

KLAUS PRINGSHEIM MEMORIAL LECTURE
DISTANT RELATIVES:
CANADA, JAPAN AND BRIDGING THE PACIFIC
JSAC PRESENTATION, OCTOBER 6, 2013

INTRODUCTION: KLAUS PRINGSHEIM

- IN LATE SUMMER OF 1975, I MOVED FROM ANKARA, TURKEY TO YOKOHAMA, JAPAN, TO STUDY JAPANESE. I SPENT TWO YEARS THERE, LEARNING WHAT I COULD OF THE LANGUAGE AND THE COUNTRY, SOMEWHAT ISOLATED BECAUSE OF THE CHALLENGE OF MY STUDIES, AND IN OBVIOUS NEED OF TEACHERS OF EVERY KIND TO ASSIST ME IN THE HIMALAYAN TASK OF LEARNING NOT ONLY JAPANESE, BUT ABOUT JAPAN.

- BEING FORTUNATE ENOUGH TO WORK, EVENTUALLY, IN THE CANADIAN EMBASSY IN TOKYO, AS A MATTER OF COURSE, I MET A WIDE VARIETY OF INDIVIDUALS, JAPANESE AND JAPAN HANDS WHO WOULD TEACH ME SO MUCH ABOUT A COUNTRY THAT BECAME MY SECOND SPIRITUAL HOME.

- IF MEMORY SERVES ME WELL – AND USUALLY IT DOESN'T – I WAS AT THE IMPERIAL HOTEL IN ITS PRE-TOWER PERIOD WHEN I MET KLAUS PRINGSHEIM. THIS WOULD HAVE BEEN ABOUT EARLY 1978. I WAS ATTENDING A CANADA-JAPAN SOCIETY EVENT, I THINK, AND KLAUS WAS INTRODUCED TO ME THERE.

- HE WAS SPEAKING JAPANESE AND, FOR THE STRUGGLING APPRENTICE THAT I WAS THEN AND REMAIN TODAY, HIS WAS A VERY IMPRESSIVE

PERFORMANCE. I RECALL THAT HE AND I CHATTED ABOUT HIS BACKGROUND AND THAT OF HIS FAMILY. THIS WAS THE BEGINNING OF MY FRIENDSHIP WITH KLAUS, PUNCTUATED BY LONG PERIODS OF NON-CONTACT, IN THOSE PRE-EMAIL DAYS.

THUS, I AM PLEASED TO BE THE INAUGURAL SPEAKER FOR THE KLAUS PRINGSHEIM MEMORIAL LECTURE.

- KLAUS WAS BORN IN GERMANY IN 1923, INTO A FAMILY OF HIGH CULTURE AND ACCOMPLISHMENT IN THE WORLD OF THE ARTS, LITERATURE AND MUSIC, NOT LEAST BECAUSE THE PATRIARCH, KLAUS' FATHER, HAD BEEN A STUDENT OF GUSTAV MAHLER AND KLAUS-PÈRE'S WIFE WAS THE SISTER OF THOMAS MANN.

- KLAUS *PÈRE* WAS NOT ONLY TO BECOME A NOTED COMPOSER, CONDUCTOR AND TEACHER, HE WAS ALSO POLITICALLY ATTUNED ENOUGH TO REALIZE, IN THE DECLINING YEARS OF THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THAT THE RISING FORTUNES OF ADOLPH HITLER AND THE NAZI PARTY COULD ONLY BE ACCOMPANIED BY THE CATASTROPHIC FORTUNES OF THE JEWS WHO WOULD LIVE AND DIE UNDER HIS DICTATORSHIP. KLAUS AND FAMILY MOVED TO JAPAN IN 1931.

- THE KLAUS PRINGSHEIM THAT WE KNEW THUS SPENT HIS LATE CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE IN JAPAN, LEARNING BOTH ITS LANGUAGE AND ITS CULTURE WITH INCOMPARABLE FLUENCY. A SEEMINGLY IDYLIC EXISTENCE CAME TO A CRASHING END DURING THE PACIFIC WAR, KLAUS BEING IMPRISONED AS A SUSPECTED SPY.

- THE OCCUPATION RESCUED KLAUS IN MANY WAYS. HIS DEEP KNOWLEDGE OF THE COUNTRY LEAD TO A POSITION IN THE OCCUPATION AUTHORITY'S CIVIL CENSORSHIP DEPARTMENT. IT ALSO CONNECTED HIM AND HIS FAMILY TO THE UNITED STATES, WITH KLAUS EVENTUALLY PURSUING POLITICAL SCIENCE STUDIES AT BERKELEY AND COLUMBIA.

- KLAUS ESTABLISHED HIS CANADIAN CREDENTIALS AS PROFESSOR IN THE POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT OF MCMASTER UNIVERSITY, WHERE HE TAUGHT FOR 23 YEARS. HE SUBSEQUENTLY BECAME THE PRESIDENT OF THE CANADA JAPAN TRADE COUNCIL IN OTTAWA, WHERE I HAD FREQUENT OPPORTUNITIES TO MEET AND CHAT WITH HIM ABOUT JAPAN, A CIVILIZATION, A CULTURE AND A PEOPLE WHO NEVER CEASED TO FASCINATE HIM, AS INDEED IT FASCINATES US.

- KLAUS BECAME A NOTED PUBLIC SPEAKER, TV AND RADIO COMMENTATOR AND ANECDOTIST PAR EXCELLENCE. FOR ALL OF THIS AND HIS MANY YEARS OF ENGAGEMENT WITH JAPAN, HE WAS AWARDED THE THIRD ORDER OF MERIT OF THE SACRED TREASURES BY THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD AGENCY. HE PASSED AWAY IN 2001.

- ALONG WITH OUR MEMORIES, HIS MEMOIR, 'MAN OF THE WORLD', WILL TELL ALL OF US MUCH MORE ABOUT HIS REMARKABLE LIFE.

- WHAT BRIDGE COULD I POSSIBLY OFFER IN MY REMARKS TODAY, DRAWING FROM KLAUS'S LIFE AND CONTRIBUTIONS?

- WELL, CERTAINLY, WE ALL SHARE KLAUS' ABIDING LOVE FOR JAPAN, AND THINGS JAPANESE.

MY PATH TO JAPAN

- THOSE OF US HERE WHO ARE NOT JAPANESE EACH CAME TO JAPAN THROUGH DIFFERENT AND DIVERSE PATHWAYS, THOUGH NONE AS FORTUITOUS OR FRAUGHT WITH DRAMA AS WAS THE CASE FOR KLAUS.

- MY ROUTE WAS THROUGH MY CAREER AS A DIPLOMAT, AND IT IS FROM THAT PERSPECTIVE THAT I ADDRESS YOU TODAY.

