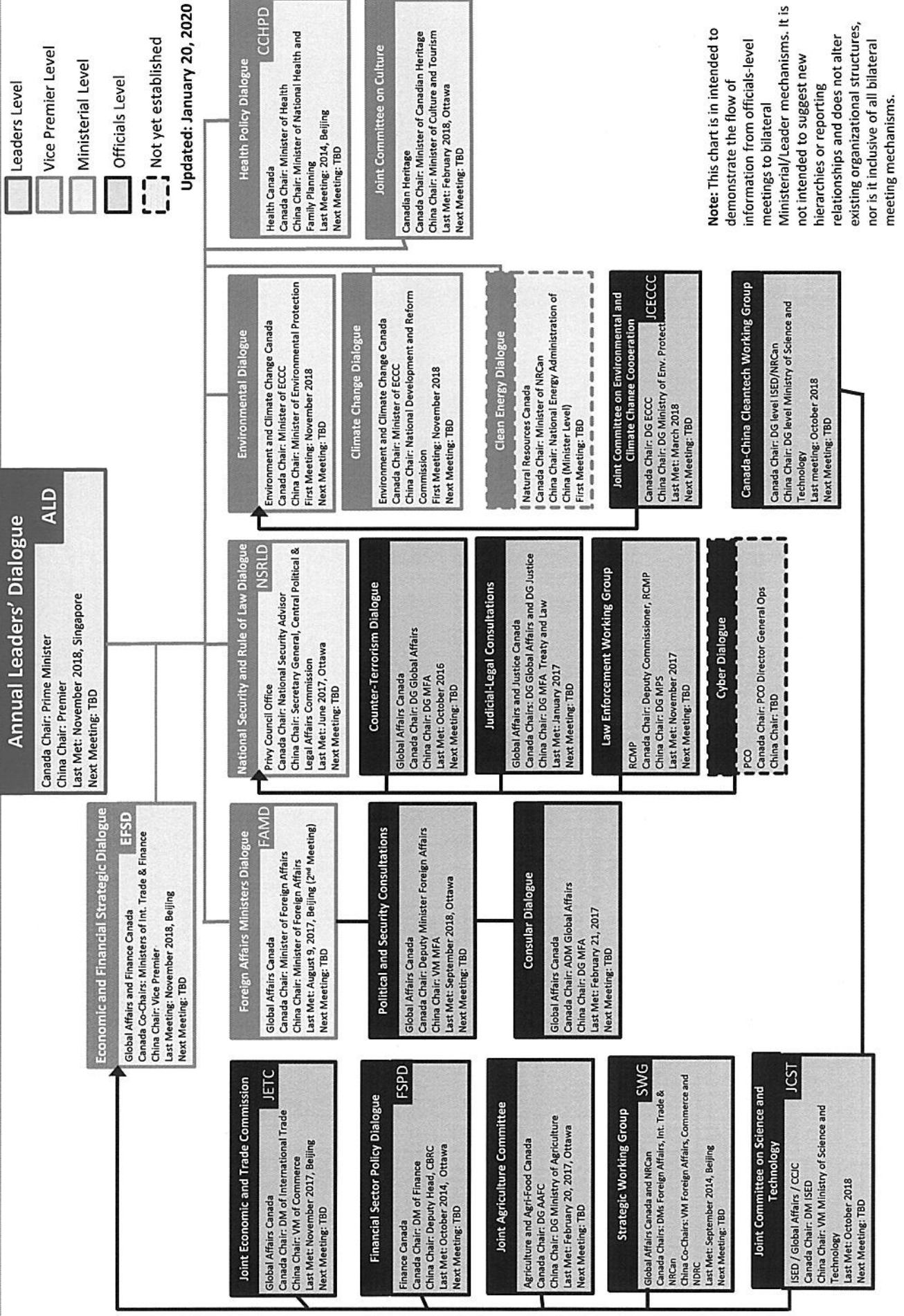
28. Agreeing to support the pursuit of a dialogue to expand exchanges between provinces and territories of both countries.

29. Agreeing to actively support relevant institutions of both countries to launch track II dialogues, including on energy and foreign policy, at an early date.

Source: <https://pm.gc.ca/en/news/statements/2016/09/23/joint-statement-between-canada-and-peoples-republic-china>



ANNEX 3 - Canada China Bilateral Mechanisms



Note: This chart is intended to demonstrate the flow of information from officials-level meetings to bilateral Ministerial/Leader mechanisms. It is not intended to suggest new hierarchies or reporting relationships and does not alter existing organizational structures, nor is it inclusive of all bilateral meeting mechanisms.

ANNEX 4

Visits to China 2015-Present

2015: Total Visit 0

- No federal ministerial visits.

2016: Total visits 13

- Finance Minister Morneau – February 25 – 28 (Shanghai)
- AAFC Minister MacAulay – June 3 (Xi'an)
- ISED Minister Bains – June 26 – 29 (Beijing, Tianjin)
- Minister of International Trade, Freeland – July 7 – 9 (Shanghai)
- Employment, Workforce Development and Labour Minister Mihychuk – July 10 – 13 (Beijing)
- Finance Minister Morneau – July 23 – 24 (Chengdu)
- IRCC Minister McCallum – August 6 – 13 (Beijing, Hong Kong)
- Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, Minister of Foreign Affairs Dion, Minister of International Trade Freeland, and Finance Minister Morneau – August 30 – September 6 (Beijing, Shanghai, Hangzhou, Hong Kong)
- AAFC Minister MacAulay – October 29 – November 9 (Qingdao, Beijing, Shanghai)
- Minister of Science Duncan – November 3 – 6 (Beijing)
- ECCC Minister McKenna – December 5 – 9 (Beijing, Guangzhou)

