

JAPANESE STUDIES ASSOCIATION OF CANADA

*CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY AND THE ACADEMIC
WORLD*

I AM PLEASED TO HAVE BEEN INVITED.

TONIGHT IS THE FINAL EVENT OF THE JACS, IT'S LATE SATURDAY EVENING, THE COCKTAILS AND WINE HAVE DONE THEIR WORK. YOU PROBABLY WANT ME TO MAKE THIS AS LEAST DEMANDING AS POSSIBLE, AND I AM GENERALLY HAPPY TO OBLIGE. YOU EXPECT ME TO TALK ABOUT WHAT IS HAPPENING IN JAPAN, POLITICALLY, DIPLOMATICALLY, ECONOMICALLY, AND OF COURSE I WILL.

BUT I DON'T WANT TO MAKE IT TOO EASY. I AM HERE THANKS TO CANADIAN TAX PAYERS COVERING MY COSTS AND MANY OF YOU ARE HERE BECAUSE OF GRANTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

FROM YOUR UNIVERSITIES AND THE JAPAN FOUNDATION. SO WE ALL HAVE TO WORK AT LEAST A BIT TONIGHT.

IN THAT SPIRIT, I WANT FIRST TO POSE A CHALLENGE TO YOU, AS SCHOLARS AND ACADEMICS. I WANT YOU TO THINK ABOUT AN ISSUE THAT PREOCCUPIES ME, BUT ONE WHICH, AS ACADEMICS, YOU HAVE MORE SKILLS, KNOWLEDGE AND – I LIKE TO ASSUME, TIME – TO PONDER.

AFTER I'VE DONE THAT, YOU CAN SIT BACK AND WE CAN CHAT ABOUT TODAY'S JAPAN, AND CANADA'S CURRENT RELATIONS WITH THAT GREAT COUNTRY.

MOST JSAC MEMBERS ARE ACADEMICS, FAMILIAR WITH THEORIES, BE THEY LITERARY, HISTORIOGRAPHIC, POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC. SOME OF YOU HAVE WORKED IN GOVERNMENT OR BUSINESS, AND HAVE BROUGHT BOTH EXPERIENCE AND SCHOLARLY KNOWLEDGE TO BEAR ON YOUR UNDERSTANDING OF REAL WORLD AS WELL AS THEORETICAL ISSUES.

I AM NOT A SCHOLAR, AND IF TRUTH BE TOLD, MY FORMAL STUDIES WERE JUST ENOUGH TO GET ME INTO THE FOREIGN SERVICE. WHILE I HAVE SPENT VIRTUALLY ALL OF MY PROFESSIONAL LIFE AS A MEMBER OF THE DEPARTMENTS RESPONSIBLE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE, I ALSO WORKED IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR FOR A FEW YEARS IN THE 1980s.

AS A WORKING DIPLOMAT AND AMBASSADOR, I AM FREQUENTLY ASKED TO DRAW FROM MY EXPERIENCES ON THE GROUND IN PLACES LIKE INDOCHINA AND CHINA AND JAPAN, AND SPEAK MORE GENERALLY ABOUT CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY, OR GLOBAL POLITICAL OR SECURITY OR ECONOMIC ISSUES. GIVEN THAT I HAVE SPENT 23 OF 35 YEARS AS A DIPLOMAT IN THE FIELD RATHER THAN AT HEADQUARTERS, WHERE FOREIGN POLICIES ARE DEVELOPED AND DECIDED, THIS IS A BIT LIKE ASKING AN AUTO MECHANIC TO TALK ABOUT THE GLOBAL AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY.

OF COURSE, AS A SENIOR DIPLOMAT WITH MORE THAN A FEW GREY HAIRS, OVER THE YEARS, I HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN

EVERYTHING FROM PLANNING VISITS OF PRIME MINISTERS AND BUSINESS PEOPLE, TO MANAGING CANADA'S PARTICIPATION IN G-8 AND APEC SUMMITS, TO DRAFTING STRATEGIES THAT SEEK TO OBTAIN FOR CANADA BENEFITS FROM RELATIONS WITH COUNTRIES AS DIVERSE AS CHINA AND SOUTH AFRICA, AND THEN TO IMPLEMENTING THESE STRATEGIES.