- NOW, WE ARE AT THE END OF THIS CONFERENCE, SO I AM NOT SO SURE THAT A LENGTHY, FULL-THROATED ACADEMIC SPEECH IS IN ORDER; OR THAT I CAN ADD MUCH TO ALL OF THE INTIMIDATING AND SCHOLARLY REFLECTIONS OF THE LAST FEW DAYS;

- I THOUGHT THAT I WOULD KEEP THINGS ON THE LIGHT SIDE, PERSONALIZE MY PRESENTATION, AND TALK ABOUT SOME OF THE LESSONS LEARNED AS A DIPLOMAT AND AS SOMEONE WHO HAS WORKED FOR CANADA IN ASIA AND IN JAPAN;

- AND SINCE THERE ARE ALSO MANY STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS AT THE CONFERENCE, I THOUGHT I WOULD AIM MY COMMENTS PRIMARILY AT THEM, AS FUTURE SCHOLARS, AND PERHAPS, PLAYING A RECRUITMENT POSTER ROLE, ALSO AS FUTURE DIPLOMATS.

- I JOINED THE FOREIGN SERVICE WITH PERHAPS A BIT LESS FORETHOUGHT THAN YOU WOULD EXPECT. TO WIT: A FRIEND TOLD ME IN A BAR IN OTTAWA ONE NIGHT IN 1971 THAT I SHOULD WRITE THE FOREIGN SERVICE EXAM, RATHER THAN EMBARK ON A CAREER IN LAW, WHICH I HAD BEEN PLANNING TO DO BUT WHICH WOULD REQUIRE AN ADDITIONAL 5 YEARS OF TRAINING AND STUDY;

- I KNEW THAT TRYING TO ENTER THE FOREIGN SERVICE WAS ONE OF THE MOST COMPETITIVE NON-CONTACT SPORTS THERE WAS, BUT I THOUGHT THAT I HAD NOTHING TO LOSE BY WRITING THE EXAM AND SO I DID. AND HERE WE ARE, 42 YEARS LATER.

- I DID NOT PURPOSELY SET OUT TO BE AN AMBASSADOR OR HIGH COMMISSIONER. HAVING BEEN RAISED ON A SMALL FARM IN SOUTHERN ONTARIO, MY FIRST OBJECTIVE WAS TO DO INTERESTING THINGS IN PLACES AS FAR AWAY FROM SMALL FARMS IN SOUTHERN ONTARIO AS POSSIBLE. SHORT OF THE MOON, ASIA SEEMED ABOUT AS FAR AS I COULD GET.

- MORE SERIOUSLY, ASIA BECAME MY PASSION BECAUSE I HAD MISSIONARY RELATIVES WHO, FROM MY EARLIEST MEMORIES ONWARD, SENT TO ME AND MY FAMILY A REGULAR SPRINKLING OF LETTERS, POST-CARDS, PHOTOGRAPHS AND TRINKETS FROM JAPAN, AND ALSO FROM WHAT I THOUGHT WAS CHINA – THEY TURNED OUT TO BE FROM TAIWAN – AND PURCHASED IN VANCOUVER. NEVERTHELESS, THEY REFLECTED A WORLD AS DIFFERENT FROM THE ONE I INHABITED AS I COULD POSSIBLY IMAGINE. I

WAS FASCINATED BY ASIA BEFORE I COULD
CONCEIVE OF ASIA.

- I PURSUED THESE EARLY INSPIRATIONS WITH
INITIAL STUDY OF MODERN CHINESE POLITICS AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA, COURTESY OF PROFESSOR
WILLIAM BADOUR WHO RETIRED FROM UVIC A
NUMBER OF YEARS AGO, IF I'M NOT MISTAKEN.
THANKS TO HIS INCOMPARABLE TEACHING SKILLS,
BILL'S CLASSES WERE SO DYNAMIC, SO
INTOXICATING, SO SPELL-BINDING THAT I REMEMBER
SKIPPING A MUCH ANTICIPATED LED ZEPPELIN
CONCERT SO THAT I WOULD NOT MISS A
PARTICULARLY DRAMATIC INSTALLMENT OF BILL'S
NARRATIVE OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION. IT ALSO
INSPIRED ME TO START STUDYING CHINESE
CHARACTERS – HANZI – A STUDY THAT KEEPS ME
BUSY TO THIS DAY, BUT THROUGH JAPANESE
RATHER THAN CHINESE.

- THE THIRD MAJOR INFLUENCE LEADING ME TO ASIA
WAS NO DOUBT OUR CANADIAN RING SIDE SEAT TO
THE VIETNAM WAR WHICH, ALONG WITH ROCK AND
ROLL AND MARIJUANA, DEFINED THE 1960s FOR MY
GENERATION. I THINK THAT MANY YOUNG CANADIANS
WERE VIETNAM OBSESSED, I KNOW I WAS, BECAUSE,
SAFE FROM THE DRAFT, THE WAR WAS
NEVERTHELESS RIGHT THERE, BROUGHT IN ALL OF
ITS VISUAL DRAMA DIRECTLY TO OUR LIVING ROOMS
THANKS, IN THOSE PRE-SATELLITE DAYS, TO ABC,
NBC AND CBS. THE STORY WAS SO RELENTLESSLY
CONTEMPORARY, THE PICTURES WERE SO GRAPHIC,
THE PARTICIPANTS SO MUCH OF OUR GENERATION,
AND THE DOORS AND THE STONES SOUND TRACKS

SO IRRESISTIBLE. IT WAS REALITY TV BEFORE THEY INVENTED REALITY TV.

- ANYWAY, THIS WAS MY UNPLANNED, HAPHAZARD AND INITIAL EXPOSURE TO ASIA. IT SHAPED MY LIFE TO A GREATER EXTENT THAN I COULD HAVE IMAGINED. I HAVE NEVER REGRETTED FOR A MINUTE THE DIRECTION THAT THESE PERSONAL INFLUENCES SET FOR ME.

- WHEN I ENTERED THE FOREIGN SERVICE, I WAS SINGLE MINDED IN MY DETERMINATION TO SPEND MY CAREER IN ASIA, AND IN THIS, AT LEAST, I SUCCEEDED, BOUNCING FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA AND VIETNAM, TO ANKARA IN ASIATIC TURKEY, TO JAPAN AND CHINA IN NORTHEAST ASIA, AND THEN TURNING BACK WEST TO SOUTH ASIA, TO INDIA, NEPAL AND BHUTAN.

- IN OTTAWA, I ALSO FOCUSED ON ASIA, INCLUDING AS ASSISTANT DEPUTY MINISTER, AND ON ECONOMIC FILES WHICH INCLUDED APEC, AS SENIOR OFFICIAL. NOT A BAD RUN.

