The cover features a dark, reflective pond with several koi fish in shades of orange, white, and black. A large, vibrant red maple leaf is the central focus, its stem extending from the bottom left towards the center. The background is a deep, dark green, suggesting water and foliage.

THE CHINA CHALLENGE

Sino-Canadian Relations
in the 21st Century

edited by
HUHUA CAO AND VIVIENNE POY

Chapter 8

Canada and China after the Global Financial Crisis

**A Speech to the Canada–China Business
Forum at the Fairmont Royal York Hotel,
Toronto, September 15, 2009**

Yuen Pau Woo

This week marks the first anniversary of the collapse of Lehman Brothers, the unofficial starting date of a global financial crisis unlike any we have seen in a generation. As we welcome the prospect of the Canadian economy emerging from recession, perhaps sooner than expected, the biggest danger we face is to assume that the world will be more or less the same as it was before the economic downturn. The temptation to be complacent is exacerbated by self-congratulatory pronouncements about Canada's relatively strong performance compared to other G8 members and the fact that our financial institutions were well supervised and therefore did not face the kind of meltdown that was seen south of the border. It is in some respects inconceivable that Canadians could believe that the world has not changed. But habit, wishful thinking, narrow-mindedness and vested interests have a powerful way of combining to resist change. The unwillingness of our political and business elites to show leadership further compounds the problem.

I am, of course, referring to the shift in global economic and political power that is taking place as a result of the US financial crisis. We should be clear that this power shift did not begin with the collapse of Lehman Brothers. The rise of so-called emerging markets has been discussed for many years. The economic crisis did, however, expose some fundamental weaknesses in the US economy and it has, I believe, accelerated the shift in

global economic weight away from North America and Europe to Asia, and to China and India in particular.

I remember that when the crisis first erupted a parade of commentators and analysts in North America confidently predicted that China would not be immune from the downturn, that “decoupling” was a fantasy and that the recession would in fact be the undoing of China’s export-led economy. One columnist in the *Globe and Mail* even mused on the prospect of widespread social unrest in China, leading to the collapse of the Chinese government. What these analysts failed to understand was that there is a huge difference between an economic downturn due to a financial sector crisis and a downturn caused by weak external demand. Crudely speaking, the US problem is one of excessive spending, whereas the Chinese problem is one of excessive saving. You don’t need a PhD in economics to understand that, interdependence notwithstanding, the Chinese problem is preferable to the US one. The solution to what are euphemistically called “global imbalances” is for the United States to spend a lot less and for China to spend a lot more. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Chinese stimulus package unveiled in November 2008 was the largest of any major economy’s as a share of total output. The fact that there is enormous pent-up demand in China for infrastructure, capital equipment and, above all, consumer goods has simply made the stimulus package more effective.

But all is not rosy in China. The collapse in US and EU demand has meant sharp declines in Chinese exports and massive layoffs. Despite the attractive headline GDP growth numbers, Beijing faces a very serious unemployment problem in the rural areas and the attendant risk of social unrest. There is no triumphalism, therefore, among the Chinese political, business and intellectual elites about the relative rise of China’s influence in the world economy. On the contrary, what I am hearing over and over again from Chinese colleagues is the need to rebalance the economy towards a greater emphasis on domestic demand. They are convinced that the US economy is headed for a period of sub-par growth because of the huge debt overhang, with all its implications for interest rates and inflation. This sentiment is shared across much of East Asia, which has also relied on exports to industrialized countries as a principal source of economic growth. There is a palpable anxiety across the region about how to generate growth if not by exporting to the United States.

What astonishes me is how much less this anxiety seems to have taken root in Canada, which is overwhelmingly more dependent on exports to the United States, and which does not have the option of turning to

domestic demand as an alternative engine of growth. It has, of course, become popular again to talk about diversifying our export markets so that we are less reliant on the US market. Diversification is important, but selling more to China or India is only part of the story. The point about a fundamental power shift in the world economy is not simply about rapidly growing markets in Asia and other developing regions, it is about the impact of the Chinese economy and Chinese enterprises on every link in the supply chain, about upward pressure on the prices of raw materials and downward pressure on the prices of finished goods, about the global competition for talent, about research and innovation, and, above all, about the deployment of capital globally.

In recent years we have seen Chinese companies and sovereign wealth funds spend billions of dollars to secure access to natural resources around the world, through a combination of equity investment, loans for oil and long-term contracts. The pace seems to have picked up recently with major deals announced in Latin America, Russia and Australia. For a while, Canada was conspicuously missing from the list of destination countries. That changed last month with a succession of megadeals, including a \$1.7 billion investment by China Investment Corporation (CIC) in Teck Resources, followed by a \$1.9 billion bid by PetroChina for a majority share of two Athabasca Oil Sands Corporation projects. Anyone wondering if PetroChina has used up its financial war chest should wonder no more: China Development Bank announced last week that it had agreed to provide a loan of \$30 billion to PetroChina, at a discounted interest rate, to fund the oil and gas company's "going global" strategy.