ONE THING THAT I HAVE ONLY RARELY BEEN ASKED TO DO HOWEVER IS REFLECT UPON, OR PLAN CANADA'S OVERALL DIPLOMATIC STRATEGY, IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBAL OR EVEN REGIONAL POWER BALANCES. MORE USUALLY, MY COLLEAGUES AND I ARE TASKED TO DEVELOP TACTICS TO ACHIEVE VERY SPECIFIC NATIONAL GOALS, DEFINED BY OUR PRIME MINISTER AND MEMBERS OF THE CABINET, ESPECIALLY THE FOREIGN AND TRADE MINISTERS, AGAINST A BACKDROP OF LAWS AND REGULATIONS PASSED BY PARLIAMENT. GRAND STRATEGIES - FOREIGN POLICY FOR CANADIANS, THE INTERNATIONAL POLICY STATEMENT - APPEAR BUT RARELY, EVERY DECADE OR SO, AND ARE USUALLY DRAFTED AND APPROVED BY A VERY LIMITED NUMBER OF POLICY PLANNERS,

DEPUTY MINISTERS AND MEMBERS OF THE CABINET. INDEED, THE GOVERNMENT OF MISTER HARPER HAS SO FAR REJECTED GRAND STRATEGIES, REMOVING THE 2004 INTERNATIONAL POLICY STATEMENT FROM GOVERNMENT WEB SITES, IN FAVOR OF SPEECHES DRAFTED IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE AND IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND ADDRESSING VERY SPECIFIC POLICY ISSUES.

EVEN LESS HAVE I BEEN ASKED TO SITUATE CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICIES IN A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, TO ENSURE THAT THESE POLICIES ARE CONSISTENT WITH, SAY, LIBERAL OR REALIST ANALYSIS, OR WORLD SYSTEM THEORIES.

IN FACT, I DON'T KNOW OF ANYONE WHO HAS EVER BEEN TASKED WITH THIS. WHILE WE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS REGULARLY SEEK THE VIEWS OF ACADEMIA ON STRATEGIES AND TACTICS FOR DEALING WITH BILATERAL OR MULTILATERAL ISSUES, WE NEVER, IN MY EXPERIENCE, SEEK YOUR VIEWS ON HOW TO HARMONIZE THEORY AND PRACTICE.

AS A MATTER OF FACT, MANY OF MY COLLEAGUES AND I DO SEEK TO UNDERSTAND THE WORLD IN WHICH WE WORK, USING THE TOOLS OF THEORY. INDEED, QUITE A NUMBER OF DIPLOMATS COME TO THE TRADE HAVING STUDIED, FORMALLY, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY, DIPLOMATIC HISTORY, AREA STUDIES, CANADIAN HISTORY, AND CANADIAN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. SOME POLITICAL SCIENCE GRADUATES HAVE DELVED INTO MACHIAVELLI, SUNZI, OR CONTEMPORARY ANALYSTS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SUCH AS RAYMOND ARON OR KENNETH WALTZ OR ROBERT KOEHANE AND HENRY KISSINGER, AND OTHERS WHO HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY ABOUT DOMESTIC POLITICS AS WELL AS INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY. AND A FEW OF OUR COLLEAGUES REGULARLY PUBLISH BOOKS AND PAPERS IN THEIR OWN RIGHT, ON FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES. DAVID MALONE CERTAINLY COMES TO MIND IN THIS CONTEXT. MOST OF US READ FOREIGN AFFAIRS JOURNALS, BUT THESE DON'T USUALLY DELVE IN THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO IR.

I AM NOT A SCHOLAR, SO MY VIEWS ON THESE THINGS ARE CASUAL IN THE EXTREME, BUT FROM WHERE I SIT, THERE ARE

REGRETTABLE DISCONNECTS BETWEEN THE PRACTICE OF CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY AND THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS THAT ARE TAUGHT IN UNIVERSITIES AND GRADUATE SCHOOLS, OR THAT ARE AVAILABLE FOR REFERENCE AND USAGE.

MUCH OF THE IR THEORY THAT ONE READS IS INFORMED BY BROAD WESTERN HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE.