- AS A DIPLOMAT, I WORKED BOTH IN OTTAWA AND ABROAD BUT I WAS ONE OF THOSE PEOPLE WHO THRIVED ON POSTINGS AND DID THE OTTAWA THING BECAUSE I HAD TO AND BECAUSE IT WAS, AS IT REMAINS TODAY, THE ONLY ROUTE TO PROMOTIONS. I HAD TO DO TIME, TO OBTAIN MY GET-OUT-OF-JAIL CARD.

I THUS HAVE TO CAUTION YOU, MY AUDIENCE, THAT THE CONSEQUENCES OF THIS CHOICE INCLUDE THE IMPORTANT FACT THAT MY PERSPECTIVES ON

DIPLOMACY, FOREIGN POLICY AND THE FOREIGN SERVICE ARE LIKELY OF LIMITED ACADEMIC INTEREST. FOREIGN POLICY IS MADE IN CAPITALS, IN THE PMO AND PCO AND GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS, MOST IMPORTANTLY DFAIT. EMBASSIES AND CONSULATES ARE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETED DELIVERY VEHICLES. I WAS MOSTLY AT THE DELIVERY END OF THINGS, AND FOR ONLY LIMITED PERIODS OF TIME, AT THE CENTER OF POLICY MAKING.

- SO, THE LESSONS I LEARNED COME FROM THAT EXPERIENCE. JUST TO BE CLEAR.

- WHAT ARE SOME OF THESE LESSONS? WHAT DO I WANT TO CONVEY, ESPECIALLY TO OUR UNDERGRAD AND GRAD STUDENTS ASSEMBLED HERE TODAY?

THREE LESSONS

- LET ME FIRST FLAG THREE ABIDING LESSONS.

LESSON ONE

- PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT THING THAT I LEARNED, HOWEVER BANAL AND OBVIOUS IT MAY SOUND, HAS BEEN THAT IF ONE TRULY WANTS TO OBTAIN A REASONABLY ACCURATE UNDERSTANDING OF A FOREIGN COUNTRY, A FOREIGN SOCIETY, ITS POLITY AND ITS POLITICS, THE GOLDEN RULE HAS TO BE: NEVER ASSUME ANYTHING;

- THROW OUT ALL OF YOUR CHERISHED CANADIAN ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT LIFE AND POLITICS AND START

LEARNING ABOUT YOUR NEW ENVIRONMENT FROM SCRATCH.

- HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ABOUT INDIVIDUAL CHARACTER AND HUMAN SOCIETY, AND WHILE CHARACTER IS DEFINES US, IT ALSO EMERGES IN SOCIETIES WHICH ARE GOING TO BE VERY DIFFERENT FROM OUR OWN.

- I APPRECIATE THAT THIS MAY GO JUST BEYOND THE BORDERS ON THE PLATITUDINOUS AND THE SELF-EVIDENT, BUT IT IS STRIKING HOW EVEN PEOPLE LONG EXPERIENCED IN INTERNATIONAL LIFE FORGET IT, AND SLIP UNAWARES INTO THE JUDGMENTAL. WE ALL FALL INTO THIS; I KNOW THAT I DID, ESPECIALLY AS I GOT OLDER. IT'S CERTAINLY A LOT EASIER TO JUDGE THINGS ACCORDING TO YOUR OWN LIGHTS THAN TO TRY TO FIGURE OUT WHAT IS BEHIND *LA DIFFÉRENCE*, BUT YOU CAN'T BEGIN TO GRASP A CULTURE AS CONTRASTINGLY DIFFERENT FROM OUR OWN AS ASIAN SOCIETIES ARE, IF YOU ARE NOT CONTINUOUSLY ON GUARD AGAINST HOME-GROWN ASSUMPTIONS.

- YOU HAVE TO START BY READING LOTS OF HISTORY, CULTURAL AS WELL AS POLITICAL, CONTEMPORARY AND PRE-MODERN. YOU CAN'T UNDERSTAND JAPAN OR INDONESIA OR INDIA WITHOUT HAVING SOME INKLING OF WHAT THE JAPANESE AND INDONESIANS AND INDIANS HAVE AS THEIR RESPECTIVE FRAMES OF REFERENCE, HOWEVER IMPRECISE THEY MAY BE ON THE FACTS.

- YOU HAVE TO DISTRUST WORDS. UNLESS YOU MASTER THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE EARLY ON, YOU

WILL HAVE TO FILTER EVERYTHING THROUGH ENGLISH OR FRENCH, WHICH IN ITS NATURE LEADS TO MISUNDERSTANDING.

- THE PENNY DROPPED FOR ME IN JAPAN WHEN I WAS TRYING TO UNDERSTAND THE BANKING SYSTEM. WHEN SOMEBODY USES THE WORD 'GINKO' IN JAPANESE, IT IS TRANSLATED AS 'BANK', THE FINANCIAL INSTITUTION. THAT DOES NOT MEAN THAT IT IS LIKE A CANADIAN BANK. IT'S SOMETHING VERY DIFFERENT. IT IS DIFFERENT IN ROLE, STRUCTURE, STANDARDS, AND THE POWER RELATIONS THAT IT EMBODIES. I PICKED THIS EXAMPLE BY THE WAY BECAUSE THIS WAS ONE OF THE FIRST LESSONS I LEARNED IN JAPAN IN 1975, AS I TRIED TO WREST MY OWN MONEY FROM THE CLUTCHES OF THE YOKOHAMA SPECIES BANK.

IN CHINESE, IT'S 'YINHANG'. THAT TOO IS A VERY DIFFERENT BANKING INSTITUTION, CERTAINLY VERY DIFFERENT THAT WHAT WE HAVE IN CANADA. IF YOU DON'T UNDERSTAND THAT, YOU WON'T GRASP, FOR EXAMPLE, ONE OF THE PRIMARY POWER VEHICLES USED IN CHINESE PROVINCES TO AVOID CENTRAL GOVERNMENT DIRECTIVES.

THESE DIFFERENCES SHOW UP THROUGHOUT SOCIETY: LAW, IN ENGLISH, DOES NOT MEAN THE SAME THING AS LAW IN CHINA, OR IN VIETNAM. NOT EVEN IN INDIA. IN CHINA, ITS A TOOL TO EXERCISE POWER. IN INDIA, LAW IS A SOURCE OF ECONOMIC RENTS FOR THOSE ENGAGED. BOTH THE SUBSTANCE AND THE CONTEXT ARE DIFFERENT.

- GEOPOLITICS SHOULD MEAN THE SAME THING IN ENGLISH AS ITS CHINESE EQUIVALENT, BUT THE CANADIAN PERSPECTIVE ON GEOPOLITICS IS LOADED WITH FREIGHT VERY DIFFERENT THAN THAT FOR A CHINESE. THE CONCEPT OF GEOPOLITICS MAY BE REASSURING FOR A CANADIAN DEPENDENT ON THE EMBRACING STRUCTURE OF OUR RELATIONS WITH NATO AND THE USA; IT CAN MEAN THE IMPEDIMENTS TO CHINA'S LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS TO A CHINESE READER OR LISTENER.