Recent Chinese investments in Canadian companies are a very good sign that we are on the Chinese outward investment radar, and that Chinese companies perceive Canada to be open to investment from the People's Republic. But we can do more to encourage and facilitate investment from China. An important test ahead will be the Government of Canada's review of PetroChina's bid for the oil sands projects. Mr. [Jim] Flaherty was in Beijing recently, where he was widely quoted as saying that Canada welcomes Chinese investment. His words are currently being put to the test, and the results will be watched very closely by the global investment community.

The Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada is releasing today the results of a major survey of Chinese outward investment intentions. Working with the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, the co-organizer of this Forum, we asked 1,100 Chinese companies about their existing overseas investments and their plans for future spending abroad. While I do not

have time to go into the detailed findings, I can leave you with this overall message: Chinese outward investment is on the rise, not just in energy and mining, but also in the manufacturing, agrifood and services sectors. While Canada hitherto has not ranked highly as a destination for Chinese investment, respondents rated Canada very well as a potential destination for outward investment. The most promising sectors for investment in Canada were identified as agrifood, information and communications technology, energy, and natural resources. I invite you to have a look at the full report, which is available at www.asiapacific.ca. There are also a limited number of copies at our display table outside the conference hall.

Allow me to conclude on a note of optimism. Canada's relative resilience during the economic crisis has not gone unnoticed in China. For a change, we are seen by the Chinese as a bastion of financial stability and not just as a vast source of natural resources. The ease with which the CIC investment in Teck sailed through the review process stands in stark contrast to Chinalco's failed bid for Rio Tinto of Australia and Sinopec's aborted attempt to purchase Unocal of California a few years earlier. Relations between Ottawa and Beijing are improving, and it appears that Messrs. Harper and Ignatieff are in a race of sorts to visit Beijing, if not before an election, then likely soon after. This warming of relations could not come at a better time, since Canada and China celebrate forty years of diplomatic relations in 2010. There is much to celebrate about the past forty years, but the best way to get ready for the coming anniversary is to think about the role that China will play in the world economy over the next forty years, and to prepare for it.

Notes on Contributors

Author of the preface:

The Honourable Allan Rock. Born and raised in Ottawa, Allan Rock is a three-time graduate of the University of Ottawa. He attended the University of Ottawa high school before completing a Baccalaureate in Arts in 1968 and a law degree in 1971. For 20 years, Allan Rock conducted a varied practice in civil, commercial and administrative litigation. In 1993, he was elected as the Member of Parliament for Etobicoke-Centre and named Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada. He introduced significant improvements to the Criminal Code, the Canadian Human Rights Act and other federal legislation. In 1997 he became Minister of Health where he spearheaded the creation of the Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR) and more than doubled annual health research funding on a national scale.

Subsequently, as Minister of Industry and Minister of Infrastructure, he introduced Canada's innovation strategy, was responsible for Canada's three granting councils and introduced legislation to create the Pierre Elliott Trudeau Foundation to promote applied research in the social sciences and the humanities.

Allan Rock was appointed Ambassador of Canada to the United Nations in December 2003. As the voice of Canadians at the United Nations, Allan Rock was an outspoken advocate of human rights, human security and reforming the UN. At the 2005 World Summit at the UN, he led the successful Canadian effort to secure the adoption by world leaders of the doctrine Responsibility to protect populations from genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Editors:

Huhua Cao, is Professor of Geography at the University of Ottawa. He received his bachelor degree from Shanghai Tong-Ji University and his master and PhD from Laval University. Dr. Cao has been involved in extensive research and international cooperation projects in Canada and China. His research has focused on three axes: 1) Urbanization and Mobility; 2) Regional ethnic minority; 3) Spatial inequality and accessibility of social services. Dr. Cao's research has been funded several times by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR), Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSD) and also by Chinese Government ministries including the Ministry of Science and Technology and the Ministry of Education.

Along with his research experience, Dr. Cao has written numerous articles related to urban and regional development while collaborating with academics throughout the world. He is guest editor of the International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) publication series: *Ethnic Minorities and Regional Development in Asia: Reality and Challenges* (Amsterdam University Press, 2009) and is also the co-editor of the books *Inclusion and Harmony: Improving Mutual Understanding of Development in Minority Regions* (The Ethnic Publishing House-民族出版社, 2008) and *Regional Minorities and Development in Asia* (Routledge, 2010). In 2010, Dr. Cao authored the book, *Regional Disparity and Minority Inclusion: The Challenges of China after the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games* (*Disparités régionales et inclusion des minorités : Les défis de la Chine de l'après Jeux Olympiques de Beijing*), by Presses de l'Université du Québec.

Senator Vivienne Poy, Chancellor Emerita of the University of Toronto.

The Honourable Vivienne Poy is a historian, author, fashion designer, entrepreneur, corporate director and volunteer with a number of cultural, educational and social organizations. Born in Hong Kong, she was educated in Hong Kong, England, and Canada. She completed an Honours B.A. in history at McGill University, followed by an MA and PhD in history from the University of Toronto. She also completed a Diploma in Fashion Arts at Seneca College. Her academic interests, and her 4 books, focus on the history of the Chinese in Canada, the history of Hong Kong and of modern China.