FIRSTLY, TO GROSSLY OVER-SIMPLIFY, THE HISTORY OF MODERN DIPLOMACY AND ATTENDANT THEORY TENDS TO BE CO-TERMINUS WITH EUROPEAN HISTORY FROM THE 16TH CENTURY ONWARD, WITH ATTENTION PRIMARILY FOCUSED ON CREATING, MAINTAINING OR CHALLENGING THE CONTINENTAL BALANCE OF POWER. THIS WAS A GAME FOR KINGDOMS AND PRINCIPALITIES LARGE AND SMALL FOR A VERY LONG TIME.

THAT WORLD WAS BROUGHT TO AN END BY THE EXPERIENCE OF THE TWO WORLD WARS AND THE EMERGENCE IN MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY OF AN EXISTENTIAL CONFLICT BETWEEN

DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNISM, OR NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT, OR IF YOU WANT TO REDUCE IT TO ITS ESSENTIALS, THE USA AND THE USSR.

MUCH OF THE THEORY THAT WAS DEVELOPED IN THE LAST CENTURY ADDRESSED PRIMARILY THE CONFLICT BETWEEN LARGE POWERS, AND THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THOSE POWERS AND LESS POWERFUL REGIONS AND INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES. FROM WHAT I SEE, NOT MUCH ATTENTION HAS BEEN GIVEN TO RECONCILING THE GRAND THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTS OF LIBERALISM, REALISM, GAME THEORY, EXPECTED UTILITY THEORY OR WHAT NOT, WITH THE REALITY FACED BY LESS MILITARILY SIGNIFICANT COUNTRIES SUCH AS CANADA, AS WE WORK TO ASSERT A POSITIVE AND INFLUENTIAL ROLE IN THE WORLD, AND ADVANCE OUR INTERESTS.

HANS MORGENTHAU WROTE, DISMISSIVELY, THAT COUNTRIES WHICH ARE NOT INVOLVED IN POWER POLITICS COULD NOT ASPIRE TO BE THE SUBJECT OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS.

UNLESS STATES SIGNIFICANTLY INFLUENCE THE BIG LEAGUES, THEY CANNOT REALLY BE THE SUBJECT OF IR THEORY.

BY THAT DEFINITION, VERY FEW COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD WOULD MERIT THE ATTENTION OF SCHOLARS AND THEORISTS OF IR. THIS SITUATION MAY REDUCE THE WORK LOAD OF ACADEMIA, BUT IT DOESN'T HELP GOVERNMENTS THAT ARE DEFINED AS LESS THAN RELEVANT TO MANAGE THEIR FOREIGN POLICIES.

FOR THE FACT OF COURSE IS THAT ALL STATES ARE ACTORS ON THE WORLD STAGE, EVEN IF THEIR GLOBAL INFLUENCE IS MINUSCULE. THE REPUBLIC OF SAN MARINO HAS ITS EMBASSY JUST BEHIND OURS IN TOKYO, AND THE VATICAN HAS DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH 178 COUNTRIES. THEY DON'T INFLUENCE THE COURSE OF WORLD EVENTS VERY MUCH, BUT THEY DO HAVE TO DEAL WITH THE REALITIES BEYOND THEIR BORDERS.

THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS THAT WHETHER STATES ARE POWERFUL OR NOT, THEY ALL HAVE FOREIGN POLICIES AND THEY HAVE FOREIGN RELATIONS.

THERE ARE MANY DEFINITIONS OF THE MEANING OF “FOREIGN POLICY” AND I AM NEITHER CAPABLE NOR INCLINED TO DEVELOP A NEW ONE. NEVERTHELESS, FROM WHERE I SIT, THE PRINCIPLES OF FOREIGN POLICY HAVE TO START WITH THE NOTION THAT A COUNTRY’S FOREIGN POLICY IS, FIRST AND FOREMOST, A STATEMENT OF NATIONAL OBJECTIVES THAT ARE TO BE PURSUED BEYOND STATE BORDERS. FOREIGN POLICY SHOULD FIRST SET PRIORITIES AMONG OBJECTIVES OF DOMESTIC ORIGIN, AND DEFINE THE MEANS AND THE RESOURCES TO BE MADE AVAILABLE IN ORDER TO OBTAIN BENEFITS THAT CANNOT OTHERWISE BE OPTIMIZED EXCLUSIVELY AT HOME.

