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The Economic and Political Impact Of Chinese Engagement In The Americas: A Canadian perspective

Crowne Plaza Hotel, Ottawa
101 Lyon St, Penthouse level
Friday February 10, 2006

8:45 am	Registration
9:15 am	Opening Remarks, <i>Eduardo del Buey, FOCAL</i>
9:30-12:30	Morning Session: <i>China and the Americas: Where are we now?</i> <i>Chair: Rt. Hon. Joe Clark</i>

This panel will consider the significance of China's emergence for both South and North America. Following 25+ years of reforms and rapid growth, there is little doubt that China matters. As China pursues a development strategy similar to that of its successful East Asian neighbours, where do countries of the Americas fit into the picture? What has been China's pattern of bilateral trade and investment with regards to Canada and countries of Latin America? What policy frameworks have Canada, Brazil, and Mexico put in place to confront the challenges and opportunities posed by China?

Speakers:

- Paul Evans, Co-CEO, Asia-Pacific Foundation of Canada
- Robert Keyes, Canadian Chamber of Commerce
- Renato Amorim, Executive Secretary, Brazil-China Business Council
- Renato Balderrama, Executive Director, Asia Pacific Institute, Instituto Tecnológico de Monterrey (Mexico)

Open discussion: Has Canada missed the China boat? What has been the substance behind the recently established Canada-China Strategic Partnership, as well as other initiatives such as: the Pacific Gateway Strategy, Team Canada missions, and government-to-government working groups? How have Brazil and Mexico's 'game plans' taken shape? Given that different countries have handled the 'China issue' in different ways, can any broad lessons be extracted from interactions with Chinese leaders up to this point?

12:30-1:30 **Buffet Lunch**

1:30-3:00

Afternoon Session:

Strategic Sectors: *Where do we want to be?*

Chair: *Debra Steger, Faculty of Law, University of Ottawa*

This panel will explore the impact of Chinese trade and investment in the Americas on Canadian companies operating in the region. Particular attention will be placed on the oil, gas and mining industries, where Canadian firms are especially well represented. However, technologically-intensive sectors are also important in securing long-term competitiveness in an increasingly knowledge-based global economy. Relative to China, where do Canada and LAC countries stand in diversifying their production and export baskets in such areas as alternative fuels and related manufacturing technologies?

Speakers:

- Gordon Peeling, President and CEO Canadian Mining Association
- Lo-Sun Jen Executive Advisor on Mining Development and Investment, Departmental Advisor on China, Minerals and Metals Sector, Natural Resource Canada
- Wenran Jiang, Director, China Institute at the University of Alberta
- Annette Hester, Senior Research Associate, Centre for Strategic and International Studies

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Open Discussion: How does the level of sectoral regional integration in global supply chains affect our analysis of China's impact? What is an adequate long-term policy vision for engaging China, so that its emergence complementary to economies of the region, rather than disruptive? With China predominantly assembling and re-exporting manufactures, but still lacking deeper technological capabilities, what strategic sectors, technologies and processes should be leveraged with the Chinese to ensure a balanced and mutually beneficial trading relationship?

3:00-3:15

Break

3:15-4:45

Final Session:

Political Dimensions and Policy Implications for Canada

Chair: *Jamal Khokhar, Director General, Latin American and Caribbean Bureau, Foreign Affairs Canada*

This free-flowing session will engage all participants in addressing the political challenges brought about by increased Chinese economic activity in the region, as well as considering possible policy responses. While there is consensus that China's rising demand for natural resources is the main driver behind the growing interest in Latin America, there is acknowledgement that there are political dimensions to the relationship. For example, the issue of Taiwan is the clearest exception to China's relentless economic pragmatism. Moreover, there are concerns that increased interaction with Latin America may have an overall negative influence in the region. Politically, China's poor democratic credentials and lack of respect for the rule of law may reawaken "bad habits" in Latin America such as authoritarianism, and cause an erosion of efforts to improve human rights and stem corruption. Criticism of Chinese activity in Africa would seem to support this view.