In 1998, Senator Vivienne Poy was the first Canadian of Asian descent to be appointed to the Senate of Canada. Over the years, Vivienne Poy has

been involved with many cultural, educational and philanthropic causes across Canada. As a Senator, and an active member of the Asian Canadian communities, she was instrumental in having May recognized by the federal government as Asian Heritage Month in Canada. She is also committed to building bridges of understanding between Canada, and the Asia Pacific region. As a result of her leadership in politics, the community and education, she has received many awards and honours including being voted by Canadians as one of 2010's Top 25 Canadian Immigrants in *Canadian Immigrant Magazine*, as well as receiving the inaugural Golden Mountain Achievement Award at the 150 Years in Golden Mountain Celebration in 2008 in Victoria.

In recognition of her national and international achievements, she has been awarded several honorary degrees from universities in Canada and around the world.

Authors:

Thomas Paul d'Aquino, B.A., LL.B., LL.M., LL.D.

Thomas d'Aquino is an entrepreneur, lawyer, author, educator and corporate director. He is Chairman and Chief Executive of Intercounsel Ltd, a private company engaged in providing strategic solutions and in advancing transformational change. He is also Senior Counsel at Gowlings, one of Canada's largest law firms, chairs the firm's Business Strategy and Public Policy Group and is a member of the Gowlings International Strategic Advisory Group.

Mr. d'Aquino serves on the Board of Directors of Manulife Financial Corporation, CGI Group Inc., and Coril Holdings Ltd. and is Chairman of the National Gallery of Canada Foundation.

He is associated with two of Canada's leading academic institutions: as Distinguished Visiting Professor, Global Business and Public Policy Strategies at Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs; and as Honorary Professor at The University of Western Ontario's Richard Ivey School of Business. Earlier in his career, he served as Special Assistant to the Prime Minister of Canada and as Adjunct Professor of Law at the University of Ottawa lecturing on the law of international trade and global business transactions.

From 1981 to 2009, Mr. d'Aquino was Chief Executive and President of the Canadian Council of Chief Executives (CCCE), an organization

composed of the chief executives of 150 of the country's leading enterprises and pre-eminent entrepreneurs. Mr. d'Aquino assumed leadership of the Council in its formative stages. Upon his retirement from the CCCE as of December 31, 2009, member companies accounted for \$850 billion in annual revenues and \$4.5 trillion in assets. With a combined Canadian stock market value of \$675 billion, the companies are responsible for the majority of Canada's private sector exports, investment and training. In recognition of his exemplary leadership, he was named by the Canadian Council of Chief Executives Board of Directors, a Distinguished Life Time Member.

A native of Nelson, British Columbia, Mr. d'Aquino was educated at the Universities of British Columbia, Queen's and London (University College and the London School of Economics). He holds B.A., LL.B., and LL.M. degrees, and an Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws from Queen's University and from Wilfrid Laurier University.

Mr. d'Aquino has been referred to as Canada's most influential policy strategist and the country's leading global business ambassador. He is the author of numerous publications including the influential book *Northern Edge: How Canadian Can Triumph in the Global Economy*. He is a regular commentator on radio and television, and a frequent speaker on platforms in Canada, the United States, Europe, Asia and Latin America. Mr. d'Aquino has addressed audiences in forty countries and in over one hundred cities worldwide.

The Honourable Perrin Beatty, P.C. has been the President and Chief Executive Officer of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, since August 2007. Prior to joining the chamber Mr. Beatty was the President and Chief Executive Officer of Canadian Manufacturers & Exporters. He was elected to the House of Commons as a Progressive Conservative in 1972 and in 1979 he was appointed Minister of State (Treasury Board) in the government of Joe Clark, at the time the youngest person ever to serve in a federal Cabinet. He held six additional portfolios in subsequent Progressive Conservative governments, including Secretary of State for External Affairs in 1993. Following the 1993 federal election, he was an Honourary Visiting Professor with the Department of Political Science, University of Western Ontario, where he taught a course in Communications Technologies and Public Policy. Mr. Beatty was appointed President and CEO of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in 1995. Mr. Beatty has served on a number of Canadian government advisory committees covering issues

that include national security, border management, privacy and international trade. He is also a member of the Advisory Council of the Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute and served for five years as Business Co-Chair of the Canadian Labour and Business Centre.

Fred Bild is Adjunct Professor at the University of Montreal's Centre of East Asian Studies. A graduate of Concordia University (philosophy & sociology), University College London (diploma in international law), and École d' Administration, Paris. He joined DEA in 1961. Professor Bild has served in various posts at Headquarters, including Director of personnel and Administration, international political and security affairs. He has served abroad with the Canadian delegation to the International Control Commissions in Laos and at Embassies in Tokyo, Paris (3 times), Bangkok and Beijing. The latter two as Ambassador.