CANADA’S FOREIGN POLICY, CERTAINLY OVER THE LAST 40 YEARS, HAS EMBRACED THE UNSURPRISING OBJECTIVES OF ENSURING OUR NATIONAL SECURITY AND SECURING OUR PROSPERITY, AS WELL AS A VIGOROUS PROMOTION OF CERTAIN

HUMAN VALUES WHICH WE BELIEVE TO BE UNIVERSAL. MR. HARPER'S REFERENCE TO "OUR PRAGMATIC INTERESTS AND NOBLE ASPIRATIONS" IN HIS UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY SPEECH LATE LAST MONTH CAPTURES THE ESSENCE OF THESE OBJECTIVES.

WE, IN THE FIELD, TAKE THESE BROAD OBJECTIVES AS OUR MARCHING ORDERS, AND THEN MAKE THEM PARTICULAR TO THE BILATERAL OR MULTILATERAL VENUES IN WHICH WE WORK. THIS IS WHERE POLICY AND PRACTICE COME TOGETHER.

SO, FOR THOSE OF US WHO LOOK AT THESE THINGS, WE HAVE A THREE-LEVEL ARCHITECTURE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY, LARGELY BASED ON BIG POWER POLITICS, FOREIGN POLICY BASED ON LONG TERM CANADIAN INTERESTS AND THE MANAGEMENT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS, WHICH IS THE STUFF OF DIPLOMACY.

MY CHALLENGE TO CANADIAN ACADEMIA IS FOR YOU TO PROVIDE TO OUR POLITICAL LEADERS AND TO WE PRACTITIONERS AN ANALYTICAL STRUCTURE THAT COMBINES

THESE THREE LEVELS: AN IR THEORY THAT REFLECTS THE REALITIES FACED BY CANADA IN TODAY'S GLOBALIZED WORLD; CANADIAN NATIONAL FOREIGN POLICY AS ARTICULATED OVER THE YEARS BY A SUCCESSION OF GOVERNMENTS; AND THE DAY-TO-DAY MANAGEMENT OF CANADA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS.

PERHAPS THE DEVELOPMENT OF SUCH A CONSISTENT, SELF-CONTAINED AND COMPREHENSIVE STRUCTURE IS TOO AMBITIOUS A GOAL. IT IS PROBABLY MORE FEASIBLE – NOT TO SAY PRACTICAL - TO COMBINE IR THEORY, FOREIGN POLICY AND FOREIGN RELATIONS WHEN LOOKING AT A MORE DISCRETE SET OF ISSUES, SUCH AS ARMS CONTROL, OR BILATERAL RELATIONS, SUCH AS CANADA'S INTENSE TIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, OR THE EVOLUTION OF ITS FUTURE LINKAGES WITH EAST ASIA.

I'LL ADMIT THAT THE PURPOSE OF POSING SUCH A CHALLENGE IS DRIVEN BY PRACTICAL RATHER THAN THEORETICAL CONCERNS. OUR MASTERS IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE CANADA IN OTTAWA AND WE IN

EMBASSIES AROUND THE WORLD MUST FACE, ON AN ONGOING BASIS, THE REAL WORLD CHALLENGES OF UNDERSTANDING THE GEOPOLITICAL ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH WE WORK, OF IMPLEMENTING THE GENERAL POLICY DIRECTIVES FROM THE PRIME MINISTER ON DOWN ON THE DIRECTIONS OF CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, OF TRANSLATING THESE POLICIES INTO STRATEGIES AND TACTICS IN THE FIELD AND THEN IMPLEMENTING A DIPLOMACY THAT TAKES INTO ACCOUNT WORKING ENVIRONMENTS AS DIFFERENT AS JORDAN AND JAPAN.

WE ALSO HAVE TO REACT, ON A REGULAR BASIS, WITH UNPLEASANT SURPRISES AND CRISES – BOTH MAN-MADE AND NATURAL. SO THAT IN THINKING STRATEGICALLY, WE OFTEN HAVE TO ANTICIPATE WORST CASE SCENARIOS, REVIEW OPTIONS AND ENGAGE IN CONTINGENCY PLANNING.