At the same time, although China remains a low-income country, its remarkable rate of growth and success in reducing poverty have been key achievements in its unorthodox and gradualist approach to economic reform and opening up. As Latin American countries have now undergone

both extreme versions of closed and opened economic regimes and are still struggling with a poor record of growth, the East Asian “mixed-model” experience may contain positive lessons for Latin America. This multifaceted view begs the question of how to adequately respond to the “China effect” in the Americas. Here are some suggested questions for discussion:

- | ▪ Has the Chinese claim of “win-win relationships” with Latin American countries and Canada been more rhetoric than reality? ← - - - - **Formatted:** Bullets and Numbering

- | ▪ What does increased Chinese engagement in Latin America mean for the dissemination of Canadian foreign and development policy in the region, including respect for democracy and human rights, engagement with civil society, protection of the environment, and corporate social responsibility? Is China supportive, obstructive, or ambivalent toward these objectives?
 - What kind of role can China be expected to play with governments in Venezuela, Cuba and Bolivia (and other countries whose leaders respect China’s revolutionary heritage) vis-à-vis real or perceived United States opposition to their rule? Are there security implications for Canada and the region?

- | ▪ How to deal with the political downside of China’s involvement in Africa is currently occupying the minds of African elites; could Latin America and Canada learn from Africa’s mixed experience with China and anticipate potential shortcomings? ← - - - - **Formatted:** Bullets and Numbering

- | ▪ How important is the Taiwan factor in the Latin American region? Is the issue likely to lead to disruptive Chinese meddling? ← - - - - **Formatted:** Bullets and Numbering
 - Conversely, do increased political relations with China represent an opportunity at an international system more receptive to developing countries’ needs (WTO negotiations, UNSC, etc.)?

- | ▪ Could China, and East Asia more generally, provide any insights on the “right mix” of roles for the public and private sector in development? What role, if any, should Canada play in this controversial process of development? ← - - - - **Formatted:** Bullets and Numbering

4:45 Closing Remarks

Biographies of Speakers and Panel Chairs:

RENATO AMORIM is executive secretary of the China-Brazil Business Council and director of foreign affairs of the Companhia Vale do Rio Doce (CVRD). Before taking up his current responsibilities, Mr. Amorim was a diplomat in the Brazilian Foreign Service. He served in Argentina and China, and headed the economic section of the Brazilian embassy in Beijing from 2000 to 2003. In December 2003, he quit the Foreign Service in order to take up the double challenge of setting up the Council and CVRD's department of foreign affairs.

The China-Brazil Business Council is a non-profit organization founded in May 2004. It currently comprises of nearly 90 Brazilian and Chinese companies and institutions among its members. The Council aims at strengthening bilateral trade and investments, advances proposal for improvements in the legal infrastructure of bilateral economic relations and performs business advocacy for its members. Its national chairmen are the CEOs of CVRD and China MinMetals. The Brazilian section has an independent executive secretariat funded by the members and managed by Mr. Amorim, with its own staff of researchers and other professionals. The Chinese section is coordinated by the Ministry of Commerce.

CVRD – Companhia Vale do Rio Doce is a global and diversified mining company, the largest private company in Latin America and the world's largest exporter of iron ore. Besides mining iron, copper, bauxite, manganese, nickel and other minerals, its operations include energy and logistics, as well as alumina and aluminum. A former state-owned enterprise, CVRD was privatized in 1997 and is now engaged in a process of swift internationalization. As of January 27th, 2006, its market value was US\$ 55 billion.

RENATO BALDERRAMA has recently been appointed Executive Director for the Asia Pacific Institute at the Instituto Tecnológico de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey (ITESM). He is also a business advisor to several Mexican Chambers of Commerce, local governments, and universities. He has a Bachelor degree in International Relations at ITESM and a Masters Degree in Asian and African studies at El Colegio de México. During 1995 to 2000, Mr. Balderrama worked in the private sector. His jobs included business consultant at the Trade Commission of Mexico (Bancomext) in Vancouver and International Commercialization Manager for the North American market at IUSA, a Mexican holding company located in Toluca. In 2002, Mr. Balderrama became associate professor at the Department of International Relations and a researcher at the Center for North American studies, both at ITESM.