2017: Total visits 11

- PCH Minister Mélanie Joly - January 8 – 15 (Beijing, Shanghai)
- Minister of International Trade Champagne - April 21 - 27 (Shanghai, Chongqing, Zhengzhou, Beijing)
- Minister of Finance Morneau - April 25 - 27, (Beijing)
- Minister of Natural Resources Carr, June 4 - June 10, (Beijing Tianjin)
- Minister for Small Business and Tourism Chagger July 8 - July 14 (Shanghai and Hangzhou)
- Minister of Sport and Persons with Disabilities Qualtrough, July 12 - July 15 (Beijing)
- Minister of Foreign Affairs Freeland August 08 - August 10 (Beijing)
- AAFC Minister MacAulay, Nov 12-21, (Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Beijing)
- IRCC Minister Hussen, Nov 14-18, (Beijing, Nanjing, and Shanghai -18)
- Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, Minister of International Trade Champagne, and Minister for Small Business and Tourism Chagger, December 3-8 (Beijing, Guangzhou)
- ECCC Minister McKenna December 4-11, (Beijing, Nanjing, Shanghai)

2018: Total visits: 10

- Minister Status of Women Monsef January 15-19 (Beijing, Shanghai)
- Minister of Finance Morneau March 29 - April 2 (Hong Kong, Shanghai)
- Minister of Canadian Heritage Mélanie Joly, April 9-13, (Beijing, Shanghai, Hangzhou)
- AAFC Minister MacAulay, May 11-18 (Beijing, Shanghai)
- Minister for Small Business and Tourism Chagger, June 22- 28 (Beijing, Shanghai, Hangzhou)
- Small Business and Export Promotion Minister Ng, September 18-20 (Beijing, Tianjin, Shenzhen, Hong Kong)
- Minister of Environment and Climate Change Canada McKenna, November 1-3, (Beijing)
- AAFC Minister MacAulay, November 5 -15, (Shanghai, Qingdao)
- Minister of Finance Morneau and Minister of International Trade Diversification Carr, November 12, (Beijing)
- President of the Treasury Board and Minister of Digital Government Brison, November 8-13 (Qingdao, Beijing, Shanghai)

2019: Total Visit 1

- Small Business and Export Promotion Minister Ng, July 1-3, (Dalian, Beijing)

2020

- No ministerial visits as of Jan 30.

ANNEX 5

Canada is deeply concerned by the credible reports of the mass detention of Uyghurs and other ethnic minorities in Xinjiang, based on their religion and ethnicity and under the pretext of countering terrorism. In detention, Uyghurs and other minorities face obligatory patriotic and cultural education, with reports of torture or other ill-treatment and family separation. Family members of Canadian citizens have disappeared. Canada

Estimates place the number of Uyghurs and other minorities detained in Xinjiang to be at least one million.

Supporting information:

- In its August 2018 report, the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination “regretted that there is no official data on how many people are in long-term detention or who have been forced to spend varying periods in political “re-education camps” for even nonthreatening expressions of Muslim ethno-religious culture like daily greetings. Estimates about them range from tens of thousands to upwards of a million.”

Source: UN CERD Report: Concluding observations on the combined fourteenth to seventeenth periodic reports of China (including Hong Kong, China and Macao, China) (August 30, 2018)

- In a July 2019 article in the *Journal of Political Risk*, independent researcher Adrian Zenz provided a speculative upper limit estimate of 1.5 million.

Source: Brainwashing, Police Guards and Coercive Internment: Evidence from Chinese Government Documents about the Nature and Extent of Xinjiang’s “Vocational Training Internment Camps”, *Journal of Political Risk*, Vol. 7, No. 7, July 2019, Adrian Zenz, Independent Researcher.

- In addition, for Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims in Xinjiang, China, there are severe restrictions on movement and heavy surveillance by Chinese authorities. There are also reports of forced labour, as well as family separation, with children living in “boarding schools” away from their parents.

Actions:

Canada has called on China to respect, protect and promote freedom of expression, assembly and association, as well as freedom of religion or belief for all Chinese citizens. We have done so on numerous occasions, publicly and privately, in multilateral forums as well as in bilateral dialogues.

Canada has made several statements on the human rights situation in China at the UN Human Rights Council (HRC) in Geneva, including specific statements on Xinjiang. In November 2018, Canada made public recommendations to China on human rights as part of China's Universal Periodic Review at the HRC. Canada called on China to release Uyghurs and other Muslims who have been detained arbitrarily and without due process because of their ethnicity or religion, and to end the prosecution and persecution on the basis of religion or belief, including for Muslims, Christians, Tibetan Buddhists and Falun Gong.

During the 41st session of the HRC, Canada co-signed a letter addressed to the President of the UN Human Rights Council where representatives from over 20 countries raised concerns over the situation of Uyghurs and other minorities in Xinjiang. Canada also co-sponsored side events addressing human rights in Xinjiang on the margins of the HRC's 40th session in Geneva and the margins of the UN General Assembly 74th session in New York. Canada co-signed, along with 22 other countries, a joint statement on the human rights situation in Xinjiang during the Third Committee dialogue of the Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in New York. Canadian officials have called on China to allow unfettered access to Xinjiang to the UN and the Office of the High Commission for Human Rights.

