

CHINESE FOREIGN POLICIES, AND CANADA

CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICIES ARE NO LESS DYNAMIC THAN IT'S ECONOMIC POLICIES. IN THE MINDS OF CHINA'S EMPERORS AND MANDARINATE, CHINA CONSIDERED ITSELF TO BE THE MIDDLE KINGDOM, SITUATED NOT ONLY AT THE CENTRE OF THE WORLD, BUT INDEED AT THE CENTRE OF THE COSMOS.

TO UNDERSTAND CONTEMPORARY CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY, IT MAY BE USEFUL TO START WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT IN BROAD HISTORICAL TERMS, CHINA HAS MAINTAINED - USUALLY BY CHOICE - A REMARKABLE DEGREE OF ISOLATION FOR A MAJOR CULTURE. MUCH OF ITS INTERACTION WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD HAS BEEN FORCED UPON IT. INCREASINGLY, HOWEVER, THE NORMATIVE STATE FOR CHINA IN THE WORLD IS ONE OF ENGAGEMENT, ~~ALBEIT AS THE DOMINANT POWER AND SINCE~~ C ~~POWER MATTERS,~~ EXERCISING THE PREROGATIVES THAT ARISE FROM ITS GREAT SIZE, POPULATION AND, INCREASINGLY, ECONOMIC WEIGHT.

THE SECOND POINT TO MAKE IS THAT WITH RESPECT TO CHINA, AS WITH EVERY OTHER COUNTRY WHERE NATIONAL INTERESTS SPILL SIGNIFICANTLY ACROSS BORDERS, IT'S BETTER TO SPEAK OF FOREIGN POLICIES IN THE PLURAL. GRAND, STRATEGIC VISIONS, OVER-RIDING PRINCIPLES, FUNDAMENTAL SECURITY CONCERNS, GEOGRAPHIC IMPERATIVES, THESE DEFINE THE BROAD SCOPE OF FOREIGN POLICY. BUT IN TODAY'S WORLD, THEY ALONE CANNOT DEFINE A COUNTRY'S FOREIGN RELATIONS, ONLY THE FRAMEWORK.

ON A DAY TO DAY BASIS, FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION RANGES FAR BEYOND THE WORK OF CHANCERIES AND FOREIGN MINISTRIES, INVOLVING A PLETHORA OF GOVERNMENT INTERESTS AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS.

FOR PURPOSES OF ARGUMENT AND SIMPLICITY, ONE CAN SPEAK OF ISSUES WHICH DIRECTLY ENGAGE THE TOP LEADERS OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE STATE COUNCIL, THOSE ISSUES THAT GO TO THE HEART OF NATIONAL INTEREST. THEN, THERE ARE THOSE ISSUES WHICH ARE MANAGED BY MINISTERS, MINISTRIES AND GOVERNMENT AGENCIES. THIS SIMPLE DICHOTOMY IS USEFUL AS A TOOL TO UNDERSTAND HOW CHINA, AND INDEED CANADA, INTERACTS WITH THE WORLD.

LET ME FIRST OUTLINE SOME OF THE BROAD FOREIGN POLICY PRINCIPLES THAT SHAPE CHINA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS TODAY.

DESPITE THE VAST TRANSFORMATION THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE IN CHINA SINCE THE REVOLUTION, I CONSIDER THAT ZHOU ENLAI'S FIVE FOREIGN POLICY PRINCIPLES, REMAIN IMPORTANT. FIRST ENUNCIATED IN 1955, THEY CONTINUE TO PROVIDE VALUABLE GUIDANCE TO CHINA'S DIPLOMATS AND INTERNATIONAL PLAYERS.

"SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY" EXPRESSED THE INTENTION OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TO RE-INTEGRATE THE TERRITORIES OF HONG KONG, MACAO AND TAIWAN INTO THE CHINESE NATION. THE ACCEPTANCE BY TAIWAN OF "ONE CHINA" REMAINS ONE OF THE TOUCHSTONES OF CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY.

“NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS” CONTINUES TO EXPRESS CHINA’S POLITICAL SENSITIVITY OVER TIBET, XINJIANG AND TAIWAN AS WELL AS THEIR DISCOMFORT WITH ANY COMMENT ON THEIR OWN INTERNAL POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS.

“NON-AGGRESSION” REMAINS ESSENTIAL BUT IS NOT A SELF-IMPOSED PROHIBITION AGAINST USING MILITARY FORCE. BORDER WARS AND CONFLICT WITH INDIA, VIETNAM AND THE FORMER SOVIET UNION, NOT TO SPEAK OF THE THREAT OF FORCE AGAINST TAIWAN, CLARIFY THE LIMITS ON THE MEANING OF “NON-AGGRESSION”. NEVERTHELESS, “NON-AGGRESSION” BEST DESCRIBES CHINA’S CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY. NO ONE ARGUES IN FAVOUR OF CONQUEST OR MILITARY THREATS AS A MEANS OF ADVANCING CHINA’S OVERALL INTERESTS.

“EQUAL AND MUTUAL BENEFIT” IS AN UN-ARGUABLE OPENER IN ANY BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATION, AND ECHOES MEMORIES OF A PAST WHEN SUCH TREATMENT WAS NOT PERCEIVED TO BE THE NORM. ONE OF THE FIRST ACTS OF THE PRC GOVERNMENT AFTER THE REVOLUTION WAS TO ABROGATE UNILATERALLY 1,175 TREATIES IT CONSIDERED TO BE UNEQUAL OR OF INSUFFICIENT BENEFIT.

“PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE”, WHILE RETAINING A COLD WAR PATINA, SPEAKS OF THE NEED TO ACCORD CHINA A BREATHING SPACE AS IT MAKES ITS WAY TO BECOMING A DEVELOPED COUNTRY.

THERE ARE OTHER OPERATING PRINCIPLES TODAY.

SINCE THE LATE 1970s, CHINA HAS INCREASINGLY FOCUSED ATTENTION ON MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY, FOR WHAT MIGHT BE CALLED AN ACTIVIST IMPERATIVE, WHICH IS NOW THE NORM AND MOST RECENTLY EXEMPLIFIED BY CHINA'S ADMISSION TO THE WTO. OTHER RECENT EXAMPLES OF THIS ACTIVIST MULTILATERALISM INCLUDE PREMIER ZHU RONGJI'S PROPOSAL FOR A CHINA/ASEAN TRADE AREA, GREATER ENGAGEMENT IN THE ASEAN REGIONAL FORUM, ENHANCED COMMITMENT TO CURBING WEAPONS PROLIFERATION, AND SO FORTH. CHINA, FOR ALL INTENTS AND PURPOSES, IS NOW A FORCE TO BE RECKONED WITH IN ALMOST ALL OF THE WORLD'S MAJOR AND MINOR MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS.

THE "ECONOMIC IMPERATIVE" COULD BE THE DEFINING CONTRIBUTION OF DENG XIAOPING TO CHINA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. ECONOMIC REFORM IN CHINA HAS RESTED ON TWO BASIC PILLARS: FIRSTLY, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MARKET ECONOMY, AND IT'S PRINCIPAL ENGINE, PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF MEANS OF PRODUCTION; AND SECONDLY, INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS. AS WE ALL KNOW, CHINA DIDN'T WAIT TO JOIN THE WTO TO BEGIN RESTRUCTURING IT'S INTERNATIONAL TRADING REGIME, OR TO DEVELOP THE POLICIES TO ALLOW FOREIGN INVESTMENT INTO THE COUNTRY. THIS PROCESS BEGAN IN THE LATE 1970s.

WITH MEMBERSHIP TO THE WTO, AS WELL AS ALL OF THE BRETTON WOODS INSTITUTIONS, AND THROUGH ECONOMIC AND TRADE TIES WITH VIRTUALLY EVERY COUNTRY ON THE GLOBE, FOREIGN AND ECONOMIC POLICIES HAVE COMBINED TO SHAPE CHINA'S

INTERNATIONAL POSTURE.