- OF COURSE, YOU HAVE TO USE WORDS. AS A DIPLOMAT, WRITING YOUR REPORTS TO OTTAWA, YOU HAVE TO USE EXPRESSIONS AND CONCEPTS IN COMMON USE. THE JOB OF THE DIPLOMAT IS TO TEASE OUT THE DIFFERENCES IMPLICIT AND EXPLICIT ON GEOPOLITICS, SAY, AND GROUND YOUR REPORTING AND ANALYSIS IN AN ACCURATE UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT IS REALLY GOING ON THAT MERITS THE REPORT IN THE FIRST PLACE.

- LOOKING AT IT FROM THE OTHER END OF THE TELESCOPE: I THINK THAT THE BIGGEST BARRIER THAT I FACED IN TRYING TO UNDERSTAND INDIA IS THE USE OF ENGLISH. IT'S TOO EASY TO OBTAIN AN OFF-THE-SHELF UNDERSTANDING OF THE COUNTRY FROM ITS EXTRAORDINARY OXBRIDGE-EDUCATED POLITICAL, ACADEMIC, BUSINESS AND MEDIA ELITES, MOST OF WHOM ENJOY LIVES AND EARN INCOMES THAT THE BILLION NON-ELITES OR MIDDLE CLASS CAN ONLY DREAM ABOUT.

- INDIA HAS 24 OFFICIAL LANGUAGES – ENGLISH IS NOT ONE OF THEM, BY THE WAY – AND MULTIPLE MEDIA CHANNELS IN EACH OF THE 24. I, FOR ONE,

HAD USABLE ACCESS TO NONE OF THEM, LET ALONE THE PEOPLE WHOSE EVERY THOUGHT AND IMPULSE WAS ARTICULATED IN NON-ENGLISH, AND WHOSE ASPIRATIONS AND FRUSTRATIONS WERE THE REAL STUFF OF INDIAN POLITICS.

- MY BEST UNDERSTANDING OF JAPAN CAME WHEN I WAS AWAY FROM TOKYO FOR EXTENDED PERIODS, OR READING THE JAPANESE MEDIA OR WATCHING JAPANESE TV. THERE WAS THE REAL WORLD THAT I WAS TRYING TO PENETRATE. IT CHASED AWAY MY EASY, UNGROUNDED ASSUMPTIONS, AND BROUGHT ME CLOSER TO A REAL UNDERSTANDING – AT LEAST, AS CLOSE AS I WAS LIKELY TO GET – OF THE SOCIETY AND DYNAMICS I WAS TRYING TO GRASP AND, NOT INCIDENTALLY, TO ENJOY.

LESSON TWO

- THE NEXT MOST IMPORTANT LESSON WAS HOW DIFFERENT OUR CANADIAN INTERESTS ARE WHEN VIEWED FROM ABROAD AND FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE DIFFERENT COUNTRIES OF ASIA. WHEN YOU MOVE AROUND FROM COUNTRY TO COUNTRY, AS I DID, YOU ARE, TO A SURPRISING EXTENT, DEALING WITH DIFFERENT CANADAS.

- AS A DIPLOMAT, EVERYTHING BEGINS AND ENDS WITH CANADA AND WITH CANADIANS. WE ARE PUBLIC SERVANTS AFTER ALL, EMPLOYED AND PAID BY GOVERNMENT FOR THE BENEFIT OF CANADIANS. THE GOVERNMENT PROVIDES OUR RESOURCES AND DIRECTS OUR ACTIVITIES, AS IT SHOULD.

- BUT IT'S NOT JUST GOVERNMENT THAT IS THE KEY ACTOR. CANADIANS AND THEIR INSTITUTIONS ARE EQUALLY IMPORTANT, AND EACH HAS ITS OWN INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES.

VIEWED FROM CHINA, CANADA IS A \$50 BILLION MARKET FOR CHINA'S GOODS AND SERVICES; IT IS A RESOURCE TREASURE TROVE FOR NOW AND THE FUTURE; IT IS ONLY A DISTANT IF POSSIBLE ADVERSARY; IT IS THE ANCESTRAL HOME TO A MILLION CANADIANS WHO HAVE, HOWEVER VARIABLE THE INTENSITY, THE SAME SENTIMENTS AND ATTACHMENTS AND REAL AND IMAGINED MEMORIES OF THEIR ANCESTRAL ORIGINS AS I DO ABOUT FRANCE AND YOU DO ABOUT YOUR OWN ORIGINS.

- WHEN I WAS AMBASSADOR, CANADA WAS ALSO AN ACTIVE, OPEN AND FRIENDLY INTERLOCUTOR, WITH WHOM AGREEMENT ON ALL MATTERS WAS NOT EXPECTED BUT OPEN AND FRANK DIALOGUE WAS A GIVEN; IT WAS THE SOURCE OF DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE IN AREAS OF HIGH CHINESE PRIORITY; IT WAS A SOMETIME ALLY AT THE UN; IT WAS A STRATEGIC PARTNER, IN MEANINGFUL WAYS.

- THE VIEW FROM INDIA IS VERY DIFFERENT: CANADA IS A COUNTRY WHOSE OWN PAST MIRRORS IN SOME RESPECTS THAT OF INDIA; IT FINDS COMMONALITY IN POLITICAL AND LEGAL SYSTEMS, AND IN THE USE OF ENGLISH – EVEN IF, ADMITTEDLY, THE INDIAN ELITE USAGE IS SUPERIOR TO THAT IN CANADA; CANADA IS AN OPEN COUNTRY INVITING AND HOSTING INDIA'S PEOPLE, ITS CAPITAL AND ITS COMMERCE IN UNHINDERED WAYS; THE DEFAULT MODE IN

POLITICAL, SOCIAL, COMMERCIAL, EDUCATIONAL AND OTHER FIELDS IS EFFORTLESSLY POSITIVE.

- BUT GEOGRAPHIC DISTANCES ARE GREAT AND OFTEN COMMERCIALY PROHIBITIVE. UNLIKE WITH TRANS-PACIFIC CHINA, CANADA IS TOO FAR AWAY TO BE A TRULY SIGNIFICANT PROVIDER OF VOLUME-DEPENDENT RESOURCES; IT'S LEGACY NUCLEAR COLLABORATION AND URANIUM OFFERS PROMISE, BUT THAT IS SOME DISTANCE INTO THE FUTURE; THE INDIAN ECONOMIC SYSTEM AND ITS TRADING REGIMES MAKE CANADA LARGELY OFF-LIMITS AS A SUPPLIER OF FOODSTUFFS, WITH THE IMPORTANT EXCEPTION OF PULSES, NOR DOES INDIA WANT CANADIAN INVESTMENT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITS RESOURCES, SOMETHING IT LARGELY WANTS TO DO ON ITS OWN; CANADA CANNOT ENHANCE INDIA'S SECURITY IN ANY MEANINGFUL WAY;

- SO, INDIA'S CANADA IS VERY DIFFERENT FROM CHINA'S CANADA. AND, AS I WILL DISCUSS LATER, SO IS THAT OF JAPAN.