AT THE LEVELS OF DEPUTY MINISTERS, ADMs, AMBASSADORS AND SENIOR MISSION MANAGEMENT, BELIEVE ME, ALL OF THESE FACTORS ARE DAILY CONCERNS.

WHAT I AM ASKING THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY TO DO IS TO PROVIDE ITS OWN INSIGHTS ON HOW THIS CASCADE OF TASKS IS TO BE ACCOMPLISHED, TO GIVE US INSIGHTS GROUNDED IN CANADIAN REALITIES AND REFLECTIVE OF CANADIAN RESOURCES AND CAPABILITIES.

NOW, LET ME GIVE YOU AN EXAMPLE OF WHAT I MEAN IN THE CONTEXT OF CANADA'S RELATIONS WITH JAPAN.

WE HAVE HAD FORMAL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH JAPAN SINCE 1929, BUT THE STRUCTURE AND SUBSTANCE OF TODAY'S RELATIONSHIP ARE VERY MUCH DEFINED BY THE ARCHITECTURE OF BILATERAL AGREEMENTS ESTABLISHED AFTER WW II, AND OUR RESPECTIVE DEFINITIONS OF NATIONAL INTERESTS IN THE LAST DECADES.

PERHAPS TO A GREATER DEGREE THAN YOU WOULD THINK, OUR RELATIONS WITH JAPAN DEAL WITH ISSUES OF GRAND POLICY AS WELL AS THE MANAGEMENT OF BILATERAL INTERESTS, ALTHOUGH WHEN YOU LOOK AT WHAT AN

EMBASSY DOES ON A DAY TO DAY BASIS, THE REALITY IS THAT THE BILATERAL TRUMPS THE GEOPOLITICAL BY 10 TO 1.

LET'S JUST LOOK AT THE LAST FIVE YEARS, DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRIME MINISTER KOIZUMI.

ENSURING THE SECURITY OF CANADA AND CANADIANS IS, INCONTESTABLY, THE FIRST TASK OF OUR GOVERNMENT. SINCE CANADA AND JAPAN ARE NOT LIKELY TO BE IN MILITARY CONFLICT WITH EACH OTHER UNDER ANY CONCEIVABLE SCENARIO, BUT ALSO BECAUSE WE SHARE ABIDING INTERESTS IN GLOBAL PEACE AND SECURITY ISSUES, AND WE BOTH HAVE VERY CLOSE AND FUNDAMENTAL SECURITY TIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, CANADA-JAPAN COLLABORATION ON MATTERS OF SECURITY IS OUTWARD LOOKING.

SINCE THE 1950s, CANADA HAS CHOSEN TO CONTRIBUTE ITS INTELLECTUAL ENERGY AND ITS RESOURCES IN THE EVOLVING TASKS OF KEEPING, MAINTAINING AND ENFORCING PEACE IN DESTABILIZED PARTS OF THE WORLD AND, INCREASINGLY, SO HAS JAPAN. BOTH CANADA AND JAPAN ARE ALSO COMMITTED

TO RESISTING OBSCURANTIST AND VIOLENT IDEOLOGIES WHOSE OBJECTIVES ARE DANGEROUSLY AND DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSED TO PLURALISM, DEMOCRACY, INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM, RULE OF LAW AND RESPECT FOR DIVERSITY.

ACCORDINGLY, CANADA AND JAPAN HAVE FOUND WAYS TO WORK TOGETHER TO ADDRESS COMMON, GLOBAL SECURITY OBJECTIVES. THIS COLLABORATION IS PARTLY THE EXCHANGE OF IDEAS AND PARTLY IN THE FORM OF DEFENCE COOPERATION.