Charles Burton is Associate Professor at Brock University specializing in Comparative Politics, Government and Politics of China, Canada-China Relations and Human Rights. He served as Counsellor at the Canadian Embassy to China between 1991-1993 and 1998-2000. Prior to coming to Brock, he worked at the Communications Security Establishment Canada of the Department of National Defence.

Dr. Burton received his PhD in 1987 from the University of Toronto after studies at Cambridge University (Oriental Studies) and Fudan University (History of Ancient Chinese Thought Program, Department of Philosophy, class of '77). He held the Izaak Walton Killam Memorial Post-Doctoral Scholar in Political Science at University of Alberta from 1986 to 1988.

His recently published works include: "Response to Jeremy Paltiel's Article, 'Canada and China: An Agenda for the Twenty-First Century: A Rejoinder to Charles Burton'" *Canadian Foreign Policy*, 15 (2), 2009, *A Reassessment of Canada's Interests in China and Options for Renewal of Canada's China Policy* refereed report released by the Canadian International Council (A Changing World: Canadian Foreign Policy Priorities, No. 4), 2009, "Neauthoritarianism, urban bourgeoisie, and China's democratization" in Wu Guoguang, and Helen Lansdowne (eds), *Zhao Ziyang and China's Democratic Future*, (Routledge, 2008), "The 'Beijing Consensus' and China's quest for legitimacy on the international stage" in André Laliberté and Marc Lanteigne (eds), *The Chinese Party-State in the 21st Century*, (Routledge, 2008).

Ming K. Chan was born in Hong Kong where he completed high school. He obtained three US degrees, including a Ph D in history from Stanford in 1975 at the age of 25.

He is a visiting fellow, Center for East Asian Studies, Stanford University, where he was Visiting Professor of Chinese History, 1992-93. As a Research Fellow at Stanford's Hoover Institution 1999-2008, he ran the Hong Kong Documentary Archives project. During 1980-97, he taught in the History Department, University of Hong Kong, where he was twice elected "Best Teacher" by the Students' Union. He served as the John Heath Professor at Grinnell College, 2006-07, and the Julian & Virginia Cornell Professor at Swarthmore College, 1993-94. He was also visiting professor at Duke University, Mount Holyoke College, UCLA and El Colegio de Mexico.

Ming Chan has published 12 academic volumes and over 60 articles/book chapters on Chinese history, China- global links, and Hong Kong/Macao studies. He is General Editor of the *Hong Kong Becoming China* multi-volume series published by M E Sharpe, New York, with 12 titles issued since 1991. His recent books are: *Crisis and Transformation in China's Hong Kong* (M.E. Sharpe, 2002); *Historical Dictionary of the Hong Kong SAR & the Macao SAR*. (Scarecrow Press, 2006); *China's Hong Kong Transformed: Retrospect & Prospects Beyond The First Decade* (City University of Hong Kong Press, 2008); and *Perspectives on Lingnan Modern History: Guangdong and its Hong Kong Links, 1900-38* (Commercial Press, 2010).

Presented 80 plus papers in international conferences, Ming Chan has lectured at over 90 universities in North America, Europe, Asia and Australia. As an Asian affairs commentator, he is frequently interviewed by television, radio and the printed media, including Canadian newspapers and TV/radio networks. He is a trustee & principal of the Hong Kong Oral History Foundation.

Olivier Dehoorne was born in Manciet, Gers, France. He received his PhD in 1996, with his research focusing on the development of mountainous areas and tourism development strategies. After a first post at l'Université de Poitiers, he came to settle in Martinique in 2002 at the University of the French West Indies and Guiana, where he teaches geography, geopolitics, development and tourism.

His research is devoted to development issues in less developed countries, on the themes of migration, tourism, and resource management and planning. His specialty is in Latin America, but he also has an interest in

Asian studies. He has co-authored several books, also co-editing a book (on the island) and authoring articles in several journals (REMI, Téoros, Etudes Caribéennes).

Dr. Dehoorne has had teaching and research positions in Eastern Europe since 2000, notably in relation with Romania and the University of Oradea. He is currently engaged in several research projects on tourism and heritage in partnership with Romanian colleagues. He also regularly collaborates with Canadian universities (co-organizing a summer school in 1998 with the University of Montreal), including the University of Moncton (conference in 1999, visiting scholar from 2000 to 2002) and Ottawa (Visiting Professor in 2004, co-organizer of a symposium on regional development in 2004).

Tony Fang is an Associate Professor of Human Resources Management and Industrial Relations at York University and a research associate with the Centre for Industrial Relations and Human Resources Management at University of Toronto. Currently he also serves as the Domain Leader in Economic and Labour market Integration at CERIS – Ontario Metropolis Centre and a past Board Member of the Chinese Economists Society. He is also a visiting professor at Fudan University, Southwest University of Finance and Economics, and China University of Geosciences, all in China. In 2010, he received the title of “Chutian Scholar” of Hubei Province.