Canada has co-signed statements at the Ministerial to Advance Religious Freedom in Washington in July 2018 and 2019. Both statements raised concerns that many members of religious minority groups in China face severe repression and discrimination because of their beliefs, including ethnic Uyghur, Kazakh and other Muslims. On International Religious Freedom Day on October 27, 2018, I referred to a deepening crackdown on Uyghurs and members of other religious minority groups in China in a public statement.

ANNEX 6: CANADA-CHINA BILATERAL CHALLENGES: ENGAGEMENT WITH FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

Background

The Government of Canada is vocal in expressing concerns about China's arbitrary actions against Canadians. This includes public comments and statements by the Government. We have also raised our concerns in over 1000 diplomatic meetings since December 2018. The Prime Minister, Ministers of Foreign Affairs, the Canadian Ambassador to China, and Canadian diplomats around the world consistently reinforce the message that China's actions against Canadian citizens represent an unacceptable breach of the rules-based international order.

Many countries have voiced their concerns and support for Canada and are echoing our key messages: that China's actions are contrary to international rules and norms, that Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor should be immediately released, and that clemency should be granted to Robert Schellenberg (as with all Canadians facing the death penalty).

Partners have spoken out because they recognize that this is not just a Canadian problem. Coercive practices, especially those that target innocent individuals for political ends, undermine the norms and principles that are the foundation of international relations. China could use such tactics against any country, not just Canada, and China must understand that this is not acceptable.

To date, Canada has received public support from many of our allies. This includes the U.S., UK, EU, Australia, Denmark, Estonia, France, Finland, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Spain, and Sweden, in addition to the G7 Foreign Ministers and the Secretary General of NATO (See Annex 1).

As in any diplomatic initiative, much effort takes place behind-the-scenes. Many governments choose to share information or take action on the strict understanding of confidentiality, in order to preserve their own bilateral relations and interests. To betray such confidences risks severely undermining our bilateral relations with other partners, and eroding their trust in Canada for the future. It is imperative that Canada continue to treat bilateral confidences with the greatest care.

**LIST OF PUBLIC EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT FOR CANADIAN POSITIONS:
CANADA-CHINA BILATERAL CHALLENGES**

A. Statements by Countries

Australia

Statement (December 30, 2018)

<https://www.theaustralian.com.au/nation/politics/marise-payne-bows-to-pressure-over-detained-canada-diplomats/news-story/e209a3f6fd47b22570b8fd2dd0630833>

Marise Payne, Minister for Foreign Affairs: "Australia and Canada share a strong commitment to the rule of law, essential to the functioning of our democratic systems. I have every confidence in the fairness and independence of Canada's administration of justice. The Australian Government is concerned about the recent detention of two Canadian citizens in China. We would be very concerned if these cases were related to legal proceedings currently underway in Canada involving a Chinese citizen, Ms Meng Wanzhou. The Australian Government has conveyed this position to Chinese counterparts and we have been in regular contact with Canadian officials."

Interview (January 16, 2019)

<https://www.smh.com.au/world/asia/strange-china-lashes-australia-over-drug-death-penalty-criticism-20190116-p50rsz.html>

When asked about Robert Schellenberg's sentencing, Acting Foreign Minister Simon Birmingham said on ABC Radio that the Australian government was "deeply concerned with this case".

"We expect at a level of principle that not only the death penalty should not be applied but also wherever people are in trouble the rule of law ought be applied fairly," he said.

Tweet (December 11, 2019)

<https://twitter.com/AusHCCanada/status/1204451406482198528>

The Australian High Commission in Canada retweeted MINA'S tweet and added the statement "It's one year since Canadian Citizens Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor were detained. We share the Canadian Government's concerns about their detention."

Czech Republic

Tweet (January 24, 2019)

<https://twitter.com/TPetricek/status/1088419861120933888>

The Czech Republic's Minister of Foreign Affairs Tomáš Petříček tweeted: 1/2 The Czech Republic, like all the #EU states, is an opponent of the death penalty in a line with the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms. We strive to abolish the death penalty also in countries where it is still imposed.

2/2 In the #Schellenberg case, it is also important to emphasize the need to respect the right to a fair trial.

Tweet (December 10, 2019)

<https://twitter.com/TPetricek/status/1204352396270481409>

The Czech Republic's Minister of Foreign Affairs Tomáš Petříček tweeted: "On the occasion of #Humanrightsday, its worth reminding the destiny of two Canadians held in Chinese detention for one year already. Our solidarity continues."

Denmark

Tweet (December 10, 2019)

https://twitter.com/FP_Champagne/status/1204146414319808512

Denmark's Ambassador to Canada, Hanne Fugl Eskjaer, retweeted MINA's tweet.

Estonia

Tweet (January 7, 2019)

<https://twitter.com/MFAestonia/status/1082311973902135297>

#Estonia shares concerns expressed by @eu_eas spokesperson @MajaEUspox on the arrest and continued detention of #Canadian nationals. @CanadaFP

Tweet (December 9, 2019)

<https://twitter.com/CanadaFP/status/1204084520900792323>

Estonia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs retweeted Canada's statement.

France

Statement (December 24, 2018)

<https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/politique-etrangere-de-la-france/article/arrestations-au-canada-et-en-chine-declaration-de-la-porte-parole-paris-24-12>

«Arrestations au Canada et en Chine - Déclaration de la Porte-Parole

Meng Wanzhou, directrice financière de Huawei, fait l'objet d'une procédure judiciaire canadienne régulière et conforme à l'État de droit. Celle-ci est conforme aux engagements internationaux du Canada. Nous sommes préoccupés par l'arrestation en Chine de deux ressortissants canadiens, intervenue peu après celle de Meng Wanzhou. Nous demandons aux autorités chinoises de veiller à ce qu'ils soient traités de façon équitable et transparente et que les droits de la défense soient respectés.»