FLOWING FROM A DIALOGUE FIRST ESTABLISHED IN THE MID-90S, CANADA-JAPAN PEACE AND SECURITY RELATIONS HAVE CONTINUED TO EXPAND UNDER THE WATCH OF PRIME MINISTER KOIZUMI. THIS HAS LED TO CLOSER COLLABORATION AT THE POLICY LEVEL IN AREAS SUCH AS TRANS-NATIONAL ORGANIZED CRIME, PEACE-BUILDING AND EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS. THOSE EXCHANGES HAVE BEEN CONDUCTED ON SPECIFIC TOPICS SUCH AS THE 2003 JOINT WORKSHOP IN TOKYO ON ANTI MONEY-LAUNDERING BEST PRACTICES, WITH A VIEW TO BUILDING CAPACITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. THREE YEARS LATER, CANADA AND JAPAN ONCE AGAIN PROVIDED TRAINING TO A SIMILAR AUDIENCE BUT THIS TIME; THE FOCUS WAS ON HOW TO PREPARE AGAINST BIOLOGICAL TERRORISM.

IN TERMS OF MILITARY MATTERS, OUR ON-GOING COLLABORATION IN THE INDIAN OCEAN IS OF THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE. SINCE MID-2003, JAPANESE MARITIME SDF VESSELS DEPLOYED TO OPERATION ENDURING FREEDOM (OEF) HAVE PROVIDED CANADIAN WARSHIPS WITH FREE FUEL ON MORE THAN 40 OCCASIONS. THE TOTAL OF THIS MATERIAL ASSISTANCE IS ABOUT CA.\$4M.

SINCE THE WITHDRAWAL OF CANADIAN TROOPS FROM THE GOLAN HEIGHTS DURING THE SUMMER OF 2006, WHERE CANADIAN AND JAPANESE TROOPS SERVED SIDE-BY-SIDE FOR ALMOST A DECADE, OEF HAS BECOME OUR MOST IMPORTANT JOINT MILITARY OPERATION AND ONE THAT HAS BEEN CRUCIAL TO STRENGTHEN GROWING TIES BETWEEN OUR RESPECTIVE FORCES.

I VIEW THESE FORMS OF COOPERATION PRIMARILY IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBAL POLITICS. THIS IS THE JOINT JAPAN/CANADA PART OF A MUCH BIGGER PICTURE.

THE DAY TO DAY RELATIONSHIP HOWEVER IS DEFINED OVERWHELMINGLY IN TERMS OF PROMOTING RESPECTIVE BILATERAL INTERESTS. THIS IS PROBABLY VIEWED BY MOST OF YOU AS THE LESS EXCITING DOMAIN OF FOREIGN RELATIONS, BUT TO A LARGE DEGREE, THIS IS WHERE THE POLICY RUBBER

HITS THE RELATIONS ROAD, AND IT IS WHAT OCCUPIES DIPLOMATS AND EMBASSIES MOST OF THE TIME.

SO WHEN WE CANADIAN DIPLOMATS REFLECT ON PRIME MINISTER KOIZUMI, FROM A CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY POINT OF VIEW, WE HAVE TO LOOK AT WHAT WAS ACCOMPLISHED DURING HIS YEARS IN OFFICE, NOT PRIMARILY FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF JAPANESE DOMESTIC POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY, BUT FROM THE SEEMINGLY MUNDANE BUT MUCH MORE IMMEDIATELY BENEFICIAL PERSPECTIVE OF “WHAT DID HE DO FOR US”.

AND THE REPORT CARD IS VERY POSITIVE.

ALTHOUGH THE ACHIEVEMENTS CANNOT ALL BE CREDITED DIRECTLY TO KOIZUMI, MANY HAVE BENEFITED FROM HIS INFLUENCE AND FROM THE TRANSFORMATION THAT JAPAN HAS UNDERGONE UNDER HIS WATCH.

THROUGH COOPERATION WITH THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT, WE HAVE ACHIEVED A NEW LEVEL OF ENGAGEMENT THROUGH THE PM-SIGNED ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK AND ITS UNDERLYING AGREEMENTS, AS WELL AS LAUNCHED A JOINT STUDY PROCESS TO ENSURE THAT CANADA CONTINUES TO REMAIN ON THE CROWDED JAPANESE ECONOMIC AGENDA.

JAPANESE INVESTMENT IN CANADA REMAINS SIGNIFICANT, ESPECIALLY IN KEY SECTORS SUCH AS AUTOMOTIVE AND HIGH-TECH. THE CONCLUSION OF A SOCIAL SECURITY AGREEMENT WITH JAPAN HAS CONTRIBUTED TO PROTECTING CANADA'S POSITION AS A COMPETITIVE DESTINATION FOR SUCH INVESTMENTS.