Prof. Balderrama has participated in several international conferences and symposia in Germany, Spain, Czech Republic, France, Canada, USA, Costa Rica, Cuba, China, South Korea and across Mexico. His most recent publications are *China: ¿Una nueva esperanza para América Latina? El Estado actual de las relaciones desde la visión de Estados Unidos* and *“Las relaciones Nuevo León-China: ¿un futuro para el desarrollo económico de las empresas regiomentanas?* Prof. Balderrama frequently writes about China and Latin America for Mexican and international newspapers.

RT. HONOURABLE JOE CLARK, FORMER CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER

Canada's 16th Prime Minister is one of the most recognizable people in the country, and has become one of the most widely respected Canadians from coast to coast and beyond. This reputation was earned through two decades of experience in the nation's highest offices, and reinforced by the personal characteristics for which Mr. Clark is so well known: his commitment, integrity and vision.

Mr. Clark was first elected to the House of Commons in 1972, and in 1976 at age 36, was elected leader of the Progressive Conservative Party. Three years later, he defeated Pierre Trudeau to become the youngest Prime Minister in Canadian history. As Prime Minister, his government distinguished itself for its commitment to openness and democracy. After Trudeau's return to power, Mr. Clark led what many have called the most effective opposition in Canadian history.

As Minister of External Affairs between 1984 and 1991, Mr. Clark strengthened Canada's position as an articulate advocate for human rights and a committed proponent of liberalized trade around the world. He spearheaded the efforts of Commonwealth foreign ministers to end apartheid in South Africa, and worked to secure the release of political prisoners from the Soviet Union.

Mr. Clark returned to the House of Commons in September 2000 and was re-elected again two months later in the general federal election as the Member of Parliament for the riding of Calgary Centre in Alberta.

Most recently, Joe Clark has been appointed a teaching position at American University in Washington, DC, for the academic year beginning September 1, 2004. Retiring after twenty-five years in Canada's Parliament, Clark is the first Distinguished Statesman-in-Residence in the School of International Service and is Senior Fellow in the Center for North American Studies.

EDUARDO DEL BUEY has served since February 2005 as Executive Director of the Canadian Foundation for the Americas (FOCAL), Canada's premier think tank specializing in hemispheric issues. Born and raised in Montreal, Canada, he received his BA in history from McGill University in 1972, and his MBA (International Business) from Concordia University in 1975. He joined the Canadian Foreign Service in 1974, and served at Canadian Embassies in Teheran, Caracas, Lima, Guatemala, Madrid, and Mexico City, specializing in political analysis and public diplomacy. At headquarters, served as Departmental Media Spokesperson for Latin America and Africa from 1993-95, and in Central America and Caribbean Division 1987-89. During his time in Mexico, he directed the organization of and participated in numerous conferences on North American issues, and the Canada-Mexico bilateral relationship.

From 1999 - 2004, he served as Director of External Relations and Public Information at the Organization of American States (OAS) and advisor to Secretary General Cesar Gaviria on strategic communications and Canadian issues. He also directed the OAS's relations with the sixty Permanent Observer Governments, as well as all facets of the OAS's communications strategies and activities. Under his direction, the OAS initiated its monthly electronic publication Americas Forum, began web casting all major OAS meetings, and obtained enhanced coverage of OAS activities by major US media. From October 2004 until February 2005, he managed the Trade Development Programme at the Canadian Embassy in Guatemala.

PAUL EVANS is the Vice-Chair of the Board of Directors and Co-CEO of the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada. He is on secondment from the University of British Columbia where he is a Professor in the Faculty of Graduate Studies co-appointed to the Liu Institute for Global Issues and the Institute of Asian Research.