- THESE VARYING PERSPECTIVES NECESSARILY RUN THROUGH OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS, EVEN IF WE OFTEN DON'T ACKNOWLEDGE THEM. I AM NOT SURE TO WHAT EXTENT THEY ARE OF INTEREST TO THE ACADEMIC WORLD, OTHER THAN ON A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BASIS. BUT THEY ARE THE DAILY STUFF OF THE WORK AND LIVES OF OUR DIPLOMATS.

LESSON THREE

MY THIRD OBSERVATION, FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION, IS MY BELIEF THAT WE DIPLOMATS HAVE RESPONSIBILITIES BEYOND SERVING OUR

POLITICAL MASTERS, RESPONSIBILITIES TO SERVE CANADIANS DIRECTLY, WITHIN AND SOMETIMES BEYOND THE CONFINES OF POLICY OR BUREAUCRATIC RULES. THIS IDEA OF COURSE IS ANATHEMA TO THE HARPER GOVERNMENT, WHICH BELIEVES THAT DIPLOMATS ARE LINE EMPLOYEES WHOSE ACTIVITIES CANNOT GO BEYOND WHAT HAS BEEN EXPLICITLY SANCTIONED. WE ARE POSTAL DELIVERY WORKERS REQUIRED TO DROP THE LETTERS IN THE RIGHT BOX.

- MY SENSE OF IT RATHER WAS AND IS THAT DIPLOMATS SERVE GOVERNMENT BUT WE SHOULD ALSO RESPOND TO THE NEEDS OF ACADEMIA AND BUSINESS AND THE CULTURAL COMMUNITY AND THE MEDIA, AS THEY, RATHER THAN THE GOVERNMENT, SEE IT. IN OTHER WORDS, USE OUR SKILLS AND JUDGEMENT TO FACILITATE THE ACHIEVEMENT OF OBJECTIVES THAT MAY ONLY BE TANGENTIALLY ARTICULATED IN GOVERNMENT POLICIES.

- I HAVE COME TO BELIEVE IN THE NECESSITY OF DIPLOMACY FROM THE GROUND UP, THE CURRENTLY HERETICAL IDEA THAT THE INTERESTS WE SHOULD SERVE GO BEYOND THOSE NARROWLY DEFINED BY THE PARTY IN POWER. THIS IS A VIEW THAT I DEVELOPED AND ACTED UPON UNDER BOTH LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENTS.

- FOR EXAMPLE, DURING THE CHRÉTIEN ERA, THERE WAS A DFAIT EFFORT TO NARROWLY DEFINE THE VARIOUS SERVICES WHICH COULD BE PROVIDED TO CANADIAN VISITORS, FROM FEDERAL MINISTERS TO THEIR PROVINCIAL COUNTERPARTS TO THE HEADS OF OUR BIGGEST INSTITUTIONS IN BUSINESS AND

ACADEMIA, LET'S SAY, AND ON TO 'THE AVERAGE CANADIAN'. THE EFFORT TO INTRODUCE UNIFORMITY WAS MEANT TO LEVEL THE EXPECTATIONS OF THOSE VISITORS, SO ONE EMBASSY'S SERVICE WAS COMPARABLE TO THAT OF ANY ANOTHER.

- I REJECTED THIS INITIATIVE COMPLETELY, FOR THE OBVIOUS REASON – OBVIOUS TO ME, ANYWAY – THAT WHAT A VISITING PROVINCIAL CABINET MINISTER OR AN ORDINARY CANADIAN NEEDED IN MATTERS OF SUPPORT DIFFERS CONSIDERABLY IF YOU ARE IN CHINA OR JAPAN OR SOUTHEAST ASIA. ONE SIZE DOES NOT FIT ALL.

- TRUE, YOU HAVE A DEGREE OF UNIFORMITY FOR, SAY, CABINET MINISTER LEVEL MISSIONS, BECAUSE THE GOVERNMENT TO GOVERNMENT VISITOR ROUTINES FOLLOW ESTABLISHED INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMATIC PRACTICES.

- BUT BEYOND THAT, YOU HAVE TO INVENT AS YOU GO ALONG, GETTING BACK TO THE NOTION THAT THE CANADA THAT COMES TO CHINA AND REQUIRES GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE IS DIFFERENT FROM THE CANADA THAT COMES TO INDIA OR SMALLER COUNTRIES IN SOUTH OR SOUTHEAST ASIA.

- IN CHINA, THEN AS NOW, THERE ARE POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENT INTERACTION DIMENSIONS TO THE PURSUIT OF JUST ABOUT ALL OF THE INTERESTS OF CANADIANS. BECAUSE THAT'S HOW THE SYSTEM WORKS AND BECAUSE IT'S CHINA, THE NEXT SUPER POWER, THE NEXT WORLD'S BIGGEST ECONOMY, THE NEXT CHALLENGE TO OUR INTERESTS IN AND OUT OF THE REGION.

- VIRTUALLY EVERY MAJOR CANADIAN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INSTITUTION, TO THIS DAY, SENDS ITS PRESIDENT OR CEO OR CHAIRPERSON TO ENGAGE DIRECTLY WITH THEIR CHINESE COUNTERPARTS. THEY SEEK THE AMBASSADOR'S AS WELL AS THE BROADER EMBASSY'S, STRATEGIC AS WELL AS TACTICAL ADVICE. THEY NEED GOVERNMENT OF CANADA INTRODUCTIONS TO THE MINISTRIES AND REGULATORS AND STATE OWNED ENTERPRISES.

- BUT IN JAPAN, ONE MUCH MORE RARELY SEES THE CEO OR UNIVERSITY PRESIDENT BECAUSE THE STABILITY OF THE CANADA/JAPAN RELATIONSHIP, THE RELIABILITY OF JAPANESE LAW AND INSTITUTIONS, AND THE CONTINUITY OF LONG-TERM RELATIONS BY CANADIAN CIVIL SOCIETY AND ITS INSTITUTIONS. THESE CIRCUMSTANCES MADE HIGH LEVEL ENGAGEMENT LESS NECESSARY. NO SENIOR CANADIAN EVER RUSHED TO MY OFFICE TO ASK ME IF JAPAN WAS ABOUT TO BREAK APART, OR THE LEGAL SYSTEM COLLAPSE. I HAD THOSE QUESTIONS FREQUENTLY IN CHINA. MOST OF THE SERVICES RENDERED BY THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT IN JAPAN ARE AT THE WORKING LEVEL. THE AMBASSADOR'S ROLE IS LIMITED.