WE HAVE ESTABLISHED THE BASIS FOR A RENEWAL OF OUR SCIENTIFIC AND RESEARCH COOPERATION THROUGH CLOSER S&T LINKS WITH JAPANESE INSTITUTIONS, NOW MORE OPEN THAN EVER TO INTERNATIONALISATION AND COMMERCIALISATION.

THROUGH INTENSE GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT COOPERATION, WE SUCCESSFULLY ENDED THE COMPLETE CLOSURE OF THE JAPANESE MARKET TO CANADIAN BEEF. WE HAVE AND WILL CONTINUE TO PROTECT AND PROMOTE OTHER SIGNIFICANT CANADIAN BUSINESS INTERESTS THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS OR REGULATORY DIALOGUE IN KEY SECTORS SUCH AS FOOD SAFETY, WOOD PRODUCTS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS.

WE RAISED JAPANESE EXPOSURE TO CANADA THROUGH KEY PUBLIC DIPLOMACY OPPORTUNITIES, SUCH AS THE 2005 AICHI WORLD EXPOSITION AND THE 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, OPENING FURTHER VENUES FOR

CANADIAN CULTURAL PRODUCTS AND DEEPER ACADEMIC EXCHANGES.

WE STRENGTHENED OUR COOPERATION ON PEACE AND SECURITY ISSUES OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE, WHETHER IT IS ON HUMAN SECURITY OR THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM.

JAPAN SIGNED THE TRANSFER OF OFFENDERS TREATY AND REVISED THE PRISON LAW, AS ADVOCATED BY CANADA AND LIKE-MINDED COUNTRIES. THESE STEPS FACILITATED THE TREATMENT OF SOME CANADIAN CONSULAR CASES IN JAPAN.

THROUGH A CUSTOMS COOPERATION AGREEMENT, WE CONTINUE TO IMPROVE SECURE CROSS-BORDER FLOW OF GOODS AND PEOPLE.

WE ENGAGED AND CONTINUE TO BENEFIT FROM COOPERATION WITH THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT ON A VAST ARRAY OF OTHER ISSUES OF CONCERN TO CANADIANS SUCH AS ENVIRONMENT AND ENERGY.

THERE ARE SOME THINGS THAT WE DID NOT SUCCEED IN GAINING FROM THE KOIZUMI GOVERNMENT, MOST PROMINENTLY, A COMMITMENT TO ENGAGE IN DISCUSSION ON A FREE TRADE AGREEMENT, A PRIORITY FOR CANADA. THIS

WILL NOW BE OUR CHALLENGE WITH THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF MR. ABE SHINZO.

IN THE INITIAL STAGES, WE WILL HAVE TO FIND WAYS OF PUTTING CANADA ON HIS AND ON HIS CABINET'S AGENDA. THIS WON'T BE EASY, BECAUSE IT WOULD APPEAR THAT, ON THE DOMESTIC FRONT, AND DESPITE THIS WEEK'S PREOCCUPATION WITH THE DPRK, HE WILL TURN HIS FOCUS TO ON HOME BASED ISSUES SUCH AS ADJUSTING THE SOCIAL SECURITY AND HEALTH INSURANCE SYSTEMS TO MEET THE CHALLENGES OF AN AGING POPULATION, THE REFORM OF THE EDUCATION SECTOR, YOUTH EMPLOYMENT, TAX REFORM AND REINVIGORATING LOCAL ECONOMIES.

INTERNATIONALLY, THE KEY ISSUES OF COURSE ARE HIS GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSE TO DPRK NUCLEAR TESTING, RELATIONS WITH CHINA AND THE ROK, AND OF COURSE RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. (WE CAN DISCUSS THESE FURTHER IN THE Q&A SESSION.)

HE HAS ALSO CALLED FOR CLOSER TRADING RELATIONS WITH NORTH AND SOUTH EAST ASIA.

AND HE HAS TO WIN, OR AT LEAST NOT LOOSE, THE UPPER HOUSE ELECTION NEXT YEAR.