Professor Fang has a PhD in Industrial Relations and Human Resource Management from the University of Toronto, a MA in Economics from Memorial University of Newfoundland, and B.A. in economics from Shandong University. His areas of research interest encompass issues of compensation and benefits, high performance workplace practices, pension, retirement policy and the ageing workforce, education, immigration, and minimum wages, union impact on wages, innovation and firm growth, pay equity and employment equity. He has published in such journals as *Industrial Relations (Berkeley)*, *Canadian Journal of Economics*, *Canadian Public Policy*, *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, *Journal of Labor Research*, *International Journal of Manpower*, *Journal of Management History*, *Social Indicators Research*, and *Perspectives on Labour and Income*. He also received numerous research grants and awards from Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and Human Resources and Social Development Canada.

Bernie Michael Frolic is Professor Emeritus, Department of Political Science, York University, and Senior Research Fellow, Asian Institute, Munk School for Global Affairs, University of Toronto. He is Visiting Professor in

Canadian Studies at Beijing Foreign Studies (Beiwei) University Graduate Centre. He first visited China in 1965. In the 1970's he served as First Secretary in the Canadian Embassy in Beijing. His published works include books on Canada-PRC relations, the Cultural Revolution, civil society in China, and democracy and human rights in S.E Asia. He is currently completing a book on Canada-PRC relations since 1970 and working on a longer term study of political change in China.

Jack Jedwab is currently the Executive Director of the Association for Canadian Studies (ACS) and the newly established International Association for the Study of Canada (IASC). He has served as Executive Director since 1998. From 1994-1998 he served as Executive Director of the Quebec Branch of the Canadian Jewish Congress. Mr. Jedwab earned a BA in Canadian History with a minor in Economics from McGill University and went on to complete an MA and PhD in Canadian History from Concordia University. He was a doctoral fellow of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada from 1982-1985. He lectured at McGill University between 1983 and 2008 in the Quebec Studies Program, the sociology and political science departments and the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada where he taught courses on Official Language Minorities in Canada and Sports in Canada. He is the founding editor of the publication *Canadian Diversity* and the new *Canadian Journal for Social Research*. A former contributor to the Canadian edition of *Reader's Digest*, he has written several essays in books, scholarly journals and in newspapers across the country and has also authored various publications and government reports on issues of immigration, multiculturalism, human rights and official languages.

Ann H. Kim is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology at York University, an Affiliate of *CERIS-The Ontario Metropolis Centre* and a Faculty Associate of the *York Centre for Asian Research*. Her research is largely motivated by questions related to the immigrant and ethnic integration process and the factors that contribute to differing paths of integration. She has published on ethnicity and residential patterns in Canada and the United States (a 2009 book with *LFB Publishing* and articles in the *American Journal of Sociology*, *Canadian Studies in Population* and *Sociological Methods and Research*), immigrant generations and homeownership (*Canadian Journal of Urban Research*), and international migration flows (*Canadian Studies in Population*). More recently, she has developed

an expanding program of research on the Korean diaspora in Canada which encompasses ethnic entrepreneurship, immigrant seniors, new destinations, and transnational families, and currently, she is working on two major projects, one on Korean transnational families and another on the gendered and racialized patterns of economic security in later life.

Sonny Shiu-Hing Lo is Professor in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at the Hong Kong Institute of Education and Co-Director of the Research Center for Greater China Studies there. He formerly taught political science at the University of Waterloo, University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, Hong Kong Lingnan College, and the University of East Asia, Macau. In 1991-92, he was a research fellow at Murdoch University, Australia. His recent publications include *The Politics of Cross-Border Crime in Greater China* (M. E. Sharpe, 2009) and *The Dynamics of Beijing-Hong Kong Relations: A Model for Taiwan?* (Hong Kong University Press, 2008).

Guida C. Man is an Adjunct Professor in the Faculty of Liberal Arts and Professional Studies at York University, teaching in the Departments of Sociology, Equity Studies, and Women Studies. She is a Faculty Associate of the *Centre for Feminist Research* and the *York Centre for Asian Research*, and an Affiliate of *CERIS-The Ontario Metropolis Centre*. Her research interest encompasses the interactions of globalization, transnational migration, gender, work, and social inequality, as they are articulated to gender, race and class relations. She has conducted a number of research studies concerning Chinese immigrants in Canada, addressing such issues as transnationalism, families, gender relations, employment, and integration. Currently, she is the Principal Investigator of a research entitled “*Transnational Migration Trajectories of Immigrant Women Professionals in Canada: Strategies of Work and Family*” funded by SSHRC Standard Research Grant (2009-11), and another research on transnational linkages of Chinese immigrant women in Toronto funded by a York University research grant (2009-10). She has published extensively in her area of specialization, and is presently involved in a co-edited book project entitled *Transnational Voices: Global Migration and the Experiences of Women, Youth and Children*.