- INDIA WAS A MUCH MORE MIXED BAG. ACADEMIC CANADA IS IN INDIA AT THE PLACE AND LEVEL WHERE IT WAS A DECADE AGO IN CHINA. BUT WITH IMPORTANT EXCEPTIONS, BUSINESS CANADA'S ENGAGEMENT WAS MORE TENTATIVE, DESPITE HIGH GROWTH RATES DURING THE TIME THAT I WAS THERE. THE PEOPLE I SAW IN INDIA WERE AGAIN

DIFFERENT FROM THOSE WHO CALLED ON THE HEAD-OF-MISSION'S SERVICES IN JAPAN AND CHINA.

- SO SERVING CANADIANS AND THEIR MYRIAD NEEDS MEANT GOING BEYOND THE GOVERNMENT'S NARROWER PERSPECTIVES.

- UNDER MR. HARPER'S GOVERNMENT, ONE RELATED ISSUE HAS BEEN RESTRICTIONS ON PUBLIC SPEAKING BY AMBASSADORS. LIKE JUST ABOUT ALL OF MY COLLEAGUES, I CONSIDERED THEN AND NOW THAT THIS BONE-HEADED, ILL-INFORMED DECISION SERVED NO PURPOSE BUT TO KEEP CANADIANS FROM OBTAINING THE INFORMATION AND INSIGHTS THAT THEY NEED FROM THOSE BEST PLACED TO ARTICULATE THEM. I REJECTED THIS RESTRICTION COMPLETELY.

- UNDER HARPER, IT WAS AND IS POSSIBLE FOR AMBASSADORS TO SPEAK PUBLICLY IN SOME LIMITED CASES, AND ONLY IF THE TEXTS OF THEIR REMARKS ARE APPROVED BY OTTAWA BEFORE DELIVERY. BEING FAR AWAY IN DISTANT ASIA AND OF A 'GO-AHEAD-AND-FIRE-ME' SENIORITY, DURING MY YEARS IN JAPAN AND INDIA, I WOULD BE INVITED – OR WOULD INVITE MYSELF – TO SPEAK TO MANY AUDIENCES IN CANADA ON OUR RELATIONS WITH ASIA. MY MODUS OPERANDI WAS TO SEND TO OTTAWA, EACH AND EVERY TIME, THE IDENTICAL, UNCHANGED, PLATITUDINOUS, BORING, STATISTICS-FILLED, PURPOSEFULLY UN-INFORMATIVE TEXT, OSTENSIBLY FOR DELIVERY, AND THEN PROCEED AND IGNORE IT. I MADE A POINT OF ADDRESSING THE ISSUES THAT MY CANADIAN (AND JAPANESE AND INDIAN) AUDIENCES NEEDED TO HEAR. AFTER ALL,

CANADIANS WERE PAYING MY BILLS, AND THEY DESERVED TO HEAR AND INTERACT WITH THEIR REPRESENTATIVE ABROAD WITHOUT A FILTER.

- I HASTEN TO ADD THAT, IN ALL OF THIS, I NEVER PRESUMED TO MAKE FOREIGN POLICY; I DID NOT DEVIATE FROM THE CORE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT MESSAGES OR OBJECTIVES; I DID NOT CRITICIZE THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA IN ANY WAY. THAT WAS NOT MY JOB AND IT WOULD HAVE BEEN COMPLETELY UNPROFESSIONAL TO DO SO.

- THUS, GOOD DIPLOMATS, TO MY MIND, MUST HAVE AN EXPANSIVE, RATHER THAN RESTRICTIVE, UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR JOB. WE ARE THERE TO SERVE NOT JUST THE GOVERNMENT BUT CANADIANS TO THE BEST OF OUR ABILITY AND RESOURCES. THIS IS THE THIRD LESSON THAT I HOPE OUR FUTURE DIPLOMATS WILL PONDER.

DISTANT RELATIVES

- NOW, SOME OF YOU MAY REMEMBER THAT THE TITLE OF MY REMARKS TODAY IS "DISTANT RELATIVES: CANADA, JAPAN AND BRIDGING THE PACIFIC". AS YOU CAN TELL, I HAVE LARGELY IGNORED THAT THEME UP TO NOW, WHICH IS THE PREROGATIVE, AS YOU KNOW, OF EVERYONE WHO CONTROLS THE PODIUM. LET ME NEVERTHELESS PROVIDE AT LEAST SOME TRUTH IN ADVERTISING, AND CONCLUDE THIS PRINGSHEIM LECTURE WITH TWO REFLECTIONS ON RELATIONS BETWEEN CANADA AND JAPAN.

- SPECIFICALLY, I WANT TO COMMENT ON TWO CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RELATIONSHIP: PEOPLE AND POWER.

PEOPLE

- WE SHOULDN'T TAKE THE 'DISTANT RELATIVES' METAPHOR TOO FAR, BUT RETAINING THE NOTION OF PROXIMITY IMBEDDED IN ITS MEANING, SHARING THE PACIFIC HAS MADE US RELATIVES OF A SORT. AS DOES THE FACT THAT PEOPLE, INDIVIDUALS, RATHER THAN GOVERNMENTS WERE THE FIRST INITIATORS OF LINKAGES BETWEEN OUR TWO SOCIETIES, AND REMAIN THE PRIME ACTORS. THESE GIVE THE METAPHOR A BIT MORE MEANING.

- EVERYONE HERE IS FAMILIAR WITH THE TALE OF RANALD MCDONALD, WHOSE EXPLOITS PREDATE MATHEW PERRY'S BLACK SHIPS. HE WAS SEEMINGLY FASCINATED BY A JAPAN THAT HE HAD NOT SEEN. THAT WAS MY CASE AS WELL AND PROBABLY THE CASE FOR MANY CANADIANS IN THIS ROOM WHO AT SOME POINT BECAME, FOR VARIOUS REASONS, FASCINATED BY JAPAN.

- ANNE PARK SHANNON'S BOOK, ENTITLED 'FINDING JAPAN: EARLY CANADIAN ENCOUNTERS WITH ASIA' AND WHICH EVERYONE WHO HASN'T DONE SO SHOULD READ, FOCUSES ON THE PEOPLE DIMENSION OF CANADA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH JAPAN: PEOPLE LIKE COMMANDER ARCHIBALD LUCIUS DOUGLAS, WHO HELPED MODERNIZE THE JAPANESE NAVY; HENRY SPENCER PALMER WHO DEVELOPED THE PORT OF YOKOHAMA; THE MISSIONARIES IN THE NORMAN, OUTERBRIDGE AND POWLES FAMILIES; THE

LADY TRAVELERS SUCH AS MARTHA CARTMELL, A CANADIAN VERSION OF ISABELLA BIRD; THE DIPLOMATS HERBERT MARLER, HERBERT NORMAN, AND OF SOMEWHAT MORE MIXED REPUTATION, HERBERT MORAN.