Holding a Ph.D from Dalhousie, Dr. Evans' previous teaching and administrative appointments include: Assistant, Associate and Professor, Department of Political Science, York University, 1981-97; Director, University of Toronto - York University Joint Centre for Asia Pacific Studies, 1991-96; Visiting Professor, Asia Center, Harvard University, 1997-99; and Acting Director, Liu Institute for Global Issues, 2004-05. His visiting fellowships were held at the Australian National University (1988); National Chengchi University (1989); Chulalongkorn University (1989); the East-West Center (1995); and the National Institute for Research Advancement in Tokyo (1999).

His principal books are: *John Fairbank and the American Understanding of Modern China* (1988); a co-edited volume, *Reluctant Adversaries: Canada and the People's Republic of China, 1949-1970* (1991); and an edited volume, *Studying Asia Pacific Security* (1994); *Beyond Boundaries: A Report on the State of Non-Official Dialogues on Peace, Security and Cooperation in South Asia* (1997); and (with David Capie) *The Asia-Pacific Security Lexicon* (2002). Some of his recent essays include "Human Security in East Asia: In the Beginning," *Journal of East Asian Studies*, June 2004; and "Between Regionalism and Regionalization: Policy Networks and the Nascent East Asian Institutional Identity," in T.J. Pempel, ed., *Remapping East Asia: The Construction of a Region* (Cornell University Press 2005). Recently Dr. Evans published the essay "Canada and Global China: Engagement Re-Calibrated" in Cooper and Rowlands, *Canada Among Nations* 2005. His current writing focuses on track-two security processes in Asia, East Asian regionalism, and Asian responses to human security.

ANNETTE HESTER is an economist, independent scholar and writer who specializes in Canadian foreign and international trade policy, Latin American economics and politics, hemispheric integration, and oil and gas regulatory frameworks. She is currently working in association with a number of front-line research institutions including the Centre for International Governance Innovation in Waterloo, the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Washington D.C., and the Centre d'Etudes Interaméricaines at Université Laval.

Prior to striking out on her own, Ms. Hester was the founding Director of the Latin American Research Centre (LARC) at the University of Calgary. As Director of the LARC she conducted research on a variety of subjects: the negotiations of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), international agricultural trade framework, oil and gas regulatory environments in Canada and Latin America, and corporate social responsibility, and was instrumental in the establishment of the Canada Visiting Chair in Brazilian Studies.

Ms. Hester's writes for academic publications, she most recently contributed a chapter on Canada and Brazil relations for the 2005 book from the Canada Among Nations series, and is a frequent contributor to *Oxford Analytica*. She is also the author of numerous articles in the *Oil and Gas Journal*, the *Estey Journal*, and the *Journal of Canadian Petroleum Technology*, as well as a variety of newspapers such as the *Globe and Mail*, the *Calgary Herald*, and the *Toronto Star*. She is respected by the electronic media as an expert in Latin American political and economic issues and hemispheric energy integration.

As a consultant, her primary activities have included acting as liaison and developing international market strategies for leading oil, gas, and energy companies in Canada, North America, and Latin America. She has also provided consulting services to governmental agencies in several countries of the Americas, primarily Brazil and Canada. Annette keeps a blog on western hemisphere issues on the leading edge governance portal - IGLOO (<http://www.theigloo.org/weblogs/hester>.)

WENRAN JIANG is a professor of political science and acting director of the China Institute at the University of Alberta. His teaching and research are in the areas of East Asian politics and international relations, Canada's relations with the Asia Pacific region, and the emerging energy security issue of China and other developing countries. He is twice a Japan Foundation Fellow, an academic member of Foreign Affairs Canada's Strategic Working Group on China, vice president of the Canadian Consortium on Asia Pacific Security, and a Board member of the East Asian Council of the Canadian Asian Studies Association.