THE OTHER IMPERATIVES ARE DEFINED BY CHINA'S KEY BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS: WITH ITS NEIGHBOURS, ESPECIALLY, RUSSIA, INDIA, THE KOREAN PENINSULA, SOUTHEAST ASIA AND, INCREASINGLY, THE CENTRAL ASIAN REPUBLICS.

OF OVERWHELMING SIGNIFICANCE, AND AS A KEY DETERMINANT OF FOREIGN POLICY, IT IS NECESSARY TO POINT TO THE UNITED STATES-CHINA RELATIONSHIP. THIS RELATIONSHIP SETS A NUMBER OF PARAMETERS FOR CHINA: SECURITY, STRATEGY AT THE UN AND OTHER MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS, OF COURSE, TAIWAN AND ECONOMIC GROWTH THROUGH TRADE. IT IS, IN MANY WAYS, CHINA'S DEFINING RELATIONSHIP, VERY MUCH AS IT IS FOR CANADA AND MANY OTHER COUNTRIES. IT IS THE ONE MOST WORTH WATCHING, AND UNDERSTANDING.

WHAT IS CANADA'S PLACE IN THIS STRUCTURE?

CANADA'S INTERESTS INTERSECT PERIODICALLY WITH THE HIGH POLICIES OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT. THE KOREAN WAR PUT US IN ARMED CONFLICT WITH CHINA FOR THREE YEARS, SOMETHING THAT CHINESE AUTHORITIES, FROM TIME TO TIME, CHOOSE TO RECALL.

BUT LESS THAN SEVEN YEARS AFTER THE KOREAN ARMISTICE, CHINA CHOSE TO ADDRESS SOME OF THE SERIOUS FOOD SHORTAGES ARISING FROM THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD BY PURCHASING, INITIALLY IN CASH, WHEAT FROM CANADA, RATHER THAN FROM

THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH WAS OFFERING CREDIT TERMS. CANADA WAS THE FIRST COUNTRY WITH WHICH CHINA ESTABLISHED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, IN 1970, FOLLOWING FIVE YEARS OF DIPLOMATIC PARALYSIS RESULTING FROM THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION.

SINCE THE 1980s, CANADA'S ENCOUNTERS WITH MATTERS OF HIGH POLICY IN CHINA HAVE BEEN SIGNIFICANT. ECONOMIC AND TRADE RELATIONS HAVE PROVIDED ONGOING INTERACTION, INCLUDING AT THE POLITICAL LEVEL. THE PERSONAL ENGAGEMENT OF PRIME MINISTER JEAN CHRÉTIEN, RECIPROCATED BY PRESIDENT JIANG ZEMIN AND PREMIERS LI PENG AND ZHU RONGJI, AS WELL AS NUMEROUS VICE-PREMIERS, HAS PROVEN THAT, FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES, CANADA IS A COUNTRY WHICH CAN HELP CHINA WITH ITS ECONOMIC MODERNIZATION.

IN MORE PROSAIC TERMS, CANADA FITS INTO CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY AS A COUNTRY WITH WHICH IT CAN ENTERTAIN A PRODUCTIVE, LOW COST RELATIONSHIP WITH A TRADITIONAL PARTNER WHO IS A G-8 MEMBER, A CLOSE ALLY OF THE USA, A PACIFIC NEIGHBOUR, AND AN ACTIVIST FOREIGN POLICY PLAYER.

WE ARE AN IMPORTANT PARTNER FOR THE ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION OF CHINA IN KEY SECTORS, SUCH AS AEROSPACE, GROUND AND AIR TRANSPORTATION, TELECOMMUNICATIONS, ENVIRONMENT, ENERGY (GIVEN THE CANDU PROJECT IN QINGSHAN), S&T, FINANCIAL MARKETS AND SERVICES.