- PEOPLE CONTINUE TO BE KEY DRIVERS, THE 'STUFF' OF MUCH OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN CANADA AND JAPAN, PEOPLE AND THEIR ASSOCIATED INSTITUTIONS, INCLUDING UNIVERSITIES, ARTS GROUPS AND CORPORATIONS. AND AS SUCH, THEIR ROLES ARE DESERVING OF ACADEMIC ATTENTION. IN EVERY CASE IN ANNE BOOK, PEOPLE DECIDED FOR THEIR OWN REASONS TO DO SOMETHING WITH THEIR LIVES AND THEIR LINKS WITH JAPAN. THIS WASN'T FOREIGN POLICY, THESE WERE REAL FOREIGN RELATIONS IN ACTION.

- OF COURSE, POLITICIANS ARE MORE PROMINENT ON THE 'PEOPLE' FRONT, AS RELATIONSHIP DRIVERS. THEY ARE THE SOURCES OF OUR FOREIGN POLICIES. BUT IN SOME CASES, THEIR AUTHORITY AS PRIME MINISTERS AND LEADERS HAS BEEN SUPPLEMENTED BY PERSONAL EXPERIENCE AND EVEN AFFECTION FOR JAPAN. RELATIONS WERE AS IMPORTANT AS POLICIES.

- MACKENZIE KING VISITED JAPAN IN 1909. HAVING ATTAINED OUR SOVEREIGN AND DIPLOMATIC INDEPENDENCE FROM BRITAIN 20 YEARS LATER, HE WENT ON TO ESTABLISH OUR FIRST FOUR EMBASSIES, INCLUDING JAPAN IN THAT INITIAL LAUNCH.

- PIERRE TRUDEAU WAS FASCINATED BY JAPAN. HE WAS FAMILIAR WITH JAPANESE HISTORY AND CULTURE, AND CONDUCTED AN ACTIVE JAPAN-DIRECTED DIPLOMACY. JAPAN WAS AN IMPORTANT PART OF HIS THIRD OPTION. HE WAS A REGULAR AND OFTEN THE ONLY GUEST OF THEN AMBASSADOR HARA WHO PRESUMABLY TRADED RAW FISH FOR RAW INTELLIGENCE ON WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN CANADIAN POLITICS.

- WITH COUNTERPARTS TANAKA KAKUEI, MIKI TAKEO, FUKUDA TAKEO AND OHIRA MASAYOSHI, HE COMPLETELY MODERNIZED THE GOVERNMENT PART OF THE CANADA-JAPAN RELATIONSHIP, INCLUDING IN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FIELDS, ESTABLISHING NUMEROUS CHANNELS OF PRIVILEGED DIALOGUES AMONG LEADERS, ON RESOURCES AND OTHER ECONOMIC AREAS, AND SUPPORTING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CANADA JAPAN BUSINESS COUNCIL.

- DURING THE EARLY 1980s, THE FIRST YEARS OF WHAT BECAME KNOWN AS 'THE BUBBLE', SOME POLITICIANS SUGGESTED THAT CANADA SELL ITS AOYAMA DORI EMBASSY GROUNDS, POCKET ITS INFLATED REAL ESTATE VALUE, AND MOVE TO A LESS PROMINENT LOCATION, TRUDEAU MADE CLEAR THAT CANADA'S VISIBILITY IN TOKYO WAS NOT TO BE COMPROMISED.

-BRIAN MULRONEY WAS ALSO A BUILDER OF THE RELATIONSHIP, INDEED LITERALLY: HIS GOVERNMENT SUPPORTED THE CHANCERY PROJECT THAT HOUSES OUR EMBASSY TODAY. HE PRESIDED OVER THE OFFICIAL OPENING.

- STEPHEN HARPER CAN TAKE CREDIT FOR ENVISIONING AN EXPANDED TRADE AND ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP WITH JAPAN, THROUGH AN ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP AGREEMENT, CURRENTLY IN NEGOTIATION. THIS WOULD BE A MUCH MORE VALUABLE LEGACY THAN ANOTHER ONE THAT IS APPARENTLY BEING MOOTED IN OTTAWA: TO SELL OUR CHANCERY, MARLER HOUSE AND RESIDENTIAL COMPLEX AND EXCHANGE IT FOR A DOWNSIZED PRESENCE IN JAPAN. THAT'S THE RUMOR ANYWAY, APPARENTLY AWAITING THE RESULTS OF THE NEXT ELECTION. WE'LL SEE. IF IT TRANSPIRES TO HAVE SOME VALIDITY, THE JAPAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION OF CANADA MIGHT USEFULLY TAKE A NOISY, PUBLIC POSITION.

- I DON'T MEAN TO PROVIDE YOU WITH A PM BY PM ASSESSMENT OF THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH JAPAN. MY POINT RATHER IS TO ADD THEM TO THE LIST OF IMPORTANT ACTORS IN THE SHAPING OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. GEOPOLITICS AND MARKET FORCES ARE WHAT WE NORMALLY STUDY, BUT PEOPLE ARE THE ACTORS, AND LIKE IN THE MOVIES, SOME OFFER SMASHING PERFORMANCES.

POWER

- MY SECOND POINT RELATES TO POWER RELATIONSHIPS AND WHO LEADS. OR, IN OTHER WORDS, GEOPOLITICS.

- IN MY EXPERIENCE, IN THE MANAGEMENT OF GOVERNMENT TO GOVERNMENT BILATERAL RELATIONS, RELATIVE SIZE MATTERS, RELATIVE

POWER MATTERS. THE COUNTRY WITH THE LARGER POPULATION, THE LARGER ECONOMY, AND THE GREATER CLOUT TENDS TO HAVE MORE SCOPE TO MOVE OR NOT MOVE THINGS FORWARD. THIS ESPECIALLY APPEARS TO BE THE CASE WHEN THE TWO COUNTRIES ARE DEMOCRACIES AND MARKET BASED, HAVE MATURE, ESTABLISHED INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISMS TO RELY UPON, AND CAN LEAVE MUCH OF THE DIRECTION OF THE RELATIONSHIP IN THE HANDS OF THEIR PRIVATE SECTORS AND CIVIL SOCIETIES.