Dr. Jiang has organized two large Canada-China energy conferences since November 2004, bringing together governments officials, private sector and academics to explore key issues in bilateral energy relations. He is currently working on another such conference scheduled for this

May in Beijing. Dr. Jiang is the guest editor of the two latest issues of *The Chinese Economy* (M.E. Sharpe, New York), devoted to China's growing rural-urban inequality. He has written numerous policy-relevant articles on China's energy security issues, and is the editor of the forthcoming book, *Fuelling the Dragon: China's Energy Demand and Its Implications for Canada*. Dr. Jiang's op-ed articles and interviews appear regularly in the press around the world, including but not limited to *CBC, RCI, BBC, NPR, VOA, CNN, China Central TV, BusinessWeek, Reuters, NTY, LA Times, South China Morning Post, Straits Times, Edmonton Journal, Globe & Mail, etc.*

LO-SUN JEN is currently working in the capacity of Executive Advisor on Mining, Development and Investment and as a Departmental Advisor on China in the Economic, Financial and Social Analysis Branch, Minerals and Metals Sector, Natural Resources Canada. Dr. Jen's main responsibilities are in the analysis of mineral supply from mines and development projects in Canada; capital investment flows; investment relations between Canada and China; and related policy issues and advice to the Government of Canada. He authored numerous publications, both scientific and mineral economic, and is a long-time member of the Canadian Institute of Mining, Metallurgy and Petroleum (CIM) and of the Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada (PDAC).

Dr. Jen joined the Federal Department of Energy, Mines and Resources in 1974. He first worked as a resource evaluation analyst, then as a mineral economist and senior mineral economist. Since 1999, he has been collaborating closely with Queen's University in its Executive Training Program and internship program for senior and professional mining officials from China. Prior to joining the government, he gained valuable industry experience on mining and exploration, notably, at Falconbridge Limited's Strathcona nickel mine on grade control and ore reserve estimation in Sudbury, Ontario in 1967 and at Canfer Mines Limited as a geologist in charge of uranium and copper exploration in Ontario and British Columbia in 1968.

Raised in Hong Kong, he received his B.Sc. in geological sciences from the National Taiwan University, Taiwan in 1962; M.Sc. from Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario in 1967; and a Ph.D. from the University of Ottawa in 1975. Between 1981 and 1995 he pursued additional training in economics and mineral economics at Ottawa and Carleton universities and at McGill University, respectively.

ROBERT KEYES is Senior Advisor to the President of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. He assumed this position in July 2005. His previous position with the Canadian Chamber was as Senior Vice-President, International, as well as the President and CEO of the Canadian Council for International Business. In these capacities, Mr. Keyes was responsible for the Chamber's activities in the areas of international trade and investment and Canada-US relations.

Prior to joining the Canadian Chamber, Mr. Keyes was Vice-President, Economic Affairs for the Mining Association of Canada. Earlier positions included various posts with the Canadian government in Natural Resources Canada and the Department of Finance. He also participated in an international exchange with the Australian Commonwealth government.

Mr. Keyes holds degrees from the University of Toronto and York University in geography and resource economics.

JAMAL A. KHOKHAR has been a career foreign service officer with Foreign Affairs Canada since 1986. As of September 2004, he was appointed Director General of the Latin American and Caribbean Bureau. Prior to joining the foreign service, he worked at the Canadian International

Development Agency (CIDA) on bilateral development assistance programs for China, India and Nepal.

In Foreign Affairs Canada, in addition to a variety of headquarters assignments, he has had foreign postings to Lagos, Nigeria and Sao Paulo, Brazil and then served three years as the Executive Assistant to Canada's Deputy Minister for International Trade. He also spent five years at the Canadian Embassy in Washington, D.C. where he was first appointed Counsellor (Trade and Economic Policy) and focused on Canada-US trade policy and dispute management, as well as larger NAFTA, WTO, and regional trade policy issues. Later, he became Minister-Counsellor and Head of the Embassy's Congressional and Legal Affairs Section, where he coordinated Canada-US bilateral foreign and trade policy interests with the US Congress as well as legal issues with the US Administration. Mr. Khokhar then spent a year at Harvard University as a Fellow at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.

Prior to his current assignment, he was on secondment to the Treasury Board Secretariat as the Executive Director leading the Expenditure and Management Review of the federal government's Public Security and Anti-Terrorism programs and activities.