Finland

Tweet (December 10, 2019)

Ambassador of Canada to Finland retweeted Canada's statement

<https://twitter.com/CanadaFP/status/1204084520900792323>

Germany

Statement (December 23, 2018)

<https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/newsroom/news/aa-arrests-canada-china/2173610>

Federal Foreign Office on the arrests in Canada and China

"The German Government is convinced Canada will ensure that Meng Wanzhou, Huawei's chief financial officer, has a fair, unbiased and transparent judicial procedure. Her questioning and subsequent release on bail are part of a regular process that adheres to the rule of law. Canada is meeting its international obligations by fulfilling the provisions of its extradition treaty with the United States. We share Canada's deep conviction that the rule of law is the foundation of all free societies. We are very concerned that the arrests of two Canadians in China may be politically motivated. We urge that they be treated fairly and in compliance with the rule of law."

Tweet (December 10, 2019)

<https://twitter.com/BaerbelKofler/status/1204381068431937536>

German Federal Commissioner for Human Rights Policy and Humanitarian Aid's tweeted: "Today marks one year since the Canadian citizens Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor were imprisoned in China without a possibility to see a lawyer or their families. I ask the Chinese government to immediately release them! #FreeMichaelKovrig #FreeMichaelSpavor." German Foreign Office retweeted

Latvia

Tweet (January 4, 2019)

<https://twitter.com/MajaEUspox/status/1076192493711044609>

Latvia fully supports the statement by the EEAS spokesperson @MajaEUspox on the arrest and detention of Canadian nationals.

Tweet (December 10, 2019)

https://twitter.com/Latvian_MFA/status/1204356492846985218

Latvia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs retweeted Canada's statement, and added: "Latvia expresses solidarity with our strategic partner Canada by fully sharing same concerns."

Lithuania

Tweet (January 7, 2019)

Link unavailable

#Lithuania fully supports the statement by the @eu_eeas spokesperson @MajaEUspox on the arrest & detention of #Canadian nationals. @CanadaFP

Tweet (December 10, 2019)

<https://twitter.com/CanadaFP/status/1204084520900792323>

Lithuanian MFA retweeted Canada's statement.

Ambassador Designate of Lithuania to Canada retweeted Canada's statement.

The Netherlands

Statement (January 10, 2019)

<https://www.government.nl/documents/diplomatic-statements/2019/01/10/statement-of-the-kingdom-of-the-netherlands-concerning-the-arrest-of-two-canadians-in-china>

"The Government of the Netherlands believes that Ms. Meng Wanzhou, the Chief Financial Officer of Huawei, is subject to a fair, unbiased and transparent judicial procedure in Canada, prompted by the country's legal obligations under its extradition treaty with the United States.

The Netherlands believes that the rule of law is fundamental for any society that wishes to live in peace and security, and is therefore concerned about the declared motive for the arrest and detention of Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor, two Canadian nationals, in China. They, too, should be treated in a fair, unbiased and transparent manner, in compliance with the rule of law."

Statement and Tweet (December 10, 2019)

<https://www.government.nl/documents/diplomatic-statements/2019/10/10/statement-on-the-detained-canadians-michael-kovrig-and-michael-spavor>

<https://twitter.com/DutchMFA/status/1204509910899277835>

The Netherlands published the following statement on their MFA website and twitter account: "Today it has been one year since Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor, two Canadian nationals, were detained in China. The Government of the Netherlands remains concerned about the declared motive for their

arrest and detention. Today is also Human Rights Day. The Netherlands believes that the rule of law is fundamental for any society that wishes to live in peace and security. Mr. Kovrig and Mr. Spavor, as all other detainees, should be able to count on authorities to act in a fair, unbiased and transparent manner, in compliance with the rule of law.”

Spain

Statement (January 17, 2019)

http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Portal/en/SalaDePrensa/Comunicados/Paginas/2019_COMUNICADOS/20190117_COMU008.aspx

“The fight against the death penalty being a priority of Spain’s Foreign Policy with regards to human rights, the Spanish Government expresses its concern for the death penalty sentence imposed by the Provincial Court of the Chinese province of Liaoning to the Canadian citizen Robert Lloyd Schellenberg. The Spanish Government also expresses its concern in regards to the detention in the People’s Republic of China of Canadian citizens Michael Kovrig y Michael Spavor last December. It supports the Canadian Government’s efforts to ensure that they receive a treatment that is fair, transparent and impartial in their respective judicial proceedings, and it is confident that the diplomatic channels can help to find a solution that is satisfactory as well as respectful of the rule of law.”

Sweden

Tweet (December 10, 2019)

The Swedish Ambassador to Canada retweeted MINA’s tweet:

https://twitter.com/FP_Champagne/status/1204146414319808512

United Kingdom

Statement (December 21, 2018)

<https://www.gov.uk/government/news/foreign-secretary-statement-on-canada-and-huawei>

Foreign Secretary Jeremy Hunt released a statement saying: “The UK has confidence Canada is conducting a fair and transparent legal proceeding with respect to Ms. Meng Wanzhou, the Chief Financial Officer of Huawei, respecting the international legal commitments in its extradition treaty with the United States. The UK and Canada share a commitment to the rule of law, which is fundamental to all free societies. I am deeply concerned by suggestions of a political motivation for the detention of two Canadian citizens by the Chinese government. I call for them to be treated in a fair, unbiased and transparent manner.”