- AN IMPORTANT CONSEQUENCE OF THIS STRUCTURE IS THAT UNLESS THE LARGER COUNTRY'S GOVERNMENT AND LEADERS HAVE SPECIFIC AND ACTIVE INTERESTS IN CHANGING THE PARAMETERS OF THE RELATIONS. OR, AND THIS IS IMPORTANT, THAT THE GEOPOLITICAL ENVIRONMENT MOVES AGAINST IT, THE SMALLER OF THE TWO BECOMES THE DEFAULT *DEMANDEUR*, THE ACTIVIST PLAYER WHO MUST CONTINUOUSLY BANG AWAY ON THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT IN ORDER TO GET ATTENTION AND GET THINGS DONE, IN A MANNER OF INTEREST TO BOTH.

- TAKE IT FROM ME, THIS DYNAMIC HAS CERTAINLY BEEN AN IMPORTANT DESCRIPTIVE OF THE CANADA JAPAN RELATIONSHIP. WE HAVE, IN MY EXPERIENCE, BEEN FAR MORE FREQUENTLY THE ORIGINATOR OF IDEAS FOR BILATERAL GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT COLLABORATION THAN HAS BEEN JAPAN. AND THAT IS BECAUSE JAPAN HAS BEEN MORE IMPORTANT TO CANADA THAN CANADA HAS BEEN TO JAPAN.

- THIS CAN BE OBSERVED IN THE ECONOMIC AND TRADE RELATIONSHIP, WHERE CANADA FOR DECADES HAS ACTIVELY SOUGHT MARKET OPENING OPPORTUNITIES, WITH JAPAN LISTENING AND RESPONDING ONLY SPORADICALLY, CHOOSING TO SEEK NARROW ADVANTAGES RATHER THAN STRUCTURAL CHANGES.

- THE SAME HAS BEEN TRUE WITH REGARD TO SECURITY COOPERATION. JAPAN HAS IT'S TREATY WITH THE US, AND A CONSTRAINED MILITARY ROLE GIVEN ITS CONSTITUTION. CANADA HAS MODEST MILITARY RESOURCES COMPARED TO JAPAN, BUT GREAT SPECIALIZATION. AND WE HAVE AN INTEREST IN ASIA-PACIFIC SECURITY. BUT HERE AS WELL, CANADA HAS BEEN THE TRADITIONAL *DEMANDEUR*, THE INITIATOR, ON PEACEKEEPING, ON LAND MINES, ON EXCHANGES AND DIALOGUES. VIRTUALLY ALL OF OUR EXISTING SECURITY COOPERATION ARCHITECTURE WAS FIRST PROPOSED BY CANADA.

- UNTIL NOW. FOR REASONS RELATED TO CHINA'S RISE, JAPAN'S LONG ECONOMIC UNDERPERFORMANCE AND NEEDS FOR STRUCTURAL REFORM AND NOTIONS OF GREATER EMPHASIS ON THE VALUES AGENDA, CANADA SUDDENLY AND INCREASINGLY MATTERS.

- THIS WAS ESPECIALLY CLEAR DURING PRIME MINISTER ABE'S RECENT VISIT TO OTTAWA. YOU MIGHT SAY THAT JAPAN NOW NEEDS CANADA MORE THAN AT ANY POINT IN RECENT HISTORY. JUST LOOK AT THE BILATERAL AGENDA WHEN OUR LEADERS MET.

- IN LIGHT OF JAPAN'S NUCLEAR IMPASSE, ITS ENERGY NEEDS HAVE SHIFTED TO LNG AS WELL AS OIL. IN RATHER SHORT ORDER, OUR POTENTIAL TO EXPORT GAS TO JAPAN HAS DRAWN NOT ONLY ATTENTION BUT SEVERAL HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS IN INVESTMENT IN ENERGY, PIPELINE AND GASIFICATION PROJECTS. JAPAN SEEKS ADJUSTMENT TO CANADA'S FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT POLICIES, TO ACCOMMODATE THE JAPAN'S STATE OWNED ENTERPRISES, JNOC, JAPEX AND JOGMEC.

- MUTANTIS MUTANDIS, THESE AND OTHER INTERESTS HAVE MADE THE NEGOTIATION OF A SUCCESSFUL ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP AGREEMENT EVEN MORE CRUCIAL TO JAPAN'S FUTURE. AND ITS NOT JUST A MATTER OF LNG: BILATERAL EPAs, LIKE THE MULTILATERAL TPP, ARE ESSENTIAL COMPONENTS IN PM ABE'S REFORM AGENDA WHICH DEPENDS ON 'GAIATSU' – FOREIGN PRESSURE – TO BE REALIZED.

- GIVEN THE CHALLENGE POSED BY THE RISE OF CHINA, INCLUDING FROM THE ALL IMPORTANT PERSPECTIVE OF SECURITY, PRIME MINISTER ABE HAS BEEN INCREASINGLY EXPLICIT IN SUPPORTING NOTIONS, HERETOFORE THEORETICAL, THAT JAPAN NEEDS TO PARTICIPATE IN COLLECTIVE SECURITY FRAMEWORKS, YET TO BE DEFINED, YET TO BE AUTHORIZED IN POLICY AND LAW. BUT THERE IS SCOPE FOR SMALL, INCREMENTAL STEPS TO TAKE INITIATIVES BEYOND THE FRAMEWORK PROVIDED BY THE US/JAPAN SECURITY AGREEMENT. AUSTRALIA HAS AN ADVANCED SECURITY AND DEFENSE ARRANGEMENT WITH JAPAN. CANADA'S AMBITIONS

HAVE NOT BEEN TO THE SAME EXTENT, BUT NOW THAT JAPAN IS SEEKING TO STRENGTHEN ITS SECURITY ENVIRONMENT, CANADA HAS SOMETHING TO OFFER. THE RESULT IS AN AGREEMENT TO PROVIDE MUTUAL SUPPORT, INCLUDING THROUGH SHARING EQUIPMENT AND TRANSPORTATION CAPACITY, IN UN OR DISASTER SCENARIOS. THIS ACQUISITION AND CROSS-SHARING AGREEMENT – ACSA – IS SOMETHING THAT WE HAVE BEEN SEEKING, WITH VARYING DEGREES OF ENTHUSIASM ON OUR SIDE, AND NONE ON THAT OF THE JAPANESE, FOR MORE THAN 20 YEARS. GEOPOLITICS HOWEVER NOW MATTERS IN THE CANADA-JAPAN RELATIONSHIP, TO AN EXTENT UNSEEN IN PAST DECADES, CERTAINLY NOT SINCE THE TRUDEAU/TANAKA INITIATIVES. IT ALSO AUGURS FOR A STRONGER RELATIONSHIP IN THE COMING YEARS. ALL OF US SHOULD WELCOME THIS.

THERE IS PROMISE OF MORE AND BETTER, IN THIS RELATIONSHIP, SOMETHING THAT EVERYONE IN THIS AUDIENCE NO DOUBT WILL WELCOME.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION.

JOSEPH CARON
OCTOBER 6, 2013