CANADA HAS A GOOD STORY TO TELL IN JAPAN, SO GIVEN TIME, I AM CONFIDENT THAT WE CAN DRAW THE ATTENTION OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT, AND INCREASE THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF THE BENEFITS TO BOTH OF OUR COUNTRIES OF A BROADLY-BASED STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP. THE CASE WILL BE MADE BY STATING THE OBVIOUS:

BOTH OF OUR GOVERNMENTS BASE IMPORTANT ELEMENTS OF THEIR RESPECTIVE FOREIGN POLICIES ON THE VALUES AGENDA OF HUMAN RIGHTS, INDIVIDUAL FREEDOMS, DEMOCRACY AND RULE OF LAW, AND THE PRIMARY ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE RESOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES. FOREIGN MINISTER MACKAY MADE THAT POINT WHEN HE SPOKE TO FOREIGN MINISTER ASO EARLIER THIS WEEK.

CANADA'S ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE IS AMONG THE BEST IN THE WORLD, A SITUATION THAT WAS ESTABLISHED, IN PART, ON SOUND FISCAL MANAGEMENT. THE JAPANESE ARE VERY INTERESTED AND CAN LEARN FROM THE CANADIAN EXPERIENCE, ESPECIALLY WITH REGARD TO FISCAL REFORM AND CONSOLIDATION.

NAFTA AND THE PACIFIC TRANSPORTATION GATEWAY, AS IT COMES FULLY TO FRUITION, ARE HUGE COMPETITIVE ASSETS THAT BENEFIT CANADA AND JAPANESE ENTERPRISES. THE BETTER WE CAN MAKE OUR TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM, THE

MORE THE ECONOMIES OF SCALE WHICH WE SOUGHT AND OBTAINED THROUGH NAFTA WILL IMPACT ON OUR BILATERAL ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP.

AS PRIME MINISTER HARPER POINTED OUT TO A GATHERING OF THE NEW YORK ECONOMIC CLUB A FEW WEEKS AGO, CANADA IS:

- 1ST IN URANIUM PRODUCTION IN THE WORLD
- 2ND IN HYDRO-ELECTRIC GENERATION
- 3RD IN GLOBAL GAS PRODUCTION
- 5TH IN GLOBAL ENERGY PRODUCTION
- 7TH IN GLOBAL OIL PRODUCTION
- LARGEST EXPORTER OF ENERGY TO THE US, AS LARGEST OIL, NATURAL GAS, ELECTRICITY AND URANIUM SUPPLIER

IN A NEW WORLD WHERE COMPETITION FOR ENERGY WILL ONLY INCREASE, WE ARE, LET'S FACE IT, BOTH THE RICHEST AND THE MOST RELIABLE PARTNER FOR FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN THE ENERGY SECTOR ON THE PLANET, AND WE SIT NEXT TO THE BIGGEST MARKET IN THE WORLD. THESE FACTS ALONE ATTRACT ATTENTION IN JAPAN, WHEN THEY LOOK AT ENERGY IN GEOPOLITICAL TERMS.

SO, AS I SAID, WE HAVE A GOOD STORY TO TELL, I BELIEVE THAT OUR RELATIONS WITH THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF MR.

ABE CAN BE AS PRODUCTIVE, IF NOT MORE SO, THAN THAT WITH MR. KOIZUMI.

YES, THIS MAY NOT SOUND TERRIBLY EXCITING, CERTAINLY NOT AS CHALLENGING AND DANGEROUS AS FIGHTING THE TALIBAN IN AFGHANISTAN OR PARRYING THE CUT AND THRUST OF NEGOTIATIONS AT THE UN OR THE WTO - ALL OF WHICH ARE IMPORTANT OBJECTIVES OF CANADIAN DIPLOMACY - BUT ANOTHER PART, INDEED THE MOST COMMON PART, OF DAY-TO-DAY DIPLOMACY.

HAVING SAID THAT, I AM SURE THAT YOU REMAIN EXTREMELY INTERESTED IN FURTHER DISCUSSING MR. KOIZUMI'S LEGACY, AND THE POLITICS OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION, AND FOR THAT DISCUSSION, I AWAIT YOUR QUESTIONS.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

JOSEPH CARON

OCTOBER 17, 2006