Tweet (December 10, 2019)

<https://twitter.com/foreignoffice/status/1204403462387187712>

Foreign Secretary Dominic Raab tweeted: “Today marks one year since the detention of Canadian citizens, Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor by the Chinese government. I remain concerned about their detention. We stand with Canada on this issue.”

United States

Press Conference (December 14, 2018)

<https://www.state.gov/press-availability-at-the-u-s-canada-22-ministerial-2/>

Press Availability at the U.S. – Canada 2+2 Ministerial

SECRETARY POMPEO: “Yeah, we’re going to work to get every citizen unlawfully detained all around the world returned to the country to which they have the very right to go back to. We do this in cases for

our own people all the time. It's something, as Chrystia said, weighs on those of us who serve to try and make sure that our citizens do have the opportunity to be returned home to their families. We always believe in that, we'll always work on it, and we'll do it in this case as well."

Statement (December 21, 2018)

<https://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2018/12/288250.htm>

"Canada, a country governed by the rule of law, is conducting a fair, unbiased, and transparent legal proceeding with respect to Ms. Meng Wanzhou, the Chief Financial Officer of Huawei. Canada respects its international legal commitments by honoring its extradition treaty with the United States. We share Canada's commitment to the rule of law as fundamental to all free societies, and we will defend and uphold this principle. We also express our deep concern for the Chinese Government's detention of two Canadians earlier this month and call for their immediate release."

Meeting Readout (May 7, 2019)

<https://www.state.gov/secretary-pompeos-meeting-with-canadian-foreign-minister-chrystia-freeland-2/>

Secretary Pompeo's Meeting With Canadian Foreign Minister Chrystia Freeland

"The Secretary and the Foreign Minister expressed their continued concern for the ongoing detention of Canadian citizens Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor in China."

Congressional Resolution (May 7, 2019)

<https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/senate-resolution/96>

This resolution commends Canada for upholding the rule of law and complying with its obligations under its extradition treaty with the United States, in connection with Canada's arrest Meng Wanzhou, chief financial officer of Huawei Technologies Co., Ltd. It also expresses the Senate's concern over China's arbitrary and abusive treatment of Canadian nationals in response to Meng's detention, and calls for the immediate release of those individuals. (The United States requested the arrest of Meng, who stands accused of various crimes under U.S. law.)

Statement (May 30, 2019)

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/joint-statement-vice-president-mike-pence-canadian-prime-minister-justin-trudeau/>

Joint Statement by Vice President Mike Pence and Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau

For this reason, the United States and Canada stand together to firmly reject the wrongful detention of two Canadian citizens, Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor, and call for their immediate release. China's actions are damaging its international reputation and a deep concern for all countries that uphold the rule of law.

Press Conference (May 31, 2019)

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-vice-president-pence-press-gaggle-3/>

Remarks by Vice President Pence in Press Gaggle

Vice President Pence: "So I can assure you, in the days ahead, as we deal with the large structural issues that need to be addressed in our trading relationship with China, as we deal with a massive trade deficit with China, the President also will make it very clear that the United States stands with Canada and calls for the release of the Canadian citizens who are being detained."

Meeting Readout (June 12, 2019)

<https://www.state.gov/secretary-pompeos-meeting-with-canadian-foreign-minister-freeland/>
Secretary Pompeo's Meeting With Canadian Foreign Minister Freeland

The Secretary and the Foreign Minister emphasized their continued concern about the ongoing detention of Canadian citizens Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor in China and China's use of exit bans as a form of coercion.

Meeting Readout (June 20, 2019)

<https://www.state.gov/secretary-pompeos-call-with-canadian-foreign-minister-freeland-7/>
Secretary Pompeo's Call With Canadian Foreign Minister Freeland

The Secretary and the Foreign Minister reiterated their continued concern about the ongoing detention in China of Canadian citizens Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor.

Interview (August 22, 2019)

<https://www.state.gov/secretary-of-state-michael-r-pompeo-with-vassy-kapelos-of-cbc-power-and-politics/>

Secretary of State Michael R. Pompeo With Vassy Kapelos of CBC Power and Politics

[On whether China will release Michael Spavor and Michael Kovrig]: "I hope so. It's the right thing to do. It's always the case that what we ask of every country is just to honor their commitments. China talks about their commitment to rule of law, to the Vienna Convention, all the core principles that nations that are engaged in the international community properly do. We hope in this case they'll do the same. And more importantly than my prediction is the effort that we'll continue to make to say that this issue doesn't go away and that we bring every bit of diplomatic effort to this cause on behalf of these two Canadian citizens."

Press Conference (August 22, 2019)

<https://www.state.gov/secretary-of-state-michael-r-pompeo-and-canadian-foreign-minister-chrystia-freeland-at-a-press-availability/>

Secretary of State Michael R. Pompeo And Canadian Foreign Minister Chrystia Freeland At a Press Availability

"As I discussed with Prime Minister Trudeau as well as with Foreign Minister Freeland, the United States stands with Canada in the face of China's arbitrary and unacceptable detention of Canadian citizens. We're grateful too that Canada followed the rule of law and obtained – and detained a Huawei executive."

Meeting Readout (August 22, 2019)

<https://www.state.gov/secretary-pompeos-meeting-with-canadian-prime-minister-trudeau/>
Secretary Pompeo's Meeting with Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau

The Secretary reiterated his continued concern about the ongoing detention of Canadian citizens Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor in China.