THE CHINESE RECOGNIZE THAT WE HAVE STATE OF THE ART MANUFACTURING SKILLS, WORLD CLASS PRODUCTS AND SERVICES.

THE CHINESE LOOK TO CANADA FOR LESSONS IN ADMINISTRATIVE AND ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE, FOR EXAMPLE, THE ADMINISTRATION OF FINANCIAL MARKETS, AGRICULTURE POLICIES, ENVIRONMENT, HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RULE OF LAW.

AND LET'S NOT BE SHY: CHINESE WHO SEEK TO LEARN FROM CANADA ARE FROM ALL LEVELS OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PARTY, FROM THE SUPREME COURT, THE PROCURATORATE, MINISTRIES OF AGRICULTURE, COMMUNICATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE, THE CHINA SECURITIES REGULATORY COMMISSION, THE PEOPLE'S BANK OF CHINA, THE STATE DEVELOPMENT PLANNING COMMISSION, THE CHINESE ACADEMY OF SCIENCE, AND MOST RECENTLY, THE CENTRAL PARTY SCHOOL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

THE CHINESE VALUE OUR DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION PROGRAMS, NOT FOR THEIR SIZE, BUT FOR THEIR INNOVATION.

AND MOVING BEYOND GOVERNMENT, CHINA SEES CANADA AS AN IDEAL EDUCATION DESTINATION, AND PARTNER; A TOURISM DESTINATION AND, INCREASINGLY, IN THE FUTURE, A SOURCE OF INSPIRATION FOR THE ARTS AND THE INTELLECT.

SO WE HAVE OUR PLACE IN CHINA'S WORLD, AS CHINA HAS A PLACE IN OURS.

ONE REMARKABLE FACT IN THE CANADA-CHINA RELATIONS IS THE

IMPORTANT ROLE PLAYED BY KEY INDIVIDUALS. NORMAN BETHUNE - IN HIS SELF-LESS DEVOTION TO THE CHINESE REVOLUTION - DEFINES THE CANADIAN CHARACTER FOR HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF CHINESE. MARK ROWSWELL, KNOWN IN CHINA AS DASHAN, PROVIDES A PICTURE OF CONTEMPORARY CANADIANS.

PIERRE TRUDEAU, IN ESTABLISHING THE RELATIONSHIP, AND PRIME MINISTER JEAN CHRÉTIEN, THROUGH EXEMPLARY PERSONAL ENGAGEMENT AND TWO MASSIVE TEAM CANADA VISITS, HAVE DEFINED, FOR CHINA'S LEADERSHIP, CANADA'S CHINA STRATEGY. ALVIN HAMILTON - WITH THE FIRST WHEAT PURCHASES AND PAUL DESMARAIS'S ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CANADA CHINA BUSINESS COUNCIL WERE PIONEERS IN DEVELOPING OUR ECONOMIC LINKAGES.

THESE INDIVIDUALS, AND THOUSANDS OF OTHER CANADIANS, HAVE BUILT A RELATIONSHIP WHOSE POLITICAL DIMENSIONS HAVE FEW RIVALS IN CANADA'S FOREIGN POLICIES. THEY HAVE UNDERSTOOD - INDEED MANY OF YOU IN THE AUDIENCE HAVE UNDERSTOOD - WHAT CHINA'S ECONOMIC GROWTH, ITS ENGAGEMENT IN THE WTO AND ITS RISING MIDDLE CLASS MEAN FOR CANADA'S ECONOMIC PROSPERITY AND TRANS-PACIFIC LINKAGES.

OUR INTERESTS HOWEVER ARE NOT DEFINED SOLELY BY THE ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP. ONE MILLION CHINESE-CANADIANS ALSO DEFINE THAT RELATIONSHIP. THE MEDIA PLAY THEIR ROLE AS WELL: CBC, CTV, THE GLOBE&MAIL, THE TORONTO STAR, MACLEANS HAVE A PRESENCE IN GREATER CHINA, AND PROVIDE NEWS FROM THE PRC FROM A CANADIAN PERSPECTIVE.