GORDON R. PEELING became President and Chief Executive Officer of The Mining Association of Canada (MAC) in December of 1997. He has over 30 years of mining policy experience in both the private and public sectors. Most recently, he held the position of Vice President, Communications and Public Policy with the International Council on Metals and the Environment where he developed responses to social, economic and public policy issues that interface with the environment. Previously, Mr. Peeling held progressively more senior positions in Natural Resources Canada, latterly as Director General of the Minerals and Metals Commodity Branch and Director General of the Mineral Strategy Branch. Prior to joining the federal government, he worked for Inco Limited and Gulf Minerals Canada Limited.

Mr. Peeling is a Director of the Mining Association of Canada. As well, he is Chair of the Raw Materials Committee of the Business and Industry Advisory Council to the OECD and First Vice-President of the Interamerican Mining Society (SIM - Sociedad Interamericana de Minería). He is also a member of the Federal Government's Mining Sector Sustainability Table, and a Council Member of the International Council on Mining and Metals, representing national associations.

He is a member of several professional societies and is a former Director of the Mineral Economics and Management Society and Past Chairman of the International Copper Study Group. Mr. Peeling has a BSc (Geology) degree from Queen's University and an MSc (Geology) and a BA (Economics) from Carleton University.


DEBRA P. STEGER is Professor of Law at the University of Ottawa where she teaches in the fields of international trade and investment as well as international dispute settlement. She is also the Chief Executive Officer of the new network on the emerging economies, which is in the process of being established. Previously, she served as the founding Director of the Appellate Body Secretariat of the World Trade Organization in Geneva, in which capacity she helped to establish the Appellate Body as the first appellate tribunal in international trade.

She is Chair of the Trade and Customs Law Committee of the International Bar Association, and has been on the executive of the Trade Committee of the International Law Association for the past 10 years. She is also a member of the Editorial Advisory Board of the Journal for International Economic Law. She participates on the Advisory Council of the UNCTAD Project on Building Capacity through Training in Dispute Settlement in International Trade Investment and Intellectual Property as well as on the Governing Council of the World Trade Law Association.

During the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations, she was the Senior Negotiator for Canada on Dispute Settlement and the Establishment of the World Trade Organization as well as the Principal Legal Counsel to the Government of Canada for all of the Uruguay Round agreements. From 1991 -1995, she was General Counsel of the Canadian International Trade Tribunal in Ottawa, the agency responsible for administering the antidumping, countervail, safeguards, and government procurement legislation in Canada.

Ms. Steger has had extensive experience in teaching international trade regulation at law schools in Canada, including in the Hyman Soloway Chair in Business and Trade Law at the University of Ottawa and as Visiting Professor at the University of Toronto. For over 25 years, she has written extensively on international economic law and policy, including on issues related to the WTO, the NAFTA, dispute settlement and the governance of international institutions. She is the author of "Peace Through Trade: Building the WTO", published by Cameron May in 2004, and co-editor of "Law in the Service of Human Dignity: Essays in Honour of Florentino Feliciano", published by Cambridge University Press in 2005.

Ms. Steger holds an LL.M. from the University of Michigan Law School, an LL.B. from the University of Victoria Faculty of Law, and a B.A. (Honours) in History from the University of British Columbia.



Participants:

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Canadian Chamber of Commerce	Senior Advisor to the President	Keyes	Bob
China Institute, University of Alberta	Director	Jiang	Wenran
Centre for Strategic and International Studies	Senior Research Associate	Hester	Annette
FOCAL	Board of Directors	Clark	Joe
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Instituto Tecnológico de Monterrey, Mexico	Executive Director, Asia Pacific Institute	Balderrama	Renato
Mining Association of Canada	President & CEO	Peeling	Gordon
Natural Resources Canada	Senior Mineral Economist, Economic and Regional Analysis Division	Jen	Dr. Lo-Sun
Ottawa University, Faculty of Law	Executive in residence	Steger	Debra
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