Congressional Resolution (October 15, 2019)

[https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-resolution/521/text?q={%22search%22:\[%22hres521%22\]}&r=1&s=1](https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-resolution/521/text?q={%22search%22:[%22hres521%22]}&r=1&s=1)

Be it Resolved, That the House of Representatives—

(1) commends the Government of Canada for upholding the rule of law and complying with its international legal obligations, including those pursuant to the Extradition Treaty Between the United States of America and Canada, signed at Washington December 3, 1971;

(2) commends the Government of Canada for providing consular access and due process for Huawei Technologies Co., Ltd., chief financial officer Meng Wanzhou;

(3) expresses concern over the Government of the People's Republic of China's apparent arbitrary detention and abusive treatment of Canadian nationals Michael Spavor and Michael Kovrig in apparent retaliation for the Government of Canada's detention of Meng Wanzhou; and

(4) joins the Government of Canada in calling for the immediate release of Michael Spavor and Michael Kovrig and for due process for Canadian national Robert Schellenberg.

Statement and Tweet (December 10, 2019)

<https://twitter.com/SenateForeign/status/1204435369107886080>

U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee tweeted: "It's been a year since the unlawful detainment of Canadians Mr. Kovrig & Mr. Spavor in China. Today we reaffirm our unwavering support for #Canada & its resolve to uphold the rule of law, & reiterate that the CCP should immediately release Kovrig & Spavor."

<https://www.foreign.senate.gov/press/chair/release/risch-menendez-gardner-coons-mark-anniversary-of-the-chinese-governments-unlawful-detention-of-canadian-citizens-call-for-their-immediate-release->

U.S. Senators Jim Risch (R-Idaho) and Bob Menendez (D-N.J.), chairman and ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, along with Senator Cory Gardner (R-Colo.), chairman of the Subcommittee on East Asia, the Pacific, and International Cybersecurity Policy, and Senator Chris Coons (D-Del.) today recognized the anniversary of the Chinese government's detention of Canadian citizens Michal Kovrig and Michael Spavor in retaliation for Huawei Technologies Co, Ltd. Chief Financial Officer Meng Wanzhou's arrest by Canadian authorities. Kovrig and Spavor were detained on December 10, 2018, just nine days after Meng's arrest in Canada on December 1, 2018.

Tweet (December 10, 2019)

<https://twitter.com/usembassyottawa/status/1204533196618162177>

The U.S. Embassy to Ottawa issued the following tweet, which was retweeted by the State Department Spokesperson: "December 10 marks both International Human Rights Day and one year since the arbitrary and unlawful detentions of Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor. Today we renew our call on the Chinese Government to release these Canadian citizens who have been wrongfully detained without due process of law."

Meeting Readout (December 23, 2019)

<https://www.state.gov/secretary-pompeos-call-with-canadian-foreign-minister-champagne/>

Secretary Pompeo's Call with Canadian Foreign Minister Champagne

Secretary Pompeo and Foreign Minister Champagne discussed the arbitrary detention of two Canadian citizens, Michael Spavor and Michael Kovrig. The United States stands with Canada in calling on Beijing for the immediate release of the two men and rejects the use of these unjustified detentions to coerce Canada.

B. Multilateral Statements

European Union

Statement (December 21, 2018)

https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/55973/statement-arrest-and-detention-michael-kovrig-and-michael-spavor_nb

Statement by the Spokesperson on the arrest and detention of Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor

“The declared motive for the arrest and detention of Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor, both Canadian nationals, raises concerns about legitimate research and business practices in China. The denial of access to a lawyer under their status of detention is contrary to the right of defence. The European Union calls on the Chinese authorities to answer these concerns. The EU supports the efforts of the Canadian Government. As raised at the EU-China Human Rights Dialogue in July 2018, the EU has concerns about the implementation of the NGO law and its impact on our people-to-people relations and the operations of international NGOs operating in China.”

Tweet (January 9, 2019)

<https://twitter.com/eucopresident/status/1083003639642419201>

European Council President Donald Tusk tweeted: “Good phone call with PM @JustinTrudeau. Both Canada and EU stand by the rule of law underpinning the global order. EU calls for the release of the Canadian citizens detained in China.”

Press Release (April 2, 2019)

https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/60545/european-union-and-china-held-their-37th-human-rights-dialogue_en

The European Union and China held their 37th Human Rights Dialogue

“The EU also raised the cases of Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor, who have been arbitrarily detained, and Robert Schellenberg, who was sentenced to death without due process. The European Union reiterated its opposition to capital punishment in all cases and without exception.”

Resolution (April 18, 2019)

http://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-8-2019-0422_EN.pdf?redirect

European Parliament resolution of 18 April 2019 on China, notably the situation of religious and ethnic minorities

“The European Parliament [...] Calls for the immediate release of the Swedish national book publisher Gui Minhai and the two Canadian citizens Michael Spavor and Michael Kovrig.”

Tweets (December 10, 2019)

EU in Canada, EU Ambassador to Canada, and EEAS Managing Director for Asia and the Pacific liked Canada’s Dec. 10 statement.

G7 Foreign Ministers

Communique (April 6, 2019)

https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/international_relations-relations_internationales/g7/documents/2019-04-06-communique.aspx?lang=eng

"We are deeply concerned by recent arbitrary actions of Chinese authorities, including the arbitrary detention and sentencing of foreign citizens. We also emphasize the need for China to respect the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations and the immunities provided for in Article 39.2."

NATO Secretary General

Interview comment (January 31, 2019)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z1hKQnj-jIE&feature=youtu.be&t=1547>

Jens Stoltenberg, Secretary General of NATO: "I am following this case very closely with concern and NATO Allies including Canada and the United States have been clear that China should immediately release the two Canadians detained in December. And I call on Beijing to address Canada's serious concerns. We have to remember that NATO is founded on some core values: democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law. And that is also the reason why we follow this case with such great concern, and NATO expects that its citizens are treated fairly and with respect for due process."