OUR SECURITY INTERESTS ARE ENGAGED, GIVEN OUR TRADITIONAL ROLE IN THE KOREAN PENINSULA AND THE DAMAGE THAT CONFLICT IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC COULD CAUSE TO CANADIAN INTERESTS.

AND OUR GLOBAL INTERESTS OF PROMOTING HUMAN RIGHTS, DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT AND GOOD GOVERNANCE PLAY OUT IN CHINA AS WELL.

SO, OUR JOB, OUR COLLECTIVE JOB, IS TO GET OUT OF THE RELATIONSHIP AS MUCH BENEFIT, AS CHINA SEEKS TO OBTAIN FROM US.

AFTER A YEAR IN CHINA, BUT BASED ON A LIFE-TIME OF INTEREST AND OBSERVATION, I HAVE COME TO THE FIRM CONCLUSION THAT, IN THIS RELENTLESSLY GLOBALIZING WORLD, CANADA WILL NOT ACHIEVE ITS OWN, FULL POTENTIAL WITHOUT ENGAGING, CONNECTING AND PROFITING FROM RELATIONS WITH THIS 21ST CENTURY CHINA;

I AM QUITE CONVINCED THAT CHINA CAN BE A KEY INTERNATIONAL PARTNER, MARKET, AND DESTINATION, WHETHER WE ARE A BUSINESS PERSON, A TOURIST, A GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT, A UNIVERSITY OR A TOURING GROUP OF ARTISTS;

INSTITUTIONS AND BUSINESSES THAT HAVE AN INTERNATIONAL VOCATION OWE IT TO THEMSELVES, THEIR BOARDS, THEIR SHAREHOLDERS AND THEIR CLIENTS TO DECIDE WHETHER CHINA'S GROWTH AND POTENTIAL CAN SERVE THEIR INTERESTS AS WELL; IN

OTHER WORDS, IT IS TIME TO CONSIDER A CHINA STRATEGY; THE DECISION HAS TO BE MADE BY INDIVIDUALS AND THEIR ORGANIZATIONS; IT MAY BE NEGATIVE, OR POSITIVE;

BUT IN MAKING THESE CORPORATE OR INSTITUTIONAL DECISIONS, WE SHOULD BE AWARE THAT WE CAN PURSUE OUR INDIVIDUAL STRATEGIES, ON THE BASIS OF THE SIGNIFICANT STRENGTHS I HAVE JUST OUTLINED: A STRONG NATIONAL IMAGE, ESPECIALLY AMONG THE POLITICAL ELITES; THE ENGAGEMENT OF CHINESE-CANADIANS; THE COMMITMENT OF OUR PRIME MINISTER; THE TRACK RECORDS OF OUR COMPANIES;

WE HAVE THE MOST ACTIVE OF ALL OF CANADA'S BILATERAL BUSINESS ASSOCIATIONS, THROUGH THE WORKINGS OF THE CANADA CHINA BUSINESS COUNCIL;

WE HAVE AN ACTIVE BILATERAL AGENDA: PARLIAMENTARY RELATIONS, HUMAN RIGHTS DIALOGUE, DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION, ENVIRONMENT;

THESE AND INNUMERABLE OTHER LINKAGES ARE THE WARP AND WOOF OF RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR NATIONS; THEY ARE STRONG AND ACTIVE;

BUT AS BUSINESSES AND INSTITUTIONS, AND EVEN AT THE LEVEL OF INDIVIDUALS, OUR APPRECIATION OF THE DYNAMIC THAT IS TODAY'S CHINA MAY NEED UPDATING; IT CERTAINLY DID FOR ME.

MY HOPE IS THAT THESE BRIEF REMARKS WILL INSPIRE YOU TO

CONSIDER THE PLACE OF CHINA IN YOUR FUTURE.