Errol P. Mendes is a lawyer, professor, author and advisor to corporations, governments, civil society groups, and the United Nations. His areas of expertise include corporate law, governance and social responsibility, international business, trade and public law, constitutional law, and human

rights law and policy. He has taught in these areas at law schools across Canada and is presently a full Professor of law at the University of Ottawa. He has also been a human rights Tribunal member in Canada, acted as an international arbitrator and an advisor in Canada's Privy Council Office, and recently served as a Visiting Professional at the International criminal Court in The Hague. While his ethnic roots are from Goa, India, Professor Mendes was born in Kenya, East Africa. He obtained his Bachelor of Law degree from the University of Exeter in the UK, followed by a Master of Laws degree from the University of Illinois. In 1979, he emigrated to Canada and was called to the Bar of Ontario in 1986. Prof. Mendes has been a Project Leader for conflict resolution, governance and justice projects in Asia and Latin America, and has lectured and given media commentaries across Canada and throughout the world. He led a project on human rights in China in partnership with Beijing University, which produced three landmark books he co-edited on human rights that included contributions from leading Chinese and Canadian intellectuals and practitioners. He has authored, co-authored, or edited several other books, including the landmark constitutional law text, *The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, 3rd Edition, Carswell, 1996. He is also Editor-in-Chief of Canada's leading constitutional law journal, *The National Journal of Constitutional Law*. In 2006, Prof. Mendes was awarded the Walter S. Tarnopolsky Human Rights Award by the Canadian Section of the International Commission of Jurists and the Canadian Bar Association.

Ghazy Mujahid, a former United Nations Advisor on Population Policies and Development for East and South-East Asia, is an Affiliate of *CERIS-The Ontario Metropolis Centre* and an Associate of the *York Centre for Asian Research*. He has focused his research increasingly on population ageing and issues of senior populations. He has published extensively on the subject and his major publications include *"Population Ageing in East and South-East Asia: Current Situation and Emerging Challenges"* (2006); *"The Impact of Social Pensions: Perceptions of Asian Older Persons"* (2008) and *"Demographic Prognosis for South Asia: a future of rapid ageing"* (2009), all published by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). His most recent work *"The Senior Population in Peel Region: Trends, Characteristics and Issues (1996-2006)"* was published by the Social Planning Council of Peel in March 2010. He is currently working with Professor (Emerita) Kenise Murphy Kilbride on a project *"Immigrant Senior Men in Ontario: Understanding and Meeting Their Needs and Challenges"* based in Ryerson University, Toronto.

Jeremy Paltiel is professor of political science at Carleton University in Ottawa and was visiting professor at the department of international relations at Tsinghua University in Beijing in 2009. He previously taught at the University of Alberta (1984-1990), the University of Arizona (1983-84) and the University of California at San Diego (1981-83). He received his BA in East Asian Studies from the University of Toronto in 1974, a diploma in Philosophy from Beijing University in 1976, and his MA (1979) and his PhD (1984) in political science from the University of California, Berkeley.

Most recently he co-ordinated the Chinese domestic background theme of the Canadian International Council's China Working Group and authored two of its papers: "Canada in China's Grand Strategy" and "Structure and Process in China's Foreign Policy Making – implications for Canada". He is the author of *The Empire's New Clothes: Cultural Particularism and Universality in China's Rise to Global Status* (Palgrave, 2007), "China and the Six-Party Talks" (2007), "Mencius and World Order Theories" (2010), "China's Regionalization Policies: Illiberal internationalism or Neo-Mencian Benevolence?" (2009), "Peaceful Rise? Soft Power? Human Rights in China's New Multilateralism" (2007) as well as numerous other articles on Chinese politics, East Asian foreign relations and Sino-Canadian relations.

Yuen Pau Woo is President and CEO of the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada. Mr. Woo is an advisor to the Shanghai WTO Affairs Consultation Centre and the Canadian Ditchley Foundation. He is also on the Global Council of the Asia Society in New York, a member of the Greater Vancouver Advisory Board for the Salvation Army, and a board member of the Mosaic Institute.

Since 2006, Mr. Woo has been coordinator of the State of the Region Report, the flagship publication of the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC). He is also on the editorial board of Pacific Affairs.

Qiang Zha is an Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Education, York University. He holds a PhD in Higher Education, earned at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto (OISE/UT). As a Chevening Scholar, he received a Master of Art degree in Comparative Education from the University of London Institute of Education. In 2004, he was a co-recipient of the inaugural UNESCO Palgrave Prize on Higher Education Policy Research.

In recent years, Qiang Zha focused his research on two SSHRC-supported projects, "China's Move to Mass Higher Education: Implications for

Democratization and Global Cultural Dialogue” and “Canadian Universities and International Talent in a New Era of Global Geo-Politics.” The first project shed light on China’s move to mass higher education in terms of the policy making process and the empirical experience. Its major findings are to be reported in a book titled *Portraits of 21st Century Chinese Universities: In the Move to Mass Higher Education* (Springer and Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong, 2011), which Qiang Zha co-authored with Ruth Hayhoe, Jun Li, and Jing Lin. This second project explores Canadian universities’ attractiveness to international talent, and in particular to university professors originating from China who now hold Canada Research Chairs (CRC). This study is situated in the current context of a global geo-political shift, with emerging powers such as China and India shaping global interactions in new ways.