C. Civil Society / Open Letters

German Academics (December 20, 2018)

<https://www.merics.org/en/china-flash/joint-statement-directors-six-berlin-based-policy-institutions-detention-canadian>

"As directors of policy institutions in Berlin, we express our deep concern and request information concerning the whereabouts and well-being of the three Canadian citizens, including Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor, who have been detained in China since last week. We urge for allegations against them to be clarified by the relevant Chinese authorities and expect objective and fair treatment in line with international standards. Developments such as these increase uncertainty and distrust among foreign scholars who regularly conduct research within China, as they fear for their safety. This will clearly undermine efforts to better understand developments in China and to further constructive relations between China and other countries."

Australian Scholars and Analysts (January 3, 2019)

<https://www.payneletter.com/>

"As Australian scholars and analysts, we are deeply concerned about the recent detentions of Canadian citizens Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor in the People's Republic of China," read an open letter to Ms. Payne from the experts. "We ask the Australian government without further delay to support Canada's call for the immediate release of these two detainees."

Scholars, Former Diplomats (from multiple countries) (January 21, 2019)

<https://www.kovrigandspavor.com/>

An Open Letter To President Xi Jinping Regarding Michael Kovrig And Michael Spavor

We, the undersigned scholars, former diplomats, and others with an interest in understanding China and building bridges, are deeply concerned about the recent detentions of Canadian citizens Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor. We request that you immediately release Messrs. Kovrig and Spavor so that they may be reunited with their families.

U.S. Academics (March 11, 2019)

<https://www.crisisgroup.org/joint-statement-calling-immediate-release-michael-kovrig>

Joint Statement Calling for the Immediate Release of Michael Kovrig

“China’s rise is the most consequential geopolitical trend of our time and managing the U.S.-China relationship will remain the foremost diplomatic challenge for many years to come. Independent policy research institutions can play an affirmative role in the U.S.-China relationship, framing the major policy debates, providing analysis from a variety of perspectives and disciplines, and offering innovative ideas and initiatives to mitigate conflict and enhance cooperation. At this moment of testing for the bilateral relationship – defined by growing differences and suspicions between our governments – we believe these efforts and the partnerships we’ve built with counterparts in China over many years are more important than ever. This is why we are particularly concerned by the detention of one of our colleagues, Michael Kovrig, a Canadian national working for the International Crisis Group. Michael’s arrest has a chilling effect on all those who are committed to advance constructive U.S.-China relations. We urge China to release Michael so that he can return to his family.”



Canada-China

ISSUE

- The current bilateral crisis highlights inherent and emerging challenges to Canada-China relations in an unsettled and uncertain geostrategic context.
- One year ahead of the 50th anniversary of diplomatic ties (October 2020), the relationship is at a fundamental juncture: while Canada has long framed its China policy through the lens of economic opportunity, it now needs to take account of Beijing's long-term strategic challenge to Canadian interests and values.

Context

The bilateral relationship with China is in unprecedented crisis, with relations at their lowest ebb since formal ties established in 1970. Following the December 1, 2018 arrest of Huawei's Meng Wanzhou, [REDACTED] by arbitrarily detaining and sentencing Canadian nationals, significantly disrupting canola seed exports and suspending all normal high-level bilateral dialogue mechanisms. Measures against canola in particular have led to a 1.4 percent decline of Canadian merchandise exports to China in the first half of 2019. The situation has been complicated by Beijing's response to recent tensions and violence in Hong Kong⁷ – home to a large Canadians diaspora.

As the PRC continues to bolster its assertive foreign policy demeanour, Canada must promote and defend its values in close partnership with like-minded allies and coalitions.

Despite recent developments (one formal bilateral meeting between foreign ministers, and the respective nominations of Ambassadors) the Chinese government's position remains unchanged. China's public [REDACTED] messaging remains that Canada must correct its "mistake" and release Meng, or relations will remain poor, if not deteriorate further. As the extradition process is likely to continue for months if not years, [REDACTED]

Meanwhile, Michael Spavor and Canadian Foreign Service Officer (on leave) Michael Kovrig continue to be detained on national security grounds. Information on their cases is extremely limited [REDACTED]

In 2019, Robert Schellenberg [REDACTED] Canadians received death sentences, [REDACTED]

Since December 2018, Canada has raised these and other bilateral issues at the highest levels of the Chinese government. Behind-the-scenes Canada has pursued more than 1,000 diplomatic engagements with a wide range of foreign interlocutors.

Inflection Point

Canada is at a fundamental juncture in its relationship with the PRC as the latter asserts its economic and geopolitical strength to harden its resolve. The crisis has demonstrated Beijing's readiness and ability to use aggressive political and economic levers to punish Canada (a pattern observed in China's other bilateral

⁷ See Canada-Hong-Kong Brief

relationships), and to propagate norms of international relations inimical to Canadian interests.

Over the past four decades, our sustained commercial engagement of China has resulted in it becoming Canada's third largest trading partner (four percent of total exports vs. 75 percent to the United States and 8 percent to the EU). While business continues, recent Chinese discriminatory trade policies against Canada have contributed to an increase in Canada's trade deficit with China (for the first half of 2019) as some Canadian exports have been restricted while Chinese imports continue unabated.

The PRC's [redacted] market presents a strategic challenge to Canadian trade policy, and the direction of bilateral relations going forward. In 2018, eight of our top ten exports to China were agricultural or natural resources. Canadian commercial interests that are dependent on the Chinese market are vulnerable to sudden and arbitrary trade disruptions. This is primarily true of commodities, but China is also Canada's second largest source of international students (24 percent) and tourists (more than six percent).

[redacted]

While opportunities exist, Canadian exporters and investors continue to experience problems in accessing and participating in the Chinese market by both formal and informal barriers. Many sectors are limited by restrictions to foreign participation (e.g. digital economy and advanced manufacturing).

Exploratory discussions on a potential FTA with China suggest that achieving satisfactory outcomes in all areas of interest to Canada would be challenging [redacted]

[redacted] While China's economy

drives a large proportion of global growth, FTA negotiations with China are off the table for many like-minded partners, some of whom see pressure at the WTO as the best means of securing rules-based trade with China.

Other Canadian Interests and Values

[redacted]

The Chinese government has been pushing for reforms to the global governance structure to reflect its rising status. China is no longer a rules-taker, but increasingly a rules-maker in the global arena, as exemplified by its establishment of the AIIB. The PRC promotes perspectives on governance, economic security, and human rights that diverge in fundamental ways from Canada's. For example, Canada, along with several like-minded, continues to call out Chinese authorities on grave human rights abuses against ethnic Uighur and other minorities in Xinjiang, while China applies pressure to support its narrative and governance model in Xinjiang. [redacted]

[redacted]

[REDACTED]

With respect to the current international rules-based system, the PRC tends to: endorse aspects [REDACTED] (climate change initiatives, asymmetrical access to advanced markets); redefine others to advance [REDACTED] interests (WTO reform); and to flout them where irreconcilable (South China Sea, human rights). The Chinese government also seeks to promote its ideology by inserting Communist Party of China (CPC) language in multilateral documents, challenging universal human rights with appeals to sovereignty and majoritarianism. This new-found voice in multilateral forums has allowed China to project its national interests globally and sets a path for the CPC to seek a [REDACTED] place on the world stage.

Meanwhile Canada's neighbours in the Western Hemisphere have found themselves at the sharp end of China's international assertiveness – constraining and complicating our engagement. The Chinese government has established alternative multilateral forums, such as the AIIB and Belt and Road Initiative to provide soft loans and infrastructure investment with fewer conditions. China has utilized these alternative forums to leverage its economic prowess to gain regional influence and export its model of governance around the world. Beijing commands new political leverage over an increasing number of vulnerable democracies in Latin America and the Caribbean, indirectly solidifying its preferred model [REDACTED] in the region [REDACTED]

Stuck in the Middle

The current bilateral crisis has put Canada at the center of a sharpening U.S. -China geopolitical rivalry, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] In recent years, China has made a practice, especially in Asia, of driving wedges between the United States and allies to mitigate its potential "containment". China has deployed variations of this strategy – wielding restrictions on market access and severing diplomatic engagement – against the United Kingdom, Australia, Japan, South Korea, Norway, and Sweden among others. The range of leverage and intimidation towards Taiwan, still considered by the PRC to be a "renegade" province, is even more intense, and is likely to test the limits of the current rules-based system.⁸

The United States, in turn, is deeply concerned with China's growing economic heft – exemplified in the BRI: a world-spanning push to expand China-centric supply routes by financing transport, communications and extractive infrastructure in partner nations. While critics have labeled this phenomenon "debt-trap diplomacy," BRI projects often address longstanding critical infrastructure gaps in developing countries; investments deemed too risky by Western donors and financial institutions. China also has an expansionist plan for its future in the Arctic [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

In the Canadian case, Meng's arrest was seen by Beijing as a U.S.-directed blow to China's innovation agenda. Washington, for its part, remains wary of Canada's interest in China-led infrastructure or investment projects – illustrated most vividly by ongoing

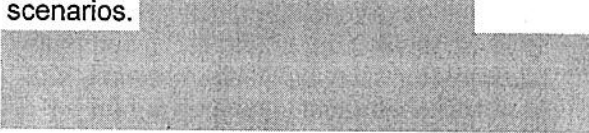
⁸ See North Asia and Oceania Brief

U.S. efforts to minimize Chinese participation in Canada's 5G network.

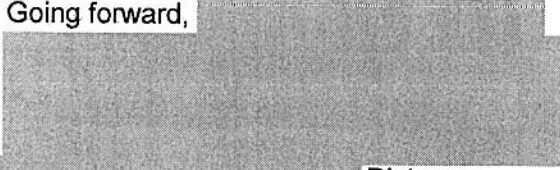
against Canada's long term interests and core values (without neglecting imperatives under the current crisis).

Engaging "Many Chinas"

While China's foreign policy is to support overarching goals of "national rejuvenation", legitimizing the CCP's authoritarian model, and shaping an international environment conducive to these ends, there are "many Chinas". There is the image of a global juggernaut, but also evidence that Beijing's assertiveness abroad seeks to compensate for fragility at home. Demographically, China's population is aging, lacks a functional social safety net (its "social credit" system tends to amplify inequalities), and will likely be overtaken by India's population in 2022. Similarly, while economic models predict that China's GDP will overtake the United States by the late 2020s, this growth is expected to level off shortly thereafter. Acute levels of environmental degradation, pollution, corruption, consumer debt, and other financial risks will continue to constrain "best case" economic development scenarios.



Going forward,



Distance, language, ideology, censorship, an opaque political system and greater CPC restrictions on exchanges compound the situation.

In normal times, China's transition towards a consumption-driven economy would mean widening opportunities for Canadian exporters in innovative sectors such as clean tech, consumer/health products and life sciences, including via e-commerce. However, these and other opportunities to engage (i. e. on less sensitive files and global issues including climate change, global health security), must be balanced