Kenny Zhang is a Senior Project Manager at the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, which was created by an Act of Parliament in 1984, as an independent, not-for-profit think-tank on Canada’s relations with Asia.

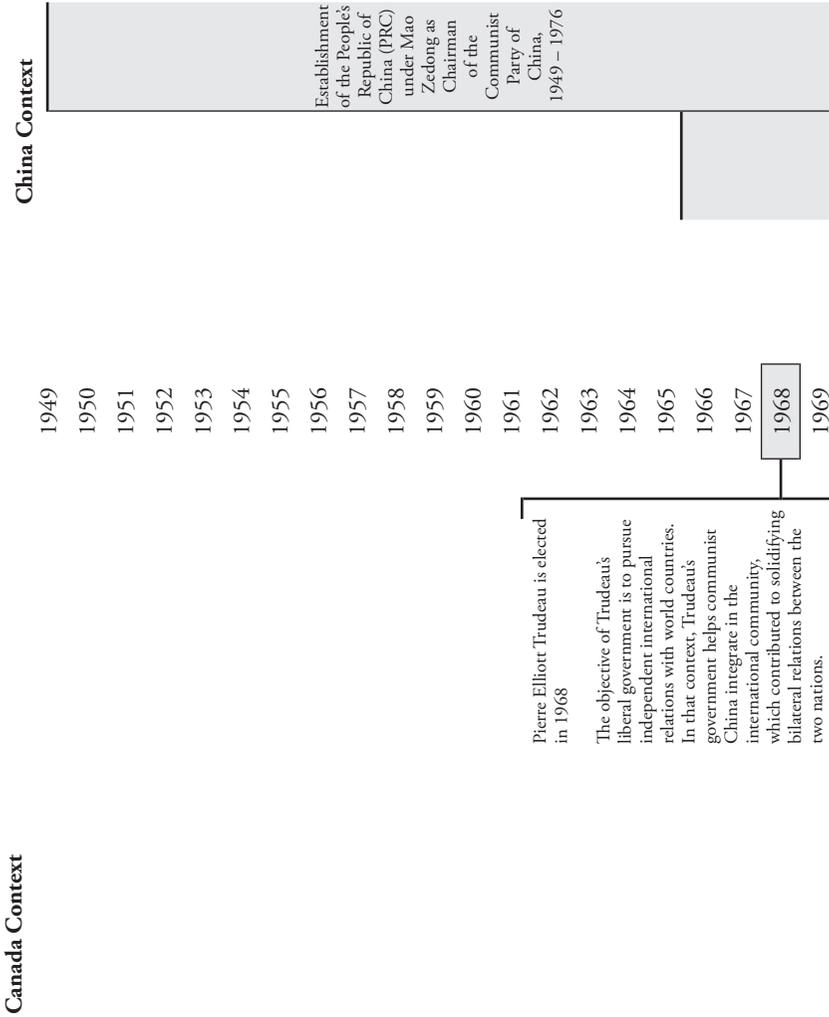
Mr. Zhang joined the Foundation in January 2003 and specializes in China and immigration topics. His main research interests include Canada-China trade and investment relations, economics of immigration of Canada with focus on the Canadians abroad. Mr. Zhang received his BA and MA degrees in economics from Fudan University, China and the Institute of Social Studies, The Netherlands, respectively. Prior to joining the Foundation, he worked as associate research professor at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences and senior researcher at the Centre of Excellence on Immigration Studies at Simon Fraser University, Vancouver.

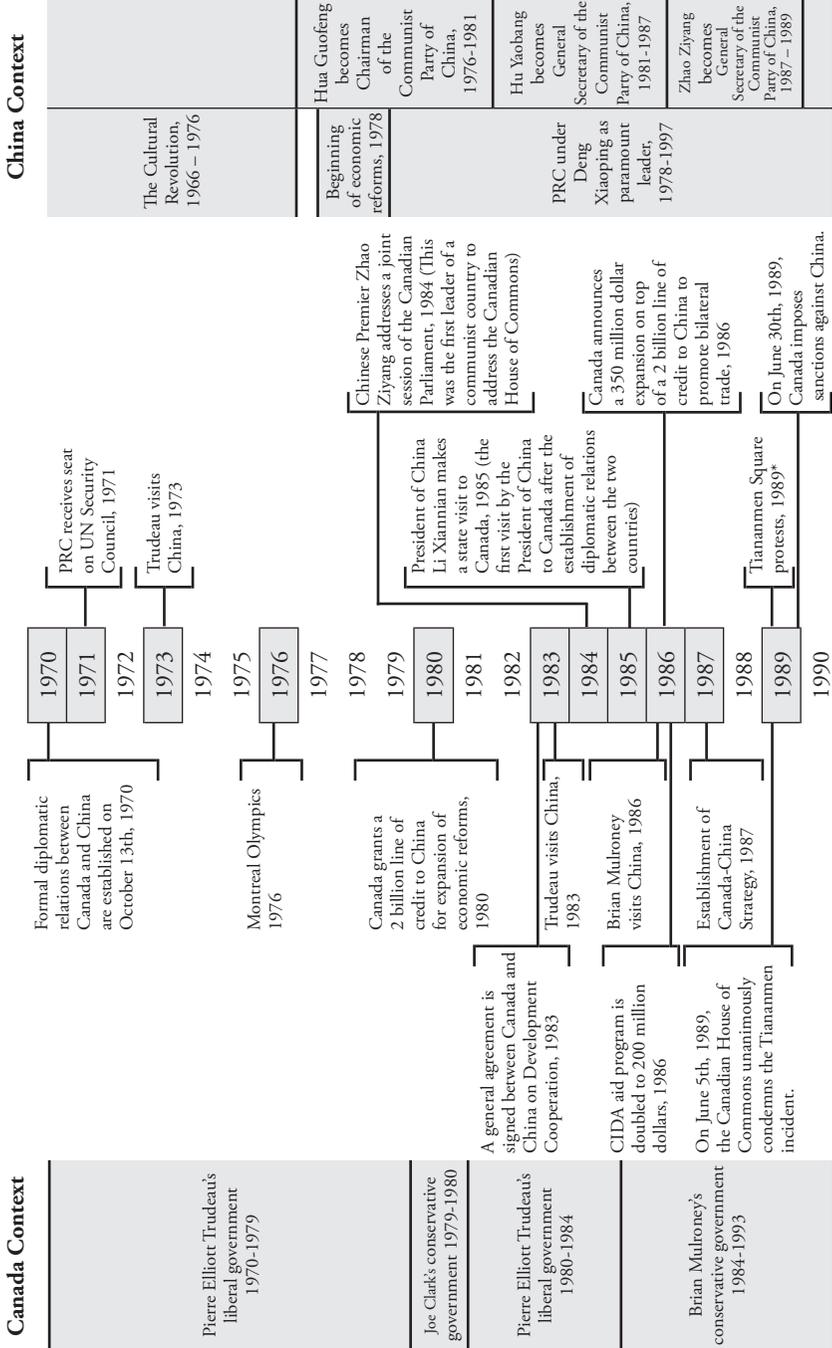
Mr. Zhang is on the Board of Directors of Canada China Business Council (BC Chapter) and the Board of Directors of Metropolis British Columbia. He has been a member of Vancouver Mayor’s Working Group on Immigration since 2005. He is also member on the Joint Federal Provincial Immigration Advisory Council and Immigrant Employment Council of British Columbia.

Appendix

Major Events in Sino-Canadian Relations since 1970

Cassandra Cao





* The Tiananmen Square protests, which took place in May and June 1989, involved millions of demonstrators, the majority of whom were university students, mobilizing on Tiananmen Square in Beijing, and in other major Chinese cities, against corruption and for democracy.

Canada Context

Jean Chrétien leads the First Team Canada trade mission to China, 1994
Kim Campbell's conservative government; 1993
Jean Chrétien's liberal government 1993-2003
Paul Martin's liberal government 2003-2006
Stephen Harper's conservative government 2006-present

Jean Chrétien leads the First Team Canada trade mission to China, 1994

Jean Chrétien's liberal government's foreign policy vis-à-vis China is based on four main pillars: (1) economic partnership; (2) peace and security; (3) sustainable development; and (4) human rights.

Canada decides to end the co-sponsoring human rights resolution on China at United Nations meeting and announces a bilateral package of human rights initiatives, 1997

Paul Martin meets with the spiritual chief of Tibetans Dalai Lama in a non-official context in April 2004

Stephen Harper formally meets the Dalai Lama in his Parliament Hill office, 2007

Approved destination status for Chinese tourism to Canada is signed, 2010

Three Canadian Members of Parliament are expelled from China during an official visit to the country, 1992.

Team Canada to China, 1996

Team Canada to China, 1998

Team Canada to China, 2001

Team Canada to China, 2003

The Canadian government announces Canada's Asia-Pacific Gateway & Corridor Initiative in 2005

Stephen Harper makes his first official visit to China, 2009

1991

1992

1993

1994

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1998

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2002

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2006

2007

2008

2009

2010

2011

Chinese Premier Li Peng visits Canada, 1995

Jiang Zemin visits Canada, 1997

Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji visits Canada, 1999

Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao visits Canada, 2003

Hu Jintao visits Canada, 2005

Beijing Olympics, 2008

World Expo, Shanghai, 2010

Hu Jintao visits Canada, 2010

China participates for the first time in the UN Commission on Human Rights, 1996

Foundation of the Canada-China Joint Committee on Human Rights, 1997

China signs the UN's International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1998

China officially joins WTO, 2001

Paul Martin visits China, 2005

The extending of honorary Canadian citizenship to the Dalai Lama by a unanimous vote of the House of Commons, 2006

China Context

Deng Xiaoping's southern tour, 1992
Jiang Zemin becomes General Secretary of the Communist Party of China, 1989 – 2002
Hong Kong returns to China, 1997
Macau returns to China, 1999
Hu Jintao becomes General Secretary of the Communist Party of China, 2002 – present